DISHARMONY OF EMPIRE: RACE AND THE MAKING OF MODERN MUSICOLOGY IN COLONIAL NORTH AFRICA

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, 2021

Urbana, Illinois

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ABSTRACT

"Disharmony of Empire: Race and the Making of Modern Musicology in Colonial North Africa" focuses on the early to mid-20th-century colonial history of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria, with a particular emphasis on Morocco during the French Protectorate period of 1912-1956. I examine the initiatives by both French and North African scholars and officials to define, study, and promote indigenous musical genres, including scholarly publications, transcriptions, compositions, conferences, and musical performance. Contentious musicological debates around Arab, Berber, and Black music and identity in North Africa were not only a lens into broader colonialist and nationalist processes, they also revealed the ongoing formulation of racialized sound worlds that impacted the political and social realms.

The dissertation is split into two parts. Part One focuses on "Colonial Musicology," and specifically on the musical projects that French officials and scholars launched in North Africa. These included concert series, conferences, musical education, radio programming, and the staging of musical exhibits in metropolitan France that claimed to represent Arab culture. Most significantly, this also included the flourishing of a vast body of musicological scholarship on North African musics, supported by colonial bodies like the Service des Arts Indigènes in the Moroccan French Protectorate. I argue that such initiatives were technologies of French colonial power and surveillance through which the French asserted expertise on Moroccan music and demonstrated their material support for Moroccan cultural preservation and renovation. I also argue that these colonialist initiatives on music were repeatedly commissioned into a project of racialization of the North African population that served colonial needs, namely the validation and reinforcement of the Arab-Berber racial paradigm, the counterbalancing of Arab and

Andalusi cultural dominance with emphasis on Berber art forms, and the minimalization or exclusion of identities and genres outside of this paradigm.

Dedicated to my grandmother, Florence Shizue Yoshizumi Matsushita (1924-2020). Grandma, I am "Dr. Matsushita" now.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are so many people to thank for helping me get through the Ph.D. program, and for helping to make me a better scholar and a better person.

First, I must thank my committee. Antoinette Burton has been an immense influence on me as a scholar and an intellectual, and as a model for how to do incredibly profound and fiercely principled work. Her mentorship over the years (down to the little things, like letting me send her my weekly work schedule to keep me on track in my final year!) has had a huge impact. Harry Liebersohn has been so generous with his time, advice, and hospitality over the years, and introduced me to excellent opportunities to work with other scholars of music, culture, and empire. I have very fond memories of our road trips to workshops at other Midwestern campuses, and of lovely gatherings with his family and friends at his house. Eric Calderwood came to my committee later in my program, but has been absolutely indispensable – as a fellow Moroccanist with an intense intellectual interest in many of the same historical questions, his feedback has enriched my dissertation immeasurably, beginning with a meeting in the improbably idyllic setting of Café Hafa in Tangier, overlooking the Bay of Tangier and Spain over mint teas in 2018. And my conversations with Marc Hertzman have always been both enjoyable and productive, and I will always appreciate his willingness to talk through both thematic questions and personal and professional decisions with true understanding and good advice.

And last but not least I must give endless thanks to my advisor, Kenneth Cuno, who is retiring just as I am graduating and thus going through his own life transition after a long and impressive career! Ken has been an advocate, mentor, editor, and friend, and I have started and ended my PhD career with him as my number one supporter. He gracefully handled my switch

from Egyptian history to Moroccan history in my third year, and continued to give excellent, and always extremely prompt, feedback on every chapter draft, and there were many. He has always been ready to talk over issues over a beer, and there have been countless trips to Crane Alley – plus several porch beers during the pandemic! I will always appreciate his dedication to his graduate students and his steady and unwavering support over the years, and I credit him with helping me get to this point.

Besides those on my committee, there has been a long list of scholars who have supported me in various ways over the years, who I list here: at the University of Illinois, Donna Buchanan, Dana Rabin, Behrooz Ghamari, Lillie Gordon, David Sepkoski, Craig Koslofsky, and Eman Saadah; at San Francisco State, Chris Chekuri, Trevor Getz, and Mohammad Salama; and at UC Davis, Omnia El Shakry, who first set me on the path to a PhD in Middle Eastern history.

Many of the workshops I've been a part of over the years saw early and rough versions of my chapters, and I must thank the participants of the following: the graduate student participants of the AIMS (American Institute of Maghrib Studies) Graduate Writing Workshop in Atlanta in 2018; the brilliant group of early career scholars at the SIAS Global Cultural Encounters Workshop in Ann Arbor in 2017; and most recently, the HRI (Humanities Research Institute) Seminar at the University of Illinois, under the excellent leadership of Antoinette Burton, Jerry Dávila, and Nancy Castro, and where I was able to share my final chapter in the push to the finish. I must also thank the participants of my very first conference ever: the "Engaging & Articulating 'Race'" Graduate Conference in the History Department at the University of Victoria, BC in 2010, also affectionately known as "Race Camp," where I was first introduced to fellow graduate students who did amazing work for amazing reasons – here I must particularly

thank T.J. Tallie, Sarah Malik, Danielle Lorenz, and Megan Harvey, who no matter how far we have gotten in our respective careers I will always cherish first as my "race camp" cohort.

My work has been supported financially by many generous fellowships, and I am forever grateful I have been given the opportunity to do the work I do, including multiple trips to France and North Africa. The Fulbright IIE, and specifically the Fulbright Commission in Morocco, MACECE (Moroccan-American Commission for Educational and Cultural Exchange), was not only a source of funding but a hugely valuable resource while I was in Morocco, under the leadership of Dr. James Miller. My Fulbright cohort (and adjacent friends) provided me with good company, moral support, intellectual exchange, and also places to crash in various cities – I particularly want to thank Erin Gould, Cynthia Magellanes-Gonzalez, Hodna Nuernberg, David Balgley, Sarah Schwartz, Tina Barouti, Nicole Castillo, Nisreen Malley, Abi Belcrest, Pete Kitlas, and Susan Abraham. I am so happy I had the chance to meet such excellent people while living in a foreign country, and I look forward to seeing them at many MESA's (and also back in Morocco) in the future. I must also thank Max Healey, Nicky Guerrero, and Rachel Meade, my Arabic classmates during my first trip to Morocco in 2014 – with them I got to explore the country for the first time, and despite being the "Grandma" of the group had an excellent time doing it.

Many other people came to my aid, in various ways, while I was abroad, and I cannot thank them enough for welcoming me and assisting me while I did my research. My host mother and sisters in Fez – my "second family" – Saida, Sana, and Soukaina, were beyond kind and generous while I lived with them in 2014, and I will always cherish the conversations we had over ftour during Ramadan, and on my subsequent visits in 2017 and 2018, as well as the excellent home-cooked meals Saida provided (I still try to replicate her eggs with cumin recipe).

In particular some of my favorite memories of Morocco are the nights that Sana, Soukaina and I had our "family band," jamming to Beirut (my favorite), Taylor Swift (Soukaina's favorite), and Dolly Parton (Sana's favorite) songs on my ukulele and their drum. I could not have asked for a better Moroccan second family.

Oussama and Mina were extremely generous hosts in their beautiful restored medina house in Tunis, and went above and beyond to show me around and introduce me to research contacts during my month in Tunisia. Rita Stirn was a funny, charming, and always helpful roommate/landlady in Rabat, and her passion for music and meeting people led to fascinating conversations and new acquaintances and contacts. In Paris, Lauren Henry was an excellent dining companion and academic colleague during my research months in 2016, and Albert Wu and Michelle Kuo were kind and gracious hosts during my short archives visit in 2018. In Cairo, Sunita Rappai and Sharif ElFadaly were excellent hosts and roommates; Ramy Zeid showed incredible hospitality as a friend and guide during my visit, making himself available to show me around the city alongside my fellow American travelers Yusuf and Zaki Barzinji. I must also thank here AbdelRahman Mansour, a former Illinois colleague who has never hesitated to introduce me to his vast global network in many of the places I visited, including Ramy, so that I always had friends nearby. Dr. Hussein Saber was an excellent 'oud teacher while I was in Cairo but also a kindly and hilarious presence, and I always enjoyed going to his apartment for my lessons, where he immediately declared I was a natural.

Additionally, all of the archivists over the years who have helped me, though I did not always know their names, played a huge role in the way my research took shape. I thank here the staffs of the Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc, the Bibliothèque La Source, the Archives du Maroc, and the Conservatoire de la Musique in Rabat; the Qarawiyyin Library in

Fez; the Tangier American Legation Library in Tangier; the Bibliothèque Nationale de la Tunisie, the Radio Nationale Tunisienne (especially Rochdi), the Rashidiyya Institute, and the Centre d'Études Maghrébines à Tunis (CEMAT) in Tunis; the Centre de Musiques Arabes et Méditeranéennes in Sidi Bou Saïd (especially Manoubia Hermi); the Musée du Quai-Branly, the Muséum Nationale de l'Histoire Naturelle, and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, notably the Music Department, in Paris; the Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer in Aix-en-Provence; the Dar al-Kutub / Egyptian National Library in Cairo; and the Center for Arab Music Archiving and Research (especially Mostafa) in Qornet-el-Hamra, Lebanon. At the University of Illinois Library, a special thanks to Laila Moustafa, who always went above and beyond to help me find the resources I needed on the Middle East.

Finally, last but not least, I have to thank the most important people, my friends and family, who have really gotten me through the last several years of what could often be a grueling, difficult, and isolating journey.

My Pandemic Pod (Raquel Escobar, Peter Escobar, Carolina Ortega, Juan Mora, and Gabby Vargas) of this last bizarre year, who I shared adventures with—an Indiana McMansion, choreographed Christmas dances, humid summer camping—that helped distract from the awfulness of Covid dissertation-finishing. My Writing Group (Carolina Ortega, Juan Mora, Leanna Duncan, and Bryan Winston) which morphed into the Indulgence Squad, and with whom I had many productive virtual writing sessions over the course of almost three years, that is when we didn't get distracted discussing anything but work.

My friends: Raghav Krishnapriyan and Dan Wu, my best friends since college, with whom I've shared many fun vacations and dumb email exchanges and movie nights over our almost two-decade friendship; Alejandra Pires, who has always been up for a fancy night on the

town; Emily Teitelbaum, who "followed" me out to Illinois for a grad program but who finished and returned to California before me (I'll be there soon!); Ian Toller-Clark, whose texts have always made me smile and who has been a constant source of encouragement (and venting) since our first year; Anna Harbaugh, with whom I've shared countless Lady Travels, Craft Nights, and #Blessed days (aka discovering the best of what C-U has to offer), and who I can always talk to about the most high-brow art to the most low-brow media; Christine Peralta, who became my Midwestern-indie-shows buddy and with whom I got to explore Bloomington's undeniably cooler music scene, and who was always down for some academia real talk; Juan Mora, who always brought his hot takes and discerning taste in IPAs to HGTV nights and awards shows; Carolina Ortega, to whom I will always be grateful for Property Brothers drinking games, Oscar bets over Chinese takeout, and Disney Channel movie binges, and has been the coolest person in my cohort; John Marquez, with whom I've shared many, many experiences over the years, who taught me how to navigate academia even when you doubt yourself, and who meticulously read and edited countless fellowship proposals when I couldn't read them anymore; and Raquel Escobar, who has been both a source of unwavering support (her Capricorn rising) and of no-holds-barred fun and hilarity (her Sagittarius sun) over the years and who I always, always have a good time with, which has been so important in this often grim profession.

I additionally want to acknowledge Utathya Chattopadhyaya, Zach Riebling, Peter Wright, Ben Wheeler, Mark Sanchez, Cassie Osei, Thaïs Rezende Da Silva de Sant'ana, Yuki Takauchi, Kate Butterworth, Rob Rouphail, Leanna Duncan, Brian Campbell, Marco Jaimes, Olivia Hagedorn, Eliza Dreier, Vignan Manne, Erin Gould, Susan Abraham, Pete Kitlas, T.J. Tallie, and my S.F. State cohort, Thomas Padilla, Rachael Hill, Brian Griffith, Lindsay Ehrisman, and Elspeth Olson, still rooting each other on after all these years.

I want to give a special acknowledgment to my dog Otto, who passed away in May 2021 – barely a month after I defended my dissertation, after a difficult year of health issues, after 7 years in Illinois with me, and after almost 14 years in my care. But he has been my steadfast companion, my best friend, my source of comic relief, and, whether he meant to be or not, my encouragement to keep going throughout grad school and especially during the pandemic. I miss our walks and our visits to the overgrown back paths of Dodds Park, his favorite place. I loved him more than anything and I hope he is now playing with the other dogs in dog heaven.

Finally, I want to thank my family: my aunts Kathy Matsushita and Pat Day, my cousin Andrew Day and his wife Kelsie Day (and new baby Evan), my late great aunt Kay Shimonishi, my late uncle Tim Hardy, my uncle Steve Hardy and aunt Teri Hardy, my gran Audrey Hardy, my late grandpa Keiichi Matsushita, and in particular my parents Gary and Josie Matsushita, who have always been incredibly supportive of my decision to go to graduate school and enter academia and who have helped make the process easier for me however they could. I also want to specially dedicate this dissertation to my grandma Florence Shizue Yoshizumi Matsushita, who passed away in July 2020 and did not get to see me finish but always took every opportunity to tell me how proud she was of what I was doing, and was truly one of the best people I knew. I know she would be proud now.

Liz Matsushita
July 8, 2021

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INTRODUCTION

"His question broke into their conversation like a Western theme incorporated into a purely Eastern piece of music."

- Naguib Mahfouz, *Palace Walk*[1]

In May 1939, a groundbreaking colonial musical event was held in the historic Moroccan capital of Fez, where the French Protectorate sponsored, under the patronage of the Sultan, the five-day First Congress of Moroccan Music. The conference's goal was part of the wider French project, overseen by the colonial body the Service des Arts Indigènes (Service of Native Arts) dedicated to the "renovation" of Moroccan arts and culture, which also included musicological publications, music education in schools, concerts, and radio broadcasts. Yet while the event had a clear colonial provenance, it also elicited the participation of many North African scholars and musicians, not unlike its predecessor and influence, the 1932 Cairo Congress of Arab Music. The diversity of participants was apparent from the very first session, on "general questions," that opened the conference: a French musicologist, a Spanish priest, an Algerian Muslim military officer, a French colonial arts official, a Moroccan expert, and an Algerian Muslim schoolteacher and amateur musician all shared space to address different topics in Moroccan music.[2]

While sources on the event remain limited, by all available accounts it was an epic and far-reaching affair. Twenty delegates gave scholarly presentations on a range of topics, and twice-daily concerts elicited the participation of dozens of musical groups. The delegates were comprised primarily of three types: French scholars from the metropole, French colonial

[1] Naguib Mahfouz, *Palace Walk: The Cairo Trilogy I*, trans. William Maynard Hutchins and Olive E. Kenny (New York: Anchor Books Doubleday, 1990), 310.
[2] *1^er^ Congrès de Musique Marocaine* (Casablanca : Imprimeries Réunies, 1939).

scholars, and Algerian scholars working for the Moroccan colonial state. The most noticeable presence, however, was Alexis Chottin, the Algerian-born French musicologist and music educator who worked for the Service des Arts Indigènes and whom Spanish delegate Patrocinio García Barriuso called "the soul of the Congress." Besides giving three separate talks, including one that introduced his recently-published scholarly overview of Moroccan music, Chottin also served on a sub-committee on Andalusi music and had his original, Moroccan-inspired compositions performed at the gala concert closing the Congress. This was unsurprising, given Chottin's prolific work on Moroccan musicology for the Protectorate throughout the 1920s and 1930s. In many ways, the Fez Congress was the culmination of his colonial career.

The Fez Congress was, like many of the French Protectorate's cultural and intellectual initiatives, a technology of colonial power and surveillance through which the French asserted expertise on Moroccan music and demonstrated their material support for Moroccan cultural preservation and renovation. Such French colonialist initiatives were also repeatedly commissioned into a project of racialization of the North African population that served colonial needs, namely the validation and reinforcement of the Arab-Berber paradigm, the counterbalancing of Arab and Andalusi cultural dominance with emphasis on Berber art forms, and the minimization or exclusion of identities and genres outside of this paradigm.[3]

Meanwhile, the contributions of North African scholars and musicians inadvertently revealed two things. The first was that European musicologists were only able to access musical knowledge via North African interlocutors, indigenous networks, and pre-existing Arabic scholarship, which disrupted if not directly contradicted the colonial narrative that the French

[3] The term "Berber" will be used throughout this dissertation as it was historically used, and is still often used, to denote the (very diverse) ethnic and linguistic group considered to be North Africa's indigenous population, and also is the most accurate way to refer to the racial construct. However, in its present-day use, some find the term dated or even offensive, and these groups are now commonly referred to as "Imazighen" (pl. n.) or "Amazigh" (adj.).

were "bringing" culture and knowledge to North Africa. Secondly, North African scholarship on Arab music constituted a self-affirming discourse that often sustained nationalist, anti-colonial projects in direct or indirect ways. This is perhaps most obviously shown by the participation of Moroccan and Algerian elites at the Congress and in other colonial musicological projects, some of whom would go on to play a role in the post-colonial state.

Thus in many ways, the Fez Congress serves as a kind of microcosm for the larger history of music, race, and colonialism in 20th-century North Africa. As an event, it cannot be taken at face value—that is, as a straightforward scholarly and cultural event spearheaded by the French colonial state with the passive participation of a colonized elite—but rather must be understood as Harry Liebersohn has described cultural encounters: "many-sided, deceptive, and rewarding as one follows their sources and returns to them newly aware of their multiple dimensions."[4] The intentional demonstration of colonial power, the racial landscaping of musical genres and peoples, and the overt and subtle ways that North African knowledge production undermined or rescripted these latter were central themes not only at the Congress but in all of the French Empire's multifaceted engagements with music in its North African colonies. These interventions into "native" music ramped up with the official acquisition of the Moroccan Protectorate in 1912 and reached their height in the interwar period with the activities of Alexis Chottin and the pioneering SAI head Prosper Ricard, and, at the very end of the interwar period, the Fez Congress represents a culmination of these efforts, as well as the colonial imperatives that sat behind them. It occurred just before the outbreak of World War II and the occupation of France, and France would emerge from the war with a permanently weakened empire (even as

[4] Harry Liebersohn, *Music and the New Global Culture: From the Great Exhibitions to the Jazz Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 5.

the seeds of decline had been present since World War I).[5] Thus, the 1939 Fez Congress of Moroccan Music was a kind of ultimate achievement for the Moroccan Protectorate, and exhibited many of the central tensions of the French colonial project, as well as exposing the contradictions of race, ethnicity, and nation as the French attempted to define them.

Music, Race, Nation, and Empire

We will return to the Fez Congress throughout this narrative, as a kind of musical motif that reappears at select moments to establish the central theme. But first, it is instructive to take account of what, exactly, has been written on these intersecting themes of music, race, nation, and empire, both in North Africa and globally. A brief summary of prevailing scholarly discourse on these is instructive for apprehending the colonial musical landscape in North Africa, which nevertheless has remained little discussed.[6] This methodological and thematic summary will focus on two areas of scholarship outside of the MENA region that are both salient and productive to the discussion here: British Empire studies, and Latin American ethnomusicology.

Several works on music in British Empire have come out in the last couple decades, influenced by both the cultural turn in history and the advent of the more critical New Imperial History. Edward Said helped initiate postcolonial treatment of music with his discussion of Giuseppe Verdi's *Aida*, a Pharaonic-themed opera that was commissioned by Khedive Ismail of Egypt for the commemoration of the Suez Canal, premiering at the newly-built Cairo Opera

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[5] Martin Thomas, *The French Empire between the Wars: Imperialism, Politics and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 10.

[6] The majority of ethnomusicological studies of North Africa have focused on Andalusi music, Jewish music, or contemporary popular music, with limited but growing attention to Gnawa, and most genres are viewed in isolation. See: Philip Ciantar, *The Ma'luf in Contemporary Libya: An Arab Andalusian Musical Tradition* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Ruth Davis, "Arab-Andalusian Music in Tunisia," in *Early Music* 24:3 (August 1996), 423-435; Jonathan Glasser, *The Lost Paradise: Andalusi Music in Urban North Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); Jonathan Holt Shannon, *Performing al-Andalus: Music and Nostalgia across the Mediterranean* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015). Many of these are also cited and considered, but are less salient for the discussion here of my methodology.

House in 1871.[7] Said reads *Aida* against this crucial moment in Egyptian history, when Ismail's ambitious modernization programs were plunging Egypt into European debt and drawing it into the spheres of British and French colonial influence, culminating in the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 and its absorption into the British Empire. He identifies the mechanisms of Orientalism at work in the opera: "As a visual, musical, and theatrical spectacle, *Aida* does a great many things for and in European culture, one of which is to confirm the Orient as an essentially exotic, distant, and antique place in which Europeans can mount certain shows of force."[8] This reading not only situates *Aida* in its historical context, it also reveals the potential in using music as a lens through which to examine imperial ideology, and ultimately the logics of imperialism. As such it is a crucial component of imperial culture more broadly, considered alongside literary works like Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*, whose novelistic structure rests entirely on the offstage and barely-mentioned existence of a plantation in the Caribbean. As Said argues, cultural texts show us that empire—and with it colonialism, slavery, and exploitation—undergird the very possibility of living, consuming, narrating, and storytelling in nineteenth-century Britain.

Following this, several historians of British Empire have since become interested in the ways in which music served as a conduit for imperial ideology. Jeffrey Richards argues that imperial music, including coronation music, jubilees, and the works of popular "imperial" composers like Edward Elgar and Arthur Sullivan, was expressly produced in an imperial context, and thus unfailingly presented empire in a positive light. At the same time, imperial

[7] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 111.
[8] Said, 112.

music invested the public in the colonial project by commissioning their participation in an imperial popular culture.[9]

Richards' work has been followed by the work of Martin Clayton, Bob Van Der Linden, and Janaki Bakhle, all of who treat music simultaneously in Britain and India.[10] Clayton juxtaposes the nationalist English Musical Renaissance of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the Indian classical music reform movement of the same period. While seeking to destabilize static notions of "national" musics in either place, he shows how the popularity of Spencerian evolutionary thought in England led many scholars to apply scientific principles to music: for them, folk or primitive music of the countryside represented an earlier stage that more "civilized" forms of music grew out of, but could still draw upon for inspiration. Thus, the exclusively national focus of the English Musical Renaissance at least implicitly continued to place England in a global evolutionary context and rendered Britain's relationship to its racialized colonial subjects a crucial issue. Janaki Bakhle focuses more on the Indian nationalist context, showing how music became a language of modernity and nationalism for Indian reformers, a vehicle through which aspirations of an independent India could be expressed.

The vast majority of these scholars take a traditional historical approach to music, in the sense that their archive is primarily textual—biographical information, lyrics, musicological notes, reception—and not musical. None of them engage directly with musical material. This is a valid approach in that music needs to be integrated into wider historical analysis: it is an important aspect of culture and involves human actors like any other field, as Marc Hertzman has

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[9] Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2001).
[10] Martin Clayton, "Musical Renaissance and Its Margins in England and India, 1874-1914," in *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1780s-1940s*, eds. Martin Clayton and Bennett Zon (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2007); Bob Van Der Linden, *Music and Empire in Britain and India: Identity, Internationalism, and Cross-Cultural Communication* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Janaki Bakhle, *Two Men and Music: Nationalism in the Making of an Indian Classical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

argued.[11] Yet as I show in this dissertation, much can also be gained from analysis of the musical material itself, as much as that is possible for a general audience. With few exceptions, this archive has largely been left to musicologists and ethnomusicologists. The contributions of this sub-field of British Empire, however, are useful for mining the construction of national and imperial identities, the interrelationships of music, race, and empire, and the essentializing discourses of classicism, Orientalism, and primitivism that permeate cultural debates in many colonial contexts.

While ethnomusicological studies of North Africa that explicitly foreground race remain scarce, striking resonances with the North African musico-racial context can be found in Latin American ethnomusicology. Despite the differences in their colonial histories, one can draw several parallels between the Maghreb and places like Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, and Peru, at least in the ways that hegemonic myths around race, space, nation, and music were woven. In most of these countries, a kind of racial "triad" became the dominant discourse of national identity: the "mestizo" or "mestiço" ideal resulting from a mixture of essentialized white, indigenous, and Black identities. This triad became hyper-visible in the musical world: often, different elements of national musical genres were attributed to each of the three. For example, twentieth-century Colombian musicologists described the popular *costeño* style of Porro as coming from three essentialized, authentic sources—white dance, Black rhythm, and Amerindian wind instruments. As Peter Wade argues, the "mestizo nation" master narrative was intended to imply racial harmony, but it was ultimately predicated on a kind of progressive whitening, as Black and

[11] Marc Hertzman, "Toward (and Against) a Sounded History," in *Hispanic American Historical Review* 96:2 (May 2016).

indigenous identities remained marginalized and excluded even as the national discourse drew upon them for cultural sustenance.[12]

Ethnomusicologists and historians of Latin America have also shown how Black music in particular was often valorized as the most vital, the most essential, and the most primitive of the different musico-racial identities, and thus Black genres often rose to the status of national musics. Robin Moore argues that before the 1920s, African-influenced culture in Cuba was almost totally excluded from the public sphere, yet during the nationalist period of the 1920s and 1930s middle-class liberals began to promote Afrohispanic cultural fusion as a national paradigm, and the socially marginalized Black Cubans took on new meanings as symbols of Cuban nationality.[13] This process finds parallels in Colombia, Peru, and notably Brazil, where African-associated *samba* rose to the status of Brazil's national music by the early to mid-twentieth century. Again, the popularization of *samba* coincided with and reinforced the dominant paradigm of Brazil as a "racial democracy," a national racial ideal that masked entrenched power hierarchies; Marc Hertzman shows how Afro-Brazilian samba artists found success even as they had to negotiate with issues of authorship and ownership that revealed legacies of inequality that had endured since the end of slavery in 1888.[14]

Parallels can be drawn, then, between Latin American music's reiteration of essentialized racial identities comprising a harmonic, if unequal, whole, and the construction of racialized musical genres in North Africa, especially if the narrative is carried through to the national

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[12] Peter Wade, *Music, Race, and Nation: Música Tropical in Colombia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
[13] Robin D. Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness: Afrocubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997).
[14] Marc Hertzman, *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

period.[15] If the Arab-Berber-Black triad does not map exactly onto the white-indigenous-Black triad of Latin America, as a triadic racial schematic it nevertheless functions in a similar way. The practice of ascribing essentialized qualities and sounds to certain races has the effect of producing race and racial hierarchy: "savage" rhythm to Black Latin Americans and Berbers, classical sensibilities to white Europeans and urban Arabs. The primitivist discourse around Black and indigenous populations in both Latin America and North Africa also reinforces racial hierarchies through both valorizing and delegitimizing gestures, as well as the reduction of Black and indigenous cultures to mere wellsprings of national cultural revitalization. This was done with the goal of nation-building in the context of early to mid-twentieth century Latin America, while in the same period North African colonial musicology's racializations of music had distinctly imperial aims, towards a useful colonial production of knowledge. But as we shall see in later chapters, nationalist or counter-colonial desires could also be expressed through musicological production.

This overview has also been to demonstrate that the impulse to "racialize" music was not unique to the French or North African context, but rather has been an undeniable feature of musicology wherever power and identity remain contested. I build here on the work of scholars of Britain, India, and Latin America, not to mention the United States, where Karl Hagstrom Miller's work on the racialization of Southern folk genres into categories of Black and white musics is also instructive.[16] Departing from these literatures, I introduce in Chapter 1 my argument that music is a critical, yet often ignored, site of both knowledge production and

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[15] Since the 1970s, Gnawa music has become a "national music" of sorts in Morocco, in which its black and West African roots are acknowledged (as well as its religious origins in Sufi ritual) even as it is decontextualized, fitted to festival culture and the world music stage, and practiced largely by non-Black Moroccans. For more on Gnawa and globalization, see: Deborah Kapchan, *Traveling Spirit Masters: Moroccan Gnawa Trance and Music in the Global Marketplace* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2007).

[16] Karl Hagstrom Miller, *Segregating Sound: Inventing Folk and Pop Music in the Age of Jim Crow* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

cultural indoctrination, and in Chapter 2 I extend that argument to include racialization and the creation, production, and reinforcement of useful racial hierarchies in the colonial context.

Music, Race, and Empire in North Africa

As in other contexts, and perhaps in some ways even more strongly, music was a crucial idiom for the politics of identity, autonomy, and history in the countries of the Maghreb. Inarguably the social practice of music had been key to identity formation in Maghrebi societies, and certain musical practices had also become tied to state-building and political power; but in new and transformative ways the imposition and spread of French colonialism in the region specifically linked knowledge about music to power. Over the 19th and 20th centuries, and particularly during the lifespan of the Moroccan Protectorate (1912-1956), it was the study and production of knowledge on music that became an especially critical site, where power was performed, racialized identities were constructed, and transnational histories were written and rewritten, all in the service of colonialist or nationalist worldviews. The musicology of Arab and North African music already had a long history by this point in the 20th century – European travelers and writers had observed it with interest since at least the early 19th century, and Arab intellectuals and North African music-practitioners had produced oral and written knowledge on it for many centuries – the political saliency of this project reached a new turning point during the Protectorate and especially with the establishment of the Service des Arts Indigènes (SAI) in the late 1910s, a colonial body dedicated entirely to Moroccan cultural preservation.[17]

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[17] James Mokhiber, "'Le protectorat dans la peau': Prosper Ricard and the 'Native Arts' in French Colonial Morocco, 1899-1952," in *Revisiting the Colonial Past in Morocco*, ed. Driss Maghraoui (London: Routledge, 2013), 267. For nineteenth-century European studies of Maghrebi music, see: A. Fischer, *Das Liederbuch Eines Marokkanischen Sängers* (Leipzig: Verlag von B.G. Teubner, 1918); Rimbaud, "Le chant chez les Imouhar," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord* Année 7 (Algiers, 1902), 532-543; G. Delphin and L. Guin, *Complainte arabe: Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabes dans le Maghreb algérien* (Paris: Ernest

The SAI, under the ambitious direction of arts specialist Prosper Ricard, began a concerted investment into musical projects with their relationship with musicologist Alexis Chottin, and especially with the organizing, with Chottin, of the "Three days of Moroccan music" series in 1928. At this event, Chottin's speech giving a brief but comprehensive overview of "Moroccan music" would serve as the basic template for all such scholarship moving forward, and reified the already-formulating racial landscape for Morocco, most visibly in the hard division between "Arab" and "Berber" music and faces. Chottin's metaphor of "faces" indeed powerfully linked musical traditions to bodily difference and further established the French structuring principle of totalized, discrete North African racial categories marked by unbridgeable divisions.[18] Only two years later, the government issued the inflammatory Berber dahir, which rendered material this racial divide in new and far-reaching ways.[19]

The French Protectorate produced many other significant musical initiatives over the course of the interwar period. Prosper Ricard's involvement in organizing both the Moroccan ensemble for the Cairo Congress of Arab Music and the Moroccan Pavilion at the Paris Colonial Exposition brought French colonial musicology to the international stage. The SAI's sponsorship of Alexis Chottin's musicological publications and musical compositions disseminated his racialized worldview and Orientalist interpretations to a broader scholarly public. And the deployment of musical pedagogy in the French Protectorate's schools, which were already segregated based on racial and religious identities but also espoused a kind of assimilationist universalism, served to indoctrinate a new generation into these received colonial and racial discourses, both European and Moroccan children. Arguably French colonial musicology in

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Leroux, 1886); Antonin Laffage, *La musique arabe: Ses instruments et ses chants* (Tunis: E. Lecore Carpentier, 1907); extensive works by Jules Rouanet in Algiers.

[18] Alexis Chottin, *Les Visages de la Musique Marocaine* (Rabat: Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1928).

[19] Jonathan Wyrtzen, *Making Morocco: Colonial Intervention and the Politics of Identity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

Morocco culminated with the creation of the Conservatory of Moroccan Music (with Chottin as the director) and the convening of the Fez Congress of Moroccan Music in 1939, just before the disruptive outbreak of World War II.

Yet it would be a mistake to paint this as a narrative of French colonial scholars and officials imposing a packaged vision of Moroccan society onto a passive colonized population. The backlash to the Berber dahir of 1930 was one of the most visible manifestations of Moroccan resistance to French racial narratives and its cordoning off of a distinct Berber "race" that opposed them to their Arab compatriots. In response, Moroccan nationalists increasingly used the language of unity to counter French strategies, and this unity generally took the form of an Arab-Muslim identity that invoked both pan-Arab sentiment and Andalusi nostalgia. These ideas were heavily present in the work of North African musicologists, as well as in the formation of new types of musical ensembles such as Andalousia, founded in the border city of Oujda by two Algerians.[20] Such emphasis on the Andalusi genre was not directly opposed to the French musicological project, as colonial officials were also interested in studying and documenting the *nuba* and other Andalusi music (though for reasons discussed the French invested in it less heavily than their Spanish counterparts). As such, North African musicologists and musicians formed strategic partnerships with the SAI and French colonial bodies, and participated regularly in their events, as shown by the high concentration of North African presenters at the Fez Congress, as well as the frequent collaboration of Moroccan musicians with Ricard in organizing events.[21]

This did not, however, necessarily represent a tacit endorsement of French colonial rule, just as the significant numbers of Algerian and Moroccan officials in the Protectorate apparatus

[20] Jonathan Glasser, *The Lost Paradise: Andalusi Music in Urban North Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 2.
[21] *1er Congrès de Musique Marocaine Programme* (Casablanca: Imprimeries Réunies, 1939).

did not. Like in the Spanish Protectorate, where many of the most vocal Moroccan nationalists also worked regularly with Protectorate institutions, North African scholars, writers, and musicians could take advantage of opportunities and work within the established system while producing knowledge and writing narratives that emphasized Moroccan achievement, Andalusi heritage, and broader Arab civilizational greatness, all of which underwrote a self-determining nationalism that inherently contradicted French colonial claims.[22] This Arabic musicology spanned a geography and temporality much broader than Protectorate Morocco, though it linked up to it: musicologists from Algeria to Lebanon produced musical knowledge throughout the early to mid-20th century that jointly invested in a rich and even superior Arabic musical tradition.

Notably, such an emphasis on both Andalusi and Eastern Arab music and culture marginalized, if not omitted entirely, the significance of Berber music and traditions to national heritage, as well as Black traditions, rural, popular, or folk performance, and much Sufi music. These were considered less useful to a state-building project, as political and intellectual elites sought to recover from the colonial period by tapping into a culture of prestige and consolidating a singular state identity. This meant that, in North African musicology from the colonial to the national periods, Berber music was often only given passing mention and then referred to as a primitive element that had minimally shaped or influenced the Arab musics of North Africa. Reproducing the civilized-primitive binary of colonial scholarship, but from a different vantage point, North African musicologists simultaneously rejected colonial narratives and divide-and-rule tactics while also themselves contributing to a racialized hierarchy within their societies.

[22] For nationalism within the Spanish Protectorate, see: Eric Calderwood, *Colonial al-Andalus: Spain and the Making of Modern Moroccan Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2018).

This occurred at the same time as the meta-construction of the category of "Arab music," which came to take on a totalized meaning by the end of the colonial era that mapped roughly onto a pan-Arab nationalist geography and history. Landmark transnational events like the Cairo Congress of Arab Music in 1932 inaugurated a collaborative musical project rooted in the notion of a shared transnational tradition, even as it simultaneously revealed the fractures within this notion, evinced by the Congress delegates' many disagreements over standardization of scales, musical instruments, and more.[23] Regional scholars carried this notion forward beyond 1932, including the Lebanese musicologist Wadia Sabra, who conceptualized an Arab musical science that was both universalist and future-oriented, including formulating a new "universal" musical scale that could accommodate both Eastern and Western traditions.[24] Taking up the question of how to "modernize" Arab music in the same way that participants at the Cairo and Fez Congress had, Sabra utilized mathematic and scientific principles as well as a deep and critical reading of Arab musical history to demonstrate the value of Arab music, the compatibility of its principles with a kind of universal music, and its entangled relationship with Western classical music, which of course in a colonial world was considered the apex of the global music hierarchy. Indeed, Sabra wrote Arab music into Western musical history, insisting that Europe owed many of its most cherished musical principles and features to the Arab music of the East and its theoreticians.[25]

This was an innovative argument, but in many ways it mirrored the efforts of North African musicologists who similarly vaunted Arab and Andalusi music in their scholarship and made the case for its elevation on the global stage. Moroccan, Tunisian, and Algerian

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[23] A.J. Racy, "Historical Worldviews of Early Ethnomusicologists: An East-West Encounter in Cairo, 1932," in Stephen Blum and Philip Bohlman, eds., *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).
[24] Wadia Sabra, *Exposé d'un Nouveau Système Perfectionné de partage des 12 demi-tons de l'octave* (Beirut, 1940).
[25] Wadia Sabra, *La Musique Arabe base de l'Art Occidental* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1941).

musicologists dedicated themselves to proving the value and longevity of Andalusi music, invoking the glory of the lost al-Andalus, the Muslims' last foothold in Europe but also a shared historical heritage with Europeans (namely the Spanish). Writers like Driss ben Abdelali El Idrissi in Morocco, Mustafa Sfar in Tunisia, and Mohamed El Hajjage in Egypt invoked a genealogy that traced back to pre-Islamic Arabia and reproduced and reinforced a shared canon of Arab historical figures, culminating in Ziryab's flight from Damascus to al-Andalus and his role in inaugurating the Andalusi musical tradition. When speaking to European audiences, North African scholars stressed the differences—cultural, intellectual, physiological—in listening practices between Arabs and Europeans, in order to help initiate these audiences into understanding and appreciating Arab music. These dialogues had the effect of also placing "Arab music" on par with European music in a global music hierarchy, as European music's equal but opposite Other that had as much inherent value and cultural sophistication and thus deserved to be preserved, celebrated, and elevated to a similar status as Western classical music.

Ultimately, the diverse scholarship by Arab and North African musicologists in the colonial and early national periods on Arab and Andalusi music, and to a lesser extent Berber and folk musics, consecrated a shared transnational Arab identity that also valorized the individual nationalisms of each nation-state. This narrative countered the claims of colonial musicology that, even as it valorized and sought to preserve "native" musics, continued to tacitly place European art music at a level above Arab music; even its most expert and learned scholars refracted the knowledge they produced through an Orientalist prism, as well as through a colonialist lens. Colonial musicologists ultimately produced knowledge for colonial needs. Arab and North African musicologists had a more diverse set of objectives, no doubt, but in a colonial era were inevitably obligated to speak and dialogue with those same colonial musicologists. As a

result, they participated in a shared musicological world, exemplified in landmark moments like the Cairo and Fez Congresses, that overlapped and harmonized even as Arab and North African narratives could strike subtly discordant notes. The points at which their narratives diverged from colonial narratives were the moments where formulations of anticolonial, pan-Arab, nationalist, exclusionary, and elitist musical identities were made visible. These identities and narratives could range from moderate to more radical: overall, the scholarship continued to share many of the same foundational premises as colonial musicology, notably a civilized-primitive binary with marginal identities forced into the "primitive" category. As such, non-Arab Others such as Berber, Black, and Bedouin peoples continued to be marked as primitive while also being given even less attention or consideration as a constitutive element of North African society.

The Kabyle Myth and the Arab-Berber Racial Paradigm

To fully understand the racial landscape in Morocco as it was imagined and projected by the French, we must go to its origins of French discourse on the "indigenous" Berbers: the "Kabyle myth" of Algeria. This myth, originally coined as a term by historian Charles-Robert Ageron, has been historicized and analyzed in great detail by Patricia Lorcin in her significant 1995 study *Imperial Identities*. As in Morocco, Algeria's ethnic makeup was diverse and ever-shifting in the pre-colonial period, with a myriad of complex and sometimes overlapping identities that people could claim, based on color, parentage, religion, language, ethnicity, and geography. Yet over the course of the nineteenth century, and particularly starting from the 1857 conquest of Kabylia, the mountainous region south of Algiers that was home to the so-called Kabyle Berbers, the French constructed a "racial edifice" around the simplistic notion of an Arab-Berber dichotomy in Algeria. During this period of conquest, military administrators,

physicians, and scientists rapidly produced a body of work on the races of Algeria that paid special attention to the Berbers or Kabyles (terms they often used interchangeably), and ultimately posited that Berbers were racially superior to Arabs. This occurred for several reasons. One was that the French generally ascribed positive associations to qualities that resembled their own, such as secularism: the comparatively secular nature of Berber societies when compared to Arabs. Another reason was the practical interest that many colonial administrators had in discovering which populations were more assimilable to French culture and civilization, to determine how to deal with local peoples: essentially, a question of functionality rather than ideology. And finally, by the end of the nineteenth century, a circular confirmation of racial logic was at play, as the Kabyle myth as a discourse was solidified as a given and all French writers seeking to describe Algeria unquestionably fell into the same narrative as those before them. This discourse spanned disciplines and bridged the academic and non-academic worlds: as Lorcin notes, the race science in Algeria became a "metaphysical confirmation" of pre-existing political fact.[26]

The foundational colonial mythologies on race in Morocco, outlined previously by numerous scholars, revolved around what can be called the Arab-Berber paradigm or dichotomy, borrowing heavily from the Kabyle myth of neighboring Algeria.[27] During the Protectorate period, the French often characterized Morocco's lands and peoples as a series of overlapping dichotomies: sedentary and nomadic, urban and rural, kingdom and wild, and Arab and Berber, as well as *Makhzen* and *Siba*. *Bled al-Makhzen* was a Moroccan term for the lands that were

[26] Patricia Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995), 154.
[27] See: Patricia Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995); Edmund Burke III, *The Ethnographic State: France and the Invention of Moroccan Islam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014); Jonathan Wyrtzen, *Making Morocco: Colonial Intervention and the Politics of Identity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

under the Sultan's control, and the French Protectorate readily adopted this term as they rendered the Sultan a proxy and sought to expand their rule over uncontrolled tribal lands, or *bled al-Siba*. For obvious reasons, the *Makhzen-Siba* dichotomy was also overlaid onto an urban-rural and a sedentary-nomadic dichotomy, and more broadly a marking off of controlled and civilized versus unruly and uncivilized elements, especially in the context of repeated rebellions and unrest in Berber mountain and desert areas. It thus also corresponded to the Arab-Berber dichotomy: the *Makhzen* was Arab, overseen by an Arab-Islamic sultan of Sharifian (descended from the Prophet Muhammad) heritage, and the *Siba* tended to be Berber and tribal—also Muslim, but perceived as practicing Islam in a more heterogeneous, flexible way, inflected with primitive pre-Islamic practices.

French interest in Berber ethnography is thus especially legible against the backdrop of the Protectorate's ongoing military campaigns in Berber mountain areas. As discussed in the last chapter, this included multiple uprisings in the Middle Atlas Mountains between 1913 and 1924, and Resident-General Lyautey's strategic cooptation of Berber chieftains in the southern High Atlas Mountains to subdue the peoples of those areas in the same period. The "pacification" campaign culminated in the Rif War of 1925-1926, when Abdelkrim al-Khattabi's Riffian Berber freedom fighters encroached south from Spanish Morocco into French territory, drawing French forces into the conflict and launching their own offensives.[28] Even after Khattabi's surrender and exile in 1926, the French did not declare the *Siba* areas of the country fully pacified until 1934 (and even this, of course, was debatable).[29]

[28] The Spanish war in the Rif against Abdelkrim had been going on since 1921. It was largely only through the joining of Spanish and French forces in 1926 that they were able to finally defeat the Rif Republic, including one of the first uses of chemical weapons on civilian populations in history.
[29] Thomas, *The French Empire between the Wars*, 213.

Yet this paradigm was an oversimplification of reality, even as it had real effects on the ways Morocco was studied and administered. Sociologist Jonathan Wyrtzen has shown that the recourse to essentialized notions of "Arab" and "Berber" identity was the result of discursive struggles "that occurred in the colonial political field."[30] In the pre-colonial period, many other identity configurations existed, identities that were eventually marginalized or elided in the context of both colonialism and anti-colonial nation-building. Many scholars contend that the Arab-Berber dichotomy is almost entirely a colonial invention. Regardless, French authorities deeply invested in the idea that the two were separate races that required distinct strategies of engagement.

The standard French narrative stated that the Arab inhabitants of North Africa were belated arrivals, only moving into the area with the Arab-Islamic invasions of the seventh century, and then again in the medieval period with the expulsions to North Africa of Spanish Moors during the Reconquista. Arabs were marked as largely urban, Muslim, traditional, and with many of the same Orientalist stereotypes with which Europeans brushed the wider Arab-Muslim world: indolent, despotic, fatalistic, fanatic, and in need of colonial guidance to restore their decadent civilization. At the same time, however, they were generally considered more civilized and cultured than the tribal Berbers.

Berbers, meanwhile, were considered the "original" inhabitants of North Africa and were often valorized over Arabs. This valorization, as noted, dated back to the nineteenth century and the French colonial government in Algeria's "Kabyle myth," which emphasized Kabyle Berbers' supposed social, cultural, and racial differences from Arabs.[31] The prevailing image of Berbers was that they were more democratic, treated women better, and had a looser attachment to Islam,

[30] Wyrtzen, 5.
[31] Kabyle Berbers were Kabyle-speaking peoples who lived in the mountainous region just south of Algiers, and thus were some of the first "Berber" populations that the French directly administered.

which in turn fueled hopes that they were more suited to assimilation into French society, or at least cooptation as French allies. Racially, they were also thought to have a distant connection to the Mediterranean peoples of ancient Rome and Greece (as opposed to the Semitic Arabs), and, even sometimes, were vaunted for their lighter skin and bluer eyes, i.e. their greater proximity to whiteness. Colonial French writers often acknowledged that the reality of Arab-Berber binaries was somewhat messier, as in the modern era there existed "Arabized Berbers" and "Berberized Arabs," and that one now only found truly "pure" Berber races in the remotest mountain or desert locations where they had been isolated from contact with Arab-Islamic civilization. Yet even this idea reinforced the notion of "pure" Arab and Berber racial origins to begin with.

The Arab-Berber dichotomy in Morocco was further reinforced by the fact that the French sponsored many studies of Berber law and custom, created separate Berber schools, and generally produced scholarship that helped reproduce the divide. Indeed, "Berber studies" were often shot through with both racial and gender discourses. Quests to scientifically link Berbers to whiteness proliferated in Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, which were in turn often directly or indirectly linked to French interest in Roman antiquity in North Africa. As Patricia Lorcin has shown, studies of Roman North Africa served a strategic interest that allowed the French to position themselves as the direct inheritors of classical (white) civilization there.[32] Yet it also had the effect of further vaunting Berbers as the true inhabitants of North Africa. Arab and Berber identity was also often highly gendered: in the style of "martial races" in other colonial settings,

[32] Patricia Lorcin, "Rome and France in Africa: Recovering Colonial Algeria's Latin Past," in *French Historical Studies* 25:2 (2002), 295-329.

Berbers tended to be perceived as more masculine, and thus generally more admirable, than Arabs, who were depicted in Orientalist fashion as decadent and effete.[33]

The Development of Berber Studies and a *politique berbère*

Colonial scholarship frequently had the unstated aim of making legible and comprehensible the lands, peoples, and societies that it sought to colonize, and many academic disciplines, notably early social sciences, selected their topics of study around this key goal, with the tacit and often material support of colonial authorities. In North Africa, the question that French officials and intellectuals agreed was the most urgent and the most key to fully understanding and possessing their Maghrebi colonies was the Berber question, specifically the question of Berber racial origins. This dovetailed with the establishment of the Arab-Berber dichotomy as well as the long-standing curiosity that first the Kabyles, and then all Berbers had aroused in the French. The understanding of the population via an absolutist racial lens simplified matters of colonial administration, while also providing the "minority" Berber populations as a useful foil to the politically dominant Arabs. As will be shown, French musicology in North Africa mapped exactly onto this imagined racial paradigm while also giving it new dimensions, enforcing the notion that there was a "Berber music" and that its melodies, sounds, and practices were absolutely different from Arab music. In the process this musicological project confirmed and expanded upon the Arab-Berber dichotomy while also erasing any musics and identities that did not fit into it.

Thus, what emerged mostly strongly, again and again, in French scholarship, musical and otherwise, was the question of Berber racial origins. While it was narrated that Berbers were the

[33] Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race, and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

"indigenous" inhabitants of North Africa, in contrast to the Arabs who arrived only in the 7th century with the Islamic conquests, Europeans were fascinated by the notion that Berbers had actually originated elsewhere before migrating to North Africa in antiquity. This preoccupation with origins arose for a couple reasons. One was that while Arab history and culture was well documented, less was known about Berber history, especially in the pre-Islamic era; lack of written sources meant Europeans largely relied on the observations of the ancient Romans, which were not always reliable or comprehensive. Another was more ideological and was rooted in the "Kabyle myth" of Algeria: the Berber peoples were, from an early stage in French colonialism, seen as being more amenable and assimilable to French culture than the Arabs. The Kabyle myth thus argued that Kabyles, and by extension all Berbers, were "closer" to European civilization. This perception held powerful racial undertones: the French essentially believed the Berbers were closer to "whiteness" than the Arabs and often emphasized aspects of their physical appearance that seemed to confirm this, such as blond hair, blue eyes, and dolichocephalic skulls.[34] As such, it seemed logical to locate their origins outside of Africa entirely, whether in Europe, the Middle East, or East or Central Asia.[35] In the following chapters, in particular Chapter 3, we will see how this colonial subfield developed and reached its height during the Moroccan Protectorate, and how musicology in particular invested itself with the powers of a race science in order to further entrench the myth that Berbers were, biologically and sonically, a separate race with origins outside of Africa.

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[34] Some of the most representative examples of this "Berber studies" scholarship was the work of anthropologist Lucien Bertholon, active at the turn of the century, who published several studies on Berber whiteness and the European origins of their languages. See: Lucien Bertholon, "Coup d'oeil d'ensemble sur la Répartation du Type Blond dans le Nord de l'Afrique," extract from the proceedings of the *Association Française pour l'Avancement des Sciences, Congrès de Reims 1907* (Paris: Sécretariat de l'Association, 1907): 1036-1047.

[35] There was also a gendered aspect to the Kabyle myth and Berber stereotyping, rooted in a modified "noble savage" trope, in which Berbers were perceived as a more "martial race," and hence more rugged, virile, and masculine than the Arabs, who were often depicted as decadent and feminized.

The Arab-Berber racial paradigm did not exist solely in the realm of scholarship and society, but was rather part and parcel of an active colonial policy that the French pursued from the moment of the Protectorate's establishment. This *politique berbère* (Berber politics) was, as Daniel Rivet writes, a "concentrate" of the French *politique indigène* (native politics): an absolutely core element of its broader policy towards its Moroccan subjects.[36] Berber politics in Morocco originated in the first two years of the Protectorate, when metropolitan officials agreed that, learning from the failures of assimilation in Algeria, the Berbers of Morocco should be discouraged from Arabization and Islamization.[37] A series of *dahirs* or decrees over the next two decades increasingly cemented France's dedication to segregated administration of the Moroccan population, beginning with the *dahir* of 11 September 1914 that declared the "tribes of Berber custom" would be administered according to their own laws and customs. By the 1920s, the Sultan Moulay Youssef was pushing back against French efforts to expand the use of customary law, or *izref*, in Berber areas. They aimed to entrench the split between *chra'a* (*shari'a*, Islamic law) and *izref,* which essentially codified a racial divide between Arabs and Berbers and removed Berbers from the jurisdiction of the Sultan, the Makhzen, and the Islamic juridical system.

When Moulay Youssef died in 1927, the French redoubled their efforts to expand their Berber policy via his very young son, the new Sultan Muhammad ben Youssef (later known as Muhammad V). A commission was formed in 1929 to draft the *dahir* of 6 May 1930, a commission that included colonial officers, Catholic magistrates, and lawyers interested in infiltrating the Berber countryside as legal experts. This *dahir* decisively separated the legal system in Berber-speaking areas from that of *bled al-Makhzen*. Further, with the support of

[36] Daniel Rivet, *Le Maroc de Lyautey à Mohammed V: Le double visage du Protectorat* (Paris: Éditions Denoël, 1999), 317.
[37] Rivet, 313.

Resident-General Lucien Saint, the commission introduced the much-reviled Article 6, which stated that criminal cases in Berber areas would fall under the jurisdiction of French tribunals, as opposed to the Cherifian or Makhzen tribunals, which had been the case since 1913. As Rivet states, the *dahir* of 1930 (or as it came to be known colloquially, the "Berber dahir") "traced a totally arbitrary anthropological frontier between Berbers and Arabs" and would be perceived by the nascent Moroccan nationalist movement as an "attack on Islam and a maneuver to undermine the unity of Morocco."[38]

The Berber dahir thus produced a massive backlash throughout Morocco and beyond, particularly amongst Arab and Muslim nationalists. Beginning with protests and speeches at Friday prayers in mosques in Rabat and Salé, it spread inland to Fez and the hallowed Qarawiyyin mosque. The Lebanese writer Shakib Arslan published an article on the so-called "Berber crisis" in his pan-Islamic, pan-Arab journal *La Nation Arabe*, which helped spark anti-French demonstrations throughout the Arabic-speaking world (and helped lead to the journal being banned in French North Africa).[39] The protests culminated in meetings between a delegation of protest leaders and the Sultan in September 1930. The delegation argued that the dahir was an entrenchment of France's divide-and-rule policy for Morocco, and made a series of demands aimed at combating it, including making Arabic language and Islamic education mandatory in all schools and making Arabic the official language. While these demands were not accepted, they foreshadowed the direction of the Moroccan nationalist movement and the post-independence government, which, largely in reaction to French Berber policy, would decisively promote an Arab, Muslim Moroccan identity and dismiss Berber language and identity as a strategic colonial invention.

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[38] Rivet, 314.
[39] Wyrtzen, *Making Morocco*, introduction.

The development of the *politique berbère*, culminating in the explosive response to the 1930 dahir, traces a central narrative in French colonial policy in Morocco, as well as the Moroccan nationalist response, and has been narrated in scholarship as such. However, it also is an important backdrop to understanding how race was constructed and hardened in North Africa, and the profound political significance it took on over the course of a relatively short period. Prior to the French Protectorate, as noted, Arabophone and Berberophone areas of the country existed, as well as the divide between *bled el-Makhzen* and *bled el-Siba*. Yet these categories, and the way they intersected with each other (as well as other categories of tribe, ethnicity, religious sect, color, geography and dialect, etc.), had been decidedly fluid and dynamic, shifting across time and space. "Arab" and "Berber" was only one set of identity markers that could also include location, tribal affiliation, class, gender, religious affiliation or practice, etc. But with French interventions in law, policy, and, as will be detailed more in this dissertation, scholarship, "Arab" and "Berber" became the primary, if not the only, identity markers of significance, and were newly imbued with a range of meanings and associations.

This also applied to the country's geography. Whereas the principle of *Makhzen* versus *Siba* had always been shifting and dynamic, French colonial scholars reified a fixed geography for these two "lands" that also mapped onto notions of what was Arab or Berber country.[40] This served to further render physical the Arab-Berber divide, and also to naturalize an antagonistic opposition between the two—when in reality, as Jonathan Wyrtzen has pointed out, *Makhzen* and *Siba* areas could be in conflict or in harmony, with elites in both areas serving as resources to the other. Daniel Rivet has also underscored the fact that, in contrast to neighboring Algeria, Morocco had long possessed an internal coherence regardless of the *Makhzen-Siba* divide, in which *Siba* tribes often recognized the Sultan's authority even as they chose whether or not to

[40] Wyrtzen, introduction.

submit to it when it suited them.[41] French colonial policy and scholarship had the effect, then, of solidifying an oppositional racial and physical geography that had never existed before.

The impulse to categorize and characterize colonized races was nowhere more urgent than in North Africa, the centerpiece of France's empire. The Maghrib was significant to the French in the interwar period for overlapping reasons: on the one hand, France had a long presence in North Africa, having first occupied Algiers in 1830, gradually extending its territory there over the mid-19th century, and eventually securing Algeria as its richest and most important settler colony. On the other hand, Tunisia and particularly Morocco had only been very recently acquired, with the Moroccan Protectorate established just before the outbreak of World War I, in 1912; hence the work of "pacifying" Morocco was still ongoing into the 1930s. While the French undertook new strategies in Morocco based on what they saw as the failures of assimilationism in Algeria, they nevertheless perceived its racial, religious, and cultural landscape as being very similar, and drew heavily on their prior North African experience. North Africa, then, was both an intimately familiar and long-standing territory and a place that still required greater knowledge to fully, ultimately possess.

The Fez Congress in Context

Thus, with all of the above in mind, we can newly see how the 1939 Fez Congress of Moroccan Music—its programming, its participants, its representation of Moroccan genres and peoples—held impactful significance far beyond music. Thirteen years after the Rif War, nine years after the Berber dahir and anti-dahir uprisings, five years after the declared "pacification" of Morocco, and just five years before the official establishment of the nationalist Istiqlal Party,

[41] Rivet, 91-92.

who indeed signed their manifesto in the same part of the same city as the Congress, the conference was entangled in multiple and contending narratives over Moroccan identity and independence, masked by the genteel and collaborative veneer of a scholarly meeting. In many ways the culmination of two decades of work in the Moroccan Protectorate on music and arts preservation, the themes of race, nation, and colonial interventionism that manifested at the Congress had been developing for many years. Beyond music, this included Prosper Ricard's extensive work in Moroccan arts and crafts: regular arts and crafts festivals in major cities, the creation of workshops and stamp certification programs for authentic native arts, museums, and scholarly publications including his popular *Corpus de tapis marocain* (Corpus of Moroccan Rugs), which would serve as the structural basis for Alexis Chottin's *Corpus de musique marocaine* (Corpus of Moroccan Music) a few years later. And as will be discussed in great detail in the succeeding chapters, musical initiatives by the Protectorate were frequent and varied in the interwar period, ranging from Chottin's publications and musical compositions to concert series to radio programming to participation in international representations of Morocco in Cairo and Paris. While the initiatives were diverse, the themes of French colonial paternalism and Moroccan racial and ethnic fixity were consistent throughout this period, echoing and reinforcing French messaging in other academic realms such as ethnography and sociology, all of which worked together to support colonial policy and expand colonial control.

Of course, what the Fez Congress also showed was that North African scholars, musicians, and elites were not simply passive receivers of these French projects. The Algerian and Moroccan delegates at the Congress, along with many other musicologists and scholars, participated and contributed to musical discourse in North Africa while also frequently undermining or challenging French narratives. Men like Azouaou Mammeri and Idriss ben

Abdelali El Idrissi, both presenters at the Congress, worked within the colonial system—Mammeri as an arts inspector, El Idrissi as a professor at the conservatory—yet often by their very presence troubled complacent French understandings about "native" arts and artists. Others like Mustafa Sfar in Tunisia and Wadia Sabra in Lebanon, operating in slightly different political contexts though still highly indebted to a French cultural and intellectual patronage, more openly challenged European supremacist narratives on music and rescripted the story of Arab, North African, and Andalusi musics, while also building on much longer Arabic intellectual traditions on music. In many ways, this Arabic tradition and its transnational canon collided with the canon of French and European musicology: scholars like Rodolphe d'Erlanger and Henry Farmer relied on it to write their own scholarship in European languages, yet colonial musicologists simultaneously had to write over it due to their more explicitly political motivations.

Chapter Outline

The dissertation is split into two parts. Part One focuses on "Colonial Musicology" and specifically on the musical projects that French officials and scholars launched in North Africa. As noted, these included everything from concert series, conferences, musical education, and radio programming to the staging of musical exhibits in metropolitan France that claimed to represent North African culture. Most significantly, this also included the flourishing, in the interwar period, of a vast body of musicological scholarship on North African musics, supported by colonial bodies like the Service des Arts Indigènes. I argue that such initiatives were technologies of power and surveillance through which the French asserted expertise on Moroccan music and demonstrated their material support for Moroccan cultural preservation and renovation. I also argue that these colonialist initiatives on music were repeatedly commissioned into a project of racialization that served colonial needs, namely the validation and reinforcement

of the Arab-Berber racial paradigm, the counterbalancing of Arab and Andalusi cultural dominance that could be linked to nascent nationalism with emphasis on Berber art forms, and the minimization or exclusion of identities and genres outside of this paradigm, namely Black music and folk music.

Chapter One explores the explicit ways in which music became part of the exercise of colonial rule. Focusing on Morocco and the Service des Arts Indigènes (SAI), it lays out the numerous musical initiatives undertaken by SAI head Prosper Ricard and leading musicologist Alexis Chottin, including overseeing the Morocco Pavilion and its musical acts at the 1931 Paris Colonial Exposition and putting together a representative musical ensemble for the 1932 Cairo Congress of Arab Music. It also analyzes the role of music in French colonial pedagogy and popular radio. Together, this musical policy constituted part of France's broader vision for Morocco, one that was rooted in the French colonial doctrine of associationism that also engaged superficially with assimilationist practices.

Chapter Two analyzes French musicology in North Africa to show how through musical scholarship, the construction and reification of ethnic genres, and the reinforcement of pre-existing assumptions about race, French scholars racialized the North African population in ways that supported colonial aims. I argue that musical knowledge was directly linked to the colonial gaze, and that its practitioners asserted power through recognition, or misrecognition, of North African musical culture, through a production of knowledge that was rendered material in books, images, and recordings. The construction of racial categories dovetailed cleanly with musicologists' impulse to create and define ethnic traditions, and in North Africa, French musicologists heard, inscribed, and reproduced racial difference.

Chapter Three takes a broader view of French colonial scientific practice to argue for the strong links between interwar French anthropology and musicology, and in turn both of these disciplines' deep imbrication with French Empire. Focusing on Paris's Musée de l'Homme, it demonstrates that even as French anthropologists engaged in a more "liberal" practice that acknowledged the instability of racial categories, they continued to emphasize the primacy and reality of race while performing fieldwork in colonized spaces. I then argue that it was French musicologists who openly sought to deploy their discipline as a race science, linking themselves to the anthropological tradition and claiming that musical data about non-Western musics was measurable and could be used to accurately gauge racial difference. Significantly, this campaign repeatedly centered on the question of Berber origins in North Africa.

Part Two of the dissertation focuses on "Arab and North African Musicology," and turns to the musical scholarship authored by Arab and North African scholars within the French Empire. These included Manoubi Snoussi, the assistant to famed French musicologist Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger in Tunis, and Wadia Sabra, a Lebanese composer who studied under Albert Lavignac in Paris, as well as various other scholars working and writing in North Africa throughout the early 20th century. In the last two chapters I demonstrate the ways in which this musicology was aligned with French colonial musicology in key ways, while also diverging in some of its central premises as well as the political projects it ultimately supported.

Chapter Four explores the ways in which Arab and North African musicologists also narrated the racial landscape via their scholarship. Like their French counterparts, these scholars were heavily invested in the definition of distinct ethnic genres predicated on racial categories, and as such their work served to reinforce and perpetuate these categories. Yet while the French promoted racial distinctions in North Africa as a means of controlling unruly colonial

populations, North African writers established a racial hierarchy as part of a nationalist political project that served as a vision for the post-colonial landscape, characterized by an Arab hegemony that marginalized minority ethnic identities.

Chapter Five argues that Arab and North African musicologists in the colonial era were not only collaborating with French scholars to create musical knowledge, they also belonged to a centuries-long intellectual genealogy on the category of "Arab music" that predated colonialism and indeed the very concept of European musicology. Francophone scholarship on "Arab music" by Arabs and North Africans constituted a self-affirming discourse in the colonial era that contributed to and sustained nationalist projects, while also building on an Arabic tradition of musical scholarship. Further, as many French musicologists and Orientalists relied entirely on this older Arabic tradition to produce their work on "Arab music," this chapter makes the claim that the roots of modern musicology in North Africa were ultimately Arab rather than French, and that more broadly French scholarship was heavily influenced by Arabic scholarship.

PART ONE: COLONIAL MUSICOLOGY

CHAPTER ONE: HOW MUSIC BECAME COLONIAL POLICY: THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE AND THE SERVICE OF NATIVE ARTS

In the 1920s, Alexis Chottin, a French musicologist employed in the French Protectorate in Morocco's school system, composed an anthem entitled "Song of the Young Moroccans," intended as the official hymn of the Protectorate's Muslim schools. The song's lyrics, by Jacques Bernolles, named France as the young Moroccans' "adoptive mother" and included such sentiments as "France, we want to glorify you!" and "Glory to our Master, to France!" These words were sung over an exultant melody, penned by Chottin in epic four-part harmony. The style was that of a European patriotic anthem, with the exception that the opening motif was rooted in musical Orientalism-- that is to say, the canon of "Eastern"-sounding themes long established in European classical music, not unlike those existing in Orientalist painting or literary description, and only loosely connected to the actual musical tropes of Arab or North African music. Interestingly, Chottin himself composed in this Orientalist, somewhat fanciful idiom, despite being perhaps the leading French expert on "actual" Moroccan music, an honor he has retained almost to the present day; and even more interestingly, he composed this piece to be performed by actual young native students in colonial Morocco.

What does it mean to not only enforce patriotic singing amongst colonized children—for example, if the official hymn had remained something like the Marseillaise—but to compose a specific piece of musical patriotism for young Moroccans? What does it mean to make them sing these words and these melodies; and also what does it tell us that a man like Chottin, a serious musicologist of "native" Moroccan music, composed it?

This chapter will discuss musicology, or the study and production of knowledge about music, as well as the use of music in policy and administration, as these were practiced in French North Africa in the colonial period, and how music became both overtly and subtly linked to the colonial project. It will focus on Morocco, namely the Service des Arts Indigènes (SAI), or Service of Native Arts, and its influential chief from 1920-1935, Prosper Ricard, as well as the work of leading Protectorate musicologist Alexis Chottin, focusing especially on the Protectorate's highly productive interwar years. It will also discuss the role of music in colonial pedagogy as well as the significance of contemporary Orientalist musical compositions. Together, these components of colonial musical life and policy present a near-complete picture of the intersections of music and colonialism, and how music, and musicology, "became" part of the exercise of French colonialism and ideology. Musical policy in all of these areas dovetailed with the Protectorate's broader vision for Morocco, one that was rooted in an associationism that simultaneously engaged in at least superficially assimilationist practices, as will be discussed.

Part I as a whole will address musicology as a powerful and transformative medium of colonial knowledge production, particularly in the interwar period, a moment that coincided with the apex of pacification efforts in Morocco as well as a critical moment in European race science.[42] In this chapter I discuss the musical initiatives of the Service des Arts Indigènes and other colonial bodies, which have not previously been treated, as they constituted a vital part of the Protectorate government's mission despite music's perceived marginalization both as an art form and as an administrative preoccupation. While operating in similar ways, music nevertheless constitutes a unique modality for the transmission of ideology and the formation of categories of identity, parallel to but also separate from other sciences and art forms; in many

[42] Alice Conklin, *In the Museum of Man: Race, Anthropology, and Empire in France, 1850-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013).

ways, it served as a kind of Trojan horse for the meanings and discourses it carried, seemingly innocuous and marginal but in actuality singularly powerful, embodied in the individual and embedded in the social and cultural fabric. As such it is especially necessary to consider more closely.

Over the next two chapters I ask: What were the musical initiatives of the French colonial government in Morocco, and how did this reflect and reinforce wider colonial goals? What were state and scholarly interventions into colonial visions of Moroccan music and society, particularly regarding race, ethnicity, and gender; and how did it parallel or collaborate with projects of colonization, pacification, and settlement amongst native populations?

The Early French Protectorate: Conquest, Pacification, and Arts Preservation

When the Treaty of Fez was signed in 1912, which officially established the French Protectorate, France already had maintained a creeping presence in Morocco for many years, and of course had already occupied neighboring Algeria for almost a century. The French, along with the British and the Spanish, had designs on Morocco, which unlike its neighbors had stubbornly remained an independent and mostly coherent polity under the rule of the Alawite Sultan. But cracks in this Moroccan autonomy had begun to appear by the mid- to late nineteenth century, as European imperial pressures (political, military, and commercial) were being felt around the globe, and formerly powerful autonomous entities like Egypt and the Ottoman Empire also increasingly fell under European direct or indirect influence, often in part through the exigencies of the global market. The Strait of Gibraltar region was viewed as particularly strategic by the European Powers, as the gateway between the Mediterranean and Atlantic, and part of Britain's

access to Egypt and Suez as well as overlapping with France's vital shipping routes to Algeria.[43] European merchants, diplomats, laborers, and increasingly winter tourists had set up shop in Tangier, which had looser restrictions on foreign settlement and commerce, since the mid-nineteenth century. Since 1860, Morocco was also struggling to pay off a large debt to Spain, an indemnity incurred by its loss in the Hispano-Moroccan War of 1859-1860. This debt led to even greater dependence on foreign investment, loans, and customs duties. On the part of the *makhzan* (Moroccan Sultan's government), the period between 1860 and 1912 was characterized by government efforts at centralization along the lines of the Ottoman *tanzimat* and the Morocco's treacherous incorporation into the global economy, both of which had extremely destabilizing effects on the country as a whole.[44]

European intervention accelerated at the turn of the century, as the Powers saw an opportunity to exploit the existing unrest in the country. This included a revolt by Abu Himara/Bu Hmara, who led a rebellion against the *makhzan* in northeastern Morocco and briefly formed his own polity in the eastern Rif, which lasted until 1909. While previous scholarship has referred to Bu Hmara as a former *makhzan* employee turned rebel, Sasha Pack reveals that he was actually a "pretender" who used his savvy and the chaotic political situation to play powers off each other.[45] This included working at different times with both the French and the Spanish, who offered him resources in return for the chance to gain footholds in the Sultan's lands.

Meanwhile, European colonial powers took their first decisive step toward colonization of the country with the Anglo-French entente signed in April 1904. The terms of the agreement

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[43] Sasha D. Pack, *The Deepest Border: The Strait of Gibraltar and the Making of the Hispano-African Borderland* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019), Introduction.
[44] Edmund Burke III, "Mohand N'Hamoucha: A Middle Atlas Berber," in Driss Maghraoui, ed., *Revisiting the Colonial Past in Morocco* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 133.
[45] Edmund Burke III, *The Ethnographic State: France and the Invention of Moroccan Islam* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014), 84; Pack, *The Deepest Border*, 119-122.

were that France would renounce its claims to Egypt in exchange for Britain recognizing France's primary claims to Morocco. The Moroccan government was left entirely out of these proceedings.[46] The Algeciras Conference in 1905 further entrenched France's claims to Morocco in opposition to Germany's maneuvers there. As Edmund Burke has described, during this same period of imperial positioning, the French were developing the burgeoning field of "Moroccan studies" as a parallel process of intellectual imperialism, using French social scientists to produce knowledge that would facilitate its soon-expected administration of the inevitable colony.[47]

The 1912 Treaty of Fez officially codified France's Protectorate status over the country, while also ceding to Spain its historic influence over the northern zone with the exception of the city of Tangier, which eventually was proclaimed an international zone to mollify British claims.[48] Immediately after the treaty's signing, insurrection broke out over much of Morocco, centered on Fez itself: Moroccan troops staged an uprising there against their French overseers, looted and raided the Jewish quarter, and killed many Europeans. A parallel insurrection occurred in the southern Tafilalt region under Ahmad al-Hiba. While soon put down, this unrest signaled broader difficulties the French would continue to have in the country, particularly in the rural and mountainous Berber-speaking regions, for the next two decades. By no means was the French domination, or as they called it "pacification," of the country complete throughout the first half of the Protectorate (roughly 1912-1934), which also largely covers the period being discussed here.

Such "pacification" projects included French initiatives between 1913 and 1918 in the Middle Atlas Mountains against the Zayan tribal federation under Moha ou Hamou, followed by

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[46] Burke, *The Ethnographic State*, 84-85.
[47] Burke, *The Ethnographic State,* 100-101.
[48] Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 98-99.

other Berber groups through 1924.[49] It included Resident-General Hubert Lyautey's cooptation of southern chieftains in the High Atlas regions to in turn subdue the peoples of those areas, as "surrogate fighters" for the French. And perhaps most brutally, in the 1920s, it included French intervention in the Rif War in the north between the Spanish and the Rifian Berbers, who were led by freedom fighter Abdelkrim El-Khattabi, one of the landmark anticolonial struggles of the early twentieth century. When in 1924 the Rifi rebels launched offensives into French territory, the French actively engaged them, and under General Philippe Pétain deployed poison gas and aerial bombardment on civilian populations before forcing Abdelkrim's surrender and banishment. Thus it is important to keep in mind that the cultural policies, language, and knowledge production deployed by the French during this period were always set against a backdrop of war and violent settlement. And not only a backdrop; indeed, they were often strategically if subtly tied to the political and military wings of the French Protectorate government, as well as its "pacification" project, which while Lyautey hoped to achieve this through the more peaceful means of coopting elites and spreading French ideology, also often resorted to outright violence and oppression. This would be a constant throughout the relatively short-lived Protectorate (1912-1956): even after the so-called end of "pacification" in 1934, subtle and overt forms of violence and repression, as well as sustained resistance and periodic uprisings, characterized the entire French experience in Morocco and Moroccan subjects' relationship to the Protectorate. In certain cases this violence was even more explicitly linked to the cultural and intellectual interventions of "Moroccan studies" and "Berber studies," as was the case with the backlash to the "Berber dahir" of 1930 and its aftershocks.

[49] Miller, 98-99.

The Service des Arts Indigènes

The early organization of the French Protectorate government was conceived to be a kind of parallel, behind-the-scenes government to the nominal authority of the Cherifian government, or the Moroccan Sultan and his administration (the Sultan, Moulay Youssef [1912-1927], had incidentally been installed by the French after they deposed his less cooperative brother). In 1912 the French government consisted of only two departments, but within a few years this had expanded to eight: finance, public works, agriculture, commerce, health, communications, native affairs, and education.[50] Each department also contained sub-departments and bureaus or *services* responsible for various subjects. These departments, and the wider French bureaucracy, were the true administrators of the country; while Lyautey aimed to bolster the symbolic authority of the Sultan, in reality the Sultan's government was limited to just a few ministerial positions overseeing Islamic justice and Islamic education, the latter mainly at the historic al-Qarawiyyin University in Fez. As Susan Gilson Miller puts it, the French departments and their sub-offices "were the real-workhorses of the regime, carrying out the complex day-to-day operations of rule. It was here that the actual business of government took place, where projects were planned and staffed, where budgets were conceived, and vital decisions made."[51]

The French Protectorate's education department was officially entitled the Direction de l'Instruction Publique (DIP) and itself oversaw a wide range of activities and aspects of the colonial project: education, architecture, archaeology, historical scholarship, fine arts, and native arts. This included a range of art education programs and workshops, as has been outlined in detail by Hamid Irbouh, who argues that while the French claimed to be benevolently providing training for Moroccans, the arts education system ultimately was unequal and worked to

[50] Miller, 91-92.
[51] Miller, 92.

strengthen an exclusionary social system.[52] It was in the late 1910s that the Service des Arts Indigènes (SAI), a bureau that fell under the DIP's jurisdiction, was founded at Lyautey's urging. While European studies of Moroccan art and music pre-dated the Protectorate, it was not until after the SAI's founding that music in Morocco became linked directly to the colonial power center in an unprecedented way, both through musicology and musical policy.

The two central figures in the organization and direction of the Service des Arts Indigènes were Lyautey and Prosper Ricard, the SAI's first chief. Lyautey, the first Resident-General of the Protectorate, was immeasurably influential in the establishment of French Protectorate policy and ideology. Born into a Catholic, royalist-leaning family, Lyautey was raised with a traditionalist world view that was entrenched by his years of military experience in the French colonies, namely Indochina, Madagascar, and Algeria.[53] In particular, he is credited with enshrining the Moroccan Protectorate's "associationist" ideology: French experience in Algeria, which Lyautey witnessed firsthand while posted there, had in his eyes discredited the colonial strategy of assimilation, which sought to "civilize" the native Algerians along a French and European model. Instead, Lyautey was a disciple of Joseph Gallieni, whom he had worked under in Indochina and Madagascar, and like him believed that association—the preservation of discrete spheres for natives and Europeans, who would be "associated" side-by-side in rule, and the aiding in the "development" of native society and institutions along their own trajectory—was the healthiest model for a colonial society.

The debate between assimilation and association in French colonial theory came to a head in the early twentieth century, as was first comprehensively discussed in Raymond Betts' landmark 1960 study of the subject. Prior to the twentieth century, assimilation had long been the

[52] Hamid Irbouh, *Art in the Service of Colonialism: French Art Education in Morocco, 1912-1956* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2005), introduction.
[53] Miller, 90.

rational philosophical extension of French republicanism: the idea that colonized subjects would eventually receive equal political rights to Frenchmen, based on Enlightenment ideals of universal equality and humanity (even as it was also predicated on the backwardness and delayed development of non-white peoples and the subsequent necessity for French tutelage). While colonial policy was mixed between what could be called assimilationist and associationist ideas, assimilationism was the predominant ideology of the French Empire in the late nineteenth century.[54] Yet Betts argues that in the period between 1890 and 1914, the French colonial model by and large shifted from assimilation to association. The imposition of a "rigid universalism" on diverse and far-flung colonial societies began to appear unwieldy at best, impossible at worst, particularly as French power stretched itself thin over greater amounts of territory.[55] Association was increasingly seen as a more flexible and more practical policy, one that could be implemented in different colonies according to local customs and structures. In reality, like its British counterpart of indirect rule, the term "associationism" covered a wide range of practices.[56] Yet at its core it was premised on the fact that the colonizing French and the colonized natives would be "associated" in the exercise of rule: French authorities and traditional local elites would be geared towards a common goal of native development, but unlike in assimilationism, this development was premised on entirely distinct trajectories for native, non-white peoples and their European overseers. Betts points out that Lyautey, along with his mentor Gallieni, were the two men who best exemplified and most developed colonial associationism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[57]

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[54] Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 8.
[55] Raymond Betts, *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory, 1890-1914* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 106.
[56] For indirect rule in British Empire, see: Bruce Berman, *Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya: The Dialectic of Domination* (London: J. Currey, 1990); Brett L. Shadle, *"Girl Cases": Marriage and Colonialism in Gusiiland, Kenya, 1890-1970* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2006).
[57] Betts, 109.

Of course, association was not simply a more practical methodology of working within local structures and with local elites: it was, as Martin Thomas puts it, compared to assimilation "a less ambitious style of indirect rule that minimized change in the prevailing social order while denying political inclusion to most colonial subjects."[58] Not unlike assimilation, proponents of association claimed to be acting with the "natives'" best interest in mind, while also legitimizing a model that maintained their "separateness" and reinforced notions of their static traditionalism. This conservative, exclusionary ideology found perhaps its most visible expression in the ambitious urban planning of major Moroccan cities: under the direction of French architect Henri Prost, the Protectorate undertook a massive urban planning project that designated, in all major Moroccan cities, a perfectly preserved Arab *medina* or old city and a modern, European-dominated *ville nouvelle* or new city, markedly separated by a *cordon sanitaire*.[59] Along those same philosophical lines, Lyautey was also committed to the preservation and restoration of indigenous culture, arts, and music as both valuable Moroccan patrimony and irrevocably non-modern and non-European. This preservation of Moroccan culture was for Lyautey "an explicit rejection of republican assimilationism," not unlike his educational policy that saw the establishment of separate schools for Europeans and Moroccan Muslims, meant to "prevent cultural, social, and psychological miscegenation."[60]

Prosper Ricard, who started his colonial career in Algeria, subscribed to a similar vision. Ricard moved to Algeria from France in 1899 and was interested in colonial education, particularly the instruction in French language and culture of Kabyle Berbers, often perceived by

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[58] Martin Thomas, *The French Empire between the Wars: Imperialism, Politics and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 6.
[59] Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 144-145.
[60] Spencer Segalla, *The Moroccan Soul: French Education, Colonial Ethnology, and Muslim Resistance, 1912-1956* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 15.

the French to be "closer" to whiteness and civilization than their Arab Muslim counterparts.[61] Instead, he was assigned to work with Muslims, and slowly began to take an interest in the emerging field of native arts and industries. By 1908, when he first met Lyautey, he was already developing a career in this field, traveling to conferences and undertaking government-funded studies of native arts. He also had shifted his view from assimilationism to Lyautey's notion of association and indirect rule.

In 1915, three years after the establishment of the Moroccan Protectorate, Lyautey invited Ricard to Fez to work on the preservation of Moroccan native arts. What was to be a temporary trip turned into a full-time career, and Ricard left Algeria for Morocco, where he would be instrumental in shaping the program of colonial arts preservation, and leave an indelible mark on the development of multiple Moroccan arts and crafts. His *Corpus de tapis marocain*, a comprehensive visual guide to Moroccan carpets, has remained influential up to the present day.

Under Ricard, the Service des Arts Indigènes took shape. It was originally established as the Office des Industries d'Art Indigène in 1918 under Joseph de la Nezière, an Orientalist painter, with Ricard working under him.[62] But there were disagreements between the two regarding where a central "institut des métiers" or trades institute should be located, with De la Nezière proposing Rabat, the Protectorate's largely modernized capital, and Ricard insisting it should be Fez, the historic and more traditional artistic center of Morocco. Lyautey ended up promoting Ricard to de la Nezière's spot in 1920, and the Office was officially renamed the Service des Arts Indigènes and transferred to the Direction de l'Instruction Publique, des Beaux Arts et des Antiquités (DIP). Ricard would remain in this post until he reached the mandatory

[61] James Mokhiber, "'Le protectorat dans la peau': Prosper Ricard and the 'Native Arts' in French Colonial Morocco, 1899-1952," in *Revisiting the Colonial Past in Morocco*, ed. Driss Maghraoui (London: Routledge, 2013), 257-261.
[62] Mokhiber, 267.

retirement age in 1935, and continued to be involved in Moroccan native arts initiatives to the end of his life in 1952.

Upon its organization, the SAI immediately undertook sweeping action towards the preservation and promotion of native arts and industries in Morocco. It oversaw the establishment of workshops, libraries, and museums, and over the course of the 1920s Ricard expanded the use of official stamps of "authenticity" as a means to approve newly-produced carpets. Stamping ceremonies were often public, playing out as a very visible and ritual manifestation of the SAI's control over native arts. Ricard himself also contributed to numerous publications over this period, including his *Corpus de tapis marocains*, surveys of North African art for the general reader, and a preface for the French travel guide to Morocco *Le Guide Bleu*. As James Mokhiber puts it, "From the morning paper to the bookshelf, Ricard sought to invest readers in the North African empire and in France with a solicitude for the 'native arts.'"[63]

This French "solicitude" for native arts and music in North Africa was not entirely novel. While the SAI itself did not become deeply engaged with Moroccan music until 1928, a few French writers in the Protectorate were already publishing work on the subject, and indeed they joined a longer tradition of European studies of North African musical genres dating back to at least the mid-nineteenth century.[64] These studies often covered a wide variety of genres, from desert Tuareg music to the urban classical Arab genre found in cities like Tunis and Algiers, and their format ranged from reprinting poetic song lyrics to transcribing folk melodies to textually describing the makeup and sounds of an Arab ensemble.

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[63] Mokhiber, 269.

[64] See: A. Fischer, *Das Liederbuch Eines Marokkanischen Sängers* (Leipzig: Verlag von B.G. Teubner, 1918); Rimbaud, "Le chant chez les Imouhar," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord* Année 7 (Algiers, 1902), 532-543; G. Delphin and L. Guin, *Complainte arabe: Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabes dans le Maghreb algérien* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1886); Antonin Laffage, *La musique arabe: Ses instruments et ses chants* (Tunis: E. Lecore Carpentier, 1907); extensive works by Jules Rouanet in Algiers.

With the advent of the French Protectorate in Morocco, a few more comprehensive studies of Moroccan music in its diversity appeared. In 1908, Casimir Blanc, a French settler and amateur music enthusiast resident in Tangier, wrote *La musique chez les maures* ("Music among the Moors"), covering a few different genres and utilizing Moroccan interlocutors. And in 1920, the first "official" musical study of the Protectorate was penned by the young scholar Marie-Thérèse de Lens for the Bulletin of the Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines (IHEM), entitled "Ce que nous savons de la musique et des instruments de la musique du Maroc" ("What We Know about the Music and Musical Instruments of Morocco"). Lyautey founded IHEM in 1920 to train colonial officials in Moroccan society and history, while also producing scientific scholarship on Morocco through its journals.[65] As Susan Miller has argued, the institute fundamentally served as another tool of political control, a control that was reinforced through its research agendas and instruction. At the time, its board members included Prosper Ricard and Mohamed Ben Smaïl, an Algerian professor who worked on the preservation of Arab Andalusi music. Yet at that point de Lens' publication stood alone as the sole officially-sponsored musical study in the Protectorate. This would shift over the 1920s with a series of articles by the educator-turned-musicologist Alexis Chottin, culminating in the SAI's first major musical project in 1928.

Alexis Chottin's Musicological Work

In the 1920s, Alexis Chottin, an Algerian-born Frenchman trained in music theory and performance, began publishing articles on Moroccan music for various publications. Chottin at the time was an instructor at a school in Fez, and later in the decade became the director of the École des Fils de Notables (School for the Children of Notables) in Salé, and regularly composed

[65] Miller, 102.

songs for his schoolchildren to sing in his classes. In 1923 he published an article in *Hespéris*, the Berber studies journal issued by IHEM, on "Popular songs collected in Fez." In 1927 his short article on the "nfir" or trumpet of Ramadan appeared in another issue of *Hespéris*. However it was in 1928 that his relationship with the SAI and Ricard was cemented, marking an official turning point in colonial musicology, the year that Chottin and Ricard organized the landmark three-day concert series "Trois journées de la musique marocaine" (Three days of Moroccan music) at the Garden of the Oudayas in Rabat. The series was arranged to coincide with an IHEM conference and marked the SAI's first full investment in Moroccan music. At the concert, Chottin gave the opening speech on the first day, entitled "Les visages de la musique marocaine" ("The Faces of Moroccan Music"), which sought to give an overview of Moroccan musical genres, mostly by splitting it into two major categories of "Arab" and "Berber."[66]

The three days of the concert were programmed thematically. The first day's programming followed Chottin's outline of Arab and Berber music, effectively split into two sections, and the second day contained a mix of Arab and Berber genres, plus an intermission featuring a Black jester from Marrakech. The third day switched the focus from "traditional" music to "modern" and "classical" music.[67] The implications of this concert, and Chottin's speech, as a racial "landscaping" of Morocco by the French will be discussed more in the next chapter. Here it is worthwhile just to note that the "modern," "classical" music of Morocco was represented by Chottin's compositions, performed by choir and orchestra, and the Algerian-Moroccan revivalist group Andalousia. Andalousia had been founded in the Moroccan border town of Oujda by two Algerians employed by the French Protectorate's schools, Mohamed Ben Smaïl and Mostefa Aboura, as an amateur musical association devoted to the revival of North

[66] Alexis Chottin, *Les Visages de la Musique Marocaine* (Rabat: Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1928).
[67] Prosper Ricard, *Essai d'action sur la musique et le théâtre populaire marocains* (Rabat: Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1928).

African Andalusi music.[68] They would go on to perform at multiple Protectorate musical events, including at the Moroccan Pavilion at the Paris Colonial Exposition in 1931, and at the First Congress of Moroccan Music in Fez in 1939 (after Aboura's death).

The Trois journées concert marked a significant moment in the attachment to and investment of the French and the French Protectorate in Moroccan music. A public spectacle, aimed at the "education" and entertainment of French and Moroccan residents of Rabat, it had a much more popular reach than most of the musicological or scholarly texts that the SAI or IHEM was producing. The concert series' presentation as an "overview" that effectively claimed to cover the scope of Moroccan musical genres also was significant. And not least, Chottin's "Les Visages" speech set the tone for any musical scholarship to come. His emphasis on the Arab-Berber musical divide, which also had obvious racial implications, entrenched a preexisting colonial view of Moroccan and North African society and contributed to its longevity by giving it an authoritative angle in the musical world. This was itself, of course, an extension of Ricard's intervention into native arts and particularly carpets, also frequently split along Arab-Berber lines, and served to prolong and promote a useful colonial narrative on Moroccan society.

This model would be replicated in Chottin's two major publications on Moroccan music, sponsored by the SAI: the *Corpus de musique marocaine*, which appeared in two volumes in 1931 and 1933, on Arab-Andalusi *nuba* and Chleuh Berber music, respectively, and the *Tableau de la musique marocaine* in 1939, which was split into an Arab and a Berber section. These works, and their racial implications for Moroccan society, will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Following the Trois journées concert, Chottin went on to become the first director of the SAI's Conservatory of Moroccan Music in Rabat, a post he held for many years.

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[68] Jonathan Glasser, *The Lost Paradise: Andalusi Music in Urban North Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 2.

Throughout this period, Chottin also authored many musical compositions and was a semi-prolific composer. Many of these were "chants scolaires" or school songs for his students to sing, as mentioned, while others were in a more classical vein. Later in the chapter, I will discuss the significance of these compositions, but for now it suffices to note that his career as was composer was never separate from his work for the Protectorate, and that additionally almost without exception his compositions were aesthetically or thematically inspired by "Moroccan music." It is worth considering the relationship that such Moroccan-influenced, quasi-Orientalist musical production had to Chottin's work as a Moroccan music expert and leading musicologist for the colonial state. By considering more deeply the roles of both of these men—Ricard and Chottin—who had disproportionate control over how Moroccan arts and music would be understood, represented, and "developed," we can gain a more profound understanding of the interconnections between aesthetic and cultural representation and the exercise of power in the French Protectorate. This becomes clear when we examine two major international initiatives that both Ricard and Chottin were involved in in the 1930s, with Ricard taking on the leading role: the Moroccan Pavilion at the Paris Colonial Exposition of 1931, and the Moroccan orchestra and delegation to the Cairo Congress of Arab Music in 1932.

Prosper Ricard and the 1931 Paris Colonial Exposition

In August 1931, Prosper Ricard traveled to Paris for the Colonial Exposition and helped to oversee and commemorate the opening of the Moroccan Pavilion, further involving himself in metropolitan aesthetic representations of Morocco beyond his scholarly publications. The Pavilion was meant to showcase the current situation of the French Protectorate and its accomplishments, alongside the exhibits of other French holdings including Algeria and Tunisia.

Ricard was pleased with the overall effect of the Moroccan Pavilion: in his personal notes, he wrote, "The pavilion is lighter than that of Algeria. Our showcases put to admiration our works of value… The mood of the merchants and artisans appears excellent." He added that unlike the Moroccan exhibit, the Algerian exhibit "doesn't have any souk at all."[69] Ricard's implicitly negative assessment of his former colony of residence was rooted in a concern for authenticity, as well as how aesthetically and experientially pleasing the exhibit would be for the metropolitan fairgoers. In his assessment, Morocco's representation was more faithful to reality as well as more entertaining in the scope of the fair.

This lack of a souk—and also the fact that Algeria was the only colonial exhibit without a "unique" architectural monument—may be explained in part by the fact that the French were at this point more invested in showing a more "modern" Algeria.[70] Algeria's position amongst the colonies as the primary part of "Greater France," linked to its status as the largest settler colony of the French Empire, had been consolidated by this point in the twentieth century; further, the fact that it was also one of France's oldest holdings (the Algerian Centenary celebrations commemorating the hundredth anniversary of its occupation were held one year earlier, in 1930) meant it was necessary to show a greater degree of development and modernization than a more recent acquisition like Morocco. Yet as Ricard rightly indicates, such a representation would hold less interest for the average fairgoer, who would be more interested in indulging in exotic fantasy than applauding France's infrastructural improvements. It would also be further from what most metropolitan French would associate with "Oriental" North Africa. This tension between the construction of both Orientalist and modern imaginaries of colonial place

[69] Prosper Ricard, "Exposition coloniale de Paris (Août)," Archives privées Prosper Ricard 11AP/298, Archives Musée du Quai Branly.
[70] Thomas, 200.

characterized much of the experience of the fairs, particularly in the North African exhibits, and was both reflected in and reinforced by the exhibition's musics.

The 1931 Paris Colonial Exposition can be situated within a long and spectacular history of world's fairs, spanning the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, all with deep colonial and imperial roots. Much has been written about the colonial posturing of expositions like the 1893 Columbian Exposition, hosted in Chicago at a crucial moment when the United States was beginning to follow Europe's example in pursuing the acquisition of overseas territories. The Chicago Midway featured ethnographic exhibits "on a sliding scale of humanity," as a contemporary observer put it, from the Teutonic and Celtic races at one end to the Dahomey and the North American Indian at the other. Muslim cultures like Algeria and Egypt tended to be situated roughly in the middle, between savagery and civilization.[71] The carnival atmosphere of the Chicago Midway was further contrasted with the gleaming modern buildings of the White City, meant to symbolize American civilization (and racial identity) at its most idealized.

European expositions were typically even more explicit in their colonial posturing. The 1924 British Empire Exhibition at Wembley Park in London was a grand celebration of the empire and Britain's overseas achievements. Prominent British composer Edward Elgar, known for his imperial compositions, wrote the famed "Empire March" as the exhibition's official hymn. The Exhibition came at a crucial interwar moment: Britain's territorial breadth had just reached its greatest size due to the acquisition of former German and Ottoman territories; and yet public investment in and support for empire had been waning since the Second Anglo-Boer War, and even more so following the carnage and heavy toll of World War I. So the Exhibition featured specialized colonial exhibits like the Indian Pavilion, the West African Pavilion, and the

[71] Danton Snider, quoted in Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam in Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 83.

Burmese Pavilion, constructed to look like "authentic" native buildings and often employing "authentic" natives demonstrating traditional handicrafts, industries, and performance art, in order to reinvigorate the British public's enthusiasm for its empire.

France's metropolitan investment in empire suffered an even greater decline than Britain in the interwar period. Like Britain, it had reached a new territorial height following World War I, yet the combined effects of war-weariness, domestic concerns, and the fact that French mass interest in empire had never been as great as Britain's even during high imperialism meant that the promoters of French Empire—lobbyists, government institutions, colonial societies, and colonial administrations—had to go to greater lengths to propagandize France's imperial work.[72] Indeed, the steady apathy at home and the increasing threat of anticolonial revolts abroad meant that paradoxically the interwar period saw metropolitan France's most *active* and *visible* manifestations of imperial culture. This included films, songs, advertising imagery, postcards, novels, school curricula, and much more, but of course perhaps most visibly it included the imperial exhibitions. A colonial exposition was held in Marseilles in 1922, followed by two in Paris in 1931 and 1937. Martin Thomas notes that the 1931 exposition "became a marker for popular imperialism in inter-war France," and indeed was at least marginally successful in galvanizing popular sentiment and propagating other colonial initiatives in the metropole.[73]

The Paris Colonial Exposition of 1931 opened in May and ran until October, and within that time it sold over 33.5 million tickets, marking it as a brilliant commercial success.[74] The exhibition's patrons were Hubert Lyautey and Albert Sarraut, former Governor-General of French Indochina and Minister of the Colonies. Like the Chicago Midway, the Paris Exposition's colonial exhibits were spatially organized in a meaningful way: a fountain with a statue of

[72] Thomas, viii.
[73] Thomas, 5; 190.
[74] Thomas, 199.

Marianne, the symbol of the French Republic, sat in the middle of the colonial pavilions, near an impressive reconstruction of the Khmer temple of Angkor Wat. The colonial pavilions themselves were arranged around these on what Thomas calls a "clear racial hierarchy," with Southeast Asia's advanced ancient civilizations at the top, traditionalist Muslim cultures of North Africa in the middle, and tribal Black Africa at the bottom. In all of these areas, however, French achievements in bringing development and revival to local cultures was highlighted.

The "Orientalist" tropes of France's North African and Middle Eastern exhibits regularly appeared at Paris's world's fairs, dating all the way back to the 1867 Exposition. At the 1889 Exposition, Annegret Fauser notes how continued public interest in the experience of the Orient was tempered by a growing concern for the authenticity of the exhibits. At one point, fair inspectors actually temporarily closed the Egyptian exhibits over concerns that some of the goods sold in the exhibit bazaars were fakes made in France.[75] The public, and the fair administrators, expressed a desire that all products of the fair—both material goods and human performers—must be authentically Eastern.

This concern extended to the music of the North African exhibits, and produced a degree of tension between the experience of "Orientalist" music and "authentic" Arab music. As Fauser describes, and as will be discussed more below, Orientalist music was prevalent in the Western musical canon by the late nineteenth century. Typically, this meant music that was thematically "Eastern" (often operas or ballets with exotic settings and dramatic set design) and contained readily identifiable "musical signifiers" like the augmented second interval, while overall remaining firmly rooted in a Western musical idiom. Most visitors to the fair would thus be very familiar with a Moroccan, Algerian, and Tunisian "sound" that had a tenuous basis in reality.

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[75] Annegret Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 218.

Meanwhile, many of the performers at the 1889 exhibits were real North African musicians, playing Eastern instruments (like the oud, the qanun, the deff, and the darabuka), in unfamiliar modes and foreign-sounding styles: "Visitors thus found themselves in a field of tension between the reality of the Middle Eastern performances and the imaginary Orient of their previous cultural experiences."[76] Contemporary observers used words like "nasal," "barbaric," "bizarre," "squalling," and "discordant" to describe the music they heard in the Tunisian and Moroccan cafés. Further, while based on the instrumentation and composition of the ensembles, most of the music was the elite urban art music from the capitals of the Levant and North Africa, visitors nevertheless presumed it to be a kind of peasant or popular music, or even tribal desert music, revealing a profound lack of knowledge about "Oriental" genres (and peoples) and their differentiation.

Not surprisingly, the "sliding scale of humanity" expressed by the exhibitions' spatial organization was extended to the music. The music of the Indochina exhibits at the 1889 Exposition, and notably the Javanese gamelan, was well-received, and famously inspired French composer Claude Debussy to borrow its tonalities in developing the sounds of French Impressionism. The music of the Middle Eastern and North African exhibits, meanwhile, was sonically a source of tension and consternation, as described above, while at the same time the performances visually and experientially continued to support Orientalist fantasies (not least through the belly dance performances). Meanwhile, the music of the Black African exhibits was perceived as extraordinarily primitive, visceral, and sexualized—at the 1889 fair, musical performances in the African villages were generally read as rituals rather than legitimate musical concerts per se. Additionally a limited number of Black Sudanese musicians and dancers performed at the North African cafés. Following tropes effectively dissected by

[76] Fauser, 225.

ethnomusicologist Kofi Agawu, African music was considered to be simpler due to its heavy emphasis on rhythm and its lack of melody.[77] The racialization of musical genres within North Africa will be discussed more in the next chapter; it is simply important to note here that racial hierarchies manifested through musical performance even within the limited environment of the metropolitan colonial exhibition, with profound implications for the racialized French colonies.

By the time of the 1931 Exposition, musical representations of the French colonial territories had shifted yet retained many core tropes, including the valorization of "African rhythm, as exemplified by the African musical fête hosted by the Musée de l'Homme for the occasion that featured dancers and acrobats from French West Africa. In terms of Moroccan musical representation, Ricard appears to have had a significant role in the Exposition's programming. His month-long stay in Paris for the Exposition included meetings and dinners with various dignitaries and officials, including Hubert Lyautey (who while no longer the Resident-General was still involved and interested in Moroccan affairs) and the Sultan himself, who traveled for the Pavilion's opening. Meanwhile, the music of the Moroccan Pavilion included not only the Orientalist *cafés-concerts* that predominated at the 1889 fair, but also some more modern twists. At one illustrious banquet, with notable guests including Lyautey, Mohamed Ben Ghabrit, and Marcel Vicaire, and a sumptuous menu, Ricard found himself seated next to a man named Rouget, a preceptor of finances. Ricard recounted in his personal notes that Rouget told him that he had attended a performance by the Algerian-Moroccan musical group Andalousia at the Moroccan Pavilion, and was looking forward to the performances of Chottin's compositions there later on.[78]

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[77] Kofi Agawu, *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 55.

[78] Prosper Ricard, "Exposition coloniale de Paris (Août)," Archives privées Prosper Ricard 11AP/298, Archives Musée du Quai Branly.

In this casual exchange, we both learn about the nature of the musical programming at the Moroccan Pavilion, and the opportunity it afforded to the average French fairgoer to experience "Moroccan music" as the Protectorate represented it. A significant part of that representation was Andalousia and Alexis Chottin, two alternately "modern" interpretations of traditional Moroccan music. Further, the occasion of the Paris Exposition allowed these designated musical representatives of Morocco to reach a much wider audience in France, and to affirm and shape French understandings of North African music and Moroccan society. The contemporaneous proliferation of North African-themed popular musical compositions in metropolitan France, as will be discussed, gestures to a broader interest in Moroccan music and culture, and in ambiguous ways Chottin existed both inside and outside of this Orientalist canon, just as he existed both inside and outside of the world of the Moroccan Pavilion—yet both continued to trade in often stereotypical, two-dimensional depictions of North Africa.

The juxtaposition of "traditional" Moroccan genres with "modern" interpretations by Chottin and Andalousia (notably, an association founded by an Algerian employee of the French Protectorate) as an effective, comprehensive *vue d'ensemble* of Moroccan music would be reiterated at multiple Protectorate-sponsored events throughout the interwar period: the Trois journées concert in 1928, which, as noted previously, closed its three-day series with a "modern" program by Andalousia and Chottin; the Pavilion at the 1931 Colonial Exposition; and later, the Fez Congress of Moroccan Music in 1939. The effect of this overview must be understood in relationship to not only the earnest musicological inquiry of Chottin and Ricard, but also French Orientalism and colonial ideology. Together, such "overviews" produced a Moroccan music that was simultaneously modern and traditional, Eastern and Western, and often performed by Moroccans while always being overseen, conducted, and defined by French interlocutors. The

French public, encountering a Morocco that was both jarringly dissonant and reassuringly familiar, likely found the musical representations of Chottin and Andalousia to be an accessible mix of both: the appealing exoticism and discordant modalities of Moroccan musical sounds, all repackaged with a more modern veneer in the form of Western-style orchestras and even (in Chottin's compositions) harmonizations of Moroccan melodies. Ultimately, this produced a complete if contradictory summary of the French imaginary of Morocco through sound.

Morocco at the 1932 Cairo Congress of Arab Music

Less than a year after the Paris Colonial Exposition, in 1932, a landmark event in Arab and North African music history (and indeed, as ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman has labeled it, "world music history") took place in Cairo.[79] The Cairo Congress of Arab Music was hosted by King Fuad of Egypt, and organized largely by his Secretary of Education, Mahmoud Ahmed El-Hefny (1896-1973), a prominent Egyptian musicologist.[80] El-Hefny studied in Berlin with the German musicologists Curt Sachs and Robert Lachmann and received his doctorate there under Egyptian government auspices, becoming the first musicologist funded abroad to return to Egypt. To organize the conference, envisioned as a global event that would bring together experts from across Europe and the Arab world to help define the past, present, and future of "Arab music," El-Hefny consulted extensively with Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger, a well-known French musicologist resident in Tunisia. Unfortunately, d'Erlanger was too ill to travel to the event itself, and died later that same year; however, his influence on the conference remained significant and was widely acknowledged.

[79] Philip V. Bohlman, *World Music: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
[80] Christian Poché, "Mahmoud Ahmad El-Hefny" in *Grove Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.48765, accessed November 15, 2018.

The Congress invited delegations from Germany, Austria, Spain, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Lebanon, and Turkey, as well as Egypt. The largest delegations, besides Egypt, were from Germany and France; interestingly, North African delegates were included within the French delegation rather than representing their own countries. The delegates coming from Morocco included Ricard and Chottin, as well as Kaddour Ben Ghabrit and Mohamed Ben Ghabrit, elite Algerian brothers who worked in the Moroccan administration. There was also one Tunisian representative, Hassan Housni Abdel Wahab, the qaid of Mahdia, and one Algerian representative, Mohamed Ben Abdallah, a "financial delegate" from Tlemcen. All of the other French delegates listed came from various institutes and museums in Paris, including the National Conservatory of Music, the Sorbonne, and the Musée Guimet.

The inclusion of North African Arabs within the French delegation is interesting, considering they were the only European delegation to list colonial subjects. All other Arab participants were from the home delegation of Egypt, with the exception of the sole Lebanese delegate, Wadia Sabra, who had been educated in Paris. These delegations were in addition to the "orchestras" from multiple Arab countries, meant to showcase the distinct styles of different parts of the Arab world. Orchestras representing Syria, Lebanon, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Iraq were all in attendance.

The composition of the Moroccan orchestra was largely due to the efforts of Prosper Ricard in the preceding months. From January to March, he embarked on a mission to recruit the best representatives of "traditional" Moroccan music, traveling between cities and speaking to various local experts to procure their recommendations. On January 14th, 1932, Ricard wrote in his personal notebook that he'd had a meeting with Kaddour Ben Ghabrit and his brother Mohamed at the kasbah of the Oudayas in Rabat, at which Chottin and Jean Baldoui (another

delegate to the Congress) were present, as well as another elite Algerian employee of the Protectorate administration, the painter Azouaou Mammeri. At the meeting, Chottin spoke to the group about Andalusi music, while Mohamed Ben Ghabrit discussed "Moroccan music" more specifically, and together they reviewed the planned personnel at the Congress, the "d'Erlanger program," and the speeches they would need to translate into Arabic.[81]

The next month Ricard traveled to Marrakech and met with Thami El Glaoui, a regional leader and one of the chief southern allies of the French Protectorate. El Glaoui gave him his personal recommendations of what pieces the Moroccan orchestra should play at the Cairo Congress: Isbihan, Aqaz el Kebir, Maia, and Ochak, four of the famed Andalusi *nuba* or suites. He also recommended a violinist for the orchestra, and noted that he preferred the violin to the rebab, the traditional Moroccan instrument that had come to often be substituted by the violin. For El Glaoui, Ricard records, "elle [the rebab] n'est pas belle" ["It's not pretty."]. During the visit, Azouaou Mammeri, who was the regional inspector of native arts in Marrakech, also introduced Ricard to the amateur society Comité des Amis de la Musique Marocaine (Committee of Friends of Moroccan Music), for which Mammeri was the secretary and El Glaoui was the honorary president.

In the same month, Ricard traveled to Fez for business related to both the ongoing recruitment for the Cairo Congress and the planning for the general Fez Congress of Arts and Industries that same year. While there he met with Mohamed El Mtiri, a musician of some renown in Fez, who performed with the Orchestre Brihi, under the mâalem (master) Mohamed Benabdesalam El Brihi. This group would go on to represent Fez at the 1939 Fez Congress of Moroccan Music. According to Ricard, Mtiri was "all ready" to come to the Cairo Congress, and

[81] Prosper Ricard, "Caire: Congrès de musique arabe (mars)," Archives privées Prosper Ricard 11AP/302, Archives Musée du Quai Branly.

when Ricard listed the six musicians who were currently attached to the project, Mtiri consented to be the seventh member, on violin. He added that the entire orchestra could be composed of musicians just from Fez, and that this would even be better; but he recognized Ricard's desire to select artists from around Morocco. Mtiri also added that he did not recognize the name of the oudist Abdelnatar Cheulh, and suggested Ricard replace him with Othman El Fasi instead.

In the end, the seven members composing the Moroccan orchestra at the Cairo Congress went through a few permutations before settling on the final list by March 1932. What is significant here is the way in which Ricard operated within a matrix of knowledge comprising both French and indigenous informers. Traveling between the major cultural centers of Morocco—Rabat, Fez, Marrakech—in the early months of 1932, he solicited the advice and consultation of multiple Moroccan interlocutors who had varying opinions on both the makeup and personnel of the orchestra. He ultimately sought to tap into local musical knowledge and then to translate it into a representative body for the landmark pan-Arab event.

However, the way in which his informers themselves envisioned a particular kind of "Moroccan music" is also noteworthy, colored as they were by regionalism, style, and personal networks, as well as their pre-existing relationships with the French Protectorate government. As such, we might posit that the indigenous network Ricard operated in was already limited in that it was also both highly elite and generally pro-French. Beyond that, his role as an intermediary and self-appointed translator in selecting the ideal "Moroccan orchestra" cannot be ignored. While he may have been constrained by the pan-Arab visions of the organizers as well as the musical tastes of his interlocutors, Ricard's emphasis on Arab Andalusi music and the vaunted nuba was nevertheless a choice, and even more so his interventions into what regions and individuals were ultimately selected to best represent them. Not unlike the Paris Exposition the previous year,

Prosper Ricard and his limited coterie played an outsize role in determining how "Morocco" would be represented at a major global event, and thus what would be defined as "Moroccan music."

As for the Congress itself, the delegates were assigned to seven different "commissions," each with their own questions to address and compile conclusions on: General Questions; Modes (Maqamat), Rhythms and Composition; Musical Scales; Instruments; Recording; Musical Education; and Manuscripts and History of Music. Ricard and Chottin both sat on the Recording Commission, overseen by Robert Lachmann of Germany, and both were listed as representing the Service des Arts Indigènes; meanwhile, the only French North African delegate to sit on a commission was Hassan Abdel Wahab, who sat on the Manuscripts and History Commission. Perhaps not surprisingly, the head of every commission was European, with the exception of Mahmoud Ahmad El-Hefny (Musical Education) and Raouf Yekta Bey (Modes, Rhythms and Composition), the latter a well-known Turkish musicologist who was also published in French music encyclopedias.[82]

According to the official proceedings, the aims of the Recording Commission on which Ricard and Chottin sat were to undertake the recording of diverse musical pieces and to issue recommendations on the best ways to record, organize, and classify phonographic documents. This, apparently, was one of the less contentious projects of the Congress: major debates coming out of the Commissions and spilling over into the general sessions centered particularly on the use of the piano in Arab music and on the adoption of an even-tempered scale, influenced by the Western one. Both debates were heavily bifurcated between traditionalist views that sought to preserve Arab music "as it was" and most strongly promoted by European and especially German musicologists, and modernist views that saw Arab music as capable of "development"

[82] *Recueil des Travaux du Congrès de Musique Arabe* (Boulac: Imprimerie Nationale, 1934).

along a similar if not identical trajectory as Western music, promulgated by the Egyptian delegates.[83]

This debate, while it had implications for Arab music and even ethnomusicology as a whole, also had deep resonances with approaches to music and culture in Morocco: Lyautey and Ricard's investment in associationism when it came to Moroccan music echoed the German insistence on discrete development for Arab and European music and expressed a similar fear about traditional Arab music becoming "tainted" by creeping influences from the West. Yet this associationist approach in the Moroccan Protectorate was not uniform; indeed, at certain crucial junctures a more assimilationist policy informed the administration's use of music, even as it masked a deeper assumption of exclusion and separation. This is perhaps most notably demonstrated by Chottin's "Moroccan" musical compositions, and by the DIP's policy of musical pedagogy for Moroccan children.

Colonial Visions at the Fez Congress

Seven years later, the Congress of Moroccan Music was held in Fez, and was influenced by the Cairo Congress while turning its focus specifically to the "national" musics of Morocco and the Maghrib. Fez had long been a significant site for Service des Arts Indigènes projects, due to both its perceived rich artistic and cultural heritage and the existence of a deep-rooted indigenous elite in the city.[84] Prosper Ricard had conducted numerous artistic studies in Fez, and both he and Chottin formed strategic working partnerships with Fassi master craftsmen and musicians. So it was a natural choice for the first official scholarly conference on Moroccan

[83] A.J. Racy, "Historical Worldviews of Early Ethnomusicologists: An East-West Encounter in Cairo, 1932," in Stephen Blum and Philip Bohlman, eds., *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).
[84] To this day, the surname "al-Fassi" (from Fez) is associated with an old, illustrious family background.

music, sponsored by the French Protectorate and largely organized by Chottin. Like the Cairo Congress, this also drew a number of European participants, mainly the French metropole, with varying degrees of knowledge about North African music but with an interest in participating in a transnational conversation about the musics of the world.

The French metropolitan delegates were mostly not experts on Arab or North African music, and were rather musicologists of varying specialties who commented on "folk" or "exotic" musics writ large. Madame Humbert-Sauvageot, of the Musée de la Parole in Paris, gave a talk on "Polyphony and Exotic Music"; she herself had recently published a collection of Mongolian folk songs (in collaboration with a Mongolian princess) as part of the same Musée Guimet series as d'Erlanger's *Mélodies tunisiennes*. Claudie Marcel-Dubois, at the time an employee of the Musée d'ethnographie de Trocadéro (Musée de l'Homme), discussed "Measurements of Moroccan Flutes." Marcel-Dubois, a researcher of musical instruments, had written her thesis on Indian music, presented at conferences on folk music of the French countryside, and helped André Schaeffner catalog instruments from Madagascar, while holding no special background in North Africa; so her presentation was likely from a comparative perspective.[85]

The Moroccan and Algerian participants, meanwhile, represented a sizable percentage of the overall group—at nine of the twenty, almost half. This French deference to North African musical expertise perhaps allowed the event to be framed as a sort of Franco-Moroccan collaboration, a cooperative sharing of knowledge across national lines. Such a framing, of course, neglects the inherent inequality of the colonial context; but it also simplifies the complex

[85] "Claudie Marcel-Dubois (1913-1989)" Biographies of Founding Members, International Committee of Museums and Collections of Instruments and Music / CIMCIM ICOM website, updated November 2017: http://network.icom.museum/cimcim/who-we-are/cimcim-history/biographies-of-funding-members. Accessed May 14, 2019.

structure of such an event as a musical "congress" to begin with. The Fez Congress was at least in part influenced by the much more famous Cairo Congress of Arab Music seven years earlier, an event that was initiated and hosted by the Egyptian government, yet owed much of its planning and supervision to a French musicologist, Rodolphe d'Erlanger; this event had also thus been framed as a sort of European-Egyptian collaboration. Even in the case of Cairo, in which Egypt existed as a nominally independent nation-state and the bulk of its European invitees were *not* from its former colonial overseer (Britain), an inherently unequal "civilizational" dynamic was instantiated, one that colored the outcomes of the congress. The event in Fez would inevitably proceed on even more unequal footing.

These congresses were also part of a broader tradition of transnational scientific congresses held in Europe (and beyond) since the late nineteenth century.[86] As a technology of modernity, a scientific congress was undoubtedly an avenue to sharing knowledge across national lines and forging broader scientific communities; yet the act of hosting one was also a point of national, and potentially imperial, pride as well as a demonstration of national progress and advancement, often serving specifically political aims. The Franco-Moroccan cooperation of the Fez Congress—embodied in the title page of the program that declared the event to be jointly patronized by "His Majesty the Sultan and General Noguès, Resident-General of France in Morocco"—belied the deeper structures of inequality that undergirded the possibility of such an event in the first place.[87]

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[86] A very short sampling: International Colonial Congress, 1898; Congress of the French Association for the Advancement of Sciences, 1898, 1905, 1907, 1913; International Congress of Colonial Sociology, 1900; Congresses of the Institute of Higher Moroccan Studies, 1920s-1930s; Congress of the Lorraine Association of Anthropological Studies, 1931-1932; International Congress of the Cultural Evolution of Colonial Peoples, at the Exposition Internationale in Paris, 1937; Folkloric Congresses of Versailles and Senlis, 1938-1939.

[87] *1er Congrès de Musique Marocaine Programme* (Casablanca: Imprimeries Réunies, 1939).

Competing French-Spanish Visions of Moroccan Music

The most comprehensive account of the Congress, which has been little written about in part due to lack of primary sources, is in *Ecos del Magrib/Echos du Maghreb*, a 1940 publication on Moroccan music by the Padre Patrocinio García Barriuso, who served as a delegate for both the Hispano-Franciscan Mission in Tangier and the Spanish Protectorate at the Congress. García Barriuso's text gives valuable insight into the minutiae of the conference, but it also provides a rich account of the Spanish perspective on Moroccan music and French musical projects. Like the French, the Spanish were undertaking projects of Moroccan musical preservation and restoration in the northern zone. As Eric Calderwood discusses, the very trope of "echoes" that features in García Barriuso's title was a recurring and meaningful metaphor in Spanish colonial writings on Moroccan music. The notion of "echoes" implicitly invoked the sonic reverberations across time that brought into the present the sounds of the medieval courts of al-Andalus: "The figure of the echo allowed Spanish writers to represent Moroccan music as part of Spain's cultural heritage, heard from afar."[88] Indeed, the broader Spanish colonial project in Morocco was deeply invested in this notion of shared history across the Strait of Gibraltar, centered on the cultural fluorescence of al-Andalus or Muslim Spain. This diverged sharply from the French outlook. The French, unlike the Spanish, had no deep claims to historical links with North Africa or Moroccans. Thus it was logical that they would develop a colonial racial policy that, on the one hand, reified difference between Moroccans and Europeans, and on the other, promoted the significance of Berber history and culture in ways that implied a Berber connection to whiteness and ancient Mediterranean origins, while also invoking France's role as the inheritor of their former Roman imperial occupiers.

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[88] Eric Calderwood, *Colonial al-Andalus: Spain and the Making of Modern Moroccan Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2018), 232.

The Spanish, meanwhile, could claim, via al-Andalus, a shared history and culture that made them "brothers" across the Strait with the Moroccans. As many elite Moroccans remained deeply invested in Andalusi culture and heritage, this was in many ways an effective strategy. One of the most resonant cultural artifacts of al-Andalus was Andalusi music, most notably the *nuba* or suites that were passed down mostly orally over the centuries.

Thus from early on, the Spanish Protectorate invested in musical projects in ways both similar to and different from the French. In 1917, the Spanish high commissioner Francisco Gómez Jordana initiated a project to transcribe the *nuba*, and one full suite was completed by 1918. The project resumed in 1927 under the musician Antonio Bustelo, who completed all eleven surviving *nubas* with the help of Moroccan interlocutors, namely two renowned musicians from Tétouan.[89] These were never published, however, and it is reported that the Spanish were incensed when Alexis Chottin beat them to the punch in publishing the *nuba* "ochchak" in his *Corpus de musique marocaine*.[90] The Spanish colonial promotion of Andalusi music and "Hispano-Muslim" culture actually accelerated under the dictatorship of Francisco Franco, and it was in the 1930s that García Barriuso moved to Morocco and succeeded Bustelo as the leading Spanish musicologist of Moroccan music.

Perhaps the most clear manifestation of the ideological differences between the French and Spanish musical projects, as represented by their respective leaders Alexis Chottin and Patrocinio García Barriuso, is the latter's reaction to Chottin's "Moroccan-inspired" original compositions, which were performed at the gala concert that closed the Fez Congress. While García Barriuso was somewhat complimentary, with regards to both Chottin and the other featured composer, E. Marangue, he concluded:

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[89] Calderwood, 232.
[90] Calderwood, 235.

> My personal impression on this subject is that the monodic transcription of these purely Andalusi melodies and their simple execution by European orchestras produces an artificial effect, which lacks the typical color of these same melodies when they are played by Arab orchestras. This is simply due to the particular sonic timbre of the Kouitra, Laoud and Rebab, which are indigenous instruments that give Moroccan melodies their impossible-to-replace characteristics.[91]

Clearly, García Barriuso viewed the modernizing and Westernizing of Moroccan Andalusi music as essentially corrupting. Here, he bemoans the qualities that were lost when using a more European-style orchestra rather than the traditional small Arab ensemble, with its indigenous instruments. He also, however, took issue with the use of harmony, added artificially to Moroccan melodies, an essentially unnatural process. Conversely, Chottin was of the school of thought that Moroccan themes could serve as "inspiration" for European compositions, and also that Andalusi music could be transcribed, notated, and even harmonized in Western style. This approach placed him more squarely among the Orientalist composers of his day, which underscores his unique, simultaneous triple position: Orientalist composer, expert musicologist, and colonial employee.

Chottin's Colonial Compositions

From early in his career to the late 1960s, one of Chottin's principal attributions is "composer." This was truly one of his life's works and passions, and seemed to be both related to and separate from his musicological scholarship. An overview of his musical compositions reveals his seemingly paradoxical position as both objective, scientific scholar and romantic Orientalist artist, often at the same time, and always caught within or bolstered by the colonial

[91] Patrocinio García Barriuso, *Ecos del Magrib/Echos du Maghreb: La Musique Hispano-Musulmane au Maroc* (Tangier: Éditorial Tanger, 1940), 26-33.

matrix in which he worked. Many of his compositions were for children's choir and had been written as school songs, composed during his time as a professor in the Protectorate schools.[92]

The exact date he was composing these school songs is unclear, but we do have the publication history of the musical compositions that came out of them. His first published collections came out in 1929: *Les Heures Chantent* was a book of nursery rhyme-style children's songs with lyrics by Janerose Désalbres, published in Rabat. These were largely in a Western musical idiom, their only Moroccan connection being that they were published in Morocco. Meanwhile, *Salé: Poèmes du Maghreb*, also published in 1929, was a book of poems by Jacques Bernolles for which Chottin composed the music. As an accompaniment for Orientalist-inspired poetry, the music was more Orientalist in nature, thus belonging to the broader North African-themed Orientalist genre of the time.

[92] Chottin would continue to be principally occupied as an educator in some capacity into his later years; after his relationship with the SAI began, he left his post as school director in Salé and became the head of the SAI's Conservatory of Moroccan Music.

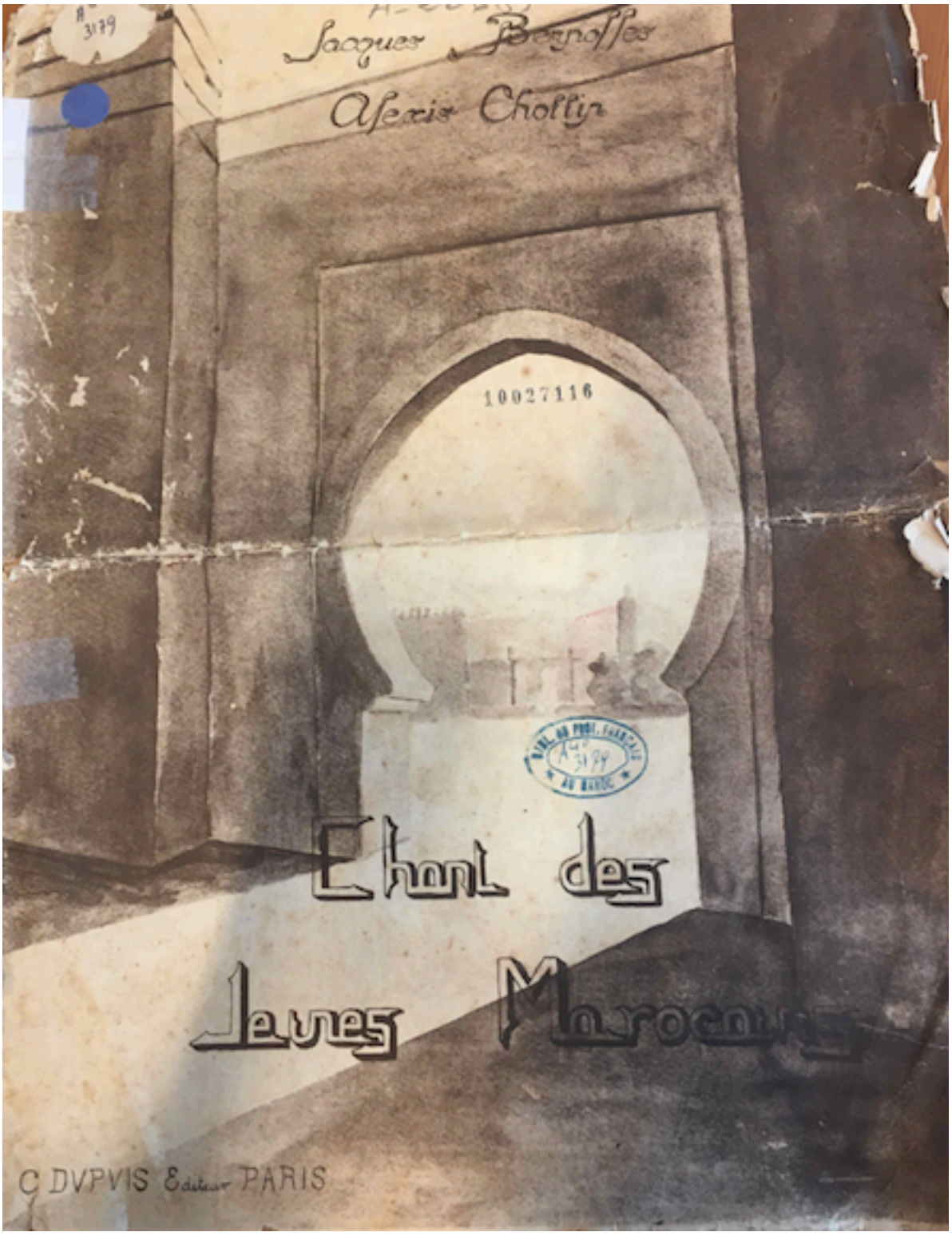

Figure 1: Cover image, Alexis Chottin and Jacques Bernolles, *Chant des Jeunes Marocains* (Paris: C. Dupuis, n.d.). Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc.

Chottin would also collaborate with Bernolles on an undated (likely mid- to late 1920s) musical piece, *Chant des Jeunes Marocains* (Song of the Young Moroccans), introduced earlier, which was intended as the official hymn of the Protectorate's Muslim schools. This epic piece includes solos for a young child, a young man, a full choir of "young people," and a full "general" choir. In European anthem style, it has the so-called "young Moroccans" proclaiming their allegiance and love for the mother country, France:

> *Pour toi nous dirons nos prières*
> *Mère adoptive de nos foyers*
> *Avec tes fils, qui sont nos frères*
> *France, nous voulons te glorifier!*
>
> For you we will say our prayers
> Adoptive Mother of our homes
> With your sons, who are our brothers
> France, we want to glorify you!

And:

> *Gloire à Notre Maître, à la France!*
> *Que Dieu les guide désormais*
> *A nos aïeux la guerre et la souffrance*
> *A nous l'union et la paix*
>
> Glory to Our Master, to France!
> May God henceforth guide them
> To our ancestors war and suffering
> To us union and peace[93]

Lyrically, this song is an aspirational expression of colonialism in the associationist vein. The lyrics are clearly intended for "young Moroccans" to sing, and they expressly situate these Moroccans as "adopted children" of France. Never are they referred to as French nor is difference erased between them and the French children of Morocco. Instead, the song is explicit in the fact that these Moroccans are "adopted"—that they are the brothers of the sons of France,

[93] Alexis Chottin and Jacques Bernolles, *Chant des Jeunes Marocains* (Paris: C. Dupuis, n.d.).

not the sons of France themselves. The wish for union and peace, which comes at the end of a climactic and repeated chorus in four-part harmony, further cements the idea of unity between two disparate peoples, one under the benevolent wing of the other, and contrasts it with a past of war and suffering. Thus the song carries a theme of unity within limits, of maintaining boundaries even as a common outlook and loyalty is proclaimed, in a way that dovetails cleanly with the associationist mission for Morocco.

The epic five-minute plus piece, which includes multiple tempo changes and broad four-part harmonies—not exactly something that would be sung informally in the classroom—also has a few touches that could perhaps be called Orientalist, or at least intentionally cognizant of the Moroccan setting the otherwise European-style anthem is being written for. The opening solo, performed by a "young child," is in an Adagio maestoso, or a slow, majestic tempo, in C minor (see Figure 2). The opening motif cycles between a C minor and G major harmony, lingering on the B-natural that highlights the minor to major cadence, and then including a melodic line that goes from A-flat to B-natural before resting on G. This A-flat to B-natural interval is an augmented second. The augmented second is a classic trope of musical Orientalism, reflecting, in the European mind, the sounds of some of the more comprehensible Arab modes.[94]

[94] Generally the use in many Arab modes of quarter tones, that don't exist on the Western scale or rather exist *in between* our standard half tones, are left out in musical Orientalism because they are barely perceptible to European ears, not to mention unplayable on any keyboard or fretted instrument. Instead, where echoes of quarter tones do exist in musical Orientalism they would manifest as intense chromaticism, flat-sounding singing, or being intentionally out of tune.

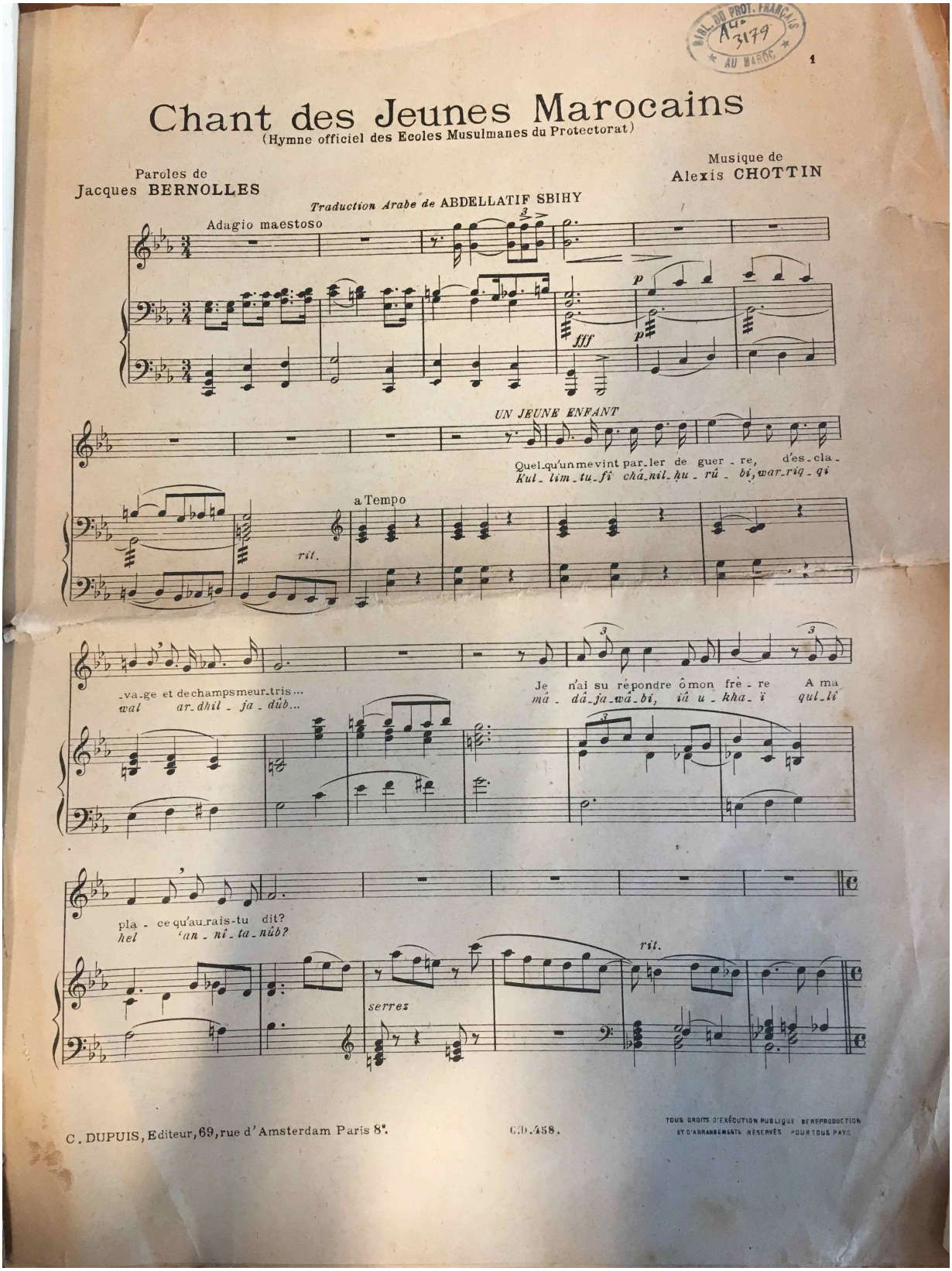

Figure 2: First page of Chottin and Bernolles' *Chant des Jeunes Marocains*. Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc.

But, the maqam (or mode) Hijaz, from the Arab modal system, is one of the musical modes with the most resonance in the European imagination. It is a not uncommon mode used throughout the Arab world in some variation, and to Europeans, when it is used, it essentially sounds like a harmonic minor scale that emphasizes the augmented second interval. The Western harmonic minor scale also has an augmented second, though it is only occasionally emphasized, but somehow since the nineteenth, and maybe even the eighteenth, century the use of minor scales and augmented seconds became a ready signal to the listening audience that we are an in an "Eastern" setting (often Arab, but also sometimes Greek, Turkish, or even Hungarian/Romanian). This has continued to the present day: we can hear this modal echo in the opening motif for the 1992 Disney movie *Aladdin*. Musical Orientalism predicated on fundamental tropes like this would perhaps reach its apex in the popular music age of the early twentieth century, which will be discussed more below, and this was notably contemporaneous with Chottin's compositions.

So Chottin's choice to begin the piece this way is almost certainly not accidental. Writing, as he was, the "song of young Moroccans"—and the front cover of the sheet music is an evocative and instantly recognizable "bab" or gate in the Moroccan style (see Figure 1)—he chose to begin in a musical idiom that would be associated immediately (at least by Europeans) with the Moroccan setting. The majority of the rest of the piece is in a more standard European anthem style, as mentioned, with a slow 2/4 march chorus and grandiose E-flat major key. The "signaling" of the Oriental setting of a piece of music in the opening, only to transition into a more familiar Western musical idiom for the rest, is extremely common in Orientalist compositions from Paris to Vaudeville to Hollywood.

It is unclear if this song was ever performed, or if so how many times. A piece of this level of difficulty would need to be rehearsed to some degree and would likely only be performed at an event of some pomp and circumstance, and certainly the singers would have to be musically adept (again, in the Western idiom). Yet the fact that it was labeled the "official hymn of the Protectorate's Muslim schools" indicates its significance and its intention as a corollary of the Protectorate educational and civilizing mission. This is not to mention the fact that it was published in Paris, meaning it was likely disseminated in the metropole to some degree.

But even if it was only *intended* to be performed—what does it mean to make Moroccans sing these words and perform these melodies? Straightforwardly we could posit that this is a case of musical indoctrination, not unlike the way American first-graders are forced to recite the Pledge of Allegiance or patriotic songs they barely understand, or the way French children in the metropole, at the same moment, were singing the Marseillaise and proclaiming their own love for France. This is nothing new. But the fact of the colonial setting, and the particularities of the Moroccan colonial setting—its simultaneous civilizing impulses and associationist, segregating outlook—the position of Chottin, the composer, as documenter of Moroccan musical tradition, teacher of young Moroccans, and writer of European-style patriotic anthems for those same young Moroccans—complicates the issue. It should be noted that the lyrics to the song were also translated into Arabic, written in transliterated Arabic beneath the French lyrics in the music itself, and provided in full in handwritten Arabic on the back page, so that the song could be performed and understood in either language.

Musical Orientalism as practiced by men like Chottin takes on a different character than that of the armchair Orientalist composers of the metropole, even as it contained many of the

same tropes. Chottin and others like him were formed in the colonial setting that they existed in, had fairly intimate knowledge of both the people and the music of that setting, and even studied that music in a scholarly and scientific way (this is not to mention that he was also actually employed and supported by the colonial administration.) To pursue this further, I want to briefly discuss a few other men in a similar position in this period.

Musical Orientalism

Musical Orientalism, or the musical representation of the so-called Orient drawing on a repertory of fantastical tropes and imagery, had a long history by the early twentieth century. Examples of Orientalist music can be found as early as the sixteenth century. It developed a vogue in the eighteenth century, particularly the proliferation of "Turkish" music in Germany and Austria, exemplified perhaps by Wolfgang Mozart's "Turkish March" for piano and his opera *Abduction from the Seraglio*. This trend was partly in response to the Ottoman siege of Vienna not so long before, in 1683, which had briefly threatened Central and Western Europe with takeover by a powerful Muslim empire. Yet it was in the nineteenth century that musical Orientalism, and particularly French musical Orientalism, reached its arguable heyday. Richard Taruskin notes that "one can almost exactly coordinate manifestations of musical (as well as artistic, literary, and scholarly) orientalism with the movements of colonial and imperialist armies, beginning with Napoleon's Egyptian campaigns of 1798-99."[95] With the advent of French empire in Arab and North African lands, classical music—in parallel with the artwork of Eugène Delacroix and the writings of François-René Chateaubriand—took on a new Orientalist fervor. Concrete musical tropes, just like literary and visual ones, were developed and entrenched

[95] Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century: The Oxford History of Western Music Vol. 3* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 386-387.

in this period in the European imagination, such that certain musical motifs, rhythms, and instruments (not to mention visual cues in stage works and operas) instantaneously signaled to the audience that the setting was Eastern. As Taruskin points out, beyond the setting, such music also independently conjured up a repertoire of tropes associated with "the East": sexual depravity, despotic violence, barbarous rituals, luxury and sensuality.[96]

Such an interpretation, naturally, follows Edward Said's theorization of Orientalism, which itself draws on the notion of Foucauldian discourse as an expression of power and domination. In Said's formulation, the proliferation of Orientalist art and literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was both a reflection of creeping European domination and imperial expansion in the same period, as well as another avenue for its global expression of power. All representations of the Orient were divorced from the actual reality of the place—and indeed, "the Orient" as a place was itself imagined, shifting its geographic borders depending on the political situation. It served simply as an Other upon which Europe could both project its negative inverse qualities and assert its superiority and inevitable domination.[97] Said himself has taken his readings of empire and discourse into the realm of music with his 1993 assessment of Giuseppe Verdi's Pharaonic-themed opera *Aida*, commissioned and premiered in Egypt at the Cairo Opera House in 1871.[98] Yet historical analyses of the ways in which Orientalism is expressed through music in the context of empire remain lackluster if not completely lacking.

John M. MacKenzie has notably tackled this topic in his comprehensive history of Orientalism and the arts, focusing on Britain and its empire but branching out to Europe more

[96] Taruskin, 390.
[97] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).
[98] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 111.

broadly.[99] Yet his skepticism of Said's theory regarding the intersections of cultural representation and power and his contention that the often-abstracted category of "imperialism" must be given more historical nuance, ironically, gives way to an extremely one-dimensional analysis of how Orientalism operates in cultural forms. MacKenzie argues that music and the arts were rather sites of "cross-fertilization" between East and West, and that Orientalist music was simply a method through which European composers enriched their art and explored new sound worlds. Unlike Taruskin, he dismisses any genuine connection between the development of empire and the trajectory of Orientalist representation, while also allowing that stereotypical depictions of "Eastern" characters existed. Such an analysis seems to dismiss the significance of geopolitical considerations, power, and inequality in the production of any cultural forms; it would be hard to argue, at the very least, that the ability of Western composers like Chottin to live, teach, study, and work for colonial offices in "Oriental" Morocco was inconsequential to his musical work. Influential French composers like Felicien David and Camille Saint-Saëns also spent significant amounts of time in the Middle East and North Africa.

In particular, the popularity of Oriental-themed sheet music, classical pieces, and stage numbers from late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century France, coinciding with the growth of its North African empire, remains understudied. Pieces directly referencing Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, as well as more far-flung or abstract Arab lands, were produced en masse in this period, to be consumed by a popular public in the metropole. Considering the stereotypical and even fantastical representations of North African music in these pieces, it is even more interesting that there was frequent overlap between composers who wrote Orientalist music and those who actually lived or worked in North Africa.

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[99] John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 139.

Music and Colonial Pedagogy

Finally, one of the more insidious and imperceptible ways in which the French deployed music as a technology of surveillance and control in the Moroccan Protectorate was in its primary schools. The anti-assimilationist, conservative outlook of the French administration in Morocco extended into pedagogy, and with that, into the music utilized as a pedagogical tool. Education officials like Georges Hardy and Louis Brunot largely subscribed to Lyautey's associationist vision; Hardy believed that assimilationist educational policy in West Africa and Indochina had led to political unrest in those colonies, and was determined to pursue a different tack in Morocco.[100] Interestingly, on the level of musical pedagogy, this often connoted a superficial level of assimilation, as school officials promoted the use of French folk music, European classical music, and occasionally Orientalist pieces (including some by Chottin) in the school curriculum for both European and Muslim students. Yet it is important to note that such a standardizing of the curriculum and an emphasis on European music stopped short of any deeper attempts at assimilation. Indeed the very pedagogy was predicated on the idea that Moroccans, through the sentimental and patriotic value of music, and through learning to "listen" like Europeans, could be acculturated and rendered loyal to the extent that they would value and obey France, while remaining in segregated schools with separate curricula and circumscribed opportunities. And even the promotion of the use of music for Moroccan children may have been predicated on the racist tropes invested in by men like Hardy and Brunot.

The Protectorate school system was segregated into schools for Europeans (which included French, Italian, and Spanish children) and for Moroccan Muslims (largely Arabs), while also creating or maintaining separate schools for Berbers and for Jews.[101] Spencer Segalla has

[100] Segalla, 101.
[101] Segalla, 54-55.

written about the ways in which the French deployed education in the Moroccan Protectorate as a means to "domesticate" a certain sector of the Moroccan population and inculcate them with French values. In the 1920s, Lyautey hired Georges Hardy, an administrator with experience in West Africa, as the new head of the Direction de l'instruction publique (DIP). Along with DIP employee Louis Brunot, the director of the Collège musulman de Fez and later the head of the Bureau of Muslim Education, Hardy helped install an educational system that would "preserve" Moroccan society and collaborate with Moroccan elites according to Lyautey's associationist vision.[102]

Music was a significant if often overlooked aspect of that educational system. In 1928, in a report for the DIP, Brunot suggested that "because it affects the sentiments more than the intelligence, [music] is eminently proper to provoke in the soul of the native child the emotive vibrations that bring it closer to the French soul."[103] His recommendation was that Moroccan students be instructed in French folk songs and stories, to facilitate the broader French mission of "civilizing" the indigenous population, inculcating them with French values, and rendering them loyal to colonial authority.

This was excerpted from a larger field report on the state of education in the Moroccan Protectorate, as well as suggestions for its future course. When discussing general primary education, he said he hoped to make an inquiry into "the development of French culture through disciplines that we usually consider to be auxiliary: music and stories." As it stood, the education that the French were giving Moroccan schoolchildren was "too exclusively intellectual"; but music and folklore had the potential to give them a more well-rounded education, as well as initiate them into a French system of morality. Brunot went on to suggest several well-known

[102] Segalla, 89.
[103] Louis Brunot, report "Plan du Campagne 1928-1929," enclosed in letter from Jean Gotteland to the Secretary General of the Protectorate, October 1928 (Archives du Maroc Box F107).

French folk songs and stories that were indispensable to this task of transforming the young Moroccan soul.

Brunot's report was sent to Jean Gotteland, then the head of the DIP, who forwarded it to the Secretary General of the Protectorate. Both were evidently impressed with Brunot's findings. "Give congratulations from me personally to M. Brunot," the Secretary General wrote in the margins of the letter.

It was not the first time that Louis Brunot had executed a study of Moroccan pedagogy in the service of the Protectorate's education system. A few years earlier, in 1925, with Georges Hardy, he published a "school ethnography" entitled *L'Enfant Marocain* (The Moroccan Child), which detailed the particular physical, psychological, and cultural characteristics of Moroccan children. This was expressly in order to provide valuable information to French schoolteachers in the Moroccan school system, to help them to understand their young charges better. The book included a section on traditional Moroccan lullabies and nursery rhymes, collected from various Moroccan localities and reprinted in the text.

This information was included alongside racialized generalities about the Moroccan child's disposition: that he was unaffectionate, incurious, had a meager imagination, and while not really capable of sustained attention, had a knack for mnemonic memorization stemming from his Islamic heritage and the Eastern dominance of oral tradition.[104] These stereotypes about Moroccan children were supposedly drawn from Hardy and Brunot's personal observations, but also fit neatly within a wider canon of racist stereotypes about "Oriental" Arabs and Muslims more generally. While the tropes are familiar, Hardy and Brunot presented them in *L'Enfant Marocain* as both authoritative and necessary for French schoolteachers in the Protectorate to

[104] Georges Hardy and Louis Brunot, *L'Enfant Marocain: Essai d'Ethnographie Scolaire* (Paris: Émile Larose, 1925), 7.

understand in order to deal with Moroccan students, which in turn undoubtedly had an impact on how French educators administered their classes and developed their curricula. It is worth examining how this attitude may have played out in the musical curricula in particular. (Notably, one of the listed collaborators on *L'Enfant Marocain* was Alexis Chottin, at the time likely in his position as a teacher in the Muslim school of Fez.)

Thus Brunot's report a few years later on the usefulness of French folk songs and stories in developing the Moroccan soul demonstrates what kind of musical policy might come out of such attitudes. Mildly assimilationist, in the sense that Brunot believed (and seemed to convince other officials as well) that the Moroccan child would benefit from being made more "French" in values and culture via songs, it nevertheless was based on the presumed inferiority of the Moroccan, and Brunot does not imply that they will actually "become" French. It is presented more as a means of softening their characters and amending them to the realities of French rule over their country: training them musically and culturally in the same way that French children were, yet maintaining them as less civilized and subordinated. Likely music itself as a medium was seen as particularly suitable for this purpose, as it appealed to "the sentiments more than the intelligence" and thus accounted for Brunot's belief that Moroccan children were less rational, less imaginative beings who could not be brought around by "intellectual" education alone.

During the same period, a new educational medium was being introduced into Moroccan schools that similarly featured music as a means of standardizing the curriculum across European and Muslim schools and inculcating a certain worldview to Muslim students. Beginning around 1929, Radio-Maroc began broadcasting a weekly "scholarly hour" to be aired in primary and secondary schools around the Moroccan Protectorate. An accompanying journal, *La T.S.F. et le Cinéma à l'École* (T.S.F. [Radio] and Cinema in School) extolled the virtues of this new

pedagogical medium, with educators both in Morocco and abroad chiming in on its various benefits and uses. The programming of the weekly hour was adjusted over the years (and by late 1932 had been changed to two half-hour segments a week), largely, it seems, in response to criticisms and feedback from schoolteachers. But generally, the hour consisted of three or four musical pieces, performed by the Radio-Maroc orchestra; a history, geography, moral, or object lesson; a children's sing-along song, with lyrics and sheet music provided in the journal; physical education exercises; and a recitation.

The TSF journal's content provides a fascinating glimpse into pedagogy in colonial Morocco and its intersections with both race and colonial ideology, with music used as an important vehicle. What's also important to note is that, while no statistics are available to indicate exactly how many schools were utilizing this program in the 1930s, reports from schoolteachers indicate that it had a broad reach across the Protectorate, in both large cities and small villages, and for a wide variety of populations: European schools, Muslim schools, Berber schools, and Jewish schools all reported using the program.

Both history and moral lessons were often designed to inculcate patriotic values into the students, particularly interesting considering their broad and flattened application to both European and indigenous populations. A moral lesson on "patriotism" in the June 4, 1932 broadcast stated, "I love my country, but I also love that of my little comrades from class," and likely was repeated back by the class.[105] While the majority of classrooms were segregated, such lessons promoted the broader sentiment that some form of unity between European and Moroccan children should be established. At the same time this lesson may also have been aimed

[105] *La T.S.F. et le Cinéma à L'École: Bulletin Trimestriel* (Rabat: Direction de l'Instruction Publique, des Beaux Arts et des Antiquités) Quatrième Année, Avril-Juin 1932, 82.

at promoting unity between the various nationalities (French, Italian, Spanish) of the European schools.

History and geography lessons often imparted colonial ideology in slightly subtler ways, usually by employing a chronology of a pre-colonial period characterized by anarchy followed by a colonial period characterized by order, on topics ranging from "the ports of Morocco" to "the establishment of the French Protectorate in Morocco."[106] Notably, such overtly colonialist messages in the lessons were tempered by the fact that they were interspersed with lessons that were more innocuous or general: geography about the Alps and the Atlas, history covering French topics like Charlemagne, and scientific and object lessons presented seemingly "neutral" topics for students to learn. The program was never openly presented as a colonialist or even a civilizing tool. In fact, for its proponents, it was a universal pedagogical revolution, and they often cited its spread in other European countries and in particular its vigorous adoption in Britain and subvention by the BBC. This seemingly apolitical and universal message, however, constituted part of its power as it was deployed in the colonial setting, and tacitly approved by the Protectorate administration.

The music was an important element of this indoctrinating message. The selection of classical pieces appeared intentional: generally, pleasant, easily digestible Western works that represented a range of European (and American) composers and were accessible to children. Johann Strauss Jr. and John Philip Sousa were two of the composers most frequently represented; occasionally Mozart, Beethoven, Bizet, or Offenbach pieces were played, while the majority of composers were lesser known. Very few "modernist" composers appeared on the program: rarely Debussy or Ravel, certainly no Stravinsky or Bartok (all of whom, it should also be noted, played with modal borrowings from non-Western musics). While these latter pieces

[106] *La T.S.F.* Quatrième Année, Avril-Juin 1932, 84-85.

may have been considered too "challenging" or avant-garde for a general music appreciation section, the selection still carried some interesting messages: the hyper-patriotic, martial works of Sousa; the extraordinarily civilized waltzes of Strauss; and the complete lack of indigenous North African or Arab music. And notably, while "modernist" composers were excluded from the program, there were frequent "modern" or contemporary European pieces on Orientalist themes, whose deployment and consumption in a space conceived as Oriental produced a disorienting effect. Orientalist pieces in the TSF programming included Audran's "Le grand Mogol"; Gaune's "Danse arabe"; Rossini's "Semiramis"; Eilenberg's "Sérénade mauresque"; Salabert's "Danse du voile"; and Leopold's "Le minaret."

Especially noteworthy is the fact that Alexis Chottin's compositions appeared on the broadcasts. Chottin, of course, had only a few years earlier been the director of the École des fils de notables in Salé, and was now head of the newly-formed Conservatory of Moroccan Music in Rabat. The same year his compositions were appearing on Moroccan educational radio—1932—he was serving as the delegate for Morocco to the Cairo Congress of Arab Music. Sometime in this period, he had also composed the "Chant des Jeunes Marocaines," in which as noted the young singers profess their loyalty to France, their "mère adoptée." It is perhaps not surprising then that the Protectorate's most prominent music educator, scholar, and composer would receive airtime: his pieces, as usual, were on Moroccan themes, including "Dans l'Atlas" and "Mektoub." Again, the ubiquity of Chottin's multifaceted work—scholarly, pedagogical, artistic—and the ways it occupied multiple positions at once reveals the complexity of colonial dynamics of representation, knowledge making, and intervention. Not only did Chottin himself write songs for his own students while teaching in colonial schools, and not only did he deploy Orientalist tropes in his Moroccan-inspired compositions even as an erudite scholarly expert of

Moroccan music; he also produced work that was disseminated across the Protectorate school system via radio waves, and Moroccan and European schoolchildren everywhere even repeated his Moroccan-inspired melodies back to him in their singalong sessions.

The school directors and teachers who provided feedback on the T.S.F. program often indicated that the musical pieces and the songs were some of the most effective sections in reaching their students. M. Port-Hellec from a school in Aïn Seba remarked, "All were interested in the musical part, listening with an attentive pleasure."[107] The director of the European school at Souk-el-Tleta claimed his students' second favorite section was the orchestral pieces and song, trumped only by the commented lecture.[108] M. Decouty, director of the European school at Souk-el-Arba said, "The orchestral pieces interspersed between the lessons please everyone—the students wait for these sessions with impatience."[109] And Ernest Rosenbaum penned an article claiming that the use of radio programming would be most beneficial in the instruction of music and foreign language, something heretofore underfunded and underutilized in school curricula.[110]

As a whole, professors seemed to have less faith in the abilities of their native students. M. Euloge of the Berber school in Demnat wrote, "The little natives seemed interested, but they only took notice of the recreational part, and considered the session a distraction, like the phonograph they hear in shops."[111] M. Couget of the Muslim school in Kenitra wrote, "The *History of France* not having its place in Muslim schools, it would be good to only introduce into the programs lessons which have application in both French and Muslim programs." And the director of the Muslim school at Port-Lyautey added that the history lesson, reproduced in part from a textbook by Bayssière, had terms that were "of a too elevated level for the Muslim

[107] *La T.S.F.*, Quatrième Année, 86-87.
[108] *La T.S.F.*, Quatrième Année, Octobre-Décembre 1932, 104-105.
[109] *La T.S.F.*, Quatrième Année, Janvier-Mars 1932, 33-36.
[110] *La T.S.F.*, Troisième Année, Janvier-Mars 1931.
[111] *La T.S.F.*, Quatrième Année, Avril-Juin 1932, 86-87.

students." However, while the European schools reported less complaints of this nature, even they found some of the historical and geographical material too difficult or too dry for their students; this may in part explain why by late 1932, most of these lessons had been removed from the programming, and the schedule was largely simplified to emphasize music, moral lessons, recitations, and physical exercises only.

The racial demography of Morocco, already quite demonstrably reinforced by the very segregated makeup of the school system, was further imparted to students by the lesson plans and musical pieces of pedagogical radio. A 1931 broadcast included a history lesson on "The Arabs of Morocco," and emphasized the Arab invasions of North Africa, their conquests, and "Berbers against the Arabs," effectively replicating the narrative of an already-existing massive literature on Berber and Arab history in North Africa. One of Chottin's children's songs, "La Fellah berbère," to be sung along with by the students, contained lyrics about a Berber farmer: "In combat, jealous of liberty / He was hardy, superb with courage; / But at work, which he never left, / Always he came, as the dark storm passes."[112] This vaunting of the Berber nature, which also substitutes his former "warlike" constitution with his present ability to put those energies towards productive farm work, serves a particular type of French narrative. It would be interesting to imagine how such a song might have been received or understood amongst the children of the rural Berber schools who listened to the broadcast. Further, it is important to situate these Berber representations in their chronological context: in 1931, the Rif War had been concluded only six years earlier, and Morocco's mountain and desert regions would not be declared fully "pacified" until three years later, in 1934. And of course, even then, "pacification" remained more a hopeful abstraction than a legitimate reality.

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[112] *La T.S.F.*, Troisième Année, Octobre-Décembre 1931, Planche 2.

Conclusion

It has been the argument of this chapter that music, either through the study or practice of it, was a crucial site for the expression and reproduction of colonial ideology and the development of colonial projects in French Protectorate Morocco; but also that efforts to maintain French and indigenous arts and music as utterly discrete, in accordance with colonial ideology, were consistent and yet consistently failed. The Service des Arts Indigènes was born out of Lyautey and Ricard's shared vision of an associationist Morocco, that simultaneously segregated and preserved "native arts" from European art as well as from any possibility of "modernization." (As discussed, this approach was shared by the European ethnomusicologists who attended the Cairo Congress of Arab Music in 1932.) With the recruitment of Alexis Chottin into the SAI, music and musicology became vital components of this colonial mission and an additional and significant site for the inscription of colonial ideology.

But despite the associationist approach to the arts and the importance placed on the preservation of native music, the use of French folk music, European classical music, and Orientalist music also had its role in the colonial project, in a way that sought to at least superficially "assimilate" young native children in the Protectorate education system to French culture and values. The TSF musical programming, Alexis Chottin's school songs, and the "Song of the Young Moroccans" were all in a Western musical idiom and it was expected that young Moroccans would not only listen to them, but indeed perform them and repeat their words and melodies back. In limited circumstances and with circumscribed goals, French and European music was seen as beneficial to the character of Moroccans; this was so long as they did not actively produce and practice it themselves beyond the innocent primary school curriculum, and in all other ways limited themselves to the sphere of "native art."

And while there has not been time to discuss it here, the parallel existence of the Service des Beaux Arts (SBA) as a counterpoint to the SAI's work in the French Protectorate reveals to a greater extent the colonial project inherent in the SAI's mission.[113] The SBA, despite being run by the Protectorate administration, in many ways was situated outside of the colonial project, as it was focused on European "fine art" and catered almost exclusively to European artists and art appreciators. This included a program that offered free artists' workshops to visiting European painters, located in scenic and "exotic" Moroccan locales, and two gallery spaces in Marrakech and Rabat that featured Moroccan-inspired art produced by these visiting painters. The Orientalist vein in which most of the SBA art appears to have been produced reiterates the discursive distance between the SBA's benefactors and the "native" population. Further, very few North African artists were ever allowed to avail themselves of the SBA programs, despite no formal prohibition, and were often turned away when they requested workshops or exhibit space. The exclusionary policies towards North African artists marked an invisible but firm line between "European" and "Moroccan," "fine art" and "native art" that could not be transgressed by any but the most extraordinary of figures. In this case, that figure was Azouaou Mammeri, a renowned painter from the Kabyle region of Algeria who befriended Protectorate officials like Ricard. He even assisted Ricard in his initiatives to recruit the Cairo Congress ensemble and to organize the Paris Exposition's pavilion. Despite this and his expertise in "fine arts," however, Mammeri's hiring as an inspector of "native arts" in Marrakech further reveals the messy and fraught position of being in between the two discrete spheres, and his amateur scholarly interest in Arab Andalusi music reaffirms the parallels between "native arts" and "native music."

[113] See forthcoming: Elizabeth Matsushita, "An Ambivalent Renaissance: Si Mammeri and the Making of Difference in Colonial Moroccan Art"

In the next chapter, we will examine in more depth some of Chottin and his contemporaries' musicological scholarship on Moroccan and North African music, and the profound ways in which the production of musical knowledge in this period was intimately tied to the production and reproduction of racial, ethnic, and gender categories that were useful to the colonial regime. But at all times such representations struggled to firmly and finally "fit" themselves over Moroccan society, which constantly eluded absolute definition or colonial categories. This will be elaborated upon further in Part 2, in which I will discuss the lives and work of Moroccan and North African musicologists.

CHAPTER 2: HOW MUSIC BECAME RACIALIZED: ARAB, BERBER, AND BLACK IDENTITY IN INTERWAR FRENCH MUSICOLOGY

In 1928, at his opening presentation for the French Protectorate's concert series *Trois journées de la musique marocaine* (Three Days of Moroccan Music) in Rabat, French musicologist Alexis Chottin gave the opening talk which he entitled "Les visages de la musique marocaine," or "The Faces of Moroccan Music." Its basic premise was that Moroccan music had many "faces," or genres, and that these faces were like the mysterious and alluring faces of veiled Moroccan women, which Europeans could only rarely glimpse. Chottin stated, "I am going to try to raise for you the veils of these faces which hold such circumspection and mistrust… [and] you will learn they are not all of the same model."[114] While Chottin was attempting to demonstrate the diversity of musical genres in Morocco, his recourse to the metaphor of veiled, feminine Moroccan faces relied on popular colonial tropes, both in its Orientalist fetishizing and its conquering mentality. To "know" the face of the culture, like its women, was a French prerogative, and Chottin's scholarship was presented as a forcible lifting of that veil.

In this, we can recognize that musical knowledge is directly linked to the colonial gaze; even the French musicologist concedes, if unconsciously, the violence of what might be called "imperial listening."[115] Imperial listening can be considered the auditory analog to the colonial gaze: it surveys and masters, through sound, the landscape of the country and people it aims to colonize; it asserts power through recognition, or misrecognition, of its musical culture and through a subsequent production of knowledge that is rendered material in books, images, and

[114] Alexis Chottin, "Les visages de la musique marocaine" (Rabat: Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1928).
[115] Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan, "Introduction: Hearing Empire—Imperial Listening," in *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*, eds. Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 1-24.

recordings. As Nicholas Dirks put it, "colonial knowledge both enabled conquest and was produced by it; in certain important ways, knowledge was what colonialism was all about."[116] In the colonial production of knowledge, one of the primary avenues through which imperial mastery could be achieved was through the construction and regulation of racial categories, a task that dovetailed cleanly with musicologists' impulse to create and define ethnic traditions. In Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, throughout the colonial period, French musicologists heard, inscribed, and reproduced racial difference again and again.

Despite setting up a premise of Moroccan musical diversity, Alexis Chottin's 1928 talk primarily focused on only two "faces": Arab and Berber. This mapped onto—and served to reinforce and perpetuate—the French working paradigm for Morocco and most of North Africa: that there existed two separate "races" with separate histories, characteristics, and cultures. This musico-racial paradigm, which effectively echoed a sort of French divide-and-rule strategy, would continue to inform Chottin's musicological surveys of Morocco in the coming years, including his two most ambitious publications, both sponsored by the Protectorate's Service des Arts Indigènes (SAI): the *Corpus de musique marocaine*, appearing in two volumes in 1931 and 1933, on Arab Andalusian nuba and Chleuh Berber music, respectively, and the *Tableau de la musique marocaine*, in 1939, which was also split into an Arab and a Berber section. The latter won the Prix du Maroc in 1938 in its manuscript form, and to this day it continues to be cited in musicological texts in both Morocco and France.[117]

Meanwhile, Chottin was directly employed by the Protectorate administration: first as a schoolteacher in Fez, then as a school director in Salé, and beginning in the late 1920s as the

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[116] Nicholas B. Dirks, "Foreword," in *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, by Bernard S. Cohn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), ix.

[117] See: Christian Poché and Jean Lambert, *Musiques du monde arabe et musulman: Bibliographie et discographie* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 2000); Ahmed Aydoun, *Musiques du Maroc (Seconde édition revue et augmentée)* (Casablanca: A. Retnani Éditions, 2014).

director of the SAI's newly-opened Conservatory of Moroccan Music in Rabat. In 1939, working with the SAI, Chottin helped to organize the First Congress of Moroccan Music in Fez, which brought together a group of scholars and officials from France and North Africa to discuss and debate questions of Moroccan music in its many manifestations, influenced by the landmark 1932 Cairo Congress of Arab Music at which Chottin had served as a delegate. Presentations at the Fez Congress ranged from studies of medieval Andalusian music to Bedouin song, and were given by Moroccan and Algerian scholars as well as metropolitan scholars and representatives of major Parisian anthropological museums. The program also included an impressive series of concerts and musical performances, each one intended to represent a certain aspect, region, or genre of Moroccan music, a schematization or racial "landscaping" very much along the lines of Chottin's 1928 speech.

This chapter will trace Alexis Chottin's career and his major scholarly output in the interwar period to argue that, as the Protectorate's leading musicologist of "native music," Chottin's work went a long way in both producing and reinforcing the colonial racial paradigms for North Africa, constructing a vision of Morocco that was cleanly cross-cut along ethnic and racial lines; at the same time his work is a legible site upon which are inscribed the dominant racial discourses that existed in colonial Morocco. The chapter will also make the larger argument that musicology—both the formal and informal study of Morocco's "native music"—participated in a colonial production of knowledge on race and played a crucial role in the formulation and normalization of racial categories. This occurred in perhaps a more insidious way than other colonial social sciences like anthropology and archaeology, due to music generally being perceived as aesthetic, diversionary, and ultimately marginal, even as it was a vital and embedded part of the sociocultural fabric. This argument will segue into my next

chapter, which will make the case that musicology itself, via its foremost practitioners in the French Empire, aspired to be a race science.

In my assessment of Chottin, I borrow from Talal Asad and Wendy James' analysis of anthropology as a colonial production of knowledge and its material and discursive origins in empire, as well as the very real ways that anthropologists functioned as agents of empire. However, ultimately, I depart from James's notion that a scholar like Chottin was somehow "caught in between" colonial and national attitudes.[118] In very real ways, he acted as a colonial agent—not directly involved in policy, but reproducing colonial categories of knowledge and reifying and disseminating them in whole new areas. This included but was not limited to the Arab-Berber racial divide that ultimately served the needs of colonial rule. Yet this does not mean reducing Chottin to *no more than* a colonial agent, but rather recognizing the complex and multivalent ways that individuals could contribute to the forces of empire. Chottin benefited from and invested in colonial rule and its categories because this was the context he was formed in, intellectually, morally, and politically; yet if his work was "caught in between" anything, it was the production of often rigorous and legitimate musical scholarship and the production and presentation of that work in a highly colonialist, racialist vein. This space, and the choices made within it, is where I want to introduce nuance to the figure of the colonial ethnomusicologist even as I interrogate him/her, and perhaps also answer the question: Can the colonial ethnomusicologist speak anti-colonially (or perhaps more accurately, following Vicente Diaz, counter-colonially, i.e. not directly anti-colonial but producing critical narratives that circumvent colonial ones)?[119] More relevantly, could this knowledge be used and continue to be used in

[118] Wendy James, "The Anthropologist as Reluctant Imperialist," in Talal Asad, ed., *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca Press, 1973), 42-43.
[119] Vicente M. Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010).

critical or anti/counter-colonial ways, and if so how do we avoid the pitfalls of speaking colonially again with this knowledge?

"The Faces of Moroccan Music," 1928

Alexis Chottin framed his work on Moroccan music consistently within this same paradigm. The 1928 *Trois journées* concert series was a three-day musical event held at the Garden of the Oudayas in the Protectorate capital of Rabat, and intended as an overview of Moroccan music for an audience of both Europeans and Moroccans. Over 3,000 people were in attendance. Chottin's speech, which opened the first day of the series, was perhaps his most explicitly racialized depiction of Moroccan music, likely because it was an oral presentation intended as an introduction to a general audience; for this reason, perhaps, he indulged in a great deal of dramatic imagery and metaphor.

This is evident in the way he physically described Arab and Berber "faces," the central premise of his talk. Wavering, perhaps intentionally, between metaphorical musical and overt racial description, he began with "the beautiful head of a Berber, straight, with sharp and weathered features, with piercing gaze," which he opposed to the Arab's "good face which tilts, a bit round, half-smiling, with heavy-lidded eyes."[120] But he warned the audience after this cursory description: "Don't believe we have already penetrated their secret, for neither one has given it to you; because one is wild, and the other is fearful and concealed." Like the colonial official, then, the discerning musical listener would need to take different approaches to dominating—through knowing—these two Moroccan "types": the aggressive tribal rebel and the suspicious Oriental Arab, both averse to being "known" by Europeans.

[120] Chottin, "Les Visages."

He then launched into his discussion of the music itself: "Wild; Berber music is contained in this word. Even as it smiles, this face has something disquieting… It is not that Berber song is voluntarily sad, as it aims often at having a comic or satirical effect; but its general line resembles some long yelping of a jackal in the night." He went on to characterize Berber melodies as rather monotone, but added that for Berbers, "rhythm is king." As with many ethnomusicological writings of the era (and beyond), rhythm here was coded as primitive, uncultured, embodied, and befitting a tribal, rural people who had not developed the refinement of melody. What melody line did exist in this music was almost bestial in quality, as signaled by the reference to the jackal. Indeed, primitive rhythm was directly opposed to melody, which was coded as civilized and learned: Chottin quipped that Arab instruments were reminiscent of water on a lovely urban patio, while the Berbers used "brutal" percussion and "noisy" instruments.

Kofi Agawu has extensively critiqued ethnomusicological tropes that continue to this day to emphasize or valorize "African rhythm," by the same motion denying Africans access to harmony, melody, and form, markers of a more "civilized" musical culture.[121] For Agawu, while undoubtedly noteworthy rhythms do occur in many genres on the African continent, the discourse on African rhythm—and its emphasis to the exclusion of all other discussion—has a long and colonialist history that continues to privilege Euro-American orderings of musical knowledge. We see this same type of discourse being applied, in Chottin's era, to the "primitive" peoples of North Africa, in opposition to their more melody-based, urbanized Arab counterparts. Hence these essentialized musical categories constitute *another* layer of the series of dichotomies comprising France's Morocco: melody vs. rhythm could be overlaid onto oppositions of urban vs. rural, Arab vs. Berber, *Makhzen* vs. *Siba*, civilized vs. uncivilized.

[121] Kofi Agawu, *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Chottin made his own investment in these binaries more explicit a year later in his article "La musique marocaine (Vue d'ensemble)" (Moroccan Music: An Overview), published in the French colonial journal *Outre-Mer*:

> We discern, in effect, in this country's musical forms a double influence, that of two genres of life juxtaposed: nomadism and sedentarism; of two civilizations: rural and urban; and I would almost say of two states of mind: the *makhzen* tendency and the *siba* mentality.
>
> There are also two phases of the education of the ear that we clearly observe:
> 1. *The rhythmic phase*, which subjects the primitive, uncultured being, still struggling with nature, to its periodic necessities, to its every kind of alternation, days and nights, seasons, work, migrations;
> 2. *The melodic phase*, which is the prerogative of the civilized, the lettered, the man crouched amongst cushions, lulled by the indistinct murmur of water flowing into the basins, as imperceptibly for him as time flowing, the moments melting into the darkness and still-warmth of the patios.[122]

Here Chottin firmly established the series of binaries that applied to both Moroccan society and Moroccan music, explicitly opposing rural vs. urban, Makzhen vs. Siba, and rhythm vs. melody. The latter description, as a classically Orientalist portrait of an urban Arab, further cemented the Berber/rhythm and Arab/melody connection, while also adding an evolutionary element: that as a people becomes more civilized, they naturally "develop" the use of melody. Whereas rhythm was the marker of a primitive culture, melody was a feature of a legitimate civilization. What was absent yet implicit in this schematic, perhaps, was the "harmonic phase" of the Europeans: an even more "civilized" people who had developed the advanced and rational musical form of polyphony, one step further evolved than the Arabs' melody-based monophony or heterophony.[123]

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[122] Alexis Chottin, "La musique marocaine (Vue d'ensemble)," in *Outre-Mer: Revue Générale de Colonisation*, 1er Trimestre, 1929, 2.

[123] Polyphony can be defined as multiple musical parts coming together to form a melody supported by harmony, as is standard in almost all forms of Western classical music; heterophony is when multiple musical parts play simultaneously but do not form harmony and rather each have their own distinct lines, albeit ones based on a similar melody or line. Heterophony is common in Arab classical music, and also in genres like Dixieland jazz.

In stressing the fact that Berber music was naturally more "indigenous" to North Africa than Arab music, due to the Berbers' status as "true natives," Chottin echoed contemporaneous folk movements in Europe like the English Musical Renaissance, which attempted to locate "authentic" music culled from a people's most primitive, rural elements. The gendered element here also cannot be ignored. Mrinalini Sinha has analyzed the ways in which British colonial discourse in India produced, at crucial moments, the figure of the "effeminate" native Bengali, who while highly cultured was also seen as languid, sedentary, and someone who had "allowed" himself to be conquered, which simultaneously legitimated British colonial masculinity.[124] A similar process was at work in Chottin's descriptions of Arabs and Berbers: in his "Faces" speech, he personified Arab music as the "soft and fine" face of the Andalusi Arab, "which opposes quite radically the Berber profile." Following French Orientalist ideas about Arabs, he depicted the Arab as *over*-civilized, as a race that possessed an illustrious civilizational past (and a proud musical history) that had since fallen into decadence and effeminacy. Berbers, as a more brutal, martial race, and one that the French had been unable to fully "pacify" elsewhere, possessed a primitive or savage masculinity, signified by their brutal and noisy instrumentation. Implicitly, somewhere between the decadent Arab and the brutal Berber lay the civilized, conquering French ideal, neither too feminine nor too masculine.

The Musical Program of *Trois journées de la musique marocaine*, 1928

The concert itself, which Chottin helped to organize along with Service des Arts Indigènes chief Prosper Ricard, rendered the racial landscaping set up in Chottin's speech visible and audible for the assembled audience. This audience, as Ricard later boasted, was both enthusiastic and diverse: "Not only an urban native public, up to that point resistant or

[124] Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*.

indifferent, but also Europeans curious about aspects of Moroccan life."[125] This event, as the first of its kind in the French Protectorate, offers a perspective for understanding both French musical and cultural initiatives in Morocco and, more broadly, the French project of mapping and entrenching the Moroccan racial landscape, as they understood or wanted to understand it. Categorizations of musical genres and racial types, emphasis on specific styles, the introduction of a black entertainer, and the selection of participants were all revealing aspects of the French colonial project and its understanding of the populations it controlled or sought to control. The performers themselves, as well as organized musical associations like the Algerian-led Andalousia, may have disrupted this landscape or opened up space for alternative narratives on Moroccan music, as will be discussed more in Chapter 4. However, within the context of this colonial musical event, the French narrative remained fairly totalizing, and largely representative of a French imaginary regarding the Moroccan racial landscape that was both fantasy and imposed reality.

According to Prosper Ricard, the first two days of the concert were designed to represent traditional music as it currently existed in both the city and the countryside, while the third day exhibited "classical" and "modern" music performed by choir and orchestra.[126] The first day of the series, April 12, 1928, was straightforwardly split into two sections, "Berber music" and "urban music," the latter implicitly coded as "Arab," rendering the bifurcation of Morocco's ethnic landscape into "Arab" and "Berber" explicit. In terms of musical analysis, Chottin's scholarship contributed to a wider French musicological canon that saw Berber music as so different from Arab music that it was instead often compared to various European and Asian

[125] Prosper Ricard, "Note sur la musique et la danse du pays chleuh," in *Corpus de musique marocaine, Fascicule II*, by Alexis Chottin (Paris: Heugel, 1933), 9.
[126] Prosper Ricard, "Essai d'Action sur la Musique et le Théâtre Populaire Marocains" (Rabat: Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1928), 10.

traditions, exemplified by its emphasis on rhythm and its pentatonic modes.[127] Multiple musicologists saw fit to compare Berber rhythms and modes to "primitive" musics they had come across in Iberia, Greece, Central Asia, and even China. This persistent tendency invoked both the governing principles of comparative musicology, the disciplinary precursor to ethnomusicology that applied universal principles to the study of specific non-Western musics, and the desire to further remove the Berbers from their context (achieved elsewhere in studies of Berber "whiteness") and distinguish them from the Arabs.

The second day of the concert series, April 13, followed a similar format to the first in exhibiting "traditional" music, except that it was not explicitly divided into two sections. Rather, several Arab genres of song were intermixed, with only one explicitly Berber performance, listed as "Berber chants" by a group of eight Zemmour Berbers from Khemisset, outside of Rabat. However, the second day had one thing that the first day did not: an "intermission" of sorts featuring a performance by El Hommane ben Guir, a so-called "Negro jester" (*bouffon nègre*) from Marrakech. The marginal inclusion of a black "jester"—and notably, one from Marrakech, a southern Moroccan city more closely associated with blackness and the slave trade—reflected the treatment that black musicians tended to receive in French accounts and descriptions of North Africa, and a generally dismissive attitude toward black music, art, and identity, as will be discussed further below.

Finally, the third day of the series, April 14, took a sharp departure from the first two days' programming: instead of so-called traditional music, it was dedicated to "modern" and "classical" compositions. The program featured six original compositions by Chottin, performed

[127] The pentatonic scale is a five-note scale, used by many musical cultures around the world but emblematic in the Orientalist mind of an East Asian musical sound. In having "less notes," so to speak, than the Western classical scale of 12 tones, it also contrasted sharply with Arab classical music, which had *more*: 24 possible tones within an octave, though these would never all be used within one musical piece.

by the Orchestra of the Garrison and the choir of the École des Fils de Notables de Salé (School for the Children of Notables in Salé), where Chottin was school director; as discussed in Chapter 1, these compositions were in the "Orientalist" vein, utilizing Moroccan themes to create harmonized, Westernized (and thus "modern") orchestral pieces. The other three pieces were examples of "classical" Moroccan music, performed by the group Andalousia. Andalousia, who will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 4, was a musical association founded in the Moroccan border town of Oujda by two Algerians, Mostefa Aboura and Mohamed Ben Smaïl, and dedicated to preserving the Andalusian musical tradition of Algeria and Morocco.[128] They would go on to perform at the Morocco Pavilion in the 1931 Paris Colonial Exposition and at the Fez Congress of Moroccan Music in 1939. Andalousia occupied a liminal position in the French musicological project: both modern and non-modern, they were sometimes disparaged for their non-authentic instrumentation and modernizing mediations of traditional music. Yet they also were actively engaged in the same preservation of patrimony as Chottin (and his counterparts in the Spanish Protectorate), including the collection and transcription of the classical *nuba* song cycles of Andalusian music.

Andalousia also contributed performances to the first two days of the concert series, but their presence was highlighted on the third day as a demonstration of the "classical" music of Morocco. This programming, and the juxtaposition of the "classical" Andalusian with the "modern" Moroccan music of Chottin, further underscores the ways in which overly simplistic categories (both stylistic/temporal and racial) masked deep ambivalences about what "Moroccan music" truly was, and behind that how Morocco could truly be apprehended by the French listener or overseer. What did it mean that the SAI was simultaneously invested in preserving

[128] Jonathan Glasser, *The Lost Paradise: Andalusi Music in Urban North Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 1.

"traditional" Moroccan music as an immutable artifact, and commissioning "modern" Moroccan compositions that fundamentally altered and hybridized this music? How much did it have to do with who performed it?

Tableau de la musique marocaine, 1939

In the preface to Chottin's award-winning 1939 *Tableau de la musique marocaine*, Jean Gotteland, the Director of Public Education (the department which oversaw the Service des Arts Indigènes), thanked Chottin for putting "at the disposal of the public the technical results of his scholarly investigations."[129] The book, which earned the Prix du Maroc in 1938, was intended for a broad, non-specialist public, albeit an elite and educated one, and as such its circulation can be presumed to have been fairly wide. As one of very few scholarly overviews of Moroccan music, it has continued to be cited in musicological work in France and Morocco for many decades, even up to the present day.[130]

Hence the assumptions that undergird Chottin's musicology become more urgent to unearth and critique. These implications are evident both in his general overviews of Moroccan music (such as his "Les visages" speech) and in the more technical details of his musical analysis. In terms of the former, the *Tableau* introduction had Chottin describe, in his characteristic florid style, the situation of Morocco and its Arab and Berber traits:

> The [Arab] invasions that swept over its territory have hardly altered its vitality. The Muslim conquest itself, although animated by an unknown moral power, only imposed itself spiritually, leaving almost intact Berber languages and institutions. As for Arab art, a marvelous amalgam of Greco-Oriental traditions, it has by contrast profoundly modified the local spirit… Music, we shall see, has not escaped this law.

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[129] Jean Gotteland, "Preface," in *Tableau de la musique marocaine* by Alexis Chottin (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1939), 10.

[130] See: Ahmed Aydoun, *Musiques du Maroc* (Casablanca: A Retnani Éditions, 2014); Christian Poché and Jean Lambert, *Musiques du monde arabe musulman: Bibliographie et discographie* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 2000); Bernard Lortat-Jacob, *Musique et Fêtes au Haut-Atlas* (Paris: Mouton, 1980).

> And when, to this robustness, to this coarseness, Hispano-Moorish art brought its lightly mannered graces, its careful analytic décor, its taste for the reverie… after the Reconquista and the fall of Granada, Morocco received in part the heritage of this precious and luxurious art, watching over its secrets like one guards an esoteric science; [Morocco] marked it with its seal, imprinting perhaps a certain clumsiness, but giving it also a virile accent, through which it always reveals its rural and mountain-dwelling nature.[131]

In this brief narration of Moroccan history, Chottin implied that Berber Morocco was the true Morocco, underneath the superficial influences of first the Arab and then the Hispano-Moorish (also coded Arab) migratory influxes. Yet after the latter, there was some mixing of the two, where the "lightly mannered grace" of Arab Andalusi art and culture met the coarse but virile nature of the indigenous Berbers, and was altered by it. Somewhat paradoxically, Chottin also claimed in the same passage that Morocco remained a country of two poles in opposition to each other, which he corresponded to a similar tension between Orient and Occident. In his eyes, this marked Morocco as fundamentally distinct from neighboring Algeria and Tunisia, where the binary was less marked: "Because where, in Tunisia, are the descendants of the Numidian riders? And what, in Algeria, is the situation of the Kabyle tribes, beyond that of a small island almost submerged, a minority largely mixed by Turkish domination and French unification?"[132] In this sense, while all three of the French colonies of North Africa shared a basic racial schematic, for Chottin Morocco had the most timeless, authentic representation of Arab and Berber identities, despite mutual influence over the years.

Chottin indicated that "mixing" had at least to some extent corrupted musico-racial purity when he wrote about the *ahidous* musical genre, performed by Berbers of the Middle Atlas Mountains near Fez. He described a singing and dancing tent, which he called "Café Maure," on the edge of the Berber camp. Inside, a fiddler plays a "poor violin" and a peasant woman gave a

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[131] Alexis Chottin, *Tableau de la musique marocaine* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner), 11-12.
[132] Chottin, *Tableau*, 12.

chikhate performance, which according to Chottin was adopted from urban, Arab Morocco. As such the space was hybridized and even transgressive:

> All of this is a slightly clandestine amusement, in the shadow of the tent, for the mountain-dwellers who had been to the city, and who had learned to enjoy the perverse charm of long nights in certain discreet asylums, sniffing perfumed tea, dreaming on cushions. The true Berber festival is outside, in open air, where long lines of male and female dancers align themselves elbow to elbow, in front of the great *caidal* tents.[133]

The "true Berber festival" that Chottin described was the actual, authentic music, which was spatially and discursively marked off from the Arabized, Orientalized hybrid residing in the Café Maure tent. Again, Orientalist tropes were deployed here to signal racialized Arab traits: "sniffing perfumed tea" and "dreaming on cushions," as Berbers who spent any time in the cities learned an appreciation for things clearly not intrinsic to their natural setting (and indeed, "perverse"). The natural setting of the Berbers was outside, in the fresh air, engaging in the vigorous and primitive spectacle that Chottin then proceeded to describe as a performance consisting of large circles of men and women in traditional dance.

As in his 1928 talk, Chottin compared the Berber melody to the cry of a jackal, as a small choir would repeat a melody in "hooting" voices that came from both their falsetto and their chests. However, in this case, something interesting suddenly happened: the demi-choirs began to sing *in harmony*. Chottin described how one demi-choir repeated the melody at the same pitch, while a second one sang the same melody but lowered by a third. The result was two choirs singing in a harmony of a third. Harmony was generally presumed to be nonexistent in both Arab and Berber music, and on a global level almost entirely specific to Western music; as such it was naturally considered a more "advanced" form. Chottin noted such an occurrence was "a very rare thing in this country," but he also refrained from identifying it as exactly harmony, and rather called it "bitonality" or "natural harmony":

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[133] Chottin, *Tableau*, 18.

> [This] results in a choir in *two voices*, realizing truly a *bitonal* aggregation, in *mi* and *do*… It is possible and even probable that this harmony was completely fortuitous. But it is not the first time that we have had the occasion to observe it. And this phenomenon proves simply that the natural harmony of the third is found at all latitudes.[134]

"Bitonality" is a technically accurate descriptor of the musical phenomenon described here—"two tones" being sung at once, in *mi* and *do* (in a C major scale, for example, C and E), which is the very common harmonic interval of a major third, found in any number of Western choral pieces or modern pop songs.

However, Chottin's *reluctance* to name this as true harmony is striking. Stating that it was "probable" such harmony was "completely fortuitous," he went on to say that this "natural harmony" of a third could be observed "at all latitudes." This formulation entirely removes the agency of the Berber performers, rendering their musical choices unconscious and unintentional; a "natural" phenomenon by beings who lack self-awareness, the animalistic behavior of primitives. It was also a global pattern, and thus both universal and organic. Chottin placed the bitonal singing in the *ahidous* within a global framework, admitting its likeness to harmonies found in East and West, civilized and uncivilized society alike, while persistently avoiding naming it as "harmony" in the classical sense of the word. *Harmony* itself would imply a plan, the conscious composition of musical intervals with rules of counterpoint (i.e., which sequences of intervals are pleasing to the ear and which are jarring and thus not allowed), likely a written musical tradition with some form of notation, and in a word, order. Order and intention were things completely antithetical to the French perception of rural North African peoples. Their music, like all of their cultural production, was embodied, a dynamic but unconscious expression of their essential identity.

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[134] Chottin, *Tableau*, 20.

In such a way could French musicological writings both acknowledge and mark off "indigenous" harmony in the same moment. As much as this bitonal mode of singing may have differed from, say, a Bach chorale, it was a conscious choice on the part of the musicologist to construct musical categories that contrasted, rather than compared, sonic phenomena. Again and again, the construction of musical categories and the deployment of specific, intentional musical terminology mapped onto preexisting understandings of racial and cultural difference.

The bitonal melody sung here, Chottin remarked, eventually switched to another melody also sung in thirds. This melody was repeated indefinitely until little by little it stripped itself of its "unusual accompaniment" (meaning, the harmony of a third) before ending in full unison—resolving with what he no doubt believed was the more natural and typical state of Berber music.

Chottin also described, amongst the Middle Atlas Berbers, a genre of song that was influenced by Arab Islamic music, "perhaps the only genre where the Arab influence is manifest and avowed."[135] The *ahellel*, a "modulated psalmody" on the Islamic profession of faith *la ilaha ill-Allah* (there is no god but God), corresponded to the Arab *tehlil*, according to Chottin. Islamic influence and religious expression were evident in the Berber countryside, but again, by reducing Arab influence to just one type of song, Chottin rhetorically maintained the boundaries of the Arab-Berber dichotomy. And, further belying the ethnographic nature of his musicological work on Berbers, Chottin also made observations on gender and the division of labor, as well as gendered musical performance. He commented that the Arab-influenced *ahellel* was used both by men working in the fields and by women tending the home and children, as the words "support in all times and in all places the servant of Allah," thus informally describing both gendered labor and connections between labor and song. This remained a common trope in ethnomusicology over the decades, as Ellen Koskoff writes: "It is not surprising that the majority

[135] Chottin, *Tableau*, 22.

of existing descriptions of women's musical activities and rationales for their behavior focus on their primary social roles, for these roles are central to women's gender identities in many societies. Further, it is also not surprising that so many descriptions exist, for musical activities surrounding such roles, presumably receiving social sanction, would be the most accessible to ethnographers."[136] This was especially the case for women ethnographers and ethnomusicologists, as we will see more of in the next chapter.

Chottin's implied distinction between conscious and unconscious musical decision, which mapped onto a civilized/primitive binary, extended to his description of gendered roles in musical performance. In the following section, dedicated to the *ahouach* genre of the Berber tribes of southern Morocco, he described how, like in the Middle Atlas, circles of men and women formed, with male singers initiating the melody. They would then gradually pass it off to the women singers, and then "we understand why here [the men] intoned at the extreme limit of the treble, in a voice of contracted throat, so that the women sing at present in the middle. The leap of the octave is thus avoided. Here is an observation that is valid for all of Berber country."[137] Musically, Chottin ascribed a certain *practicality* to the ranges chosen by the singers: the male singers must start at a very high pitch, at the top of their range, in order for the women to be able to match their pitch when they take up the melody themselves. Alternatively, if the men sang at a comfortable middle range, the women would be forced to jump an octave higher, and the difference in pitch frequency would create a more jarring transition between men and women. Chottin implied that this was an intentional musical choice, but even here he remains vague in assigning true agency to them as musical actors. His language continued to suggest that it was a "natural" instinct borne out of timeless tradition rather than a conscious

[136] Ellen Koskoff, *A Feminist Ethnomusicology: Writings on Music and Gender* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 35.
[137] Chottin, *Tableau*, 24.

musical choice. It is important to observe, then, the ways that race, as primitivity, could be constructed by removing agency from people as musical actors. Even if Chottin did not state this explicitly, his descriptions of Berber musical performance consistently depended on the premise that Berbers acted on musical instinct more than rational decision. This musicological characterization was by no means limited to Chottin, and indeed has permeated much of ethnomusicological writing on "primitive" societies up to the present day.

Chottin's *Corpus de musique marocaine* (1931-33) and D'Erlanger's *Mélodies Tunisiennes* (1937)

It is worth noting here that French musicology's entrenchment of the Arab-Berber paradigm did not occur only in Morocco. While Morocco was the French possession that relied most heavily on this bifurcated paradigm, musicology was intensely linked to racial construction throughout North Africa. In Tunisia, for example, the Berber presence was presumed to be far more diluted and assimilated than in either Algeria or Morocco, even as it possessed a long Berber and "Numidian" history. Yet the population could still be broken down into discrete ethno-racial categories, and the documenting of local musical heritage remained a visible (and audible) racializing methodology. In this section, I will discuss Rodolphe d'Erlanger's 1937 *Mélodies tunisiennes* (Tunisian Melodies) in conjunction with Chottin's other significant Moroccan musical overview, the 1931 and 1933 *Corpus de musique marocaine* (Corpus of Moroccan Music) volumes, to show how, while local details and ethnic particularities differed in the two protectorates, an overarching and shared logic of racialized musicology was at work that broadly solidified colonial race hierarchies.

In 1937, the Musée Guimet, a museum in Paris devoted to Asian art, published a compilation of representative Tunisian songs as a part of their music library's series on "Oriental

music and music from far-off regions."[138] The melodies had been collected and transcribed, with an introduction and explanatory notes, by the French musicologist Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger, a longtime resident of Tunisia. D'Erlanger actually died in 1932, five years before this publication, so it is likely that Manoubi Snoussi, his Tunisian assistant, oversaw its final stages. Snoussi had also finished the work on the latter volumes of d'Erlanger's massive *La Musique Arabe* series, which will be discussed more in Chapter 4.

As mentioned earlier, d'Erlanger was the co-organizer of the Cairo Congress of Arab Music in 1932, just months before his death (and, despite his plans, he was too ill to attend the actual event). His *La Musique Arabe* further cemented his status as a leading figure in French musicological study of Arab and Oriental music. However, his *Mélodies Tunisiennes* is most salient to the discussion here in that, like Chottin's work on Morocco, it followed many colonial assumptions about Tunisian race and society, and the concise and simple nature of its introductory presentation in turn served to entrench a musico-racial paradigm for North Africa.[139]

Most obviously, the fact that d'Erlanger categorized each of the sixteen pieces in the collection within a designated ethnic or racial tradition acts as another racial "landscaping" of Tunisian society. The categories he used are *musique arabo-berbère* (Arabo-Berber music, meaning here music of the rural tribes), *tradition andalouse* (Andalusi tradition, as in Morocco designated as the urban Arab classical music), *musique des nègres* ("Negro" music), *musique hebraïque* ("Hebrew" or Jewish music), and the music of the *zawiyas* or Sufi Muslim orders. Additionally there was one piece labeled an "*Air Tripolitain*," indicating it was from neighboring Tripolitania or Libya.

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[138] Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger, *Mélodies Tunisiennes: Hispano-Arabes, Arabo-Berbères, Juive, Nègre* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1937).
[139] Tunisia, like Morocco, was a French Protectorate, established in 1881.

Immediately, the reader would get a sense of who, exactly, constituted Tunisia's population, as well as the groups responsible for its most significant cultural output. The predominance of Andalusi music (seven pieces) and "Arabo-Berber" music (four pieces) indicated these were the largest demographic groups. Andalusi music, as in Morocco and Algeria, was associated with an Arab elite who could trace its origins to al-Andalus and the expulsions of the Reconquista to major urban centers like Tunis, Tlemcen, and Fez. Andalusi music was the "classical" music of North Africa due to its status as an exclusive and refined music with fixed rules, written texts, and learned musicians. It was also coded as urban and Arab, while being classed as elite and educated rather than popular or folk.

Arabo-Berber music, meanwhile, was a construction that referred to largely rural, Berber-leaning populations, but at the same time its hyphenated designation acknowledged the mixed origins, culture, and language of most Tunisian Berbers. As many French scholars believed, one could no longer find "pure" Berber populations anywhere but the remotest outposts in North Africa, and rather would mostly find Arabized Berbers or Berberized Arabs. This was especially the case in Tunisia, where the two races were imagined to be more assimilated than in Algeria or Morocco.

The predominance of these two "types" of music in d'Erlanger's collection, then, was to some extent simply a variation on Chottin's focus on "Arab" and "Berber" music in his Moroccan publications. In both *Mélodies tunisiennes* and Chottin's *Corpus de musique marocaine* (1931-1933), Arab music was primarily represented by Andalusi song while Berber music was tribal chant from the countryside, accompanied by ethnographic-style dance descriptions. This was also the case in Chottin's *Tableau de la musique marocaine* and many other publications of the Protectorate era.

Indeed, a repeating refrain in French studies of North African music was a persistent, contradictory stance in treating the two "monolithic" genres of Arab and Berber music, exemplified in Prosper Ricard's statement that "there are two musical genres in Morocco, one from the Berber civilization, old and autochthonous, and the other from the Arab civilization, which came from Islam and is not as old and has a Hispano-Moorish essence."[140] More implicitly, the two genres were often treated as two parts of the whole, and they appeared immediately adjacent in musical publications claiming to be comprehensive summaries of the musical landscape. In this, they were treated as parallel genres, an assumption that was reinforced by the textual and visual layout of musical publications. In this way, d'Erlanger could feature melodies from the Arabo-Berber tradition and the Andalusi tradition side-by-side, as the two primarily representative genres of "Tunisian melodies," while Chottin's ostensibly comprehensive overview of Morocco could be comprised entirely of a volume on Chleuh Berber dances and a volume on Andalusi *nuba*. These parallelizing, equalizing moves produced, again, the Arab-Berber racial paradigm for North Africa.

Yet at the same time, despite this discursive equivalency, the differing *method* and *approach* to the two "genres" simultaneously produced a massive distance between them. The distinct approach can be located in the fact that the French treated Andalusi, and thus Arab, music as a sort of classical music, different from but in many ways parallel to Western classical music. In this, discussions of Arab music were musicological in the largely traditional sense. Meanwhile, Berber music was approached as part musicology, part ethnography (or essentially as proto-ethnomusicology). Its lack of formal rules, its significant variation from place to place, and its accompanying rituals and ceremonies meant that French writers could only characterize it

[140] Prosper Ricard, "Préface," in *Corpus de musique marocaine, Fascicule I*, by Alexis Chottin (Paris: Heugel, 1931), ii.

with broad strokes and with substantial ethnographic description, in a primitivist framework. For example, Chottin's second, Berber-focused volume of the *Corpus* included images of footprints underneath the musical notes, demonstrating the steps of the dances that accompany the songs; for obvious reasons no such footprints appeared in the Andalusi-focused volume. Naturally, this also aligned with French ethnography's traditional object of study being focused on rural and "uncivilized" populations, designators that primarily applied to Berbers.

Thus, by the same move, the production of the two genres, and behind that the two races, in French musicological texts constructed them as simultaneously similar and different, and, ultimately, as two total, knowable things. This paradoxical framing was of course part and parcel to European race science more broadly, which constructed race in both flattening and distancing gestures by producing difference within a common lexicon, under a common umbrella. It should be added that Arab genres outside of the Andalusi tradition, such as the Sufi *zawiya* traditions and popular music, tended to exist somewhere in the middle of the spectrum of classical and ethnographic, Arab and Berber, civilized and primitive outlined above—the *zawiya* here also included descriptions of accompanying religious rituals and "dances." However, they continued to be classed within the "Arab" sections of Chottin's text, as in the *Tableau* whose Arab half was split into an Andalusi subsection and a "popular music" subsection.

In the subtitle to d'Erlanger's publication, the subgenres were listed as "Hispano-Arab, Arabo-Berber, Jewish, Negro"; within the publication itself, d'Erlanger used the designator "Andalusi" instead of "Hispano-Arab," indicating some blurriness around the nomenclature (incidentally, "Hispano-Arab" or "Hispano-Muslim" were often used by Spanish scholars to discursively link North African culture to medieval Spain, and as terms were gaining vogue n in

the 1930s and around the time of the Spanish Civil War).[141] In traditional musicological fashion, d'Erlanger went to some length to describe the musical rules and guidelines of urban Arab music in the introduction, including its modes, scales, and rhythm, but provided no such overview of "Arabo-Berber" music. Instead, in the music of the Arabo-Berber tribes, he noted "there is no well-defined modal system."[142] He claimed that Berber modes varied from region to region and even individual to individual, though some particularly prominent musicians in the countryside would develop a distinctive style that then formed its own "school" bearing his name. In this, d'Erlanger accounted for the diversity of musical practice in the rural Tunisian regions, amongst the so-called "Arabo-Berber" tribes. However, the single designator unavoidably grouped them together as a cohesive ethnicity, constituting an established tradition of sorts, albeit one lacking the rules and structure of the written Andalusi tradition.

D'Erlanger's description of Andalusi music included a brief history of Moorish Tunisia: the colony of Ifrikia, "where the intellectual class predominated, was constituted in Tunis, the capital of a relatively peaceable country. It was these émigrés [the Moors] that transmitted their art to the aboriginal people. These latter also owed to them their architecture and all of their applied arts."[143] In this, not unlike Chottin with Morocco, he narrated Tunisia's history as one of autochthonous populations who *received* culture, and transplanted, cultured Spanish Moors who *gave* it. Culture here was a signifier for high art, infusing Tunisia with an intellectual, peaceful character, while leaving to the side the more primitive cultures that preexisted there.

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[141] Eric Calderwood, *Colonial al-Andalus: Spain and the Making of Modern Moroccan Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 167.

[142] "Modes" can be roughly defined as musical scales, or ranges of notes, that are commonly used in a musical tradition and have certain melodic characteristics. The modal system of Arab music, both Andalusian and Middle Eastern, is considered elaborate, well-defined, and the core foundation of the repertoire. Western classical music also possesses "modes" largely borrowed from the ancient Greek system, though these are less commonly used and less central to Western musical composition.

[143] D'Erlanger, *Mélodies tunisiennes*, 8.

Chottin's *Corpus* produced a similar picture of Arab and Berber identity, but his volume on the music of the Chleuh Berbers took some different approaches than d'Erlanger.[144] For one, unlike d'Erlanger, Chottin noted the existence of a few common "modes" in Berber music, while admitting they were less fixed and more variable than the modes of Andalusi music. Chottin also reproduced a group of melodies performed by some of his Berber interlocutors that were "adaptations of European songs," picked up by the musical troupe as they toured Moroccan cities. One in particular, by the Berber musician Mohammed Sasbo, was an adaptation of a European song he had heard in Casablanca; Chottin claimed Sasbo's use of European intervals like a perfect fourth and a major third, not typical in Berber music, showed "how well the adaptor accommodates his ear to intervals… that undoubtedly strike too harshly on his auditory habits." He noted a few small differences that Sasbo made in the original melody, but ultimately the example demonstrated "to what extent earlier education of the ear can, amongst primitives, take to new forms."[145]

In this depiction, Chottin both accommodated for the possibility of exchange and influence amongst different genres and peoples, and yet also reiterated an "evolutionary" model in which the more "primitive" race, the Berbers, required education and exposure to retrain their ears to more complex Arab and European melodies. This evolution was portrayed as not only cultural but embodied and physiological, as musical discourse inevitably focused on the mechanics of the ear. This reference to Sasbo and his other interlocutors as "primitive" is a bit puzzling as, in the same section, Chottin outlines their extensive touring schedules, annually making the rounds through all of Morocco's major cities (Rabat, Kenitra, Meknes, Fez, Taza, Oujda, as well as Middle and High Atlas towns like Imi N Tanout, Midelt, and Azrou), revealing

[144] "Chleuh" was the French term for what would today be called the Shilha or Soussi people, Berber populations living in the High Atlas and the Sous Valley in southern Morocco.
[145] Chottin, *Corpus de musique marocaine, Fascicule II*, 55.

an intense and professionalized musical career. Regarding another Berber interlocutor, Raïs Belaïd, Chottin even notes how he made a "grand voyage" to the Middle East, performing in Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, in both Arabic and Berber language, and composed his own poems.[146] This level of seeming knowledge and worldliness somehow did not contradict, for Chottin, his continued use of the term "primitive" for Berbers, nor his implied narrative that these Berber musicians were somewhat extraordinary examples of how "primitives" could learn new forms and languages from exposure and mobility.

In fact, Chottin concluded this section by stating that French colonialism had made possible these very modern Berber musical practices in the first place:

> The old raïs Ahmed only knew, about 40 years ago, three or four troupes in all of Chleuh country. He enumerates there today at least 20.
>
> He does not doubt that our activity in this country, in attracting entire colonies of Chleuhs to the points where they practice (ports, cities, construction sites, farms, etc.), has contributed, in great measure, to the development of the Chleuh musical art and its resources.[147]

Outlining the "development" of Berber music in recent decades, Chottin again inherently disrupts his own frequent narrative of a timeless and traditional genre practiced by a primitive people. However, he does this here only to highlight the ways that the French presence had facilitated progress and improvement in Chleuh "musical art." At the same time, the use of these more "modern" Berber touring musicians who spent much of their time in multiethnic urban spaces as informants on Chleuh music as a whole further complicates the knowledge that Chottin was producing. Even as he blended observational ethnography with interlocutors' knowledge, thus presenting a more complex picture of contemporary Berber musical practice, his scholarly

[146] Chottin, *Corpus, Fasc. II*, 13.
[147] Chottin, *Corpus, Fasc. II*, 14-15.

premise remained that "Chleuh music" and behind it Berber music was a total category with a racial origin.

Finally, by a similar inclusive-yet-distancing action, black music in Tunisia was represented in d'Erlanger's book by just one song, yet interestingly it was also the first song to appear in the collection. The "Chant du Génie May-Guizou" was listed as "the music of Hausa Negros from Nigeria, settled in Tunis." D'Erlanger wrote, "Although they are Muslims, the blacks of Tunis, originally from Sudan and Nigeria, kept some of their ancestral customs, among others the magical dances and incantations used to appeal for protection from the genies."[148] D'Erlanger's inclusion of a Black Tunisian song was significant, as was his (or his editors') inclusion of "Negro music" in the overall publication's subtitle, especially when we consider how infrequently Chottin and his colleagues in Morocco made reference to Black music. At the same time, such limited inclusion reinforced the perceived marginality of Black music in the Tunisian landscape, compared to Arab and Berber genres. Meanwhile, while "Jewish music" was also limited to only one song, this was notably a "Hebraic" liturgical song; as for Jewish musical practice more broadly, Arab Jews often themselves participated in Andalusi and urban genres, and claimed a similar cultural investment in Andalusia. Hence the boundaries around Jewish ethnicity, at least musicologically, were more fluid than those of Black race. But what else did this limited inclusion of Black music into the French musicological canon on North Africa signify?

Representations of Black Music

In one part of Chottin's 1928 speech at the *Trois journées*, describing the fanfare of Moulay Idriss, classified as an example of urban Arab music, he remarked slyly, "Do not tell

[148] D'Erlanger, *Mélodies tunisiennes*, 9.

these 'fanfarists' that their manner of honoring their patron saint resembles at all that of the Jbalas, those half-Berber, half-Arab mountain dwellers, nor that of the Gnawas, that ridiculous brotherhood of blacks."[149] Despite indicating musical similarities with these other groups, Chottin also implicitly marked off urban Arab culture and identity not only from rural Berber "mountain-dwellers" but also from black North Africans, notably the Gnawa, a Sufi Muslim order that traced its origins to West Africa and the medieval slave trade.

His diminishing, racist reference to the Gnawa as "ridiculous" is telling: besides for a single paragraph in his *Tableau de la musique marocaine*, Chottin actually refrained from mentioning them at all in his work, neither seeing their music as an integral part of the Moroccan landscape, nor recognizing the Gnawa as Moroccan.[150] This popular *absence* of black music in colonial musicology and scholarship in North Africa indicates a broader invisibility of black populations to colonial officials in Morocco, despite a deep history in the region since at least the medieval period. For one thing, they failed to "fit" into the Arab-Berber dichotomy that served as France's racial paradigm for Morocco, but it also likely reflected black Moroccans' already-marginalized presence within Moroccan society—as late as the mid-twentieth century, black slavery continued to be practiced in major Moroccan cities. Historians have only begun to address black North African populations, notably Chouki El Hamel, who writes that "the culture of silence about the history of race and slavery either located black Moroccans outside the community or completely absorbed them in it."[151] Meanwhile, Gnawa has not only become a

[149] Chottin, "Les visages de la musique marocaine."
[150] Chottin, *Tableau de la musique marocaine* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1939), 169.
[151] Chouki El Hamel, *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 3. See also: Latifa Bounou, "Saharan Otherness in Morocco: Gnawa and Abid Challenges to National Identity," in *CELAAN* 15:2-3 (Fall 2018); Rita Aouad, "Slavery and the situation of blacks in Morocco in the first half of the twentieth century," in Driss Maghraoui, ed., *Revisiting the Colonial Past in Morocco* (New York: Routledge, 2013). For histories of race and blackness in Egypt, see also: Terence Walz and Kenneth M. Cuno, eds., *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: Histories of Trans-Saharan Africans in Nineteenth-Century Egypt, Sudan, and the Ottoman Mediterranean* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2010); Eve M. Troutt Powell, *A Different*

serious object of ethnomusicological study but has also become a national music of sorts for Morocco, practiced by diverse sections of the population and exported to the world music stage.[152] In the Protectorate era, however, the few references to Gnawa musicians that appear tend to be street performers in travelogues, written by Europeans seeking to describe the colorfulness of Moroccan cities; rarely are they covered in musical or scholarly writings.

Yet Gnawa and other black musicians and performers did appear at select moments in the musical literature, such as the Hausa song included in d'Erlanger's collection, or the performance of El Hommane ben Guir at the *Trois journées* concert's intermission. As noted, this limited level of inclusion was at once an acknowledgement and a marginalization in and of itself. But there was another element at work as well that should be noted: more than just an acknowledgement of black musicians' physical presence in the North African space, it may have also been a more intentional acknowledgement of metropolitan fascination with black and African culture in the interwar period, also known as *négrophilie*.

The so-called *négrophilie* trend was in full force in Paris by the 1920s, fueled in part by colonial romanticism, and exemplified by the popularity of jazz, Josephine Baker, and exotic imagery in advertising, adventure novels, and films.[153] At the colonial exhibitions, the African villages drew great interest: in 1931, the Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF) and Afrique Equatoriale Française (AEF) Pavilions featured clusters of houses and exhibits populated with "natives," and the newly-acquired protectorates of Togo and Cameroon (taken from Germany after World War I) neighbored the monumental, severe exhibit of the Belgian Congo, already

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Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

[152] Deborah Kapchan, *Traveling Spirit Masters: Moroccan Gnawa Trance and Music in the Global Marketplace* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2007). Gnawa collaborations with Western rock artists (Jimi Hendrix, the Rolling Stones) and jazz musicians have also been popular since the 1960s-1970s. Meanwhile, the annual Gnawa Festival in Essaouira, Morocco draws increasing numbers of global performers and audiences every year, and numerous smaller Gnawa-themed festivals take place around the country.

[153] Thomas, 188.

notorious in Europe for its brutality.[154] The AOF was a federation of eight French colonial territories in West Africa, including Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, and Mauritania (the immediate southern neighbor to Morocco), and the AEF was a cluster of French colonial possessions in central Africa, stretching from the Congo River to the Sahel; the majority of these had been under French control since the 1890s.

In a spectacular display, the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocádero (MET; later the Musée de l'Homme) sponsored a gala concert of West African music and dance at the AOF Pavilion in July 1931 and featured what journalists called "a fine selection of natives"[155] and "a soirée of pure African style" at which "the most characteristic songs and dances of Africa were selected."[156] A review in the colonial newspaper *La Dépêche Coloniale* claimed that it perfectly expressed "the soul of black France."[157] Not only were there performances by musicians and dancers from Côte d'Ivoire, Dahomey (Benin), and Bandiagara, but also black soldiers from the colonial armies marched in wearing red hats, and loudspeakers played field recordings of "authentic Negro music" from the Musée Guimet's collections. André Schaeffner, the MET's resident musicologist (and later head of their ethnomusicology department), gave a talk on written and oral transmission of music in West Africa and provided commentary on the dances.[158] Schaeffner himself made a career out of metropolitan interest in "black music": he published his first major work on jazz music, before being hired by the MET as an African music expert, collecting field recordings on the famed Dakar-Djibouti and Sahara-Sudan missions.

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[154] Patricia A. Morton, *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000), 52.
[155] "Entrez dans la danse!" in *La Vie Parisienne* (July 21, 1931) [MNHN 2AM1/F1b].
[156] "Petites Nouvelles," in *L'Écho de Paris* (July 12, 1931) [MNHN 2AM1 F1b].
[157] "Une fête au palais de l'A.O.F.," in *La Dépêche Coloniale* (July 14, 1931) [MNHN 2AM1 F1b].
[158] "Danses africaines," in *Aux Ecoutes* (July 18, 1931) [MNHN 2AM1 F1b]

Reviews of the concert and its performances were overwhelmingly enthusiastic and positive; one writer even asserted, "Truly, African dance will be the great revelation of the Exposition, much more so than the dances of Asia which are not unknown to us." It was also a high-society event: the more than 500 guests included artistic luminaries like Henri Matisse, Igor Stravinsky, and Picasso, as well as political elites, ambassadors, princesses, ministers, and colonial governor generals.[159] Si Kaddour ben Ghabrit, the Algerian Muslim official who served the Moroccan Protectorate and had been a delegate to the Cairo Congress of Arab Music, was in attendance.

The excitement and glamor around this event underscores the strong public demand for African cultural displays and performance in the interwar period. While the MET concert had an anthropological, didactic dimension—sponsored as it was by the ethnographic museum and framed by Schaeffner's talk—it was also, at its core, an entertainment (not unlike the *Trois journées* concert was in Rabat a few years before). In this it was emblematic of the wider metropolitan *négrophilie* of the period, manifesting simultaneously in popular and intellectual culture, and perhaps forever associated in popular memory with Josephine Baker's *danse sauvage*.

Moreover, black performance did not necessarily appear only in the sub-Saharan African exhibits, but also in the representations of North Africa. At the 1889 World's Fair, there were no formal performance venues in the African exhibits beyond atmospheric drums; hence, "Sudanese" musicians and dancers featured most prominently in the Middle Eastern and North African *café-concerts*.[160] French accounts of these performances often extolled their sexuality

[159] *New York Herald* (July 11, 1931) [MNHN 2AM1 F1b]
[160] Annegret Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 241-243. "Sudanese" was often a catch-all term in both French and Arabic for sub-Saharan Africans, not just

and primitiveness, as well as their heavy emphasis on rhythm. The French musicologist Julien Tiersot contrasted the Arab and black performances by saying that while Arab music was more or less melodic, black music was limited as their "[orchestra] has not a single melodic instrument and consists only of rhythmic instruments."[161] He and others valued black African and Oceanian music primarily for its "archaeological" value: it was a living history of the universal trajectory of music, like an ancient artifact, and thus while not enjoyable for itself, it was valuable for scholars to study to better understand all music.[162]

While perhaps French musicologists and French general audiences differed in their enjoyment of black African music, both agreed on its primitivism and its elemental rhythm. These qualities, even as they were situated within Arab or North African performance settings, set it apart and marked it as different. For the French masses, particularly in the Jazz Age, the "primitivism" of black music and art meant it was a dynamic cultural source that white and European culture could draw upon for revitalization. As Fiona Ngô has argued in the context of Jazz Age New York, this was in effect a "distancing through imperium": by putting on and taking off Oriental and primitive identities with referents to empire, metropolitan subjects celebrated freedoms, domesticated imperialism, and consequently reinforced a continuing need for colonial projects abroad.[163] Their cultural borrowing and representation thus simultaneously created intimacy and unbridgeable difference between themselves and the colonized, racialized subjects of empire. Positive, public celebrations of the primitive "savage" were ultimately at the

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those from the modern-day nation-state of Sudan; in Arabic, "[*bilad al-*]*Sudan*" literally translates to "land of the blacks."

[161] Julien Tiersot, "Promenades musicales à l'Exposition: Les arabes (*suite et fin*)," *Le Ménestrel* (1889), 308; quoted in Fauser.

[162] Fauser, 250-251.

[163] Fiona I.B. Ngô, *Imperial Blues: Geographies of Race and Sex in Jazz Age New York* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 6.

same time declarations that the "racial other must stay in its place"; this circulation of imperial logic through culture and representation was thus an integral part of the imperial project. [164]

For French musicologists and academics, a slightly different logic was at work, but one that was no less predicated on racialization and imperialism. African music's primitivism meant it was often of secondary concern as an object of study; as many musicologists claimed, it was primarily rhythm, limiting both its creative and its intellectual potential. French musicologists and scholars were fundamentally invested in the same tropes about black music and art—primitivism, simplicity, heaviness of rhythm—that the French public were. Yet the "universalist" philosophy of comparative musicology also meant black music's value could reside in what it meant for the study of music more broadly, as will be discussed more in the next chapter.

With this wider imperial context in mind, the limited inclusion of black music in North African musicology comes into clearer focus. Both the Gnawa and the Tunisian Hausa, as black populations residing in Arab North Africa but with origins attributed to sub-Saharan regions (Guinea/West Africa, Nigeria, Sudan), were formally but marginally included in comprehensive musicological studies of Morocco and Tunisia. Musicologists afforded them space in their work as a limited acknowledgement, but also as a celebration of the entertaining and the exotic within an already exoticized space—the ultra-exotic, a primitivist discourse embedded within an Orientalist one. Black North Africans could be recognized at the same time that they did not trouble or disrupt the Arab-Berber dichotomy; this is evident in the way that black music descriptions mapped onto larger discourses of primitive rhythm even as Berber music was also identified primarily by its rhythm, indicating both an expansion of and a subtle substitution within a broader civilized-primitive binary. By selectively carving out a tiny space for black performers, French scholars maintained the North African racial landscape as they chose to see

[164] Ngô, 16.

it: one in which black populations existed, but only in select corners, their presence carefully maintained and restricted to brief diversionary amusement. This is especially noticeable if we consider one of the most frequent ways in which black Moroccans appeared in the popular record: as caricatured street performers in travelogues.

In 1936, Philip Thornton, a British BBC broadcaster who had hosted shows on "Oriental music," wrote a book about Moroccan music and was hosted by the Service des Arts Indigènes in Rabat, where he met Chottin, Ricard, and Moroccan musicologist Driss ben Abdelali El Idrissi, receiving a special tour of the SAI's Radio Rabat broadcasting station from Chottin. Likely informed by his French hosts, Thornton defined Moroccan music as being divisible into three categories: classical Arab music, Berber music, and music of what he called "semi-negroid races who have come up from Senegal."[165] He added that many "learned scholars" had written about Arab music but had not written much on Berber music, and "practically nothing is accessible for the study of Senegalese music."

While Thornton expressed his interest in this "third" genre of Moroccan music, it came off as more an object of curiosity than a serious art to be studied, notated, and considered. Going into significant detail about both the Arab and Berber genres, his description of "Senegalese" music was by contrast limited here to a brief, bemused, and blatantly racist account: he said it had interested him "from the first moment that I heard a hideous old man in Rabat singing in the streets one Sunday morning, as the French population were going home from high mass at the cathedral." Here he perhaps purposely contrasted white Christian civilization—the French exiting high mass—with the spectacle of the old man in the street, a symbol of primitive black Africa. The "Gnawi," as he noted they were called by the Arabs, were "rather revolting to look

[165] Philip Thornton, *The Voice of Atlas: In Search of Music in Morocco* (London: Alexander Maclehose & Co., 1936), 66.

at, having huge coarse mouths and evil expressions of low cunning." He added that "the music that they play—if such it may be called—is entirely percussion and vocal."[166] This latter description again fell into the discourse on "African rhythm," denying musical complexity and reproducing notions of African primitivism and Otherness. Thornton described how, the first time he saw a Gnawi man in Tangier, he stared so openly that the man averted his eyes and tilted his cowrie-shell hat down to avoid the influence of the "evil eye." "The effect was so ludicrous that I am afraid I laughed openly," Thornton wrote.[167]

Similarly, Casimir Blanc, a musical review editor in Tangier, wrote a 1908 treatise on Moroccan music, largely focused on classical and popular Arab genres; but he reserved a final, short chapter for black music, entitled "Player of the Krakeb, or the Gnawi." In it he gave an amusing anecdote about a black musician from the Sudan who, according to Blanc, everyone had seen performing in the streets of Tangier. By Blanc's description, this man with "thick, black, heavy lips" and "sparkling eyes," was above all a comical character:

> His mouth, tensed as if to laugh or better in an eternal grimace, allows us to see his loose and sparse teeth in an ivory tone visible in the middle of the black of his face. His black and curly head beginning to turn white alone suggests the years of his irreparable outrage; because his wrinkles, on him, disappear completely under the thick layer of black that serves for him as rouge.[168]

The man, "Chicago" (so called because he claimed to have visited the Chicago Columbian Exposition), danced in a "funny" and "macabre" fashion, sang in "a kind of muffled squeak that is not human," and was sometimes bothered during his performance by local children who pulled on his djellaba, and whom he in turn furiously would chase away.[169]

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[166] Thornton, *The Voice of Atlas*, 93-94.
[167] Thornton did witness and document a more complete Gnawi ritual that took place in the countryside, and notated the rhythm and hand-clapping that accompanied it. While in format it is similar to ethnographic descriptions of Berber and Sufi rituals, his language remained fixated on the Gnawa's blackness and primitiveness, and was racialized in an entirely different fashion. (115-119)
[168] Casimir Blanc, *La Musique chez les Maures* (Paris: Edition Musicale Française, 1908), 18.
[169] Blanc, 18.

This same archetype (indeed, possibly even the same man) appeared on the pages of prolific American travel writer E. Burton Holmes' 1908 volume *Into Morocco*, in his description of his arrival in Tangier.[170] Holmes and his companions visited the Petit Socco, a small marketplace in the old city of Tangier:

> While we refresh ourselves at the café, we are amused by the ape-like antics of a negro from the far-away province of Suss [southern Morocco]. His wig of wool is hung with shells and teeth and nails, all of which clatter as he dances to the music of a pair of iron castanets.[171]

Holmes' attention then turned to another very "picturesque" local inhabitant, a mad beggar, who he went on to describe at length, ending his short account of the black musician. However, the next two pages displayed two separate photographs of this briefly-mentioned "singing Negro of the Suss," posing with two separate white travelers (presumably of Holmes' party)—this is a valuable addition, as neither Thornton nor Blanc included photographs of their subject. In the two photos, the man is dressed in a heavy white robe and holding the *krakeb* or castanets characteristic of Gnawa and Sufi music, and his hair does indeed seem heavily ornamented, as Holmes described. Yet his deliberate standing pose, turned slightly toward the companion, paired with his direct yet relaxed gaze at the camera, betrays Holmes' racist depiction of him as "apelike." Indeed, his awareness of the visual conventions of the "tourist photo"—even as early as 1908—seems to indicate a savvy and intentional performance. This all flew over the heads of the bemused European and American travelers, who believed they were discovering and collecting a specimen of primitive Africa in the streets of Morocco, both belonging and not belonging to the already-exotic setting.

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[170] E. Burton Holmes, *Travelogues, Vol. 1: Into Morocco, Fez, and the Moorish Empire* (Chicago: Travelogue Bureau, 1914). Chicago-born Holmes traveled extensively over his lifetime, penning a lengthy series of travelogues and travel lectures from the 1890s to the 1950s about locations as far-flung as Japan, Morocco, Southeast Asia and mainland Europe. Envisioning himself as more of an entertainer than a scholar, he has a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame. (source: burtonholmes.org)

[171] Holmes, *Travelogues*, 34.

The conventional narrative structure of the travelogue to Morocco tended to begin in Tangier, as Holmes's did: the crossing of the Strait of Gibraltar, either by boat or plane, was heralded as almost a transcending of dimensions, from civilized Europe to primitive Africa. Tangier, as the main point of entry from western Europe, was a logical starting point. It was generally depicted as a city with a noisy but cosmopolitan character, diverse, "mixed" between elements of Europe, Africa, and Orient, but at the same time it foreshadowed the "Africa" that the travelers expected to find as they moved further south. As such, locating markers of "Africanness" in Tangier was common in these sections. For his part, Holmes described the Tangier marketplace as "the true frontier between the Christian and the Moslem worlds… here surges the murky tide of African humanity; here breaks the last sun-crested wave of continental civilization; here top-hats and turbans mingle; here Europe ends and Africa begins."[172] In this sense "Africa" was imagined as both a geographical space (the continent) and a racial and civilizational idea, and slippage between and within those concepts left the actual definition of "Africa" ambiguous. Tangier was and was not Africa; Morocco was and was not Africa.[173] But inarguably, the presence of black faces—performers, vendors, or simply passersby on the street—signaled "Africa" most forcefully to the European observer. This goes some way in explaining the emphasis on black musicians in colonial travelogues and musical narratives at strategic moments, and their virtual disappearance at other times.[174]

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[172] Burton Holmes, 37-38.

[173] It could be said that this problem of Morocco belonging and not belonging to Africa persists to the present day: while long emphasizing its identity as part of the Arab-Muslim world, particularly in the nation-building period of the immediate post-colonial era, in recent years, the Moroccan government has turned more towards an African identity in cultural, economic, and political spheres; this move parallels its re-joining of the African Union in 2017 after a 33-year hiatus.

[174] In the same passage, Burton Holmes noted that out of the window of a nearby European legation drifted a lively piano melody, which was "nearly drowned out" by the throng of beggars, conjurers, and general noise-makers in the street below; again, descriptions of Tangier often rested entirely on this narrative premise of civilizational clash and conflict between worlds, and this particular passage demonstrates how this narrative made use of sonic and musical observation to set up the city as a "crossroads" between Europe and Africa as well.

The comical figure of the black street musician who made striking but extremely brief appearances in Holmes, Thornton, and Blanc's accounts of Morocco all startlingly echoed the "black jester" who made an appearance at the intermission of the SAI's *Trois journées* concert, as well as Chottin's dismissive mention of the Gnawa in his opening speech as "ridiculous." At once acknowledged as a practitioner of a legitimate form of ethnic music and ridiculed as a grotesque and primitive performer, the black musician was consistently marginalized in the cultural landscape of Morocco, just as black Moroccans were ignored or associated only with slavery and primitivism. This marginalization adds another layer to the complex racial dynamics at play in both colonized Moroccan society and its representations, including the investment in the whiteness of Berbers. However subtly, it shows also that the French operated on a more multidimensional model than simply that of an Arab-Berber, divide-and-rule strategy; and that blackness (as well as black populations) needs to be considered in conjunction with whiteness, ethnographic primitivism, and Orientalism in the French racialization of North Africa.

Making Race in the Musical Programming of the Fez Congress of Moroccan Music (1939)

In May 1939, much of Alexis Chottin's work of the previous two decades culminated with Congress of Moroccan Music, held at various venues in the historic city of Fez. The musical programming of the event generally followed the aforementioned *Trois journées* concert and other such "musico-racial landscapings" of North Africa. As García Barriuso noted, while the daytime sessions were for study and scholarship and intended for a specialist audience, the evening performances were for all of the "elegant and distinguished guests," specialist and non-specialist alike.[175] Despite the fact that García Barriuso characterized the overall Congress as being an event for Andalusi music, Berber and popular genres remained intermixed in the

[175] P. Patrocinio García Barriuso, *Ecos del Magrib* (Tangier: Editorial Tánger, 1940), 26.

musical performances, just as the talks themselves covered a range of musical genres that extended beyond Andalusian classical forms. This mix revealed that Chottin and the SAI intended their landscaping to be not just an Andalusian event, but rather a near-complete overview of "Moroccan music," just like almost all of their other performances and publications.

Each day besides the first day had both an afternoon and an evening concert, with a total of nine concerts over the five days. Again, the majority of the music represented was Andalusian, but Berber groups and performers of "popular" genres were also heavily represented; this was in addition to a gala concert on the last night featuring hybridized, Orientalist-style compositions by three European composers, including Chottin.

The Andalusi performances featured several different indigenous orchestras hailing from different cities in Morocco, as well as Algeria and Tunisia. The Orchestre Brihi and the Orchestre M'tiri, two renowned Andalusi ensembles from Fez under the direction of master musicians Mohamed Ben Abdesalam El Brihi and Mohamed El Mtiri respectively, had previously collaborated with the Service des Arts Indigènes, including when Ricard was seeking musicians for his Cairo Congress ensemble (see Chapter 1). There was also an "Orchestra of Tunis," an "Orchestra of Tlemcen," and an "Orchestra of Algiers," serving as representatives of Andalusi music from other parts of North Africa, as well as the "Orchestra of Marrakech" which performed at the opening night's concert. Unlike the Fez ensembles, these regional orchestras were not named after their "mâalem" or master artist and were rather indicated only by their city of origin. Thus it is not clear if they were assembled specifically for the purpose of this Congress, as the Moroccan ensemble for the Cairo Congress had been, or if they were preexisting groups practicing in those cities, though it is likely the latter.

Other Andalusi ensembles included those of the various musical conservatories in Morocco, which had been established by the SAI. An invitation-only afternoon concert on the third day (the only concert to take place in the *ville nouvelle*, at the Empire Theater; the rest of the concerts were in the medina quarters of Batha and Boujloud) reserved half of its program for "the Conservatories of Moroccan Music of the Service des Arts Indigènes." Of these there were three: the Conservatoire de Marrakech, the Conservatoire de Fès, and the Conservatoire de Rabat. All three performed Andalusi pieces, movements from the *nuba*. This concert was a chance for the Protectorate to showcase the work of the SAI in its establishment of conservatories that preserved and promoted Moroccan music. The conservatories of Fez and Rabat performed a second time at the evening concert the next day, alongside the Orchestra of Radio-Maroc, again performing Andalusi pieces.

Finally, there was Andalousia, the musical association from Oujda directed by Algerian teacher Mohamed Ben Smaïl. As mentioned, Andalousia had appeared at several previous Protectorate events, including the 1928 *Trois journées* concert and the 1931 Paris Colonial Exposition. Their pride of place continued at the Fez Congress, where they performed at four separate concerts. Despite their more "modern" approach than the more traditional mâalem-led and regional ensembles, they were also simply listed as "Andalusi music."

Not everyone agreed with this designation. Patrocinio García Barriuso was critical of both Andalousia and of the Sultan's orchestra, who also played multiple sets, opening and closing the afternoon concert of the last day and also closing the final gala concert. He discussed this in a passage entitled "Modernization of Orchestras":

> It is in the modernist sense that some orchestras in Morocco have reorganized and introduced elements that create more brilliant effects, but at the same time affect the merit of the typical constitution. This is the case of the large orchestra of the Sultan, composed of a conglomerate of disparate instruments. They attempt to harmonize the

> traditional and typical [music] of Muslim Spain with that which is particular to the music of Tunis and Algiers, and the modernity of European bands.[176]

He went on to list the numerous instruments featured in the Sultan's orchestra: five ouds, four kamanja (violins), one rebab, one tar, one darbouka, one flute, two qanuns, one cello, two oboes, a pair of castanets, a triangle, and "a barbaric organ," plus five young singers. Altogether, García Barriuso declared, the combination of so many disparate instruments was "too strong."

He was slightly more favorably inclined towards Andalousia, whom he noted received great applause and enthusiasm. However, this enthusiasm, in his opinion, was largely due to the way Andalousia resembled a non-Arab orchestra, "which is sadly a symptom of Moroccans themselves losing their exclusive preferences for traditional music. Andalousia in effect presents the veneer of an Arab orchestra, although its ensemble and repertoire does not differ much from a Jazz-band."[177] He continued that the 24 elements of the orchestra included European instruments like the clarinet and cymbals "united artificially with the authentically Moroccan instruments" like oud, rebab, and kamanja (in naming the kamanja, essentially a European violin adapted for Arab music, as "authentic," García Barriuso inadvertently revealed the somewhat arbitrary process by which instruments could become "authentic" to begin with). "I don't deny that this ensemble gave agreeable and brilliant results, but the impression that I received was of listening to something other than Andalusian-Moorish music," he added. He also pointed out that the "preferred" repertoire of Andalousia was *not* from the classical nubas, and thus the end result was something that was neither true Arab music nor totally original and modern music.

This tension that García Barriuso was describing may have been in part a matter of personal taste, as well as a peculiarity of the Spanish view on Andalusi musical preservation, which as noted was generally more rigid than the French due to Spanish investment in their

[176] García Barriuso, 44-45.
[177] García Barriuso, 45-47.

shared Andalusi history and culture with North Africa.[178] However, this ambivalent response to artistic modernization, particularly when North Africans themselves spearheaded it, could be characteristic of European attitudes more broadly, including the French. The SAI clearly endorsed Ben Smaïl's project and featured Andalousia prominently at many events, but reading their musical programming over the years more closely, a more nuanced attitude becomes evident, both towards Andalousia and towards other "modernizing" North Africans. And while Andalousia was indeed given pride of place at many Protectorate events, the emphasis of the Congress and most French musicological discourse was on recovering "pure," "authentic" Moroccan and Andalusian music, more clearly exemplified by the regional indigenous orchestras. The two-page introduction to the Congress program, which gives an overview of the Congress's background and goals, focused almost entirely on the idea of safeguarding "pure" Andalusi and Berber music:

> For many years, a particular effort has been undertaken, encouraged by the Protectorate and the Makhzen, towards safeguarding the classical themes of Andalusian music and Berber music against forgetting and alterations. The profound inquiry recently made has notably allowed the reconstitution of the eleven nubas honored amongst the cultivated milieus of the Arab bourgeoisie in Fez, Rabat, and Salé, and the recognition of the native orchestras who are currently the trustees of the pure Andalusian musical traditions.[179]

While Berber music, folklore, and regional variation in musical tradition are all mentioned in this introduction, the modernizing work of groups like Andalousia and the Sultan's orchestra is left out entirely (as is Chottin's style of hybridizing compositions, though his *Corpus de musique marocaine* is pointedly praised). This simultaneous omnipresence of Andalousia in Moroccan musical representation and its omission in discussions of "pure" tradition and projects

[178] See: Eric Calderwood, *Colonial al-Andalus: Spain and the Making of Modern Moroccan Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018). As Calderwood puts it, in his writings García Barriuso argued "that the revival of Andalusi music is a matter of patriotic duty for the Spanish, whereas it is merely an academic exercise (a 'noble curiosity') for the French." (243)
[179] *1er Congrès*, 1.

of musical preservation gestures to a broader ambivalence. It is possible that this ambivalence extended beyond Andalousia, and even beyond the musical world: when North Africans themselves participated in projects of administration, modernization, or European "civilization," they tended to be admitted only up to a certain point. By transgressing the carefully maintained but always nebulous boundary between European and native, North African artists, musicians, and scholars with "modern" sensibilities—men like Ben Smaïl, Si Mammeri, and Driss El Idrissi—always occupied a tenuous place in the colonial project. Meanwhile North Africans who enacted a more expected "native" orientation were comfortably absorbed into French narratives and programming.

García Barriuso, too, was more encouraging of the traditional Moroccan orchestras that were featured, as well as the Tunisian and Algerian ones. He was enthused about the opportunity the Congress afforded to compare the ensembles of different parts of North Africa at close quarters, and was especially pleased with the Orchestras of Algiers and Tunis: "I can attest with great satisfaction to their fidelity to the Hispano-Muslim musical tradition… this despite the strongest influences of European civilization which they have found themselves in contact with."[180] He claimed this fidelity came from their respective histories; unlike in Morocco, foreign instruments had not been introduced, and more traditional Andalusian instruments had been conserved, namely the qanun, which featured prominently in Tunisian orchestras but had effectively disappeared in Morocco.[181]

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[180] García Barriuso, 49.

[181] The presence of the qanun in Tunisia, as well as Tunisian *ma'luf*'s distinct modal system, can largely be attributed to its Ottoman history: unlike Morocco, which was never a part of the Ottoman Empire, and more so than Algeria's somewhat superficial colonization, Tunisia experienced heavy Ottoman cultural influence, linguistically, architecturally, and musically, while still sharing strong cultural bonds with the rest of the Maghreb. Interestingly, García Barriuso attributes Tunisia's use of qanun to a more "authentic" retention of its Andalusi culture, rather than the result of both varied migratory patterns and distinct or contingent historical developments. This somewhat simplistic disappearance-retention paradigm was common in musicological and anthropological narratives, rather

As mentioned, some of the concerts also featured Berber and popular genres. The evening concerts of the first two days were strictly Andalusi, but the afternoon concert of the second day was divided into sections of Andalusi music, military music (performed by the *tirailleurs marocains*, or French colonial troops), and "Berber songs and dances." This latter section featured ahidous of the Berbers of the Immouzer region of the Middle Atlas, the Chleuhs from the Souss Valley, and the ahouach of those from Agadir, essentially covering a wide geography of the country. The fourth day also featured Berber and popular music in its concerts: the evening concert was again divided, this time into "Berber music and dance" and "Andalusi music," with the Chleuhs of the Souss performing again alongside "popular singers of Central Morocco." They both also performed at the next and final day's afternoon concert, another intermixed program.

The most interesting piece of programming perhaps was on the fourth day afternoon concert, which was explicitly devoted to so-called "popular music." Here, Berber music was not represented, as this was considered its own genre; popular music instead referred to any urban or folk music (generally "Arab") that was *not* Andalusi. On the program were "boatmen from Rabat," "guembri players from Fez," "lullabies," "procession music," and "melhoun by the *chiakh* of Marrakech." The diversity of these types of music, and their close classification into a single "popular"-themed concert, essentially condensed a great deal of Moroccan musical life and material into a negatively-defined category (not-Andalusi). "Melhoun" was a popular poetic song genre, originating in Moroccan cities. And "guembri" was a Sufi instrument most commonly associated with the Gnawa: a box-shaped guitar-like instrument with a percussive

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than a more complex view of how select elements of musical culture can be introduced, re-introduced, shifted, altered, or omitted over the course of nuanced histories.

body and three plucked bass-note strings. Thus it is likely that these performers were black Gnawi, though we cannot know for sure based on the program listing.

García Barriuso also described these performances with interest. He noted that the Berber performances "constituted a more picturesque spectacle than the [Andalusi performances]…. We had a moment to see the dances and amusements that provided a distraction of an extreme simplicity for men from the primitive epoch."[182] His passages describing the Berber performances were peppered with words like "ridiculous," "vulgar," and "primitive"; overall his attitude towards Berber "spectacles" was much less reverent than that of Chottin and his French colleagues, who held Berber music and culture in high value. Nevertheless they shared a similar language of Berber primitivism:

> Another musical manifestation was offered to us by a strange prehistoric juggler ridiculously decked out in rags and feathers, of a taste that had nothing of the exquisite. The instrument that accompanied his extravagances—he was throwing himself on the ground in order to receive, he said, the breath of inspiration and other traits in the spirit of this genre—consisted of a pair of reeds suitably united and with these he produced simultaneously vulgar sounds. As one can see, this was not music but rather a simple curiosity.[183]

Most striking here is García Barriuso's claim that (at least some) Berber music was simply "not music." Much of this chapter has focused on the ways that musicology constructed categories through racialized genres, and how musicologists spent their time defining and classifying the music they encountered into these generally simplistic categories. However, the most fundamental categorization musicology could possibly perform was whether something was "music" or "not-music," as García Barriuso does here, and as previous French observers had done with regards to black African music. "What is music?" is, of course, a deceptively simple question that musicologists and music theorists grapple with to the present day. Yet it cannot be

[182] García Barriuso, 53.
[183] García Barriuso, 53.

ignored that the act of *denying* the category of "music" to a genre, particularly one associated with a specific racial or ethnic group, constituted a political act of sorts. The discourse of "music" was premised on culture, civilization, and intentionality; more concretely it was, as discussed, often linked to melody and harmony. For García Barriuso, Berber music then resided at the limits of what could reasonably be called "music," belying his primary investment, as a Spaniard, in Andalusi music.

In some ways, however, this was also a logical extension of the civilized-primitive binary that formed an existential background for all Europeans, and along that spectrum the observer could selectively valorize or delegitimize the "primitive" spectacle he was witnessing, according to his or her strategic aims. Spanish observers like García Barriuso had no particular reason to invest in Berber music and culture; hence, while being amused by it, he could also dismiss it as too primitive for real investment, and too simple to be music. The French accepted and even celebrated the primitivism of Berber culture, invoking it in order to construct a narrative in which Berbers were the "real" Moroccans; as mentioned, this strategy allowed them to both drive a wedge between Arab and Berber elements of Moroccan society and to position Berbers as distant relatives of European civilization in North Africa, strengthening French claims to imperial rule. Within the French civilized-primitive binary, of course, it was Black Africans residing in North Africa who held less interest and existed at the limits of significance.

Accompanying these descriptions of Berber performance, García Barriuso included two photographs in the text: the first was of three Berber women performers, close-up in order to show their ornate costumes and jewelry; the second was a wider shot of a dozen Berber men with the caption: "Troupe of Berber musicians present at the Congress: 1) the strange type of 'prehistoric' juggler. 2) The buffoon director of the 'Company of Varieties.'" While photographs

of Berber performers appear sporadically throughout the rest of the text, the focus here only on women musicians and "prehistoric" or "buffoon" performers seems an almost intentional downplaying of its significance.

Despite our reliance on García Barriuso's descriptions, who belied a clear bias against Berber and other "primitive" performances due in large part to the diverging Spanish colonial view, French and Spanish musico-racial schematics nevertheless worked together to confirm the formulation of music and Moroccan music in particular as a site of racial formation and affirmation. Notably, Chottin likewise concluded his discussion of the "popular," non-Andalusi genres in his *Tableau de la musique marocaine* by downplaying to some extent the cultural influence of Berber music, while more openly valorizing its simplicity and genuineness of feeling:

> These [popular] songs are very often the transposition, the simplification of themes borrowed from Andalusian music. The Berber influence is only felt there sporadically and above all in the rhythm of ecstatic dances that enter into the spiritual exercises of certain confraternities. The Hammadcha, for example, seem to have borrowed from the Middle Atlas the quinary cadence of the *ahidous*, with its mechanism and its gestures.
>
> But it is perhaps in the simplicity of these fragmentary themes that the soul of the Moroccan people best lives. These few airs appear as the most typical, the most colorful expression of their daily life, the sentiments that they sometimes feel so strongly, but that their modesty refuses to spread.[184]

The overall scope of the Fez Congress again focused on the French Protectorate's and the SAI's goal of musically "landscaping" of all of Morocco, rather than focusing on a specific genre. The programming resembled that of its previous performances, but the grand scope of the event meant more nuance could be read into its choices, as described here. Of course, one of the most interesting facets of the Fez Congress was the heavy participation of Moroccan and Algerian scholars as producers of knowledge on seemingly equal footing with French

[184] Chottin, *Tableau de la musique marocaine*, 171.

counterparts. These included Si Azouaou Mammeri, Driss ben Abdelali El Idrissi, Mohamed Ben Smaïl, the Ben Ghabrit brothers, and Mohammed El Fassi; their involvement will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 4.

Conclusion

From the *Trois journées* concert to the Fez Congress, from Moroccan tableaus to Tunisian melodies, and from serious musicological inquiries to incidental passages in travelogues, broad patterns of racialization, ethnicization, and Othering can be traced in disparate sources of musical knowledge that together helped to create a unified North African racial imaginary. As I have argued in this chapter, the production of musical knowledge could almost never be divorced from the production of race and identity—its central impulse was the creation of categories premised on distinct ethnic traditions and peoples, while its colonial provenance further linked it to strategies of documentation and control that bolstered Protectorate rule. Alexis Chottin, with the aid of Prosper Ricard and the SAI, became a central figure in this drama. Through his authoritative, comprehensive publications, his participation in public-facing events and musical performances, as well as his more regular if less visible (from the archive) work in the schools and conservatories of Morocco, Chottin did more than perhaps anyone in establishing a set of premises for Moroccan music and its links to race.

Yet as I have also shown, he was far from the only figure doing this work, whether consciously or unconsciously. SAI events elicited the participation of large numbers of scholars and musicians, both French and North African, both colonial and not, and it was the remarkably consistent nature of their musical commentary that served to strengthen entrenched notions of race and identity.

In the next chapter, I continue the discussion of the relationship between musicology and racial knowledge, but through a different lens. In particular, the next chapter will address both the more concrete forms that racial and colonial ideology embedded in musical practice and knowledge took (namely, settler colonial musical activities and anthropological and ethnomusicological missions) and the ways in which musicology, beyond simply racializing knowledge, functionally served as a race science itself.

CHAPTER 3: HOW MUSIC BECAME A RACE SCIENCE: THE BERBER QUESTION IN INTERWAR ANTHROPOLOGY AND MUSICOLOGY

In interwar France, many major anthropological institutions, including the Musée de l'Homme (the Museum of Man) in Paris, had taken on new and more "sympathetic" dimensions in their treatment of non-Western peoples, as well as ostensibly more realistic views on race that saw it as not purely biological. Yet despite these shifts, French anthropology remained deeply and irrevocably imbricated with empire. It was French Empire that provided the access, source material, political exigency, public interest, and monetary support for the practice of French anthropology. And the work of empire, of course, was itself highly racialized: predicated on the supremacy of European, and particularly French, civilization and the backwardness or stagnation of colonized peoples, colonial authorities also found it necessary to define, categorize, and characterize these peoples within set racial groups in order to maintain their authority and administer potentially unruly populations. Even the more "liberal" anthropologists of the Musée de l'Homme, many of whom themselves held marginalized identities—women, Jewish, queer—and who professed sympathies with the colonized were commissioned into a project of knowledge production that was at its core racist and imperialist.

As I have already shown, the Arab-Berber dichotomy and the question of Berber racial origins both established themselves as central motifs in North African colonial musicology. Yet my argument in this chapter will build on this notion and the previous chapters to show that French musicologists not only came to racial conclusions in their musical scholarship, but that they proactively sought to make musical scholarship a source of racial knowledge. At the same moment that French anthropologists were negotiating with the field's reputation as a race science while passively contributing to the racializing work of empire, French musicologists were

angling to establish their discipline as a reliable race science itself. I argue that these efforts were concentrated around French North Africa and the question of Berber racial origins, which by the interwar period had implanted itself powerfully in the imaginations of the metropolitan French, such that even scholars who were not specialists in the region invoked it as a compelling and important topic of study.

I ask: what compelled multiple European musicologists in the interwar era to promulgate the idea that musicology's role was not simply a form of cultural knowledge production, but a race science? How did their investment in music as racial knowledge resonate with their roles in or relationships with colonial regimes? This chapter will trace the contours of interwar French anthropology, centered on the 1930s rebirth of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, and its complex positioning vis-à-vis both race science and colonial North Africa, as well as its engagement with musical ethnography. It will then analyze the more straightforward discourse of musicology-as-race-science as it developed during the interwar period, in which musicologists built on the intense anthropological interest in North Africa to argue that their discipline could resolve the racial "problem" of the Arab-Berber question with perhaps even greater accuracy than physical anthropology and skull measurements.

In the previous two chapters, I argued that musicology became part of the exercise of colonial rule in North Africa, and that this was largely achieved through the heavily racialized knowledge about colonized society that its practitioners produced. This chapter will demonstrate that not only did musicologists produce racialized knowledge that had material effects on North African society, but that they often consciously and explicitly conceived of their discipline as a race science. In other words, they believed that musicology was a social science in the vein of anthropology, linguistics, and archaeology, and that the musical evidence they uncovered was

scientific, measurable, and could be deployed to accurately gauge human difference between the known racial groups. Hence this goes beyond the passive racialization of knowledge and was instead a proactive move towards commissioning music into imperial efforts at producing race hierarchies and "proving" colonial inferiority.

With this argument, I follow a growing number of ethnomusicologists in assessing musicology's imbrication with colonial power in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; indeed, in recent years, the fact of music's politicized role has to many scholars become self-evident.[185] This includes the field of ethno/musicology's profoundly colonial origins, and to some extent its role in producing racial knowledge. Yet despite inroads, a broader assessment of scholarship reveals that these premises have not been as widely accepted as one might hope, either within ethno/musicology or outside of it. And specifically, the case for musicology's significant political and racial role in North Africa remains to be made. The Maghreb is an important site not only because of the lack of critical study of music and race there, but also because of the centrality of its racial "problems" to French colonial science, as well as the continuation of such racial questions into the present day. These are rooted in multiple factors: racially, the wide reverberations of the Arab-Berber dichotomy, the liminal positioning of North Africa in the global Black-white binary, and the prevalence of (and ambivalence around) Arab identity in North African nationalist movements; and musically, the strong and vested interest in politicized musical projects of both European colonial regimes and nationalist governments in the region, not to mention the vast array of musical genres, many of which have gained global popularity in recent decades. My hope is that this study reveals unexamined processes in North African history, but that it also resonates more broadly with the project of "decolonizing"

[185] See: Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan, eds., *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016); Kofi Agawu, *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

ethno/musicology everywhere, while making a strong case (for those outside of ethno/musicology) for music's crucial and complex role as an easily overlooked political idiom.

Anthropology and Race Science in the Interwar Era

In many ways, race and empire were at the core of the field of anthropology since its beginnings, in France and elsewhere. Anthropology the modern discipline was birthed in the mid-nineteenth century, at the same moment that Europe's imperial projects were expanding in the age of New Imperialism. For decades, scholars have discussed the ways in which early anthropology was entangled with empire and scientific racism; Talal Asad helped to inaugurate anthropology's moment of reckoning in the 1970s following a series of crises in the decade previous. For Asad, social anthropology emerged as a discipline at the beginning of the colonial era, and had re-entrenched itself as a major academic profession amidst the challenges of decolonization.[186] Bernard Cohn has discussed how the production of knowledge was a central part of the imperial project, which included disciplines like anthropology: colonial scholars used science to "objectify" India and make it knowable, accessible, and available for colonization.[187] Archaeology and anthropology's preoccupation with artifacts, which often ended up in Western museums, could be considered a form of commodification in which the commodities were pieces of colonial history and domination.

Similarly, anthropology was deeply invested in scientific racism from the mid-nineteenth to at least the early twentieth century. Race was a central organizing principle within all of the social sciences by the late nineteenth century, and there persisted an assumption of both its reality and its significance in all scholarly production. However, it was also at the turn of the

[186] Talal Asad, "Introduction," in Talal Asad, ed., *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca Press, 1973), 15.
[187] Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

century that some of the first major critiques of scientific racism were made, most prominently in the work of the German Jewish anthropologist Franz Boas, who was primarily based in the United States. Boas pioneered the field of cultural anthropology by centering culture, not race, in discussions of human behavior and societies.[188] He promoted an anthropological practice that separated culture from race and biology and sought to understand societies on their own terms, rejecting a Eurocentric framework as well as nineteenth-century race hierarchies. Over the next few decades, Boasian anthropology earned a large following, and by the 1920s its premises had become largely (but not entirely) accepted by mainstream anthropology.

France underwent a similar, if not exactly, parallel process as the United States and Britain. The most renowned French anthropologist of the nineteenth century was Paul Broca (1824-1880), a physical anthropologist known for his work in measuring human brains and skulls and linking these measurements to racial difference and intellectual capacity. Alice Conklin notes that his absolutely central focus on embodied and essential racial qualities "helped to place the concept of fixed racial differences at the heart of French anthropological studies."[189] However, in the first decades of the twentieth century, cultural anthropology also began to challenge some of these entrenched notions in France. Boas's French counterpart was Marcel Mauss (1872-1950), who trained a whole generation of French anthropologists in a way that rejected the scientific racism of his predecessors. Like Boas, he encouraged the burgeoning practice of ethnographic field work as a core and constitutive part of anthropological scholarship, which departed from the "armchair" work of nineteenth-century social science. With Paul Rivet, Mauss co-founded the Institute of Ethnology at the Sorbonne in 1925; Rivet would then go on to

[188] John P. Jackson, Jr., and Nadine M. Weidman, *Race, Racism, and Science: Social Impact and Interaction* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-Clio, 2004), 129.
[189] Alice Conklin, *In the Museum of Man: Race, Anthropology, and Empire in France, 1850-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 2.

serve as director of the Musée de l'Homme in the 1930s. Rivet was a devoted admirer of Franz Boas, and with Mauss he had significant influence on the generation of anthropologists who came up in the interwar era, many of them as employees of the Musée de l'Homme.

Yet, in France as in the U.S., these progressive moves and rejections of scientific racism rested in uneasy tension with a continued reliance on nineteenth-century terminologies and methodologies, which will be discussed more below. Meanwhile, physical anthropology remained a large and unavoidable presence within the major scholarly institutions, and many scholars still openly invested in race science, eugenics, and racial hierarchies. Overall, the academic field of anthropology had reached a critical turning point in interwar Europe, even as many of its racialist premises remained constant. While the biological study and ranking of human races was still widely considered legitimate in 1930s France, the field had begun to visibly shift under the influence of cultural anthropologists like Franz Boas, Margaret Mead, and Marcel Mauss, and then again with the profound challenges that Nazism made to global racial thinking and its dangers, leading to the landmark 1950 UNESCO statement (removed from its 1951 version) that "race was less a biological fact than a social myth."[190] However, prior to World War II, France's academic community, political establishment, and general public remained deeply invested in the reality of race, and in the sciences' capacity to define that reality. This also reflected the deep imbrication of anthropology with empire, as the production of knowledge about colonized peoples was considered useful and even necessary for colonial regimes. Further, the period after WWI was a time of crisis in which European powers ruled over larger-than-ever imperial holdings in the face of increasing and sustained challenges to those holdings. In Talal Asad's 1973 critique of the discipline, he stated:

[190] Conklin, 329.

> We must begin from the fact that the basic reality which made pre-war social anthropology a feasible and effective enterprise was the power relationship between dominating (European) and dominated (non-European) cultures. We then need to ask ourselves how this relationship has affected the practical pre-conditions of social anthropology; the uses to which its knowledge was put; the theoretical treatment of particular topics; the mode of perceiving and objectifying alien societies; and the anthropologist's claim of political neutrality.[191]

In the interwar period, the Musée de l'Homme was one of the most prominent actors in French anthropology. During this period, the museum sponsored dozens of missions to the many outposts of empire, and then put the fruits of those missions on display in their exhibition halls. Many of the more ambitious missions became public spectacles: the press heavily publicized their preparation and departure, journalists profiled the lead anthropologists as daring adventurers, and the public feted the anthropologists' returns. Such missions also yielded the most grandiose exhibitions, with the museum hosting gala receptions and the guest list boasting the names of Parisian luminaries form Pablo Picasso to Igor Stravinsky. One of the first such receptions to take place in this period celebrated the installation of an Easter Island sculpted head at the entrance to the museum in May 1930.

While the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro had originally opened in 1878, the museum underwent a massive renovation in the 1930s, leading to its reestablishment under the name "Musée de l'Homme" in 1938. This renovation was overseen by Paul Rivet, the museum's new director, and his assistant director Georges-Henri Rivière, who adapted their vision to the changing face of anthropology. Both were also, according to Alice Conklin, "anti-racist" in their views: Rivet was vocal about rising anti-Semitism in Germany and anthropology's role in combating racism, and Rivière believed the museum's mission was "to illustrate the history of

[191] Asad, 17.

human endeavors and help to dispel prejudices against the supposedly inferior races."[192] This anti-racism, as Conklin terms it, nevertheless sat in uneasy tension with the continuing emphasis on the biological and physical significance of race in the museum's exhibition halls, not to mention the close alliance between the museum and the French Empire. This included a vast collection of skulls and skeletons, some (but not all) inherited from late nineteenth-century missions—most notably, the skeleton of Saartjie Baartman, the so-called "Hottentot Venus"—and most strikingly a massive display of racial type busts that greeted, and indeed to this day still greets, the visitor in the entry hall. The anthropology hall of the museum was also divided into the three major "races" of the world: Black, Yellow, and White, and their subdivisions, and while they were not explicitly "ranked," the positioning of the races implied a kind of evolutionary timeline from least to most advanced.

Thus, while the anthropology of Rivet and Rivière, heavily influenced as it was by Mauss and Boas, was undoubtedly less racist than that of many of their contemporaries, I argue that it is problematic to summarily label them "anti-racist" as this has the capacity to negate the ways in which their work did, in fact, continue to underwrite and promote racism, sometimes euphemistically referred to as "racial thinking." This is not to deny the nuances in the positions of actual individuals, but rather to refuse to overlook the deep structural entanglements of such "race science" with racist policy, racial violence, and empire. The missions sponsored by the Musée de l'Homme in this period exemplify how the work of empire and racialization was directly carried out by anthropologists, even those with self-professed "anti-racist" or even anticolonial views. As we will see, this included women anthropologists who saw themselves as advocates for North African peoples, both during the colonial period and after.

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[192] Georges-Henri Rivière, letter to Gaston Monnerville, 22 December 1932; quoted in Alice Conklin, *In the Museum of Man*, 145.

Meanwhile, ethnomusicology did not fully form as a coherent discipline until the 1950s, but its precedents were deeply interconnected with anthropological institutions. The earliest threads of ethnomusicology coincided with the age of New Imperialism, the rise of sound recording on ethnographic missions, and the growth of sonic archives at places like the American Museum of Natural History in New York, the Field Museum in Chicago, and the Phonogram Archive at the Society of Anthropology in Paris, as well as the renowned Berlin Phonogram Archive. These recordings tended to be entwined with an Orientalist interest in the exotic, and their provenance was principally African and Asian. Brice Gérard dates ethnomusicology's official institutionalization in France to the 1920s, and specifically to 1929, when the Musée de l'Homme (then the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro) hired André Schaeffner to oversee the museum's collections of musical instruments.[193] As such Gérard attaches special significance to the role of Schaeffner, and the Musée de l'Homme, in the introduction and expansion of ethnomusicology in France. Schaeffner approached the field of musicology from a heavily scientific standpoint. Trained by Mauss and employed by Rivet, he was similarly part of the Durkheimian tradition; further, he came from a family of chemists, and saw a relationship between the natural sciences and the social sciences.

In the early 1930s, Schaeffner was the head of the Musical Organology Service at the museum, focusing exclusively on instruments as objects. Then in 1933 this service was renamed the Department of Musical Ethnology, and its mission and scope of study was expanded considerably. During this time, Schaeffner accompanied his first major field mission, Marcel Griaule's Dakar-Djibouti mission, which collected 210 instruments from across Africa for the museum.

[193] Brice Gérard, *Histoire de l'ethnomusicologie en France (1929-1961)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2014).

Even before the establishment of a designated "musical ethnology" department, many of the missions of this earlier period included the collection of musical data, sometimes by trained musicologists. One of the most publicized missions of the era was the Dakar-Djibouti mission of 1931 to 1933, led by Marcel Griaule and traversing nine French colonies in Africa plus parts of the Belgian Congo and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Griaule had been a student of Marcel Mauss, and his team included André Schaeffner, who would go on to become the first head of the musical ethnology department, and, when hired by Rivet, had recently published a book on jazz music. Schaeffner was charged with making recordings and collecting musical artifacts, resulting in 200 sound recordings; meanwhile, Griaule was collecting, among other things, skulls. The mission also yielded dissension between the two, or more accurately between Griaule and everyone else on the team: they complained that Griaule was not a team player, and further that he often utilized unscrupulous methods to acquire objects from the peoples they encountered.[194] Schaeffner would nevertheless work with Griaule again, on a three-month mission to Mali in 1935 to research music and dance, in a group that included Schaeffner's future wife, Denise Paulme, another Africanist. After the war, Griaule would be accused of collaboration with the Nazis in Vichy France, further demonstrating his ideological distance from the rest of the museum staff, many of whom were involved in the Resistance.

The public interest in artifacts and exhibitions on Africa, both North and sub-Saharan, was strong in the interwar period; as discussed in the previous chapter, this could be attributed in part to the recently expanded French colonial presence in Africa and in part to a nation-wide surge in so-called *négrophilie* or enthusiasm for Black music and culture, including jazz, whose ancestral origins were commonly attributed to Africa. The Musée de l'Homme invested in this interest, not only through its missions but also through its exhibitions: one of the most ambitious

[194] Conklin, Chapter 7.

exhibitions of the decade was the Saharan Exposition in 1934, which entailed months of preparation and correspondence with various overseas governments and organizations. The exhibit was organized by Henri-Paul Eydoux, a former military administrator in southern Algeria and an amateur archaeologist, and was supported by the colonial governments of Algeria, French West Africa, and French Equatorial Africa, plus five of the French ministries. Eydoux wrote to dozens of organizations looking for loans of Saharan memorabilia, including scientific societies in Italy, Germany, and Egypt, veterans' families, and companies like the Trans-Saharan Railway and Air France.[195] The Sahara exhibit ran from May to October of 1934 and attracted more than 66,000 visitors, the museum's most successful exhibit to date, further demonstrating the very strong public interest in all things African.[196]

Despite the liberal views of men like Rivet and Rivière and the shift in anthropological discourse on race and racial hierarchy, the Musée de l'Homme nevertheless engaged in scientific research and displays that sustained and renewed notions of embodied racial difference. In 1933, the museum inaugurated its new Exotic Prehistory Room with an exhibition by American sculptor Malvina Hoffman, previously shown at the Field Museum in Chicago. Hoffman's exhibition was entitled "The Human Races" and claimed to display the "human types" that possessed the "essential traits of the race."[197] Hoffman had traveled with anthropologists and biologists for five years to do research for the project and procured models in different countries. The museum's press release boasted: "This collection of human types, made in their natural and familiar poses, without idealization, makes to anthropological science a contribution which measurements and photographs cannot make. She allows us not only to appreciate the physical

[195] MNHN Archives, 2 AM 1 C2d: Saharan Exposition.
[196] Conklin, 217.
[197] MET, "Les Sculptures de Malvina Hoffman au Musée d'Ethnographie," press release, s.d. (10 November 1933) (MNHN Archives, 2 AM 1 C1c: Manifestations).

characteristics of each individual, but also a surprising and intimate expression of their personality…"[198] Her collection included examples from Africa, Europe, Asia (including an "Arab" example from Mesopotamia), the Americas, and Oceania. While the language of the exhibit emphasized, to some extent, individuality and personality, the overarching framework positioned each sculpture as a representative "type" of a distinct race, allowing the visitor an overview of "the human races" and an opportunity to compare and contrast them side-by-side.

This "sympathetic" racism existed alongside the museum's more progressive commitment to problematizing traditional notions of race, while still to some extent accepting it as a biological fact. Jacques Soustelle, the assistant director of the museum in the late 1930s and a geographer specializing in Mesoamerica, exemplified the museum leadership's position on race. Soustelle critiqued the common confusion between race and culture, language, and civilization, and pushed back on racist notions that other civilizations were inferior to Europe. In a 1938 interview, he claimed, "We, ethnologists, we see that there is not a race that has not contributed to the shared patrimony of civilization… the monopoly on high civilization does not belong only to Europe."[199] Soustelle was part of a wave of social scientists of the period questioning conventional scientific racism and hoping to present more complex views. Set against the backdrop of the rise of the Nazi state in Europe, there were urgent political reasons for questioning race purity as well.

Yet in challenging these views, scientists like Soustelle nevertheless fell back on conventional categories as a way of explaining human populations. In explaining his view that there did not exist any "pure" races, he argued that what we call "races" today are "provisionally stabilized groups who come from mixing [*métissages*]," as proven by the differing skull shapes

[198] Ibid.
[199] Georges Schnéeberger, "1/4 d'heure avec un jeune: JACQUES SOUSTELLE, Sous-Directeur du Musée de l'Homme," in *L'Oeuvre* 20 November 1938 (MNHN 2 AM 1 B11a).

found in the same ancient European sites. He added, "If we want to currently find a pure race, we must doubtless, by a bitter irony, turn to the last 'savages': *the pygmies*, and even there, it is doubtful [emphasis in original]."[200] This view simultaneously challenged conventional views of race as a given and unchanging biological category, and reinforced the notion that race as a biological fact existed even as human migration and mixing had voided it of any true meaning. By suggesting that pygmies could still be considered a "pure" race, Soustelle returned to certain traditional notions; this was not unlike French official doctrine on the Berbers of North Africa, who they believed were "distilled" by mixing with Arabs over time but nevertheless existed as a separate race, with remote tribes best preserving racial purity. This new anthropological approach to race, despite its divergences from the older race science, still reified notions of human difference and the hard biological data that defined it, such as skull shapes and sizes.

Women Anthropologists in Interwar North Africa: The Tillion-Rivière and Du Puigaudeau-Sénones Missions

This attitude was put into practice by the numerous missions the Musée de l'Homme sent to North Africa in the 1930s, fueled by metropolitan interest and the imperial imperatives of the Paris Colonial Exposition, and materially and logistically supported by colonial administrations and officials. A significant number of these anthropologists were women, who often traveled in teams of two; two of the most notable such pairs were Germaine Tillion and Thérèse Rivière, who spent time in the Aurès mountains of Algeria, and Odette du Puigaudeau and Marion Sénones, who specialized in Mauritania and southern Morocco. Both were affiliated with the Musée de l'Homme and collected objects for the museum's permanent collections and temporary exhibits, such as the ambitious 1934 Sahara exposition. Thérèse Rivière was also the sister of the

[200] Ibid.

museum's assistant director, Georges-Henri Rivière, and later went on to head the North Africa and Levant department.[201]

Their gender was not incidental to their work: in an interview with Algerian newspaper *L'Écho d'Alger* in 1934, Tillion and Rivière told the reporter, "Dr. [Paul] Rivet rightly believes that women can more easily penetrate Muslim life than men. Native women more easily allow themselves to confess."[202] In another interview, Tillion spoke of the "trinkets and chocolate" they had brought to coax the Chaouia Berber women to open up to them.[203] The reportage around their missions was also highly gendered, sensationalizing the narrative of two young French women venturing into the savage wilds of North Africa. Headlines such as "Two young Parisian women are going to spend a year alone in the Aurès" (*L'Écho d'Alger*, 10 December 1934), "Two young French girls" (*Dépêche de Constantine*, 3 December 1935), and "For the first time, two European women will penetrate Mauritania: These two young Parisian women who don't fear danger" (*Paris-Midi*, 5 November 1933) repeatedly emphasized the gender, age, and nationality of the anthropologists, referring to them as young women or "girls" [*filles*]. The articles themselves were peppered with descriptions of their feminine appearance and character. A female reporter, Mad. H.-Giraud, wrote with admiration of du Puigaudeau and Sénones' "charming courage" and "beautiful enthusiasm": "All of this, I know, has not cooled the lovely momentum that I admire, and I see the frail silhouette of Odette du Puigaudeau, the curly head of Marion Sénones, the fine hands that roll the sails and tighten the straps [of the sailboat]."[204] Tillion and Rivière's interviewer played up this angle even more: "Two Parisiennes, two young

[201] Significantly, using common parlance of the time, this department was literally called the "White Africa and Levant" department.
[202] Charles de Jonquières, "Deux jeunes Parisiennes vont passer un an seules, dans l'Aurès," in *L'Écho d'Alger*, 10 December 1934 (MNHN 2AM1 B8b).
[203] A.-L. Breugnot, "Mlle. Rivière et Mlle. Tillion, chargées d'une mission ethnographique dans l'Aurès, nous disent…", in *L'Écho d'Alger*, 22 December 1934 (MNHN 2AM1 B8b).
[204] Mad. H.-Giraud, "Pour la première fois, deux Européennes vont pénetrer en Mauritanie," in *Paris-Midi*, 5 November 1933 (MNHN 2AM1 K80a).

Parisiennes are preparing to live for one year in the Aurès. – In the Aurès, this country so cold… so savage?" The interviewer, who spoke with the two women as they strolled the harbor of Algiers, also carefully noted their modesty. Tillion emphatically told the reporter that the two were not "explorers as certain metropolitan journals have said," and they planned to simply leave what they would find up to the discovery.

> [Interviewer] But still, could you speak to us about the work that you plan to do?
> - Why speak of our work, Mlle. Rivière said to us with a smile.
> - You are too modest…
> - No, we will not speak of all that until we have realized it.
> And the two charming travelers questioned us about the country…[205]

The newspapers no doubt realized the public interest that would be aroused by the sight of two 20-something Frenchwomen embarking on an adventure into Berber country, the inhospitable mountains and deserts of North Africa, even as the women themselves attempted to downplay exaggerations or claims that they were "explorers." Indeed, they took their roles as scientists very seriously. They also, it seems, formed relationships with each other as fellow women in a male-dominated field: a 1945 letter from Thérèse Rivière, in her capacity as head of the North Africa and Levant department at the Musée de l'Homme, to Odette du Puigaudeau and Marion Sénones (who were at the time living in Paris), proceeds with regular business about objects and files before signing off very familiarly, "Affectionately to both of you without forgetting a caress for your wise dog."[206] Such familiarity was entirely absent in letters between the women and their various male colleagues, indicating a real affection that was likely borne out of their shared experiences.

Additionally, it was something of an open secret that du Puigaudeau and Sénones were in a romantic relationship, and the two lived together from their first mission in 1934 until Sénones'

[205] Breugnot, "Mlle. Rivière et Mlle. Tillion."
[206] Letter from Thérèse Rivière to Mlles. Odette du Puigaudeau and Marion Sénones, 17 September 1945 (MNHN 2AM1 K80a).

death in 1977. This highlights the fact that anthropological work and the mobility and freedom it afforded its—especially women—practitioners rendered it an idealized queer space, in which a same-sex relationship such as du Puigaudeau and Sénones' could be both more easily pursued and even naturalized and instrumentalized to the exigencies of scientific fieldwork. Separately but also related, Morocco itself became over the course of the 20th century a "haven" for LGBT Europeans, mostly gay men, with the height of this occurring mid-century as Tangier's status as a mecca for Western artists and writers highlighted its permissiveness of all kinds of "deviant" behavior.[207] Du Puigaudeau and Sénones would eventually settle in Rabat, where they lived in the 1960s and 1970s.

Yet despite this continued emphasis on women anthropologists' gender, their actual fieldwork was not necessarily focused on women even as they touted greater access to feminine circles. Tillion and Rivière's research amongst the Chaouia Berbers of the Aurès—the most significant work being produced during their 1934-1937 mission co-sponsored by the International Institute of African Languages and Civilizations and the Musée de l'Homme, though both returned to the area on separate missions up to 1940—examined everything from psychology, physiology, linguistics, commerce, oral literature, and song and dance to agriculture and collections of insects and plants. They made note in their field reports of the division of labor between men and women, and recounted detailed descriptions of gendered social events like weddings and musical performances, which we will discuss more shortly. However the vast majority of their reporting was on other topics, including a detailed account of "native politics" and the ongoing effects of colonization on the area in Tillion's seventh field report.[208] Odette du Puigaudeau and Marion Sénones, meanwhile, focused their early missions (two missions to

[207] Richard Hamilton, "How Morocco became a haven for gay Westerners in the 1950s," in *BBC News Magazine*, 12 October 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-29566539 (accessed May 8, 2020).
[208] Germaine Tillion, "Seventh Report on Field Work," January 1937 (MNHN 2AM1 B8b).

Mauritania and the Western Sahara in 1933-1934 and 1936-1938) on prehistory and archaeology, including collecting samples of rock engravings, paintings, and plant fossils.[209] However, their descriptions naturally commented on some of the modern-day inhabitants of the Mauritania region, and on later missions they recorded field notes on "arts and techniques of the Moors" including gendered work and women's hairstyles.[210] According to the editor of their collected papers, Monique Vérité, when du Puigaudeau and Sénones traveled to the Sahara on their second mission in 1937, the inhabitants of the city of Tagant baptized it the "year of the two ladies" and they were thus "inscribed into Moorish chronology." The two also often dressed in "Moorish" clothes on their journeys in order to assimilate more easily in the communities they visited.[211]

Aside from the somewhat extraordinary position these pairs of women represented in interwar French anthropology, their careers and their work also traced more conventional lines in terms of the intersections of anthropology, race, and empire in North Africa. Both teams traveled to primarily "Berber" areas, and Tillion and Rivière's choice of the Aurès mountains was specially selected to be a region where the Berber race "has remained the purest."[212] In an interview several months into their fieldwork in 1935, Tillion explained, "We wanted to choose… as a center of our studies one of the most interesting places and the least known in these mountains, and we were 'annexed' to the Ouled-Abderrahmane, a tribe of a few hundred inhabitants, particularly typical, who, by reason of their remoteness and their isolation, have kept all of their purity."[213] Elsewhere, their list of proposed objects of study on the mission included

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[209] Letter from Odette du Puigaudeau to Paul Rivet, 1 November 1939, Paris (MNHN 2AM1 K80a).
[210] Odette du Puigaudeau and Marion Sénones, *Mémoires du Pays Maure, 1934-1960*, ed. by Monique Vérité (Paris: Ibis Press, 2000).
[211] Monique Vérité, "La belle aventure (Introduction)," in *Mémoires du Pays Maure*.
[212] Jonquières, "Deux jeunes Parisiennes."
[213] "Deux jeune filles françaises en mission dans l'Aurès," in *Dépêche de Constantine*, 3 December 1935 (MNHN 2AM1 B8b).

research on "races" and the "Mongolic spot [*tache mongolique*]," a blue-gray birthmark associated with the descendants of Mongols.[214]

In later years, however, Germaine Tillion's views on race seem to have transformed, and it is possible she would have disavowed some of her earlier statements. In the 1950s, writing amidst the growing violence of the Algerian War for Independence, Tillion proclaimed that European settlers and Algerian natives were very similar both culturally and genetically, as many settlers in Algeria actually came from Corsica, Malta, and Spain. She noted that Corsicans were "ethnically closer" to Kabyle or Chaouia Berbers than to the French, while "everyone knows" the Spanish contain Moorish blood.[215] Yet at the same time, she added somewhat paradoxically, race did not really matter: due to the prevalence of migration throughout history, it was impossible to tell whose chromosomes were more similar to whose, and even if it were, no human stock had a monopoly on intelligence. She wrote that racialist arguments addressing the Algerian problem were "distasteful" and "stupid."

Odette du Puigaudeau and Marion Sénones were similarly interested in the well-preserved Berber outposts of North Africa, even though their work primarily focused on rock samples and pre-Islamic tombs. At some point they added to their mission "the study of the population of fishermen with primitive manners, fishermen who are the last representatives of the ancient Berber race pushed into the west by Touareg invasions."[216] Like Tillion and Rivière's work, this pointed to a contemporary interest in finding the best-preserved examples of the Berber race in the most remote areas, where they had either been isolated or forced to migrate. As "Berber" populations existed throughout North Africa, from the Algerian mountain to the

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[214] Jonquières, "Deux jeunes Parisiennes"
[215] Germaine Tillion, *Algeria: The Realities*, translated by Ronald Matthews (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), 6.
[216] Mad. H.-Giraud, "Pour la première fois."

Mauritanian desert, such disparate studies linked up to strengthen and reinforce French racial discourse, including the attendant notion that "pure" examples of a singular Berber race existed.

In later years, like Tillion, Odette du Puigaudeau deployed her expertise on the region to comment on contemporary political matters, writing a booklet on "the Maghribi past of Mauritania" in 1962 that was published by the post-independence Moroccan government. The main thrust of the book took issue with colonialist and nationalist attempts to detach Mauritania from Morocco and the rest of the Maghrib, claiming that they were actually historically unified. To prove this, she drew on demographic and historical evidence and the work of multiple Arab (or in her parlance, "Moorish") scholars. She criticized "the traditional French politics of division" which, in 1920, separated the territory of Mauritania from Morocco and attached it instead to the A.O.F. (French West Africa) colony. In turn, most Arab and Black leaders in Mauritania were educated in French schools, furthering the process of "denationalization." But since ancient times, she argued, North Africa had been populated by a diverse array of ethnicities: various Black peoples including those ethnic groups of present-day Senegal, Jews pushed from the Levant, and nomadic tribes originally from Yemen and Syria, including the great Sanhaja Confederation. These latter now live "in Kabylie, in the Rif, the Middle and High Atlas, the Jbel Saghro and the desert (Jbel Bani, Spanish Sahara, Mauritania, and the loop of Niger)," the geographic constellation of Berber-speaking peoples.[217] She summarized:

> Nationalities and frontiers had still not been invented. It was kinship, tribal solidarity that assured the cohesion of the Maghrib and the Sahara. They were there, from all evidence, from the same people, heterogeneous like all peoples, but formed of the same ethnic elements modeled by the same past. The Arabs added there another element in bringing to the Maghrib el-Aqsa and its Saharan extensions the cement of Islam.[218]

[217] F. de la Chapelle, "History of the Western Sahara," in *Hésperis* XI (1930), 50: quoted in Odette du Puigaudeau, *Le Passé Maghrebin de la Mauritanie* (Rabat: Ministère d'Etat chargé des Affaires islamiques, 1962), 14.
[218] Du Puigaudeau, *Le Passé Maghrebin*, 15.

Du Puigaudeau, like Tillion, moved away from an essentialist, biological view of race in making her arguments for the historic unity of the Western Sahara and the Maghrib.[219] Instead, she emphasized the diversity of ethnic groups who had lived there for centuries; and that amongst these ethnic groups, "heterogeneous like all peoples," there were social, cultural, political, and religious links that tied them together. Included in this grouping were Berbers, Arabs, Jews, and Black Africans, thus making the case for all of these ethnicities or races as "belonging" in the Maghrib.

As we can see, not only did both Tillion and du Puigaudeau move away from the interwar anthropological discourse on race by the post-war era, they also put their training and expertise towards two distinct nationalist political causes. Du Puigaudeau's advocacy for Mauritania and the Western Sahara's inclusion in the Maghrib was published in the Moroccan national press in 1962, and prefigured the 1975 Green March in which Morocco occupied the Western Sahara zone following Spain's evacuation (a highly contentious occupation to the present day). Tillion, meanwhile, argued in her 1958 book for the historic links between France and Algeria, and France's continued obligation to the people there. While couched as a sympathetic advocacy for the Algerian people, this tacitly rejected the claims of the Algerian freedom fighters who were currently engaged in an anticolonial revolution against the French regime. Indeed, countering the demands of Algerian nationalists, she argued that decolonization was a long, slow process and the French must meanwhile remain to oversee the transition:

> The colonizing settler is to the colonized population rather what insulin is to the diabetic, at once a sign of his illness and a temporary palliative. To cut the insulin off before the

[219] "Maghrib" here is a translation of the French regional term du Puigaudeau uses throughout the book, "Maghreb," generally referring in both French and English to western North Africa; however, in Arabic "al-Maghrib" refers also to the nation-state of Morocco. Du Puigaudeau's slippery use of this term then can be interpreted as both a culturalist argument (the Western Sahara is North African) and a nationalist one (the Western Sahara should be attached to Morocco).

> diabetes has been cured is to kill the patient; to assert that good health consists in taking insulin would be to snap one's fingers at the world.[220]

In this, Tillion claimed it was inhumane and harmful to colonized Algerians to grant immediate independence. Implicit in this was a belief that Algerians were not "ready" and needed continued French assistance and tutelage, a recurring narrative that contributed to prolonged imperial domination all over the world. Tillion's own metaphor perhaps unintentionally told on itself: diabetes is an incurable disease that can only be managed with continued insulin treatments, suggesting France was in for an indefinite stay.

Tillion framed colonialism as an evil, but one that remained necessary in the present moment due to historical circumstances. Despite acknowledging the system's immorality and France's role in wrongdoing, she nevertheless ascribed the French good intentions in the vein of "liberal imperialism": "[We have] involuntarily and unwittingly contributed, by unconscious bad turns and clumsy good turns, to landing them in the blind alley where they are today."[221] Tillion's moderate position on colonialism in Algeria as a necessary evil is especially interesting when considered against her own reputation as a member of the French Resistance, something she was remembered for to her death in 2008.[222] Along with many of her colleagues at the Musée de l'Homme, Tillion was active in the underground Resistance network after the Nazi occupation of France, and in 1943 was sent to the Nazi camp Ravensbrück where she was condemned to death. Following the war she received the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, and resumed her research trips to Algeria; she was proud that her studies of the Algerian people had influenced French opinion. Thus while passionate about causes of justice and equality, she did not see her

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[220] Tillion, *Algeria: The Realities*, 30.
[221] Tillion, *Algeria: The Realities*, vii.
[222] "Germaine Tillion, 100, fought in French Resistance," in *New York Times* April 20, 2008 (https://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/20/world/europe/20iht-obits.4.12168550.html), accessed April 29, 2020.

simultaneous commitment to French nationalism and liberal imperialism as a paradox, and indeed could still frame it in humanitarian terms.

Despite the fact that du Puigaudeau and Tillion diverged in their political projects following World War II, in the interwar period they were participating in a shared anthropological world that was deeply allied with French Empire. This included their research on music. As part of Germaine Tillion and Thérèse Rivière's extensive ethnographic plan for their 1934-1937 trip, they sought to record Chaouia songs and stories for the Musée de l'Homme's new discothèque.[223] They recorded the songs on wax cylinders, and by the end of their mission had a collection of 45 sonic recordings, alongside 700 meters of cinema film and 5,000 photographic clichés.[224] In April 1937, Thérèse Rivière gave a radio presentation on "a marriage in the Aurès," which included a detailed description of musical performance:

> Rhamsa, the best singer, intones the song of the seed. She hides her face behind her tambourine… The musicians arrive. The female dancers return to their tent. The reed flute begins to play; the clarinet starts; when it is at that point, the flute with two tambourines. Rhamsa stands to arrange and gather her dress, she veils her face with a fine tissue of silk, and, very straight, her eyes lowered, her face serious, she advances tapping her heel, flexing her knee. With one hand, then the other, or both at the same time, she raises the wings of her black dress; she turns slowly, grazes the man that she loves and looks at him intensely. Her bust sometimes undulates. Soon another female dancer joins her and takes her hand and dances with her. Another or two do the same.[225]

This detailed description of the song and dance rituals of the wedding, centered on female performance, was reminiscent of many other ethnographic descriptions of the period. For one thing, it contained very little detail about the music itself, and focused more on the dance movements that accompanied it, perhaps reflecting the authors' lack of technical musical knowledge. For another, whether intentionally or implicitly, it dwelt on sensual description and even sexualization of the women subjects. This was undoubtedly a reflection of exoticism—the

[223] Breugnot, "Mlle. Rivière et Mlle. Tillion."
[224] Germaine Tillion, "Seventh Report on Field Work," January 1937 (MNHN 2AM1 B8b).
[225] Thérèse Rivière, "Un marriage dans l'Aurès," Radio-Conference, 26 April 1937 (MNHN 2AM1 B8b).

narrating of difference within familiar rituals like weddings, music, and dance—and part of a broader Orientalist discourse, which specifically located sensuality and sexuality in the "East" and feminized Eastern spaces.

Odette du Puigaudeau and Marion Sénones also documented musical performance and ritual in the Sahara. Du Puigaudeau wrote a detailed passage about musical ritual in Tagant, accompanied by numerous sketches of the musicians made by Sénones. She described the instruments, such as the *ardîn*, which she called a simplified form of the ancient Egyptian harp, and the *tobol*, in Tagant a large drum of baobab wood that accompanied collective women's dances and choirs of Black servants at festivals.[226] "I found one night where I could feel very much, in its purity, this passion of the Moors for poetry and music," du Puigaudeau wrote.[227] Like Rivière, she described in detail the dance of the female performer:

> And Menina appears, dark blue silhouette standing in the sky against the twilight. Her *malaḥfa* envelopes her completely, tight around her head heavy with braids and jewelry, clinging to her already opulent forms, to her lightly bent arms, falling down like plinth on her bare feet. Moving only her supple hands, painted with henna; they fly like palpitating wings, vibrating like a call, a refusal; her fingers, one by one, open or withdraw in ritual gestures saying unknown things. And the painful thrill of her small face with blackened lips, with quivering nostrils, expressing all of the sensual, cruel, and refined—and inaccessible—soul of the people of the sands.[228]

Du Puigaudeau's description more overtly tied the sensual and mystifying characteristics of the dance with the "soul" of the tribal people performing it: in her words, "sensual, cruel, refined, inaccessible." Yet again such descriptions attached themselves to a very precise genre of ethnographic narrative, reproduced with similar tropes across different anthropologists, missions, and tribal peoples. Du Puigaudeau's description here maps structurally onto Rivière's to an exact degree, from the trope of the entrance of the named female performer to detailed indications of

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[226] Odette du Puigaudeau and Marion Sénones, "Poésie, musique et danse au désert," in *Mémoire du Pays Maure, 1934-1960*, edited by Monique Vérité (Paris: Ibis Press, 2000), 110.
[227] Du Puigaudeau and Sénones, "Poésie," 109.
[228] Du Puigaudeau and Sénones, "Poésie," in *Mémoire du pays maure*, 113.

her bodily movements and her decorative dress. Du Puigaudeau's account of music in Tagant did something further, however; in separately accounting for the musical roles of the "Moorish" participants and their Black servants, she also narrated the racial landscape. Recounting how a female griot (musician or storyteller) led a women's orchestra and choir, she then noted the role of the male griots:

> The griots shouted warrior songs interspersed with hysterical cries and hiccups of rage. Behind them, a row of black servants, their torsos naked and their arms raised, clap their hands in cadence, pushing strident you-yous and singing in choir the refrains.[229]

As noted, du Puigaudeau later wrote about the diverse demography of the Western Sahara region, and that ethnic links tied together disparate racial groups, including Arabs, Berbers, and Black Africans, implying a sort of harmony. Yet this brief musical description lays bare the racialized social structure of Tagant society, in which Black Africans formed a servant class with their own formalized roles in ritual. This also othered the Black servants within Moorish society, as the other actors present in the ritual were not denoted for their race or color, and were instead, by default, "Moors." This kind of racialized hierarchy was of course present throughout North Africa, but as with other North African narratives it was only obliquely referred to via a concentrated ethnography on musical performance.

Besides their print publications, the Musée de l'Homme anthropologists gave many radio presentations on their research, like Thérèse Rivière's aforementioned talk on the Aurès wedding. For the women anthropologists in particular, it seemed a valuable forum to publicly and accessibly disseminate their work, and their presentations were often focused and enjoyable anecdotes on one facet of their missions' object of study. Marion Sénones gave a radio presentation in July 1938 on "The Fishermen of Imraguen," and Thérèse Rivière gave a second presentation in August 1938 on "Some traits and manners of the Chaouia of the Aurès," which

[229] Du Puigaudeau, "Poésie," 114.

detailed the trials and tribulations of a young divorcée named Aicha, the most beautiful girl in the tribe and "the best singer."[230] Musée de l'Homme anthropologists Denise Paulme-Schaeffner and Deborah Lifchitz gave presentations the same year on the French Sudan.

So did Pauline Barret, the young ethnologist who accompanied Thérèse Rivière on her second, shorter mission to the Aurès in 1938. Barret's talk, on "What we know about the Berbers," is highly revealing of this mission's investment in race and "Berber studies." First, Barret introduced the Chaouia by noting that it was her colleagues, Rivière and Germaine Tillion, who had specially chosen this region years earlier for its geographic situation which was "in a state of isolation that allows us to presume that they have conserved as intact as possible their customs and their physical type."[231] Again, the concern with racial and ethnic purity and its direct relationship to physical isolation was reinforced with regard to this Berber tribe, indicating Rivière and Tillion's mission was only part of a longer trajectory in the lives of such narratives. Barret went on to describe in some detail how, despite the ethnic homogeneity of the tribe—their similarity in costume, language, and lifestyle—there was an astonishing amount of variance in their physical appearances:

> Men and women of tall or short height, with blue or deep black eyes with the whole range of gray, green or brown; brown or black hair, sometimes blond; flat, snub, straight, hooked noses; short or long heads, narrow or wide faces with pronounced cheekbones like those of a Mongol, curly or straight hair. The diversity of types is analogous to that which we present, we, the French, and the problem of the origin of the Berbers is far from being resolved.[232]

In this, Barret admitted to the heterogeneity of the Chaouia Berbers, and the inability to definitively classify them using purely physical means, including head measurements or hair and

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[230] Thérèse Rivière, "Quelques traits de moeurs de Chaouïa des l'Aurès," Radio Conference No. 102, 29 August 1938 (MNHN 2AM1 C9c/7).
[231] Pauline Barret, "Que savons-nous des Berbères," Radio Conference No. 105, 10 October 1938 (MNHN 2AM1 C9c/10).
[232] Barret, "Que savons-nous des Berbères."

eye color. Indeed, she even compared them to the French, indicating an awareness that physical racialization of even the "purest" Berber tribe was futile. Yet at the same time, her description resonated with the highly racialized field of "Berber studies." It did so in three ways: first, she made special note of the surprising array of hair and eye color, including the "sometimes blond" hair and blue eyes, a preoccupation of many European anthropologists who encountered the Berbers, which led them to postulate extra-African origins for the race. Second, she casually alluded to their high cheekbones as being "like those of a Mongol," another extra-African reference that mapped onto speculation about Berbers' relationship to Asia and the Mongol invasions. This was also indicated by Tillion and Rivière's intention to study the prevalence of the "Mongolic spot" amongst the Chaouia. Finally, Barret explicitly named this as "the problem of the origin of the Berbers" and the frustration that this was still "far from being resolved." Berber studies was entirely oriented around this question of the origins of the Berbers, as both a function of anthropology's role as a race science and as a corollary to the Kabyle myth and the French enforcement of the Arab-Berber racial paradigm for North Africa. Despite their frequent problematization of physical race science and narratives of homogeneity or definitive origins, the women anthropologists discussed were nevertheless operating under many of the same assumptions as the race science of Berber studies and played a crucial role in prolonging its narratives into the mid-20th century.

Musicology and Race Science in North Africa

Anthropology's role as a race science had been long-established by the interwar period, which goes some way in explaining the ambivalent attitudes of its more liberal-minded practitioners and their at least superficial efforts to reform the field and challenge traditional

notions of race. Musicology, however, did not have the same reputation or confirmed function. So at the same moment that anthropologists like Jacques Soustelle and Germaine Tillion were adding nuance to biological race and fixed racial groups, a cohort of French musicologists who also worked in the colonies were doing the opposite.

Alexis Chottin, as noted the preeminent musicologist and Moroccan music expert for the French Protectorate in Morocco, wrote an article on "Berber songs and dances" for a 1936 issue of the *Revue de Musicologie,* the journal published by the French Society of Musicology in Paris. The article, which performed a brief ethnography of a festival in the Middle Atlas village of Timhadit, was a precursor to his more comprehensive 1939 work *Tableau de la musique marocaine*, which reproduced some of the same descriptive passages from this article in its discussion of the *ahidous* genre of Berber music. However, one passage that appears in the article but was interestingly not reproduced in the book was this short musing on the similarities of Berber music to other musics of the Mediterranean. Noting that the five-beat rhythm of the Berber dance was similar to both the ancient Greek dances of the island of Crete and the mountain dances of Basque country, he then asked:

> Is this the index of a common culture of the primitive race that peopled the Mediterranean Basin? Why not? This comportment of the body, this asymmetrical flexing of the knees, as miraculously conserved in the inaccessible islets of the Berber Atlas and the fatal mountain as the rulers of Roland, this fleeting and barely measurable thing could well have as much value as a cranial index, an indicator of intelligence, but also perhaps a blind spot.[233]

This passage is interesting in that it reveals two intellectual trends of the moment, not isolated to Chottin: one, the search for the specific, possibly foreign, racial origins of the Berbers and their absolute difference from the Arabs; and two, the belief that music could itself be a race science, parallel or even superior to already-established sciences like physical anthropology. In

[233] Alexis Chottin, "Chants et Danses Berbères (Moyen Atlas – Foire au Mouton de Timhadit), 16 Juin 1935," in *Revue de Musicologie* 17:58 (1936).

the case of the former, as discussed, both academics and colonial officials had produced a vast body of work in the field of "Berber studies" since the late 19th century. Borrowing from France's experience in Algeria, from the start of the Protectorate in Morocco there had existed an assumption that total knowledge of the Berbers as a distinct ethnic group was indispensable to French dominance. At the same time, "Berber studies" throughout North Africa contributed to a "divide-and-rule" mentality that separated Arabs from Berbers and gave racial identity primacy over the myriad possible identity formations. Studies of Berber music, culture, and society thus consistently reiterated a strategy, commissioned and utilized by the colonial state, that sought to "know" Berber society and construct it as something fundamentally different from Arab society.

Significantly, Chottin invoked the cranial index, or skull measurements, as a comparison for musical data, and argued that in fact the prevalence of certain rhythmic patterns was *more* useful than the cranial index for determining the distribution of racial groups. While we may expect the physical science of the era to have been fixated on racial difference and the diagramming of population migrations, it is worth asking what it means that musicology could also be a part of this project; and further, that musicologists like Chottin were self-consciously expressing this racial function even as they were the primary producers of knowledge about indigenous music and culture. This is especially the case when we consider that Chottin's work on Moroccan music is still occasionally cited to this day.

Chottin was not the only one to speculate on the origins of Berbers based on their musical practices and sounds. The prominent musicologist Henry Prunières, whose specialty was European art music, attended the 1928 *Three days of Moroccan music* concert series in Rabat, co-organized by Chottin under the auspices of the colonial government, and was struck by the simultaneously foreign and familiar sounds of the Chleuh Berber dances performed there: "These

defective scales, almost identical to those in China and Cambodia, disoriented me. Where did this Berber race come from? From Asia? In hearing these songs, in seeing these dancers and musicians, I thought of Turkestan where I had seen identical spectacles. It is excessively curious and needs to be studied closely."[234] Like Chottin, he wondered at the similarities between Berber musical scales and rituals with other peoples outside of North Africa; unlike Chottin, he located their possible origins far beyond the Mediterranean, in Central and East Asia.

In fact, connecting Berbers to East Asia was not uncommon amongst French musicologists, not least because of their use of pentatonic scales which were strongly associated in European minds with a "Far Eastern" sound. André Schaeffner, now the head of one of France's first ethnomusicology departments at the Musée de l'Homme and a specialist in African music, wrote an article in 1947 for *France Outre-Mer* in which he also linked the Berbers to Asia, arguing that their scales and ranges were very similar to those of "the populations of the Far East." Rodolphe d'Erlanger, whose 6-volume *La Musique Arabe* became a core text on Arab music, posed the question, "How do we explain that the same melody is found in the north of China and in the mountains of the Moroccan Atlas?"[235] ("The Atlas" mountains were considered Berber regions, encompassing both the Tamazight speakers of the Middle Atlas and the Tashelhit speakers of the High Atlas.) And like Prunières, d'Erlanger insisted that this question of the similarity between Berber and Chinese melodies necessitated further study.

D'Erlanger posed this question in his 1930 article "Musical Archaeology: A vast field of investigation for musicians of the young generation," published in the Parisian magazine *La Revue Musicale*. The title here, "Musical Archaeology," reveals another trope of the era: the

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[234] Henry Prunières, quoted in Alexis Chottin, *Corpus de musique marocaine, Fascicule II* (Paris: Service des Arts Indigènes, 1931).
[235] Rodolphe d'Erlanger, "L'Archéologie musicale: Un vaste champ d'investigations pour les musiciens de la jeune génération," in *La Revue Musicale* (July 1930), 49.

legitimization of musicology as essentially another branch of social science, affirmed by its utility in collecting racial data. Adopting and adapting the name of "archaeology," d'Erlanger advocated for a subfield that would, utilizing phonographs as its primary archive, "dig up" evidence of the historical evolution of music at both the regional and universal levels. "Amongst the less evolved people," he wrote, "one can distinguish various degrees of development in their music. It is by work of comparison that we can reconstitute the path of progress."[236]

Similarly, André Schaeffner's *Outre-Mer* article also openly advocated for the use of "comparative musicology" (the disciplinary precursor to ethnomusicology) as a race science. He asserted that comparative musicology had joined the ranks of the "human sciences," like archaeology, anthropology, and linguistics, in producing analyzable material on the history of civilization:

> Comparative musicology, through the analysis it then makes of characteristics, elements that distinguish between them the same musics, whether songs or instrumental pieces, bring into the domains already explored by anthropology and by linguistics precisions of a particular nature.[237]

Schaeffner argued that musicology contributed to knowledge of human sciences by tracing the migratory routes of musical instruments, and analyzing musical attributes such as singing styles, tuning forks, intervals, and rhythms. In this way musicologists produced hard data that mapped out human migratory patterns as well as identifying processes that were specific only to certain races, or making connections between disparate races.

In hindsight, certain aspects of this methodology seem more obsolete than others: while the hard definition of human "races" has been dispensed with, the desire to trace population migrations and global interactions through music and material culture has not. Yet Schaeffner's project here should also be considered in the context of his institution and his field. Like

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[236] D'Erlanger, "L'Archéologie musicale," 47.
[237] André Schaeffner, "Musique Outre-Mer," in *France Outre-Mer* (January 1947) (MNHN Folder 2AM1 B11a), 8.

Germaine Tillion and Odette du Puigaudeau, Schaeffner was affiliated with the Musée de l'Homme, which as discussed was engaged in a more "progressive" kind of racial anthropology in the interwar and immediate post-war era while still playing an important role in colonial race science, and he had undertaken multiple museum-funded missions in Africa to collect recordings and instruments for the museum collections.[238] Schaeffner was also, as a comparative musicologist, part of a scholarly lineage that dated to turn-of-the-century Germany and the founding fathers of comparative musicology, Carl Stumpf and Erich M. von Hornbostel. These early practitioners envisioned the field in highly scientific terms, drawing on linguistics and psychology, and imagining the study of music as being a path to defining non-Western ethnic groups and the diffusion of human culture.

As such Schaeffner's understanding of musicology echoed and developed some of these foundational principles. Von Hornbostel, who was also a delegate at the Cairo Congress of Arab Music in 1932, had studied a vast array of musical cultures, including recording diverse traditional musics for a phonograph collection entitled "Music of the Orient." In his studies he commented on the "cycle of the blown fifth," a musical phenomenon that he claimed appeared amongst far-flung peoples in Latin America, Southeast Asia, Oceania, and Africa, demonstrating some kind of global diffusion. Schaeffner was similarly invested in such theories of musical diffusion, tracing the migration of musical phenomena in his own work amongst the Dogon in West Africa.[239] In some sense, comparative musicology (and its successor, ethnomusicology) was always premised on concepts that tied it intimately to race science. However, the ways in

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[238] An illustrative if anecdotal example of the close relationship between musicology and race science at the Musée de l'Homme specifically: while I was working in the archives of the museum, while working with the folder/box devoted to Schaeffner and the musical ethnology department, I was surprised to find one of the sub-folders was full of shipping notices, to the museum from around the world (the British Museum, Peru, Jerusalem, South Africa), of shipments of human skulls and bones.

[239] Ruth M. Stone, *Theory for Ethnomusicology* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Education Inc., 2008), Chapter 2.

which French musicologists, from the 1930s onward, repackaged their scholarship to directly link it to anthropology's most "accurate" forms of scientific racism, such as craniology, took this premise a step further, and also explicitly applied it to the urgent racial problems of French Empire—and none more urgent than the Berber question of North Africa.

Perhaps the most ambitious plan for musicology's utility as a race science, and one that drew extensively on Berber music as an example, was that of the French scholar Georges de Gironcourt. In 1931-32, Gironcourt published two written versions of talks he had given at the Lorraine Association of Anthropological Studies on the subject of "musical geography," entitled "A New Science (for Research into the Origins of the Human Races)." Musical geography would be a "new department of human geography," that would put to use new forms of data – melodic motifs, harmonies, sonic vibrations – to define the human races and trace their distributions across the world.

Gironcourt was not trained explicitly as a musicologist, and had rather conducted missions as an agricultural engineer in North and West Africa before turning his interests to anthropology sometime in the 1910s. Yet like the aforementioned musicologists, he fervently believed that musical data provided a level of precision that other sciences lacked. He wrote, "The examination of musical elements across space and time brings very interesting results in terms of their fixity. It demonstrates that music can provide science the observation of sufficiently constant data."[240] Methodically, he went through the other sciences that were widely accepted as reliable sources on human development, including linguistics, archaeology, and ethnography, and demonstrated that musical evidence either equaled or surpassed the reliability and consistency of each. The study of history itself, he argued, was subject to many fallacies, as

[240] Georges de Gironcourt, *Une Science Nouvelle: La Géographie Musicale* (Nancy: Association Lorraine d'Études Anthropologiques, 1932), 8.

the written tradition was full of "inexactitude or lacunae… sometimes by transformation due to the influences being acted on each copyist, by inadvertence, or by intention."[241] As an example, Gironcourt cited the "celebrated chronologies" in the temples of Karnak and Abydos in Egypt and their enumeration of the pharaohs. Recent excavations by the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology had revealed a new pharaoh, "one of the greatest of them," who had been omitted in these chronologies, demonstrating the unreliability of written texts. By contrast, oral tradition was less susceptible to such "deformation," and the sung tradition even less so: it is "likely to be perpetuated without noticeable modification, since very ancient times, and without even migrations themselves being able to alter their integrity."[242]

Like Chottin, Gironcourt also compared musical geography's accuracy to that of craniology, or the study and measurement of human skulls. To illustrate this, he brought in the question of the origin of the Berbers:

> In practice, the value of approximation of methodical findings pursued on musical terrain is not inferior in anthropology to that which procures a science with defined principles like, for example, craniology, with all of its measuring technique.
>
> There is much more perceptible difference between the Arab harmonies of the Moroccan Rharb, or even those that one can hear in the plain of Marrakech and those of the closely neighboring Berbers of the Atlas, than exists between the skulls of Arabs and those of Chleuh Berbers or their indices.
>
> And, on the other hand, to show the advantage to be drawn from the same material, we can cite that the attachment of these Berbers of the Atlas to the races of their origin appears in an instant, to the least exercised ear, as long as it is gifted with sensitivity, by the successive listenings to a Chleuh dance and a Syriac rondo. By every other mode that science provides, we see how analogous deductions are only obtained through multiple measurements and long calculations, and what danger the taking into consideration of the obtained indices presents, once we tend to attribute them too narrow of a sense or too accented of a signification.[243]

[241] Gironcourt, 10
[242] Gironcourt, 10.
[243] Gironcourt, 9.

Not only does Gironcourt here argue, like Chottin, that music provides more accurate and more accessible racial measurements than skull indices, but that in particular the question of Berber racial difference and origins is most aptly addressed by their music. This played off of the already widely-accepted premise that Berber music was absolutely different from Arab music. On the one hand, he notes, the "harmonies" of the Berbers of Morocco are noticeably different from those of their neighbors the Arabs, even within the span of the same region (Marrakech and the neighboring High Atlas). On the other hand, he argued, there are perceptible similarities between their melodic motifs and those of the peoples of Syria and Lebanon; here, without further explanation, he thus implies that Berber origins unquestionably lie in the Eastern Mediterranean, and likely with the ancient Phoenician migrations, one of many theories put forth by contemporary scholars. To illustrate this, he actually provides on staff notation the two melodies that he claims prove it:

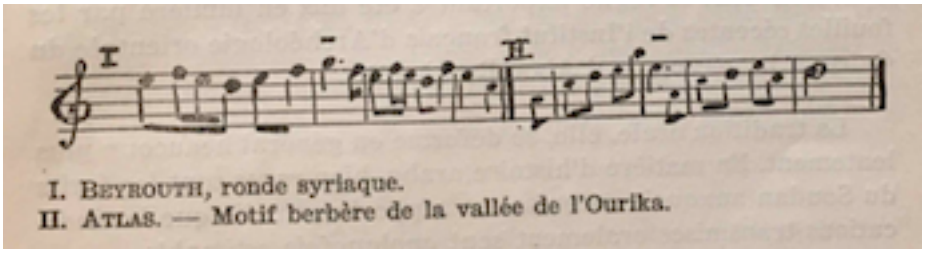

Figure 3: excerpt from Georges de Gironcourt's *Une Science Nouvelle* (1932), comparing Syrian and Berber melodies. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

What is interesting about these two melodies is that, in actuality, they are not nearly as self-evidently similar as Gironcourt claims. Both are rendered in the same key and range, such that they contain a few of the same pitch centers: high C, E, and G, with the G serving as the climax of the lines. However, they differ in several other respects: rhythm (the Syrian piece contains sixteenth-note turns; the Berber piece is all eighth and quarter notes); scale (the Berber

piece seems to outline a pentatonic scale, only using the notes A, C, D, E, G; the Syrian piece does not have an A but does have an F, which puts it in a different mode); and the ending note of the motif (C in the Syrian piece; D in the Berber piece). And more straightforwardly, they simply do not sound the same, at least no more than any countless number of global melodies that could be compared in such a manner. This demonstrates how, particularly when entangled with racial assumptions, "musical evidence" could serve merely as a confirmation of pre-existing beliefs rather than a self-evident revelation of new information.

Gironcourt again reinforces Arab and Berber difference in a subsequent subsection on Arab music, in which he points out the commonalities of "innumerable modes and strict rules" in the musics of Arabia, Damascus, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Andalusia, and Morocco: the generally accepted "Arab world." But, he writes, this common grouping extends only "up to the confines of the Berber music of the Chleuhs of the Atlas or the Kabyles of Djurdjura with whom, despite the contact of long centuries, the delimitation remains very clear."[244] Again, both music and geography reveal hard and absolute boundaries between Arab and Berber peoples. By contrast, he adds, recent Jewish transplants to Palestine, coming from Russia, Poland, and Austria and "without any prior contact with the lands of Islam," have developed musical formulas of an "Arab essence" in their Hebrew music, demonstrating a distant yet shared Semitic origin with the Arabs: another previously-held racial assumption seemingly confirmed by musical evidence.[245]

Gironcourt's project of musical geography did not end with this publication, nor the presentations that it derived from at the Lorraine conference, which included the participation of

[244] Gironcourt, 47.
[245] Gironcourt, 45.

local musicians and ethnic student groups in Nancy.[246] Over the next two decades, he published a handful of studies of "musical geography" that he conducted, mostly in Southeast Asia and Oceania: Java, Indochina, New Caledonia, New Zealand, the Marquesas, and Samoa. Despite his earlier experience there as an engineer and anthropologist, he does not seem to have returned to study the musics of North Africa. However, this text alone underscores the centrality of the Arab-Berber question to his thinking about the subfield, and the ways that absolute racial difference between Arabs and Berbers was for anthropologists and musicologists of the era such a basic assumption that it was utilized as an argument, as a way to demonstrate the accuracy of music as data. This occurred whether the musicologist in question was a specialist in North Africa who studied Arab and Berber music, like Chottin and d'Erlanger, or was only tangentially connected to the region, like Schaeffner, Prunières, and Gironcourt. Across specialization and institution, French musicologists of the interwar era demonstrated two core and interrelated premises: that musicology could and should be a race science that used music as data to study and categorize human populations, and that the Berber question was the most obvious example of how that could be done, due to its absolute centrality to French colonial assumptions about racial difference.

Conclusion

The interwar era was a critical moment for the social sciences in France, as scholars across disciplines faced new and sustained challenges both political and social: re-entrenched and newly-expanded empire, the traumatic experience of World War I, newly invigorated nationalist and anti-colonial movements, the profound reframing of racial thinking in both

[246] In a footnote, he listed the ensembles and soloists who performed musical examples to accompany his lectures, including the Conservatory of Nancy and the choirs of the Associations of Bulgarian Students, Jewish Students, Palestinian Students, Polish Students, and Yugoslavian Students.

popular and scholarly circles, the expansion of scientific fields to include more women and people of color practitioners, and increasingly the threat of the expansion of a Nazi state premised on racial hygiene. Yet despite these shared contexts, the critical moment did not play out the same for different disciplines. As I have shown, anthropology, an almost century-old discipline with deep, undeniable debts to empire, was re-evaluating many of its older premises, and the growth of the field of cultural anthropology was an inherent challenge to the centrality of physical anthropology and its focus on anthropometry, craniometry, and essentialized, biological racial difference. By contrast, musicology was an unformed discipline, made up of various overlapping fields: traditional (Western) musicology, comparative musicology, musical ethnology, and even some new and innovative proposed subfields like Gironcourt's musical geography and d'Erlanger's musical archaeology. Without a coherent and well-defined history and methodology, musicologists were free to practice their discipline as they saw fit, with little critical pushback or self-reflection; at the same time, there was a pressing need to advocate for the field's importance, in order to gain institutional support and to create positions in colonial administrations and anthropological organizations. All of this, plus the deep and incredibly persistent beliefs in race hierarchy and biological race that continued to exist in both popular and scholarly discourse (as shown, these even poked through the cultural relativism of the Musée de l'Homme anthropologists), meant that no critical or progressive challenge was made to racial thinking and the essentialist premises of race science within the study of music.

Rather, the contrary happened: musicologists sought to capitalize on the older prestige of physical anthropology and the renewed exigencies of colonial racial studies by framing their discipline as a race science itself. While I have sought to add nuance and caution to the narrative of anthropology's progressivism in the interwar era, as exemplified by the French Resistance

members of the Musée de l'Homme staff, I want to underscore here the extent to which an investment in biological race and racial hierarchy was profoundly and irrevocably buried in the European subconscious. Indeed, almost a century later, many of these ideas continue to be tacitly accepted by writers and thinkers (and not just neo-Nazi ones).[247] So it is not surprising that in the 1920s and 1930s, anthropologists were unable to completely shed some of these assumptions, especially those working in colonial spaces in an empire still premised on French civilizational and racial superiority. Yet the extent to which musicologists operated wholly and unapologetically within this paradigm is extremely telling.

As noted in the introduction, music has time and again escaped the same level of critique as other disciplines, for various reasons. And in previous chapters I have demonstrated how musicologists, through the knowledge they produced, implicitly outlined racial difference and reinforced racial hierarchies that supported empire. Here, it is important to take that critique of the politics of musical knowledge even further: musicologists in this period consciously sought out racial difference and openly supported racial hierarchies. These revelations make the project of deconstructing and decolonizing the musical knowledge that was produced as a result even more urgent, and they also call into question the entire enterprise: its categories, its vocabulary, its methods, and even its basic assumptions about what constitutes its object of study, "music." As James C. Faris wrote in his contribution to Talal Asad's collection, it was not just the political interests being served by these scholars that were wrong, it was the science itself: "If our science doesn't change with our politics, we can hardly be of much intellectual help in struggles against various manifestations of imperialism. Not only must the content and application of our science

[247] Overt and overtly racist race science has also continued to be practiced in mainstream academia, even as it is now generally frowned upon: see the work of J. Philippe Rushton, and to some extent E.O. Wilson, namely his work on sociobiology; and, of course, most infamously, *The Bell Curve* by Charles Murray and Richard J. Herrnstein.

change, but also our theory and methodology."[248] In music this remains an ongoing project, even as in recent years the discipline of ethnomusicology (and to some extent musicology as a whole) has begun to reckon with the ways that, as Bruno Nettl put it, "the modern musical world is not really imaginable without the musical results of colonialism."[249]

[248] James C. Faris, "Pax Britannica and the Sudan: S.F. Nadel," in Talal Asad, ed., *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca Press, 1973), 154.
[249] Bruno Nettl, "Colonialism," in *Grove Music Online*; reproduced in Kofi Agawu, "Tonality as a Colonizing Force," in Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan, eds., *Audible Empire: Music, Politics, Critique* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 334.

PART TWO: ARAB AND NORTH AFRICAN MUSICOLOGY

CHAPTER 4: MAKING "ARAB MUSIC": RACE, ETHNICITY, AND NATION IN ARAB AND NORTH AFRICAN MUSICOLOGY

Of the twenty delegates who gave talks at the Fez Congress of Moroccan Music in 1939, nearly half were North African. As noted, this level of participation allowed the French to frame the event as a collaborative project of knowledge production and cultural preservation that nevertheless still situated themselves within the role of benevolent protectors. However, the sheer breadth of Moroccan and Algerian participation at the conference reveals that a specifically North African production of knowledge was a constitutive part of the event; and that, more broadly, Arabic and North African knowledge about music and history was constitutive and foundational to all French scholarship on these subjects. Without, on the one hand, the contributions of contemporary North African scholars and musicians, and on the other, a centuries-old Arabic intellectual written tradition on music, the French musicology of "Arab music" would not be able to exist.

The most obvious way that North Africans participated in the Congress was, as discussed earlier, the host of representative musical ensembles that performed at the twice-daily concerts, the majority of them specializing in Andalusi art music and representing a particular city or style. Orchestras from Marrakech and Fez were joined by orchestras representing Tunis, Algiers, and Tlemcen, spanning a pan-North African geography. In addition to these "traditional" ensembles, there were also several more "modern" groups like Andaloussia, Mohamed Ben Smaïl's renowned association from Oujda, and the orchestra of the Radio-Maroc.

However, the delegates and their paper topics provide the most revealing look into North African scholarship on Moroccan music, at least that which would be accommodated by and

made available to a French colonial audience. Perhaps most interesting is the Arabic-language session that took place on the second day of the conference, which, alongside Alexis Chottin, featured five North African speakers. These were Moulay Idriss ben Abdelali El Idrissi, a professor of song at the Conservatory in Rabat; Si Thami El Filali and Si Hamed Zeghari, both from Fez; Captain Ben Daoud, an Algerian officer in the Protectorate service; and Mohamed El Fassi, of the prominent Fez family.[250] Some of them had already published significant intellectual work: Ben Daoud had co-authored a volume on popular Moroccan Arabic dialect phrases with Louis Brunot, the education official, that included several musical phrases, while the previous year El Idrissi published an overview of musical life in the Protectorate, *Kachf al-Ghita*, which will be discussed more below. The speakers on this panel, the only Arabic-language panel at the conference, covered a range of musical genres: El Filali and Zeghari both spoke about Andalusi music, and El Fassi spoke as a representative of a sub-commission on Andalusi music that comprised Chottin, the Ben Ghabrit brothers, and several prominent Moroccan musicians. Chottin himself spoke about "Arab music" from the Orient and the Occident. In this, the broader orientation of the panel remained Arab and Andalusi art music. However, El Idrissi gave a talk about one of the more "popular" musical genres, *aïta*, a form of sung poetry that was not connected to al-Andalus but rather to the Moroccan Atlantic Plains, and strongly associated with female dancer-singers known as *chikhate*.[251] Finally, Ben Daoud presented his observations on "Arabo-Berber" music, an interesting formulation considering the typically extremely strong divide set up between Arab and Berber in Moroccan musicology. Ben Daoud's talk here (also given at the opening session in French) is perhaps the only example of

[250] For an informative popular article on Fassi (from Fez) families, including the El Fassi family, who have long constituted an urban elite in Morocco, see: "What Are the Historical Origins of Influential Fassi Families?", translated by Najah El Yahyaoui, *Morocco World News* (June 21, 2014) [originally published in French on *TelQuel*].
[251] Alessanda Ciucci, "The Text Must Remain the Same: History, Collective Memory, and Sung Poetry in Morocco," in *Ethnomusicology* 56:3 (Fall 2012), 476.

this "Arabo-Berber" terminology being used in the mainstream Moroccan context, although as we have seen it was more frequently deployed in Tunisia.

The panelists at the Arabic-language session provide us with perhaps the most transparent view of what North African scholars of music were interested in, at least in the context of the Fez Congress, as well as who the producers of knowledge were. The focus remained heavily on Andalusi music, which was very representative of North African musicology as a whole. Yet this North African knowledge production on music was not solely a precursor and companion to French knowledge production; in key ways, their scholarship often diverged from or even came into conflict with French and European claims.

In the early to mid-twentieth century, scholars from the Arab world engaged in the study of Arab and North African music, in diverse ways, and their work resided in uneasy tension with European musicology on Arab music. Yet it was not—and cannot be read merely as—a response to European musicology, but was actually crucial to the production of musical knowledge and the making of modern musicology as a whole. The next two chapters move away from the world of French colonial musicology and towards the lives and work of Arab and North African scholars who studied, promoted, and developed the musics of the Arab world. At the same time we will keep in mind the above argument: that while we can look at them as two separate, discrete spheres, "colonial musicology" and "Arab and North African musicology" were in fact deeply imbricated and interdependent. The development of a so-called "modern" musicology of the musical cultures of the Middle East and North Africa over the course of the 20th century was forged in this encounter.

This chapter will focus on the work of several musicologists and interrogate their role in the making of race and ethnicity in North Africa. Like French musicology, Arab and North

African musicology was heavily invested in the definition of distinct ethnic genres predicated on racial and ethnic categories, and that as such their work served to reinforce and perpetuate these categories. Yet while the French promoted racial distinctions in North Africa as a means of dividing and controlling potentially unruly colonial populations, Arab and North African writers had a different set of premises. Their work was both a continuation of a centuries-old Arabic musicological tradition, and a future-oriented knowledge production that participated in a nationalist political project. The racial hierarchy they established thus served as a vision for the post-colonial landscape: a triumphalist Arab hegemonic project that marginalized minority ethnic identities in North Africa, most notably the Berbers.

Thus within this body of scholarship is visible the articulation and production of racial, ethnic, gender, and class categories, in ways both similar to and different from the production of such categories in French musicology. Arab treatises on music were in dialogue with, and sometimes even made for, a French or European scholarly audience. Yet to an extent, they were also independent developments, part of a continuous scholarly tradition dating back to the Arab theoreticians of the medieval era. As such, these texts together coalesced into a kind of unified, nationalist (if not anticolonial) narrative that informed the construction of post-colonial national identity; this narrative then often obscured or elided minority identities and alternative narratives of nation. The sociocultural and intellectual power of music—its deep linkages to identity, bodily essence, and notions of race—facilitated the creation and strengthening of such narratives.

Musicologists in the Middle East and North Africa[252]

The musicologists that we will examine came from varying circumstances. Some had attended French or German educational institutions; many had also worked with colonial institutions or alongside European scholars. They wrote in both French and Arabic, for both European and Arab audiences. And whether or not their work had explicitly political ends, by its nature it inevitably reflected their own sense of identity while also inscribing political, social, and cultural identity upon their subjects.

In these chapters, I will discuss scholars writing in Arabic, French, and English from both the Mashriq and the Maghreb, because in important ways they formed part of a shared circulation of ideas, movement, and scholarly production, even as this production was not entirely baalnced and often skewed more towards the cultural and intellectual centers of the Mashriq. Arab scholars writing on music simultaneously participated in a broad spatial and temporal geography. Arab scholarly networks spread across the MENA region, emanating from historically significant centers of intellectual production like Cairo and Beirut. The German-educated Egyptian musicologist Mahmoud Ahmed El-Hefny and the French-educated Lebanese musicologist Wadia Sabra exemplified this Mashriqi scholarship, while simultaneously becoming interlocutors and cultural translators for their European counterparts.[253] Both played important roles at the Cairo Congress of Arab Music; indeed El-Hefny was one of the

[252] The definition of "musicologist" becomes slightly more blurry as we move out of Western Europe, and as we move backward in time. By "musicologist" I refer to anyone who engaged substantially in the study of music as an academic and intellectual subject. Over time, "musicology" has become codified as an academic field in Europe, whose precepts have been adopted in non-Western countries; I do not refer to it in such formalized terms, particularly as in this period "musicology" and "ethnomusicology" had yet to take shape in their present-day forms. This is also because I want to move away from a Eurocentric framework that labels Western scholarship in formalized terms and the work of non-Western or colonized actors in informal terms. Some of the musicologists I discuss here would have been referred to as such in their own time, and some would not.

[253] "Mashriq" refers to the Arab countries of the "East": Egypt, Sudan, the Levant (Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, and Jordan), Iraq, and the Gulf States. This is in contrast to the "Maghreb," the Arab countries of the "West": broadly, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Mauritania.

conference's principal organizers, in his role as representative of the Egyptian government, which sponsored the conference. As will be discussed, Wadia Sabra made major contributions to a branch of Arab musicology that drew heavily on scientific and mathematic principles. He attempted over many years to prove the existence of a "universal musical scale" that could reconcile the classical musics of the Arab world and the West.

The Maghreb—namely, Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia—existed on the literal and figurative margins of this intellectual geography, and Maghrebi references to Mashriqi scholarly work far outnumbered the inverse; however, despite these imbalances, a shared network of circulation nevertheless existed. The musicians and musicologists of the Maghreb attended major events like the Cairo Congress (Rodolphe d'Erlanger, from his home base in Tunis, was El-Hefny's co-organizer); they also frequently referenced the work of their Eastern counterparts, as well as the origins of their art music in Arabia, Damascus, and Baghdad. And temporally, Arab scholars frequently invoked the illustrious genealogy of Arabic production on music dating back to the early medieval period, just as French and British Orientalists often did. The difference was that Arab scholars could claim to belong to this tradition and gain a level of intellectual prestige by attaching themselves and their work to it. The same temporal tradition was referenced whether the author wrote from Beirut or Algiers, Cairo or Tunis, with minor regional variations, most notably the fact that the Maghrebi authors put more emphasis on the history of al-Andalus and its scholars.

The work analyzed here spans the early 1900s to the 1960s, and ranges from articles in colonial periodicals to books published in nationalist presses. This chapter will focus on how "Arab music" came to be treated as a self-evident category and how it was defined, in relation to both Western classical music and Arab civilizational history, as well as the treatment of racial,

ethnic, and gender identities in musicological discourse. The next chapter will expand on this to consider how Arab musicologists drew on their Arabic intellectual genealogy to further coalesce a "national" musical tradition; and how, in addition to drawing on the past, many also looked to the future, developing something that could be called an Arab "musical science" that sought to transcend traditional scholarly practice and engage in a kind of musical modernity.

In these chapters, we will engage with the work of seven musicologists, spanning the colonial to the early national periods: El Boudali Safir from Algeria; Manoubi Snoussi, Salah El Mahdi, and Mustafa Sfar from Tunisia; Wadia Sabra from Lebanon; and Mahmoud Ahmed El-Hefny and Mohamed Kamel El Hajjage from Egypt. All of these writers were prolific on the subject of Arab music, even as they wrote from different institutional positions and nations; as such their works that aimed to define and disambiguate "Arab music" serve as rich comparative resources. Chapter 5 will also introduce the work of two scholars in Morocco, Driss ben Abdelali El Idrissi and Azouaou Mammeri, who will be discussed in more depth. It is useful here to give an overview of the musicologists who will be cited in this chapter, their backgrounds, and their broader contributions.

El Boudali Safir (1908-1999) was an Algerian scholar and musicologist who played an important role in the preservation and promotion of Algerian music, from the colonial to the national period. He was the artistic director of Arabic and Kabyle language programs at Radio-Algérie from 1943 to 1957, and there helped to organize five separate musical ensembles representing the different domains of Algerian music: an Andalusi ensemble, a Kabyle (Berber) ensemble, a Bedouin ensemble, a modern ensemble, and a popular or *chaabi* ensemble.[254] He

[254] "El Boudali Safir: Une source de connaissance monumentale," ElWatan.com, 27 August 2009 (https://www.elwatan.com/archives/ete-2009/el-boudali-safir-une-source-de-connaissance-monumentale-27-08-2009), accessed January 15, 2020.

continued work after Algeria's independence, helping found the Institut national de musique and co-organizing or participating in several conferences on Andalusi and Arab music.

Manoubi Snoussi, Salah El Mahdi, and Mustafa Sfar were all important figures in Tunisian music, Sfar in the colonial period (he died in 1941) and Snoussi and El Mahdi into the national period. Mustafa Sfar (1890s-1941) was a Tunisian politician and music appreciator who became the first president of the Rashidiyya Institute, an organization founded in Tunis in 1934 that was dedicated to the preservation and promotion of Tunisia's Andalusi musical heritage, known as *ma'luf*. The Rashidiyya, active in diverse musical projects throughout the 20th century, still exists to this day, serving now primarily as a music school and concert space. Manoubi Snoussi (1901-1966) began his career as the young assistant to the French musicologist Rodolphe d'Erlanger in 1920, and subsequently played an important role in the preparation and publication of d'Erlanger's massive *La Musique Arabe* series: of the series' six volumes, five were published posthumously under Snoussi's supervision, from 1935 to 1959. This series constituted one of the most ambitious and most cited texts on Arab music of the 20th century. Snoussi also traveled to the 1932 Cairo Congress of Arab Music when d'Erlanger was too ill to attend. In the post-independence period, Snoussi continued his musicological work, producing a radio series for the national radio station called *Initiation à la musique tunisienne* (Initiation to Tunisian Music) in the 1960s.

Salah El Mahdi (1925-2014) was from a slightly later generation, but he began contributing to musical scholarship and life in Tunisia prior to independence in 1956, writing articles and directing musical ensembles in Tunis and its surrounds. After independence, he was appointed to a government position in the Secretariat of Culture and the Service des Beaux Arts, and oversaw the production of *Patrimoine Musical Tunisien* (Tunisian Musical Heritage), a

multi-volume set of texts published in the early 1960s that attempted to comprehensively gather and document Tunisian musical traditions as part of the early state-building project. He continued to publish works on Arab music into the 1980s and 1990s, and served for a time as the director of the Tunisian Conservatory.

Mahmoud Ahmed El-Hefny and Mohamed Kamel El Hajjage both participated in the Cairo Congress of Arab Music, Hajjage as an Egyptian delegate and El-Hefny as one of the principal organizers. Mohamed Kamel El Hajjage (dates unknown) was an Egyptian composer and musicologist whose treatise on "Oriental music" was published in Paris's *La Revue Musicale* in 1926. Six years later he served as a delegate at the Cairo Congress of Arab Music. Mahmoud Ahmed El-Hefny (1896-1973) was a prominent Egyptian musicologist, and one of the first Egyptians to be sent abroad to study in Europe with the support of the Egyptian government.[255] He studied music in Berlin under famed German musicologists Curt Sachs and Robert Lachmann, receiving his doctorate and returning to Egypt in 1930 to take a position as Inspector of Music in the cultural ministry. El-Hefny, with the assistance of Rodolphe d'Erlanger, was the principal organizer and General Secretary of the Cairo Congress of Arab Music. He published the massive *Kitab al-Musiqa al-Kabir* (The Big Book of Music), a compilation and translation of the medieval scholar al-Farabi's work on music, and established two musical journals to which he also frequently contributed (*Al-Musiqa/Al-Majalla al-Musiqiyyah* [The Musical Journal], 1935; *al-Musiqa wa-al-Masrah* [Music and Theatre], 1949).[256] It is worth noting that Egypt, at the time of Hajjage and El-Hefny's output, was in a different colonial position than the countries of the Maghreb: colonized by Britain in 1882, Egypt would conclude a series of treaties over the

[255] A.J. Racy, "Historical Worldviews of Early Ethnomusicologists: An East-West Encounter in Cairo, 1932," in *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History*, eds. Stephen Blum, Philip V. Bohlman, and Daniel M. Neuman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 69.
[256] Christian Poché, "El Hefny, Mahmoud Ahmad," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

course of the early to mid-20th century towards obtaining its independence. By the 1930s and the time of the Congress, Egypt was in a state of semi-independence, but with heavy circumscriptions on Egyptian autonomy and a continued British military and administrative presence, which continued into the 1950s.

Finally, Wadia Sabra (1876-1952), a Lebanese musicologist and composer, falls somewhat outside this other group of music scholars. For one thing, Lebanon, like Egypt, had a different colonial relationship to Europe than the Maghreb: originally a part of the Syrian Mandate (and prior to that, the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire), Lebanon became its own separate French Mandate under the authority of the League of Nations in 1920. Sabra was born into a Christian family in Beirut under the Ottomans, spent nearly two decades in Paris as a young man, and then returned to Lebanon in 1910 to eventually serve as inaugural director of the Lebanese National Conservatory. In Paris he studied under well-known French musicologist Albert Lavignac and composed dozens of pieces, from Christian hymns to Middle Eastern folk transcriptions to the eventual Lebanese national anthem. In his later career, he was primarily preoccupied with publishing and presenting on theory, history, and what could be called "musical science"; this fascinating part of his career will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Sabra was also the head of the Lebanese delegation to the Cairo Congress of Arab Music.

While disparate, the work of these scholars contained repeated patterns that revealed the racializing tendencies of musical knowledge. At the implicit level, one could argue that in the colonial context, the participation of these scholars in the field of musicology was both statement and process. It was a statement in that, consciously or not, scholars in colonized or semi-colonized spaces made claims of ownership over their own musical tradition and over their own histories. The act of producing knowledge about music was a powerful means of narrating one's

history, and the act of narrating one's history was the act of producing the self. And it was a process in that it developed over time, shifting with the political context from serving as a means of participating in a French intellectual milieu to a means of creating a national or supranational identity; over the course of this process, the same knowledge and information could be reshaped and reformed to carry new meanings.

More explicitly, the work in this scholarly canon repeatedly reiterated categories of race, ethnicity, gender, and class within Arab and North African society, and the formulation and strengthening of the mega-category of "Arab music" articulated and privileged a masculine, urban Arab elite and marginalized folk and rural musical genres and practices, as well as anything that was raced or gendered as non-normative. This included Bedouin, Berber, and Black musical practitioners, and also anything deemed "hybrid" between such groups and the Arab mainstream. In contrast to European musicologists, Arab and North African musicologists spent minimal time discussing these non-Arab musics, and when they did, often did so with a more dismissive and derisive tone. This contrast stemmed from the French desire to locate the "noble savage" in North Africa to strategically buffer the influence of the dominant Arab elite, a desire that conveniently mapped onto narratives about the "whiteness" of Berbers vis-à-vis Arabs. The urbanized, Arabic-speaking intellectual classes of North Africa had far less interest in either of these ideas. Meanwhile, both European and Arab writers saw Black music as generally inferior, although as we will see, even in this hegemonic and exclusionary Arab discourse, Black musicians did play an important role in the historical narrative of "Arab music."

The Construction and Elevation of "Arab Music"

I have described at some length already the landmark Cairo Congress of Arab Music, held in 1932 under the patronage of King Fuad of Egypt. One of the Congress's notable characteristics was that it brought together scholars from both Europe and the Arab world to debate and define what "Arab music" truly was. Yet while European influence over the entire event was substantial, Arab initiative and participation made the event possible: the Congress was hosted by Egypt, a nominally independent Arab country that was emerging as a leader in the burgeoning Arab nationalist movement, and Congress General Secretary Mahmoud Ahmed El-Hefny played an outsize role in its planning and supervision. There was also a large Egyptian delegation—representing the vast majority of Arab non-musician participants—and an Egyptian organizing committee. In addition to this, there were four Arab delegates from the Maghreb, including the Ben Ghabrit brothers, and three, including Wadia Sabra, from Lebanon. Two Turkish delegates, including the eminent musicologist Raouf Yekta Bey, represented the non-Arab Muslim contingent.

The Congress's efforts to produce a unitary "Arab music" tradition via scholarly inquiry and debate cannot be reduced to a European colonialist intervention but was an Arab intellectual initiative that served the social and political aspirations of a broad swath of elites in the Middle East and North Africa. Indeed, the Congress of Arab Music took for granted the idea that "Arab music" as a category latently existed, and behind that a self-evident Arab world (a concept with an increasing amount of political cachet in this period). Despite inviting musicians and performers from countries as far-flung as Iraq and Morocco, and despite the efforts of the Congress's Recording Commission to collect more diverse samples of regional musics, the organizing principle and underlying goal was the systematization and standardization of an

umbrella category that encompassed the entire Arabic-speaking world. The Organization Committee stated that one of the main aims of the conference was to "conform the principles of science and art to which all Arab countries could agree."[257] While this was not necessarily fully achieved, the organizers did imagine the lofty goal of defining and maintaining a cohesive category of Arab music to be reachable.

Speeches and communications at the Congress were shot through with references to the "Arab race" or nation and to Arab civilization. These notions were instrumental to the development of pan-Arabism and Arab nationalism in the decolonizing era, and as a political force it would have resonance from Iraq to Morocco, from Algeria to Syria, with Egypt as its center, reaching a peak under the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser in the 1950s and 1960s. The intellectual groundwork for an affirmative Arab civilizational discourse had arguably been laid decades earlier, with the Arabic literary and cultural renaissance of the *Nahda* (Awakening) in the late nineteenth century. The formulation of racial and ethnic identity and the writing back of a unified intellectual, cultural, and artistic past that occurred in musicological texts and at events like the Cairo Congress lent support to assumptions underpinning the political universe of Arab nationalism.

Like other forms of Arab nationalism, the actual objectives of such actions were diffuse and variable; at the local level Arab nationalist sentiment often fueled anticolonial nationalist movements that privileged an Arab Muslim political elite, rather than any kind of literal unification of the Arab world. Such objectives were however no less utopian and were constructed over a diverse and messy reality. The construction and elevation of an Arab race, culture, history, and music, one that not only predominated within nation-states engaged in anticolonialism or post-colonial nation-building but also transcended them, had the necessary

[257] *Recueil des Travaux du Congrès de la Musique Arabe* (Boulac: Imprimerie Nationale, 1934), 26.

side effect of erasing or downplaying the existence of the peoples of these regions who either did not identify as Arab or did not "fit" the definition as it was developed.

The Cairo Congress of Arab Music was followed by other transnational gatherings of Arab and North African musicologists: in 1939, as noted, the Moroccan Sultan and the French Resident-General co-sponsored the Congress of Moroccan Music in Fez; in 1944, the Lebanese National Conservatory planned the Universal Musical Congress in Beirut; and in 1964, the Iraqi Ministry of Culture sponsored the International Conference for Arab Music in Baghdad. There was a series of musical conferences sponsored by the Tunisian government in the early 1960s, with participants also coming from Algeria and Morocco; and there was also another international Arab music conference in Fez in 1969.[258] The modern genealogy of "Arab music" as a category thus runs from the Cairo Congress in the interwar period through the postwar conferences of the Arab nationalist period. Some of the same musicians even performed at multiple events: Muhammad al-Qubbanchi, who headed the Iraqi ensemble at the Cairo Congress, also performed at the Baghdad conference in 1964, thirty-two years later.[259] The Cairo Congress also occasioned the establishment of musical institutes in many of these countries, aimed at the preservation and promotion of traditional "Arab music," that have endured to the present day, including the Rashidiyya Institute in Tunis. The Congress itself was called in part to commemorate the inauguration of the Institute of Oriental Music, later renamed the Arab Music Institute, which still exists in Cairo.[260]

While conferences were highly visible sites at which the development of "Arab music" occurred in the Arabic-speaking world, they were part of a much longer and more widespread

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[258] Salah El Mahdi, *Patrimoine musical tunisien: La nawbah dans le maghreb arabe, 3e fascicule: Nawbet edhil tunisienne* (Tunis: République Tunisienne, Secrétariat d'Etat aux Affaires Culturelles, 1963).
[259] Gen'ichi Tsuge, "A Note on the Iraqi Maqam," in *Asian Music* 4:1 (1972), 60.
[260] Israel J. Katz, *Henry George Farmer and the First International Congress of Arab Music (Cairo 1932)* (London: Brill, 2015), 111.

process. The writing into being of a concrete Arab musical tradition was taking place in musicological texts dating back to the nineteenth century; in a circular fashion, the invocation of texts from the early Islamic and medieval periods reintegrated these into that same tradition, serving as both sources and source material.[261] By the interwar period, many Arab musicologists were also engaging with European scholarship, especially the work of prominent music scholars like Rodolphe d'Erlanger and Henry Farmer.

To begin to apprehend and give cohesion to the subject, Arab musicologists often felt compelled to define what "Arab music" was within the opening lines of their treatises. Wadia Sabra opened a 1941 article on the origins of "Arab music" by quoting Henry Farmer's work at the Cairo Congress, defining it as being of an "ancient Semitic origin."[262] Similarly, in El Boudali Safir's article "La musique arabe en Algérie" (Arab Music in Algeria), for the colonial newspaper *Documents Algériens*, he began by asking: "First, what is Arab music? The question is not superfluous."[263] He proceeded to separate it from both "Berber" and "Bedouin" musics: "Bedouin or Berber, they are distinguished from proper Arab music, called classical or Andalusi, dear to the refined city-dwellers of the great cities, and which marks a relatively recent stage in the evolution of Oriental music." Unlike Sabra, he made no reference to ancient Semitic origins but rather emphasized that the Andalusi genre was "proper Arab music," as was the case in Algeria. Nevertheless, from their respective locations in the Arab world, both Sabra and Safir felt compelled to define and delineate "Arab music" as a total category with a distinct history, to

[261] See the literary and logical paradox outlined in Jorge Luis Borges, "Kafka and His Precursors," in *Labyrinths: Selected Stories & Other Writings* (New York: New Directions, 2007), 199-201.
[262] Henry Farmer, *Recueil des Travaux du Congrès de la Musique Arabe*, 647; quoted in Wadia Sabra, "La musique arabe base de l'art occidental" (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1941), 5.
[263] El Boudali Safir, "La musique arabe en Algérie," in *Documents Algériens* (Service d'Information du Cabinet du Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, Série Culturelle No. 36, 20 Juin 1949), 1.

some extent produced in dialectic with what was "non-Arab": Berber, Bedouin, and other ethnicities and civilizations.

Local variants of Andalusi music were also linked up to the broader umbrella of "Arab music." Tunisian musicologist Manoubi Snoussi called *ma'luf*, the Tunisian version of Andalusi music, "a Hispano-Arab version of the Muslim Oriental artistic music." Hence this was the Eastern Arab art music that was influenced by al-Andalus and imported to Tunisia in the medieval period.[264] Snoussi and others envisioned Arab music, overall, as a tree: its roots were in the east, in the Hijaz, Damascus, and Baghdad, where the "Oriental" branch of it still flourished. Another version had branched off with the establishment of Umayyad Spain, where the "Hispano-Arab" or Andalusi genre had developed, which then migrated to the countries of the Maghreb. Tunisia's ma'luf was an imported version of this branch. However, Snoussi noted that the "Oriental" Arab genre—that is, the genre still directly linked to the Mashriq—was still in favor in Tunisia as well.

At a technical level, Arab music was defined by its history and scholarly tradition, its modes and structure, its instrumentation, or some combination of these, but with the underlying assumption that it could be defined as a music performed and appreciated by Arabs. Hence even as the mechanical and structural attributes of a unified musical tradition could be identified, the often unspoken core requirement was that the music belonged to a self-evident "race" of people, one whose history and genealogy stretched back to pre-Islamic Arabia. For this reason, writers often made rhetorical statements about the historical relationship between Arab music and poetry and early Arabian nomadic and caravan life in their accounts.

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[264] Manoubi Snoussi, "Prelude," in *Initiation à la musique tunisienne, Vol. 1: Musique classique* (Sidi Bou Saïd: Centre des Musiques Arabes et Méditerranénnes, 2004), 22.

This corresponded to one of the most oft-repeated tropes of Arab music narratives: that the earliest forms of Arab music developed out of the Arabic poetry practiced by nomads and merchants in pre-Islamic Arabia, rhythmically matching the gait of the camels they rode. This narrative often attached itself to the claim that, due to their genealogy and historical evolution, Arabs were naturally and inherently musicians, implying a racial trait that located Arab musicianship in their hearts, bodies, and blood. Egyptian musicologist Mohamed Kamel El Hajjage outlined how Arabic poetry flourished in Arabia before Islam, and described how the development of Arabic poetry could be attributed to the movement of the nomadic Arab traveler's body as it attuned itself to the rhythm of his camel. This poetry's measure, harmony, and movement lent itself immediately to the development of music, to a greater extent than other poetries: "These qualities that foreign verse does not have, prove that the Arab is a musician by nature and instinct."[265] Mahmoud Ahmed El-Hefny made a similar claim in his introduction to the conference proceedings for the Cairo Congress of Arab Music:

> The Arab is born a musician. In the solitude of the desert, he found in song (Hudaa) not only for himself but also for his travel companion the camel, a distraction and stimulation for the long and painful voyages. The cadence of the Arab verse, the balance of the stanza, the sonority of the rhyme, shows that the Arab is before all else a musician.[266]

References to pre-Islamic Arabian poetry often grounded claims that Arabs, since their earliest history and up to today, were a musical race, a people naturally possessing a musical sense that resided in their very bodies. These narratives often invoked the intellectual genealogy of medieval Arab musical treatises, consolidating a canonical discourse about Arab music, race, and identity that varied little from country to country in the Arab world. Such narratives were

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[265] Mohamed Effendi Kamel Hajjage, "Sur la musique orientale," in *La Revue Musicale* 8:2 (1 December 1926), 121.

[266] Mahmoud Ahmed El-Hefny, Introduction, *Recueil des Travaux du Congrès du Musique Arabe* (Boulac: Imprimerie Nationale, 1934), 1.

often subtly or overtly pressed into the service of Arab nationalist or pan-Arabist sentiments, increasingly so from the 1940s onward.

Arab Music and the Body

Aside from constructing Arab music as an artifact of the so-called Arab race, one of the subtler ways in which Arab music was racialized was in assertions of a hard divide between totalized categories of Arab and Western music, and notions that appreciation and comprehension of Arab music were located in the body, in the very anatomy of Arab and Eastern peoples. This concept could be simply metaphorical, using metaphors of the body, heart, and soul, or it could be more explicitly physiological, focusing on the mechanics of the ear and brain. It also slipped between grounded and inheritable racial difference and something more akin to cultural determinism, where some implied it could be learned and others that it was instilled at birth.

For example, Manoubi Snoussi lamented that a "magic wand" could not instantly initiate the foreign listener to Tunisian music and allow them to achieve the same level of enjoyment as Tunisians and Arabs; rather, "to reach this, a long education is certainly necessary, a long habituation, and even sometimes this will not suffice, that where physiology and heredity surely play an effective role."[267] He added that the "Oriental"—whether Arab, Turkish, Iranian, or Berber—who traveled to Europe, received a Western education, and was trained in Western music, would still always return to "his traditional music" due to this heredity. In this, scholars like Snoussi tended to echo, if not directly reproduce, European anthropological discourse that linked culture to race. While references to the body and physiology were often abstract and non-

[267] Snoussi, *Initiation*, 13.

technical, they were still powerful invocations of notions of racial difference, and rested on the premises of contemporary scientific racism more broadly.

For Snoussi, Westerners hearing Arab music, particularly the Arab scale with its microtones, may receive a "shock" to the ear that was rooted in psychological and physiological differences. Yet he added that such subtle gradations in tone were not entirely alien to Western music either: "The sensitivity of the Oriental ear to this difference in nuance of tone is absolutely comparable to that of European musicians who make a distinction, on their string instruments, between a sharpened note and a following flattened note, and who refuse to admit the temperament that makes them coincide."[268] With this, Snoussi acknowledged that aural sensitivity was not particular to either race, but differed in the ways it was deployed and translated within their distinct musics: in this case, Arab use of and sensitivity to extremely subtle microtones that existed in between accepted European tones (for example, E-half-flat) corresponded roughly to the way that European classical musicians detected subtle differences in tone between, for example, a D-sharp and an E-flat on a violin (these are literally the same notes on a fixed-pitch instrument like a piano, but on a variable-pitch string instrument can be played slightly higher or lower as is called for by the musical context: what key the piece is in, how the note is approached—from below, from above, stepwise or by leap—the mood of the melody, etc.). Again, emphasis on the mechanics of the ear was more broadly linked to the physical, psychological, and physiological processes Arabs and Europeans used to apprehend different musics: here, while sharing the biological possibility of sensitive pitch hearing, Arabs and Europeans utilized this musical gift in their own respective ways due to differences in their music.

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[268] Snoussi, *Initiation*, 31. For example, D-sharp and E-flat, which are literally the same pitch but can potentially be tuned or played differently according to their place in the key of the piece. Such notes are called "enharmonic."

Mustafa Sfar, the first president of the Rashidiyya Institute, in a 1930s speech to the Alliance Française de Tunis on Tunisian music, also emphasized the need to acclimatize the Western ear in introducing it to Arab music. Arguing that it would be insufficient to merely play Tunisian musical pieces for a Western audience, which "would be a sterile method that perhaps would satisfy the curiosity of the listeners without revealing to them either the sense or the beauty of the music," Sfar instead insisted that a more total comprehension of the music's history, literature, and technique must first be achieved and then only gradually. He compared it to a traveler gaining knowledge of a foreign country, in which it would be necessary

> to travel there, to learn its language, to study its history, to meet its inhabitants, in a word to impregnate oneself with its ambiance, and not without being previously stripped of all prejudice to the place and its inhabitants… It is necessary to place oneself in the ambiance of this music, through an initiation in historical, literary, artistic, psychological, and finally technical domains.[269]

Sfar then elaborated on the natural tendency of all human beings to hold prejudices towards other races and their ideas and art forms, and that as such Europeans naturally found Arab music "monotone and sometimes even exasperating" because of its emphasis on melody and homophony. "Their judgment in this regard, if not justified, finds its excuse in the fact that their ears being accustomed, from their most tender childhood, to polyphonic music, they find homophonic music less attractive and sometimes annoying. It is thus a question of the ear educated in a certain way and that finds itself shocked by all music incompatible with its education." He added that many Eastern peoples found polyphonic European music to be "less melodious, deafening, disagreeable, and, that which is most extraordinary, monotone."[270] Like Snoussi, he attributed cultural and civilizational differences in artistic tastes in part to heredity, but also to education, mores, and the preconceptions of each race. He compared this to both

[269] Mustafa Sfar, "Tunisian Music," Musamra al-ra'is al-mu'ahid Sidi Mustafa Sfar, communication (Archives of the Rashidiyya Institute), 2.
[270] Sfar, 3.

cuisine and language—the way a beloved national dish may be considered repulsive in another country, or the way a beautiful phrase in one language may sound silly when translated into a different language.

El Boudali Safir outlined the ways in which Arab music was physically irreconcilable with Western music and yet still capable of physiologically afflicting both Arab and Western listeners. Describing how Arab music was a powerful source of emotion and distinguishing it from the "theatrical" nature of Western music, he wrote:

> It addresses itself to that which is most true, most human in man, to his heart more still than his intelligence. It is due to this, also, that Arab song accommodates itself very badly to great bursts of voice, to brilliant prowess of throat, to the theatrical attitudes of opera tenors. It is a familiar art, discreet, almost confidential. The artist seems to take his audience as witness, to say to them with simplicity the melodious confessions of his soul, of his pains, of his sins. And the audience that communicates with him, thanks him, often by the most beautiful of recompenses: sincere emotion, tears that they cannot master.[271]

This involuntary reaction of genuine feeling and weeping also affected European interlocutors, as Safir went on to describe. Citing the French writer Henry de Montherlant, he quoted a passage from the author's memoir *Service inutile* in which he attended an Arab music concert in a café in Fez: "It is then that I got up suddenly, and, trembling more than the silent stars already fluttering around the somber mountains, left the circle, broke the charm, moved away from myself strongly, feeling the coming of the moment when something too supreme would be reached and could not be supported anymore except in tears."[272] In this, Arab music could also be seen as something that transcended race: a universal appeal to man's basic emotions. This depiction moved away from racialized notions of national musics to claim Arab music's global place as the supreme emotional art form. Yet even in exalting its universal physiological effects, Arab writers argued that Arab music was utterly distinct from Western

[271] Safir, "La Musique Arabe en Algérie," 5.
[272] Safir, 5.

music, which did not affect the body in the same way. The simultaneous particularity and globality of Arab music were two sides of the same coin that celebrated it as one of the great achievements of an illustrious civilization forged by the Arab people.

Berber, Bedouin, and "Primitive" Musics

The celebration and elevation of Arab music also occurred in inverted ways: namely, in negative or dismissive treatments of "non-Arab" music. The majority of musicological work by Arabs and North Africans was devoted to Arab music and its variations (in the Maghreb, especially Andalusi music), with scant or no mention of "non-Arab" genres or rural folk musics, such as Berber and Bedouin music. Again, this pattern was both in dialogue with and divergent from the dominant European musicological discourse of the region: while Arab and Andalusi genres tended to occupy the most scholarly interest for both, the French and other Europeans were deeply invested in studying the so-called "primitive" genres as well, unlike North African writers. The act of omission itself held racializing implications; yet as we will see, when Arab and North African musicologists did discuss these genres, they also reflected and contributed to their society's racial attitudes.

In the post-independence period, Manoubi Snoussi produced a popular radio series on the Tunisian national radio station called *Initiation à la musique tunisienne*. This series comprised 188 broadcasts of about 20 minutes each, aired between 1961 and 1967.[273] Each broadcast was accompanied by sonic examples, performed by Tunisian musicians, and overseen by Abdelhamid Belalgia, then the director of the Tunisian radio ensemble and later head of the Rashidiyya ensemble. The vast majority of *Initiation* broadcasts covered topics of "classical

[273] Mahmoud Guettat, "La Tunisie dans les documents du Congrès du Caire," in *Musique Arabe: Le Congrès du Caire de 1932* (Cairo: CEDEJ, 1992), 72.

music"—here meant to designate ma'luf, or the Tunisian version of the Andalusi genre—and Islamic liturgy. Tunisian musicologist Mourad Sakli has discussed how Snoussi was influenced in his use of the term "classical" to designate ma'luf by the work of both French and Algerian scholars, including Alexis Chottin's *Tableau de la musique marocaine*. The term "classical" itself as a descriptor for art music originated in Europe, and was not used to describe Arab music until the 20th century. In this sense, Sakli argues, Snoussi "positions himself as a veritable European musicologist," in that his point of departure and reference remained, both implicitly and explicitly, European music.

Undoubtedly, Snoussi's orientation was heavily influenced by his own "initiation" into musicology, via d'Erlanger and the cadre of European musicologists in North Africa to which he belonged. Yet differences in approach can be immediately apprehended. In the *Initiation*, only about 12 of the 188 broadcasts were dedicated to so-called "musical folklore," or popular or folk music. In contrast, d'Erlanger's own "popular" introductory text to Tunisian music, the *Mélodies tunisiennes*, published posthumously in Paris in 1937, was almost evenly split between Andalusi and "Arabo-Berber" genres, along with representative songs from the Black African Hausa tradition and from Libya. In terms of representation, this is effectively an even split between Tunisian "classical" and "folk" genres, and between Arab and non-Arab genres. As we have also seen, French musicologists in Morocco spent equal amounts of energy and ink on Berber music as they did on Arab and Andalusi music.

This comparatively limited interest in non-classical, non-"Arab" music in the work of Arab musicologists was, as it turns out, extremely common. Unlike the French, who were heavily invested in rural, folk, and Berber musics, Arab scholars dedicated scant space to these genres. They often held up Arab and Andalusi music as the highest achievement of North

African culture—a tradition that, like much of Arab civilization, they asserted, had fallen into decadence but was in the process of being revived.

While Snoussi made little mention of Berbers or Berber music, he did briefly reference them in his description of ma'luf's development, which incorporated them into its history:

> Transplanted in Spain, where Muslim civilization resumed, shining with a particular sparkle under the aegis of the Umayyads, the ancient Caliphs of Damascus, Arabo-Oriental music could not fail to submit to the influence of the indigenous populations and that of the more or less Arabized Berber elements, coming from North Africa. The influence of these Berbers is particularly apparent; it reveals itself in certain melodic formulas where one degree in one of the two tetrachords constitutive of the octave, or in each of them at once, is deliberately jumped up, cut off from the scale, like in Berber music, which is still in a state of primitive pentatonicism.[274]

Snoussi identified specific musical elements that had made their way from Berber music into Andalusi music as it was transplanted in North Africa, altering it and removing it further from its distant Eastern Arab origins. Most notably, Snoussi referred to Berber music as being "still in a state of primitive pentatonicism." He reiterated this assertion when he went into detail about the Tunisian modes, emphasizing the mode *raçd* (*rasd*), which he claimed most characteristically contained this "jump" of a note, adding that as the Berbers "provided the strongest Muslim authority in Spain due to its occupying troops… [they] came, it seems, to make their tastes adopted by the whole of the population, and to imprint the character of their own music on that which was being made in Spain…"[275]

This description did a few things: first, it identified Berber music as pentatonic, or built on a scale of only five tones (hence necessitating a "jump" to skip over all of the additional tones used in Arab music), a characterization often used by European musicologists that also allowed them to draw comparisons between Berber music and musics of other "primitive" cultures that used the pentatonic scale. Additionally, it ascribed "primitivism" to the Berbers, and by using the

[274] Snoussi, *Initiation*, 22.
[275] Snoussi, *Initiation*, 44.

word "still" (*encore*) implicitly argued that they were in an earlier stage of development than Arabs.[276] Like European accounts, this took for granted that music progressed on some sort of universal timeline, with certain musical forms, scales, and attributes signifying the primitive or the advanced. In this model, Berbers were more "primitive" than both Arabs and Europeans, a fact that was clearly taken for granted in both French and Arabic scholarship. The paradox of this model was that as "primitives" Berbers were neither expected nor encouraged to develop or modernize their music; thus in reality the idea of progress and development existed in tension with the fact that "primitive" as a category could be static and permanent. Primitivism was not a temporary state, but the very essence of an unchanging people or race. This paradox was embedded into the very concept of the primitive-civilized binary that served as the bedrock for both colonialist and nationalist ways of thinking.

El Boudali Safir echoed a primitivist discourse about Berber music in his 1949 account of Arab music. Opposing Arab music to the other musics of Algeria, Safir defined Berber or Kabyle music as "a music of mountain-dwellers, willfully bitter, rocky, when it hurtles from the abrupt heights of the Aurès, [and] much more tender, more human, when it flows from the grassy banks of the Djurdjura, like a crystalline water."[277] While emphasizing that both Berber and Bedouin music were total and distinguishable categories from Arab music, he also narrated a spatial "softening" or even civilizing as the music itself moved from the more inhospitable regions of the country—the more remote Berber-dominated mountains—down into the valleys and plains, where the more "civilized" Berbers and Arabs lived. "Bitter" and "rocky" at its heights, it literally became more "human" as it flowed with the river towards more settled spaces. Again, a

[276] "*…qui en est encore au stade du pentatonisme primitif."*
[277] Safir, "La Musique Arabe en Algérie," 1.

primitive-civilized binary served as the framework for understanding difference between both musical genres and ethnicities, here narrated not just racially but also spatially.

The Tabbal and Zakkar: A Fable of Race, Space, and Music

As a case study in how race, gender, and class categories were embedded in Arab and North African scholarship on music, Manoubi Snoussi's 1961 article "Tunisian Folklore: Outdoor Music: The Tabbal and Zakkar Orchestra," is highly instructive. Published in the Parisian journal *Revue des Études Islamiques*, this was one of Snoussi's more sustained engagements with Tunisian folk music, as opposed to the Andalusi genre. The narrative centered on two folk instruments, the *tabl* (a large drum) and the *zukrah* (a reed instrument, or as Snoussi described it "an oboe without keys"). The article is part didactic, part entertainment, ending with a fictionalized account meant to be representative of the lives and careers of two folk musicians in the urban landscape of Tunis. The *tabbal* (player of the *tabl*) and the *zakkar* (player of the *zukrah*) are rural, Bedouin villagers who have come to the unfamiliar city environment to make a better living. Snoussi's account, interspersed with factual, musicological, quasi-ethnographic information, reads overall like a fish-out-of-water story, part tragedy, part comedy, and is hence rich in assumptions about race, class, and gender in modern Tunisia.

As Snoussi described it, the two instrumentalists often played together; while *tabl* had once played a military role, accompanying tribal armies as they rode to battle, it was now rare to hear it without some form of melodic accompaniment. Snoussi narrated their archetypal journey:

> They have left together their far-off *bled* [countryside], to come to the great city where—it was told to them—the festivals and celebrations take place, day and night, in music, almost without stopping. Upon their first contact with the city, they however became disillusioned. Festivals and celebrations indeed take place in the city the length of the day. But the city-dwellers, however impassioned for music, showed themselves to be

> inaccessible to the charm of the nostalgic tunes of the mountain, the plains and the desert.[278]

Snoussi narrated a stark urban-rural divide, in which migrants from rural areas played an entirely different music from that in the cities; indeed, city-dwellers were not even interested in hearing it. Instead, the tabbal-zakkar duo subsisted on being hired for celebrations by working class families, in the suburbs of the cities, people "who still recall their Bedouin extraction." Even so, Snoussi described, being in the city, they also naturally developed an inclination to learn the music of the "bourgeois" city-dwellers in order to earn some extra money. Yet such a transcending of genres and social categories could only result in disaster. This dangerous transgression provided the central moral of the article.

In Snoussi's telling, it would be the ambitious zakkar who would develop the idea to learn urban music, while the tabbal remained skeptical, who exclaims to the zakkar:

> Try yourself... As for me, I dare not even think of it. Do you realize the effects of terror that the fracas of my giant drum would have on the delicate nerves of refined "baldi" (urban-dwellers)? This world where the men dress with the same care as the women, and the women like the dolls that you see exhibited in the windows of shops, this extravagant and perverse world will find no charm in the virile accents and natural intonations of our instruments.[279]

The zakkar then responds that the tabbal can simply mute his instrument by playing with open palm or thinner batons, while he, the zakkar, must take more trouble to imitate "the elegant line and the cleverly mannered forms of the music of the city-dwellers… a veritable ordeal to try to reproduce, with my rustic instrument, the melodic nuances so ingeniously gradated that these people of such complicated tastes are looking for." Here and elsewhere, it is clear that the characters' voices functioned as mere mouthpieces for Snoussi's elitist perspective, which saw

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[278] Manoubi Snoussi, "Folklore Tunisien: Musique de Plein Air: L'Orchestre de Tabbal et Zakkar," in *Revue des Études Islamiques* (Paris: Paul Geuthner Orientalist Library, 1961), 150.
[279] Snoussi, "Folklore Tunisien," 150.

both an unbridgeable gap between rural and urban Tunisians and an implicit inferiority in the art forms of the rural.

But they will try to adapt anyway, Snoussi said; eventually, after much hard work, the zakkar will even learn some fragments of the classical Andalusi *nuba*. Yet it would all be for nothing: "Far from opening the door to them of bourgeois mansions, their marble patios and their gold-paneled rooms, these caricatured imitations of artistic music are worth nothing to our two friends except contempt on the part of bourgeois rebels quite quick to mockery."[280] Ultimately, it remained impossible for rural musicians—and rural instruments—to ever actually play the refined urban art music, the ma'luf. Snoussi described it as mere "caricature," as the regional, social, and ethnic divide was impossible to cross.

However, a sort of "hybrid" music could and did arise from the practice of rural music in the cities. Snoussi concluded his story by describing how the tabbal-zakkar duo still found favor amongst the "semi-rural" populations living on the edges of the city; these populations were nostalgic for the sounds of the tabl and zukrah, yet also desired the fashionable songs of the city. So the duo added a female singer "recruited in the houses of perdition where came to fail the girls who, like them, had committed the folly of leaving their natal hamlet." This trio would then perform at late-night musical soirées in the city's periphery: while the duo played, the female singer would dance provocatively to their music. Such parties would have wine, dancing, and would invariably end in a fistfight between audience members.

This debauched form of living took its toll: as the duo headed home, Snoussi narrated, "the tabbal seems to think that he would not have arrived at this degree of decline if his partner had not had the preposterous idea of replacing their repertoire of Bedouin tunes, clean and

[280] Snoussi, "Folklore Tunisien," 151.

innocent, with the tunes in fashion in the big city, immoral and provocative of quarrels."[281] The tabbal then thinks about leaving the city: "He will go to rejoin one of these caravans that leaves early morning from the suburbs of the city, to regain with it his far-off bled. He will reprise his noble role of yesteryear and will again announce the rising of the camp and the path to combat for young people who defend their honor."

However, he would realize, this country life had all but ceased to exist, so there was really nothing to go back to. As Snoussi narrated it, the Bedouins had become close to sedentary, and they no longer fought tribal battles that required a tabbal to lead them into combat. Instead, "our two friends… will continue to lead together, laboriously, their uprooted life."[282] This parable, intended to playfully inform the French reader about a quaint Tunisian musical tradition, actually ended up addressing themes far broader than the tabl and zukrah. Snoussi's account was a casual ethnography of urban and rural life in 20th-century Tunisia, using both the parable and the descriptions of music to narrate strict boundaries around the categories of city-dweller and rural Bedouin, and to describe the disaster that resulted as these boundaries were being transgressed.

These categories and their transgression were also highly racialized and gendered. At the most basic level, the rural folk musicians were truly only able to play Bedouin songs. Their instruments were physically incapable of sustaining the nuanced and refined texture of urban Arab-Andalusi music; these instruments, in turn, were practically physiological extensions of their own bodies, as neither was it considered within the realm of possibility that the player could learn a new instrument. The most the zakkar could do was learn fragments of the Andalusi nuba

[281] Snoussi, "Folklore Tunisien," 151-152.
[282] Snoussi, "Folklore Tunisien," 152.

on his country reed instrument, and these were ridiculed as mere caricatures by true urban-dwellers.

This playing of nuba fragments was then described as a kind of tainted "hybrid," when the tabbal-zakkar duo performed it for other "uprooted" populations living on the literal margins of the city. This musical space was morally corrupt and highly decadent: a "fallen" woman dancing for groups of men offering her money; copious amounts of wine; drunken fistfights in the early hours of the morning. The subtext was that such a hybridized lifestyle was inherently unstable and illegitimate, even as it was unavoidable with the advent of modernization and urbanization in 20th-century Tunisia. Worse still, the traditional rural life in the actual *bled* was also fading away: folk musicians' traditional roles had disappeared with the disappearance of the tribal ways of old, such as internecine conflict and displays of honor in combat, so rural musicians had few other options than to participate in this corrupt hybrid.

Snoussi further underscored the inherent differences between urban- and rural-dwellers in Tunisia when he described the relative physiological responses that each had to the vibrations of the large tabl. As his fictional tabbal put it, the drum would cause "terror… on the delicate nerves of refined 'baldi'"; its percussive "virile accents" would be unfavorably received. He went on to describe urban-dwellers as men who dress with the same care as women, and women who dress like dolls. Speaking through the perspective of an imagined Bedouin, Snoussi depicted a highly feminized urban world, whose inhabitants' nervous systems were indeed unfit to even experience the deep, jarring reverberations of the country drum, let alone enjoy its musical sounds. The rough and masculine nature of the rural instruments was wholly out of place in the refined city landscape. Yet it was not only a masculine-feminine dichotomy that characterized the rural-urban divide; the fictional tabbal also denounced the "immoral and provocative" songs

of the city and lamented giving up the "clean and innocent" Bedouin songs of their home. A moral divide also existed, propping up a binary that consisted of a refined, effeminate, decadent urban realm and a pure, masculine, savage rural one.

Interestingly, this Andalusi Arab/Bedouin Arab binary strongly correlated to the Arab-Berber paradigm of French musicological and ethnographic writings, a paradigm also predicated on an urban-rural divide and imbued with the same set of binary-opposite characteristics: refined, decadent, effeminate Andalusi music and primitive, pure, virile Berber or Bedouin music. In effect the epistemological framework preceded the content that was set within it. In other words, the way of viewing the world—as highly gendered, sexualized, moralized, temporalized—informs the knowledge that is produced; the knowledge, the ethnographic content, the observations of society and even seemingly straightforward descriptions of music, was fitted into the preexisting framework and reinforced it. This occurred when the French wrote about Arab music and Berber music, just as when Tunisians wrote about urban music and rural music. While some populations in Tunisia qualified as "Berber," the more common terminology in Tunisian accounts labeled rural populations "Bedouin" and folded them into wider Tunisian Arab society. Hence the framework was not as explicitly racialized as it was with the French, but otherwise it looked very much the same. Race remained present even when it was not overtly identified, and wherever race was narrated, so were gender, class, and morality.

Black Music and Musicians in Arab Musicology

When describing the process of adaptation necessary for Westerners to come to appreciate Arab music, Mustafa Sfar declared, "This adaptation can be realized, even if it is a clearly inferior music. I only need as proof the definitively fixed favor enjoyed the last quarter

century by the trivial Negro-American music amongst European peoples, sometimes even to the detriment of their national musics."[283] This brief but extremely dismissive mention of Black American music—presumably jazz—was his only such reference in the 16-page long speech. Yet it was characteristic of an attitude amongst Arab intellectuals throughout this period: even as France experienced *négrophilie* and enthused about both African-American jazz and West African genres, Arabs and North Africans made little to no mention of Black musical genres either abroad or in their own midst. When they did, it was to mark them as less civilized, "inferior" musical cultures, positioned further down the same civilized-primitive spectrum than the music of the Berbers and Bedouins.

Sfar's comment also revealed a sense of competition with Black genres, perhaps explaining his negative tone. As Arab musicologists gave speeches, wrote articles, and published books in an effort to make their own art music appreciated by Europeans, other non-European genres were already being celebrated and adopted in Europe's urban centers. But these other genres were also deemed less deserving than Arab music. Indeed, it seemed as if Arab musicologists were engaged in a project of making Arab music recognized as the *other* important genre in the world, on par with Western classical music. In an imperial world, dominated politically and culturally by Western power and aesthetic discourses, this project was understandable; yet it further did the work of "ranking" world cultures, reinforcing a civilized-primitive binary, and engaging in anti-Blackness, all key features of Eurocentric thought.

I have already discussed at length the marginalization of Black music in European musicology in North Africa in Chapter 2. Arab musicology followed a similar pattern, with the exception that they tended to mention Black musicians and musics even less frequently than European writers did. The European fascination with Black performers in North Africa came

[283] Sfar, 4.

from more of an ethnographic, exoticizing impulse than a genuine desire to academically engage with Black musical practice. Arab and North African writers did not share in this interest, even as an Othering device.

The presence of Black populations in North African society, some for many, many centuries, was taken for granted. Blackness was often associated with slavery; however, while slavery played a major role in the movement of Black African populations into Morocco (and their subsequent stigmatization), Chouki El Hamel has pointed out that slavery was far from the origin of a Black presence in the Maghreb.[284] There was also voluntary migration from the 16th to the 20th centuries, and there existed Black populations indigenous to areas of the Maghreb, such as the ethnic group known as the Haratin in the southern High and Anti-Atlas mountains and the northern Sahara.[285]

Black North Africans tended to either be seen as occupying lower ranks in society (as servants, manual laborers, and often still as slaves even well into the twentieth century), or to be located in greater numbers in the southern parts of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, which also tended to be more removed from political and cultural capitals and major urban centers, in the harsher and more "uncivilized" terrain of the Sahara. Either way, as a whole, their existence tended to be overlooked. Looking at Egypt, Terence Walz has demonstrated how the number of Black Africans has long been underrepresented, most demonstrably in Cairo, where he shows how an 1848 census significantly downplayed their numbers. This was likely due to multiple factors, including the uneven application of racial assignments (e.g. whether the children of both

[284] Chouki El Hamel, *Black Morocco* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 8.
[285] The Haratin, as El Hamel describes, are referred to as "free black people or ex-slaves," though no exact historical origin for when they were "originally" enslaved has been determined. However, many of them were (re-)enslaved under the rule of Mawlay Isma'il (r. 1672-1727), who was also responsible for the importation of large numbers of enslaved sub-Saharans. In the present day, a large population of Haratin live also in Mauritania; slavery was only officially abolished in Mauritania in 1981, and in recent years the Mauritanian government has come under increasing scrutiny from journalists and international organizations for the fact that many Haratin there still virtually live in a state of slavery.

Black and Egyptian parents counted as Black or not), the non-counting of Barabira (also known as Nubians) and free Africans, and the fact that notables' households were largely exempt from the census, and thus all Black Africans working and residing in such households were missing from the record. Walz concluded that the census's estimate of a roughly 3% Black African population in Cairo in the nineteenth century was much lower than the reality.[286] A similar process likely occurred in the countries of the Maghreb, in both formal and informal assessments. Notwithstanding the European colonial presence and its attendant attitudes towards Africans and Blackness, Arab North African society already marginalized or dismissed its own Black populations.

When we speak about Black populations being "marginalized," we must also consider the specific context of race and ethnicity in the Middle East and North Africa. This context often linked up with histories of race and racialization in the West, but had its own distinct history. When it comes to Blackness and depictions of Black Africans, Arab writers and commentators over the centuries were influenced by shifting political and social circumstances including their own relationships to various Black African kingdoms and polities. This has resulted in a complex racialization process that took into account more than just skin color and perceived phenotype—rather, the racial image of various Black African peoples has been contingent upon religion, political and economic power, slave and free status, gender, and genealogy. In pre-Islamic Arabia, political and military interaction with the nearby Christian kingdom of Ethiopia influenced literary representations of Black Africans, even as substantial Ethiopian populations

[286] Terence Walz, "Sudanese, Habasha, Takarna, and Barabira: Trans-Saharan Africans in Cairo as Shown in the 1848 Census," in Walz and Kenneth M. Cuno, eds., *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: Histories of Trans-Saharan Africans in Nineteenth-Century Egypt, Sudan, and the Ottoman Mediterranean* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2010), 47.

resided within Arabia.[287] This meant that they could be seen as both powerful warriors and as defeated enemies, depending on the outcome of conflict. By the 6th century, it was customary for the children of an Arab father and a Black slave mother to inherit their mother's slave status, as was the case with famed Arabian poet Antara Ibn Shaddad. As Touria Khannous has shown, Antara Ibn Shaddad himself made frequent reference to his status in his poetry, as well as to his Blackness and dark skin, as a negative quality to be transcended through his words and his prowess in battle. His father did not officially recognize him until after he had had a successful military career, thus finally freeing him of his inherited slave status. This shows that even in the early pre-Islamic period, Arabian society frequently projected negative stigmas onto perceived Black peoples, linking them to slavery and understanding them as less worthy, marginalized members of the community.[288]

Despite the existence of slaves of various colors and ethnic backgrounds, Black Africans became uniquely linked to slavery in the Middle East and North Africa over the centuries, which served to legitimize their inferior status in the eyes of Arabs. In West Africa in the 17th century, the Berber scholar Ahmad Baba al-Timbukti decried the indiscriminate enslavement of Black Africans, claiming it was illegitimate to enslave Muslims (and large parts of West Africa had converted to Islam between the 7th and 11th centuries). By his time, it was common to justify slavery by race and ethnicity, and to associate Black racial identity with slavery, and his treatise *Mi'raj al-Su'ud* was expressly intended to combat these prejudices.[289] However, at the same time

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[287] Touria Khannous, "Race in Pre-Islamic Poetry: The Work of Antara Ibn Shaddad," in *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 6:1 (2013), 66-68.

[288] Khannous's account of Antara Ibn Shaddad helps refute one of Bernard Lewis's core contentions in his landmark *Race and Slavery in the Middle East* (Oxford University Press, 1990; originally published in 1971): that racism and anti-Black prejudice only developed as Islam spread outwards from Arabia and encountered other ethnic populations. Rather, Antara's case testifies to awareness of race and color difference as well as anti-Blackness in pre-Islamic Arabia.

[289] Timothy Cleaveland, "Ahmad Baba al-Timbukti and His Islamic Critique of Racial Slavery in the Maghrib," in *Journal of North African Studies* 20:1 (2015), 42-44.

Ahmad Baba allowed that those Black populations that were non-Muslim, or only superficially Islamized, *were* sanctioned for enslavement, as standard Islamic jurisprudence allowed. His writings demonstrate that there was a debate around Black slavery in pre-colonial North and West Africa, while even those who disputed its legitimacy allowed that non-Muslim, non-"civilized" African populations could be enslaved. This is especially noteworthy given the multi-ethnic, multi-racial nature of Timbuktu, Ahmad Baba's hometown, which had significant "white" Berber- and Arabic-speaking populations as well as Black populations both local to the area and from other parts of West Africa. A more "cosmopolitan" setting than most North African cities did not necessarily engender a radical critique of Black slavery, even if it may have mitigated its perceived legitimacy.

Bruce Hall has also written about the ways in which racialization and Blackness developed at the southern edge of the Sahara in the Western Sahel (parts of modern-day Mauritania and Mali). Historically this area was populated by Arabic- or Berber-speaking semi-nomadic peoples and sub-Saharan African sedentary agriculturalists. While these seem to have coexisted for a time, a major political and social shift occurred in the 17th century that corresponded to the development of racial ideology that positioned the Black African population as subordinate to the Arabo-Berber population. As major climatic shifts resulted in greater scarcity in the area, the semi-nomadic Arabo-Berber peoples gained an advantage over the agriculturalists, who were required to either relocate or solicit the protection of nomadic overlords.[290] This process, paired with a rising Arab-Islamic intellectual culture that linked southern Saharan Arab and Berber groups to illustrious Arab-Islamic historical figures in the

[290] Bruce S. Hall, "The Question of 'Race' in the Pre-Colonial Southern Sahara," in *Journal of North African Studies* 10:3-4 (2005), 339-367.

Middle East and North Africa (and an attendant "whiteness"), worked to racialize Black sub-Saharan African peoples and ideologically position them as inferior.

The development of discourses around Blackness and the racialization of sub-Saharan Africans in Arab-Islamic history, from Arabia to the Maghreb to the Sahel, was a complex and multivalent process that did not unfold in a uniform fashion, and was instead historically contingent on political, economic, social, and cultural processes in various places. Yet the overall trajectory was one in which Blackness was positioned as inferior to "white" Arab or Berber identity, afforded a marginal role in the Islamic world, and/or strongly associated with slavery. This association only increased with the development of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and increased contact between Muslim lands and Europe.

In the Moroccan context, this association of Blackness and slavery became especially marked in the colonial period, since the Moroccan slave trade persisted long after other North African states had abolished it. Evidence suggests slave-trading continued in Morocco into the early 20th century, while slavery itself persisted to the 1930s (and informal forms probably long after that). Evidence also suggests the slave trade to Morocco actually increased over the 19th century, as political instability and European abolitionist pressure circumscribed it elsewhere.[291] The French abolished it in Algeria, as did local rulers in Tunis and Tripoli. European travelers to North Africa in the 19th century reported the slave trade being diverted from the traditional centers in Algeria and Tunisia to Morocco, and Fez and Marrakech had become major slave markets. Gradually decrees in the early 20th century limited public slave markets in coastal towns (1898) and inland cities (1905); yet numerous Western travel accounts observed slave markets taking place in the following years in cities like Fez and Marrakech. In 1909, French writer Mathilde Zeys noted that "blacks are imported from the Western Sudan in the markets of Sous or

[291] John Wright, "Morocco, the Last Great Slave Market?" in *Journal of North African Studies* 7:3 (2002), 53-66.

Marrakech and sold farther. In Marrakech the slave market is a spectacle of human misery taking place at nightfall."[292] American travel writer E. Burton Holmes similarly claimed in 1914 that slave markets continued to take place in Fez, while they were often so covert that it was difficult to find them: yet "twice, owing to the skillful maneuvering of our guide, we surprised the market in full swing, and saw six little negro girls, fresh from the barbarous regions of the south, purchased by solemn white-robed citizens at prices varying from eighty to two hundred dollars."[293] Meanwhile, a 1902 account by French politician Albert Cousin noted that one could buy "Negros and Negresses" from the Sudan, with a young woman being valued at up to 500 francs and an old woman as little as 20. He also described seeing in a Marrakech slave market women who had been abducted from Moroccan mountain tribes, ostensibly Berbers, "brunettes" who found it difficult to live in the city after being raised in the mountain air. Not only was his sympathy towards "white" enslaved people vis-à-vis African ones noticeable, the fact that he listed going prices for Black women raises the question of what he thought his French readership would do with this information.[294]

Chouki El Hamel explicitly linked the prevalence of the slave trade in Morocco with the development of race and anti-Blackness:

> The phenomenon of race in Morocco is old; it is as old as the Arab invasion of North Africa in the seventh century. In Morocco, the two cultures, Arabic and Berber, found ideological convergence in the sense of using Islam to justify preexisting prejudice against black Africans. At that time, such prejudice seldom amounted to a consistent and obviously racist ideology, but later as ethno-cultural

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[292] Mathilde Zeys, *Une Française au Maroc* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1909), 108.

[293] E. Burton Holmes, *Travelogues: Volume One: Into Morocco* (Chicago: Travelogue Bureau, 1914), 187-188. Full quote: "'And are there really slaves in Fez?' some one may ask. There are; and every day in a certain remote and cheerless market-place young negresses are sold at auction. Seldom, however, does a stranger witness this trafficking in human flesh… Twice, owing to the skillful maneuvering of our guide, we surprised the market in full swing, and saw six little negro girls, fresh from the barbarous regions of the south, purchased by solemn white-robed citizens at prices varying from eighty to two hundred dollars."

[294] Albert Cousin, *Tanger* (Paris: A. Challamel, 1902), 98.

> distinctions became more popularly perceived as fixed, inherent, and static, the strength of these racial prejudices promoted supremacy of a certain race and established a sociopolitical order based on race.[295]

However, the most frequent references to Blackness in Arab musicology were in anecdotes about important historical musicians who were Black and/or enslaved, and thus were actually fixed in the "Arab music" canon. These included Ziryab, the famous historical figure credited with bringing Oriental art music from Damascus to al-Andalus in the 9th century and birthing Andalusi music, as well as multiple slave singers and musicians dating from the pre-Islamic period to the medieval era. In this, Arab music history paralleled other Arab-Islamic histories—religious, literary, and intellectual—that acknowledged the Black and/or slave status of many important figures while otherwise uncritically absorbing them into the canon, equal and undifferentiated. This attitude contradicts the broader treatment of Black North Africans in scholarship as outside and unequal.[296]

Like many others, Mustafa Sfar began his narrative on the "origins of Arab music" with pre-Islamic Arabian poetry, as "poetry is inseparable from music." He mentioned the famed Mu'allaqat, the seven suspended poems in the Ka'aba, of which the Black poet Antara Ibn Shaddad's was one. Sfar noted that slaves often contributed to these early Arabian genres, but only included Syrian and Persian slaves in this number. No mention of Ethiopian or Black African slaves—including Ibn Shaddad, despite implicitly including him by mentioning the Mu'allaqat—appeared in Sfar's retelling of the early era.

Describing how the Prophet Muhammad "without ranking music amongst the grave sins, recommended avoiding it," Sfar justified the first four caliphs' efforts to decrease musical practice, explaining that the early years were necessarily focused on the spread and promotion of

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[295] El Hamel, *Black Morocco*, 104.

[296] However, the exaltation of limited figures from a minority or marginalized identity can and does easily coexist with racism and marginalization, as one can see in countless contexts, not least in U.S. history.

Islam. As such, he claimed, the rank of musician and singer was very low in society and largely left to women and slaves. Sfar added that while this trend disappeared over time, it has returned in the present day, "with the despising of musicians in Arab countries, with the decadence of music, a consequence itself of the general regression of sciences, letters and arts." In this way Sfar contributed again to a narrative of rise-and-fall in Arab music, cultural, and intellectual history, while implying that musicians today were unappreciated and despised in the same way that slaves once were.

Sfar went on to describe several important musical figures from this early period of Islam into the Umayyad and Abbasid periods. One was Saib Khatir, a "freed slave," who was both a talented singer and credited with being the first lute player. Saib Khatir's influence was so great that he was called from his hometown of Medina to Damascus and the court of Mu'awiya, the first Umayyad caliph—Mu'awiya had renounced music, but when Saib Khatir sang for him, the caliph "expressed to him his satisfaction and recognized that music had some good things because, he said, it enhanced poetry."[297] Saib Khatir also died in music: when revolt broke out in Medina during the Second Fitna, he tried to reason with the caliph's armies who had come to suppress it, and one of the soldiers requested a song. After he had finished, the soldier "plunged a saber into his throat."

Mohamed El Hajjage, in his *Sur la musique orientale* (On Oriental Music), also provided a comprehensive list of significant figures in Arab music history, and included a section on Saib Khatir.[298] Hajjage confirmed that all of the great scholars, from Isfahani to Ibn Khaldoun, agreed on Saib Khatir's important role in the promotion of Arab music. Hajjage also made mention of Saib Khatir's slave status by naming his father and calling him "a slave of Béni Lice." Besides

[297] Sfar, 13.
[298] Mohamed Effendi Kamel Hajjage, "Sur la musique orientale," in *La Revue Musicale* 8:2 (1er Décembre 1926), 119-135.

this, he provided some anecdotes about Saib Khatir but made no other mention of his identity, which ultimately appeared unimportant to his legacy and influence.

While the enslaved Saib Khatir's status in Arab music history is legendary, it was not clear what race or ethnicity he was considered, and since neither Sfar nor Hajjage mentioned it, it is likely he was not considered Black. However, as we will see, due to the historical fluidity of ancient racial identities, different authors would sometimes ascribe different racial origins to the same figures, so we cannot know for sure. The next musician on Sfar's list, Said ben Mousajih, was openly described as "*nègre et un esclave*" ("Negro and a slave"). Said ben Mousajih was a famous singer of the Umayyad period born in Mecca, and was credited as the first to contribute to Arab music's evolution by introducing elements from Greek and Persian music, both in terms of musical rules and new melodies. He had learned these musics by fraternizing with Persian masons in Mecca, as well as making trips to both Syria and Persia. Like Saib Khatir, he was afforded the honor of singing before the Caliph, and his talents were so great that his master eventually freed him.

Hajjage also afforded Said ben Mousajih—also spelled Said ben Mosjeh, or Ibn Mosjeh—a special spot in his account, and named him as a slave but did not mention his color (which again prompts the question as to when and why writers chose to emphasize race). He elaborated even more on Ben Mosjeh's genius in borrowing and synthesizing musics: after traveling to Damascus and Persia, "he made then a judicious choice of Greek and Persian musics, rejecting that which displeased him: harmonies and cries that were foreign to Arab musical genius; it was he that had the first good idea of this borrowing, and he was followed by

many imitators."[299] It is somewhat curious that Hajjage chose here not to mention Ibn Mosjeh's race, but that he did mention it with other figures, namely Nobed Ben Wahab and Ziryab.

For Ben Wahab, El Hajjage simply introduced him thusly: "Nobed Ben Wahab was a slave of Ben Kater; his father was black [*nègre*] which explains his mulatto color; he was of a tall height, but he was cross-eyed."[300] Hajjage went on to extol Ben Wahab's status as one of the best musicians of his time and the first cantor of Medina. As with many of the figures claiming some form of racialized identity in Arab music histories, both slave status and skin color appeared as veritable footnotes to their overall accomplishments and legacies.

This brings us to the most interesting and recurring figure in Arab music history in North Africa: Ziryab (789-857 CE), the musician, poet, and teacher credited with bringing Eastern Arab musical arts to Umayyad Spain and helping to inaugurate the new genre that developed there. This genre then became the basis for all Arab-Andalusi music in North Africa, from Morocco to Tunisia and Libya. Ziryab's ethnic origins are sometimes disputed, but what is undeniable is that his nickname was "Blackbird" (*pájaro negro* in Spanish; "Ziryab" means jaybird in Arabic) and he was noted for his black skin. Mustafa Sfar did not mention this at all, and rather spoke simply of Ziryab as a great artist and musician who had significant influence on Tunisian music.

Mohamed El Hajjage, however, did refer to Ziryab as a "Black slave" (*esclave nègre*) and listed his master, Ibrahim El Noussoli. Furthermore, he recounted an anecdote about Ziryab that hinged entirely on his status as Black. After leaving Damascus, and before he arrived in Umayyad Spain, Ziryab spent time at the emir's court in Kairouan in present-day Tunisia. Before

[299] Hajjage, 126.
[300] Hajjage, 127.

the emir Ziyadat Allah, Ziryab sang a song to celebrate the bravery of cavaliers that included these lyrics:

> You have despised me because my mother is black [*noire*] and a daughter of Cham
> But if you come to attack me, the white blade of glory and the point of my lance will make me look beautiful
> And if you had not fled one day from battle, I would conduct you to combat or you would conduct me here.[301]

According to Hajjage, Ziyadat Allah was displeased with this song and ordered Ziryab to be beaten and chased out, then threatened him with decapitation if he did not leave his states in three days. It was then that Ziryab sailed to Iberia where he "charmed all of Andalusia." Hajjage then proceeded to describe Ziryab's accomplishments in al-Andalus, including creating a detailed and influential method of musical instruction, and repeated Sfar's claim that Ziryab had left behind 10,000 compositions when he died.

It is difficult to tease out all of the potential meanings of the story Hajjage provided here: was it simply because of the reference to Blackness that the Tunisian emir was displeased? Was Ziryab presumed to be speaking in a personal voice or was he utilizing metaphor, or some combination? Regardless, numerous claims that Ziryab was Black and a slave testify to the likely truth of his status, even as only some Arab scholars acknowledged this. It may be that Hajjage, as an Egyptian, was less invested in the specific legacies of Andalusi music, even as the discourse on al-Andalus carried weight in Egypt and the Mashriq as well. If so, he may have had less qualms about disclosing Ziryab's full identity than Sfar, a Tunisian ma'luf enthusiast whose entire "national music" owed debt to Ziryab's accomplishments. Yet this also raises the question as to whether it truly even *mattered* to 20th-century Arab musicologists whether significant figures in Arab musical history were Black or enslaved. References as such were inconsistent—

[301] Hajjage, 131.

the same figure could be disclosed as Black in one history and not in another—but they also seemed to carry little stigma or weight vis-à-vis the legacy of the figure in question. Again, this is curious considering the continued significance of racialized identities in the writers' contemporary societies.

And yet, like Antara Ibn Shaddad's poetry in the 6th century, Ziryab's attributed song here made reference to Blackness in a way that openly acknowledged its stigma, and pushed back against it with stories of deeds in battle. By addressing the fact that he was "despised" because he had a Black mother, he utilized metaphor to directly counteract this charge: his "white" blade of glory would "make him look beautiful." The "whiteness" of his courage in battle negated his "Blackness" and also rendered his appearance, physically and metaphorically, positive. Even as Black figures like Ziryab and Antara Ibn Shaddad were uncritically celebrated in countless histories dating to the medieval period, echoed over the centuries, their own words seem to belie the struggle even in their own times with a contemporary anti-Blackness and subjugation; the Othering to an Arab or "white" racial ideal.

While the inclusion and celebration of Black figures in Arab musical history is undoubtedly significant, we can perhaps differentiate such accounts—in which Black musicians participated in the glory of Arab music, which ultimately still recognized Arab music's supremacy—from accounts of genuinely "Black African" music, both as a genre and as an influence on Arab music. One of the few Arab musicologists to openly, and specifically, acknowledge Black musical influence on North African music was Salah El Mahdi, although the text in which he did so was one of his later works, published in the 1990s. In a book on the different modes of the Arab world, El Mahdi discussed the ways that Arab music had submitted to musical influences in all the areas that Islam spread:

> Thereby, one finds in these modes as much the tetrachordal genre that brings them closer to Greek and Iranian musics as well as the pentatonic genre that brings them closer to Berber music (music of the old inhabitants of North Africa) and Negro [*nègre*] music in which one finds, in North Africa, a whole nouba of Andalusi patrimony of a mode known in Tunisia under the name of Rasd Abidi (Rasd of slaves) and in Morocco as Rasd Knaoui, in reference to Kanou, a city in Nigeria.[302]

El Mahdi's reference here to both Berber and Black musical pentatonicism and modes in North African, and specifically Andalusi, music is noteworthy. Like some other accounts, it acknowledges the mixed origins and diverse influences of Arab music, especially in North Africa, which inherited both Eastern and Western Arab (Andalusi) traditions. However, by specifically indicating how Black music has a place in North African music, he accommodated a more expansive view of North African music's historical and racial origins than most of his fellow musicologists. Certain French musicologists, like Rodolphe d'Erlanger and André Schaeffner, had acknowledged Black (Hausa) music as an important part of the North African landscape, but El Mahdi's claim here took that a step further by integrating Black African music history into Arab North African music history.

Ultimately, how do we reconcile this celebratory, or at least accepting, tone of Black figures in Arab musical history with marginalization (the almost total absence of Black musical figures or genres in more contemporary accounts) and condescension (Sfar's reference to Black American music as "clearly inferior")? This tension actually illustrates relatively well the complicated, contradictory, and sometimes ill-defined ways that race has operated in North African society. It would be a mistake to simply transfer European notions of race, racism, and anti-Blackness to the Arab world, even as centuries of regional interaction, the development of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and European colonialism synthesized global racial ideas. Instead, it is necessary here to consider early and medieval histories of race and Blackness in the Arab-

[302] Salah El Mahdi, *Des modes comparés de la musique arabe* (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1993), 284-285.

Islamic world, which were politically and socially contingent and also linked to the trans-Saharan slave trade, and how these complemented and interacted with Western conceptions of race in the modern period.[303] Within Arab-Islamic society, a hierarchy of color had long been established that positioned a relative whiteness at the top and Blackness at the bottom; that this "whiteness" was ill-defined and varied from place to place was simply a function of the mutability of race categories at all places and times, predicated as they are on power and hegemony.[304]

Conclusion

Arab and North African musicology was comprised of a variety of voices and perspectives that emphasized different aspects of the music and its history. However, upon examination several trends become visible. First, the making of a category known as "Arab music" was a continuous effort, as no easily definable, clear-cut genre latently existed, just as no "Arab" identity latently existed. Arab musicology thus was an ongoing project to delineate and define an artistic tradition that spanned a massive geography and extensive history. Yet the fact that so many writers, from so many different positions in the Arab world, repeated the same narratives and tropes meant that this project, by the mid-20th century, was succeeding. The process of establishing a coherent musical tradition shared by multiple countries colonized by European powers was a nationalist, counter-colonial act. This process was contemporaneous

[303] In Egypt, Eve Troutt Powell has written about the nuances in race and racial terms, and how terms like *nubi* (Nubian), *sudani* (Sudanese), *'abid* (slave), and *'arabi* (Arab) could be used interchangeably or conflated depending on the context. Their usages and racial conceptions hardened after the mid-19th century, however, as Blackness became linked more rigidly to the Sudan, in tandem with Egypt's imperial project there. Similar but subtly nuanced histories like this can be found in many of the countries of the Arab world, including Morocco. See: Eve Troutt Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

[304] Sut Jhally and Stuart Hall, "Race, the Floating Signifier" (Northampton, MA: Media Education Foundation, 1996).

with a growing Arab nationalist movement as well as the development of local anticolonial movements throughout the Arab world, many of which came to a head in the post-WWII era. In the decolonizing era, many of the intellectual and political currents of Arab music, nourished during the colonial era, persisted and contributed to state-building projects. This latter phenomenon will be discussed more in the epilogue.

By helping to define who or what was "Arab" and why it was important, Arab musicology contributed also to racial discourses, largely predicated on Arab racial superiority in Middle Eastern and North African countries, and invoking civilized-primitive binaries by also defining certain Arabs as more legitimate than others (i.e. urban Arab culture vis-à-vis rural Bedouins). More pointedly, those who were not "Arab" were squared into other racial categories that were either not worthy of sustained discussion or consigned to marginal status. Arab musicological engagement with Berber, Bedouin, and Black musics were simultaneously statements on the legitimacy of these identities and their relative worth in a future Arab state.

Yet as with European race science, Arab and North African intellectual discourse on race was slippery and difficult to maintain. Black musicians and historical figures were alternately celebrated, ignored, or not fully acknowledged as Black, just as Black musical influences on Arab music received limited attention. In effect, for the purposes of the same Arab nationalist project mentioned above, all non-Arab genres had to be maintained as less civilized, less developed, and less advanced than Arab music—namely the urban art genres of Eastern Arab/Oriental music and Andalusi music—and so admitting any kind of mixing or mutual influence tacitly devalued their own music and civilization. "Scholarship" like Snoussi's fable of the rural Bedouin musicians and urban Andalusi music were overdetermined, caricaturized narratives that sought to problematize any notion of commonality, mixing, or transgression

between genres and ethnicities. Other accounts may have been more subtle but were at their core invested in the same segregating, racializing ideals.

Musicology was a vessel for pre-existing racial and national ideologies, and a vehicle to further entrench and establish them. This is not to say that such work was without merit, or did not also contribute to what could be called resistance narratives—by its nature, as noted, the work of colonized scholars could constitute a powerful corrective to colonial knowledge that positioned Europeans as always at the top of civilizational hierarchies. Yet it was not as simple as a colonizer-colonized binary; even as they inverted civilizational assumptions, colonized elites were in turn invested in hierarchies of race, gender, ethnicity, and class that positioned urban, educated, Francophone, male, elite Arabs at the top of their own societies. With this in mind, the next chapter will consider in more depth how these musicologists positioned Arab music in global musical hierarchies by examining their relationship to both history and science, past and future.

CHAPTER 5: UNIVERSALIZING ARAB MUSIC: PAST AND FUTURE ORIENTATIONS IN ARAB AND NORTH AFRICAN MUSICOLOGY

In his 1992 article on Tunisia's participation in the Cairo Congress of Arab Music, Tunisian ethnomusicologist Mahmoud Guettat gestured to the fact that much of Rodolphe d'Erlanger's five-volume *La Musique Arabe* (1930-1959) was published under the supervision of his Tunisian assistant Manoubi Snoussi (also spelled al-Mannubi al-Sanusi), since d'Erlanger died after the publication of the first volume, leaving Snoussi to oversee the remaining four volumes' publication. Further, Guettat writes that it is important that the overall work not be solely attributed to d'Erlanger or even Snoussi, but also to a circle of savants that served as d'Erlanger's informants, including Arab musicologists and musicians such as Ali Darwish of Syria, Iskandar Shalfun of Egypt, and Ahmad al-Wafi of Tunisia.[305] This is an important reminder that French musicologists, and Orientalist scholars in general, were only able to create their scholarship by tapping into indigenous knowledge networks and building on (or indeed, merely compiling and translating) a pre-existing trove of Arabic scholarship.

In this chapter, I will take Guettat's assertion even further: that it was not only a collaboration between French and Arab musicologists that created musical knowledge in the Middle East and North Africa, but that French musicology of Arab music would indeed not have existed or been able to develop as it did without the rich and long-standing Arabic scholarship that predated it. The arguments of this chapter thus rest on two core premises: that 20th-century scholarship on "Arab music" by Arabs and North Africans constituted a self-affirming discourse in the context of colonialism that contributed to and sustained nationalist projects in direct and indirect ways; and that by taking a longer view of the trajectory of musicological scholarship in

[305] Mahmoud Guettat, "La Tunisie dans les documents du Congrès du Caire," in *Musique Arabe: Le Congrès du Caire de 1932* (Cairo: CEDEJ, 1992), 70.

the region, it becomes clear that the "musicology" (and later "ethnomusicology") of Arab and North African musics was made in the colonial political and intellectual encounter, and if anything its roots were more "Arab" than "French."

This correlates to recent scholarship on numerous so-called scientific disciplines. As in histories of medicine, technology, etc., we must interrogate hegemonic narratives about the Western origins of bodies of scientific knowledge and with them notions of progress and advancement, especially as these were often codified as objective truth by European colonialism. Instead, "modern" sciences and knowledge tended to be forged in the interactions between different bodies of knowledge, including that of the colonized or the non-Western. This was true in musicology just as it was in medicine, yet the particularities of how this exchange occurred were unique.

Omnia El Shakry has demonstrated how Egyptians and other non-Europeans were actively involved in the development and transformation of the social sciences, and that as such European knowledge was not simply moved to and imposed on colonized subjects but was rather "refracted, deflected, or reconfigured in colonial contexts."[306] This became complicated as Europeans still often dominated claims to science and knowledge production in an imperial world, resulting in the fact that they continued to own the "means" of knowledge production, so to speak: the language (often French), the institutes and presses, and more abstractly the claims to legitimacy. Thus, when Egyptians engaged in social scientific dialogues with Europeans, they often sought to locate "internal indigenous sources of progress" as responses to European claims, or examples that ideas espoused as modern and scientific were always already present in Egyptian, Arab, and/or Muslim tradition, yet in the process "inadvertently accepted many of the

[306] Omnia El Shakry, *The Great Social Laboratory: Subjects of Knowledge in Colonial and Postcolonial Egypt* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 2.

very premises central to Western categories of thought (progress, reason, the nation-state)."[307] While El Shakry is focused here on the traditional social sciences, namely anthropology and sociology, in Egypt, a very similar phenomenon occurred in musicology—which, as I have argued, served essentially as a social science itself. Arab and North African writers who sought in any way to dialogue with Western academics and musicologists tended to accept at face value many of the basic Eurocentric premises of that scholarship, and to reproduce progress narratives that, as we have seen, continued to hierarchize society in racialized, gendered, and classed ways. Yet even within this inevitable dilemma, these writers found ways to subvert and invert European knowledge about their music.

These potentially subversive forms of Arab and North African scholarship could be both past-oriented and forward-looking. Even as they contended with and dialogued with European colonial musicology, Arab and North African scholars looked outside of the colonial present entirely to define and promote the greatness of their own civilization. In the last chapter, I outlined the ways in which Arab and North African musicology was, like European musicology, rooted in the making and reinforcement of racial hierarchies, albeit aligned with a different political project. In this chapter, we will examine its past and future orientations as a practice that was both anticolonial and counter-colonial, and that drew on an illustrious Arab past in order to realize a progressive Arab future.

This chapter will analyze the myriad ways in which Arab and North African musicologists drew on language, history, and science to respond to, challenge, appropriate, and subvert European narratives about Arab music and society. Arab scholars narrated their own music's history by drawing upon a centuries-old Arabic intellectual tradition that emphasized the music's origins in pre-Islamic Arabia, its influences by and on neighboring civilizations such as

[307] El Shakry, 5.

the Greeks and the Persians, its heroic figures, and its historical development through the medieval period—inflecting the overall scholarship with a backward-looking, past-oriented character that emphasized historic achievement more than present development. Yet it would be a mistake to characterize Arab musicology as merely past-oriented or obsessed with tradition. At the same moment, many of its scholars were also emphasizing its future by predicting and prescribing its progress and arguing for its compatibility with modern scientific methods. Such forward-looking narratives advocated for Arab music's continuing relevance and evolution, a progressive modern science rather than a dying traditional art or relic of a lost golden age.

Another strategy to rhetorically elevate the significance of Arab music, outside of narrations of its past and future, was in the language itself, including word choice and the deployment of musical categories. As discussed in previous chapters, the language of European musicology was often presumed to be universal, and such language was almost always deeply imbued with value judgments, racializations, and civilized-primitive characterizations. When musicologists from the Middle East and North Africa wrote about the musics of their own countries, in both French and Arabic, they utilized a shared vocabulary with European musicology, but sometimes inverted or altered definitions and categories to produce new meanings and new interpretations of Arab music and history.

Hence Arab and North African musicologists participated in the production of knowledge about their own music and society in ways that upended or subverted European colonial knowledge. However, it is important to think of this dialogue outside of a mere "resistance" narrative, where two oppositional poles—European and Arab—produced scholarship for two clearly defined, contentious political projects. The reality was much messier, as most musicologists and scholars were not expressly aligned with a political cause, and the positioning

of the "colonized" scholar was especially fraught. While French writers could and generally did unreflectively, uncritically engage with their subject matter from the position of colonizer, writing and rewriting colonial tropes that reinforced European superiority and Orientalist and primitivist discourses, Arab and North African writers were forced by their very position to contend with multiple competing, sometimes contradicting, discourses. This included occasionally reinforcing Western hegemonic narratives on North African society or contributing to colonial musical projects that overtly or subtly bolstered colonial control, even as the content of their knowledge, and even sometimes the very act of producing it, also held subversive potential. Most of the writers discussed here were engaged with the colonial apparatus or European scholarship in some way, whether formally or informally; some of them also went on to be a part of the state-building apparatus following independence. The fraught positions of those who were employed directly by the colonial administrations will be discussed in the first section of this chapter.

Following El Shakry, it is equally, if not more, important to think of this phenomenon of scholarly appropriation and subversion outside of a narrative of Arab musicology "borrowing from" or "coopting" European musicology for its own purposes. This narrative of the colonized strategically deploying the tools of the colonizer, often invoked in histories of academic fields and other markers of modernity, is of course useful for emphasizing colonized agency and strategy, but it can unfortunately reproduce the Eurocentric notion that such markers of modernity were birthed fully formed in Europe in the first place. As far as musicology in particular goes, this was simply not the case. An Arabic scholarly tradition in musicology, whether or not it was expressly known by this name, had existed since the medieval era, and further this scholarship continued to form the basis for much of the musicology produced about

the region in the 20th century. This included European musicology: writers like Rodolphe d'Erlanger and Henry Farmer relied almost entirely on medieval Arabic works to produce their scholarship. The idea of the European scholar "discovering" the academic subject of Arab music becomes untenable if we consider the Arab writer (whether in the 10th century or in the 20th century) as a scholarly actor himself. Hence, while out of necessity I will refer to Arab scholars' relationships to European scholarship, I urge the reader to keep in mind the possibilities and potentials of an Arabic scholarly field entirely outside of European musicology and modernity. The modern was always constructed in the encounter between the colonizing West and the societies it exploited, and was never the provenance of Europe alone. We are only left to engage with the hegemonic narrative that, in the past as well as the present, continues to locate modernity's origins there.

Arabs and North Africans in the Colonial Apparatus

Before fully considering how Arab and North African visions circumvented or subverted the colonial production of knowledge, we must acknowledge the ways in which many Arabs and North Africans actively participated in the colonial project itself. Of course, participating in colonial institutions did not necessarily equate to being "collaborators": individuals took jobs, benefited from resources, befriended officials, and produced scholarship and art for colonial initiatives for their own purposes, some of which helped colonial goals and some of which did not. It is possible to take a more complex view of colonized participation in colonial projects. Here, I draw on Vicente Diaz's work on colonialism in Guam and Adria Imada's study of hula circuits in Hawaii and American Empire, both of which build off of Diaz's conceptualization of

the "counter-colonial" as a useful lens for understanding colonized action.[308] The colonized subject has often been confined to acting within a simple binary: either "pro-colonial" (collaborator) or "anti-colonial" (usually nationalist). Diaz and Imada gesture to the myriad ways in which colonized initiatives or participation in colonial institutions did not necessarily have to fall within this binary; rather, they could act in "counter-colonial" ways, ways that circumvented or existed outside of the colonial project altogether. By conceptualizing the counter-colonial, we can resist the overdetermination of colonial power and significance, and recognize the agency and histories of peoples that happened to be colonized at a particular time. Colonized actors could variously engage in activity that was counter-colonial, pro-colonial, and/or anti-colonial, and were not always confined to only one. Yet by acknowledging the possibility of counter-colonial action we can access a deeper understanding of what it meant for these North African subjects to participate in colonial projects.[309]

In this section we will consider two actors who worked within the colonial system in Morocco: Si Azouaou Mammeri, an Algerian painter and amateur musician who became employed by the French Protectorate, and Driss ben Abdelali El Idrissi, a Moroccan musicologist. Each of them contributed to the colonial project in different ways and for different purposes. As we will see, sometimes the very work undid itself—it had the potential to lay bare the paradox at the core of the colonial project: as a liberal imperial project facilitates the participation of a select group of colonized and racialized subjects, it simultaneously underscores the inequality and exclusion that props up its rule.

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[308] Vicente M. Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010); Adria Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

[309] Adria Imada employs "counter-colonial" in *Aloha America* to describe Hawaiian women who worked as performers on hula exhibits and tours in the late 19th to mid-20th century. In a poignant chapter, she outlines how hula performers in U.S. imperial tour stops collected their own counter-archives of ephemera and reversed the colonial gaze by leaving written records of their observations. These women were not collaborators, but agents in their own right who undertook these tours for their own purposes unrelated to the colonial project.

Si Azouaou Mammeri

Azouaou Mammeri—an accomplished painter, music scholar, and inspector of native arts for the Moroccan Protectorate—perhaps exemplified the liminal position of North African scholars and artists better than anyone. Mammeri, who we first introduced in Chapter 1, was of an elite Kabyle Muslim background, and was born in Algeria in 1890 and first came to Morocco in the 1910s. He acquired a position as a professor of drawing at the Collège Musulman in Rabat, and in 1928 exhibited his paintings at the Fair of Rabat organized by the Protectorate administration.

By this time, Mammeri's paintings had generated quite a bit of excitement in Morocco. Jules Borély, the chief of the Service des Beaux Arts, purchased one of them, only to discover shortly afterward that the Resident-General, Théodore Steeg, had wanted to buy it for his Paris apartment. Indeed, Steeg was so interested in Mammeri's work that Borély quoted him as saying, upon seeing the painting, "There is the veritable renaissance of native art!" It was significant that both the head of the fine arts service and the head administrator in Morocco were interested in Mammeri's art; it is even more significant when we consider the fact that, though Algerian, Mammeri painted in what could be called a European, or even Orientalist, style. As mentioned, this led to Borély expounding in an administrative letter on Mammeri's fascinating liminal position, as a "native" Muslim artist who could instruct his fellow natives in European art. And as we saw, Mammeri was instead hired as an Inspector of Native Art in the Service des Arts Indigènes, first in Rabat and then in Marrakech.

For the rest of his career in the French Protectorate, Azouaou Mammeri played an important role in arts and music administration, even as he continued to paint and exhibit his works. In 1931, he traveled to Paris with Prosper Ricard to help oversee the Moroccan Pavilion

at the Colonial Exposition. According to Ricard's personal notes, Mammeri met him at the Gare de Lyon upon his arrival and they spent the day together, with the latter giving him a report on the state of the souk at the Pavilion.[310] In 1932, Mammeri attended multiple meetings with Ricard as he put together the Moroccan ensemble for the Cairo Congress of Arab Music, including a meeting in Rabat in January 1932 with Ricard, Alexis Chottin, and the Ben Ghabrit brothers going over the personnel and speeches for the Congress delegation. In February 1932, Ricard traveled to Marrakech, Mammeri's city of residence, to meet with El Glaoui, where Ricard noted that Mammeri updated him on the musical society Comité des Amis de Musique Marocaine de Marrakech, for which Mammeri served as secretary. Ricard also dined at Mammeri's house, where they discussed his paintings (which Ricard privately noted, "curious, these drawings are not bad but they do not interest me…"), and Mammeri's younger son Abdelmajid joined the group briefly and impressed Ricard with his ability to converse in Berber.[311]

Azouaou Mammeri was thus both intimately acquainted with top arts administrators like Prosper Ricard and actively involved in musical endeavors, including the amateur music society in Marrakech. In 1939, he gave two speeches at the Fez Congress of Moroccan Music, one on the makeup of the Andalusian orchestra in Morocco, and another on the *chikhate* or popular singers in Marrakech.[312] Thus he was present at most of the Protectorate's major artistic and musical events, and earned his living as an arts inspector. His status as an Algerian and a Muslim was often remarked upon, and he formed a part of the small cadre of elite Algerian officials employed by the French, which also included the Ben Ghabrit brothers and Mohamed Ben Smaïl

[310] Prosper Ricard, "Exposition coloniale de Paris (Août)," Archives privées Prosper Ricard 11AP/298, Archives Musée du Quai Branly.
[311] Prosper Ricard, "Caire: Congrès du musique arabe (Mars 1932)," Archives privées Prosper Ricard 11AP/302, Archive Musée du Quai Branly.
[312] *1er Congrès de Musique Marocaine: Fès 6-10 Mai 1939* (Casablanca: Imprimeries Réunies, 1939).

in Tlemcen. Yet his own position and orientation towards his work seems to have differed little from that of his French colleagues: just as he painted Orientalist street scenes, he promoted Andalusi music and co-organized representations of Morocco for events in the metropole and abroad. Mammeri was thus in a fraught position as both colonized subject and colonial official; his participation in colonial initiatives around Arab arts and music can be simultaneously read as self-affirmation and paternalist preservation.

Driss ben Abdelali El Idrissi

Driss ben Abdelali El Idrissi was a Moroccan scholar and professor at the Conservatory of Moroccan Music in Rabat, teaching *chant* or singing, and was the author of two texts on music that appeared in the 1930s. Like Mammeri, he served as a delegate at the Fez Congress of Moroccan Music, speaking on two separate panels about the Moroccan popular genre *aïta*. Besides for this information, El Idrissi's background is fairly murky, and what we know of his earlier life is limited to his own self-representation in his books. Yet for a brief time in the interwar period, he played a major role in both French colonial projects and Moroccan musicology.

His most comprehensive work was *Kashf al-Ghita' 'an sir al-musiqa wa nita'ij al-ghina'* ("Uncovering the Secrets of Music and the Results of Song," 1939), an overview of musical life in the Protectorate. In it, El Idrissi outlined the concerts, conservatories, articles, and radio broadcasts that were at the time dedicated to Moroccan and Arab music. It also included portraits and descriptions of important musicians of the day and rare photographs of concerts and of conservatory classrooms from around Morocco.

In the introduction to *Kashf al-Ghita*, El Idrissi invoked the names of the great Muslim scholars of the past who had written about music, including Al-Kindi, Al-Farabi, and Ibn Sina, and wrote: "I aspire to inscribe my name following those whom History has recorded, and of which she has retained the memory of their great qualities of heart and mind."[313] He went on to say that progress in the realm of knowledge, both scientific and artistic, was key to the advancement of a nation and to the unity of that nation—essentially, that it was a patriotic act. Without it, he said, a nation cannot aspire to "civilization" and risks being erased from history.

Interestingly, he made no mention in the introduction of Morocco itself, despite it serving as the entire setting of his book, and instead referred only to a broad pan-Arab, pan-Islamic geography. If anything, his narrative here is more Arab nationalist than Moroccan nationalist. El Idrissi invoked the names of great Arab and Muslim scholars from across the globe, those who already formed a canon of Arabic intellectual genealogy, including al-Farabi and al-Kindi, both 9th-century scholars based in Baghdad. He continued this pan-Arab narrative when he, like other musicologists we have discussed, recalled the birth of Arab song, "hidâ," in the pre-Islamic Arabian desert.

Of course, many of the musicologists here were supported in some way by colonial institutions, including those who went on to play roles in the post-independence state apparatus. El Boudali Safir was employed by the French-run Radio-Algérie from the 1940s to independence, and contributed articles to the colonial newspaper *Documents Algériens*. Manoubi Snoussi owed the beginnings of his long musicological career to Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger, who hired him as his assistant in 1920 and designated him his special secretary in 1931.[314] It would be too simplistic to attribute colonized subjects' participation and employment in the

[313] Moulay Idris ben Abdelali El Idrissi, *Kashf al-Ghita* (Rabat: Al-Taba'a al-Wataniyya, 1939), 2.
[314] Mourad Sakli, "Avant-Propos," in *Initiation à la musique tunisienne, Volume 1: Musique Classique*, by Manoubi Snoussi (Sidi Bou Said: Centre des Musiques Arabes et Méditerranéennes, 2004), 7-8.

colonial apparatus as collaboration or being "pro" colonial or even pro-French; rather, for a certain strata of educated and elite North Africans, working with French colonial officials and scholars provided the greatest opportunity for success and advancement. The fact that many of these elite North Africans wrote about, promoted, and disseminated Arab music as a discourse and practice also complicates the narrative. It could be argued that writing about Arab music from within the colonial apparatus signified a counter-colonial act: something self-affirming, often narrativized around the material fact of colonialism entirely, even as it was implicitly underwritten by colonial financial or professional support. Arab and North African discourses on Arab music, even as they echoed some of the more admiring European literature, had the potential to subvert European musical narratives and visualize Arab identity and nation.

The Sounds of Arab Music: Musical Knowledge and Subversion

Musical categories and language—pitch, tonality, rhythm, harmony, melody, structure, etc.—are often taken to be absolute or universal, by musicologists and musicians alike. However, in recent years many ethnomusicologists have broken down this assumption and demonstrated the contingent and often imperial ways in which musical knowledge was actually constructed. As Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan write, "Euro-western musical knowledge itself conveys imperial power and intent. It does so because its very conception and form belong to the epistemological orders and historical localities of its various emergences."[315] As indicated in earlier chapters, European musicologists like Alexis Chottin were working within an intellectual framework that was entirely supported by empire: imperial expansion brought them into contact with their colonized subjects, and made the musical topics they engaged with subjects of

[315] Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan, eds., *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 7.

difference that required hierarchical mappings. "Rhythm" became a coded signifier for the primitive, as did pentatonicism and oral (rather than written) traditions; "harmony" and "polyphony" stood in for notions of civilization, advanced culture, racial supremacy. Even seemingly thornier issues like the microtonal nature of Arab scales ("more notes") or the "bitonal" singing of Berber dancers described by Chottin in his *Tableau de la musique marocaine* had to be squared within a European musical worldview that continued to map onto global racial hierarchies and civilized-primitive binaries.

Yet it is worth remembering that all musical knowledge is constructed, down to the very question of what constitutes "music" as opposed to "noise," "sound," "speech," etc. There is an "outside" of musicology that has been all but erased in most apprehensions of global music, including ethnomusicology to this day. Kofi Agawu sums this up most effectively when he writes about the erasure of alternative musical concepts on the African continent:

> More tragically perhaps, we have overlooked or undervalued the creative potential of a number of musical resources, resources that have been consigned to the margins at various schools of music since tonality took center stage as the desired modern language. Various uses of nontempered scales, the possibilities opened up by overtone singing, echo-chamber effects associated with water drumming, subtle explorations of the boundaries between speech and song… and the achievement of closure not through stepwise motion or a juvenile slowing down but by the use of melodic leaps and the injection of rhythmic life: these and numerous others constitute a rich set of stylistic opportunities for the modern composer. We await an Africa-originated resistance to the easy victories that tonal harmony has won on the continent since the 1840s.[316]

The sheer range of possibilities for what could be considered, studied as, utilized as "music" has been largely lost to the colonizing forces of European "tonality" that came with imperial expansion. Yet it is no doubt useful to conceive of these possibilities—as Agawu notes here, to create new knowledge and new music, or, as in our purposes, to simply and effectively critique the constructed nature of musical knowledge that is often presumed to be universal.

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[316] Kofi Agawu, "Tonality as a Colonizing Force in Africa," in Radano and Olanuyan, eds., *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 351.

Thus even as a broadly shared vocabulary existed between European and Arab musicologists in the colonial period, it is worth taking note of the nuanced alternative forms of musical knowledge-making that Arab and North African musicologists practiced. The challenging or reappropriation of musical vocabulary that was presumed to be universal constituted a subversive act on the part of scholars writing from colonized positions, and most forcefully so when this was done in the name of elevating the status of Arab music, and with it Arab identity, nation, and culture.

In his introduction to *Kashf al Ghita*, El Idrissi recounted the birth of Arab song in the pre-Islamic deserts of Arabia, as noted a commonly invoked narrative in Arab musicology. Like others, he noted that *hida* (a pre-Islamic poetic genre) aligned with the walk of the camel in the cross-desert caravans, helping to set the rhythmic pace of the journey. Interestingly, he went on to describe this early Arabic versification of *hida* as "harmony." Here, it is worthwhile to reproduce El Idrissi's passages in both French and Arabic (the book is principally in Arabic, with a French translation of the preface):

> *L'harmonie incluse dans la versification arabe, la structure de leurs vers, la sonorité de leurs rimes, sont l'indice certain de leur goût inné pour la musique.*[317]
> *Wa ana fi ansijam awzan al-sh'ar al-'arabi wa tanasiq tafa'alihu fi 'adad hurufuha al-mutiharika wa-l-sakina wa tawafiq wa t'aqibuha bil fi tanasib ajza'ihu warabib qawafih al-dalila 'ala talak al-musiqa al-tab'aiyya al-fitiriyya.*[318]

The use of the word "harmony" (*harmonie* in French; *ansijam* in Arabic) here is interesting for a few reasons. In English, of course, "harmony" can have multiple metaphorical and literal meanings. Musically, it more literally refers to combinations of different notes or tones that produce a consonant, or agreeable, sonic effect—such as major chords—and as noted was broadly understood to be the provenance of Western musics, since Arab music lacked the

[317] El Idrissi, *Kashf al Ghita*, 6.
[318] El Idrissi, *Kashf al Ghita*, 11.

concept of chords and polyphony. Metaphorically, of course, it can indicate social or cosmic groupings of any kind—things that simply "go well together," e.g. "peoples living in harmony." Yet here, El Idrissi used "harmony" in a more novel way to describe early Arabic poetry: harmony that is based not on pitch groupings, but that is found in verse structure, rhyme sounds, poetic meter (*awzan al-sh'ar al-'arabi*), etc. In Arabic, El Idrissi used another term, *tanasiq*, that can also be translated as "harmony," or "consistency," to refer to the interaction of the syllables and letters. In this way he endorsed the idea that harmony could have multivalent definitions, even within the context of music and poetry, and that it could with certainty be located in early Arabic poetry that pre-dated harmony of the more common musical sort, while also implying such poetic harmony lent itself to complex musical potential.

El Idrissi was not the only Arab writer to invoke new or revamped meanings for the word "harmony," in ways that specifically subverted traditional European understandings of and claims to that musical phenomenon. Wadia Sabra, the Lebanese musicologist, made many strong claims in his writings about the origins of Western musical phenomena in early Arab music. In a 1941 booklet, he contended that the development of "harmony" as it was understood in the modern sense had occurred much earlier than presumed.[319] He wrote, "The fundamental laws of harmony would find themselves reinforced if it were demonstrated that they are the basis of all Oriental music."[320] Citing medieval Arab theoreticians al-Farabi, Safiyud-din, and Mohammed ibn Abdulhamid al-Ladiqi, Sabra discussed the concept of "consonance" as an analog to harmony, namely the notion that melodic consonance (two notes played successively, as opposed to harmonic consonance, two notes played at the same time), a significant concept in Arab music, abided by identical principles as harmonic consonance, and long before harmony

[319] Wadia Sabra, *La musique arabe base de l'art occidental* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1941), 5-7.
[320] Sabra, *La musique arabe base de l'art occidental*, 5-7.

developed in Western music. Arab music theory had established the melodic consonance of the major and minor third, staples of modern Western music, in the 14th century, an era when Western theoreticians had yet to discover them and still abided by the Greek system of intervals. This notion of melodic consonance, Sabra wrote, had been lost with the introduction of the even-tempered scale, which had altered the exact pitch relationships between notes. Yet by underscoring the fact that medieval Arab music theory had supported and indeed birthed melodic consonance (and with it centerpieces of modern harmony like the major third) Sabra advanced the theory that Arab music had predated and given birth to Western harmony.

Mustafa Sfar's speech to a largely French audience in Tunis also sought to, if not upend, then at least call into question certain Western musical concepts. He admitted that Europeans tended to upon first listen find monophonic Arab music, lacking in harmony and polyphony, to be monotone and "sometimes even exasperating."[321] Yet in turn, Arabs, "having been elevated in their taste for melodic music, judge the polyphonic music of the Europeans less melodious, deafening, disagreeable, and, that which is most extraordinary: monotone." That *both* Europeans and Arabs being exposed to the others' music could find it monotone—a designation that at first glance would seem to more readily be attributed to the Arabs' monophonic or homophonic music—subverted expectations about the universality and inherent complexity of Europeans' polyphonic music. This recalled French musicologist Jules Rouanet's claim that Arabs found polyphonic music to be a "cacophony," and Spanish musicologist Patrocinio García Barriuso's judgment that the addition of Western instruments to modern Arab orchestras resulted in an overall effect that was "too loud."[322] In effect, the simultaneous playing of multiple competing, clashing instruments in the European orchestra, even as they formed "harmonies" audible and

[321] Sfar, 3.
[322] Jules Rouanet, "La chanson populaire arabe en Algérie," in *La Revue Musicale* 5:5 (March 1 1905), 166; Patrocinio García Barriuso, *Ecos del Magrib*, 45.

agreeable to Europeans, was more like noise to Arabs, and the lack of a clear and beautiful melodic line made it monotone.

While multiple musicologists of different nationalities pointed out that European music was not necessarily synonymous with universal musical perfection, Sfar's point that Arabs found it not only noisy, but monotone, is especially radical, as these have both been claims levied by Europeans against Arab music. By denoting how the use of harmony and multiple voices could actually obscure the melody and render the music something more approaching "noise" (i.e. "not music"), Arab observers like Sfar urged for the inversion of cultural hierarchies and for questioning the stability of universal musical categories that positioned Western art and music as naturally superior and inherently more advanced.

Manoubi Snoussi similarly inverted expectations regarding the supposed supremacy of harmony in *Initiation à la musique tunisienne*. Explaining its lack in Tunisian music, he wrote:

> What is needed first, is not to expect to find in this music the polyphony that one can be accustomed to: a sequence of chords or superimposed sounds, to enhance the melodic line. The irrational degrees and artificial nuances, so abundant in Oriental music, will hardly accommodate themselves to the rigorous discipline of Western music; and anyway the enthusiasts of Oriental music, purely and solely melodic, do not seem yet ready to sacrifice these nuances, sometimes so subtle, for the profit of a systematized harmonization.[323]

He added that it was unnecessary for Western listeners to say that true music must have harmony and orchestration, because Tunisians will respond that their music, even stripped of "these quite powerful means of expression," provokes "incontestable aesthetic emotions" for its Arab and Muslim listeners. In this way he provided a defense for Tunisian and Arab music's lack of harmony: admitting it could be musically powerful, he "provincialized harmony," so to speak, by defining it simply as a series of superimposed sounds and one that was both unnecessary in

[323] Snoussi, *Initiation*, 13.

Arab music and something that would destroy its rich nuances and sophisticated melodic elements.

Snoussi further gestured to the fact that European composers had long been interested in so-called "Oriental music" and had borrowed from it to enrich their compositions. Drawn by its "numerous and varied modal combinations" and "ingeniously arranged rhythmic formulas," these composers also sought in Oriental music an escape from the "overly rigid" 12-tempered scale system of Western music, finding it in the 24-quarter-tone octave of the Arabs: "In other words, these avant-garde Western composers play in their way with a technique, or rather a scale, of sounds, put in place by many generations of Oriental musicians."[324] Things had come full circle, Snoussi claimed, in the fact that Western musicians now sought to escape their own rigidly systematized music by drawing inspiration from Arab music's richly nuanced tonal regime. By characterizing Western music as rigid and something one needed to "escape," Snoussi again subverted expectations about that art form's assumed superiority—and simultaneously depicted Arab music as a sophisticated and revered art form in the world of music.

Another possible means of challenging European narratives on music history was to invoke Western and Arab musics' relative relationships to ancient Greek music, something Snoussi did. Discussing the Arab musical practice of *tarakib*, or mixing genres or modes, Snoussi noted its roots in Greek musical tradition, as well as the modern Western musician's lack of comprehension of this practice:

> This question of *tarakib*, or mixes of genres, which brings us back to the musical doctrines of the ancient Greeks, is one of the most difficult notions to define for a European musician in our era. How could he not find it strange to see so much importance attached to a process that is reduced in short for him to simple modulations? Modulations that he finds, moreover, quite strange in themselves,

[324] Snoussi, *Initiation*, 13.

> because they are designed in spite of the rules on the permitted modulations, to which he is used to.[325]

By noting that modal mixing was common in Greek music, the presumed progenitor of both Arab and Western music, Snoussi implied here that Arabs had preserved this concept whereas Europeans had not. Instead, European musicians would confuse modal mixing with simple modulation, the moving from one key to another, despite the fact that "permitted" Western modulations differed substantively from the rules governing "permitted" modal modulations. For Arabs, meanwhile, the rules for modulations between modes were so established as to be both obligatory and intuitive; Snoussi went on to say that any Arab musician who was asked to play a modal scale would instead execute a series of musical phrases or *taqsim* improvisations that would illustrate it in practice, demonstrating his ingrained mastery of these rules. This Arab mastery of an ancient musical theory, and the implication that Europeans had "lost" some of this knowledge with the advance of modern Western music, was part of a larger narrative that Arab musicologists often cited: that Arab music was valuable in part due to its deep relationship with Greek music, not just as inheritor, but also as progenitor.

"Arab Music, the Basis of Western Art": Arabs, Greeks, and the True Origins of Western Music

In 1944, twelve years after the Cairo Congress of Arab Music, another musical conference was planned in Beirut, dubbed the Universal Musical Congress (*al-Mu'tamr al-musiqi al-'alimi*). While it came out of similar impulses and involved some of the same actors as the Cairo Congress, its unit of study was not "Arab music," but the idea of "universal music," belying a much more global orientation. According to the published aims of the Congress, it sought to follow up on the work of two important musical theorists: Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger

[325] Snoussi, *Initiation,* 40.

and Wadia Sabra. It first wanted to call attention to d'Erlanger's *La Musique Arabe* (1930-1959), the most recent volume of which had covered the works of Arab scholars of the Middle Ages from 900 to 1500. As the Congress pamphlet wrote:

> This publication decisively proved that it was the Arabs to whom the foundation of the marvellous homophonic music, which will play a primordial role in the Musical art of the future, was due; and that it was also they who were the initiators of the Major tonality and the creators of the Physical scale, the basis of moderne [*sic*] harmony and of all occidental music.[326]

The pamphlet went on to emphasize the second inspiration for the Congress, Wadia Sabra, who had spent almost two decades studying French and European music in Paris, before returning to Lebanon in 1910 when he began to research "the science of harmony." During that time, he independently reached the same results on the history of Arab music and harmony as had d'Erlanger:

> Thanks to further studies, M. Sabra proved that the occidental science of harmony is derived from the fundamental rules established by the great Arab Scholars. After thirty years of research in the domain of Arabic music, he discovered the true Unit of Measure of Musical Intervals which had been lacking till then.[327]

Hence the Congress was constructed around the premise that Arab music had not only influenced, but indeed served as the very basis for Western music and its core musical principles. This revolutionary concept challenged some of the central assumptions of French, and even Arab, musicology: harmony had long been considered a fundamentally Western invention, as traditional and contemporary Arab music were characterized as being monophonic, based on single lines or melodies, lacking in harmony altogether. This upending of assumptions about musical technique had broader political implications, as well. It positioned Arab civilization as far more significant in global history, namely in its claim that Arab musical science predated and

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[326] *Congrès Musical Universel* (Beirut: Mutab'a sharka al-tabam wal-nashr, 1944), 4. The pamphlet was published in three languages, English, French, and Arabic; direct quotes here are taken from the English.
[327] *Congrès Musical Universel*, 5.

then gave birth to Western classical music, now considered to be the most "advanced" form of music in the world. In an imperial world, this claim obviously had special purchase; even more, it constituted a radical subversion of colonial narratives of knowledge-making and progress at the very moment that Orientalist studies of Arab musics in colonized spaces were proliferating, and at the very moment that debates were being held around what scientific techniques Western music could "give" to Arab musics to help it advance.

Another dialogue occurring in musicological circles around Arab music and its history was the question of its relationship to ancient Greek music, which itself was considered to be the basis for much of Western art music. Many of the European narratives on this musical history mapped onto broader histories of Arab vs. Western civilization, and the rise-and-fall narrative of the Islamic world: this view held that ancient Greek musical technique, like much of Greek philosophy, letters, and sciences, had been largely lost to Europe by the medieval period and "Dark Ages." Meanwhile, as Muslim society was entering its "golden age," they inherited much of the knowledge, and musical modes, of the Greeks, which in turn great Arab and Muslim scholars developed and advanced. Once Europe entered the Renaissance and began its long, steady rise, it rediscovered Greek and Roman knowledge, even as the Arab and Muslim world had begun to "lose" it in their period of decadence. This narrative celebrated the influence of the ancient Greeks on modern European art, and while acknowledging Arab-Islamic civilization's role in this history ultimately minimized it as a kind of intermediary between two periods of advanced "Western" civilization. Musically, this was supported by the fact that Greek modes did find their way into medieval and Renaissance European music, as in Gregorian chant; however, by the modern period European classical music had largely moved away from a modal system and was largely built on a major-minor key system instead.

One of the leading European voices in the musicological debate on Arab music's relationship to Greek music was Henry George Farmer (1882-1965), a University of Glasgow scholar and the only British delegate to the Cairo Congress of Arab Music. His doctoral thesis at Glasgow was entitled "A History of Arabian Music to the XIIIth Century" (1926), and much of his scholarly work argued for the significance of Arab music's historical influence on European music, utilizing his expertise on this very early period of Arab musical history.[328]

In 1925, he produced a pamphlet entitled "Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence," which had come out of a lecture he delivered at the Glasgow University Oriental Society in 1923.[329] Earlier in 1925, he had published an essay in the *Musical Standard* called "Is European Musical Theory Indebted to the Arabs?" (for which the answer was, unreservedly, yes). In great historical detail, Farmer outlined how political contact between the Arab world and Europe had existed since the 8th century, and how Arab literary and intellectual influence on Europe began as early as the 10th century. "It was inevitable that Europe should find this new spirit arousing her from the heavy slumber of the Dark Ages," he wrote.[330] Specifically, Farmer also countered the claim that Arab music had itself been largely borrowed from Persian and Byzantine (Greek) music. While these civilizations did influence them, "the Arabs outdid their masters" due in part to the superiority of Arab culture.

Throughout "Historical Facts," Farmer also engaged in a secondary debate with Kathleen Schlesinger, a British musicologist specializing in the history of instruments who served as the curator of musical instruments at the British Museum. Schlesinger had apparently taken issue with his *Musical Standard* article, namely his contention that the Arabs were responsible for

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[328] Israel J. Katz, *Henry George Farmer and the First International Congress of Arab Music (Cairo 1932)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 39-58.
[329] Henry George Farmer, *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (London: William Reeves Bookseller Limited, 1930), v.
[330] Farmer, 7.

European musical theory, and instead insisted on the Greek origins of European music. Farmer responded by pointing out that references to music and musicians were abundant in pre-Islamic Arabia, so it was inconceivable that they did not already possess some sort of systematized music, and erroneous to believe they had simply borrowed "music" from the Greeks and Persians. Farmer acknowledged Schlesinger's scholarly talent, and said, "If I am somewhat critical of Miss Schlesinger's opinions, I am, more often, wondering what is perhaps the 'accepted opinion' among musicologists to-day."[331] Hence he tacitly indicated a wider European musicological view that downplayed the achievements and contributions of the Arabs, while positioning himself as a dissenting voice to this view, backed up by his extensive research in Arabic historical texts.

Between the 1920s and 1940s, Farmer corresponded occasionally with Wadia Sabra; their relationship was such that Sabra's family sent Farmer a notice of his death in 1952.[332] Sabra was clearly impressed with Farmer's work, and in 1941 he took Farmer's thesis a few steps further in his *La musique arabe base de l'art occidental*, arguing that Arab music was indeed the basis of Western music. "In the great European musical centers, they like to take the history of music as beginning with the ancient Greeks," Sabra observed. "What justifies this habit and what is Greek music?"[333] He went on to quote French composer Prudent Pruvost who claimed that the Greeks "gathered from the Orient the natural scale (the major)," and hence implied that it was not Europeans who had discovered the major scale.

Sabra added he was not alone in this seemingly controversial view. He gathered evidence from multiple European musicologists that gestured to the existence of major scales in Arab

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[331] Farmer, ix.
[332] Henry George Farmer q380 Item 3, MS Farmer collection (University of Glasgow Special Collections online catalog).
[333] Wadia Sabra, *La musique arabe base de l'art occidental*, 3.

music and the absence of such in medieval European music. In a relatively short booklet, Sabra exhaustively drew on the scholarship of contemporary European musicologists, medieval Arab scholars, and ancient Greek writers to prove his contention that Arab music, in fact, and not Greek music, gave modern European music much of its core technique and theory. He discussed not only modes, intervals, and scales, but also instruments: citing Farmer, Sabra pointed out how before the lute (*oud*), the tambour, and the guitar were introduced to Western Europeans, European minstrels had only used zithers and harps—instruments without ligatures, or fixed and measured tuning systems. It was only when they acquired these ligatured instruments from the Arabs that their own musical theory had the capacity to advance. Again, this was a subversive inversion of colonialist understandings of music and history, one that positioned Arab and Muslim cultures as "advanced" and in the role of historical leaders.

Sabra also cited the Turkish musicologist Raouf Yekta Bey's study of Turkish music, which noted that it was al-Farabi, the medieval Islamic scholar, who had given Greek names to the notes of the Greek fundamental scale. While al-Farabi's origins were likely Persian or Turkic, he lived and worked in Abbasid Baghdad and wrote in Arabic, and thus could be claimed as part of a broader Arab-Islamic tradition.[334] Hence, what had been taken by Europeans as a relic of musical technique and knowledge from the ancient Hellenic era was in fact named and modified by a medieval Islamic interlocutor.

Sabra concluded his study by stating, "It will thus be suggestible that Arab music is given the place of honor that is its due, and that the great musical centers of Europe proclaim Arab theory as the true basis of modern music."[335] He went on to say that "our modest Lebanese conservatory will then become a new 'Villa Medici' that, from the Orient, will transmit to the

[334] As briefly noted earlier, Egyptian musicologist Mahmoud Ahmed El-Hefny edited and translated al-Farabi's *Kitab al-Musiqa al-Kabir* (Big Book of Music).
[335] Sabra, 32.

West this Arab traditional music that the illustrious masters have bequeathed us." This positions Sabra himself, along with his institution, the Lebanese National Conservatory, as the leader in the movement he has proposed to revive Arab music; even as he proclaims it "modest," his sizable ambition for the school is revealed when he refers to it as a new "Villa Medici," the center of a new Renaissance.

European Renaissance imagery was not uncommon in narratives on Arab music and art, but Sabra's position from Beirut did differentiate him slightly from those Arab musicologists writing from North Africa.[336] Lebanon had already developed a "cosmopolitan" reputation in the first few decades of its post-WWI creation; Sabra himself was an Arab Christian who had been educated in Paris and studied with premier French musicologist Albert Lavignac. Lebanese Arabs had a sometimes complicated relationship to the rest of the Arab world; this was especially true of the Christian (Maronite, Greek Orthodox, or Greek Catholic) Lebanese communities. Arab nationalism was sometimes perceived to be a Muslim project, one that excluded Christians, and hence some Lebanese identified more with non-Arab racial identities, such as Phoenician or Ottoman. Yet there were also strong Arab nationalist currents in Lebanon and amongst Lebanese writers living in other Arab countries. Sabra clearly identified as Arab; yet his relationship to Europe, and his close connections with French musicologists and scholars, also shifted his positioning and allowed him to engage in debates about "Arab music" in a different way. It also positioned him on, if not wholly equal, then something approaching equal footing to his European colleagues more so than those writing from North Africa.

As for Lebanon's relationship to North Africa, many writers have claimed that scholars, politicians, and the public alike in the Mashriq had little awareness of what was happening in the

[336] See: Elizabeth Matsushita, "From Kabylia to Marrakech: Art, Orientalism, and the Transcolonial Career of Azouaou Mammeri," forthcoming article.

Maghreb, and faraway Morocco, especially as cities like Cairo and Beirut remained long-standing centers of Arabic print culture, though it is debatable to what extent this was actually true. Amin al-Rihani, a Lebanese-American poet and writer and a Christian, published a book called *Morocco* in 1940 that promoted Arab cooperation with the Francoist Spanish Protectorate. Based on his travels in the Spanish Zone, he echoed Francoist endorsements of a joint Hispano-Arab culture, proclaimed that all Moroccans were Arabs, and even said that "Berberism" was actually a colonial invention.[337] As Eric Calderwood has argued, in this historical moment, al-Rihani rejected the French colonial invention of "Berberism" while accepting the Spanish colonial invention of "Hispano-Arab culture," a useful construct for Spanish rule in Morocco, which in turn allowed him to frame al-Andalus and Morocco as Arab and not Muslim: "It also enables al-Rihani to stake out a place for himself in a cultural legacy that ties together Morocco, al-Andalus, and the Levant."[338] While the history of interaction between Spain and North Africa, and the shared Arab inheritance of al-Andalus, were invoked in histories across the Arab world, the contemporary and complex cultures of the Maghreb were largely ignored by writers in the Mashriq, except as they served useful narratives for broader Arab nationalism.

In Morocco, while the French attempted to minimize Arab nationalism and proactively promoted Berber culture, the Spanish derived colonial legitimacy from "Hispano-Arab culture": the promotion of the Arab history of al-Andalus and the resulting shared legacy of Spaniards and Moroccans. A major actor in this project was the Spanish musicologist and priest Patrocinio García Barriuso, who served as a delegate to the Fez Congress of Moroccan Music and left an extensive written account of it. In his writings, he provocatively claimed that Moroccan music was *not* Arab music at all; that it was, in fact, Western, and even Spanish. For him, Moroccan

[337] Eric Calderwood, *Colonial al-Andalus: Spain and the Making of Modern Moroccan Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2018), 192.
[338] Calderwood, 205.

music was produced in al-Andalus from the interaction between Muslim Moors and Spanish Christian and Jewish populations; and that this genealogy was evident not only in the extant song collections of al-Andalus but also in "the melodic and rhythmic characteristics," which are "clearly revealed as Western."[339] He then proceeded to delineate all of the differences between "Oriental" and "Occidental" Arab music.

While like Sabra, García Barriuso extolled the historical significance of Arab and Moroccan music, he claimed it as part of the *Spanish* legacy, and more broadly Western Europe. This unique colonial inversion of Arab music history served a political end, and further complicated the discursive geography of the Arab world, culture, and music. As a result, the Spanish colonial narrative represents a distinctive "third" position that shared elements with both Arab nationalist and French and European colonial discourses. We see this demonstrated again in García Barriuso's description of Berber performers at the Fez Congress of Moroccan Music; no doubt their inclusion in the program represented the event's orientation as a French imaginary of Morocco, which the Spanish delegate found unnecessary and even distasteful. As will be discussed, for him, Berber music was not really music. In this he was fully in agreement with Arab and North African musicological attitudes towards the music of Berbers and other non-Arab "primitives," who were routinely overlooked, dismissed, or treated as inferior. This presented itself as a necessary side effect of the vaunting of "Arab music" in both Spanish and Arab discourse.

Arab musicologists had a complicated relationship with their own music's relationship to Greek music. Almost every Arab music history contained some reference to the influence of Greek music—and also, often, Persian music—but the degree to which Arab music truly owed

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[339] Patrocinio García Barriuso, *La Música Hispano-Musulmana en Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950), chapter 2.

its character to these precedents was up for debate. While legitimate scholarly debate over the influences and interactions of ancient Greek music with early Arab music was possible, this question held fraught implications in the imperial 20th century, for the fact that ancient Greek music and civilization had been emphatically claimed and coopted as the main progenitor of "Western civilization" by Europeans. As a result any argument about its relationship to Arab music automatically became a statement on the Arab world's relationship to the West, as well as its significance in the arc of world history.

Many Arab scholars acknowledged the debt that Arab music owed to Greek music, echoing the mainstream narrative of much of the European academy. El Boudali Safir quoted the French musicologist Francisco Salvador Daniel and proclaimed Arab music as the "daughter of Greek music," and wrote that Greek modes were transmitted to the Arabs at the same moment that another branch gave birth to Gregorian chant in Europe.[340] Mustafa Sfar called Arab theoreticians the "inheritors of Greek musicologists" in their use of modes.[341] Manoubi Snoussi also emphasized Greek music as the forebear of Arab and Western music, simultaneously: Arab music had its origins in the Hijaz in the early 7th century, and "was then developed in the cultural centers submitted to the currents of Hellenic influence that radiated and fanned out in a circle whose center was Byzantium." Thus, Western and Arab music inherited the same traditions from the same source, Greek music. He added, "It was not until the era of the Renaissance that the two arts were separated: the Oriental remaining faithful to its original norms, and the Western moving away little by little to entirely new concepts."[342] In this way, Snoussi argued that Arab music was a more faithful descendant of Greek music, but also attributed progress and "the new" solely to European music and culture.

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[340] Safir, "La musique arabe en Algérie," 1.
[341] Sfar, 4.
[342] Snoussi, *Initiation*, 14.

Many musicologists repeated the common European narrative that the Arab world acted as a bridge, and its scholars as intermediaries, by transmitting the knowledge and sciences of the ancient Greeks to medieval Europe. Alexis Chottin, in his entry on "Muslim music" in a French musical encyclopedia, claimed that it had an important role, "well before the Italian Renaissance, as the liaison between Greek Antiquity and the Roman Middle Ages."[343] Julien Tiersot echoed this idea when he said the medieval theoretician Al-Farabi was known by his contemporaries as "the new Aristotle" and was inspired by, and built upon, writings on Greek music.[344] Similarly, Mustafa Sfar noted that under the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties, from the 7th to the 12th century Arab civilization enjoyed its golden age: "This was a first renaissance of Greco-Latin civilization that preceded by many centuries the Renaissance that was the departure point for Western civilization and that prepared it by great measure."[345] Sfar's characterization repeats the basic narrative that the Arabs preserved and passed on the knowledge of the Greeks and Romans, while more openly claiming that Western civilization would not have been possible without this Arab renaissance.

Arab scholars also emphasized the link between Arab and Greek and Persian music by recounting how influence was transmitted via migration and cross-cultural exchange in the pre- and early Islamic era. Mohamed Hajjage told how Persian and Greek singers moved into the Hijaz with the advent of Islam and brought with them their songs and instruments, including lute and flute. He wrote, "It was on hearing these harmonious compositions that the Arabs were inspired to adapt their poems."[346] Mustafa Sfar said it was the development of commercial relations between Arabia and both Roman Syria and the Kingdom of Persia that initiated Greek

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[343] Alexis Chottin, "La musique musulmane," in Norbert Dufourcq, ed., *La Musique des Origines à Nos Jours* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1946), 74.
[344] Julien Tiersot, *Notes d'Ethnographie Musicale (Première Série)* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1905), 96.
[345] Sfar, 10.
[346] Hajjage, *Sur la Musique Orientale*, 121.

and Persian musical influence; further, slaves from those countries also contributed to Arab music and helped develop new genres and instruments.[347] Along the same lines Tunisian musicologist Salah El Mahdi has claimed that Arab music first came into contact with other Oriental musics during the reconstruction of the Kaaba in the 6th century, when Iranian and other workers arrived in the area.[348]

To some extent, beyond narrating Arab music as a link between Greek and Western music, it was possible to claim that Arab music was *more* closely aligned with its Greek forebear, as Snoussi did. French musicologist Jules Rouanet did this when he declared that Arab music, the fruit of a flourishing medieval civilization that also created algebra, astronomy, and the Alhambra, remained "behind the progress of Western music." Instead "she [Arab music] is still in the symphony of unisons and octaves of Aristotle," that is to say homophonic, while the polyphony of Western music appears to Arabs as "cacophony."[349] Mustafa Sfar made a similar claim but put it in a more positive light: for him, the Greeks and other "civilized peoples of Antiquity" felt no need to introduce polyphony to their music. He wrote, "It is true that the Greeks, like other peoples who were the authors of ancient civilizations, are Orientals, which allows us to deduce that homophonic music corresponds better to the Oriental temperament."[350] This version of the narrative implicitly broke down the teleology of Western progress timelines that defined monophony and homophony as less advanced musical forms, and instead hypothesized an Oriental preference for such music that was neither more nor less civilized.

As may be evident, Sfar's speech at the Rashidiyya Institute, while repeating many of the same tropes and narratives common in European musicology, engaged in subtle subversions that

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[347] Sfar, 7.
[348] Salah El Mahdi, *Des Modes Comparés de la Musique Arabe* (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1993), 286.
[349] Jules Rouanet, "La chanson populaire arabe en Algérie," 166.
[350] Sfar, 4.

elevated and endorsed Arab music as a truly advanced art form, to be recognized on the world stage as the equal of Western art music. This demonstrates that it was possible to write from North Africa and the Middle East in direct dialogue with the Eurocentric European academy, in very similar, almost identical language, while still ultimately arguing for the significance and accomplishments of Arab civilization—sometimes at the expense of Western civilization. Sfar insisted that the Arabs had produced one of the world's greatest and largest empires, larger even than the Roman Empire, and had formed the "union, for the great profit of Humanity, between the dead civilizations of Antiquity and modern civilization." As such, he argued, they should have an equal place in scholarly texts alongside Greece, Rome, and Egypt.

Others made more subtle observations that pointed to Arab music's influence on Western music, beyond being simply a transmitter of the wisdom of the Greeks. Snoussi pointed out that the French word *gamme* and the Latin word *gamut*, both used for musical scales, were derivations of the Arabic word *jam* for group or grouping.

While Greek music was generally assumed to be the ancestor of Arab music, regardless of the nuances of how this was narrated, many musicologists took a more complex view of this transnational musical genealogy. This was especially true for those writing from North Africa. Musicologists of North Africa, up to the present day, tend to characterize it is a rich mélange of influences, and not all of them Hellenic or Persian. Salah El Mahdi, the prominent Tunisian musicologist (writing here in the 1990s but very active in the nationalist musical projects of the 1960s) described it thus:

> One finds in these [Arab] modes the tetrachordal genre that brings them closer to Greek and Iranian music, as well as the pentatonic genre that brings it closer to Berber music (music of the old inhabitants of North Africa) and Negro music, in which one finds, in North Africa, a whole nouba of Andalusi patrimony in a mode known in Tunisia under

> the name Rasd Abidi (Rasd of slaves) and in Morocco of Rasd Knaoui, in reference to Kanou, a city in Nigeria.[351]

Moroccan musicologist Ahmed Aydoun similarly invokes the diverse origins of the music, writing that a "particular Moroccan sensibility" came from the country's historic and geographic location as a crossroads: "Enriched by its history, it accumulated, under the Berber substrate, Saharan African and sub-Saharan rhythm; Greco-Roman, Phoenician, and African survivals; Arab modalism; and Andalusi refinement."[352] These nods to North African music's simultaneous debt to Berber, African, and Andalusi influences marked it as separate from Eastern Arab music, and, indeed, richer and more complex. Yet Greek and Persian music were still considered elemental parts of Arab North African musical history as well.

The Future of Arab Music: Wadia Sabra and Arab Musical Science

As was often the case with folklorists and other scholars studying "native" traditions, Arab musicologists expressed concern that the pure traditions of their music would be lost with the advent of modernity. The threat of disappearance was attributed to indifference, forgetting, hybridization, and the encroachment of both European and popular Arab musics, exacerbated by technologies like phonograph records and radio. As such, musicologists sometimes pontificated on the state of Arab music and its future in their treatises. El Boudali Safir's account of Arab music in Algeria ended with a section on "The Future of Arab Music and Its Evolution," in which he quoted extensively from Jules Rouanet, a French musicologist of renown in Algeria. Rouanet had written, "I fear that all is lost. No one in Algeria occupies themselves anymore with Muslim music, only to regret its coming disappearance… Neither you nor I can do anything.

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[351] El Mahdi, *Des Modes*, 284-285.
[352] Ahmed Aydoun, *Musiques du Maroc* (Casablanca: Éditions La Croisée des Chemins, 2014), 10.

Muslim music is dying. Tomorrow it will be dead. But it is the fault of elite Muslims."[353] Rouanet went on to ask, "Where are the lettered Muslims to help me?"

Safir thus appears to have been responding to Rouanet's call. He noted that certain "meritorious" efforts had been made, including the Arabic-language broadcasts on Radio Algérie (which he himself helped direct) and Arab music classes at the Conservatory of Algiers and the municipal school in Tlemcen. Yet a more substantial collecting and recording project remained to be undertaken; from such a documentation, Safir claimed, younger artists could draw inspiration, apply new techniques, and produce "the true Arab music of tomorrow" that was neither imitation of the past nor total break from it.

Writers like Safir thus invested in the notion that classical Arab music had a future, not just a past, and further that it had the potential to progress and engender new forms. While this evolution was still heavily bounded by traditional understandings of what Arab art music was, it remained significant to make positive, future-oriented declarations about an art form that even expert French musicologists situated as "backwards" on a universal timeline of cultural development. Alexis Chottin himself wrote about Moroccan music's future as a return to its past: "Begin to know better this past which you despise. Because, before constructing the new, it is necessary to know how the old was made. And you will only renew yourself to the extent that you return to tradition."[354] Chottin believed the one who had accomplished this most effectively in the West was French composer Claude Debussy, who had drawn on Renaissance-era music and early clavichord to reinvent Western classical music in the modern era. However, while the comparison to Debussy, an illustrious composer active only a few decades earlier, was promising, Chottin named no Arab equivalent and spoke of North African musicians largely in

[353] Jules Rouanet, quoted in El Boudali Safir, "La musique arabe en Algérie," 7.
[354] Alexis Chottin, *Tableau de la musique marocaine*, 172.

the abstract. This indicated that he did not truly see such a renovation occurring in North Africa's near future, at least not one equivalent to Debussy's reinvention of modern Western music.

But it was not just through the reinvention of traditional forms of music that Arab musicologists could envision a progressive future. This is illustrated most clearly by the work of Wadia Sabra, the prolific Lebanese musicologist who as discussed above also wrote about the Arab origins of Western art and music. His later career, while he served as the inaugural director of the Lebanese National Conservatory in the 1930s and 1940s, was largely dedicated to the conceptualization of an Arabic musical science and the theoretical definition and analysis of musical scales that could be used in diverse musical traditions, namely Western and Arab.

Wadia Sabra, as noted, was born into a Christian family in Beirut, in what was then the Syrian province of the Ottoman Empire, later Lebanon. He spent his childhood there before moving to Paris at the age of 17, where he would remain for almost two decades. While in Paris, he served as the organist in a Protestant church and composed numerous hymns and choral pieces. He also published a series of Middle Eastern folk songs and melodies, called the *Recueils d'Airs Orientaux*, about 22 in all, transcribed and edited for a Western musical audience. Around this time he also composed two nationalist hymns for the Ottoman state and what would in 1927 become the Lebanese national anthem (and remains so to this day).

Sabra lived in Paris from 1893 to 1910, and while there he studied at the Paris National Conservatory under Albert Lavignac (1846-1916), a famed French musicologist who would become his close friend and mentor. In an article that Lavignac wrote about Sabra for arts periodical *La Gazette des Théâtres et des Grands Concerts* in 1908, he summed up Sabra's special talents:

> The musical personality of Wadia Sabra has no resemblance to any other. Son of the East and sent very young to France, he made in Paris a complete study of European music

> without ever losing touch with his native country to which he frequently used to return. To any other mind less well-balanced, there could not have resulted from this double study but trouble and confusion, the conception of the beautiful in music being altogether different in the East and the West. His great intelligence allowed him, on the contrary, to become a musical polyglot, so much so that when he returned to his native country he ardently propagated French music, whereas in Paris he made himself the initiator and revealer of the very interesting style of Arabic music… To be able to speak and write with the same ease two musical languages absolutely distinct from each other and equally to understand the charms and the beauty of each is certainly a unique achievement in the history of art.[355]

Like many scholars of Arab or North African background who achieved success in French realms—including Mammeri and other artistic figures we have discussed here—Sabra was depicted as someone between two worlds, as someone who had uniquely and extraordinarily mastered both. Again, Lavignac presented Western music and Arab music as bounded, discrete, and near-irreconcilable categories, such that a less worthy person would find "trouble and confusion" in trying to study both styles. While Sabra's level of success was singular, the positioning of Arab scholars in this way served to reinforce the hard boundaries between East and West, Europe and Islam, colonizer and colonized. In Sabra's case, his liminal positioning was even more pronounced in that he was an Arab Christian and was from Lebanon, a country with a different relationship to France and a more cosmopolitan reputation than the colonies of the Maghreb. Indeed, the province (and later nation-state) of Lebanon was not created until the French took control of the League of Nations mandate over Syria in 1920, and its borders reflected the French desire to create a Christian majority state amidst a Muslim majority, perceived as more hostile, in Greater Syria. The Mount Lebanon hinterland had long been home to a large Maronite Christian community, who with the creation of Lebanon became the "majority" demographic.

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[355] Albert Lavignac, unnamed article in *La Gazette des Théâtres et des Grands Concerts*, 1908; quoted in *Congrès Musical Universel*, 4-5.

Sabra's lifetime overlaps this history—when he left Lebanon as a teenager, Beirut was still a part of vilayet province of the Ottoman Empire. Upon his return, he continued to compose Christian music: a 1919 American article on contemporary Syria mentioned a performance of his opera, *Joseph and His Brethren* ("the first Turkish opera, I believe"), at a Beirut girls' school. The author, who identified Sabra as "a local Syrian musician," stated approvingly, "The overture shows solid harmonic workmanship, while the Oriental element is skillfully and charmingly used in the arias."[356]

As mentioned, it was Sabra's work that served as the basis for the Universal Musical Congress proposed in Beirut in 1944. In my research thus far, I have been unable to determine if the Universal Musical Congress actually took place. The only evidence of its existence is the pamphlet outlining its goals and organizing committee, which merely indicated the Congress was planned to be held in Beirut a year after the end of the war, and a typed note by Wadia Sabra listing what subjects he hoped to address at the Congress, which would be held "in a central town of the Near East, the nearer to Lebanon would be the best, because of my great age."[357] At the very least, the planning that had already gone into it at the time of the 1944 publication was substantial: a complete list of members of the "preparatory committee" was included, made up of Syrian and/or Lebanese as well as French and American notables. These latter included the Prince Abdul-Medjid Haydar, the Consul-General of France H. Barthe de Sandfort, the President of the American University of Beirut Bayard Dodge, and several Arab "men of letters."

For our purposes, however, what is more significant is the framing of the event, as well as the initiative to carry it out in the first place, regardless of whether it occurred and how it went. A group of significant figures from or resident in Lebanon signed on to address the very

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[356] *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review* 86 (July – December 1919), 1153-1154.
[357] Wadia Sabra, document no. 8, insert in *Congrès Musical Universel* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département Musical).

provocative, very meaningful work initiated by Wadia Sabra and corroborated or echoed by major European musicologists like d'Erlanger and Henry Farmer. The event was in some ways a continuation of the work of the Cairo Congress, at which both Sabra and Farmer were delegates (and which d'Erlanger helped to organize).

The Even-Tempered Arab Scale and the Universal Musical Scale[358]

One of the primary problems that Sabra sought to address over his later career was that of the universal musical scale, or a scale that could be used equally in Eastern and Western musics. To do this, it was necessary to formulate a scale that could be ideally implemented in Oriental and Arab music, whose own structure and theory did not have an equivalent to the Western 12-tone musical scale; rather, the tones utilized in Arab music varied from place to place and tradition to tradition, and songs tended to be built within one or more "modes," stacked tetrachords that dictated what notes could be used in the song, as well as what other modes could be "moved" to. To reconcile Arab music with Western music, Sabra believed, one needed to develop a formula for an Arab or Oriental scale first.

The Universal Musical Congress pamphlet touted Sabra's "discovery" of the so-called Unit of Musical Intervals, which claimed to be the key to solving this problem by creating an ideal musical scale for use in Oriental and Arab music. It narrated a brief historical overview of all those who had previously tried to address this problem: the Semites of the pre-Islamic era were the first to divide the musical scale according to the division of the string into 40 equal parts, with 20 per octave—this scale remained in use and "seems to have been the origin of the

[358] "Even-tempered" refers to the fact that each note in the scale octave (12 in the Western scale, 24 in the Arab scale) exists at an equal physical and sonic distance from the next. This level of mathematical precision was often deemed necessary for Western music, but unsuitable for the contingencies and variability of Arab music.

traditional error in the Orient, of dividing the scale into 24 equal quartertones."[359] It proceeded to cite Greek philosophers, Chinese princes, and Byzantine patriarchs who had all attempted to construct an even-tempered scale with varying numbers of tones. In the late 19th century, a Lebanese scholar named Mikhail Mishaqa (Mikkael Mechaka) recommended a scale with 24 equal quartertones, which was influential throughout the Arab world; this prompted Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger to propose the question at the 1932 Cairo Congress of Arab Music: did dividing the octave into 24 mathematically equal quartertones alter the "sonorousness" of the *maqamat* (modes) to the point that they lost their unique character?

Wadia Sabra, in his capacity as head of the Lebanese delegation to the Cairo Congress, offered a joint motion with Raouf Yekta Bey, the head of the Turkish delegation, at the plenary session, to refuse to admit the use of 24 equal quartertones in Arab music. The motion was supported by the members of the Congress. In reality, the question of the musical scale was one of the more contentious issues of the Congress (alongside the related question of the adoption of the piano into Arab music). One of the express aims of the Congress had been to establish a "fixed musical scale," for which a special Musical Scales Committee was set up. Several of the Egyptian members of the Musical Scales Committee, on which Sabra also sat, passionately advocated for the use of an even-tempered scale with 24 quartertones, but the Turkish members had rejected it as an inaccurate measurement for pitch in Arab and Oriental music.[360] The debate carried over into the plenary session, where the separate commissions presented their reports to the wider Congress. The Modes, Rhythm, and Composition Committee expressed disappointment that the Scales Committee had not produced an "exact" theoretical scale, which

[359] *Congrès Musical Universel*, 7.
[360] A.J. Racy, "Historical Worldviews of Early Ethnomusicologists: An East-West Encounter in Cairo, 1932," in *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History*, eds. Stephen Blum, Philip Bohlman, and Daniel Neuman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

made their own task of providing exact measurements for modal scales more difficult. French musicologist Baron Carra de Vaux defended the Musical Scales Committee's position, stating that "there was no such thing as a simple underlying theoretical scale applicable to all modes." Further, modes already differed from one Arab country to another. Thus despite opposition, Sabra and Yekta's motion was accepted, and no even-tempered Arab musical scale was defined.[361]

Now, twelve years later, the Universal Musical Congress pamphlet proclaimed, this problem had been solved based on Sabra's tireless scholarship. By defining the Unit of Measure of Musical Intervals, Sabra had achieved what generations of musical scholars from around the world had failed at. The in-depth description of his work is highly technical, based on acoustic science and math, but it is worth quoting this overview paragraph describing his achievement:

> In this respect it would be interesting to point out how M. Sabra arrived at finding a UNIT of Measure which had eluded until then the researches of scientists ever since Aristoxenus.
>
> In fact, while scientists confined themselves to the existing facts of science for finding this unit, M. Sabra took as a starting point the science of harmony itself. Thanks to his new method, he reconstructed without knowing them beforehand, the natural Scale, the scale of Pythagoras, that of Aristoxenus, the Chinese scale of twelve perfect ascending fifths, the Mesotonic scale and the well-tempered one. Once this result had been obtained, M. Sabra extended his researches particularly in the domain of acoustics and physics. He also made use of the most recent logarithmic processes. After thirty years of assiduous work, he was assured of the certainty that he could benefit from the application of his method, and this result has been confirmed by scientific data.[362]

While it is beyond our scope here to analyze the actual mathematical calculations Sabra was using to arrive at his conclusions, the language and positioning are worth analyzing. As we will also see when we read Sabra's own words, the language is highly scientific; Sabra used

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[361] Interestingly, as outlined by Racy, Sabra actually did endorse the use of an Arab keyboard instrument, in which the piano would be retuned to an agreed-upon Arab scale including the 24-quartertone even-tempered one. He believed it could be used in music education and potentially contribute to the development of Arab polyphony.
[362] *Congrès Musical Universel*, 9.

acoustic science, mathematics, physics, and "the most recent logarithmic processes" to make his stunning musical discovery. This carries his work outside of music and musicology and into the realms of "real" science and mathematics, and indicated a conscious investment in discourses of modernity.

This was part of a longer scholarly trajectory for Sabra, who produced numerous theoretical publications on music from the 1920s to the 1940s. "The Process of the Minor Scale," which appeared in the Parisian journal *Revue d'Acoustique* in 1936, was a fairly straightforward theoretical treatise on the minor scale, arguing for a reconceptualization of what the "true" minor scale was in relation to the major scale. Fully situated within a Western music theory tradition, Sabra made his case by giving examples of the different scales on a treble clef stave and the chords that resulted from them (major, minor, or diminished), and also produced musical examples from classical pieces like Chopin's *Funeral March* and Puccini's *Tosca* to show how they had utilized true minor. Interestingly, Sabra dismissed the commonly-used minor scale which included a lowered 2nd degree (for example, Db instead of D in a C-minor scale) as "nothing but the mode known to Orientals under the denomination 'Hidjaz-kar-kurdi,' corresponding to the 'Dorian' of the Greeks."[363] In this sense it was *not* the true minor of the Western minor tonality, which must be derived from the major scale. Ultimately, Sabra's work in theory, both in its narration of the past and its projections on the present and future, made the case that, as he first stated at a talk at the Salle Pleyel in Paris in 1923, "Arab music was the basis of harmonic science."[364]

[363] Wadia Sabra, "Le Procès de la Gamme Mineure," in *Revue d'Acoustique* V:1-2 (January-March 1936), 25.
[364] Sabra, *La musique arabe base de l'art occidental*, 5.

Conclusion

The contributions of Arab and North African musicologists to the study of Arab music, and the ways in which they advocated for Arab civilization and indirectly or directly underwrote Arab and local nationalisms, were both diverse and complex. Yet what they had in common was that, even as they wrote from positions within the colonial apparatus or in dialogue with European scholarship, they found ways to call into question, subvert, invert, and coopt the assumptions of Western musicology to promote Arab music's complexity, significance, and historical accomplishments. At a more fundamental level, they laid bare the historical trajectory of musical scholarship to reveal that Arabic musicology predated and served as the very foundation of European musicology, rather than the other way around. Scholars like Sabra who advocated the theory that Arab music was the progenitor of Western art music implicitly laid claim to some of the fundamental pillars of Western civilization—in an imperial era, when much of European empire was predicated on this civilization's supposed superiority, such a theory was inherently both subversive and declarative. Arab music and civilization deserved a higher pride of place in the global hierarchy of nations. This also implicitly called into question the colonial and semi-colonial rule of European nations over Arab countries.

At the same time, the narrating of an Arab musical *future* was a positive claim in and of itself: narrating a future generated a progressive temporality that inverted European tropes about Arab civilization's stagnancy, backwardness, and decadence, or its existence outside of time. This futurism could take the form of calls to preserve, collect, and generally develop Arab music, as with El Boudali Safir's appeal, or it could manifest in the development of an entirely new theoretical subfield like that of Wadia Sabra, what I have termed here "musical science." Subverting European claims to modernity via the language of science and mathematics, work

like Sabra's simultaneously participated in Western dialogues on music theory and music history and also transcended them by refusing to concede the West's ownership of or superiority in these fields.

As the last two chapters have shown, Arab and North African musicology as a form of scholarship, like its European counterpart, was highly ideological, and the knowledge it produced always political. The cadre of Arab and North African music scholars discussed here formed an elite within their own societies that could be simultaneously invested in dialoguing with European "high" culture and scholarship and in resisting its colonizing narratives. In the process, this elite could reproduce some of those same narratives about their own societies, constructing the nation through music in a way that marginalized or elided non-Arab, non-elite identities. By constructing and elevating a category known as "Arab music," whether this be Eastern or Oriental Arab music or North African Arab-Andalusi music, scholars formulated a transnational, transhistorical identity in a process parallel to burgeoning Arab nationalism, itself partly a response to European colonialism, and then neo-colonialisms in the decolonizing and Cold War eras. Further, by universalizing "Arab music," scholars like Sabra, Safir, Snoussi and others situated Arab history, nation, and identity as not merely important for their own sake, but on a global level as something that had influenced the trajectory of human achievement, including the development of Western civilization itself. In this way Arab and North African musicology responded to, subverted, but also essentially itself constituted French and colonial musicology. Thus by viewing the study of Arab and North African musics in a single frame, we can begin to see the deep imbrication of colonial and national ideologies and identities.

CONCLUSION

The Fez Congress was far from the last transnational gathering on music in the Arab and North African world, though it was one of the last with a specifically colonial provenance. As noted, the Lebanese Conservatory planned a "Universal Musical Congress" honoring the work of Wadia Sabra in 1944 (though it appears this never took place as planned, in part due to the ongoing world war). Perhaps echoing some of the sentiments of the planned Lebanese conference, a Syrian scholar and author of a recently-published 632-page book on "Eastern music," Michael Allawerdi, gave a lecture at the Third UNESCO Conference in Beirut in 1948 entitled "Music in Building Peace" (*Al-musiqa fi bina' al-salaam*), in which he discussed how bringing together the musics of the world could lead to global peace. Like Sabra, Allawerdi liberally cited Henry Farmer, the British musicologist who posited Arab origins for Western music theory.

These continued into the early national and decolonizing periods, and despite the decades that had lapsed in between, still invoked the landmark earlier conferences of the colonial era and even had some of the same participants. In 1964, Baghdad hosted the International Conference for Arab Music, and as mentioned elicited the participation of some of the same musicians as its predecessor the Cairo Congress. The Baghdad conference also occasioned the publication of several authoritative texts on Arab music by the city's Al-Jumhurriya (Republic) Press, including a complete dictionary of Arabic musical terms by the scholar Husain Ali Mahfuz. Like the Cairo Congress before it, while having a pan-Arab, universalist orientation, texts like Mahfuz's also celebrated Iraq, or more specifically Baghdad's, significant role in Arab music history in ways that indirectly supported post-colonial nationalism, as when he highlighted the centrality of the

work of 13th-century Baghdadi musician Armawi to his dictionary's definitions.[365]

And we cannot omit here the 1969 Fez Congress of Arab Music, on which surprisingly little scholarship exists. We do know, however, that musicians like Abdelkrim Raïs, a renowned oudist who played with the Orchestre Brihi as a young man and thus performed at the 1939 Fez Congress, also participated in the 1969 Congress, this time also as a delegate on a commission of Moroccan Andalusi scales and rhythms.[366] Even with the continuities that existed between 1939 and 1969—the vaunting of Andalusi music, efforts to preserve and define it, the consistent participation of some of Morocco's well-known musicians across the decades—there was also the stark contrast in the political context, and the lack of French colonial sponsorship in the latter event. Over a decade into Morocco's independence, the 1969 conference took place at a moment in which Morocco sought to consolidate and define a national identity that maintained continuities with a traditional Andalusi past but also definitively broke from the colonial era. The very emphasis on "Arab music" here as opposed to Moroccan music hints at the Moroccan state's broader suppression of Berber identity, often demonized as a colonial invention and an effort to divide Moroccan peoples, as well as Black music and other folk and popular musics coded as non-Arab.

This is especially interesting when we consider that the same year, the celebrated 1969 Pan-African Cultural Festival was held in Algiers, which involved the participation of musicians and performers from all over the continent and heavily focused on African identity and Black diasporas, despite taking place in an "Arab" North African state. Memorable performances ranging from South African singer Miriam Makeba to American musician Nina Simone celebrated an "African" identity that spanned North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, and the African

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[365] Husain Ali Mahfuz, *Dictionary of Arabic Musical Terms* (Baghdad: Al-Jamhuriyyah Press, 1964).
[366] "Andalusian Music from Fes: Abdelkrim Raïs," *Arabosounds* (Paris: Institut du Monde Arabe) [http://www.arabosounds.com/en/andalusian-music-from-fes/].

diaspora, sublimating racial and national divisions in favor of broad post-colonial liberationist solidarity. Makeba even performed a song in Arabic with the lyrics "I feel free in Algeria," an implicit critique of the apartheid regime in her own state but also a nod to the host country, which was celebrated in much of the Third World for its protracted and bloody struggle in the war for independence from France. In such a way could two simultaneous musical manifestations, taking place in neighboring Maghrebi countries, reveal profoundly different political orientations while sharing an investment in music as the language for expressing political desires.

Of course, conferences were only one manifestation of the nationalist musical projects undertaken by North African governments after colonialism. Tunisia commissioned musicologist Salah El Mahdi to compile a musicological series entitled *Patrimoine musicale tunisien* (Tunisian Musical Heritage) in the 1960s, in which the Secretary of Education declared it was "our duty" to record and document Tunisian music that had hitherto only been transmitted orally in order to have them be better appreciated both by the youth of their own country as well as musicians in other countries.[367] The Rashidiyya Institute in Tunis, originally founded in 1934, took on an even bigger role in Tunisian musical and cultural life, with regular radio performances and concerts, and Manoubi Snoussi's *Initiation à la musique tunisienne* radio broadcasts also aired over the 1960s on Tunisian state radio, aimed at education and appreciation for a broader audience. In Morocco, the modern national conservatory was founded in Rabat in 1958, two years after independence, breaking from the model of the colonial Moroccan conservatory, and like the Rashidiyya Institute this conservatory continues to exist as a school

[367] M. Messadi, "Avant-Propos," in *Patrimoine musicale tunisien, 1er fascicule: Ensemble des "Bachrafs" tunisiens* (Tunis: Sécretariat d'Etat à l'Education Nationale, 1962), 3-4.

today.[368] After independence, King Mohammed V also established a Royal Orchestra on a largely European model, and hired musician Mekki Farfara to direct it and instruct his musicians in solfeg, as many of the French instructors of the technique had left the country.[369]

Music thus remained a crucial idiom for the politics of identity, autonomy, and history from the colonial to the national periods. In the period of French colonialism, and particularly during the lifespan of the Moroccan Protectorate (1912-1956), it was the study and production of knowledge on music that became an especially critical site for the inscription and reinscription of power, race, and identity.

With the establishment of the Service des Arts Indigènes and the musical initiatives of Prosper Ricard and Alexis Chottin, a well-defined musico-racial template for Morocco was created, which would serve as the basis for all such musical scholarship moving forward. This template, of course, mapped onto the preexisting colonial racial paradigm for North Africa to an exact degree, while also giving it a new dimension in the sonic and musical worlds. In fact, this dissertation has sought to show how music—through its simultaneous aesthetic, social, cultural, and intellectual dimensions, and its unique ephemerality as a sonic phenomenon with no clear or universal visual or textual representation—could serve as an *especially* powerful means of transmitting ideology and entrenching, or sometimes challenging, hegemonic structures and categories.

The French Protectorate's multiple musical initiatives in the interwar period, from concert series like the "Three days of Moroccan music," to international congresses in Fez and Cairo, to the deployment of song and music in schools, linked up to solidify colonial messaging around race and power under the guise of benevolent preservation and cultural interest. This

[368] Conversation with Ahmed Aydoun, musicologist and former director of Rabat Conservatory (April 6, 2018, Agdal, Rabat, Morocco).
[369] Conversation with Halima Farfara, daughter of Mekki Farfara (April 2, 2018, Souissi, Rabat, Morocco),

period of intense musical intervention arguably culminated with the ambitious Fez Congress of Moroccan Music in 1939, just before Protectorate cultural activities were largely put on hold during World War II, and never fully resumed in the years that followed up to independence in 1956.

Yet as I have also shown in this dissertation, this was not a one-sided process, and weaponized musical knowledge was never solely the provenance of the colonial state. North Africans resisted French divide-and-rule narratives, sometimes violently, as shown by the backlash to the Berber dahir, and Moroccan nationalists consequently sought to impose a counter-narrative premised on a singular Arab-Muslim identity that invoked both pan-Arab sentiment and Andalusi nostalgia, a set of ideas that also manifested in North African musicology. This emphasis on Andalusi and Arab music in turn marginalized non-Arab identity in North Africa, including Berber, Black, Jewish, rural, popular, folk, and Sufi musics, which were seen as less useful to the state-building project, as political and intellectual elites sought to recover from the colonial period by tapping into a culture of prestige and consolidating a singular state identity. This was especially the case in the suppression of Berber identity: Berber languages were actually banned in North African countries for the first decades of the national period, and the Amazigh language was only officially recognized as a national language of Morocco in 2011. Instead, North African musicologists downplayed the significance of Berber music and culture to Moroccan identity, and often reproduced the civilized-primitive binary of colonial scholarship by marking Berber traditions as "rustic" and even "savage."

Meanwhile "Arab music" as a category was vaunted alongside the related "Andalusi music and invoked a pan-Arab nationalist geography and history, in the same moment that Arab nationalism throughout the region was developing. By taking "Arab music" as its object, the

Cairo Congress fueled this musicological notion of a shared transnational genre with its own regional variants that had an analogous relationship to race and nationality. Scholars like Wadia Sabra developed this scholarship to formulate progressive notions like an Arab musical science that was in dialogue with European musicology while also subverting it and extolling the historical genius and accomplishments of the Arabs. Meanwhile writers like Driss ben Abdelali El Idrissi in Morocco, Mustafa Sfar in Tunisia, and Mohamed El Hajjage in Egypt also imagined a shared Arab musical history and invoked a genealogy that traced back to pre-Islamic Arabia, often also emphasizing the role of Ziryab in inaugurating the Andalusi musical tradition.

Ultimately, the diverse scholarship by Arab and North African musicologists in the colonial and early national periods on Arab and Andalusi music, and to a lesser extent Berber and folk musics, countered the claims of colonial musicology by emphasizing a transnational Arab identity that simultaneously valorized the individual nationalisms of each nation-state. They also subverted narratives that placed European art music "above" Arab music, and even argued that European music theory owed its core principles to Arab theorists and musicians. While North African musicologists were still often obligated to participate in a shared scholarly world with their European counterparts, the points at which their narratives diverged from colonial narratives were the moments where formulations of anticolonial, pan-Arab, nationalist, exclusionary, and elitist musical identities were made visible. These identities and narratives could range from moderate to more radical: I argue that Wadia Sabra's alternative history and progressive temporality constituted a more radical vision of world music, while much of the musicology discussed here continued to share many of the same foundational premises as colonial musicology, notably a civilized-primitive binary with marginal identities forced into the "primitive" category. As such, in the national period, without the Othering gaze of colonial

travelers and scholars, non-Arab Others such as Berber, Black, and Bedouin peoples continued to be marked as primitive while also being given even less attention or consideration as a constitutive element of North African society.

Of course, this North African relationship to identity and music has shifted considerably since the early national period. As noted, the Amazigh language was recognized as official by the Moroccan state in 2011, and all major public buildings and signage are now rendered in three languages and three scripts: Arabic, French, and Tamazight. This has gone hand in hand with a major social shift in Moroccan self-perception, and the rigid Arab-Islamic nationalism of the Istiqlal Party and the early Moroccan state has given way to a broader swathe of the population that identifies primarily as Berber or Amazigh. Berber and Berber-influenced music has thus taken on greater popularity in recent decades, in both Morocco and Algeria. Meanwhile, Gnawa music, discussed at some length in Chapter 2, has seen the most dramatic shift: from being the marginal and largely ritual music of the Black Sufi brotherhood during the colonial period, it began to be popularized amongst the broader population in the 1970s, perhaps most notably by the famous rock group Nass El Ghiwane which included one member who identified as Gnawi and included both Amazigh and Gnawa influences in their rock 'n' roll-inspired music.[370] Since then, the popular, desacralized genre of Gnawa has become Morocco's unofficial national music, perhaps the most popular genre in the country and the most well-known outside of it. The annual Gnawa Festival in Essaouira draws thousands of visitors every year, many from Europe and the U.S., while countless smaller Gnawa festivals and concerts take place around the country year-round. While today a large proportion of popular Gnawa artists are non-Black, the genre's West African roots are still regularly invoked, and often also linked to a broader African diaspora with references to and collaborations with Jamaican reggae and American jazz. An essential Black

[370] Abdelhai Sadiq, *Nass El Ghiwane: Protest song au Maroc* (Marrakech: Éditions CHATR, 2011), 25.

Moroccanness has been constructed in parallel to this—alongside popular Black genres of Diwan in Algeria and Stambali in Tunisia—even as Blackness remains a subject of ambivalence and Black North Africans, as well as sub-Saharan Africans in North Africa, face discrimination and racism at both the systemic and street levels.

Thus in many ways music and racialized musical genres in North Africa remain both a societal mirror and an ideological battleground, and struggles to define who and what belongs to a nation play out on the musical field. While Morocco's distinct musico-racial history since the 1970s remains a topic that deserves its own dissertation, what I want to end with here is to draw attention yet again to the fact that despite these changes, colonial musico-racial categories persist and live on into the present day, and these still have effects. As I noted earlier, Alexis Chottin remains one of the most well-known musicological experts of Morocco, even as he died in the 1970s. His *Tableau de la musique marocaine* is still cited occasionally as an authoritative text on Moroccan music, just as is the work of other colonial musicologists mentioned here like Rodolphe d'Erlanger. This is not to argue that there is no valuable, "objective" information to be gleaned from these early scholarly texts, but the extent to which such scholarship not only occurred against a colonial backdrop but was, as I have shown, deeply implicated in the practice of colonialism itself, as well as the racial projects of colonialism, should give us pause before relying on them. Further, the very practice of musicology, the very ideas and premises it rests on, has a similar colonial provenance, to the point that whether or not the information is "good" is almost moot. What is important to consider is that musical categories entirely birthed from colonial and racist ways of thinking and encountering the world may be fundamentally and irrevocably flawed.

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