

**Making Moroccan ‘Heritage’: Art, Identity, and Historical Memory in
the Early French Protectorate of Morocco (ca. 1912 - 1931)**

by

Ashley V. Miller

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History of Art)
in the University of Michigan
2017

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Raymond A. Silverman, Chair
Associate Professor Christiane J. Gruber
Professor Michèle A. Hannoosh
Professor Susan L. Siegfried



Ashley V. Miller

avmiller@umich.edu

ORCID iD: 0000-0002-1722-5455

© Ashley V. Miller 2017

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many individuals and institutions for the support and encouragement they provided me throughout the process of writing and conducting research for this dissertation. I would first like to thank my advisor, Ray Silverman, for his exceptional intellectual guidance and personal support from my first days as a graduate student through the final drafts of this manuscript. His enthusiasm for my ideas and commitment to leading me toward novel and challenging methodologies has been critical to my development as a scholar. I am inspired by the compassion and generosity with which he approaches students and colleagues alike.

I am honored and grateful to have worked with a dynamic and engaged dissertation committee. I sincerely appreciate Susan Siegfried's dedication to my scholarly development and her continued faith in my work even as it changed directions and moved along uncertain paths. Her sensitive questioning of my research methods and theoretical approach to this project at different moments along the way challenged me to develop a more nuanced and meticulous program for historical research. Michèle Hannoosh's rigorous critiques of my visual and textual analysis for this and other projects have been integral to my development as a writer and art historian. I will remember fondly our inspiring conversations in the Mediterranean Topographies reading group and the hours she dedicated to preparing me for my preliminary exams and working through the central problems of my dissertation. Although I met Christiane Gruber three years into my Ph.D. program, her intellectual and professional guidance has been formative in the trajectory of my career so far. I thank her for the many opportunities she has facilitated and colleagues with whom she has connected me as I build my academic future. David Doris motivated me to honor my creative instincts and strive for the unexpected in my teaching and scholarship, qualities I will continue to nurture in the coming years.

I must also thank a number of additional faculty members at University of

Michigan and other universities in the United States and abroad who helped me to envision and execute this project. Eric Calderwood, David Robinson, Cynthia Becker, Stacy Holden, and Katarzyna Pieprzak expanded my thinking about Morocco and kindly shared with me important references, contacts, and advice for conducting research in Morocco. Jean Hebrard introduced me to new and constructive methods for investigating colonial archives. Nadia Erzini shared her deep knowledge of local Moroccan histories and provided insightful responses to my research ideas over numerous emails and during a lovely afternoon spent together in Tangier. Keelan Overton and Moya Carey shared their own work with me and directed me toward exciting avenues of research.

This project was made possible by generous support from the Fulbright Program, Georges Lurcy Foundation, University of Michigan's Museum Studies Program, and the Department of the History of Art and Rackham Graduate School at Michigan.

Although much of my time researching in Morocco and France was consumed by attention to archival documents and material objects, the most important aspect of my fieldwork was the opportunity to work with thoughtful and generous individuals in both countries. In particular, I am deeply grateful to Abdelaziz al-Zuwaq who took me on as his apprentice in painting, shared meals with me, taught me the vocabulary of craft, and allowed me to learn from his lifelong experiences as an artist in Morocco. I thank Mohammad Zaïm, Ahmed Margaa, Mohammad Chadli, and Steven di Renza for facilitating my research in Morocco's museums; Rachel Muyal for inviting me into her home and sharing her memories of growing up in Tangier; and Samir Kafas and Ahmed Skounti for their collaboration and insightful critiques of my project. John Davidson was not only kind enough to invite me to live and work at the Tangier American Legation in Morocco for a week, but he also offered up his own time introducing me to helpful contacts and institutions in Tangier; I am also grateful for the hospitality and assistance of Yhtimad Bouziane and the TALIM staff during my stay. My life in Morocco would not have been the same without the friendship of Saida, Soukaina, Abdelrahman, Siham, J.J., and Zack, or without the strong community of fellow Fulbrighters and support of the Moroccan-American Commission for Educational and Cultural Exchange, especially Jim Miller and Karima Elbaz.

I would like to thank all of the archivists, curators, and librarians who accommodated me and facilitated my research in France, particularly Claire Delery of the Louvre, Isabelle Fournel of the Musée des arts décoratifs in Paris, and the staff at the archives of Paris, Nantes, Aix-en-Provence, and Marseilles. It was a pleasure to meet and exchange ideas with Adil Boulghallat in Paris and to enjoy the camaraderie of fellow American graduate students, William Vega, Bridget Behrmann, and Raphael Krut-Landau.

I was fortunate to have a contingent of supportive fellow graduate students in my department, including Monique Johnson, Anna Wieck, Linda Lui, Bea Zengotitabengoa, Antje Gamble, Lehti Keelmann, Vivian Li, Kristin Schroeder, Marissa Kuchek, Emily Talbot, Alice Sullivan, and Wendy Sepponen. I spent lovely hours of discussion and entertainment with Amr Kamal, Maria Hadjipolykarpou, and the other members of Meditopos. I survived long winters and the challenges of graduate school with the love and friendship of Camela Logan, who encouraged me to dance and cook away our troubles, and Emma Sachs, with whom I have shared so many tears and so much laughter. My family has been along for the entire ride, welcoming me home, visiting me across the world, and reminding me of the whole person I am.

Finally, I am thankful to Chris, my editor, critic, and partner in everything. I would not have made it to the end without the support of his love and faith in me, not to mention his willingness to travel to Ann Arbor and France and to pick up and move with me to Morocco. Even though I didn't include a dedication page, I dedicate this dissertation to us.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
ABSTRACT.....	xiii
INTRODUCTION	1
A Shared Heritage.....	1
Heritages Past and Present, Official and Unofficial	5
Who Owns Heritage? Cultural Authority and Representation in the French Protectorate of Morocco	9
Art History in the “Ethnographic State”	11
“What is Colonial Art? And Can it be Modern?”: Understanding Innovation and Change in “Traditional” Arts	18
Making Morocco on the World’s Stage: Heritage as a Global(izing) Phenomenon.....	23
Methodology and Sources: Encountering North African Visual and Material Cultures at the “Edges of Empire”	25
Chapter Structure	36
CHAPTER 1 - Envisioning “Moroccan Heritage” and the International Politics of World War I: The Exposition franco-marocaine (Casablanca, 1915).....	39
Understanding Practices of Commercial Exchange and Consumption in Morocco	45
“La Lutte Economique”: International Commerce in the Context of World War.....	52
Visualizing the Commercial Field in French Protectorate Morocco	58
Making Moroccan “Heritage” at the Exposition franco-marocaine	68
CHAPTER 2 - A “Tableau of Indigenous Production”: Framing Morocco’s Artistic and Cultural Heritage in the French Protectorate’s First Museums.....	82
Tradition and Decadence: Jean Gallotti’s Report on the State of “Indigenous” Arts in Morocco (1913)	86
Colonial Algeria and the French Protectorate’s Approach to Moroccan Arts.....	90
A “Tableau of Indigenous Production”: Scientific Imperialism, Commercial Fairs, and the Development of Morocco’s Museums	96
“Modernizing Tradition” or “Traditionalizing the Modern”? : Historical Memory, Colonial State-Building, and Identity Construction in the Dar Batha Museum.....	107

Reframing Morocco’s Cultural Heritage: Art, Weapons, and “Imperial Souvenirs”	115
Conclusion	125
CHAPTER 3 - Constructing a History of Moroccan Art:	
The 1917 Exposition des arts marocains (Paris)	140
Morocco and the Discipline of “Islamic Art”	143
Moroccan Art as a “Decorative Art”	148
“Style” and Strategies of Display	157
The “Historicity” of Moroccan Art.....	163
Displaying “History” in the Exhibition.....	170
Conclusion: “Tradition” and “Modernity” in Moroccan Art.....	174
CHAPTER 4 - Hybridity, Authenticity, and Artistic Agency: Moroccan Design at the Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes (Paris, 1925)	189
In Search of “Tradition”: Issues of “Authenticity” and the Commercialization of Morocco’s Arts under the Service des arts indigènes.....	197
Stylistic “Hybridity” in the Contact Zone of Colonial Morocco	210
“Moroccan Modernism” at the 1925 Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs modernes et industriels.....	223
A “Renaissance” of Moroccan Art?: Hierarchy and Change in the “Indigenous” Arts	234
CHAPTER 5 - Moroccan “Heritage” at the French Colonial Expositions, Marseilles 1922 and Paris 1931.....	251
The Morocco Pavilion at the 1922 Exposition nationale coloniale (Marseilles)....	254
A “Kasbah Fermée”: the Presentation of the Morocco Pavilion	257
Of Palaces and Tents: Cultural Authority and the Appropriation of “Tradition”	262
Exhibiting Colonial Consent, Controlling Dissidence.....	267
The Morocco Pavilion at the 1931 Exposition internationale coloniale (Paris)	273
La Grande Mosquée de Paris (1922-26).....	277
Articulating “Colonial Difference” in the Morocco Pavilion at the 1931 Colonial Exposition	284
CONCLUSION	313
Making Morocco’s Heritage Beyond the French Protectorate	315
Relocating Morocco’s Cultural and Artistic Heritage	320
APPENDIX A	334
BIBLIOGRAPHY	335

LIST OF FIGURES

Frontispiece: Resident General Lyautey and administrators of the French protectorate of Morocco inspecting restoration work at Bab al-Kabir, entrance to Rabat’s Qasba des Oudaïa , ca. 1915-25. Photograph mounted in an album, Archives DPC-Maroc.	38
Figure 0.1: Map of property in Rabat inscribed on UNESCO’s World Heritage List. UNESCO, “Rabat, Modern Capital and Historical City: A Shared Heritage – Inscribed Property” (2012), http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1401 (accessed January 10, 2016).....	38
Figure 1.1: Partial view of the Exposition franco-marocaine, Casablanca 1915. Reprinted from Maurice Roulet (ed.), <i>Livre d’or de l’Exposition franco-marocaine</i> (Paris: Librairie générale et internationale, 1916), 124.	74
Figure 1.2: “The <i>Entente Cordiale</i> , French and English sailors,” Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Roulet, 99.	74
Figure 1.3: “A Corner of the Artillery Exhibition,” Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Roulet, 54.....	75
Figure 1.4: Map (detail) of the Exposition franco-marocaine, Casablanca, 1915. Reprinted from <i>Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca: Rapport général et rapports des sections</i> (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1918), n.p.....	75
Figure 1.5: “Booth of La Maison Henri Chanée et Cie”; exhibit by Lyon-based silk and furniture company in the Pavilion of Importation, Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Roulet, 139.	76
Figure 1.6: “Salad Bowls, Compote Dishes, Toileteries, etc.”; examples of some of the imported European goods popular with Moroccan customers, according to the authors of the 1915 report. Reprinted from <i>Rapport sur les commerces français, anglais, allemand et austro-hongrois au Maroc de 1902-1913, dressé par le Contrôle de la dette</i> (Rabat: Résidence générale de la République française au Maroc, 1915), 57.....	76
Figure 1.7: A faience <i>taridja</i> (drum) imported into Morocco from Austria. <i>Rapport sur les commerces</i> , 58.	77
Figure 1.8: “Plate 118: Footbridge over the Fez River in the Grand Méchouar, allowing access to the fairgrounds, October 1916”; Makhzan-style tents were erected among the exhibition pavilions at the Foire de Fès, 1916. Reprinted from Alfred Bel, <i>Le Maroc pittoresque, tome 1: Fès</i> (Paris: Georges Bertrand, 1916), n.p.	78

Figure 1.9: “Indigenous Swings” counted among the local festival games set up near the Café Alhambra, Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Rouillet, 71.....	79
Figure 1.10: Interior view of the Rabat pavilion, Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Rouillet, 232.....	79
Figure 1.11: Interior view of the Fez pavilion, Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Rouillet, 237.....	80
Figure 1.12: Venetian and Middle-Eastern glass windows at Mokri Palace, Fez. Photograph taken by the author, 2013.	80
Figure 1.13: “The Exposition at a Glance,” Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Rouillet, 1.....	81
Figure 2.1: Interior courtyard of the Oudaïa Museum, Rabat. Photograph taken by the author, 2013.	130
Figure 2.2: Patio of the Dar Batha Museum, Fez. Photograph by the author, 2013.....	130
Figure 2.3: Interior room of the Oudaïa Museum (ca. 1920). Photograph mounted to an album page, collection of the Archives du patrimoine culturel du Maroc, Rabat (Archives DPC-Maroc).....	131
Figure 2.4: The faïence room in Dar Batha Museum, Fez (ca. 1920). Photograph mounted to an album page, Archives DPC-Maroc.	132
Figure 2.5: Examples of Tsoul pottery displayed on top of a Chleuh wool carpet (Middle Atlas) from Bel’s personal collection. Bel, plate 84.	132
Figure 2.6: “Textiles Room” in the Dar Batha Museum in Fez, ca. 1920. Photograph (PH-1-308), collection of the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc.	133
Figure 2.7: “Pottery Merchant of Fez.” Bel, plate 88.	134
Figure 2.8: Objects displayed in Mohammad Belghazi’s shop near the Rue des Consuls, Rabat. Photograph by the author, 2014.....	134
Figure 2.9: Painted faïence plates (Fez, late 18 th – early 19 th c.) from Eugène Delacroix’s personal collection displayed at the Musée national Eugène Delacroix, Paris. Photograph taken by the author, 2014.....	135
Figure 2.10: Examples of Fassi faïence in Mellier’s collection housed at the Dar Batha Museum. Bel, plate 88.....	135
Figure 2.11: “The resident-general at Dar Batha delivering a speech on the occasion of a presentation of decorations.” Bel, plate 111.	136
Figure 2.12: “A Corner of the Artillery Exhibition,” Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Rouillet, 54.....	136
Figure 2.13: Patio of the Batha Museum (ca. 1915-20). Photograph mounted to an album page, Archives DPC-Maroc.	137
Figure 2.14: View of the “Weapons Room” at Dar Batha Musuem (ca. 1915-20). Photograph mounted to an album page, Archives DPC-Maroc.....	137

Figure 2.15: Weaponry mounted on the wall of the “Weapons Room” at Dar Batha Musuem (ca. 1915-20). Photograph mounted to an album page, Archives DPC-Maroc.	138
Figure 2.16: The “Cage du Bou Hamara” displayed in the Batha Museum. Photograph (PH-1-311), collection of the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc	139
Figure 2.17: Fragment of worked leather bookbinding in the Oudaïa Museum (ca. 1915-20). Photograph mounted in album, Archives DPC-Maroc.	139
Figure 3.1: Joseph de la Nézière, lithographic exhibition poster for the <i>Exposition des arts marocains</i> , 1917, 99 x 70 cm. POS-Fr.N49, no. 1, Library of Congress Prints and Photograph Division, Washington, D.C.	180
Figure 3.2: “Grand Hall” of the Exposition des arts marocains, Paris, 1917. Photograph mounted in an album, Fonds Valois (VAL 358/018), Médiatheque de l’architecture et du patrimoine, Montigny-le-Bretonneux, France.	181
Figure 3.3: Room three of the Exposition des arts marocains with a view of the “lit de parade” in the center. Photograph mounted in an album, Fonds Valois (VAL 358/021), Médiatheque de l’architecture et du patrimoine, Montigny-le-Bretonneux, France.	182
Figure 3.4: “Jewelry reconstructed under the guidance of Mme. Réveillaud,” in a vitrine displayed in room three of the Exposition des arts marocains, 1917. Reprinted from <i>L’Art et les artistes</i> , numéro spécial: “Le Maroc artistique” (1917), 7-18: 31.	183
Figure 3.5: “Berber” and “Arab” pottery from De La Neziere's collection exhibited at the Exposition des arts marocains. <i>L’Art et les artistes</i> , 35.	184
Figure 3.6: Comparison of regional carpet styles featured at the exhibition. <i>L’Art et les Artistes</i> , 42.	185
Figure 3.7: “Plaster sculpted after a panel of the minbar of the Ben Youssef madrasa, Marrakech.” Photograph mounted to paper, Album Maciet, UCAD Archives.	186
Figure 3.8: Illuminist working in a reconstructed atelier at the exhibition. Photograph mounted in an album, Fonds Valois (VAL 358/013), Médiatheque de l’architecture et du patrimoine, Montigny-le-Bretonneux, France	187
Figure 3.9: General Gouraud at the exhibition inauguration, May 5, 1917, (left foreground: Rabati carpet, eighteenth century, collection Lyautey). Photograph, collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.	188
Figure 4.1: Partial view of the Pavillon de l’Afrique du nord, Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs modernes, Paris, 1925. Postcard, collection of the author.	243
Figure 4.2: “Jewelry reconstructed under the guidance of Mme. Réveillaud,” in a vitrine displayed in room three of the Exposition des arts marocains, 1917. Reprinted from <i>L’Art et les artistes</i> , numéro spécial: “Le Maroc artistique” (1917), 7-18: 31.	243

Figure 4.3: “Zaïan-inspired” pottery by Lamali (left) at the Exposition arts décoratifs, 1925. Photograph, Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Charenton-le-Pont, France.	244
Figure 4.4: “Riffian-style” pottery by Lamali. Accession 74.1962.0.1696, Musée du Quai Branly, Paris.	244
Figure 4.5: Interior courtyard of the Hotel Villa des Orangers (ca. 1930-40), Marrakech. The courtyard architecture includes a combination of ca.1930-40 plaster and woodwork with renovated elements constructed in the 2000’s. Photograph taken by the author, 2015.	245
Figure 4.6: “Salon arabe” at the Dar Jamaï Museum, Meknes. Reprinted from Jerome et Jean Tharaud, <i>L’Afrique du Nord, fascicule 5, le Maroc</i> (Paris, Editions des Horizons de France, 1927).	245
Figure 4.7: Illustration of furniture designed in Meknes by artisans of the Dar Jamaï workshop, ca. 1932–33. Reprinted from <i>Nord-Sud</i> (1934).	246
Figure 4.8: “Salon” designed by Jacques Majorelle in the Moroccan Section at the Exposition des arts décoratifs, Paris, 1925. Photograph, Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Charenton-le-Pont, France.	246
Figure 4.9: “Office/Smoking room” designed by Bal Hadj in Moroccan Section at the Exposition des arts décoratifs, Paris, 1925. Photograph, Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Charenton-le-Pont, France.	247
Figure 4.10: Fassi shelf displayed in 1917 Exposition des arts marocains. Album Maciet, UCAD Archives, Paris.	247
Figure 4.11: Detail of Bel Hadj shelves, Exposition des arts décoratifs, Paris, 1925. Photograph, Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Charenton-le-Pont, France.	248
Figure 4.12: Sideboard designed by Majorelle, Exposition des arts décoratifs, Paris, 1925. Photograph, Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Charenton-le-Pont, France).	249
Figure 4.13: Detail of a painted ceiling in the Bahia Palace, Marrakech. Photograph by the author, 2013.	249
Figure 4.14: Jacques Majorelle, <i>La Kasbah Rouge</i> (1924), oil painting on canvas, 100 x 78 cm. Private collection. Reprinted from Marcilhac, 86.	250
Figure 5.1: Main entrance to the Moroccan Palace, Marseilles, 1922. Reprinted from <i>Exposition nationale coloniale, Marseille 1922: Guide officiel</i> (Marseilles: Société du petit marseillais, 1922), 123.	294
Figure 5.2: View of the Moroccan Palace, Marseilles, 1922. Reprinted from <i>Journal officiel, Exposition coloniale, Marseille 1922, 5me année, no. 52</i> (April 1922), 10.	295
Figure 5.3: Interior of the 1922 Palais du Maroc. <i>Journal Officiel</i> , 8.	296

Figure 5.4: “Moroccan Street” inside of the Moroccan Palace, Marseilles, 1922. <i>Guide officiel</i> , 127.....	297
Figure 5.5: Schematic map of the Moroccan Palace for the Exposition nationale coloniale, Marseilles, 1922. <i>Guide officiel</i> , 129.	298
Figure 5.6: “Marseilles Exposition coloniale 1922, Grand Palais et Palais du Maroc.” Postcard from the author’s collection.	299
Figure 5.7: Map of the 1922 Exposition nationale coloniale, Marseilles. MK 6142/01-02: Expositions Coloniales, Archives de la Chambre de commerce, Marseille.	300
Figure 5.8: Lyautey’s tent at the Moroccan Palace, Marseilles, 1922. Reprinted from “Exposition Nationale Coloniale Marseille, 1922,” in <i>Livre d’or Palmarès officiel</i> (Imprimerie de la Société du Palais Marseillais, 1922), 9.	301
Figure 5.9: Tunisian palace, Moroccan tent, and Moroccan stables at the Exposition universelle, Paris, 1867. Reprinted from Zeynep Çelik, <i>Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World’s Fairs</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 62.	302
Figure 5.10: “Plate 118: Footbridge over the Fez River in the Grand Méchouar, allowing access to the fairgrounds, October 1916”; Makhzan-style tents were erected among the exhibition pavilions at the Foire de Fès, 1916. Reprinted from Alfred Bel, <i>Le Maroc pittoresque, tome 1: Fès</i> (Paris: Georges Bertrand, 1916), n.p.	303
Figure 5.11: “The Sultan of the Students in front of his tent on the banks of the Fez River.” Bel, plate 77.....	304
Figure 5.12: Lyautey and Captain Mellier exiting a tent at the Foire de Fès. Photograph, série I, "Fonds de la Sécurité," carton 51: Foire de Fès 1916 (cote I 5), Fonds Iconographiques, CADN.	305
Figure 5.13: The “Cage du Rogui” at the Exposition franco-marocaine, Casablanca, 1915. Rouillet, 57.....	306
Figure 5.14: Courtyard of the Moroccan Pavilion, Paris, 1931. Reprinted from <i>Le Livre d’Or de l’Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris 1931</i> (Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore Champion, 1931), 58.	307
Figure 5.15: Garden lined with shops inside of the Moroccan Pavilion, Paris, 1931]. <i>Le Livre d’Or de l’Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris 1931</i> , 61.	308
Figure 5.16: Shops in the “Jardin des Souks” of the Moroccan Pavilion, Paris, 1931. Reprinted from Joseph Trillat, <i>L’Exposition coloniale de Paris</i> (Paris: Librairie des arts décoratifs, 1931), n.p.	309
Figure 5.17: Exterior view of the Mosquée de Paris. Photograph taken by the author, 2012.....	310
Figure 5.18: Minaret of the Mosquée de Paris. Photograph taken by the author, 2012.	311

Figure 5.19: The Sultan of Morocco at the Mosquée de Paris. Photograph, Agence Meurisse, Bibliothèque nationale de France.	312
Figure 6.1: Visitors entered the <i>Medieval Morocco</i> exhibition in Rabat from the museum’s central atrium through a pair of monumental doors from the Qarawiyyan mosque in Fez. Photograph courtesy of Fondation Nationale des Musées, 2015.	331
Figure 6.2: Central atrium of the Mohammad VI Musée d’art moderne et contemporain, Rabat. A large-scale photograph of King Mohammad VI dressed in a simple black shirt and square-rimmed glasses dominates the space. Photograph taken by the author, 2014.	332
Figure 6.3: Moroccans of all ages enjoy the Muhammad V Mausoleum’s esplanade (view from the mausoleum’s steps and directed outwards towards the Tour Hassan). Photograph taken by the author, 2014.	333

ABSTRACT

This dissertation argues that transnational negotiations over the meaning and content of Morocco's cultural heritage and identity during World War I and the interwar period (ca. 1912 - 1931) were critical to the French protectorate's cultural campaign in Morocco. During the first decades of the twentieth century, the early French protectorate regime, led by Resident-General Hubert Lyautey from 1912 until 1925, established one of the earliest and most comprehensive programs for arts and heritage management in Africa and, arguably, the world; the legacy of this colonial project is still reflected in notions and practices of "heritage" in Morocco and France today. Existing literature depicts the protectorate's exceptional attention to preserving Morocco's "traditional" architecture, arts, neighborhoods, and cultural practices as a colonial campaign pursued in the service of social control, economic exploitation, and political dominance. I diverge from this current scholarship by examining the dynamic relationship between the colonial politics of cultural representation within Morocco and the intellectual, commercial, and political stakes of representing a cultural image of Morocco on the international stage. In this way, I broaden our understanding of the early-twentieth-century cultural relationship between France and Morocco beyond the realm of colonial politics to consider its formative role in articulating twentieth-century notions of "art," "heritage," and "identity" on both sides of the Mediterranean.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, Morocco had taken on a central position in imperial politics as the object of economic and political competition among the major

European powers. With the formal establishment of French and Spanish protectorates in the region in 1912, the image of Morocco as a long independent Muslim kingdom in North Africa continued to have symbolic currency for its European protectors and allies who held a particular stake in disassociating Moroccan society and politics from the German-allied Ottoman world. Following years of political and economic instability in their country during the second half of the nineteenth century, the first decades of the twentieth century also presented an opportunity for diverse actors in Morocco to reimagine themselves and their society in relation to evolving cultural, national, and transregional identities and relationships.

Drawing upon recent museum and heritage theories, I consider how different communities and actors in France and Morocco exploited the representational tools afforded by concurrent developments in museum display, cultural exhibition, and the emerging scholarly disciplines of Islamic and African art to articulate competing claims over Morocco's cultural image and national identity. The significance of this project varied for its stakeholders: some strove to make sense of Morocco's diverse arts, cultures, and histories in relation to globalizing narratives of "tradition," "modernity," and national identity, while others endeavored to profit from the commercial and professional opportunities afforded by growing international interest in Morocco's cultural products. My analysis brings together a range of exhibitionary contexts in France and Morocco typically discussed separately in historical studies—the Exposition Franco-Marocaine in Casablanca (1915), the museums of art and ethnography established by the French protectorate in Morocco (1915-1929), the first exhibition of Moroccan art in France (1917), the Grande Mosquée de Paris (1922-26), and the international and colonial

expositions of the early twentieth century in Marseilles (1922) and Paris (1925 and 1931)—to demonstrate the varied political, commercial, and intellectual objectives that shaped local and global notions of Moroccan “heritage” in the twentieth century.

INTRODUCTION

A Shared Heritage

In 2012, the year I began fieldwork for this dissertation project, Morocco's capital city of Rabat entered the ranks of UNESCO's World Heritage List. As I came to learn in the course of my conversations with key participants in the project's conception and development, the success of the Rabat UNESCO campaign was largely due to its unique strategy for incorporating eight centuries of architectural and cultural innovation into one proposal, entitled "Rabat, Modern Capital and Historic City: A Shared Heritage."¹

Stretching from the archaeological site of Chellah (a thirteenth-century Marinid necropolis built atop a former Roman town) in the southeast to the still-inhabited twelfth-century Qasba des Oudaïa at the northern-most point of the city, the inscribed property encompasses Rabat's oldest urban settlements as well as its *ville nouvelle*, a part of the city constructed in the early twentieth century alongside the historic quarters of the walled *medina* to accommodate the city's growing European population following the establishment of the French protectorate (1912-1956).² It is the confluence of these disparate historical eras evidenced in Rabat's built landscape—as expressed in

¹ I would like to thank Samir Kafas and Mohamed Belatik of the Direction du Patrimoine Culturel (Ministère de la Culture) and Ahmed Skounti and Ahmed Ettahiri of the Institut national des sciences de l'archéologie et du patrimoine (INSAP) for their time and generosity in sharing with me their experiences participating in the UNESCO Rabat proposal and related heritage projects over the course of several conversations held between 2012 and 2013.

² As shown on the map (fig. 0.1), the inscribed zone also includes the city's network of Almohad walls and gates (12th/13th centuries), the Jardin d'Essais (ca. 1914-1928), the Quartier Habous de Diour Jamaâ (ca. 1917-1935), and the eleventh-century Hassan Tower that shares a site with the Mohammad V Mausoleum built under King Hassan II in 1971.

architecture, decoration, and conceptions of urban design—that constitutes the city’s value to the global community.³ While noting the importance of Rabat’s “ancient, Islamic, and Hispano-Maghrebian heritage,” UNESCO’s validation hinges upon the perceived success of early-twentieth-century urban planners and architects in *preserving* this heritage while simultaneously introducing modernist architecture and town planning to the Moroccan city. As “the product of a fertile exchange between the Arabo-Muslim past and Western modernism,” according to the World Heritage website, the city of Rabat “bears outstanding testimony to the diffusion of European ideas in the early 20th century, their adaptation to the Maghreb, and in return the influence of local, indigenous styles on architecture and decorative arts.”⁴

Coinciding with the centennial of the formal establishment of the French protectorate over Morocco, the inscription of Rabat on the World Heritage List in 2012 brings into focus the colonial origins of Morocco’s engagement with “heritage” as a modern concept and practice. During the first decades of the twentieth century, the early French protectorate regime, led by Resident-General Hubert Lyautey (active 1912-1925), established one of the earliest and most comprehensive programs for arts and heritage management in Africa and, arguably, the world. The diverse cultural projects undertaken by the protectorate’s administration included the establishment of museums featuring

³ According to the World Heritage Centre website, Rabat meets two out of six UNESCO criteria for selection: 1) it “represents an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history” (criterion ii); and 2) it “exhibits an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design” (criterion iv). UNESCO, “The Criteria for Selection,” <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/> (accessed January 10, 2016).

⁴ UNESCO, “Rabat, Modern Capital and Historic City: a Shared Heritage,” <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1401> (accessed January 10, 2016).

“indigenous” arts and archaeological artifacts, the designation and restoration of historical architecture and monuments, and the enforcement of strict building codes to preserve the aesthetic character and “authenticity” of Morocco’s existing built landscape.

It could even be argued that it was actually the history of heritage-*making* in the time of the protectorate that UNESCO validated with the Rabat inscription. As Samir Kafas has argued, while practices of preserving, restoring, and collecting cultural objects and historical buildings existed in pre-colonial Morocco, the systematic “heritagization” of Morocco’s cultural history—through the creation of laws and policies specifically addressing cultural heritage management—was initiated through the work of the French protectorate government and its extensive cultural administration.⁵ As I pursued research into the history of the early French protectorate’s preservationist approach to Morocco’s artistic and cultural landscape, I continued to wonder what circumstances had led to the designation of this colonial project as part of Morocco’s—let alone the world’s—cultural heritage a century later. How might an investigation into the complex legacy of the protectorate’s preservationist campaign in the present, as reflected in contemporary heritage projects in Morocco like the Rabat UNESCO proposal, inform our understanding of the local experience and meaning of this campaign at the beginning of the twentieth century? How did the history of French colonial interventions become part of Morocco’s own historical memory(ies)? Inspired by these questions, this dissertation is, in part, an

⁵ Samir Kafas, “De l’Origine et de l’idée de musée au Maroc,” in Caroline Gaultier-Kurhan, *Le Patrimoine culturel marocain*, 39-55 (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2003). I would further elaborate this statement by noting that the French protectorate’s encounter with pre-existing practices of artistic patronage, architectural restoration, and the preservation and display of cultural objects in Morocco also shaped the way this “heritagization” took place.

exploration of the heritage of “heritage” in Morocco.⁶

I trace the notion of a heritage “shared” between Morocco and France to the early protectorate period (ca. 1912-1931). Writing in the context of the first exhibition of Moroccan arts in France in 1917 (see chapter 3), Maurice Tranchant de Lunel, the director of the protectorate’s Service des beaux-arts, monuments historiques, et antiquités, urged his French readers to take stock of Morocco’s arts and ancient monuments, “as these riches entered into the patrimony of France.”⁷ He elaborated that the exhibition was certain to “raise the French spirit,” already strained by the devastations and ongoing hardships of World War I, by presenting the French public with an opportunity “to learn of the new beauties it has acquired.”⁸ As Tranchant de Lunel’s commentary suggests, the French protectorate’s engagement with Morocco’s material and visual cultures in some ways coincided with practices of material and cultural appropriation undertaken by European imperial regimes throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; at the same time, it did not solely entail the accumulation of colonial goods to be exhibited and stored in France’s museums as imperial loot or exotic specimens. In the following chapters, I explore how the early French protectorate regime in Morocco embarked upon the symbolic, material, and visual reorganization of the country’s artistic and cultural landscape as part of a larger representational campaign to (re)make “Moroccan heritage”; subsequently, the image of Moroccan history(ies) and

⁶ Rather than taking heritage-making for granted as a universal impulse, Holtorf argues for the importance of understanding heritage practices according to the specific historical circumstances through which the notion of “heritage” arose in different places and at different times. Cornelius Holtorf, “The Heritage of Heritage,” *Heritage and Society*, no. 2 (Fall 2012), 153-174: 154.

⁷ Maurice Tranchant de Lunel, “Une Exposition des arts marocains,” *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée*, no. 5 (May 15, 1917), 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*

society(ies) projected through the protectorate's framework of "Moroccan heritage" would have important implications for the construction of national identities, histories, and notions of "heritage" on both sides of the Mediterranean. The concept of a "shared heritage" raises important questions about the role of intercultural encounter and exchange, as well as the relationship between the local and the global in the making of heritage in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It also emphasizes central issues in the critical study of heritage, including conceptual and real contestations over the terms of "cultural ownership," the relationship between tradition and historical change, and the construction of "imagined communities" in the present through the symbolic and material manipulation of the past.

Heritages Past and Present, Official and Unofficial

While the practice and conception of heritage in Morocco today on one level responds to very contemporary social, political, and economic issues (see dissertation conclusion), the legacy of colonial-era "heritage-making" is strikingly present not only in the legal and administrative infrastructure supporting the management of museums, libraries, archaeological excavation, the preservation of historic monuments, landscapes, and architecture, but also in the way heritage is explained and presented in diverse contexts, ranging from museum exhibitions and official state celebrations to the way artisans and art dealers describe their own work and the objects or practices that constituted their trades. The rhetoric of heritage in Morocco today reflects many of the tropes and problems that shaped colonial discourse surrounding Morocco's artistic and cultural heritage in the early twentieth century. These tropes, which I discuss in the following chapters, included an emphasis on Morocco's medieval history and cultural

image, the perceived dichotomy of “tradition” and “modernity,” and claims of the immanent demise of traditional craft cultures in the face of modernization and globalization.

The first goal of this study is to denaturalize this rhetoric of heritage—to recognize the internal inconsistencies, uncertainties, and transformations in “official” colonial discourse about Moroccan art, culture, and society—and understand it in its historical context, as the product of a specific set of social, political, and economic realities that coalesced around the problem of historical memory and identity at the beginning of the twentieth century.

On the other hand, the unofficial way Moroccans imagine heritage and interact with official heritage spaces today also provides clues to how the historian might approach the local experience of “heritage-making” in Morocco’s colonial past. In this regard, my analysis is deeply informed by conversations with Moroccan colleagues, artists, neighbors, museum guards, friends, and acquaintances, as well as my own observations of heritage and museum practices—both formal and informal—in Morocco between 2012 and 2015. Two simple but important truths I learned in the course of my ethnographic research stand out to me. First, many people living in Morocco today feel a strong personal connection to their country’s (or community’s or family’s) artistic and cultural heritages: this is evidenced by their own collections of treasured objects, memories of relatives’ and ancestors’ songs, crafts, and stories, and their desire to preserve and perpetuate these objects, practices, and memories for future generations. Second, Moroccans engage with sites of heritage in incredibly diverse and innovative ways that quite often do not map onto the notions of cultural heritage prescribed by

official voices, like UNESCO or Morocco's ministry of culture. In part thanks to the preservation efforts of the French protectorate administration, Moroccans engage with the material remains of their country's cultural history everyday: to live in Rabat, for example, means rushing in a taxi past twelfth-century city walls on your way to work in a high-rise business district; or watching satellite TV from a makeshift home built on top of a crumbling World War II bunker. Self-appointed tour guides present elaborate "alternative" histories about the ancient structures, spaces, and objects that shape Morocco's built environment; and artisans translate "traditional" crafts into innovative commodities for the contemporary market. These diverse activities may seem to be at odds with official preservationist objectives and rules of "heritage"; I contend, however, that it is through analysis of such local and informal modes of engaging with cultural objects, spaces, and ideas that we can understand how the concept of heritage facilitates (or, in some cases, might impede) the articulation of identities and communities "on the ground."

The second objective of the project, then, is to reconsider the process and experience of making heritage in Morocco—both now and in the colonial era—as occurring within the space of a "contact zone."

In this project I understand colonial encounters to be interactive and improvisational processes of cross-cultural negotiation and exchange. Drawing upon Mary Louise Pratt's concept of the "contact zone," I approach the cultural exchange between Morocco and France as a reciprocal process of meaning-making, enacted through local social interactions and cultural encounters. According to Pratt, "contact zones" are sites where previously disparate (geographically, historically, or culturally)

subjects—often in situations of highly differentiated power, such as colonialism or slavery—engage in a process of interpreting each other and simultaneously constituting themselves.⁹ In his application of Pratt’s concept to the ethnographic museum, James Clifford elucidates how the museum’s proposed objective of creating or expressing meaning through and around objects makes it a conducive host to the processes of cross-cultural translation and negotiation that occur in the “contact zone.”¹⁰ In the museum-as-contact-zone, different interpretive modalities, cultural histories (as well as histories of prior contact), and objectives (political, social, personal, economic) intersect and often conflict in an unresolved process of constituting and striving to translate local knowledges.¹¹ Likewise, the constitution of “heritage” as an object and way of seeing in the French protectorate of Morocco involved ongoing processes of cross-cultural translation and negotiation taking place around the interpretation of cultural objects, practices, places, and their histories. In the “contact zone” of protectorate Morocco, the grand narratives, disciplinary systems of classification, and ideologies through which French scholars, politicians, and colonial administrators envisioned Morocco’s cultural identity and heritage were met with, and shaped by, alternate epistemologies, local practices for expressing cultural identity and authority, and a community of objects and

⁹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

¹⁰ James Clifford, “Museums as Contact Zones,” in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, 188-219 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1997).

¹¹ The contributors to Silverman’s edited volume, *Museum as Process*, demonstrate that, as a fundamentally collaborative project involving ongoing negotiations across cultures and through time, the process of constructing “knowledge(s)” in museums is, in fact, never complete. Raymond A. Silverman (ed.), *Museum as Process: Translating Local and Global Knowledges* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015).

individuals that constantly challenged these parameters through the cultural forces of adaptation, translation, and innovation.

Who Owns Heritage? Cultural Authority and Representation in the French Protectorate of Morocco

The contrasting images in the above examples of “official” and “unofficial” engagements with heritage sites and objects in contemporary Morocco demonstrate that the notion of a shared or communal heritage also necessarily involves negotiating—and often contesting—the social, economic, and political relationships through which this sharing should be accomplished, as well as the contents or boundaries of that which is to be shared. In late 2014, while the new Mohammad VI Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art—an institution born of the Moroccan monarch’s pledge to make the nation’s museums and heritage accessible to all Moroccans—opened its doors in Rabat’s city center (see dissertation conclusion), on the other side of town, I observed the painstaking removal by government employees of layers of decorations, gardens, animals, furnishings, and personal belongings left behind by the evicted community of squatters that had inhabited the World War II bunker perched on Rabat’s Atlantic coastline (once the bunker was completely exposed, it would be quickly taken over again by Moroccan teenagers for use as a climbing wall). In response to recent state-led interventions in the transformation and consolidation of heritage and museum practices in the country, Moroccan scholars and professionals have initiated a dynamic debate over the implications of the “heritagization” of cultural spaces, objects, and practices in

Morocco and their representation abroad.¹² This debate is guided by questions that are central to the field of heritage studies including, who has the authority to identify and manage cultural heritage; for whom is this heritage preserved and promoted; and what are the political and economic motivations behind such projects?

Investigating problems of cultural “ownership” and representation—and strategies employed for expressing these interrelated prerogatives through the identification, assemblage, display, and alteration of meaningful spaces, objects, and edifices—is at the heart of this project. If understood to be a “contemporary product shaped from history through which people relate to the past,” heritage is defined not by past artifacts or monuments in the landscape but by the meanings and symbolic values attributed to them by stakeholders in the present.¹³ As Graham and Ashworth argue, it is exactly this process of attributing value and meaning to the material past that endows heritage with the potential for tension and conflict: “The creation of any heritage actively or potentially disinherits or excludes those who do not subscribe to, or are embraced within, the terms of meaning defining that heritage.”¹⁴ Constructing a community’s cultural heritage necessarily entails a process of selection and, at the same time, exclusion; this process, most often implicated in claims of cultural hegemony and legitimacy, is driven by both

¹² For example, see Ahmed Skounti, “Le Miroir brisé: Essai sur le patrimoine culturel marocain,” *Prologues, revue maghrébine du Livre* 29/30 (2004): 37-46 and “De la Patrimonialisation: Comment et quand les choses deviennent-elles des patrimoines?” *Hesperis-Tamuda* XLV (2010), 19-34; Sakina Rharib, “Taking Stock of Moroccan Museums,” *Museum International* 58, issue 1-2 (2006): 97-103; and Kafas 2003.

¹³ David C. Harvey, “Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning, and the Scope of Heritage Studies,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7, no. 4 (2001), 319-338: 320.

¹⁴ B. Graham, G. J. Ashworth, et al., “The Uses and Abuses of Heritage,” *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*, edited by G. Corsane (London: Routledge, 2005), 26-37: 34.

economic and political motives.¹⁵

As I demonstrate in the following chapters, Resident-General Lyautey and his early protectorate regime went to great lengths to claim ownership over Morocco's "heritage." Lyautey orchestrated elaborate performances and visual displays designed to exhibit the French state's fluency in Morocco's cultural and religious traditions and its dedication to perpetuating this traditional life into Morocco's future; French art historians, ethnographers, and archaeologists subjected Morocco's visual and material cultures to external classification practices rooted in Eurocentric "scientific" discourses; and protectorate administrators published propaganda and organized pavilions in international and colonial expositions that promoted Morocco's historical architecture, artworks, and urban landscape as part of a cultural heritage shared with the modern French nation.

Art History in the "Ethnographic State"

This project contributes to recent scholarship in North African history and French colonial studies concerning the significance of cultural representation, knowledge production, and identity construction in the colonial political field. Historians and sociologists including Edmund Burke III, Susan G. Miller, Rahma Bourqia, and Jonathan Wyrzten have demonstrated that the French protectorate's model of governance in Morocco drew upon a host of powerful representational strategies to affirm its respect for and fluency in Morocco's "traditional" social, cultural, and religious structures and

¹⁵ Graham and Ashworth also note that heritage is a resource of both economic and cultural capital and is thus held in continuous tension not only between stakeholders of heritage but also between these two domains of valuation (ibid.).

practices.¹⁶ This phenomenon distinguished the unique politics and practices of French rule in Morocco, particularly in contrast to colonial Algeria. While these studies emphasize the instrumental role of ethnographic research and orientalist scholarship in French interpretations (and misinterpretations) of Moroccan society in the early twentieth century, I explore how the discipline of art history arose alongside these social sciences as an alternate intellectual space for reimagining Morocco's cultural history and identity.

Inspired by Edward Said's critique of the power dynamics and politics of representation underlying European scholarship on the Middle East, scholars of colonial and imperial encounters working over the last three decades have developed a rich theoretical groundwork for understanding imperial knowledge production as a tool for surveillance, conquest, and development. Through the amassing of archives, the collection of objects, and the reproduction of images, colonial and imperial states strove to understand "indigenous" societies in order to successfully conquer and, subsequently, govern them.¹⁷ French colonialism in North Africa, beginning with the occupation of

¹⁶ Edmund Burke III, *The Ethnographic State: France and the Invention of Moroccan Islam* (Oakland: University of California, 2014) and *Prelude to protectorate in Morocco: Precolonial Protest and Resistance, 1860-1912* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); Jonathan Wrytzen, *Making Morocco: Colonial Intervention and the Politics of Identity* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015); Bourqia and Susan Gilson Miller (eds.), *In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power, and Politics in Morocco*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, 31 (Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 1999).

¹⁷ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009); Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, and History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). On the role of photography and visual culture in/as the colonial archive see, Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin, eds., *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002); Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' and the Making of European Identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999); Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).

Algeria in 1830, likewise drew upon a long history of French orientalist scholarship while continually renewing this knowledge base through the contributions of ethnographers, colonial civil servants, military officials, and other professional and amateur researchers who worked closely with the colonial state.¹⁸ Evoking Nicholas Dirks' concept of the "ethnographic state," which he developed to explain practices of British colonial governance in India, Burke argues that the work of French ethnographers (or pseudo-ethnographers) in North Africa contributed to a lasting discursive system that simultaneously explained Moroccan society and legitimated French colonial policy in Morocco.¹⁹ His central claim in *The Ethnographic State: France and the Invention of Moroccan Islam* is that the discipline of "Moroccan studies" and, more specifically, the concept of "Moroccan Islam" was invented through, and also supported, this discursive system. Likewise, I contend that the French protectorate's cultural policies did not simply entail the *preservation* of heritage sites in Morocco but, in fact, demanded the *invention* of "Moroccan heritage."

Jonathan Wyrzten, following Burke, argues that the French protectorate's model of indirect rule in Morocco—envisioned as a reciprocally-beneficial "association" between Morocco's monarchy and the French protectorate residence—required the maintenance of a "protectorate imaginary" that drew upon the strategic preservation and (re)invention of Morocco's past: "[T]he colonial state 'saw' Moroccan society, history,

¹⁸ George R. Trumbull, *An Empire of Facts: Colonial Power, Cultural Knowledge, and Islam in Algeria, 1870-1914* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

¹⁹ Nicholas Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 44. "The ethnographic state was driven by the belief that India could be ruled using anthropological knowledge to understand and control its subjects, and to represent and legitimate its own mission" (ibid.).

architecture, and culture as static entities that needed to be documented and preserved.”²⁰ Lyautey and the early French protectorate regime used historical and social data amassed through the mechanisms of the “ethnographic state” to reproduce and, in many cases, reinvent, the pomp and circumstance of the pre-colonial Moroccan *makhzan* (ruling elite): their aim was to reveal the French protectorate’s unique fluency in Morocco’s “traditional” political, social, and religious forms while exhibiting its commitment to rebuilding Morocco’s “failed state” of the late nineteenth century through the revitalization of these traditions.²¹ The French protectorate administration’s “traditionalizing” performances included the “reproduction” of rituals of enthronement and allegiance to the sultan (Burke), the creation of a new Moroccan national flag and anthem (Wyrzten), and a decree prohibiting non-Muslims from entering Morocco’s mosques.²² As this last example indicates, and as I elaborate in the dissertation, the French protectorate’s reinvention of Moroccan tradition was also enacted through the preservation of so-called traditional spaces, as well as through the conservation, restoration, and symbolic mobilization of “traditional” visual and material cultures in Morocco.

During its first two decades, the French protectorate laid the groundwork for a highly effective cultural administration dedicated to the conservation of Morocco’s arts,

²⁰ Wyrzten, 23.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 23-4; Burke 2014, 3-4.

²² For a comparison of the French protectorate’s antics with strategies for “re-inventing traditions” around the British monarchy and British colonial raj in India see, David Cannadine, “The Context, Performance, and Meaning of Ritual: ‘The British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition,’ c. 1820-1977,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, 101-164 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Bernard S. Cohn, “Representing Authority in British India” (same volume), 165-210.

historical landscape, and cultural objects, beginning with the establishment of the Service des beaux-arts, monuments historiques, et antiquités (SBA) in 1913. The proclaimed mission of the SBA was to “inventory, study, and resuscitate certain elements of the past...in order to uphold an ancestral legacy rich with examples and tried-and-tested ways.”²³ Its administrative responsibilities included the designation and restoration of historic monuments, aesthetic control over new construction in Morocco’s *anciens medinas* (old cities) and rapidly growing *villes nouvelles* (new French quarters), and the collecting and safeguarding of important antiquities and historical art objects within museums of “indigenous” arts. Just as the early protectorate state reproduced and appropriated “traditional” religious and political rituals of Morocco’s past in the service of its own political legitimacy in the present, the work of the SBA involved both the preservation of Morocco’s pre-colonial artistic and architectural forms and their “revitalization” through the “re-education” of the country’s living artisans. In 1918, following the success of the SBA’s first exhibition of Moroccan arts in Paris in 1917 (see chapter 3) and recognizing the real commercial potential of Moroccan craft and decorative arts in both the domestic and exportation markets, the French protectorate government established a dedicated Office des arts indigènes. Shortly thereafter, in 1920, the office became its own administrative department, the Service des arts indigènes (SAI), responsible for “centralizing all questions concerning indigenous artistic production and especially for overseeing the manufacture and sale of its products.”²⁴ In

²³ “Le Service des arts indigènes,” in *Historiques de la Direction générale de l’instruction publique, des beaux-arts et des antiquités (1912-1930)*, 145-61 (Rabat: Protectorat de la République française au Maroc, 1931), 29.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

its dual emphasis upon the preservation of material patrimony and the perpetuation of “living traditions”—for both symbolic and commercial ends—the French protectorate’s cultural campaign bore the seeds of modern heritage management as it is practiced today.²⁵

In his preface to a 1934 issue of *Nord-Sud*, a monthly journal published in Casablanca, the French editor Louis Delau argued that the most difficult task faced by the SAI over the previous decades had been “less to preserve than *to choose what was necessary to preserve*...of the last vestiges of an art that was being lost little by little.”²⁶ The activities of the SBA and SAI related to the political and commercial objectives of the protectorate, as outlined above, as well as to a larger impetus concurrently spreading across the world in the early twentieth century—represented in the developing fields of archaeology and art history and in the construction of museums and scientific collections—to understand the past as evidence and justification for historical constructions and emerging communal identities (see chapter 2). For, as Guha-Thakurta writes, “the early twentieth century saw the deep imbrication of experts and professionals in the web of demands and desires that came to be woven around the hard proof of the

²⁵ The Service des beaux-arts was in some ways modeled after correlating departments in many European governments: in France, the first inspectors of historic monuments were assigned in the 1830s and a law in 1887 officially delineated the criteria for the selection and conservation of historic monuments in France and created an administrative team of Architects in Charge of Historic monuments. What was different in Morocco, however, was the addition of an administration dedicated entirely to “indigenous arts”; as I explain in chapter 2, this phenomenon in Morocco was related to developments in arts policy in Algeria at the end of the nineteenth century.

²⁶ Louis Delau, “Liminaire,” *Nord-Sud: Revue mensuelle illustré d’informations marocaines*, edition hors-séries: Les arts indigènes (1934), 2. My italics.

material remains of the past.”²⁷ Just as the protectorate’s “native” policies were built around and justified through the work of French social scientists and ethnographers, Lyautey appointed art historians, architects, archaeologists, and artists to develop the arts policies enacted by the SBA and SAI. These colonial administrators drew upon current theories and practices in their own fields to develop a comprehensive program for managing artistic and cultural production in colonial Morocco. In this way, the formulation of the systems of classification, historical narratives, and material corpus that would make up Morocco’s artistic and cultural heritage was a collaborative process that included actors and institutions in both France and Morocco. As I explore in chapter 3, the parameters through which the protectorate administration understood “indigenous arts” in Morocco intersected with the intellectual and material development of the field of Islamic art history and the related validation of the “decorative arts” in French academic and artistic circles. While theories in the fields of art history, anthropology, and archaeology provided the intellectual framework for the construction of a Moroccan art history, French metropolitan scholars and collectors bestowed social and cultural capital upon the protectorate’s cultural project—and the field of “Moroccan art”—by publishing books and articles about Moroccan art and architecture, collecting these arts, and collaborating with protectorate officials in exhibitions and other public events.

Among the tasks of this dissertation is to trace the symbolic circulation of Morocco’s visual and material cultures through different regimes of value and imagined hierarchies of cultural production. Throughout the beginning of the twentieth century, France would subject Morocco’s cultural products to shifting systems of classification, so

²⁷ Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), xix.

that the same object or set of objects might be variously described as art, artifact, craft, modern, traditional, Islamic, primitive, or colonial at different points throughout the course of its life. On the other hand, colonial encounters with cultural and artistic production in Morocco continuously challenged the boundaries of the classificatory systems through which French “scientific” disciplines functioned. Through a comparison of the narratives presented in ethnographic, historical, art historical, and political texts published in France and Morocco with the visual and discursive impact of exhibitions of Morocco’s arts, architecture, and cultural products, I demonstrate that, despite efforts on the part of the French protectorate state to manage Morocco’s cultural image in local and international spheres, the multivocality of the objects and images through which it made such claims allowed for competing notions of “Moroccan” art, heritage, and cultural identity to coexist and resonate with multiple audiences.

“What is Colonial Art? And Can it be Modern?”: Understanding Innovation and Change in “Traditional” Arts

What was particularly notable to me about the Rabat UNESCO proposal at first was its insistence that the dual processes of “preservation” and “modernization” evidenced in the city’s cultural landscape be celebrated as part of one “heritage.” On closer examination, however, this formulation reproduces a central feature of the discursive system through which the French protectorate constructed and represented “Moroccan heritage.” Wyrzten argues that the protectorate’s prerogative to see Moroccan society, history, and culture as static “tradition” existed alongside the notion of the protectorate itself as a “developmentalist” or “modernizing” force: this representational paradox was mediated through “a strict classification of, and division

that separated, the ‘traditional’ native and ‘modern’ European, a distinction Chatterjee refers to more generally as the ‘rule of colonial difference.’”²⁸ Even the language UNESCO employs to describe Rabat’s “shared heritage” reproduces this colonialist dichotomy, distinguishing between the contributions of the “Arabo-Muslim past” and “Western modernism.”²⁹

The first decade of the French protectorate brought major changes to Morocco’s social, political, and built landscapes. On the one hand, Lyautey articulated his dedication to preserving the traditional core of Morocco’s cultural and religious life through a reorganization of the *makhzan*—“restoring” the Sultan as a central symbol of the state and a guardian of “Islamic affairs” and surrounding him with a small, selective entourage of local advisors—and an emphasis upon preserving and restoring the visual symbols of the region’s “traditional” past through activities ranging from the careful reproduction of royal and religious pageantry in state ceremonies to the safeguarding of Morocco’s medieval architecture.³⁰ At the same time, however, Lyautey and his regime installed extensive reforms to the legal and educational systems and conducted modernizing projects that included the building of roads, power grids, and railways, and the redistribution of land to facilitate the exploitation of Morocco’s agricultural and mineral resources and to make way for new cities that would accommodate a growing

²⁸ Wyrzten, 23-4.

²⁹ UNESCO, “Rabat, Modern Capital and Historic City.”

³⁰ Susan G. Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 89-92.

population of French bureaucrats and *colons*.³¹

Mylène Théliol proposes that the SBA functioned as a sort of “pivot between the French and the Moroccans,” particularly during the tumultuous years of World War I and the initial “pacification” of the country.³² While the French and Moroccan military continued to push further into Morocco’s countryside and mountainous regions and the departments of agriculture, public works, and transportation built the foundations for a contemporary infrastructure based on European models and technologies, the SBA demonstrated France’s “goodwill” and respect for the local population by restoring historical edifices, preventing the development and destruction of Morocco’s *medinas*, and organizing public displays of local arts and culture abroad and in Morocco’s museums.³³ Indeed, the headquarters for the cultural administration and its regional offices were always installed in near proximity or even within the local *medinas* (in the Qasba des Oudaïa of Rabat, in the Dar Batha palace complex between Fez al-Jadid and Fez al-Bali, etc.), in contrast to the other governmental services which were situated in French “administrative quarters” in the *villes nouvelles*.

Even the presence of the SBA and SAI, however, represented a major transformation in the way culture, heritage, and the arts were to be managed and imagined in Morocco. The museum has commonly been viewed as the epitome of the

³¹ Miller 92; Alan Scham, *Lyautey in Morocco, protectorate Administration, 1912-1925* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 55-75.

³² Mylène Théliol, “Le Service des beaux-arts, monuments historiques, et antiquités, clef de voûte de la politique patrimoniale française au Maroc sous la résidence de Lyautey (1912-1925), *Outre-mers* 98, no. 370-371 (2011), 185-193.

³³ *Ibid.*

modernizing endeavor.³⁴ In chapters 1 and 2, I argue that the French protectorate's introduction of the "logics of heritage" to Moroccan society, a framework for viewing cultural "tradition" as an object to be seen and consumed, was itself intimately tied to its modernizing objectives in the country. The problem of mediating between the dual colonial project of preserving "tradition" and effecting "modernization" also extended to the protectorate's urban planning and creation of a "hybrid" French-Moroccan architecture (the results of which were celebrated in the Rabat UNESCO inscription), as well as the production of art objects for the "modern" commercial market by the protectorate's state-run arts workshops (see chapter 4).³⁵ In the French protectorate of Morocco and elsewhere in the early twentieth century, artistic production and its relationship to a perceived hierarchy of cultures was one way to envision and manage a notion of differential access to "modernity." In some instances, the differences between Moroccan and French society were imagined through the juxtaposition of French architecture with indigenous decoration, or European fine arts with local traditional crafts. Set into historical and art historical narratives, these categories were justified and naturalized through a rewriting or reimagining of the past—whether according to an

³⁴ Among others see, Elaine Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and Shaping Knowledge* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992); Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); Virginie Rey, "Traditionalizing the Modern: Tunisia's Living Museums," *Arena Journal*, no. 44 (2015), 115-134, <<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=512727600527620;res=IELAPA>> ISSN: 1320-6567 (accessed April 5, 2016).

³⁵ Gwendolyn Wright, "Tradition in the Service of Modernity: Architecture and Urbanism in French Colonial Policy, 1900-1930," *The Journal of Modern History* 59, no. 2 (June 1987), 291-316 and *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991); Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University, 1981); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (MIT Press, 1989); François Béguin (ed.), *Arabesances: Décor architectural et tracé urbain en Afrique du Nord, 1830-1950* (Paris: Dunod, 1983).

“organicist” model of growth and decline that contained Moroccan art and culture within the realm of the medieval period (see chapter 3), or an evolutionary model that envisioned the progression of “indigenous” Moroccan art from “traditional” decorative arts to “modern” figurative painting (see chapter 4).

While these grand narratives represented Moroccan art, culture, and society as rooted (and even fixed in) a pre-modern condition of static “tradition,” the individuals the French expected to embody and reproduce the terms of this traditional identity most often proved to be cultural innovators, entrepreneurs, and inventors who succeeded in transforming the very “traditions” they were expected to sustain. While taking into account the powerful narratives of decline and disappearance that shaped approaches to “traditional” crafts from the nineteenth century and even until today, my project simultaneously emphasizes the endurance of craft-making practices and their ability to be continually renewed through artistic and cultural innovation in response to new social and economic realities. It is perhaps for this reason that craft production has maintained its potency in national and communal identities in Morocco, even in light of repeated efforts on the part of the Moroccan government or other political groups to assert Morocco’s economic and social “modernity” in the global field.

It is also this reality that inspired the French author of the official guide to the 1925 Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs modernes in Paris to ask, “What is colonial art? And can it be modern?” (see chapter 4).³⁶ This set of questions is central to the following study, in which I ask not only what was “Moroccan art” for the French colonial administration, but also, how local producers and their patrons and audiences

³⁶ *Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes: Rapport général*, 9 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1925; reprinted New York: Garland, 1977), 33.

perceived the works of art and other cultural objects created in the colonial era: how did they understand their position within fields of cultural production in the colonial “contact zone”? Did Moroccan artists and artisans understand themselves to be contributing to a specifically “Moroccan” art, to be preserving traditions, or to be intentionally modifying their practices in relation to a changing social world? How did they imagine themselves in relation to other communities of artists and creators?

Making Morocco on the World’s Stage: Heritage as a Global(izing) Phenomenon

Pivotal to the making of “Moroccan heritage” in the twentieth century, the French protectorate’s preservationist activities must be understood in relation to the larger French colonial endeavor to make “Morocco” into a (particular kind of) political entity. In *Making Morocco: Colonial Intervention and the Politics of Identity*, Wyrzten argues that European colonial intervention resulted in the formation of a new type of political field in Morocco, what he calls the “colonial political field,” which in turn engendered fundamental transformations in the relationships among politics and identity formation in the country.³⁷ Elaborating Wyrzten’s claim, I argue that French colonial initiatives also influenced the shape of a new *cultural* field in Morocco that relied upon European conceptions of cultural heritage in relation to the “nation,” as the ideal imagined community. As I argue in chapter 1, the French protectorate’s interventions in Morocco’s arts and craft industries were not only directed towards the restructuring of colonial Morocco’s domestic economy and indigenous workforce (Irboh) or determined by the “civilizing” project of preserving endangered cultural “traditions” (Girard,

³⁷ Wyrzten.

Pieprzak); the French campaign to “revitalize” Morocco’s traditional arts, architecture, and cultural practices contributed to the protectorate’s implicit efforts to construct an imagined “Moroccan” community, commensurate with the French national community and articulated through a delineated and reproducible set of objects, images, and sites of “heritage.”³⁸

I argue that the French protectorate’s campaign to “revitalize” Morocco’s traditional craft industries should be understood as one strategy for claiming a position for Morocco—and by extension France—within competing articulations of national and cultural identities during World War I and the interwar period. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Morocco was at the heart of competition and negotiations among the major world powers, including France, Germany, Britain, and Spain. After achieving control of the larger part of Morocco and establishing its protectorate there in 1912, France spent the following decades convincing French and international audiences of its legitimacy as Morocco’s “protector” and persuading Moroccans themselves, from the elites of the *makhzan* to the common population, of the benefits of allying, collaborating, and cooperating with France. I contend that it was within this international and historically contingent context of imperial politics in a time of world war that the French protectorate’s official engagement with Morocco’s visual and material cultures led to the

³⁸ In his revised edition of *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson suggests that postcolonial nation-building programs in Africa and Asia should not be understood as direct inheritors of the nineteenth-century European model of the “dynastic state,” as he had previously argued, but rather “that the immediate genealogy should be traced to the imaginings of the colonial state” (Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London and New York: Verso, 2006; original edition published by Verso, 1983), 163. This notion supports my argument that the style or “logics” of heritage-making in French colonial Morocco intersected with “national heritage” construction in Europe and, ultimately, in Morocco despite the assumed antagonism among North African nationalisms and the colonial state.

formulation of a proto-national “Moroccan art” and “Moroccan heritage.”

To date, the fields of museum and heritage studies have focused primarily on heritage projects in Europe and the United States. Examining the history of heritage-making in the French protectorate of Morocco reveals the extent to which notions of national identity, heritage, and other social imaginaries rapidly spread across the globe in relation to the intersecting politics of modern imperialism and world war. As such, it presents a useful case study for reevaluating the origins of “heritage” as a global(izing) phenomenon, even from its earliest appearance at the turn of the century.

Methodology and Sources: Encountering North African Visual and Material Cultures at the “Edges of Empire”

My dissertation follows the work of several existing studies of craft production, urbanism, cultural exhibition, and architectural preservation in French colonial North Africa. Engaging postcolonial theory, this literature typically approaches the history of artistic production and representation in twentieth-century Morocco through the lens of colonial power structures, the Eurocentric categories through which they operated, and the acts of resistance they engendered. On one level, my work responds to issues raised in this body of literature, particularly those concerning the role of visual and material culture in mediating cultural authority, political dominance, and economic exploitation in colonial contexts. Furthermore, I compare representations of Morocco’s arts, cultures, and societies operating in both France and Morocco at the beginning of the twentieth century in order to understand how the social realities of the colonial experience in Morocco shaped, challenged, or transformed prevalent ways of imagining and constructing the “Oriental” or exotic other from a French perspective. On the other hand,

I aim to move beyond the conceptual confines of postcolonial theory or critiques of orientalism by examining the networks of exchange and instances of encounter that shaped artistic and cultural production in Morocco through relationships beyond the social and spatial bounds of the colonizer/colonized dichotomy imagined by students of postcolonial thought. In this endeavor, I situate my analysis of the French protectorate's preservationist activities in Morocco firmly within the historical context of World War I and the interwar period, examining how this French colonialist project in reality involved political, commercial, and cultural relationships stretching not only across the Mediterranean but also to Germany and other communities with a stake in Morocco's cultural image and products during the war and its aftermath. Furthermore, in choosing to analyze the construction of Moroccan "heritage" in particular—bringing together arts and craft production, museology, architecture, and cultural exhibition in French protectorate Morocco all as part of the heritage-making project—I intend to reposition the problem of cultural representation in French colonial Morocco in relation to the historical development of new social imaginaries, including heritage, national identity, and modernity, that appeared on a global scale during the early twentieth century.

In the 1980s and 90s, historians of modernist architecture and urbanism began to look beyond the field's established geographical and cultural parameters to consider the role of designers, architects, and planners working outside of Europe and the United States. This disciplinary movement, along with the influence of the "cultural turn" in French colonial studies,³⁹ greatly impacted the shape of North African material and visual

³⁹ For an overview of the consequences of the "cultural turn" for French colonial studies in the 1990s see, Daniel J. Sherman, "The Arts and Sciences of Colonialism," *French Historical Studies* 23, no. 4 (Fall 2000), 707-729.

culture studies, particularly as the French protectorate of Morocco stood out as a central case study for understanding the elaboration of French architectural design and technologies of social welfare and urban planning in the colonies during the first half of the twentieth century. While François Béguin explored the development of an orientalist vernacular for French architectural production in colonial North Africa, Paul Rabinow, Gwendolyn Wright, and Janet Abu-Lughod investigated how urban design and architecture intersected with the politics and economics of French colonialism under Lyautey's administration in Morocco.⁴⁰ This research also inspired a reexamination of early-twentieth-century representations of North African culture in the French *metropole*, with Patricia Morton, for example, arguing that the “hybrid” architecture of the Morocco Pavilion at the 1931 Exposition coloniale internationale in Paris reflected the French protectorate's approach to “associationist” urban design.⁴¹

If these historians primarily saw colonial North Africa as a “laboratory” for aesthetic and social experimentation led by European actors, in the following decade other scholars including Roger Benjamin and Hamid Irbouh emphasized the significance of cross-cultural encounter and exchange for the development of local artistic practices and industries in North Africa during the colonial period. In *Orientalist Aesthetics*, Roger Benjamin examines the history of cross-cultural interaction among European and North African artists, civil servants, and travelers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, exploring how colonial-era encounters inspired reciprocal

⁴⁰ Abu-Lughod; Wright 1987 and 1991; Rabinow 1989.

⁴¹ Patricia A. Morton, “A Study in Hybridity: Madagascar and Morocco at the 1931 Colonial Exposition,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 52, no. 2 (Nov. 1998), 76-86, and *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000).

evaluations of the aesthetic, cultural, and historical qualities underlying the other's artistic practices.⁴² He complements his account of French artists encountering the artistic, social, and physical environment of North Africa with an analysis of two Algerian artists' confrontations with European-style painting and the strategies they each employed for incorporating foreign artistic practices into their own works. In this way, Benjamin contributed to a growing body of contemporary scholarship produced at the beginning of this century that challenged the centrality of European orientalist representations in defining the exotic, colonized "other" and offered insight into heterogeneous local responses from artists and cultural producers in North Africa and the Middle East.⁴³

While Benjamin's study attends primarily to the aesthetic meeting of French painting and North African decorative arts, Hamid Irbouh approached the subject of cross-cultural art production in colonial North Africa from a political and sociological, rather than art historical, perspective. His book, *Art in the Service of Colonialism: French Art Education in Morocco, 1912-1956*, examines how state-led arts pedagogy in protectorate Morocco bolstered colonialist ideologies and facilitated the economic exploitation of the local working population. Emphasizing the role that the French protectorate's vocational, fine arts, and craft schools played in transforming Moroccan students into "disciplined colonial subjects" and "the best workers in the French Empire,"

⁴² Roger Benjamin, *Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880-1930* (Berkeley: University of California, 2003).

⁴³ Among others see, Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts, eds., *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Ali Behdad, "The Power-Ful Art of Qajar Photography: Orientalism and (Self)-Orientalizing in Nineteenth-Century Iran," *Iranian Studies* 34, no. 1/4, Qajar Art and Society (2001), 141-151.

he argues that French notions of gender, class, and art continue to shape the conceptualization of artistic authenticity, value, and identity in the post-independence Moroccan art world.⁴⁴ Other scholars have taken up more focused analyses of the specific contributions of individual actors within the French protectorate's cultural administration and their impact on particular Moroccan industries, such as textiles or pottery; in this way, authors like Girard, Housefield, Mokhiber, and Nicholas complicate Irbouh's expansive overview of colonial arts management in Morocco with close readings of the epistemic uncertainties and contradictions underlying the practical application of generalizing colonialist ideologies to diverse and changing sectors of industry and society.⁴⁵ In the following chapters, I continue to problematize the operative concepts and terms that these authors show to have been underlying the "invention of tradition" in Morocco's colonial-era art world, including cultural and artistic "authenticity," "hybridity," and competing conceptions of cultural development and hierarchy. In diverging from this literature, however, I ask how these European art historical and sociological categories of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries interacted with developing notions of national identity and heritage in Morocco, rather than simply reinforcing French colonial cultural and political hegemony in Morocco, as commonly argued.

⁴⁴ Hamid Irbouh, *Art in the Service of Colonialism: French Art Education in Morocco, 1912-1956* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2005), 16-19.

⁴⁵ Muriel Girard, "Invention de la tradition et authenticité sous le Protectorat au Maroc," *Socio-anthropologie* 19 (2006), <https://socio-anthropologie.revues.org/563>, consulted September 23, 2015; James E. Housefield, "Moroccan Ceramics and the Geography of Invented Traditions," *Geographical Review* 87, No. 3 (Jul., 1997), 401-407: 403; James Mokhiber, "Le Protectorat dans la peau: Prosper Ricard and the 'native arts' in French colonial Morocco, 1899-1952," in Driss Maghraoui (ed.), *Revisiting the colonial past in Morocco* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013); Claire Nicholas, "Of Texts and Textiles...: Colonial Ethnography and Contemporary Moroccan Material Heritage," *Journal of North African Studies* 19: 3 (2014), 390-412.

Like the study of Morocco's craft industries in the protectorate era, recent approaches to understanding heritage practices in Morocco during the twentieth century tend to reflect a postcolonial perspective, both theoretically and temporally. This bias is most apparent in analyses of the Moroccan museum. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, as noted previously (p. 10), a number of Moroccan scholars and professionals working in the museum and heritage sectors initiated a collective reexamination of the history and role of the museum in Moroccan society. Many local evaluations, including those presented by Kafas, Chadli, Rharib, and Arrif, concluded that the country's national museum system was burdened with its colonial origins, a legacy that still influenced the material contents, physical organization, and legal and professional infrastructures of Morocco's state-managed museums.⁴⁶ Likewise, in her book *Imagined Museums: Art and Modernity in Postcolonial Morocco*, Pieprzak argues that the museum in Morocco is an "absent institution" that has failed to engage a local, popular audience because it continues to reproduce a colonialist-turned-nationalist model of the museum as monument and repository for a static, so-called "authentic" cultural past that no longer speaks—if it ever did—to contemporary life and identities in Morocco.⁴⁷

These studies provide insight into the particular challenges, problems, and objectives involved in the construction of cultural heritage(s) and identity(ies) in contemporary Morocco, presenting a much needed model for research into the politics

⁴⁶ Kafas 2003; Rharib 2006; Mohammed Chadli, "Musée et médiations du patrimoine: la création du Musée Nejjarine à Fès," Ph.D. Diss., Université de Nice, 2007; Abdelmajid Arrif, "Le Paradoxe de la construction du fait patrimonial en situation coloniale: Le cas du Maroc," *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, no. 73/74 (1996): 153-66.

⁴⁷ Katarzyna Pieprzak, *Imagined Museums: Art and Modernity in Postcolonial Morocco* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

and practices of museums and heritage-making in other previously colonized regions of the world. At the same time (as I discuss in chapter 2), in their handling of the longer history of museums in Morocco, they present a narrow view of protectorate-era museology that, although perhaps providing an explanation for the state of museums in postcolonial Morocco, does not sufficiently tackle the complex social, political, and historical conditions that determined the shape and purpose of these institutions during the era in which they arose. Similarly, while anthropologists and other researchers have continued to build a rich ethnographic corpus addressing the “heritagization” of cultural spaces, objects, and communities in Morocco,⁴⁸ little work has been attempted toward understanding the historical development and significance of the concept of “heritage” itself in Morocco over the last century. One of my goals in this dissertation, then, is to historicize Morocco’s particular engagement with heritage during the early protectorate period by exploring the relationship of historical preservation, architectural renovation, arts and crafts production, and cultural exhibition (all practices we commonly associate with heritage-making today) to concepts of historical memory, cultural ownership, and collective identity as they were elaborated locally and globally in the early twentieth century.

⁴⁸ Among others see, Aomar Boum, *Memories of Absence: How Muslims Remember Jews in Morocco* (Stanford: Stanford University, 2013); Stacy E. Holden, “The Legacy of French Colonialism: Preservation in Morocco’s Fez Medina,” *APT Bulletin* 39, no. 4 (2008): 5-11; Assia Lamzah, “The Impact of the French Protectorate on Cultural Heritage Management in Morocco: The Case of Marrakesh,” Ph.D. Diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008; Orit Ouaknine-Yekutieli, “Narrating a Pending Calamity: Artisanal Crisis in the Medina of Fes, Morocco,” *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 47 (2015): 109-129.

Colonialism involves contact across spatial divides and vast distances—mediated through the circulation of objects, images, people, and ideas throughout the space of empire—and, at the same time, local encounters between individuals and communities with very different cultures and histories. As presented towards the beginning of this introduction, I employ the conceptual model of the “contact zone” to understand the local encounters through which the concept and terms of “Moroccan heritage” were negotiated within French protectorate Morocco. To understand the processes of meaning-making and representation that occurred within the larger, international context of the World War I era, I turn especially to the work of historians of imperial and colonial encounters, including Zeynep Çelik, Julia Clancy-Smith, and Mary Roberts, who elucidate the transnational networks through which empires and their subjects in North Africa, Europe, and the Middle East exchanged cultural, political, and scientific knowledges during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴⁹ Contributors to Hackforth-Jones and Roberts’ *Edges of Empire: Orientalism and Visual Culture*, for example, trace the translation and transformation of iconography—expressed in monuments, architecture, painting, and other diverse forms of visual culture—across European, North African, and Ottoman cultures through networks shaped by imperial expansion.⁵⁰ These scholars work from a theoretical model in which colonial centers and peripheries constitute a single field of analysis; according to this conception, mechanisms of social and cultural change—

⁴⁹ Julia Clancy-Smith, *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an Age of Migration, c.1800-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Zeynep Çelik, *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830-1914* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008); Mary Roberts, *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015).

⁵⁰ Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones and Mary Roberts, eds., *Edges of Empire: Orientalism and Visual Culture* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005).

including those processes commonly understood under the umbrella of “modernization”—and technologies and formats for representing these new realities do not radiate outward from the imperial center or metropole, but rather develop through multi-directional vectors of exchange and reciprocity. I also look to recent theories developed in the field of Mediterranean studies that challenge the fixity of bounded polities circumscribed by national, geographic, and cultural borders, and instead propose a history of the fluid movement of ideas, people, and things across and throughout the Mediterranean.⁵¹ Understanding French and Moroccan society within the larger cultural history of the Mediterranean and in relation to other non-national networks of exchange complicates the dialectic of colonized versus colonizer and elucidates the complex and multiple relationships that shaped and continue to shape the cultural landscape of each society.

The sources I have consulted for this project—located among archives, libraries, and museums in France and Morocco—include official governmental correspondence, reports, and decrees; published official and unofficial newspapers, journals, books, pamphlets, exhibition guides, and posters; and museum collection registries and archives. Readers will note that the majority of text-based primary sources I cite in my historical analysis are written in French; in part, this is an outcome of my particular trajectory in conducting research for this project, an experience shaped by felicitous encounters with particular documents, people, and institutions, as well as a number of obstacles including

⁵¹ In addition to Clancy-Smith’s *Mediterraneans*, see, among others, David Abulafia, “Mediterraneans,” in *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, edited by W.V. Harris, 64-9 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Iain Chambers, *Mediterranean Crossings: The Politics of an Interrupted Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

unlocatable or closed archives in Morocco and my own uneven linguistic capabilities in French versus Arabic. It is also a consequence of my topical interest in examining state-led arts and heritage management under the French protectorate, a history that is most thoroughly documented in France's national colonial archives and the French press of the period. Even in Morocco's protectorate-era archives and libraries, many of the texts that have been preserved are written in French or a combination of French and Arabic. I have endeavored to subject these sources—which ostensibly present an official French voice on the subject—to scrutiny, thereby uncovering, in the words of Ann Laura Stoler, the “epistemic uncertainties,” which “repeatedly unsettled the imperial conceit that all was in order, because papers classified people, because directives were properly acknowledged, and because colonial civil servants were schooled to assure that records were prepared, circulated, securely stored, and sometimes rendered to ash.”⁵²

With an eye to future research, I intend to search out alternate archival sources pertaining to the articulation of cultural identities and heritages in early-twentieth-century Morocco: these sources might include official documents and correspondence written in Arabic during, before, and directly following the protectorate period (for example, pertaining to commercial transactions and legal proceedings involving artisans and other cultural producers, as well as diplomatic correspondence exchanged among officials in the Arabic-speaking world regarding colonial exhibitions, the inauguration of the Paris mosque, or other cultural events), as well as Arabic-language periodicals published in the larger Maghreb in the 1920s and 30s.⁵³ This Arabic-Moroccan archive would in all

⁵² Stoler, 1.

⁵³ Marie-Therese Cecilia Ellis, “Empire or Umma: Writing Beyond the Nation in Moroccan Periodicals,” Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2007.

likelihood provide valuable insight into the language, ideas, and motivations through which the local class of rulers, cultural elites, and religious authorities understood concepts central to this dissertation, including “culture,” “tradition,” “history,” and even “Morocco” (in the conclusion to the dissertation I also consider what sources might provide access to the subaltern experience of this history).⁵⁴ Beyond Arabic-language sources, the historical narrative of heritage construction in early-twentieth-century Morocco would also undoubtedly be enhanced by an exploration of archives and other registers of historical memory pertaining to communities and individuals that often played the role of interlocutors among actors in Morocco, France, and elsewhere during the colonial era, such as Spanish and Arabic speaking Jewish Moroccans who participated in transnational commercial networks and even members of the Moroccan *makhzan*, including the sultan, who themselves participated in acts of translation and transcultural mediation between Morocco and Europe.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Burke 2014, 4. A useful project would be to compare the history of the term “patrimoine” in French thought to the linguistic history and meaning of related Arabic words, including *turath* (inheritance or “heritage” in modern usage), *‘umran* (culture, civilization, urbanization), *hadara* (civilization), and *thiqafa* (culture). For examples of this kind of comparative linguistic work in the field of heritage studies see, Eric Langham and Darren Barker, “Spectacle and Participation: A New Heritage Model from the UAE,” in *Cultural Heritage in the Arabian Peninsula: Debates, Discourses and Practices*, edited by Karen Exell and Trinidad Rico (Surrey, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014); Khaled Adham, “Making or Shaking the State: Urban Boundaries of State Control and Popular Appropriation in Sayyida Zaynab Model Pari, in *Cairo Contested: Governance, Urban Space, and Global Modernity*, edited by Diane Singerman, 4-41 (Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2009); Wael Abu-‘Uksa, *Freedom in the Arab World: Concepts and Ideologies in Arabic Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

⁵⁵ The field of Jewish Studies in Morocco and the Muslim world has expanded in the last decade; recent contributions include, among others, Daniel J. Schroeter, *The Sultan’s Jew: Morocco and the Sephardi World* (Stanford, C.A.: Stanford University Press, 2002); Jessica M. Marglin, *Across Legal Lines: Jews and Muslims in Modern Morocco* (New Haven, C.T. and London: Yale University Press, 2016); Emily Gottreich, *The Mellah of Marrakesh: Jewish and Muslim Space in Morocco’s Red City* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Boum 2013.

The following chapters are the product of approximately two years' work in historical archives and museum collections in France (2013-14) and Morocco (2014-15). In France, I consulted documents (both texts and images) in Aix-en-Provence at the Archives nationales d'outre-mer and in Nantes at the Centre des archives diplomatiques. I gathered materials in Marseilles in the historical archives of the Chambre de commerce, Archives municipales de Marseille, and the Bibliothèque de l'Alcazar. In Paris, I accessed documents, photographs, and object collections at Musée du Quai Branly, the Louvre's Département des arts de l'Islam, Musée des arts décoratifs, Bibliothèque des arts décoratifs, and the Bibliothèque nationale de France. I worked in various archives in Rabat, including the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc, the Centre de l'inventaire et de la documentation du patrimoine at the Ministère de la culture, the library for the Institut national des sciences de l'archéologie et du patrimoine, and the colonial archives held in the Archives du Maroc. The Tangier American Legation Institute for Moroccan Studies kindly hosted me for a week of research in their library and archives. I also investigated the collections and remaining archives of the Dar Batha Museum in Fez, Dar Jamaïa in Meknes, and Oudaïa Museum in Rabat. In addition to archival and museum-based research, in Morocco I also conducted oral interviews in French and Moroccan Arabic (*darija*) in Rabat, Salé, Meknes, Fez, Tangier, Tétouan, and Marrakech.

Chapter Structure

Organized as a diachronic study of the trajectory and consequences of the French protectorate's implementation of arts and heritage policies in Morocco during its first two decades (ca.1912-1931), my dissertation presents a series of detailed case studies that

explore the local stakes of this colonial project in relation to shifting global relations and developing technologies for the representation of cultural and national identities in the years surrounding World War I and the interwar period. In my first two chapters, I consider the French protectorate's initial representation and organization of Morocco's material "heritage" in the context of the Exposition franco-marocaine in Casablanca (1915) and the subsequent formation of Morocco's two first art and ethnography museums. The first case reveals the importance of international economic and political competition in determining the French protectorate's strategy for reenvisioning and remaking Morocco's commercial field through the implementation of a new visual regime in which cultural products and activities would be seen through the lense of a "logics of heritage." The second explores how these political and economic objectives influenced the visual narratives and cultural claims made through the organization, display, and preservation of select cultural objects in the protectorate's first museums of "indigenous arts" in Fez and Rabat. At the same time, I consider how these colonial museums drew upon local practices of collection and display—encountered in elite domestic spaces, the palace and royal artillery, and the *souk*—as a strategy for affirming historical continuity between protectorate and pre-protectorate Morocco. The following three chapters move across the Mediterranean to examine evolving approaches to exhibiting Morocco's arts and cultures in French museum galleries and international expositions. I examine the intersections of the French protectorate's cultural and artistic interventions in Morocco with the intellectual and material development of the discipline of Islamic art, the formation of ethnographic collections and museums in France, and the articulation of a French "politique musulmane" in the wake of World War I.

Images:



Figure 0.1: Map of property in Rabat inscribed on UNESCO’s World Heritage List. UNESCO, “Rabat, Modern Capital and Historical City: A Shared Heritage – Inscribed Property” (2012), <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1401> (accessed January 10, 2016).

CHAPTER 1

Envisioning “Moroccan Heritage” and the International Politics of World War I: The Exposition franco-marocaine (Casablanca, 1915)

From September to November of 1915, a temporary plaster city of square towers and minarets, crenelated walls and domed cupolas, tents and pavilions crowded Casablanca’s Atlantic coastline (fig. 1.1). A “diminutive model city...perched next to the sea, its svelte minarets and white domes rising into the sky,” the Exposition franco-marocaine stood in stark contrast to the unfinished construction and industrial development marking the landscape of the Port of Casablanca.⁵⁶ According to the *Rapport général*, this “exposition in miniature” was a symbol of the order and beauty that the French protectorate of Morocco would bring to Casablanca, as it continued to transform the city into Morocco’s commercial center, and to Morocco more generally, as it persisted in its “pacification” of the country.⁵⁷ The Exposition franco-marocaine of 1915 was also an indication of the particular aesthetics of French colonial rule in Morocco. Through its ordering of space, selection of objects and images, and staged relationship to an imagined community of participants and spectators, the exposition introduces us to the regime of visibility through which the early French protectorate government envisioned Morocco and, and the same time, was itself made visible.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, *Rapport général et rapports des sections* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1918), 41.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 41-2.

⁵⁸ Inspired by Hal Foster’s work on the concept of “visibility,” in which he interrogates the

In this chapter, I diverge from typical readings of cultural representation in the French protectorate as contingent upon the theory of political “association” to which Resident-General Lyautey and the early protectorate regime adhered.⁵⁹ While I concur that the concept of association (as an ideological alternative to political and cultural “assimilation”) operated as a moral justification for the protectorate’s preservationist activities in Morocco and appeared as a recurring motif in explanations of the “hybrid” cultural objects produced under its aegis (see chapters 4 and 5), in what follows I suggest that the cultural image of “Morocco” constructed by protectorate agents had as much to do with colonial ideology as it did with the international political and commercial context through which the twentieth-century French-Moroccan relationship came to be. I argue that French-Moroccan cultural relations in the early colonial period, rather than viewed as a closed relationship between colonizer and colonized, should be understood as a set of relationships built around a fluctuating corpus of symbolically potent objects and images

relationship between sight as a physical operation (“vision”) and sight as a social fact (“visuality”), scholars of visual culture, imperial, and subaltern studies have developed a rich theoretical basis for understanding the politics of representation in terms of the differential access to visual subjectivity engendered by hegemonic “scopic regimes.” In this dissertation, I draw upon theories in the field of visual culture to propose “heritage” as a historically and culturally contingent way of seeing culture in relation to society and history; much of the French protectorate’s preservationist work in Morocco had to do with managing strategies of and access to cultural and historical representation. Hal Foster (ed.), *Vision and Visuality* (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1988); Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991); Martin Jay, “Scopic Regimes of Modernity,” in Hal Foster (ed.), *Vision and Visuality*; Nicholas Mirzoeff, “On Visuality,” *Journal of Visual Culture* 5, no. 1 (2006), 53-79.

⁵⁹ On the application of associationist theory in the French colonial governance of Morocco see, among others, Raymond Betts, *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory, 1870–1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961, repr. Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 2005); Daniel Rivet, *Lyautey et L'institution du Protectorat Français au Maroc, 1912-1925* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1988); William A. Hoisington, *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

and negotiated through their display and consumption in this international context.⁶⁰

Coinciding with a devastating period of World War I for France, as the German army continued to advance along the Western Front, the 1915 Exposition franco-marocaine presented a message to the international community of French-Moroccan solidarity in the face of the economic and political turmoil erupting on the other side of the Mediterranean. The exposition's audience was both local and international: along with visitors from across Morocco and some even from Algeria, Lyautey received delegations from Spain, Holland, and other "friendly" nations, as illustrated in one photograph in the exposition's *Livre d'or*, captioned "L'Entente Cordiale" and picturing French and English sailors linking arms at the fair (fig. 1.2). Calling the event a "peaceful Exposition held in opposition to the acts of war ravaging the world," its organizers nonetheless argued that the Exposition franco-marocaine played a key role in the "lutte économique" (economic battle) raging beyond the battlefields of the warfront.⁶¹ The immediate political stakes of the exposition were highlighted in exhibits of French weapons, artillery, and model trenches in front of the "Palace of Engineering" located near the center of the fairgrounds (fig. 1.3). The *Livre d'or* likewise firmly placed the event in the context of French-German combat by taking its readers back to the

⁶⁰ Here I draw upon the recent work of historians who, on the one hand, have argued that we should approach metropole and colony as one field of analysis, and on the other hand, call for relocating colonial histories within their transregional or global contexts. Zeynep Çelik, *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830-1914* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008); Julia Clancy-Smith, *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in the age of migrations, c. 1800-1900* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011); Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones and Mary Roberts (eds.), *Edges of Empire: Orientalism and Visual Culture* (Malden, Mass: Blackwell, 2005); Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.), *Tension of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

⁶¹ Victor Berti, "Préface," in *Livre d'or de l'Exposition franco-marocaine*, ed. Maurice Roulet (Paris: Librairie Générale et Internationale, 1916), v.

groundbreaking of the new fairgrounds, exclaiming: “May 24, 1915, a team of German prisoners struck the first pickaxe into the fallow land from which the Exposition would rise.”⁶²

The international outlook of the Exposition franco-marocaine did not only consist in an exchange of wartime propaganda. The event was also an opportunity for the French protectorate administration to comprehend—and ideally influence—Morocco’s relationship to the international economy. In 1915, despite its formal political and economic relationship with Morocco, France was only one among many foreign constituents with a stake in the country’s economy: besides Spain, with its own protectorate status in the north of Morocco, England and Germany continued to vie for commercial relationships with Moroccan merchants and consumers by means of the importation market. Furthermore, Morocco boasted a long history of transnational commercial exchange reaching back centuries, which only accelerated with the “opening up” of its economy to foreign commerce under the nineteenth-century sultan Hassan I (r. 1873-1894) and his successor Abdelaziz (r. 1894-1908). The Exposition franco-marocaine belonged to a larger French campaign to conquer Morocco’s importation-exportation market and to realign its commercial economy with France’s own. The 1915 exposition, followed by the Foire de Fès (1916), Foire de Rabat (1917), and other commercial fairs organized by the French protectorate into the 1930s followed the model of the twentieth-century “foire d’échantillons” (sample fair or trade show), a phenomenon appearing throughout Europe during and after World War I.⁶³ Exhibiting the industrial,

⁶² Roullet, 75.

⁶³ The Exposition franco-marocaine in fact could be described as the first French commercial fair of the twentieth century, as the Foire de Lyon of 1916 was the first to take place in the metropole.

agricultural, and artisanal products characteristic of the organizing region or nation, the foires d'échantillons addressed a professional audience with the objective of facilitating commissions and bulk orders among producers and traders (as I explain below, the French foires d'échantillons of the World War I era were also specifically developed in response to German commercial efforts in the international market during the war). Likewise, the Exposition franco-marocaine brought together French producers, merchants, and chambers of commerce with their Moroccan equivalents (at least as envisioned by the French protectorate administration) to participate in an elaborate display of luxury goods, industrial technologies, agricultural products, and “traditional” crafts.

Underlying the commercial objectives of the event was a complicated representational mission. This consisted, in the first place, of translating (or reducing) Morocco's existing commercial economy—characterized by complex international relations and transnational networks of exchange—into the image of a tradition-based economy, vulnerable to corruption by unmediated foreign intervention. Secondly, the organizers of the exposition strove to present the products of Morocco's “traditional” economy and cultures as potential commodities in a “modern” French-dominated market. To accomplish the first goal, the exposition committee strategically drew upon the representational potential of culturally coded spaces, persons, objects, and architecture in Morocco's social and cultural landscape to develop the exposition's architectural and experiential program; thus the exposition presented the contemporary commercial products and relationships it was designed to promote within a visual atmosphere

Annuaire commercial et industriel de la Foire de Lyon, *Livre d'Or des Participants* (Lyon: A. Cellier, 1916).

reflecting French interpretations of “traditional” life in Morocco. At the same time, it transformed “Moroccan tradition” into an object to be consumed by visitors and participants of the fair, drawing upon the visual tactics of nineteenth-century universal expositions and world’s fairs, which allowed visitors the virtual experience of a “world-in-miniature” from the distance of a spectator; the uncanny experience of visiting the 1915 exposition’s presentation of a “Morocco-in-miniature” *in* Morocco undoubtedly also introduced an element of hyperreality that, as we will see, was fundamental to the French protectorate’s legitimating tactics.⁶⁴

Finally, this chapter begins to demonstrate how the early French protectorate government remade Morocco’s cultural image and commercial economy in the first decades of the twentieth century according to the logics of “heritage,” understood here as a conceptual tool for (re)framing histories and societies in the service of imagined (often national) communities. The representational tactics of the Exposition franco-marocaine were not only directed at a foreign audience but were also intended for an imagined community of Moroccan spectators, consumers, and citizens. In an effort to construct this ideal audience, the exposition’s organizers orchestrated a series of events and embodied experiences (supported by accompanying images and written commentary published in official guides to the fair) that ultimately distorted important social distinctions and cultural meanings coded in the very objects, architectures, and personages that made up the fair’s “traditional” appearance. As a result, the exposition

⁶⁴ For a useful application of the concept of “hyperreality,” as coined by Baudrillard and taken up in several investigations of contemporary exhibitionary contexts including Walt Disney World, to the study of “heritage” and cultural tourism see, Emma Waterton and Steve Watson (eds.), *Culture, Heritage, and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010).

presented an image of a shared “Moroccan heritage,” entailing a generalized protonational “Moroccan identity,” commensurate with France’s commercial and political ambitions in this colonial context.

Understanding Practices of Commercial Exchange and Consumption in Morocco

The Exposition franco-marocaine was an occasion for French merchants, investors, and producers based both inside and outside of Morocco to exhibit product samples and new technologies and network with potential clients, customers, and business partners in Morocco. As the *Rapport général* declared: “all of the great names of French Industry and Commerce [were there]...Paris exhibited its toilettries and *objets d’art*; Lyon its silks; Limoges its porcelains; Bordeaux its wines...In one word, all that represents the taste, the capacity or the science of our artisans and artists found its place there.”⁶⁵ These “national treasures” were displayed within two large “Pavilions of Importation” situated at the base of the fair’s central esplanade (fig. 1.4). The objects displayed in the Pavilions of Importation were arranged into smaller exhibits representing private firms or French regions including, for example, galleries representing the chambers of commerce of Limoges, Paris, Bordeaux, Lyon, and Marseilles (fig. 1.5). The “salon d’honneur” of the Pavilions of Importation displayed France’s “most luxurious objects and articles: jewelry, furniture belonging to sumptuous interiors, decorative vases, musical instruments, pianos, pianolas, bronzes, artistic photographs, etc.”⁶⁶

⁶⁵ *Rapport général*, 53.

⁶⁶ Roullet, 128.

An exhibition of French decorative arts and luxury goods in the midst of war, particularly within a country over which France still struggled to achieve political control, might appear to be an unusual decision. On one level, this phenomenon could be explained as a way of representing France's own national image through its arts and manufactured products, following the tradition of European industrial and commercial exhibitions of the nineteenth century and even reaching back to Napoleon's promotion of French industry and decorative arts as a tool for promoting the French nation in the international sphere.⁶⁷ At a more immediate level, the emphasis on decorative arts, domestic furnishings, fabrics, and other luxury products in the Importation pavilions reveals the French administration's recognition that in Morocco it was encountering a community of sophisticated, selective consumers, already deeply immersed in the modern transnational marketplace. The exposition was in many ways about imagining, staging, and approaching this elite Moroccan consumer. The *Livre d'Or* notes that while certain French companies, like Limoges (porcelain) and Tarare (fine muslin), might assume that the prices of their luxury products would be too high for Moroccan clients, it was important they not forget the "elite caste" of Moroccan society, "the Caïd of the douar, the bourgeois of the city, all of the upper classes... who love all that is beautiful, luxurious clothing and splendid decoration, and who are not afraid to pay a good price."⁶⁸

Morocco indeed boasted a long history of international trade: foreign luxury

⁶⁷ *Un Age d'or des arts décoratifs, 1814-1848*, edited by Laurent de Commynes and Eric Gizard (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1991), published in conjunction with the exhibition "Un Age d'or des arts décoratifs, 1814-1848" shown at the Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, October 10 – December 30, 1991; W.E. Lingelbach, "Historical Investigation and the Commercial History of the Napoleonic Era," *The American Historical Review* 19, no. 2 (January 1914), 257-281.

⁶⁸ Roullet, 56.

goods, artworks, and other manufactured articles entered Morocco as diplomatic gifts, as treasures and artifacts collected by Moroccan agents abroad, and through the commercial importation market. Nadia Erzini and Stephen Vernoit have examined, for example, the consumption of Chinese and Japanese porcelain in Morocco from as early as the seventeenth century, which had come to Morocco by way of its Portuguese settlers and later through British and Dutch maritime trade circuits.⁶⁹ They explain, that by the late nineteenth century and continuing into at least the mid-twentieth century, porcelain manufacturers in Germany, England, and France produced articles specifically for the North African market, with designs based upon the “chinaware” already in fashion in the region. Moroccan customers displayed these objects in their homes as decoration, presenting plates and bowls on shelves in reception rooms or hung from courtyard walls. In other instances, they transformed the original function of these foreign objects to suit local practices, incorporating them into their everyday domestic regimes, using round-bottomed decorative chargers as serving bowls for *couscous*, for example.⁷⁰ Even today, one commonly encounters Imari-style table settings in Moroccan homes, ranging from inherited porcelain pieces to contemporary mass-produced transferware; and sugar bowls, cups, and plates produced for the local Moroccan market in Germany and France at the beginning of the twentieth century have become collectibles in Morocco and are sometimes found among displays of Fassi glazed pottery, Rabati embroidery, and other coveted “antiques” in shops and galleries.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Nadia Erzini and Stephen Vernoit, “Imari Porcelain in Morocco,” *Muqarnas* 26 (2009), 161-179.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ This information based on my own observations in Morocco from 2013-2015.

Historians have cited Moroccans' increased interest in and reliance upon products supplied by European importers, including sugar and tea, as one factor contributing to the country's economic difficulties in the late nineteenth century.⁷² Likewise, as I will discuss in the following chapter, French specialists reporting on the state of Morocco's "traditional" arts industries at the beginning of the protectorate period determined the rapid influx of European manufactured goods—glassware, fabrics, silverware, precisely those products the 1915 exposition promoted—in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to have been a major detriment to local practices of artistic production and patronage.⁷³ It is crucial to note, however, that despite the claims laid out in such reports, it would be inaccurate to describe the nineteenth-century Moroccan economy as a passive victim of foreign commercial interest. A growing body of recent scholarship has elucidated the active role that Moroccan merchants played in developing a market for foreign goods in Morocco and "the extent to which Moroccans themselves actively engaged in the broad circuits of trade in the nineteenth-century western Mediterranean."⁷⁴ Striving to curtail such activity by contriving new networks of exchange confined exclusively to relationships among French and Moroccan merchants and suppliers, the French protectorate government not only hosted commercial fairs like the Exposition franco-marocaine, but would also subsequently send Moroccan "notables and merchants"

⁷² C.R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), ch. 4.

⁷³ See Jean Gallotti's report on the "indigenous" art industries in Morocco, to be examined in chapter 2 of this dissertation. Jean Gallotti, "Les industries d'art indigène en 1913," printed in four issues of *France-Maroc* beginning with no. 82 (September 1923) and ending with no. 87 (February 1924).

⁷⁴ Graham H. Cornwell, "North African merchant networks of the western Mediterranean: New approaches to the nineteenth century," *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa* 7, no. 3 (2016), 269-281: 270.

to commercial fairs in France.

Between 1916 and 1924, the protectorate government sent Moroccan delegations to at least six commercial fairs held in the French cities of Lyon, Bordeaux, and Paris.⁷⁵ The purpose for organizing these delegations consisted in securing commercial relations between the colony and metropole, on the one hand, and introducing influential community leaders from throughout Morocco's different regions to the practices and benefits of dealing from within the French economic system. Reflecting upon the impact of sending a delegation of Moroccan merchants to the Foire de Lyon in 1917, one French economist remarked: "The indigènes brought back with them striking memories of the magnificent industrial and commercial resources of the country and a sharp impression of the power of the French nation which, despite the most formidable war that has ever been, could take on an economic effort like that of Lyon."⁷⁶ In addition to visiting the commercial fairs held in these cities, the delegations (usually consisting of six or seven *caïds*, merchants, and traders from disparate regions in Morocco), traveled throughout France by train to tour factories, meet French politicians, and visit cultural attractions and national monuments. In a report presented back in Morocco to the "Commandant du Cercle des Chefs indigènes, des notables de la Ville et de la Tribu," one delegate to the Foire de Lyon of 1916, Si Abdelkader ben El Haouari (identified as a merchant from Safi), recalled the group's visits to sugar, candle, and munitions factories, silk

⁷⁵ The French protectorate also arranged trips for Moroccan delegations to the 1922 Exposition nationale coloniale in Marseille and the 1931 Exposition internationale coloniale in Paris. For correspondence and reports describing these various delegations see, IMA/100/323 (Faires et expositions 1914-1924, Direction des Affaires Indigènes), Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN).

⁷⁶ Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire, "La Participation du Maroc à la Foire de Lyon," *France-Maroc*, no. 5 (May 1917), 41.

manufacturers, department stores, a printing press, and the zoo. After traveling from Lyon to Paris, they attended the theater, ate at fine restaurants, ascended the Eiffel Tower (at that point used as radio tower for the French military), and visited historic monuments from medieval churches to Napoleon's tomb.⁷⁷

While El Haouari's account suggests that the Moroccan delegates were impressed or at least entertained during their travels through France, the commercial success of the venture seems to have been less certain. A number of reports sent to the French protectorate government by French civil servants who accompanied the Moroccan delegations to France expressed disappointment in and even confusion about the refusal of the Moroccan delegates to conform to their expectations. The French director of the Moroccan delegation to the Foire de Lyon in 1923, for example, complained that the Moroccans were only interested in visiting the stands of French businesses with which they already had relations, even though they had been sent to the fair explicitly to encounter *new* French products and industries.⁷⁸ In another instance, the Moroccan delegates to the 1918 Foire de Lyon confounded their French guide at Lyon's museum of silk by fixating on medieval textiles from Syria and the Middle East rather than admiring the products of the French silk industry.⁷⁹ That Moroccan merchants would prefer to conduct business with French suppliers on their own terms was only one of the

⁷⁷ Foire de Lyon (1916), 3MA/100/322, CADN.

⁷⁸ Foire de Lyon (1923), 1MA/100/323, CADN.

⁷⁹ Letter to the Directeur de l'Office du Protectorat de la République Française au Maroc, Paris, April 16, 1918 (author unknown), 1MA/100/323, CADN. According to this letter, some of the Moroccan delegates even suggested that "there would be an advantage if some of these models, of a purer Arab style, were to be known in Morocco and reproduced there," a proposal that was apparently lost on the French administrators charged with the "revitalization" of Morocco's local art industries.

discoveries that the French protectorate government would make in its continuing efforts to dominate the Moroccan market.

Early on in the establishment of the protectorate, members of the French administration apparently found themselves perplexed by the behavior of Moroccan consumers; critics were quick to point out the urgency of remedying this confusion. In one example of French naivety regarding the Moroccan consumer, a journalist for *La France au Travail* reported that Resident-General Lyautey himself recounted his surprise in discovering that the everyday tea service used by a “grand Moroccan chief” who had invited him to his home consisted of an assortment of glasses, all with German marks. When the Resident-General inquired why the Moroccan *caïd* had not purchased his set from a French manufacturer, he explained that Moroccans typically drink tea at home from straight-walled glasses rather than teacups and that, while German producers made a variety of glasses in this “traditional” form, the French produced none.⁸⁰ Likewise, a journalist for *France-Maroc* recounted an exchange between Si Driss El Mokri, a member of the politically prominent Moroccan family that had been instrumental in facilitating French influence in the Moroccan makhzan, and a French furniture manufacturer at the Foire de Fez (1916). According to the story, although this “rich bourgeois,” as the article describes El Mokri, clearly coveted one of the luxurious divans on display, he was repelled by its price, prompting him to exclaim, “Why, this is nothing...but a load of wood beams and two sheep skins.” From this anecdote, the author of the article concluded, “[i]f our grand firms would hope to one day sell luxury goods [in Morocco], they must consent first of all to selling products at an attractive

⁸⁰ Victor Cambon, “Les Enseignements de la Foire de Fez,” *La France au Travail: Revue mensuelle illustrée pour l’organisation économique de la nation*, no. 1 (December 1916), 17.

price.”⁸¹ While these stories present a rather patronizing evaluation of the “quaint” dealings of local commerce in Morocco, at the same time they reveal a growing attention on the part of French colonialists and business owners to the psychology and agency of their Moroccan clientele. The French-Moroccan commercial fairs of the early twentieth century were integral to the French protectorate’s growing knowledge about Morocco’s economy and instrumental in its application of this knowledge to the management of the country’s commercial and cultural identity.

“La Lutte Economique”: International Commerce in the Context of World War

Beyond the battlefield, industry and commerce were important arenas during World War I for the articulation of national identities, competition among international rivals, and the establishment of new transnational relationships. The political stakes of the Exposition franco-marocaine derived from Morocco’s position within a recent history of international competition, particularly among France, Britain, and Germany, over economic and political influence in Africa and the Middle East. The establishment of French and Spanish protectorates in Morocco in 1912 was preceded by over a decade of political tension and violent encounters among Europe’s imperial powers over the “Morocco Question,” manifesting in a series of international crises over the fate of Morocco following the young sultan Moulay Abdul Aziz’s (r. 1894-1908) declaration that the Moroccan makhzan was bankrupt in 1901.⁸² The first of these crises (ca. 1905-6)

⁸¹ R. Griffel, “De la Foire aux Souqs: Méthode et Psychologie,” *France-Maroc*, no. 2 (January 1917), 8.

⁸² On the “Morocco Question” see, Burke 1976; and C.R. Pennell, *Morocco from Empire to Independence* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2003).

centered around a conflict between France, which had been granted economic access to Morocco through an agreement with Britain in 1904, and Germany, which challenged France's colonial objectives there by promising to protect Morocco's sovereignty. The Algeciras Conference of 1906 brought a temporary solution to the conflict, maintaining Morocco's status as an independent state open to international trade, while at the same time granting special privileges to Spain and France. France and Germany continued to compete for influence in Morocco, leading to another conflict in 1911, when French forces occupied Fez in an attempt to suppress a local rebellion against Morocco's new pro-French Sultan, Moulay Abdul Hafid (r.1909-1912), and, in response, Germany sent a gunboat to the strategic port of Agadir to support the rebellion. The "Morocco Question" was technically settled with an international agreement in 1912 that formally established the French and Spanish protectorates in Morocco and relegated a portion of the French Congo to Germany. Nevertheless, France continued to struggle for political and economic control over Morocco throughout the following decades and, with the outbreak of World War I, its economic competition with other nations for control over Morocco's markets took on another dimension.

Leading up to the Exposition franco-marocaine, economic committees in the French protectorate published reports on foreign commerce in Morocco, particularly focusing on the industries influenced by France's then-current rivals in the scramble for global economic and political dominance. One such study, published by the protectorate's Committee for Debt Control in 1915, reviewed importation-exportation activities conducted between Morocco and each of the "great European powers"—France, Britain, Germany, and Austro-Hungary—from 1902 to 1913 (a range of years

noticeably encompassing the years of the “Morocco Question”).⁸³ This study and others not only verified the preponderance of foreign-manufactured goods circulating in Morocco by the turn of the century, but also identified Germany as France’s main rival in several domains of the Moroccan importation market, including glass, crystal, faïence, and porcelain in Morocco.⁸⁴ French leaders were not only disturbed by economic competition from Germany; they also worried that commercial relations between Germany and Morocco might inspire political alliances that could threaten French and British authority in the colonial world.

The Ottoman-German alliance during World War I threatened to facilitate the expansion of Germany’s influence into Africa, potentially challenging the imperial authority of France, Britain, and its allies on the continent. Never part of the Ottoman Empire, Morocco appeared to be the key to securing the Triple Entente’s position in the region; and so, the continued presence of German-manufactured goods in Morocco posed a particularly ominous threat to France’s modern imperial campaign in North Africa. The acquisition of Morocco had secured France’s position in the rank of twentieth-century imperial powers; in the context of the war, French control over Morocco was also understood to be an obstacle to Germany’s political designs upon Muslim countries in the Middle East and Africa. In his preface to the first edition of the exhibition-focused periodical *France-Maroc*, published a year after the Exposition franco-marocaine and two years into the war, Edouard Herriot, then mayor of Lyon, exclaimed: “We can now

⁸³ *Rapport sur les Commerces Français, Anglais, Allemand et Austro-Hongrois au Maroc de 1902-1913, Dressé par le Contrôle de la Dette* (Rabat: Résidence Générale de la République Française au Maroc, 1915). 1MA/100/322, CADN.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 63.

say it: Morocco is the barrier against which pan-Germanism has been shattered.”⁸⁵

Opening with an account of “Germany’s commercial advances in Morocco,” the *Livre d’Or* for the exposition cautioned its readers with examples of the “German threat” in the French colonies of Dahomey and Madagascar, where transactions between Germany and local merchants far outnumbered those of other foreign investors combined.⁸⁶ Anti-German sentiment also saturated propaganda for subsequent commercial fairs held in Lyon, Bordeaux, Paris, and Marseilles, beginning the following year with the 1916 Foire de Lyon. The wartime French commercial fairs were inaugurated specifically to compete with the highly successful sample fairs organized by Germany in Leipzig beginning in 1895.⁸⁷ Drawing upon a long tradition of fairs held in Leipzig since at least the seventeenth century, the more recent German fairs introduced a new exhibition strategy commensurate with modern large-scale international trade, its participants exclusively exhibiting product samples with the objective of facilitating bulk orders rather than individual, direct sales. Despite France’s adoption of Germany’s “sample fair” model for its own commercial fairs, it explicitly barred Germany and its allies from participating in them. At the first Foire de Lyon in 1916, even “enemy” products were strictly forbidden: “If, in a boutique, one single item among those for sale came from those countries [with which we have fought during these years of war], the boutique would have been closed immediately, without indemnity.”⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Edouard Herriot, “L’ordre dans la création: L’oeuvre du général Lyautey au Maroc,” *France-Maroc*, October 1916 (“hors de series”), 1.

⁸⁶ Roullet, 1-18.

⁸⁷ *Annuaire commercial et industriel de la Foire de Lyon, Livre d’Or des Participants* (Lyon: A. Cellier, 1916).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

Ironically, the French protectorate's strategy for countering German-Moroccan commerce was to carefully scrutinize its methods so that producers and merchants from France might reproduce them in their own commercial endeavors in Morocco. To this end, French officials reportedly sequestered a German "cabinet d'échantillons" (an office where product samples were kept and displayed) located in Morocco in order to study its contents, "...just as would a naturalist or a philatelist...in developing his herbarium or collection."⁸⁹ Counted among the confiscated objects were samples of felt for saddle blankets and prayer rugs, fabrics with which to make *burnouses* and *djellabas* (the traditional outerwear of Moroccan men and women), cones of sugar, candles, silverware, and tea sets: a collection of objects amassed to attract a local audience.⁹⁰ Likewise, recognizing the perspicuity of German manufacturers in designing unique products that appealed to the needs and tastes of their Moroccan clients, the authors of the Committee for Debt Control report presented illustrations and analyses of domestic goods of German manufacture in Morocco, noting their price, the manner of shipping, their patterns and coloring, and their use in Morocco (fig. 1.6). For example, the study reported that the "indigène prefers decorated faience covered with designs, impressions or ornaments in relief to plain faience in white or with a simple line."⁹¹ The study also contained images of an object constructed in faience and imported from Austria with "the form of a flower vase turned upside down"; the authors of the study explained that Moroccans covered the opening of this vase-like object with a piece of parchment to be used "as a tam-tam in

⁸⁹ Rouillet, 13.

⁹⁰ *Rapport général*, 55.

⁹¹ *Rapport sur les commerces français, anglais, allemand et austro-hongrois au Maroc de 1902-1913*, 57.

indigenous festivals” (fig. 1.7).⁹²

The *Livre d'or* attributed Germany's commercial success in Morocco to the fluency of German merchants, traders, and manufacturers in the cultural tastes not only of Moroccans but, more generally, of Muslim consumers: “Germany has taken full advantage of the commonalities of tastes and needs of different Muslim countries and how many of these articles—everyday trinkets for example—inundate all at once Asia Minor, Egypt, Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria and even West Africa!”⁹³ German representatives in these Islamic countries apparently could speak Arabic fluently and had inserted themselves into the daily lives of their local clientele to such an extent that they professed a deep knowledge of the rules of social interaction, commercial transactions, and, in more pejorative terms, “the art of impressing [their Muslim clients] and holding them at their mercy.”⁹⁴ For the French, the 1915 Exposition franco-marocaine was an opportunity to understand and visualize the “indigenous” commercial field in Morocco—following some of the same tactics used by Germany in North Africa and the Arab world—and at the same time to make visible the French protectorate's own relationship to this field.

⁹² Ibid., 58. The transformation of a vase into the percussion instrument known as a *taridja* in Morocco perhaps represented another instance of the adaption of foreign products to culturally-specific Moroccan practices, like the use of a Japanese decorative charger for serving *couscous* as noted above. It is also possible that, rather than Moroccan consumers altering the intended function of this object, its Austrian producers may have constructed it specifically for the Moroccan market, drawing upon the existing form of the *taridja* in Morocco.

⁹³ Rouillet, 10.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

Visualizing the Commercial Field in French Protectorate Morocco

The Exposition franco-marocaine occurred in the midst of the French protectorate's economic and political reorganization of Morocco, a project that included the delineation of administrative regions, the formation of committees for economic research, and the development of chambers of commerce and agriculture for each region. Victor Berti, assistant director of the *Contrôle de la Dette* and head commissioner of the exposition, described the exposition as “the first application, a sort of presentation, of the discipline and method” according to which the Moroccan chambers of commerce and agriculture were created.⁹⁵ Mirroring the arrangement of products by French region within the Pavilions of Importation, exhibits of Morocco's agricultural, artistic, and commercial products were arranged in pavilions organized by the protectorate's newly-established regional administrations in Meknès, Safi, Mazagan, Marrakech, Rabat, Fez, and the Chaouia (a region including the city of Casablanca and west-central Morocco). Moroccan merchants and artisans sold their wares to exposition visitors in a “Fondouk des Régions” (*fondouk* referring to the Morocco's historical caravansaries), bringing together a sampling of products from across the country. Alongside the commercial exhibits, French development initiatives based in Morocco were represented at the fair in pavilions dedicated to the French protectorate's administrative departments and state-sponsored industries, including phosphate extraction, railroads, and horticulture. The arrangement of exhibits according to region and administrative department at the Exposition franco-marocaine reflected a strategy for organizing Morocco's economy according to a system of categorization that made it legible to agents of the French

⁹⁵ Berti, “Préface,” v.

administration and, at the same time, inscribed it geographically and symbolically within the space of the French protectorate.

In this section, I draw upon Jonathan Wyrzten’s concept of the “colonial political field” to explore how the commercial field in protectorate Morocco was imagined and negotiated within a particular “physical and social space” and according to “the symbolic and classificatory logics that formed the rules of the game in that space.”⁹⁶ Prior to the establishment of Morocco’s European protectorates, state-based political and economic control in Morocco was territorially limited and the Moroccan sultanate’s relationship with social groups in “nonstate” areas was expressed in a variety of ways besides direct governance, including the exchange of gifts during Muslim festivals, periodic military support, and other gestures of diplomacy and reciprocity.⁹⁷ In contrast, although the French protectorate would not achieve state control over the entirety of its political territory until the 1930s, establishing a French presence in calculated geographical areas—through the creation of public services and administrative entities like the chambers of commerce—was a central part of Lyautey’s strategy for achieving governance in Morocco through “peaceful” colonial expansion.⁹⁸ In Wyrzten’s model,

⁹⁶ Wyrzten works with Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of the “field” (*champ*), which “emphasizes the position of agents, their habitus, the agreed-on rules of the game, and the competition for particular forms of capital in specific fields,” while expanding Bourdieu’s notions of the political field to “[extend] beyond the scope of any given social field or even the state itself...to capture a wider range of ‘organization, mobilization, agitation, and struggle’ of state and nonstate actors.” Wyrzten, 11-12.

⁹⁷ Burke, 1976, 13; Wyrzten, ch. 1; C.R. Pennell, “Makhzan and Siba in Morocco: An Examination of Early Modern Attitudes,” in *Tribe and State: Essays in Honour of David Montgomery Hart*, edited by E. George Joffe and C.R. Pennell, 159-80 (Cambridgeshire, UK: Middle East and North Africa Studies Press, 1991).

⁹⁸ Daniel Rivet, *Lyautey et l'Institution du Protectorat Français au Maroc, 1912-1925* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1988); Scham 1970); Wyrzten, Introduction and Ch. 1.

the marking out of a “protonational territorial space” (the topological aspect of the colonial political field) during the protectorate era in Morocco took place alongside the organization of social and symbolic forces within the field that defined and legitimated different actors’ positions within this space. The “logics” of political legitimacy in the French protectorate was rooted in the idea that the French protectorate’s state-building interventions and efforts at economic modernization would take place on behalf of the Moroccan monarchy, while actively preserving Morocco’s existing social, cultural, and religious forms and practices. This notion was supported by a logics of legibility that “saw” Moroccan society through a traditionalizing lens.⁹⁹

Despite its resonance with a very contemporary politics of international commerce and with institutions of economic development created in response to these conditions—including chambers of commerce and the modern commercial fair—the Exposition franco-marocaine was rhetorically and visually couched in a language of “Moroccan tradition.” While one objective of the exposition, as discussed above, was for France to better understand the patterns and practices of commercial consumption in Morocco, another was to reduce the complex international context of economic exchange in Morocco described in the first half of this chapter into the image of a tradition-based economy and society. This “traditionalizing” objective of the exposition derived from a discursive system in which the legitimacy of the French protectorate state was expressed through French fluency in the fundamental components of political and cultural identity

⁹⁹ Wyrzten, 79-85. Evoking Burke’s concept of the “Moroccan Vulgate”—a set of conceptual binaries through which French ethnographers understood and categorized Moroccan society on the eve of colonization—Wyrzten explains that another force in the legitimation/legibility dynamic was an “ethnographic logics” that envisioned Moroccan society according to a set of interrelated dichotomies (e.g. rural/urban, Arab/berber, land of government (mahkzan)/land of dissidence (siba). I will return to this notion in chapter 5. Wyrzten 72-78; Burke 1976, 72.

in Morocco; at the same time, this colonial relationship was made legible through the symbolic and visual juxtaposition of Moroccan society (as rooted in archaic traditions) and the French state (as the source of development and modernization). The French claimed the authority, unique among European nations, to know and, subsequently, to protect the “traditional” Moroccan identity that they themselves had constructed.¹⁰⁰

French control over the Moroccan economy, then, was expressed at the exposition not only through the display of *new* technologies and economic formats introduced to the country by its colonizers, but simultaneously through the display of historical continuity among protectorate and pre-protectorate ways of life.

To accomplish this representational mission, the organizers of the exposition reproduced (or translated) select architectural styles, cultural objects, social spaces, and personages that they understood to be representative of “traditional” life in pre-colonial Moroccan society. Indeed, some French protectorate agents even described the larger format of the commercial fair in Morocco—regardless of its connections to the twentieth-century European foire d’échantillons—as inherited from the “oriental” tradition of grand regional fairs and festivals, events that marked the official religious and social calendars of the Moroccan year. This notion was particularly evident in the conceptualization of the Foire de Fez the following year (October 1916). André Lichtenberger, the commissioner of the Fez fair, explained that his colleagues desired to create a commercial manifestation particularly sensible to the “indigenous mentality”: “The fair, the temporary festival attracting a concourse of visitors from throughout the region, is an

¹⁰⁰ As Burke explains, the discursive system created by the French protectorate as a basis for its administrative policies was comprised of a “collection of facts about Morocco...by virtue of which they alone could express, organize, and make legible the diverse components of Morocco’s political identity.” Burke 2014, 6.

essentially oriental institution; numerous religious ceremonies and frequent markets periodically perpetuate it in Morocco.”¹⁰¹ The Foire de Fez was located on the “Grand Mechouar,” the plaza adjacent to the walls of the royal palace where official ceremonies of allegiance to the sultan, military displays, and other carefully orchestrated political demonstrations occurred. Hundreds of conical and canopied tents decorated in white and black (in the “*Makhzan* style”) alighted the banks of the Fez River and the series of canals constructed for the fair (fig. 1.8.) Some of these tents served as temporary spaces of reception for officials visiting the fair, including Sultan Moulay Youssef (r. 1912-1927) and Resident-General Lyautey, as well as delegations of notable merchants from Algeria and other French colonies.¹⁰²

In Casablanca, while the 1915 exposition was located in a previously undeveloped plot of land, the atmosphere of the “oriental” festival was constructed through cultural performances and “traditional” forms of entertainment. Visitors could enjoy “indigenous games” and festival rides, listen to concerts of Andalusian music performed by musicians from Fez, and take mint tea with friends and acquaintances at the “Alhambra Café” (fig. 1.9). The *Rapport général* claimed that it was “sufficient to see the Indigènes assembled around the orchestra of Fez to understand how much they felt at home in the middle of this crowd.”¹⁰³ In the eyes of its French organizers, the attempt to reproduce

¹⁰¹ André Lichtenberger, “Pourquoi une foire à Fez,” *France-Maroc*, January 1917 (a reprint of an “hors de series” Premier édité à l’occasion de la foire de Fès from October 1916), 42-45: 43-44.

¹⁰² As I will discuss in a subsequent chapter, Lyautey’s appropriation of a vernacular mobile architecture that drew upon the style of tents the Sultan and other important figures would have occupied during public ceremonies and festivals in pre-protectorate Morocco, indicates a larger strategy of exhibiting cultural fluency in the service of political legitimacy employed by the early French protectorate regime.

¹⁰³ *Rapport général*, 77.

the itinerant “oriental souk” was a great success, attracting huge crowds of visitors from throughout Morocco daily: “From all corners of Morocco, from the Atlas to the Sous, from Marrakech to Mogador, from the Doukkala, the Abda, and the Chaouia, in long caravans or in small groups...they rush to the souk universel (Souk âmme)...They come driven by their taste for nomadism that in the past led them to conquer the world and that drives them today to pilgrimages and distant souks.”¹⁰⁴ The “traditional” Moroccan marketplace was also represented in the exposition’s “Fondouk des régions,” which—in addition to evoking the caravansaries that supported the extensive trading network crossing Morocco and its neighboring regions until the eighteenth century—functioned as a space in which the non-professional public could purchase local products and souvenirs.

Just as the 1916 Foire de Fez would draw upon the symbolic potency of the *mechouar*—while radically transforming this sacred space of the Moroccan monarchy into the location of a public commercial fair—the Exposition franco-marocaine drew upon styles of elite domestic architecture in Morocco and the social capital of their inhabitants to validate the products and commercial relationships it aimed to promote. The *Rapport général* explains that the regional pavilions at the exposition were modeled after the rich Arab home, or “la maison arabe,” an architectural form representing “the interior life of Islam.”¹⁰⁵ Each pavilion drew upon the architecture and decoration of a wealthy Moroccan residence; inside of these small palaces local artworks and crafts were arranged to showcase their aesthetic qualities. The walls of the Rabat pavilion were hung

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 76.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 63.

from top to bottom with rich and colorful wool carpets, “[whose] vertical position, thanks to the play of light that fell from the cupola, admirably emphasized their value” (fig. 1.10).¹⁰⁶ While the Rabat pavilion displayed these fine wool carpets alongside wall hangings and drapery in cotton and embroidered silk, the Salé pavilion showcased the delicate inlaid woodwork particular to its artisans, “tea tables in thuya and lemon wood incrustated with mother-of-pearl, cedar doors decorated with stalactite-like carving.”¹⁰⁷ The Fez pavilion, organized by Prosper Ricard (who the following year would become the director of the protectorate’s museum of “indigenous arts” in Fez and, in 1920, the director of the Service des arts indigènes) received the most attention from reviewers, with its collection of pottery, metalwork, painted wood furniture, jewelry, embroidery, velvet, saddles, and more (fig. 1.11). For the author of the *Rapport général*, these pavilions presented a “mirror of Western Islam” and a “faithful image of the Moroccan world, a blend of private and social life.”¹⁰⁸

French administrators identified elite, domestic consumption of local arts as the only remaining context through which Morocco’s historical art traditions persisted. Indeed, the *Rapport général* claimed that the private residences of wealthy Moroccans were the only places left in Morocco where “indigenous” art still flourished: “Without a doubt, [Moroccans] no longer build mosques and they let the tombs of their saints crumble. But the rich bourgeois and the great lord construct superb residences that sometimes cost them millions...if one wants to know the indigenous arts, it suffices to

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 53

¹⁰⁸ *Rapport général*, 66.

visit one of these homes.”¹⁰⁹ In his review of the Fez Pavilion, Ricard similarly argued that the artisans of Fez had been able to preserve their traditional knowledge of Hispano-Mauresque arts because of the frequency of major commissions by “important Fassi traders and high functionaries of the Makhzan” for “opulent residences marvelously embellished with lovely surfaces, and colored mosaics, [etc.]”¹¹⁰ In the same move, the exposition organizers identified the inhabitants of these elite “maisons arabes” as themselves bastions of Moroccan tradition, as evidenced in their continued patronage of the country’s traditional architectural crafts; it could not have been an accident that the individuals named as patrons of Morocco’s traditional arts at the exposition were also some of the most politically powerful individuals in the country at the time of the French occupation (and whose social and political capital the protectorate government strove to manipulate for its own political designs in the country).

Among these individuals was the Pacha of Marrakech Thami Glaoui who, strangely, boasted his own pavilion at the exposition, located next to the “indigenous games” and near the “Fondouk des régions.”¹¹¹ Following the style of a *menzah* or garden pavilion often constructed on the grounds of large estates in Morocco (such as those owned by the Glaoui family), the petite Glaoui pavilion displayed the characteristic painted and carved woodwork of the Marrakech region; the same structure, with its pyramidal roof changed out for a smaller domed roof, would be displayed in Paris two years later in the central hall of the Exposition des arts marocains of 1917 (see chapter 3).

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 69.

¹¹⁰ Prosper Ricard, “La Région de Fès à l’Exposition franco-marocaine,” in *Fès: Notice Fournie par le Bureau de Renseignements de Fez-ville*, 22-26, n.d. (ca. 1915). 3MA/100/322, CADN.

¹¹¹ Rouillet, 70.

Another key political actor in Morocco, Mohammad El Mokri, was named as the “honorary grand vizir” of the exposition.¹¹² Like all of the other Moroccan officials pictured in the exposition’s *Livre d’Or*, El Mokri’s portrait is set against a backdrop of local interior architecture instead of the neutral studio background in the photographic portraits of French officials (likewise, Sultan Moulay Youssef’s portrait for the catalog features a background of *zellij* or mosaic tilework).¹¹³

The image of the “maison arabe” at the exposition and the corresponding representation of its imagined inhabitants not only reduced the political agency of individuals like El Mokri, El Glaoui, and the sultan, transforming them into symbols of the “traditional” roles and identities the protectorate needed them to embody; it also obfuscated the Moroccan home’s true character as an important space for self-fashioning through selective commercial and cultural consumption.¹¹⁴ For instance, the method of displaying art objects and crafts employed in the regional pavilions at the exposition did not accurately reflect practices of domestic display in Morocco. Unlike the exhibition strategy Ricard employed within the Fez Pavilion, historical and contemporary arts would not have been segregated to different rooms but instead arranged according to the resident’s aesthetic preferences, the personal meaning behind the objects (whether they were family heirlooms or objects with special religious or cultural significance), or the

¹¹² Mohammad El Mokri was the minister of finance at the time of the 1910 Treaty of Fez and, although he fell in and out of favor with the French protectorate government, was the actual Grand Vizir of Morocco throughout the protectorate period. Pennell, *Morocco Since 1830*, 161.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹¹⁴ As I note in chapter 3, El Mokri and El Glaoui were also included in the list of Moroccan “bibliophile” and “grand collectors” who contributed objects to the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains; this anecdote reveals another instance of masking the political agency of these figures—which included their ability to manipulate the political field of the French protectorate for their own purposes—in a guise of benign “traditional” authority.

objects' functionality. Likewise, "indigenous" products and decoration might very well have been interspersed with those of foreign manufacture in these domestic spaces. For example the interior architecture and decoration of the El Mokri family's turn-of-the-century palace in Fez, one of the major building projects identified by the *Rapport général* as an example of modern-day patronage of the "indigenous arts," combined local architectural crafts—*zellij*, intricately carved plaster, and painted wood ceilings—with etched-glass windows produced in Italy, colored-glass windows manufacture in the Middle East, and European bathroom fixtures and kitchen appliances (fig. 1.12).¹¹⁵

As a representational strategy for "traditionalizing" Morocco's commercial field, the organizers of the Exposition franco-morocaine reinterpreted local architectural forms, cultural objects, spaces, and persons according to a discursive system based in French "knowledge" about political and cultural identities in pre-protectorate Morocco. These tactics relied upon assumptions about the local functions and meanings of these different elements in Moroccan society. As demonstrated in the case of the "maison arabe," however, this original meaning was often distorted and lost in translation. The mistranslation of Moroccan culture and society in the French-Moroccan commercial fairs is best exemplified in their distortion of social hierarchies and space: for example, the decision to construct the Foire de Fez on the palace *mechouar*, if intended to validate the activities of the fair with the symbolic capital of the Moroccan monarchy, instead transformed a sacred space in which select social interactions between the sultan and his subjects were carefully managed into a popular fairground dedicated to the consumption of commercial products. In the final section of this chapter, I explore how these

¹¹⁵ Based on personal interviews with current guardians of the Mokri Palace, May 2013 and February 2015.

“distortions” in fact contributed to the inherent mission of the Exposition franco-marocaine and commercial fairs of the French protectorate. This mission was twofold: to reframe the commercial field in Morocco through the lens of tradition and, at the same time, to reframe tradition as a potential commodity in Morocco’s commercial field.

Making Moroccan “Heritage” at the Exposition franco-marocaine

Maurice Roullet’s *Livre d’Or* for the exposition opens with a photographic image of a Moroccan man, identified by his wool *burnous* and cloth turban, casually leaning against a low wall and looking out across a section of the fair, with a ship passing along the Atlantic coastline in the distance (fig. 1.13).¹¹⁶ Suggesting a viewpoint beside and slightly behind the man, the photograph invites the viewer to scrutinize this figure, observing the contrasting tones of the man’s dark skin and light garments; but the gaze is unable to rest here for long. The shallow, crowded space of the image’s foreground, emphasized by the dark, diagonal line of the plastered wall, creates the illusion that we, the viewers, are standing in close proximity to the man on some elevated ground and are invited not only to gaze upon him but to share his view of the fair below. The man’s profile, crowned with the semicircular shape of his white cloth headdress, is repeated in the shape of the white domes and vertical turrets of the buildings below, and the viewer’s attention is repeatedly drawn away from the man to wander among these assorted, gleaming edifices.

Contemporary scholarship contends that the notion of the universal exposition as a “world in miniature” (as reflected, for example, in propaganda developed for the 1931

¹¹⁶ Roullet, 1.

Exposition internationale coloniale that invited visitors to “tour the world in a day”) relied upon the imperial gaze, the privileged position assumed by the European fairgoer to survey and consume a colonized or exotic other according to the epistemological modalities of European scientific imperialism. In *Colonising Egypt* and “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,” Timothy Mitchell recounts the experiences of Middle Eastern visitors to Europe during the nineteenth century, emphasizing their observations—as told through travelogues and written accounts—of the European spectacle of the “exhibition” and the particular way of looking, or staring, it engendered; as one of the systems of representation crucial to the new disciplinary order of European imperialism, he argues, the exhibition ordered up the world “as an object on display.”¹¹⁷ This “exhibitionary order” entailed a conflation of “truth” and “representation” that, ironically, relied on a conceptual and experienced distance between observer and observed: “The certainty of representation depended on [the] deliberate difference in time and displacement in space that separated the representation from the real thing. It also depended on the position of the visitor—the tourist in the imitation street or the figure on the viewing platform.”¹¹⁸ The photograph of the Moroccan visitor to the Exposition franco-marocaine places him in such an elevated, removed position, suggesting his agency as a viewing subject, a spectator of the French-Moroccan relationship staged below. This position is emphasized in the photograph’s caption, “Coup d’oeil sur l’Exposition” (A look at the Exposition/The

¹¹⁷ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California, 1991); and “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,” in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology* (ed. Donald Preziosi), 455-472 (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998), 461 [Originally published in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 9 (CSSH) 31 (Cambridge University Press, 1989)].

¹¹⁸ Mitchell, “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,” 461.

Exposition at a glance). The phrase also reflects the spectator's way of seeing, the expectation of capturing an entire world through a glance.

The distance required between spectator and spectacle in this instance was enabled by the layers of reproduction and translation through which the Exposition franco-marocaine constructed a "Morocco-in-miniature." In the first place, the architectural program for the exposition was based in a French translation of diverse local architectural styles and forms into a codified visual representation of French-Moroccan cultural relations. Designed by Maurice Tranchant de Lunel, a French artist and the first director of the protectorate's Service des Beaux-Arts in Morocco, the exposition's architecture was testimony to the French protectorate's continuing transformation of the country's urban infrastructure and built environment. Journalists drew comparisons between Tranchant de Lunel's design for the exposition and the "neo-Moorish" style of architecture developed by Lyautey's architects and urbanists for the expansion of Morocco's *villes nouvelles* in Rabat, Casablanca, and eventually most of its other major urban centers.¹¹⁹ This architecture, still ubiquitous in Morocco's built landscape today, is characterized by flat whitewashed or stone surfaces embellished with decorative features including carved cedar lintels, glazed tile mosaic revetments, and green tile roofs, inspired by the decorative features found in medieval monuments in Morocco, which had been carefully studied by these French architects (see chapters 4 and 5). The style was intended to encapsulate an ideal combination of "indigenous" decoration with "modern" French architectural form. Unlike Morocco's *villes nouvelles*, which would be designed according to a Hausmannian sense of proportion and uniformity, the structures that

¹¹⁹ *Rapport général*, 45.

crowded the Casablanca fairground were of different shapes and styles, combining monumental and small-scale formats, a distortion of space and scale that further emphasized its detachment from the functions and appearance of a real Moroccan city. Instead, through this miniaturization and in tandem with the region-based system of organizing pavilions, as described above, the exposition granted the visitor—both local and foreign—a panoptic view of the greater French protectorate.

That this viewpoint could be accessible to both colonizer and colonized was not the only subversive proposition encoded in the *Livre d'or*'s opening image. In capturing the gaze of an unidentified Moroccan man, the photograph also indicates the system of visuality through which the exposition—and the French protectorate—strove to symbolically flatten Morocco's highly stratified society into an imagined community of Moroccan citizens, or at least consumers.¹²⁰ While in other realms, Lyautey and his regime manipulated or attempted to reproduce social hierarchies for the purposes of the French protectorate state, at the exposition the different elements of this hierarchy were brought into unusually close contact. Indeed, the prerogative to inhabit a panoptic position in relation to Moroccan society—if this way of seeing would have been at all relevant in pre-protectorate Morocco—should have belonged to a person of social privilege, such as the sultan himself, rather than a common man. At the Exposition franco-marocaine, Moroccans heralding from all social strata were invited to partake in

¹²⁰ Wyrzten argues that the French protectorate's way of seeing Moroccan society according to a system of heterogeneous social divisions counters historians' assumptions that colonial states function through "a uniform toolkit of simplifying, flattening, and homogenizing policies that streamline state practices" (23). Here, I am suggesting that the French approach to Moroccan society and its relationship to "culture," in particular, relied upon the ability not only to understand Moroccan society, its arts and cultures, through a classificatory system describing different parts, but also to frame Moroccan society as a cohesive whole or as an image that could be easily reproduced for both political and commercial purposes.

the spectator's gaze; the organizers of the fair even arranged for Jewish Moroccans, who lived in separate quarters from the Muslim population and were subjected to strict rules of social interaction and comportment outside of these quarters, to visit the exposition on Saturdays.¹²¹ For the French protectorate this "democratization" of vision was necessary, not only to make legible its contours and style of governance in Morocco to the larger population, but also to transform "Moroccan culture" into something that could be contained and consumed.

The exposition achieved another layer of disjunction from reality for its Moroccan visitors by pairing exhibitions of Moroccan traditional culture with examples of French national traditions. The Andalusian orchestras and "indigenous" games at the fair were matched with exhibitions of French popular culture, including marionette shows, opera performances, and a nightly cinema. This juxtaposition of French and Moroccan "cultural patrimony" at the exposition created a critical distance for its audience members, perhaps compelling Moroccan visitors to *see* their own cultural "traditions" in a new light. As I will examine in the following chapter, in the context of the protectorate's museums of indigenous arts, French administrators would ask Moroccan artisans and museum visitors to behold Morocco's arts in a similar way: displayed in galleries and organized according to external categories of region, style, or manufacture, everyday objects were transformed into symbols of a shared Moroccan "heritage." Imagining the common Moroccan as identifying with a common set of national (or proto-national) "traditions" also made it possible for any Moroccan to embody "Moroccan tradition," which would become a useful tool as the protectorate continued to develop a

¹²¹ Rouillet, 76.

market for cultural tourism in Morocco. In this way, the Exposition franco-marocaine brought together two of the forces that Wyrzten identifies as shaping the colonial political field in protectorate Morocco—the logics of “preservationism” (or the “traditionalizing” force explained above) and the “developmentalist” logics of the field (describing the protectorate’s “role in modernizing Morocco through material development”)—within a logics of “heritage,” according to which the preservation of “tradition” was intricately tied to the development and exploitation of Morocco’s cultural assets.¹²² Reimagining Morocco’s commercial field through the framework of cultural heritage was also another way for the French protectorate to reintegrate Morocco’s economy within the international field and the quickly developing global market for tourism.

¹²² Wyrzten, 85-90.

Images:



Figure 1.1: Partial view of the Exposition franco-marocaine, Casablanca 1915. Reprinted from Maurice Roulet (ed.), *Livre d'or de l'Exposition franco-marocaine* (Paris: Librairie générale et internationale, 1916), 124.



Figure 1.2: “The *Entente Cordiale*, French and English sailors,” Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Roulet, 99.



Stand de la Maison Henri CHANÉE et Cie (Cliché Henschel.)

Figure 1.5: “Booth of La Maison Henri Chanée et Cie”; exhibit by Lyon-based silk and furniture company in the Pavilion of Importation, Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Rouillet, 139.



Figure 1.6: “Salad Bowls, Compote Dishes, Toileteries, etc.”; examples of some of the imported European goods popular with Moroccan customers, according to the authors of the 1915 report. Reprinted from *Rapport sur les commerces français, anglais, allemand et austro-hongrois au Maroc de 1902-1913, dressé par le Contrôle de la dette* (Rabat: Résidence générale de la République française au Maroc, 1915), 57.



Figure 1.7: A faience *taridja* (drum) imported into Morocco from Austria. *Rapport sur les commerces*, 58.



Figure 1.8: “Plate 118: Footbridge over the Fez River in the Grand Méchouar, allowing access to the fairgrounds, October 1916”; Makhzan-style tents were erected among the exhibition pavilions at the Foire de Fès, 1916. Reprinted from Alfred Bel, *Le Maroc pittoresque, tome 1: Fès* (Paris: Georges Bertrand, 1916), n.p.



Figure 1.9: “Indigenous Swings” counted among the local festival games set up near the Café Alhambra, Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Roulet, 71.



Figure 1.10: Interior view of the Rabat pavilion, Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Roulet, 232.



Figure 1.11: Interior view of the Fez pavilion, Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Rouillet, 237.

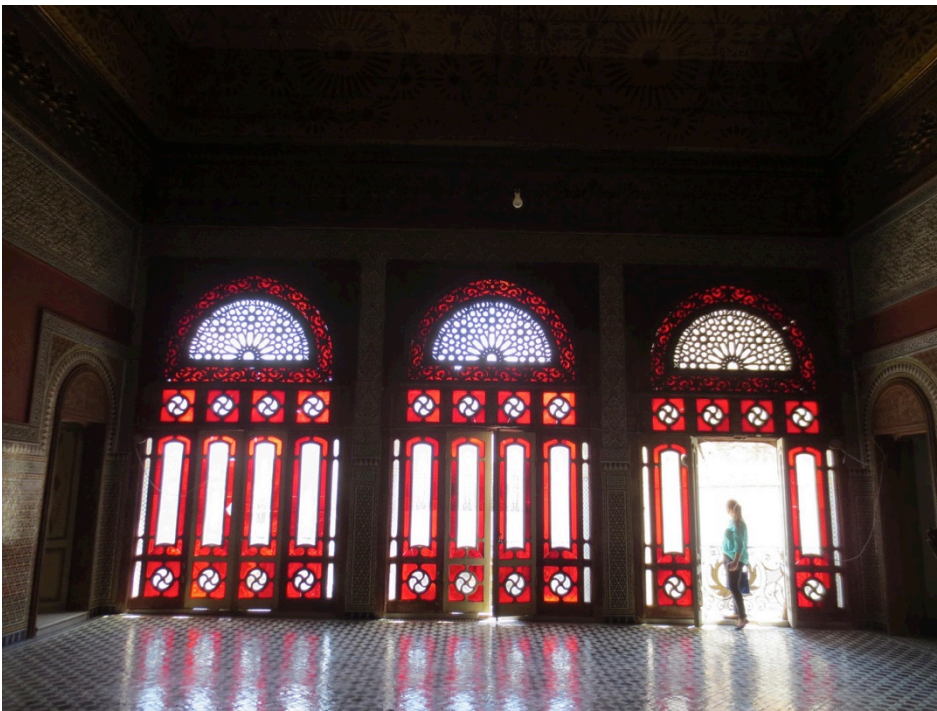
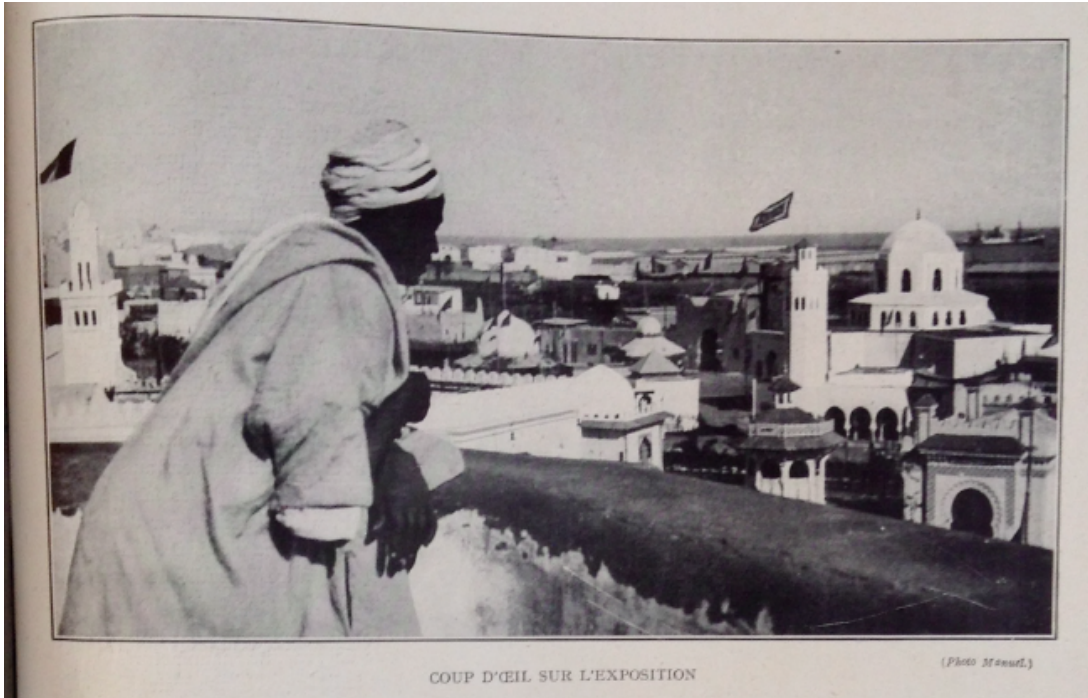


Figure 1.12: Venetian and Middle-Eastern glass windows at Mokri Palace, Fez. Photograph taken by the author, 2013.



COUP D'ŒIL SUR L'EXPOSITION

(Photo Mousset.)

Figure 1.13: “The Exposition at a Glance,” Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Roullet, 1.

CHAPTER 2

A “Tableau of Indigenous Production”: Framing Morocco’s Artistic and Cultural Heritage in the French Protectorate’s First Museums

The French protectorate presented Morocco’s architectural and decorative arts to the public for the first time at the 1915 Exposition franco-marocaine. Subsequently, French art historians, colonial administrators, and critics would identify this commercial exposition as the moment that made clear the necessity for French intervention in Morocco’s local art industries: the disparity they observed at the exposition between works created by Moroccan artisans of the present and the past supposedly evidenced a recent decline in quality of manufacture and a growing divergence from “authentic” Moroccan design.¹²³ According to the *Rapport général* for the Casablanca exposition, this disparity was most evident within Prosper Ricard’s presentation of local artistic manufacture in the Fez Pavilion, where historical artworks (or “chef-d’oeuvres d’autrefois”) and works produced by living Fassi artisans were displayed in different rooms: “In so distinctly separating the present from the past, M. Ricard wanted to make

¹²³ On the concept of “authenticity” in relation to “traditional arts,” see, Sidney Littlefield Kasfir, “African Art and Authenticity: A Text with a Shadow,” *African Arts* 25, no. 2 (April 1992), 40-53, 96-97; James Clifford, “Introduction: The Pure Products Go Crazy,” in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*, 1-18 (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1988; Spencer R. Crew and James E. Sims, “Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue,” in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, edited by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 159-175 (Washington: Smithsonian Press, 1991); Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, “Art, Authenticity, and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter,” in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). I address the relationship between “authenticity” and the commoditization of cultural objects in chapter 4.

us touch with our fingers the extreme decadence and deprivation of taste that one observes in the products of the contemporary artisan. And, right away, a lesson emerges: return to traditions, if there is still time.”¹²⁴

The narrative of cultural decay or “decadence” mobilized by French critics to explain Morocco’s arts and cultural products in the context of the Exposition franco-marocaine responded to widespread uncertainties and anxieties over the impact of industrialization, international commerce, and nascent globalization on local cultures of production and consumption in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹²⁵ These concerns were commonly articulated through the discourse of “craft,” which, as Glenn Adamson and others have argued, emerged in the period of the industrial revolution as the conceptual “other” to industry.¹²⁶ Understood as an idealized vision of uncorrupted, natural, or authentic cultural production, “craft” and its makers represented a way of making and of living that was rooted in the continuous repetition and reproduction of the

¹²⁴ *Rapport général*, 71.

¹²⁵ The notion of cultural decline or degeneration as a common trajectory for “traditional” societies encountering the “modern” world was not specific to French evaluations of nineteenth-century Moroccan art. David Roxburgh notes that so-called “decadence” was a recurring theme in late-nineteenth-century discourse on Islamic art more generally: critics from Henry Wallis to Hakky-Bey despaired the diminished state of then-current artistic production in North African and Middle Eastern countries, supporting the claim that “Islamic art objects...represented a past glory, relics of a now diminished and corrupted ‘Oriental’ culture.” David J. Roxburgh, “Au Bonheur des Amateurs: Collecting and Exhibiting Islamic Art, ca. 1880-1910,” *Ars Orientalis* 30, *Exhibiting the Middle East: Collections and Perceptions of Islamic Art* (2000), 9-38: 12. The trope of the disappearance of “traditional” indigenous cultures in the face of “modernity” was commonly evoked by authors writing from within or about European imperial regimes at the beginning of the twentieth century, whether as a justification for “civilizing missions” or a critique of the colonial project itself. See, among others, Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).

¹²⁶ Glenn Adamson, *The Invention of Craft* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013). Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducibility* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006).

past, or “tradition”: “Progress is always located elsewhere—in political radicalism, machinery and technology, organizational structures—but never in skilled hands themselves.”¹²⁷ This notion of “craft” or “traditional” artisanry also served imperial regimes and colonial governments in their symbolic and practical management of local “indigenous” economies and societies. As Hamid Irbouh has demonstrated in his study of colonial art education in Morocco, the French protectorate administration manipulated a perceived hierarchy of cultural production—involving the categories of craft, industry, fine arts—as a justification for its policies of social control and restructuring of the Moroccan economy.¹²⁸

The juxtaposition of “historical” and contemporary artworks at the Exposition franco-marocaine, and its subsequent evocation as an explanation for the colonial project of craft “revitalization” in Morocco, also participated in the discursive system underlying the protectorate’s “preservationist logics,” as described in chapter 1. This preservationist discourse not only determined the French protectorate’s reframing of Morocco’s commercial and political fields, but also justified its interventions in the country’s artistic production and cultural landscape, through the establishment of museums of “indigenous arts,” the designation of historic monuments, and the aesthetic management of architecture and new construction. It is important to distinguish, however, between the ideological justification for these projects and the social, political, and economic conditions through which they actually came to be. In deconstructing the ideology behind the French protectorate’s campaign of cultural revitalization in Morocco—in

¹²⁷ Adamson, xvii.

¹²⁸ Irbouh.

which the museums of indigenous arts played a central role—postcolonial theorists such as Pieprzak, Girard, and Irbouh, among others, have demonstrated the symbolic violence underlying such colonial rhetoric.¹²⁹ Yet few attempts have been made at understanding the place of the colonial museum in Morocco beyond the level of the protectorate’s own propaganda; ironically, the existing literature’s emphasis upon the rhetorical consequences of Morocco’s colonial museums has obscured the complex and often contradictory intellectual and practical origins of the country’s first museums. In this chapter, my aim is to disentangle the historical complexities—the social, political, and material realities—surrounding the phenomenon of the colonial museum in Morocco from the propagandistic rhetoric that has so far informed our understanding of its origins.

I examine the material and conceptual development of Morocco’s first two museums of “indigenous arts,” the Oudaïa Museum in Rabat and the Batha Museum in Fez, in light of the protectorate’s “logics of heritage,” a concept which I began to develop in the previous chapter. Established in 1915, the first museums in Morocco arose within the same context of imperial and international politics that shaped the Exposition franco-marocaine. In fact, many of the same individuals were involved in the conceptualization of both, including Prosper Ricard, Maurice Tranchant de Lunel, Alfred Bel, and Lyautey. Just as the exposition reflected French notions of “traditional” commercial and cultural life in Morocco, the organizers of the museums drew upon the visual dynamics and symbolic potency of local institutions and practices of cultural display—the elite Moroccan residence, the *souk*, and the royal artillery or “imperial” collection—that they understood to play a role in Moroccan society analogous to that of the museum institution

¹²⁹ Irbouh; Pieprzak; Girard; Lisa Bernasek, “Representation and the Republic: North African art and material culture in Paris,” Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 2007.

in Europe. A space for comprehending and (re)framing Morocco's arts, cultures, and histories through the symbolic mobilization of select objects and images, the protectorate's museums addressed both an international audience and an imagined community of Moroccan and French constituents with a stake in Morocco's cultural image at home and on the international stage. As both a "modernizing" and "traditionalizing" institution, the museum in Morocco facilitated the construction of a "Moroccan heritage" that would serve the intersecting forces of colonial state-building, the modern tourism market, and national (or protonational) identity formation throughout the twentieth century.

Tradition and Decadence: Jean Gallotti's Report on the State of "Indigenous" Arts in Morocco (1913)

The Exposition franco-marocaine was not the first instance in which the trope of cultural "decadence" appeared in official French protectorate propaganda. Within his first year as resident general, Lyautey sent his administrators, many of them historians, ethnographers, and art historians (or amateurs of these disciplines), into the occupied regions of Morocco to evaluate the current state of craft production in the country.

Among the cultural administrators assigned to the task was Jean Gallotti (1881-1972), a French Inspector of Artistic and Industrial Education in Rabat and eventual author of *Le Jardin et la Maison Arabes au Maroc* (1926), a widely distributed illustrated study of domestic architecture and landscaping in Morocco.¹³⁰ In December of 1913, Gallotti sent a report to Lyautey and the Pasha of Rabat in which he presented an evaluation of fourteen artisans' corporations located in Rabat's medina, including: carpet makers,

¹³⁰ Jean Gallotti, *Le Jardin et la maison arabes au Maroc* (Paris: Albert Lévy, 1926).

dyers, carpenters/woodworkers, *zellij* makers, potters, masons/sculptors, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, cobblers, textile workers, saddle makers, wood-turners, as well as artisans working domestically or alone, such as female embroiderers.¹³¹ In the report, Gallotti presented both quantitative and qualitative evidence for what he saw as the progressive technical and aesthetic deterioration of local artistic manufacture in Rabat between the mid-nineteenth century and 1913, noting a decline in the number of individuals working in each corporation, an increased use of cheaper materials and modes of production (such as the use of synthetic rather than natural dyes and fibers, or tin rather than gold), and the neglect of “traditional” designs in favor of motifs inspired by textiles and other products increasingly imported from Turkey, Egypt, and India in the late nineteenth century.¹³²

Reflecting the conclusions drawn in the *Contrôle de la Dette*’s report of 1915, Gallotti argued that the cause for this rapid degeneration was the accelerating influx not only of foreign products from further east, but, more crucially, of European-manufactured goods into Morocco’s domestic market since the late nineteenth century. Unable to compete with these less expensive and more fashionable foreign products, Gallotti argued, Moroccan artisans had been compelled to work more quickly, use cheaper materials, and, in some cases, abandon their trades altogether. Gallotti’s evaluation, on the one hand, was based on purely economic indicators: for the everyday consumer in

¹³¹ Gallotti’s report was reprinted as “Les industries d’art indigène en 1913” in four issues of *France-Maroc* beginning with no. 82 (September 1923) and ending with no. 87 (February 1924). It is also cited in Benjamin, 202; and Lisa Bernasek, “The taste for Moroccan arts in Paris, 1917-2006,” in *Middle East Studies Association Annual Conference, Boston, US, 18 - 21 Nov 2006*, <http://eprints.soton.ac.uk/181405/> (accessed July 7, 2015).

¹³² Gallotti also describes these transformations in “Les Métiers d’art au Maroc,” *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée*, no. 5 (May 15, 1917), 8-19.

Morocco, many articles manufactured abroad were more affordable than objects and architectural decoration produced in small-scale, local artisans' workshops: it was simply a matter of competing products. On another level, his conclusions relied upon false assumptions about the nature of artistic and cultural patronage in Morocco. In his report, Gallotti recommends that the protectorate employ local artisans to restore historical buildings and participate in the embellishment of new structures built in the "neo-Moorish" style as a strategy for exposing contemporary artisans to the traditions and techniques of their ancestors and to provide them with opportunities to practice and perfect these techniques. In this proposition, of course, he fails to acknowledge that this form of patronage already existed in Morocco and continued into the twentieth century in the form of major building projects sponsored by the sultan and other wealthy dignitaries, including the Bahia Palace in Marrakesh and the El Mokri and El Glaoui estates in Fez, both constructed at the turn of the century.

Nevertheless, Gallotti and other influential actors in Lyautey's cultural administration leveraged the perceived corruption of Morocco's "traditional arts" at the hands of a growing international importation-exportation market to argue for the necessity of establishing policies for the protection of local industry and "authentic" art production.¹³³ The groundwork for a legal and institutional infrastructure to support such policy was set during the first years of the protectorate, with Lyautey formally establishing the French protectorate's Service des Beaux-Arts, Antiquités, et Monuments Historiques (SBA) through a set of *dahirs*, or royal decrees, published on November 26,

¹³³ I discuss specific notions of and criteria for "authenticity" as employed in the protectorate's systematic evaluation of Moroccan art in chapter 4.

1912 and February 13, 1914.¹³⁴ The first director of the SBA, Maurice Tranchant de Lunel (1869-1932), who was an artist and architect by trade, oversaw the restoration and designation of historic monuments in Morocco, the physical and aesthetic “protection” of the areas surrounding monuments, and the registration of art objects and antiquities. He was assisted by the artist Joseph de la Nézière (1873-1944), who would become the first director of the Office des arts indigènes (initially a branch of the SBA) in 1918 until Prosper Ricard took over the position in 1920 (see chapter 4). The Oudaïa and Dar Batha Museums were a project of the SBA administration and would serve as its dual administrative headquarters.

The notion that the SBA, the museums of indigenous arts, and later the Service des arts indigènes (SAI) were created in direct response to the precarious condition in which France “found” Morocco’s local industries was a trope repeated in French colonial propaganda throughout the protectorate era.¹³⁵ Gallotti’s report was subsequently published in four issues of the periodical *France-Maroc* between September 1923 and 1924, with the editor noting, “a number of the measures for artistic protection proposed [by Gallotti] have already been taken up by the Service des Beaux-Arts, and others are on

¹³⁴ Mylène Théliol, “Aménagement et préservation de la medina de Rabat entre 1912 et 1956,” *Les Cahiers d’EMAM* (online), 22 (2014), URL: <http://emam.revues.org/548> (consulted January 25, 2015).

¹³⁵ Contemporary scholars likewise commonly attribute the idea for the creation of the SBA, SAI, and indigenous arts museums in Morocco to these early protectorate-era French “observations.” For example, despite her nuanced critique of the notions of artistic and cultural “authenticity” espoused by French administrators of the SAI, Muriel Girard explains: “In 1915, the first Franco-Moroccan exposition was held in Casablanca. The contrast between historical and new objects...determined the [French protectorate’s] policies for craft renovation. To this end, the museums of Rabat and Fez were created, and the objects previously collected served as models for artisans.” Girard, n.p.

their way to realization.”¹³⁶ In 1931, on the occasion of the Exposition internationale coloniale in Paris, the SAI attributed its creation to Lyautey’s perspicuity in heeding the warnings contained in Gallotti’s report:

The harshest assault upon these indigenous arts came at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth in the form of competition with European manufactured products. Cottons from England, silk from Lyon, linens from France and Germany, Italian and Swiss brocades, machine-made carpets from Manchester, and glassware from Bohemia flooded Morocco’s markets and subjected corresponding indigenous artistic industries to such depreciation that they were sure to succumb completely. But France had been watching, and, through the person of the High Commissioner Resident-General, took its own measures to remedy the situation.¹³⁷

This list of objects is strikingly similar to the range of products studied for the organization of the Exposition franco-marocaine; it is interesting to note that Gallotti and subsequent French authors included manufactured goods from France in the registers of “harmful” imports, a fact that emphasizes the increasing symbolic separation of “craft” and “industry” in French protectorate discourse over the following decades. The true origins of the SBA and its museums, however, must be contextualized within a much longer history of arts policy in the colonial world and, specifically, to the French experience in colonial Algeria.

Colonial Algeria and the French Protectorate’s Approach to Moroccan Arts

Roger Benjamin has argued that Lyautey’s idea to commission reports like

¹³⁶ Gallotti, “Les industries d’art indigène en 1913,” *France-Maroc*, no. 82 (September 1923), 165.

¹³⁷ “Le Service des arts indigènes,” in *Historiques de la Direction générale de l’instruction publique, des beaux-arts et des antiquités (1912-1930)*, 145-61 (Rabat: Protectorat de la République française au Maroc, 1931), 16.

Gallotti's on the state of Morocco's art industries was probably inspired by earlier studies of Algeria's art industries conducted by Marius Vachon and Arsène Alexandre for Algeria's French governor-general Charles-Celéstin Jonnart (ca. 1900).¹³⁸ Also remarking upon the threat to local, "authentic" art production posed by European and Middle-Eastern "counterfeits" and other mass-produced foreign products illegally entering Algeria's markets, Vachon insisted that artisans and laborers in Algeria had a right to France's economic protection.¹³⁹ While Alexandre's report was mostly dedicated to debating the correct strategies for "re-educating" artists and artisans in Algeria, he argued that it was the French government's responsibility to reinvigorate Algeria's artistic spirit and production after the damage caused it by "a European industry that has threatened, even on its own soil, its success and sales with inferior imitations."¹⁴⁰ Under Jonnart's guidance, Vachon and Alexandre's surveys would support the development of French Algeria's Office des arts indigènes (1908), a predecessor to Morocco's own indigenous arts administration.

These institutional and intellectual developments in colonial arts policy in Algeria coincided with larger transformations in French colonial theory towards the end of the nineteenth century from the "ideology of assimilation" that shaped the first three decades of French rule in Algeria to a "policy of association," most comprehensively developed in relation to Lyautey's approach in protectorate Morocco. The French colonization of Algeria (1830-1956) had entailed decades of destructive military occupation followed by

¹³⁸ Benjamin, 202.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 195.

¹⁴⁰ Arsène Alexandre, *Réflexions sur les arts et les industries d'art en Algérie* (Alger: Édition de l'*Akhbar*, 1907), 6.

a campaign to fully assimilate Algeria's "indigenous" population within the larger French nation through comprehensive educational, legal, and social reforms. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, a number of influential actors within the French colonial regime argued that the assimilationist approach in Algeria had not only failed in its mission but, in the mean time, had wasted French resources and destroyed the social and cultural fabric of Algerian life. Drawing upon the example of British practices of indirect rule in India, proponents of associationist colonial theory in France supported a laissez-faire approach to colonial governance according to which local political, legal, and economic structures would be "protected" by and continue to function alongside the French Residence and its administrative departments. This model was officially applied to the French protectorates of Tunisia (1881-1956) and Morocco (1912-1956), which legally preserved the political status of local leaders and charged the French residencies with protecting each country's economic interests, social welfare, and cultural forms and practices. At the same time, certain French administrators in Algeria also recognized the destruction that colonization had brought to Algeria's historical built landscape, religious institutions, and "traditional" cultural and artistic practices. In response, they attempted to repair some of this damage through the application of new social and cultural policies inspired by associationist theory.¹⁴¹

Although the practical application of associationist theory in North Africa was uneven and in many cases existed only in theory (as a legal formality), this larger shift in thought was one source of inspiration for the colonial governments in both Algeria and

¹⁴¹ On developments in arts policy and cultural heritage management in colonial Algeria, see, Benjamin; and Nabila Oulebsir, *Les Usages du Patrimoine: Monuments, Musées et Politique coloniale en Algérie, 1830-1930* (Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2004).

Tunisia (and, later, Morocco) to establish new administrative departments specifically dedicated to the protection of North Africa's historical patrimony and, eventually, its "indigenous" arts and cultural practices. In the 1880s, the French residencies in both Algeria and Tunisia each established a Service des Beaux-Arts, Antiquités, et Monuments Historiques responsible for the preservation and renovation of historic monuments and architecture and the management of archaeological sites and museums. It was during the decade leading up to the establishment of the French protectorate of Morocco, particularly through the influence of Algeria's Governor-General Charles-Celestin Jonnart (active 1901-1911), that the function of these new cultural administrations expanded in scope to include not only the preservation of classical and *historical* Islamic arts and monuments but also the active promotion of *contemporary* "indigenous" cultural and artistic practices. Associationist theory also provided a useful moral justification for the commercial and political objectives underlying the protectorate's interventions in Morocco's "indigenous" industries (chapter 1).

Not only was Lyautey's approach to managing artistic and cultural production in Morocco shaped by his own experience working under Jonnart in Algeria, but a number of the individuals he would appoint to his cultural administration had also participated in Algeria's colonial arts administration under Jonnart.¹⁴² In 1914, Lyautey invited Alfred Bel (1873-1945), an instructor at Algeria's *madrassa*-university in Tlemcen, to Morocco

¹⁴² It has been noted that Lyautey's political strategies in Morocco were also heavily influenced by the example of British colonial governance in Morocco. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the British Department of Sciences and Art had also already set up vocational schools and museums in India, which probably also influenced the early French protectorate's colonial arts and culture policies. For an extensive analysis of the DSA's work in India, see Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*.

to oversee the work of the SBA in the Fez region.¹⁴³ Prosper Ricard (1874-1952), who would become one of the most influential advocates for Morocco’s “traditional” arts during his tenure as director of the SAI (1920-1935), left his position as an inspector of artistic and industrial education in Algeria to join Bel as an inspector of indigenous arts in Fez in 1915, shortly after the Exposition franco-marocaine. Lyautey, Bel, and Ricard cited the destruction of mosques, historic monuments, and local art industries in Algeria at the hands of the French military and European settlers as evidence for the crucial role the protectorate should play in protecting Morocco from a similar fate. Bel, appointed to be the first director of the Dar Batha Museum in Fez in 1915, later claimed that “the greatest good that came from having developed [museums] in the first years of our protectorate, was to avoid the disappearance—as in Tlemcen for example—of so many precious objects, all in the name of Science and the Moroccan Arts.”¹⁴⁴

Morocco’s museums, functioning as the headquarters for the SBA, provided a physical and intellectual space for its administrators to study the extant material culture of Morocco’s historical past and develop strategies for applying this new cultural knowledge to the management of Morocco’s artistic future. While Tranchant de Lunel and De la Nézière worked to restore the eighteenth-century palace and gardens in Rabat’s Qasba des Oudaïa , where the Oudaïa Museum would be located (fig. 2.1), Bel and Ricard organized a second art museum in the eighteenth-century Batha Palace at the edge of the Fez medina (fig. 2.2). These first museums included small collections of classical antiquities and artifacts like their institutional predecessors in Algeria and Tunisia, but

¹⁴³ Adolphe Lods, “Éloge funèbre de M. Alfred Bel, correspondant de l’Académie,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 89, no. 1 (1945), 136-142.

¹⁴⁴ Alfred Bel, *Les industries de la céramique à Fès* (Alger: J. Carbonel, 1918), 4.

above all they were dedicated to the preservation and exhibition of Morocco's "indigenous arts."¹⁴⁵ How Morocco's "indigenous arts" were to be defined was subject to continuous reconsideration and transformation throughout the protectorate era; Morocco's museums were, on one level, a laboratory for experimenting with the boundaries and substance of this conceptual category. Bel and Ricard, both prolific authors, contributed greatly to the early scholarship on Morocco's historical and contemporary art industries, applying their experiences as cultural administrators in Algeria and their impressions of "indigenous" Algerian art to their evaluations of Morocco's own existing art industries. As Pieprzak has noted, in assessments of Moroccan art by French administrators and scholars, a "comparison of superiority made with Algerian art [became] a rhetorical norm."¹⁴⁶ Ricard and Bel no doubt influenced these terms of evaluation, along with other French scholars with personal connections to Algeria, such as Georges Marçais and Stéphane Gsell, who would also contribute to the intellectual construction of the history of Moroccan art in the following decades (chapter 3).¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Gradually discovered through the archaeological exploration of Roman settlements in Morocco, artifacts from Volubilis (outside of Meknes), Chellah (in Rabat), and other archaeological sites were eventually housed in a dedicated Museum of Archaeology constructed in Rabat (ca. 1930). By the end of the protectorate period, Morocco had four main museums of indigenous arts in Fez, Rabat, Meknes, Marrakech, and Safi (with smaller art collections displayed in the regional SAI offices of other cities) and a museum of archaeology in Rabat. I discuss the Meknes museum in chapter 4.

¹⁴⁶ Pieprzak 6.

¹⁴⁷ Georges Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman: l'Architecture, Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, Sicile* (Paris: Editions Auguste Picard, 1926/7); Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1913-1929). Gsell was director of the Musée d'Alger and a specialist in the classical history and archaeology of North Africa, and Marçais was a specialist in Islamic art and archaeology of North Africa, an instructor for the *madrasa*-university in Constantine, and later director of the Musée d'Alger; as two of the preeminent French specialists in North African art and archaeology, historians of Moroccan art like Bel and Ricard commonly cited their work and

A “Tableau of Indigenous Production”: Scientific Imperialism, Commercial Fairs, and the Development of Morocco’s Museums

The early French protectorate’s preservationist designs for Morocco’s artistic and cultural landscape not only made necessary the establishment of museums; but the museum institution—and its way of understanding and framing cultural knowledge—was essential to the protectorate’s ability to articulate and promote these plans. Returning once again to the Exposition franco-marocaine, the SAI pamphlet for the 1931 Exposition internationale coloniale explained:

In 1915, a French-Moroccan exposition organized in Casablanca presented a tableau of indigenous production....In light of the comparisons that this retrospective made possible, the uncommon beauty of the historical [*anciens*] models came into focus. Henceforth, the Administration determined to collect them methodically and to present them as inspiration for the most skilled and gifted of artisans [in Morocco].¹⁴⁸

The image of a “tableau of indigenous production” evoked in this passage reveals the culture of scientism underlying the protectorate’s approach to understanding and containing Morocco, an approach that relied upon its (European) capacity for encountering and ordering the natural and social world and thereby understanding its underlying mechanisms and innate organizing structure. This perceived way of looking and knowing impacted how the Exposition franco-marocaine organizers imagined the Moroccan “spectator,” as we saw in the previous chapter, and was also reflected in museum epistemology and exhibition strategies of the first half of the twentieth century. The process of ordering and reducing Morocco’s arts to a tableau or diagram of

expertise.

¹⁴⁸ “Le Service des arts indigènes,” in *Historiques de la Direction générale de l’instruction publique, des beaux-arts et des antiquités (1912-1930)*, 145-61 (Rabat: Protectorat de la République française au Maroc, 1931), 17.

representative specimens also had practical implications for the SBA and SAI's commercial initiatives: imagining cultural production in Morocco according to categories of region, for example—an organizing strategy employed both at the commercial fairs and within the protectorate's museums—facilitated colonial administrators' ability to manage local industries and simplified potential consumers' and tourists' encounters with Morocco's arts. In this section I examine how this culture of scientism—expressed in both the commercial and cultural realms—came together in the material organization of Morocco's museum collections and the visual tactics employed in their exhibition galleries.

Contemporary literature emphasizes the disciplining function of museums in colonial and imperial contexts, describing museums and the “scientific” fields with which they have been associated as tools for ordering and mastering the imperial subject's world.¹⁴⁹ As such, museums were part of the barrage of imported European institutions—including the post office, the prison, the university, and the archive—crucial to modernizing campaigns throughout the world. For museum builders of the late nineteenth century and into the mid-twentieth century, along with professionals in the disciplines of archaeology, history, art history, and anthropology, material culture bore the capacity to convey objective information, to speak to cultural or historical “truths”; according to this concept of material culture, “material objects possess formal qualities that exist independent of human cognition or agency...fixed and determinate values,

¹⁴⁹ Among others, see: Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (eds.), *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998); Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden and Ruth B. Phillips (eds.), *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2006); James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988); Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999).

qualities, functionalities and significations.”¹⁵⁰ Through collecting, cataloguing, diagramming, and arranging material objects, museum curators, researchers, and exhibition organizers strove to access the “intrinsic” information provided by the material world and order it in such a way that this information might be immediately conveyed to their publics.

Although the museum institution officially arrived to Morocco in 1915, the format and intellectual conception of the French protectorate’s museums of indigenous arts arose from a much longer history of the institutionalization of “culture” by imperial and national regimes. The nineteenth century saw a proliferation of museums in Europe’s major metropolitan centers that were, in many cases, established to contain and display the abundance of objects and artifacts amassed in the context of imperial expansion. Nineteenth-century museums followed several models, variously serving as storehouses for imperial “booty,” cabinets of wonder, laboratories involved in the articulation and implementation of new disciplinary orders, or fluctuating among these different roles over the course of their institutional histories. At the same time, colonial governments and European agents at the “edges” of empire began to develop local institutions and cultural organizations, often centered around a museum, to facilitate in situ research on the material and living cultures from which those “imperial collections” originated and to manage the outward flow of important cultural objects and works of art fueled by the antiquities trade (illicit and non-illicit) and rising popular interest in such “exotic” commodities.

¹⁵⁰ Anthony Alan Shelton, “The Collector’s Zeal: Towards an anthropology of intentionality, instrumentality and desire,” in *Colonial Collections Revisited*, ed. Pieter ter Keurs, 16-44 (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2007), 34.

Many museums outside of Europe, arising in British India, Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, and later French Indochina and the Maghrib, were instigated by members of scholarly or amateur societies, often with corollaries in Europe, such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal that proposed the first museum in India—the Imperial Museum of British India in Calcutta (ca. 1814)—and the French team of archaeologists and antiquarians led by Auguste Mariette who encouraged the Egyptian government to create a Department of Antiquities and founded the Museum of Cairo (ca. 1858).¹⁵¹ These non-European locales were considered to be ideal sites for “scientific” research, providing untapped human and material “resources” with which scholars in the developing fields of archaeology, anthropology, history, and art history might experiment. The institutional identities of these museums, along with the exhibition strategies and material collections they supported, responded to developments in the scientific fields with which they were most closely aligned. According to Guha-Thakurta, for example, the Imperial Museum of British India (now the Indian Museum of Calcutta) began as a “house of wonder and curiosity,” displaying unique and diverse specimens of natural history, antiquities, and works of art; by the late nineteenth century, its directors strove to realign the institution as a “new center of disciplinary knowledges,” particularly emphasizing archaeological developments in the study of India’s Mughal past.¹⁵²

Scholars of Morocco’s colonial history have elucidated the important role played by “scientific” research in France’s colonization of Morocco in the early twentieth

¹⁵¹ Margaret Bodemer, “Museums, Ethnology, and the Politics of Culture in Contemporary Vietnam,” Ph.D. diss., University of Hawaii, 2010; Guha-Thakurta 2004; Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

¹⁵² Guha-Thakurta, xxiii (also see chapters 1 and 2).

century, noting that, “[u]nique to the French colonization of Morocco was the extensive documentation, the so-called *penetration scientifique* of the country, decades before the actual establishment of the protectorate in 1912, and prior to any military presence.”¹⁵³ France’s “ethnographic” approach to Morocco’s economic, social, and cultural life—a strategy initiated by French agents working from Algeria even before the establishment of the Moroccan protectorates—was equally crucial in the formulation of its administrative policies.¹⁵⁴ Developments in the fields of classical and Islamic archaeology and art history informed the protectorate’s designation of historic monuments and engagement with Morocco’s built environment through architectural restoration and archaeological excavation.¹⁵⁵ Likewise, the protectorate’s “inspectors of indigenous arts,” including those responsible for the conception of Morocco’s colonial museums, referred to current art historical and ethnographic research as intellectual justification and explanation for the practices of selection and classification they imposed upon Morocco’s visual and material cultures (chapters 3 and 4). Nevertheless, while scholarship and publicity surrounding the formulation and organization of Morocco’s museum collections emphasized a scientifically developed classificatory system for delineating an authentic Moroccan art, the modes of display employed within and distribution of objects among the museums clearly reflected practical strategies for promoting and managing Morocco’s arts within the commercial realm.

¹⁵³ Nadia Erzini, “Administration in French North Africa and the Growth of Islamic Art History,” in *Discovering Islamic Art*, edited by Stephen Vernoit, (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 75.

¹⁵⁴ Burke 1976 and 2014; Wyrzten.

¹⁵⁵ Erzini, “Administration in French North Africa”; Mohammed El Malti, “The Architecture of Colonialism, Morocco, 1912-1932: An Inquiry into the Determinants of French Colonial Architecture,” Ph.D. Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1983; Holden, 5-11.

The idea that the Exposition franco-marocaine presented a “tableau of indigenous production” to its visitors suggests both intrinsic order—an objective presentation of the relationships among various “specimens” of Moroccan manufacture—and comprehensiveness—a total representation of the range of artistic possibilities. The image of the “tableau” resonated with the organizers of the exposition in terms of its “scientific” connotations, on the one hand, and its relationship to a certain commercially-oriented mode of encountering objects, on the other. While not explicitly described as such, French protectorate administrators involved in the organization of the exposition approached the confiscated German *cabinet d'échantillons* according to the underlying logic of the scientific table or “tableau,” analyzing its various parts to understand German commerce in Morocco as a whole, “...just as would a naturalist or a philatelist...in developing his herbarium or collection.”¹⁵⁶ That a group of material things might be ordered and symbolically transformed into a meaningful visual representation of some external concept—whether “Moroccan art” or “German commerce”—was an idea encompassed by early-twentieth-century European conceptions of the museum. It is not surprising, then, that an association of colonial administrators in Morocco, led by French sociologist André Lichtenberger (1870-1940), presented plans at the Exposition franco-marocaine for a system of “*musées commerciaux*” in which products of French manufacture would be displayed in each Moroccan city as permanent *foires d'échantillons* for potential “indigenous” consumers. Morocco’s museums of indigenous art, on one level, might be understood to have served a similar commercial purpose.

Besides their role in the intellectual and ideological conceptualization of

¹⁵⁶ Maurice Roulet (ed.), *Livre d'Or de l'Exposition franco-marocaine* (Paris: Librairie Générale et Internationale, 1916), 13.

“indigenous arts,” the colonial museums in Morocco played an important part in the commercialization of these arts. The artworks that covered the walls and filled the vitrines of the Dar Batha and Oudaïa Museums were objects that could be easily transported and were, for the most part, also conducive to then-current practices of collecting and displaying precious, exotic, or decorative objects in Europe.¹⁵⁷ These cultural tastes had shaped—and were, in turn, shaped by—public exhibitions and events both commercial and cultural that encouraged the popular consumption of art and cultural products during the nineteenth century, from industrial and universal expositions to the rise of department stores. In the French protectorate of Morocco, the exhibits at both the 1915 Exposition franco-marocaine and the first museums of indigenous art intersected with these cultural tastes. In theory, Morocco’s “indigenous arts” or “traditional crafts” were set aside through the work of protectorate officials as something temporally and conceptually distinct from European “fine arts,” on the one hand, and “modern industry,” on the other; but, it was in fact in relation to these other categories of objects that Morocco’s “crafts” were imagined.

In the context of the Exposition franco-marocaine, the “indigenous products” on display in the various regional pavilions and the central *fondouk*-market found their correlates in the displays of French decorative arts across the fair; in this sense, French porcelain from Limoges, Moroccan faience from Fez, and German pottery made for the North African market were all part of a larger community of objects brought together

¹⁵⁷ In comparison, Moya Carey has noted that the nineteenth-century vogue in Europe for small, intricately decorated objects that invite close and personal inspection—what she calls “mantelpiece” objects—heavily influenced the collection and circulation of Iranian art objects in Britain at the time. Moya Carey, “Buying into Iran: Regard, Repairs and Reversals for Qajar Metalwork at the V&A,” paper presented at Encounters with Islamic Art: Reception, Revival and Response Symposium, University of Michigan Museum of Art, February 1, 2014.

through developments in the international importation-exportation market. Likewise, the objects that came to fill the French protectorate's museums related closely to this particular material world: the galleries displayed primarily domestic furnishings (carpets, wall-coverings, wood shelves and furniture, iron window grills and door knockers) and everyday utensils and decoration (glazed and terracotta pottery vessels, brass trays and chandeliers, leather book bindings, and silk embroidery) (figs. 2.3 & 2.4). Some of the museum objects had even been acquired directly from commercial fairs, such as the Mellier collection of Fassi pottery at the Batha Museum and the Libert collection of faience, copper, and painted and sculpted wooden objects at the Oudaïa Museum, each purchased for the museums by the French protectorate administration from the Foire de Fès (1916) and Exposition franco-marocaine (1915) respectively.¹⁵⁸

The visual and conceptual reduction of Morocco's diverse visual and material cultures to representative "samples" that could be contained and presented within the space of the museum made "Moroccan art" legible to the SBA administration and potential museum visitors; it also facilitated the practical management of Morocco's contemporary art industries by these regionally-based French administrators. Reflecting the organization of both French and Moroccan products into regional pavilions and exhibits at the Exposition franco-marocaine, the contents of Morocco's museum system were also organized according to region. In the beginning, this meant that the Batha Museum was primarily dedicated to art industries based in Fez and its rural environs, while the Oudaïa Museums, although including examples of products collected in other regions, emphasized those industries most active in Rabat, especially the production of

¹⁵⁸ Alfred Bel, *Les industries de la céramique à Fès* (Alger: J. Carbonel, 1918), 3; and object registers held in the Musée des Oudaïa (Rabat) archives [consulted April 2013].

silk carpets, embroidery, and other luxurious textiles. As the SBA continued to expand its administrative scope in the following decades, it developed a complex system of regional cultural administrators.¹⁵⁹ In those regions where museums were eventually located—in Fez, Rabat, Meknès, Marrakech, and Safi by the 1930s—they became points of contact for local artisans, civil servants, and visiting tourists in each region. By at least the 1920s, the Oudaïa Museum complex in Rabat had become the main headquarters for the SBA and the new Service des arts indigènes (SAI), the museum itself presenting examples of artistic products from throughout Morocco’s different geographical regions (although still maintaining an emphasis upon Rabat textiles) for the purposes of “educating” protectorate administrators, artisans, and tourists beginning their visit to Morocco in the protectorate’s capital.

It could be argued that this emphasis on regionality was not only a product of the French protectorate economy imposed upon Morocco’s art industries, but also that it made sense locally, reflecting regional marketplaces and guild organizations. Nevertheless, the delineation of different arts into static regional categories did not adequately express the trans-regional collaborations and relationships among Moroccan artisans and patrons, which still occur today: from the construction of palaces during the eighteenth century to the decoration of Casablanca’s Hassan II Mosque in the 1990s, elite patrons in Morocco have continuously commissioned work for major building projects that require artistic collaboration among master artisans from across the country. Even

¹⁵⁹ While in 1920 the Service of Indigenous Arts included a director, and one curator, three civil servants, four technical assistants, and three indigenous guards for each museum, by 1931 the department had grown exponentially through the addition of regional inspectors and new staff members. “Le Service des arts indigènes,” in *Historiques de la Direction générale de l’instruction publique, des beaux-arts et des antiquités (1912-1930)*, 145-61 (Rabat: Protectorat de la République française au Maroc, 1931), 20.

Gallotti's 1913 report on the state of Rabat's art industries revealed a tradition of artisans circulating within Morocco not only in order to complete important commissions but, in some cases, to train local artisans in the artistic specialties of their native cities: for example, Gallotti noted that both the *gebs* (plasterwork) and *zellij* (mosaic tilework) corporations in Rabat were led by master artisans from Fez.¹⁶⁰

The organization of Morocco's arts by region also had strange consequences within the galleries of the museums themselves, where works of art and everyday objects produced according to very different visual and material cultures in Morocco were brought together and treated in the same way. For example, while Ricard and Bel each recognized two distinct cultures of artistic production active in the larger Fez region (and throughout Morocco)—one they described as “Berber” or rural, the other as “Arab” or urban, following the ethnographic discursive system according to which the protectorate “saw” Moroccan society—within the Dar Batha Museum, they displayed unglazed everyday pottery, rough wool carpets, and personal objects of adornment created by domestic artists of the Middle Atlas according to the same methods of display they employed in the exhibition of glazed and painted faience, silk embroidery, and fine metalwork produced by artists working within the commercial guilds of the Fez medina (fig. 2.5).¹⁶¹

The visual and physical arrangement of objects within the museum galleries reflected the commercial environment in which Morocco's indigenous art museums

¹⁶⁰ Gallotti, “Les industries d’art indigène en 1913.”

¹⁶¹ Works of art produced by Jewish artisans in Morocco held an unstable place in early French representations of Moroccan art and were most often included alongside works produced by so-called “Arab” or “urban” artisans of the same region (see chapter 3).

operated. Abandoning any attempt to create a chronological structure or guiding visual narrative within the museum space, the curators of the Fez and Rabat museums instead turned to a mode of display that invited visitors to browse the galleries at will, encountering and beholding objects with the eye of a consumer or connoisseur.¹⁶² As I will discuss in the following chapter, this display method, described by David Roxburgh as an “ordered disorder,” reflected a visual technique employed in late-nineteenth-century exhibitions of Islamic art and French department stores alike that sought to evoke the elite art collector’s capacity for idiosyncratic yet tasteful display.¹⁶³ In Morocco’s museums, as in the case of the regional pavilions at the Exposition franco-marocaine, French administrators like Ricard reinterpreted this European strategy for material display as a representation of vernacular modes of displaying and consuming “domestic” objects in Morocco.¹⁶⁴ While the pavilions in Casablanca, including the Fez Pavilion that Ricard himself designed, attempted to reconstruct the atmosphere of the “maison arabe,” the buildings housing the Dar Batha and Oudaïa Museums were themselves “authentic” historical residences. With the Batha Palace constructed at the end of the nineteenth century during the reign of Sultan Moulay Hassan and the Oudaïa palace complex originally built as a summer residence for Sultan Moulay Ismaïl in the seventeenth century, tour guides of the colonial period (and still today) encouraged visitors to regard

¹⁶² The Museum of Archaeology in Rabat, constructed ca. 1930, would be the first Moroccan museum to present objects according to historical chronology.

¹⁶³ David J. Roxburgh, “Au Bonheur des Amateurs: Collecting and Exhibiting Islamic Art, ca. 1880-1910, *Ars Orientalist* 30, Exhibiting the Middle East: Collections and Perceptions of Islamic Art (2000), 9-38.

¹⁶⁴ In the 1920s, the curator of the Meknes museum took this idea to another level, transforming two of the galleries into supposed reconstructions of an “Arab” and “Berber” salon (see chapter 4).

the museum buildings, “which by themselves are interesting specimens of the architecture of past centuries,” as objects on display.¹⁶⁵ To a foreign visitor, the museums’ own opulent “indigenous” architecture, probably suggested that the objects displayed against this backdrop were also “authentic” features of elite domestic life in Morocco.

Some of the objects contained within the museum galleries would have indeed “felt at home” in the salons of a nineteenth- or even seventeenth-century elite residence in Morocco, such as the silk *haitis* (wall coverings) or painted and carved wood shelves hung on the walls of the “Salle des Tapis” in Dar Batha (fig. 2.6); others, including wool tent panels and unglazed ceramic water jugs, were certainly out of place. Furthermore, while the repetition and sheer abundance of objects displayed within the museum galleries made sense according to the European modes of exhibition described above, in the context of Morocco the visual effect was more akin to display practices employed in the *souk*—where nearly identical objects might crowd the walls in artful arrangements or lay in lavish piles—rather than domestic space (figs. 2.7 & 2.8). As a result, for a local audience, the museum galleries probably presented a strange conflation of public and private, commercial and personal space, distorting hierarchies of artistic consumption and social interaction, much like the environments of the French-Moroccan commercial fairs.

“Modernizing Tradition” or “Traditionalizing the Modern”?: Historical Memory, Colonial State-Building, and Identity Construction in the Dar Batha Museum

In her comparison of the role of museums in colonial and postcolonial Tunisia,

¹⁶⁵ “Le Service des arts indigènes,” in *Historiques de la Direction générale de l’instruction publique, des beaux-arts et des antiquités (1912-1930)*, 145-61 (Rabat: Protectorat de la République française au Maroc, 1931), 21.

Virginie Rey argues that “whilst the colonial museum aimed at modernizing ‘the traditional,’ [museums of popular arts and traditions in post-independence Tunisia] were all about traditionalizing ‘the modern.’”¹⁶⁶ Rey’s analysis relies upon a distinction between the colonial museum as a “laboratory of modernity,” engaged in the reorganization of objects and histories into an evolutionary timeline, and the postcolonial museum in Tunisia as a site for reframing the experience of modernization and reclaiming “forgotten” pasts in the service of national identity formation. In this section, I offer up another view of the colonial museum in Morocco by suggesting that the early French protectorate’s museums in Morocco participated in both traditionalizing and modernizing discourses. Focusing upon the Dar Batha Museum in Fez as a case study, I demonstrate how the museums of indigenous arts participated in the discursive preservationist/developmentist dyad that supported the early French protectorate’s claim to political legitimacy and cultural authority in Morocco. The museum, as a collection and as an institution, participated in constructing a narrative of historical continuity between protectorate and pre-protectorate Morocco that simultaneously evoked a progression from an “archaic” precolonial past to a condition of colonial “modernity” and relied upon a notion of an ahistorical, unchanging “tradition.” In this formula, while agents of the French protectorate could move in and out of the symbolic realms of “tradition” and “modernity,” their Moroccan contemporaries could not. Implicated in the process of framing a cultural and political image of colonial and precolonial Morocco, Dar Batha and the other museums of indigenous arts contributed to the protectorate’s preservationist discourse, on the one hand, and the very modern project of constructing a

¹⁶⁶ Rey.

collective “Moroccan” identity around a set of reproducible images and objects, on the other.

In the early twentieth century, the symbolic power of the museum came not only from the “modern” technologies of surveillance and “scientific” knowledge systems it represented; the museum was also a space for visualizing the historical and cultural narratives upon which new communal identities relied. The power of the museum as both a symbol of and tool for “modernization” and state-building was not lost on governments outside of Europe’s imperial reach. As Wendy Shaw has demonstrated, the Ottoman state established its own museums in the second half of the nineteenth century that at once “linked Ottoman cultural practices with those of Europe” and “began to serve as templates for developing modes of Ottoman nationalism.”¹⁶⁷ For those with a stake in the future of the Ottoman Empire or the communities it claimed to represent, “the museum acted as a space of reflection, not only on the objects it displayed, but also on the political choices of nation building.”¹⁶⁸ Likewise, under Muhammad Ali (r. 1805-1848), the Egyptian state collaborated with French archaeologists and other European and Arab scholars to develop a sophisticated cultural infrastructure alongside Ali’s other extensive modernizing projects. Donald Malcolm Reid argues that this institutional engagement with and manipulation of Egyptian archaeology and history during the long nineteenth century was a crucial instrument for both imperial and nation-building

¹⁶⁷ Wendy Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 18.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

campaigns in Egypt.¹⁶⁹

Different objects entered the museum field in accordance with shifting disciplinary interests and scientific methodologies; at the same time, the geographical, temporal, and cultural purviews of both academic disciplines and museum institutions responded to and reflected the political and social environments in which they operated. During the nineteenth century, British-led archaeology and historical preservation efforts in India emphasized Mughal material culture, a disciplinary focus that was also rhetorically useful to the East India Company as a symbol of its “theoretical allegiance to the emperor, in spite of its increasing political superiority.”¹⁷⁰ In Egypt, the region’s Pharaonic history and material culture—rather than that of its Islamic, Coptic, and other cultural communities—captured the imaginations of nineteenth- and twentieth-century archaeologists, publics, and nation-builders, leading to the strong emphasis upon “Ancient Egypt” in the discipline of Egyptian art until this day.¹⁷¹ The first museums to be established in French North Africa, many of them originally associated with archaeological excavations, focused on the preservation and display of Roman-era artifacts, architecture, and antiquities. North Africa’s classical past held—and continues to hold—an important place in the French imagination and was useful in both romantic and politically motivated claims over the shared heritage of France and the ancient

¹⁶⁹ Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

¹⁷⁰ Anne-Julie Etter, “Antiquarian Knowledge and Preservation of Indian Monuments at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century,” in *Knowledge Production, Pedagogy, and Institutions in Colonial India*, eds. Indra Sengupta and Daud Ali, 65-95 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 90. In the same volume, see Michael S. Dodson, “Jaunpur, Ruination, and Conservation during the Colonial Era,” in *Knowledge Production, Pedagogy, and Institutions in Colonial India*, 123-146.

¹⁷¹ Reid.

cultures of the southern Mediterranean shores in an era prior to the rise of Islam in the “West”.¹⁷² The first museum established by the French colonial government in Algeria, the Musée-Bibliothèque d’Alger (est. ca. 1835-38), housed classical antiquities along with a unique collection of Islamic manuscripts seized from the Ottoman ruler of Constantine in 1837.¹⁷³ Likewise, Tunisia’s first museum, the Musée Alaoui au Bardo (est. 1888), displayed Punic and Roman artifacts.¹⁷⁴ It was not until later in the nineteenth century, encouraged by concurrent shifts in French colonial ideology and developments in the new field of “Islamic art,” as I will discuss in the following chapter, that French colonial institutions began to take interest in North Africa’s Islamic history and material culture. The Musée National des Antiquités Algériennes et d’Art Musulman (also known as the Mustapha Museum), built in Algiers in 1897, was one of the first European museums dedicated from its beginning to the display of Islamic arts;¹⁷⁵ and

¹⁷² Patricia Lorcin examines how France appropriated Rome and its legacy in Algeria on scientific, religious, literary, and mythical levels, in part elevating the region’s Latin past to a foundation myth that “efface[d] the long-standing Arab-Berber presence in the area.” Patricia M.E. Lorcin, “Rome and France in Africa: Recovering Colonial Algeria’s Latin Past,” *French Historical Studies* 25, no. 2 (spring 2002), 295. The articulation of France’s “Mediterranean” identity through representations of North African history and culture is encountered in contexts ranging from comparisons of North African people with classical figures by French artists such as Delacroix to the establishment in Marseille of the Museum of Civilizations from Europe and the Mediterranean in 2013.

¹⁷³ Nadia Erzini, “Administration in French North Africa and the Growth of Islamic Art History,” in *Discovering Islamic Art*, ed. Stephen Vernoit (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 74. Erzini reports that the collection of the Bibliothèque d’Alger originally consisted primarily of booty acquired during military campaigns, including a library of approximately 400 manuscripts belonging to the Ottoman ruler of Constantine and seized in 1837. By 1838, the Musée-Bibliothèque also included archaeological artifacts from Algeria’s Roman sites.

¹⁷⁴ See Ghalia Tahar, “La collection de negatives en plaques de verre du Musée national du Bardo: un regard sur le patrimoine tunisien à l’époque du Protectorat,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 151, no. 1 (2007), 89-111; and Rey.

¹⁷⁵ For a detailed history of French colonial museums and cultural management in Algeria, see Nabila Oulebsir, *Les Usages du patrimoine: Monuments, musées et politique coloniale en Algérie, 1830-1930* (Paris: Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 2004).

soon after, in 1899, French protectorate officials in Tunisia built an addition to the Musée Alaoui, which they called the “Musée Arabe” or “Palais Tunisien,” in order to exhibit architectural fragments and decorative arts representing the region’s historical Islamic cultures.¹⁷⁶

It is notable that the first major acquisitions for both the Batha and Oudaïa Museums in Morocco consisted primarily of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Fassi pottery. The faience industry of Fez, particularly celebrated for its white enameled pottery decorated with painted blue (and occasionally red, green, or yellow) floral, geometric, and figurative motifs, already enjoyed some fame outside of Morocco by the beginning of the twentieth century (fig. 2.9). According to Bel, extant examples of medieval Fassi and Hispano-Mauresque faience, including some rare metallic-glazed specimens, could be found in the Louvre and Cluny museums in Paris, as well as in several private collections, such as that of the British consul in Tangier, James MacLeod. Pottery from Fez had also been collected during the nineteenth century in relation to military excursions and diplomatic delegations in Morocco: Eugène Delacroix’s collection of North African objects amassed during his 1832 trip to Morocco and Algeria includes several examples of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century pottery from Fez, and, according to Bel, the Musée de Limoges in France also held a collection of Fassi pottery belonging to a military doctor by the name of Delahousse, who had collected the objects while garrisoned at the Moroccan frontier in the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁷ One of the Batha

¹⁷⁶ Prior to this point, “Islamic” monuments and antiquities in Tunisia were still managed by the local *habous* (or *waqf*) administrations. By 1913, the Musée Alaoui was expanded with the addition of an annex known as the “Petit Palais Tunisien” or “Musée des Industries d’Art Tunisien,” dedicated to Tunisia’s “Islamic arts.” Tahar, 91.

¹⁷⁷ Bel, 8. Part of Delacroix’s collection is located in the Musée national Eugène Delacroix in

Museum's first acquisitions was a substantial collection of Fez pottery given to the museum in 1916 by Captain Georges Mellier, a French officer who had served as the Chef de Services Municipaux in Fez upon his departure from Morocco (fig. 2.10). Resentful that another important group of Fassi pottery, collected by the industrialist Libert of the Monopole du Tabac, had been purchased by the protectorate for the Oudaïa Museum in Rabat, "where no such industry existed," Bel relied on the Mellier acquisition and his own private collection of pottery to represent in the Batha Museum what he saw as one Fez's most important art industries.

In contrast to the artistic deprivation they claimed to have observed in Algeria, Bel and Ricard found in Fez an incredibly rich and vibrant culture of craft production and patronage (quite in contrast to Gallotti's assessment of Rabat's local industries) that they both saw as a lasting vestige of Morocco's medieval art industries. As noted in the previous chapter, Ricard claimed that residences of elite members of Fez society were the primary locations where Morocco's great "Hispano-Mauresque" art traditions could be encountered.¹⁷⁸ Similarly, in a book published in 1918 on the faience industries of Fez, Bel claimed that evidence for the Fassi artisans' capacity to produce work of the caliber of their medieval predecessors—if given the proper materials and resources—could be found in certain opulent houses of recent construction, such as that of Mohammad El

Paris and has been illustrated in published catalogs including: Dominique de Font-Réaulx (ed.), *Delacroix: Objets dans la peinture, souvenir du Maroc* (Paris: Coédition Le Passage-Éditions du musée du Louvre, 2015). For a discussion of Moroccan pottery in British collections see: Margaret S. Graves, "'A Certain Barbaric Originality': Moroccan Pottery as Viewed by British Travel Writers of the Nineteenth Century," *The Journal of North African Studies* 12, no. 4 (2007), 501-516.

¹⁷⁸ Prosper Ricard, "La Région de Fès à l'Exposition franco-marocaine," in *Fès: Notice Fournie par le Bureau de Renseignements de Fez-ville*, 22-26, n.d. (ca. 1915). [Nantes archives diplomatiques, 3MA/100/322.]

Mokri, “where the blue squares of the faience mosaics are absolutely identical to the historical gray-blues of the Merenid médersas[sic].”¹⁷⁹ It is perhaps this perceived discrepancy between the relatively thriving contemporary art production in Fez and the supposedly “moribund” industries in Rabat that the SBA first experimented with two different models for managing craft production: in Fez, artisans were largely left to work in their own ateliers, to which the French administrators distributed models and diagrams or approached artisans with specific commissions, while in Rabat the SBA established its own state-run craft workshops and engaged in a more heavy-handed management of local craft production.¹⁸⁰

Themselves scholars of Islamic art and history, Bel and Ricard’s interest in the urban arts of Fez was probably influenced by the impetus to search out Moroccan art forms that corresponded visually to a known and validated corpus of “Islamic” art (see chapter 3). The fact that Fassi pottery was already featured in several prominent collections no doubt supported this inclination. At the same time, it is also probable that the uneven attention placed on Fassi arts in the early Moroccan museum collection—and the fact that Lyautey selected the city of Fez as the location for one of the country’s first museums—arose from the city’s symbolic positioning within the protectorate’s designs for political control in Morocco. As an important center of political and intellectual activity before the establishment of the protectorate, the city of Fez and its inhabitants also presented the most resistance to the French occupation and its continuing attempts to

¹⁷⁹ Bel 6.

¹⁸⁰ Ultimately, as the Service of Fine Arts branched into the Service of Indigenous Arts and expanded into different regions in Morocco, these two models would be adjusted and combined in different ways. See Irbouh for a more detailed history of these “educational” models.

intervene in the country; in this light, Lyautey and other agents of the French protectorate administration employed diverse strategies for “pacifying” the city’s population, including the political cooption of influential families and individuals in Fez, like Mohammad El Mokri. Stacy Holden has argued that the protectorate’s criteria for the selection of monuments and preservation of architecture in the Fez medina were also connected to such political machinations: “The [protectorate’s] historic-preservation policy emphasized monumental buildings linked to institutions of dynastic rule, mercantile wealth, and religious authority. In doing so, the preservation projects of the colonial administration visibly supported the role of the elite with whom the French collaborated.”¹⁸¹ The historical, geographical, and material scope of Morocco’s first museums derived from a number of factors, some of which I have described above, including the demands of the commercial market, the model of the museum institution and related arts policy in Algeria, and collecting and exhibition practices rooted in pre-existing “ethnographic” conceptions of Moroccan society. The contents and function of Morocco’s museums of indigenous arts were also related to their positioning within the protectorate’s political field, the wartime context in which they were established, and the recent history of the French colonization of Morocco.

Reframing Morocco’s Cultural Heritage: Art, Weapons, and “Imperial Souvenirs”

Like the commercial fairs of the early twentieth century, Morocco’s museums were involved in the global politics and local experiences of World War I in complex ways. That this wartime context was ever present as the French protectorate developed

¹⁸¹ Holden, 6.

its cultural and artistic policies during its first decade is illustrated by the fact that many of the historical palaces in which Morocco's museums of indigenous art eventually resided had first been used by branches of the French and Moroccan militaries, who were involved in further colonial expansion in Morocco as well as war-related training and security. According to Alfred Bel, at least in 1916, part of the Batha palace complex was occupied by the Cercle Militaire in Fez who facilitated temporary lodging and recreation for military officers and personnel stationed in the region.¹⁸² Likewise, before becoming a museum of indigenous art in 1926, the late-nineteenth-century Jamaï Palace in Meknès functioned as a French military hospital, known as l'Hôpital Saint Louis.

The museums of indigenous art, particularly the Dar Batha Museum, also occasionally served as backdrops for official military and political ceremonies: one photograph included in Bel and Larribe's 1916 volume of *Le Maroc Pittoresque*, depicts Resident-General Lyautey bestowing decorations of the Légion d'honneur to General Paul Prosper Henrys, a French general who would soon leave Morocco to travel to the European warfront, and four unnamed Moroccan soldiers in front the Batha Museum's *salle d'armes* (fig. 2.11). In the photograph we see Lyautey, backed by a standing crowd of European men in military dress, addressing a speech to Henrys and the four Moroccans receiving decorations (in the right foreground) and crowd of "notable Moroccan Muslims" dressed in white *djellabas*, seated and standing against Dar Batha's courtyard awnings. Dispersed among the crowd is a striking array of decorative and ceremonial objects: the stone floors of the patio are covered with carpets of different textures and designs, and perched along the edge of the fountain in the picture's

¹⁸² Alfred Bel, *Le Maroc pittoresque, tome 1: Fès* (Paris: Georges Bertrand, 1916).

foreground is a row of Moroccan tea services (comprised of straight-walled glass cups and silver teapots served on incised brass or tin trays), and another row of what appear to be decorated porcelain bowls, perhaps filled with sweets or lumps of sugar.¹⁸³ Finally, in the center of this ceremonial space is a short-barreled cannon mounted upon a concrete block.

Visitors to the Exposition franco-marocaine would have encountered a similar cannon displayed among other firearms, munitions, and articles of artillery in the “Exposition de l’Artillerie” set up in a space between the “Pavillon de l’Intendance militaire” (“Military Logistics Pavilion”) and the “Pavillon de Génie” (“Engineering Pavilion”) at the fair (fig. 2.12). Described as a “domain of powder and destruction” in Rouillet’s guide to the exposition, the artillery exhibit presented the material tools of war that had made France’s occupation of Morocco a success and would continue to support French and Moroccan efforts on the European warfront.¹⁸⁴ In the context of the Batha Museum, however, the exhibition of weapons and artillery took place within an institution dedicated to the display of domestic crafts and works of art.

While cannons of different forms and styles were strewn across the central patio and garden of the Batha complex (fig. 2.13), collections of firearms, swords, powder flasks, and armor filled at least three rooms of the museum itself (this area is what Bel described as the “Musée d’Armes” at the Batha Museum.) These objects hung from the walls in whimsical arrangements or were gathered into piles and crowded assemblages on

¹⁸³ These bowls might be of European, and in that case most probably French, manufacture; if so, this is an interesting detail in relation to the efforts of the Casablanca exposition and subsequent commercial fairs to replace other foreign products with French imports.

¹⁸⁴ Maurice Rouillet (ed.), *Livre d’or de l’Exposition franco-marocaine* (Paris: Librairie Générale et Internationale, 1916), 53-4.

wooden supports (figs. 2.14 & 2.15). On one level, such an artful display of weaponry would not have been unusual in the context of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century European art and ethnographic museums, where weapons and armor were often displayed among other decorative arts to emphasize their craftsmanship and design or were presented as ethnographic artifacts. Likewise, powder horns, daggers, rifles, and swords produced by Moroccan artisans were common features in exhibitions of Moroccan art and culture during the colonial period, including the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains in Paris that I will discuss in the following chapter. On another level, however, I would argue that the Batha Museum's artillery collection probably resonated for both Moroccan and French audiences as more than ethnographic or artistic specimens. In the first place, most of the weapons at the museum were not of local manufacture and therefore could not fit within the institution's definition of "indigenous" arts. The variegated meaning and symbolic potency of these objects becomes clearer when considered alongside another unusual collection displayed within the Batha Museum.

One gallery in the Batha Museum was described in guides to the museum as the "Salle des Souvenirs Impériaux" ("Gallery of Imperial Souvenirs/Memories"). This room included a royal parasol, several flags and standards, "a settee upon which Moulay Hafid received the first resident general of France in Morocco [Lyautey], a painted royal sedan, and cage in which Moulay Hafid imprisoned the pretender-to-the-throne Bou Hamara while exhibiting him to the public" (fig. 2.16).¹⁸⁵ Bou Hamara (Jilali ben Driss Zirhouni al-Youssefi) had served in the royal Moroccan court under Sultan Moulay Abdelaziz (r.1894-1908) but was eventually imprisoned and later relocated to Algeria.

¹⁸⁵ Prosper Ricard, *Maroc (Les Guides bleus)*, 8th edition (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1954), 328-9 [1st edition published in 1919].

Around 1902, at the height of internal political instability in Morocco, Bou Hamara returned to Morocco disguised as a brother of the Sultan and attempted to claim the throne; after commanding a large area of the Rif mountains near Taza, Bou Hamara was finally captured by the subsequent Sultan Moulay Hafid (r.1908-1912) and imprisoned in a small cage until his execution. The “cage du Bou Hamara” had also appeared at the Casablanca Exposition alongside two royal carriages in the courtyard of the Pavillon du Génie. While I will discuss the significance of the French protectorate’s repeated display of this cage at further length in chapter 5, its presence in the Batha Palace complex alongside highly symbolic belongings of the last sultan to reign before the establishment of the protectorate provides clues to the representational processes at work in the museum’s galleries.

According to a 1936 guide to the museum, the objects gathered in the “Salle des Souvenirs Impériaux” “evoked memories of the historical Maghzen[sic] and the first steps of pacification.”¹⁸⁶ Recognizing this visual and emotive effect, Katarzyna Pieprzak argues that placement of these “physical objects that represented exchanges of political power” within the space of an art museum at once reduced them to mere aesthetic objects and relegated their symbolic potency to a historical past:

The exchange of power from sultan to governor as commemorated by the 1912 sofa marked the entry of a new empire, the French Empire, onto the scene. By clearly showing that Moroccan imperial activity was a thing of the past, effectively ended by the presence of the sofa, the museum exhibit underscored that the future of Morocco lay with France and the modern world. Objects of Moroccan imperial power would be relegated to the

¹⁸⁶ Letter from the Chef de Service des arts indigènes [Baldoui?] to the Inspecteur Régional du Service des arts indigènes, Fez [Vicaire?], February 28, 1936, including a description of the Batha Museum intended for publication in the *Guide Michelin*. Archives of the Dar Batha Museum, Fez.

category of “memory,” that is, to the past.¹⁸⁷

Which “past” these objects would represent depended in part upon the exhibit’s audience. One French visitor to the museum in 1937 incorporated these objects into a narrative of Morocco’s corruption and decline in the nineteenth century, noting that the “cage du Bou Hamara” along with one of the rooms within the museum, which he claimed to be the room in which Sultan Moulay Abd al-Rahmen (1882-1859) held conference with emissaries of Abd al-Kader while also receiving the French diplomatic mission that included Eugène Delacroix there, represented the “rampant hypocrisy” of Morocco’s pre-protectorate political actors.¹⁸⁸

Similarly, even the weapons and artillery exhibited in the museum might have been read as symbols of Morocco’s failed attempts at modernization during the nineteenth century. The cannons and firearms on display in the museum did not represent current weapon technology of the First World War but rather archaic technologies that had failed Morocco in its attempts to defend itself against French occupation. Many of the weapons were products of “*La Makina*,” an arms fabrication factory constructed by an Italian mission in Fez supported by Sultan Moulay Hassan in the late nineteenth century that, as Pennell has argued, greatly contributed to the kingdom’s growing debt.¹⁸⁹ By 1916, the French protectorate had transformed *La Makina* into a vocational school where Moroccan workers were trained to produce the building materials necessary for the rapid construction of the protectorate’s *villes*

¹⁸⁷ Pieprzak 10.

¹⁸⁸ R. Thomasset, *Le Maroc* (Paris: Fernand Nathan, 1937), 120.

¹⁸⁹ C.R. Pennell, *Morocco from Empire to Independence* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2003).

nouvelles.¹⁹⁰ Yet this rhetoric of failure, decline, corruption—which, as we have seen, also pervaded contemporaneous descriptions of Moroccan arts and cultural production—does not fully represent the significative possibilities of the collection of objects exhibited in Morocco’s museums.

The collection of weapons, artillery, and so-called “imperial souvenirs” at the Batha museum were not simply aesthetically interesting objects or relics of a long-gone past; they also represented a historical continuity between the French protectorate government and the Morocco’s local ruling powers. As I will discuss in chapter 5, and as suggested in the image of Legion of Honor ceremony at Dar Batha, Lyautey was particularly adept at orchestrating symbolic performances of the French protectorate’s cultural fluency and political legitimacy in Morocco through the symbolic and visual mobilization of Morocco’s material and expressive cultures: from his use of a Moroccan-style imperial tent in exhibitions and public events to careful arrangement of “traditional” accouterments at the Dar Batha decoration ceremony. In the same way, the presentation of weapons and royal objects in the Dar Batha Museum might be understood as an attempt to exhibit “local” knowledge of the country’s cultural history. Even today, many Moroccans remember the canons and weaponry collection of the Batha Museum as a “gift” from Sultan Moulay Youssef to the museum.¹⁹¹ In the late 1990’s much of the museum’s arms and artillery collection was transferred to the new national Borj-Nord Museum of Weaponry in Fez, where they are currently exhibited within a vast chronological display of foreign and local weapons used and collected in Morocco from

¹⁹⁰ See Irbouh for a detailed analysis of the trade school at *La Makina*.

¹⁹¹ Personal interview with Mohammad Zaïm, curator of the Dar Batha Museum, Fez, April 2013.

the pre-Islamic period to the twentieth century, many of which were donated to the museum by King Hassan II.

Most of the weaponry in the Batha Museum did in fact come from the private artilleries and royal collections of Morocco's pre-protectorate sultans. Besides the arms actually produced in the *La Makina*, the museum collection included copies of historical Italian armor and weaponry presented to Sultan Moulay Hassan by the Italian mission responsible for the foundry.¹⁹² It also contained a pair of sixteenth-century Spanish crossbows, English rifles, and other unique objects that the Sultan probably obtained as diplomatic gifts. Some objects of European manufacture had been reworked and embellished by Moroccan artisans to "adapt them to the tastes of the country."¹⁹³ For some visitors to the museum, the objects exhibited in the Salle d'Armes powerfully evoked Morocco's rich history of international exchange and diplomacy. One French author writing for the 1936 *Guide Michelin* described the Batha Museum's "curious artillery...[where] crossbows neighbor automatic rifles, wide mouth muskets, long Rifian rifles, canons and mortars, gifts of sovereigns to the Sultan of Morocco" as "evidence of great friendship and harmony."¹⁹⁴ While this author presents a rather romantic vision of the symbolism of the Moroccan sultan's royal artillery, his evaluation suggests that for visitors both French and Moroccan the objects housed in the museum evoked historical narratives and implications beyond the story of the French protectorate's recent

¹⁹² P. de Vigy, "Notes sur quelques armes du Musée du Dar Batha à Fès," *Hespéris* III (1923, 2me trimestre), 265-274: 265.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Letter from the Chef de Service des arts indigènes [Baldoui?] to the Inspecteur Régional du Service des arts indigènes, Fez [Vicaire?], February 28, 1936.

ascendancy to power in Morocco.

Beyond its role as a “conservatory of artisanal practices” or a “depository for objects collected through a protectorate discourse on dying local culture and modernizing reform,”¹⁹⁵ as postcolonial critics have argued, the colonial museum in Morocco functioned as a space for the French protectorate to experiment with strategies for transforming elements of Morocco’s diverse material cultures into potent symbols of Moroccan “art,” “history,” “culture,” and “heritage.” Perhaps through the influence of Lyautey himself, the curators and organizers of these museums drew upon what they saw as local visual languages and vernacular forms of display, including those employed in Morocco’s elite domestic spaces, commercial markets, and royal artilleries. In her study of museums and national identity formation in the late Ottoman Empire, Wendy Shaw suggests that the practice of accumulating weapons, war booty, and architectural spolia within royal palaces and private artilleries of the Ottoman Empire might be understood as a precursor or analog to the modern European museum.¹⁹⁶ Although these “collections” were not open to the general public, these spaces nevertheless pursued ideological ends simply through the act of aggregating and containing politically and culturally potent objects. Shaw argues that in some cases it was the fact that these collections were hidden from view that gave them their symbolic potency and furthered the ideological objectives of their proprietors. Through my discussions with Moroccan colleagues and acquaintances more recently, I discovered that for many Moroccans today, the material

¹⁹⁵ Pieprzak 4-5.

¹⁹⁶ Wendy Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).

contents of the royal palaces remain a mystery and continue to evoke speculations over the fantastic collections and historical objects imagined to be contained within their closed walls.

By the early twentieth century some of the Ottoman Empire's royal collections were transferred to new public museums that, as Shaw argues, "could represent new communal identities" and "began to serve as templates for developing modes of Ottoman nationalism."¹⁹⁷ A similar process had occurred in France a century earlier, when the Palais du Louvre and the royal collections it contained were transformed into a national museum after the French Revolution, as was the fate of many palace collections across Europe. Accordingly, it could be argued that the transfer of the Moroccan sultan's artillery from the private royal domain to the "public" domain of the art museum during the French protectorate was in part a move to inscribe these objects as part of "national" or, at least, communal "heritage." It is also important to note that not only French officials like Lyautey and members of the cultural administration had a stake in the museum's representational work. Those Moroccan individuals recently elevated to new political and social positions through their collaboration with the French protectorate government, including Sultan Moulay Youssef himself, also benefitted from participating in the construction of new visual and discursive articulations of "Moroccan heritage" that incorporated material objects with such strong ties to former expressions of cultural and political authority in Morocco.

¹⁹⁷ Shaw, 18.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the political, commercial, and social roles of the colonial museum in Morocco and the historical circumstances that led to its particular format. To conclude, I will consider what the protectorate's museums of indigenous art did *not* do. I have argued that these museums employed a visual language and representational strategies common to articulations of national identities throughout the world at this time. Giving rise to notions of "national arts" and other representations of communal heritage, this way of framing national identity arose especially in response to the disruptions of global politics at the turn of the century and through the subsequent world wars. But were the French protectorate's museums of indigenous art actually ever intended to address an "indigenous" audience?

For many contemporary scholars, the answer to this question would be, "no." In her book *Imagined Museums: Art and Modernity in Postcolonial Morocco*, Katarzyna Pieprzak examines how the discourses of decay and immanent demise that shaped the intellectual core of the French protectorate's approach to safeguarding Morocco's local architecture and craft cultures colored subsequent impressions and encounters with the museum in Morocco even into the turn of the twenty-first century. Through a close reading of memoirs and travel narratives written by historical visitors to Morocco's museums and ethnographically-driven conversations with Moroccan colleagues, friends, and other contemporary interlocutors, she approaches a history of the colonial museum through the lens of widespread postcolonial discontent and disappointment with the museum institution in Morocco. She concludes:

[T]he museum in Morocco was never founded as a public institution with the interest, collective practice of memory, or civic education of a general Moroccan public in mind. Rather it functioned as a conservatory for

artisanal practices valorized by colonial administrators and a depository for objects collected through a protectorate discourse on dying local culture and modernizing reform.¹⁹⁸

Indeed, much of the recent literature produced by contemporary Moroccan scholars on the nation's museum culture and its colonial origins recognizes fundamental problems with the institution that include the static nature of the museums and their collections—which have seen few acquisitions and little change in exhibition practices since the colonial period—and a lack of public outreach and popular engagement that has resulted in a widespread feeling within the general Moroccan population that the museums are “not for us.”¹⁹⁹ What these analyses suggest is that the colonial impulse to preserve Morocco's arts and craft cultures—to “save slumbering local arts from a certain death,” in Pieprzak's words—through the work of a museum institution that valorized a limited and fixed notion of these arts actually resulted in the devaluation of “living” artistic and cultural expression in Morocco and a rejection of the experimentation and innovation through which so-called “traditional” arts are able to remain relevant.

The colonial museum landscape did indeed reflect a narrow view of cultural production in Morocco, related to the directors' own predilections and personal experiences as well as the broader interpretations (and misinterpretations) to which the protectorate subjected Moroccan society. While Bel and Ricard's prerogatives in Fez brought certain artistic practices in Morocco to precedence, Lyautey's own conceptualization of the protectorate's role in safeguarding indigenous culture also impacted the museums' material scope. Resident-General Lyautey's policies of political,

¹⁹⁸ Pieprzak 4-5.

¹⁹⁹ Rharib 2006; Kafas 2003; and Skounti 2004.

religious, and cultural “association” impacted not only what the SBA would be charged with protecting and safeguarding within its own museums, but it also incidentally determined what would *not* be included in these museums. For example, according to a 1912 Franco-Moroccan treaty assuring the protection of Muslim religious institutions, the *habous* system (an inalienable religious endowment in Islamic law, known elsewhere in the Arab world as a *waqf*) maintained custodianship over the majority of Morocco’s *madrasas*, hospitals, asylums, mosques, parts of city walls, and libraries.²⁰⁰ While certain medieval *madrasas*, understood by the French to be “defunct,” were designated as historic monuments and thereby entered the managerial realm of the SBA, the contents of most of Morocco’s religious institutions remained outside of its official jurisdiction. As a result, important collections of illuminated manuscripts, carved and inlaid wood *minbars* (pulpits), and other mosque furnishings and implements of religious practice now recognized as “masterpieces” of Moroccan art were not included in the protectorate’s museums of indigenous art.²⁰¹

The omission of such objects from the space of the colonial museum also reveals, once again, the strong interconnection between the French protectorate’s museums and the commercial market. It does not necessarily reveal a widespread disinterest in Morocco’s “sacred arts” on the part of French scholars and administrators. On the contrary, French art historians and anthropologists of the early twentieth century published extensive studies on mosque architecture and decoration in Morocco, took

²⁰⁰ Erzini 2000.

²⁰¹ The recent exhibition organized by the Louvre and the Fondation Nationale des Musées Marocains, *Medieval Morocco: an Empire from Africa to Spain*, was one of the first occasions in which several medieval-era *minbars*, brass chandeliers, and other historically-significant works of art still owned by the *habous* of the Qarawiyyan mosque in Fez traveled abroad.

inventories of local private collections of Islamic manuscripts, and conducted ethnographic research on religious festivals and practices (and their associated material cultures) throughout the country. While scholarly work in Morocco, as published in professional journals like *Hespéris* and *Les Archives marocains*, strove to contextualize Moroccan art, architecture, and material cultures within their religious, historical, and cultural contexts, the exhibitions organized by the SBA (both within the Moroccan museums and abroad) continued to emphasize the decorative and commercial potential of these arts. As an example, while the Batha Museum complex eventually included a workshop for *reliure* (or bookbinding), an art of which the main purpose in Morocco was to embellish and protect sacred or otherwise culturally significant texts, for the administrators of the SBA, it was the leatherwork alone that counted as a work of art (fig. 2.17). This conception was reinforced in one of the French protectorate's exhibits at the 1922 Exposition nationale coloniale in Marseilles where samples of worked leather bindings created by Moroccan artists in French vocational schools contained not Islamic texts but instead French colonial publications.²⁰²

The representations of Moroccan art, history, and cultural heritage in the protectorate's museums were highly contingent upon specific historical circumstances and their interpretation by different actors with political, economic, and personal stakes in these circumstances. While it is difficult to determine how the local Moroccan population—or even the Moroccan staff members, artisans, and other individuals directly involved with the protectorate's museums—understood the representational mission and

²⁰² “Exposition coloniale de Marseille, 1922,” (anonymous), 1MA/100/323 (Faires et expositions 1914-1924, Direction des Affaires Indigènes), Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN).

outcome of these museums in the early twentieth century, it is clear that these colonial-era museums do not deeply resonate with the experiences, identities, and memories of many individuals living in Morocco today. In part, this missed connection is related to the material and conceptual stasis of Morocco's museums after independence: as noted by the contemporary scholars of Moroccan museums cited above, little changed in the contents, display practices, and interpretation of objects in Morocco's museums after independence and even through the end of the twentieth century. As a result contemporary museum-goers in Morocco are faced with a museum landscape still shaped by early-twentieth-century processes of selection and omission, colonial interpretation and misinterpretation, and the complex network of political, commercial, and representational objectives through which Moroccan "heritage" was imagined in the colonial era. It is worth considering what factors led nationalist regimes to overlook (or reject) museums as sites for national identity construction following independence. In the conclusion to the dissertation, I will also begin to examine how influential actors in Morocco's political and cultural fields are currently reshaping the museum in Morocco and what their particular strategies aim to accomplish in the realm of heritage and identity construction.

Images:



Figure 2.1: Interior courtyard of the Oudaïa Museum, Rabat. Photograph taken by the author, 2013.



Figure 2.2: Patio of the Dar Batha Museum, Fez. Photograph taken by the author, 2013.

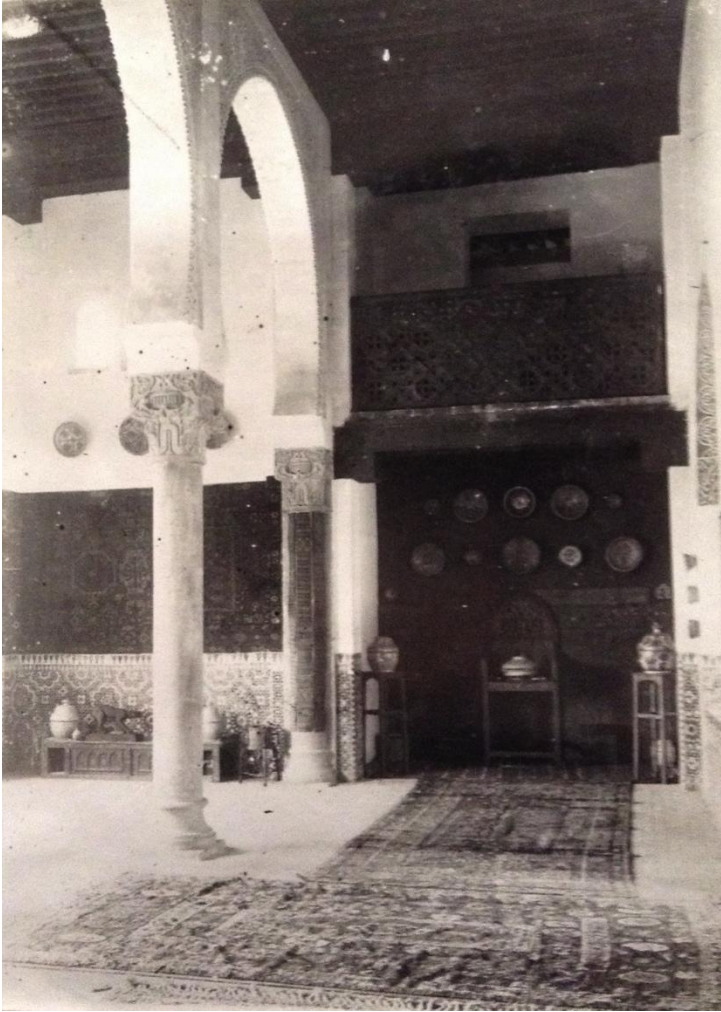


Figure 2.3: Interior room of the Oudaïa Museum (ca. 1920). Photograph mounted to an album page, collection of the Archives du patrimoine culturel du Maroc, Rabat (Archives DPC-Maroc).



Figure 2.4: The faience room in Dar Batha Museum, Fez (ca. 1920). Photograph mounted to an album page, Archives DPC-Maroc.



Figure 2.5: Examples of Tsoul pottery displayed on top of a Chleuh wool carpet (Middle Atlas) from Bel's personal collection. Bel, plate 84.



Figure 2.6: “Textiles Room” in the Dar Batha Museum in Fez, ca. 1920. Photograph (PH-1-308), collection of the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc.



Figure 2.7: “Pottery Merchant of Fez.” Bel, plate 88.



Figure 2.8: Objects displayed in Mohammad Belghazi’s shop near the Rue des Consuls, Rabat. Photograph by the author, 2014.



Figure 2.9: Painted faience plates (Fez, late 18th – early 19th c.) from Eugène Delacroix’s personal collection displayed at the Musée national Eugène Delacroix, Paris. Photograph taken by the author, 2014.



Figure 2.10: Examples of Fassi faience in Mellier’s collection housed at the Dar Batha Museum. Bel, plate 88.



Figure 2.11: “The resident-general at Dar Batha delivering a speech on the occasion of a presentation of decorations.” Bel, plate 111.

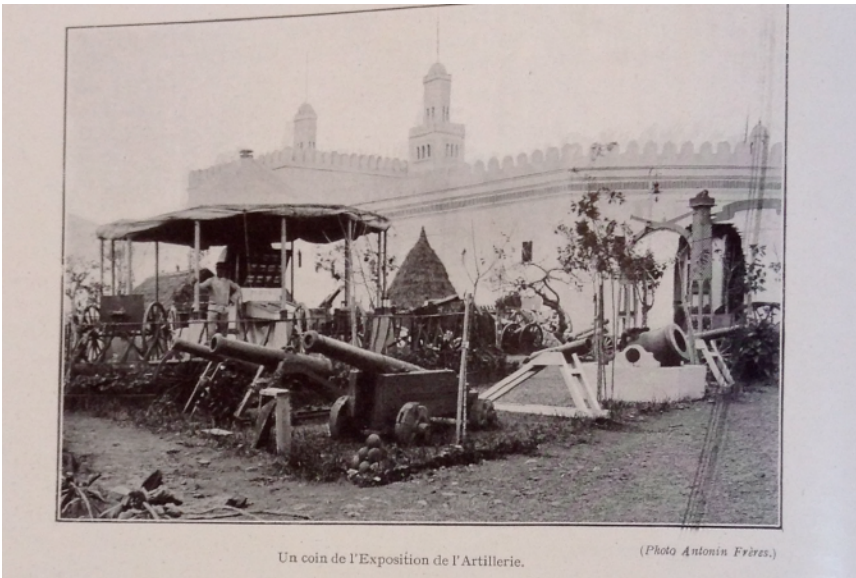


Figure 2.12: “A Corner of the Artillery Exhibition,” Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca, 1915. Rouillet, 54.



Figure 2.13: Patio of the Batha Museum (ca. 1915-20). Photograph mounted to an album page, Archives DPC-Maroc.



Figure 2.14: View of the “Weapons Room” at Dar Batha Musuem (ca. 1915-20). Photograph mounted to an album page, Archives DPC-Maroc.

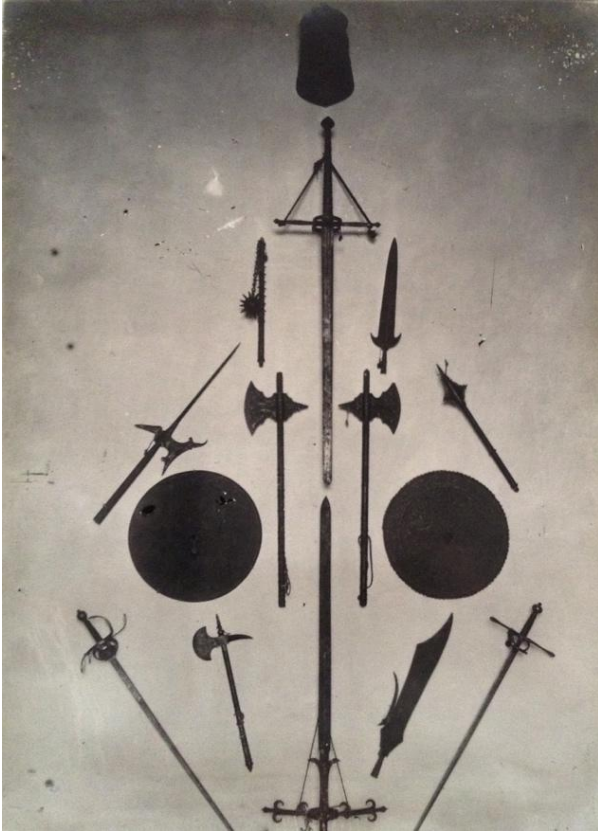


Figure 2.15: Weaponry mounted on the wall of the “Weapons Room” at Dar Batha Musuem (ca. 1915-20). Photograph mounted to an album page, Archives DPC-Maroc.

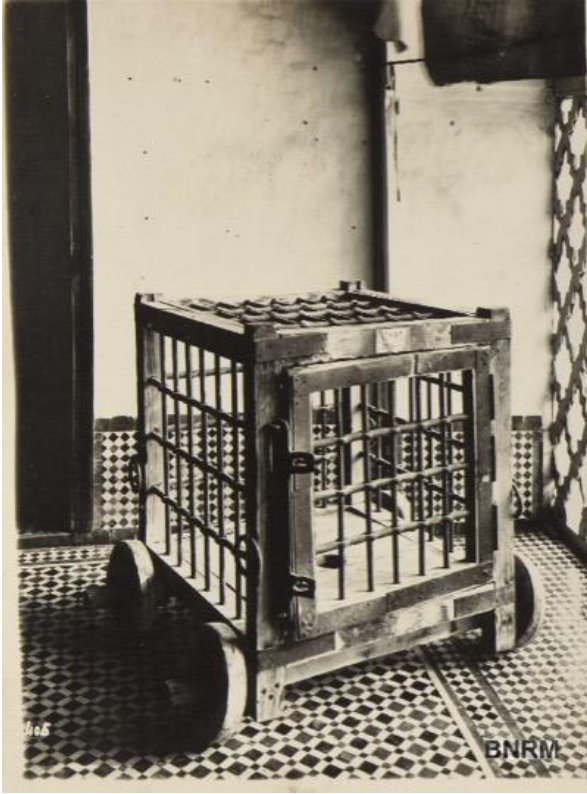


Figure 2.16: The “Cage du Bou Hamara” displayed in the Batha Museum. Photograph (PH-1-311), collection of the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc

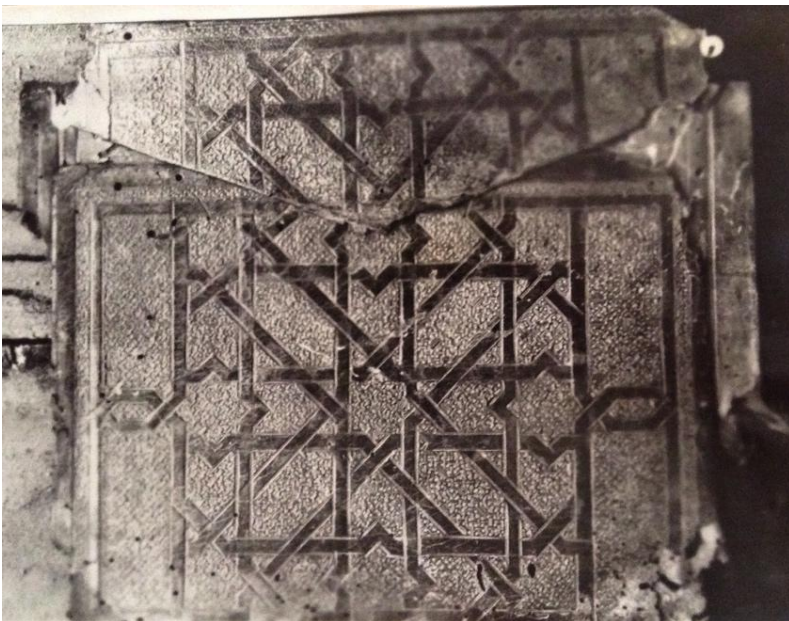


Figure 2.17: Fragment of worked leather bookbinding in the Oudaïa Museum (ca. 1915-20). Photograph mounted in album, Archives DPC-Maroc.

CHAPTER 3

Constructing a History of Moroccan Art: The 1917 Exposition des arts marocains (Paris)

The first official exhibition in France devoted to Moroccan art took place from May through September of 1917 at the Marsan Pavilion in the northwest wing of the Palais du Louvre in Paris. Initiated by the protectorate's Service des Beaux-Arts, Antiquités, et Monuments Historiques, the organization of the Exposition des arts marocains was led by the artist and colonial administrator Joseph de la Nézière, then assistant-director of the SBA, and Auguste Terrier, the director of the Office du Maroc in Paris and a staunch supporter of Resident-General Lyautey's imperialist efforts in Morocco. With Lyautey temporarily on leave from his post in Morocco for a brief three-month stint as France's Minister of War at the beginning of 1917, the inauguration of the exhibition was overseen by the interim Resident-General, Henri Gouraud.

The exhibition's confluence with the events of World War I provides a context for understanding the objectives of its colonialist organizers. With the outbreak of world war occurring only two years into the establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco, Lyautey and his supporters faced the constant challenge of convincing the French government and public of the benefits for France of continuing its "pacification" of Morocco despite the fiscal and social burdens of war. On the one hand, the protectorate government approached this task through the promotion of Morocco's unique agricultural, industrial, and human resources, which included not only wheat and

phosphates but also Moroccan soldiers and laborers. On the other hand, as the war progressed and more Moroccan troops joined the ranks of French colonial soldiers fighting for France, proponents of Lyautey's regime argued for France's responsibility towards its Moroccan soldiers and their families, presenting the moral and economic support of colonial Morocco as a patriotic duty.

The organizers of the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains capitalized upon both of these propositions: officially dedicating the exhibition to the Moroccan soldiers who had contributed to the French war effort, they urged its Parisian audience to demonstrate appreciation for these soldiers' sacrifices by purchasing a ticket to attend the exhibition. Furthermore, visual and written propaganda surrounding the event, including the exhibition's poster, asserted that French patronage of Morocco's arts and craft industries would have economic as well as social benefits for the French protectorate and the Moroccan population it sustained. Designed by De la Nézière himself, the poster features an illustration of a wounded Moroccan *tirailleur*, or sharp-shooter, looking over the shoulders of a seated potter consumed with placing the finishing touches upon a set of Fassi-style blue and white glazed vessels (fig. 3.1). But more than fleeting patriotism was required in order to develop a lasting tradition of patronage and esteem for Morocco's arts in France. Indeed, as we will see later on in this chapter, more was at stake in the visual tactics of the poster itself.

The exhibition's organizers and contributors, mostly colonial administrators and entrepreneurs vested in the future of Morocco's art industries, shared an agenda of convincing the public that Moroccan art itself was fundamentally *worth* studying, protecting, and, ultimately, buying. Crucial to obtaining this goal was the task of

attracting the attention of an elite community of French collectors, artists, and academics who might impart their own cultural capital and expertise to the ambitions of the exhibition. The participation of such a specialized audience was secured through the exhibition's institutional host and co-organizers in France, the Union Centrale des arts décoratifs (UCAD), who provided a floor of their new Museum of Decorative Arts in the Marsan Pavilion for the exhibition; and the Society of French Orientalist Painters, led by the eminent art historian Léonce Bénédite, whose members contributed works to be displayed in one room of the exhibition. Alongside Joseph de la Nézière, Raymond Koechlin, the curator of the UCAD's museum and a collector and historian of French, Japanese, Chinese, and Islamic arts, played a central role in the intellectual management of the exhibition.

For Koechlin and his colleagues in the UCAD, the Exposition des arts marocains presented an opportunity to contribute new French scholarship to and expand the material corpus of the young discipline of Islamic art. In his overview of the 1917 exhibition, Koechlin remarked: "Until these last few years, Moroccan art did not have its place in the history of Muslim art; France, by installing itself in Morocco, has given it its place and allowed us to know today some of the most beautiful works constructed in the land of Islam"²⁰³ While France's colonial presence in Morocco contributed to the growth of French scholarship on the Islamic world, the expertise of French scholars in Moroccan history, society, and culture reinforced the protectorate's own claims to cultural authority and political legitimacy in the region. In addition to commissioning articles and reviews concerning Moroccan history, architecture, and art in French journals and publications,

²⁰³ Raymond Koechlin, *Une Exposition d'art marocain*, extrait de la *Gazette des beaux-arts* (July-September 1917), 6.

the organizers of the 1917 exhibition arranged a series of conferences that addressed diverse political, historical, and economic topics concerning French colonialism in Morocco. In garnering academic interest in and elite patronage of the new field of “Moroccan art,” the Exposition des arts marocains presented Morocco’s cultural products as legitimate objects of scholarly and artistic attention, while bolstering the French protectorate’s solicitation of metropolitan support.

Finally, underlying the immediate economic and political objectives of the exhibition were profound claims about the nature of the modern French imperial project, an endeavor that relied upon the conceptual maintenance of absolute difference between France and its modern colonial subjects. The history of Moroccan art constructed at the beginning of the twentieth century through events like the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains relied upon an organicist narrative structure, according to which Moroccan civilization was understood to have progressed towards its apogee in the medieval period only to face subsequent cultural decline. The interplay of these historical claims, repeated in the published literature surrounding the event, and the visual mechanics operating in the space of the exhibition itself resulted in the implicit argument that Moroccan art and, by extension, Moroccan society was fundamentally “historical” or “traditional” in nature and therefore perpetually located outside of the experience of modernity.

Morocco and the Discipline of “Islamic Art”

By the time the Exposition des arts marocains took place in 1917 the scholarly discipline that would come to be known as Islamic art history had already taken root in France through a number of exhibitions and seminal publications. At least six important

European exhibitions had been dedicated to Islamic art since 1885; nevertheless, the parameters of the field were still very much in flux, subject to the rapid and often messy process of selection and validation fundamental to the formation of a new scholarly discipline and an associated corpus of materials. The Exposition des arts marocains presented a real opportunity for its participants to meaningfully contribute to the shape of this field, while at the same time validating a new category of “Moroccan art.”

Despite a clear interest on the part of scholars and collectors in art and architecture produced in Islamic lands in the late nineteenth century, the notion of an all-encompassing category of “Islamic” art was still contested in the first decades of the twentieth century. Foretelling the debate that continues today over the relevance and accuracy of the term “Islamic” to describe the arts and cultures produced by geographically and temporally disparate communities, most European scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries relied upon a terminology based upon perceived ethnic or geographical categories, such as “Indian,” “Persian,” “Turkish,” “Arab,” “Moorish,” or “Saracenic.”²⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the introduction of the term “Muslim” art in some early exhibitions reveals a desire on the part of at least some scholars and collectors at the beginning of the century to incorporate the arts produced in Iran, the Levant, the Ottoman Empire, India, and North Africa and Southern Spain into a single discipline and corpus of objects, one based upon the notion of a religious “other,” an alternative to

²⁰⁴ Roxburgh notes that the term “Saracenic,” coined by Stanley Lane-Poole in 1886, “attempted to convey the fact of a multiracial and multiconfessional society with the general senses of ‘eastern’ and ‘medieval.’” David J. Roxburgh, “Au Bonheur des Amateurs: Collecting and Exhibiting Islamic Art, ca. 1880-1910,” *Ars Orientalist* 30, Exhibiting the Middle East: Collections and Perceptions of Islamic Art (2000), 9-38: 32 (note 9).

Judeo-Christian civilization.²⁰⁵

Beyond terminology, a challenge faced by early proponents of an “Islamic” art was how to delimit the discipline’s temporal, geographic, and material parameters. The initial geographical expanse of Islamic art had much to do with imperial and colonial expansion into the regions of the world where Islam was or had been practiced on a large scale, in the Middle East, North Africa, and India. Not only did such expansion afford European collectors, scholars, and consumers heightened exposure and access to the arts and cultures of these regions, but also studying them became an integral part of the political, scientific, and commercial agendas of European powers seeking authority in these places.²⁰⁶ As Zeynep Çelik has argued, the exhibition and appropriation of “Islamic” art and architecture, particularly in the context of World’s Fairs and Universal Exhibitions in the nineteenth century and later, was also a strategy for defining and asserting national identities in Europe on the international stage.²⁰⁷ As Islamic art became a viable scholarly and commercial object in the late nineteenth century, European

²⁰⁵ Blair and Bloom argue that this “all-embracing view of Islam and Islamic art was a by-product of European interest in delineating the history of religions, in which the multifarious varieties of human spiritual expression were lumped together in normative notions of a single “Islam,” which could be effectively juxtaposed not only to heterodox ‘variants’ such as ‘Shiism’ and ‘Sufism’ but also, and more importantly in the Western view, to equally normative notions of ‘Christianity’ or ‘Judaism.’” Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, “The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field,” *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 1 (Mar., 2003), 152-184: 153. Even then, some participants in the developing field found this religion-based mode of categorization to be objectionable; some of the collectors who loaned objects to the 1893 Exhibition of Muslim Art in Paris were unhappy with the exhibition’s use of the term “Muslim art” rather than “Arab art” as earlier exhibitions had done [See Roxburgh 2000: 32 (note 9)].

²⁰⁶ Much has been written about the integral role of studying, cataloguing, and “knowing” subject cultures to the imperial project; in the context of French imperialism, for example, Zeynep Çelik and others have produced extensive studies on the technologies of representation developed and employed in the context of European imperialism, particularly beginning with Napoleon’s *Description de l’Egypte*.

²⁰⁷ See Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World’s Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

states found it useful to promote the artistic and cultural products of those “Muslim” societies in which they held a stake. Public exhibitions played an important role in drawing out these boundaries and defining the intellectual and material content of the field.

Few North African objects were included in early French exhibitions of Islamic arts, which were instead dominated by Persian, Middle Eastern, and Indian art objects. For example, the limited North African materials displayed at the Exposition des Arts Musulmans of 1903, organized by the UCAD’s Jules Maciet and Raymond Koechlin at the Palais de l’Industrie, consisted mostly of Egyptian material culture with a few exceptions, such as Algerian weaponry and an eighteenth-century ceramic plate produced in Morocco.²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, as the approach to French colonial governance in North Africa began to shift from an ideology of assimilation to a policy of association, cultural administrators and art historians in France’s North African colonies began to broaden their focus from the region’s classical past to its more recent Islamic heritage. This intellectual and political shift was marked by exhibitions of “Muslim art” that featured Algerian, Tunisian, and even some Moroccan art objects, including exhibitions in Paris in 1893 and Algiers in 1905.²⁰⁹

Prior to France and Spain declaring their protectorates in Morocco in 1912, most of Morocco was closed to Europeans. Consequently, European scholars had limited

²⁰⁸ D1/ 31: Exposition Arts Musulmans, 20/4-30/5 (1903), Archives de l’Union centrale des arts décoratifs, Bibliothèque des arts décoratifs, Paris (UCAD).

²⁰⁹ French administrators in colonial Algeria proposed the idea for the first museum dedicated to Islamic art, in this case called the museum of “Arab” art, and George Marye, a colonial administrator in Algeria and the curator of the Musée d’Alger, was responsible for organizing the first exhibition of Islamic art in France in 1893 (if we do not count art displayed at the Universal Exposition of 1878).

access to Morocco's material culture.²¹⁰ Because of this, the turn-of-the-century exhibitions of North African Islamic art actually included very few examples of Moroccan art. It was not until the Exposition d'art Musulman d'Alger held in Algiers in 1905, which included a "Salle Marocaine" displaying carpets from Rabat, embroidery from Fez, and various weapons and metalwork, that a significant collection of Moroccan objects appeared in a public exhibition of Islamic arts.²¹¹ By 1917, however, it was clear that the cultural administrators of the French protectorate of Morocco were dedicated to making up for this absence by claiming the place of Morocco's arts in the discipline of Islamic art history.

One rhetorical strategy employed by the organizers of the Exposition des arts marocains was to present Morocco's artistic heritage as a new "discovery" for the Western world made possible through France's colonial presence in Morocco. Such a claim not only justified the protectorate's project in Morocco but also emphasized the exhibition's central task of reclaiming Morocco's place in the history of Islamic civilization. Elsewhere, French politicians and colonialists represented the installation of France in Morocco as a moment of discovery, the penetration of the "medieval fortress" that was Morocco. Likewise, for French art historians and other scholars, the installation of the French protectorate in Morocco presented an opportunity to access a wealth of materials—collections of manuscripts, archaeological ruins, historical palaces, an entire

²¹⁰ This statement should be qualified: while it contains some truth—there were major restrictions on commerce with non-Muslim countries and little movement in and out of Morocco in the early nineteenth century—it may also be an exaggeration used by French colonialists to emphasize the feat accomplished in "opening up" Morocco to the Western world. Also, despite these trade restrictions, objects from Morocco did circulate in other ways before the French protectorate, as gifts or war booty, for example.

²¹¹ See Stéphane Gsell, *Exposition d'Art Musulman (Médersa d'Alger), Notice sommaire des collections exposées* (Alger-Mustapha: Imprimerie Algérienne, 1905).

built landscape—that had never been studied—at least by modern Europeans—before. In the scramble for authority and relevance in a developing field, such access to an “untouched” corpus of material was no doubt inspiring for those scholars and collectors hoping to make a mark in the discipline of Islamic art. Holding an exhibition of Moroccan arts in the galleries of Koechlin’s own Musée des arts décoratifs was crucial to the agenda of associating Morocco with this academic field.

Moroccan Art as a “Decorative Art”

The exhibition’s venue was a strategic choice made early on in the process of its development. In a letter of February 1917, in which he describes the planned exhibition to Resident-General Gouraud, Joseph De la Nézière explains that despite the many locations offered to the organizing committee as potential sites for the exposition, including the Jeu de Paume at the Tuileries, the Pavillon de Marsan was the most appropriate choice, arguing: “...considering how felicitous it would be for the products of Moroccan art to obtain the official stamp of ‘decorative arts,’ we could only give preferences to M. Koechlin’s offer.”²¹² The Pavillon de Marsan in the northwest wing of the Palais du Louvre had become home to the UCAD and its museum in 1905. Founded in 1882 as a private association dedicated to the promotion and rejuvenation of the decorative arts in France, by 1917 the UCAD had organized over eighty temporary exhibitions of both domestic and foreign decorative arts, including one of the first exhibitions of “Muslim” art in France, held in 1903 at the Palais de l’Industrie.

Collaborating with such an institution imparted legitimacy to the Exposition des arts

²¹² Joseph de la Nézière to the Acting Résident Général (Henri Gouraud), 4 February 1917, D1/103 (Exposition d'art Marocain), UCAD.

marocains within the French art world, just as Koechlin, by joining its organizing committee, bestowed upon the event his own authority as a distinguished collector and historian of French, Japanese, Chinese, and “Islamic” decorative arts.²¹³

Drawing upon the social and cultural capital of the contributors to the exhibition was a crucial strategy for incorporating Morocco’s cultural products into the regimes of value through which the French art world operated. Lisa Bernasek has argued that the central goal of the Exposition des arts marocains was to train the tastes of its visitors so that they would appreciate, and hopefully consume, Morocco’s artistic products:

Moroccan products [were] meant to be seen as high-status collectors’ items, as evidenced by the impressive list of both French and Moroccan elites who loaned pieces from their collections. At the exhibit visitors could admire eighteenth- and nineteenth-century carpets from General Lyautey’s collections alongside more recent ‘reconstitutions,’ and the recently-made items for sale made owning a ‘museum quality’ piece possible for a larger public.²¹⁴

The exhibition drew upon a cultural hierarchy of taste, which, in turn, reinforced political and economic power hierarchies in French-protectorate society. Resident-General Lyautey, himself, and his wife counted among the most socially-eminent contributors, alongside other notable French officers and colonial administrators who lent objects for the exhibition.²¹⁵ Elite Moroccan officials also participated in the event, with Thami

²¹³ Koechlin loaned over fifty objects from his personal collection for the 1903 *Exposition des Arts Musulmans* at the Palais de l’Industrie in Paris. His contribution ranged from thirteenth-century Iraqi metalwork to fifteenth century Persian and Spanish ceramics. See Gaston Migeon et al., *L’Exposition des Arts Musulmans, Catalogue Descriptif* (Paris: Société française d’Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1903).

²¹⁴ Lisa Marie Bernasek, “Representation and the Republic: North African art and material culture in Paris,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2007), 47.

²¹⁵ A letter from Michaux Bellaire, director of the Mission Scientifique du Maroc-Tanger, February 2, 1917, notes that “la plus belle collection d’objets marocains serait celle du Général Lyautey, qui a acheté à Fez de très belles choses et à Rabat également.” D1/103 (Exposition d’art Marocain), UCAD.

Glouai and Driss El Mokri both lending from their collections of illuminated manuscripts.²¹⁶

The organizers of the exhibition were not only presented with the task of associating the objects in the exhibition with a socially and culturally elite community of collectors. They also faced the challenge of claiming the objects' status as "art," thereby distancing them from other categories to which "non-Western" cultural products might have been relegated. Such a symbolic move relied on both an established hierarchy of taste and a perceived hierarchy of cultural production. According to notions of social evolution, the "fine arts" were the epitome of high "civilization," while other cultural products fell somewhere in the hierarchy between fine art and "non-art." According to this model, modern European societies represented the highest level of civilizational progress and had thereby achieved the capacity to produce works of art derived from a concept, or ideal, rather than a utilitarian need. Through circular logic, non-European societies, necessarily on a lower evolutionary rung, did not yet hold the social capacity to produce such "fine art" and, therefore, the cultural products they created were something else. The exact nature of this "something else" varied according to the society under question and is still a source of debate for those who continue to rely upon this notion of hierarchy.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the "decorative arts" were subject to

²¹⁶ In a later article in *Nord-Sud*, Glaoui and Mokri are included among a list of "collectors" that includes French military figures, businessmen, colonial administrators, and high-society families. All four of the Moroccan individuals included in the list are described as "bibliophiles" and collectors of illuminated manuscripts: "Si el Hadj Thami Glaoui bibliophile de haute culture, qui a réuni un remarquable ensemble de manuscrits intéressant surtout l'histoire de la dynastie régnante"; "Si Driss el Mokri de Fez amateur de manuscrits bien calligraphiés, enluminés et reliés." Prosper Ricard, "Les Collectionneurs," *Nord-Sud: Revue Mensuelle Illustré d'Informations Marocaines*, Edition hors-séries: Les arts indigènes (1934), 55.

reevaluation throughout Europe, in some contexts becoming a valorized category of cultural production, particularly for those objects that did not bear sufficient qualities to be included in the “fine arts,” but that were perceived (according to varying political, social, and economic motives) to be more than purely utilitarian.²¹⁷ Notably, by definition, the fine arts excluded the Islamic arts and any other form of expression that did not emphasize figurative representation. While European theorists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries understood their own domestic decorative arts to be just one possible form of artistic expression—one that often drew upon historical forms and was produced in conversation with both “industry” and the “fine arts”—Islamic art could *only* be decorative.

But for those with a stake in the valorization of Islamic art or other non-Western arts within the European discipline of art history, the qualification as “decorative” was not a limiting factor but actually a tool for distancing these categories of material culture from “non-art.” In other words, by de-emphasizing their use-value or cultural significance and foregrounding their aesthetic qualities, European art historians and collectors could remove “non-Western” objects from their messy local cultural contexts and re-signify them according to external, European notions of “art.” Receiving the “stamp of approval” from the UCAD, and the collectors and scholars with which the institution was associated, symbolically elevated a selection of Morocco’s cultural products to the level of “decorative arts.”

²¹⁷ Rosella Froissart examines theoretical and pedagogical approaches to the decorative arts in France during the second half of the nineteenth century through the lens of the “l’art social” movement, which she describes as a “quest to establish a modern style that could be diffused through all sections of society.” Rosella Froissart, “Socialization of the Beautiful and Valorization of the Useful: The Decorative Arts in France, from the Utopias of 1848 to Art Nouveau,” *West 86th* 21, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2014), 69-101.

Another factor that threatened the reception of Morocco's arts in France was the public's potential to associate them with those North African products already circulating in the commercial market. Although the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains was the first opportunity for many Parisians to behold objects from Morocco in the official context of a French cultural institution, many of the exhibition's visitors would no doubt have carried with them preconceptions of Moroccan art and culture, whether from travelogues and orientalist literature or through their encounters with North African material culture in other contexts including universal expositions or commercial galleries. Here, a particular kind of object was imagined: the "hybrid," commercialized, cheap, "inauthentic" souvenirs of a "romanticized" Orient. De La Nézière draws upon this viewpoint in his introduction to the *Exposition des arts marocains* when he evokes the inauthentic, "Oriental" products once sold in the *Rue du Caire* and now filling the trinket shops that had arisen along the streets across from the Palais du Louvre:

For those simple spirits, African art materializes in the products of the *ex-rue du Caire*, that has found a home under the arcades of the *rue de Rivoli*: stools incrustated with mother-of-pearl, screens in *moucharabiehs*[sic] neighboring embroidered slippers and sequin necklaces: all the bric-a-brac of an Orient of bazaars.²¹⁸

De La Nézière envisions the *Exposition des arts marocains* as a corrective to the damaging impact of this flood of Orientalist "bric-a-brac" into the domestic market on perceptions of North African art and culture in France.²¹⁹ In contrast with the "simplistic

²¹⁸ Joseph De la Nézière, "Notre Protectorat sur l'Art Marocain," *L'art et les Artistes*, Numéro Spécial: "Le Maroc Artistique," 1917, 47-51: 47.

²¹⁹ As Roxburgh explains, the director of the exhibition committee that organized the 1910 Exhibition of Masterpieces of Muhammedan Art in Munich, Hugo von Tshudi, similarly discounted the objects found in the contemporary bazaars of the Middle East, claiming that these modern objects of supposedly much lesser quality than the art produced historically in the region had "spoiled (*verdorben*: also polluted) the educated person's pleasure in Oriental art."

spirits” who associate this material cultural with an imagined, theatrical “Orient,” De La Nézière presents his colleagues as authoritative experts introducing a cohesive “Moroccan art” to the French public, “an original art, which possesses a robust personality equal to our grand styles, a decorative art of the first class, affirmed in all branches.”²²⁰

By the turn of the century, the commercialization of “Oriental” culture was for many symbolized by the infamous Rue du Caire of the 1889 Universal Exposition in Paris. Despite its subsequent replication in Universal Expositions and World’s Fairs even into the twentieth century, the Rue du Caire became the epitome of inauthenticity and crude entertainment for certain critics, particularly those invested in developing the discipline of Islamic art history. Indeed, Gaston Migeon criticized the first major exhibition of Islamic art in France, the 1893 Exposition d’Art Musulman at the Palais de l’Industrie, for its failure to challenge public expectations about the arts of Islamic lands, by then relegated in the popular imagination to the domain of commercial entertainment and touristic souvenir, writing that “for the most part [the exhibition] only revealed of the Orient that which a slightly curious tourist might have come to know in the various bazaars of the Levant.”²²¹

An alternative to the image of the public bazaars of World’s Fairs and “Eastern” tourist destinations was that of the collector’s private domain. David Roxburgh has

[Roxburgh’s translation]. Roxburgh, 23, quoting *Ausstellung München 1910 amtlicher Katalog*, 7.

²²⁰ De la Nézière, *L’art et les Artistes* (1917): 47.

²²¹ Gaston Migeon, "L'exposition des arts musulmans a l'Union centrale des arts decoratifs," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd series, 29 [1903], 351-68: 368.

argued that early temporary exhibitions of Islamic art drew upon practices of domestic display employed by elite collectors in their homes and ateliers in an attempt to evoke the cultural capital of the individual collector.²²² He notes that the display techniques practiced in collectors' private or semi-private spaces were understood to reflect the unique personality and elevated tastes of the proprietors. Public gallery arrangements drawing upon such techniques often left the impression of an "expert disorder," with objects seemingly arranged "to produce a semblance of informality, a seemingly random array but within a unified structure that enhanced the aesthetic value of the individual components."²²³

The 1917 Exposition des arts marocains employed a similar strategy of display, drawing simultaneously upon the "ordered disorder" of the collector's atelier and French notions of the elite "maison arabe." The exhibition occupied ten rooms on the ground floor of the Pavillon de Marsan, which consisted of a large atrium leading to smaller galleries radiating from this central space. Upon entering the atrium, called the "Grand Hall," visitors immediately encountered the garden kiosk that had been previously exhibited as the "Glaoui pavilion" at the Casablanca Exposition franco-marocaine two years earlier (fig. 3.2). The kiosk was surrounded on either side by objects constructed from a variety of materials—wool carpets, unglazed pottery, jewelry, leatherwork, silk fabrics, embroidery, carved plaster, ceramic tiles, and metalwork—and originating from regions throughout Morocco. Recalling the French protectorate's museums of indigenous arts in Morocco, objects in the Grand Hall as well as in the surrounding

²²² Roxburgh.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 13.

galleries were displayed in glass vitrines, hung on the walls, and gathered into picturesque arrangements, such as the “*lit de parade* (ceremonial bed)” that functioned in the exhibition not only as an object in its own right, an example of a carved wood furnishing, but as a base to display various textiles: embroidery, silk brocade, and lace (fig. 3.3). Objects were arranged not to showcase their potential use or ethnographic significance, but rather to create a pleasing design or the impression of material abundance. This impression of copiousness and variety was enhanced by the rather haphazard combination of objects old and new, of different materials and forms, and from dispersed regions of Morocco, within each gallery space. If the general impression of elite domestic space was suggested by objects like the *lit de parade* and Glaoui’s garden kiosk, in some cases the agency of the collector was directly invoked by displaying objects according to provenance, as encountered in a vitrine displaying jewelry “reconstructed” by Moroccan artists under the care of Madame Reveillaud (fig. 3.4). In the accompanying catalogs, as well as the Maciet album assembled to commemorate the event and now held in the UCAD archives, the contributor for each illustrated object is nearly always noted.²²⁴

In his overview of the 1893 Exposition d’Art Musulman, Georges Marye evokes the importance of the collector-scholar to the success of the event, arguing that even if it boasted fewer objects than its predecessor (the 1885 exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London) the Paris show was superior thanks to the exquisite “taste” of the French collectors who contributed to the show:

²²⁴ “Exposition d’art marocain au Musée des arts décoratifs (mai-septembre 1917), peinture, céramique, tissus et broderies, tapis, bois sculpté et peint, plâtre sculpté, reliure, cuir incisé et brodé, armes et objets divers en métal, bijoux” [album of 211 photographs and reproductions], Cote E 225, Bibliothèque des arts décoratifs, Paris.

I don't believe that one could have assembled monuments of a more refined taste. It is enough to wander the halls of the Exhibition to be struck by the sense of art that emerges from all of the specimens that are gathered there. There exist schools of collecting just as there are schools of painting. The English or German amateur [connoisseur] does not feel in the same way as the French amateur does.²²⁵

For Marye, the “artistic” merits of the Islamic arts exhibited were attributed not to the objects themselves but to the good taste of the collectors.

But relying so heavily on the persona of the collector or the host institution poses a potential problem. If the object's perceived “authenticity” or “value” is tied so deeply to these external factors, what happens when it is removed from this specific exhibitionary context? Or, on the other hand, what happens if the outward markers of cultural capital are appropriated within other contexts? What happens, for example, when the collector's “taste” is mimicked, and thereby corrupted, within the commercial sphere? This was especially a problem when dealing with a group of objects that was still so tenuously understood to be “art.” Roxburgh argues that such an occurrence ultimately impacted the power of the “domestic” strategy of display in temporary exhibitions of Islamic art when it began to be coopted by department stores and other commercial spaces, thereby upsetting these social distinctions and challenging the relationship of such display tactics with “authenticity.”

Roxburgh describes the collector's “carefully orchestrated domestic spaces” as being “in essence, non-discursive spaces for the eye's contemplation.”²²⁶ One particular problem with this method of display is that it has the potential to mask the cultural or

²²⁵ Georges Marye, “L'Exposition d'Art Musulman (premier article),” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd series, 10 (1893), 490-99: 491.

²²⁶ Roxburgh 29.

historical meaning of the objects themselves with social or biographical “information” about the collector, on the one hand, or pure visual delight, on the other. Georges Marye also recognized this problem of evoking the persona of the collector while also asserting the “scientific” value of the objects in their own right in the context of his 1893 exhibition, explaining the problem as the difficulty of finding a display technique to balance the “picturesque” and the “scientific”: “It is certain that the picturesque side was sought after, caressed, and that its development, its seductions even, were not without bearing any harm to the character of *a body of work that should have only been perceived as scientific.*”²²⁷ On the other hand, how else might the “artistic” merits of these objects be asserted, if not relying upon the aura of the collector?

“Style” and Strategies of Display

One strategy for realizing the “scientific” potential of a body of material culture, as exemplified in anthropology, ethnography, archaeology and other social sciences in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was to develop some system of classification. Suzanne Preston Blier explains in her article, “Art Systems and Semiotics,” that European scholars of African art in the 1920s through 40s looked to taxonomies employed in the natural sciences, “taxonomies based on careful description and analysis that have long been employed for the organization of fauna, flora, and geological matter,” beginning with Eckart von Sydow’s “pole style” of 1923 used to classify the arts of certain African cultures to M. Olbrechts’ 1946 work *Plastiek van Congo*, which approached style “scientifically,” proposing a “system of formal analysis

²²⁷ Marye 490. My italics.

through which one could intelligently separate and systematically evaluate the formal qualities of sculpture so as to ascribe it to particular art genus, class, and broader cultural species.”²²⁸

In addition to drawing upon classificatory systems developed in other “scientific” disciplines, early art historians looked to more established fields within their own discipline as models for defining parameters and as points of comparison. Drawing upon a body of known and already valued objects allowed art historians to create art systems for new fields that would otherwise be scientifically “unwieldy,” to draw upon Blair and Bloom’s terminology, like “Islamic” or “African” art.²²⁹ Blier notes that

[i]n African art, the question of the taxonomic base is an especially important one, for lacking an underlying historical frame with which to structure the vast corpus of art (not because of the lack of history in Africa but because of its breadth) one has been compelled to look elsewhere—by and large outside the works—for a means of organization.²³⁰

It is not that societies on the continent of Africa did not have histories, but rather that the vast category of “African” art could not be contained within one unifying historical narrative.

Likewise, in attempting to define an entire field of artistic production linked only by its relationship to a global religion, scholars of “Islamic” art found (and continue to find) that they were confronted with incredibly diverse artistic practices, histories, and communities. Gülru Necipoglu explains that the emphasis upon finding a unifying characteristic, “defining the ‘essential’ character of Islamic art,” led art historians of the

²²⁸ Suzanne Preston Blier, “Art Systems and Semiotics: The Question of Art, Craft and Colonial Taxonomies in Africa,” *The American Journal of Semiotics* 6, no.1 (1988-89), 7-18:12.

²²⁹ Blair and Bloom.

²³⁰ Blier 12.

nineteenth century to locate a principle aesthetic characteristic supposedly shared among the arts of all Islamic lands: the arabesque. The “arabesque” was then further divided into subcategories of “Islamic” decoration: floral, geometric, epigraphic, and figurative. He argues that such an approach to Islamic art as purely decorative, like that expressed in Owen Jones’ *Grammar of Ornament*, “masked its historicity and standardized the semiotic potential of very diverse regimes of visibility, with very distinct ornamental languages....”²³¹ Historians of “Moroccan art,” an unwieldy field in its own right, turned to the identification of stylistic affinities with objects already accepted in the field of “Islamic” art as way to begin to articulate the disciplinary boundaries and historical narrative of “Moroccan art.”²³²

The system of classification employed by scholars of Moroccan art is most clearly presented in the catalogs and other published literature accompanying the exhibition. In these publications, as well as other monographs of Moroccan art and decoration that would be published subsequently, Morocco’s decorative arts are generally classified according to material and construction techniques. For example, the special edition of *France-Maroc* published for the exhibition begins with a collection of essays dedicated to each “decorative branch” from wood painting to leatherwork.²³³

With its somewhat haphazard combination of materials, regions, and historical

²³¹ Gülru Necipoglu, “L’idée de décor dans les régimes de visibilité islamiques,” in *Purs décors?: Arts de l’Islam, regards du XIXe siècle*, ed. Rémi Labrusse, 10-23, (Paris: Musée du Louvre Editions, 2007), 10.

²³² As an example, the 1917 exhibition brought together diverse cultural products under the all-assuming category of “Moroccan art,” while such objects could easily be described according to the terminology of other categories (“Moorish,” “Hispano-Mauresque,” “Arab,” “Berber,” “Jewish”), each of which could function at once as subcategories of or alternatives to the category of “Moroccan” art.

²³³ See *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée*, No.5 (May 15, 1917): Les Arts Marocains.

periods spread throughout its galleries, the exhibition itself did not present a strict “taxonomy” of style. It did, however, maintain a division at both an intellectual and visual level between two primary stylistic categories: “Berber” and “Arab” art (fig. 3.5). The Grand Hall itself, as De La Nézière explains in his summary of the exhibition plans, was divided into three main sections: the “Berber Section (mountainous regions),” the “Modern Moroccan Section (littoral and cities),” and “Objects reconstituted under the Service of des Beaux-Arts of Morocco.”²³⁴ This third category would be further divided into “Berber” and “Arab” arts. Despite this seeming ethno-social basis for this system of classification, in the context of the 1917 exhibition the categories of “Berber” and “Arab” were primarily stylistic categories into which “ethnic,” or even historical information, was subsequently read by its audience.

Ultimately the only “information” provided about the objects themselves was visual; through carefully constructed taxonomies of materials and styles, visitors were led to make certain associations. By recognizing visual or technical affiliations between objects, one can begin to create categories: the geometric, asymmetrical, brightly colored category of objects comes to represent the “Berber” or “rural” group of people (fig. 3.6). Although the “Berber” carpets on display were selected according to the particular tastes of collectors, regional inspectors, and curators—who often described their attraction to “Berber” arts as an appreciation for geometric rhythm, movement, certain combinations of colors, shapes, particular materials—in turn, these carefully filtered collections of objects were ultimately understood to reveal something inherent to “traditional” Berber life and culture. Style is subsequently imbued with social and cultural meaning.

²³⁴ Joseph de la Nézière to the Acting Résident Général (Henri Gouraud), 4 February 1917, D1/103 (Exposition d'art Marocain), UCAD.

Ultimately, for critics like De La Nézière and others, the apparently extreme aesthetic differences among the products of certain artistic products in Morocco meant that two very different cultures and arts coexisted there. Prosper Ricard, the eventual director of the Service des arts indigènes for the French protectorate, even went so far as to claim that two civilizations existed in Morocco, “living side-by-side without knowing each other, without borrowing from each other.”²³⁵ On his part, De La Nézière described the supposed ethnic distinctions between “Berber” and “Arab” culture according to the materials and designs they employed in their artwork:

[The main characteristic of Moroccan art] is a fertile union between the two elements that we find more or less in all of North Africa: the Berber element and the Arab element. The first of these elements, which one could hold as autochthonous, has its roots in a distant past...it preserved its archaism...its materials are rustic; this is why it has resisted the effects of time...[the artistry] is geometric, limited to the resources of the straight line or the broken line...The natural tones of its coloring remain harmonious in their adacity. Neither banality, nor vulgarity....Next to this Berber art, one of the oldest in the world, flourished the art of the conquering Muslims, Arab art with all the wealth of its decorative tradition.²³⁶

Scholars also relied upon visual analysis to draw conclusions about the different historical origins of Morocco’s communities. The historian Henri Froidevaux, for example, associated Berber pottery with the products of ancient Mediterranean cultures as far back as the first Bronze Age, describing how the “Tsoul” pottery in the 1917 exhibition “evoke[d], through both its form and its decoration, memories of very ancient

²³⁵ “Tels sont, vus et raccourci, les arts ruraux et citadins du nord de l’Afrique qui ont pu, pendant plus de dix siècles, vivre côte à côte sans se connaître, sans se faire d’emprunts réciproques. Ne faut-il pas y voir le contraste persistant de deux vieilles civilisations si pleinement affirmées encore de nos jours chez les campagnards frustes et les Maures affinis, dont les ‘chleuhs’ de l’Atlas et les riches ‘Fasis’ de la capitale fondée par Moulaï Idris sont les types les plus parfaits!” Prosper Ricard, “Arts ruraux et Arts citadins dans l’Afrique du Nord,” *France Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée*, no. 5 (May 15, 1917): Les Arts Marocains, 20-27: 27.

²³⁶ De la Nézière, *L’art et les artistes*, 47-48.

Phoenician pottery, or perhaps even certain Aegean or Cretan vases from the times of the Minoans.”²³⁷ For contributors to the exhibition, a different historical narrative for Morocco’s “Arab” arts was required. On one level, this process of visualizing not only “ethnic” but also historical distinctions among the different “styles” to be found in Moroccan art allowed scholars to develop independent historical narratives for each. It also allowed historians to incorporate Morocco’s “Arab” arts into the accepted narrative of Islamic art more easily.

If elite collectors provided the physical content of the exhibition, scholars were tasked with constructing a narrative by which to interpret it. To do so, they relied upon this process of “reading” historical information derived from elsewhere, from existing art historical narratives in the discipline, into the visual material of the objects presented in the exhibition. Froidevaux’s assessment of the exhibition for the *Revue française d’histoire d’outre-mer* gives a particularly good description of this process of reimagining the content of the exhibition when he describes his experience of encountering objects old and new “scattered here and there” that nevertheless ultimately leads him to “historical conclusions” about Morocco’s important place in the history of Islamic art: “One sees [in the Pavillon de Marsan] works placed next to each other and scattered all over...from the examination of these documents . . . emerges not only conclusions about interesting details for technicians, but also general conclusions and, let

²³⁷ “Est-il possible de déterminer de quelle époque datent ces traditions artistiques [Berbères]?...C’est incontestablement à une époque très ancienne que remonte leur point de départ, et il en faut aller chercher les origines jusque chez les peuples qui, naguère, longèrent les premiers les rivages de la Méditerranée sur de frêles bâtiments....La vue de telle poterie tsoul, par exemple, évoque, et pour la forme et pour le décor, le souvenir de très antiques poteries phéniciennes, ou encore de certains vases égéens ou crétois des temps minoëns.” Henri Froidevaux, “L’exposition d’Art marocain au Pavillon de Marsan: Ses Enseignements Historiques,” *Revue française d’histoire d’outre-mer*, 1917, 331-348: 347.

us say, historical conclusions.”²³⁸ The objects (or “documents,” as Froidevaux calls them) displayed in the rooms of the exhibition, functioned as raw material for the conceptual development of Islamic art history and, according to Froidevaux, furnished “corrections and even important additions” to Henri Saladin and Gaston Migeon’s formative study of Islamic art, the *Manuel d’art musulman* (1907).²³⁹

The “Historicity” of Moroccan Art

The development of a historical narrative for Moroccan art was crucial to its reception not only as “Islamic” art, but as “art” more generally. That a non-European culture *had* a complex history was not a given assumption at this time. The claim that Morocco’s art industries were the product of centuries of cultural development and artistic “refinement” further distanced Moroccan art from other categories of cultural production available to non-European art. Proponents of Moroccan art contrasted the historicity of Moroccan “civilization” with the perceived ahistorical, unchanging character of other supposedly more “primitive” colonial cultures.²⁴⁰ Likewise, writing in

²³⁸ Froidevaux 332.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 333.

²⁴⁰ This process of conceptually distancing Morocco from France’s other colonies continued in the 1920s and 30s, as I will discuss in the following chapter; in part, this distinction may have been related to the rising market for “primitive arts,” characterized by their supposed distance from the progression of history. In 1923, the UCAD organized an Exposition d’Art Indigène des Colonies Françaises, which included art from all of the current colonies, protectorates and mandates *except* for those in North Africa and Vietnam: “L’Exposition d’Art indigène des Colonies françaises a pour but de présenter pour la première fois à Paris un choix de sculptures, tissus, bijoux, armes, objets d’usage, etc. provenant des contrées qui font partie de l’empire colonial de la France. On n’y pas fait figurer les pays de l’Afrique du Nord (Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc), non plus que l’Annam et le Tonkin, *leurs civilisations étant directement inspirées par celles de l’Islam ou de la Chine et ayant déjà fait l’objet de nombreuses expositions*,” Manuscript (unattributed), Cote D1/138 (Exposition d’Art indigène des Colonies Françaises, 1923), UCAD. My italics.

the context of the 1917 exhibition, Koechlin suggests that within the French public “very few suspect that Morocco, which they imagine as basically savage and hardly different from Sudan or Timbuktu, was a land with a very refined civilization.”²⁴¹

While the exhibition literature distanced Moroccan art from so-called “primitive” arts, it frequently compared Moroccan art and other “historical” art traditions, particularly those considered to be part of “Eastern” civilization, such as China, Japan, and the arts of the Islamic world. While historians compared Morocco’s “Berber” or “rural” arts to those of the “prehistoric” societies cultivated on the banks of the Mediterranean, they compared its “Arab” or “urban” arts to the art and architecture created in the “Islamic lands” of the East. In his appraisal of the glazed pottery of Fez, for example, Koechlin compares (and even prefers) its decoration with that of the ceramics created in the Levant and the Middle East: “...we can’t help but to admire the prodigious variety of their decoration, infinitely more rich than that of the grand workshops even of Persia, Damascus or Asia Minor.”²⁴² Elsewhere, he envisions a near future where Moroccan products would dominate the French market for decorative arts: “The carpets that France could buy in Morocco are more valuable than those made in Turkey, the mats of Salé would replace those of Japan, and Moroccan fabrics, embroidery or lace would easily enter our feminine toilette!”²⁴³ Associating Moroccan art with these “Eastern” products not only associated Moroccan art with a class of objects already valued and consumed in France, but it also facilitated the integration of Morocco’s own cultural history into a

²⁴¹ Koechlin, *Les Arts française*, 80.

²⁴² Raymond Koechlin, “L’Art marocain,” *L’art et les artistes*, numéro spécial: “Le Maroc artistique,” 1917, 7-18:14.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 18.

larger historical narrative of artistic and cultural development and exchange on a global level.

A crucial part of incorporating Moroccan art into the story of Islamic art was to locate it along a disciplinary timeline, determining where “Islamic” Moroccan art was located within the ebb and flow of the Islamic dynasties that spread across Asia, the Middle East, Southern Europe, and North Africa from the seventh century until the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, when Europe supposedly regained its eminence as the source of “civilization” in the world. For scholars contributing to the 1917 exhibition, Morocco’s place in the development of Islamic civilization coincided with Europe’s late medieval period.²⁴⁴ Although the initial “Islamicization” of Morocco is commonly attributed to the short reign of Idris I in the late eighth century followed by the Almoravid dynasty,²⁴⁵ for art historians such as Koechlin, a truly “Moroccan” Islamic art developed only in the twelfth century under the reign of the Almohad dynasty, whose political influence spread across North Africa and as far south as Mauritania from the twelfth through thirteenth centuries.²⁴⁶ If the Almohad dynasty represented a moment of

²⁴⁴ Migeon writes: “Les Maures allaient avoir en Espagne 300 ans de tranquillité pour aménager le pays. Ils firent le sacrifice du Nord, qui resta aux Chrétiens. Ils gardaient le meilleur. Ils purent organiser en Andalousie ce royaume de Cordoue qui fut une merveille de civilisation, à l’heure où le reste de l’Europe était encore plongé dans la barbarie.” Gaston Migeon, *Manuel de d’art musulman, tome II, les arts plastiques et industriels* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1907), LVI.

²⁴⁵ Perhaps Koechlin’s dismissal of the importance of the Almoravids for Moroccan art can be connected to Migeon’s own evaluation of their cultural paucity: “...l’Espagne musulmane était devenue une province du grand empire africain des Almoravides. Mais très vite ces rudes conquérants, au contact de la noble civilisation andalouse, se modifièrent et perdirent toute énergie et tout courage.” Migeon, LVII.

²⁴⁶ Nadia Erzini has also noted that the majority of structures and sites designated as historic monuments by the French were built under the “Berber” dynasties of Morocco between the 12th and 15th centuries: the Almoravids, the Almohads, and the Merenids. One reason for this is that few earlier structures remained (perhaps because they had been repurposed by later dynasties)

heightened political and military power originating in Morocco,²⁴⁷ the Marinid dynasty, reigning from the late thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, was understood to be the golden age of artistic and cultural production in the region. The Marinid dynasty was also responsible for reinitiating a relationship with Muslim Spain, then ruled by the Nasrids and shortly thereafter overtaken by Christian rule; accordingly, for art historians of the early twentieth century, the Marinid period in Morocco was understood as the source of another moment of artistic revitalization in the story of Islamic art, this time originating with an encounter between Muslim and European civilization.

One strategy for claiming the position and special contribution of Moroccan civilization to this particular moment in Islamic art history was to compare its art and architecture with contemporaneous masterpieces constructed elsewhere in the Islamic West. In his essay for the journal *L'art et les artistes*, Koechlin thus claimed that "...the art of the dynasty that succeeded the Almohads, that of the Marinids, is close to that of Spain and nothing can be said to be more akin to the Alcazar of Seville or the Alhambra than the *madersas*[sic] of Fez."²⁴⁸ Comparing the *madrasas* of Fez to the Alhambra or Alcazar positioned them among the celebrated structures included in the who's-who of

and also perhaps because the Idrissids also originated in the East. On the other end, the Saadian and Wattasid dynasties that followed the Marinids are rarely mentioned, perhaps because they represented a moment of fragmentation or perhaps because their palaces (e.g. the Saadian tombs in Marrakech) were still kept by the Alouites (except for the Saadian tombs which were shown to the French by a Moroccan elite). The Alouites themselves may have posed an interesting problem for the French, as they were still the ruling dynasty in the early 20th century: the dynasty might also have been seen as "foreign" in its origins, as its founder, a descendent of Muhammad, was from Hejaz on the Arabian peninsula.

²⁴⁷ Koechlin compares it to medieval French architecture: "Une ardeur jeune et gerrière l'anime, et sa simplicité robuste rapelle l'esprit des maîtres d'oeuvre qui commençait au même moment en France nos premières cathédrales gothiques et nos plus nobles châteaux féodaux." Koechlin, *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 6.

²⁴⁸ Koechlin, *L'art et les artistes*, 8, 11.

Islamic monuments in early-twentieth-century scholarship. The Alhambra had been reintroduced to a European audience in the nineteenth century through sources such as the literary work of Washington Irving and Owen Jones' meticulous studies of the palace's ornamentation, a study of "ornament" that would greatly influence theories of Islamic design in the second half of the nineteenth century. To align Moroccan art traditions with the creation of the Alhambra or, rather, to suggest that it may have been a source for this recognized masterpiece of "Islamic" architecture also painted Morocco as the inheritor of Islamic tradition in the West, as elaborated by De la Nézière: "[T]he Maghrib received a Hispano-Mauresque heritage. The *Morisco* artisans expelled by the Catholic kings came to Africa carrying with them the secret of their art. This once again developed freely, with all its religious fervor, and—last step in its evolution—became Moroccan art."²⁴⁹ In fact, the term "Moorish art" or "l'art maure" was often used synonymously with both "Moroccan art" and "Andalusian art" in both scholarly and popular realms throughout the first part of the twentieth century, emphasizing a widespread identification Moroccan art with the late medieval period in Europe.²⁵⁰ It is notable that Koechlin does not even suggest that Moroccan art simply flourished in the medieval period but rather *began* at this time, implying that cultural products created in the region before this time were either not truly "Moroccan" or not truly "art."

Current scholars, including Margaret S. Graves and Stephen Verneit, have noted

²⁴⁹ "...le Maghreb recueillit l'héritage hispano-mauresque. Les artisans morisques chassés par les rois catholiques revinrent en Afrique, apportant avec eux le secret de leur art. Celui-ci, de nouveau, se développa librement, avec toute sa ferveur religieuse et - dernière étape de son évolution - devint l'art marocain." De la Nézière, *L'art et les artistes*, 47-48.

²⁵⁰ Koechlin's interest in Morocco's arts perhaps derived in part from his own specialization in French medieval architecture.

that since its inception in the late nineteenth century, the scholarly discipline of Islamic art history has confined this art to a historical past, emphasizing the medieval period and paying little attention to cultural production in Islamic lands since the eighteenth century. The “medievalization” of Moroccan art by early-twentieth-century scholars, therefore, reflects a widespread emphasis upon the medieval period in Islamic art more generally, a disciplinary imbalance that, as Graves has argued, is still expressed in the field of Islamic art history today.²⁵¹

Inherent to the claim that Islamic or Moroccan art was essentially “medieval” is the argument that it subsequently declined. Maurice Tranchant de Lunel, the then-Director of the SBA argued in an article for *France-Maroc*, in which he compared Morocco’s historical art and modern art production as France “found” it in 1912, that “the difference is between a perfect and evolved art, and a primitive art, with the added aggravation that the chronological order is reversed.”²⁵² It is notable that contemporaneous histories of North Africa generally elide the period between the medieval Muslim dynasties and French colonization into a period of decline and little cultural production. In their *Manuel d’Art Musulman*, Saladin and Migeon conclude their chapter on the Islamic art of Spain and the Maghrib with one short paragraph that briefly notes the artistic success of the Marinid dynasty and its eventual “fall in 1359 at the hands of the Zeiyanides[sic] dynasty” that “lasted 200 years until the arrival of the

²⁵¹ See Margaret S. Graves, “Feeling Uncomfortable in the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (June 2012), 1-27.

²⁵² “. . . il y a toute la différence d’un art parfait et évolué, à un art primitif, avec cette aggravation que l’ordre chronologique en est inversé.” Tranchant de Lunel, “Une Exposition des arts marocains,” *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée*, no. 5 (1917), 7.

Turks.”²⁵³

Drawing upon Johannes Fabian’s analysis of anthropology’s denial of coevalness to the subjects of its study, Graves argues that a similar framework influenced the “medievalization” of Islamic art and culture:

By designating what is perceived to be the high point of a subject culture as some time in the past – in this case, a loosely defined medieval period – European scholarly frameworks can acknowledge that there was once a point when that culture was coeval with their own...but by denying recognition of its achievements following that point, the same frameworks construct two contradictory positions for the subject culture simultaneously. On the one hand, the subject culture is permitted access to the present in the guise of a diminished, degenerated or declining state: ‘Islam was once a great medieval culture’. But at the same time this construct also freezes the subject culture into a temporal position in the past, pejoratively equated with a point in Europe’s own history: hence, ‘Islam is a medieval culture.’²⁵⁴

Just as early anthropological theory supported the political and economic imperatives of European colonialism with the “legitimizing concept of evolutionary time as a measure of cultural development,” this narrative of decline supported the political discourse surrounding France’s claim to be the “protector” of Morocco. According to that discourse, Morocco had once been a great civilization, it had continuously declined through the modern era, its political, economic, social, and cultural structures degenerating, and it was now the duty of France to protect and help revitalize what was left of this once-great civilization. Relegating Moroccan art to a medieval past by claiming its decline in the modern age justified France’s interventions in the region’s artistic and cultural production. As a refined and “historical” art, Moroccan art was something worth preserving; damaged by the corrupting influences of the eighteenth and

²⁵³ Migeon LVIII.

²⁵⁴ Graves, 17-18.

nineteenth centuries, Moroccan art was in need not only of preservation but of revitalization, hence the protectorate's interventions in Morocco's contemporary art industries.

Displaying “History” in the Exhibition

If we look to the actual objects displayed in the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains, however, the instability of this art historical narrative becomes strikingly apparent in two important ways.

First, the narrative was undermined by the age of the objects themselves. Of the approximately 200 objects displayed at the Pavillon de Marsan, there were *no* objects actually dating from the era of Morocco's medieval dynasties. The oldest art objects in the exposition dated from the eighteenth century, while the majority dated from the nineteenth century or later. One could attribute this absence to the scarcity of extant objects from the medieval period, the lack of extensive archaeological excavations of Islamic sites during the early French protectorate, or the fact that many medieval objects were housed in family collections and private institutions inaccessible to the French administration. Whatever the case may be, the organizers of the 1917 exhibition still insisted that Morocco's medieval Islamic heritage be visually or at least symbolically present in the exhibition.

Koechlin addresses the discrepancy between this narrative and the material in the exhibition by explaining that almost all of the objects and furniture that might have decorated the interior spaces of medieval Morocco had disappeared “through revolutions, wars, and finally fires”; his assumptions about the specific types of furnishings that must have decorated Morocco's medieval palaces and residences are based upon the presence

of such objects in existing collections of historical Persian or Middle Eastern art. Koechlin goes so far as to suggest that the primary importance of the later eighteenth and nineteenth century art objects in the exhibition was to give visitors an idea of what medieval furnishings and portable objects in Morocco *might* have been like, encouraging them to study these later objects as “evidence of more distant past.”²⁵⁵ Ironically, Koechlin’s commentary devalues a large portion of the objects that *were* actually exhibited in the show, undercutting their value as artistic “accomplishments” in their own right.

The exhibition organizers also turned to other technologies, specifically plaster casts and photography, which allowed them to “display” those objects that were either too stationary or too colossal to be physically moved from their original contexts.²⁵⁶ The first gallery presented a plaster reproduction of the *minbar* of the Madrasa Ben-Youssef in Marrakech alongside approximately ten photographs taken by the Service des Beaux-Arts of historical “monuments” in Morocco, such as the Tour Hassan and Oudaïa Gate in Rabat and the Koutoubiya Mosque in Marrakech, all constructed in the twelfth century (fig. 3.7). While some of these objects, the photographs especially, were included in the exhibition for other reasons—to represent the work of the SBA in Morocco, for example—they also provided a visual anchoring for the art historical narrative proposed

²⁵⁵ Koechlin, *L’art et les Artistes*, 13-14.

²⁵⁶ Producing plaster casts was a common practice among archaeologists and it was also a prevalent practice in museum display in a time when objects could not so easily move among different institutions or European countries, and also particularly for the “display” of architecture in the space of a museum.

by the exhibition's organizers.²⁵⁷

Secondly, beyond the fact that no medieval objects were exhibited, the problem remained that the exhibition did not itself actually present any sort of clear chronology or historical narrative. The arrangement of objects according to the contributions of specific collectors or stylistic categorization, as explained above, ultimately resulted in the visual and spatial flattening of historical development. Such visual mechanisms as the incorporation of photographs and plaster reproductions of medieval ruins and monuments, rather than “filling in the gaps” of a visible historical narrative, instead imparted a vague sense of “historicity” over all of the objects in the show.

Nevertheless, perhaps it was this “patina” of history, rather than the presentation of a detailed chronology of Moroccan art history, that the exhibition's success—towards the accomplishment of its economic and political objectives—truly required. The flattening of historical time in the space of the exhibition and its replacement with a vague sense of “history” helped the exhibition's colonial contributors in two ways.

First, on a practical level, it allowed them to claim a relationship between “ancient” and “modern” objects in exhibition, transferring the value of Morocco's historical artworks to its contemporary products.

At least a third of the exhibition space was filled “modern” objects. These

²⁵⁷ In fact, photographs of Medieval structures and ruins in Morocco taken by photographers working in the SBA continued to be displayed in almost every official exhibition organized by the protectorate in which Morocco's arts played a role. They appear at the colonial expositions of 1922 and 1931, which also point to another strategy for representing Morocco's medieval art and architecture abroad: the (re)construction of important structures or medieval-inspired spaces for exhibition pavilions. This same collection of photographs continues to serve a similar purpose even in exhibitions of today, such as the Louvre's 2014 exhibition, *Maroc Médiéval*, in which protectorate-era photographs displayed alongside “authentic” Medieval objects allowed visitors to see structures and objects that could not be removed from Morocco (the photographs were also similarly used to commemorate the French protectorate's “work” in preserving Morocco's monuments).

included objects typically found in markets or homes in contemporary Morocco, but in most cases referred to the objects produced under the guidance of the SBA (also referred to as “objets réconstitués” in the exhibition).²⁵⁸ In fact all of the objects in the Grand Hall of the exhibition were of modern construction and contemporary “reproductions” were incorporated into nearly all of the galleries. Through this juxtaposition of ancient and new, the exhibition invited its visitors to make comparisons between the artistic products of Morocco’s celebrated past and those of the contemporary Moroccan art industries currently undergoing “renovation” through the work of the SBA. According to some critics this strategy succeeded: “To show just how much the artists of today stay true to their masters of yesteryear, one has exhibited, side by side, a carpet dating to the eighteenth century and its copy executed today. Other than the patina of only a few years that one of them bears, they are exactly the same.”²⁵⁹

Secondly, on an ideological level, the visual erasure of temporal change allowed the exhibition organizers to confine Moroccan art, and by extension, Moroccan society to a historical past. Visitors to the exhibition would have encountered Moroccan art as a “timeless” tradition. Despite the substantial presence of “modern” artworks throughout its galleries, Koechlin claimed that the exhibition at the Pavillon de Marsan shed light on Morocco’s “art d’autrefois” [art of yesteryear]: “[W]andering the retrospective halls of

²⁵⁸ De la Nézière describes the distinction as “objects currently begin made in the indigenous workshops after ancient models” or “those of current use, but with an artistic character, that one might find for sale in the souks.” “Le grand hall du milieu serait réservé à l’art moderne, aux objets actuellement fabriqués dans les ateliers indigènes après les anciens modèles, ainsi qu’à ceux d’usage courant, mais de caractère artistique qui l’on trouve à acheter dans les souks.” Joseph de la Nézière to the Acting Résident Général (Henri Gouraud), 4 February 1917, D1/103 (Exposition d’art Marocain), UCAD.

²⁵⁹ “L’Exposition d’art marocain,” *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée*, no.7 (1917), 35. Quoting a review by Francis de Miomandre from the Dutch journal *Dagblad*.

the Exhibition of the Pavillon de Marsan even an imagination little exercised has no trouble recreating the graces of a markedly distant past.”²⁶⁰ In addition to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century objects on display, the products of Morocco’s contemporary art industries—supposedly created according to the “traditional” knowledge retained by contemporary artisans and nurtured through instruction by the French protectorate’s cultural administrators—represented a key to Morocco’s medieval past: “Morocco has had the good fortune, unknown to nearly the entire Mediterranean Orient, of preserving until our days its artistic traditions...just as great architects continue to build there, artisans continue to work in the manner of their ancestors.”²⁶¹

Conclusion: “Tradition” and “Modernity” in Moroccan Art

To position Morocco’s material culture within the related art historical categories of “decorative” and “Islamic” art was in part a move to ascribe symbolic and real value to this category of cultural production by situating it within the disciplinary boundaries and regimes of value operative in France’s elite circles of scholarship and patronage. On another level, the Exposition des arts marocains and the publications it inspired helped to formulate the intellectual rhetoric upon which the French protectorate’s approach to Moroccan arts and culture relied. The discipline of Islamic art history provided the French protectorate with an intellectual basis for their management of Morocco’s artistic and cultural production, a policy deeply rooted in a colonial ideology that juxtaposed

²⁶⁰ Koechlin, *L’Art et les Artistes* (1917), 14.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

“tradition” and “modernity” and envisioned the relationship between French and Moroccan society according to these categories.

Prita Meier argues that both “modern” art history and “modern” colonialism relied upon the idea that the world’s cultures existed in different temporal as well as geographical spaces. Conceived through imperial modes of knowledge production and governance predicated on a supposed qualitative difference between the colonial power and its subjects, the disciplines of both African and Middle Eastern art locate the arts of these regions in a temporal and cultural space diametrically opposed to the conditions of “modernity.”²⁶² The systems of classification developed to describe these arts contributed to this assertion of colonial hegemony in the sphere of cultural production:

Stylistic taxonomies became particularly dominant in the study of African visual culture, where ethnic styles aligned with the colonial map of African ‘tribes.’ Similarly, the formation of Islamic art as a discipline was predicated on ideas that art and architectural typologies embody racial characteristics.²⁶³

The qualities that characterize “non-Western” arts according to these art histories are in many cases formulated not according to local systems of meaning and cultural knowledge but rather according to external systems of classification that identify what they are *not*. Necipoglu explains that the “arabesque,” the supposed original principle of Islamic design, also stood as an emblem of the “otherness” of Islamic art, “an antinaturalist ‘arab’ spirit, under the influence of religious interdictions...diametrically

²⁶² Prita Meier, “Authenticity and its Modernist Discontents: The Colonial Encounter and African and Middle Eastern Art History,” *The Arab Studies Journal* 18, no.1, Visual Arts and Art Practices in the Middle East (Spring 2010), 12-45.

²⁶³ Meier 24.

opposed to Western figurative art....”²⁶⁴ In the same vein, Blier claims that the art system that has come to delimit and organize African art must be understood as the result of uneven and often contradictory perceptions about what African art is *not*:

How African art is defined (and not defined) vis-à-vis larger sign system taxonomies of art versus craft, primitive versus non-primitive labeling, presentation in natural history versus fine arts museums, and colonial definitions of internal style boundaries is fundamental to one’s perception of these works....Only by seriously considering the *not* factor within sign system taxonomies can the underlying rationales of such classification forms be fully understood and evaluated.²⁶⁵

Islamic, African, Moroccan art *cannot* be “modern” and must therefore be “traditional.” In chapter 4 we will see, nevertheless, how these binary categories continued to be challenged even from within the protectorate’s arts administration.

The notion that “traditional” knowledge was embodied in Moroccan artisans themselves was a common trope in the propaganda produced by the SBA and related organizations in Morocco, most fully expressed by the “display” of living Moroccan artisans at work in colonial expositions and other spaces of public exhibition. At the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains, the exhibition organizers installed a reconstructed “illuminator’s atelier” within one gallery, where a Moroccan artist performed his art for the exhibition’s visitors. Seated in a small workshop built into the wall among displays of finished woodwork, textiles and pottery, the artist was transformed into yet another display of Moroccan “tradition” for his French spectators (fig. 3.8).

The Moroccan artist’s persona at the exhibition can be compared to the image of the Moroccan potter illustrated in the exhibition’s poster. If this archetypical image of

²⁶⁴ Necipoglu 10.

²⁶⁵ Blier 15.

the Moroccan craftsman suggests a world of “timeless” tradition, the image of the Moroccan soldier refers to a very “modern” phenomenon—World War I. Would it be more accurate to say that the poster visually divests the soldier of his position in the modern world by associating him with the “timeless” craftsman; or, conversely, might this juxtaposition furtively resituate the Moroccan craftsman within the contemporary experience of modernity? The problem of reconciling the French protectorate’s modernizing mission in Morocco with the ideological necessity of maintaining Morocco’s “authentic,” “pre-modern” identity imbued French colonial discourse throughout the early twentieth century. Events like the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains provided a context for the French protectorate government to articulate to its metropolitan compatriots a cultural image of Morocco commensurate with this political ideology, while employing the naturalizing language of art historical discourse.

Long before the establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco, French actors, including Georges Marye, predicted the growing political importance of the French patronage and study of “Islamic” arts in its North African colonies:

The movement in favor of Muslim art exists, it is only a question of directing it in a way that is favorable to the industries of the metropole and the Muslim countries that we have conquered. It is no longer an affair of simple patriotism; the Muslim power that is France is obligated to the populations that have accepted its domination or its protection.²⁶⁶

As I discuss in chapter 5, the symbolic mobilization of “Islamic” art and culture in French political discourse of the World-War-I era and its aftermath continued to intersect with the study, production, and consumption of Morocco’s arts in diverse ways. Following the

²⁶⁶ *Georges Marye dans Paris*, 1893, 15. Quoted in Jacques Frémaux, “La France, ‘puissance musulmane’: enjeux culturels et politiques (1880-1920), in *Purs décors?: Arts de l’Islam, Regards du XIXe siècle*, edited by Rémi Labrusse (Paris: Musée du Louvre Editions, 2007), 24-31: 24.

war, as France had relied upon the human power of its North African colonies to support the war effort as potential soldiers and laborers, its relationship to these individuals and their families, often referred to as France's "Muslim brothers," required a new approach to Muslim culture in North Africa. Throughout the course of the war and afterwards the French government would create special rules concerning Muslim soldiers designed to respect their religious and culture practices, even arranging pilgrimages to Mecca, constructing spaces of worship alongside hospitals, and building monuments dedicated to Islam, such as the Grand Mosque of Paris (b.1922-1926). Besides these social projects, France turned to North Africa's Islamic heritage as propaganda to counter revolutionary prospects. Claiming Morocco's special place in the history of Islamic civilization—emphasizing its medieval character—was also a way to distance modern Morocco from the history of the Ottoman Empire and the contemporary politics of the Ottoman-German alliance.

Unlike the later French colonial expositions where the Moroccan and other colonial soldiers would themselves participate in living exhibitions of the French colonial project, in the context of the 1917 exhibition, such contemporary colonial figures were only present in spirit. In a press photograph for the inauguration of the exhibition, General Gouraud is pictured standing in front of a rug belonging to General Lyautey, mounted on the wall in the exhibition (fig. 3.9). In other photographs documenting the event, we see French soldiers and citizens swarming the entrance to the exhibition, but in none of these photographs do we encounter any North African soldiers, officials, or visitors. Although listed in some of the accompanying catalogs, the contributions of Moroccan collectors, not to mention artists and other crucial actors in the organization of

the exhibition, are kept behind the scenes, with only the figures of the wounded soldier, the pottery maker, and the living illuminist made visible to exhibition-goers.

Images:



Figure 3.1: Joseph de la Nézière, lithographic exhibition poster for the *Exposition des arts marocains*, 1917, 99 x 70 cm. POS-Fr.N49, no. 1, Library of Congress Prints and Photograph Division, Washington, D.C.



Figure 3.2: “Grand Hall” of the Exposition des arts marocains, Paris, 1917. Photograph mounted in an album, Fonds Valois (VAL 358/018), Médiatheque de l’architecture et du patrimoine, Montigny-le-Bretonneux, France.



Figure 3.3: Room three of the Exposition des arts marocains with a view of the “lit de parade” in the center. Photograph mounted in an album, Fonds Valois (VAL 358/021), Médiathèque de l’architecture et du patrimoine, Montigny-le-Bretonneux, France.

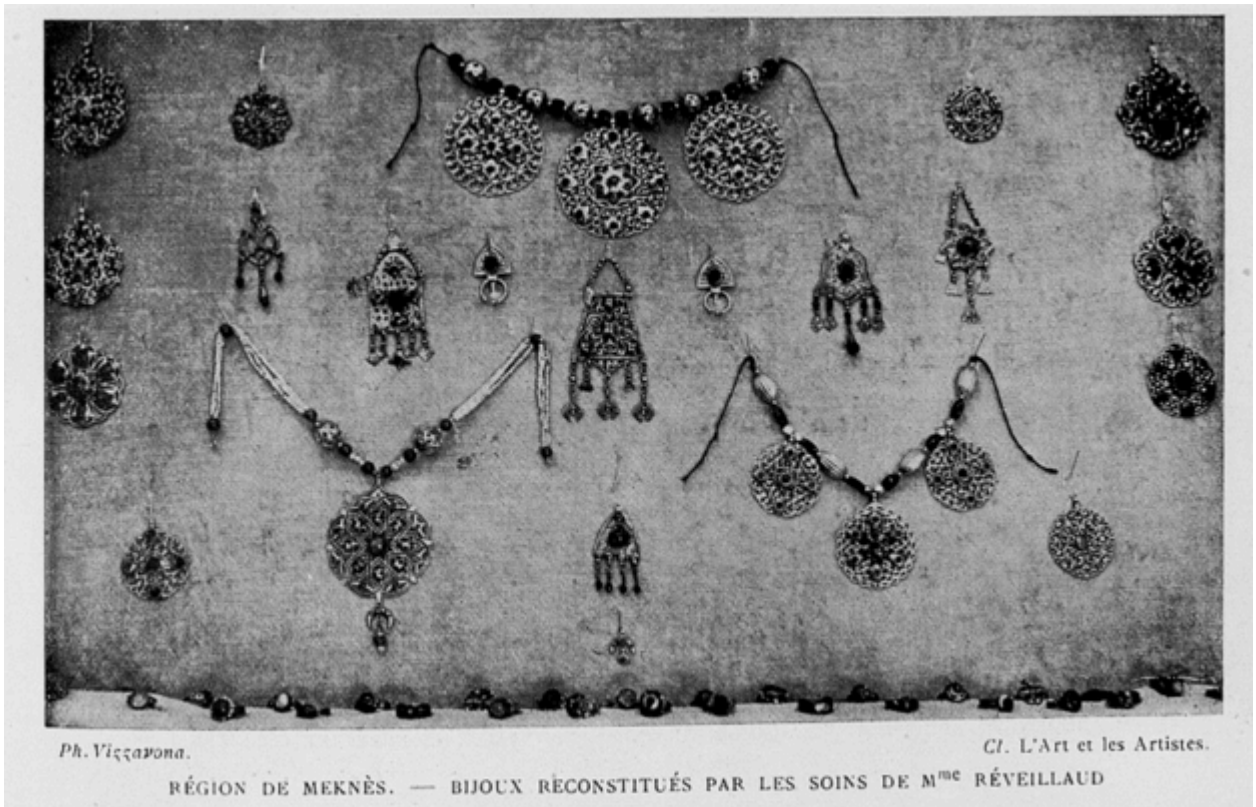


Figure 3.4: “Jewelry reconstructed under the guidance of Mme. Réveillaud,” in a vitrine displayed in room three of the Exposition des arts marocains, 1917. Reprinted from *L'Art et les artistes*, numéro spécial: “Le Maroc artistique” (1917), 7-18: 31.



Figure 3.5: “Berber” and “Arab” pottery from De La Neziere's collection exhibited at the Exposition des arts marocains. *L'Art et les artistes*, 35.



Figure 3.6: Comparison of regional carpet styles featured at the exhibition. *L'Art et les Artistes*, 42.

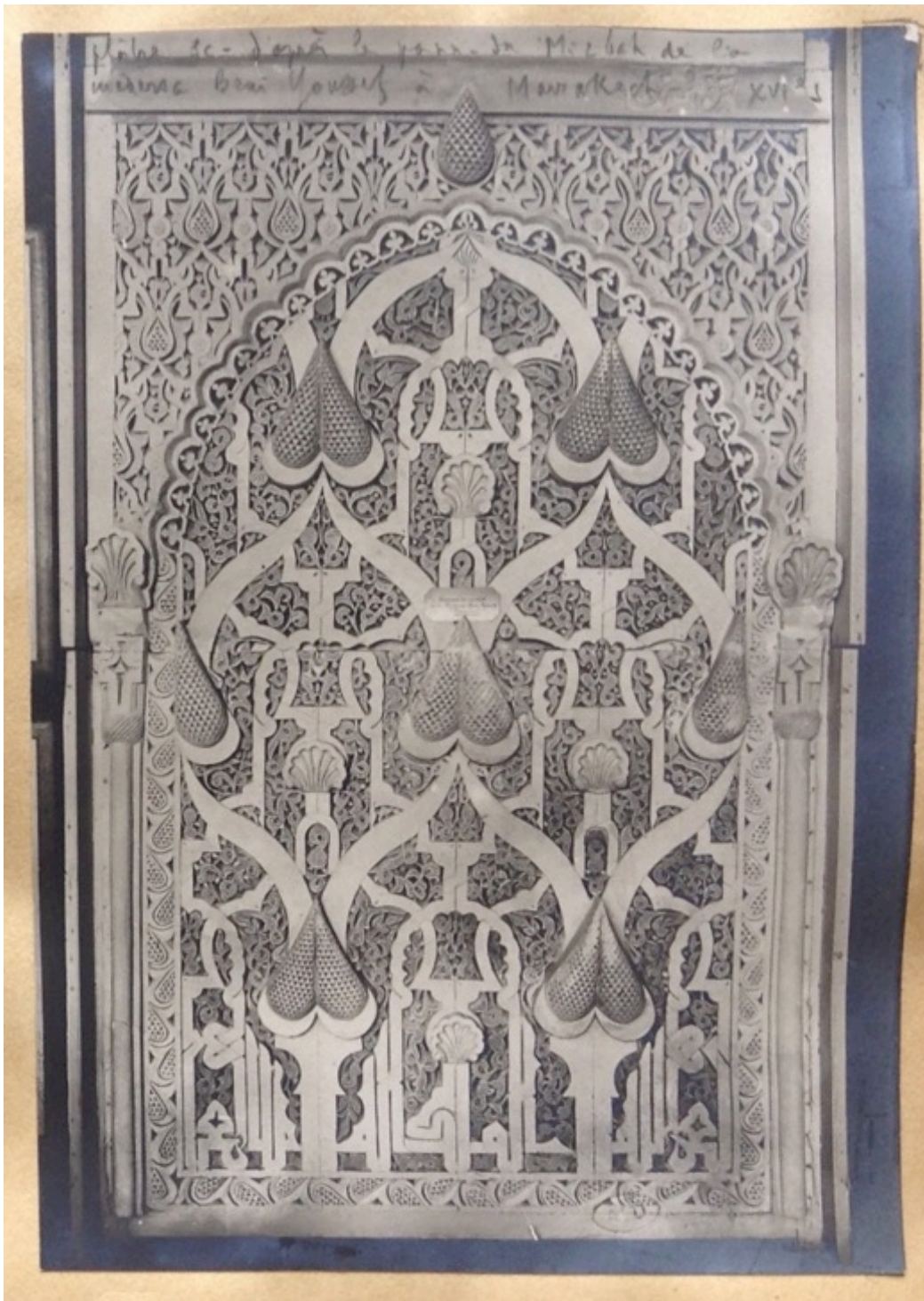


Figure 3.7: “Plaster sculpted after a panel of the minbar of the Ben Youssef madrasa, Marrakech.” Photograph mounted to paper, Album Maciet, UCAD Archives.



Figure 3.8: Illuminist working in a reconstructed atelier at the exhibition. Photograph mounted in an album, Fonds Valois (VAL 358/013), Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Montigny-le-Bretonneux, France



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 3.9: General Gouraud at the exhibition inauguration, May 5, 1917, (left foreground: Rabati carpet, eighteenth century, collection Lyautey). Photograph, collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

CHAPTER 4

Hybridity, Authenticity, and Artistic Agency: Moroccan Design at the Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes (Paris, 1925)

Nearly a decade after the first exhibition of Moroccan arts in France, the French protectorate government participated in the 1925 Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs modernes in Paris. The Moroccan Section at the event was part of a larger North African Pavilion, located at the edge of the fairgrounds among an assemblage of other buildings dedicated to the colonial arts, including the pavilions of French West Africa, French Indochina, and the Pavilion of French Colonial Art that displayed furniture and décor inspired by “indigenous” arts and designed by French artists for use in the colonies. The North African Pavilion incorporated exhibits organized by the French administrations of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco in a modest two-story building with white-washed walls, an external columned arcade with a sloping green-tiled awning, and a central *koubba*-like cupola (fig. 4.1). Contrasting with the eclectic Orientalist façades of the Islamic pavilions of nineteenth-century universal expositions and the monumental structures of the North African pavilions in the more recent Exposition coloniale in Marseilles of 1922, the architecture of the North African Pavilion in 1925 anticipated the pared-down “neo-Moorish” style of architecture that would be employed by the French designers of the Grande Mosquée de Paris (inaugurated in 1926) and the Morocco Pavilion of the 1931 Exposition internationale coloniale in Paris, as we will see in the following chapter.

The organizing committee for Morocco's exhibit in 1925 included many of the same architects, artists, and colonial civil servants who had imagined the French protectorate's earlier presentations of Morocco's arts and cultures in major events including the Franco-Moroccan commercial fairs and the 1922 Exposition nationale coloniale in Marseilles. Some of these individuals would also go on to contribute to Morocco's exhibits at later colonial expositions and the construction of major public works like the Paris Mosque. The led architects for the 1925 Moroccan Section were Maurice Tranchant de Lunel, the by-then former director of the SBA (1913-1924) and designer of the Paris Mosque, and Robert Fournez, who was also an architect for the mosque and would soon after design the 1931 Morocco Pavilion alongside Albert Laprade. The commissioners for the Moroccan Section were L.J. Nacivet, assistant-commissioner of the 1922 Morocco Pavilion and director of the Paris-based Office du Maroc, and Victor Berti, a close colleague of Lyautey and commissioner of the 1915 Casablanca Exposition. All were entrenched civil servants of Lyautey's administration and had each in their own ways demonstrated their dedication to the mission of promoting and preserving Morocco's artistic and architectural "traditions." The Exposition arts décoratifs, however, presented a new format for the promotion of Morocco's arts, one that emphasized contemporary aesthetics and the finished product rather than ethnographic "living displays" or the meticulous reproduction of "authentic" historical structures, spaces, and objects.²⁶⁷

In past exhibits of Moroccan art, the French protectorate's agents relied upon visual comparison with artifacts and images of historic artworks from Morocco to claim

²⁶⁷ Benjamin, 212.

the “authenticity” of new products manufactured by living artisans working in collaboration with the SBA. For the organizers and audience of the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains in Paris, for example, the value of the contemporary objects on display derived from their fidelity—aesthetically and in terms of construction—to artistic styles developed by Moroccan artisans working between the twelfth and eighteenth centuries. Likewise, with the Moroccan Pavilion at the 1922 Marseilles Exposition coloniale, as we will see in chapter 5, the French protectorate presented a vision of a “medieval” Morocco through the reproduction of architectural features drawn from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century monumental structures and the recreation of historical interior spaces, like the *fondouk* and the *souk*; the contemporary art objects and architectural crafts exhibited within the 1922 Morocco Pavilion acquired an aura of “authenticity” not only through their physical juxtaposition with historical artifacts, as in the 1917 show, but also in relation to the virtual experience of “medieval life” the Pavilion presented to its visitors.

The guidelines for the Exposition arts décoratifs, however, forbade contributors to exhibit historical works or their reproductions: “revival” styles, retrospectives, and “traditionalism” in general were anathema to the objectives of the exhibition’s organizers, who sought to present their public with an array of entirely new creations fit for contemporary life.²⁶⁸ As for the designers of the Moroccan Section, as one journalist put it, this meant “no Tour Hassan, no Koutoubia, no Djemaa [mosque] of Fez or Meknès, no ancient carpets, no copies of mosaic fountains...All of that’s the past and, this time, the past is forbidden.”²⁶⁹ The central challenge for the designers of the Moroccan Section at

²⁶⁸ *Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs modernes: Rapport général*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1925; reprinted New York: Garland, 1977).

²⁶⁹ “Le Maroc à l’Exposition des arts décoratifs,” *France-Maroc*, no. 101 (April 1925), 79-80.

the Exposition was how to present artistic products from Morocco that would at once be entirely new, or “modern,” yet still “authentically” Moroccan. What would be the touchstones of “Moroccan-ness” if they did not have recourse to visual comparison with a recognized “historical” corpus? Consequently, the requirements of the exhibition compelled the Moroccan Section’s organizing committee to address a conceptual tension that was already a source of apprehension and ambivalence among agents of the French protectorate’s cultural administration: how to account for change and innovation within Morocco’s arts and craft industries while still holding true to the protectorate’s objectives of preserving and protecting local practices and “traditions” of art making.

The committee’s solution was to draw upon the French protectorate’s contemporary colonial environment, which, as we will see, had already transformed Morocco’s built landscape and craft culture into something decidedly “new.” According to one review, Berti and his colleagues “imagined a *colon*, an industrialist, a trader who had made his fortune in Morocco and desired to construct...a comfortable villa offering all of the contemporary conveniences, but executed with purely Moroccan materials and strictly according to Moroccan methods.”²⁷⁰ The resulting exhibit was a series of rooms on two floors that included, on the ground floor, a “vestibule,” “salon,” and “dining room,” and, on the second floor, a “bedroom,” “bathroom,” and “office/smoking-room.” This series of domestic ensembles brought together objects, furnishings, and architectural decoration combining “traditional” Moroccan mediums, techniques, and aesthetics with design concepts and forms that characterized contemporary trends in decorative arts and design movements in Europe.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

The Moroccan Section's strategy reflected the solutions employed in some other colonial pavilions at the exhibition. Tunisia's committee, employing a technique already encountered in Morocco's museums of indigenous arts, presented a "maison Arabe"—perhaps imagined as the home of a wealthy Tunisian *évolué*, as Roger Benjamin suggests—with each room showcasing a particular local industry: marble, ceramics, and limestone dominated the patio and dining room, with leather and marquetry in the living room, and fabrics and silks in the bedroom and "harem."²⁷¹ Created by a combination of Tunisian artisans and European design firms based in Tunisia, the exhibit strove to reflect the "tendency towards novel directions" these industries had begun to express.²⁷² The exhibitions organized by individual colonies were joined by a central "Pavilion of French Colonial Arts" that brought together exhibits of interior decoration and furniture designed by French artists "inspired by indigenous styles" from a variety of world regions and intended for domestic use in the warm climates ("les pays chauds") of France's modern colonial empire.²⁷³ The author of the Exposition's *Rapport général* argues that the "colonial arts" played an important role at the event, noting the cross-cultural (or cross-racial, in his language) exchanges that had so greatly impacted the development of contemporary arts in both France and the colonies. He notes, however, that the sudden rise of so many new and diverse arts in France and its colonies posed certain problems, among them: "What is colonial art? And how can it be modern?"²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ *Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs modernes: Rapport général*, vol. 4 (Classe 7: Ensemble de Mobilier, Classe 8: Art et Industrie du Bois et du Cuir) (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1925; reprinted New York: Garland, 1977), 32-33; Benjamin, 215.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 32.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 33.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Throughout the Exposition's pavilions, both colonial and European, exhibitors grappled with the problem of how to conceive of truly "modern" design and how the exhibited products might either reject or transform "traditional" manufacture. While some designers turned to new technologies or experimented with industrial materials, others looked to the raw materials and cultural "resources" of the colonial world for a source of novelty. The French West African Pavilion included a presentation of the various exotic woods that could be harvested from the region's dense forests; diverse woods from West Africa, as well as Madagascar, French Guiana, and French Asia, replaced European pine and poplar in many examples of carpentry and woodwork throughout the Exposition.²⁷⁵ Other exhibits reflected the current vogue for "primitive" and "exotic" motifs and forms among European designers and artists, who were particularly inspired by the remains of ancient Egyptian and classical artworks discovered through recent excavations, as well as the bold lines and geometric motifs of Chinese, Japanese, Central American, and African arts and architecture.

Even as early as the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains at the Pavillon de Marsan, French artists and critics put forth the notion that Morocco's decorative arts and architecture could be a source of aesthetic renewal for French decorative arts. Writing on the occasion of the 1917 exhibition, Albert Laprade, who would later play an influential role as an architect in Morocco, suggested that "traditional" home and garden design in Morocco might serve as inspiration for French architects.²⁷⁶ Two years later, Jean Gallotti explored the uncanny "modernness" of certain Moroccan arts and their likeliness

²⁷⁵ Ibid, 54-55.

²⁷⁶ Albert Laprade, "Les Influences Possibles du Maroc sur l'Art Français," *France-Maroc: Revue Mensuelle illustrée*, no. 5: Les Arts Marocains (1917), 37-38.

to appeal to French artists and consumers with a taste for the “primitive”; in particular, he singled out the country’s “Berber” (Amazigh) arts, which he admitted might even “adapt better to our contemporary fashions” than the more “refined” Islamic or urban arts of Morocco.²⁷⁷ Indeed, as we will see, by the 1920s and continuing into the middle of the century, Amazigh carpets and objects decorated with motifs inspired by these textiles rose in popularity in the commercial market and became common fixtures of modernist interior design in both Morocco and abroad.²⁷⁸

The challenge faced by those responsible for the presentation of specific colonial cultures—in the pavilions of North Africa, French Asia, and West Africa—was, however, of a different nature from that addressed in the European pavilions. As we have seen, the French protectorate’s campaign to revitalize Morocco’s arts and crafts industries (along with other similar campaigns in Algeria, Tunisia, and eventually Libya and “Indochina”) was based in the claim that “indigenous” artistic life in these lands was inextricably tied to “traditions” that defined the cultural essence and identities of these people. According to this ideology, any sort of exogenous influence upon artistic practices and forms—whether “foreign” or “contemporary”—would be approached as a source of contamination, corruption, a path to decadence; hence the SBA’s self-appointed

²⁷⁷ Jean Gallotti, “Les Arts indigènes au Maroc,” *Art et Décoration* (1919), 80.

²⁷⁸ Amazigh carpets, particularly the wool pile carpets created by artists of the Beni Ourain tribes of the Middle Atlas Mountains in Morocco, are currently experiencing another rise in popularity in American and European home design, with major corporations such as Pottery Barn even producing their own “Beni Ourain-style” rugs. Doris Duke and her husband Thomas Cromwell also included Beni Ourain and Beni M’Guild carpets in the décor of their Hawaiian villa, Shangri La, in the late 1930s (Ashley Miller, “Negotiating ‘Tradition’: Doris Duke’s Shangri La and the Transnational ‘Revival’ Of Moroccan Craft And Design,” *Shangri La Working Papers in Islamic Art*, no. 9 (April 2016), 1-32.)

responsibility to safeguard those practices and forms still bearing the essence of their external, historical roots, in other words, those specimens understood to represent “authentic” traditions in Moroccan art and craft production.

But the reality of colonial art production in Morocco involved a community of actors both Moroccan and non-Moroccan who greatly influenced the shape of so-called “indigenous” arts throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Not least important among these influential parties were agents of the Service des arts indigènes (SAI) itself—the proclaimed defender of Moroccan art traditions. While the commercialization of Morocco’s crafts was a desired end result of the SAI’s efforts and indeed a marker of its success, it also encouraged a vibrant craft market that took on a life of its own, often creating objects or relationships outside of the social and economic structure the SAI had imagined for these newly-renovated industries. Artists and traders in Morocco responded to the demands and opportunities of the growing international market for “indigenous” Moroccan arts with new business models and products that addressed this diverse body of potential consumers, often creating new “hybrid” products.

By the mid-1920s and continuing on, agents of the French protectorate government themselves approached this eclectic commercial market in different ways. In fact, Morocco’s official contribution to the 1925 Exposition contained objects and furnishings that reflected both “state-sponsored” innovations and private businesses functioning in the protectorate. The mixed reception to Morocco’s exhibit at the event, particularly from journalists based in the French protectorate, revealed ambivalence within official circles concerning the state of “indigenous” art production in Morocco after a decade of French interventions. By this point, it seemed to be largely recognized

that the means of production, stylistic trends, and even audiences for the products of so-called “traditional” art industries were rapidly changing; but were these changes a sign of a successful “renaissance” of these industries in Morocco, or were they an indication that indigenous Moroccan art, as it had been imagined by French agents at the beginning of the twentieth century, was no longer truly “indigenous” or authentically “Moroccan”?

In Search of “Tradition”: Issues of “Authenticity” and the Commercialization of Morocco’s Arts under the Service des arts indigènes

As we have seen, the French protectorate’s Service des Beaux-Arts was responsible for documenting and safeguarding historical artifacts and structures and organizing public exhibitions to promote Morocco’s cultural image both locally and abroad in dedicated museums or temporary exhibitions such as the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains and colonial and commercial fairs. The department’s other central task was to manage, and ultimately restructure, Morocco’s contemporary art industries to match the image of Morocco’s artistic heritage presented in such official exhibitions. In addition to the ideological objectives related to the project of “revitalizing” Morocco’s “traditional” arts and craft industries, the Service des Beaux-Arts’ mission was geared towards preparing these industries to meet the demands of the international market imagined for the revived crafts.

Augmenting the program of the SBA following World War I, Lyautey appointed a team of “indigenous arts inspectors” to study the state of contemporary craft production across the pacified regions of Morocco and propose strategies for its “renovation.” Among the initial inspectors were Prosper Ricard in Fez; Jean Gallotti, Madame Nacivet, and Madame Boudy in Rabat; Gabriel Rousseau in Marrakech; Madame Carrière in

Casablanca; Boujamâa Lamali in Safi; and Madame Aline Reveillaud de Lens and her sister Mademoiselle Lens in Meknès.²⁷⁹ The 1917 Exposition des arts marocains in Paris and the Foire de Rabat (September-October 1917), presented the first tentative efforts of this administration: alongside the collections of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century artifacts, the exhibition displayed so-called “reconstitutions” of historical objects created under the guidance of regional arts inspectors, such as carved and painted wood furnishings from Fez and Meknes, carpets from Rabat, and jewelry from Meknes (fig. 4.2).

Following the public success of these two events, in 1918 Lyautey created a dedicated Office des arts indigènes within the SBA, directed by Joseph de la Nézière, in order to “centraliz[e] all questions concerning indigenous artistic production and especially for overseeing the manufacture and sale of its products.”²⁸⁰ De La Nézière and his colleagues organized another exhibition at the Pavillon de Marsan in 1919, this time featuring only Moroccan carpets. While the objects on display in the 1917 exhibition had not been for sale themselves, the Office des arts indigènes sold all three hundred exhibited carpets following the 1919 show.²⁸¹ In 1920, Lyautey established a new Direction de l’instruction publique, headed by Georges Hardy, of which the SBA became a subsidiary. A *dahir* of July 26, 1920 transformed the Office des arts indigènes into the

²⁷⁹ Alfred Bel had left Morocco by 1917. Most of the inspectors had artistic backgrounds themselves and continued to paint and exhibit works throughout their service. Lyautey appointed a number of women as inspectors, particularly because they could interact more successfully with female Moroccan artisans and study the domestic arts of embroidery and weaving. For a detailed description of the organization and personnel of the Service des beaux-arts see, Théliol 2011.

²⁸⁰ “Le Service des arts indigènes,” in *Historiques de la Direction générale de l’instruction publique, des beaux-arts et des antiquités (1912-1930)*, 145-61 (Rabat: Protectorat de la République française au Maroc, 1931), 17.

²⁸¹ Benjamin, 211.

Service des arts indigènes (SAI), from then on set apart from the SBA. While Hardy set about proposing legal measures to restructure Morocco's craft guilds, Prosper Ricard, director of the SAI from 1920 to 1935, dedicated himself to developing a system of craft inspection that would at once encourage commercial initiative within Morocco's arts and craft sectors while at the same time "protecting" artisans and consumers alike from the pressures of this market. As Muriel Girard, Claire Nichols, and James Mokhiber, among others, have demonstrated, the SAI's approach to balancing these requirements under Ricard's guidance resulted in a constant shifting of the parameters of "authenticity" against which contemporary artistic products were measured in order to accommodate the social and economic realities of the domestic and international commercial markets.²⁸²

On a practical level, regional indigenous arts inspectors were faced with a difficult task; as described by Lamali, an inspector in Safi whom I will discuss further below, their explicit assignment was to "try to improve manufacture without *touching* the current state [of production]."²⁸³ Edmund Burke has described a similar paradox that pervaded Lyautey's initial approach to Morocco's political and social realms as a policy of introducing "modernity without change."²⁸⁴ In reality, the French protectorate brought massive changes to all realms of Moroccan life, not least the structure and forms of the country's arts and crafts industries. As Hamid Irbouh elucidates in *Art in the Service of Colonialism*, far from following a hands-off policy, the French protectorate embedded its official agents in nearly all sectors of the arts and crafts industry, restructuring historical

²⁸² Girard; Nicholas; Mokhiber.

²⁸³ Boujemâa Lamali, "Les Poteries de Safi et leur renovation (Extrait d'une conférence donnée à Rabat, le 23 janvier 1934)," *Nord-Sud* (1934), 13.

²⁸⁴ Burke 2014, 9.

guilds to shift control to French authorities and implementing state-managed artistic instruction that reached many sectors of the Moroccan population: from the elite elementary schools serving the children of “Muslim notables,” where young girls learned embroidery and boys most often the art of leather bookbinding, to trade schools where children of artisans or youth from working-class families trained in various sectors of the craft and construction industries.²⁸⁵

Reforms were also initiated at a more local level through the work and decisions of the regional indigenous arts inspectors. As the experiences of individual inspectors reveal (recorded in reports sent to the SAI headquarters in Rabat and narrated in personal correspondence and published articles) the actual process of “renovating” local art industries or centers of production involved a delicate orchestration: inspectors were tasked with encouraging certain trades without killing off the others, introducing new techniques to allow for a larger scale of production without overwhelming the local population of artisans, and promoting particular forms, motifs, and products that they judged to be both authentically “traditional” and at the same time potentially attractive to European consumers. In some circumstances, inspectors attempted to meet these requirements through modifications to the larger structure of production, shifting the paths through which products entered the commercial market or artisans received raw materials, for example, while attempting to avoid changing the aesthetic character of the articles produced.

When Madame Aline Reveillaud de Lens took on her post as a regional arts inspector in the Meknes region in 1915, she was enthralled with the diverse arts of carpet

²⁸⁵ Irbouh.

weaving practiced by the women living among the Amazigh tribes of the Middle Atlas and greater Meknes area.²⁸⁶ In a report sent to Lyautey in 1917, she described the textiles produced by artisans of the Zaïan, Beni M’Guild, Beni M’Tir, Guerrouan, and Zemmour communities as “artistic” and “already perfect.”²⁸⁷ Her suggestions for improvement were limited to imposing requirements for natural dyes (to replace the aniline dyes brought to Morocco by German traders in the late nineteenth century) and establishing a system of intermediaries, both indigenous and French, to facilitate the artists’ access to these natural dyes and fibers, as well as to “verify that the female workers [were] not exploited too much by the Indigenous Chief.”²⁸⁸ While surprisingly sympathetic to these “indigenous” female artisans, Reveillaud’s advice concerning production also entailed a substantial transformation of the social and material environment in which they had previously worked. As she herself notes, many of the textiles she selected as appropriate for the commercial market had before then only been created for private and domestic use; some of the women she encountered even refused to make such articles for sale. Reveillaud’s reforms called for an exponential increase in production; the establishment of a system of external surveillance as to the particular weaving techniques employed (to ensure both quality and efficiency) and the dimensions and styles to be produced; and the

²⁸⁶ Aline Reveillaud de Lens, the wife of André Reveillaud (civil controller of Meknes from 1915 to 1950), was also an author, painter, and amateur ethnographer, who became most famous for her orientalist novels about the lives of women in Morocco. See Ellen Amster, “‘The Harem Revealed’ and the Islamic-French Family: Aline de Lens and a French Woman’s Orient in Lyautey’s Morocco,” *French Historical Studies* 32, no.2 (Spring 2009).

²⁸⁷ Letter, Madame Reveillaud (Serveillante des arts indigènes de Meknès) to M. le Commissaire Résident Général de la République Française au Maroc, October 4, 1917, IMA/100/322 (Direction des Affaires Indigènes, Commerce et Industrie, 1914-1924), Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN).

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

introduction of new actors, such as an indigenous *chaouch* (or “go-between”) who would supply artisans with primary materials, negotiate prices and terms, and interface with the French SAI administrator in charge. If applied, her recommendations would transform a local domestic craft into a complex commercial enterprise.²⁸⁹

In other circumstances, the SAI’s work involved the “rediscovery” and “reintroduction” of historical styles, products, and even entire industries that had been reportedly neglected over the years due to population shifts, external “corrupting” influences, and other harbingers of cultural “decadence,” as discussed in chapters 1 and 2. In Meknes, Reveillaud also applied herself to reviving a specific style of painting on wood that she identified as having died out with the reign of Moulay Ismail ibn Sharif in the late seventeenth century.²⁹⁰ The SAI opened a state-run weaving workshop in Tangier, where, Ricard claimed, “carpet manufacture never existed before the protectorate,” to teach techniques of “Berber” carpet weaving to local artisans.²⁹¹ Later in Marrakech, the Algerian-born artist Azouaou Mammeri (regional inspector of Marrakech from 1929-1948) received instructions from Ricard to replace as much as possible the Fassi-influenced floral motifs prevalent in the urban arts of Marrakech with geometric motifs inspired by the crafts of the Amazigh communities in the south.²⁹² In

²⁸⁹ The introductory letter accompanying Reveillaud’s report in the Nantes Diplomatic Archives, written by Général Poeymirau (Commandant de la Région de Meknès), remarks that her recommendations concerning the introduction of indigenous intermediaries to negotiate sales and oversee carpet production in rural areas were “inadmissible” because of their potential threat to French control in the region. See: Letter, M. le Général Poeymirau to M. le Commissaire Résident Général de la République Française au Maroc, November 5, 1917, 1MA/100/322 (CADN).

²⁹⁰ Reveillaud.

²⁹¹ Prosper Ricard, “Le Service des arts indigènes,” *Nord-Sud* (1934), 6.

²⁹² Girard. Azouaou Mammeri was an Algerian artist who would spend much of his adult life in

every case, regional arts inspectors engaged in a continuous process of selection.

Although in theory the responsibility of the inspectors was to discover and support those forms and practices with an “authentic,” “historical” connection to the particular region, *which* history they selected and how the products they promoted were connected to this history was quite personal and often related to the inspector’s insight into the cultural tastes driving the markets for art and design in France.

In 1919 Lyautey appointed Boujemâa Lamali, an Algerian artist-ceramicist, to be regional inspector of Safi. Arriving there, Lamali embarked upon an investigation into the history of ceramic production in the region, relying particularly on oral histories given by the relatives of artisans and the last two remaining *ma’alams* themselves.²⁹³ As his own account of this process reveals, Lamali engaged in acrobatic feats of revisionist history to construct a narrative of pottery production in the region that suited his vision for a contemporary ceramics industry in Safi rivaling that of Fez. An artist himself, Lamali had studied at the Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts d’Alger and was sent by the French Algerian government to France in 1914 to study with specialists of the Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres. In Safi, he applied his own technical experience and broad knowledge of historical ceramic techniques practiced in Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa to evaluate the state of the local industry. His first order of business was to recreate a blue glaze made from local materials to replace the cheaper glaze that had been imported from England in the last century; he also strove to replace the

Morocco serving as drawing instructor at the Collège Musulman in Rabat, a teacher in French at a primary school in Fez, and, finally, from 1929 until 1948 occupying the post of Regional Inspector of Indigenous Arts in Marrakech.

²⁹³ The following biography comes from J. Goulven, “L’Histoire de la Céramique à Safi,” *France-Maroc*, no. 5 (1925), 83-4; and Lamali 1934.

“Hispano-Mauresque” forms that had inundated local workshops (apparently after a major commission for such objects by a visiting Spanish consulate in the late nineteenth century) with pottery shapes inspired by common domestic objects: “I did not invent forms, I simply took the forms of amphora used to store food, water, and oil in Safi. These forms had an incredible amount of character; some of them had Roman origins.”²⁹⁴ After accomplishing this goal, however, Lamali was still unsatisfied and returned to his local informants from whom he discovered that the Safi industry had indeed once been dominated by a succession of Fassi *ma’alams* living in Safi during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the works of ceramic produced during this time consisted not only of blue and white but also polychrome specimens. Rather than reject these historical influences as external to Safi-bound traditions, Lamali instead used this new information to gain approval from the SAI to produce contemporary polychrome pottery. According to Lamali, the SAI’s immediate response to his request was, “as long as this manufacture had once been practiced in Safi, there was no reason not to take it up again.”²⁹⁵

Over the following decades, Lamali continued to experiment with new glazing processes, ceramic forms, and motifs, which he shared with the thirty to forty student-apprentices enrolled in the pottery workshop he had established in 1920. After working on developing a style of “Safi” polychrome ceramics for two years, he developed a special technique of underglazing, thus, in his own words, “apply[ing] a Persian technique to the pottery of Safi.”²⁹⁶ He also created works of ceramic that incorporated

²⁹⁴ Lamali 1934, 13.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

motifs inspired by Amazigh textile motifs, for which he received a silver medal at the 1925 Exposition arts décoratifs: “As the Exposition des arts décoratifs modernes of 1925 approached...I gave it some thought, and observing that décors with vibrant colors were taking pride of place, I thought of applying the decoration found in Zaïan carpets to pottery” (fig. 4.3).²⁹⁷ For the 1931 Exposition Colonial in Paris, he would contribute partially glazed pottery in a Riffian style, several examples of which are now housed in the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris (fig. 4.4). Perhaps as a result of his access to oral histories in Safi or his presumed insight into local traditions as an “indigenous” North African artist himself, Lamali was able to negotiate successfully for creative license while still claiming the historical authenticity of the products leaving his workshop. James Housefield argues that the French protectorate’s support of ceramic production in Safi was strongly connected to the SAI’s commercial initiatives. The work produced in Lamali’s studio “offered an alternative aesthetic to balance the traditional ceramic aesthetic establishment in Fès....In Safi, twentieth-century ceramists could be traditional because their hand-production techniques gave off the semblance of timeless craft traditions. Yet their color schemes were carefully aligned with early-twentieth-century tastes and fashions.”²⁹⁸

Among the most extensive projects of craft revitalization under the French protectorate—and the most successful in some accounts—was the regulation of carpet manufacture and sale throughout Morocco. Even before taking up the directorship of the SAI, Ricard called for the establishment of a system for managing the export and

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Housefield, 403.

commercial sale of carpets manufactured in Morocco.²⁹⁹ Through a set of *dahirs* published between 1919 and 1921, Lyautey announced a program of “*estampillage*” through which carpets approved by SAI officials at textile inspection centers set up throughout Morocco would be affixed with a stamp confirming the object’s authentic construction and good quality. Approved carpets could be exported without taxation and would probably receive a higher price in the market, a feature that encouraged carpet merchants and artisans to comply with the SAI’s vision of “authentic” weaving practices and styles.

The criteria by which carpets would be judged in the inspection centers were eventually codified in Ricard’s *Corpus des Tapis Marocains*, a four-volume set published between 1923 and 1934 that documented all the known types of Moroccan carpets, as identified by Ricard and his staff, and organized them into regional, stylistic, and cultural taxonomies.³⁰⁰ The *Corpus des Tapis* has been described as an artifact of colonial epistemology (claiming scientific authority through its taxonomic structure, photographic documentation, and overwhelmingly detailed analyses of individual carpet styles that deconstructed and examined decorative motifs down to the level of individual knots) and an instrument of surveillance (imposing externally defined boundaries to an art form

²⁹⁹ According to James Mokhiber, Ricard later argued that the initial involvement of the Office des Arts indigènes in the carpet industry (under the direction of De la Nézière) had actually resulted in an unregulated commercial boom in carpet manufacture in Morocco and a subsequent decline in quality, thus necessitating the introduction of the stamping system (“Le Protectorat dans la peau: Prosper Ricard and the ‘native arts’ in French colonial Morocco, 1899-1952,” 266).

³⁰⁰ Prosper Ricard, *Corpus des tapis marocains* (Paris: Gouvernement chérifien, Protectorat de la République Française au Maroc, and Librairie orientaliste Paul Geunther), vols. 1, *Tapis de Rabat* (1923); 2, *Tapis du moyen Atlas* (1926); 3, *Tapis du haut Atlas et du Haouz de Marrakech* (1927); and 4, *Tapis divers* (1934).

traditionally valued for its variety and expressiveness in the name of quality control).³⁰¹ Claire Nicholas argues that the *Corpus* should be read as “an artifact of...the social relations of ‘making a market’ for these objects,” noting the ambivalence and uncertainty contained in its pages: “This set of ‘technical’ texts, instead of presenting a coherent ideological and authoritative discourse, is shot through with elements of volatility in the form of personal reflections and narrated interactions with local carpet merchants and collectors.”³⁰² Like the projects for craft renovation developed by SAI inspectors throughout Morocco, the evaluation of Moroccan carpets Ricard presented in the *Corpus* was a result of underlying processes of selection influenced by negotiations among diverse stakeholders (Ricard and his staff, the state, artisans, merchants, consumers, and patrons) and compromise among different motivating factors (respect for “authentic” traditions, “scientific accuracy,” and compliance with the demands of the market).

Ricard, while truly dedicated to researching and protecting local traditions of textile manufacture, was also invested in developing a self-supporting industry for these “traditions.” Certain elements of his program were directly related to the development of a commercial market: for example, he encouraged artisans to produce carpets with dimensions that mapped onto the standard dimensions of rugs and carpets in Europe to make them more “apt to find a place in European interiors.”³⁰³ His *Corpus des Tapis*, alongside the diagrams of textile patterns that SAI personnel distributed to artisans and

³⁰¹ Benjamin 209; Mokhiber 268.

³⁰² Claire Nicholas, “Of Texts and Textiles...: Colonial Ethnography and Contemporary Moroccan Material Heritage,” *Journal of North African Studies* 19: 3 (2014), 390-412: 397.

³⁰³ Jean Baldoui, “Quelques étapes de l’artisanat,” article for the *Revue L.O.P.A.M.*, Liasse 738, Fonds Ricard. Quoted in Girard.

weaving cooperatives, aimed to facilitate private enterprise by streamlining the production process and democratizing access to cultural knowledge that had previously belonged to the expert domain of *ma'alams* (or *ma'alamat*, female masters) and their students. Ricard commonly repeated that the SAI's diagrams replaced the traditional practice of students learning motifs from memory over the course of months of apprenticeship, arguing that "today, after just a few weeks of initiation, [they can execute complex motifs] nearly instantaneously by simply reading [a diagram.]"³⁰⁴ It should also be noted, however, that some artists and dealers did not see the carpet *estampillage* system as liberating: in 1924 a group of French and Moroccan merchants launched a campaign against the SAI, arguing that the stamping system impeded diversity in the local carpet industry and asked that the parameters for "authentication" be expanded beyond the examples illustrated in Ricard's *Corpus des Tapis*.³⁰⁵ On one level, the stamping system supported a state monopoly in the sale of carpets, a feature that allowed Ricard to keep statistics on the rising exportation of Moroccan carpets over the years, information he used to justify the SAI's continued interventions.

Through the efforts of Ricard and the SAI, the exportation of Moroccan crafts into France, the United States, and elsewhere steadily increased until Morocco began to experience the impact of the global financial crises of the early 1930s. Writing in 1934, Ricard estimated that "from 1927 to 1931, the total annual traffic of articles of Moroccan art, including both internal transactions and exports, reached 25 million francs, of which

³⁰⁴ Prosper Ricard, "La Service des arts indigènes," *Nord-Sud* 1934, 5.

³⁰⁵ Girard; Mokhiber; Nicholas.

10 million francs were for leather goods.”³⁰⁶ Production volume had also increased for certain sectors, particularly Moroccan textiles with 67,000 square meters (of officially inspected carpets) recorded in 1933 in comparison with 20,000 in 1920.³⁰⁷ In 1925 one journalist remarked that the success of Lamali’s ceramics workshop at various exhibitions had inspired a number of important commissions from France and abroad, so that “pottery, just like grain, [had become] a major export product of Safi.”³⁰⁸ As letters received by the SAI in the 1920s and later reveal—many of them requesting authorization or tax relief for the exportation of “indigenous” products or inquiring about local dealers of art objects and raw materials—entrepreneurs in France and elsewhere took interest in establishing their own businesses for importing Moroccan crafts and art materials into their countries.³⁰⁹ Some SAI personnel even took advantage of the growing export market themselves, creating their own private businesses on the side.³¹⁰

³⁰⁶ *Nord-Sud*, 1934, 6.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸ J. Goulven, “L’Histoire de la Céramique à Safi,” *France-Maroc*, no. 5 (1925), 83-4.

³⁰⁹ In some cases, these foreign businesses found endorsement through protectorate officials, such as a business specializing in the “confection in Paris of ‘Moroccan’ leather goods [objets de maroquinerie ‘marocaine’]” run by a Madame Wild, the widow of a French colonel formerly stationed in Tanger. The author of the letter, presumably the director of the Office du Maroc in Paris writes: “This business seems particularly interesting to me because she very scrupulously respects tradition in terms of construction, decoration, and raw materials...and simply aims to bring to their manufacture a higher level of meticulous care, in other words, to adapt them to the tastes of a Parisian clientele” [Letter, Directeur de l’Office du Protectorat de la République Française au Maroc to Monsieur le Chef du Service du Commerce et de l’Industries: A/S de l’entreprise de Madame Wild, 7, avenue de la Grand-Armée à Paris, January 13, 1921, C258 (Exportations, Produits divers), Archives du Maroc, Rabat].

³¹⁰ Often these businesses were executed through family members or friends living outside of Morocco. Jacques Révault, the regional indigenous arts inspector in Meknes from 1927 to 1936, helped his sister, Héléne Revault, obtain textiles, leatherwork and other requested articles produced in Meknes to sell in France. In one letter to his sister, he notes that he will send her some leatherwork samples, as he believes this industry will appeal particularly to her “American clientele” (Letter, Jacques Révault to Héléne Révault, November 6, 1927, Dar Jamaï Museum

As the SAI's campaign in Morocco expanded and developed, becoming increasingly entangled with the initiatives of private dealers, producers, and other "unofficial" actors involved in the commercial market for "indigenous arts," the terms and boundaries of "authenticity" that defined these arts under the French protectorate continued to be stretched, broken, and refigured. The carefully controlled exportation market envisioned by Ricard and other agents of the French protectorate was continuously challenged by the very kinds of business initiatives the SAI itself encouraged. The commercial underpinnings of the SAI also meant that consumers, both Moroccan and non-Moroccan, held substantial power in the articulation of the "indigenous" styles, formats, and products that would dominate the market. Alongside the opportunities for exportation presented by a rising interest in "primitive," "Islamic," and "colonial" arts and design in Europe and the United States, a new population of consumers *within* Morocco fueled the domestic market, inspiring new business models and products particularly oriented towards domestic architecture and interior design.

Stylistic "Hybridity" in the Contact Zone of Colonial Morocco

While the European settler population in Morocco remained small in comparison to that of colonial Algeria (partly a result of the restrictions placed upon settlement in Morocco by Lyautey, who favored large-scale corporate farming to the small farmer immigration he felt had contributed to the deterioration of Algerian society), the demographics of Morocco began to shift after World War I with an influx of settlers and immigrants from France, as well as Italy, Spain, Corsica and other French colonies.

archives, Meknes).

Besides agriculturalists, the immigrant population in Morocco also included middle class professionals—lawyers, architects, journalists, doctors, etc.—and some wealthy expatriates and landowners who split their time between Morocco and France.³¹¹ The “indigenous” population in Morocco, which in reality was already a diverse group in itself, also changed during this time, with some individuals and families having relocated from Morocco to France during the war as soldiers and laborers and remained there, others leaving their rural communities to find work in the developing urban centers, some disenfranchised members of the Jewish community beginning to emigrate, and residents from other French colonies relocating to Morocco to join the nebulous “indigenous” sector. The encounters, interactions, and exchanges that occurred particularly in Morocco’s rapidly changing urban centers often exceeded the prescribed and ordered interactions of an “association” between societies, as Lyautey and his colleagues had envisioned it.

During its early years and continuing into the middle of the twentieth century, the French protectorate regime viewed Morocco’s cities as laboratories for experimenting with architecture, urban planning, and social services that might best express its ideological platform of “protecting” indigenous society while introducing modern services to support a developing colonial economy and the socio-political infrastructure needed to sustain it. Paul Rabinow explains: “Lyautey looked to a complex juxtaposition of modern city planning with traditional Moroccan cities and their social hierarchy... as the social field within which a controlled diversity might be constructed and

³¹¹ Miller, 111.

regulated.”³¹² “Controlled diversity” in Morocco’s cities was most clearly envisioned by Lyautey’s architects and urban planners through a division of space and the application of qualitatively different services and material conditions in these spaces. To protect the aesthetic and cultural “character” of Morocco’s walled *medinas*, Lyautey signed laws into effect that restricted and regulated new construction and architectural renovation, requiring building permits that had to be approved by the SBA. Stacy Holden notes that the building codes enforced by the SBA in Fez not only precluded the construction of European-style houses or quarters within the *medina*, but also enforced strict rules concerning external decorative treatments, construction materials, and decorative elements of the interior spaces.³¹³ As for the French *villes nouvelles*, situated at a distance from the *medinas* (a sort of physical and symbolic barrier), there the protectorate’s architects engaged upon architectural and technological experiments in city planning with the aim of building an ideal “modern” social space.³¹⁴

Despite the intentions of Lyautey’s staff to regulate social and cultural diversity within Morocco’s cities through urban planning legislation—Janet Abu-Lughod goes so far as to describe the impact of this legislation in Rabat as a form of “urban apartheid”—the social realities of colonial Morocco did not always conform to this vision.³¹⁵ As

³¹² Paul Rabinow, “France in Morocco: Technocosmopolitanism and Middling Modernism,” *Assemblage*, no. 17 (1992), 52-57: 55.

³¹³ Holden, 8. Assia Lamzah also presents a study of historical preservation and urban development in Marrakech during the French Protectorate in her dissertation, “The Impact of the French protectorate on Cultural Heritage Management in Morocco: The Case of Marrakesh” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008).

³¹⁴ For more extensive studies on Lyautey’s urban planning legislation and its social and economic outcomes see, Abu-Lughod; Rabinow 1989 and 1992; and Wright 1987 and 1991.

³¹⁵ Abu-Lughod.

individuals and families continued to move from rural areas into the cities, the *madinas* became overcrowded and new unregulated neighborhoods arose, the most famous of these being Casablanca's *bidonvilles* initiated in the 1920s.³¹⁶ Individuals, both Moroccan and French, also actively contested the imposed requirements of the SBA's regulations. Holden reveals that the Fassi elite presented a particular challenge to the Service, not least of all because its administrators, like the indigenous arts inspectors of the SAI, made decisions based upon their own biased vision of the city's "historical" character that sometimes conflicted with the historical and personal narratives held by wealthy notables of the region.³¹⁷ Furthermore, some "indigenous" notables, many of whom "believed that comfort and commerce trumped the historic value of urban structures," preferred to construct new homes that incorporated contemporary domestic technologies or innovative architectural features that conflicted with the SBA's notion of the "medieval" Fassi *madina* environment.³¹⁸

European settlers and residents in Morocco also challenged the protectorate's notion of "indigenous" and "French" spaces and cultural styles through their own architectural commissions and personal living choices. Early on, European residents, including even some members of the French administration, were interested in occupying the more "picturesque" neighborhoods of Morocco, such as the Qasba des Oudaïa in

³¹⁶ J.L. Cohane and M. Eleb, *Casablanca: Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures* (New York: the Monacelli Press, 2002).

³¹⁷ Holden gives one example in which members of Fez's Muslim Council contested the Service des beaux-arts' protection of a wall in the *madina*'s southeast corner because it had been recently built by the Minister of Finance, Mohamed ben Abdesselam El Mokri, during the reign of Moulay Abdelhafid (1907-1912); instead, the Council wanted to tear down the wall to construct a garage and public square more amenable to contemporary notions of urban living (8).

³¹⁸ Holden.

Rabat. The archives of the SBA held in the ministry of culture in Rabat contain countless letters and descriptions of legal proceedings concerning requests by European architects and their clients to “restore” and remodel domestic spaces in the Kasbah; often, these requests were granted at the expense of the original “indigenous” owners who were compelled to relocate, usually with minimal compensation.³¹⁹ While the exteriors of these domiciles had to comply with aesthetic regulations, inside the owner could adapt the space to suit his or her tastes and needs. As I discovered during my stay in the Kasbah, some of the larger homes had been created by knocking down internal walls between smaller homes thus preserving the original aspect of the neighborhood as seen from the street. Elsewhere, in the expanding French towns or at the edges of the *madinas*, well-to-do individuals with a taste for “indigenous” style might also choose to hire an architect to build a new home incorporating local architectural practices, materials, and decoration.

Reflecting this widespread interest in “reviving” traditions of Moroccan architecture for domestic consumption, in 1926 Jean Gallotti published an extremely successful two-volume illustrated book on “traditional” home and garden design in Morocco. On the one hand, with its 160 drawings and 136 photographic plates depicting historical residences, palaces, religious buildings, and garden pavilions from Marrakech to Tétouan, *Le Jardin et la Maison Arabes au Maroc* presents itself as a comprehensive guide to architectural craft and decoration in Morocco.³²⁰ The volumes were indeed a

³¹⁹ As of April 2013, these documents were maintained within a file labeled “Rabat: Qasba des Oudaïa ” in the historical archives of the Service des beaux-arts, monuments historiques, et antiquités held on the third floor of the Ministry of Culture, Rabat. They may have since been transferred to the Archives du Maroc in Rabat.

³²⁰ Jean Gallotti, *Le jardin et la Maison arabes au Maroc* (Paris: Editions Albert Lévy, 1926).

culmination of Gallotti's work documenting historical architecture and crafts and studying the artisan corporations of Rabat as a regional indigenous arts inspector in the region. In an introductory letter published as a preface to the book, Lyautey praises Gallotti for his sensitive prose and respect for traditions, concluding that the book is indeed "representative of the mindset with which we have been able to accomplish our work in Morocco."³²¹ On the other hand, Gallotti's professed intentions in publishing *Le Jardin et la Maison Arabes au Maroc* was not only to give his readers an idea of the "particular charm of Arab houses and gardens," as he writes in his introduction, but also to provide technical information about materials and construction in order to "make it easier for those Europeans who want to build in the native style."³²²

It must also be mentioned that Europeans living in Morocco were not the only actors interested in "reviving" traditional architectural crafts for domestic consumption. During my investigation of private residences built in Morocco during this period, I encountered several homes near or in the *madinas* of Fez, Rabat, and Marrakech that had been commissioned by wealthy Moroccan professionals—including a doctor and a local judge—during the 1920s and 30s. These homes at once showcased the work of local *ma'alams* specializing in historical styles and at the same time incorporated the latest technologies of electric lighting, European-style kitchens and bathrooms, and other imported features signaling wealth and social mobility within the new colonial community. In Marrakech, for example, a luxury hotel called the Villa des Orangers in

³²¹ "Il est representative de l'état d'esprit qui nous a permis d'édifier notre oeuvre au Maroc, qui doit nous permettre de la maintenir et de la développer" (General Lyautey, Rabat, August 25, 1925, published in Gallotti, n.p.)

³²² Gallotti, vii.

the Sidi Mimoun quarter of the *madina* inhabits the former home of a local judge and his family, constructed in the 1930s.³²³ With its rooms facing into a series of *riads* (open garden courtyards), marble and tile fountains, and walls and arcades decorated in complex plasterwork, the villa recalls the courtyard architecture of the late-nineteenth-century Bahia Palace nearby; at the same time, the decorative elements featured in the villa are comparatively simple and give way to smooth surfaces and hard edges that hint at modernist tendencies of the moment (fig. 4.5).

By at least the mid-1920s and continuing into the following decades, the demand for a domestic architecture that could reflect the novelty and experience of life in the diverse cities of colonial Morocco led to the establishment of new industries and businesses designed to respond to this demand; it also inspired public commentary and fueled debate within professional circles. In 1932 an illustrated journal called *Bâtir*, which was dedicated entirely to showcasing new architecture in the French protectorate of Morocco, appeared as a supplement to the periodical *L'Entreprise au Maroc*.³²⁴ Each issue featured a selection of homes, businesses, and governmental buildings designed by predominantly French architects and architecture firms located in Morocco. The first edition of the journal included an article entitled “Villas...à la recherche d’un style,” which addressed the topic of how to combine “indigenous” Moroccan and “modern” European design in domestic architecture in the French protectorate. Echoing the problem posed to the colonial exhibitors at the 1925 Exposition Art Déco, the author explains that the architect and his client in Morocco often face the challenge of finding a

³²³ Interview with current management, *Villa des Orangers*, Marrakech, May 2016.

³²⁴ Examples of the journal are held in the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), Rabat.

“compromise between local art and European art; a more or less satisfying fusion of one style with the other.”³²⁵ The editors of *Bâtir* aimed to identify among the various stylistic “fusions” that had appeared in Morocco’s urban landscape by the beginning of the 1930s a truly original French-Moroccan architecture: “We feel that it has become necessary to limit our search to find an original creation that, while inspired by that which remains of the artistic atmosphere of old Morocco, is at the same time suited both to the local climate and to the lifestyle we have adopted. To reconcile, in other words, art and comfort.”³²⁶

The search for a singular “French-Moroccan” architecture was also central to the work of the architects and urban planners Lyautey had hired to design and build the French protectorate’s *villes nouvelles*. As historians including Gwendolyn Wright, François Béguin, Paul Rabinow, and Patricia Morton have explored, these architects strove to develop a stylistic idiom that could express Lyautey’s notion of political, cultural, and geographic “association” in the very architecture of the French protectorate’s landscape.³²⁷ Through the work of Henri Prost, whom Lyautey had hired in 1914 to direct the Service d’Architecture et des Plans des Villes, and his associates Albert Laprade, Robert Fournez, and others, a hybrid style of architecture—at the time variously called “Franco-Moroccan,” “neo-Moroccan,” and “neo-Moorish”—became an emblem of French protectorate ideology. Wright describes the architecture that arose from these experimentations as a “self-conscious cultural synthesis that stressed its

³²⁵ *Bâtir: Revue Marocaine d’Architecture*, Supplement Illustrée de “L’Entreprise au Maroc,” Nouvelle Série, 11me Année, no. 2 (April 1932).

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Rabinow 1989 and 1992; Wright 1987; Béguin; Morton, 2000.

particular locale”: “[F]rom the West came the clean lines and strict design guidelines for buildings, the spacious thoroughfares and zoning regulations; from Morocco, local ornamental motifs in porcelain mosaics and cedar, together with architectural adaptations to the climate such as the *menzeh* (a pavilion with courtyard), *mashrabiya* (interlaced screen), and walls of white *naqsh nadida* (stucco).”³²⁸ As we will see in the following chapter, this hybrid architecture influenced the design of the Morocco Pavilion at the 1931 Exposition coloniale Internationale in Paris, replacing the archaizing style employed in the 1922 Exposition coloniale. It also resonated in the design of the North African Pavilion at the 1925 Exposition Art Décoratifs, in which Robert Fournez, a colleague of Prost and Laprade, played a leading role. In fact, by the publication of its third edition in 1925, Prosper Ricard’s *Guide Bleu* for Morocco included a description of “Franco-Moroccan” architecture directly following the overview of “indigenous art industries” in its introduction.³²⁹ Employing language similar to that which Prost, Laprade, and other state architects used to articulate their search for an architectural style that could express the philosophical foundations of the French protectorate, the authors writing for *Bâtir* relocated the problem of “hybridity” to the domestic and commercial spheres, foregrounding the objective of “modern comfort.”

The widespread demand from both Moroccan and foreign residents of the French protectorate for contemporary living spaces that would at once reflect the unique visual and artistic environment of colonial Morocco and the proprietor’s status within this environment inspired a rich market for new products designed to fulfill such needs.

³²⁸ Wright 1987, 302-4.

³²⁹ Ricard, *Le Maroc (Guides Bleus)*, 3rd edition (Paris: Hachette, 1925).

Alongside those businesses specializing in the manufacture of “indigenous” art objects for the export market, new commercial enterprises addressed the local community of consumers, with firms specializing in “Moroccan” architecture and interior decoration, shops selling “maroquinerie” (leather handbags, cigarette cases, wallets, etc.) and other personal accessories, and workshops specializing in the manufacture of “European-style” furnishings that incorporated “traditional” Moroccan motifs and materials. This domestic market was also supported by the rapidly developing tourism industry in Morocco.

Among the top priorities of the French protectorate government in its first two decades was to build a network of roads and railways linking the main regions of Morocco; it also encouraged private companies to establish hotels, restaurants, and clubs in these newly accessible regions and eventually subsidized major French transportation companies, such as *La Compagnie Transatlantique* to invest in the Moroccan tourism industry.³³⁰ These state initiatives were apparently a success, with the number of hotels in the ten largest cities of Western Morocco growing from thirty-eight in 1919 to ninety-six by 1936, as Robert Hunter reports.³³¹

The number of shops selling “indigenous” arts, antiquities, and furnishings oriented towards the contemporary transnational market also increased: a comparison of sequential issues of Ricard’s *Guide Bleu* indicates a shift in the makeup of art-related businesses even within the souks of Morocco’s *medinas*. The 1919 *Guide Bleu* provides a general list of “indigenous” artistic specialties for each regional destination without

³³⁰ Robert F. Hunter provides a good overview of the tourism industry in Morocco during the 1920s and 30s in “Promoting Empire: The Hachette Tourist in French Morocco, 1919-36,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 4 (2007), 579-591.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 580.

referring its readers to particular artisans or shops but rather explaining the general organization of the *medinas* into different trade specialties, from leatherwork to hammered metal to textiles and tailoring.³³² By the guide's third edition in 1925, besides sending visitors to the indigenous art museums and textile inspection centers of the Service des arts indigènes, Ricard recommends a long list of private Moroccan and non-Moroccan businesses specializing in "indigenous arts." In the Fez *medina*, for example, he lists: Les Trésors de Fès, run by Mlle P. Brulat; ceramics sold by a M. Mesker; cedar furniture by Ahmed Bennani; gold embroidered fabrics sold by the Ben Chérif brothers; and illuminated manuscripts sold by M. Gérundi, among others.³³³ As Ricard's list suggests, the individual entrepreneurs involved in this growing contemporary arts and crafts industry were as diverse as their products and included members of established artisan families, such as the Bennani and Ben Chérif families in Fez, as well as French *colons*, antiquities dealers, and other foreign and Moroccan traders.³³⁴ The lists for Marrakech, Rabat, Meknes, and Casablanca reveal similarly multicultural communities of arts and antiquities merchants (although still primarily Moroccan) in the *madinas* of each of those cities.

As with the exportation market for "indigenous" arts, the SAI also strove to manage the impact of such private enterprises on the image of "Moroccan art" presented

³³² Prosper Ricard, *Le Maroc (Guides Bleus)* (Paris: Hachette, 1919).

³³³ Ricard, *Le Maroc (Guides Bleus)*, 3rd edition (Paris: Hachette, 1925).

³³⁴ On the Ben Chérif family of weavers, see: Ricard, "Une lignée d'artisans: Les Ben Chérif de Fes," *Hespéris* 37: 11-19 (1950); Nadia Erzini, "The Survival of Textile Manufacture in Morocco in the Nineteenth Century," in *Islamic Art in the 19th Century: Tradition, Innovation, and Eclecticism*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Stephen Vernoit, 157-178 (Boston: Brill, 2006); and Niloo Imami Paydar and Ivo Grammet (eds.), *The Fabric of Moroccan Life* (exh. cat.) (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 2002).

to its international visitors. Through the publication of articles, advertisements, and guidebooks, the French protectorate government encouraged tourists to visit its museums and arts inspection centers to learn how to distinguish artworks of good quality and “authentic” construction from inferior products before they ventured into the souks of Morocco. Through the 1950s, the Oudaïa Museum in Rabat and Batha Museum in Fez continued to invite tourists and other visitors to observe the weekly textile inspections held at their respective regional SAI headquarters in order to learn about the requirements of the *estampillage* system.³³⁵ At the same time, reverberations of the “unofficial” market could be felt in the French protectorate’s own museums and “official” exhibitions of Moroccan art. The Dar Jamaï Museum in Meknes, opened in 1926 under the direction of Indigenous Arts Inspector Jacques Révauld, maintained the general approach of its predecessors in Rabat and Fez: it displayed both historical art objects of the region and new articles of “authentic” construction manufactured in workshops connected to the SAI, presented the same categories of “decorative arts” (leatherwork, ceramics, metalwork, textiles), and even inhabited a former palace of the late nineteenth century. The Dar Jamaï Museum’s rooms, however, contained fewer portable objects, emphasizing a sense of Moroccan “space” over the unique artifact. Révauld even organized a series of rooms in the palace to recreate “indigenous” domestic settings, including a “Salon arabe” and a “Salon berbère” (fig. 4.6). The latter room in particular reveals the influence of the local and international design markets on Révauld’s exhibition: its furnishings, some of which would eventually be exhibited in the 1933 Chicago World’s Fair, included an ensemble of carved cedar wood furniture decorated

³³⁵ Ricard, *Le Maroc (Guides Bleus)*, 8th edition (Paris: Hachette, 1954).

with carved “Berber” motifs “lifted from the poles of Zaïan tents and chests of the Djebel [mountains]” but with forms amenable to the “modern” home (fig. 4.7). The SAI attributed the creation of this “hybrid” furniture to an “indigenous” carpentry *ma’alam* who, in collaboration with Révauld, designed the ensemble specifically “to respond to the tastes of a European clientele” given his observation that “the native clientele is too poor to buy wooden chests and the rich urban *indigènes* prefer European furniture.”³³⁶

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the geometric lines, abstract motifs, and surprising asymmetry characterizing Amazigh visual culture attracted artists and consumers who partook in the vogue for so-called “primitive” styles in international modernist design of the 1920s and 30s. The “Berber” salon ensemble of Dar Jamaï, Lamali’s “Zaïan-inspired” ceramics, and perhaps even Ricard’s directive for Mammeri to encourage Amazigh aesthetics in the craft workshops of Marrakech, could be attributed at least in part to the impact of trends in the international art and design world in Morocco.³³⁷ In an article of 1934, Ricard parodied the taste for “Berber” carpets among European consumers, explaining it through the eyes of an imagined Moroccan interlocutor. According to Ricard, this “old *cherif*” expressed bemusement at the choice of such carpets for European urban interiors, asking, “What have you found attractive in these heavy and thick fleeces of crude fabrication, and unsophisticated decoration, with

³³⁶ Alexandre Delpy, “Le Travail du Cedre à Meknès,” *Nord-Sud: Revue mensuelle illustrée d’informations marocains* (1934), 44-45.

³³⁷ It would be interesting to examine whether “primitive”-style modernist design objects created outside of Morocco had any effect upon the motifs selected and designed by Moroccan artists. The earliest known examples of the ubiquitous “Beni Ouarain” carpets decorated with spare, asymmetrical black forms against a plain natural wool background mentioned in the introduction, for instance, date from around the mid-twentieth-century, when this style was particularly popular in European and American interior design (Paydar and Grammet 2002). Could this specific style have arisen in relation to demands from the commercial market?

monotone and often drab coloring? I would understand your enthusiasm very well if you lived in a tent. Instead of divans, these carpets could serve as rather comfortable seats...But you are sedentary. The house is your domain.”³³⁸ Despite his promotion of “Berber” (or “rural” arts, as he preferred to designate them) in the SAI’s program—particularly in those regions where he understood “rural” arts to be a central part of historical craft production, like Meknes and Marrakech—Ricard expressed reservations about the widespread commercialization of these arts, a phenomenon that threatened to disrupt his classification of distinct, “authentic” categories of art production in Morocco, as characterized by a distinction between “Berber” vs. “Arab,” or urban vs. rural, and regional specificity (see chapter 2 and 3). In the context of the 1925 *Exposition arts décoratifs*, however, it was exactly this disruption and mixing of stylistic categories that expressed true innovation in the eyes of some critics, artists, and designers.

“Moroccan Modernism” at the 1925 Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs modernes et industriels

According to one review published in *France-Maroc* in April of 1925, the Moroccan Section at the Exposition successfully avoided falling into the trap of simply “making the old new” through its innovative room ensembles that responded to a “modern” conception of domestic space and at the same time retained a truly “Moroccan” character. For this reviewer, the consistent combination of modern and Moroccan elements displayed throughout the exhibition, present within each ensemble as much as in the craftsmanship of the smallest article of decoration, resulted in the impression of a

³³⁸ Prosper Ricard, “Les Tapis de Rabat,” *Nord-Sud* (1934), 28.

“double originality.”³³⁹ As the Exposition’s *Rapport général* claimed, the concept of designing a furniture “ensemble” specific to the function of a particular space and integrated through a guiding aesthetic, rather than decorating a room with an assortment of unique furnishings and *objets d’art*, was one of the defining attributes of the new modernist design movement.³⁴⁰ In the Moroccan Section, according to some reviewers, the successful adaptation of “traditional” indigenous craft techniques to this “modern” conception of the domestic ensemble introduced a second level of “originality.”³⁴¹

The *Rapport général* further contended that a true “modernization” of indigenous arts in France’s colonies could not occur through the simple reproduction of European forms by indigenous artists, arguing that “[i]f tomorrow some Tonkinois cabinetmaker began to create works adorned with attributes borrowed from French styles, this might be considered something new over there”; nevertheless, such products, “could not be more contrary to the logic of modern art.”³⁴² Instead, genuinely modern indigenous arts could only be attained by “adapting local manufacture to new living conditions, while still maintaining the spirit of national traditions.”³⁴³ Perhaps subscribing to this logic, the

³³⁹ “Le Maroc à l’Exposition des arts décoratifs,” *France-Maroc*, no. 101 (April 1925), 79-80.

³⁴⁰ *Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs modernes: Rapport général*, vol. 4 (Classe 7: Ensemble de Mobilier, Classe 8: Art et Industrie du Bois et du Cuir) (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1925; reprinted New York: Garland, 1977).

³⁴¹ Benjamin notes that Henri Gourdon, the director-general of public instruction in Indochina, similarly identified the indigenous exhibits at the 1925 Exposition as particularly novel, exclaiming: “They have the potential to be original, and they are by no means out of place in an exposition of *modern* decorative arts” [Gourdon, “Les colonies et les protectorats à l’Exposition des arts décoratifs,” *Le monde colonial illustré* 3, no. 24 (September 1925): 194; cited in Benjamin 2003, 215].

³⁴² *Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs modernes* 4: 52.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

designers of the Moroccan Section created a series of rooms that, while clearly drawing upon both French and Moroccan stylistic traditions and conceptions of domestic space, never fully settled on either. Unlike the Moroccan Pavilion at the 1922 Colonial Exposition or even the Dar Jamaï Museum, both of which strove to situate their exhibits squarely within a Moroccan context by reproducing the architectural and decorative features of an “authentic” *maison arabe*, the 1925 Moroccan Section “liberated” its interior decoration from the constraints of a specific locale, suggesting the geographical and cultural dexterity of the “modern” French protectorate resident. At the entrance to the Moroccan Section, a series of painted murals depicting the Moroccan landscape—the Qasba des Oudaïa with the city of Salé at distance across the Bouregreg River, the Palais Jamaï in Meknes, and the Palmerie of Marrakech set against a backdrop of the High Atlas Mountains—greeted visitors at the entrance to the ground floor of the Moroccan Section.³⁴⁴ The picturesque scenes visually transported visitors to the geographical and cultural environment from which the Moroccan Section had arisen and in this sense functioning much like the panoramas painted by Joseph de la Nézière for the 1922 Morocco Pavilion. Upon entering the exhibition space, however, visitors encountered a domestic setting that might be the residence of any fairly wealthy individual with a taste for Morocco’s arts, whether living in “the Ain Diab neighborhood [in Casablanca’s *ville nouvelle*], or even under the Antibes sky or in the environs of Pau [in southwestern France].”³⁴⁵

The exhibit’s lack of “place” resulted from its combination of aesthetic and spatial

³⁴⁴ Félix Marcilhac, *La Vie et l’Oeuvre de Jacques Majorelle: 1886-1962* (Courbevoie, Paris: ACR Edition, 1988).

³⁴⁵ “Le Maroc à l’Exposition des arts décoratifs,” *France-Maroc*, no. 101 (April 1925), 79-80.

elements that at once evoked a Moroccan residence built in the nineteenth century or earlier and at the same time disrupted this image with anachronistic or disorienting details. For example, while the interior architecture of the “salon” incorporated common features of historic residences in Morocco, including a carved cedar wood ceiling constructed of horizontal wood planks (known as *berchla*-type construction), plain whitewashed upper walls with a decorated lower register, and tile flooring, it also bore attributes uncommon to Moroccan architecture such as large outward-facing windows and a monumental wood and brick fireplace supporting a massive picture frame (fig. 4.8). In the “office/smoking-room,” the standard division in Moroccan architecture of interior wall surfaces into different registers with alternating motifs and materials was completely rejected and the walls covered entirely in wood paneling (fig. 4.9).³⁴⁶ The spatial arrangement of the 1925 “apartment” also diverged greatly from that of the typical Moroccan *dar* (house), in which a series of rectangular rooms opened into a central atrium that provided natural light and airflow. The inhabitants of the *dar* might adjust the function and comfort of each room according to need or season, sleeping on the warmer second floor and adding heavier curtains and carpets in the winter; or they might clear away trays and cushions and transform the long divans set against the walls of a salon or

³⁴⁶ The interior walls of private residences, mosques, and *madrāsas* built in Morocco as early as the fourteenth century and still sometimes constructed today are typically divided into different registers, with alternating motifs as well as materials. Rising from the floor to chest height, a wide band of *zellij* (mosaic tile work) is followed by a frieze consisting of two or more bands of alternating mosaics or incised ceramic tiles; often, floral or epigraphic motifs make up the central band, bordered on either side with geometric motifs. A large expanse of wall painted with whitewash or covered with a carved plaster relief fills the space above the ceramic register. These plastered walls sometimes include decorative and utilitarian elements like stucco *chemassiat* (small pierced clerestory windows) or false arcades. Finally, the upper portion of the wall displays carved wood panels, friezes, or corbels.

reception hall into beds for overnight guests.³⁴⁷ In contrast, the rooms in the Moroccan Section and their furnishings were designed as “ensembles” specific to the proposed function of each space: “The dining room, the office, the *hammam* of the villa must be precisely a dining room, office, and *hammam*, that is to say, must respond to our modern conception of the different rooms and their particular comforts.”³⁴⁸

Indeed the artists contributing to the design and decoration of this modern Moroccan villa-apartment were uniquely suited to the task, themselves representative of the diverse population of individuals who made up the arts and crafts sector in colonial Morocco by the mid-1920s. To promote the impression of an “ensemble” and encourage aesthetic continuity within the rooms, the organizers of the Section assigned led designers for each space. These designers, among them the French painter Jacques Majorelle and a Moroccan cabinetmaker by the name of Bel Hadj, drew upon primary materials, techniques of construction, and artistic styles with deep connections to Morocco’s historical craft industries, combining these elements with others reflecting the guiding aesthetic principles of contemporary French furniture design and their own personal artistic visions. The rooms also featured works created by other artists who were active in colonial Morocco’s commercial craft and construction industries, including ceramic objects designed by Lamali and wrought iron electric chandeliers manufactured by the Etablissements Barbier of Casablanca.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁷ As I discovered during my fieldwork, many Moroccan families who live in homes built in this style continue the practice of modifying the house according to season, often moving the entire household to one floor and closing off the other between winter and summer.

³⁴⁸ “Le Maroc à l’Exposition des arts décoratifs,” *France-Maroc*, no. 101 (April 1925), 79-80.

³⁴⁹ Marcilhac: 112.

Bel Hadj, described simply as a “Moroccan cabinetmaker” in publications surrounding the Exposition, was in fact a cosmopolitan artist-entrepreneur who, like Lamali and so many other “indigenous” artists and dealers who participated in the international commercial market for Moroccan arts in the early twentieth century, displayed adeptness for navigating among the diverse tastes and demands of this market. In preparation for the 1925 Exposition, Bel Hadj traveled between Paris, Marseilles, and Morocco to manage teams of artisans working in each location.³⁵⁰ His design for the “office/smoking room” evidenced his fluency in both historical practices in Morocco and the international contemporary design trends that would come to be known as “art déco.” For example, he applied his skills as a master “ébéniste” (woodworker) to the creation of a hanging shelf of carved and turned wood that, although unpainted, strongly recalls a Fassi shelf included in the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains, from its overall format to its architecture-inspired decorative details of repeated miniature arches and the *sharafa nejgara* (“battlements of carpenters”) motif running across the top of both (compare fig. 4.10 with fig. 4.11). At the same time, he designed furnishings for the room bearing minimal reference to historical Moroccan design, such as a desk of simple rectangular form, with only a subtle nod to traditional Moroccan wood carving in the spandrels embellishing its underside, or the set of square and octagonal side tables with latticework skirts recalling turned wood *mashrabiyya* (latticework screens). Finally, certain objects revealed Bel Hadj’s strong grasp of the stylistic tendencies influencing the larger Exposition: both the pair of stuffed leather armchairs and window curtains incorporated sleek lines, plain surfaces, and highly stylized decorative motifs reminiscent of stained

³⁵⁰ “Le Maroc à l’Exposition des arts décoratifs”: 80.

glass or mosaic masonry.³⁵¹

Jacques Majorelle, the lead designer for the salon and dining room, represented another side of the local craft industry in Morocco. Majorelle arrived in Rabat in 1917 where he was introduced to local French society by Lyautey himself, who had been an acquaintance of Majorelle's father.³⁵² In 1918 he participated in a group art exhibition in Casablanca with Joseph de la Nézière, Gabriel-Rousseau, Maurice Tranchant de Lunel, and the Algerian artist Azouaou Mammeri. As we will see, Majorelle and Mammeri would cross paths again through subsequent expositions and in Marrakech, where Majorelle finally settled and Mammeri became the regional inspector of Indigenous Arts in 1928. By the early 1920s, Majorelle and his wife, Andrée, had moved to Marrakech and developed a business producing and selling "indigenous" leatherwork and *maroquinerie* with René Benezech, another French artist living in Marrakech. In 1926, Benezech opened his own store called "Les Ateliers du Pacha," where he sold embroidered leather, cushions and other fine leather articles, and painted and decorated wood furniture. After purchasing more land for their estate Bou Saf-Saf, near the Palmérie of Marrakech, the Majorelles built another cluster of small buildings to serve as exposition spaces for Majorelle's paintings and workshops for the approximately thirty Moroccan artisans employed by the Majorelles to produce leatherwork and other goods for tourists and other Europeans "who wanted picturesque souvenirs but wished to avoid

³⁵¹ The paisley and leaf motifs of the curtain could also be interpreted as representative of the shapes found sometimes found in Moroccan *zellij*.

³⁵² The following biography is based on Marcilhac's *La Vie et l'Oeuvre de Jacques Majorelle: 1886-1962*.

the hazards of the local souk.”³⁵³ While Majorelle continued to paint, he also designed furniture and decorative arts, completing commissions for major projects like the transformation of the historical Mamounia gardens in Marrakech into La Mamounia Hotel and the Moroccan Section at the 1925 *Exposition des arts décoratifs*.

Some of the furnishings Majorelle presented at the 1925 Exposition recalled his work for La Mamounia, completed the same year, including a massive sideboard of curved wood with a stylized floral motif, as well as the woven reed and leather matting built into the lower register of the walls in place of wainscoting.³⁵⁴ Of a recognizably modernist form (with its curved edges, ball feet, and bold geometric structure), the sideboard showcased the ingenuity of Majorelle and his atelier of Moroccan craftsmen in combining historical and contemporary aesthetics (fig. 4.12). The radiating motif of stylized flowers and intertwining tendrils on the surface of the dresser interpreted traditional patterns found on wood ceilings, chests, and shelves manufactured by *zouaq* (wood painting) masters in Marrakesh: the central medallion composed of a spiraling vine and leaf pattern might even have been directly inspired by one of the painted ceilings decorating the late-nineteenth-century Palais de la Bahia in Marrakech, designed by the Moroccan architect Mohammad al-Makki (fig. 4.13). And yet, upon closer inspection, it becomes apparent that the dresser’s “painted” surface is actually composed of cut leather pieces affixed with brass grommets to a skin of leather stretched between the rectangular grids of turned wood, a technique recalling medieval “hispano-mauresque” leather-covered chests. In this piece of furniture, Majorelle and his

³⁵³ Ibid., 90.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 100.

workshop combined techniques and styles coopted from a range of “traditional” industries that at once paid homage to Morocco’s historical art industries and indicated the innovative environment of contemporary art production in the French protectorate.

Other elements of the room evidenced Majorelle’s interest in Amazigh visual and material culture. The floors were covered with deep pile wool carpets recalling the textiles of the Beni M’Guild and other Amazigh communities of the Middle Atlas. The interlocking diamond motif of one of the carpets was repeated in the reed mats affixed to the walls and in the decoration of a ceramic vase designed by Lamali placed atop a turned-wood side table similar to those found in Bel Hadj’s office/smoking room. The only seating option presented in the room was an assortment of leather *poufs* manufactured in Majorelle’s atelier: these cushions were also decorated with geometric motifs recalling the visual language of artisans and weavers of the High Atlas Mountains and Anti-Atlas surrounding Marrakech. Indeed the geometric motifs and combination of vibrant and natural colors that Majorelle encountered in the Amazigh arts of Marrakech—as well as the Marrakech landscape itself—also greatly influenced Majorelle’s stylistic development as a painter. A selection of paintings by Majorelle also decorated the room, with his painting *La Kasbah Rouge* of 1924—later reproduced for a poster by the Syndicat d’Initiative et de Tourisme of Marrakech in 1926—hanging above the fireplace within a massive carved wood frame (fig. 4.14).

In contrast to the celebratory review of Morocco’s submission to the Exposition des arts décoratifs published in *France-Maroc* in April of 1925, another review appearing in the journal four months later suggested that the exhibition failed to translate the true originality of Moroccan art to its Parisian audience. Drafted by an anonymous critic

writing under the nom de plume of “El Aqça,” the letter argues that the exhibition in the Moroccan Section presented little more than an “imitation” of Moroccan art.³⁵⁵ While the author concedes that the creation of a “new art,” such as that celebrated at the Exposition, requires inspiration from some external source, he argues that, if taken too far, inspiration can devolve into pure cooptation. Taking as example Majorelle’s leather cushions—which, he points out, were the only successful products at the Exposition—El Aqça warns of the deleterious potential of such “interpretations” for the vitality of Moroccan art: “It is one thing, indeed, to be inspired by an art, and another thing to have adopted its production....An art does not die when it becomes the source of inspiration for [other] artists. But there are artisans who might kill a primitive art, in wanting too much to do it themselves.”³⁵⁶

This was not the first time Majorelle’s business had been critiqued for its potentially destructive influence on the local “indigenous” arts of Morocco. In July of 1925 the Director of the Economic Bureau of Marrakech, M. Martin, responded to a letter written by the Director of the Service of Commerce and Industry in Rabat regarding the exportation of “indigenous leather goods” from Morocco, in which he noted that “only M.M. MAJORELLE et BENEZECH, directors of Ateliers du Pacha, are probably to be able to furnish indigenous leather goods [articles de maroquinerie indigène] for exportation, albeit at very high prices.” He goes on to explain that “local traditional [ancienne] leather goods have been disappearing more and more because all of the

³⁵⁵ “Chronique Moghrebine,” *France-Maroc*, no. 105 (August 1925), 1. The “Chronique Moghrebine” was an opinion piece included in every issue of *France-Maroc*, beginning in 1923 when publication of the journal moved from Paris to Casablanca; “El Aqça” was probably a pseudonym for the editorial staff.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

manufacturers in the souks have begun to copy Majorelle’s models.”³⁵⁷ Likewise, upon taking the post of regional indigenous arts inspector of Marrakech, Mammeri (despite his own charge to “reintroduce” Amazigh aesthetics into local art production) was weary of Majorelle’s cooption of these arts and complained that Majorelle and Benezech had “corrupted the taste of some 150 artisans who copied their models without understanding what they were doing.”³⁵⁸ That two French artists had apparently captured the export market for so-called “indigenous” leatherwork in Marrakech by the mid-1920s had complicated the SAI’s perception of its own campaign to revitalize craft production in Morocco.

But what exactly was it about Majorelle’s “interventions” that disconcerted his critics? What really was the difference between carpet weavers in Rabat following the codified textile patterns in Ricard’s *Corpus des Tapis* and leatherworkers in the Marrakech *medina* reproducing Majorelle’s “Berber-inspired” designs? On the other hand, how were those objects produced in Majorelle’s workshop—described by El Aqça as only an “interpretation” or “second stage” of Moroccan art—different from the work produced in Bel Hadj’s workshops, at the Dar Jamaï Museum, or by other “indigenous” traders and artisans who experimented with “hybrid” or “European”-inspired styles? While El Aqça’s letter does not directly address the “indigenous” artists and designers who participated in the development of the 1925 Moroccan Section, his admonition that artists like Majorelle and other Europeans working in an “indigenous” style “wanted too

³⁵⁷ Chef du Bureau Economique de Marrakech (Martin) to Chef du Service du Commerce et de l’Industrie de Rabat, 23 July 1925, Archives du Maroc, Rabat (ADM).

³⁵⁸ Mammeri, quoted in Felix Marcilhac, *La Vie et l’Oeuvre de Jacques Majorelle (1886-1962)* (Courbevoie, Paris: ACR Edition, 1988), 92.

much to *do* [Moroccan art] themselves [my italics]”³⁵⁹ points to a larger question about the location of artistic agency and authenticity in such “hybrid” arts, a question that concerned critics of the colonial pavilions at the 1925 Exposition des arts décoratifs and colonial administrators in the French protectorate alike.

A “Renaissance” of Moroccan Art?: Hierarchy and Change in the “Indigenous” Arts

In his 1924 book, *La Décoration Marocaine*, Joseph de la Nézière commented upon the French protectorate’s role in mediating between change and stasis in the “traditional” Moroccan arts:

Morocco is a marvelous field that only asks to be cultivated. It’s in our hands, its protectors, to watch over its art jealously, to encourage those who practice it, to maintain their traditional ways, striving above all to defend them against those influences that could only alter their tastes. It is up to us to make this people of decorators understand that the adoption of new ideas does not entail as its corollary abandoning ancient art practices.³⁶⁰

Jean Baldoui, who would become Prosper Ricard’s successor as director of the Service des arts indigènes, himself took up the question of the “evolution” of Moroccan art ten years later. In an essay of 1934 for the journal *Nord-Sud*, he mused over the past and future role of the SAI in either facilitating or hindering the evolution of Moroccan art. While he argued that it would be ignorant to fault the SAI for having desired to preserve Morocco’s arts within the “strict parameters of tradition,” he concedes that the French administration had done neither “anything to prevent a possible evolution nor to advocate

³⁵⁹ “Chronique Moghrebine,” *France-Maroc*, no. 105 (August 1925), 1

³⁶⁰ Joseph de la Nézière, *La Décoration Marocaine* (Paris: Librairie des arts décoratifs, 1924), n.p.

for the introduction of new forms,” for, according to Baldoui, it was necessary for these developments to come from within.³⁶¹

Both De la Nézière’s and Baldoui’s commentaries suggest that, despite the examples of Bel Hadj, Lamali, and the many other “indigenous” artisans who had established successful businesses in Morocco and abroad by the early 1930s,³⁶² a pervasive anxiety persisted among some cultural administrators of the French protectorate government over the corruptibility of “indigenous” artisans and the fragility of the local “traditional art” ecosystem. The larger questions posed to the organizers of the 1925 Moroccan Section included not only *what* could be a “modern” Moroccan art, but also *who* could be a “modern” artist in Morocco. The argument that a truly “original” Moroccan art would arise through the application of “traditional” craft techniques to articles built for contemporary living conditions at the same time implied that the consumers of these new products would themselves inhabit a “non-traditional” world. For some, it was according to this conclusion that “hybrid” products, such as those presented at the 1925 Expositions, endangered the authenticity of “traditional” Moroccan arts, and the artisans themselves. Jules Borély, the director of the Service des Beaux-Arts from 1925 until 1935, even suggested in a letter to the director of public instruction in 1928 that those “indigenous” decorative arts nurtured by the Service des Beaux-Arts and SAI for nearly two decades should no longer be called “indigenous arts” because they

³⁶¹ Jean Baldoui, “L’Evolution,” *Nord-Sud* (1934), 56.

³⁶² For example, members of the Ben Chérif family in Fez, famous for their embroidered textiles, expanded their business from Fez to Paris in the 1930s and finally to Boston in the 1940s. Ricard discusses the U.S. market for Moroccan arts in: “Les arts indigènes du Maroc et l’Amérique,” *L’Afrique Française: Bulletin Mensuel du Comité de l’Afrique Française*. No.7 (July 1933), 382-4; and *Bulletin Économique du Maroc*, Société d’Études économiques et statistiques 1, no. 3 (January 1934): 173.

had been so thoroughly appropriated by the demands of a European clientele.³⁶³

Whether or not it was true that foreigners had become the primary consumers of “indigenous” arts in Morocco by the late 1920s—which is unprobably considering the example of homes commissioned by local Moroccan elites or the fact that domestic arts for personal or family use continued to be produced outside of the commercial realm³⁶⁴—Borély’s letter reveals an underlying discourse similar to that shaping contemporary evaluations of “tourist arts.” As anthropologists including Graburn, Steiner, Phillips and others have examined, so-called “tourist arts” are often suspect objects for art historians, anthropologists, and collectors alike on the grounds of their assumed inauthenticity.³⁶⁵ On the one hand, the perceived problem lies in the commodification of “traditional” objects within a system of value and exchange that exceeds endogenous economic and social relations: “The critical issue is that commoditization allegedly changes the meaning of cultural products and of human relations, making them eventually meaningless....[I]nstead a surrogate, covert ‘staged authenticity’ emerges.”³⁶⁶ Indeed an underlying objective of the SAI’s efforts in codifying “traditional” Moroccan arts was to

³⁶³ Letter, Jules Borély to M. le Chef de l’Instruction Publique (Jean Gotteland), “Rapport sur le peintre Mammeri,” May 2, 1928, F095, Archives du Maroc (ADM), Rabat.

³⁶⁴ In my conversations with Moroccan friends and acquaintances over the course of my fieldwork, I learned that many of them remembered their mothers and grandmothers completing crafts at home—embroidering fabric for tea services, saving the sheepskins after *Eid al-Kabir* to make yarn or natural hide blankets—or recalled inherited artworks and crafts decorating their family homes.

³⁶⁵ Nelson Graburn, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); David Hume, *Tourism Art and Souvenirs: The Material Culture of Tourism* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

³⁶⁶ Erik Cohen, “Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 15 (1988), 371-386: 372.

make them recognizable, and thus valuable, to an external audience; while the products the SAI promoted were not mechanically reproduced, it could be argued that the notion of “authenticity” upon which the administration relied was similar to that which Steiner identifies in the contemporary African art market: “Because an object’s economic worth in the African art market depends not on its originality or uniqueness but on its conformity to ‘traditional’ style...the unique object represents the anomalous and undesirable, while a multiple range of (stereo)types signifies the canonical and hence what is most desirable to collect.”³⁶⁷ Borély saw this process as eventually leading to the alienation of the “indigenous” artisan—and his “indigenous” consumers—from his “traditional” craft.

On the other hand, those artistic products that did not comply with the SAI’s strict guidelines for “authentic” Moroccan art most often fell into the category of the “hybrid.” Steiner and Phillips explain that “stylistic hybridity” is another feature that skeptics identify as grounds for the dismissal of commoditized objects or “tourist arts” because it “conflicts with essentialist notions of the relationship between style and culture.”³⁶⁸ In the early twentieth century, the danger of “hybridity” was also expressed in terms of an implied racial miscegenation, with the mixing of artistic styles leading to a degenerative weakening of the “originals.”³⁶⁹ Agents of the French protectorate government relied

³⁶⁷ Christopher Steiner, “Authenticity, Repetition, and Aesthetics,” in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, ed. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, 87-103 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999): 95.

³⁶⁸ Steiner and Phillips: 9.

³⁶⁹ Benjamin points to use of such racialized language in the context of the 1925 Exposition des arts décoratifs, in particular in the commentary of one correspondent in the *Monde Colonial illustré* who wrote: “It is an error to believe a new style has ever been obtained by the addition or the mixing of styles....The art of primitives imported home has never ‘realized’ anything. In modern art, the only original creations are due to new materials: iron and reinforced concrete.

upon the maintenance of a conceptual cultural hierarchy to distance the “associationist” model of colonial governance from the “dangers” of such hybridity. This perceived hierarchy allowed Prost and others to present their official “Franco-Moroccan” architecture as symbolic of “cultural synthesis” without “contamination.” According to Prost, this new architectural style implied a strict division of labor: French architects were responsible for the intellectual conception of the structure (its overall form and design), while Moroccan artisans applied decoration.³⁷⁰ Likewise, in the context of 1925 Exposition des Art Décos, enthusiasts of the “indigenous” sections in the colonial pavilions described their “hybrid” exhibitions according to the language of what Benjamin calls a theory of “associationist aesthetics.” Critics could call the colonial exhibits “modern” or “original” without implying that the “indigenous” cultures they represented were no longer “traditional” because according to the associationist model of artistic and cultural collaboration, “Europe was automatically considered the source of the modern: the generator of new technologies, the culture that privileged innovation and monopolized creativity, in contrast to its colonial dependencies.”³⁷¹

And yet, as we have seen, the social and economic realities of colonial Morocco constantly challenged this structured and hierarchical model of cultural diffusion and interaction in the realm of artistic production and consumption. Likewise, the diverse actors participating in the commercial market for “Moroccan” arts, not least among them

The rest, particularly in furniture and decoration, is nothing by [but?] hybrids.” R.S., “Le Maroc à l’Exposition des arts décoratifs,” *Le monde colonial illustré* 3, no. 24 (September 1925): 213; as quoted in Benjamin, 216.

³⁷⁰ See Henri Prost, “L’Urbanisme au Maroc,” *La Renaissance du Maroc* (Poitiers, 1923); Wright 1991; and Benjamin, 201-202.

³⁷¹ Benjamin, 215.

the artists contributing to the 1925 Moroccan Section, did not easily fit the roles of “indigenous” artisan or “modern” artist prescribed to them in the imagined hierarchy. It is perhaps for this reason that El Aqça and others found Majorelle’s craft business to be unsettling: while many French critics celebrated the “influence” of arts upon Majorelle’s paintings, his decision to produce works of “indigenous” craft decorated with Amazigh-inspired motifs of his own creation, disrupted the lines between “artist” and “artisan,” architect and decorator.³⁷² While Bel Hadj’s aptitude for modernist design could represent the success of the protectorate’s artistic guidance, Majorelle’s potential to have the same sort of positive influence upon “indigenous” artisans that administrators of the SAI were assumed to have was precluded by the anonymity of these actors for Majorelle’s audience: probably overshadowed by the painter’s own persona as an artist, the creative role played by the Moroccan artisans with whom he collaborated could be overlooked or ignored by his critics.

In the same letter in which he posed the question, “What is indigenous art today?,” Borély presented his vision of the new role that “indigenous” artists should assume in light of the cooption of “traditional” crafts by European consumers. According to Borély, this new vision was a sort of epiphany that came to him as he was visiting the Foire de Rabat in 1928. He explains that, as he was touring the stands that displayed Moroccan crafts and artworks, he encountered a painting by Azouaou Mammeri.³⁷³

³⁷² In one letter responding to a French artist-ceramicist based in Fez who hoped to study Moroccan objects held in the French protectorate’s collections, Edmond Pauty rejected the individual’s request explaining that the Service des beaux-arts “has never engaged in procuring indigenous models for artists.” Letter, Edmond Pauty to Jean Denis, May 17, 1923, F86: Correspondence entre ateliers d’artistes et service des Beaux-Arts (1920-1941), ADM.

³⁷³ The painting was subsequently purchased by Resident-General Théodore Steeg (active 1925-29) for his own apartment in Paris. Jules Borély, “Rapport sur le peintre Mammeri,” May 2, 1928,

Borély writes: "...[standing] in front of Mammeri's painting...this thought came suddenly to my mind: 'Here is the true renaissance of indigenous art!'"³⁷⁴ Despite Mammeri's Algerian origins, Borély goes on in the letter to claim that the artist's accomplishments in figurative painting were proof of the capacity of Muslim artists throughout the colonial world to develop, through the guidance and example of the French, a taste and capacity for producing representational artworks. According to Borély, a shift towards the so-called "fine arts" in the protectorate's educational and artistic programming would encourage the natural development of "indigenous art" in Morocco, with the arts becoming a harbinger of major cultural transformation in the region.

The notion of a "renaissance" of Moroccan arts was nothing new to the rhetoric employed by the French protectorate's cultural administration. In 1922 the French General Residence published a book entitled *La Renaissance du Maroc* in which spokespeople for the various administrative departments reported on the "advancements" achieved in agriculture, commerce, transportation, education, and the arts after a decade of French leadership in Morocco. As Prosper Ricard's essay for the volume implies, an artistic "renaissance" in Morocco meant the revitalization of a once moribund art, a rebirth of past traditions; through the creation of art museums, craft schools for the "reeducation" of Moroccan artisans, and the reorganization of craft production in Morocco, the Service des arts indigènes (SAI) had been working "to conserve in this country all of its means of artistic expression, all of its traditional aesthetics, all of its

F095, Archives du Maroc (ADM), Rabat.

³⁷⁴ Jules Borély, "Rapport sur le peintre Mammeri," May 2, 1928, F095, Archives du Maroc (ADM), Rabat.

originality, all of its charm.”³⁷⁵ Echoing this sentiment a decade later, the preface to a 1934 issue of the Moroccan journal *Nord-Sud* recalls the former Resident-General Lyautey’s proclamation that France had “arrived just in time to reanimate an art in the throes of death yet still alive, provoking [in Morocco] a true ‘Renaissance.’”³⁷⁶

For Borély, however, the appearance of “indigenous” crafts such as those exhibited at the Exposition des Arts Déco and the state of Morocco’s artistic life they implied made the occurrence of such a “renaissance” impossible in the given conditions. While Ricard and Lyautey’s conception of an artistic renaissance maintained the “traditional” or “pre-modern” essence of the Moroccan artisan and his audience, Borély’s idea required “indigenous” artists to shed their traditional trappings and take on the practices and identity of the “modern” European artist. Expressing contemporaneous social evolutionist notions, he argues that an “authentic” modern Moroccan art would be achieved through cultural “progression” rather than the repetition of “traditional” forms rooted in a medieval past:

We commonly repeat that the Muslim society we are observing ‘still exists in the Middle Ages.’ This is certain. But through contact with European society isn’t it no less certain that, as throughout all of the Oriental old world, this Muslim ‘Middle Age’ is seething with excitement, and that young Muslims everywhere are beginning, in one way or another, to catch up?³⁷⁷

Borély’s proposal nevertheless relies upon the same notion of artistic and cultural hierarchy professed by Prost, El Aqça, and other French colonial agents, with the caveat

³⁷⁵ Prosper Ricard, “Arts indigènes et Musées,” *La Renaissance du Maroc: Dix ans de Protectorat*, 211-215 (Rabat: Résidence Générale de la République Française au Maroc, 1922), 215.

³⁷⁶ Hubert Lyautey, quoted in Prosper Ricard, “Avant-Propos,” *Nord-Sud: Revue Mensuelle Illustrée d’Informations Marocaines* (1934), 3.

³⁷⁷ Borély, “Rapport sur le peintre Mammeri,” 1928.

that certain “indigenous” actors might move up this hierarchy: his critique ultimately denies the possibility for innovation, change, or true “modernity” to occur within the realm of “traditional” craft production.

In his review of Hobsbawm and Ranger’s *The Invention of Tradition*, John Picton reminds us, “[W]hen we categorically refer to a set of cultural practices or an entire living community as traditional, we are in effect denying the possibilities for development within traditions.”³⁷⁸ Borély’s commentary on the declining “indigeneity” of Morocco’s contemporary crafts brings up a problem of agency. To claim that the commodification of a “traditional” art for an external market could rob these arts of their cultural authenticity is also to deny the maker of his or her agency as an artist and cultural producer. Instead, as Phillips and Steiner argue, the “makers of objects [in colonial situations] have frequently manipulated commodity production in order to serve economic needs as well as new demands for self-representation and self-identification made urgent by the establishment of colonial hegemonies.”³⁷⁹ As we will see in the following chapter, despite Borély’s and others’ admonishments, Morocco’s craft production continued (and still continues) to be an important field in relation to which actors both French and Moroccan articulated “modern” and “traditional” identities and embodied the role of cultural critic in various ways.

³⁷⁸ John Picton, “Review: *The Invention of Tradition* by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 52, 1 (1989): 202. Also see, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

³⁷⁹ Steiner and Phillips: 4.

Images:

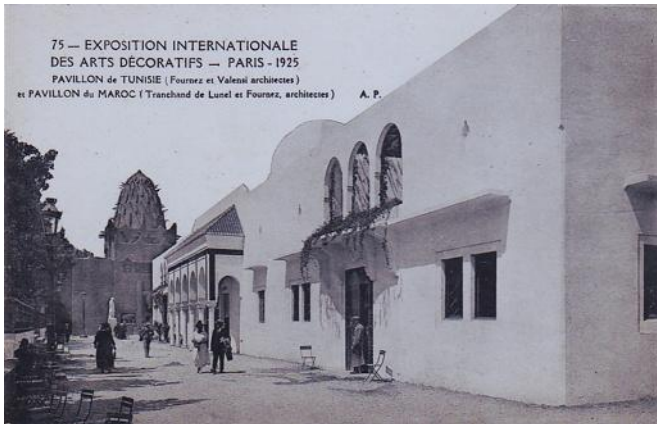


Figure 4.1: Partial view of the Pavillon de l'Afrique du nord, Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs modernes, Paris, 1925. Postcard, collection of the author.

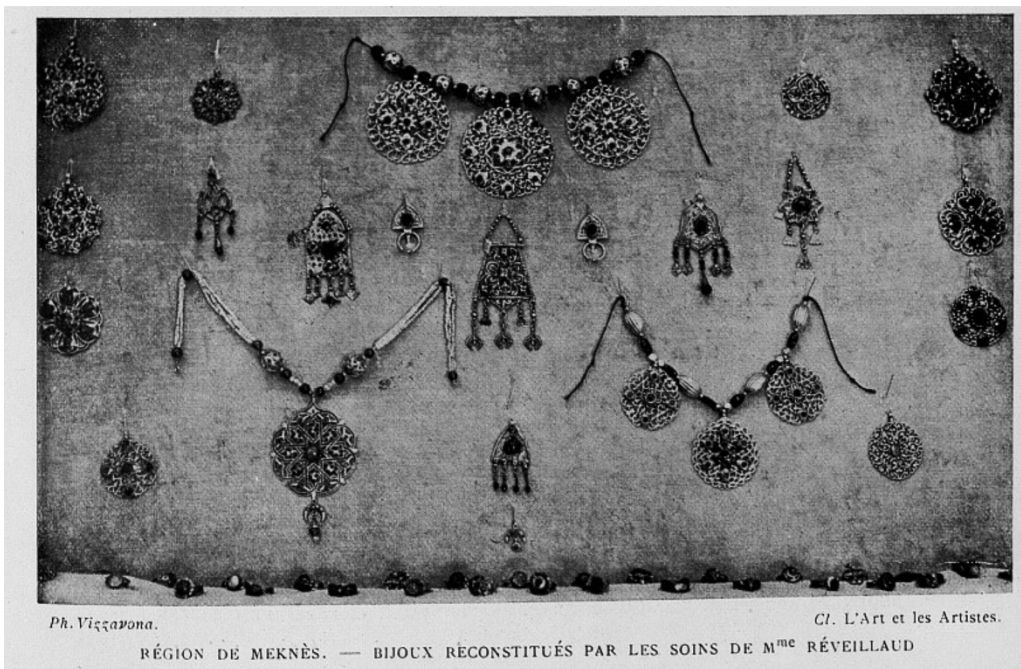


Figure 4.2: “Jewelry reconstructed under the guidance of Mme. Réveillaud,” in a vitrine displayed in room three of the Exposition des arts marocains, 1917. Reprinted from *L'Art et les artistes*, numéro spécial: “Le Maroc artistique” (1917), 7-18: 31.



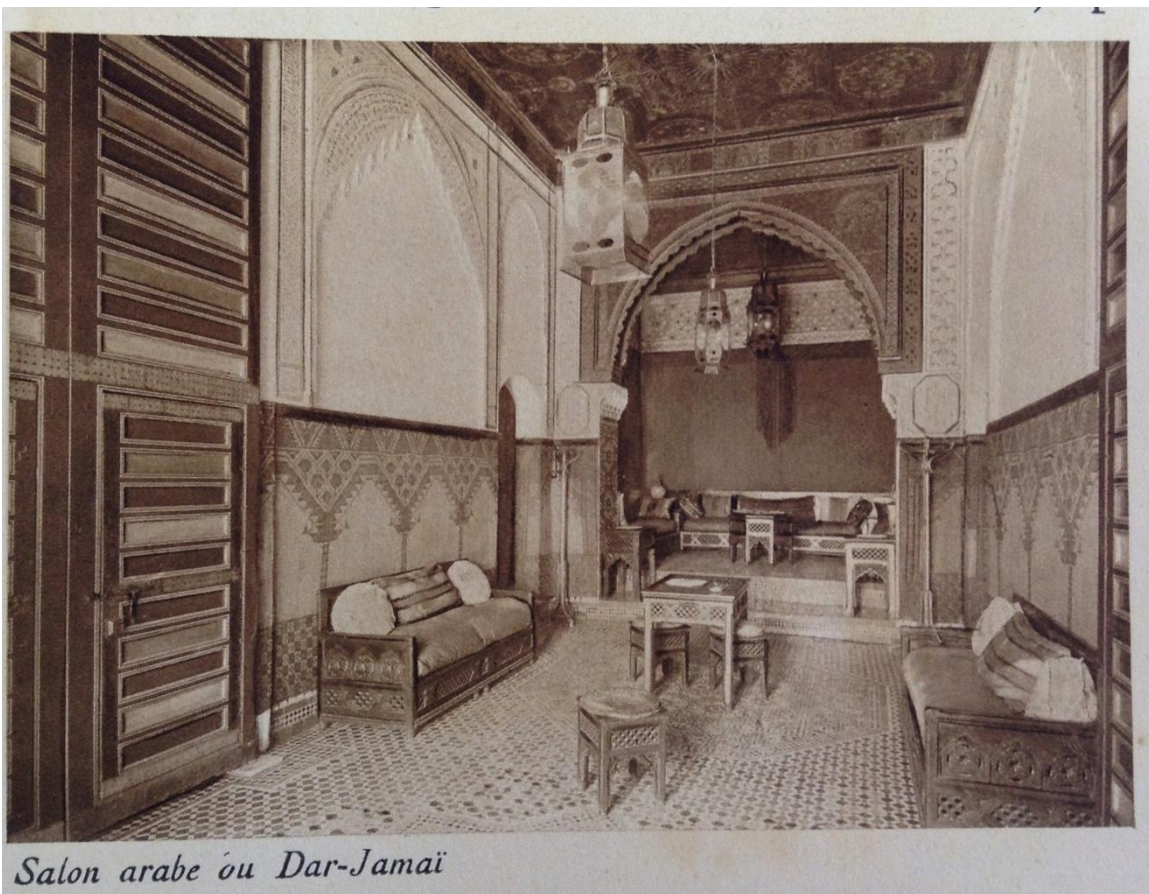
Figure 4.3: “Zaian-inspired” pottery by Lamali (left) at the Exposition arts décoratifs, 1925. Photograph, Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Charenton-le-Pont, France.



Figure 4.4: “Riffian-style” pottery by Lamali. Accession 74.1962.0.1696, Musée du Quai Branly, Paris.

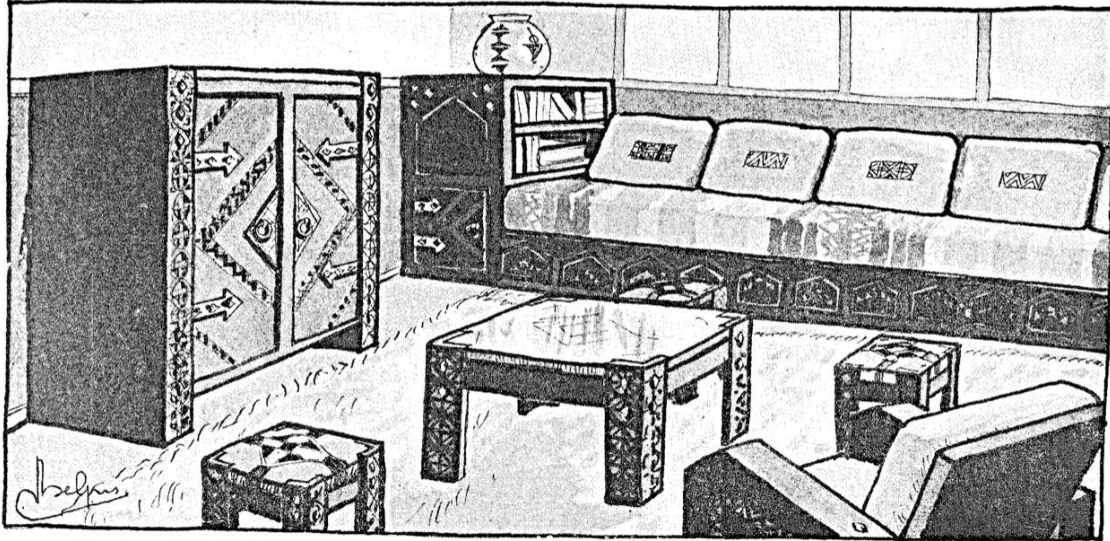


Figure 4.5: Interior courtyard of the Hotel Villa des Orangers (ca. 1930-40), Marrakech. The courtyard architecture includes a combination of ca.1930-40 plaster and woodwork with renovated elements constructed in the 2000's. Photograph taken by the author, 2015.



Salon arabe ou Dar-Jamaï

Figure 4.6: “Salon arabe” at the Dar Jamaï Museum, Meknes. Reprinted from Jerome et Jean Tharaud, *L'Afrique du Nord, fascicule 5, le Maroc* (Paris, Editions des Horizons de France, 1927).



Ensemble de style berbère exécuté et exposé au siège de l'inspection régionale de Meknès

Figure 4.7: Illustration of furniture designed in Meknes by artisans of the Dar Jamaï workshop, ca. 1932–33. Reprinted from *Nord-Sud* (1934).



Figure 4.8: “Salon” designed by Jacques Majorelle in the Moroccan Section at the Exposition des arts décoratifs, Paris, 1925. Photograph, Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Charenton-le-Pont, France.



Figure 4.9: “Office/Smoking room” designed by Bal Hadj in Moroccan Section at the Exposition des arts décoratifs, Paris, 1925. Photograph, Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Charenton-le-Pont, France.

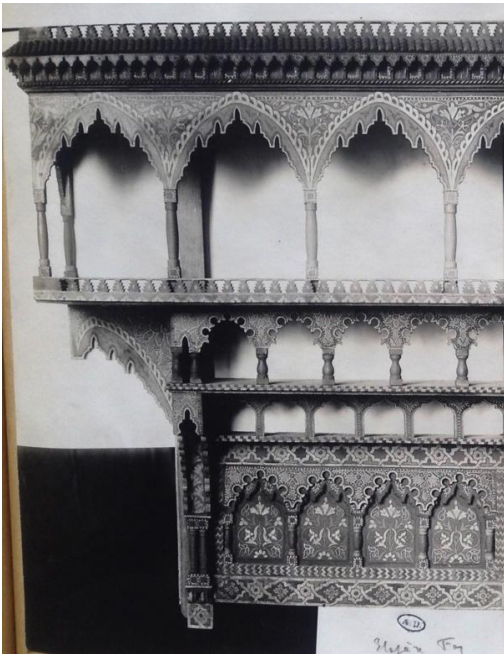


Figure 4.10: Fassi shelf displayed in 1917 Exposition des arts marocains. Album Maciet, UCAD Archives, Paris.



Figure 4.11: Detail of Bel Hadj shelves, Exposition des arts décoratifs, Paris, 1925.
Photograph, Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Charenton-le-Pont, France.



Figure 4.12: Sideboard designed by Majorelle, Exposition des arts décoratifs, Paris, 1925. Photograph, Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Charenton-le-Pont, France).

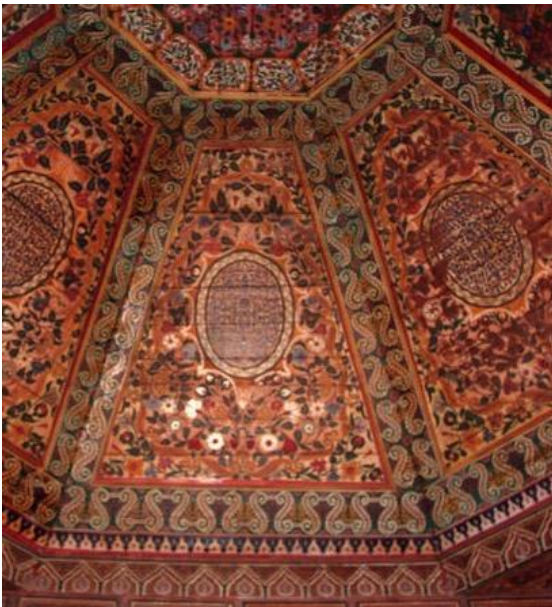


Figure 4.13: Detail of a painted ceiling in the Bahia Palace, Marrakech. Photograph by the author, 2013.

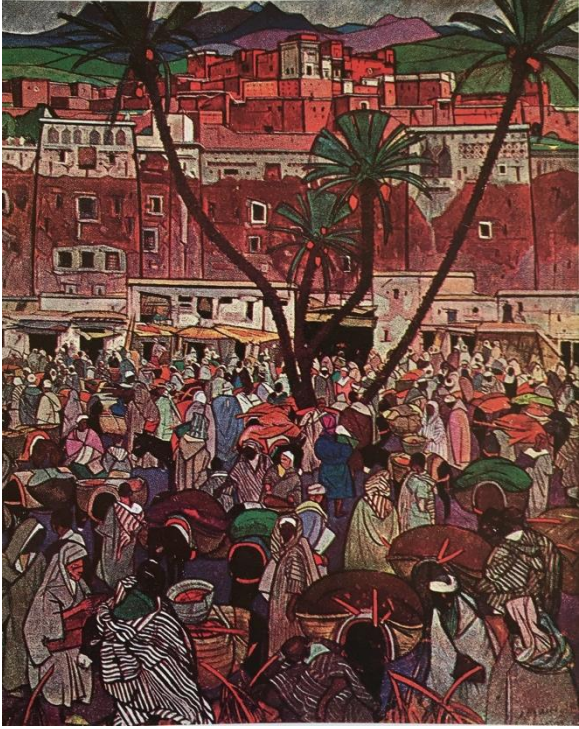


Figure 4.14: Jacques Majorelle, *La Kasbah Rouge* (1924), oil painting on canvas, 100 x 78 cm. Private collection. Reprinted from Marcilhac, 86.

CHAPTER 5

Moroccan “Heritage” at the French Colonial Expositions, Marseilles 1922 and Paris 1931

While the material products of Morocco’s artistic and cultural heritage continued to play an important role in the colonial economy of protectorate Morocco throughout the first half of the twentieth century, these cultural products were also mobilized as potent sources of symbolic capital in interwar international politics and colonial negotiations occurring in both Morocco and France over the meaning and future of the French-Moroccan relationship. In this chapter, I examine the representation of Morocco’s cultural heritage in France in the context of negotiations over the relationship between religion and culture, challenges to the French colonial project, and in response to the formation of colonial resistance movements forming in Morocco and elsewhere in the colonial world. I consider how the complex representational processes that arose in the colonial contact zone of protectorate Morocco—those processes I have explored in the prior chapters—were experienced and subjected to reinterpretation within the French metropole. In examining the two major French colonial expositions that took place in the interwar period, the 1922 Exposition nationale coloniale in Marseilles and the 1931 Exposition internationale coloniale in Paris, I trace the changing meanings and politicization of Moroccan art and architecture in France. The official “Morocco Pavilions” constructed for each exposition expressed shifting interpretations of “hybrid” architecture in the French protectorate of Morocco, which also reflected a changing

approach to colonial governance in Morocco taking place over the course of the 1920s.

By the interwar period, several important factors had contributed to the development of a new relationship between France and Morocco. New political interests and social tensions had been brought on by World War I—not least among them, France's interest in maintaining the loyalty of its colonial troops. North Africans who had fought for France in the war, worked in French factories, and emigrated with their families across the Mediterranean commanded a visible presence in French culture and society. To show its appreciation for the contributions of these individuals to France, the French government organized public events paying tribute to the contributions of colonial soldiers and constructed new institutions dedicated to cultural relations between France and North Africa, such as the Paris Mosque (1922-1926). The 1931 International Colonial Exhibition, itself, was officially dedicated to the colonial troops who had contributed to the French war cause. Another tension within French-Moroccan relations in this period was the continued resistance by Berber tribes in Morocco, culminating in the Rif War that ended only in 1926. Finally, throughout the years following the war, different groups in Morocco began to develop ideas about a modern Moroccan nation that diverged from the French government's plan for its colony.

The colonial expositions of the early twentieth century were important venues for imperial nations to promote their colonial projects to a large, international audience through an already popular mode of public exhibition and entertainment. The Moroccan pavilions of 1922 and 1931 not only contributed to the creation of an international cultural image of Morocco, but also functioned as a self-portrait of the French protectorate in Morocco. While the overall spirit of the expositions was celebratory, the

visual and symbolic content of the Moroccan pavilions at the same time revealed perceived threats to the French colonial project and tensions within the French-Moroccan relationship.

Among the central objectives of *both* Morocco Pavilions, as well as the Grande Mosquée de Paris, was that of articulating the role of “indigenous” society in the modernization of its own lands as well as within larger France. Ultimately, all three structures employed representational strategies that at once celebrated a “pure” and “archaic” Morocco and symbolically discounted the political and social power of contemporary Moroccans (and Muslims) as actors in the modern world. As we have seen, Lyautey’s regime had worked to construct an image of French-Moroccan complicity through the strategic reproduction of symbols of cultural and political authority, the development of an architecture and visual culture to symbolize this collaborative relationship, and the introduction of new technologies for exhibiting and framing Morocco’s visual and material cultures as “heritage.” When transported to France, these complex representational tactics came up against deep-seated assumptions about “Oriental,” Muslim, and North African society and culture that had been developed within French popular culture over the course of the nineteenth century, not least by the work of the colonial expositions’ predecessor, the universal exposition. In this chapter, I examine what happened when the early French protectorate’s “logics of heritage,” and the image of a shared “Moroccan heritage” it had developed through the course of its first two decades, came up against a discourse of “colonial difference” that supported the symbolic containment of the French metropole’s North African, muslim, and colonial population.

The Morocco Pavilion at the 1922 Exposition nationale coloniale (Marseilles)

Although it has received less critical attention than the 1931 Paris Exposition internationale coloniale, the 1922 Marseilles Exposition nationale coloniale was an important event for the articulation of Morocco's cultural image on the international stage. It was not the first world's fair to include a pavilion dedicated to Morocco, but it was the first international exposition where Morocco appeared as an official French colonial entity. At the 1906 Exposition nationale coloniale of Marseilles, despite the increased "influence" the Algeiras Conference gave to France over Morocco in April of that same year,³⁸⁰ France only cursorily represented Morocco in a small annex of the Algerian Pavilion dedicated to "Algero-Moroccan interests." By 1922, however, the French protectorate of Morocco was already ten years old, having endured the economic and political upheavals of World War I, and the organizers of the Marseilles Exposition nationale coloniale held nothing back in publicly celebrating this long-coveted North African "prize." With Morocco now part of a trifold French North African consortium, its pavilion not only held equal footing with the Algerian and Tunisian pavilions in 1922 but indeed took center stage as the "centerpiece" of the exposition.³⁸¹ Emphasizing the important place of Morocco in the organizing committee's vision for the exposition, in 1913 the French President Raymond Poincaré symbolically placed a foundation stone for

³⁸⁰ The 1906 Exposition nationale coloniale took place from April 15 through November 15, 1906. The Algeiras Conference took place on April 7, 1906.

³⁸¹ The 1922 Moroccan Palace is described in several local journals as the "*clou*" or "centerpiece" of the exposition. See, for example, *Le Petit Marseillais*, April 18, 1919, "La Participation du Maroc à l'Exposition coloniale," 74R3 (Exposition coloniale 1922), Archives municipales de Marseille: "...M.J. Charles-Roux a défini l'exposition coloniale comme il la comprend. Il pense qu'il faudrait davantage centraliser les colonies...et qu'il faudrait faire du Maroc le clou de l'exposition."

Marseilles's Morocco Pavilion, the first stone to be laid for the entire exposition.³⁸²

Taking place exactly a decade after the formal establishment of the French protectorate, the 1922 Exposition nationale coloniale was an important opportunity for Lyautey and his regime to present their colonial project in a comprehensive way on the international stage and to win the French public over to their continuing mission to “pacify” the region. During the first ten years of the French protectorate of Morocco, Lyautey had toiled to make clear the usefulness of the protectorate for the French *metropole*. With the outbreak of World War I occurring only two years after the establishment of the protectorate of Morocco, France's resources and attention were spread thin during the protectorate's formative years. By 1922, the continuing War of the Rif and the question of potential Berber independence in Morocco concerned not only France but also the other major imperial powers including England, Germany, and Spain. In light of these current events, the 1922 Morocco commission faced the task of justifying to the French public and state the continued use of French resources to develop a country that was still only minimally controlled, while the French protectorate still clearly faced major threats to its ability to achieve this control. In a letter outlining the parameters of the French protectorate's participation in the exposition, Resident-General Lyautey explained to the Director of Indigenous Affairs in Morocco that “[in] one word, our presentation must show to the Metropole, the balance sheet, if I dare say it, of our

³⁸² “ En 1906, on avait timidement inscrit au dessus d'une dépendance du Palais de l'Algérie ‘intérêts Algéro-Marocains,’ en 1913, 7 ans après Mr. POINCARE vint poser la première pierre de l'Exposition, alors décidée pour 1916, ce fut la première pierre du Palais du Maroc qu'il posa...”¹ [underline and capitalization in original]. Anonymous manuscript, “Note Relative aux Expositions Nationales Coloniales Marseillaises.” MK 6142/01-02 (Expositions Coloniales), Archives de la Chambre de commerce, Marseille.

work in Morocco since the installation of the protectorate.”³⁸³ (Lyautey’s use of term “balance sheet” also suggested the necessity of proving that the colonization of Morocco was financially justified).

The group of commissioners charged with the organization of the 1922 Morocco Pavilion each had been involved in Lyautey’s administration almost from the beginning and were more or less supporters of his particular approach to colonial governance through a policy of “association” and “peaceful” occupation. The ideology to which they subscribed was that the “pacification” and cooption of Morocco as a resource for France was best accomplished not through military force alone but through a deep, extensive knowledge of and display of mutual respect for Morocco’s “traditional” cultural, social, and political structures. The head commissioner for the Morocco Pavilion was Auguste Terrier, supported by assistant-commissioners L.J. Nacivet, Joseph de la Nézière, M. de Avonde, and Charles Boyer. Auguste Terrier had been the secretary general of the Comité de l’Afrique française before the establishment of the French protectorate and director of the Office du Maroc in France from 1913-1918. In 1918 he retired from his administrative post in Morocco and, in France, was designated an honorary corporal in the 1st Regiment of Tirailleurs Marocains in 1918 and a Commander in the Order of the Legion of Honor in 1920. Like Lyautey, Terrier was weary of French settlers and civilians dominating politics in colonial Morocco and supported strict economic policies that protected and supported “indigenous” advancement.³⁸⁴ Joseph de la Nézière,

³⁸³ Resident-General Lyautey to Monsieur le Directeur des Affaires indigènes et du service des renseignements, 14 February 1921, 1MA/100/323 (Foires et expositions 1914-1924, Direction des Affaires Indigènes), Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN).

³⁸⁴ James J. Cooke, “Auguste Terrier and Post World War One Morocco: 1914-1925,” *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society* 10 (1985), 231-244.

organizer of the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains, was an artist turned colonial administrator for the Office of Indigenous Art Industries (1916-1920) who had become the Artistic Advisor for the protectorate of Morocco charged with reorganizing artisan guilds in 1920. M. de Avonde, head of the Trade and Industry Bureau, had also been involved in the protection and “renovation” of Morocco’s traditional artisan guilds under Lyautey.³⁸⁵ Finally, L.J. Nacivet was the director of the Parisian Office of the protectorate of the French Republic in Morocco, and Charles Boyer was a civil controller and Director of Administrative Services for the Port of Casablanca, another one of Lyautey’s pet projects.³⁸⁶ The Morocco Pavilion’s architect, J. Richard, had been an indigenous arts inspector in the Fez and Meknes region, participating in the organization of the Foire de Fez of 1916.

A “Kasbah Fermée”: the Presentation of the Morocco Pavilion

The audience for the 1922 Exposition nationale coloniale was envisioned to be the general public (primarily the French public), rather than a specialized audience, such as that envisioned for the commercial fairs, or a relatively elite and “discerning” audience such as the one expected for the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains at the Louvre.

Therefore Lyautey and the organizers of the Morocco pavilion emphasized the need for

³⁸⁵ Hamid Irbouh explains that De Avonde was one of the architects of a policy for the preservation of the artisan guilds of Morocco’s *medinas* entailing the introduction of French political economic structures into the “traditional” structures of the guild; this was to be accomplished by each guilds’ *amin* (city market inspector) and *muhtasib* (guild leader) acting as an intermediary between the guilds and the French inspectors. Irbouh, 51-54.

³⁸⁶ As Director of the Office du Maroc, Nacivet was in charge of providing information for French citizens about Morocco and for French settlers, businessmen, industrialists, and Moroccan natives in Morocco about French and foreign markets, to promote information about Morocco in the press, through chambers of commerce, and in exhibitions and fairs in France and elsewhere.

the exhibition to be both attractive and edifying. The pavilion's architecture and exhibits within fulfilled the first commitment through its impressive and exotic architecture, spaces of entertainment (including a recreated Moroccan "souk" and café where visitors could taste local specialties), and tower filled with dioramas and panoramic scenes of Morocco painted by Joseph de la Nézière. As for the second objective of the pavilion, to educate the French metropolitan audience about the protectorate's strategies for developing Morocco's social, economic, and political sectors, the interior galleries of the building created a visual and documentary inventory of the protectorate's achievements through thematic exhibits organized by the different administrative departments of the French protectorate and reflecting the major points of French interest and development: "Maroc Economique," "Travaux Publiques," "Arts Indigènes," "Assistance et Oeuvres Sociales," "Instruction Publique," "L'Armée," "Les Grandes Entreprises Françaises," "La Résidence Générale," "Tourisme," "Le Maroc d'Autrefois" (an exhibit dedicated to pre-protectorate Morocco), and "Intérêts Français à Tanger."

But the organizers of the Morocco Pavilion were not simply concerned with educating its public about the logistical details of French governance in the protectorate of Morocco; they also aimed to earn their support for continued French colonial presence there. The primary objective of the Morocco Pavilion, then, was to argue for the necessity and value of pacifying Morocco and the French protectorate government's ability to successfully do so. Working together, the Pavilion's architecture and interior exhibits presented an image of Morocco as a "pure" and "authentic" society, unique among those Islamic lands already "corrupted" through foreign intervention and, as such, a ready political and economic resource for France. Reflecting the rhetoric employed in

the conceptualization of Morocco's art history at the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains, the designers of the pavilion arranged and combined reproductions of historic monuments, "traditional" decorative arts, and cultural performances to depict Morocco as a "living medieval kingdom."³⁸⁷ By depicting Morocco in this way, the Pavilion's designers suggested not only the "authenticity" of Moroccan culture but also the "archaism" of its society that made it particularly susceptible to and in need of French "guidance" towards a healthy modernity.

The Morocco Pavilion was a pastiche of carefully selected local architectural styles and reproduced fragments of historic monuments, particularly emphasizing elite or royal medieval-era architecture. The main entrance was modeled after a fourteenth-century monumental gate still standing in the ruined necropolis of Chellah in Rabat (fig. 5.1). The Pavilion's immense crenelated walls recalled the defensive architecture employed in the construction of royal citadels in Morocco, such as Rabat's Qasba des Oudaïa . Finally, a minaret—a requisite architectural feature of most pavilions representing Muslim nations in world's fairs of the nineteenth century—rose from the center of Pavilion (figure 2). The minaret was also based upon a structure built during the fourteenth century under the patronage of the Merenid dynasty, the minaret of Madrasa Bou Inania in Fez. It is notable that the historical structures chosen as models for the Moroccan pavilion's exterior architecture, the Chellah gate of Rabat and the Bou Inania mosque of Fez, were both products of the fourteenth-century Merenid dynasty. As we saw in the context of the 1917 Exposition, the foregrounding of Morocco's medieval art production not only corresponded to the disciplinary shape of the field of Islamic art

³⁸⁷ Several contributors to the 1922 Morocco Pavilion, including De La Nézière and Nacivet, had also been instrumental in the organization of the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains.

but also contributed to the representation of Morocco and its inhabitants as themselves “medieval.” By 1922, the real Merenid gate at Chellah stood crumbling among the ruins of the medieval necropolis.³⁸⁸ The entrance gate of the Morocco Pavilion at the Marseilles Exposition was an improved version, its towers and decorative façade visually “restored” to an imagined original state. With its smooth walls, unmarked by time, the “Moroccan Palace” was certainly not intended to look like a ruin. Instead, its medieval-inspired fortress architecture conveyed to the visitor that, through the dual forces of historical isolation and French protection, modern Morocco had maintained its cultural “authenticity” and was indeed a living medieval kingdom.

The interior decoration and exhibits within the pavilion reinforced this notion. As the exhibition guide proclaimed, “[n]othing gives a better impression of Morocco than this *kasbah fermée* [enclosed or shut-up kasbah], behind the walls of which one makes out the life of an entire city.”³⁸⁹ Each space within the walls of the pavilion, from the entrance courtyard to the internal exhibition spaces, displayed “traditional” Moroccan craft and architecture, with an emphasis on Fassi-style decoration: the floors were paved with blue ceramic tiles, the walls were decorated with *zellij* created in Fez and Meknes,

³⁸⁸ The decision to remake the Merenid gate from Chellah for the Moroccan Palace’s main entrance could be connected to the fact that the necropolis of Chellah had been an important landmark in the protectorate’s management of heritage sites in Morocco. Having been damaged in the eighteenth-century during an earthquake and then mostly abandoned, when the French arrived in Morocco, Chellah was viewed as an example of the past glory of Moroccan civilization and its modern decline. By 1914, the site was declared a historical monument by the French protectorate and protected from new building or destruction. The Merenid gate was the most common feature at Chellah to appear in photographs and propaganda extolling the protectorate’s success in revitalizing Morocco’s arts and protecting its heritage.

³⁸⁹“Le visiteur de l’Exposition, arrivé sur la place centrale, a tout de suite son regard attiré par la majestueuse architecture du Palais du Maroc.... Rien ne donne mieux l’impression du Maroc que cette kasbah fermée, derrière les murs de laquelle on devine la vie de toute une cité.” *Exposition nationale coloniale, Marseille 1922, Guide Officiel* (Marseille: Société du Petit Marseillais, 1922), 121.

carved cedar wood, and plasterwork. The central courtyard of the pavilion had been created in the image of a medieval *fondouk*, or caravanserie, similar to the Nejarrine *fondouk* of Fez (fig. 5.3). Along the northeastern length of the pavilion was the “rue Marocaine,” where Moroccan artists worked from makeshift ateliers and sold crafts and other goods to visitors. This street was designed to have the appearance of a narrow street in one of Morocco’s “ancient” medinas, an impression heightened by the minaret rising among the interconnected shops as in a true Moroccan neighborhood (fig. 5.4). The simulation of a living Moroccan city nestled within its fortified walls was completed with the inclusion of a “Bergerie Marocaine” (Moroccan sheep pen) where visitors encountered live sheep imported from Morocco (fig. 5.5).

The intransience of this “ancient” Morocco was reinforced through its fortress-like architecture, with its monumental gate, “like the gates of most Moroccan kasbahs... [built]...in such a way that the rush of assailants could be more easily stopped.”³⁹⁰ And yet, as evidenced by the French and Moroccan flags flying from the top of the gate and the occupation of the pavilion’s interior spaces with exhibits dedicated to the French protectorate’s modern services in Morocco, France had not been prevented from penetrating this “closed Kasbah.” On the contrary, France itself, under the leadership of Lyautey and his colleagues, had not only gained access to the kingdom but had been responsible for restoring it to its former glory. Indeed, the Chellah gate, the Bou Inania minaret, and even the “traditional” architectural decoration within the pavilion were also intended to signify the French protectorate’s success in preserving and “revitalizing” Morocco’s historic monuments and traditional arts. But how could these seemingly

³⁹⁰ 1922 *Guide Officiel*, 122.

contradictory claims be reconciled in the pavilion's presentation? How was France able to conquer or rather "pacify," as colonial literature preferred to say, this fortified and isolated medieval kingdom without destroying the very features that had allowed it to persist in its sequestered state for so long?

Of Palaces and Tents: Cultural Authority and the Appropriation of "Tradition"

The particular strategy undertaken by Lyautey's regime in the "pacification" and modernization of Morocco relied upon two central claims: that Moroccan society was essentially different from French society (therefore "assimilation" was neither possible nor useful and a policy of "association" was more appropriate) and that Morocco's own ruling class was complicit with the objectives of French rule in Morocco. The presentation of Morocco's "pure" and "archaic" character not only contributed to the construction of Morocco's unique cultural image at the Colonial Exposition but also visually and rhetorically juxtaposed this image with that of the modern French nation. Furthermore, the exhibitions within the Morocco Pavilion displayed the French protectorate government's facility in translating between these two cultures while "protecting" the integrity of each, thereby asserting the political legitimacy of Lyautey's regime by way of its cultural authority.

In both its location and architecture, the Morocco Pavilion stood in direct contrast with the Exposition's Grand Palais, the central pavilion dedicated to exhibiting the industries, technologies, and other modern achievements of the French nation. The architecture of the Grand Palais was an eccentric homage to European art and civilization, combining classical, rococo, and beaux-arts styles, incorporating statue-filled niches, and topped with large urn-like cupolas encircled with classical female nudes (fig.

5.6). According to the authors of the Exposition's *Guide Officiel*, however, the Morocco Pavilion stood its own ground in relation to this imposing edifice. From the main entrance to the exposition grounds, a visitor would walk down the "grand allée," passing the Tunisian and Algerian pavilions flanking the path, until she reached the central esplanade, where she faced the Grand Palais with the Morocco Pavilion to its left. Directly, according to the *Guide*, her "gaze [would be] attracted by the majestic architecture of the Moroccan Palace,"³⁹¹ its rectilinear ochre walls and soaring minaret contrasting with the gleaming white ornamentation of the Grand Palais (fig. 5.7). The juxtaposition of the French and Moroccan pavilions—two structures nearly equal in stature but so different in character—contributed to the claim that, through the success of the protectorate system of colonial governance, Moroccan and French culture could exist side-by-side without diminishing the integrity of either. Emphasizing the French-Moroccan partnership, a French flag and a Moroccan flag flew in tandem from the two towers of the reconstructed Chellah gate, representing the two political entities ruling Morocco together: the French protectorate administration and the royal Cherifian government. This shared power was again visually represented inside of the Morocco Pavilion: in the entrance hall, two large portraits flanked the door leading in to the central patio, one of Lyautey and the other of Morocco's French-appointed Sultan Moulay Youssef (r. 1912-1927). According to the exposition guide, the two portraits imparted to the visitor an immediate impression of the "essence" of the protectorate of Morocco,³⁹² here embodied in the contrasting figures of the French Republican military leader and the

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² "Puis, dans le fond du vestibule, à droite et à gauche de la porte, deux portraits donnent tout de suite l'impression de ce qu'est le Protectorat du Maroc..." *1922 Guide Officiel*, 124.

Moroccan saintly monarch, a direct descendent of the Prophet Mohammad.³⁹³

The perceived power of the French protectorate government was precisely in its ability to harness this image of contrasts for the promotion of its own political legitimacy in Morocco. One representational strategy the 1922 Colonial Exposition's designers employed for articulating French control over such "colonial difference" was the exhibition of material objects associated with "traditional" displays of political authority in pre-protectorate Morocco and their re-signification to symbolize the complicity of Morocco's governing elite with French leadership. As historians including Edmund Burke and Rahma Bourqia have elucidated, a crucial political strategy employed by the early French protectorate regime was to claim its respect for and fluency in Morocco's "traditional" social, cultural, and religious structures and practices.³⁹⁴ As we have seen in previous chapters, the French protectorate's cultural policies were led by an ideology of respect for "indigenous" practices and artistic traditions; the French administration implemented this ideology through both the preservation of historical material culture and its reproduction for the contemporary colonial market. Likewise, in the political realm, the French protectorate staged performances of "historical" Moroccan rites and rituals as a strategy for displaying respect for local tradition and simultaneously appropriating these traditions as symbols of French legitimacy. In his preface to *The Ethnographic State*, Burke describes one such performance that occurred during the ceremony marking Sultan Moulay Youssef's accession to the throne in 1912: during the public ceremony, Lyautey held Moulay Youssef's stirrup as the new Sultan mounted his

³⁹³ The Alouite Dynasty of Morocco (dates) was a Cherifian dynasty, meaning that its members were descendants of Mohammad's family.

³⁹⁴ See Burke 2014; and Bourqia and Miller 1999.

horse thus reenacting the terms of a popular Sufi anecdote according to which the Sharif of Wazzan famously held the stirrup for Sultan Hassan as both a demonstration of his own high status and “his public abasement in the presence of the sultan.”³⁹⁵ According to Burke, this performance, which ultimately mapped the symbiotic relationship of the Moroccan sultan and the Sufi religious leader onto the partnership between the Moroccan sultan and the French Resident-General, “affirmed [the French colonial state’s] historical continuity and legitimacy through its deep understanding and respect for the historical specificity of Islam...[and]...also signaled the subordination of the French protectorate to the authority of the new sultan.”³⁹⁶

At the 1922 Exposition nationale coloniale, Lyautey displayed his deep respect for Moroccan tradition and his continuity as a sympathetic leader by staging receptions in his own Moroccan-style ceremonial tent. Set up in the entrance courtyard of the Morocco Pavilion was a tent described in the *Guide Officiel* as “an extremely beautiful Moroccan tent that was specially loaned by M. le maréchal Lyautey himself and in which, in Morocco, he receives notability and delegations”³⁹⁷ (fig. 5.8). Tents were a common sight at world’s fairs and universal expositions of the nineteenth century, commonly associated with the exhibits of North African and other Islamic lands. Beginning with the 1867 Paris Universal Exposition and continuing into the turn of the century, Morocco’s pavilions nearly always incorporated tent structures, whether as the

³⁹⁵ Burke 2014, 1-2.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ “A droite [de la cour d’accès]...se trouve dressée une fort belle tente marocaine qui a été spécialement prêtée par M. le maréchal Lyautey et qui lui sert, au Maroc, pour la réception des notabilités et des délégations. L’accès en est gardé par des spahis marocains armés de la lance.” 1922 *Guide Officiel*, 122.

primary exhibition space or as accessories to a more elaborate complex (fig. 5.9).

Zeynep Çelik suggests that the selection of the tent to represent Morocco at the 1867 Exposition was probably based upon Morocco's perceived "associations with bedouin culture," and, later on, the tent continued to function visually at fairs as an exotic image of "Oriental otherness."³⁹⁸ While this image no doubt persisted for European visitors to the 1922 Colonial Exposition, the presence of Lyautey's own tent should be read as a performance of French cultural fluency and political legitimacy in Morocco, much like the ritual of the stirrups.

As we can deduce from archival photographs and as suggested by its description in the *Guide Officiel*, Lyautey's tent was already a ubiquitous sight at exhibitions and public festivities organized by the French protectorate government within Morocco. At early-twentieth-century commercial fairs in Morocco, such as the Foire de Fez (1916) and Foire de Rabat (1917), tents were set up along the fair grounds not only as spaces for exhibiting objects but also as temporary residences for visitors to the fair from other regions in Morocco and elsewhere in the Maghrib (figs. 5.10 & 5.11). At these fairs and other French-sponsored events, both Lyautey and Sultan Moulay Youssef set up ceremonial tents for the duration of the event (fig. 5.12). Lyautey's and the sultan's tents seem to have functioned in much the same way, serving as temporary "royal" courts where each leader might hold official meetings and receive notable guests. In a journal detailing his experience as part of the Algerian delegation brought to Morocco by the French Governor-General of Algeria for the Foire de Rabat in 1917, a man named Abdessadok Kaddour provides the following comparison of Lyautey's and the sultan's

³⁹⁸ Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 61.

tents. During the fair, Kaddour and his fellow Algerian delegates attended a reception hosted in Lyautey's tent, where Madame Lyautey received them with mint tea and pastries and afterwards Lyautey himself "gave an order to arrange all of the Pachas in front of the tent" so that he could address them with a "patriotic discourse...welcome[ing] them with many kind words."³⁹⁹ Later in his visit to Rabat, Kaddour also had the opportunity to hear speeches and attend official meetings in front of Sultan Moulay Youssef's tent during the public celebration of Eid al-Kabir. The most notable difference between the two tents was perhaps the French tricolor flag that, according to Kaddour, lined the interior of Lyautey's tent.

Exhibiting Colonial Consent, Controlling Dissidence

Lyautey's appropriation of such potent symbols of authority was not only intended as a display of cultural respect, emblematic of the protectorate system; it also was part of his strategy for representing the legitimacy of French rule in Morocco by displaying the complicity of "useful Morocco" with the French colonial project. As Rabinow argues, a major strategy in Lyautey's governance of Morocco was not only to maintain hierarchical difference between France and Morocco but also to maintain hierarchies *within* Morocco's social and political landscape.⁴⁰⁰ According to Burke, during the course of the early twentieth century, French scholarship and ethnographic

³⁹⁹ Abdessadok Kaddour, "Journal de mon voyage au Maroc (Foire de Rabat 1917)." 3MA/900/92: Expositions (dont Exposition coloniale 1931), Direction de l'instruction publique (1908-1951), Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN). In the archival document, Kaddour is described as a "Commandeur du Ouissane[sic] Alaouit"; the Order of the Ouissam Alouite was a military decoration created by the French in 1913 as an alternative system to the French Legion of Honor. It was bestowed by the Moroccan Sultan to those who had displayed courage in battle and loyalty to Morocco.

⁴⁰⁰ Rabinow 1989, 286.

research about Moroccan culture and society was shaped by France's developing political designs over Morocco, ultimately resulting in a lasting French image of Morocco characterized by a set of dichotomous images:

[B]efore 1904, French ethnographers emphasized the openness, flexibility and absence of sharp cleavages in Moroccan society. But starting in 1904, when France acquired a vested interest in the *makhzan*, this nuanced and balanced portrait gave way to one based on a series of dichotomous images, included the supposed opposition between *makhzan* and *siba*, Berber and Arab, and city and country....Such a stereotypical image of Morocco survived because it best seemed to explain the peculiarities of pre-protectorate Morocco, and at the same time provided a convincing rationale for French colonial dominance.⁴⁰¹

Insistence upon these categories allowed Lyautey's regime to ally rhetorically the objectives of the French protectorate government with those of the ruling *makhzan* and thereby claim the complicity of the Moroccan Sultan and his supporters in the mission to pacify resistance and guide Morocco towards a healthy modernity.

As evidenced at the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains, these perceived social binaries appeared not only in ethnographic literature or political propaganda but also in the categorization of art traditions and objects, where "Berber" or "rural" and "Arab" or "urban" arts were subjected to different stylistic categories and art historical narratives. The exhibits contained within the 1922 Morocco pavilion at the Marseilles Colonial Exposition, likewise, visually and rhetorically reproduced these assumptions about Moroccan culture; there, the perceived dichotomies between Arab and Berber, *makhzan* and *siba*, collaborator and dissident, civilized and uncivilized were activated through an elaborate performance and visual display of the French protectorate's cultural fluency and political legitimacy in modern Morocco.

⁴⁰¹ Burke 2014, 159.

In 1922 a major threat to the French protectorate government were the “rebellious” Berber communities that still held out against French and Spanish control in the Rif Mountains of Morocco. Lyautey’s original approach to this *bled al-siba* (“rebellious land”) had been to leave it relatively alone and instead focus upon garnering the favor and complicity of elite members of the urban *makhzen* (“ruling class”). In 1921 however, a rebellious force led by Abd ‘al-Karim ‘al-Khattani (1882-1963) had descended from its battle grounds with Spanish forces in the northern Rif Mountains and threatened to infiltrate France’s “pacified” regions in Morocco. In consequence, compelled by certain constituents in the French government, Lyautey’s administration began to take a more active approach in the Spanish-Moroccan War of the Rif.⁴⁰² In light of this conflict, the “Berber question,” whether Morocco’s Amazigh communities should be allowed to declare an independent nation or should be forced to surrender to French or Spanish control, was an important international issue of the moment, one that Terrier felt could not be left untouched in Morocco’s exhibition at the 1922 Exposition nationale coloniale.

Rather than obscure this potential danger to French authority in Morocco in the context of the 1922 Colonial Exposition, Terrier and the other organizers of the Morocco Pavilion used the issue to reinforce its display of French-Moroccan collaboration (and ultimately French control). In a 1921 letter to Lyautey, Terrier argued that it was “indispensable to underline in our Palace at the Colonial Exposition of Marseilles the importance of the Berber question in Morocco” and suggested displaying photographs depicting various Berber “types” and maps indicating the geographical and chronological

⁴⁰² See Miller, 104-119, for a useful overview of the French protectorate’s involvement in the War of the Rif.

trajectory of the ancient Berber dynasties in Morocco.⁴⁰³ Ultimately, the Morocco Pavilion commissioners chose to convey the importance of the “Berber question” to French visitors not only through the exhibition of diagrams, maps, and other images emphasizing key natural resources in Amazigh-controlled regions or the political import behind unifying Morocco but also by evoking the French protectorate’s ability to fully control and contain, both literally and symbolically, the rebellious threats to a pacified Morocco. In the very center of a gallery dedicated to the “Moroccan Army,” sat another tent that, according to the exposition guide, was intended to show visitors “the habitation of the dissidents with whom our troops in Morocco are still in battle.”⁴⁰⁴ This “dissidents’ tent” functioned as a visual and rhetorical counterpoint to Lyautey’s own tent at the Pavilion.

In choosing to exhibit the Berber-style tent in a room dedicated to the Army of Morocco (rather than displaying it alongside other “Berber” textiles within the “Salle des Arts Indigènes” or in a special room dedicated to Berber culture in Morocco, for example), the organizers of the Moroccan Palace consciously identified the tent as a symbol of Berber resistance. At the same time, the tent’s placement within this

⁴⁰³ Auguste Terrier to Général Lyautey, 24 November 1921. 1MA/100/323: Foires et expositions (1914-1924), Direction des Affaires Indigènes, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN). Terrier also notes that he has consulted Maurice Le Glay, a French officer who had spent extensive time in the Middle Atlas mountings and by then the Civil Controller in Safi, as an expert “Berberist” as to the best manner to approach the subject. Le Glay had been a major advocate of the protection of Morocco’s Amazigh communities from further “arabization,” which, as Katherine Hoffman has elaborated, he correlated directly with “Islamification,” arguing that France was actually responsible for the further spread of Islam in their West African and Algerian colonies because of its insistence upon using the Arab language. He advised the French protectorate government to teach the Amazigh communities French (rather than Arabic) to avoid the further spread of the Islamic religion in Morocco. See Katherine E. Hoffman, “Purity and Contamination: Language Ideologies in French Colonial Native Policy in Morocco,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, no. 3 (Jul. 2008), 724-752: 738-40.

⁴⁰⁴ *Guide Officiel*, 127-128.

exhibition space suggested the French government's control over this "dangerous" object—and the sector of Moroccan society it represented—through the explicit support of Morocco's official army and government. The gallery displayed a collection of maps and photographs representing the Moroccan army's "essential place in the pacification and development of Morocco" as well as the participation of Morocco's troops and laborers in the national defense of France during World War I. Rather than maintaining its cultural meaning as a marker of the owner's specific identity or status, it stands as a generalized, exotic depiction of "Berber" culture (all the more exotic because of its association with a "primitive," rebellious faction of Moroccan society). Even the tent's potency as a symbol of nomadic mobility—and its association with the dissidents' ability to evade French forces—was neutralized through its physical and symbolic demobilization within the confines of the exhibition room. In contrast, Lyautey's own tent maintained its political potency as a representation of French cultural and political authority in Morocco at the Exposition, a representation enhanced through the presence of Moroccan soldiers stationed beneath the crenellated towers of the Morocco Pavilion's central gate⁴⁰⁵; the entrance to Lyautey's own imperial tent was "guarded by Moroccan *spahis* [mounted soldiers] armed with swords."⁴⁰⁶

A similar exhibition strategy involving the simultaneous display and containment

⁴⁰⁵ "Comme la plupart des portes des casbahs marocaines, elle est 'en baïonnette,' de façon à pouvoir plus facilement arrêter l'élan des assaillants. Sous la porte se trouvent des tirailleurs et spahis marocains représentant les diverses races du Maroc. Ces soldats sont populaires en France depuis la guerre. On sait quelles gloires ils ont acquises sur tous les champs de bataille de France et d'Orient, d'où ils sont revenus avec des fourragères et de belles citations." *1922 Guide Officiel*. 122.

⁴⁰⁶ "A droite [de la cour d'accès]...se trouve dressée une fort belle tente marocaine qui a été spécialement prêtée par M. le maréchal Lyautey et qui lui sert, au Maroc, pour la réception des notabilités et des délégations. L'accès en est gardé par des spahis marocains armés de la lance." *Ibid.*

of an object representing resistance to “legitimate” power in Morocco would have been encountered elsewhere in official French exhibitions of cultural and political legitimacy, for example, at the 1915 Exposition franco-marocaine in Casablanca. As the *Livre d’Or* for the 1915 event explains, within the exposition’s Pavillon du Génie “...[was] kept the carriage reserved for the sovereign and, in opposition, a heavy barred cage, planted on crude wheels, the ultimate dwelling and last vehicle in the parade of the *Roghi* [sic], the pretender to the throne who from then on could no longer worry the Sultan Mouley[sic] Hafid”⁴⁰⁷ (fig. 5.13). Later on this “cage du rogui Bou Hamara” (the cage of the pretender-to-the-throne Bou Hamara) appeared again as an object exhibited at the Musée Dar Batha of Fez in a gallery otherwise dedicated to “imperial souvenirs,” including a royal sedan chair and the “settee upon which [Sultan] Moulay Hafid received the first Resident-General of France in Morocco in 1912.”⁴⁰⁸ Bou Hamara (Jilali ben Driss Zirhouni al-Youssefi) had served in the royal Moroccan court under Sultan Moulay Abdelaziz (r.1894-1908) but was eventually imprisoned and later relocated to Algeria. Around 1902, at the height of internal political instability in Morocco, Bou Hamara returned to Morocco disguised as a brother of the Sultan and attempted to claim the throne; after commanding a large area of the Rif mountains near Taza, Bou Hamara was finally captured by the subsequent Sultan Moulay Hafid (r.1908-1912) and imprisoned in a small cage until his execution. Whereas the “Dissenters’ tent” in the 1922 Morocco

⁴⁰⁷ Maurice Roulet, *Le Livre d’Or de l’Exposition franco-marocaine* (Paris: Librairie Générale et Internationale, 1916), 56: “...à droite est garé le wagon reserve au souverain et par opposition, une lourde caisse à claire-voie, campée sur des roulettes grossières, ultime demeure et dernier véhicule de parade du Roghi [sic], prétendant au trône qui ne laissa pas d’inquiéter le Sultan Mouley [sic] Hafid.”

⁴⁰⁸ Prosper Ricard, *Maroc (Les Guides Bleus)*, 8th edition (Paris: Librarie Hachette, 1954; first edition 1919).

Pavilion represented an ongoing direct threat to the French protectorate, the display of Bou Hamara's cage at the Exposition franco-marocaine and again in Dar Batha at once commented upon the "archaic" character of pre-protectorate Morocco (to display publicly a criminal in a cage would not have been seen as a "modern" form of punishment) and represented the successful capture and containment of a threat to "legitimate" political authority in Morocco. Thereby the French protectorate government's display of this pre-protectorate artifact asserted its own continuity with Morocco's rightful rulers.

Through the selection and placement of these potent objects, the organizers of the Morocco Pavilion made tangible the dichotomous images through which Lyautey and his regime claimed political legitimacy in Morocco, underlying the complicity of the Moroccan government with French rule. This relationship of supposed colonial assent was symbolically fortified through Lyautey and the French protectorate's own proclaimed fluency in Morocco's cultural practices and ability to reproduce "traditional" displays and rites of cultural, political, and religious authority. The organizers of the 1922 Morocco Pavilion staged displays of this cultural fluency in direct juxtaposition to images of Moroccan dissent in order to convince their audience of the proficiency of the prior to control and contain the latter. Thus the architectural and exhibitionary program of the 1922 Morocco Pavilion relied heavily upon the visual display of difference, presenting contrasting images of France and Morocco, on the one hand, and dichotomous categories within Moroccan society, on the other.

The Morocco Pavilion at the 1931 Exposition internationale coloniale (Paris)

The 1931 Pavilion's most notable departure from the presentation of the 1922

Pavilion was its external architecture. In contrast to the 1922 Pavilion's fortified medieval architecture, the design of the 1931 Pavilion emphasized elite residential architecture of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Morocco. On one level, this selection probably had to do with the particular predilections of the 1931 Pavilion's architects, Albert Laprade and Robert Fournez. Laprade had worked in Morocco alongside Lyautey's star urbanist, Henri Prost, for nearly five years, during which time he most notably drew the initial plans for Casablanca's nouveau-medina, called the "Quartier Habous," and designed the Resident-General's headquarters in Rabat. Robert Fournez had been one of the architects for the Grande Mosquée de Paris, completed only five years earlier in 1926. Laprade was personally interested in "indigenous" architecture and the social uses of space in Morocco and professed a particular fascination with "Islamic" garden design and residential architecture; a selection of his drawings were published in Jean Gallotti's 1926 illustrated book, *Le Jardin et la Maison Arabes au Maroc*.⁴⁰⁹ Likewise, with their design for the 1931 Morocco Pavilion, Fournez and Laprade intended to evoke the gardens and palatial architecture of Fez and Marrakech, with particular reference to Dar el-Baïda, an eighteenth-century palace in Marrakech.

Entering the Pavilion through one of two entrance gates, the first referencing Bab al-Mansour in Meknes and the second Rabat's Bab el-Rouah, a visitor to the Exposition encountered a series of interconnected interior and exterior spaces. The most frequently reproduced view of the Morocco pavilion was from the vantage point of the "jardin des souks" looking towards the interior entrance to the main pavilion, a hexagonal structure

⁴⁰⁹ Jean Gallotti, *Le Jardin et la Maison Arabes au Maroc*. Paris: Albert Lévy, 1926.

reminiscent of a *menzah* (or garden pavilion) with arched portals on each side and a sloping roof covered in green ceramic tiles (fig. 5.14). This structure, perched above a large rectangular reflecting pool and set against a backdrop of white rectilinear walls, bare but for the occasional small window and band of green roof tiles, specifically recalled the reception hall and central courtyard at Dar al-Beïda. A canal-like series of rectangular water basins stretched the length of the garden, lined with benches decorated in *zellij* tilework alternating with flowerbeds and cyprus trees. Along each side of the corridor, small shops shaded by trellised canopies displayed carpets and other “traditional” arts available for purchase from the Moroccan artists and business owners stationed at each storefront (figures 15 and 16). Unlike the “*rue Marocaine*” of the 1922 Pavilion, where artists and merchants performed their trade within the *mise-en-scène* of medieval *madina*, the “souks” of the 1931 Pavilion were set up in the “Andalusian” garden, recalling public parks or outdoor fairs in Europe. While the Pavilion’s picturesque qualities were celebrated by its critics, it seems to have been considered less strikingly exotic than the 1922 Morocco Pavilion; in part, this impression probably resulted from the French public’s increasing familiarity with Moroccan art and culture supported by developments in Morocco’s tourism industry. Furthermore, the 1931 Morocco Pavilion did not participate in same spatial and visual dynamics of the 1922 Pavilion, whose appearance as a living “medieval” kasbah contrasted directly with its French Beaux-Arts neighbor; in 1931 the colonial pavilions studded the wooded landscape of the Parc de Vincennes with the pavilions of Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria positioned at the farthest point from the major “metropolitan” pavilions, closer to the “Parc Zoologique” at the Exposition’s southeast corner.

According to Patricia Morton, this visual separation of “colonial” and “metropolitan” pavilions at the 1931 Exposition internationale coloniale, both spatially and through their use of separate architectural languages, supported the Exposition’s larger representational mission of asserting the “absolute difference” between France and her colonies. Employing racialized notions of the essential relationship between architectural style and a society’s level of social advancement, the architects of the Exposition delegated different architectural languages to each pavilion to “make concrete inherent differences between Europe and the colonies and to represent Europe’s *mission civilisatrice*.”⁴¹⁰ Within the colonial pavilions themselves, she explains, this essential difference was articulated through the use of “indigenous” styles for the exterior architecture and “metropolitan” exhibit design inside. Indeed the interior space of the Morocco Pavilion contained exhibits dedicated to the three “constitutive elements” of Morocco: “indigène, administratif, initiatives privées,”⁴¹¹ with exhibits outlining the various stages of the “pacification” of Morocco and commemorating the projects organized by each administrative department: health, public works such as hydraulics and roads, agriculture, and public instruction. Finally, several companies in Morocco provided their own exhibits in a room dedicated to “private initiatives” such as phosphate mining, banking, and touristic services.

Using the Morocco and Madagascar Pavilions as case studies, however, Morton argues that this combination of “indigenous” and “metropolitan” architectures ultimately resulted in a “hybrid” architectural representation that belied the strict division, so crucial

⁴¹⁰ Morton 2000, 7.

⁴¹¹ Charles René Leclerc, “Le Maroc à Vincennes,” *Le Livre d’Or de l’Exposition coloniale Internationale de Paris 1931* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion, 1931), 58.

to the Exposition's claim, between "primitive" indigenous architectures and societies, on the one hand, and modern French civilization on the other. While it is true that the architects of the 1931 Morocco Pavilion employed a combination of "traditional" Moroccan materials and forms with modern French aesthetics and technologies—this is exemplified in the invention of the "jardin des souks" as well as in the decoration of the interior spaces where carved and painted wood ceilings, *zellij* mosaics, and plasterwork were combined with smooth rectangular columns, electrical lighting, and vitrines and railing of metal and glass—I argue that, rather than transgressing the bounds of hierarchy and containment expressed in colonial discourse, the so-called "hybrid" architecture of the 1931 Morocco Pavilion successfully expressed the "absolute difference" of its "indigenous" population through different means of visual and symbolic representation. Transported from the French protectorate of Morocco to the French colonial exposition, the complex representational, social, and political elements embedded in the protectorate's "French-Moroccan" architecture was reduced and reinterpreted according to a different regime of visibility—in which Moroccan art and architecture played a role—already active in the French metropole. To understand the particular "codes of difference" activated in the Morocco Pavilion, it is helpful to compare its designers' representational strategies to those employed in the design and official presentation of the Grande Mosquée de Paris, constructed between 1922-26, which drew upon French notions of Morocco's artistic and religious "heritage" to make claims about the larger Muslim community in France and its colonies.

La Grande Mosquée de Paris (1922-26)

A comparison between the Morocco Pavilion at the 1931 Exposition and the

Grande Mosquée de Paris is not arbitrary: Laprade's partner in designing the Pavilion, Robert Fournez, had also been one of the architects, along with Maurice Mantout, responsible for the construction of the Grande Mosquée. The pavilion and mosque share clear architectural affinities. Like the 1931 Morocco Pavilion, the Grande Mosquée's architecture is characterized by its incorporation of specific references to historical structures into a cohesive, "hybrid" architecture that combines French interpretations of "Islamic" space and decoration with modern European aesthetics and building technologies. With an emphasis upon the artistic heritage of North Africa, the Mosquée's external architecture includes white domed cupolas reminiscent of the Karouine Mosque in Tunisia, a rectangular minaret decorated with carved stone and tile mosaics modeled after the minaret of the Bou Inania mosque in Fez, and other features characteristic of the medieval North African built landscape such as hexagonal green-tiled cupolas and an elaborate horse-shoe-arched monumental entrance gate (figures 17 and 18). Like the 1931 Pavilion, the Mosquée contains a series of picturesque tiled courtyards with fountains and gardens that led through carved stone and tile arcades into interior rooms decorated with carved wood, mosaic tilework, and stucco.

While the mosque was ostensibly intended to provide a space and appearance familiar to France's entire Muslim population—in his inaugural speech, the mosque's Algerian director Si Kaddour Ben Ghabrit, proclaimed that "all the Muslims who live in France...will find here, in their own particular ways, the means to satisfy their religious obligations"⁴¹²—the design of the mosque emphasized Moroccan craft and architecture in particular. In fact, as Naomi Davidson has discussed, the original plans for the mosque

⁴¹² René Weiss, *Réception à l'Hotel de Ville de sa majesté Moulay Youssef, Sultan du Maroc, Inauguration de L'Institut Musulman et de la Mosquée* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1927), 34.

were developed in consultation with Maurice Tranchant de Lunel, the first director of the SBA. In 1920, Si Kaddour met with him and other French architects in Rabat to discuss the preliminary plans for the mosque; Tranchant de Lunel suggested that the architects model the Grande Mosquée after the Bou Inania Mosque in Fez.⁴¹³ As a result, the general layout of the mosque is clearly based upon that of Bou Inania and, like the 1922 Morocco Pavilion, its minaret is almost a direct copy of Bou Inania's minaret.⁴¹⁴ Davidson attributes the mosque's designers' emphasis upon Moroccan architecture to the "French belief that Moroccan Islam was more civilized than Algerian Islam, not to mention Sub-Saharan African Islam."⁴¹⁵ She argues that the image of the mosque reflected early-twentieth-century French notions of Islam (a construction she calls "*Islam français*") that privileged the perceived "purity" and distance (or isolation) of Moroccan Islam over the less refined or corrupted (and ultimately more dangerous) version presumably practiced by Muslims in France, the majority of whom were from Algeria and Sub-Saharan Africa.

As this last point indicates, the mobilization of an image of "Moroccan Islam" through the public reception and social politics of the Grande Mosquée also had important ramifications for the French state's symbolic management of its growing colonial and Muslim populations. As in the 1922 Colonial Pavilion, this French control was expressed through a rhetoric of colonial assent and collaboration that was, in turn,

⁴¹³ Naomi Davidson, *Only Muslim: Embodying Islam in Twentieth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 52.

⁴¹⁴ Davidson also notes that some of the *zellij* (mosaic tilework) created for the 1922 Morocco Pavilion was reinstalled in the Grande Mosquée as a gift from Lyautey (57, see note 69).

⁴¹⁵ Davidson 37.

articulated through the image of a pure and archaic Morocco constructed through the efforts of French ethnographers and colonial agents over the course of the early twentieth century. As Burke illuminates in *The Ethnographic State*, the image of “Moroccan Islam” as pure (isolated from contemporary politics in the Muslim world) and archaic (founded in superstitious religious beliefs and practices) “provided an explanation of Moroccan backwardness, and hence its ‘colonizability.’”⁴¹⁶ During his speech at the inauguration of the mosque, Pierre Godin, President of the Municipal Council of Paris, emphasized the importance of Morocco as a “field of study and experience” for France’s knowledge of Islam and ability to guide its Muslim subjects towards modern life, noting that “[Morocco] has a singular value in its isolation, its archaism, if you will, drawn from the purest centuries of the Faith.”⁴¹⁷

As suggested in Burke’s description of Moulay Youssef’s accession ceremony, French conceptions of “Moroccan Islam” coalesced in the figure of the Sultan himself. Accordingly, Sultan Moulay Youssef’s visit to Paris for the inauguration of the Grande Mosquée de Paris in 1926 was important as a public demonstration of the mosque’s relationship to a “friendly” and “controllable” Islam (fig. 5.19). Drawing upon the kind of pageantry supported by Lyautey in Morocco, the inauguration ceremony expressed the complicity of Morocco (and by association the Muslim world) not only with the mosque project but, more generally, with French political and cultural authority. During his visit

⁴¹⁶ Burke 2014, 176.

⁴¹⁷ Pierre Godin, “Avant propos,” in René Weiss (ed.), *Réception à l’Hotel de Ville de sa majesté Moulay Youssef, Sultan du Maroc, Inauguration de L’Institut Musulman et de la Mosquée*, XXI-XXVI (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1927), XXIV-XXV: “[Maroc] emprunte une valeur singulière à son isolement, à son archaïsme, si l’on veut, qui le rapproche des siècles les plus purs de la Croyance.”

to Paris, Sultan Moulay Youssef was made to perform and embody this notion himself. His trip included a reception at the Hotel de Ville, where, in his honor, a ceremonial tent had been erected, “dressed with wall hangings in antique velvet embroidered with gold trimmings...[and] shields of arms alternating with national emblems.”⁴¹⁸ His image as the living archetype of “Moroccan Islam” is reinforced in Godin’s preface to the French publication describing the inauguration ceremonies: “Above all, the authority that graces our protected Sultan, makes of him, through his Cherifian qualities, that is to say as the direct descendent of the Prophet, a religious power unique in the Muslim world, where he is, at the same time, a sovereign civil power.”⁴¹⁹

Bayoumi argues that, as a “site from which Islam could be produced and appropriated for a colonial project,” the Grande Mosquée de Paris was an “example of the modernist arts of display and surveillance.”⁴²⁰ This claim suggests that, as we saw in the 1922 Morocco Pavilion, on the other side of the mosque’s presentation of colonial assent was the related task of controlling representations of colonial resistance or dissent. Indeed, as Bayoumi reminds us, Abd ‘al-Karim was finally captured in 1926 only days before the inauguration of the mosque; the containment of this famous rebel as support for the notion of a complicit Morocco was suggested in a 1926 edition of *Le monde colonial illustré* in which a photograph of Abd ‘al-Karim with French policemen and one of the Moroccan Sultan at the Paris Mosque inauguration were visually juxtaposed on

⁴¹⁸ Weiss 4.

⁴¹⁹ Godin XXV: “Surtout, l’autorité dont est revêtu notre protégé le Sultan, fait de lui, en sa qualité de Chérif, c’est-à-dire de descendant direct du Prophète, une puissance religieuse unique dans ce monde musulman, où il est, en même temps, une puissance civile souverain.”

⁴²⁰ Moustafa Bayoumi, “Shadows and Light: Colonial Modernity and the Grand Mosquée of Paris,” *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 13, no. 2 (Fall 2000), 267-292: 272.

facing pages.⁴²¹ Despite the associations made elsewhere between the mosque's political message and the threat of colonial or Muslim resistance, Bayoumi argues that the mosque itself "was deliberately oriented *away* from colonial politics of resistance in order to insure tacit colonial assent to French rule while in the mosque."⁴²² I argue, however, that far from avoiding representations of colonial resistance, the mechanisms for controlling and containing dissidence within official French representations of Islam and colonial modernity were incorporated into the very architecture of the mosque.

While explicit images of dissent and resistance, like the "Berber" tent at the 1922 Colonial Exposition, were not overtly displayed within the confines of the mosque, as Bayoumi himself has argued, its "putative purity of North African form within the fifth *arrondissement* [of Paris] was an attempt to force the presence of colonial North African subjects into visibility and containment."⁴²³ By transforming the mosque into a spectacle for the French public on the one hand, and a visible message to Muslims in France and the larger international community on the other hand, the designers of the Paris Mosque visually and ideologically dominated representations of "Islam" in France, preempting and overshadowing demonstrations of less "benign" evocations of the faith in the service of nationalist, pan-Islamic, or other resistance movements. Furthermore, as Davidson argues, the mosque's representation of Islam was extended to the representation of *all* Muslims in France and beyond:

The Mosquée's placement in the center of Paris's urban landscape, in the very heart of its historic university district proclaimed loudly that Islam's

⁴²¹ See Bayoumi, 283.

⁴²² Ibid., 282-3. My italics.

⁴²³ Ibid., 288.

civilization and intellectual heritage were of the same stature as those of France. Yet the site's *hispano-mauresque* architecture reiterated that Muslim believers could only live out the tenets of their rigorously demanding faith with its many embodied practices in a particular aesthetic space.⁴²⁴

By marking Islam as utterly “archaic” and supporting the notion that its practitioners were entirely defined by the essential characteristics of their faith through its emphasis upon “Islamic space,” the Paris Mosque project symbolically precluded contemporary practices and interpretations of the Muslim faith and denied French Muslims participation in global modernity. The confluence of “*Islam français*” with notions “Moroccan Islam” only emphasized this exclusion; for, as Burke writes, “[b]y definition, ‘Moroccan Islam’ excluded investigation of contemporary Muslim belief and practice in Morocco and the world....It pertained to a timeless Morocco.”⁴²⁵ Within the propaganda of the Paris Mosque, the political and social disenfranchisement of Muslim and non-French individuals was masked by a rhetoric of the French “tolerance” of Islam and gratitude for the contributions of those “Muslim soldiers” who had contributed to the maintenance of France and its colonial empire in the crux of World War I. During a ceremony dedicated to the placing of the first *mihrab* stone for the Grande Mosquée, Maréchal Lyautey publicly spoke of the potential for collaboration between the Muslim leaders of North Africa and those of the French republic, employing a rhetoric of religious tolerance: “Far from separating us, our religions...teach us of the reciprocal respect of our convictions. And, if our [mutual] sympathy is manifested here with such seriousness and sincerity, it is because it has been brought to us by a feeling born of fifteen centuries of religious

⁴²⁴ Davidson, 2.

⁴²⁵ Burke 2014, 176.

inheritance.”⁴²⁶

Articulating “Colonial Difference” in the Morocco Pavilion at the 1931 Colonial Exposition

At the 1931 Exposition, the political and social concerns integral to the representational strategies of the Grande Mosquée de Paris carried over into the content and objectives of both the French protectorate of Morocco’s presentation and the larger event as a whole. Like the Grande Mosquée, the 1931 Exposition was officially dedicated to France’s colonial troops and their contributions to the modern French empire (or *la Plus Grande France*, as it was called in the context of the fair). This message was reinforced in the decorative program of the Exposition’s only permanent structure, the Palais de la Porte Dorée or the Musée Permanent des Colonies, which included an exterior relief and interior murals and exhibits dedicated to celebrating the French colonies’ intellectual, cultural, and economic “contributions” to France. Within these displays of colonial collaboration in the Musée Permanent, an image of an “archaic” and domesticated “Islam” arose once again through complementary depictions of medieval Muslim scholars in North Africa and the exhibits concerning history of artistic and cultural exchange between France and Islamic civilization from the time of the Crusades, on the one hand; and, on the other hand, exhibitions of the military prowess and

⁴²⁶ Hubert Lyautey, “Inauguration du Mihrab de la Mosquée de Paris, le 19 Octobre 1922,” in *Paroles d’action: Madagascar, Sud-Oranais, Oran, Maroc (1900-1926)* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1927): “Loin de nous séparer, nos religions, si l’on veut s’élever suffisamment haut pour ne considérer que la communauté d’un sentiment dont elles sont chacune une si noble expression, nous apprennent le respect réciproque de nos convictions. Et, si notre sympathie se manifeste ici avec tant de sérieux et de sincérité, c’est qu’elle nous est dictée par un sentiment né de quinze siècles d’hérédité religieuse.”

collaboration of modern “Muslim soldiers” with France through displays of uniforms and other ceremonial paraphernalia of the different colonial troops and documents concerning the various French military campaigns in which they participated from the occupation of Algeria to World War I.⁴²⁷ Echoing his speech performed on the steps of the Grande Mosquée de Paris, Lyautey’s various addresses to the public as Head Commissioner of the 1931 Exposition internationale coloniale expressed a message of France’s tolerance of Islam and responsibility for the wellbeing of its “Muslim brothers.”

Lyautey, having retired from his position as Resident-General of Morocco in 1925, was not directly involved in the organization of the 1931 Morocco Pavilion. Perhaps reflecting the shifting colonial politics in French Morocco that accompanied Lyautey’s departure, the architecture of and interior displays contained within the Pavilion presented a different relationship between the French and “indigenous” components of protectorate Morocco’s society. In part, it reflected new artistic and architectural developments already exhibited to the French public through the “hybrid” objects presented at the 1925 Exposition des arts décoratifs in Paris. At the same time, it evoked the Grande Mosquée’s representational strategies for celebrating Morocco’s specific “Islamic” culture and heritage while simultaneously controlling, and ultimately disenfranchising, its contemporary Muslim population; as a result, for some viewers, the protectorate’s “hybrid” architecture and culture spoke to the vibrant experience of cross-cultural exchange in Morocco, while for others, it stood as a representation of the “domestication” of Moroccan culture and religion through the French colonial presence. The 1922 Morocco Pavilion in many ways had relied upon emphasizing the agency of

⁴²⁷ DA000961, Série 1, Archives de l’Exposition internationale coloniale (1931), Musée du Quai Branly, Paris.

particular Moroccan individuals and sectors of society in order to claim their assent and collaboration in the French governance of Morocco; more important to the politics of the 1931 Morocco Pavilion, however, was the representation of France's complete authority over, or "ownership," of Moroccan culture and society. While the objective of the 1931 Pavilion's architects and organizers was not to reproduce a "living medieval kingdom" as in 1922, they still articulated Moroccan society's ultimate "archaism" through different representational means. As in the case of the Grande Mosquée, this objective was undertaken through the visible and symbolic erasure (or at least diminution) of contemporary Moroccan actors in the experience and articulation of "modernity."

Although the French commissioner for the 1931 Morocco Pavilion, L.J. Nacivet, had also participated in the organization of the 1922 Pavilion, those involved in the presentation of Morocco in 1931 faced different political concerns and answered to a new French regime in Morocco. Hubert Lyautey had retired in 1925, replaced by two subsequent Residents-General, Théodore Steeg (active 1925-28) and Lucien Saint (active 1929-1933), and upon the sudden death of Sultan Moulay Youssef in 1926, the young Mohammad V had begun his first reign as Sultan of Morocco (later he would become the first "King of Morocco" at the beginning of Moroccan Independence). Lyautey's departure also coincided with a shift in political and military strategies for addressing the "indigenous" Moroccan population. According to Susan Miller, Lyautey's successors pushed to replace his notion of "indirect rule" with a "more aggressive interventionism—to 'do what was needed' for Moroccans, without their participation or assent."⁴²⁸

Although by 1931 Abd 'al-Karim had been captured and the War of the Rif concluded,

⁴²⁸ Miller 118.

this shift towards a more aggressive approach to governance in Morocco was probably influenced by attention to perceived threats shared with other French colonial governments, particularly colonial resistance influenced by nationalist, socialist, pan-Islamic movements. Anti-colonial movements had their own presence at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, where groups opposed to the Exposition and the colonial violence it represented circulated propaganda and even held counter-expositions.⁴²⁹ Integral to the mitigation of these potentially “dangerous” influences over Moroccan society within the walls of the Morocco Pavilion was the implied visual and symbolic control of Morocco’s “Islamic” heritage by its French leaders. This perceived “control” was suggested both within the exhibits organized by the French protectorate’s administrative departments and through the visual language employed in the Pavilion’s exterior and interior architecture.

The architecture of the 1931 Pavilion reflected a stylistic approach developed by architects and urban planners working under Lyautey for the construction of modern buildings and the development of Morocco’s *nouvelles villes*, as examined in chapter 4. Drawing upon Béguin’s terminology, Morton describes this architecture as the French protectorate’s own version of *arabisation*: “To distinguish between ‘French’ and ‘colonial’ culture [according to ‘associationist’ policy], French architects and urbanists created separate languages for native and European buildings and districts, resulting in a style of *arabisation*.”⁴³⁰ Morton argues that ultimately the “hybrid” styles that arose as a result of this architectural approach “undermined the separation and differentiation of

⁴²⁹ See, for example, Steven Ungar, “The Colonial Exposition (1931),” in Pascal Blanchard et al, *Colonial Culture in France since the Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013); and Jody Blake, “The Truth about the Colonies, 1931: Art Indigène in the Service of Revolution,” *Oxford Art Journal* 25, No.1 (2002), 37-58.

⁴³⁰ Morton 1998, 83. Also see Béguin.

French culture from colonial culture”⁴³¹; I argue, however, that the cultural fluidity of this “hybrid” architecture—as neither “purely” French nor Moroccan—facilitated its potential to be exploited for its significant mutability by those with a stake in its political and social uses.

In certain cases, such as its use in official building projects managed by the French protectorate, this architectural style could be used as a tool for social control and selective disenfranchisement. If the French protectorate’s interpretation of “*arabiscance*” architecture paid lip service to a colonial rhetoric of cultural relativism and respect, ultimately it represented an advanced form of cultural appropriation on the part of the colonizing power. For, as Gwendolyn Wright explains, the confluence of “indigenous” and “French” styles in the French protectorate’s contemporary architecture was not an organic phenomenon but rather a studied strategy for promoting colonial assent:

[T]he urban imagery of the French *villes nouvelles* involved a self-conscious cultural synthesis that stressed its particular locale....This dual urban agenda...sought to control the cultural vitality of colonial cities, even as it assiduously studied the local culture. The *villes nouvelles* exhibited both European and Moroccan themes in their urban design, suggesting there was no inherent conflict.⁴³²

Janet Abu-Lughod extends Wright’s argument to claim that the French protectorate’s management of French and “indigenous” space resulted in an “urban apartheid” through which the Moroccan population living in the “indigenous” *madinas* was barred access to the social support and modern amenities available in the *villes nouvelles*.⁴³³

The “hybrid” architecture upon which the designers of the 1931 Morocco Pavilion

⁴³¹ Morton 1998, 83.

⁴³² Wright 1987, 302-4.

⁴³³ Abu-Lughod.

drew can also be understood as a representation of the French protectorate's ability to both reproduce Islamic forms, thus symbolically controlling the visual representation of Muslim culture in Morocco, and re-signify or appropriate these forms in the service of its "modernization" campaigns. The perceived French "ownership" of Morocco's cultural forms and "Islamic" heritage was further emphasized at the 1931 Exposition through the particular structures the Morocco Pavilion's architects overtly referenced in their design. As mentioned above, the building most clearly cited in Laprade and Fournez's design was Dar al-Beïda in Marrakech. Not only had this building functioned as a royal residence from the late eighteenth through mid nineteenth centuries but, as early as 1915, the French protectorate government had transformed it into a military hospital known as the *Hôpital Masonnaive*.⁴³⁴ The practice of repurposing historical, pre-protectorate structures in Morocco's built landscape to house institutions epitomizing the French "modernizing" program, including hospitals, museums, and offices of the bureaucratic administration, was common to the early French protectorate; indeed, until the construction of the Rabat Archaeology Museum in 1930, all of the protectorate's museums were housed in former palaces, *madrasas*, or other buildings understood to be "monuments" to traditional Moroccan architecture in their own right.

The reference to this practice in the 1931 Pavilion (repeated in the format of the Pavilion itself, which as Morton described was "indigenous" on the outside and filled

⁴³⁴ According to a 1937 tour guide, Dar el-Beïda (by then known as *Hôpital Maisonnave*) was constructed on the site of a former Saadian palace at the end of the eighteenth century for Sultan Mohammad III, and then restored and decorated in the second half of the nineteenth century for Sultan Moulay Hassan (Hassan I) before being transformed into a "hôpital mixte" under the French. See Société des grands régionaux du Maroc, *Annuaire de l'automobile et du tourisme au Maroc* (Casablanca, 1937), 363. Also see IDPCM website inventory (describes different phases of construction): <http://idpc.ma/>.

with exhibits of French modernity on the inside), threatened to contribute to the symbolic erasure of contemporary Moroccan participation not only in the “modernization” project but also in the production of its own cultural heritage. The “indigenous” architecture of the Pavilion had been so thoroughly appropriated by the French protectorate as a symbol of French cultural fluency and governance in Morocco that the role of contemporary Moroccans as cultural producers seemed almost irrelevant; the interior exhibition spaces only accentuate this impression through their emphasis upon French-led initiatives and government projects in Morocco. The primacy of these “metropolitan” interventions in the presentation of the Morocco Pavilion was reflected in the statement of one critic who, after describing the “immobile majesty” of Morocco’s architecture and craft traditions, concluded that, “even better than these walls of enamel or precious stones, the black graphics of figures demonstrate the astounding renaissance of the modern Maghrib.”⁴³⁵

The only place where the agency of Moroccan individuals in the French protectorate’s Morocco Pavilion might truly have been appreciated was in the “jardin des souks,” where Moroccan businessmen and artists displayed and sold their wares to visitors at the exposition; nevertheless, for a French metropolitan audience, it is probably that these individuals would have been perceived according to the stereotypes of “traditional” Moroccan craftsmen and merchants promoted in publications of the Moroccan tourist

⁴³⁵ Joseph Trillat, *L’Exposition coloniale de Paris* (Paris: Librairie des arts décoratifs, 1931), n.p.: “Voici l’Islam. L’Algérie, la Tunisie, le Maroc symbolisent dans leurs minarets et leurs mosquées, sous leurs dômes ou derrière leurs murailles crénelées, en des salles fraîches et somptueuses, en des souks baignés d’ombres et de senteurs, la majesté immobile d’un rêve séculaire qu’illumine aujourd’hui l’aube d’une ère nouvelle. Et les jets d’eau qui s’étranglaient au fond des patios, parmi les vasques de marbre blanc, chantent la gloire des épis mûrs, des ceps dorés, des opulents vergers, des trésors inconnus que l’industrie fait jaillir du sable ou du roc. Et, mieux que les revêtements d’émaux ou de pierreries, des graphiques noirs de chiffres dissent l’éblouissante renaissance du Maghreb moderne.”

industry or events such as the 1917 Exposition des arts marocains. Explaining how the selection by French specialists and architects of particular historic monuments “to isolate and venerate” and their subsequent promotion of “particular stylistic idioms as prototypical forms,” Wright argues that French architectural design in Morocco ultimately diminished the diversity and complexity of the culture it referenced: “[T]he effort to replace certain groups’ actual involvement in political life with a purely visual expression of their cultural autonomy demonstrates one of the ways in which historicist design, in many different settings, can be used for political power.”⁴³⁶

Refusing to represent the active participation of contemporary Moroccans in the modern condition, the architectural language and exhibition strategy of the 1931 Morocco Pavilion instead implied the essential “archaism” and absolute difference of Moroccan culture and society. This claim was reinforced in the exhibit organized by the French protectorate’s Service de l’Enseignement Public: while it promoted the achievements of the protectorate’s system of “indigenous” education through success stories of advanced students of the elite “Muslim schools” graduating to become teachers, administrators, and promising historians, it represented “Islamic” education in Morocco more generally through a display of “traditional” tools of learning including not only Koranic tablets, reed pens and inkwells, but also implements and even photographs of “traditional” corporal punishment.⁴³⁷

For the French protectorate government, the symbolic and actual management of

⁴³⁶ Wright 1987, 294.

⁴³⁷ Letter from Brunot, Chef du Service de l’Enseignement Musulman, December 10 1930, “Circulaire au sujet de la participation des écoles de l’enseignement musulman à l’Exposition coloniale de 1931,” 3MA/900/92, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN).

“heritage” in Morocco was one way to articulate “colonial difference” through the seeming incommensurability of “tradition” and “modernity.” In his analysis of French urban planning in Morocco, Rabinow argues that one of the central problems for Lyautey’s governance in Morocco was the question of “what norms and what forms of difference could coexist in the modern world,” concluding: “Which social, aesthetic, ethical, and political forms could bring modernity and difference into a common frame is a problem, it is worth underlining, which persists today in Morocco, France and elsewhere.”⁴³⁸ The Morocco Pavilion at the 1922 Colonial Exposition addressed “colonial difference” by mobilizing architecture and certain objects representative of Moroccan “heritage,” in particular a medieval heritage, to present contemporary Morocco as actually living within this past. While Lyautey was able to activate and appropriate “Moroccan” objects and traditions, they ultimately retained their significance as symbols of Moroccan archaism. Lyautey’s ceremonial tent was a symbol of Lyautey’s cultural authority but ultimately remained an exotic object for a French audience. Both the “dissident’s tent” and the cage du rogui Bou Hamara at once displayed the French-*makhzen* control over dissidence within the region and, in the context of French exhibitions, emphasized the “backwards” character of Moroccan society (to inhabit a tent or to display a criminal in a cage would have been seen as the antithesis to European modernity). Even those Moroccans participating in the exhibit were stripped of their agency as modern actors: the soldiers become “types” similar to their artist compatriots and Muslim students are represented through “curiosities” attesting to a premodern era.

⁴³⁸ Rabinow 1989.

The argument of the Morocco Pavilion at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, on the other hand, relied upon a different strategy for representing “tradition in the service of modernity,” to use Wright’s phrase. Although its architecture referenced historical structures and styles, the “temporal” and inherent difference between French and Moroccan society was asserted in the French protectorate’s “ownership” over these forms and the symbolic disenfranchisement of Moroccan cultural producers and contributors to modern society. While the 1931 Pavilion drew upon the colonial politics of difference and assent as articulated specifically in French Morocco, it also spoke to the visual and rhetorical strategies employed within the metropole to represent *la plus grande France* and articulate the specific terms according to which colonial subjects might be allowed to participate in French modernity. The stakes in both projects were different, but the strategies for representing colonial difference in each case mutually reinforced each other. The image of “Moroccan Islam” constructed over the course of France’s political and intellectual occupation of Morocco involved the articulation of dichotomous images and hierarchical categories (makhzen v. siba, berber v. rural, French v. Moroccan, etc.); the creators of the Grande Mosquée were able to draw upon this image (and its internal dichotomous categories) to project a controllable image of “French Islam.” Reciprocally, the representational strategy expressed in the Paris mosque—according to which colonial subjects were symbolically erased and replaced by an archetypical image and denied their ability to participate in the modern world—was reflected in the visual mechanics of the 1931 Morocco Pavilion, translating the protectorate’s developing image of a shared French-Moroccan “heritage” into a vision of “colonial difference” legible to a French metropolitan audience.

Images:

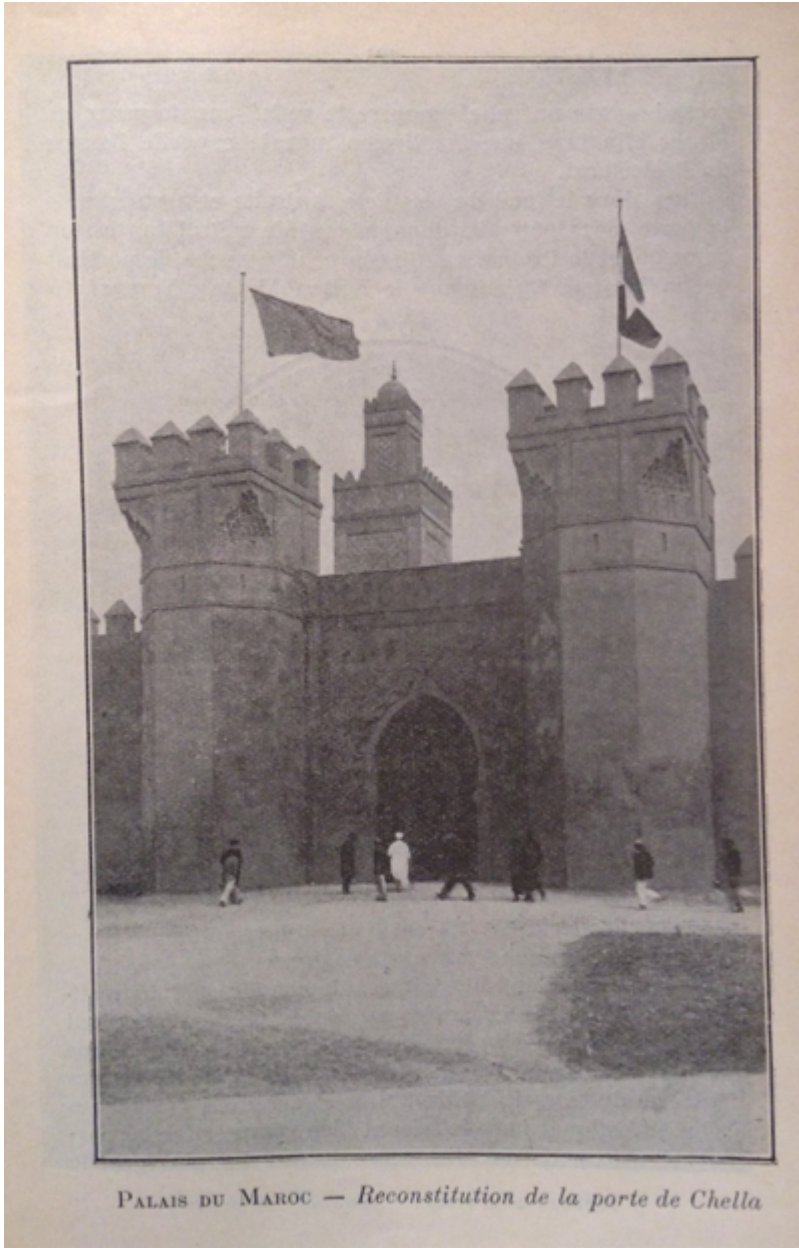


Figure 5.1: Main entrance to the Moroccan Palace, Marseilles, 1922. Reprinted from *Exposition nationale coloniale, Marseille 1922: Guide officiel* (Marseilles: Société du petit marseillais, 1922), 123.



PALAIS DU MAROC

Photo Guinand

Figure 5.2: View of the Moroccan Palace, Marseilles, 1922. Reprinted from *Journal officiel, Exposition coloniale, Marseille 1922*, 5me année, no. 52 (April 1922), 10.



LE PATIO DU MAROC

Photo Guinand

Figure 5.3: Interior of the 1922 Palais du Maroc. *Journal Officiel*, 8.

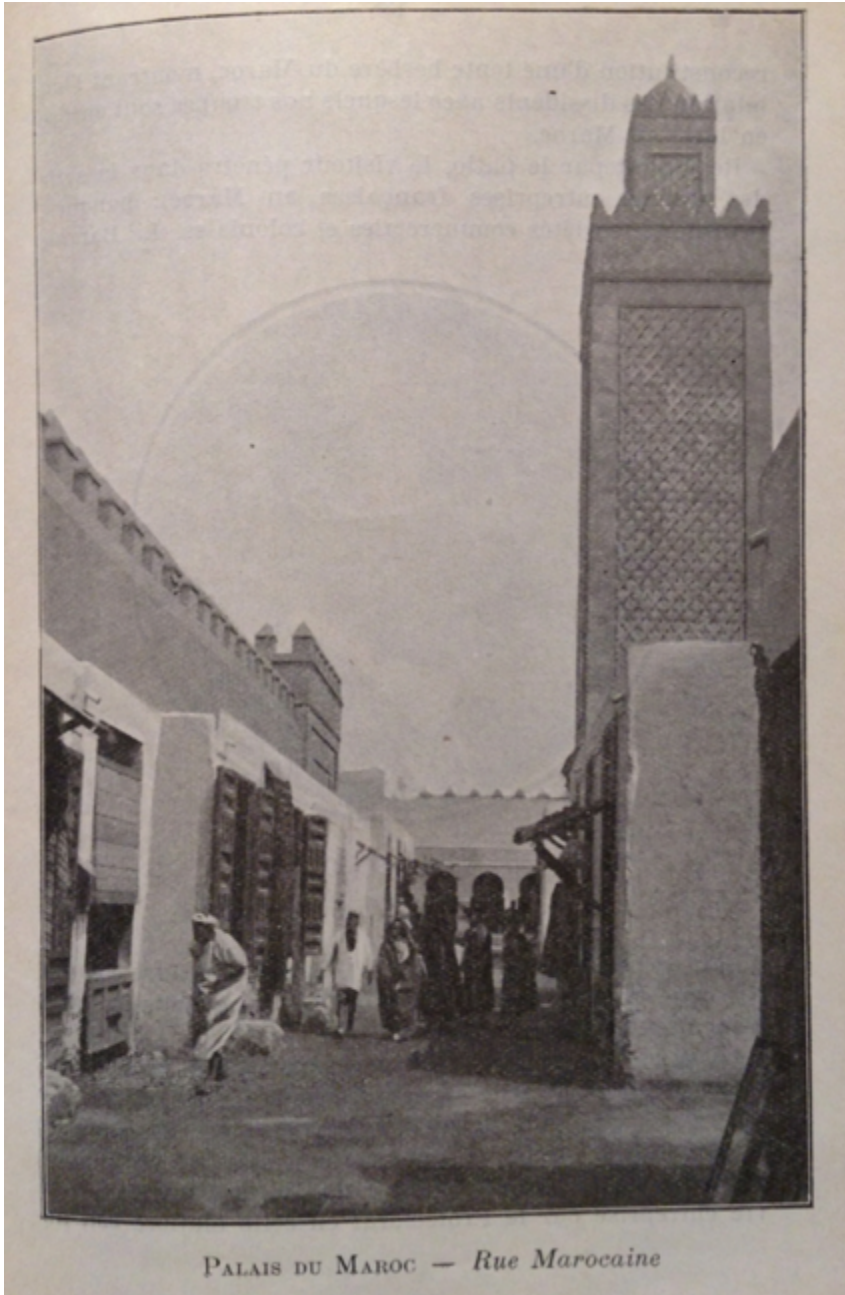


Figure 5.4: “Moroccan Street” inside of the Moroccan Palace, Marseille, 1922. *Guide officiel*, 127.

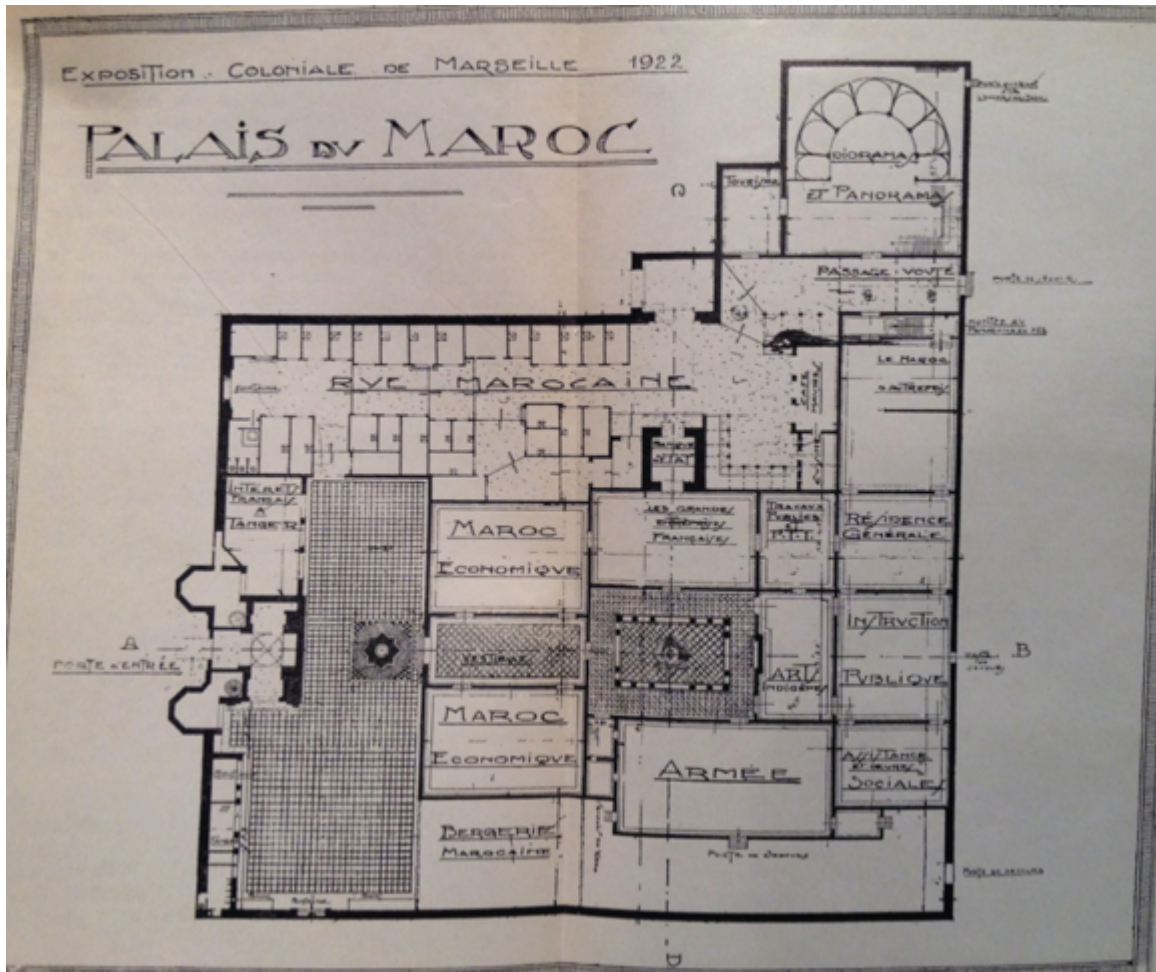


Figure 5.5: Schematic map of the Moroccan Palace for the Exposition nationale coloniale, Marseilles, 1922. *Guide officiel*, 129.



Figure 5.6: “Marseilles Exposition coloniale 1922, Grand Palais et Palais du Maroc.” Postcard from the author’s collection.



Figure 5.7: Map of the 1922 Exposition nationale coloniale, Marseilles. MK 6142/01-02: Expositions Coloniales, Archives de la Chambre de commerce, Marseille.



LE MARÉCHAL LYAUTEY, VISITANT L'EXPOSITION EST PHOTOGRAPHIÉ (Photo Detaille)
DANS LA COUR DU PALAIS DU MAROC

Figure 5.8: Lyautey's tent at the Moroccan Palace, Marseille, 1922. Reprinted from "Exposition Nationale Coloniale Marseille, 1922," in *Livre d'or Palmarès officiel* (Imprimerie de la Société du Palais Marseillais, 1922), 9.



Figure 5.9: Tunisian palace, Moroccan tent, and Moroccan stables at the Exposition universelle, Paris, 1867. Reprinted from Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 62.



Figure 5.10: “Plate 118: Footbridge over the Fez River in the Grand Méchouar, allowing access to the fairgrounds, October 1916”; Makhzan-style tents were erected among the exhibition pavilions at the Foire de Fès, 1916. Reprinted from Alfred Bel, *Le Maroc pittoresque, tome 1: Fès* (Paris: Georges Bertrand, 1916), n.p.



Figure 5.11: “The Sultan of the Students in front of his tent on the banks of the Fez River.” Bel, plate 77.



Figure 5.12: Lyautey and Captain Mellier exiting a tent at the Foire de Fès. Photograph, série I, "Fonds de la Sécurité," carton 51: Foire de Fès 1916 (cote I 5), Fonds Iconographiques, CADN.



Figure 5.13: The “Cage du Rogui” at the Exposition franco-marocaine, Casablanca, 1915. Roullet, 57.



Figure 5.14: Courtyard of the Moroccan Pavilion, Paris, 1931. Reprinted from *Le Livre d'Or de l'Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris 1931* (Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore Champion, 1931), 58.



Figure 5.15: Garden lined with shops inside of the Moroccan Pavilion, Paris, 1931]. *Le Livre d'Or de l'Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris 1931*, 61.



Figure 5.16: Shops in the “Jardin des Souks” of the Moroccan Pavilion, Paris, 1931. Reprinted from Joseph Trillat, *L'Exposition coloniale de Paris* (Paris: Librairie des arts décoratifs, 1931), n.p.



Figure 5.17: Exterior view of the Mosquée de Paris. Photograph taken by the author, 2012.



Figure 5.18: Minaret of the Mosquée de Paris. Photograph taken by the author, 2012.



Figure 5.19: The Sultan of Morocco at the Mosquée de Paris. Photograph, Agence Meurisse, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I have argued that the French protectorate's campaign to "revitalize" Morocco's traditional cultures and craft industries should be understood as one strategy for claiming a position for Morocco—and by extension France—within competing articulations of national and cultural identities during World War I and the interwar period. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Morocco was at the heart of competition and negotiations among the major world powers, including France, Germany, Britain, and Spain. After achieving control of the larger part of Morocco and establishing its protectorate there in 1912, France spent the following decades convincing French and international audiences of its legitimacy as Morocco's "protector" and persuading Moroccans themselves, from the elites of the *makhzan* to the common population, of the benefits of allying, collaborating, and cooperating with France. I contend that it was within this international and historically contingent context of imperial politics in a time of world war that the French protectorate's official engagement with Morocco's visual and material cultures led to the formulation of a proto-national "Moroccan art" and "Moroccan heritage."

Secondly, I argue that the French protectorate's cultural and political campaign in Morocco required the invention of a "Moroccan heritage." While practices of architectural restoration, collecting, and the mobilization of meaningful cultural objects for symbolic ends existed in pre-protectorate Morocco, it was during the colonial period that such practices were brought together for the purposes of defining and promoting a

collective “Moroccan” identity based around the perceived existence of a specific cultural history and material patrimony shared among Moroccan citizens and their legitimate leaders. The making of “Moroccan heritage” as such was realized during the French protectorate through an extensive representational campaign oriented towards the symbolic, material, and visual reorganization of the country’s artistic and cultural landscape. The image of Moroccan culture and heritage projected to the international community was central to the French protectorate’s own political legitimacy, inspiring Resident-General Lyautey and his collaborators’ to work toward introducing European technologies and institutions of cultural representation including the museum, art and cultural expositions, and state-managed sites for the production of crafts and architecture in Morocco.

While the early French protectorate regime strove to manage the material and symbolic contents of Morocco’s cultural “heritage,” projecting a carefully curated image of Morocco to an international audience, to do so, it also required displays of local consent on the part of Moroccan actors—from representatives of the elite and ruling classes in Morocco, who participated in state ceremonies and delegations abroad, to the artists and craftsmen who created the artworks and objects that represented Moroccan culture in international exhibitions and the commercial market. In this way, the constitution of “heritage” as an object and way of seeing in the French protectorate of Morocco involved ongoing processes of cross-cultural translation and negotiation taking place around the interpretation of cultural objects, practices, places, and their histories. Ultimately the making of heritage in Morocco was a project involving extended debates over such problems as the meaning of “tradition” and “modernity,” which took place

around two major centers—France and Morocco—and, at the same time, involved complex and varied routes of intellectual and commercial exchange that implicated both nations in the global stakes of identity construction during this era.

Making Morocco’s Heritage Beyond the French Protectorate

The story I have recounted in this project ends at a moment of transition. Scholars of French colonial history commonly identify the 1931 Exposition coloniale Internationale in Paris as the “swan song” of the modern French imperial project.⁴³⁹ As revealed by the presence of anti-colonial dissent at the exposition itself—in the form of pamphlets distributed at the fair describing human atrocities and destructive acts conducted in the name of colonial expansion; coalitions representing nationalist and transnational independence movements; and a counter anti-imperialist exposition organized by the French Communist Party, the Unitary General Confederation of Labor, and the Surrealists—the French imperial regime’s call for the further expansion of “Greater France” into the far reaches of the globe inspired mixed responses in France and its colonies ranging from support to skepticism to rejection.⁴⁴⁰

In Morocco, the 1930s were also marked by political and economic transition, brought on by a regime shift in the French protectorate government, the instatement of a new sultan, and the growing influence of nationalist, pan-Islamic, and anti-colonial

⁴³⁹ Catherine Hodeir and Michel Pierre, *L'exposition coloniale de 1931* (Paris: Complexes, 1992); Steven Undar, “The Colonial Exposition (1931),” in *Colonial Culture in France since the Revolution*, edited by Pascal Blanchard, et al., 209-216 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013). Gwendolyn Wright also argues the 1931 exposition was the “swan song of the associationist approach to colonial urbanism” in the French empire (Wright 1991).

⁴⁴⁰ Jody Blake, “The Truth about the Colonies, 1931: Art Indigène in Service of the Revolution,” *Oxford Art Journal* 25, no. 1 (2002), 37-58; Pascal Blanchard, “National Unity: The Right and Left “Meet” around the Colonial Exposition (1931),” in *Colonial Culture in France since the Revolution*, 217-231.

movements within the country.⁴⁴¹ It was also a dynamic era in the realm of intellectual, cultural, and artistic production, indicating the future of these practices into the mid-twentieth century and following independence. A new generation of anthropologists and researchers, both European and North African, published studies about cultural communities throughout Morocco, and a growing number of objects collected according to changing conceptions of the “ethnographic object” entered museum collections in France, Morocco, and further abroad.⁴⁴² As the protectorate’s Service des beaux-arts and Service des arts indigènes continued to develop new institutions and methodologies for artistic pedagogy, Moroccan artists persisted in experimenting with new modernist modalities and participated in cross-regional intellectual and artistic exchanges with artists in Algeria, Tunisia, and elsewhere in the French colonial world.⁴⁴³ In the years leading up to and following World War II, Morocco’s relationship with the United States also intensified, resulting in the presence of a larger American expatriate community in Morocco, as well as new networks of commercial exchange across the Atlantic, allowing

⁴⁴¹ Abdallah Arawi, *Les Origines Sociales et Culturelles du Nationalisme Marocain, 1830-1912* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1977); Sahar Bazzaz, “Reading reform beyond the state: Salwat al-Anfas, Islamic revival, and Moroccan National History,” *The Journal of North African Studies* 13, no. 1 (2008), 1-13.

⁴⁴² The Musée Permanent des Colonies established for the 1931 Exposition coloniale Internationale retained collections of Moroccan objects exhibited at the fair; further accessions of Moroccan art and ethnographic objects, including collections gifted to the museum by anthropologists and photographers working in Morocco from the 1940s through today, complemented this original group and are now held in the Musée du Quai Branly (Paris).

⁴⁴³ The history of artistic modernism in Morocco during the 1920s through 50s has received little scholarly attention to date, with art historians primarily focusing on Moroccan modernisms after independence. In *Art in the Service of Colonialism*, Irbouh discusses the protectorate’s system of drawing schools and art education through the 1950s and provides some insight into the role French female art instructors in encouraging “Western” styles of painting in their Moroccan art classes (see chapter 8). On post-independence modernist movements in Morocco, see Holiday Powers, “Moroccan Modernism: The Casablanca School (1956-1978),” Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2015.

an increasing number of Moroccan artisans and business owners to work outside of the French context and even set up shop in the United States.⁴⁴⁴

The history of art, cultural representation, and identity formation in Morocco that proceeds from the end of the interwar period into the present day would undoubtedly complement and complicate the processes of early-protectorate-era heritage-making I have explored in this dissertation. It also brings to light some of the omissions and uneven emphases, resulting from research constraints and intentional choices, in the historical account I have provided. First of all is the absence of the subaltern voice. In this project, I aimed to relocate the center of analysis from metropole to colony, attending to the divergent local and international stakes of cultural identity and heritage construction from *within* the colonial context, and thereby elucidating the complex cross-cultural negotiations that shaped cultural and political representations of Morocco, its peoples, objects, and histories in the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, this alternate perspective on twentieth-century colonialisms, Orientalizing discourse, and heritage politics from the other side of the Mediterranean is still a “view from the top.” Going forward, it would be productive to consider these “official” interventions in constructing Moroccan heritage in comparison with expressions of cultural identity and practices of heritage-making in “unofficial” contexts in Morocco, including private domestic settings, regions and communities commonly neglected by official policy and institutions, and interactions among individuals and communities mediated through meaningful cultural spaces, objects, and activities un-choreographed by the state and its institutions.

⁴⁴⁴ I begin to examine the reception of Moroccan arts in the United States during the 1930s in my working paper, “Negotiating ‘Tradition’: Doris Duke’s Shangri La and the Transnational ‘Revival’ Of Moroccan Craft And Design,” *Shangri La Working Papers in Islamic Art*, no.9 (April 2016), 1-32.

While it is challenging to access such everyday experiences through the historical archives, which tend to be written in the language and from the viewpoint of ruling or elite sectors of society, recent scholarship produced by historians and anthropologists working in Morocco demonstrates the potential for “reading against the archival grain” with the aid of ethnographic research (Boum); analyses of legal proceedings involving everyday plaintiffs and defendants such as artisans, property owners, and merchants (Holden); and attention to “alternate” historical sources including oral histories, poetry, and fragments of popular cultures documented in periodicals, posters, and other durable formats (Wyrzten).⁴⁴⁵ In a future project, I intend to draw upon the ethnographic fieldwork I conducted in Morocco from 2014-15 and which guided my central research questions and challenged my preconceptions about the French-Moroccan cultural relationship—this research included conversations with artists, museum professionals, antiques dealers, government staff, and local neighbors, as well as observations of cultural and artistic performances, exhibitions, and other expressions of identity both “official” and “unofficial”—to more comprehensively reconsider official protectorate narratives in light of their common legacy in Morocco today. I also plan to investigate the role played by communities and individuals left out of the narrative I have so far developed, including Morocco’s Jewish population and diaspora, communities in Spanish-controlled northern Morocco, and cultural producers and artists acting beyond the constraints of the protectorate administration and in concert with other “imagined communities,” including proto-nationalist movements and cross-regional exchanges

⁴⁴⁵ Boum 2013; Holden, 5-11; and Wyrzten.

among Maghrebi artists.

In restricting my analysis to the first two decades of the protectorate era in Morocco, I strove to capture a moment of the French-Moroccan cultural relationship in detail, emphasizing the historical, political, and economic contingencies of colonial and cross-cultural encounters. Even within this short chronological range, I hope to have demonstrated the dynamic negotiations over and constantly shifting parameters of concepts commonly understood to be at the heart of modern imperial discourse, including notions of artistic and cultural hierarchy, authenticity, indigeneity, tradition, and modernity. Partly resulting from Lyautey's insistence upon the "preservation" of pre-colonial political, social, and religious structures and his determined attempts to involve Moroccan actors in this preservationist project (if sometimes only in name), the early French protectorate era is especially revealing of the problems and processes of translation and mistranslation that go into the work of representing the colonized "other" (and, in turn, the imperial "self"). By examining these representational processes through the concept of heritage, I aimed to shed light upon their significance for those individuals and communities under representation.

"Heritage," as it has been defined in the contemporary field of critical heritage studies, is intimately tied to processes of communal identity construction; while the impetus and strategy for formulating certain group identities may not always come from within the "community," in order to exist, the ideal of "heritage"—and the tangible or intangible property it describes—requires some form of approval and identification on the part of its communal owners. I argue that Lyautey, the early French colonial regime, and their collaborators endeavored to legitimate the image of Moroccan culture and

heritage upon which the protectorate's political strategy relied by seeking the consent of its Moroccan constituents in this project. To achieve this kind of recognition, it was necessary for the protectorate administration to reimagine and remake the country's histories, cultures, and ways of life into objects to be seen and consumed; and, at the same time, to compel Moroccans to participate in this way of "seeing," a project that was facilitated through the introduction of museums, expositions, and other technologies of cultural exhibition to colonial Morocco. My emphasis on the essential role that Moroccans—or the "colonized" population—played as viewing *subjects* in the early French protectorate's visual regime, challenges the way we commonly think about cultural representation in the colonial setting. It also shifts the temporal focus of "heritage-making" as a global activity, suggesting that the "globalization" of heritage began long before the era of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention (1972). Indeed, the heritage-focused institutions, activities, and discourse initiated in Morocco during the first decades of the protectorate had a lasting impact on the ways heritage was understood and practiced in the country, particularly at official levels, throughout the twentieth century, a legacy that continues to shape the politics and practices of heritage-making in Morocco today.

Relocating Morocco's Cultural and Artistic Heritage

In 2011, King Muhammad VI (r. 1999-present) announced an ambitious set of plans for restructuring Morocco's museum and heritage management infrastructure. Central to this project was the creation of the Fondation Nationale des Musées (FNM), a private association that has taken over the management of national museums and some of the heritage sites (including material collections, archives, buildings, and monuments)

formerly directed by the ministry of culture.⁴⁴⁶ The king appointed the internationally–represented Moroccan artist Mehdi Qotbi to direct the foundation. According to Qotbi, the primary goals of the FNM are to raise Morocco’s museum and cultural heritage management practices to international standards and to make Moroccan museums “welcoming and attractive public spaces.”⁴⁴⁷ Through the reorganization and renovation of existing museums, as well as the construction of new museums in each of Morocco’s major cities, Qotbi hopes that the FNM will transform Moroccan museums into tourist destinations. In addition—the order of importance is yet to be determined—the FNM will reach out to the local Moroccan community of potential museum goers: “We want these places to be accessible to all Moroccans, so that they can take possession of their own culture.”⁴⁴⁸

While the renovation of Morocco’s existing national museums—the majority of which were created during the protectorate—has hardly begun (as of 2017), the FNM’s first two major projects and public reactions to them reveal a contemporary politics of heritage in Morocco that in many ways reflects tropes operating in protectorate-era representations of Moroccan history and culture. These colonial-era constructions include an emphasis upon Morocco’s medieval “golden age,” the conceptual opposition of “fine art” with “traditional craft,” and the notion of the monarchy as the source of

⁴⁴⁶ “Bulletin officiel no. 5940 du jourada II 1432 (5-5-2011); Dahir no. 1-10-21 du 14 jourada 11432 (18 avril 2011) portant promulgation de la loi no. 01-09 portant institution de la ‘Fondation nationale des musées,’” <http://adala.justice.gov.ma/production/html/Fr/liens/..%5C174770.htm> (consulted September 11, 2013).

⁴⁴⁷ Zineb Satori, “Fondation nationale des Musées: Mehdi Qotbi veut se mettre vite au travail l’inventaire du patrimoine culturel, la priorité création de musées par themes,” *L’Economiste*, published online December 21, 2011, <http://www.maghress.com/fr/leconomiste/1889779> (consulted May 5, 2013).

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid* (quoting Mehdi Qotbi).

cultural authority. At the same time, these projects introduce new critical issues shaping the construction of Moroccan heritage in the twenty-first century, particularly related to cultural diplomacy and participation in the “global” contemporary art world, on the one hand, and demands for the “democratization” of political and cultural representation in Morocco, on the other.

The first major exhibition sponsored by the FNM was *Medieval Morocco: An Empire from Africa to Spain*.⁴⁴⁹ Developed at the hands of a bi-national team of museum experts and scholars, led by commissioners Yannick Lintz of the Louvre and Bahija Simou of the Royal Library in Rabat, the exhibition was the first product and poster child for a cooperation agreement reached in 2012 between the FNM and the Louvre (fig. 6.1). *Medieval Morocco* was celebrated in the French and Moroccan presses as an event that looked both outward, presenting Morocco’s history of religious tolerance and broad cultural exchange to the world, and inward, offering the local population in Morocco a new museum experience and an unprecedented opportunity to engage with important material artifacts of its own cultural heritage.⁴⁵⁰ Most of the objects on display, in fact, had never been exhibited to the general public in Morocco, having been dispersed to Spanish, French, and other European collections or sequestered away in private, royal, and religious collections in Morocco. Even during the protectorate period, as noted in chapter 2, many of the particular categories of works featured in the exhibition—

⁴⁴⁹ The exhibition appeared first at the Louvre in Paris, from October 17, 2014 – January 19, 2015 and subsequently traveled to the Musée Mohammad VI d’art Moderne et Contemporain in Rabat from March 5 – June 2, 2015.

⁴⁵⁰ “Exposition: Le Maroc medieval, ‘un empire de l’Afrique à l’Espagne,’ au Musée Mohammed VI de Rabat du 3 mars au 3 juin 2015,” *HuffPost Maroc*, March 4, 2015, http://www.huffpostmaghreb.com/2015/03/04/maroc-medieval-mmvi_n_6800992.html (accessed September 3, 2015).

including illuminated manuscripts and the *minbar* and bronze chandelier of the Qarawiyyin mosque in Fez—had been precluded from the realm of the museum in Morocco. Reflecting the “medievalizing” rhetoric employed in French scholarship surrounding the Exposition des arts marocains of 1917, the exhibition catalog describes the medieval period as having been “particularly prolific in the Maghrib, both intellectually and artistically” and pronounces that the artistic and architectural works of the era “remain at the heart of everyday and spiritual life for Moroccans.”⁴⁵¹ Outside of the context of the exhibition, the conflation of contemporary and medieval life in Morocco continues to color the language and imagery of both the tourism industry and heritage initiatives such as the ongoing UNESCO-led restoration of the Fez medina.⁴⁵²

Medieval Morocco, in both its intellectual and logistical formation, also indicates the continuing centrality of the Moroccan monarchy in formulations of Moroccan cultural heritage and identity. This conception was expressed in the exhibition’s thematic organization according to ruling dynasties, from the Idrisids to the Marinids (a structure that also reflects traditions in the discipline of art history), as well as in its emphasis on elite and royal material culture. The institution behind the exhibition in Morocco, the FNM, also reflects the central role the current monarch has taken on for himself as a

⁴⁵¹ Claire Déléry and Bulle Tuil Leonetti, “Introduction à l’Exposition,” in *Le Maroc médiéval: Un Empire de l’Afrique à l’Espagne*, edited by Yannick Lintz et al., 26-28 (Paris: Hazan and Musée du Louvre, 2014), 26.

⁴⁵² In contrast to the Rabat UNESCO inscription, the selection criteria for the Fez medina, the first site in Morocco to be included in UNESCO’s list in 1981, emphasized the area’s medieval architecture and the persistence of its “traditional” environment *in spite of* changes wrought by more recent histories: “[The Fez medina] not only represents an outstanding architectural, archaeological and urban heritage, but also transmits a lifestyle, skills and a culture that persist and are renewed despite the diverse effects of the evolving modern societies.” UNESCO, “Medina of Fez,” <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/170> (accessed January 10, 2016).

patron of artistic and cultural production in the country. Through his creation of the foundation, King Muhammad VI transferred custodianship of Morocco's museum collections from the ministry of culture, an administration associated with other non-royal government branches that make up the constitutional monarchy, to a private not-for-profit organization led by close associates and friends of the king.⁴⁵³ From the time I first heard about the FNM's other major project, the construction of a new museum of modern and contemporary art in Rabat, to the institution's inauguration three years later in late 2014, the museum's name had changed from the Moroccan Museum of Contemporary and Modern Art to its current form, the Mohammad VI Museum of Contemporary and Modern Art: the royal person is even present in the interior design of the museum, which features a massive portrait of the king in its central atrium (fig. 6.2).

The authors contributing to Bourqia and Miller's volume, *In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power, and Politics in Morocco*, argue that the longevity of the monarchy in Morocco lies in the representational intersections of political authority and popular culture through which it has been imagined and continually reincorporated into changing historical circumstances.⁴⁵⁴ In the service of its own political legitimacy in Morocco, the early French protectorate government sought to reproduce and manipulate

⁴⁵³ Through conversations with staff members of the museums and of the ministry of culture in 2012, I learned that many cultural heritage professionals planned to leave their positions in response to the changes proposed by the FNM. When first announced, the foundation also experienced harsh criticism from certain art and culture organizations who expressed concern for what they refer to as the "privatization of cultural heritage." The Association des Lauréats de l'Institut national des sciences de l'archéologie et du patrimoine (ALINSAP), for example, argued that the transfer of cultural heritage governance from the Moroccan government (the ministry of culture) to a private "association" is unethical because heritage is a public good that, therefore, should be managed by a public institution. "Le patrimoine en gestion déléguée?" *Le Temps*, September 4, 2009, <http://www.maghress.com/fr/letemps/13148> (consulted September 1, 2012).

⁴⁵⁴ Bourqia and Miller 1999.

these points of cultural reference through the body and image of the sultan.⁴⁵⁵ In Morocco today, the figure of the king as cultural authority is not simply imposed upon the local population through statements like the renaming of the Rabat museum; on the contrary, the king and his image play an important role in practices and expressions of cultural, religious, and family heritage for many Moroccans at a very personal level. The display of the king's portrait in the museum references a widespread popular practice of displaying photographs of the royal family, not only in governmental institutions but also in homes, restaurants, and even merchants' stands in the medina. Reproduced portraits of the king also function as objects of commemoration or exchange in relation to religious activities, as my neighbor in Rabat explained to me when she showed me the laminated royal portraits she had collected through visits to different sacred sites during religious holidays. I came to learn that this practice involves an act of self-representation in which the owners of the displayed portraits present meaningful information about their families, their businesses, and themselves through the particular image they select: in various settings in Morocco I encountered images of the king participating in national religious festivals, family portraits of the nuclear royal family, and the king straddling a jet ski (an image often reproduced as the digital background on smartphones).⁴⁵⁶

The perception of the monarch as the source of cultural authority in Morocco also extends to his role as patron of the arts. While King Muhammad VI has been described as an enlightened connoisseur and benefactor of “culture” and “the arts,” a statement

⁴⁵⁵ Burke 2014 (introduction).

⁴⁵⁶ Some individuals prefer to keep portraits of the current king's predecessors, Kings Hassan II (r. 1961-1999) and Muhammad V (r. 1927-53, 1955-57, and 1957-1961): one shop owner explained to me that he continued to display a portrait of King Muhammad V because his father had received an honorary title from the former king.

often intended to position him in contrast to the oppressive regime led by his father Hassan II, Morocco's sultans and kings have long been associated in different ways with artistic and architectural patronage.⁴⁵⁷ For many of the artisans with whom I spoke in the course of my fieldwork in Morocco, to be associated with royal architectural projects and artistic commissions was an achievement valued far beyond the actual compensation they might receive. In my visits to artisans' studios and shops, the conversations would often begin with a show-and-tell of certificates, photographs, and other ephemera documenting interactions with palace and government officials or royal validation of their work through important commissions and awards. Among the small community of artisans and shop owners who gathered at the end of the Rue des Consuls in Rabat's medina (and who served as my "informants" on countless topics ranging from the history of the neighborhood to the correct way to grill fresh sardines), a particular two-volume book published by King Hassan II's chief royal architect in the 1970s had become a legendary source of knowledge about Morocco's "traditional arts" (funun 'al-taqlidiyya), so much so that I heard of it from several individuals on separate occasions.⁴⁵⁸ When I finally checked the volumes out of the library and brought them to Abdelaziz al-Zwaq, a specialist in wood painting with whom I spent many hours talking and learning to paint, he quickly flipped through the books' pages and, to the delight of the small crowd that had gathered around, located several photographs of himself as a ten-year-old child

⁴⁵⁷ An article in the popular Moroccan magazine *Telquel* noted that with the establishment of the FNM, King Mohammad VI "evoked for the first time the importance of culture in Moroccan society," affirming that "it constituted an important catalyst for creativity, innovation, spiritual renewal, and the affirmation of national identity." Meryem Saadi, "Enquête: Le Roi artiste," *Telquel*, March 25, 2013. (consulted April 9, 2013).

⁴⁵⁸ The book in question was, André Paccard, *Traditional Islamic Craft in Moroccan Architecture*, 2 vols. (Saint-Jorioz, France: Atelier 74, 1974, 1979 [in French], 1980 [in English]).

working on the ceiling decoration of the Marrakech Palace.⁴⁵⁹ Later on, Abdelaziz would recount stories to me about other royal commissions in which he participated, including the decoration of a palace outside of Paris for which the king had employed a team of Moroccan artisans, sending them to France to work under what seem to have been quite austere conditions. Despite the evidently inadequate compensation he received from the palace for his work throughout his career, Abdelaziz was quick to point out to me that the conditions for artisans in Morocco had been much more favorable under King Hassan II, arguing that the current king had so far failed to live up to his father's patronage of the country's architectural traditions.

The contrast between Abdelaziz's impression of King Muhammad VI as uninterested in royal artistic patronage and the image of him as the "artist king" disseminated in the national press exposes the discord that exists among official and unofficial notions of heritage in the country. From the perspective of many artisans, traditional crafts in Morocco are at risk. Often this uncertain future is attributed to the economy: when I met Muhammad Hariky, a potter who inherited his trade from his father and grandfather before him, he reminisced about the busloads of tourists who would inundate his shop in the Oulja Pottery Complex (Salé) in the 1980 and 90s, a dwindling phenomenon that he saw disappear after "la crise" (or global economic downturn of 2006-2008).⁴⁶⁰ Others cite a lack of governmental support for craft education: Mr. Kadir, who makes and sells objects of wood marquetry from a studio within the Dar Batha Museum complex in Fez, argued that the government must provide more funding

⁴⁵⁹ The following comes from conversations with Abdulaziz al-Zwaq in Rabat between September 2014 and April 2015.

⁴⁶⁰ Personal interview with Muhammad Hariky, Oulja Pottery Complex, Salé (October 22, 2014).

and official support for artistic training or else the Moroccan youth and even children of artisans, like his grandson, would continue to be driven towards other, more financially feasible careers.⁴⁶¹ Kadiry's own father had worked at the Dar Batha Museum complex during the late protectorate period among a lively community of artisans supported by the Service des Arts et Métiers Marocaines (a successor of the SAI), working closely with the museum's former director, Marcel Vicaire (1893-1976).⁴⁶² In part, these narratives of the immanent demise of traditional crafts in Morocco echo tropes repeated during the early protectorate era and still common in craft discourse today.⁴⁶³ These artists' concerns may also relate to a noticeable relocation of Morocco's artistic identity at official levels from the realm of "traditional crafts" towards the "fine arts" supported by the contemporary global art market.

King Muhammad VI's patronage of a museum for modern and contemporary arts is a highly symbolic gesture indicating the cultural future the monarchy and its supporters envision for Morocco. Building upon a discursive structure established in the colonial era (in protectorate Morocco as much as in other regions of the world concurrently experiencing the effects of colonial "modernizing" campaigns), the conceptual distinction between traditional crafts and fine arts has continued to shape cultural dialogue in Morocco and elsewhere, revealing underlying social, economic, and political

⁴⁶¹ Personal interview with Mr. Kadiry, Dar Batha Museum, Fez (May 20, 2013).

⁴⁶² Marcel Vicaire, director of Dar Batha Museum from 1924-1945 and director of the Service des Arts et Métiers Marocaines from 1946-1956, and Kadiry's father became friends through a shared interest in miniature painting. As of May 2013, one of Kadiry's paintings, purchased for the museum by Vicaire, was still hanging in the Dar Batha Museum.

⁴⁶³ Orit Ouaknine-Yekutieli, "Narrating a Pending Calamity: Artisanal Crisis in the Medina of Fes, Morocco." *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. 47 (2015), 109-129.

transformations. Jules Borély's questioning of the "indigeneity" of the traditional craft industries supported by the SAI in 1928, as well as his proposition for the figurative arts as a replacement (chapter 4), remains relevant in Morocco's current artistic landscape: while some of the contemporary artists featured in the Musée Mohammad VI grapple with the legacy of their country's traditional craft culture in their own conceptual works, craft production in Morocco is increasingly relegated to the realm of "tourist art" and excluded from the field of viable "contemporary" artistic expression. Nevertheless, at this point in time Rabat's contemporary and modern art museum welcomes mostly foreign and socio-economically elite Moroccan visitors; and, on the other side of the city, the Mohammad V Mausoleum, itself a monument to King Hassan's II formidable capacity to put to work Morocco's master artisans, hosts a continuous swarm of Moroccan visitors from all sectors of society throughout the year (fig. 6.3).⁴⁶⁴

Heritage-making in Morocco today inspires many of the same questions I began to examine in this dissertation. Who owns cultural heritage, and how is cultural ownership and authority expressed through the symbolic and real mobilization of material objects, images, and local knowledge(s)? For whom is heritage "preserved," and what are the relationships between the past, present, and future that are envisioned in calls for heritage preservation? How can the concept of heritage account for historical change and cultural innovation? Here, I raise another set of questions: can heritage-making be an inclusive project, and what would "heritage" look like beyond the

⁴⁶⁴ Upon discovering my interest in Moroccan art, the family that hosted me during a trip to Morocco in 2013 promptly brought me an album of photographs documenting their first visit to the mausoleum. Located across from the unfinished twelfth-century minaret commissioned by Sultan Yacub al-Mansour (called the "Tour Hassan"), the Mohammad V Mausoleum was completed in 1971 under the patronage of King Hassan II; it now contains the tombs of Mohammad V, Hassan II, and his brother Prince Abdallah.

parameters of nationalisms and other structures of political dominance? In 2006, anthropologist and former director of the Museum of Marrakech, Sakina Rharib, identified a “lack of a genuine political willingness [in Morocco] to inscribe the museum, and cultural heritage in general, on the plan for a modern and democratic society.”⁴⁶⁵ Whether the FNM and its promises of heritage “democratization” in Morocco will come to fruition is yet to be seen. So far the foundation has exhibited a lack of transparency in its activities—in 2015 several museum curators of institutions formerly managed by the ministry of culture revealed to me that large portions of their collections had been suddenly relocated by the FNM without any indication as to where and when they would reappear—and this ambiguity has furthered impressions of the exclusivity of “art” and “culture” for some Moroccans. Additionally, for some people, the sudden appearance of never-before-seen precious cultural objects from Morocco’s royal library and collections in the *Medieval Morocco* exhibition supported preexisting speculations about the wealth of cultural “treasures” hidden away from the public behind palace walls. Finally, that the king’s and the FNM’s activities seem to be directed first of all to an international and, in particular, French audience—as suggested in the relationship between the Louvre and FNM, new plans for the construction of a Moroccan Cultural Center in Paris, and Qotbi’s description of *Medieval Morocco* as the “message of an enlightened Islam in these agitated times...and of a Morocco marked by tolerance, diversity, openness, and respect for others”—once again brings to light the divergent local and global stakes of national heritage projects. What might a heritage shared between France and Morocco (or among Morocco, France, and the global community) look like in the twenty-first century?

⁴⁶⁵ Rharib 2006.

Images:



Figure 6.1: Visitors entered the *Medieval Morocco* exhibition in Rabat from the museum's central atrium through a pair of monumental doors from the Qarawiyyan mosque in Fez. Photograph courtesy of Fondation nationale des musées, 2015.



Figure 6.2: Central atrium of the Mohammad VI Musée d'art moderne et contemporain, Rabat. A large-scale photograph of King Mohammad VI dressed in a simple black shirt and square-rimmed glasses dominates the space. Photograph taken by the author, 2014.



Figure 6.3: Moroccans of all ages enjoy the Muhammad V Mausoleum's esplanade (view from the mausoleum's steps and directed outwards towards the Tour Hassan). Photograph taken by the author, 2014.

APPENDIX A

ARCHIVES CONSULTED

Archives de l'Union centrale des arts décoratifs, Bibliothèque des arts décoratifs (UCAD), Paris

Archives de la Chambre de commerce de Marseille (ACCM), Marseilles

Archives du Maroc (ADM), Rabat

Archives municipales de Marseille (AM M), Marseilles

Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM), Aix-en-Provence

Bibliothèque de l'Alcazar (BA), Marseilles

Bibliothèque de l'Institut national des sciences de l'archéologie et du patrimoine (INSAP), Rabat

Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF), Paris

Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), Rabat

Centre de l'inventaire et de la documentation du patrimoine (Archives DPC-Maroc), Rabat

Centre des archives diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN), Nantes

Département des arts de l'Islam, Musée du Louvre, Paris

Library of the Tangier American Legation Institute for Moroccan Studies (TALIM), Tangier

Musée Dar Batha, Fez

Musée Dar Jamaï, Meknes

Musée des arts décoratifs, Paris

Musée des Oudaïa, Rabat

Musée du Quai Branly, Paris

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abu-'Uksa, Wael. *Freedom in the Arab World: Concepts and Ideologies in Arabic Thought in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Abu-Lughod, Janet L. *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Abulafia, David. "Mediterraneans." In *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, edited by W.V. Harris, 64-9. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Adamson, Glenn. *The Invention of Craft*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013.
- Adham, Khaled. "Making or Shaking the State: Urban Boundaries of State Control and Popular Appropriation in Sayyida Zaynab Model Pari." In *Cairo Contested: Governance, Urban Space, and Global Modernity*, edited by Diane Singerman, 4-41. Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2009.
- Alexandre, Arsène. *Réflexions sur les arts et les industries d'art en Algérie*. Alger: Édition de l'Akhbar, 1907.
- Amster, Ellen. "'The Harem Revealed' and the Islamic-French Family: Aline de Lens and a French Woman's Orient in Lyautey's Morocco." *French Historical Studies* 32, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 279-312.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. Revised edition. London and New York: Verso, 2006. First published 1983 by Verso.
- Annuaire commercial et industriel de la Foire de Lyon. *Livre d'or des participants*. Lyon: A. Cellier, 1916.
- Arawi, Abdallah. *Les Origines sociales et culturelles du nationalisme marocain, 1830-1912*. Paris: F. Maspero, 1977.
- Arrif, Abdelmajid. "Le Paradoxe de la construction du fait patrimonial en situation coloniale: Le cas du Maroc." *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, no. 73/74 (1996): 153-66.
- Baldoui, Jean. "L'Evolution." *Nord-Sud: Revue mensuelle illustré d'informations marocaines*, edition hors-séries: Les arts indigènes (1934): 56.

- Barringer, Tim and Tom Flynn, eds. *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Bâtir: Revue marocaine d'architecture*. Supplement illustrée de "L'Entreprise au Maroc," nouvelle série, 11^{me} année, no. 2 (April 1932).
- Bayoumi, Moustafa. "Shadows and Light: Colonial Modernity and the *Grand Mosquée* of Paris." *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 13, no. 2 (Fall 2000): 267-292.
- Bazzaz, Sahar. "Reading Reform Beyond the State: Salwat al-Anfas, Islamic Revival, and Moroccan National History." *The Journal of North African Studies* 13, no. 1 (2008): 1-13.
- Beaulieu, Jill and Mary Roberts, eds. *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Béguin, François, ed. *Arabisances: Décor architectural et tracé urbain en Afrique du Nord, 1830-1950*. Paris: Dunod, 1983.
- Behdad, Ali. "The Power-Ful Art of Qajar Photography: Orientalism and (Self)-Orientalizing in Nineteenth-Century Iran." *Iranian Studies* 34, no. 1/4, Qajar Art and Society (2001): 141-151.
- Bel, Alfred. *Le Maroc pittoresque, tome 1: Fès*. Paris: Georges Bertrand, 1916.
- . *Les Industries de la céramique à Fès*. Alger: J. Carbonel, 1918.
- Benjamin, Roger. *Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880-1930*. Berkeley: University of California, 2003.
- Bernasek, Lisa. "Representation and the Republic: North African Art and Material Culture in Paris." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2007.
- . "The Taste for Moroccan Arts in Paris, 1917-2006." In *Middle East Studies Association Annual Conference, Boston, US, 18 - 21 Nov 2006*. <http://eprints.soton.ac.uk/181405/> (consulted July 7, 2015).
- Berti, Victor. "Préface." In *Livre d'or de l'Exposition franco-marocaine*, edited by Maurice Roulet, v-vi. Paris: Librairie générale et internationale, 1916.
- Betts, Raymond. *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory, 1870-1914*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961. Reprint, Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 2005.
- Blair, Sheila S. and Jonathan M. Bloom. "The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field." *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 1 (March 2003): 152-184.

- Blake, Jody. "The Truth about the Colonies, 1931: Art Indigène in the Service of Revolution." *Oxford Art Journal* 25, no.1 (2002): 37-58.
- Blanchard, Pascal. "National Unity: The Right and Left 'Meet' around the Colonial Exposition (1931)." In *Colonial Culture in France since the Revolution*, edited by Pascal Blanchard et al., 217-231. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
- Blier, Suzanne Preston. "Art Systems and Semiotics: The Question of Art, Craft and Colonial Taxonomies in Africa." *The American Journal of Semiotics* 6, no.1 (1988-89): 7-18.
- Bodemer, Margaret. "Museums, Ethnology, and the Politics of Culture in Contemporary Vietnam." Ph.D. diss., University of Hawaii, 2010.
- Boum, Aomar. *Memories of Absence: How Muslims Remember Jews in Morocco*. Stanford: Stanford University, 2013.
- Bourqia, Rahma and Susan Gilson Miller, eds. *In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power, and Politics in Morocco*. Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, 31. Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 1999.
- "Bulletin officiel no. 5940 du jourmada II 1432 (5-5-2011); Dahir no. 1-10-21 du 14 jourmada I 1432 (18 avril 2011) portant promulgation de la loi no. 01-09 portant institution de la 'Fondation nationale des musées.'" <http://adala.justice.gov.ma/production/html/Fr/liens/..%5C174770.htm> (consulted September 11, 2013).
- Burke, Edmund III. *Prelude to protectorate in Morocco: Precolonial Protest and Resistance, 1860-1912*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.
- . *The Ethnographic State: France and the Invention of Moroccan Islam*. Oakland: University of California, 2014.
- Cambon, Victor. "Les Enseignements de la foire de Fez." *La France au travail: Revue mensuelle illustrée pour l'organisation économique de la nation*, no. 1 (December 1916): 17.
- Cannadine, David. "The Context, Performance, and Meaning of Ritual: 'The British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition,' c. 1820-1977." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, 101-164. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Carey, Moya. "Buying into Iran: Regard, Repairs and Reversals for Qajar Metalwork at the V&A." Paper presented at Encounters with Islamic Art: Reception, Revival and Response Symposium, University of Michigan Museum of Art, February 1, 2014.

- Çelik, Zeynep. *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- . *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830-1914*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.
- Chadli, Mohammed. “Musée et mediations du patrimoine: La création du Musée nejjarine à Fès.” Ph.D. diss., Université de Nice, 2007.
- Chambers, Iain. *Mediterranean Crossings: The Politics of an Interrupted Modernity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.
- “Chronique moghrebine.” *France-Maroc*, no. 105 (August 1925): 1.
- Clancy-Smith, Julia. *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an Age of Migration, c.1800-1900*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.
- Clifford, James. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- . *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1997.
- Cohane, J.L. and M. Eleb. *Casablanca: Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures*. New York: The Monacelli Press, 2002.
- Cohen, Erik. “Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 15 (1988): 371-386.
- Cohn, Bernard S. “Representing Authority in British India.” In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawn and Terrence Ranger, 165-210. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Commines, Laurent de and Eric Gizard, eds. *Un âge d’or des arts décoratifs, 1814-1848*. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Un âge d’or des arts décoratifs, 1814-1848” shown at the Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, October 10 – December 30, 1991. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1991.
- Cooke, James J. “Auguste Terrier and Post World War One Morocco: 1914-1925.” *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society* 10 (1985): 231-244.
- Coombes, Annie E. *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994.

- Cooper, Frederick and Ann Laura Stoler, eds. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Cooper, Frederick. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, and History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Cornwell, Graham H. "North African Merchant Networks of the Western Mediterranean: New Approaches to the Nineteenth Century." *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa* 7, no. 3 (2016): 269-281.
- Crary, Jonathan. *Techniques of the Observer*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991.
- Crew, Spencer R. and James E. Sims. "Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, edited by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 159-175. Washington: Smithsonian Press, 1991.
- Davidson, Naomi. *Only Muslim: Embodying Islam in Twentieth-Century France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012.
- Delau, Louis. "Liminaire." *Nord-Sud: Revue mensuelle illustré d'informations marocaines*, edition hors-séries: Les arts indigènes (1934).
- Déléry, Claire and Bulle Tuil Leonetti. "Introduction à l'exposition." In *Le Maroc medieval: Un empire de l'Afrique à l'Espagne*, edited by Yannick Lintz et al., 26-28. Paris: Hazan and Musée du Louvre, 2014).
- Delpy, Alexandre. "Le Travail du cedre à Meknès." *Nord-Sud: Revue mensuelle illustré d'informations marocaines*, edition hors-séries: Les arts indigènes (1934): 44-45.
- Direction générale de l'instruction publique des beaux-arts et des antiquités. *Service des arts indigènes: Historique (1912-1930)*. Rabat: Protectorat de la république française au Maroc, 1931.
- Dirks, Nicholas. *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Dodson, Michael S. "Jaunpur, Ruination, and Conservation during the Colonial Era." In *Knowledge Production, Pedagogy, and Institutions in Colonial India*, edited by Indra Sengupta and Daud Ali, 123-146. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Duncan, Carol. *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Dutta, Arindam. *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducibility*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2006.
- Edwards, Elizabeth, Chris Gosden, and Ruth B. Phillips, eds. *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture*. Oxford: Berg, 2006.

- Edwards, Elizabeth. *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, and Museums*. Oxford: Berg, 2001.
- Ellis, Marie-Therese Cecilia Ellis. "Empire or Umma: Writing Beyond the Nation in Moroccan Periodicals." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2007.
- El Malti, Mohammed. "The Architecture of Colonialism, Morocco, 1912-1932: An Inquiry into the Determinants of French Colonial Architecture." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1983.
- Erzini, Nadia and Stephen Vernoit. "Imari Porcelain in Morocco." *Muqarnas* 26 (2009): 161-179.
- Erzini, Nadia. "Administration in French North Africa and the Growth of Islamic Art History." In *Discovering Islamic Art*, edited by Stephen Vernoit, 71-84. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000.
- . "The Survival of Textile Manufacture in Morocco in the Nineteenth Century." In *Islamic Art in the 19th Century: Tradition, Innovation, and Eclecticism*, edited by Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Stephen Vernoit, 157-178. Boston: Brill, 2006.
- Etter, Anne-Julie. "Antiquarian Knowledge and Preservation of Indian Monuments at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century." In *Knowledge Production, Pedagogy, and Institutions in Colonial India*, edited by Indra Sengupta and Daud Ali, 65-95. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- "L'Exposition d'art marocain." *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée*, no. 7 (July 1917): 34-35.
- Exposition franco-marocaine de Casablanca: Rapport général et rapports des sections*. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1918.
- Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes: Rapport général*. 9 vols. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1925. Reprinted New York: Garland, 1977.
- "Exposition: Le Maroc medieval, 'un empire de l'Afrique à l'Espagne,' au Musée Mohammed VI de Rabat du 3 mars au 3 juin 2015." *HuffPost Maroc*, March 4, 2015. http://www.huffpostmaghreb.com/2015/03/04/maroc-medieval-mmvi_n_6800992.html (consulted September 3, 2015).
- Exposition nationale coloniale, Marseille 1922: Guide officiel*. Marseilles: Société du petit marseillais, 1922.
- Font-Réaulx, Dominique de, ed. *Delacroix: Objets dans la peinture, souvenir du Maroc*. Paris: Passage and Editions du musée du Louvre, 2015.
- Foster, Hal, ed. *Vision and Visuality*. Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1988.

- Frémaux, Jacques. "La France, 'puissance musulmane': Enjeux culturels et politiques (1880-1920). In *Purs décors?: Arts de l'Islam, regards du XIXe siècle*, edited by Rémi Labrusse, 24-31. Paris: Musée du Louvre éditions, 2007.
- Froidevaux, Henri. "L'Exposition d'art marocain au Pavillon de Marsan: Ses enseignements historiques." *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* (1917): 331-348.
- Froissart, Rosella. "Socialization of the Beautiful and Valorization of the Useful: The Decorative Arts in France, from the Utopias of 1848 to Art Nouveau." *West 86th* 21, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2014): 69-101.
- Gallotti, Jean. "Les Arts indigènes au Maroc." *Art et décoration* (1919): 80.
- . "Les Industries d'art indigène en 1913." Printed in four issues of *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée* beginning with no. 82 (September 1923) and ending with no. 87 (February 1924).
- . "Les Métiers d'art au Maroc." *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée*, no. 5 (May 15, 1917): 8-19.
- . *Le Jardin et la maison arabes au Maroc*. Paris: Editions Albert Lévy, 1926.
- Girard, Muriel. "Invention de la tradition et authenticité sous le protectorat au Maroc." *Socio-anthropologie* 19 (2006). <https://socio-anthropologie.revues.org/563> (consulted September 23, 2015).
- Godin, Pierre. "Avant propos." In *Réception à l'hotel de ville de sa majesté Moulay Youssef, Sultan du Maroc, inauguration de l'Institut musulman et de la mosquée*, edited by Renée Weiss, xxi-xxvi. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1927.
- Gottreich, Emily. *The Mellah of Marrakesh: Jewish and Muslim Space in Morocco's Red City*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Goulven, J. "L'Histoire de la céramique à Safi." *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée*, no. 102 (May 1925): 83-4.
- Graburn, Nelson. *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- Graham, B., G. J. Ashworth, et al. "The Uses and Abuses of Heritage." *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*, edited by G. Corsane, 26-37. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Graves, Margaret S. "'A Certain Barbaric Originality': Moroccan Pottery as Viewed by British Travel Writers of the Nineteenth Century." *The Journal of North African Studies* 12, no. 4 (2007): 501-516.

- . “Feeling Uncomfortable in the Nineteenth Century.” *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (June 2012): 1-27.
- Griffel, R. “De la Foire aux souqs: Méthode et psychologie.” *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée*, no. 2 (January 1917): 8.
- Gsell, Stéphane. *Exposition d’art musulman (Médersa d’Alger), notice sommaire des collections exposées*. Alger-Mustapha: Imprimerie Algérienne, 1905.
- . *Histoire ancienne de l’Afrique du nord*. 8 vols. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1913-1929.
- Guha-Thakurta, Tapati. *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Hackforth-Jones, Jocelyn and Mary Roberts, eds. *Edges of Empire: Orientalism and Visual Culture*. Maiden, MA: Blackwell, 2005.
- Harvey, David C. “Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning, and the Scope of Heritage Studies.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7, no. 4 (2001): 319-338.
- Herriot, Edouard. “L’Ordre dans la création: L’Oeuvre du général Lyautey au Maroc.” *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée* (October 1916, “hors de series”): 1.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hodeir, Catherine and Michel Pierre. *L’Exposition coloniale de 1931*. Paris: Complexes, 1992.
- Hoffman, Katherine E. “Purity and Contamination: Language Ideologies in French Colonial Native Policy in Morocco.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, no. 3 (July 2008): 724-752.
- Hoisington, William A. *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- Holden, Stacy E. “The Legacy of French Colonialism: Preservation in Morocco’s Fez Medina.” *APT Bulletin* 39: 4 (2008): 5-11.
- Holtorf, Cornelius. “The Heritage of Heritage.” *Heritage and Society*, no. 2 (Fall 2012): 153-174.
- Hooper-Greenhill, Elaine. *Museums and Shaping Knowledge*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.

- Housefield, James E. "Moroccan Ceramics and the Geography of Invented Traditions." *Geographical Review* 87, no. 3 (July 1997): 401-407.
- Hume, David. *Tourism Art and Souvenirs: The Material Culture of Tourism*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Hunter, Robert F. "Promoting Empire: The Hachette Tourist in French Morocco, 1919-36." *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 4 (2007): 579-591.
- Irbouh, Hamid. *Art in the Service of Colonialism: French Art Education in Morocco, 1912-1956*. London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2005.
- Jay, Martin. "Scopic Regimes of Modernity." In *Vision and Visuality*, edited by Hal Foster, 3-23. Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1988.
- Journal Officiel, Exposition coloniale, Marseille 1922, 5me année, no. 52 (April 1922).*
- Kafas, Samir. "De l'Origine et de l'idée de musée au Maroc." In *Le Patrimoine culturel marocain*, edited by Caroline Gaultier-Kurhan, 39-55. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2003.
- Kasfir, Sidney Littlefield. "African Art and Authenticity: A Text with a Shadow." *African Arts* 25, no. 2 (April 1992): 40-53, 96-97.
- Koechlin, Raymond. "L'Art marocain." *L'Art et les artistes*, numéro spécial: "Le Maroc artistique" (1917): 7-18.
- . *Une Exposition d'art marocain*. Extrait de la *Gazette des beaux-arts* (July-September 1917): 6.
- La Nézière, Joseph de. "Notre Protectorat sur l'art marocain." *L'Art et les artistes*, numéro spécial: "Le Maroc artistique" (1917): 47-51.
- . *La Décoration marocaine*. Paris: Librairie des arts décoratifs, 1924.
- Lamali, Boujemâa. "Les Poteries de Safi et leur renovation (extrait d'une conférence donnée à Rabat, le 23 janvier 1934)." *Nord-Sud: Revue mensuelle illustré d'informations marocaines*, édition hors-séries: Les arts indigènes (1934): 13.
- Lamzah, Assia. "The Impact of the French protectorate on Cultural Heritage Management in Morocco: The Case of Marrakesh." Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008.
- Landau, Paul S. and Deborah D. Kaspin, eds., *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002.

- Langham, Eric and Darren Barker. "Spectacle and Participation: A New Heritage Model from the UAE." In *Cultural Heritage in the Arabian Peninsula: Debates, Discourses and Practices*, edited by Karen Exell and Trinidad Rico, 85-98. Surrey, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014.
- Laprade, Albert. "Les Influences possibles du Maroc sur l'art français." *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée*, no. 5 (May 15, 1917): 37-38.
- Leclerc, Charles René. "Le Maroc à Vincennes." *Le Livre d'or de l'Exposition coloniale internationale de Paris 1931*. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore Champion, 1931: 58.
- Lichtenberger, André. "Pourquoi une foire à Fez." *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée* (October 10, 1916, "hors de series"): 42-45.
- Lingelbach, W.E. "Historical Investigation and the Commercial History of the Napoleonic Era." *The American Historical Review* 19, no. 2 (January 1914): 257-281.
- Lods, Adolphe. "Éloge funèbre de M. Alfred Bel, correspondant de l'Académie." *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* 89, no. 1 (1945): 136-142.
- Lorcin, Patricia M.E. "Rome and France in Africa: Recovering Colonial Algeria's Latin Past." *French Historical Studies* 25, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 295-329.
- Lyautey, Hubert. "Inauguration du mihrab de la Mosquée de Paris, le 19 octobre 1922." In *Paroles d'action: Madagascar, Sud-Oranais, Oran, Maroc (1900-1926)*, 369-374. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1927.
- Marçais, Georges. *Manuel d'art musulman: L'Architecture, Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, Sicile*. Paris: Editions Auguste Picard, 1926/7.
- Marcilhac, Félix. *La Vie et l'oeuvre de Jacques Majorelle: 1886-1962*. Courbevoie, Paris: ACR Edition, 1988.
- Marling, Jessica M. *Across Legal Lines: Jews and Muslims in Modern Morocco*. New Haven, C.T. and London: Yale University Press, 2016.
- "Le Maroc à l'Exposition des arts décoratifs." *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée*, no. 101 (April 1925): 79-80.
- Marye, Georges. "L'Exposition d'art musulman (premier article)." *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 3rd series, no. 10 (1893): 490-99.
- Maxwell, Anne. *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' and the Making of European Identities*. London: Leicester University Press, 1999.

- Meier, Prita. "Authenticity and its Modernist Discontents: The Colonial Encounter and African and Middle Eastern Art History." *The Arab Studies Journal* 18, no.1, "Visual Arts and Art Practices in the Middle East" (Spring 2010): 12-45.
- Migeon, Gaston et al. *L'Exposition des arts musulmans, catalogue descriptive*. Paris: Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1903.
- Migeon, Gaston. "L'Exposition des arts musulmans a l'Union centrale des arts decoratifs." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd series, no. 29 (1903): 351-68.
- . *Manuel d'art musulman: Les arts plastiques et industriels*. Vol. 2. Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et fils, 1907.
- Miller, Susan G. *A History of Modern Morocco*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Mirzoeff, Nicholas. "On Visuality." *Journal of Visual Culture* 5, no. 1 (2006): 53-79.
- Mitchell, Timothy. "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order." In *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, edited by Donald Preziosi, 455-472. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- . *Colonising Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California, 1991.
- Mokhiber, James. "Le Protectorat dans la peau: Prosper Ricard and the 'Native Arts' in French Colonial Morocco, 1899-1952." In *Revisiting the Colonial Past in Morocco*, edited by Driss Maghraoui, 257-284. London: Frank Cass/Journal of North African Studies, 2013.
- Morton, Patricia A. *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000.
- . "A Study in Hybridity: Madagascar and Morocco at the 1931 Colonial Exposition." *Journal of Architectural Education* 52, no. 2 (Nov. 1998): 76-86.
- Necipoglu, Gülru. "L'Idée de décor dans les régimes de visualité islamiques." In *Purs décor?: Arts de l'Islam, regards du XIXe siècle*, edited by Rémi Labrusse, 10-23. Paris: Musée du Louvre Editions, 2007.
- Nicholas, Claire. "Of Texts and Textiles...: Colonial Ethnography and Contemporary Moroccan Material Heritage." *Journal of North African Studies* 19, no. 3 (2014): 390-412.
- Ouaknine-Yekutieli, Orit. "Narrating a Pending Calamity: Artisanal Crisis in the Medina of Fes, Morocco." *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 47 (2015): 109-129.

- Oulebsir, Nabila. *Les Usages du patrimoine: Monuments, musées et politique coloniale en Algérie, 1830-1930*. Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2004.
- Paccard, André. *Traditional Islamic Craft in Moroccan Architecture*. 2 vols. Saint-Jorioz, France: Atelier 74, 1974, 1979 (in French), 1980 (in English).
- “La Participation du Maroc à l'Exposition coloniale.” *Le Petit Marseillais*, April 18, 1919.
- “Le Patrimoine en gestion déléguée?” *Le Temps*, September 4, 2009.
<http://www.maghress.com/fr/letemps/13148> (consulted September 1, 2012).
- Paydar, Niloo Imami and Ivo Grammet, eds. *The Fabric of Moroccan Life*. Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 2002.
- Pennell, C.R. “Makhzan and Siba in Morocco: An Examination of Early Modern Attitudes.” In *Tribe and State: Essays in Honour of David Montgomery Hart*, edited by E. George Joffe and C.R. Pennell, 159-80. Cambridgeshire, UK: Middle East and North Africa Studies Press, 1991.
- . *Morocco Since 1830: A History*. New York: New York University Press, 2000.
- . *Morocco from Empire to Independence*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2003.
- Phillips, Ruth B. and Christopher B. Steiner. *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Picton, John. “Review of *The Invention of Tradition* by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 52, 1 (1989): 202.
- Pieprzak, Katarzyna. *Imagined Museums: Art and Modernity in Postcolonial Morocco*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- Powers, Holiday. “Moroccan Modernism: The Casablanca School (1956-1978).” Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2015.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Prost, Henri. “L'Urbanisme au Maroc.” In *La Renaissance du Maroc: Dix ans de protectorat*, 361-394. Rabat: Résidence générale de la République française au Maroc, 1922.
- Rabinow, Paul. “France in Morocco: Technocosmopolitanism and Middling Modernism.” *Assemblage*, no. 17 (1992): 52-57.

- . *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Boston: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989). Reprint University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Rapport sur les commerces français, anglais, allemand et austro-hongrois au Maroc de 1902-1913, dressé par le Contrôle de la dette*. Rabat: Résidence générale de la République française au Maroc, 1915.
- Reid, Donald Malcolm. *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Rey, Virginie. "Traditionalizing the Modern: Tunisia's Living Museums." *Arena Journal*, no. 44 (2015): 115-134.
<<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=512727600527620;res=IE LAPA>> ISSN: 1320-6567 (accessed April 5, 2016).
- Rharib, Sakina. "Taking Stock of Moroccan Museums." *Museum International* 58, issue 1-2 (2006): 97-103.
- Ricard, Prosper. "Arts indigènes et musées." In *La Renaissance du Maroc: Dix ans de protectorat*, 211-215. Rabat: Résidence générale de la République française au Maroc, 1922.
- . "Arts ruraux et arts citadins dans l'Afrique du nord." *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée*, no. 5 (May 15, 1917): 20-27.
- . "Avant-Propos." *Nord-Sud: Revue mensuelle illustré d'informations marocaines*, edition hors-séries: Les arts indigènes (1934): 3.
- . "La Région de Fès à l'Expositio franco-marocaine." In *Fès: Notice fournie par le Bureau de renseignements de Fez-ville*, 22-26, n.d. (ca. 1915).
- . "Le Service des arts indigènes." *Nord-Sud: Revue mensuelle illustré d'informations marocaines*, edition hors-séries: Les arts indigènes (1934): 6.
- . "Les Arts indigènes du Maroc et l'Amérique." *L'Afrique française: Bulletin mensuel du Comité de l'Afrique française*, no.7 (July 1933): 382-4.
- . "Les Collectionneurs." *Nord-Sud: Revue mensuelle illustré d'informations marocaines*, edition hors-séries: Les arts indigènes (1934): 55.
- . "Les Tapis de Rabat." *Nord-Sud: Revue mensuelle illustré d'informations marocaines*, edition hors-séries: Les arts indigènes (1934): 28.
- . "Une Lignée d'artisans: Les Ben Chérif de Fes." *Hespéris* 37 (1950): 11-19.

- . “L’Artisanat à la foire exposition de Fès.” *Bulletin Économique du Maroc* 1, no. 3 (January 1934): 173.
- . *Corpus des tapis marocains*. Vols. 1, *Tapis de Rabat* (1923); 2, *Tapis du moyen Atlas* (1926); 3, *Tapis du haut Atlas et du Haouz de Marrakech* (1927); and 4, *Tapis divers* (1934). Paris: Gouvernement chérifien, Protectorat de la République Française au Maroc, and Librairie orientaliste Paul Geunther.
- . *Le Maroc (Guides Bleus)*. Paris: Hachette, 1919-1954.
- Rivet, Daniel. *Lyautey et l'institution du Protectorat français au Maroc, 1912-1925*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1988.
- Roberts, Mary. *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2015.
- Rouillet, Maurice, ed. *Livre d'or de l'Exposition franco-marocaine*. Paris: Librairie générale et internationale, 1916.
- Roxburgh, David J. “Au Bonheur des Amateurs: Collecting and Exhibiting Islamic Art, ca. 1880-1910.” *Ars Orientalis* 30, Exhibiting the Middle East: Collections and Perceptions of Islamic Art (2000), 9-38.
- Saadi, Meryem. “Enquête: Le Roi artiste.” *Telquel*, March 25, 2013 (consulted April 9, 2013).
- Saint-Hilaire, Geoffrey. “La Participation du Maroc à la Foire de Lyon.” *France-Maroc*, no. 5 (May 1917): 41.
- Satori, Zineb. “Fondation nationale des musées: Mehdi Qotbi veut se mettre vite au travail l’inventaire du patrimoine culturel, la priorité création de musées par themes.” *L’Economiste*, December 21, 2011.
<http://www.maghress.com/fr/leconomiste/1889779> (consulted May 5, 2013).
- Scham, Alan. *Lyautey in Morocco: protectorate Administration, 1912-1925*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).
- Schroeter, Daniel J. *The Sultan’s Jew: Morocco and the Sephardi World*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.
- “Le Service des arts indigènes.” In *Historiques de la Direction générale de l’instruction publique, des beaux-arts et des antiquités (1912-1930)*, 145-61. Rabat: Protectorat de la République française au Maroc, 1931.
- Shaw, Wendy. *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003.

- Shelton, Anthony Alan. "The Collector's Zeal: Towards an Anthropology of Intentionality, Instrumentality, and Desire." In *Colonial Collections Revisited*, edited by Pieter ter Keurs, 16-44. Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2007.
- Sherman, Daniel J. "The Arts and Sciences of Colonialism." *French Historical Studies* 23, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 707-729.
- Silverman, Raymond A., ed. *Museum as Process: Translating Local and Global Knowledges*. London and New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Skounti, Ahmed. "De la Patrimonialisation: Comment et quand les choses deviennent-elles des patrimoines?" *Hesperis-Tamuda XLV* (2010): 19-34.
- . "Le Miroir brisé: Essai sur le patrimoine culturel marocain." *Prologues, Revue maghrébine du livre* 29/30 (2004): 37-46.
- Société des grands régionaux du Maroc. *Annuaire de l'automobile et du tourisme au Maroc*. Casablanca, 1937.
- Steiner, Christopher. "Authenticity, Repetition, and Aesthetics." In *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, edited by Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, 87-103. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Tahar, Ghalia. "La Collection de negatives en plaques de verre du Musée national du Bardo: Un regard sur le patrimoine tunisien à l'époque du Protectorat." *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 151, no. 1 (2007): 89-111.
- Tharaud, Jerome et Jean Tharaud. *L'Afrique du Nord, fascicule 5, le Maroc*. Paris, Editions des Horizons de France, 1927.
- Théliol, Mylène. "Aménagement et préservation de la medina de Rabat entre 1912 et 1956." *Les Cahiers d'EMAM* (online), 22 (2014). <http://emam.revues.org/548> (consulted January 25, 2015).
- . "Le Service des beaux-arts, antiquités et monuments historiques, clef de voûte de la politique patrimoniale française au Maroc sous la résidence de Lyautey (1912-1925)." *Outre-mers* 98, no. 370-371 (2011): 185-193.
- Thomas, Nicholas. *Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1999.
- Thomasset, R. *Le Maroc*. Paris: Fernand Nathan, 1937.

- Tranchant de Lunel, Maurice. "Une Exposition des arts marocains." *France-Maroc: Revue mensuelle illustrée*, no. 5 (May 15, 1917): 7.
- Trillat, Joseph. *L'Exposition coloniale de Paris*. Paris: Librairie des arts décoratifs, 1931.
- Trumbull, George R. *An Empire of Facts: Colonial Power, Cultural Knowledge, and Islam in Algeria, 1870-1914*. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Ungar, Steven. "The Colonial Exposition (1931)." In *Colonial Culture in France Since the Revolution*, edited by Pascal Blanchard et al., 209-216. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). "Medina of Fez." <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/170> (consulted January 10, 2017).
- . "Rabat, Modern Capital and Historic City: A Shared Heritage." <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1401> (consulted January 10, 2017).
- . "The Criteria for Selection." <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/> (consulted January 10, 2017).
- Vigy, P. de. "Notes sur quelques armes du Musée du Dar Batha à Fès." *Hespéris* III (1923, 2^{me} trimestre): 265-274.
- Waterton, Emma and Steve Watson, eds. *Culture, Heritage, and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010.
- Weiss, René. *Réception à l'Hotel de ville de sa majesté Moulay Youssef, Sultan du Maroc, inauguration de l'Institut musulman et de la mosquée*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1927.
- Wright, Gwendolyn. *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- . "Tradition in the Service of Modernity: Architecture and Urbanism in French Colonial Policy, 1900-1930." *The Journal of Modern History* 59, no. 2 (June 1987): 291-316.
- Wyrzten, Jonathan. *Making Morocco: Colonial Intervention and the Politics of Identity*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015.