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Contested space in the Kasbah of Marrakech

Place, modernity and discourse: the Kasbah of Marrakech
1985 to 2004

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ABSTRACT

The Kasbah, in origin a late twelfth-century citadel, occupies within the walled city of Marrakech a sovereign territory defined by its historical and present administrative boundaries. It is proposed that the Kasbah has in the last two decades fragmented into a contested space in which the shifting dynamics of differing interpretations of cultural ownership have displaced traditional confrontations with modernity. It is argued that the displacements, ambiguities and ambivalence surrounding contesting interpretations of cultural ownership of urban space might be identified as a 'local modernity' (to be differentiated from the modernity closely identified with global economic centres such as New York, London or Tokyo, which may be characterized as world cities). Contested space in the Kasbah – as in any current urban situation - is so complex that this thesis is structured through selective analyses of representations of space, time, culture, authority and authenticity in the competing but overlapping claims of the discourse of cultural heritage, the academic discourse, the Palace discourse and the discourse of tourism. In analyzing contested space in the Kasbah, discourse is understood as corresponding to Michel Foucault's interest in what is assumed to be self-evident, 'natural' and therefore outside time. The formation of each discourse is discussed in order to identify its origins and to question what is taken to be timeless or universal. Analysis of the contested ownership - cultural rather than economic – of space focuses on interpretations of key terms and concepts ('space', 'time', 'culture', 'authority' and 'authenticity') that are indicative of competing discursive claims.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 PROPOSAL

It is proposed that the Kasbah, which occupies in the medina of Marrakech a territory defined by its historical and present administrative boundaries [Illustrations 1 - 3], has in the last two decades fragmented into a contested space in which the shifting dynamics of differing interpretations of cultural ownership have displaced traditional confrontations with modernity. It is argued that the displacements, ambiguities and ambivalence surrounding contesting interpretations of cultural ownership of urban space might be identified as a 'local modernity' (to be differentiated from the modernity closely identified with global economic centres such as New York, London or Tokyo, which may be characterized as world cities).

Illustration 1. The walled city of Marrakech
1.2 STRATEGIES

Contested space in the Kasbah – as in any current urban situation - is so complex that this thesis is structured through selective analyses of representations of space, time, culture, authority and authenticity in competing but overlapping discourses: the discourse of cultural heritage, the academic discourse, the palace discourse and the tourist discourse. In analyzing contested space in the Kasbah, discourse is understood as corresponding to Michel Foucault’s interest in what is assumed to be self-evident, ‘natural’ and therefore outside time. The formation of each discourse is discussed in order to identify its origins and question what is taken to be timeless or universal. Analysis of claims to ownership - cultural rather than economic – of space focuses on interpretations of key terms and
concepts ('space', 'time', 'culture', 'authority' and 'authenticity') that are indicative of competing discursive practices.

1.3 ISLAMIC SPACE

1.3.1 Contest and Islamic space

*What is Power?* Foucault's definition seems to be very simple, power is a relationship of forces, or rather every relationship of forces is a "relationship of power" ... force is never unattached, its character is essentially one of relationships, that is to say power ... (Deleuze 1986: 77).

[Qu'est-ce que le Pouvoir? La définition de Foucault semble très simple, le pouvoir est un rapport de forces, ou plutôt tout rapport de forces est un «rapport de pouvoir» ... la force n'est jamais au singulier, il lui appartient essentiellement d'être en rapport, c'est-à-dire pouvoir ... (Deleuze 1986: 77)].

The ideology of Islam is fundamental in the Kasbah of Marrakech. However it is argued in this section of the first chapter that the force exerted by Islam – as in Deleuze's version of Foucault's definition of power - is manifested through relationships between Islam and other forces that are active within the spatial boundaries of the Kasbah. Historically the power of Islam was directed towards deflecting any pollution of the pure spiritual space of the city by infidel strangers. Marrakech before the Protectorate can be characterised as a purely Muslim space with a tolerated but segmented Jewish area attached to it. However the capacity to exclude the spiritual contagion brought in by non-Muslim outsiders was irreversibly undermined by the French military occupation of Marrakech in 1912. In the Kasbah in the period covered in this study (1985 to the present) relations with external institutional discourses have been and are expanding. Consequently within the traditional certitudes of Islamic space in the Kasbah, Islam is engaged in increasingly complex and involved relationships with forces of external origin.
Islam was introduced into Morocco by an Arab military campaign that began in 670 in Tunisia and through which the Islamic Empire of the Ummayads expanded westwards to the Atlantic. The Ummayad Caliphs (661–750) were based in Damascus and their authority over the umma [the totality of the Muslim community] was thereby extended to the Far West, which was how the Ummayads had referred to the territory now known as Morocco. By the tenth century in the Islamic world, Sunni orthodoxy had been consolidated. The legitimacy of Sunni Islam was recognised by all but a minority of dissenting Muslims, notably the Shi’ites, who defended the inalienable right of the descendants of Ali (the Prophet Mohammed’s son-in-law) to lead the umma. Within the orthodoxy of Sunni Islam, the legal framework of a religion that places great emphasis on controlling the social conduct of its adherents was defined through four schools of fiqh [religious law]. The Maliki maddhab [school] is the oldest of the four schools of fiqh and was based on a codification by Malik ben Anas in the eighth century of detailed guidelines for the regulation of Islamic society. Malik ben Anas had interpreted the law with particular reference to legal practices and social traditions in Madina. The Maliki maddhab was instituted in Morocco by the Almoravids, coinciding with the foundation in 1070 of Marrakech, which became the capital of the Almoravid Emirate (1086–1147). With interruptions, the Maliki school of Sunni Islam retained its pre-eminent authority in Morocco. The present legal system continues to refer predominantly to Maliki law when ruling about social conduct and today the majority of Moroccans are considered to be ‘Maliki Sunnis’.

The details of the theological significance of Islam as an ideology that determines the values and social structures of a large section of humanity estimated to be around a fifth of the world’s population are outside the scope of the discussion in this thesis. Nevertheless it is possible to advance the proposal that in the Kasbah of Marrakech an institutional appropriation of Islamic ideals by the local agencies of the Moroccan State might be a point of departure for defining Islamic space in the period 1985 to the present in relationship to four contesting discursive interpretations of the Kasbah of Marrakech:-

(i) An interpretation of the space of the Kasbah within the medina of Marrakech as a ‘World Heritage Site’.

(ii) An interpretation of the space occupied by the Kasbah within the framework of academic art history.
(iii) An interpretation of the Kasbah as a material witness of the historical legitimacy of the secular and religious authority of the Alaouite rulers of Morocco.
(iv) An interpretation of the Kasbah as a space that provides a spectacle of inert pre-modernity for consumption by tourists, primarily from economically and technologically developed countries.

In the next subsection (1.3.2), the Kasbah of Marrakech as an Islamic space is discussed through references to both present and historical practices. The four discursive interpretations of space in the Kasbah are individually discussed in subsequent chapters (Chapters Three to Six).

1.3.2 Islamic space and the Kasbah of Marrakech

1.3.2 (i) Hermetic space

Morocco is now constitutionally an Islamic state. Life in the Kasbah of Marrakech is regulated by religion to a degree that is not encountered in Western cities. By definition the inhabitants are Muslims, excepting a small minority of Jews and foreign residents. Prayers are publicly observed and the cycle of the Muslim lunar year determines the timing of holidays and feasts. There is a communal observance of religious duties. The day is regulated by fasting during the Holy Month of Ramadan. Young men as well as old attend the mosques and although Muslim dress is no longer universal, it is worn by both sexes and all age groups [Illustrations 4 - 8]. Nevertheless, it could be proposed that even though the spatial as well as the social organisation of the Kasbah is in many respects still structured by Islam, the controls exercised by Islam over the Kasbah have been modified in response to changing circumstances in the period since the French occupation of Marrakech in 1912. In this subsection the attributes of the impenetrable Islamic space that had prevailed in Marrakech until the Protectorate are summarized in order to compare the present relationships between space and Islam with the Kasbah before the French colonisation of Morocco.
Before the Protectorate the presence of non-Muslim foreigners in Marrakech was explicitly discouraged. Mohamed Boughali cited Lucette Valensi’s delineation of the historical exclusion of Europeans from the Makhzen cities [Fes, Marrakech, Meknes and Rabat] in the early nineteenth century (Boughali 1974: 178). Not only were Christians excluded from settling in Marrakech and other non coastal areas of Morocco but even Christian emissaries from foreign governments were made to sleep in the Jewish quarter of the city before being received by the Sultan in the Dar el Makhzen [Royal Palace].
This is to be understood according to Boughali as a means of attenuating the spiritual contamination that the foreigners might import into the city. He suggested that ‘it is perhaps for this reason that he [the Christian ambassador] is called on to make a long stopover outside the municipal boundaries of the royal residence and above all to enter it through the Jewish district in which he had to extend this intentionally purificatory delay’ ['C’est peut-être pour cette raison qu’il est appelé à faire une longue escale en dehors des limites municipales de la résidence royale, et surtout à y entrer par le quartier juif où il doit prolonger cette attente intentionellement purificatrice’ (Boughali 1974: 179)]. In the geography of Marrakech this meant that the foreign emissary had to sleep in the Mellah [Jewish district] which had been constructed in the sixteenth century adjoining the Kasbah and would have no doubt then proceeded to the Dar el Makhzen through an entrance to the Palace abutting the Mellah - from one segmented space to another [Illustration 9]. In the late 1890s Robert Brown noted that ‘nowadays, I know of only one


European - who is a native of Gibraltar - in Marrakech.’ (Africanus 1896: 357 n.68). Walter Harris, the English correspondent of The Times in Morocco and a companion to the sultan Moulay Abdelaziz (reigned from 1894 until he was compelled to abdicate in 1908) reported how the young ruler unwittingly made himself increasingly unpopular with the people of Marrakech by inviting Europeans into his court: the authority of the Sultan was compromised by the suspicion that he had betrayed Islam (Harris 1983, originally published in 1921). In 1912, when General Lyautey, the first Governor
General of the French Protectorate, made a ceremonial entrance into Marrakech, there were still only eight European residents in the city (Clément 1994: 15).

In an historical context, the hostility exhibited in Marrakech to the presence of non-Muslims contrasts with a more open attitude towards outsiders elsewhere in North Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The difference may be at least partly attributed to an isolationism that had developed in Morocco, particularly from the sixteenth century onwards. The expulsion of the Muslims from Spain after 1492 and their migration to Morocco is said to have reinforced the conservative tendencies of the Moroccans (Blair 1994: 256). In Marrakech in the sixteenth century, gardens situated between the Kasbah and the centre of the medina were parcelled into plots and the Riad Zitoun Jdid and Riad Zitoun Kedim quarters were created for the Spanish Muslims (Wilbaux 2001a: 274). Above all Morocco was separated from Eastern Islam by the Ottoman annexation in the sixteenth century of Northern Algeria and Tunisia. In this context isolationism can be interpreted as resistance against the westward expansion of the Ottoman Empire: the Turks never established control over either the Atlantic or the Mediterranean coasts of Morocco and did not penetrate the interior of the country. The French colonisation of Northern Algeria and Tunisia in the nineteenth century prolonged Morocco’s separation from the Eastern Muslim world. Indeed the survival of Morocco until the twentieth century as the only independent territory in the region could be said to have been at the cost of an inward looking inflexibility. Admittedly recent research has shown that from an economic perspective, the isolationism of Morocco was not as complete as had been assumed. Mohamed Ennaji has convincingly argued that opposition to outsiders - in particular 'infidels' - in the interior of Morocco masked a crucial but largely un-remarked economic relationship to Europe long before the Protectorate: ‘from the end of the Middle Ages onwards the development of Morocco was indistinguishable from that of Europe’ ['A partir de la fin du moyen-âge, en effet, l'évolution du Maroc est indissociable de celle de l'Europe' (Ennaji 1996: 6)]. Ennaji acknowledged however that an underlying economic correspondence with Europe did not affect the hostility of the inhabitants of Marrakech towards the importation of European technological innovations into their city. He gave as one example the resistance to the establishment in the 1860s of a sugar factory in Marrakech (Ennaji 1996: 86-92). An English engineer directed the installation of the factory, which had been completed by
1864. Locally the factory engendered a deep suspicion that Ennaji has attributed to the region’s social and economic incapacity to accept modernization [Ennaji 1996: 92].

Popular, visible hostility in Marrakech to strangers and modernization culminated in the savage murder of Dr. Mauchamp, a French physician who in 1907 was hacked to pieces in the street by a mob. The details of the circumstances leading to the attack on Dr. Mauchamp, who had opened a clinic in Marrakech, vary in different narrative versions of the incident. What the accounts agree on is that the people were outraged by the suspicion that Mauchamp was harbouring a radio that was ‘seen by the locals as an instrument of the devil’ (Spencer 1980: 74). Given the military occupation of Marrakech by the French seven years after this incident, the suspicions of the people about the motives of foreigners in the city cannot be dismissed as groundless. However it does not appear to have been a reaction to France’s territorial aspirations in Morocco that primarily motivated the assassination of the French doctor. The attribution of diabolical associations to the air waves - the invisible forces emanating from the radio and penetrating space - appear to have been the immediate catalyst for the brutal killing of the doctor by the enraged mob.

It can be concluded that before colonization, the popular representation of space in Marrakech was hermetic. The spiritual purity of the Islamic space of the Kasbah had to be protected from the defilement of non-Muslim foreigners and the technology that they imported with them.

1.3.2 (ii) The Kasbah of Marrakech, Islamic space and modernity

The spiritual defences of the Islamic city were compromised by the French military occupation of Marrakech in 1912 and the external influences of the Protectorate. However it is evident that although the conditions for perpetuating the entrenched structure of a hermetic Islamic space in the Kasbah were undermined by the French occupation of Marrakech, they did not disappear overnight. It appears that the French authorities were preoccupied above all with controlling in the medina of Marrakech the visual appearance of an historic Muslim city. Jean François Clément has described it as ‘the ambiguity of the museum-city’ [‘l'ambiguïté de la ville-musée’ (Clément 1994: 17)].
The ambivalence of the French authorities in their administration of the ‘museum-city’ was reflected in the suppression of practices in Marrakech that were unquestionably traditional but offended the sensibilities of European visitors. For instance, Ennaji has demonstrated that expedient measures were taken to deal with the customary slave auctions held three times a week in the city: one of the first acts of the French authorities was the banning in 1912 of the auctioning of human beings in the market whereas the institution of slavery itself was not abolished out of deference to the conservative religious authorities and population of Marrakech who regarded slavery as an orthodox Islamic practice enshrined in tradition (Ennaji 1994: 183).

Present day customs that represent a fragmentary survival of earlier local representations of space can be identified in the Kasbah. Between 1969 and 1971 Boughali, who grew up in the Kasbah of Marrakech (Boughali to the author: 1997), interviewed a number of non-literate people from the South of Morocco, in particular from Marrakech (Boughali 1974: 10). Boughali’s objective was to document oral traditions that had a relationship to space. For instance, he interpreted in the oral tradition three underlying spatial strata related to rites of passage from birth to puberty. He maintained that a newborn child was kept with its mother in the room in which it was delivered for seven days. After the naming of the child and the recognition of its identity within the family on the seventh day after birth, the child was no longer contained within one room but was still confined within the walls of the house until it was forty days old. Domestic space was regarded as inviolate - an invisibly sacred space. The second stage began after the first forty days of the child’s life had elapsed: the infant was carried from the house into the extended space bounded by the city walls, which were under the protection of the spiritual guardians of the city, and it was presented to one of the patron saints of Marrakech. The third stage commenced at puberty when the adolescent participated actively in all the religious obligations of a Muslim and thus entered the universal space of the world community of Muslims [Umma] (Boughali 1974: 11-12). The naming of a child is usually still witnessed in the Kasbah according to local custom on the seventh day after birth with a family feast in which the main dish is trid, reputed to have been a favourite of the Prophet (Guinaudeau-Franc c.1958: 53-54). The conferring of an Islamic name on an infant soon after it is born identifies it to everyone as a Muslim and is an obligation every parent has to fulfil in Islam. Equally the entry of an adolescent into the Umma represents the passage of every Muslim into adulthood. In contrast the custom of containing an infant for seven days
within the room in which it was delivered and of retaining it within the sacred intimacy of the house for its first forty days out of the womb appears to have been of local origin and certainly does not represent a mandatory Islamic practice. In consequence the significance of the custom has been lost from view. Edward Westermarck commented that both seven and forty have traditional ritual associations in Morocco and in Islam in general, indexing numerous examples (Westermarck 1926: 142-143). Indeed there is a tradition that Allah completed the making Adam after forty days and a commemoration of a deceased Muslim sometimes takes place after forty days – particularly public grieving as in the state mourning for King Hassan of Morocco referred to in Chapter Five (5.3). However it is most likely that the enclosing of a new born baby for the first forty days of its life within domestic space is one of many protective rites that, with regional variations, were rife in Morocco in the past. Westermarck recorded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries countless such rituals in both rural and urban contexts (Westermarck 1926). Now babies are in any case generally born outside of the protective space of the house as children in Marrakech are routinely delivered in hospital rather than in the home.

There are traces of a demarcation between the sacred space of the house and the exterior – focused on the threshold – in the occasional vestiges of the once common use of a protective hand on the door to the street [Illustration 10]: hand prints in popular Moroccan Islam are regarded as a protection against the evil eye, as documented by Westermarck in great detail (Westermarck 1926: 414 – 478). Indeed Mohamed Chtatou recently sought ‘to evaluate the degree to which his [Westermarck’s] analysis is applicable today’ and
concluded that much of what Westermark described is still current despite the ‘very changed world in which Moroccans now live’ (Chtatou 1996: 62).

The urban space inhabited by a child brought up in the Kasbah of Marrakech is encircled by ramparts outside of which there are shrines protecting the space inside the walls. The ramparts were historically a demarcation of the boundary between the Kasbah and the boundless and hazardous space of the Haouz plain surrounding the city: in this sense the walls were comparable to the symbolism of the threshold of a house but on a much larger scale. The ramparts have had a potent symbolic significance. Boughali noted that women in the 1940s perpetuated a tradition of going out to meet important visitors (Moroccan as well as foreign) at the perimeter of the city holding stylized reed puppets aloft. He speculated that they embodied the protection of the *genii loci* (Boughali 1974: 104). Even now the Kasbah administration, which organises loyal subjects to make a show of greeting King Mohammed VI outside the Bab Agnaou, arranges for women to stand at the front of the crowd holding puppets made from caftans. In Illustrations 11 and 12, puppets, which as in the past are believed to have a protective function, can be seen in

*Illustration 11. Inhabitants of the Kasbah waiting outside the Kasbah walls between the Bab Agnaou and the Bab er Robb with banners of greeting for the arrival of King Mohammed VI.*
Illustration 12. Puppets held by women waiting to greet King Mohammed VI, whose new palace facing the Bab Agnaou can be seen in the background.

Illustration 13. The entrance of the cemetery of Sidi Es Souhaili.

front of the banners of a group of inhabitants of the Kasbah. Outside the Kasbah walls, the cemetery of Sidi Es Souhaili [Illustration 13] adjoining the Bab Er Rob contains a kubba [tomb] that was rebuilt in the nineteenth century for the remains of a saint who died in 1185: Sidi Es Sohaili, who was born near Malaga, became a celebrated scholar and followed sultan Yacoub El Mansour, the founder of the Kasbah, to Marrakech (Akhmisse 1994: 116). The Arab Sidi Es Souhaili was designated one of the seven ‘patron saints’ of Marrakech in the reign of the seventeenth century Alaouite Sultan
Moulay Ismail, who for political reasons was intent on diverting devotion away from the popular cult of berber marabouts. As one of the ‘seven sleepers’ of Marrakech – again invoking the traditional propitiousness of seven - Sidi Es Souhaiili’s tomb became a shrine for pilgrims drawn by his baraka [protective power]. However the cult of Sidi Es Souhaiili has now declined almost to the point of oblivion.

It can be concluded that isolated customs invoking the baraka of unseen forces can be observed in the Kasbah and that they are the remaining traces of a space that had been defined by invisible powers. Crucially however it would appear that in general, localised rites have tended to recede whereas customs that relate directly to practices and beliefs that are observed throughout the Muslim world are still maintained.

1.3.2 (iii) The Kasbah of Marrakech and the Islamic Kingdom of Morocco

The relationship of Islam to the Kasbah of Marrakech has been legally and administratively determined since Independence in 1956 with the emergence of Morocco as a nation state in which Islam is constitutionally the national religion. Morocco has been an Islamic state headed by a constitutional monarchy since 1957. The sultanate that had ruled Morocco since the eighth century was transformed into a monarchy when in 1957 Sultan Ben Youssef, who had acquired immense national popularity through his leadership in the struggle for independence from the French, became King Mohammed V with the succession assured to the Crown Prince Hassan. It is not a constitutional monarchy in the sense in which European monarchs now inherit an exclusively symbolic role as head of state. Constitutionally the King of Morocco directs the government of his country and is the religious leader of his subjects. It has been pointed out that the power of the constitutional monarchy has become considerably greater than that of the absolute rule of the sultans before the Protectorate. Writing in the mid 1970s about emergent states that had achieved independence from colonial rule, Clifford Geertz argued that ‘the ultimate result of European rule was to establish the king as the axis of the Moroccan political system’ (Geertz 1975: 247). Geertz added that ‘desiring the fate of neither the English monarchy nor the Iraqi, Mohammed V, and even more Hassan II, have sought to create an institution which, invoking Islam, Arabism, and three centuries of Alawite rule, could draw its legitimacy from the past and, calling for rationalism, dirigisme, and
technocracy, its authority from the present’ (Geertz 1975: 248). The religious charisma \[\text{baraka}\] of the sultans had always been crucial to attempting to meet the internal challenges to their (incomplete) territorial control over Morocco. Since Independence the person of the King has been sacred and constitutionally inviolate. From the Almoravids (the founders of Marrakech) in the eleventh century to the Merenids in the fifteenth century, the successive dynasties that had ruled Morocco had been Berbers and it was only with the Saadian dynasty in the sixteenth century that Arab origins and above all direct descent from the Prophet Mohammed came to be central to the sultan’s authority. The Alaouite dynasty that succeeded the Saadians also claimed direct descent from the Prophet. As such King Hassan II, the fifteenth Alaouite ruler of Morocco, commanded respect throughout the Arab world and this has been inherited by his successor, Mohammed VI.

The consolidation of the Moroccan monarchy’s control over religion parallels the hierarchical structure (with the king at its head) that assures the internal security of the state. By 1985 - the beginning of the period covered by this study - King Hassan II had achieved an unprecedented control of the kingdom. Crucially, internal security was overseen by Driss Basri, who as Minister of the Interior was in office from 1979 to 1999, when he was relieved of his duties shortly after the accession of Mohammed VI. As second only to the King in authority, Basri had exercised territorial control over every part of the state. Until the accession of Mohammed VI, all ministers had been appointed by King Hassan II; since 1999 there have been five key ministers (called ‘sovereign’ ministers) appointed personally by King Mohammed VI and answerable directly to him: the Ministers of the Interior, Religious Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Justice and Defence. Abdelkabir M’Daghri Alaoui was Minister of Habous and Religious Affairs for fourteen years from his appointment by Hassan II in February 1984 to Mohamed VI’s replacement of him by Ahmed Toufiq in November 2002. Thus Islam has been represented nationally by a powerful and entrenched Ministry that derived its authority from the Monarchy and exercised considerable central control. Sunni Muslims reject a formal clerical hierarchy. The Ministry has however exercised its authority in its supervision of the mosques: for instance, the Ministry directs the contents of the \[\text{khutba}\] [the address given every Friday at midday prayers]. The weekly \[\text{khutba}\] is a focus for the thoughts and actions of the community in all Muslim societies. Significantly dissident deviations in the delivery of the \[\text{khutba}\] from what the State requires are monitored and regulated not by the Ministry
of Habous and Religious Affairs but by the security forces of the Ministry of the Interior. Thus the Ministry of the Interior exercises an overseeing and regulatory control over the mosques whereas the Ministry of Habous and Religious Affairs has a tutelary role in maintaining in the mosques the orthodoxy of the Maliki school of Sunni Islam. This combined control by the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Habous and Religious Affairs characterises the present influence of the Palace over religion in Morocco.

The Moulay Yazid Mosque [Illustration 14] is the focal historic masjid-i jami [congregational mosque] of the Kasbah and is currently named after an eighteenth-century Alaouite sultan who is buried in the Saadian Tombs, which are attached to the mosque [Illustration 15, 16]. The notorious Moulay Yazid’s short reign (1790-1792) was
marked by fanatical persecution of the Jews. The late twelfth-century Moulay Yazid Mosque is generally referred to as the ‘Kasbah Mosque’ in the literature of architectural history, in which it is classed as an exceptional and innovative building. The imam [leads congregational prayers in the mosque] of the Moulay Yazid Mosque is employed by the Ministry of Habous and Religious Affairs; he still delivers the address at midday Friday prayers standing on a remarkable twelfth century wooden minbar [a kind of pulpit]. For Friday midday prayers the Moulay Yazid Mosque is crowded with large numbers of mainly male locals and officials (who are conspicuously seen to attend prayers).

In the Kasbah, pure Islamic space has been preserved in the mosques, which unconditionally deny access to non-Muslims. Even the hammams [Illustration 17], the traditional public baths that have a ritual as well as hygienic significance and are usually located in close proximity to a mosque, now permit non-Muslims to enter them although until recently this was apparently not so. It appears that French colonial policy was not only to discourage Europeans from inhabiting the Medina of Marrakech but also to prohibit non-Muslims from entering mosques anywhere in the Protectorate; after Independence this prohibition was not rescinded. Kaus Minge attributed the historical rejection in Morocco of contact with non-Muslims to the conservatism of the Maliki School and in this context referred to the continuing exclusion of non-believers from

Illustration 17. The cupola and the women’s entrance of the hammam, Derb Hammam near the Moulay Yazid Mosque.
mosques in Morocco (Minge 1996: 7). However the Maliki School prevails in the Sunni
majority of North Africa as a whole and in Tunisia for instance a different ruling is
applied to mosques. For example the Great Mosque of Kairouan, the first and most
venerated mosque in North Africa, allows non-Muslims into the *sahn* [open courtyard of
the mosque] between prayer times; non-Muslims are prohibited however from entering
the enclosed prayer hall.

Non-Muslims are allowed to visit the third most sacred pilgrimage shrine in Islam, the
Dome of the Rock on Al-Haram-Al Sherif, located on the Jewish Temple Mount in the
holy city of Jerusalem. The decision to allow non-Muslims to enter the prayer hall of the
Hassan II Mosque in Casablanca (inaugurated in 1993) clearly indicates that the
Moroccan State is in effect exercising its sovereign right to exclude non-Muslims from
the interior spaces of other Moroccan mosques but is not claiming that an exclusion from
mosques is required in Maliki orthodoxy. In most countries, some if not all
congregational mosques permit non-Muslims to enter the courtyard, which customarily is
provided with washing facilities and is in a sense an intermediary between the external
space of the city and the sacred interior space of the prayer hall. Universally in Islam
ritual ablutions are a purificatory preparation for prayer, which constitutes one of the five
pillars of Islam whether in the mosque, at home or elsewhere. Purity is central to Islamic
religious rites; for instance menstruating women are regarded as unclean and
consequently during their menstrual period are proscribed from praying either at home or
in the mosque. A *masjid* [a neighbourhood mosque] is typically too small to have a
courtyard and therefore its sacred interior space may be entered directly from the street;
as a neighbourhood mosque is by definition generally in close proximity to the home or
workplace, ritual washing can be performed before going to pray at the mosque. In the
Kasbah, neighbourhood mosques have entrances that parallel the local house doorways in
which a sharply angled corridor separates the external from internal space, thus
preventing any possible sight of the interior from the street [Illustrations 18, 19]. It has
been proposed that this kind of entrance was derived from an ancient North African
tradition in domestic architecture and that it may have its origins in the Middle East.
(Wilbax 2001a: 194) and was adopted in the Bab er Robb in the Kasbah and other defensive gates of Marrakech. In early mosque design, the entrance was often regarded as corresponding to the *mihrab* [a niche designating the direction of Mecca] inside the prayer hall (Frishman 1994: 273). An entrance and even the exceptionally large courtyards of the Moulay Yazid Mosque can be glimpsed from the street whenever one of the monumental west portals is opened [Illustrations 20, 21]; at no time however can the enclosed space of the prayer hall of the Moulay Yazid Mosque be seen from outside.

In the Kasbah of Marrakech, a public, visible adherence to Islam and a conformity to the rules structuring Islamic society are under the surveillance of the Ministry of the Interior.
rather than either the Ministry of Habous and Religious Affairs or the mosques. The responsibility assumed by the Ministry of the Interior to ensure a visible observance of Islam extends throughout the kingdom but the traditional character of the medina of Marrakech is interpreted by the administration as meaning that compliance with conservative social conventions should be strictly maintained in the Kasbah. At the local administrative level of the Kasbah, the authority to monitor public conformity to those conventions is delegated by the Wali (the personal representative of the King in the region) to the Pacha (the senior administrative officer in the Kasbah), who in turn delegates to the Caid, an official who is responsible for the day to day administration of the district. The Caid is informed in detail about public order in the Kasbah by the Moqqadem, who is a minor official of the Ministry of the Interior. On the basis of intelligence gathered from informants, by local gossip and by observation, the Moqqadem is required to report to the Caid whatever he knows. The office of Moqqadem is historical in the sense that before the centralised administration of the Ministry of the Interior was instituted in succession to the administration of the French Protectorate, order in each district of the medina was maintained by a Moqqadem. Wali, Pacha and Caid are titles that were used in pre-colonial Morocco but the functions of the present Wali, Pacha and Caid have been inherited from the French Protectorate administration. Higher ranking officials are moved periodically from district to district. Characteristically the current Moqqadem of the Kasbah is of local origin and his appointment is long standing (Saussi to the author: 2002). The present Moqqadem interprets his role as including a surveillance of the district in order to maintain the traditions of the Kasbah and respect for the conservative mentality of the majority of its inhabitants (Saussi to the author: 2001). Tradition in this context appears to imply conformity to what are regarded as unchanging rules inherited from the past and governing everyday life. How the past is represented in a predominantly oral culture will be discussed in the next chapter in the context of the problematics of tradition and authenticity (2.1.3(ii)).

The views expressed by the Moqqadem about the traditional character of the Kasbah reflect an administrative policy: the Kasbah is in principle differentiated from other districts that are, like the Kasbah, under the personal governorship of the Wali of Marrakech but unlike the Kasbah are situated outside the boundaries of the ramparts. For example, in deference to the prohibition of alcohol in Islam, no licenses have been granted in the Kasbah to shops or cafés for the sale of alcoholic drinks. Whereas in the
Menara district, which forms part of a residential area founded by the French authorities outside the city walls and which is now also under the governorship of the Wali of Marrakech, the sale of alcohol is to a limited extent tolerated. The administration appears to be primarily motivated in its prohibition of alcohol in the Kasbah by a desire to demonstrate a visible and public adherence to Muslim tenets. It would seem that in the public space the appearance of a communal upholding of Islamic precepts outweighs the rigorous enforcement of individual conformity to them. That is to say, the absence in the streets of the Kasbah of liquor shops or cafés and bars serving alcohol can be interpreted as a visible affirmation by the authorities that the traditions of the Islamic city are being upheld. An inspection of the Kasbah would reveal no tangible, permanent evidence of drinking - unlike the shops, cafés and bars of a traditional quarter of a European city. Yet although the authorities exclude from the public space of the Kasbah any permanent evidence of a contravention of the Islamic prohibition of alcohol, this does not mean that individuals – including officials - invariably follow in private the Islamic ruling of abstention from alcohol. Indeed illicit drinking and intoxication outdoors can be observed within the winding *derbs* [neighbourhood lanes] of the Kasbah, particularly at night [Illustration 22, 23] and is tolerated if not endorsed by both inhabitants and the forces of

*Illustrations 22, 23. A night workman in a drunken stupor after consuming bootleg mehia, Derb Mnabha.*

order. Bootleg *mehia*, a kind of eau de vie, is readily available from local clandestine sources in the Kasbah except during the holy month of Ramadan and during religious holidays. Guinaudau-Franc, writing in the 1950s, identified *mehia* as a Moroccan Jewish alcohol distilled from figs, dates or raisins according to the region - a kosher drink consumed for religious or family feasts (Guinaudau-Franc c1958: 217). Elias Canetti, who visited Marrakech at the end of the Protectorate, observed that in the *Mellah* [Jewish quarter], *mehia* was drunk freely and the impression was given that the Jews were rather envied by the Muslims in that respect (Canetti 1978: 56). In other words, it should not be
assumed that alcohol in the Kasbah is straightforwardly an importation from the West into a conservative Muslim society.

Just as the public sale of alcohol is prohibited in the Kasbah, overt displays of sexuality and eroticism are suppressed. For instance street posters advertising the programmes of the ‘Cinéma Mauritanie’ (now closed) on the main street of the Kasbah were censored to the extent that a film poster using a reproduction of Goya’s painting the *Nude Maja* [Maja desnuda] now hanging in the Prado, Madrid, had paper strips - printed with the legend ‘today’ - strategically pasted over the pudenda and nipples. That is to say, a street poster using a reproduction of a painting that the Spanish Inquisition had condemned but that ‘modern viewers have tended to accept ... as a masterpiece within the canon of high art’ (Sanchez 1989: 117) had to be modified in order to make it acceptable in the public space of the Kasbah. On the other hand, the Kasbah appears to have been notorious since Independence for the number of prostitutes who have inhabited and worked in it. A report on the habitation of the south of Morocco noted that in the early years of Moroccan Independence ‘in the kasba ... at least one third of the dwellings house prostitutes’ (Nijst 1973: 168). The connection between prostitution and the Kasbah can be understood in the context of a zone in which large numbers of soldiers were and still are barracked [Illustration 24]. The relationship between prostitution and the Kasbah is attested in oral
tradition by a proverb to the effect that the Kasbah is synonymous with prostitution (Nait Belaid to the author: 2002). Yet prostitution is not on overt display in the streets of the Kasbah but is confined to houses. Though Boughali suggested that the use of a house for prostitution was regarded in the oral tradition as a defilement of a space sanctified by the family (Boughali 1974: 53-54), there was clearly an acceptance of prostitution within the Kasbah in the past and there appears to be little concern in the present as long as it is not in the public space. The local territorial administration and police appear to be well aware of the Kasbah’s reputation in Marrakech for prostitution, drunkenness and hashish smoking but the chief of police for the district has defended the inactivity of the authorities in controlling these technically illegal activities on the basis of the difficulty for the police in apprehending the offenders “in flagrante delicto” (Commissaire, IV Arrondissement, to the author: 2002).

It has already been noted that the justification for the authorities treating the Kasbah differently from the districts outside the city walls is based on the designation of the Kasbah as a traditional zone. However the basis of a differentiation by the territorial administration (Ministry of the Interior) between traditional and non-traditional space is open to question from a number of viewpoints. The problems associated with political claims to support tradition will be discussed more fully in the context of culture in the next chapter (2.1.3(ii)). Certainly the Kasbah looks archaic in many respects. Donkeys,
horses and handcarts are an everyday means of transporting goods and materials [Illustration 25]. The narrow lanes harbour often crumbling buildings uniformly painted the colour of the rammed earth of the medieval fortified walls surrounding the Kasbah [Illustration 26]. Muslim dress is worn more commonly in the medina of Marrakech than in any other Moroccan city with the exception of Fes. However the assumption that tradition is inert and unchanging in such surroundings is questionable (Gellner 1992). In a discussion of postmodernism and religion, Gellner took Islamic dress as an example of how traditional practices are constantly developing. He cited how married women wearing a veil in the streets of North African cities are unquestioningly regarded as upholding the timeless ways of their forebears. However Gellner observed that in North Africa many of the women who now wear a veil in public are rural migrants to the city; in the villages and oases where they came from it has never been practical or customary for women to veil themselves. Gellner speculated that many women who wear the veil today in city areas that are heavily populated by rural migrants – such as Kasbah - have adopted a tradition associated with urban status precisely because their own mothers and grandmothers had not veiled themselves. In the Kasbah the wearing of a veil by a married woman in public is common – particularly amongst the older women - but is regarded as a personal choice rather than an obligation. Veiled women wearing a *djellaba* [a long, loose-fitting hooded garment] in the street may be seen as conservative and as

*Illustration 27. A woman wearing a djellaba walking in front of the Bab Agnaou.*
observing local Islamic tradition [Illustration 27]. However this conventional form of urban dress is a relatively recently development and reflects the changes that may occur within what is in the main perceived as a static society. Before Independence, women in Marrakech customarily wore a *haik* [a single piece of cloth that was drawn over the entire body and head, veiling the face when required] when they were in the street. A *haik* is a garment that is likely to have had pre-Islamic Berber origins and was worn throughout the whole region of North Africa. In Marrakech as in other cities of Morocco it was worn by both sexes, as can be seen in European photographs and illustrations of street scenes

*Illustrations 28, 29. Rue de la Kasbah. Details from a wood engraving published in 1899.*

[Illustrations 28, 29]. Gaëtan de Clérambault, who directed Jacques Lacan in his doctoral research (Jay 1993: 339), made an extended photographic study of Moroccan women wearing the *haik*. Sarah Graham-Brown linked de Clérambault's obsession with photographing women putting on a *haik* and veiling themselves with it to a widespread orientalist fascination with the mystery and latent eroticism of veiled women in city streets. The abandonment of the voluminous *haik* has been attributed primarily to its impracticality in a changing urban environment. The versatile *djellaba* in different styles and materials is in Morocco the predominant form of Islamic dress for men. In the early twentieth century some women had taken to going out in a modified version of the *djellaba* — a man's garment — in preference to a *haik*. After Independence, the *djellaba* was widely adopted by urban women in Morocco. In 1976 a British anthropologist, Melissa Llewelyn-Davies, made a documentary film about women in Marrakech. As a record of women in relationship to interior as well as public space in the city, *Some women of Marrakech* (Llewelyn-Davies 1976) is exceptional since the access offered to
the all female film crew would not have been available in other circumstances. The film focussed in particular on the situation of Aicha bint Mohammed, a poor rural migrant who had spent most of her life in Marrakech. Anna Grimshaw commented that 'Llewelyn-Davies once described her fieldwork technique as about 'chatting' as a method and orientation towards the world, it reveals a new kind of anthropological encounter built around the intimate, the informal, the fostering of human connection in a context of what Lila Abu-Lughod calls 'dailiness' (Grimshaw 2001: 152). Throughout the course of Aicha’s daily life, she was shown to be constantly oppressed by a conflict between the ideals she espoused as a conservative woman and the harsh practical constraints imposed by poverty. Aicha went out in the city but not in her native village in a djellaba and veil. It was suggested in the film that the djellaba and veil, which at the time the film was made were worn by the majority of women, represented a tacit recognition that women did not belong in the public space of men. Much to Aicha’s regret, in her domestic space she was unable to maintain the ideal of never being viewed by any man who was not her own father, husband or brother: in the shared house in which she lived with her husband and children, she was constantly on view in the small communal courtyard to the men of the five other families occupying the same building. Renting a room in often crowded housing remains an economic necessity for many of the poorer families in the Kasbah. For example, Samira, the Moqaddem's sister, lives in one room with her husband and two children in her own house that she inherited in the Chtouka quarter of the Kasbah. As her husband has no employment, she rents out the rest of the house in order to support her family. Since all the occupants, including young single men, share a central courtyard,
there is no possibility of privacy for anyone [Illustration 30]. A condition of living in the Kasbah today as in the past is that seclusion in the home is related to wealth. However total seclusion for women in households that would be able to support what used to be regarded by society as a privilege is no longer an expectation in well to do families. In Some women of Marrakech, one of a group of mature ladies who had lived much of their married lives in seclusion, going out only once a fortnight to the hammam, commented that “Morocco got Independence and we got to go out”. From the perspective of the concurrence of the liberation of the nation from colonial rule, the change in the way the seclusion of women was viewed and the popularity of the female version of the djellaba, the djellaba might be seen as a reflection of a relative liberation for women.

The Moqqadem and his superiors in the administration may be justified in their assumption that the inhabitants of the Kasbah are conservative in outlook. In the 1970s Laraoui remarked that the conservative backbone of North African cities is largely made up of the small shopkeepers, self-employed artisans and minor administrators who constitute a significant proportion of the working population of the Kasbah and this could be still applicable (Laraoui 1974). Yet the designation of the Kasbah as a traditional Muslim space does not necessarily account for the mutations in the local customs that constitute tradition.

The institutional representation of the Kasbah as a traditional zone reflects the power of a modern state. Even inhabitants of the Kasbah who regard themselves as traditionalists complain about the corruption of the Ministry of Habous and Islamic Affairs, referring to what is alleged to be a massive administrative misappropriation of the income derived from properties that have been bequeathed over the centuries to the mosques. A local complaint conveyed privately in 1998 was that devout individuals in the community were paying for essential renovation work that should have been undertaken by the Ministry of Habous and Religious Affairs, which had both the responsibility and funds to maintain the Moulay Yazid Mosque (El Omari to the author: 1998). With the first wave of optimism about the possibility of speaking publicly about such issues after the death of Hassan II and the accession of Mohamed VI, the novelist Abdelhak Serhane, who in an unanticipated appointment joined the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, directed an accusation at the Minister of Habous and Religious Affairs: ‘the unseatable Moulay Abdelkebir
Alaoui M'Daghri ought to explain to us where the Habous money goes' ['L'indétrônable Moulay Abdelkébir Alaoui M'Daghri devrait nous expliquer où va l'argent des Habous' (Serhane 1999: 28)].

The relationship between central government and Islam has indisputably changed in the Kasbah as a consequence of national developments. In the pre-Protectorate Kasbah, space was indivisibly Islamic and was dominated by the central power of the Sultanate, to which it owed its existence. The presence of the sultan was permanent as he was represented by a khalifa [delegate, usually a close relation] when he was not in the Kasbah in person. Stambouli and Zghal have suggested that in general, the dominant role of the central power hindered the development of independent cities in North Africa, in contrast to medieval Europe. They characterised the kasbahs of North African cities as segmented urban zones since both the rulers and the military forces based in them had origins outside of the city. The army was responsible for protecting the city but often acted as though it was a force of occupation. Stambouli and Zghal concluded that the spatial differentiation of the kasbah from the rest of the city was focussed on the royal palace and the army barracks (Stambouli 1972: 4-5). The Kasbah in Marrakech was a citadel and as such was an acknowledgement by the sultans that there was a continuous challenge to their temporal authority from hostile tribes outside the city rather than from foreign invaders [Illustration 31]. The contest of power in Morocco between the Sultan and tribesmen was exemplified by who had control over the supply of water to the Kasbah of Marrakech. For almost a century, the aggressive Mesfiwa Tribe succeeded in diverting for their own use the Tasultant, the royal séguaia [canal] that had supplied the

Illustration 31. Squallat al Mrabit, a fort constructed to protect the west flank of the Agdal.
irrigation reservoirs of the Agdal Gardens in the Kasbah since the twelfth century. In the early nineteenth century Sultan Moulay Abderrahmane (reigned 1822-1859) reasserted the state’s right over the Tasultant and the subsequent restoration of the Agdal symbolised the Sultan’s power through the newly regained control over water (El Faiz 1996: 20 - 25). Historically there was a parallel contest between the spiritual authority of the sultans, generally supported by the ulemas [urban councils of Islamic scholars], and of the zaouays [rural religious foundations]. Jamal Benomar in a paper on the monarchy and religious discourse in Morocco argued that until the early 1960s Islam in Morocco was dominated by these three institutions (the sultanate, the ulema and the zaouaya) and that the history of pre-colonial Morocco was influenced to a large extent by the state of constant competition between the makhzen [realm] and the zaouaya (Benomar 1988: 545). The urban ulema has been conventionally seen as having had a natural allegiance to the central power [makhzen] and the zaouaya an oppositional role. After Independence, the legacy of the prolonged and bloody French pacification of the tribesmen was a state in which the monarchy could exert its influence both temporally and spiritually over the entire Kingdom.

In summary, in its external relations and permeability, in the mutations of traditional practices, the present-day Kasbah can be differentiated from the impenetrable Islamic space of the pre-colonial Kasbah. Although both individual and institutional observances of Islamic precepts are visible in the Kasbah on many levels, the historical conditions in which a purely Islamic space prevailed in the Kasbah of Marrakech have been succeeded by a bureaucratic system that invokes tradition in order to enforce a visible conformity to Islam: in its surveillance of the Kasbah, the bureaucracy upholds what it regards as Islamic ideals by excluding from public view any permanent expression of activities that are recognisably in breach of what are represented as Islamic traditions.
CHAPTER TWO

PROBLEMATICS, METHODOLOGY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 PROBLEMATICS

Questioning how space and time are apprehended has been central to developments in European thinking. When in the mid sixteenth century Copernicus proposed that the earth revolves round the sun rather than the other way round, his alternative theory to the orthodoxy of the Ptolemaic cosmology required a new conceptual viewpoint from which to observe the celestial bodies. Copernicus' analytical departure from dogmatic authority was concurrent with an expansion of the horizons of European knowledge gained from experience through exploration - in particular the navigation of the oceans. Immanuel Kant's revision of how space and time are perceived can be compared in its theoretical implications to the Copernican rethinking of the workings of the physical universe. Kant opened the Critique of pure reason (first published in 1781) with a discussion of space and time (Kant 1929: 67-82) in which he argued that human experiences of space and time cannot be independent of mental concepts of space and time. Foucault, who said that if anything he fitted into the critical tradition of Kant (Foucault 1984e: 941), observed that space has a history and saw Galileo as pivotal to the passage from a contained, hierarchical medieval space to an extended space without boundaries (Foucault 1994c: 753). Indeed it might be said that the Church's formal condemnation in 1616 of Copernicus' theories and the indictment (1633) and sentencing of Galileo for holding Copernican views was effectively a reflection of how threatening the religious authorities found Galileo's observations of unbounded space. Foucault regarded Kant as equally consequential in relation to a consciousness of a viewpoint of modernity (Foucault 1984f). The discussion of problematics in the first part (2.1) of this chapter focuses on conceptual and physical viewpoints, ranging from the difficulty of interpreting the present to the complexity of viewing the city in totality.
2.1.1 Problematics: objectives

In Sections 2.1.2 the central problematics of time and space are discussed both generally and more specifically in relationship to the Kasbah of Marrakech. In subsection 2.1.2 (i) the universal problem of gaining an overview of the present is discussed. This problem is not straightforwardly resolvable but an awareness of it is critical to the discussion. Subsection 2.1.2 (ii) discusses the difficulties of conceptualizing modernity. It is accepted that there are no available definitive concepts of modernity, postmodernity or any of the cognate terms currently employed. Consequently the endeavour is to clarify how modernity might be understood in the context of this thesis. In subsection 2.1.2 (iii) the discussion introduces the spatial implications of relating modernity to the Kasbah of Marrakech. In subsection 2.1.2 (iv) the issues of globalization and ‘local modernity’ are broadly assessed. In subsection 2.1.2 (v), time and space are considered from the viewpoints of three specific sites located in the Kasbah of Marrakech. The related problematics of culture, authenticity and authority are discussed in the third section (2.1.3). Urban complexity and consequent difficulties in interpreting the totality of the Kasbah are the focus in the fourth section (2.1.4).

2.1.2 The problematics of time and space

2.1.2 (i) The present

What is close in time presents difficulties of perception, understanding and interpretation. As this thesis is occupied with contested space in the Kasbah of Marrakech in the last two decades, this problem has to be addressed.

Dean MacCannell recollected that in 1968 when he was in Paris he heard Claude Lévi-Strauss claim that 'it was not possible ... to do an ethnography of modernity. Modern
society is just too complex; history has intervened and smashed its structure. No matter how hard one searched, one would never find a coherent system of relations in modern society (MacCannell: 1976:1). This problem appears to have been readily recognized in relationship to studies of Africa. Kirsten Ross - writing about the recent past in France - looked retrospectively at structuralism and attempted to situate it in relationship to de-colonisation and state-led modernization: she concluded that a structuralist grid was rarely applied to Africa because it was difficult to relate it to revolutionary and emerging nationalism. She concluded that 'structural paradigms, it seems, could offer little understanding of militant peoples steering their own history-in-the-making' (Ross 1995: 162). In other words structuralism, which had seemed to promise the possibility of a universal application, was evidently in practice seldom applied (by the West) to African contexts outside of traditional societies that were largely self-contained and isolated from external contacts. So the application of a structuralist analysis to a fluid situation like an African society in the process of change has, it seems, been generally avoided.

2.1.2 (ii) Modernity

Modernity and associated terms such as postmodernity are alluded to throughout the literature that is cited in this thesis but as with other concepts that are central to the way the world is viewed at the present time, there is no fixed point of reference for the concept of 'modernity'.

In a straightforward sense – the sense in which ‘modern’ is used in everyday language – this thesis could be said to be about modern as opposed to historical discursive contests in the Kasbah of Marrakech in the last two decades. This is the sense in which Edward Lane for example wrote over one hundred and seventy years ago about the ‘modern Egyptian': he described the customs in Egypt of his own time and used ‘modern’ to differentiate his contemporaries in Egypt from the ancient Egyptians (Lane 1989, first published in 1836). In another sense the material products of industrialized societies are frequently referred to as ‘modern’. Thus cities or districts of cities are described as 'modern' in distinction to traditional or historic towns or quarters. In the 1970s L. Carl Brown in the context of traditional Near Eastern cities echoed a commonly expressed viewpoint about the global
uniformity of the urban environment and argued that it is a consequence of a hegemonic modernity:

Technology and economic imperatives seem to conspire in assuring that the world's cities will look increasingly similar. An economic use of limited space dictates high-rise buildings, and this requirement, in turn, is satisfied best - in both economics and engineering - by similar building materials: steel, glass, and reinforced concrete. And that most of the architects and engineers trained to construct such "modern" buildings have been educated in a limited number of places in Europe and the Western world only increases the homogenizing potential (Brown 1973: 18).

In this sense the Kasbah of Marrakech could be described as traditional or historic, as the absence of modern high-rise buildings in Illustration 32 would suggest. In this traditional urban landscape, the numerous rooftop satellite dishes in the photograph are often seen as incongruously 'modern' additions which have proliferated since the mid 1990s. Thus 'modernity' as a derivative of 'modern' may refer to recent technological or cultural developments and reflects a popular view in which linear progress is associated with modernity (Hashish 1999:10). Allied to a dominant perception that modernity is
represented by material progress is the assumption that modern governmental and legal practices are better than those of the past. The governmental and legal systems generally referred to as modern largely originated in the industrialized West and include democratic elections, respect for citizens' human rights, transparency and an independent judiciary. Hence calls to modernize political and judicial systems throughout the world are implicitly alluding to the model of a modern democracy of a country like the United States of America. While acknowledging the general currency of modernity as progress, it does not seem to be an adequate definition of modernity to adopt in this project. Therefore the next task in this subsection is to review the possibilities in other meanings that have been conferred on 'modernity' as a concept.

Foucault reassessed the generally accepted view of a chronological sequence in which pre-modernity was followed by modernity and arguably by 'postmodernity'. Modernity as a break from a previous world order in Europe has in the main been identified as having its origins in the fifteenth century - as in Immanuel Wallerstein's pioneering study of the modern world system that opens in volume one with the Renaissance (Wallerstein 1974). Foucault questioned whether modernity might be understood instead as meaning how individuals relate to the present - in their actions as well as intellectually and emotionally. He advanced the idea that a specific consciousness of modernity may not have been formed until the Enlightenment: Jay commented on Foucault's proposal 'that the Enlightenment, or at least Kant, had at times understood the historical specificity of its philosophizing (Jay 1993: 390).

Modernity as an attitude rather than as a period in history was conceived by Foucault to be in constant conflict with attitudes of 'counternmodernity' (Foucault 1984f). Correspondingly the battle between 'moderns' and 'ancients' that emerged from the Enlightenment was centred on an opposition between rationality and authority. Debates in literature and art between the protagonists of the ancients (neo-classicists) and the Romantics (moderns) reflected the development of an aesthetic dimension to a contest in which modernité (aesthetic modernity) became separated from modernity as rationality (modern processes) in the economic, political and social spheres. Baudelaire's definition in 1863 that 'modernity is the transitory, the fugitive, the contingent' ['la modernité, c'est le transitoire, le fugitif, le contingent' (Baudelaire 1962: 467)] exemplified a sense of the discontinuity of time inherent in modernity.
Modernity later became associated particularly with the capitalist basis of industrialized nation states and this remains a dominant interpretation. The proliferation in the late twentieth century of a variety of terms that suggested a further or extended stage of modernity indicated a perceived need to revise ideas of what constitutes modernity in a world of accelerated global change. 'Postmodernism' has been the term most frequently employed; it appears that unprecedented spatial relationships globally are central to what has been proposed as postmodernism. Frederic Jameson suggested that 'a certain spatial turn has often seemed to offer one of the more productive ways of distinguishing postmodernism from modernism proper' and characterized the postmodern through 'discontinuous spatial experience and confusions' (Jameson 1991: 154). Corresponding to the inherent cultural ambivalence of the present period is the elusiveness of any clear or single characterisation of postmodernism. Indeed the value or indeed viability of postmodernism as an interpretation of the present has frequently been challenged through proposals of alternative terms, suggestions that it has a limited applicability and doubts about whether it actually means anything at all. For instance, in a discussion of consumer culture and postmodernism, Mike Featherstone began by stating that 'there is, as yet, no agreed meaning to the term 'postmodern' - its derivatives, the family of terms which include postmodernity, postmodernité, postmodernization and postmodernism are often used in confusing and interchangeable ways' (Featherstone 1991: 11). Featherstone also noted the widespread criticism of the internal logic of postmodernism: 'one of the problems faced by those such as Lyotard who formulate the postmodern as the end of master narratives is that they too require a meta-narrative to explain the emergence of the postmodern' (Featherstone 1991: 51). Anthony Giddens enumerated some of the many terms that suggest 'we are moving from a system based upon the manufacture of products to one based on the transferation of information' (Giddens 1990:2): he listed 'postmodernism', 'post-capitalism', 'post-industrial society'. Yet Giddens was dismissive of 'postmodernism', preferring 'high modernity' (Giddens 1990: 45).

A further aspect of the difficulties associated with the meaning of postmodernism arises from the derivation of the term postmodernism from a specifically aesthetic context, in particular in response to modernism in the sense understood in the visual arts in the twentieth century. The American art historian Leo Steinberg is usually credited with being the first person to employ the critical term 'postmodernism' (in reference to the art
of the 1950s and in particular early Rauschenberg). For this reason Giddens dismissed postmodernism as a general term, arguing that it should be limited to the arts: 'postmodernism, if it means anything, is best kept to refer to styles or movements within literature, painting, the plastic arts, and architecture. It concerns aspects of aesthetic reflection upon the nature of modernity' (Giddens 1990: 45).

It would seem doubtful that postmodernism is a concept that is readily applicable to the Kasbah of Marrakech. If postmodernism could indeed be constructively employed outside the areas of literature, the visual arts and architecture, it would be likely to be meaningful in the context of for instance New York, which is unambiguously central, rather than a city like Marrakech, which is readily recognisable as peripheral.

2.1.2 (iii) 'Local modernity'

A local or regional relationship to modernity in the context of the Middle East has been proposed in one area of American based Middle East studies. For instance, the application in the Middle East of technologies originating in the industrialized states has been discussed within a framework of modernity. In a paper on Egyptian computer khatabas [professional marriage brokers], Hashish and Peterson of the American University in Cairo described a recent practice of harnessing digital technology to provide a substitute for traditional female professional matchmakers: a number of computer database companies dedicated to facilitating the search for an appropriate marriage partner have been offering their services to busy professional Egyptians in Cairo and Alexandria since about 1996. Their paper supported the 'notion of an ongoing emergent Egyptian modernity that is shaped not by abstract forces of 'modernization' but by Egypt's own particular historical situation' (Hashish 1999: 7). Hashish and Peterson sought to demonstrate that computer khatabas exemplify a hybrid product that can be differentiated from both its traditional and its imported sources. Likewise Lila Abu-Lughod has written extensively about local modernity and Arab women (Abu-Lughod 1995, 1997, 1998). Lila Abu-Lughod has commented that in Middle East studies there has been a development in thinking about modernity and women. In her editorial preface to Remaking women: femininity and modernity in the Middle East (1998), she enumerated the assumptions about modernity and women that are now being questioned: for instance the categorization of a woman’s domestic responsibilities as traditional in opposition to
the modernity of education, employment or a role in politics. Lila Abu-Lughod has been particularly concerned with the representation of modernity in the Egyptian soap operas that are popular throughout the Arab world (Abu-Lughod 1995) and has observed that the programmes are largely directed at viewers who are for the most part excluded from the world that is portrayed on television. In an interview with Sarwat Ahmad in 1999, she explained that "I respect a lot of the television writers, producers who I talk about. They are progressive, they want to uplift the masses yet I don't think that they realize what exactly is happening to the people on the ground, and are actually making them feel bad about themselves by promoting the ideals of education. I mean, the hero in a television serial is always educated and that is what allows him to be a good person." (Ahmad 1999).

Abu-Lughod contributed a discussion about television as an institution that projects modernity as a progressive value in the Middle East to a collection of essays edited by Daniel Miller, an anthropologist specializing in material culture and consumption: Worlds apart: modernity through the prism of the local (Miller 1995) encompasses Africa, Hawaii, Australia and Belize as well as Egypt. Miller in his introduction to the book proposed that 'while the general public continues to perceive anthropology as primarily a discipline which utilises fieldwork in order to identify and characterise a condition opposed to modernity, this has never been a true representation of the actual range of anthropological concerns'. In his rejection of a dichotomy between tradition and modernity in the present time, Miller identified a 'shift in the consciousness of the peoples we study who almost all now view themselves in direct relation to an explicit image of modern life' (Miller 1995:1).

Miller's anthropological interest in the way in which individuals view themselves in relationship to modernity and his emphasis on consumption may not altogether correspond to an interpretation in this project of modernity in the Kasbah of Marrakech. Miller's contention though that people who live outside global centres of modernity may nonetheless have an active relationship with modernity is especially significant and applicable to a study of the Kasbah. From the viewpoint of the Kasbah it is to be noted that modernity might be defined directly in regional or local contexts and not solely through world centres of modernity - in particular key cities such as New York, Los Angeles, London and Tokyo, which have been typically associated with postmodernism.
2.1.2 (iv) Globalism, 'local modernity' and hybridity

Giddens asserted that 'modernity is inherently globalising' (Giddens 1990: 63), basing his understanding of globalism on unprecedented networks between local and international space and time:

The conceptual framework of time-space distanciation directs our attention to complex relations between local involvement (circumstances of co-presence) and interaction across distance (the connections of presence and absence). In the modern era, the level of time-space distanciation is much higher than in any previous period, and the relations between local and distant social forms and events become correspondingly "stretched." Globalisation refers essentially to that stretching process, in so far as the modes of connection between different social contexts or regions become networked across the earth's surface as a whole (Giddens 1990:64).

In an overview of the problematics of modernity and globalism, Jan Pierterse cited Giddens' viewpoint of globalization as the corollary of modernity and condemned its eurocentric basis: he suggested that Giddens implied that globalisation spreads to the periphery from its source in the centre. (Pierterse 1995: 46) and that 'in effect it is a theory of Westernization by another name' (Pierterse 1995: 47). An influential view of globalization as a network of key cities had been proposed by John Friedmann in the mid 1980s (Friedmann 1987). Victor Fung-Shuen Sit summarized the spatial interconnections between cities on global, continental, national and local levels and defined a hierarchy of power in which the cities of the developing world occupy at best a secondary and more usually a subordinate economic position:

Global cities such as New York, Tokyo and London are the world's financial centers and the national headquarters of most MNCs (multi-national
corporations). They concentrate on global accumulation and decision making. Continental cities are similar in role to the first-level cities, but within a more restricted ambit such as Singapore and Hong Kong in Asia or Sao Paulo and Buenos Aires in Latin America. They serve as major subaccumulation centres. National cities like Caracas or Bangkok dominate their respective countries. They are the focuses for national accumulation and via MNCs the national links to global centers, interacting with and influencing regional cities and regulating the countryside through a system of intermediate centers (Sit 1993: 195).

In the hierarchy that Sit proposed, Marrakech would be designated as a 'regional city', subordinate to Casablanca as a 'national city'; both are subject to the forces exerted through the spatial network of corporate powers. This interpretation of a globalized economy as interconnections between centres that form ties holding together the world economy appears to be dominant in the policies of those who hold power in the centres that have achieved world economic and political ascendancy. Moreover it is evident that a hierarchical interpretation of globalization, buttressed by claims of progress in the implementation of modern democratic values as already alluded to in subsection 2.1.2 (ii), is widely disseminated through international political rhetoric reported in the media. It is not surprising therefore that the economic model is assumed to hold good for international relations in general.

As an alternative, theoretical view of globalization that circumvents the hegemonic economic model, it has been advanced that there is a multiplicity of regional and local modernities along the lines introduced in the preceding subsection 2.1.2 (iii). For instance Pierterse argued that 'one way round the problem of modernization / Westernization is the notion of multiple paths of modernization, which avoids the onus of Eurocentrism ...' and added that 'all societies create their own modernity' (Pierterse 1995: 48). However it could be argued that one of the problems arising from the proposition that all societies create their own modernity stems from the difficulties in identifying, characterizing and in particular analyzing any one of the projected multiple paths of modernization. Modernity in Europe and North America has been well documented and extensively if not conclusively analysed, as has already been indicated. The modernity of
other societies has been studied sporadically. Latin America has already been mentioned in the context of theories of hybridization. South East Asia has been a productive field. The former French colonies in North Africa on the contrary have been discussed by and large from an historical perspective and typically in terms of a confrontation between tradition and modernity.

2.1.2 (v) Time and space in the Kasbah of Marrakech: three sites (Sidi Mansour, Ksibt Nhass, Moulay Yazid)

In this subsection, the contiguity of the local and the global in the Kasbah is considered through looking at the viewpoints of three specific sites (Sidi Mansour, Ksibt Nhass and Moulay Yazid) that are focal public spaces. Juxtapositions of the local and the global have been commented upon at many levels in most parts of the world and the ubiquity of corporate products like ‘Coca Cola’ have been seen as emblematic of globalization. Images of eye-catching contrasts of ‘traditional and modern’ in magazines, travelogues and guidebooks intended for consumption in the developed world are pervasive. Lee Frost, an English freelance photographer (Frost 2001), was in the Kasbah in June 2001 as he had been commissioned to take photographs for a guidebook on Marrakech (Shales 2002). Frost had a working ‘picture list’ that briefed him to include ‘Moroccan women, preferably mix of veiled and not veiled, traditional and modem, in one shot!’ (Frost, unpublished document, 2001). The conventions of photography in fashion magazines in America and Europe appear to have been in part directed towards an assumed predilection of their audience for a background of exoticism. For instance, a Dominique Isserman photograph (‘Rue du Palais Royal’) published in American Elle (Isserman 1997) portrayed an elegant fashion model on a deserted Rue du Bab Ighli in the Kasbah and is characteristic of the tactic of furnishing a backdrop of atmospheric but subordinate ‘Otherness’ to Parisian sophistication.

Cultural intersections in the public space of the Kasbah may be contextualized through a consideration of three specific sites: Sidi Mansour, Ksibt Nhass and Moulay Yazid. The
Sidi Mansour junction in the Kasbah is a focus of activities that are representative in Marrakech of a traditional neighbourhood space in which the daily needs of the inhabitants are met: there is no practical need for any of the inhabitants to leave the vicinity except for special purchases or for exceptional tasks. Facing the Sidi Mansour Mosque [Illustration 33] is a *hamman* [public bath] next to a public fountain [Illustration 34] that until recently provided public water for the neighbouring households, workshops and shops. One of the first tasks of the Protectorate administration in Marrakech had been to install a water pumping station and provide the city with public fountains in order to stem the typhoid epidemics that had been spread by polluted water (Clément 1994: 18). The fountains rapidly assumed the status of symbols of neighbourhood identity (Boughali 1974: 106-108). Adjoining the Sidi Mansour Mosque is the ‘Souika Sidi Mansour’ [Illustration 35], a small scale *souk*. In Illustration 36, a routine delivery of ‘Coca Cola’ is seen in front of the Sidi Mansour Mosque, next to which there has been since 1999 the *Sidi Mansour Cyber* that functions mainly as a computer games room for children [Illustration 37]. As was customary, next to the mosque there was until 2003 a public lavatory, the external wall of which was covered in chalked graffiti [Illustration 38] that had been untouched for several years (1999-2003). The graffiti indicate another

*Illustration 33. The Sidi Mansour Mosque entrance.*

*Illustration 34. The cupola and women’s entrance of the Sidi Mansour hamman. The disused fountain is on the left.*
dimension. There is a commonplace insult - 'Hamid is a prostitute'. There are a variety of references to football: the English football teams Manchester United and Arsenal; the name of a fictional football hero 'Captin Majid' (sic) is written next to a drawing of a football boot.
'Captain Majid' is a boy footballer who originated in a long running series of Japanese *Manga* comic books created by Yoichi Tatahashi around the exploits of a Japanese boy called 'Captain Tsubasa'. *Manga* comic books have been enormously popular amongst the young in Japan since the 1970s and have spread into animated films and computer games. Each member of Captain Tsubasa's Japanese team of boy footballers was given an Islamic name in a Muslim adaptation of the narrative: the anime *Manga* 'Captain Majid' (Captain Tsubasa) is consequently known in the world of Islam from Pakistan in the East to Morocco in the West.

The cybercafé *Nimanet* has been open since 1999 in the *Souk Ksibt Nhass* [Ksibt means little kasbah and *nhass* means brass]. Mostapha Essabi, a self employed tradesman who lives with his mother in the Derb Lalla Izo Ahmed neighbourhood in close proximity to the *Souk Ksibt Nhass* habitually spends his evenings in the *Cyber*

![Illustration 39. Cyber Nimanet, Souk Ksibt Nhass.](image_url)

*Nimanet* [Illustration 39] (Essaber to the author: 2001). His ambition is to migrate to America but his immediate future is almost certain to be in the Kasbah, where he grew up. He is a devout Muslim and expresses this through wearing a full beard and
Islamic dress. On Fridays he regularly prays in the Moulay Yazid congregational Mosque. He regularly washes in the hammam, both as a performance of ablutions and a recreation. The ease with which Mostapha Essabi and some of his peers in the

Illustration 40. Souk Ksibt Nhass. Ingredients for traditional medicine and magic.

Kasbah now move between the space of the Mosque and of the internet brings to mind Mickhaïl Bakhtin’s heteroglossia, which refers to an interplay in fiction between voices representing different social and cultural situations (Vice 1997).

In the Souk Ksibt Nhass, ingredients for traditional medicine and magic are for sale [Illustration 40] and transactions in the market are in many respects comparable to those described by Geertz in his account of the traditional bazaar economy in the small Moroccan town of Sefrou (Geertz 1977). Commercial relations in the Ksibt Nhass are characterized by contest, which is reinforced by the predominantly adversarial attributes of an external urban space that has historically been the domain of men (Dialmy 1995). The Ksibt Nhass visibly reflects an oral culture in which there are few written signs and no marked prices on the produce or goods that are
spread out on the ground [Illustrations 41, 42]. This can be viewed in the Kasbah from the perspective of an older population that is predominantly non literate, estimated by the administration to be over 63% for adults in 1995 whereas in the

Illustration 43. Souk Ksibt Nhass. Cyber Nimanet entrance and henna stencils.
same period over 88% of children between the ages of 7 and 12 were receiving an education (Sebbar, unpublished document, 1999); Daniel Wagner has demonstrated that literacy is particularly difficult to quantify in Morocco and that the criteria employed in the official statistics tend to overestimate the level of literacy of the population (Wagner 1993). In the Ksibt Nhass, the Cyber Nimanet is exceptional in having its name and rates written on its entrance [Illustration 43].

The layout of the space around the Moulay Yazid Mosque appears to have physically changed surprisingly little [Illustration 44] compared to a wood engraving [Illustration 45] of the approach to the mosque published in the late nineteenth century (Meakin 1899: 431) and already referred to in the previous chapter (1.3.2.(iii)). Indeed a street leading from the Bab Agnaou to the square in front of the Mosque appears to have existed since the foundation of the Kasbah in the twelfth century. Five years after the French occupation of Marrakech, the American novelist Edith Wharton described a visit to the Kasbah to view the Saadian Tombs, which were entered at that time (1917) only through the Mosque. Wharton and her party did not gain access to the Saadian Tombs even though the arrangements had been

Illustration 44. Trik Kasbah [Rue de la Kasbah] leading to the Saht Moulay Yazid.
negotiated by the French Governor General himself:

It was at his [General Lyautey] request that the Sultan authorized us to see the mosque, to which no travellers had as yet been admitted ... We drove through long lanes of mud-huts to a lost quarter near the walls. At last we came to a deserted square on one side of which stands the long low mosque of Mansourah with a turquoise-green minaret embroidered with traceries of sculptured terracotta. Opposite the mosque is a gate in a crumbling wall, and at this gate the Pasha's Cadi was to meet us with the keys of the mausoleum. But we waited in vain. Oriental dilatoriness, or a last secret reluctance to admit unbelievers to a holy place, had caused the Cadi to forget his appointment, and we drove away disappointed (Wharton 1984: 22).

The **Saht Moulay Yazid** [the square flanking the Mosque] has been transformed in the last two decades into a space that reflects an interplay of religious, urban and tourist
interests. For many years the square had served as a car park. One of the means by which the visible appearance of a timeless ‘museum-city’ had been sustained during the Protectorate was by excluding motor transport from beyond the Jmaa Fna (Clément 1994: 18). When Rom Landau visited Marrakech immediately after Moroccan independence from France had been achieved, he found that the Jamaa Fna had been made into a car park in order to establish the modernity of the city: ‘it was understandable that in the flush of independence the authorities should wish their city to be regarded no longer as merely a lurid showpiece where the jaded senses of foreigners could be titillated by weird performances. Marrakech must be worthy of the new state’ (Landau 1961: 177).

An acceptance by the local authorities of the incursion of motor transport into Marrakech medina has permitted in the Trik Kasbah [Rue de la Kasbah] around the Moulay Yazid Mosque an unregulated combat for space between taxis, delivery vans, tourist minibuses, horse drawn caleches and carts, donkeys, handcarts, mopeds, bicycles and pedestrians [Illustration 46]. When there are crowds leaving the Mosque after Friday Prayers, impromptu little souks appear [Illustration 47]. Tour operators always have to park their coaches outside the Kasbah walls as the gates are narrow: consequently large groups of tourists on foot are directed through the traffic to visit the Saadian Tombs.

*Illustration 46. Trik Kasbah [Rue de la Kasbah]*
The problems in the Kasbah associated with transport reflect an urban structure that evolved when wheeled vehicles of any kind were rare in Marrakech: Ennaji remarked that ‘the wheel was not unknown in Morocco. It was however seldom used’ [‘La roue n’était pas icoonue au Maroc. Son usage était cependant très limité’ (Ennaji 1996:93)]. Pack animals were always more common than carts. Thus the horse drawn caleches that are favoured by tourists as a leisurely and traditional way of seeing the sights were historically regarded as foreign European imports (Ennaji 1996: 93).

The present authorities in the Kasbah are particularly concerned with the congestion in the vicinity of historic sites like the Moulay Yazid Mosque and the adjacent Saadian tombs as they are visited by large numbers of tourists. In a discussion document about the Kasbah circulated internally in the Ministry of the Interior, it was observed that though the streets of the Kasbah were ‘conceived in the spatial and socio-economic conditions of the past, the road system is now called on to meet new demands and in particular those in which motor traffic is an integral part; the streets of the road system inside the walls are for the most part narrow, ranging from 1.5 to 4
metres wide and are irregular - some streets without warning become much narrower ... the congestion of the streets is more or less general in front of all the tourist sights or historic monuments such as the Saadian Tombs’ [Conçu dans les conditions spatiales et socio-économiques révolues, le réseau de la voirie est appelé aujourd'hui à répondre aux nouveaux besoins et en particulier ceux qui nécessite la circulation automobile, les voies du réseau intra-muros sont dans la majorité des cas étroites et varient entre 1, 5 et 4m de largeur et ne sont pas homogène puisque certaines voies se rétrécissent d'une manière brusque 'L'encombrement des voies est pratiquement général devant tous les édifices touristiques ou monuments historiques tels que tombeaux SAADIENS’ (Sebbar, unpublished document, 1999)].

In 1996 the Saht Moulay Yazid [Moulay Yazid Square] was transformed from a car park into a public space through an initiative by the municipal council: the basis of project was said to be a custom that the periphery of the Mosque was a space in which people congregated and sometimes rested between times of prayer (Sebbar to the author: 1999). In the square, commerce is combined with a monumental religious building in the incorporation of shops into the Mosque’s façade. In the past shops surrounding mosques were unexceptional but it is rare now to find examples like the Moulay Yazid Mosque in Marrakech or in Cairo the thirteenth-century Madrassa and Mausoleum of al-Salih Nagin al-Din Ayyub, which is fronted by a row of shops that obscure at street level the façade of an historically important religious complex [Illustration 48]. The shops in the Moulay Yazid Mosque nearest to the Saadian Tombs display commodities that are produced specifically for tourists [Illustration 49, 50]. Opposite the Mosque there are vendors of the kind of fossils [Illustration 51] that Stephen Jay Gould dubbed the Lugensteine or lying stones (false fossils) of Marrakech after the early eighteenth century Lugensteine of Wurzburg that the hapless Johann Beringer had been duped into thinking were genuine (Gould 2000). Shortly after Edith Wharton’s abortive visit to the Moulay Yazid Mosque in 1917, a narrow entrance was created in the Moulay Yazid square giving access to the Saadian Tombs: this allowed non-Muslims to visit the mausoleum and consequently it became in the space of a few years one of the most visited monuments in Marrakech.
Illustration 48. The Madrasa and Mausoleum of al-Salih Nagin al-Din Ayyub, Cairo.

Illustration 49. Shops in the façade of the Moulay Yazid Mosque.
Henri Terrasse wrote in 1924 about the seductiveness for tourists of the experience of visiting the Saadian Tombs: ‘after making their way across wastelands and circumnavigating crumbling walls in decaying alleyways ... they have the impression

*Illustration 50. Shop in the façade of the Moulay Yazid Mosque.*

*Illustration 51. False fossils of Marrakech, Saht Moulay Yazid.*
of being totally transported into a spectacle of extraordinary beauty’ ['ayant traversé
des terrains vagues, contourné des murs croulants, dans des ruelles lépreuses … ils
ont l'impression d'entrer de plein pied dans une féerie’ (Terrasse 1924: 144-147)].

Illustration 52. Courtyard of the Saadian Tombs.

The consequent establishment of the Saadian Tombs on the tourist circuit of
Marrakech means that now the opening times of the mausoleum, which has been
transformed into a national museum [Illustration 52], largely determine the influx of
tourists into the Moulay Yazid Square. During the day there is a constant flow of
tourists – often in groups – milling around the Mosque but after the mausoleum is
closed in the late afternoon, it is rare to see a passing foreign visitor. The Moulay
Yazid Square is spatially affected by both Western and Muslim divisions of time.
The pattern of Western holidays – in particular Christmas, New Year and Easter –
materially influences tourist activity during the periods in the day when the Saadian
Tombs are open. The lunar Muslim calendar and the five daily calls to prayer
structure the religious activity inside and in front of the Mosque.
A comparison of two performances that have taken place in front of the Moulay Yazid Mosque at night illustrates contrasting uses of the same public space. The first event to be discussed was a celebration of Ashura [10th day of Muharram, the first month of the Muslim lunar year]; the second was a filmed sequence from Stephen Sommers’ The Mummy (Sommers 1999). Ashura for Sunni in contrast to Sh’ia Muslims is a happy event that commemorates the Prophet Mohammed’s arrival in 622 in Madina after he and his followers had fled Mecca [the Hijra]. It is celebrated throughout Morocco with regional variations. In the Kasbah Ashura culminates in a performance unique to Marrakech, the Ashura Daqqa, which is dominated by drumming. The performance commences on the the eve of Ashura, the night of the 9th Muharram, but rehearsals for it start some days before: ‘tradition demands that the inhabitants of the city neighbourhoods gather after the ‘achâ prayer ... for this illustrious night, in which rhythm communicates a masterly interpretation of a text’ [‘La tradition fait que les habitants des quartiers de la ville se rassemblent après la prière du ‘achâ ... pour cette nuit prestigieuse, où le rythme véhicule une interprétation vocale magistrale d’un texte’ (El Maghrebi 1994: 160)]. From observation of the rehearsals and performances for the daqqa in 1999 and 2002, it would appear that the standards of the traditional performance of the daqqa have been difficult to maintain. Many of the most skilled musicians of the Kasbah are professionally employed at night to entertain tourists in restaurants and cannot participate in communal celebrations. Nonetheless the performers from each neighbourhood [derb] engaged in a rivalry that was informal, enthusiastic and energetic. On April 11th 1999, the Moulay Yazid Square was occupied as a focal space in the Kasbah by daqqa groups who paraded there. A fire had been lit in front of the Mosque so that drummers could tighten the skins of their drums in its heat and the crowds of local people celebrating spilled into the street. Contest between derbs [neighbourhoods] were organised by the participants themselves and there were no judges or organised arbitration. There were no ‘outsiders’, no cameras, no structure other than what has survived of a traditional repertoire. The rhythms of the drumming penetrated throughout the Kasbah: it was the antithesis of entertainment as consumption exemplified in Stephen Sommers’ film The Mummy.
The Mummy (Sommers 1999) was an American production that was made on location in Morocco and in the Ellstree studios in London. As an exotic narrative drawing on a popular fascination with ancient Egypt and the occult, Sommers’ film rapidly achieved world wide commercial success. The Mummy was made in four months in the summer of 1998: work began in Marrakech on May 4th and it was completed at Ellstree on August 29th. Filming took place over a period of a month in the Kasbah of Marrakech. The decision to film scenes portraying Cairo of the mid 1920s in Marrakech rather than in Egypt was motivated by apprehension concerning the potential danger from terrorists in Egypt. Patricia Carr, a British co-producer of The Mummy, organized the location filming. In an episode from the climax of the narrative, a dramatic night-time car chase was filmed between the Bab Agnaou, which had been dressed with sand imported by trucks to give it a ‘Saharan’ appearance, and the space in front of the Moulay Yazid Mosque. The highly dramatic sequence showed the main protagonists pursued by a swarm of Egyptians (played by Moroccan extras) who had been possessed by the unleashed power of Imhotep, an ancient Egyptian High Priest who had been cursed and condemned into

eternity as one of the living dead. For filming at night, the open space of the Moulay Yazid Square was prepared during the daytime in order to simulate the enclosed feel of a narrow street [Illustration 53], which was enhanced by including in the night scene the shops in the façade of the Mosque. The atmosphere of what the film makers anticipated an audience would expect an Arab street to look like – rather than specifically Cairo - was simulated in the Kasbah by local rather than Egyptian dress and artefacts: Moroccan garments can be seen in the hanging washing in Illustration 54; lanterns from the Kasbah and rugs from the Atlas Mountains were included as exotic background details in order to add to the feel of the Orient. The transformation of the location to give a sense of claustrophobic tumult corresponds to well-established orientalist cinematic conventions of how Arab street scenes are represented. The narrative action centred on the quest by an American - Rick O’Connell (Brendan Fraser) - and an English girl - Evelyn (Rachel Weisz) - and her brother Jonathan (John Hannah) to defeat evil, embodied in the mummified Imhotep (Arnold Vosloo). On one level Sommer’s direction was ironic: the cinematic genre of ‘horror movie’ was parodied, particularly in Brendan Fraser’s characterization of
Rick O'Connell. Sommer's film had been loosely derived from Karl Freund's *The Mummy* of 1932 (Balderston 1932), which had been a seminal influence in the formation of the horror genre; Boris Karloff's rendition in the film of Imhotep, who had been embalmed alive, has endured in images of a disintegrating mummy. There is on the other hand no hint of irony in Sommers' orientalist stereotypes. The exploits of the American and English trio are played out against a background of an indeterminate and impotent mass of Arabs (the Other) who had succumbed to the power of Imhotep. The three protagonists, however flawed as heroes, acted whereas the Arabs were portrayed as ineffectual and under the spell of their evil master. The Egyptian guide Beni Gabor, played by American actor Kevin O'Connor, was characterized comically and stereotypically as a cowardly, devious and dishonest Arab. Significantly the heroic 'Medjay', who in *The Mummy* were fictionally represented as a three thousand year old secret society pledged to guard occult secrets and to combat the malevolent powers of Imhotep, were visually identified with Ancient and not present day Egyptians: the Israeli actor Oded Fehr, who played the leader of the Medjay, bore a tattooed hieroglyph on his forehead.

In the making of *The Mummy*, the square in front of the Moulay Yazid Mosque was dominated by the filming of it over a period of a month [Illustration 55]. The makers of the film, which had a production budget of $80,000,000, were allowed to exercise a direct physical control over the space. Moreover the distribution of *The Mummy* could be said to have reflected both a cultural and an economic power that were global in their implications. The film implicitly represented Arabs as shiftless and torpid to mass audiences in the United States, where the film was first screened on May 7th 1999 in over three thousand cinemas, grossing more than forty three million American dollars in one day. In turn these images of endemic impotence were screened worldwide. *The Mummy* was screened in Cairo and Marrakech as well as other cities throughout the world where national film industries are overshadowed by the American distribution network. There is no reason to suppose that the negative representation of Arabs in the film was necessarily a conscious element of Sommers’ directorial intent in *The Mummy* but is however characteristic of the transmission through global marketing of assumptions embedded in Western culture. The problem of the cultural as well as material hegemony of the West through global marketing was articulated by ‘The World Commission on Culture and Development’, established as a response to a resolution at the 26th Session (1991) of the General Conference of Unesco: ‘Western artistic orientations and standards, transformations of art markets and cultural industries have spread round the world, apparently leading wherever the market gained a foothold, to rendering it homogeneous along lines imposed by Western entertainment and leisure activities and a culture dominated by the mass media. Concern over this trend is universal’ (World Commission on Culture and Development 1995: 79 – 80).

To conclude, Sidi Mansour, Ksibt Nhass and Moulay Yazid are three sites that have been spatially configured by the layout of buildings that were constructed in the past. The twelfth-century Moulay Yazid Mosque is both the oldest building and the focal sacred space in the Kasbah: its monumental interior is filled by local people for Friday prayers [Illustration 56]. During the holy month of Ramadan even larger
crowds occupy the Moulay Yazid Mosque every evening of the week for the final prayer of the day [Al Ichaar]. The Sidi Mansour ‘traditional’ hammam continues to

fulfil a necessary function in the neighbourhoods that it serves and is frequently crowded. This is understandable when the present circumstances in which people commonly live are considered. For instance in the shared house owned by the Moquaddem’s sister and briefly described (1.3.2. (iii)) in Chapter One, a number of families share one lavatory and cold water [Illustration 57] for washing themselves and their laundry: the hammam is viewed as indispensable. On the other hand members of well to do Kasbah families who have houses in which bathrooms with hot water have been installed may still regularly visit the hammam, as they have been doing since they were small children – not through necessity but out of habit and sociability (El Omari to the author: 1999). The Coca Cola that is for sale in the shop alongside the Sidi Mansour Mosque [Illustration 58, 59] caters to what is considered by local inhabitants to be an integral part of their present diet alongside mint tea and is unlikely to be perceived as a global, corporate American incursion. James Clifford
in his widely read The predicament of culture cited the Swedish anthropologist Ulf Hannerz (who had been researching the world system of culture) as saying that the ‘people in my favourite Nigerian town drink Coca Cola, but they drink burukutu too; and they can watch Charlie’s Angels as well as Hausa drummers on the television sets which spread rapidly as soon as electricity has arrived’ (Hannerz n.d.: 6, cited in Clifford 1988: 17).

Illustration 59. Sidi Mansour. Shop selling mint and Coca Cola, cyber café and mosque.

2.1.3 The problematics of culture, authority and authenticity

2.1.3 (i) Culture

The primary question in discussing culture in relationship to the Kasbah of Marrakech is a problem of meaning. A corresponding problem has been encountered in the discussion of time and space (2.1.2) but even so it is universally recognised
that a discussion of culture has to take into account an exceptionally extensive literature on the subject. Stuart Hall, who as Director of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies from 1968 to 1979 headed the influential 'Birmingham School', proposed that 'to put it simply, culture is about shared meanings' (Hall 1997: 1). He suggested that a traditional definition of high culture in opposition to popular culture has been superseded by recent interpretations but has not lost its place in everyday usage. In identifying current definitions, Hall has differentiated between an anthropological definition (describing the distinctive characteristics of the way in which people or a nation live) and a sociological definition (the shared values of a society). From another perspective, Renato Rosaldo in his foreword to Néstor Canclini’s study of hybridity and modernity in South America, pointed out that 'central to Hybrid Cultures is the notion that anthropology focuses on tradition and sociology concentrates on modernity’ (Canclini 1995: xii). In the introduction to his discussion, Canclini underlined the importance of method, of the need to refer to both high and popular cultural viewpoints and to dismantle the conservative boundaries that surround academic disciplines:

Just as the abrupt opposition between the traditional and the modern does not work, so the cultured, the popular, and the mass-based are not where we are used to finding them. It is necessary to deconstruct that division ... and verify if its hybridization can be understood using the tools of disciplines that are studied separately: art history and literature, which are concerned with the "cultured"; folklore and anthropology, which consecrate the popular; works on communication, which specialize in mass culture (Canclini 1995: 2).

Canclini was invited to write a paper on “The Future of Multicultural Societies” for the World Commission on Culture and Development, an independent body set up under the aegis of Unesco. Canclini’s observations to the Commission were directed
towards encouraging a coalescence of tradition and modernity: 'as the Argentinean scholar Néstor García Canclini pointed out to the Commission, the ability to combine cultural tradition and modernity is no longer limited to the world's intelligentsia ... Local cultures can grow and expand by becoming cosmopolitan' (World Commission on Culture and Development 1986: 82).

It has been argued that Unesco has played a pivotal role in bringing new interpretations of culture to international discussions. The background document to an intergovernmental conference held in Stockholm in 1998 (Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development 1998), a sequel to the report published by the World Commission on Culture and Development, presented an overview of the role of culture within national and international policies: in the document it was described how from the late 1960s Unesco had provided the most significant arena in the world for a discussion of culture. Initially cultural policies had been exclusively regarded as national issues until in the 1980s Unesco had organised a series of intergovernmental conferences, culminating in the designation of 1988 to 1997 as 'The World Decade for Cultural Development'. Despite this promotion by Unesco of cultural development, there was in the late 1980s and early 1990s little engagement in intergovernmental discussions on culture. In spite of this apparent indifference towards the debatable issues surrounding culture, the Stockholm document was on balance optimistic and judged that by the late 1990s there was a renewal of interest in intergovernmental dialogue and resolutions about culture. This optimism about future developments was shared, with reservations, by Lourdes Arizpe, who as an anthropologist had been a member of the World Commission on Culture and Development and in July 1994 was appointed Unesco's Assistant Director General for Culture. She indicated that the Commission's report was opposed to the 'archipelago' view of culture and 'from the start it was clear that one major line of battle concerned the use of the anthropological definition of culture, extending it beyond the narrow definition encompassing the arts, heritage and museums which still prevailed in ministries of culture and in UNESCO itself. But rather than have readers fall into 'quibbling over definitions of culture', as Popper
would have put it, it seemed more useful to focus on a cultural analysis of social and institutional processes, a line of inquiry very productively developed by Birmingham and other British universities. This first battle was effectively won, judging by the fact that UNESCO as well as very many other policy groups are now using this broader definition of culture.’ She contended however that ‘the academic definition of culture and the interpretation of culture by national policy makers is getting wider apart: the anthropological discourse on culture, which includes critical theory and postmodern literary analysis, and the political discourse of governments and cultural leaders are speeding away from each other’ (Arizpe 1998: 24).

2.1.3 (ii) Authority

The report published by the World Commission on Culture and Development is in one sense an authoritative statement about the problems of defining culture in relationship to locations like the Kasbah that are in a state of flux: it may be taken as a constructive point of departure in considering the problematics of authority and authenticity, particularly since the medina of Marrakech has been classified as a World Heritage Site since 1985.

Arizpe described the report of the World Commission on Culture and Development as authoritative in the sense that it was a result of lengthy negotiations and extended discussions at the United Nations General Assembly and the Unesco General Conference. She concluded that 'the report does speak with an 'undefined voice', but is this not what 'Commissions' are set up to do, in other words, to speak from 'consensus'? Why did we need consensus, I asked myself in the middle of the process, when this falls so easily into the lowest common denominator? I have since discovered that it gives a startling 'legitimacy', or, yes, power, to the text’ (Arizpe 1998: 24). It is clear however that in a local context other interests claim legitimacy derived from either consensus or alternative means. For example in Chapter Four it
is argued that consensus is central to the authority claimed by the academic discourse and in Chapter Five the monarchy’s ability to remain in power is in some measure dependent upon its representation as an historically legitimate institution. It can be argued that the relationships between control and submission are dynamic when there are competing claims to authority. In one respect this can be seen in contending affirmations of authenticity, which is a prominent issue in a World Heritage Site.

2.1.3 (iii) Authenticity

Frequent calls for a rejection of ‘macdonaldisation’ both in France and francophone North Africa attest to a belief in the need to resist an invasive Americanization that is perceived to be out of the control of societies that are subjected to American corporate marketing. A foreboding that globalization will ultimately replace local culture is a response to what Ross suggested lies within modernization itself: ‘a theory of spatial and temporal convergence: all societies will come to look like us’ (Ross 1995: 10). Antagonism to ‘macdonaldisation’ often invokes a need to purify, to regain authenticity. In Marrakech this was explicitly articulated in a symposium dedicated to the conservation of the city’s ‘authentic’ cultural traditions that were described as being threatened by ‘macdonalisation’ (Maouhoub 1999). Although the Commission for World Culture emphasized its belief that 'it is important that meaning and knowledge be elaborated locally in preference to the passive unskilled dependence on global meanings, knowledge and systems that are created elsewhere' (Commission for World Culture 1985: 88), it also questioned the assumption that tradition is static and outside of time: 'tradition is not immutable. It has evolved through generations in a never-ending process of invention, elimination and drawing on other cultures' (Commission for World Culture 1985: 82).

There is now a substantial literature discussing the problems of tradition and authenticity. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger analysed a range of invented
traditions that included those that were employed as a means of exercising colonial power over large numbers of indigenous, subject people (Hobsbawm 1983). Shirine Hamadeh pursued this line of enquiry specifically in relationship to French colonial urbanism (1992). David Lowenthal’s *The past is a foreign country* (Lowenthal 1985) has been a particularly influential text. John Urry reviewed the recent development of ideas about how the past is perceived and concluded that ‘the past is endlessly constructed in and through the present.’ (Urry 1996: 48). In encapsulating Paul Connerton’s seminal *How societies remember* (Connerton 1989), Urry stated that the main point is that ‘the past gets passed on to us not merely in what in what we think or do but literally in how we do it: how we sit when we write, how we stand, how we eat, how we travel and so on. There are ways of sitting and standing looking and lounging ruminating and recollecting, that are passed on through either incorporating or inscribing practices’ (Urry 1996: 49). By ‘incorporating practices’ is meant through the body (oral) and ‘inscribing practices’ through written records. This has a particular relevance to a locality like the Kasbah of Marrakech in which communal oral remembrances of the past predominate over written documentation. The Moroccan novelist Tahar Ben Jelloun affirmed that ‘as a writer, it is fortunate to belong to this country in which oral tradition is stronger than the written one’ ['Quand on est écrivain, c'est une chance que d'appartenir à ce pays où la tradition orale est plus forte que celle de l'écrit' (Ben Jelloun 1995: 35)]. It can be concluded that how the past is perceived by people whose culture is predominantly oral may reflect a limited knowledge of the historical origins of the traditions that contribute to shaping their lives.

2.1.4 The problematics of the city

The perspectives through which cities are both experienced and studied in space and time are fragmentary. As has been frequently pointed out, an individual’s knowledge of the public space of a city is circumscribed by many circumstances - the times at which encounters with the city take place and the routes taken for instance. In a
semenal book about navigating and conceptualizing the city, Kevin Lynch wrote that ‘like a piece of architecture, the city is a construction in space, but one of vast scale, a thing perceived only in the course of long spans of time … on different occasions and for different people, the sequences are reversed, interrupted, abandoned, cut across’ (Lynch 1972: 1). Literary and autobiographical accounts reflect this vividly. For example Elizabeth Wilson in an urban study about London from a woman’s vantage point described being taken as a child into the city by her mother; looking back she compared her visits to London with Walter Benjamin’s experience of the city (Paris) as a labyrinth: ‘even if the labyrinth does have a centre, one image of the discovery of the city, or of exploring the city, is not so much finally reaching this centre, as of an endlessly circular journey, and of the retracing of the same pathways over time’ (Wilson 1991: 2-3). From Louis Aragon’s Le paysan de Paris (Aragon 1945, first published 1926), reputedly the inspiration for Benjamin’s ‘Arcades Project’, to Abdelkebir Khatibi’s A colonial labyrinth (Khatibi 1993), writers’ observations of the city have reflected a multi-layered interaction between experience, memory and imagination (Buck-Morss 1991, Urry 1996). The Moroccan writer Khatibi’s memories of growing up in the medina incorporated experiences of the ‘colonial space’:

Lyautey thought he could frame the medina (and he did it with art) by fixing it inside its walls and gates. But the whole space became “mural,” riddled with holes of intense life, silence, humiliation, anger, boots and grenades. In 1953, I almost was hit by one in the middle of my body. I immediately jumped into the labyrinth of the medina (Khatibi 1993: 6).

As an outside observer of the ‘labyrinth’, Claude Ollier described in Marrakech, Médine [Marrakech Medina] seeing outside the Kasbah walls ‘very young women completely veiled returning through the old wall through the little gate called Ksiba and going back into the overcrowded cul-de-sacs off the street leading to the Mechouar or the King’s Palace’ [‘les femmes très jeunes toutes voilées s’en retournaient dans les vieux murs par la petite porte nommée Ksiba … rentraient dans
les impasses surpeuplées de la rue menant au Mechouar ou Palais du Roi’ (Ollier 1979: 46)] [Illustration 60]. The fascination of veiled women in the streets for European writers was noted in the first chapter and looking into but not entering alleyways teeming with people is the view of the outsider who sees only the public space and not the intimacy of interior spaces.

Illustration 60. An alley opening into the Souika Sidi Mansour on the route described by Ollier.

The scale and the complexity of the city in space and time impose constraints on a study of the Kasbah of Marrakech. The decision to analyze a segmented district of Marrakech was a reflection of the advisability of focusing on a part rather than the totality of the city. Even so, any analysis of the Kasbah will necessarily be selective and ultimately incomplete. Naturally there is no suggestion that the direction taken in the thesis is the only one that could have been followed. In selecting specific viewpoints of the Kasbah to analyze unavoidably means that there are other directions that have not been pursued or even mentioned. It is hoped that this has been as far as possible a considered process. For instance interviews and dialogues with individuals in the Kasbah have been an integral part of the research but not its foundation, as might have been the case in a different kind of study. Kenneth Brown,
in his introduction to the published version of his doctoral thesis on the city of Salé in Morocco, outlined his rigorous methodology in an urban study that drew on both written sources and interviews. However he retrospectively identified in his field research a problem that originated in the paucity of information in the written sources concerning women and poor people: 'in interviews I was not sufficiently aware of this lacuna until I had left the field and begun to write' (Brown 1976: xi). In other words it has to be recognized that the complexity of urban experience may lead even in the most carefully planned research programmes to inadvertent but regrettable omissions.

2.2 METHODOLOGY

Having discussed Islamic space in the Kasbah and related at some length - if not exhaustively - the pertinent problematics, the next step is to establish as clearly as is possible the theoretical framework underpinning the methods to be employed in the endeavour to fulfil the intentions of the thesis. The focus is on Foucault's writings, which contain insights that may provide a point of departure for the analyses that constitute Chapters Three to Five. As Foucault's principal works are primarily historical analyses within European contexts, the time scale of the thesis (around 1985 to the present) and the geographical location of Marrakech may preclude a direct transposition of Foucault's methods to the Kasbah. Consequently the initial undertaking in discussing Foucault and methodology is to identify what makes Foucault interesting in relationship to the intentions of the thesis and to its methodology and what areas of Foucault's thinking might be adapted in order to construct a methodological strategy. Delaporte's Disease and Civilization (Delaporte 1986) is compared to Said's Orientalism (first published in 1978) in order to shed light on how Foucault's methods have been employed in two significant texts, both
of which were methodologically explicitly indebted to Foucault but in fundamentally different ways. Finally Foucault’s notion of discourse is summarized.

In a textbook guide to semiotics and fieldwork, Peter Manning argued that research has been generally approached from two opposing ends (Manning 1987). He maintained that some researchers have had a theoretical starting point and have sought an appropriate field in which their methodology might be effectively applied. Other researchers, Manning suggested, have started at the opposite end, choosing a project on the basis of an existing interest – often associated with having had access to the material: the requirement in this case has been to determine what might be the most appropriate theoretical model or models in order to construct an interpretative framework for the project. Although the route taken in this project on the Kasbah of Marrakech might be seen to be closer to the second category - with its associated requirement to seek out an appropriate methodology - than to the first, theoretical path, Manning’s division may be regarded as over schematic. In contrast Foucault took the processes of theory and analysis to be inseparable: in an ‘afterword’ to Dreyfus and Rabinow’s *Michel Foucault: beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*, Foucault wrote that 'since a theory assumes a prior objectification, it cannot be asserted as a basis for analytical work. But this analytical work cannot proceed without an ongoing conceptualization. And this conceptualization implies critical thought - a constant checking' (Dreyfus 1982: 209).

2.2.1 Foucault: time and space

In the opening discussion of problematics in the first part of this chapter, time and space were said to be central to European thinking. It is therefore proposed to look first at aspects of time and space in Foucault. In *The order of things [Les mots et les choses* (Foucault 1966)] Foucault raised the question of discontinuity in the
relationship between thought and culture, commenting on ‘the fact that sometimes in the space of a few years a culture ceases to think in the same way as it had done up until then’ [‘le fait qu’en quelques années parfois une culture cesse de penser comme elle l’avait fait jusque-là’ (Foucault 1966: 64)]. Soon after the publication of *The order of things*, when he was teaching in Tunisia (1966-1968), Foucault made the observation that in the European experience space has a history, and thereby he indicated that the conceptualization of space has changed over time. Furthermore he argued that that space has retained vestiges of sacredness in the way in which people experience it whereas time had shed the last of its sacred attributes in the nineteenth century (Foucault 1994c: 754). As a principle in his analyses, he discussed specifically located situations within specified periods of time. In this respect Foucault could be regarded as taking a position that is distanced from structuralism and universality. One of the questions Foucault focussed on in *Discipline and punish* [*Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison* (Foucault 1975)] was how there had been a rupture in the way in which people who has been accused of crimes were judged, sentenced and punished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: only a few decades separated public spectacles of torture and execution from new practices aimed at sequestering and reforming through discipline individuals who had been convicted of wrongdoings. The powerful description in the opening passages of *Discipline and punish* of the pain inflicted as punishment on Damien’s body in the course of his public execution on March 1st 1757 was followed by Léon Faucher’s timetable for the strict routine ruling the daily lives of young prisoners in Paris eighty years later. Foucault was intent on demonstrating that the imposition of order in time and space through these new practices was directed at a containment of living bodies in contrast to former practices of displaying dead and tortured bodies in public spaces.

The ways in which European society had dealt historically with threats to its internal welfare were differentiated by Foucault in *Discipline and punish* into separation and segmentation. Foucault argued that the casting out of lepers was a separation; the rules of containment enforced to minimise the danger of contagion in a town beset by
a plague constituted segmentation. Exclusion characterized the way in which lepers were treated whereas discipline was required to enforce the rules governing the containment of a plague through segmentation. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Foucault suggested, the two came together in the formation of a society of discipline, which was exemplified in Jeremy Bentham's 'Panopticon'. Deleuze argued that the Panopticon is interpreted in *Discipline and punish* as a structure that was designed to impose on human behavioural diversity and disorder a single, uniform diagram of conduct through a segmentation and ordering of space and time - perhaps even more than through the visibility of prisoners who were under surveillance but were themselves unable to see either their fellow convicts or their guards. The notion of a diagrammatic ordering of space and time was shown by Foucault to relate to a range of institutions – the prison, the asylum and in some respects the hospital and the classroom, which was illustrated in *Discipline and punish* by the isolation of every individual in the class by a box thus precluding any copying or communication.

From the appearance in 1961 of *Madness and civilization* [*Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* (Foucault 1961)] to the second and third volumes of *The history of sexuality* [*Histoire de la sexualité* 2, 3 (Foucault 1984g, Foucault 1984h)], his final major publications, Foucault’s writing spanned a range of subjects that reflected the development of his ideas. However the relationship of the subject to modernity in the historical periods that Foucault wrote about was throughout at the forefront of his thinking, as in *The birth of the clinic* [*Naissance de la clinique* (Foucault 1963)], in which he linked modernity and clinical observation (the medical gaze) in his analysis of the development of clinical science in Paris. Although modernity in the sense of the present time was not a major theme in Foucault, nonetheless he did comment about it in interviews. He considered that a balanced view should be taken of the present, recognising that the time at which one lives is not a unique or explosive juncture in history but that on the other hand ‘the time that we live in is very interesting and cries out to be analyzed and taken apart; that is, we are compelled to ask ourselves the question: what is the present?’ [‘le moment où on vit est très
intéressant, et demande à être analysé, et demande à être décomposé, et qu'en effet nous avons bien à nous poser la question: qu'est-ce que c'est aujourd'hui?” (Foucault 1994b: 448)]. It appears though that Foucault was disturbed by what he regarded as a lack of cogency surrounding the concept of postmodernism. Indeed he said that he found it difficult to come to a clear understanding of what postmodernism might mean and asked in an interview “‘what do they mean by postmodernity? No one has told me about it.’” [“qu'est-ce qu'on appelle la postmodernité? Je ne suis pas au courant”]]. The interviewer (G. Raulet) responded that Habermas had identified a French strand of postmodernity as developing from Bataille to Derrida via Foucault himself (Foucault 1994b: 446).

2.2.2 Foucault: power

Space and time were related by Foucault to power. He remarked to Rabinow that 'space is fundamental in any exercise of power' (Foucault 1984: 252) and Dreyfus and Rabinow concluded that ‘the issue of power is central to Foucault's diagnosis of our current situation' (Dreyfus 1982: viii). Without doubt Foucault is accredited with making the relations between power and knowledge an exceptionally influential concept even though admittedly a simplistic conflation of power and knowledge has been widely disseminated in his name: he complained that ‘when I myself read – and I know quite well that it is attributed to me – the proposition that “knowledge is power” or “power is knowledge”, it makes no difference, I burst out laughing, since my problem precisely is to study their relationships; if they were two identical things, I would not have to study their relations’ [‘quand moi, je lis - et je sais bien qu'on me l'attribue - la thèse “le savoir, c'est le pouvoir” ou “le pouvoir, c'est le savoir”, peu importe, j'éclate de rire, puisque précisément mon problème est d'étudier leurs rapports; si c'étaient deux choses identiques, je n'aurais pas à étudier leurs rapports'
Foucault's perception of power as reciprocity and the proposition that power cannot be effective as an entity, a singular self-contained force have also been influential but he denied that he had been engaged in the process of formulating a theory of power as such. He insisted that when he wrote about power, he was not referring to 'Power' with a capital 'P' but to 'power relations, which are manifold and which take different forms, which can come into play in family relationships, within an institution, in an administration, between a dominant and a dominated class' ['relations de pouvoir, qui sont multiples et qui ont différentes formes, qui peuvent jouer dans des relations de famille, à l'intérieur d'une institution, dans une administration, entre une classe dominante et une classe dominée' (Foucault: 1994b: 450)]. Towards the end of his life when Foucault was reflecting on his work spanning the previous two decades, he refuted the assumption that his intention had been 'to analyze the phenomenon of power, nor to elaborate the foundations of such an analysis'; he identified his objective as the creation of 'a history of the different modes by which, in our culture human beings are made subjects' and concluded that 'it is not power but the subject, which is the general theme of my research' (Foucault 1982: 208-209). In the same retrospective context his outline of three modes by which humans are made subjects corresponds to the arguments of his major publications: the sciences, 'dividing practices' and humans turning themselves into subjects through sexuality.

2.2.3 Foucault's methods applied: Disease and civilization, Orientalism

François Delaporte's Disease and civilization has been regarded as a model application of Foucault's methods: Rabinow in his foreword to the English translation of the text, which preceded the French edition, described it as 'methodologically exemplary' in relationship to Foucault (Delaporte 1986: xi). In contrast Edward Said's Orientalism is widely regarded as one of the most influential
pieces of writing of its time but Said's acknowledged debt to Foucault has been regarded as to a certain extent problematic.

Delaporte's *Disease and Civilization* is about the cholera epidemic of 1832 in Paris. Delaporte based his methodology on an assertion that at first sight may appear to be paradoxical: "disease" does not exist. It is therefore illusory to think that one can "develop beliefs" about it or "respond" to it. What does exist is not disease but practices' (Delaporte 1986: 6). What Delaporte sought to demonstrate is that explanations of what caused the symptoms of cholera were in 1832 founded on medical theorizing and popular conjecture. The actions of the French Government, administration, medical profession, bourgeoisie and poor were impelled by the effects of the epidemic and were shaped by theories and speculations rather than the disease's biological identity, which in 1832 had not been scientifically determined. Contesting medical theories of whether the epidemic was spread by contagion or infection symbolized a conflict between two viewpoints that were perceived at the time to be representative of the Ancien Régime and modernity respectively. The subject of the cholera epidemic had been suggested by Foucault to Delaporte, who was able to assimilate Foucault's methods directly into his study. Delaporte analysed the epidemic in relationship to a complex interplay of competing medical and scientific theories and a struggle of power between social classes: since the disease demonstrably took its biggest toll and had its first effects on the poorest people living in the worst conditions in Paris, the poor were convinced that they were being deliberately poisoned by the authorities in order reduce their numbers and the upper classes believed that the way the poor lived was the primary reason for the epidemic's hold on the city.

Since its publication in 1978, Said's *Orientalism* has had a resounding and long lasting impact upon the consciousness of how the Orient has been represented in the West. It has stimulated new viewpoints and challenged assumptions that had previously been unquestioned about the West's relationships with the East. Said identified a number of related interpretations of orientalism, including a specific
linking of representation and power in which the Orient 'could be' - that is submitted to being - *made* Oriental' (Said 1991:5). He defined orientalism as a 'corporate institution' and explained that he had employed 'Michel Foucault's notion of a discourse, as described by him in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and in *Discipline and Punish*, to identify Orientalism. My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage - and even produce - the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period' (Said 1991: 3). Foucault's analyses of dividing practices generated by the formation of binary divisions within European society were adapted by Said to analyze dividing practices reflecting an external division between the Occident and the Orient. Said argued that discipline and confinement were imposed on the Orient by the West, paralleling the practices that had developed internally in European society.

The impact of Said's analysis of the processes through which the West assumed the authority to speak for the East is attested by the extent to which his viewpoint has been assimilated into a widely articulated re-evaluation of the representation by the West of the Other, in particular in former colonial territories. For instance Janet Abu-Lughod, an authority on Moroccan urbanism and former wife of the Palestinian intellectual Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, who was one of Edward Said's mentors (Said 1993), 'presented a major challenge to some of the assumptions in world-systems literature' (King 1991: xi); in her influential *Before European Hegemony* (Abu-Lughod 1989a), she argued that the primacy of Europe in the modern world has led to eurocentric interpretations of the past. Abu-Lughod proposed that 'in historical reconstruction there is no archimedian point outside the system from which to view historic "reality." The lesson for historical investigation is clear. Any history of "the other" or of a "world system" written from the perspective of only one actor or society can be only a partial telling of the *storia*, regardless of its erudition. (This is the point behind Edward Said's *Orientalism*)' (Abu-Lughod 1989: 112).
Said's deployment of Foucault's notion of discourse has been questioned. Clifford, who had a number of reservations about the theoretical structure of *Orientalism*, analyzed 'Said's general attempt to extend Foucault’s conception of discourse into the area of cultural constructions of the exotic' and acknowledged that it was 'a pioneering attempt to use Foucault systematically in an extended cultural analysis' (Clifford 1998: 264). Clifford doubted though that the humanist viewpoint implicit in *Orientalism* could be reconciled with a methodology derived from Foucault. That is to say, Foucault was consistently opposed to humanism on the grounds that it is invariably attached to a conception of man derived from religion, science or politics. Although Said's stated objective was to analyze the discourse of orientalism within an historical period from about the middle of eighteenth century, he was in effect also writing as a Palestinian exile against the background of the Western media's interpretation of the Middle East and its conflicts: 'one aspect of the electronic, postmodern world is that there has been a reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the Orient is viewed. Television, the films, and all the media's resources have forced information into more and more standardized molds. So far as the Orient is concerned, standardization and cultural stereotyping have intensified the hold of the nineteenth-century academic and imaginative demonology of "the mysterious Orient"' (Said 1991:26). Furthermore Clifford commented upon a widely noted tendency in *Orientalism* to dichotomize the relationships between the West and the East; in the process there is a risk of an essentializing of Arabs and Islam in which the East may be reduced to a generalized and dominated Other.

Said's significance as an influential writer and thinker has surely not been lessened by any reservations that may have been expressed about the relationship of *Orientalism* to Foucault's methods. Certainly the discussion in this thesis has drawn on Said's insights in many respects. Zeynep Çelik, writing about a current re-evaluation of Eastern urbanism, architecture and art, specified that Said was its starting point. Given the nature of the subject, it might be questioned then why Foucault rather than Said has been taken as the point of departure for this study of the Kasbah. It should be noted that in her paper Çelik also referred to a metaphor of
triangulation used by Janet Abu-Lughod (Abu-Lughod 1989: 112) to explain the process of looking at the relationships between the West and the East from multiple and mobile viewpoints in order 'to introduce new viewing positions on the map' (Çelik 1996: 202) and to displace the static single perspective that Said had shown was embedded in orientalism. Paradoxically Said's admirable commitment to confront the situation in the Middle East and his political engagement in challenging the representation of the Arab world in the Western media and political rhetoric can be interpreted as constituting in itself a fixed, oppositional viewing position on a map in which the terms of reference are based on an Arab-Israeli polarity.

2.2.4 Foucault: discourse

It is difficult to summarize Foucault's notion of discourse as it was complex, evolving and elaborated in detailed historical analyses. The proposal therefore is to identify aspects of discourse that might seem to be both constructive and feasible to adapt to an analysis of the Kasbah.

Dreyfus and Rabinow stated that Foucault more or less agreed with their assessment that he 'never posited a universal theory of discourse, but rather sought to describe the historical forms taken by discursive practices' (Dreyfus 1982: vii-viii). As a preliminary proposition it can be suggested that discourse may be constituted by what in a particular place and at a specific time is taken for granted as 'natural', self-evident and therefore timeless but effectively has a history that can be analyzed. Foucault was a student of Georges Canguilhem and proposed that questioning what is apparently natural had been an integral part of the reflexive aspect of the French history of science represented by Canguilhem. In this context, Jay noted that 'scientific "evidence," as understood by Bachelard, Canguilhem, and later Foucault
... is mediated by the cultural construction of our apparently natural perception' (Jay 1993: 390).

Implicit in the assumption of what is natural is a distinction between what is taken to be 'normal' and what is considered to be abnormal. In his earlier writings in particular, Foucault devoted much of his analysis to the historical development of discourses in which a division between aberrant minorities and the normal was institutionalized. *Madness and civilization* [*Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* (Foucault 1961)] examined the formation of practices through which the insane were medically categorized, institutionally contained and thus excluded from the rational world in the eighteenth century. Ideas about the structuring of normality in the 'Age of Reason' and the consequent exclusion and segregation of the mad were restated within a more theoretical text: *The order of things* [*Les mots et les choses* (Foucault 1966)]. In *The order of things*, Foucault explained that in outline 'the history of insanity would be the history of the Other, - of what is for a culture both within it and alien to it, thus to be excluded (strategically evading the internal danger) but through containing it (to attenuate its alterity); the history of the order of things would be the history of the Same' ['L'histoire de la folie serait l'histoire de l'Autre, - de ce qui, pour une culture, est à la fois intérieur et étranger, donc à exclure (pour en conjurer le péril intérieur) mais en l'enfermant (pour en réduire l'altérité); l'histoire de l'ordre des choses serait l'histoire du Même' (Foucault 1966: 15)]. In an interview in 1978 Foucault reflected on what he had achieved in his analyses of discourse and concluded that 'fundamentally I have done nothing else except to endeavour to retrace how a certain number of institutions, engaging in their activities in the name of reason and normality, had exercised their control over groups of individuals ... in the end, I have done else nothing else than a history of power' ['Au fond, je n'avais rien fait d'autre que de chercher à retracer comment un certain nombre d'institutions, se mettant à fonctionner au nom de la raison et de la normalité, avaient exercé leur pouvoir sur des groupes d'individus ... Au fond, je n'avais rien fait d'autre qu'une histoire du pouvoir' (Foucault 1994a: 82)].
The theme of exclusion discussed in *Madness and civilization* and *The order of things* was resumed in *The order of discourse* [*L’ordre du discours* (Foucault 1971)], which was the published text of Foucault’s inaugural lecture at the Collège de France given on December 2nd 1970. *The order of discourse* reviewed Foucault’s interests at that time, the year following the publication of *The archaeology of knowledge* [*L’archéologie du savoir* (Foucault: 1969)], and explained how at that point he would characterise discourse, not only in respect of historical practices but also touching on the present. He set out to establish that in ‘our society’ the procedures of exclusion are clearly recognizable and of the three principal exclusions he identified, an exclusion of what is forbidden and is therefore desirable is the most evident. The rejection and segregation of the insane was the second category. Foucault saw the third exclusion as fundamental and ubiquitous: the exclusion of what is untrue through the pursuit of truth. He suggested that even a process as prescriptive as the penal system has sought its basis and justifications in sociological, psychological, medical and psychiatric knowledge. In *The order of things*, Foucault had discussed the framework (referred to by him as episteme) within which organised knowledge is constructed. Glyn Williams defined Foucault’s meaning of episteme as ‘the logical structure which conditions thinking and speech without the knowledge of the enonciateur’ (Williams 1999: 84); this ‘invisible’ structure was fundamental for Foucault. In *The order of discourse* Foucault had advocated that ‘precisely where truth undertakes to justify and define madness, all of those, from Nietzsche to Artaud and Bataille, must now help us with signs - imperious ones no doubt – for our everyday work [*‘là justement où la vérité entreprend de justifier et de définir la folie, tous ceux-là, de Nietzsche, à Artaud et à Bataille, doivent, maintenant nous servir de signes, hautains sans doute, pour le travail de tous les jours’* (Foucault 1971: 23)].

Retrospectively Foucault said that he had never discussed Nietzsche extensively in his writings but that the one overt proclamation of his homage to him (Foucault 1994b: 444) was in *The will to knowledge* (Robert Hurley’s translation (Foucault 1990) of *La volonté de savoir*, the title of the first volume of *The history of sexuality*). Later, in an interview, Foucault expanded on this saying that what had struck him was that for Nietzsche ‘truth makes itself part of the history of the discourse and is
like an internal process for a discourse or a practice ['La vérité fait elle-même partie de l'histoire du discours et est comme un effet interne à une discours ou à une pratique' (Foucault 1994a: 54)]. That is to say, Foucault extended the boundaries of the reflexivity of the history of science as advocated by Canguilhem and himself to the history of ideas in a much wider sense, a theme that he had pursued in *The archaeology of knowledge*.

The discourses that Foucault examined in his earlier writings could be described as external and often, as in *Civilization and madness* and *Discipline and punish*, institutional. It is this notion of discourse that is the reference for Said in *Orientalism*, which appeared in 1978, two years after the first volume of *The history of sexuality*. It is also primarily this interpretation of discourse that informs the discussion in Chapters Three to Six of the thesis. However in *The order of discourse*, Foucault had touched on alternatives to the kind of discourse represented by the exclusion of the forbidden, the insane and the untrue – 'internal procedures, since it is the discourses themselves which exercise their own control' ['procédures internes, puisque ce sont les discours eux-mêmes qui exercent leur propre contrôle' (Foucault 1971: 23)]. Internal discourses were the theme of the final phase of his work, in which Foucault, largely through the history of sexuality, analyzed how individuals exercise their own controls.

2.2.5 Methodology: key terms and concepts

Writing about the 'significance of metaphors [of Europe] for cognition and communication', Cris Shore referred to Foucault's correlation of power and knowledge:
The language of specialists is part of the disciplinary technology by which human subjects are made objects of power. The labels and classifications of experts such as doctors, psychiatrists, therapists, priests, social workers, educationalists ... become critical instruments of normalisation and stigmatisation. These 'dividing practices', as Foucault calls them, exert a powerful influence over the way individuals are categorised and controlled (Shore 1997: 133).

In the same context Shore proposed that Raymond Williams is a useful starting point. An interest in Raymond Williams' key terms was a feature of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Subsequently the interest generated by the 'Birmingham School' in key terms and concepts was sustained in British based cultural studies through the influence of Stuart Hall. For instance Susan Wright in a paper on the 'politicization of culture' demonstrated in some detail the possibility of applying culture as a key term and concept to discourses in British society (Wright 1998). She took three cases in which 'culture' has been employed in distinctive, discursive ways. In the first, Wright argued that the British political Right in the 1980s fabricated a definition of Englishness aimed at excluding the voice of those who had a legal right to British citizenship but did not 'belong' culturally. She referred to an evocation of Englishness much quoted out of context from T.S. Eliot's *Notes towards a definition of culture*: 'Derby Day, Henley Regatta, Cowes, the twelfth of August, a cup final, the dog races, the pin table, the dart board, Wensleydale cheese, boiled cabbage cut into sections, beetroot in vinegar, nineteenth-century Gothic churches and the music of Elgar' (Eliot 1962, first published 1948: 31). Wright claimed that Eliot was appropriating an anthropological view of culture as an expression of the way of life of a people and that it had been manipulated by the political Right into a means of defining an English national identity that culturally excluded sections of the population. She concluded that British politicians on the Right had used culture to 'talk about nationalism in such a way that they can distance themselves from the taints of biological racism, yet reintroduce exclusive practices in an insidious cultural guise' (Wright 1998: 7).
Secondly she analysed how management had sought to legitimize new organizational practices through a concept of corporate culture that was represented as having an anthropological basis. In the third case Wright focused on the Unesco report *Our Creative Diversity*, which had been published by the World Commission on Cultural Development and has already been cited in the discussion of the problematics of culture (2.1.3(i)). Wright pointed out that it is evident that in *Our Creative Diversity* ‘anthropologists played a major role in formulating the ideas of culture which this report proposes should be the basis for world ethics and development policy’ and so ‘concepts are being deployed by anthropologists directly involved in influencing and writing policy’ (Wright 1998: 8). Wright concluded that it is possible to look on the ‘idea of culture as a contested process of meaning-making’: ‘the contest is over the meaning of key terms and concepts. How are these concepts used and contested by differently positioned actors who draw on local, national and global links in unequal relations of power?’ (Wright 1998: 9).

Key terms and concepts are employed in Chapters Three to Six in order systematically to locate points of contact between the practices of rival but interrelated discourses. The key terms ‘time’, ‘space’, ‘culture’, ‘authority’ and ‘authenticity’ are applied to each of the discourses and were initially identified in response to the recurring use of them as terms and concepts within the discourses under discussion. In the discussion of problematics in the first section of this chapter (2.1), the terms and related concepts of time, space, culture, authority and authenticity were demonstrated to be remarkably fluid, which has facilitated their assimilation into discourses that have assigned specific and often exclusive meanings to them.

### 2.2.6 Methodology: strategies

For the purposes of the methodological strategies to be employed in the analyses in Chapters Three to Six, Foucault’s methods have not been taken directly as a model.
Instead ideas and insights derived from Foucault's writings - in particular about time, space, power and discourse - have been taken as the key points of reference in endeavouring to map a route for the analyses of contested space in the Kasbah.

Enquiring into what is taken for granted as normal, natural and self evident in the four discourses that are to be analysed is a central strategy. In concept it is derived from Foucault's insights into how normality is constituted in a discourse and conversely how anything that might be at variance with what is assumed in a discourse to be normal may be categorized as abnormal or unnatural. It is proposed that in principle the structure of a discourse is not overtly constituted. Consequently a preliminary analysis of each discourse's formation is attempted in an endeavour to comprehend and interpret its construction: the opening section of each analysis sets out to retrace the (often institutional) formation of the implicit assumption in each of the discourses that its values are innately natural and normal. A differentiation between normality and abnormality was taken by Foucault to indicate one of the means through which power is exercised and relates to what he referred to as a discourse of exclusion, as has been touched on in the discussion of Foucault and discourse (2.2.4). Foucault's undermining of the presumption that Power with a capital 'P' is inherently invested in certain institutions, groups or classes of people and his notion of power relations that are not static have been taken as a point of departure in the strategy of analyzing four contesting discourses.

A primary methodological objective has been to formulate strategies that might provide the means of orientating from differing perspectives the analyses in Chapters Three to Six. The method that has been adopted is to focus on four discourses. Although there is no misapprehension that this is the only tactic that could have been deployed, the discourses of 'cultural heritage', 'art history', 'sovereignty' and 'tourism' have been identified as most relevant to the stated problematics (2.1) of contested space in the Kasbah. It can be said that Foucault's notion of discourse was not how discourses function as 'language' but how historically discourses contrived to dominate by resisting, displacing and occluding rival interests. Analyzing four
discourses may represent a departure from Foucault's methods as evinced in for instance *Discipline and punish* or from Delaporte's *Disease and civilization*, which has been recognized as a model adaptation of Foucault's methods (2.2.3). Nevertheless Foucault's conception of power and space as relational rather than static has been a springboard for a notion of discourse that might be extended to incorporate the Kasbah of Marrakech.

All four discourses discussed in Chapters Three to Six relate to a specific location, the historically segmented space of the Kasbah, and to a specified time (1985 to the present). The strategy of focussing on specific practices linked to each discourse and to overlapping areas between two or more discourses corresponds to the criterion of particularity adopted by Foucault, who stated that 'the problems that I put always have a bearing on localized and particular questions' ['les problèmes que je pose portent toujours sur des questions localisées et particulières'] (Foucault 1994a: 84). For specific practices, Foucault in *The order of discourse* instanced as institutional practices that underpin the discourse of 'the will to truth' pedagogy, books, publishers, libraries, learned societies in the past and nowadays laboratories - an entire structure that is symptomatic of a system of exclusion (Foucault 1971 19 -20).

The analyses in Chapters Three to Six all follow a comparable structural scheme but in each one there are variations in detail and in emphasis in order to accommodate the properties of each discourse. In each chapter there is, as has already been indicated, an interpretation of the formation of the discourse under discussion. Key terms and concepts have been employed in order to structure the analyses in Chapters Three to Six. This is demonstrated in Chapter Three through an analysis of cultural heritage. In Chapter Four the key concepts underlying the 'art history of the Kasbah of Marrakech' are analysed and a key object in the history of art (the *Minbar* of the Koutoubia) is discussed in the concluding section. The 'sovereign space' of the Kasbah is analysed in Chapter Five, in which the key term and concept of 'culture' is examined in the context of a monarchy that appears anomalous in the republican world of independent nation states that emerged from the eclipse of the European
domination of North Africa after the Second World War. The key terms and concepts of ‘space’, ‘time’, ‘authority’, ‘authenticity’ and ‘culture’ are employed in the analysis of a case study of an invented tradition staged in the Kasbah in 1999: the ‘Festival of the Throne’ [Fête du Trône], which includes an ancient tradition, the beïa [Allegiance to the Sovereign]. In Chapter Six a tourist discourse is analysed through key terms and concepts applied to texts (brochures and guidebooks) and to a diversity of responses by visitors to the Kasbah.

2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

The theoretical basis of the problematics and methodology discussed in the first two sections of this chapter (2.1, 2.2) draw on a wide range of sources. Many of the texts consulted with the aim of assembling an effective methodology are from the English speaking world but often reflect ideas that had been articulated earlier – and sometimes much earlier - in French and other European writings. This phenomenon has been remarked upon on in a range of other contexts. Mike Gane pointed out how critical translations have been to the assimilation of ideas into discussions in English. Gane compared the influence of Foucault and Baudrillard and remarked that ‘unlike Foucault ... Baudrillard’s early writings of 1968-70 were not translated into English, and thus his thought played no significant part in the debate on the affluent society in English until the emergence of postmodernism in the 1980s’ (Gane 1993: 1). By contrast, after the unexpected popular success in France of The order of things, first published by Gallimard in 1966, English translations of Foucault’s major books regularly appeared two years or so after the French originals.
The sources that have contributed to ideas about space, time, culture and discourse are so far reaching that the references in the text and the bibliography of this thesis are selective. As with any selection, the criteria and choices may be arguable. For instance Nietzsche is discussed only through secondary readings (Deleuze for example) and Gramsci not at all. This kind of omission, however regrettable, and the consequent shortcomings may be the price paid for undertaking a multi-disciplinary project; the compensating rewards have been championed by Janet Abu-Lughod, who influentially advocated moving across disciplines in order to gain insights that would be unlikely to spring from following a conventional path (Abu-Lughod 1989a). At the same time she acknowledged that she had encountered disadvantages in attempting to assimilate areas outside of her own area of specialization - including marginalisation by her own American colleagues in sociology, the academic discipline with which she had been primarily associated.

There has been a vigorous academic debate (Nugent, 1997) about the relationships between anthropology and cultural studies, both of which are drawn on in the thesis, as is demanded in a cross-disciplinary discussion of contested space in the Kasbah of Marrakech. Two major issues that have been identified by anthropologists are a lack of reflexivity in cultural studies in contrast to the continuous re-appraisal by anthropologists of their relationship to what they have been studying and a tendency in cultural studies to draw conclusions solely on the basis of analyzing representations: Signe Howell contended that in cultural studies ‘they base their research primarily on texts and other representations, they move from this to assertions about sociocultural life’ (Howell 1997: 108). Howell cast doubt on the academic authority of cultural studies but Anthony King suggested that ‘with Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall can be said to have founded Cultural Studies as an intellectual and cultural intervention rather than a formal “discipline”’ (King 1991: x). Conversely Marcus Banks proposed that lately anthropology has focussed on more specific problems at the same time as there has been ‘an increased focus on ethnography and representation, on the modes by which the lives of others are represented’ (Banks 1997: 9). The critical dimension between disciplines has
been constructive in formulating an interpretative study of contested space in the Kasbah. Some anthropologists have been engaged in evaluating the dynamics of exchanges between societies rather than the self-contained non-western social groups that conventionally have been seen as appropriate to anthropology. For instance Paul Sant Cassia explored in the city of Mdina in Malta 'the political and semiotic contests surrounding a city exposed to massive tourism, by describing the discourses of the state, the tourist industry, the heritage industry and the local elite' (Sant Cassia 1999: 246). Sant Cassia's analysis of the small traditional city of Mdina in Malta proposed in an anthropological context questions that correspond to those raised in cultural studies:

Massive exposure to tourism, and the state's increasing concern to preserve Mdina by restricting most developments and renovation of houses, has created tension. Tourist texts present its buildings and houses as impersonal 'monuments' devoid of inhabitants other than the anonymized descendants of the prototypical ancestors ('the aristocracy still lives here', narrated by guides to tourists). But these houses are also homes of living inhabitants, sometimes in conflict with the state. This tension is exacerbated because the city is an important site of the projection of Maltese cultural identity. National imaginings project Mdina as an unchanging, cultural topos of the glories of a European past (Sant Cassia 1999: 248).

The anthropological literature offers insights that are applicable to the Kasbah of Marrakech but nothing that is specific to it. Discussions from an anthropological standpoint concerning Egypt and modernity - as has already been outlined in the subsection on problematics (2.1.2 (iii)) - furnished some preliminary guidelines in thinking about modernity and the Kasbah.

Janet Abu-Lughod whose study of Rabat (1980) dealt with space and time within an historical framework, contended that Middle Eastern cities (which in the American understanding of the term the Middle East generally includes North African cities)
have on the whole been written about descriptively rather than analytically, with little awareness of global contexts and indeed with less sophistication than is apparent in accounts of cities at a comparable stage of development in some other parts of the world. Abu-Lughod maintained that there has been 'little awareness of the extent to which global forces impinge not only on Third World societies in general but, quite specifically, on how Arab cities have developed and on the problems they face' (Abu-Lughod 1996: 185). Abu-Lughod speculated that a fundamental problem has been 'the undeveloped state of indigenous scholarship in the Arab world'.

When Quentin Wilbaux's detailed study of Marrakech medina appeared in 2001, it was a landmark contribution to an historical understanding of the city as an urban complex. Wilbaux's book about the medina of Marrakech was the first historical urban analysis of substance to have been published about Marrakech in more than forty years. Regarding the city as 'so labyrinthine in appearance' [en apparence si labyrinthique (Wilbaux 2001a: 8)], Wilbaux sought to investigate spatial order and disorder in relationship to the composition of Marrakech's urban structure and its situation within the tradition of the Islamic city. Wilbaux's text can be compared to historical studies of Tunis such as Jellal Abdelkafi's monograph on Tunis as an historic space (Abdelkafi 1989). Wilbaux is a Belgian architect and began his research through making measured drawings of riads [garden houses] in the northern part of the medina. The medina of Marrakech [La médina de Marrakech (Wilbaux 2001a)] is a published version of his doctoral thesis [L'ordre caché de Marrakech: 1990 (Wilbaux 2001a)] at the EHESS [l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sciences Sociales] in Paris. Wilbaux's text is in the French tradition of scholarship that has dominated North African urban studies but was not sustained in Marrakech after the publication of Deverdun's authoritative history of Marrakech (Deverdun 1959-1966). There has been nothing equivalent in Marrakech to the studies by Revault of the palaces and houses of Tunis (Revault 1967, 1971) and Fes (Revault 1989). The journal Hespéris had been from 1921 until 1960 the main vehicle for the publication of scholarly research in Morocco and papers on Marrakech regularly appeared in it. The journal was continued after 1960 under the name Hespéris-Tamuda (Hespéris-Tamuda 1971:
5) but it is indicative of a shift of interests that the architecture and urbanism of Marrakech has not prominently featured in it.

El Faiz contended that Marrakech has been characterised in the last four decades not only by stagnancy in historical and urbanist research but also by wanton destruction of archival and other materials. (El Faiz 2002: 21-28). His viewpoint is that a deficiency in research has been such a common feature of Moroccan urbanism that decisions have generally been made without a basis of knowledge. He has claimed that since a lack of interest in research is endemic in Morocco, local projects in Marrakech have received little encouragement (El Faiz to the author: 1998). On the other hand El Faiz's ground-breaking study of the historic gardens of Marrakech (El Faiz 1996) stimulated constructive interest in the subject amongst foreigners both inside the city and outside; this was substantiated by the publication in France of a second book by El Faiz on the gardens of Marrakech (El Faiz: 2000). Both texts constituted a plea to preserve the garden and plant heritage of the city. Subsequently El Faiz extended his concerns for the heritage of Marrakech to encompass the urban fabric as well as the ecological environment of the city (El Faiz: 2002). El Faiz's engagement in the politics of conservation as well as historical research distinguishes him from Wilbaux. What they have in common is a revival of the scholarship established by French historians during the Protectorate.

The predominance of French language publications in texts that relate directly to Marrakech – with the exception of the tourist literature – is indicative of the extent to which it is a French and francophone domain. This is characteristic of a more general phenomenon in North African studies. Notwithstanding Jean-Claude Vatin's assessment in the mid 1980s that the French domination of North African studies so prominent in the colonial period appeared to be waning (Vatin 1984: 15), Abdou Filali-Ansary reported in a survey of literature of the period 1985-1990 that out of 3000 titles in the social sciences, more than 85% were in European languages and approximately 75% were in French (Filali-Ansary 1990: 186).
To conclude, in the literature that relates specifically to the Kasbah of Marrakech, attention has been directed towards the past or to the preservation of the past. The discussion in this thesis of contested space in the Kasbah has no specific precedents in the literature.
CHAPTER THREE

DISCOURSE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

3.1. THE KASBAH OF MARRAKECH AND THE UNESCO "WORLD HERITAGE LIST"

In 1972 in Paris a ‘Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage’ was adopted with an agreement to establish within Unesco an ‘Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value’ (Unesco 1972). The World Heritage Committee, as it was referred to, was enjoined to establish, keep up to date and publish under the title of the ‘World Heritage List’ properties forming part of both the cultural and natural heritage. The medina of Marrakech was added to the ‘World Heritage List’ in 1985. In the following year King Hassan II in a speech made in the Royal Palace in Marrakech launched a programme to reassert Morocco’s national cultural heritage. The coincidence of Unesco’s recognition in 1985 of the outstanding cultural value of the medina (including the Kasbah) of Marrakech and King Hassan’s promotion in 1986 of Moroccan cultural identity was a pre-eminent reason for designating the mid 1980s as the chronological starting point in this thesis.

The designation of the medina of Marrakech as a World Heritage Site is correspondingly the point of departure of an analysis in this chapter of the relationships between the Kasbah of Marrakech and the discourse of cultural heritage.
The preliminary task (3.2.1) in this section of Chapter Three is to outline the relationships between the Kasbah of Marrakech and the principles applied in the intergovernmental agreements (brokered by Unesco) concerning the preservation of the world's cultural heritage. Secondly the formation of the discourse of cultural heritage is discussed. It is argued that a recognition of the value of preserving cultural heritage originated in Europe and was the historical basis of the general principles underpinning the discourse of world heritage articulated by Unesco and other international agencies, particularly those having a relationship with the United Nations. In this section it is proposed that the European origins of the motives for preserving cultural heritage can be identified at least as early as the sixteenth century: the respect ascribed from the outset of the sixteenth century onwards to urban sites and material objects in Rome on the basis of their cultural rather than religious value initiated a specifically Western attitude towards the past that appears not to have been substantially represented elsewhere in the world until the later part of the twentieth century. Legislative measures taken in Rome in the eighteenth century in response to the depletion of the cultural stock of the city by foreign collectors and military occupation are offered as evidence of principles that were at first defined in relationship to one city (Rome) and subsequently gained validity in national and international contexts. The same principles have survived as founding principles of interstate agreements initiated by the United Nations after the Second World War.

Cultural property and national identity have been closely associated in the development of European interpretations of cultural heritage. The intergovernmental agreements that have dominated efforts to preserve cultural heritage since the Second World War have provided an opportunity for calls to return cultural property to the country of origin. The difficulty of resolving disputes between national governments within a framework of international accords is symptomatic of the inherent tensions between national interests and the declaration of a universal cultural heritage by Unesco.
3.2 THE DISCOURSE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE: FORMATION

3.2.1 Cultural heritage and the Kasbah of Marrakech

The inclusion of the medina of Marrakech in the ‘World Heritage List’ associated the Kasbah of Marrakech with an international commitment to safeguard urban sites of outstanding historical significance from destruction or deterioration. In Chapter One it was argued that during the Protectorate (1912-1956) France had assumed the role of cultural guardian of Marrakech. What if anything has replaced the hierarchical custodianship of the colonial authorities is a central question that is addressed in the ensuing sections.

It is proposed that the discourse of cultural heritage has been formed through values that originated in European sensibilities and perceptions. Locally in the Kasbah a developed concept of cultural as distinct from other forms of ownership may exist but it is not well established. In practice appeals to preserve ‘cultural property’ in Marrakech reflect assumptions that do not necessarily have any foundation in either the predominantly oral culture of the Kasbah or in the local and national agencies that have had delegated to them responsibilities for protecting the cultural heritage of Marrakech.

3.2.2 European urbanism

A selective preservation of what has been inherited from the past is in evidence in most if not all human societies. What is designated in a particular society as worth
preserving and what is overlooked or considered not to merit preserving reflect criteria based on complex values that can be difficult to interpret. The recognition of the value of preserving something solely for its cultural significance appears to be a relatively recent and predominantly western phenomenon. There are a host of other reasons for preserving what has been created in the past, including individual, national and perhaps above all religious associations. Richard Ettinghausen pointed to the relationships between the sanctity of "certain Near Eastern "shrine cities", of which Jerusalem or Mashhad, Qumm, Konya or Moulay Idris (in Morocco) are telling examples" (Ettinghausen, 1973: 296) and the full-scale preservation of some Muslim cities. By full-scale preservation Ettinghausen was referring to the houses and streets surrounding monuments or important buildings in Muslim cities in which an entire quarter or even the entire medina have survived. Significantly Ettinghausen, a year after the establishment of the World Heritage List and in the same context as his reference to shrine cities, called for the preservation of a fund of monuments as a kind of normative artistic stock for each individual national culture in the Muslim world in order to counterbalance what he regarded as a drift towards a homogenising European modernity in the urban environment. In other words, national identity was identified by Ettinghausen (an American academic) as a motive for preservation. Equally significantly Ettinghausen's exemplars of full-scale preservation were European and American: Rothenburg, Carcassonne, Venice and Williamsburg.

Lawless amongst others has emphasised the relative recentness of the preservation of entire quarters or even whole cities for cultural motives rather than preservation due to the spiritual power attributed to the site: 'until the middle of the twentieth century few countries in the world appreciated the value of their old cities. (Lawless, 1980: 182). In his seminal account of how the past has been reconstructed in the present, David Lowenthal outlined how an international concern with preserving what has been physically inherited from previous generations is an essentially modern phenomenon:

Only in this generation has saving the tangible past become a major global enterprise. Vestiges of the past, whole, dismembered, or discernable only in
traces, lie everywhere around us, yet throughout history men have mainly overlooked most of these remnants ... to retain a substantial portion of the past is signally a latter-day goal. Only in the nineteenth century did European nations closely identify themselves with their material heritage, and only in the twentieth have they launched major programmes to protect it. And concerted efforts to secure relics against destruction and decay have come mainly in the past few decades (Lowenthal 1985: 385).

Lowenthal’s identification of the European origins of present international concerns with material heritage supports the argument that the current international agreements initiated by Unesco and related international agencies for the preservation of cultural heritage can be traced back to the advent of a specifically European notion of cultural inheritance.

A re-evaluation in sixteenth-century Rome of the material remains of antiquity constituted a watershed: pagan monuments and objects from antiquity that had survived until the sixteenth century in Rome had owed their preservation in the main to a connection to or even a mistaken identification with early Christianity. Excavations from the sixteenth century onwards in Rome reflected an admiration for an ancient pagan civilisation. This shift in viewpoint was representative of the kind of break or rupture that Foucault described in *The order of things* and *The archaeology of knowledge* as a discontinuity (2.2.1). Subsequent developments in Rome demonstrate how precedents for recent international regulations to stem the erosion of cultural heritage might be identifiable in legislation as early as the latter part of the eighteenth century in Rome. What was distinctive and characteristic of Roman legislation was that the incipient threat to the integrity of the cultural heritage of the city was seen to be the wealth of foreign (in particular English) collectors. Jeremy Black noted that ‘in 1785 James Byres had to resort to subterfuge in order to purchase Poussin’s Seven Sacraments from the Bonapaduli family in Rome. In order to evade strict export regulations, copies were secretly produced and hung in their place’ (Black 1992: 264). Subsequently the invasion of Rome by France was accompanied by the kind of appropriation of cultural property that is characteristic of
military occupation. Andrew Wilton pointed out that in 1802 dealers and restorers were compelled through legislation to sell their antiquities to supply the papal museum whose collections had been despoiled by Napoleon (Andrew Wilton 1996). What connects export regulations applicable to seventeenth century masterpieces and concerns about the removal of antiquities from Rome to Paris is an appreciation of a need to legislate in order to counteract the threat of the dissolution - often with the connivance of well positioned locals in an unscrupulous and illicit circumvention of regulations - of the cultural 'stock' of the city. The efforts of the Roman authorities to stem the illegal exportation of cultural property embody a principle that is still invoked in international agreements.

Current international agreements about cultural heritage were originally drafted by the United Nations in the wake of the plundering and cultural destruction that were so prominent in the Second World War. Despite inter-governmental resolutions, the misappropriation of cultural property has escalated. In a report written in 1995 for the Getty Art History Information Programme, Robin Thornes suggested that 'open threats to the world's cultural objects have increased greatly in the last thirty years' (Thornes 1995: 7) and proposed that international methods of documentation are essential to preventing them from being illicitly removed and sold. The notorious example of the illegal removal and selling of sculpture from Cambodian temples has highlighted this problem; appropriately the Unesco 'intergovernmental committee for promoting the return of cultural property to its countries of origin or its restitution in case of illicit appropriation' (Unesco 2001) met in Cambodia in March 2001.

3.2.3 European nationalism

In a survey of the historical development of the safeguarding of cultural heritage, Susan Swartzburg emphasized a connection between European nationalism and the development of the preservation of cultural heritage: 'a broad-based interest in the preservation of our cultural patrimony began to evolve in the 19th century with the
growth of nationalism and in the wake of the age of enlightenment’ (Swartzburg 1992: 82).

National claims to ownership of cultural property have been particularly highlighted by much publicised but unresolved national demands for the return of cultural objects to the places in which they were created. The international debate surrounding the Parthenon Marbles is striking. The widely publicised arguments about whether the Parthenon Marbles should remain in London or be handed over to the Greek Government have invoked principles that originated in Europe and have been historically central to the development of a discourse of cultural heritage. The call by the then Greek Minister of Culture (Melina Mercouri) for the restitution of the Parthenon Marbles at the Unesco ‘World Conference on Cultural Policies’ in 1982 precipitated a series of confrontations between the Greek and British Governments in which neither side has yet conceded. The 1982 Unesco ‘World Conference on Cultural Policies’ defined culture as constituting one of the fundamental dimensions of the development process that helps to strengthen the independence, sovereignty and identity of nations (Unesco 1982: principle 10) and agreed that a basic principle that should govern cultural policy is ‘the restitution to their countries of origin of works illicitly removed from them’ (Unesco 1982: principle 26). Unesco formally received a request in 1984 from the Greek Government for the restitution of the Parthenon Marbles. In a report (Unesco 2001b) to the General Assembly of Unesco, an intergovernmental committee commented that the case of the restitution of the Marbles was still unresolved. A disputed issue between the two governments is the legality of the removal by the British diplomat Lord Elgin of the Parthenon marbles from Athens and consequently the legal basis of the British Museum’s ownership of the sculptures. In 1816 a Select Committee of the House of Commons had concluded that Elgin had legitimately acquired the marbles and ownership was subsequently vested in the British Museum by parliamentary legislation (Local and Personal Acts 56 George III c.99). In the current dispute, the validity of an Ottoman firman (1801) licensing the British Ambassador to detach the sculptures from the Parthenon (1801–1810) and of a second firman (1810) licensing their export is defended by the United
Kingdom and contested by the Greek Government. Above all it is argued by Greece that ethically as well as legally the rightful place for the Parthenon marbles is in Athens and that these masterpieces of the Greek national patrimony had been handed over to the British not by Greeks but by venal Ottoman officials before Greece had achieved its independence as a nation from the Turks.

The British custodianship of the Parthenon marbles has been condemned by the Greeks, who have suggested that unprecedented damage was caused to the Parthenon sculptures when they were taken from the temple by Elgin's team; even when housed in the British Museum a notorious 1938 cleaning using irregular methods had allegedly jeopardised the physical integrity of the sculptures and is a further point of contention. The British Museum argues that before Lord Elgin removed the sculptures, they were physically deteriorating due to neglect by the Muslim governors of Athens: the Ottomans used the Acropolis as a defensive citadel and regarded the Parthenon merely as a pagan temple; notably the Parthenon had already been irreparably damaged by the explosion of a Turkish powder magazine that exploded (1687) after it was hit during a Venetian siege of the Acropolis. The British Museum also insists that the pollution in Athens is not an appropriate environment for the sculptures and even if they were restituted, they would have to be protected in a museum in any case and could not responsibly be re-attached to the Parthenon.

In the international dispute over the Parthenon marbles, the two key issues of property ownership (national ownership) through inheritance and the right to exercise cultural custodianship have been at the fore of the argument.

### 3.2.4 Custodianship of cultural property

Western countries and institutions have in the past asserted that it was their responsibility to assume the custodianship of cultural property that would in other hands have deteriorated through neglect if not active destruction. The West as the
guardian of culture reflected a hierarchical view of the world in which the Western nations were the natural leaders in cultural enlightenment as much as in scientific and technological progress. Cultural custodianship could be and indeed was employed as a justification for intervention. In relationship to Islam, this attitude historically reflected a western viewpoint that has been associated with orientalism: the supposition that Arabs have demonstrated an innate and irresponsible disregard for their own cultural property.

Claims that the cultural heritage of the Islamic world could only be vouchsafed by European intervention was clearly in evidence in France’s administration of its colonies in North Africa. Since the 1970s (American) analyses of French colonial urban policies have focussed in particular on the politicization of France’s guardianship of the cultural patrimony of the territories that it occupied (Abu-Lughod 1980, Çelik 1997, Hamadeh 1992, Rabinow 1975, Wright 1991). Morocco during the Protectorate has been a key area of discussion in this respect. Gwendolyn Wright in a major study of colonial urbanism in territories controlled by France argued that power is behind the French assertion that without their intervention the cultural property of Morocco would have been neglected or even irresponsibly destroyed by the society that had inherited it (Wright 1991: 117). Thus the French administration’s adoption of a role of responsibility for the cultural heritage of Moroccan traditional cities can be interpreted as having an underlying hegemonic purpose, which was buttressed by a tactical condemnation of the negligence of Muslims towards their cultural patrimony. A report by Edmond Pauty to the ‘Institut des hautes études marocaines’ in 1922 is a characteristic justification for intervention on the grounds of the irresponsibility of the Moroccans themselves:

The Muslims, for whom the passage of time is nothing, allow their monuments to fall into ruin with an indifference that equals the enthusiasm that had gone into their erection. We have therefore substituted ourselves for them in order to preserve the artistic vestiges of a brilliant civilisation. We have extended a protective mantle over the totality of the site, the city,
within which that civilisation blossomed, as well as over the monuments. [Les musulmans, pour lesquels la fuite du temps n'est rien, laissent crouler leurs monuments avec autant d'indifférence qu'ils ont mis d'ardeur à les enlever. Nous sommes donc substitués à eux pour garder les vestiges artistiques d'une civilisation brillante. Nous avons étendu le manteau protecteur sur l'ensemble du site, de la ville, au milieu duquel elle surgit, aussi bien que sur les monuments (Pauty 1922: 449)].

Wright argued that 'historic preservation had a deeply political aspect, providing the French with additional justifications for their domination' and gave as an example their success in landscaping the sites and preventing urban encroachment around the Chellah (a fourteenth century Merenid necropolis) and the Hassan minaret (an unfinished late twelfth century Almohad mosque) in Rabat: 'if the Islamic sense of history and architecture found the concept of setting off monuments entirely foreign, this strategy gave the French proof of the conviction that only they could fully appreciate the Moroccan past and its beauty' (Wright 1991: 117). The French indictment of the Moroccans' lack of appreciation of the Chellah and the Hassan minaret was founded on a concept that had emerged in nineteenth century Europe: a European emphasis on isolating and setting off outstanding architectural structures from surroundings buildings was attributed by Lawless (in a discussion of conservation and Arab urbanism) to a preoccupation with individual monuments rather than the totality of the urban fabric. Lawless suggested that until the mid twentieth century 'in Europe conservation of historic structures was limited to the most notable ancient and medieval remains. Attention focused on individual monuments which were considered separately from their surroundings, and areas adjacent to such major monuments as Notre Dame in Paris were thoughtlessly demolished' (Lawless 1980: 182). The clearing of the old buildings and narrow streets around Notre Dame was a response to 'a city of gothic architecture, stinking piles of filth and roaming vagabonds' (Green 1990: 31) before Haussmann's restructuring of Paris. In view of the relationship of power between the French and indigenous authorities during the Protectorate in Morocco, the principles of urban
control that had developed in nineteenth-century Europe and had become widely accepted in Europe by the early twentieth century could be applied by colonial administrators to the historic cities of occupied territories. Marrakech is an outstanding example of how authoritarian urban policies were applied in French colonies.

Urban historians have acknowledged the patently political basis of the French preservation of the medinas of Fes and Marrakech during the Protectorate but have conceded that a consequence of autocratic colonial practices has been the survival of Fes and Marrakech (including the Kasbah) as the best remaining examples of a traditional Muslim city in North Africa. Lawless differentiated between Morocco and other regions in North Africa, remarking that the demarcation between old and new cities in Cairo and Tunis is less defined than is the case with Fes and Marrakech and that in Algiers the modern city penetrates the inner section of the old city (Lawless 1980: 178). Wright noted that in Morocco, 'Lyautey initiated urban laws controlling construction, preservation, and future development' and that these laws preceded comparable legislation in France (Wright 1991: 141). Furthermore Çelik has pointed out that in metropolitan France few quarters were destroyed to implement urban projects whereas in Algiers the new replaced the old; she concluded that the French enjoyed the power to implement what was acceptable practice in Algeria but not at home, particularly in the destruction of parts of the old city (Çelik 1996: 203). That is to say, the constraints imposed on urban projects by the will of the inhabitants in cities in metropolitan France were not an issue in a colonial context.

The creation by the French of distinct administrative, commercial and residential zones quite separate from Marrakech medina played a determining role in preserving the walled city intact. Wright remarked that the distinction between the medina and the modern city (Gueliz, designed by the architect Prost) emphasized differences of time and culture: 'separation between the medina and the ville nouvelle culminated in a district of non edificandi where all construction was prohibited ... The open zones of non edificandi had clear aesthetic and social purposes, marking the distinctions
between the two parts of a city, setting off two scales of construction, two cultures,
and two periods of history - at least in the eyes of the French' (Wright 1991: 145).
Interpretations of French colonial urbanisation have consistently emphasized its
oppositional basis in which space is seen to be divided. The modern city of Tunis
has been viewed as representing in plan a forceful incursion into the old city (Brown
1973: 29). Çelik argued that oppositional space was created by the French presence
in Algiers: 'the demarcation of the French from the Algerians in the city played a
central role in the creation of the notion of espace contre or "counter space"'. She
concluded that ‘counter space’ in the context of Algiers spatially defined the
relationship between the colonisers and the colonised: ‘the residents of the Casbah,
the heights of al-Jaza'ir left untouched by the colonizers, spoke back by turning in on
themselves, consolidating their unity, tightening and redefining their own mechanism
of maintenance and control over the public and private spaces of their
neighbourhood. As interpreted by Frantz Fanon, the diametrically opposed stances
of the Casbah and French Algiers abolished any possibility of overall harmony (Çelik
1996: 203). Fanon in Les damnés de la terre [The wretched of the earth] defined the
opposition of French and Arab as a division of inequality: ‘the colonised world is a
world cut into two’ ['le monde colonisé est un monde coupé en deux] in which ‘the
zone inhabited by the colonised population does not complement the zone inhabited
by the colonists. These two zones are in opposition but not for the achievement of a
higher unity’ ['la zone habitée par les colonisés n'est pas complémentaire de la zone
habitée par les colons. Ces deux zones s'opposent, mais non au service d'une unité
supérieure' (Fanon 1961: 31)]. A still visible spatial divide [Illustration 61] in
Marrakech between a zone of urban expansion outside the city walls and the
contained and segregated zone of the medina is the mark of Lyautey, Governor
General of Morocco from 1912 to 1925. He had secured the medina of Marrakech
from the encroachment of modernization and suppressed significant alterations to the
urban fabric through legislation and regulations. At the same time Lyautey’s
preservation of the medina as a ‘museum zone’ segregated and marginalized the
indigenous inhabitants of Marrakech in what might be described as an inhabited
artefact.
Janet Abu-Lughod has described her ambivalent feelings towards an authoritarian French colonial urbanism that amounted to 'ethnic segregation', recognizing though that 'had they not instituted their program of isolating the extant settlements from the new colonial cities they built for their own use, there is no doubt that, as elsewhere, only fragments of these towns would have survived (Abu-Lughod 1980: xvii-xviii). The legacy of colonial domination is to have access 'to one of the world's great and historic traditions of city building' (Abu-Lughod 1980: xviii). An unspoken ideal of the World Heritage List would appear to be the kind of zoned preservation exemplified by the medina of Marrakech during the Protectorate: certainly at the registration of Islamic Cairo as a World Heritage Site in 1979, concerns expressed by Unesco about its preservation as a protected cultural and historical entity (Unesco 1979:12) implied that the objective was a cultural zoning of space: the third meeting of the World Heritage Committee included Islamic Cairo on its list but noted the problems identified by Icomos in sustaining it as an historical site. (Parent 1979: XII no 89). The present conditions in Islamic Cairo have undermined its feasibility as a World Heritage Site: it is a zone of unrivalled cultural richness that has been overrun by unchecked inroads of modern housing blocks and elevated road systems [Illustration 62].
3.2.5 The United Nations and the formation of a discourse of cultural heritage

In 1985 the Unesco Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value 'recommended that the Moroccan authorities ensure that Marrakesh conserve its exceptional character as a fully preserved historic town' (Unesco 1985: 9). The expectation that the implementation of universal values is a national or a localised responsibility is fundamental to the mechanisms of intergovernmental agreements within the framework of the United Nations. The inherent problems associated with this aspect of intergovernmental agreements are well documented and affect the realization of a wide range of diplomatic and ethical aims. At the highest level of dealings with world affairs, the principal difficulty associated with implementing global responsibility as portrayed by the United Nations and its agencies is that the custodians of that responsibility are located in the governments of individual nation states. Even when ethical norms have been negotiated and ratified by national governments, it is demonstrably difficult to police the adherence to those norms by the signatories to intergovernmental agreements. The chequered history of human
rights in Morocco in the period covered in this thesis illustrates this problem. Morocco became a signatory in 1977 to the United Nations ‘International Convention on Civil and Political Rights’ (United Nations 1976) at a time when two failed coups against King Hassan had left a legacy of notorious and now undisputed abuses of human rights. In 1993 Morocco ratified the United Nations ‘Convention against Torture’. Although cases of torture – particularly of political detainees – appear to have diminished in Morocco after the 1980s, it is evident that physical violence was still being employed in 1993 by individuals in the national security forces. At a United Nations committee reviewing Morocco’s progress in this respect, a Moroccan delegate (Benjelloun Touimi) was reported as explaining that ‘in terms of the promotion and protection of human rights, Morocco was at present rather like a large building site. The law had to be reformed to conform to the obligations deriving from international treaties, and at the same time, it was necessary to change people’s mentalities, a process which had to take place at the stage of training in general and of police training in particular’ (United Nations 1999: 3). Touimi’s lucid explanation of the distance between the directives of national legislation and localised practices reflects a hierarchical structure in which values that have international approval have been transposed in a ‘from above’ process. It can be argued that a comparable hierarchical structure has also obtained in Morocco’s obligations to cultural heritage. As has already been indicated, principles that have gained currency in the West have been directed from above through international agreements down to a local level.

In the area of cultural heritage it can be seen that local conformity to expectations can be rewarded ‘from above’ but that local disregard for the rules is difficult in practice to regulate. The medina of Fes was visited by the President of the World Bank in 1996 and as a consequence has been awarded structured financial support: the current project for the medina had been planned by ADER-FES [the organisation responsible for the programme of the rehabilitation of the Medina of Fes] with the aid of a grant from the Japanese Government and is now supported by the World Bank. By contrast, unregulated changes to the urban fabric of the medina of Marrakech appear to be allowed to continue unchecked (El Faiz 2002). Individual monuments in
Marrakech have been the focus of international restoration projects but the absence of any large scale organized commitment to cultural heritage in the city would appear to have excluded it from the level of external funding enjoyed by Fes.

The inability of the United Nations and other international agencies to regulate so-called rogue states that refuse to recognize the rules is indicative of the fragility of the discourse of cultural heritage. The wanton destruction of the pre-Islamic cultural heritage of Afghanistan by the Taliban regime was condemned in 2001 by an ineffectual international protest led by the United Nations and Unesco. United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan intervened personally but unsuccessfully with the Taliban in an attempt to stem the wholesale destruction of Afghanistan’s pre-Islamic heritage and in particular two giant Buddha sculptures in the city of Bamiyan. Koichiro Matsuura (Director General of Unesco), in an appeal against iconoclasm in Afghanistan, accused the Taliban of destroying ‘a patrimony that belonged to all humanity’ ['un patrimoine qui appartenait à toute l'humanité'] (Matsuura 2001). He invoked the concept of the global village to characterize the world today with the implication that all nations are heirs to the heritage of each individual state. The Taliban, disregarding both the rules and international protests, filmed the destruction of the Buddhas. In retrospect it is evident that it took the terrorist destruction in September 2001 of the World Trade Centre in New York to precipitate direct action against the Taliban: the retribution by an American military intervention that toppled the ‘rogue’ regime for putting itself outside the global rules that the United States upholds.

In conclusion, it can be argued that through the institutional practices of the cultural agencies that it has created, the United Nations has promoted universal respect for the cultural achievements of all societies, religions and regions as a foundational civilized value. The inscription in 1985 of Marrakech Medina (Unesco 1985: 331) in Unesco’s List of World Heritage Sites drew the Kasbah of Marrakech into a discourse of cultural heritage that - as has been demonstrated (Sections 3.2.1 – 3.2.2) – was formed in a context of European urban theory and practice and has inherited
some if not all of the hierarchical characteristics of its historical origins. The formulation, delivery and reception of a discourse of culture – notably by Unesco – have been negotiated internationally but the expectation has been that the responsibility for implementing the preservation of the cultural heritage should be local.

3.3 THE CONSTITUTION OF THE DISCOURSE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE: KEY TERMS AND PRACTICES

3.3.1 Culture

Two distinct meanings that have different origins and implications can be attributed to culture as a key term in documents and agreements published by Unesco. One meaning is cultural property, which has been a term and a concept employed in Unesco’s mission to preserve the earth’s natural and cultural heritage. The other meaning is an anthropological definition of culture that has already been referred to in the discussion of the problematics of culture in Chapter Two (2.1.3 (i)). The anthropological meaning of culture has tended to predominate in the political dimensions of Unesco as an agency of the United Nations.

The inclusion in the Unesco World Heritage List of Marrakech medina indicated that the Kasbah was designated as cultural property that by definition merited preservation. In the 1972 Unesco Convention that established the World Heritage List, three principal categories were named: monuments, groups of buildings and sites (Unesco 1972: article 1). All three categories were confined to material remains from the past. The criterion for designating monuments and groups of buildings as appropriate for the Heritage List is that they should be ‘of outstanding universal
value'. Cultural heritage has been taken to mean the best ('high culture') of the tangible remains of the past. Marrakech was found to have matched a selective and exclusive definition of cultural property that can consequently be applied to the Kasbah and its palaces and monuments.

Definitions of 'cultural property' in United Nations conventions and protocols have been derived in a literal way from prevailing concepts of property ownership. Property in most if not all societies has been principally associated with well established categories of individual, family, institutional and local and national ownership. In relationship to all those categories, legislation within states has generally given particular importance to the safeguarding of the rights of property owners, to the regulation of the transference of property ownership and to the punishment of the crimes of illegally acquiring, damaging and destroying property. In defining culture, Unesco has underlined the associations between cultural heritage and material ownership through representing 'crimes against culture' as abuses against property. Theft, vandalism, destruction and most frequently of all neglect are the most commonly identified 'crimes' in this context. The Director General of Unesco (Koichiro Matsuura) outlined three main lines of attack through which Unesco has fought to combat cultural crimes: protecting cultural property from destruction or damage through armed conflict; the policing of illegal trafficking of cultural objects; the preservation of cultural patrimony (Matsura 2001). The 'Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict' was the earliest of the Unesco strategies to combat 'cultural crime' and was formulated as a response to the cultural losses sustained during the Second World War. The 'Protocol for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict' (The Hague, 14 May 1954) established a definition of cultural ownership that has become embedded in the language of the United Nations. This can be clearly seen in the reiteration of the 1954 definition of cultural property by a second Protocol that was signed at The Hague as recently as 1999 when a Committee was formed for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict.
Article 1.b of the 1999 Protocol literally reiterated the definition of cultural property that had been agreed in 1954.

In summary, a foundational concept of cultural heritage was derived from the principles of the legacy and inheritance of material property. Furthermore the claim of universality that has been constantly re-affirmed in Unesco’s inter-governmental agreements has since 1985 encompassed the Kasbah, which has thereby acquired the status of a static, material heritage that should be preserved in its present state for future generations of humanity.

An alternative meaning of culture that has been associated with the political origins of Unesco was identified from the outset. In 1948, T.S. Eliot quoted from a draft constitution for a 'United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation', stating that the 'purpose of this organisation was, in Article I, defined as follows (Eliot 1962: 31):

1. To develop and maintain mutual understanding and appreciation of the life and culture, the arts, the humanities, and the sciences of the peoples of the world, as a basis for effective international organisation and world peace.

2. To co-operate in extending and in making available to all peoples for the service of common human needs the world's full body of knowledge and culture, and in assuring its contribution to the economic stability, political security, and general well-being of the peoples of the world.

Eliot’s motive in quoting from Unesco’s draft constitution was cautionary and he warned that before 'acting on such resolutions we should try to find out what this one word means'. He was dismissive of culture defined in the drafted Unesco resolution as a 'kind of emotional stimulant - or anaesthetic'. Eliot clearly implied that political
policies and actions can be derived from unquestioned but inadequate interpretations of ‘culture’, noting that ‘we observe nowadays that ‘culture’ attracts the attention of men of politics: not that politicians are always ‘men of culture’, but that ‘culture’ is recognised both as an instrument of policy, and as something socially desirable which it is the business of the State to promote. We not only hear, from high political quarters, that ‘cultural relations’ between nations are of great importance, but find that bureaux are founded, and officials appointed, for the express purpose of attending to these relations, which are presumed to foster international amity’ (Eliot 1962: 83). In a sense, Eliot’s observation about the assimilation of ‘culture’ into the vocabulary of politicians anticipated Foucault’s conception of the formation and constitution of discursive practices. In a discussion of ‘space, knowledge, and power’, Foucault drew attention to how at an identifiable historical period in Europe, architecture and urbanism were incorporated into political thinking:

I did not say that discourses upon architecture did not exist before the eighteenth century. Nor do I mean to say that the discussions of architecture before the eighteenth century lacked any political dimension or significance. What I wish to point out is that from the eighteenth century on, every discussion of politics as the art of the government of men necessarily includes a chapter or a series of chapters on urbanism, on collective facilities, on hygiene, and on private architecture. Such chapters are not found in the discussions of the art of government of the sixteenth century. This change is perhaps not in the reflections of architects upon architecture, but it is quite clearly seen in the reflections of political men (Foucault 1984d: 240).

Just as in the eighteenth century architecture and urbanism had been integrated into political theorizing, so culture emerged as a key term and concept in the vocabulary of international relations after the Second World War. The wartime experiences of the victorious allies who created the United Nations were instrumental in forming the
policies that were launched by Unesco. Corresponding to the Hague agreements about cultural property as a response to war, the adoption in Unesco documents and agreements of an anthropological interpretation of culture in which regional and ethnic diversity were supported was a reflection of the allies’ determination to redress the heinous intolerance and racism of their recently defeated enemies.

3.3.2 Authority

The contribution of the anthropological meaning of culture to the articulation of the principles upheld by Unesco can be demonstrated by Claude Lévi-Strauss’ participation in discussions over a period of fifty years. The principles that have been adopted by Unesco had been voiced by French ethnographers before the Second World War with the opening in 1934 of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. Clifford described the museum as having ‘encouraged international understanding and global values, an orientation that would continue after the Second World War with the involvement of Rivière, Rivet, Griaule, Leiris, Métraux, and other ethnologists in UNESCO. Theirs was a cosmopolitan tradition’ (Clifford 1988: 139-140). In 1952 Unesco published Claude Lévi-Strauss’ Race and history [Race et histoire (Lévi-Strauss 1952)] as one of a series of pamphlets (‘the race question in modern science’) to which Michel Leiris later contributed (Leiris 1958) and in which the aim was to combat the racism that had blighted Europe in the recent past. Although in 1951 Lévi-Strauss had taken up at l’École pratique des hautes études the chair that Marcel Mauss had occupied until 1940, he was not well known outside of academic circles. With the publication of Tristes Tropiques (Lévi-Strauss 1955), the emergence of
Lévi-Strauss as an internationally recognised thinker reinforced his capacity to represent intellectual authority in debates espoused by Unesco. In 1973 *Race et histoire* was revised and re-published in Paris in a widely read collection of Lévi-Strauss’ essays; in a section entitled ‘Diversity of cultures’, Lévi-Strauss concluded that ‘it can thus be seen that the notion of the diversity of human cultures must not be thought about in a static way’ [‘On voit donc que la notion de la diversité des cultures humaines ne doit pas être concue d’une manière statique’ (Lévi-Strauss 1973: 381)].

‘Our creative diversity’ the report of the World Commission on Culture and Development that has already been referred to both in Chapter Two and in the second section of this chapter, alludes to the diversity of human cultures: Lévi-Strauss’ continuing involvement with Unesco extended to contributing to the formative stages of the Commission’s report (Arizpe 1998: 24), in which it was declared that ‘the basic principle should be fostering of respect for all cultures whose values are tolerant’ on the understanding that ‘cultural domination or hegemony is often based on the exclusion of subordinate groups’ (World Commission 1996: 25). Thus in relationship to culture the report identified principles that were founded on what were expressed as the fundamental values of civilization and made reference to ‘normative texts from UNESCO such as the Convention against Discrimination in Education and the Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice’ (World Commission 1996: 75). Representing the anthropological interpretation of culture, the report was critical of Unesco’s own definition of cultural property. While acknowledging the significance of the cultural wealth that is ‘held in trust for humankind’, it was stressed that ‘awareness of responsibility for this fragile wealth has crystallized mainly around the built environment: historic monuments and sites’ (World Commission 1996: 176).

The World Heritage List was specifically targeted:

The situation is illustrated by UNESCO’s 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. This instrument applies only to immovables and as conceived, supported and nurtured by the industrial societies, reflecting concern for a type of heritage that was highly valued in those countries. While 143 States are parties to what is currently
the most widely ratified piece of international cultural legislation, the more affluent nations appear to have benefited most from the Convention (World Commission on culture and development 1996:176).

It can be seen therefore that the intellectual legitimacy sought by the discourse of cultural heritage from authoritative academic sources can be analytical as well as supportive. Indeed Lévi-Strauss found the position adopted by Unesco to be at times unclear in its objectives and simplistic in its statements, commenting in the context of a further re-publication of his *Race and history* how uneasy Unesco had been with the reservations that he had lately come to express about its philosophy (Lévi-Strauss 1983: 13). Lévi-Strauss was sceptical of rhetoric in which, for instance, the Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies proclaimed that ‘cultural identity and cultural diversity are inseparable’ (Unesco 1982: article 5). In this respect, Lévi-Strauss remarked that Unesco’s ideology had been too easily masked by contradictory and meaningless assertions (Lévi-Strauss 1983: 16).

The principles of tolerance of other cultures and of the conservation of the diversity of cultures for the benefit of all of humanity both now and in the future have been represented by Unesco as civilized values that have been substantiated intellectually - even if critically - and are now subscribed to through agreements by the vast majority of the national governments of the world. The ‘Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies’, announced that ‘in its widest sense, culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs’ (Unesco 1982b). The Mexico Conference reconciled its ‘anthropological definition’ of culture with an interpretation of cultural heritage that was wider than cultural property: ‘both tangible and intangible works ... languages, rites, beliefs, historic places and monuments, literature, works of art, archives and libraries’ (Unesco 1982b: article 23). However the Declaration also contrived to encompass cultural property conflated with national identity: ‘the damage caused to the cultural heritage by colonialism, armed conflict, foreign occupation and the
imposition of alien values. All these have the effect of severing a people's links with and obliterating the memory of its past. Preservation and appreciation of its cultural heritage therefore enable a people to defend its sovereignty and independence, and hence affirm and promote its cultural identity' (Unesco 1982b: article 25). The ideology of Unesco presented in this form lends itself to being adopted by politicians. As with many other countries, Morocco's espousal of cultural identity has been voiced by its leaders. The twenty-third session of the Unesco Committee of World Heritage ((29th November to 4th December 1999) was opened in Marrakech by the Committee's President, Abdelaziz Touri (the Moroccan Director of Cultural Patrimony) and a letter from King Mohammed VI was read out by the Moroccan Minister of Cultural Affairs, Mohammed Achahri. King Mohammed's letter declared the Moroccan state's adherence to Unesco's ideology of cultural heritage but at the same time focused on projects that reflected a correspondence between national identity and the dynastic patronage of the Alaouites (both in the past and present). Mohammed VI instanced the initiative of his father King Hassan's restoration of the Royal Palace in Fes:

He [Hassan II] had gathered craftsmen and skilled workers who were available at that period and put at their disposal and under their guidance two thousand young men who could thereby learn and practise the art of traditional building and decoration. Thus Morocco not only restored a monument that formed part of its history but also acquired a significant body of young trained craftsmen. It is they who were privileged to participate in the realization of two prestigious monuments, namely the Mausoleum of our grandfather, the late King Mohammed V and the Hassan II Mosque. [Il avait réuni les artisans et les gens de métier qui étaient disponibles à l'époque et a mis à leur disposition et sous leur direction deux mille jeunes pour qu'ils apprennent et s'exercent à l'art de la construction et de l'ornementation traditionnelles. Ainsi, le Maroc n'a pas seulement sauvé un monument qui fait partie de son histoire, mais qualifié également un groupe important de jeunes artisans. C'est ce groupe qui a eu
le privilège de participer à la réalisation des deux monuments prestigieux que sont le Mausolée de Notre grand-père, feu Sa Majesté le Roi Mohammed V et la Mosquée Hassan II (Unesco 1999: Appendix 1)].

In the text of his letter Mohammed VI appeared to be appropriating the institutional authority of Unesco through using the Committee of World Heritage as a platform for the propagation of a hierarchical interpretation of cultural heritage that since 1986 has been strategically employed by the Moroccan monarchy in support of its legitimacy. In the analysis of the 'Palace Discourse' (Chapter Five) the relationships between the monarchy and cultural property in the Kasbah will be looked at more closely.

3.3.3 Authenticity

In the Royal Letter addressed to the twenty-third session of the Committee of World Heritage, Mohammed VI described Marrakech, which had been listed as a World Heritage Site by the ninth session of the Committee, as one of his Kingdom’s great historic capital cities and affirmed that it still occupies a prestigious position amongst the oldest and most notable cities of the world. Moreover the Monarch advised the Committee that ‘the authenticity of nations and their foundations are derived from their ancestors’ presence on the stage of history, from what they have bequeathed as monuments and as intellectual achievements’ ['l'authenticité des nations et leur enracinement procèdent de la présence qu'avaient leurs ancêtres sur la scène de l'histoire, de ce qu'ils ont laissé comme monuments et comme créations.
intellectuelles' (Unesco 1999: Appendix 1)]. At the intergovernmental level of the Committee, the Moroccan state reiterated through the King’s words its support of the principles underlying the incorporation of Marrakech into the World Heritage List in 1985. At a local level Faissal Cherradi (Inspector of Historic Monuments in Marrakech and the delegate of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs to Marrakech), has spoken of the gulf between the expectations raised in 1985 and what has happened since then to the material cultural heritage of Marrakech medina:

Since 1985 the medina has been talked about in terms of it being a World Heritage Site. It should be recognised that in the medina everything has been designated as world heritage ... In emending a renovation project, certain criteria are laid down, for instance prohibiting altering the facades. The internal structure can be modified, but features like old doors, windows and columns ought to be preserved. 250 permits for restoration and reconstruction are issued every year. Add to that everything that is done clandestinely, and it is easily 750. After fifteen years, how many authentic houses are there left? [On parle de la médina en tant que Patrimoine mondial depuis 1985. Il faut savoir que, dans la médina, tout a été déclaré patrimoine mondial ... En cas de rédaction d’un plan de sauvegarde, on définira certains critères, par exemple l’interdiction de toucher aux façades. La structure interne pourra être modifiée, mais les éléments comme les portes anciennes, les fenêtres et les colonnes devront être préservés. On donne 250 autorisations de restauration et de reconstruction par an. En comptant tout ce qui est clandestin, cela fait bien 750. Au bout de quinze ans, combien reste-t-il de maisons authentiques? (de Graincourt 2001: 77)].

Cherradi’s assessment of the situation signalled that it is necessary to emphasize that world heritage means not only monuments, palaces and mosques but also the totality of the urban space. In the early 1970s when the World Heritage List was instituted, Richard Ettinghausen had argued that in the past monuments had been looked at in
isolation and urban issues studied quite separately (Ettinghausen 1973). Thirty years later the separation of monuments and urban space has not been resolved. Secondly Cherradi conceded that the extent to which the medina of Marrakech has been altered since 1985 is conjectural but assumed that modifications made with official approval are far exceeded by illicit ones and that as a consequence the authenticity of the urban fabric is in jeopardy. The implications of these observations are that it is evident that there is a paucity of detailed knowledge about the medina of Marrakech as a world heritage site and that the integrity of the cultural heritage of the medina – its authenticity - is being eroded. Both of these implications apply both to the Kasbah as a district within the old city walls and to the medina of Marrakech in its entirety.

The relative lack of knowledge about the cultural heritage of the urban fabric of Marrakech can be compared to knowledge about other North African medinas that have been accorded the status of World Heritage sites. Furthermore a comparison of medina sites in the region presents a clear demonstration how the intergovernmentally agreed principles enshrined in Unesco’s ideology may be applied very differently in individual locations. For instance Keith Sutton has compared the research and initiatives in Tunis with lack of either in Algiers even though - despite differences in development – all North African medinas have had fundamental problems in common: 'once a functioning urban 'organic whole', the medina has declined into an urban 'sub-habitat'; it has become a slum quarter in some ways akin to a shantytown in terms of spontaneous, semi-legal modifications to the built environment' (Sutton 1996: 67). It can be pointed out in relationship to the comparison made by Sutton that when Tunis gained a listing as a World Heritage Site in 1979 (Unesco 1979: 11), the city had already benefited from a succession of projects that had been aimed at addressing the needs that had been identified in the medina. Crucially research has from the outset been the basis of developments in Tunis and has been encouraged by the ASM (Association for the Preservation of the Medina) that was founded in 1969 at the instigation of the Municipality of Tunis. The studies undertaken in Tunis have encompassed not only urbanism and the
classification of buildings but also the economic and social structure of the medina (Akrout-Yaïche 1997: 22). The methodology of the 'oukalas project', which is representative of the researched-based programmes in Tunis, was outlined by Faïka Bejaoui (Head of the Department of Re-housing and Building Permits). Corresponding to a general pattern in the second half of the twentieth century in the traditional medinas of North Africa, family houses in Tunis were frequently abandoned as their owners relocated to villas or apartments in the new town or suburbs. The owners of vacant medina houses habitually let rooms in their properties as shared accommodation [locally called oukalas]; at the same time there was an unmanageable influx of migrants from rural areas. Consequently social problems were associated with oukalisation as well as a degradation of the tangible urban fabric. A research programme was instituted in order to survey the oukalas and as a result of which they were divided into three categories. Some oukalas were judged to be in an irredeemably poor constructional condition and they were demolished outright. Other oukalas were designated as of architectural or historical merit and were restored; the tenants were re-housed in the suburbs. Thirdly there were oukalas that could be rehabilitated and the tenants temporarily re-housed until the renovations had been completed (Bejaoui 1997: 34-35).

El Faïz has drawn a comparison between the oukalas of Tunis and the fondouks of Marrakech (El Faïz 2002: 55-74). Fondouks [generally translated as caravanserai] have been characteristic of Marrakech since the city’s foundation but with the shift in trade routes from the desert to the Atlantic Ocean, their combined function as lodgings, commercial centres and stables for the caravans became increasingly redundant in the twentieth century. The fondouks were put to a variety of uses, notably providing cheap but densely overcrowded accommodation for some of the poorest families of the city. From 1912 to the end of the Protectorate the population of the medina had doubled and increased even more after Independence to its present estimated level of around 200,000 inhabitants. Like the authorities in Tunis, the administration in Marrakech was concerned that promiscuity would be associated
with numbers of unrelated people living in the same confined space in shared accommodation. In 1961 in order to identify the *fondouks* that were inhabited by a marginalized but nevertheless statistically significant section of the population (nearly 10%) living a precarious existence within the city walls, a survey was ordered by the regional director of the Department of Habitat and Urbanism (DRHU). Subsequently a programme of re-housing was instituted but the re-location of the inhabitants of *fondouks* to a purpose built development (Mohammedia) outside the city walls failed to provide an adequate solution as no account had been taken of the domestic and economic needs of the people who had been placed there. Many returned to the medina and in any case the *fondouks* rapidly filled with new tenants (El Faïz 2000: 64-65). There have been three subsequent surveys of the *fondouks* in the medina (1972, 1989, 1995) but none of them have been associated with any kind of action on the part of the local or national authorities. El Faïz remarked that 'in Marrakech, at the time of the survey of 1989, the occupants made it known to the researchers that they had participated for decades in a number of surveys but no measure had been taken to improve their conditions of living' ['à Marrakech, lors de l’enquête de 1989, les residents faisaient remarquer à nos enquêteurs qu’ils avaient participé pendant des décennies à un nombre d'enquêtes, sans que rien n’intervienne pour améliorer leurs conditions d’existence' (El Faïz 2002: 72)]; he concluded that the questionnaires from a succession of surveys have presumably been filed and forgotten.

Compared to either Marrakech or Tunis, Cairo presents a particularly complex example of powerful conflicting forces. The uncontrollable growth in the population of the city has meant that threats to the cultural heritage of Islamic Cairo have been overshadowed by the pressing needs of the inhabitants. The outstanding art historical importance of Islamic Cairo ensured that the major monuments had already been documented by the early twentieth century. The later *Index to Mohammedan Monuments* is the point of reference for evaluating the extent of the recent erosion of the monumental heritage of the Islamic city: 'the *Index to Mohammedan Monuments*
in Cairo published by the Survey of Egypt in 1951 lists 622 different monuments or fragments of historic interest. Of these, the great majority are Mamluk and Turkish. Since 1951 many of these buildings have disappeared, while others not on the Index are threatened (Parker 1985: 17). Although 'regulations governing the construction of new buildings and the structural alteration of existing ones in this area do exist' (Seif 1991: 9-10), the problem has been in implementing them. While there remains a crisis over the preservation of the monumental heritage of Islamic Cairo, it is not surprising that scant attention has been paid to the preservation of the urban fabric as an entity. Field observation in Cairo in 1999 confirmed that there were externally funded projects in progress but that they were isolated and involved only exceptional buildings. For instance houses were being restored and conserved in Darb al-Asfur, a small street leading off Sharia Mu'izz li-Din (the historical centre of the Fatimid Kasbah: 'in the mid-1940s, the governorate of Cairo officially renamed the Qasabah Al-Mu'izz li Din Allah Street' (Alsayyad 1994: 81)). Two of the houses in Darb al-Asfur are classified: the House of Mustafa Ga'far (Monument No 47) and 'Bayt al-Sihaymi' (Monument No. 339). As part of the 'Haret el Darb el-Asfer Conservation Project', a workshop was established in one of the houses in the street and traditional materials and fittings were being prepared for the renovation of the historic buildings [Illustrations 63, 64]. However the overall problems surrounding the cultural heritage of the centre of Fatimid Cairo remain intractable: Nezar Alsayyad concluded that 'for more than a thousand years, Bayn al-Qasrayn had served as the city's ever-changing symbol' (Alsayyad 1994:18) but today only glimpses of its former symbolic grandeur are visible in the Sharia Mu'izz li-Din.

Due to its geographic and cultural proximity, the most striking contrast between Marrakech and other North African World Heritage medina sites is Fes. The medina of Fes was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1981. Fes has notably followed the lead of Tunis in organised programmes of collaborative research. In 1996 Philippe Piguet commented on the advances that had been achieved in Fes in organising development programmes. In particular he singled out ADER-FES, created under the authority of the then Prime Minister Karim Lamrani. Piguet
suggested that in comparison with Fes, 'the restoration of the medina [of Marrakech] has followed a quite different route ... a number of foreigners – such as Charles Boccara or Yves Saint Laurent and Pierre Bergé – purchased houses that they renovated themselves. The famous interior designer Bill Willis has even made it his speciality, renewing a whole area of knowledge and local craftsmanship that would have otherwise disappeared' ['la restauration de la Médina procède d'une toute autre aventure. Elle est le fait d'un certain nombre d'étrangers - tels que Charles Boccara ou Yves Saint Laurent et Pierre Bergé - qui y ont acheté des maisons qu'ils remettent eux-mêmes en état. Le célèbre décorateur Bill Willis s'en est même fait une spécialité, réactivant tout un savoir-faire et un artisanat locaux qui, sans cela, auraient disparu' (Piguet 1996:77)].

In the absence of either a coherent administrative policy for the conservation of the medina of Marrakech or a city-based organisation with the resources of ADER-FES, it is perhaps inevitable that initiatives in restoring and reconstructing old and often decaying properties have generally been individuals projects, mostly by Europeans and Americans as Piguet suggested. What Piguet could not have anticipated is the
number of foreigners who bought houses in the medina after 1996. The Moroccan press has consistently attributed the sharp increase in the sale of houses to foreigners to a particular French television programme (Channel M6: Capital August 1999) hosted by Emmanuel Chain, who created the expectation that it would be possible to invest in a palatial house in the medina of Marrakech with a relatively small amount of capital. Quite apart from misleading the French public about house prices in Marrakech, it would seem unlikely that a single television broadcast would have accelerated sales to foreigners to the extent that it is claimed. What is evident is that the presence of foreign property owners in the medina of Marrakech has been more conspicuous since the late 1990s than it had been at any time before. As with any minority, the number of foreigners now in the medina may be perceived to be greater than it actually is. It is probable though that of the several hundred houses that have been acquired by foreigners since the late 1990s, a substantial proportion represent some of the more historically and architecturally important buildings making up the urban fabric of the medina. There have been serious reservations expressed about this latest development in the medina, particularly in the Moroccan press. Although the advantages of foreign investment in an area of the city that has become economically and socially marginalised are appreciated by everyone, a major concern is that the ‘authenticity’ of traditional housing has been undermined by foreign house owners who have been cavalier in their approach to refurbishing their properties. The architect Souad Belkeziz, described as ‘a professional passionate about the authenticity that characterises traditional building’ [‘un professionnel amoureux de l’authenticité qui caractérise le bâti traditionnel’] in an interview with Jean-Pierre Tagornet (Tagornet 2000: 8), spoke of how ‘today everything is happening clandestinely, anarchy and lack of control predominate. If you add to that a glaring legal vacuum, outdated laws, a deficiency of expertise, the cumbersomeness of the administration and the lack of coordination between the different branches of the administration, you can imagine the situation’ [‘aujourd’hui, tout se passe dans la clandestinité, l’anarchie et l’absence de contrôle règnent. Si vous ajoutez à cela un vide juridique flagrant, des lois désuètes, la manque d’experts, les lourdeurs administratives et l’absence de synergie entre les différentes administrations, vous
pouvez imaginer la situation’ (Tagornet 2000: 9)]. Tagornet cited inappropriate features such as swimming pools as evidence that the architectural authenticity of traditional riads is being compromised by their conversion into houses or commercial properties that reflect Western taste. For instance, a magazine article about Bernard-Henry Lévy, who has bought a house that is located just outside the Kasbah wall, illustrated him ‘at the pool of his eighteenth century palace in Marrakech’ (Buck 2003: 91); in a magazine article entitled ‘The Thousand and One Nights of the Jet Set’, Natacha Tatu wrote that ‘the installation of Bernard-Henri Lévy in the Zahia Palace, a sumptuous residence that used to belong to Alain Delon and Mireille Darc, wafts an aura of being “with it” over the old city’ [‘l’installation de Bernard-Henri Lévy dans le palais de la Zahia, une somptueuse demeure ayant appartenu à Alain Delon et à Mireille Darc, fait souffler le vent de la "branchitude " sur la vieille ville’ (Tatu 2001)]. Illustrations 65 and 66 are of the swimming pool in the central garden.

of a nineteenth century riad that has been converted into a ‘boutique hotel’ (opened 2001) in the Chtouka quarter of the Kasbah [illustrations 67, 68]. The publicity brochure for the hotel claims that ‘just a stone’s throw from the Royal Palace in the historic centre of Marrakech, an authentic riad once belonging to a Moroccan princess has been converted into a most beautiful hotel’ (Les Jardins de la Medina n.d.).

Illustration 67. Derb Chouka, the arch on the left leads to Samira’s house.

Illustration 68. Derb Chouka, the entrance to ‘Les Jardins de la Medina’.

3.3.4 Time

The administration has dismissed claims that foreign property owners have undermined the authenticity of the medina through the introduction of untraditional materials and methods of construction in the refurbishing of their properties. Mohammed Hassad, the Wali of Marrakech, stated in an interview in 2002 that in the medina the number of riads that have been converted for commercial purposes - as with the ‘Jardins de la Medina’ - is one hundred and seventy; Mohammed Hassad is
one of a new generation of technocrat administrators put into key positions by Mohammed VI and he expressed the view that the majority of the riads have been 'restored in conformity to Moroccan architectural tradition with, to be sure, the introduction of modern building techniques, which is quite acceptable and rational. It is no longer possible to build today according to the obsolescent methods of past centuries' ['restaurés dans le respect de la tradition architecturale marocaine, avec, certes, l'introduction de méthodes de construction modernes, ce qui est tout à fait normal et logique. On ne peut plus, aujourd'hui, construire selon les méthodes archaïques des siècles passées' (Ghazali 2002: 33)].

What has been interpreted as the complacency of the authorities - hoping that through doing nothing the problems surrounding the degradation of cultural property in the medina will somehow resolve themselves - is not shared by Faissal Cherradi, who in his capacity as the regional Inspector of Monuments and delegate of the Ministry of Culture has access to the architectural plans that are submitted to the urban planning department for approval for restoration and reconstruction. He has commented that though they may be technically in conformity with the regulations, 'many people seem to be bent on creating their "oriental paradise" in the medina' ['beaucoup de gens font leur "paradis oriental" au milieu de la médina' (de Graincourt 2001: 77)].

An orientalist vision translated into the restoration and decoration of traditional houses in the medina of Marrakech runs through the descriptions of properties transformed by outsiders. For instance, the commentary of a French television travelogue, Marrakech - between tradition and modernity [Marrakech - entre tradition et modernité] spoke of riads bought by Americans 'in search of a real or re-invented Orient' [à la recherche d'un Orient réel ou réinventé' (Glaize 1999)]. The film showed a glimpse of Bill Willis' house which through its frequent inclusion in interior magazines and books aimed at the European and American markets was influential in the development of a hybrid style of decoration for riads in the 1990s.

Orientalist decoration in Marrakech is exemplified by a restaurant ('Kasbah la Rotonda') [Illustrations 69, 70] that has been created on the site of a riad in the
Kasbah. The original *riad*, which belonged within local living memory to the Caïd Ben Chabli (El Omari to the author: 1996), was demolished and a new construction
was clandestinely erected. The present building is indicative of the stylistic hybridity of the decoration of an 'oriental dream' and has little in common with traditional architecture in the Kasbah. A riad in the Kasbah in Derb Si Messaoud close to the Palace is representative of an 'authentic' house. It is lived in by a family who acquired the riad from the sister of King Mohammed V approximately fifty years ago. The house is believed to have been constructed about three hundred years ago. With the exception of the modernization of the kitchen and the installation of a bathroom, there have been few modifications to the original building. The structure of the house and its decoration are intact if degraded through neglect [Illustration 71].

The external walls of the Derb Si Messaoud riad are blank and characteristically give no indication of the scale and decoration of the interior [Illustration 72]. By contrast the restaurant façade is designed to attract attention. The five windows on the external wall are imitations of mughal [Muslim Indian] architecture; although incongruous in Marrakech, they do have small canopies of green Fes roof tiles. The façade has at ground level a brickwork pattern that is based on the dry stone walls sometimes found in the kasbahs [tribal castles or forts] of the Atlas mountains. The rest of the façade has an impermeable surface covering of pink tadelakt, [a local technique of pure lime that was used in hammams [public baths] and in both the interiors and exteriors of buildings (Auvinet 1998: 108)]. Tadelakt was popularized by Bill Willis' use of it in his own house "Dar Noujoum" in the 1970s. In an interview with the journalist Abdelkader Faessel, who described the Kasbah's 'lanes as containing the most sumptuous riads in the medina' ['ruelles renfermant les plus somptueux Riads de la medina'], Khalid El Gharib claimed that 'when the Kasbah la Rotonda restaurant opened, I took on the decoration of it myself. After several stylistic researches, I opted for the embellishment and ornamentation of surfaces (walls and ceilings) by authentic works of art. In the 'Room of the Caïd' for example, you will see a genuine nineteenth century Moroccan ceiling that had survived from a palace of the period' ['lors de l'ouverture du restaurant la Kasbah La Rontanda [sic], je me suis chargé moi même de la décoration. Après plusieurs études de style, j'ai opté pour l'embellissement et l'ornementation des surfaces (murs et plafonds) par d'authentiques objets d'art. Dans le salon Caïdal par exemple, vous retrouverez un
The ‘Room of the Caïd’, Restaurant Kasbah la Rotonda.

Illustration 73. The ‘Room of the Caïd’, Restaurant Kasbah la Rotonda.

vrai plafond marocain du XIXe siècle, vestige d’un palais de l’époque’ (Faessel 1996: 16). El Gharib is a dealer from Fes who specialises in Moroccan antiquities and also the kind of orientalist objects and paintings to which it seems that the Moroccan elite, educated in France and acquiring French taste, are often attracted. Consequently the interior of the ‘Kasbah Rotonda Restaurant’ is stylistically an eclectic pastiche of Moroccan and the Ottoman Orient and European orientalism [Illustrations 73]. The interior decoration (of recent date) of the Derb Si Messaoud riad is applied to the surfaces of a volumetrically simple structure [Illustration 74], characteristic of an architectural tradition that is seen monumentally in the exposed walls of the Badi Palace, essentially a riad on a much enlarged scale [Illustration 75].

The prototype of the type of house described in Marrakech as a riad is thought to have migrated from Persia via Egypt and Tunisia, though it is not known for sure whether from there it entered Morocco and then Spain or the other way round (Meunie 1952: 29). Wilbaux proposed a variety of possible explanations for the
proliferation of *riads* in Marrakech, including climate, terrain and walled gardens inside a walled city (Wilbaux 2001: 72-74). Picture books illustrating *riads* in Marrakech (Ghachem-Benkirane 1990; Dennis 1992; Wilbaux 1999) appear to imply that imaginative design is the province of Europeans and Americans who have
bought properties and have developed them to create a style that fuses exoticism with modern western comfort.

3.3.5 Space

In 1999 the ARCH Foundation inaugurated ten ‘micro projects’ as the first steps in a private initiative to restore the cultural heritage of the medina of Marrakech. The ARCH Foundation (Art Restoration for Cultural Heritage) was founded in 1991 by Francesca von Habsburg, Archduchess of Austria and daughter of the art collector Baron von Thyssen-Bornemisza. The Foundation is a private international organization that ‘believes it is possible to accomplish for heritage preservation what museums have achieved for art’. The ARCH Foundation was concerned by the absence of any programme to halt the degradation of public cultural property in the medina. Cultural heritage is defined by the ARCH Foundation as ‘the objects, monuments and sites that we inherit from the past, and those that we build and leave as our legacy for future generations’ (Von Habsburg 2000). A map published by the Foundation illustrates a ‘walk which gives a unique insight into the traditional atmosphere of the medina and links the 10 ARCH micro projects’ (Von Habsburg 2000). The ‘medina map’ depicts only the area containing the central souks north of the Jmaa Fna square and does not include the northern periphery or southern part of the walled city. In the map, the medina is equated with the city’s original centre of habitation located north of the Jmaa Fna. In other words the ARCH map’s representation of the identity of the medina excludes the Kasbah and other southern districts within the city walls.
It could be said that the cultural heritage of the medina appears to be interpreted spatially by ARCH as the area circumscribed by its own projects that are overseen and funded by the patronage of an organization based in Vienna. From a different perspective, the monumental heritage within the boundaries of the Kasbah has an unquestioned status as a legacy of royal patronage from the twelfth century to the present, even though the urban fabric surrounding the Kasbah’s monuments is decaying through neglect and indifference. An administrative report circulated in 1999 concluded that the Kasbah ‘is an urban space that is extremely rich historically … however the urban fabric within the walls has been subject to significant degradation as a consequence of underground water precipitating rising damp as far up as the structural level; the antiquity of the citadel contributes to the weakening of the resistance of the structural materials’ ['une espace urbain extrêmement riche sur la plan historique …toutefois le tissu urbain intra-muros connaît des dégradations considérable suite aux remontées des eaux souterrains qui provoquent des dégâts au niveau de la structure; le vieillissement du cité contribue à la diminution de la résistance des matériaux de construction'] (Sebbar, unpublished document, 1999: 54-55). The local administration’s misgivings about the state of the urban fabric were endorsed by a report by Souad Belkziz prepared for the Ministry of Habitat in 2000. In particular the incidence of houses in ruins in the Kasbah was clearly demonstrated in a map graphically analyzing the structural condition of housing in the medina (cited in El Faïz 2002: 73).

The fondouks of Marrakech have already been referred to as representing a critical problem in the deterioration of the material cultural heritage in the city (3.3.3). Many of the fondouks in the southern part of the medina have been used for animals rather than for accommodating people. In the Kasbah in particular, fondouks [Illustration 76] have been used for keeping sheep and goats as it was the first part of the city to be encountered on the route from the Atlas Mountains and people from the villages who settled in the district often brought their animals with them. In Derb Abda a fondouk that had been used for stabling horses and caleches [Illustration 77] has been
demolished and a small hotel built on the site: the hotel ‘Riad Lydines [illustration 78] represents a further stage in the conversion of properties whose original function

Illustration 76. Fondouk, Trik Ksiba [Rue de Bab Ksiba]

Illustration 77. Fondouk, 45 Derb Abda.
has become obsolete. Like the ‘Kasbah Rotonda Restaurant’, the ‘Riad Lydines’ has a façade that features decorative windows and is intended to attract attention.

Illustration 78. ‘Riad Lydines’, 45 Derb Abda

The Kasbah has been transformed from a military zone that was demographically as well as spatially distinct from the rest of the medina into a sector that is in part heavily occupied by a civil population that has been augmented by the rural exodus. Paul Pascon remarked that for centuries Marrakech had been divided into districts that had their own distinct identity and that the ‘functions of the Imperial capital are identifiably projected and consolidated in space with great clarity. Nothing is easier to read than the city map’ [‘les fonctions de la cité, et ici d’une capitale d’empire, se retrouvent projetées et consolidées dans l’espace avec une grande netteté. Rien n’est plus facile à lire que le plan de la ville’ (Pascon 1979: 379)]. To the Dar el Makzhen [Palace] and its mechouar [the ceremonial courtyards outside the palace], Pascon attributed sovereignty. He added that within that schema ‘the qasba flanks and protects the palace on the west side, with a garrison and military command … This conjunction of palace, mechouar, mellah, qasba – remained over a long period differentiated and separated from the civil space by gardens and open spaces’ ['la
qasba flaqué et protège le palais vers l'ouest, avec une garnison et son commandement militaire ... Cet ensemble - palais, méchouar, mellah, qasba - est resté longtemps individualisé, séparé de l'espace civil situé plus bas par des jardins et des espaces vides’ (Pascon 1979: 379). The segmented space of Kasbah is still possible to read from a plan of the city. However in the twentieth century the open spaces separating it from the civil space have been filled by a hospital, hotels, shops, markets and petrol stations [Illustration 79]. Consequently the segmentation of the Kasbah is no longer as apparent or easy to recognise on the ground as it had been in the past.

In 1985 Unesco’s World Heritage Committee had observed that Marrakech was a remarkably well preserved medina (Unesco 1985: 9). Within the walled city, the Kasbah has survived as an exceptionally well preserved ‘sovereign’ space entered by a monumental twelfth century gate (Bab Agnaou) and containing a twelfth century mosque (Moulay Yazid), a ruined sixteenth century royal palace (Badi), a royal mausoleum (Saadian Tombs) and the present royal palace (Dar el Makzhen) and
gardens (Agdal) that had originally been planted in the twelfth century. It is recognised that 'the kasba of the Almohads, founded in the twelfth century south-east of the medina and rebuilt by the Saadians, is without equal in Morocco. The palace of the Sultan, the barracks, the graves of the Saadians and the gardens (Agdal) together form an extensive, balanced complex, whose regularity contrasts sharply with the erratically subdivided medina' (Nijst 1973: 167-168). This in not however a spatial distinction that has been recognised in the conservation of the heritage of the medina of Marrakech.

For visitors to the Kasbah, there is no indication that it is the most complete urban kasbah in Morocco. There are no markers in the Kasbah to indicate that it forms part of a World Heritage site. Indeed the only site in Marrakech in which the connection with the Unesco World Heritage List is explicit is the Jmaa Fna, which in 2001 was the first of nineteen 'cultural spaces' declared by Unesco to be 'masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity'. A free standing metal sign has been installed on the edge of the Jmaa Fna in order to commemorate its newly bestowed identity, which corresponds to the wider definition of culture advocated by anthropologists rather than the conventional interpretation of World Heritage sites as cultural property. In any case the Jmaa Fna has a spatial identity that is readily recognizable to outsiders through having been so extensively written about, photographed and filmed.

The administrative separation since 1992 of the Urban Commune or Municipality of the Mechouar Kasbah from the rest of the medina of Marrakech is regarded as anomalous by the Governor of the medina (Bouffares to the author: 1997) but in a sense it has re-established a distinction between what had historically been a state enclave and the civil space of the medina. The military presence that characterised the Kasbah in the past has diminished and the civil population (nearly 29,000 inhabitants according to the last census carried out in 1994) has expanded. Nevertheless the influence and control wielded by the Palace over the space defined by the boundaries of the Kasbah are felt locally at every level. The assimilation of
cultural heritage from 1986 into the strategies contrived by King Hassan to sustain and augment his personal power and to ensure the continuity of the hereditary monarchy in Morocco pertains directly to the Kasbah as a sovereign space and will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five.
In Chapter Four it is argued that the history of art as an academic discipline is a constituent element of the academic discourse, which is far-ranging but was fundamentally European in its formation. The chapter's focus is an analysis of the incorporation of the monumental sites and the examples of outstanding architecture and decoration in the Kasbah into the structure of art history. The practices that establish the authority of academic disciplines and the predominantly Western orientation of the study and interpretation of non-Western cultures are considered in the next section (4.2) of Chapter Four. The first part (4.3.1) of the subsequent section outlines the European model of the practices of art history and secondly the 'art history of the Kasbah' is reviewed (4.3.2). The penultimate section (4.4) of Chapter Four analyses key concepts identifiable in the practices of art history and of the 'art history of the Kasbah' specifically. The concluding section of Chapter Four (4.5) focuses on a twelfth century minbar [mosque pulpit] that is internationally recognised to be a masterpiece of Islamic art and is exhibited in the Badi Palace in the Kasbah: the institutional framing of a major historical work of art that has been assimilated into the orientation of a Western discourse of art history is analysed.
4.2 THE ACADEMIC DISCOURSE: FORMATION AND PRACTICES

The academic discourse could be said to have its origins in the Enlightenment, when a systematic and procedural ordering of knowledge (Proust 1965: 107) was instituted. Hitherto in Europe knowledge had been assembled as a microcosmic reflection of divine order, exemplified in the cabinets of curiosities that preceded the development of museum collections in the modern sense (Shelton 1994). In other words, the academic discourse could be said to have emerged in Europe at a point where knowledge was disassociated from religion.

The practices that sustain the authority of academic institutions (museums and libraries as well as universities) constitute an 'academic discourse'. The authority of academic institutions can be interpreted as dependent upon a largely unchallenged acknowledgement of their role as custodians of knowledge. It can also be argued that the ideological basis that is the reference for the procedures that lend credibility to academic institutions and to academics as custodians of knowledge is centred on Western intellectual values. Assumptions about academic authority are evident whenever writing and reporting are dismissed as 'popular' or 'journalistic'. 'Popular' and 'journalistic' have pejorative connotations associated with slight or derivative research, superficiality and a lack of critical reflection. It is this last quality – critical reflection - that particularly characterizes academic discussion, as is evidenced by debates both within disciplines and between related disciplines. In all academic disciplines there are procedures that are arrived at by consensus and are employed by the participants in that discipline, often represented by associations of elected members. Foucault, in The order of discourse, said that he supposed that 'in every society the production of discourse is concurrently controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures' ['dans toute société la production du discours est à la fois contrôlée, sélectionnée, organisée et redistribuée par un certain nombre de procédures'] (Foucault 1971: 10-11)]. Despite obvious differences in
procedures between disciplines as far apart as the experimental sciences and art history for instance, there are practices such as critical peer assessment for papers published in discipline based journals in which the procedures are common to both.

Foucault’s view was that ‘the will to knowledge’ is the paramount discourse of exclusion, as has already been touched on in Chapter Two (2.2.4). He suggested that the ‘will to knowledge’, supported by institutional structures, exercises in Western society a constraining power over the other discourses of exclusion (Foucault 1971: 20). Ironically Foucault has been accused of personally exploiting the control that he had acquired though his own institutional position within the French academic hierarchy. Mike Gane suggested that ‘Baudrillard's celebrated but notorious critique ... of Foucault in 'Forget Foucault' almost certainly led to Baudrillard's exclusion, rather like that of Derrida's, from those sectors of academic influence under the increasing patronage of the Professor at the Collège de France’ (Gane 1993: 1). Baudrillard had asserted in Forget Foucault [Oublier Foucault (Baudrillard 1977)] that Foucault’s writings are about power and in themselves constitute a discourse of power. Exclusion, not least in the academic domain, can effectively stifle opposition. However it has been academic practices rather than academic enmity that have been the focus of critical reflection in relationship to the study and interpretation – as in this thesis – of non-Western cultures within a Western academic framework.

In 1950 Michel Leiris gave a talk that was later published both in French (Leiris 1966) and English (Leiris 1989) and that has retrospectively been acknowledged as the first considered questioning in a critical and continuing debate about ‘how has European knowledge about the rest of the planet been shaped by a Western will to power’ (Clifford 1988: 255). In his talk Leiris reflected on a basic imbalance, pointing out that ‘though there is indeed an ethnography created by westerners studying the cultures of other peoples, the converse does not exist; so far none of these other peoples have produced any researchers ... to study the ethnography of our own societies. From the point of view of knowledge there is, if you think about it, a sort of imbalance that skews the perspective and contributes to reinforcing our
arrogance - our civilisation is thereby positioned outside of the scope of examination by societies that lie within the scope of analysis by us’ ["s'il y a bien une ethnographie faite par des Occidentaux étudiant les cultures d'autre peuples, l'inverse n'existe pas; nul, en effet, de ces autres peuples n'a jusqu'a présent produit des chercheurs ... de faire l'étude ethnographique de nos propres sociétés. Du point de vue de la connaissance il y a là si l'on y réfléchit, une sorte de déséquilibre qui fausse la perspective et contribue a nous assurer dans notre orgueil, notre civilisation se trouvant ainsi hors de portée de l'examen des sociétés qu'elle a, elle, à sa portée pour les examiner' (Leiris 1966: 142)]. In this question Leiris moved from examining the processes through which ethnographers achieve their results towards a displacement of cultural certainties about 'Us' and the 'Other' – a subversion that has reverberated ever since. Over twenty years later Talal Assad asserted that anthropology was still ‘rooted in an unequal power encounter between the West and Third World’ and pointed out that: ‘it is not a matter of dispute that social anthropology emerged as a distinctive discipline at the beginning of the colonial era, that it became a flourishing academic profession towards its close, or that throughout this period its efforts were devoted to a description and analysis - carried out by Europeans, for a European audience - of non-European societies dominated by European power (Asad 1973: 14-15). Asad’s comments were directed specifically against British social anthropologists and what he regarded as their lack of reflexivity but he has been read against a background of wider issues of inequality in academic disciplines. Said brought to a much larger international audience comparable reflections on the asymmetry of knowledge and of power between the West and its colonial territories in the East. In a well known and much quoted passage in Orientalism, Said wrote that an ‘implicit and powerful difference posited by the Orientalists as against the Oriental is that the former writes about, whereas the latter is written about ... the relationship between the two is radically a matter of power (Said 1991: 308).

Craig Owens took the title of an imaginary interview ‘The indignity of speaking for others’ from Deleuze’s tribute to Foucault as the ‘first to teach us something absolutely fundamental: the indignity of speaking for others’ (Owens 1992: 261).
Deleuze's accolade was cited from ‘Intellectuals and power’ ['Les intellectuels et le pouvoir' (Foucault 1984i)], an interview from 1972 when Foucault was active in the ‘Prison Information Group [GIP: Le groupe d'information sur les prisons] that had been founded the year before. Foucault was critical of the indifference of the Left, specifically the French Communist Party, to prisoners and other marginalised groups and articulated the need for engagement in order to generate the conditions in which the marginalised themselves would be enabled speak. Foucault told Deleuze that once prisoners began to speak, 'they themselves had a theory of prison, of punishment, of justice' ['ils avaient eux-mêmes une théorie de la prison, de la pénalité, de la justice'], which was a discourse against power – a counter discourse-and much more significant than a theory about punishment (Foucault 1984i: 310). Conversely from the perspective of postcolonial theory Foucault has been portrayed as effectively reconfirming a Western representation of the Other: Gaurav Desai (in the context of anti foundational thought) alluded to 'Gayatri Spivak’s argument that Deleuze and Foucault, attempt to render their own discourse on the "other" transparent by "letting the other speak for herself." Such a position, according to Spivak, is complicitous with 'a hegemonic Western epistemological tradition” (Desai 1993: 137).

4.3 ART HISTORY AND THE KASBAH OF MARRAKECH

4.3.1 The European model of art history

Practices that have been structured around the study of Western art have been applied to the art historical study of non-Western cultures. Art history has the reputation of being a conservative discipline. It had its origins in the study of European art, in particular European painting – as is confirmed by a glance at the ‘history of art’
shelves of any university library. In the preface to his *Vision and painting*, Norman Bryson characterised the history of art at that time (1983) as virtually devoid of critical reflection about its own practices and indifferent to the developments in theory that have informed other disciplines:

While the last three or so decades have witnessed extraordinary and fertile change in the study of literature, of history, of anthropology, in the discipline of art history there has reigned a stagnant peace; a peace in which - certainly - a profession of art history has continued to exist, in which monographs have been written, and more and more catalogues produced: but produced at an increasingly remote margin of the humanities, and almost in the leisure sector of intellectual life ... What is equally certain is that little can change without radical re-examination of the methods art history uses - the tacit assumptions that guide the normal activity of the art historian (Bryson 1983: ix).

The overriding conservatism of art history may not have been displaced by more theoretical approaches but it would seem that theory is now less marginal to the discipline than it had been in 1983. Udo Kutlermann, in an account of the history of art history, identified a link between art history and theory in France, referring in particular to ‘Claude Lévi-Strauss, Jacques Lacan, Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida. Each of these philosophers has made significant contributions in defining a new art and art history which has radically changed traditional attitudes not only in France but in other countries as well’ (Kultermann 1993: 243). French theory is marked by an interest in visual images, even though in France the relationships between the visual and theory have been problematic according to Jay’s detailed account of ‘anti-ocularism’ (Jay 1993). Two of the most influential examples are Foucault’s analysis in *The order of things* of representation in Velázquez’s *Las Meninas* (Prado, Madrid), which in turn has engendered ‘a small cottage industry devoted just to Foucault on Diego Velázquez’ (Jay 1993: 401) and Lacan on the anamorphic skull in Holbein’s painting *The Ambassadors* (National
Gallery, London), which was reproduced on the cover of The four fundamental concepts of psychoanalysis [Les quatre concepts fondamentaux de la psychanalyse (Lacan 1973)]. Kultermann referred to a ‘new art history’ in France represented by Jean Clair, Hubert Damisch and Werner Szambien. The new, theoretically oriented art history appears to have been regarded as significant and interesting by art historians but has not had a radical impact on the discipline. For instance, Hubert Damisch’s dense and difficult study of perspective (Damisch 1987) was internationally acknowledged as an impressive if flawed model of the application of post-structuralism to an art historical problem when it was published in English by the MIT press in 1994 (Damisch 1994); nonetheless Damisch has contributed relatively little to the formation of current interpretations of the historical origins and development of perspective, compared to either E. H. Gombrich’s pioneering Art and Illusion (Gombrich 1960) or Martin Kemp’s historically rooted The science of art (Kemp 1989).

It appears that theory has enlivened critical reflection in art history rather than fundamentally altered its accepted practices. Narrative surveys, monographs, catalogues, museum displays and the comparative use of photographic reproductions have not been dislodged as the mainstays of art history; these established and interrelated practices that originated primarily in the history of painting have been assimilated into writings about the art history of non-Western cultures, including the ‘art history of the Kasbah’.

4.3.1(i) Art historical practices: narrative surveys

Surveys of the history of art are narratives that are by definition selective, choosing for the most part the most admired examples but generally also the most influential ones. The narrative form was essentially initiated by Vasari in the sixteenth century and is characteristically linear so that the milestones in the development of for
example, a period, style or movement are highlighted in the account. A canon of works of art that have been judged to be of the highest quality and significance has been consolidated through the selectivity of narrative surveys. Such works are almost invariably ‘priceless’, that is to say they do not enter the art market. The corollary of a process of selection is the exclusion of countless objects that have not been judged to merit inclusion into the canon. It has been argued that there have been entire classes and groups of objects that have been marginalized by exclusion from the canon. In 1971 Linda Nochlin’s now famous question ‘Why have there been no great women artists?’ was published in the American journal *ArtNews* (Nochlin 1971) and opened up a debate about why and how women had been bypassed in the history of art. The continuing significance of the question is indicated by Griselda Pollock’s *Differencing the canon: feminist desire and the writing of art’s histories* (Pollock 1999). The power of narrative art history surveys to exclude is evidenced not only by a lack of questioning before the 1970s about the absence of women from the story of art but also by the contribution that women themselves made to that narrative. Mary Anne Staniszewski recounted her experiences as a young female student in the 1970s: ‘twenty years ago, I did not see that I, as a woman, was excluded from the possibility of contributing to the canon of great works by great men’ (Staniszewski 1995: 134); in retrospect it disturbed Staniszewski even more that one of her text books that excluded women from the canon had been written by a woman: Helen Gardner’s *Art through the ages* (Gardner c.1926) went through many editions and was on the foundational reading list for American undergraduates for decades.

European and North American surveys of Islamic art and architecture have broadly followed the models established by accounts of European art and architecture. Surveys of Islamic art and architecture have generally if not invariably included stylistic examples from the Kasbah of Marrakech in the canon. For instance, Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom in their survey of Islamic architecture from 1250 to 1800 by geographical area and period style selected the Saadian tombs and the Badi Palace, which are both prime examples of princely patronage, for discussion and
illustration (Blair 1994: 258 - 260) but excluded the present Royal Palace \( [\text{Dar el Makzhen}] \), which was begun in the mid eighteenth century.

4.3.1(ii) Art historical practices: monographs and catalogues

Monographs have the capacity to be more comprehensive than surveys and may aim for example to refer to every work that has been attributed to an artist. As monographs are more likely than surveys to be directly the product of original research they are often concerned with establishing knowledge about individual works – preferably through documentation. The tasks of attributing and dating works are fundamental conventions of art historical scholarship, preceding interpretation and theorising.

The provenance and dating of a minbar [a kind of pulpit from which the address at Friday prayers is delivered] that was in use in the Koutoubia Mosque in Marrakech until 1962 and is now exhibited in the Badi Palace [Illustration 80] were confirmed in a monograph \( \text{The minbar from the Kutubiyya Mosque} \) (Bloom 1998). In the final section (4.5) of this chapter the Koutoubia minbar itself is discussed in more detail. The monograph on the minbar was edited by Jonathan M. Bloom, the co-author with Sheila Blair of the survey of Islamic art (Blair 1994) already cited in the previous subsection. It comprises a collection of essays that cover different art historical approaches to the minbar and is a representative art historical study of a single object of international historical, technical and aesthetic interest. Bloom discussed the decoration of the minbar, Ahmed Touifiq its historical context and Stefano Carboni the historical development of minbars in North Africa. Other essays were devoted to technical issues. Overall the monograph represents the international framework within which art history texts are written and the scholarship that was a necessary foundation for a detailed re-appraisal of an Islamic masterpiece.
Richard Leppert gave three interrelated institutional forms through which he argued that works of art — he was specifically addressing painting — are physically and mentally framed:

Paintings are "institutionally framed," principally by the academy (via the discipline of art history), the museum, and the art market. Images exist within the context of a larger historical process in which all that is in the past is either being forgotten or, if remembered, is recollected in the light of current interests (never unitary to be sure). This guarantees change in the functions of art. Decisions are made, as they must be, about which paintings should be "remembered" and what about them should be "recalled" (Leppard 1996: 12).
Leppert gave as an example of ‘institutional framing’ the family portraits in the long gallery of a great house in England. If one of the portraits were to be taken from the house and hung in a museum, its interest (its primary function even) as an ancestral image would be transferred to the artist who painted it. Leppert was suggesting in other words that the interest would have moved from the continuity of family lineage to the development of English portrait painting. In Leppert’s illustration of institutional framing, an object (the portrait) changes meaning through its displacement from the original space that it occupied. As soon as the portrait painting has been physically transported from the ancestral house to a museum - a space in which the viewing of pictures and other objects is regulated by the museum as an institution - the meaning of the painting as a work of art is restructured.

To extend Leppart’s argument, it would seem that the meaning of the Koutoubia minbar as an object has been restructured through transporting it the short distance from the Koutoubia Mosque to the Badi Palace. Admiration for the superlative craftsmanship and imagination with which the minbar was made and its historical associations have clearly contributed to explaining why such a vulnerable wooden object from the twelfth century should have survived. However in the context of the Koutoubia Mosque, the respect in which the minbar had been held was above all attributable to its focal ritual function and its location next to the mihrab of one of the greatest mosques in the Islamic world [Illustration 81].
4.3.1(iv) Art historical practices: the comparative use of photographic reproductions

Another dimension to framing works of art is the photographic reproduction of them. As soon as a photographic reproduction of a painting or other work of art is situated within an art historical framework (a lecture, a monograph on the artist or a survey of the period or movement to which the artist belonged), its original functions and meanings are overshadowed by its significance as a work of art within the history of art. To return to Leppert's example of the hypothetical family portrait in an English great house, the painting has importance to the owner because of its dynastic affirmation — the original purpose for which it was commissioned — irrespective of whether or not it is appreciated or understood as a work of art. At the same time a photographic reproduction of the same family portrait may feature in an account of English portraiture or in a monograph on the artist's career and is thereby assimilated into an art historical construction.

The ubiquity from the mid twentieth century onwards of photographic reproductions of works of art has stimulated an extended and prolific discussion. Walter Benjamin's seminal essay 'The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction' (originally published in 1936 as 'Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit') was made accessible in English from 1968 onwards in Illuminations (Benjamin 1968), a frequently quoted collection of Benjamin's writings edited by Hannah Arendt. There is a self evident difference between a photographic reproduction of a painting (or other work of art) inserted into an art historical text and the 'institutional framing' of a painting or object in a museum collection or exhibition. The object may retain its original meaning if it remains in its original location and at the same time acquire further meanings in the context of its reproduced form. This applies to the late twelfth-century minbar that is still in its original location in the Moulay Yazid Mosque in the Kasbah and is compared in photographic reproduction to the Koutoubia minbar in the monograph The minbar from the Kutubiyya Mosque (Bloom 1998).
4.3.2 The ‘art history of the Kasbah of Marrakech’

In the art history of the Kasbah of Marrakech, monuments have been described and analyzed in both a documentary form (identifying, dating and cataloguing) and as narrative (for example incorporating the Moulay Yazid Mosque into an account of the stylistic development of mosques). The Koutoubia minbar has been institutionally contextualized. Monographs, narratives and institutional contextualising are practices that in the next section (4.4) are considered in relationship to key concepts of space, time, culture, authority and authenticity.

The greater part of the published research relevant to the art history of the Kasbah of Marrakech is in French and dates from the colonial period. This body of academic art history continues to demarcate the study of the Kasbah. The implications are far reaching: the academic discourse of art history in relationship to the Kasbah of Marrakech originated as a colonial project. The published reports of the colonial period include a study by Henry Koehler of the Kasbah in the Saadian period (Koehler 1940). Jemma cited a further paper (Jemma 1971?) published by Koehler in the *Bulletin de l'enseignement public au Maroc* (1943) but this has not been located. There does not appear to have been a monograph published on the Kasbah of Marrakech as a spatial entity since Koehler’s two papers. Specialist studies in the Kasbah of Marrakech have largely focused on individual monuments.

Henri Basset and Henri Terrasse jointly wrote a close analytical account of the Moulay Yazid Mosque (Kasbah Mosque) for *Hespéris* as one of a series of papers (Basset 1926) that were also published in book form (Basset 1932). Gabriel Rousseau illustrated his two volume book on the Saadian tombs with his own watercolours. Rousseau was an art teacher and the inspector of art and vocational teaching in Morocco. Although decorative, Rousseau’s book contained a scholarly translation of the inscriptions on the tombs by Félix Arin. Henry de Castries was dismissive of earlier studies of the tombs; he published a detailed catalogue of the Saadian Tombs in 1927 in *Hespéris* (Castries 1927). Deverdun towards the close of
the colonial period in Morocco published a paper on the Saadian Tombs that incorporated the latest research and new documentation (Deverdun 1953). Aimel published a paper in the *Archives Berbères* on the Badi Palace (Aimel n.d.). Terrasse analysed in detail the decoration of the ancient gates of Morocco, including the Bab Agnaou and the Bab er Robb in the Kasbah (Terrasse 1923: 147). A later paper in which Deverdun wrote a section on the Bab Agnaou was published in Hespéris in 1957: it was jointly authored by Allain and Deverdun and took into account new research on the historic gates of Marrakech undertaken at the end of the Protectorate.

Knowledge about the monuments of the Kasbah gained during the colonial period was incorporated into Deverdun’s authoritative *Marrakech, from its origins to 1912* ([Marrakech, des origines à 1912] (Deverdun 1959-1966)); Deverdun’s chapter on the historical Kasbah was without a successor until the publication of Wilbaux’s *La medina de Marrakech*, in which the Almohad and Saadian Kasbah were discussed in some detail (Wilbaux 2001a: 243-245, 265-272).

All of these detailed studies involving the Kasbah are related to an underlying narrative structure of the history of Islamic art and architecture, as is evident from the ways in which the detailed research reported on in *Hespéris* has been incorporated into surveys of the art and architecture of the Muslim West. Surveys of the Islamic West have highlighted monuments through specific criteria: they have been identified as being of outstanding quality, of influence on subsequent stylistic developments and remarkable in some way; finally they are well documented, thus furnishing a secure point of comparison for less well documented works for dating and stylistic analysis.

Art historical surveys that have incorporated monuments from the Kasbah of Marrakech have followed the pattern established in accounts of European art and architecture. As an example of French architectural surveys, Kultermann drew attention to the work of Pierre Lavedan, who 'concentrated on French architecture
and urbanism and became one of the authorities on research of cities in general. His three-volume *History of urbanism* [*Histoire de l’urbanisme* (1926-52)] remains the standard work in the field’ (Kultermann 1993: 242). Surveys of North African art, architecture and decoration have followed European models in charting and accounting for significant steps in stylistic development. For this purpose key examples have to be extracted from their original context and located within a conceptual framework rather than a physical space.

In 1926 Georges Marçais’ *Manual of Islamic art* [*Manuel d’art musulman* (Marçais 1926)] was published; it was re-issued in 1954 (Wright 1991: 347) as his authoritative *The architecture of the Islamic west: Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Spain and Sicily* [*L’architecture musulmane d’occident: Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne et Sicile* (Marçais 1954)]. Marçais discussed the Saadian Tombs, the Badi Palace, the *Dar el Makhzen* and the Kasbah Mosque [*Moulay Yazid Mosque*]. In his account of the Moulay Yazid Mosque, Marçais described its plan, physical dimensions and the influence that it had exerted on mosque design, putting what he had described into an historical and stylistic context: the mosque was formally analysed according to the accepted principles of architectural history.

The Moulay Yazid Mosque is recognised as a monument of international significance in the development of Islamic architecture but its interior, which is the stylistically interesting aspect of the mosque, is rarely illustrated. In Hutt’s illustrated survey of North African architecture for example there are photographs only of its exterior, which is unremarkable apart from the minaret. Hutt appended to his photographs of the mosque a brief summary of its history: ‘founded as part of the original Kasbah at the end of the twelfth century, the mosque was restored under the Sa'dians in the sixteenth. In the early thirteenth century a small Christian church was built alongside for the sultan's Spanish mercenaries, but all of this has disappeared’ (Hutt 1977: 109). Antonio Fernandez-Puertas, the author of a section on North Africa in a recent survey of the architectural development of mosques, analysed the spatial singularities of the Moulay Yazid mosque but again did not include a photograph of its interior:
The Mosque of the Qasba at Marrakech is Almohad in its ground plan, and shows an astonishing reversal of the balance between inner and outer spaces. It has no fewer than five linked courtyards and the prayer-hall aisles are reduced to a minimum. The transept is extended around the sides to form an ambulatory, with the portico on the north side completing the circuit. This radical reversal of volumes - with little covered space and enormous areas open to the sky - is unique in Hispano-Maghreb architecture. Four great arches, oversize in height and width, give onto the central courtyard area from all four sides, recalling the concept of the four *iwans* found in the East (Fernandez-Puertas 1994:115).

Fernandez-Puertas' account of the Moulay Yazid Mosque is representative of texts in the 'art history of the Kasbah'. It presents an authoritative analysis of space within a defined chronological structure.

4.4  

**KEY CONCEPTS: SPACE, TIME, CULTURE, AUTHORITY AND AUTHENTICITY**

4.4.1  

**Space**

In the Kasbah, art historical space is abstract in the sense that it is constituted solely by sites that have gained a place in the history of art through being represented in monographs and surveys. The Bab Agnaou [Illustrations 82, 83, 84], the Moulay Yazid Mosque [Illustrations 85, 86], the Saadian tombs [Illustrations 87, 88], the Badi Palace with the Dar el Makzhen [Illustration 89] and the Agdal Gardens [Illustration 90] belong to the type of sites that have generically been included in art historical studies of Muslim cities: monumental gates and fortifications,
congregational mosques, mausoleums, palaces and gardens. The Bab Agnaou, the Moulay Yazid Mosque, the Saadian tombs, the Badi Palace, the Dar el Makzhen and the Agdal Gardens put together reflect the totality of the historical Muslim city - with the exception of notable fountains and hammams – as represented in art history. However the Kasbah as a sovereign, segmented space rarely figures: either art historical sites are studied in isolation or they are assimilated into a larger picture of stylistic developments. A formal comparison of buildings taken out of the context of their geographical location and spatial surroundings is a conventional method of making comparisons in the history of architecture, often through photographic reproductions. For instance, Jan Vansina in a study of the application of art historical

Illustration 82. The Bab Agnaou.
Illustration 83. Bab Agnaou, palmette or shell  Illustration 84. Bab Agnaou, kufic inscription

Illustrations 85, 86. The minaret of the Moulay Yazid Mosque.
It was the most influential of the Almohad minarets for the next two hundred years.
Illustrations 87, 88. The Saadian Tombs.

Illustration 89. The Badi Palace and the adjoining Dar el Makhzen.
methodologies compared the Giralda (Seville), Hassan (Rabat) and the Koutoubia (Marrakech) minarets:

In architecture, circumstances usually made it impossible to work with the same plans on the same scale. Replication meant to use the same principles for plans and elevations, the same techniques, the same standardized materials. A famous example of three minarets replicating each other, built reputedly by the same architect in Seville, Rabat and Marrakush, illustrates the point ... The three towers finished in 1196, 1196 and 1198 all differed from previous minarets in this feature. They all shared the fact that each of their four façades was decorated differently. They all stand as a single group different from earlier minarets and were models for later towers (Vansina 1984: 144).

The abstract space of art history excludes the relationships between monuments and the localised space of the Kasbah. The ‘art history of the Kasbah’ defines space hierarchically according to judgments of architectural merit and influence based on the criteria established in high culture.
4.4.2  Time

Orientalism generated a myth of a timeless East that has survived as a cliché of travel journalism and tourist literature about Marrakech. The belief that a traditional district like the Kasbah reflected a ‘timeless continuity’ outside the structured time of Europe was pervasive in the French colonial administration (Wright 1991: 88). The French colonial occupation of Morocco did on the other hand provide the possibilities for a growth in art historical research that emphasised stylistic innovation and development through time: art historians expended a great deal of energy in attempting to identify objects and buildings chronologically in the Kasbah of Marrakech. Terrasse felt that he had to speak out against the popular myth of the timeless Orient:

This strange metaphysical conception of Moroccan art: since the twelfth century, it has scarcely changed. The artistic genius of Morocco, which found its definitive expression in the Saadian tombs, has survived almost intact in the spirit and sometimes in the work of today’s craftsmen. ['Cette étrange conception métaphysique de l'art marocain : depuis le XIIe siècle, il n'a guère changé. Le génie artistique du Maroc, qui a trouvé son expression définitive aux Tombeaux Saadiens, vit encore presque intact dans l'esprit et parfois dans les œuvres des artisans d'aujourd'hui' (Terrasse: 1925: 11)]

Dispelling popular misconceptions about a timeless Orient has been a continuing preoccupation of art historians specialising in this area. Ettinghausen enumerated preconceptions about the East and the first one was the unchangeable East, which he refuted simply on the basis that ‘a monument above the simple, popular level, even though it may be without an inscription, can usually be dated within fifty years’ (Ettinghausen 1977: 302).
Art history in the Kasbah of Marrakech has in the main referred to discrete periods of time relating to dynastic succession and subdivided by the reigns of the sultans. Thus there is the Almohad Kasbah Mosque and the Almohad Bab Agnaou; the Agdal gardens were Almohad in origin. The Almohads took Marrakech from its Almoravid founders in 1147 and the Almohad caliphate endured until 1269. The Saadian dynastic mausoleum (1557-1603) and palace date from the Saadian period 1554 to 1660. The Royal Palace is Alaouite, the current dynasty that has ruled Morocco since 1666. Although these dynastic divisions do to an extent reflect stylistic changes, they are not indicative of the kind of period developments that are employed as stylistic categories in the history of European art: Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, Neo-Classical etc. The dynastic chronology employed for the Kasbah is almost invariably correlated in the literature with the Western calendar (as in this thesis) though sometimes the Muslim calendar is added as a supplement. This is a fundamental discursive assumption: the primary conception of time needed to understand the art history of the Kasbah is a European framework which enables an international audience to make comparisons. As art history was during the Protectorate for the most part specifically directed towards a French readership, comparisons with French landmarks were sometimes explicit. For example, Terrasse dismissed the Saadian tombs as a beautiful style in decline and to support this view he cited Georges Marçais, who had compared the decoration of the mausoleum to the sixteenth century church of Brou (begun by Jean Perréal in 1506) in contrast to the north portal of Chartres—flamboyant compared to pure Gothic (Terrasse 1925: 84-85). Today art history texts related to the Kasbah are generally addressed to an international audience and sometimes published in several language editions; international in this context still evidently means a readership whose concept of historical time is founded on a European chronology.

One of the implications of the application to the Kasbah of a Western structure of historical time is indicated in the French ‘rediscovery’ of the Saadian tombs. In Blair and Bloom’s *The art and architecture of Islam 1250 – 1800*, the Badi Palace and the Saadian tombs were discussed and the revelation of the tombs was mentioned: ‘after
1557 Sa’adian rulers were buried in a walled garden set against the south wall of the Almohad Mosque of the Qasba ... The garden was sealed off from the adjacent Badi’a palace by the Mulay Isma’il (r. 1672 – 1727) ... and the Sa’dian tombs were “rediscovered” only in 1917’ (Blair 1994: 258). The quotation marks surrounding rediscovered indicate that 1917 marks a discovery from a French rather than indigenous standpoint. As there had been no external, visible entrance to the tombs either from the Badi Palace or the street outside the Moulay Yazid Mosque to which the mausoleum was attached, it appears that the existence of the Saadian tombs was unknown to Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Accounts of how the tombs became known to the French administration in Morocco are inconsistent but revealing (Deverdun 1953: 557): the tombs had been accessible from the interior of the Moulay Yazid Mosque and consequently had been seen by muslims before 1917. It was only however when they had been written about and entered the literature could they be said to have achieved the art historical status that they are accorded now.

To conclude, a combination of texts in European languages and period labels that conform to a Western conception of chronological time indicate that the representation of the Kasbah of Marrakech in the history of art belongs to an academic discourse addressed to the centre. This conclusion is supported by the relatively seamless transfer of the framework of time imposed on the Kasbah by art history to the discourses of world heritage and tourism that are both largely Western in orientation.

4.4.3 Culture

The selection of what is discussed in the history of art is, as has already been pointed out, based in principle on an interpretation of culture that focuses on the highest artistic achievements of mankind. The history of art represents objects and buildings
that appear in retrospect to merit the attention of people in the present time. There are problems associated with this interpretation of culture. Who makes the judgements about what constitutes the great cultural achievements of the past? One answer readily given is that time sorts out the great from the mediocre: survival in the Kasbah of a twelfth century object or building from the Almohad period is accepted as a testimony of its cultural importance. In response perhaps to an unspoken need to explain the inclusion of a particular object or building in the canon, art historians often appear to be implicitly performing a didactic function, analysing why one work is better than another or what makes a particular piece exceptional and influential. For instance Marçais analysed the masterful ceramic decoration of the minaret of the Moulay Yazid Mosque: ‘above, a ceramic frieze dominates. The decoration has variations of detail between one side and the next and is in every respect identical on each of the opposite sides so that it is only possible to take in at one glance two designs that are different from each other’ ['au-dussus règne une frise céramique. Le décor présente des variantes de détail d'une face à la face contigüe et se répète textuellement sur les deux faces opposées, en sorte que l'on ne peut embrasser d'un

Illustrations 91, 92. The elements of the decoration are simple but are combined with subtle variations on each adjoining side of the minaret of the Moulay Yazid Mosque.
coup d'œil que deux compositions différentes l'une de l'autre’ (Marçais 1954: 249)]
[Illustrations 91, 92]. Marçais’ description of the minaret reflects an authoritative
understanding of its decoration and draws the reader’s attention to what would not be
apparent at first glance. If Marçais’ concise observation about the decoration of the
minaret is compared to a reference to the minaret in a contemporary guide book, it is
striking how the art historical analysis instructed the reader how to look at the
minaret whereas the Guide Bleu (Ricard 1950: 131) merely informed the visitor what
to look at - the minaret merited an asterix indicating a major monument (Ricard
1950:131).

4.4.4 Authority

The leading arabist Gustave von Grunebaum, whose teaching (Chicago and UCLA)
and major text (Grunebaum 1955b) on the structure of the Muslim town were highly
influential, has been accused of misdirecting the development of Islamic urban
studies through the authoritarian rigidity of his ideas. Said contended that von
Grunebaum’s reductionist, negative views about Islamic culture were accepted
uncritically due to his influential position as a teacher. Said cited Laroui’s The crisis
of the Arab intellectual (Laroui 1976) as the only serious critique of von Grunebaum
up until that time (1978) (Said 1991: 296-299). Nazar AlSayyad was more specific,
analyzing how von Grunbaum’s simplistic conceptualization of the typical Muslim
city had been adopted uncritically as an undisputed model not only by the West but
even by Arab scholars: ‘the stereotype seems to have evolved, developed, and
matured as a result of cumulative research done by both occidental or western, and
oriental or eastern scholars writing mainly in English and French’ (AlSayyad 1991:
33). AlSayyad argued that successive texts had modified, enlarged on or refined the
model of the Muslim city that von Grunebaum had posited but none had challenged
the premises on which the model was based. Al Sayyad pointedly remarked that
Middle Eastern scholars as well as American and European historians had acquiesced in the schema that von Grunebaum had presented as the basis of Islamic urbanism: ‘it is ironic that the Arab scholars working on the subject of the Muslim city chose not to contradict the authoritative body of literature produced by orientalists in spite of their awareness of some of its fallacies. It is even more ironic that they chose not to return to the early Arab sources but instead adopted many unproven notions nurtured by Westerners about the Muslim city. Their desire to gain legitimacy among their European peers led them to participate in the academic construction of a myth and the institutionalism of inaccurate knowledge on the Muslim city’ (AlSayyad 1991: 33).

Von Grunebaum, whose words ‘passed for canonical wisdom in American study of the Middle East after World War II’ (Said 1991: 297) was for Said one of a succession of ‘Middle East “experts” who have misinterpreted Islam to the Americans. Clifford suggested that Said’s omission of North Africa in Orientalism was revealing because French scholars have since the Second World War been considerably more reflexive than their American counterparts (Clifford 1988: 267). In a talk already referred to earlier in this chapter (4.2), Leiris questioned the unwitting complicity of ethnography with colonialism since most ethnographers at the time were working in colonial territories and were therefore part of the problem of colonialism (Leiris 1989: 113).

Art history appears to have occupied a comparable position in Morocco during the Protectorate to ethnography. Wright noted that already in 1915 Lyautey had instigated a survey of Morocco’s artistic heritage (Wright 1991: 117) and it can be seen that ‘the art history of the Kasbah’ was primarily written by French art historians who were in one way or another associated with or allied to French colonial officialdom. The art historians who have been cited in this chapter and who engaged in research in the Kasbah before Independence all appear to have held official positions or had affiliations with people who had responsibilities for ‘beaux-arts’ or historic monuments. The papers and books by French art historians
published during or immediately after the Protectorate often reflected an impressive level of scholarship and contributed more to knowledge about ‘the art history of the Kasbah’ than at any time before or since. They were occupied with describing, analysing, authenticating and in many cases preserving works of art, architecture and decoration in situ under the patronage of a colonial administration. This gave French art historians of the period remarkable access to the material that they were researching as well as responsibilities towards the authorities. For instance Deverdun in his research on historic gates acknowledged the support of the inspector of historical monuments in Marrakech and particularly of Henri Terrasse, director of the ‘Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines’ and Inspector of Historical Monuments in Morocco, who took a personal interest in the project and granted a number of missions 1951-1954 to undertake the excavation of gates that had disappeared (Allain 1957: 85). Marçais’ monumental survey (Marçais 1954) was published on the instructions of Roger Léonard, Governor General of Algeria and under the direction of the ministries of the interior and beaux-arts. The knowledge gained through the researches of French art historians of the colonial period has been the foundation of the assimilation of the monumental sites of the Kasbah into the history of art. By contrast the control of research in Morocco following Independence was at times restrictive and this has been recognized as creating problems of access (Brown 1970).

A survey of Islamic art and architecture does not allow for a great deal of analysis of the material used and qualitative judgments made about the examples that have been chosen to illustrate the narrative are in the main summary. Blair and Bloom informed their readers in The art and architecture of Islam 1250 - 1800 that the ‘finest example of Sa’dian architecture is the Ben Yusuf madrasa in Marrakesh’ (Blair 1994: 256) but they do not explain why it is finer than the Badi Palace or the Saadian tombs, which they also analyze in spatial and decorative terms. ‘The rich decoration in stucco, marble, tile mosaic, and wood epitomizes the finest of Sa’dian craftsmanship’ (Blair 1994: 258) is how the Saadian Tombs are described. Consequently the assumption appears to be that the knowledge shared by Blair and Bloom (confirmed by their institutional positions and the peer assessment of their
work) invests in them the authority to evaluate as well as chronologically survey the art and architecture of Islam. Moreover a system of annotations and an extensive bibliography direct the reader to specialised texts that may support the concise judgments made by the authors of the survey. Furthermore the status of Yale University Press, the publisher of the text, confirms the authoritative standing of the book. That is to say, academic practices substantiate the authority of a textbook in which the significance of the Badi Palace and Saadian Tombs have been acknowledged and assessed.

4.4.5 Authenticity

Vansina, again in context of the methodology of art history and Africa, proposed that 'the ability to distinguish between those features in a work that are copied and those that are original is crucial in art history. The determination of ateliers, personal styles, filiation of art works, all depend on the skill with which the origin and derivative qualities of replications can be analyzed.' (Vansina 1984: 143).

A lack of documentation about the majority of objects and buildings from the past means that the tasks of finding out whether they are what they seem to be, of dating them and of verifying whether or not they have been altered, transformed or restored are fundamental to art historical knowledge. These are practices that were principally carried out in the Kasbah during the colonial period and the knowledge gained was recorded in published reports. For instance Terrace pointed out that Morocco is the only country to have a substantial number of Almohad monuments (Terrasse 1923: 147) and that the Bab Agnaou in the Kasbah of Marrakech was the oldest of the gates of that period (Terrasse 1923: 150). Deverdun's method for analyzing the historic gates of Marrakech was to search for documentation and then to analyze their construction (Deverdun 1957: 117). For the Bab Agnaou he found
no documentation but authenticated it as the principal gate of the Kasbah through analyzing its style and decoration.

In the recent period there have been a few attempts to extend and revise the bedrock of knowledge and art historical authentication that were realized during the colonial period in the Kasbah. For instance El Faiz acknowledged that Deverdun’s pioneering work has not been superseded but challenged one of his attributions. El Faiz questioned Deverdun’s identification of one of the reservoirs in the Agdal: Deverdun had relied on a misleading translation of a documentary text that El Faiz had re-read in the original. On the basis of his-reading of the original document, El Faiz argued that the reservoir now known as the *al-Ghrsiyya* dates from the Almohad period – not from the nineteenth century as Deverdun believed (El Faiz 1996: 6). Correspondingly Wilbaux proposed an earlier date (Almoravid) for the Bab er Robb than Deverdun’s attribution of it as an Almohad Gate (Wilbaux 2001: 199-200). Nonetheless Wilbaux like El Faiz consistently acknowledged Deverdun’s research as the foundation of historical knowledge about Marrakech.

The process of art historical authentication in the Kasbah has been largely concerned with architecture and decoration historically associated with the patronage of the sultans – an urban, sophisticated and monumental form of art. This conforms to the historical identity of the Kasbah as a sovereign enclave. The Koutoubia *minbar* that is displayed in the Badi palace is an outstanding example of royal patronage and is analyzed in the next section (4.5).

4.5 **THE MINBAR OF THE KOUTOUBIA**

The early history of the *minbar* of the Koutoubia suggests that it was highly valued. This is supported by the preservation of the *minbar* despite the destruction by the
Almohad Sultan Abdel Moumen of its original location, the mosque built by the last Almoravid Sultan Ali Ben Youssef, who had commissioned the minbar in 1137 from craftsmen in Corboba in Islamic Spain [al-Andalus]. Abdel Moumen placed the minbar in the first, short lived Koutoubia Mosque next to the mihrab, which in now visible on the external wall of the second (present) Koutoubia [Illustration 93]

Illustration 93. The remains of the mihrab of the first Koutoubia Mosque are now visible on the external wall of the second (present) Koutoubia Mosque.

(Meunié 1952: 38-42). The minbar was then installed next to the mihrab of the second Koutoubia Mosque that was inaugurated in 1158. It can be inferred that the Almohads, who sought to purify the city by effacing all traces of the deposed Almoravids from sight considered that if they destroyed the minbar it would be difficult or even impossible to replace it with a minbar of comparable technical and aesthetic quality.

The minbar was removed to the Badi Palace in 1962 from the Koutoubia Mosque, where it had received relatively little attention from art historians, no doubt at least partly as it was in a zone from which non-Muslims were excluded. In 1991 it was identified as an object of exceptional importance by a team of American scholars researching a major international exhibition, Al-Andalus: the art of Islamic Spain
(Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1992), organized by the Metropolitan Museum’s Department of Islamic Art. Certainly it had been known that the minbar was in the Badi palace and was even mentioned in guide books (the Blue Guide of 1988 said that in the Badi palace 'another half-ruined pavilion houses a small museum which contains, among other things, an early Almoravide pulpit' (Holliday 1988: 176)). Locally in Marrakech the identification and authentication of the minbar has been journalistically portrayed as an American rescue of a neglected masterpiece gathering dust in a store in an annexe of the Badi Palace (El Idrissi 1998: 2). The minbar was photographed for the Metropolitan Museum’s Al-Andalus exhibition as conservators from the Museum discovered that it was too fragile to be transported to Spain and put on display. The exhibition, which opened in 1992 in the Alhambra Palace in Granada and in a reduced version travelled to New York, had highlighted both the outstanding importance of the minbar as a work of art and the concerns for its conservation.

The minbar was considered to be such an important example of Islamic art that the Metropolitan Museum undertook an exceptional joint American and Moroccan conservation project (1996-1997) in order to prepare the minbar for exhibition at the Badi Palace. The level of technical knowledge and expertise required to conserve the minbar is not available in Morocco. Mark Minor, who was engaged by the Metropolitan Museum to work on the project in the Badi Palace, recounted how it had been assumed in Marrakech that the American conservators were reluctant to reveal the formula of a supposed special product that alone would provided the key to restoring the minbar to its original state and how all the materials used by the Americans were recorded by a secretary from the Ministry of Culture; the reality was that the conservation work was not formulaic in the sense understood in Marrakech but was based on experiment, improvisation and painstaking, sensitive cleaning, all dependent on a wealth of experience and knowledge rather than on advanced American technical resources (Minor 1998).
Since 1998 the *minbar* has been displayed in the Badi Palace, which is classified as an historic monument with the status of a museum under the custodianship of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. This has provided an opportunity to analyze the ‘institutional framing’ in the Kasbah of an object that has been acclaimed as a supreme work of art in wood, had been commissioned in the twelfth century by an Almoravid sultan and until 1962 had fulfilled a ritual function in a sacred building of the greatest architectural importance.

The inclusion of a painting or other work of art in a museum attests to the significance that is or at least has been attached to it. In this respect the Metropolitan Museum, as one of the great art museums of the Western world, can be regarded as a spatial embodiment of cultural values. As an institution, a museum of the importance of the Metropolitan plays an authoritative role in defining and conserving 'high culture' (what is worth preserving) and in forming concepts of ‘high culture’ (what is the best that a society has produced). The unsurpassed quality of the Koutoubia *minbar* appeared, as has been indicated, to have been well understood in Marrakech in the twelfth century if not always in the twentieth; its significance has now been authenticated by the intervention of the Metropolitan Museum. The *minbar* conservation project and the ensuing scholarly monograph were the preliminary stage in this process. The installation of the *minbar* in the Badi Palace presents the object as a documented artefact through texts and photographic reproductions on display panels that line the gallery dedicated to the pulpit. The display board texts explain in Arabic, English and French not only the origins and history of the object but also why it represents such a high cultural achievement. The Metropolitan Museum contributed to the design of the installation, which in conception follows museum display in America and Europe, even though it is not supported by the educational resources and relevant publications for sale or reference that would be an expectation in this class of site in the West. The contextualisation of the *minbar* in its gallery in the Badi can be differentiated from regular museum practices in Moroccan and in many other non-Western cities. In Cairo, which is regarded as a cultural centre in the Arab world, the under funded National Museum of Islamic Art has in its vast
collections objects that rank as amongst the most significant and influential examples of Islamic art in the world but in its galleries, masterpieces of textiles and wood carving for instance are typically poorly displayed, with little or no regard for their conservation and with minimal labelling – sometimes little more than the accession number of the exhibit – and a paucity of contextualizing displays.

Museums in Morocco and other former colonial territories have had quite different origins and subsequent developments to museums in Europe. The transition in Europe from collecting by individual Renaissance princes who sought to enhance their legitimacy by the acquisition of rare objects to an assertion of power that reflected mercantile exploration and colonial conquest (Shelton 1994) was a development that preceded the establishment of ‘museum culture’ in the West. Western museums have retained both features of their origins: the expression of power and prestige through the extent and exceptional quality of their collections and the bringing together from different cultures of objects taken by military conquest or through aggressive acquisition. In the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, the imperial domination by European powers, particularly Great Britain and France, of most of the globe (Fieldhouse 1982) was directly reflected in museums in Europe, both explicitly in displaying the artefacts of subject cultures and more generally in the range of objects in museum collections. The capacity of a nation or a city to collect and display examples of the highest creative achievements not only of its own past but also of other societies demonstrated that country’s or city’s power and wealth in competition with other nations. As the power and influence of the United States grew politically and economically in the twentieth century, its major museums asserted a corresponding cultural leadership. The Metropolitan Museum’s Department of Islamic Art possesses nearly twelve thousand objects in its collection that visibly and materially attest to the extent of the power and influence of New York as a cultural centre. By contrast, museums in former European colonies were in the main founded in the early twentieth century by the colonisers of regions where there was not a comprehensive tradition of collecting art. In Morocco as in other Muslim societies great prestige had been attributed to outstandingly collectable
manuscripts from the Islamic world. The value attached to manuscripts is attested by their preservation, particularly in the libraries of palaces and religious foundations. In a renowned study of art collecting, Joseph Alsop included later Islam as one of only five artistic traditions since mankind’s beginnings to have a ‘developed historical sense’ (Alsop 1982: 294). Alsop identified the historical sense that developed in Islam as a commitment specifically to the acquisition of calligraphy and manuscripts, in distinction to the collection of a wide range of works of art in the Western tradition. In contrast to the indigenous esteem for manuscripts, associated in particular with royal collecting, the colonial museum legacy in Morocco is centred on regional crafts. Indeed it can be seen that colonial museums throughout Africa were typically founded to conserve and display locally gathered material. The Dar Si Said Museum in Marrakech, a late nineteenth century palace that was restored in 1930 by the French administration’s ‘Department of Moroccan Arts and Crafts’ [Service des Métiers et Arts marocains] to exhibit local artefacts and house workshops in which craftsmen practised traditional skills, was a representative colonial museum and was a product of a mission to safeguard the material cultural heritage of France’s North African territories. The Dar Si Said Museum no longer has craft workshops but as a national museum, it does have good collections of local artisanal objects from the Southern region of Morocco. The artefacts exhibited in the Dar Si Said Museum are for the most part representative of the highest quality of nineteenth and twentieth century regional craftsmanship but even so objects of comparable design and quality could be substituted for them. By contrast the Koutoubia minbar now displayed in the Badi Palace is irreplaceable since it occupies a unique place in the history of Islamic art and is of a quality that attracts international attention, as was attested by the Metropolitan Museum’s intervention in restoring it.

Daniel Sherman, in a contribution to a collection of essays on ‘museum culture’, referred to Adorno’s argument that museums ‘monopolise certain fields of vision, and thus constitute a strategy of power linked to hegemonic capitalism’. In this, Sherman identified in particular ‘decontextualisation as a strategy of power’ (Sherman 1994: 123). The installation of the Koutoubia minbar in the Badi Palace has restructured
the meaning of the object through the practices constituting 'institutional framing' outlined earlier in this chapter (4.3.1(iii)). Until its removal from the Koutoubia in 1962, the minbar had affirmed the continuity of religious rites in the Mosque and had attested to the religious authority and the patronage of the sultans. Exhibited in the Badi Palace, the minbar is now both presented and viewed as a formative example in the stylistic development of the minbar as a type and as evidence of the consummate workmanship of craftsmen in twelfth century Cordoba [Illustration 94]. Both of these attributes of the minbar are explained in the texts and photographic reproductions accompanying the exhibit. The minbar is exhibited in one half of a long narrow room; in the other half there is an aerial photograph of the Koutoubia Mosque and eight information panels mounted on the walls. Through the information panels visitors are told about the origins of the minbar, how it was made and about its conservation. It is also explained why the minbar is exceptional both in the aesthetic qualities of its design as well as in its superlative craftsmanship
[Illustration 95]. In effect the visitor is instructed how to look at the object on display: ‘much of the minbar’s visible surface enveloped in a web of carved and inlaid decoration, which originally covered it entirely … The genius of the designer of the decorative mesh lies mainly in his novel interpretation of the monotonous subdivision into square panels that have been used for all earlier pulpits. If one looks closely at the composition, the division into squares is still evident: it is emphasized by the hexagonal panels, which represent the sides of each square, and by the small eight point stars, which are placed at each vertex … The marquetry strapwork which acts as a foundation of the entire design, creates an entirely different rhythm, however: it makes the eye wander in all directions and blends the single squares into an organic pattern, within which the individual sculpted panels are hardly noticeable’ (Display panel, the Koutoubia minbar gallery, Badi Palace). In delineating the gaze of a disembodied eye, the text directs the viewpoint of the spectator in the room: ‘it is essentially the balance between the carvings, the intricacy of which draws the viewer perceptually inward, and the dynamism of the banding, by which the viewer’s gaze is released to move across its surface, that creates the minbar’s unity’ (Display panel, the Koutoubia minbar gallery, Badi Palace).

Illustration 96. Display panels, the Koutoubia minbar gallery, Badi Palace. The Moulay Yazid minbar is illustrated on the middle panel in the photograph.

The late twelfth-century Kasbah minbar that is still in ritual use in its original location in the Moulay Yazid Mosque is illustrated by a photograph on one of the
display panels [Illustration 96]. The Almohad Kasbah minbar is described in the display panel as ‘a smaller yet accomplished version of the pulpit from the Kutubiyya’ (Display panel, the Koutoubia minbar gallery, Badi Palace). Within the space dedicated in the Badi Palace to the exhibition of the Koutoubia minbar, the Kasbah minbar has been assimilated through photography into an art historical meaning that was constructed through the activities of the Metropolitan Museum. The Kasbah minbar as a material object in its location in the Mosque has retained the meanings with which it was originally endowed when it was commissioned in the twelfth century and consequently the meanings attributed to it by the history of art may be tangential to its ritual significance. In a European context, religious space and ‘museum culture’ are now commonly synthesized - in medieval cathedrals for instance. In contrast, the sacred space of the Moulay Yazid Mosque in the Kasbah is inviolate and ‘museum culture’ is disregarded. The preservation of the Kasbah minbar’s symbolic function within a purely Islamic space is at the cost of its material conservation: it has had a microphone cable stapled onto the carvings on its side (Minor 1998); crude repairs to it [El Omari to the author: 1997] can be made out in the photograph of the minbar in the display panel in the Badi but are not commented upon in the text. It can be conjectured that the kind of support that would be required for the conservation of the Kasbah minbar would not be forthcoming unless it were to be removed from the Mosque and made internationally visible as a museum exhibit.

To conclude, the exhibition of the Koutoubia minbar highlights and contextualizes an object that is identified as a major work in the history of art. Texts and photographs accompanying the display of the minbar in the Badi Palace explain the history of the object, why and how it was made and how it was conserved, its art historical significance and how to look at this outstanding work of art. The apparatus of critical scholarship and the institutional prestige of the Metropolitan Museum combine to situate in the history of art a superlative work that had been commissioned from craftsmen in al-Andalus by a sultan who ruled an Empire that had Marrakech as its capital. The permanent exhibition of the minbar in a dynastic palace emphasizes its
links with royal patronage rather than its association with religious ritual in its former location, the Koutoubia Mosque. Conversely the ritual function of the Kasbah minbar in the Moulay Yazid Mosque has been preserved but its art historical standing has been understated and has not been institutionally supported.
CHAPTER FIVE

PALACE DISCOURSE

5.1 THE KASBAH OF MARRAKECH: SOVEREIGN SPACE

5.1.1 Sovereign Space

The monumental Bab Agnaou was the entrance of the Almohad Kasbah, which was built as an extension to the south wall of the city by Yacoub El Mansour from 1185 to 1190 to create a centre of Imperial power that was self-sufficient and independent of the medina. The Bab Agnaou was a ceremonial approach to a ‘sovereign space’ in which the landmark was the minaret of the Kasbah Mosque [Moulay Yazid], also built by Yacoub El Mansour. Under the Almohad Caliphs, Marrakech became the capital of the biggest Empire ever known in Western Islam. The imperial rule of the Almohads was symbolised by the construction in Marrakech of the Koutoubia, the Menara gardens and the Kasbah, Bab Agnaou, and the Agdal (Bellaoui 1994: 3). The Bab Agnaou, the Dar el Makhzen [Royal Palace], the mechouar [ceremonial palace courtyard] and the Agdal are all within the boundaries of what now constitutes the ‘urban commune’ or municipality of the ‘Mechouar-Kasbah’. It was noted in the concluding section of Chapter Three (3.3.5) that historically the Kasbah was a distinct zone occupied by the military forces and administration of the central power and represented a sovereign space. The military retain a visible presence in the Kasbah [Illustrations 97, 98] in distinction to the rest of the medina. What is now a civil area comparable in population and administration to other districts of the medina comprises the Kasbah, Berrima, Bab Ahmar and Sidi Aamara quarters; the civil occupation of state land in the Kasbah is of relatively recent date. Until the early twentieth century the Bab Ahmar quarter had been inhabited by a black
population that worked in the Palace (Wilbaux 2001a: 81). However, the densely populated civil area still occupies only a small segment of the total space. The extensive territory that is occupied by the Sovereign includes the Agdal gardens. Laoust in a linguistic study first published in 1920, defined Agdal as a Berber word meaning a meadow [agudāl, prē] and noted that 'in Morocco, the Berber agdāl, with a prefixed a, refers more particularly to the vast meadow surrounded by a wall that is found adjacent to the sultans' palaces in the imperial cities of Fes, Meknes, Rabat and Marrakech' ['au Maroc la forme berbère: agdāl, avec a préfixé, se rapporte plus spécialement au vaste pré enclos d’un mur qui se trouve contigu aux palais du sultan dans les villes impériales de Fez, Meknès, Rabat et Marrakech’ (Laoust 1983: 260)]. The Agdal [Illustration 99] in itself occupies an area that is about five times greater than the inhabited zone of the Mechouar Kasbah Municipality (Municipalité Mechouar-Kasbah. unpublished map: 1999) [Illustration 2].

The former Interior Minister, Driss Basri, delineated the structure of authority in an ‘urban commune’ (municipality) in a Moroccan city: ‘the authority of the State is represented in it by different types of agents: the pacha, the head of the district or municipal subdivision, the urban khalīfas [delegates] and the urban sheiks and moqgadem’ ['l’Etat y est représenté par différents types d’agents d’autorité: le
The Pacha in the Kasbah has authority over an urban territory defined as the *Pachalik Mechouar Kasbah*. Basri commented that the function of pasha was originally introduced into Morocco from the Ottoman Empire by the Saadian sultans and was revived in the Imperial cities of Meknes and Marrakech at the initiative of King Hassan (Basri 1990: 275). The Pacha occupies a senior position of authority in the Interior Ministry but he and his administration defer to the Palace’s autonomy without question (Sebbar to the author: 1999). The Palace therefore claims the Kasbah both territorially and by means of the authority of the sovereign.

Illustration 99. Women picnicking under olive trees in the Agdal.
5.1.2 The Kasbah of Marrakech and the Sovereign

In 1986 King Hassan (reigned 1961-1999) turned his attention to architecture and the adoption of an authentically Moroccan style of building that would visually and spatially reflect the nation's identity. This will be discussed at more length in the context of culture and the constitution and practices of the palace discourse in Section 5.3 of this chapter. The Almohad Empire with Marrakech as its capital evoked a national memory of sovereigns who were bastions of Islam, defenders of their territories against invasion and patrons of architectural and civic projects that were emulated by King Hassan. As a consequence, there are now public and commercial buildings throughout Morocco that reflect the inspiration of Almohad architecture and decoration. King Hassan's political goals were dynastic power and continuity – both of which were achieved resoundingly through strategies that included the structuring of his legitimacy as a ruler within a visual framework of historic architecture, decoration and sovereign space. This chapter concludes with a study (5.4) of palace rituals performed within the sovereign space of the Kasbah.

5.2 THE FORMATION OF THE PALACE DISCOURSE

After the liberation of Morocco from France in 1956, Hassan II, first as Crown Prince and then as King, channelled his undoubted talents for leadership and his exceptional political skills, energy and intelligence into the single aim of securing the ascendancy of the Alaouite dynasty over its opponents. The King's often ruthless and repressive strategies succeeded beyond what anyone might have predicted for a hereditary monarch. A measure of the success of Hassan II in crushing opposition to his power is that by the end of his reign, the assumption that patriotism and national identity could not be separated from the sacred person of the King had become
institutionalized to the extent that any public dissent from it in Morocco was unthinkable.

King Hassan’s success in gaining and then consolidating his power over his Kingdom to a degree that had never been achieved by the monarchy in the past was accomplished at an enormous cost - politically, economically and ethically - that was almost entirely borne by his ordinary subjects. The processes through which the King realized his ambitions and the cost to his people were analysed by observers – both Moroccan and foreign - outside of Morocco. With the accession of Mohammed VI in 1999 and the first steps towards a greater openness in government and society, that cost has tacitly at least been acknowledged inside Morocco.

In an account published in 1988, George Joffé portrayed Hassan II as a political opportunist. Joffé argued that Morocco is a unique state whose institutions are based on 'a constitutional monarchy which claims legitimacy through the genealogical descent from the Prophet Muhammad and from the fact that its ruling representative is also the Caliph - the legitimate successor to the Prophet's secular and religious authority' (Joffé 1988: 201). Abu Nasr (1975) was cited as the basis for the declaration that Hassan II traced his succession from Ali, the fourth Caliph. Joffé suggested that the survival of the Monarchy after Independence had been largely due to King Mohammed V’s association with the cause of Independence and Istiqlal, the political party of Independence. After Independence Istiqlal sought to govern through a single party system and a titular monarchy, instead of which the Palace eventually succeeded in fragmenting all the political parties, maintaining a constitutionally legal plurality under the tutelage of the Monarchy. After the first two decades of Independence the Monarchy had in Joffé’s view established itself as the supreme power that ruled through a titular government. Joffé concluded that the policy of the Palace had in a sense been to divide and rule in order to recreate the makhzen: 'the monarchy, in a deliberate attempt to recreate the makhzen (sultanic government) of pre-colonial times, ensured that the real power of political decisions passed to the palace and to the monarch's own corps of political advisors' (Joffé,
From a different viewpoint, Lucette Valensi analyzed the Moroccan Monarchy in relationship to the collective (historical) memory of a nation (Valensi, 1990). The general aim of her research was part of a group project ‘to observe, in the present period, how a national memory has been constituted’ [‘observer, pour l'époque contemporaine, comment se constitue une mémoire nationale’ (Valensi, 1990: 235)]. The basis of her research was the francophone press in Morocco. Her aim was to outline ‘the political structuring of an historical consciousness’ [‘la politique de construction d'une conscience historique’ (Valensi 1990: 280)] through newspapers. She cited Mohammed V’s formal undertaking in a speech of 18th November 1955, in which he claimed that his immediate aim was to create a modern state within the framework of a constitutional monarchy. Valensi stressed that immediately after Independence there was little reporting (1959) of Royal participation in Islamic rituals. In 1961 one of Hassan’s first acts as King was to institute an annual national holiday in August commemorating an historic event – ‘The Battle of the Three Kings’ of August 4th 1578 (Valensi 1990: 284). The significance of this battle, which was represented as a victory over foreign invasion through a union of the Sultan and the people, will be discussed in more detail in the final section of this chapter (5.4.1 (iv)). Valensi identified what she described as the ‘official memory’, which is characterised as a single unified narrative: ‘henceforth every collective event – whether sports, political, religious or folkloric – was transformed into an official event [‘toute manifestation collective, qu'elle soit sportive, politique, religieuse ou folklorique, est désormais transformée en manifestation officielle’ (Valensi 1990: 287)]. Furthermore religious references became more consistent from the early 1970s. Valensi’s account of the constitution of a state (Palace) narrative suggests that by the early 1970s a Palace discourse was in the process of formation.

Appraisals of Hassan II in which the common aim was to oppose and contest the power of the King by disclosing what had been masked by the Palace’s state narrative are found in a wide range of sources published outside of Morocco. Writing at the same time as Joffé and Valensi, Jamal Benomar had been imprisoned
in 1976 as a political dissident in Morocco but moved to Paris on his release in 1983. Benomar described how King Hassan had incorporated religion into the Palace’s state narrative. He argued that in contrast to the other countries in the Maghreb ‘characterised by their strong Islamist movements, Morocco has been quite unique in how its establishment has been able to capture and maintain hold of Islam as part of its legitimising function’ (Benomar, 1988: 541). Benomar tried to establish why the Monarchy had held out so well against both secular and religious opponents. In what he called the religious discourse of the monarch, Benomar proposed as an explanation that ‘in the post-1963 period, King Hassan has utilised Islam not only to secure the political authority of the royal palace, but also to legitimise his own personal power. In the process the monarch has consolidated his position through the appropriation of religious functions which were previously the preserve of three quite distinct religious institutions - the ulema, the zaouaya and the monarch’ (Benomar 1988: 551). Benomar added that the King had declared himself emir al-muminin [Commander of the Faithful, a title accorded to the Caliphs] to support his symbolic legitimacy and his claim through his descent from the Prophet to the status of Caliph. The King also enforced all the traditional, symbolic forms of allegiance that confirmed the sanctity of the person of the king. Benomar identified the annual reiteration of the beïa (Allegiance) on March 3rd during King Hassan’s reign as the embodiment of the religious power of the Monarch: ‘the way in which the bay’a is presented by the King on each occasion indicates that its purpose is to stress the legitimacy of the monarch as the caliph for the whole nation. Accordingly the King is able to present himself as one who comes third in the hierarchy after God and the Prophet Muhammed, his ancestor ... Therefore the King as a Caliph has legitimacy from both God and Muhammed to monopolise political and religious power (Benomar 1988: 551-2). Maâti Monjib contended that the title ‘Commander of the Faithful’ had historically been rarely used in Morocco and never officially so by the sultans; Hassan II used it to confirm that he had been chosen by God to rule and that his primary religious duty was the defence of the monarchy (Monjib 1992: 337-338).
The incompatibility between the authority claimed by the Palace and what in other circumstances would be understood as a constitutional monarchy was an anomaly that was not discussed in the public domain in Morocco. Polemical publications in France did however challenge both the legitimacy of King Hassan's re-definition of the authority of the Moroccan monarchy and the King's unaccountability, which had engendered in Morocco endemic corruption from the top down. The Palace did everything in its power to curb criticism from abroad. The publication in Paris in 1990 of Gilles Perrault's Our Friend the King [Notre ami le roi], a caustic indictment of Hassan II, disturbed diplomatic relations between France and Morocco for some time. Two years later Kacem Basfao and Jean-Robert Henry described the relations between Europe – notably France – and the Maghreb as volatile - 'a single book was enough recently to spark off a Franco-Moroccan crisis' ['un seul livre a suffi récemment à nourrir une crise franco-marocaine' (Basfao 1992: 4)]. The sequel was the expulsion from France in 1991 of Abdelmoumen Diouri, who in a passionate exposure of Hassan II's appropriation of the wealth of the country sought to discredit King Hassan, who was portrayed as an ostentatious oriental potentate who had amassed vast wealth at the expense of his impoverished and wretched subjects. Perrault's indictment of Hassan II - though largely anecdotal - was clearly painful for the Palace as scenes that had been obscure were highlighted in the book. Perrault constantly referred to the contradictions of the monarch's uneasy alliance of constitutional modernity (international) and dynastic traditionalism (nationalism), symbolised in the physical space of the palace: 'the palace mixes epochs and styles. It is the seat of government of a modern Head of State. It is also a harem, as it was in the earliest period of the Alaouite dynasty' ['le palais mêle les siècles et les genres. Il est le siège de pouvoir d'un chef d'Etat moderne. Il est aussi harem, comme aux premiers temps de la dynastie alaouite' (Perrault 1990:211)]. One of Perrault's themes was that Hassan II represented himself to the West as a modern, enlightened Arab ally and yet acted in Morocco itself as though the modern world did not exist. For instance Perrault described one murky episode from the King's reign 'as though torn from the first pages of the Alaouite dynasty, in a distant past when the only law was the will of the sultan' ['comme arrachée aux premières pages de la dynastie
alaouite, dans les temps reculés où il n'était d'autre loi que le bon plaisir du sultan’ (Perrault 1990: 220)]. The paradox of a progressive modernity and a despotic past were constantly reiterated by Perrault: ‘thus in this extraordinary kingdom two systems as different as day and night exist side by side. The enlightened side, there are legal codes and a judicial apparatus commensurate with the standards of the most developed countries. The dark side, a pharaonic power that can effect the disappearance of people who have displeased him at the snap of his fingers’ ['ainsi coexistent dans ce singulier royaume deux régimes aussi opposés que le jour et la nuit. Côté lumière, des codes fixant la loi et un appareil judiciaire digne des pays les plus évolués. Côté ombre, un pouvoir pharaonique faisant disparaître sur un claquement de doigts ceux qui lui déplaisent’ (Perrault 1990: 209)]. Perrault’s concluding portrait of Hassan II - 'he reigns, master of everything and everyone, crushing through repression, contaminating by corruption, manipulating through fraud, dominating through fear ['il règne, maître de tous et de chacun, brisant par la répression, pourrir par la corruption, truquant par la fraude, courbant par la peur’ (Perrault 1990: 356)] – is matched by Diouri’s pitiless disclosures of the King’s cupidity. Diouri sought to demonstrate the extent to which the King regarded Morocco as his personal property from which he was entitled to take whatever he desired - amassing for himself and his family one of the greatest fortunes in the world. Diouri instanced palaces like the Dar el Makhzen in the Kasbah that had been 'lavishly renovated out of funds from the State Treasury to which they were then sold back by the "king" ... thereby acquiring money to feed his foreign bank accounts, while continuing to make use of the palaces’ ['réaménages ... à prix d'or et aux frais de l'Etat à qui le "roi" les revend ... ainsi, ils lui rapportent de l'argent pour grossir ses comptes à l'étranger, tandis qu'il continue à en disposer’ (Diouri 1992 : 223)]. Diouri was intent on discrediting one of King Hassan’s key strategies: journalists were accused by Diouri of continually repeating the cliché of ‘Hassan II the great builder in the tradition of his Alaouite ancestors’ without reference to the material misery of his subjects: ‘ostentatious, these palaces are cheek by jowl with shanty towns where millions of Moroccans are crammed into makeshift huts, without water, without electricity or sewers’ ['fastueux, ces palais avoisinent les bidonvilles où des millions
de Marocains s'entassent dans des baraques de fortune, sans eau, sans électricité ni égouts' (Diouri 1992: 222). André Paccard, the architect responsible for the renovation of the Kasbah palace, had been the principal agent in the propagation from the mid 1980s onwards of the myth of 'Hassan el Bani' [Hassan the Builder]. After he fell out of favour, Paccard was portrayed by Diouri as a disgraced courtier who knew too much but whose attempt to revenge himself on the King by revealing all in print was blocked by Bernard Tapie under pressure from the Moroccan lobby in France.

Immediately after the death of Hassan II in July 1999, there was both a diplomatic acquiescence in his international role as the leader of a stable Arab state and a good deal of reflection on the paradoxes of his reign. The diplomatic significance of the death of King Hassan was indicated by the attendance at his funeral (televised worldwide) of a large group of statesmen with the United States' President Clinton and France's President Chirac at the forefront. The opprobrium that Hassan II frequently attracted during his lifetime appears to have been finally erased by a confirmation of his status in the West through the presence at his funeral of so many of the world's democratic leaders, despite the relatively modest role that Morocco occupies on the world stage. In the many reviews of his reign in the international media following his death, the two main and opposing issues were an appreciation of King Hassan's interventions in the Middle East peace process and accusations that he abused his power. Media coverage of King Hassan's reign was particularly prominent in France, undoubtedly due to the historical relationship between France and its former Protectorate. A few days after the Monarch's death and to coincide with the funeral ceremonies that took place in Rabat on July 25th 1999, Le Monde published a collection of short articles reviewing King Hassan's achievements and flaws. A brief outline of the issue of human rights during the reign of Hassan II and an account of the ruthless acquisition of the King's vast wealth were accompanied by a summary by Jean-Pierre Langellier of the often difficult relations between France and the King of Morocco. Jean-Pierre Langellier opened his piece by describing Hassan's appearance less than two weeks earlier when he accompanied President
Jacques Chirac at the official July 14th ceremony on the Champs Elysées. Despite this triumphant affirmation of King Hassan's relations with the West coinciding with 'The Year of Morocco' in France, Langellier concluded his piece with a reminder that 'The Year of Morocco' (1999) had originally been planned for 1990 but that it had been postponed by the soured relations provoked by the appearance in France in 1990 of Gilles Perrault's *Notre ami le roi* and the publication by Amnesty International of a report accusing the Moroccan state of employing systematic torture. Under the title 'A seasoned diplomat, a wily politician but an absolute monarch' ['Un diplomate chevronné, politicien madré mais monarque absolue'], Jean-Pierre Tuquoi portrayed the King as adopting multiple identities, appearing to his Western supporters as one of them, sharing their values, their preoccupations' ['un de leurs, partageant leurs valeurs, leurs préoccupations'] and yet 'didn't he reign over a world of secrecy and oppression, that of the palaces?' ['régnait-il pas sur un monde secret et oppressant, celui des palais?']. Tuquoi questioned the long term effectiveness of the King's efforts to prevail as a religious as well as national leader but conceded that Hassan had grasped that his venerable dynastic roots did not guarantee the perpetuation of his power. He concluded that the King had above all succeeded in preserving behind the palace walls a time that had no rightful place in the twentieth century: 'the King decided everything. What the concubines wore and how the princes were educated. In this enclosed world, there was no recourse to justice. The King was as capable of throwing a woman who had fallen out of favour into one of the palace prisons as sending at his own expense the son of a female slave to France or the United States for a medical operation' ['le roi seul décidait de tout. Des vêtements que devaient porter les concubines et de l'éducation de princes. Dans ce monde clos, la justice n'avait pas de droit de cité. Le roi était capable d'envoyer dans une des geôles du palais une femme tombée en disgrâce, tout comme d'envoyer à ses frais le fils d'une esclave se faire opérer en France ou aux Etats-Unis' (Tuquoi 1999: 2)].

Tuquoi's image of a capricious despot whose whims were law within the palace walls but who contrived to adopt a disguise of modernity for the world outside was
reiterated by Paul Balta in his review of the reign of a monarch 'who had coupled absolutism with openness' ['qui a conjugué absolutisme et ouverture']:

"Commander of the Faithful", a title that is the foundation of his legitimacy, he dons the traditional white djellaba. A simple Muslim believer, with humility he girds himself with the simple cloth of the pilgrimage to Mecca, so that his immense wealth is forgotten by a population of whom a third live below the poverty line. Custodian of the throne, he receives the allegiance of his subjects mounted on his horse in pomp in the mechouar (Royal Palace) ... the three piece suit communicates the sovereign's will to modernity ["Commandeur des croyants", titre qui fonde sa légitimité, it revêt la djellaba blanche traditionnelle. Simple fidèle musulman, il ceint avec humilité le drap du pèlerinage à la Mecque, faisant oublier son immense fortune à une population dont le tiers vit en dessous du seuil de pauvreté. Gardien du trône, il reçoit l'allégeance de ses sujets du haut de son cheval d'apparat dans le méchouar (palais royal) ... le complet-veston traduit la volonté de modernité du souverain (Balta 1999:10)].

In the same issue of *Le Monde*, Henri Tincq summarized the basis of the religious identity assumed by Hassan II. He emphasized his importance as the most prestigious personality of Sunni Islam: a descendant of the Prophet by his daughter Fatima and his son-in-law Ali, Hassan II was 'Commander of the Faithful' and President of the 'Al-Qods Committee' created in 1979 to defend the rights of Muslims in Jerusalem. Although he exercised his authority solely within the territory of the Kingdom of Morocco, Hassan II could be regarded as a successor to the Sunni caliphate. Tincq suggested that in effect the King combined in his person three constitutional identities: *al sultan* [authority], *al emir* [head of the armed forces] and *emir al mouminin* [Commander of the Faithful]. Tincq pointed out that the political, military and religious powers of Hassan II have been inherited by Mohamed VI. Tincq drew attention to the way in which one of the first acts of Hassan's son after
the death of the King was to receive the beîa [Allegiance] of all the oulemas [religious councils] and religious dignitaries of the Kingdom (Tincq, 1999: 1).

When Mohamed VI succeeded Hassan II in the summer of 1999, Moulay Ahmed Alaoui wrote of the new Monarch that as the 'custodian of national sovereignty, the King in effect incarnates the nation' ['dépositaire de la Souveraineté nationale, le Roi incarne en effet la nation'] (Alaoui 1999: 4). Alaoui's transference to Mohammed VI of the rhetoric employed in Hassan's reign was indicative that the succession had been a smooth transition. Hopes were soon expressed however that Mohammed VI's accession to the Throne would be an opportunity to create a more open and transparent system of government that would lead Morocco from feudalism to modernity. *Time* featured 'the cool King' on its cover for the first interview given by Mohammed VI to a journalist: in the interview, Scott MacLeod quoted Abraham Serfaty as saying that "Hassan was feudal," - "But Mohammed VI is modern" (MacLeod 2000: 27). Abraham Serfaty, a Jewish Moroccan, had been condemned for plotting against Hassan II and imprisoned for seventeen years; in 1991 he was removed from prison and expelled from Morocco. In 1999 through the intervention of Mohammed VI, Serfaty returned to Morocco from exile even though he had refused to renounce his support for the Saharawi [inhabitants of the Sahara] cause in the Western Sahara. The return of Serfaty has been taken to signify that Mohammed VI had the authority to act in this case despite the presumed resistance of his father's old allies, who were still in positions of power, and he had the capacity to deal with beliefs and arguments that were contrary to his own.

The books by Perrault, Diouri and Monjib were published outside of Morocco, where a ban against them and their importation were strictly enforced. Perrault, Diouri and Monjib were polemical in tone and were accused by their detractors of fabricating lies about the Moroccan monarchy. Since the accession of Mohammed VI, the past has been spoken about and written about in Morocco itself with a frankness that had not been possible under Hassan II and Driss Basri. Serhane for instance wrote that 'without raking over the past, we must refuse to allow the Morocco of tomorrow to be
the Morocco of torturers' ['Sans revenir sur le passé, nous devons refuser que le Maroc de demain soit le Maroc des tortionnaires' (Serhane 1999: 28)]. He concluded that Morocco's future would have to be without Basri and indeed the Interior Minister was soon out of office. The pledges to reform from a monarch who is consistently described as 'modern' have been a tacit admission of State oppression and corruption in the past but Mohammed VI has been careful not to impute his father in any responsibility for the often brutal injustices now acknowledged to have been committed against his subjects. This appears to have been a generally accepted public tactic to reconcile the past with present political realities.

5.3 THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PALACE DISCOURSE: CULTURE

In the previous section, it was shown that analyses of King Hassan's strategies as a hereditary monarch have suggested that he drew on two already existing attributes of his people – respect for Islam and patriotism - in order to legitimise the power that he had consolidated in the first two decades of his reign. As both religion and historical national identity were incorporated into the Palace, anyone challenging the authority of the King could be represented as a religious dissident and excluded as a traitor.

As a political tactic from the mid 1980s onwards, Hassan II adopted building as a practice that would contribute to a fundamental identification of the Palace with national cultural identity. In 1986 in Marrakech the King introduced urbanism and architecture into the political arena in a speech referred to by his Interior Minister as having a didactic mission (Basri, 1990: 224)]. In this speech, delivered to a group of invited architects on January 15th 1986, the King lamented the loss of the cultural identity of Moroccan urbanism, which had imposed the uniformity of modernity on cities which once had possessed an individual local character: 'if someone who had
been blindfolded landed from a helicopter in a Moroccan town, that person would have no way of identifying which city or indeed which country they were in’ ['si nous faisons débarquer d'un hélicoptère une personne aux yeux bandés dans une ville marocaine, elle se sera pas en mesure de reconnaître la cité où elle se trouve, voire le pays où elle se trouve’ (Hassan II 1986a: 10-12)]. In denouncing the banalities of modern urbanism, the King evoked the historical continuity of the monarchy’s patronage of architecture: ‘the successive dynasties in Morocco have always attributed the greatest importance to the areas of building, construction and urbanism’ ['les dynasties qui se sont succédées au Maroc on toujours accordé la plus grande importance au secteur de l’édification, des constructions et de l’urbanisme’ (Hassan II 1986a: 10)]. The King portrayed himself in his speech as the successor to a long tradition of royal patrons and as the custodian of a visual patrimony that was authentically national. This theme was amplified by the location in which the speech was delivered: the Dar el Makhzen [Royal Palace] in the Kasbah of Marrakech [Illustration 100].

Illustration 100. An entrance in the Mechouar to the Dar el Makhzen.

Addressing the assembled architects, the King pointed out that ‘this building where you are now is not new but its construction goes back about four hundred years. We have merely restored it and made some improvements’ ['cet édifice dans lequel vous
vous trouvez n'est pas nouveau mais sa construction remonte à environ quatre cent ans. Nous l'avons seulement restauré en y apportant quelques améliorations' (Hassan II 1986a: 14). From the outset of his promotion of a renaissance of national cultural identity, Hassan II emphasized the architectural heritage of the sovereign dynasties of Morocco and in particular of his own ancestors but showed little concern for historical veracity: the *Dar el Makhzen* was no more than two hundred and fifty years old when the King made his speech but the Badi Palace, which is attached to it and was despoiled by one of his own forebears the Sultan Moulay Ismael, was indeed about four hundred years old in the mid 1980s. The King's directives were delivered to his audience of architects in an imposing setting. From the evidence of a newspaper photograph of the event, the King with the young Crown Prince (now Mohammed VI) to his right was seated behind a table decorated with the royal coat of arms. Behind the King and the Crown Prince were massive painted doors that were so heavy they were pivoted top and bottom rather than hinged. The distinctly Moroccan characteristics of the decoration are readily recognizable [Illustration 101].


Hasan-Udin Khan has described the effects of King Hassan's promotion of an historical national style: 'in the mid-1980s King Hassan of Morocco proclaimed through national newspapers the need for all major buildings to be 'culturally correct'
by reflecting the nation's historical arts and crafts. The effect of this pronouncement was to limit diversity of ideas about architecture and to promote stylistic conformity and regional homogeneity: it also brought about a revitalization of local crafts, and lent an easily discernable character to the country's new buildings' (Khan 1994: 277). The results of the campaign spearheaded by King Hassan to foster an 'authentically Moroccan' architecture can now be seen everywhere in Morocco - in banks, hotels, and airports for instance but it was symptomatic of King Hassan's programme of reviving the architectural and decorative traditions of his country that he employed a foreign architect, André Paccard, to implement it. Paccard had been responsible for the renovations and improvements to the Palace referred to by the King in the 1986 Royal Speech delivered in the Dar el Makhzen in the Kasbah. The motives of the King and his architect were mocked by Perrault, who ridiculed the vulgarity of the King's taste: 'each year, he spends time in his numerous palaces, and goes from Meknes to Fes, from Marrakech to Ifrane ... He has ceaselessly improved the decoration - or imagines that he has for his taste is disconcerting. Gold taps will always be for him the height of good taste. For a long time a Frenchman, Paccard, has been making his fortune out of executing the King's orders in decoration [chaque année, il séjourne dans ses nombreux palais, et va de Meknès à Fès, de Marrakech à Ifrane ... Il améliore sans cesse la décoration, ou croit le faire, car son goût est consternant. Les robinetteries en or seront toujours pour lui le comble de l'art. Longtemps un Français, Paccard, fera fortune en exécutant les directives ornementales du roi (Perrault 1990: 213)].

The interior of the renovated Palace in the Kasbah of Marrakech is seen only by Moroccans privileged to have been invited there (or locally by the workforce) and by visiting dignitaries, ambassadors and Heads of State. Nonetheless views of inside the Palace have reached a much wider audience through photographs in books like Paccard's two volume manual (Paccard 1979) of traditional crafts in Moroccan architecture. Paccard's lavishly illustrated book, which has been widely used both nationally and internationally for visual, historical and technical references about Moroccan architecture and decoration, had been financed by the King and the
renovations of the interior of the Palace were well illustrated in it. He even ascribed creative interventions to Hassan II, describing and illustrating in the Throne Room of the Kasbah Palace ‘the creative guidance of the sovereign in the artistic field’ [orientatie créatrice du souverain dans le domaine artistique] (Paccard 1980, II: 99). The King’s patronage in the Palace renovations was emphatically linked by Paccard to an affirmation of national cultural identity: ‘in Marrakech, for example, some three thousand craftsmen were employed in the restoration of the Royal Palace … Hassan II has ensured that the Royal Palaces should be a symbol of a forceful affirmation of what is specific to the national identity [‘à Marrakech, par exemple, quelque trois mille artisans furent employés pour la restauration du palais royal … Hassan II a tenu à ce que les palais royaux soient le symbole de cette affirmation éclatante de la spécificité nationale’ (Paccard 1980: 21)].

The success of King Hassan’s casting of himself in the role of saviour of the nation’s cultural identity can be gauged by the extent to which European and American books about Moroccan culture have unquestioningly reiterated the formulas supplied by the Palace. For instance, in a popular picture book on Moroccan interiors, Landt Dennis, a New York decoration journalist, wrote that ‘traditional Moroccan architectural and artistic craftsmanship is flourishing. A major reason is that King Hassan personally promotes the nation’s ancient tradition of crafts … He initiated the renovation of numerous ancient mosques, universities, and royal palaces’ (Dennis 1992: 24). Mohamed Benaissa in his contribution to a book on zellij [traditional tiles] published in England, restated the familiar interpretation of the King’s role: ‘after independence in 1956 … Morocco began to open up to the world culturally. These cultural activities reached their peak during the reign of King Hassan II, which will be acknowledged as a key factor in the safeguarding of Moroccan arts and crafts. The application of these arts in the royal palaces, and in private and public buildings at large, was strengthened by the additional support given to the administrative structure through the foundation of a special Ministry for Traditional Crafts’ (Benaissa 1992: 23).
At the close of the prescribed forty day period of national mourning led by King Mohamed VI for his father, Hassan II was commemorated by an international symposium to honour the cultural achievements of the late King, who had died on 23 July 1999. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs was charged with organising the symposium from September 1st to September 2nd in Rabat. It was a meeting to which an elite of national and international figures were invited, including Fédérico Mayor, then Director General of Unesco. This tribute to Hassan II raised little media interest internationally - unlike the response in July to the funeral of the King. It would be easy to dismiss a symposium held in Morocco to honour the Monarch's contribution to culture as a tactic by the Palace to divert domestic attention from more contentious aspects of Hassan's legacy. However, looked at from the viewpoint of the Palace, the Rabat Symposium represented the culmination of Hassan’s espousal of culture as a means of uniting the hereditary monarchy and the cultural heritage and identity of the nation. In this context - as perhaps it is in every other sense - culture is far from neutral. In Chapter Three (3.3.2), it was noted that at the twenty third meeting of the World Heritage Committee held in Marrakech in 1999, just three months after the cultural symposium in Rabat, Mohammed VI had declared to Fédérico Mayor and the members of the Committee that his father Hassan II had assumed the role of guardian of the cultural heritage of Morocco. The Moroccan culture that Mohammed VI was referring to was centred on court patronage. The urban crafts that King Hassan was credited with reviving were directed towards the decoration of palaces, mausoleums and mosques associated with royal patronage. Berber crafts and rural skills in general did not appear to figure in the Palace’s definition of national cultural identity in Morocco.

In the ‘Speech from the Throne’ of March 3rd 1986 delivered by Hassan II in the Royal Palace in the Kasbah less than two months after his ‘Royal Speech’ in the same Palace to the architects of the Kingdom, he invoked the cultural traditions that had forged the national identity of the country in which both he and his subjects were born: ‘We have undertaken to ensure that Morocco remains attached to the principles and to the distinctive features that bestow on it its particular characteristics and
identify its spirit; it was hardly possible to allow Morocco, whose civilization is a thousand years old and whose traditions have evolved over the centuries, to lose what makes up its individuality and fall into anonymity’ ['Nous avons en effet tenu à ce que le Maroc demeure attaché aux principes et aux particularités qui lui confèrent ses caractéristiques propres et distinguent son génie, il n’était guère possible de laisser le Maroc, dont la civilisation est millénaire et dont les traditions se sont développées à travers les siècles, perdre ce qui constitue sa spécificité et tomber dans l’anonymat’ (Hassan II 1986b)].

5.4

THE ‘FÊTE DU TRÔNE’ [FESTIVAL OF THE THRONE]

5.4.1

The ‘Fête du Trône’: practices, key terms and concepts

5.4.1 (i) Space

The two day royal performance of the ‘Festival of the Throne’ [Eid al Arch], an annual holiday marking the accession of the King to the throne, is a focal point in an assertion of the legitimacy of the sovereignty of the Alaouite monarchy over the Moroccan people. In 1999 the ‘Festival of the Throne’ was staged in the Royal Palace in Marrakech. In an analysis of the event, it is argued that in the setting of the Royal Palace a legitimizing framework underpinned an invented tradition that reaffirmed the Kasbah as a sovereign space.
The ‘Festival of the Throne’ constitutes an annual platform for the Palace. The monarchy is portrayed as representing on behalf of all Moroccans the national identity and the achievements and aspirations of the Kingdom. The ‘Festival of the Throne’ is a one-day national holiday but is customarily celebrated with a number of events in the Palace spread over two days. On the first day, anniversary wishes are presented to the King and later the King delivers a speech – a ‘Discours du Trône’ [Speech from the Throne] – which is broadcast live on television to the nation. On the second day, the beïa (Allegiance to the Throne) is enacted. The ‘Speech from the Throne’ is addressed to the nation as a whole through the media of television, radio and newspapers; the beïa is a ritual that directly involves a participating elite but is viewed by a national audience through media coverage. The choice of location of these two events and the physical spaces occupied by them have a significance that relates to the representation of the King as the legitimate heir to the historical power of the throne. The text of the ‘Speech from the Throne’ is invested with dignity through being seen to be delivered in an historic Royal Palace. The beïa does not require a specific location in order to constitute a legitimate pact of allegiance between the Sovereign and his subjects. The practice of holding it in the mechouar [ceremonial courtyard] of a Royal Palace in one of the four cities that historically served as a capital to the sultans of Morocco is in itself a statement about both the beïa and how it is represented to a national audience. Marrakech shares with Fes, Meknes and Rabat – where the ‘Festival of the Throne’ has been celebrated regularly – an historical pre-eminence as a Makhzen [Imperial] city and confirms the association of the ‘Festival of the Throne’ with the ceremonial traditions that in the past proclaimed the authority of the sultans.

5.4.1 (ii) Authenticity

The emphasis on historical continuity, authenticity and tradition in the presentation of the ‘Festival of the Throne’ seems to imply that the celebration of the accession of the King to the throne is a ritual that has survived from Morocco’s long history as a
monarchy. In fact the 'Festival of the Throne' was instituted relatively recently and has precedents in European rather than Islamic monarchical tradition. In other words, the 'Festival of the Throne' might be described as an invented tradition in the sense established by Eric Hobsbawm as belonging to that large body of relatively recent rituals, ceremonies and customs that imitate much older practices, often to the extent that they may be confused with ancient traditions (Hobsbawm 1983). As a recently invented tradition, the 'Festival of the Throne' encompasses an ancient ritual, the beïa and invented ceremonies that have the appearance of being age-old, partly because they are performed in a traditional location and context. Canclini has analysed the relationships between modernity, hybridity and state rituals in authoritarian regimes. The enactment of the 'Festival of the Throne' corresponds to Canclini's description of the ritualization of power:

The "philosophical" foundation of traditionalism is summarized in the certainty that there is an ontological correspondence between reality and representation, between society and the collections of symbols that represent it. What is defined as patrimony and identity claims to be the faithful reflection of the national essence. Hence its principal dramatic performance is the mass commemoration: civic and religious celebrations, patriotic anniversaries ... The legitimate rites are those that stage the desire for repetition and perpetuation of order .... Authoritarian politics is monotonous theater. The relations between the government and the people consists of staging what is supposed to be the definitive patrimony of the nation. Historic sites and squares, palaces and churches, serve as the stage for representing the national destiny (Caclini 1995: 110).

A stage that is authentic lends authority to an invented tradition. For centuries the Palaces of Marrakech, Fes, Meknes and Rabat witnessed the performance of ceremonial rituals that were governed by strict protocol and sustained the religious and temporal status of the sultans.
5.4.1 (iii) Time

The modern origin of the 'Festival of the Throne' is transparent as it is celebrated annually on a fixed date of the Western calendar. Traditional festivals in Morocco are observed on dates determined by the Islamic lunar year. The national holidays of the Moroccan state calendar are divided between the traditional religious observances of Islam and national days that correspond to European holidays or mark events in national history. Traditional religious festivals are observed on different dates of the western calendar each year as the lunar month is shorter than the solar one. The four religious festivals are Eid al Fitr to mark the end of the holy month of Ramadan, Idul Adha ('eid el kebir') commemorating Abraham's sacrifice, Idul Maoulid Annabaoui, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet Mohamed and Ashura. A performance of the Ashura Daqqa [the celebration of Ashura in Marrakech] in front of the Moulay Yazid Mosque in the Kasbah was briefly described in Chapter Two (2.1.2 (v)).

The 'Festival of the Throne' belongs to the modern collective national celebrations that reflect national identity. It was inaugurated by a Vizierial Decree dated 26th October 1934 and signed by Mohamed El Mokri, Sultan Mohamed V's Grand Vizier, with the accord of Henri Ponsot, the French Resident General Commissioner at Rabat. The date of the celebration was fixed as November 18th, the anniversary of the accession of Mohamed V to the throne. Article Two of the decree stated that 'in each city of the Empire, according to the tradition established in the distant past by the Sultans, when they celebrated a military victory or some other good fortune befell them or the Empire, a festival would be organised by the local Muslim authorities' ['Dans chaque ville de l'Empire, selon la tradition établie par les anciens Sultans, lorsqu'ils célébraient une victoire accordée à leurs armes ou quelque autre événement heureux survenu à leur personne ou à l'Empire, une fête sera organisée par l'autorité musulmane locale' (Anon. 1999: 9)]. The French administration ensured that no speeches would be permitted within the prescribed festivities as they were keen to ensure that the occasion would not be used for the promotion of the emerging
independence movement. Valensi has pointed out that nearly all the holidays that had been created during the Protectorate were suppressed by Hassan II as though the colonial period did not exist. The exceptions were New Year’s Day on January 1st, Workers Day on May 1st and the ‘Festival of the Throne’ celebrated on March 3rd for the duration of King Hassan’s reign. Valensi suggested that the ‘Festival of the Throne’ in particular was accorded increasing significance by Hassan II throughout his reign: ‘March 3rd, the date of the accession of Hassan II becomes the ‘Festival of the Throne’ and henceforth ostentatiously symbolises the authority, legitimacy and continuity of the monarchy’ ['le 3 mars, date de l’accession de Hassan II devient alors fête du Trône et symbolise désormais avec ostentation l’autorité monarchique, sa légitimité et sa continuité’ (Valensi 1990: 293)].

The continuity of the Moroccan monarchy was a reiterated theme of the texts of the Speeches delivered by Hassan II on the first day of the ‘Festival of the Throne’. For example, in concluding his ‘Speech from the Throne’ on March 3rd 1996, King Hassan declaimed:

Dear people, at the close of this speech and in these consecrated moments, now that we are celebrating this new anniversary, we look towards and our heart goes out to the past times in our History, to recall the pages written by those pioneers, those glorious Sovereigns who succeeded to the Throne of Morocco, who have enriched its annals by their remarkable deeds and who have stamped it with their mark. Their golden chain has been embellished by the exemplary conduct of Our August Father ... We have acted in the continuity of this magnificent chain [Cher peuple, à la fin de ce discours et en ces moments bénis, alors que nous célébrons ce nouvel anniversaire, nous reportons nos regards et nos coeurs vers la période écoulée de notre Histoire pour nous remémorer les pages écrites par ces pionniers, ces glorieux Souverains qui se sont succédé sur le Trône du Maroc, ont enrichit ses annales par leurs œuvres remarquables et l’ont marqué de leurs
empreintes. Leur chaîne d’or a été sertie par la conduite exemplaire de Notre Auguste Père ... Nous avons agi dans la continuité de cette magnifique chaîne (Hassan II 1996).

Moroccan history was portrayed by Hassan II as a chronicle based on the deeds of successive sultans. King Hassan’s own reign was represented as maintaining the continuity of the succession of sovereigns who had reigned over Morocco. The King’s references to time were always selective and mirrored the image of sovereignty that at any one time he wished to project. The Almohad Empire with Marrakech at its centre marked the pinnacle of Morocco’s territorial sovereignty; the Alaouite dynasty confirmed ancestral continuity and legitimacy for Hassan. The enactment in 1999 of the Festival of the Throne within the boundaries of the Almohad Kasbah and in the Alaouite Dar el Makhzen linked space and time with the institution of a hereditary monarchy.

5.4.1 (iv) Authority

In a paper on the importance that Hassan II attached to the meaning of architectural space, Hasan-Uddin Khan argued that the tradition of the Sultan as patron of the arts became identified with the sharifian monarchy [claiming direct descent from the Prophet] from the Saadian Sultan El Mansour onwards. Khan also suggested that the anniversary of the Prophet’s birth [Idul Maoulid Annabaoui] was not celebrated as a major festival in Morocco until Ahmed El Mansour’s reign (1578-1603): from then on, the importance of the festival’s focus on the Prophet and by association his family and descendants became a means of heightening the authority of Saadian rule. Khan referred to the symbolism surrounding the inauguration of the Badi Palace: ‘El Mansour built the magnificent Badi Palace in Marrakech, after having defeated the Portuguese in 1578 on Moroccan territory and having re-established its sovereignty. The inauguration of the Palace in 1593 coincided with the birthday of the Prophet
and representatives of all the Mediterranean countries, including the Habsburgs, Spanish Kings and the Ottomans were present’ ['El-Mansour bâtit le magnifique palais de Baadi, à Marrakech, après avoir défait les Portugais en 1578 sur le sol marocain et rétabli sa souveraineté. L’inauguration du palais, en 1593, correspondit à l’anniversaire du Prophète, et des représentants de tous les États méditerranéens, y compris des Habsbourg, des rois d’Espagne et des Ottomans, y participèrent’ (Khan 1995: 65)]. Khan proposed that the significance of the ceremony was that ‘the king, in the course of this staging of central power, was transformed into a symbolic representation of God, of religion and of the State. El-Mansour’s undertaking in ritualizing this anniversary was an important act which consolidated the people’s feeling that they belonged to the same nation’ ['le roi, à l’occasion de cette mise en scène de pouvoir central, se transforma en figure emblématique de Dieu, de la religion et de l’État. L’effort de ritualisation de cet anniversaire par El-Mansour fut un acte important qui consolida le sentiment d’appartenance de la population à une même nation’ (Khan 1995: 65)].

The legendary magnificence of the Badi Palace was achieved through the wealth acquired in a military victory that has retrospectively become a national landmark, above all since Morocco achieved independence from the French. It has already been mentioned (5.2) that Valensi noted that a national holiday was instituted by Hassan II to commemorate it (Valensi 1990: 284). The Battle of Oued El Makhazine (called the ‘Battle of the Three Kings’) was fought on August 4th 1578: the Moroccan army under the command of Sultan Moulay Abdelmalek Essaadi defeated Sebastian of Portugal, who was intent on taking Morocco and converting it to Christianity. Both Sebastian and Abdelmalek died in action and Abdelmalek’s brother, who had played a decisive role in defeating the Portuguese, was declared Sultan on the battlefield and given the name El Mansour [the victorious]. The ‘Battle of the Three Kings’ is seen as a landmark in the historical confrontation between Christianity and Islam: ‘the victory of the Muslims over a Christian power marked a decisive turning point’ ['la victoire des musulmans sur une puissance chrétienne marqua un tournant décisif’ (Pickens 1995: 127)]. This victory is also seen retrospectively as a decisive moment
in the preservation of national identity as it was the last invasion of Morocco by a European power until the twentieth century: the victorious outcome of the ‘Battle of the Three Kings’ came to symbolize Moroccan independence and the monarchy’s resistance against European colonizing ambitions.

Illustration 102. The Badi Palace - the Moulay Yazid Mosque is to the west.

The Badi Palace as a site and as a building embraces the historical context of a visual, ceremonial celebration of the heroic resistance of Morocco against European hegemony [Illustration 102]. The Badi Palace also embodies the legitimate leadership of the sharifian monarchy [the Saadian and then Alouite Sultans as direct descendants of the Prophet Mohamed]. Rachida Cherifi, in a summary of the dynamics of the relationships between tradition and modernity in the rule of Hassan II, suggested that:

The sharifian Makhzen has in its sights to secure the monopoly on all forms of legitimacy necessary for its preservation and strengthening. Under the Protectorate the sharifian Makhzen did not experience notable changes … after Independence the Makhzen has been embodied by the King as a traditional institution (the King in his capacity as Sultan, Sharif and finally Amir El-Mouminine) … a system that functions, in the event, inside or parallel to the modern system … The two systems can operate simultaneously, intersect, be complete and be in opposition [Le Makhzen
cherifien vise à s'assurer le monopole de toutes les formes de légitimité nécessaire à sa conservation et à son renforcement. Sous le protectorat le Makhzen cherifien n'a pas subi de transformations notables.... après l'indépendance le Makhzen est constitué par le Roi en tant qu'institution traditionnelle (le roi en tant que Sultan, Chérif et enfin Amir El Mouminine ....: un système qui fonctionne, selon les cas, à l'intérieur ou parallèlement au système moderne. Les deux systèmes peuvent agir tout à la fois, s'entrecouper, se compléter et s'opposer (Cherifi 1988: 22-23)).

The value of spatial and architectural symbolism as a means of associating the throne with the historical authority and legitimacy of the Badi Palace has clearly been recognized by the Palace. In a speech made in the Badi Palace on the occasion of a visit by Hillary Clinton, then First Lady of the United States (April 4th 1999), Princess Lalla Meryem (daughter of Hassan II, sister of King Mohamed VI) referred to the symbolism of the decision to meet in ‘El-Badiaa, a significant place in the profound history of Morocco’ [‘El Badiâa, haut lieu de l’histoire profonde du Maroc’ MAP]. Khan commented that ‘King Hassan II, protector of the arts, has always been conscious of the power that monuments have to reinforce the respect for and stability of his dynasty, if nothing else than for the legacy of a State rich in Islamic buildings of historic interest, like the Badi Palace’ [‘le roi Hassan II, mécène des arts, a toujours été sensible au pouvoir qu'eurent les monuments de renforcer le respect et la stabilité de sa dynastie, ne serait ce que pour avoir hérité d'un Etat riche en constructions islamiques d'intérêt historique, comme la Baadi’ (Khan 1995: 66)].

Khan concluded his paper on Hassan II and architectural symbolism with the point that although El Mansour died in 1603 and the Saadians were soon replaced by the Alaouites (1666), the latter have continued to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet. In Casablanca the Hassan II Mosque, the most ambitious architectural project of King Hassan’s reign, was consecrated in 1993 on the anniversary of the Prophet’s birth, confirming the roots of the monarchy in sacred history. (Khan 1995: 68) In *The Hassan II Mosque (La Mosquée Hassan II)*, a text that was edited by
It can be argued that Ahmed El Mansour’s ritual confirmation of his own power in the Badi Palace in the Kasbah of Marrakech on the Anniversary of the Prophet is echoed in the annual ritual of the ‘Festival of the Throne’. When in 1999 the ‘Festival of the Throne’ was staged in the Royal Palace in Marrakech, which is physically attached to the Badi Palace, the architectural space that was the framework of the event lent visual and symbolic authority to the proceedings.

In the context of King Hassan’s ‘Speech from the Throne’ of 1986 delivered in the Royal Palace in the Kasbah of Marrakech and in which the need to preserve the cultural integrity of the Kingdom was stressed (cited in the previous section (5.3) ), Jean-Claude Santucci summarized his understanding of the form as well as the subject of the speech: ‘the form itself is as significant as the substance, in order to facilitate in particular the encompassing of certain ideological referents that contribute to the legitimization of royal power ... the speech is regularly concerned with designating as the recipients a “people” to whom it is addressed and who are called on to share in the responsibilities and a “country” that is invoked and in the name of which the speech is made and which justifies the power that is exercised’
In the next subsection the annual ‘Festival of the Throne’, which includes within its proceedings the ‘Speech from the Throne’, is interpreted in an analysis of its staging in the Kasbah of Marrakech in March 1999.

5.4.2 The ‘Festival of the Throne’: The Kasbah of Marrakech, March 1999

In the year he died (the 38th year of his reign), Hassan II celebrated the ‘Festival of the Throne’ in the Royal Palace in the Kasbah of Marrakech, as he had nearly fifteen years earlier in 1985 (Santucci 1987: 662) and 1986 (Santucci 1988: 767) – the 24th and 25th anniversaries of his enthronement and the chronological starting point of the period of this study.

The ‘Festival of the Throne’ was staged within the enclosed space of the Royal Palace. By tradition when Europe royalty perform public ceremonies, they are expected to show themselves to their subjects in processions through the city. The pageantry of the ‘Festival of the Throne’ excluded the public and enhanced the solidarity of a ruling class participating in the ceremonies within the Palace and facilitated the Palace’s control over how the ‘Festival of the Throne’ was seen by the nation on television and in the press.

On Monday March 1st 1999, Driss Basri as Minister of the Interior presided over a meeting with the elected politicians of the region of Marrakech in preparation for the
Festival. The Minister was reported as telling the elected representatives of the people that the Festival ‘constitutes an appropriate occasion to take stock of the list of achievements that have been accomplished on the road to progress and to put into effect new projects aimed at endowing the city of Marrakech with added distinction and brilliance’ [‘constitue en elle-même une occasion propice pour dresser le bilan des avancées accomplies sur le chemin du progrès et pour amorcer la réalisation de nouveaux projets visant à assurer à la ville de Marrakech davantage d'éclat et de rayonnement’] (Le Matin 1999: 5). On the morning of March 3rd, the anniversary of the King’s accession, the atmosphere was subdued and the streets were quiet in the civil areas of the Kasbah (as also happens during the morning of religious festivals in Marrakech). By the afternoon however crowds of pedestrians were on the move: the derbs [neighbourhood quarters] were unnaturally quiet - as though they had been evacuated - and men, women and children filled the main arteries. A large crowd gathered outside the Kasbah walls at Bab Ighli (a Kasbah gate leading directly to the Palace mechouar) [Illustration 103]: people were sitting near the gate or walking as far as Bab Ksiba to the north in an area of open ground flanking the Kasbah walls. No one was allowed to go through the gate, which was guarded, into the Palace zone. The gate had been decorated with national flags but there was nothing else out of the
ordinary to see. No one in the crowd appeared to be taking photographs – there was nothing in particular to photograph. Elsewhere in the medina free entertainment had been organised for the people: near the Kasbah for instance, the national telecommunications company (Maroc Telecom) had enclosed an area for musicians in a courtyard in front of their office buildings. Meanwhile a reception was held in the Palace for the King to receive anniversary congratulations from the male elite of the Kingdom, headed by the then Crown Prince and his younger brother Prince Moulay Rachid.

In the evening of March 3\textsuperscript{rd}, the ‘Speech from the Throne’ was broadcast live on television and radio to the nation. The text of the King Hassan’s final ‘Speech from the Throne’ of March 3\textsuperscript{rd} 1999 opened with a paternalistic statement and affirmed the relationship between the King and his subjects that would be acted out the following day in the \textit{beıa} [Allegiance]: ‘Dear People, the Festival that you are celebrating today is yours, exclusively yours ... The Throne - as well you know – is the will expressed by your ancestors more than twelve centuries ago to live together and be united ... It is the symbol of the nation, the materialisation of its historic richness’ ['Cher Peuple, La fête que tu célébres aujourd’hui est la tienne, exclusivement la tienne ... Le Trône -tu le sais bien – est d’abord cette volonté de vivre ensemble et unis que tes ancêtres ont manifesté il y a plus de douze siècles ... C’est le symbole de la nation, la matérialisation de son épaisseur historique’ (Hassan II 1999)].

In the televised transmission of the ‘Speech from the Throne’, the camera penetrated into the enclosed space of the Palace, situating the King delivering his speech in a space that was already familiar to the nation as a symbol of the monarchy from both television and still photographic images. The television camera maintained an unwavering viewpoint directly facing the King, who was dressed in a dark suit seated behind a table and flanked by the Crown Prince on his right and Prince Moulay Rachid on his left. The televising of the speech emphasized a traditionally hierarchical and patriarchal presentation: the fixed direction of the camera viewpoint implied the stable authority of the speechmaker, who was distanced from his
audience by a table but was frontally facing them, directly addressing the Moroccan people. The decision to dress as a modern head of state was calculated by a King who was always careful to wear what he considered appropriate for the occasion. The French journalist Eric Laurent described the King as expressing his assimilation of both modern and traditional culture through his dress: ‘wearing European clothes during the afternoon, he wore a djellaba in the evening and counted his beads through his fingers. This contrast perfectly reflected the duality of his personality and of his choices in western culture, he remained fiercely attached to his Moroccan and Muslim roots; likewise he was the man of permanent synthesis between modernity and tradition’ ['vetu à l'europeenne durant l'après-midi, il portait le soir une djellaba et égrenait entre ses doigts un chapelet. Ce contraste reflétait parfaitement la dualité de sa personnalité et de ses choix: de culture occidentale, il restait farouchement attaché à ses racines marocaines et musulmanes; de même, il était l'homme de la synthèse permanente entre modernité et traditions' (Laurent 1993: III-IV)]. The sober suits worn by the King and his sons reflected the twentieth century origin of the Festival in contrast to the performance the following day of the beïa [Allegiance], in which the dress was prescribed by tradition. The table behind which King Hassan was sitting had a cloth on it bearing the royal coat of arms featuring a crown embroidered in gold thread. It was an identical format to the one seen in the photograph taken thirteen years earlier in the Palace in Marrakech when King Hassan delivered his ‘Royal Speech’ of February 1986 to the assembled architects of his Kingdom [Illustration 104]. Within this geometrically structured frontal space, the coat of arms was central. Historically there had been no coat of arms of the Alaouite Dynasty or the Kingdom of Morocco. In a well known account, Walter Harris wrote amusingly of a state coach that King Hassan’s forebear the Sultan Moulay Abdelaziz (reigned 1894-1908) had imported from London: ‘it was a gorgeous coach, of crimson lacquer, with gilded ornamentation. The inside was lined with rich green-brocaded silk, and bore what were supposed to be the Royal Arms of
Morocco – as a fact, non-existent’ (Harris 1983: 81-82). Appropriated from a familiar visual emblem of European royalty, the embroidered crown in the coat of arms expressed the King’s dynastic and royal credentials but at the same time is indicative of an awkwardness in the adoption of European monarchical symbolism. Abu-Nasr stated that Sultan Moulay Abdelaziz had a crown sent from Paris when Europeans at court told him that a king should have one and showed him pictures of Edward VII’s coronation’ (Abu-Nasr 1975: 296). However unlike European Kings and Emperors, the Moroccan sultans were not crowned in a religious state ritual and this applies equally to the constitutional monarchy that was established after Independence. In a discussion of how a nation is ‘a system of cultural representation’ (Hall 1992: 292), Hall cited Hobsbawn and Ranger who pointed out that the pageantry of the British monarchy was itself largely invented in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Hall 1992: 294).

In the live television broadcast of the ‘Speech from the Throne’, the space was framed by the camera to display behind the King and his sons an architectural decoration made out of zellij [traditional tiles originating from Fes]. Zellij is recognisable as a distinctively Moroccan craft and has cultural associations that are highly significant. It is a form of ceramic surface decoration composed of predominantly geometric designs: Paccard documented forty-seven traditional shapes of small hand cut pieces of glazed earthenware (Paccard1980: 371-381) that were
traditionally cemented *in situ* onto the surface to be decorated (Paccard 1980:439). *Zelli\j* has been used in Morocco for the decoration of palaces, mosques and fountains. *Zelli\j* looks quite different in design from other kinds of ceramic architectural decoration in the North African region because of its lack of Turkish influence, which had been dominant in North African states that had been part of the Ottoman Empire. As a distinctly indigenous decorative medium that had not submitted to foreign influences, it was one of the crafts that Hassan II promoted in his appeal to national cultural identity, as can be seen in the high quality of the *zelli\j* that are used extensively in the Mausoleum of Mohamed V in Rabat. Paccard illustrated many examples of *zelli\j* that had been created for the Royal Palace in Marrakech. In a study of *zelli\j* lavishly illustrated by John Hedgcoe’s photographs (including ones taken in the Royal Palace in Marrakech), Salma Damluji used for the frontispiece an excerpt of a speech made by Hassan II to the Second National Symposium on Moroccan Culture (Fes, November 1990): ‘we can build a Morocco which reflects in all its brilliance the image of its authentic past ... adapting itself perfectly to that which is modern’ (Damluji 1992). In the context of a highly structured televising of the ‘Speech from the Throne’, the *zelli\j* background visually authenticated the space as specifically Moroccan.

The visual meaning of the ‘Speech from the Throne’ did not require verbal commentary for a Moroccan television audience: the symbols of monarchy and national cultural authenticity employed in the televised staging of the Speech had been used in many other contexts familiar to the viewers. The Speech was broadcast live on the state controlled channel *Maroc 1 (TVMI)* and then over the evening repeated several times, once with a French translation of the Arabic text of the speech. The Palace has maintained a close control over *Maroc 1* and on a daily basis its 8.30 p.m. ‘flagship’ news bulletin has consistently foregrounded items relating to the monarchy. An attempt to break the monopolistic grip of the State on broadcasting proved to be abortive: a fee-charging commercial channel (*2M*) was introduced in 1989 but when it was reported that *2M* was in financial difficulties due to the rapidly developing competition from satellite television, the state intervened,
buying out the company. However 2M had been founded by ONA (Omnium Nord-Africain), the largest Moroccan economic conglomerate, and the suggestion has been that a financial crisis was a pretext to bring the channel under State control. It can also be noted that the director of RTM, the national broadcasting body, was a close aide to Driss Basri, who had been appointed the Minister of Communications in 1985 as well as Interior Minister (Santucci 1987: 664).

The national press covered the ‘Speech from the Throne’ from a number of different standpoints, depending on the resources of the newspapers as well as upon the viewpoints of the newspapers’ editors. The audience for newspaper coverage of the ‘Festival of the Throne’ was necessarily more limited than for television. On the basis of national and local elections in November 2002 it was widely reported that only approximately 40% of the electorate was literate. Although this cannot be taken as an established indication of the level of literacy and there are wide variations between the urban and rural populations as well as between men and women, it might nevertheless be indicative that a substantial number - probably a majority - of adult Moroccans are not able to read newspapers in Arabic and only a relatively small minority of adult Moroccans read the francophone press. The responsibility for providing the texts of speeches by the King to the national press has been assigned to MAP [Maghreb Arab Presse], an agency that was founded in 1977. By the terms of its statutes, MAP must disseminate all information that the authorities deem to be for the public good (Barka 1999: 1). It is a large organisation with its headquarters in Rabat and twelve regional offices, including Marrakech. MAP provides a free information service to the Moroccan press; given an endemic and institutional problem of access to information and the underdeveloped state of journalism in Morocco, the tendency has been for newspapers to be over dependent upon the agency for their coverage of current affairs (El Ouardighi 1997: 29-30). Full, unedited texts of royal speeches are relayed to the press by MAP both in Arabic and in French translation; they are routinely printed verbatim and with little or no editorial comment in both the francophone and Arabic press. The main source for the French versions of the royal speeches cited in this chapter is MAP.
In Morocco the newspaper that has access to the most resources and is effectively a state mouthpiece is francophone - *Le Matin du Sahara et du Maghreb*. *Le Matin* is a vehicle for the daily communication of the activities of the Palace. Francophone newspapers, which generally can depend on a higher level of journalistic professionalism than their Arabic counterparts, may have only a small readership but it is a potentially influential one. There is a parallel Arabic newspaper to *Le Matin* – the *Assahra al Maguribia*. Both *Le Matin* and *Assahra al Maguribia* have been edited throughout the period covered in this study by Moulay Ahmed Alaoui, appointed a Minister of State in 1985 (Santucci 1987: 665) and a staunch monarchist. The uncritical support given to the government by the conservative *Le Matin* and *Assahra al Maguribia* became uneasy in 1998 through a policy of ‘alternance’ [regular change] instituted by Hassan II. As a demonstration of a greater liberalism in his choice of government, the King appointed a socialist dominated coalition in 1998. From March 1998 until November 2002 the Prime Minister heading the coalition was Abderrahman el Youssoufi, a former opponent of the regime who had been imprisoned and had spent fifteen years in political exile in France (1965-1980), during which time he was tried and condemned in his absence in Marrakech (the ‘Marrakech Trial 1969-1975’). Youssoufi was both Prime Minister and the editor of a prominent newspaper, *Al Ittihad al Ichiraki* (Socialist Union) that supports the political party which he heads (USFP: Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires).

On March 3rd 1999 *Le Matin du Sahara* commemorated the day with an extended discussion and illustration of the historical antecedents of the ‘Festival of the Throne’. In a special supplement *Le Matin* published illustrations of the succession of the Alaouite sultans up to Mohamed V. The main body of *Le Matin* was a ‘Spéciale Fête du Trône’, which had on the front page a large photograph of Hassan II in a suit and a genealogy linking the King to the Prophet through his daughter Fatima and her husband, the Prophet’s cousin Ali. On the back page a photograph of the monarch showed him in traditional dress (white djellaba). *Le Matin du Sahara* is a vehicle for disseminating the historical connections and symbolic meanings
associated with the Moroccan monarchy. Significant national dates are invariably reported at length in *Le Matin*.

The images of Hassan II in the newspapers of March 3\(^{rd}\) were all necessarily archive ones generally showing the King as ruler. The main differences are in the proportion of each newspaper given over to the image or images of the King – some only one tiny photograph and others many large scale pictures. On subsequent days the visual record published in national newspapers of the events of March 3rd was haphazard and the photographic reporting of the ‘Throne Room Speech’ was inconsistent. Only certain newspapers used photographs that had been taken on March 3rd in the Palace in Marrakech. Of those that did, *Le Matin du Sahara* had a photograph of King Hassan framed by *zellij* (as in the television coverage) on the front page [Illustration 105]. *Le Matin’s* sister Arabic language paper *Assahra al Maguriba* had on page three a large scale picture of the King flanked by the two princes delivering his speech in the *Dar el Mahkzen* in Marrakech [Illustration 106]. *Al Itiihad al Ichtriaki* had on its front page a black and white photograph of the King framed by *zellij* [Illustration 107] and the Arabic *Haraka* used the same photograph. A significant number of newspapers – six of the Arabic ones - published archive photographs of the King making a speech in one of his Palaces but not photographs taken of him delivering the Speech of March 3\(^{rd}\) 1999 in the Marrakech Palace. None of the newspapers in question identified where or when the photographs were taken. *Al Bayane* (associated with the ‘Parti du Progrès et du Socialisme’ (PPS) – formerly the Communist Party - and a participant in the post 1998 socialist coalition government) published a photograph of King Hassan delivering at some time in the past the ‘Speech from the Throne’ in front of the throne in the Palace in Rabat [Illustration 108]. The francophone *L’Opinion*, which is associated with Istiqlal, the original Independence Party, showed a photograph of Hassan II in his Palace in Rabat sitting on a late eighteenth century gilded French chair in front of a large tapestry of the royal coat of arms. The Arabic *Al Alam*, which reflects the same political affiliation as *L’Opinion*, had an indistinct black and white photograph of Hassan II without any
Illustration 105. The Speech from the Throne, Dar el Makhzen, March 3rd 1999

Illustration 106. The Speech from the Throne, Dar el Makhzen, March 3rd 1999,
identifying features in the background. The francophone *Libération* of March 4th omitted to publish any photographs of the Speech but did give the complete text of the Speech supplied by MAP in French, as did *Le Matin* and *L'Opinion*. The general conclusion is that the orchestrated management by the Palace of the television reporting of the ‘Speech from the Throne’ by *Maroc 1* was not matched by an equivalent control over the press. The authority of the national Festival was not
challenged in any of the newspapers except by omission: some editors chose to give
token or no coverage to the event.

The beida [Allegiance] ceremony was held in the afternoon of March 4th in the
mechouar of the Royal Palace in the Kasbah of Marrakech. It had been preceded by
a military ceremony, which was televised live in the morning. Without question, the
loyalty of the military commanders was vital to the survival of Hassan II as King of
Morocco but the beida is not primarily an event for the armed forces. Unlike the
‘Festival of the Throne’, the origins of the beida itself are rooted in the foundations of
the Islamic monarchy in Morocco. Historically the beida was an acknowledgement of
the basis of the sultan’s power, which was exercised through the agreement of the
religious authorities and through the support – or at least a lack of opposition - from a
sufficient number of the tribes in Morocco. Pascon’s judgment of the relationship
between the early sultans and power reflected a division between an urban based
state and a rural society, with the sultan exercising authority ‘derived only from the
consensus of his followers and living off tributes from the plains, in so far as they
could be governed’ [‘ne procédant que du consensus de son entourage et vivant de
prélèvement sur le plat pays, autant qu'il était dominable’ (Pascon 1977: 372)].
Unlike the pre-Protectorate sultans, the monarchy after 1956 had inherited from the
Protectorate a territorial administration capable of controlling both urban and rural
populations since the French military forces had with great difficulty succeeded in
dismantling the tribal power bases. Driss Basri, the Minister of the Interior until
1999, maintained that ‘the task of constructing the modern State, as has been
accomplished in the last three decades (1956-1986), is identifiable with and is in any
case broadly commensurate with the formation of the Territorial Administration’
[‘l’œuvre d’édification de l’Etat moderne, qui va s’opérer durant les trois dernières
décennies (1956-1986) s’identifie et en tout cas se confond largement avec la
construction de l’Administration Territoriale’ (Basri 1990: 249)]. Basri’s Interior
Ministry was the successor of an authoritarian colonial administration and ensured
the stability of the state and the security of the monarchy through its control over the
entire territory of the Kingdom. In other words, the beida no longer represented the
kind of consensus that characterised it historically. The beïa in 1999 constituted an acknowledgment of the need for the King to reiterate to his subjects that they belong to a territory with a unique culture and national identity in which the ruler and the ruled are linked by indissoluble ties.

Hassan II spoke at some length about the meaning of the beïa in an interview with the French journalist Eric Laurent. The King’s interpretation of the beïa accorded with his appropriation of the authority of the caliphate, as has already identified earlier in this chapter (5.2). He told Laurent that ‘in France, the king, once crowned, became king by divine right. In our county, the Commander of the Faithful is ... considered by all his subjects as the representative of God on earth’ [‘En France, le roi, une fois sacré, devenait roi de droit divin. Chez nous; l’émir des croyants ... est considéré par tous ses sujets comme le représentant de Dieu sur terre’ (Laurent 1993: 93-94)]. According to the King, the monarch’s relationship with his subjects is as the head of a family but the beïa represents a contract with obligations that the ruler has to fulfil to the people. The King explained that there had been cases in which allegiance to the sultan had been rescinded on the grounds that the sultan had not adequately defended the faith or the rights of his subjects or had ceded parts of the national territory (Laurent 1993: 94-95). King Hassan’s observation that the historical contractual engagement of the beïa encompassed the sultan’s obligation to defend the integrity of the national territory relates to a theme that was repeatedly employed in his ‘Speeches from the Throne’. For example in the Speech delivered in the Marrakech Palace for the ‘Festival of the Throne’ in 1987, he had rhetorically linked dynastic tradition, authenticity, cultural identity and territorial integrity:

You already know, dear people, that the Kings of Our family who succeeded to the Throne of your country have jealously maintained the defence of the unity of our country and the preservation of our national character and authenticity from any attack. And when God made Us responsible as your vessel’s helmsman and for the defence of your interests, one of Our overriding preoccupations was the safeguarding and
consolidation of our national unity and territorial integrity, as well as the preservation of our national character and our authenticity from any possible attack [Tu sais, cher peuple, par ailleurs, que les Rois de Notre famille qui sont succédé sur le Trône de ton pays ont veillé avec jalouse à défendre l’unité de notre pays et à préserver notre personnalité et notre authenticité de toute atteinte. Et lorsque Dieu Nous a chargé de la conduite de ta barque et de la défense de tes intérêts, l’une de Nos préoccupations majeures a été la sauvegarde et la consolidation de notre unité nationale et de notre intégrité territoriale, ainsi que la préservation de notre personnalité et de notre authenticité de toute atteinte éventuelle (Hassan II 1987)].

The enactment of the beïa in the mechouar of the Kasbah of Marrakech on March 4th 1999 was shorter than in previous years due to the ill health of the King, who died four months later. The King was unable to ride out of the Palace in state into the mechouar as he had done when he was younger and as he was shown doing every evening on national television in a sequence compiled from archive film shown at the beginning of the main news bulletin of Maroc 1. The pomp historically associated with the sultans’ ceremonial appearances is visually familiar through Delacroix’s painting of one of the King’s ancestors, Sultan Moulay Abderrahmane (reigned 1822 – 1859) riding into the mechouar of the Meknes Palace (Delacroix, Musée des Augustins, Toulouse). Delacroix’s much reproduced work was exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1845 and was based on a scene that the artist had witnessed in 1832. Walter Harris gave a first hand account of seeing Sultan Moulay Hassan (Hassan I, reigned 1873-1894) ride out of the Palace into the mechouar in the Kasbah of Marrakech. He described ‘the Sultan, a stately figure in white, on a white horse trapped in green and gold. Over his head is borne the great flat parasol of State of crimson velvet and gold’ (Harris 1983: 5-6). In a study of the sultanate in the declining years of the Ottoman Empire, Philip Mansell remarked that ‘the court and guard of the Sultan [of Morocco] helped make his public appearances almost as impressive as those of his despised rival on the
The main features of the pageantry depicted by Delacroix are still visible in the ceremony of the beïa as it has been performed in Morocco since Independence. The parasol of state accompanying the mounted King Hassan in his first beïa in 1961 (Duteil 1999: 35) was in 1999 carried furled since the King’s physical frailty precluded him from riding into the mechouar. The ritual parasol has been used in the beïas performed by his successor Mohammed VI, attesting to the continuity of the court protocol of the Alaouite dynasty. Symbolic continuity was also represented by the attendants of the monarch: the black abid [slaves] are recognisable by their distinctive conical red hats both in Delacroix’s painting and from the 1999 beïa. When in 1999 the King was driven out of the Palace entrance in a white open limousine, an empty state coach followed him into the mechouar [Illustration 109]. The red and gold state coach had been presented to Sultan Moulay Abdelaziz by Queen Victoria and is a visually potent symbol deriving its authority from the British regal pageantry that has generated a dominant imagery of royalty. Traditionally when the coach was used ceremonially by the
sultans, it was empty. The tradition was occasionally broken by Mohamed V, Hassan II and most recently Mohammed VI, who have all been driven in the coach (Chankou 2000: 56). The brilliant colour and scale of the empty coach made it a visual centre of attention in King Hassan’s funeral procession, a ceremony that was internationally broadcast live less than five months after the beija of 1999. In March 1999 the state ceremony of the beija was spatially framed by the architecture of the Palace and the mechouar of the Kasbah of Marrakech [Illustrations 110, 112], with striking views of the Agdal Gardens and the Atlas Mountains [Illustration 111], from which the Almohad dynasty had originated.

The beija unfolded as a ceremony on March 4th 1999 with the Royal Princes on foot to the right of the Sovereign’s white limousine. The King inspected a detachment of the Royal Guard but the core ritual meaning of the beija was represented by a large number of men who were uniformly dressed in white djellabahs and red fezzes; they were gathered in the mechouar in serried ranks to greet the sovereign. From a tall television camera scaffold overlooking the mechouar, the ceremony was broadcast live to the nation. A few, mostly elderly spectators - including the only women in the mechouar at that moment - had been selected to stand on the sidelines and be portrayed by the television camera as enthusiastic onlookers. All dressed in white, Driss Basri, walis and governors renewed their allegiance to the Sovereign. The
delegates followed group by group, headed by the regions of Oued Eddahab, Lagouira, Layounne and Boujdour. These regions belong to the disputed territory of the Western Sahara, which had dominated the reign of Hassan II from the Green March of 1975 to the time of his death. Much of the rhetoric of Moroccan territorial integrity in King Hassan’s speeches was clearly directed towards the Western Sahara, which had been occupied by Morocco since 1975. In a speech given on October 23rd 1985 to the United Nations, Hassan II had renewed a proposal for a referendum in the Western Sahara and after a ceasefire was called in 1991, the referendum had been the subject of a protracted and unresolved arbitration on the part of the United Nations. The symbolic affirmation in the beita of the rights of Morocco’s territorial claim on the Western Sahara was acted out on the stage of the sovereign space of the mechouar in the Kasbah of Marrakech. The ‘script’ had been supplied by Hassan II in his ‘Speech from the Throne’ of the previous evening (Hassan II 1999):

Our mind continues to be dominated by the question of our restored provinces of the south. As we have on so many occasions affirmed, we remain very strongly attached to the United Nations’ settlement plan. We consider that only a just, equitable and non-discriminatory application of
this plan can implement what is right and put an end to the prevarications and procrastinations of those who oppose a real and consultative referendum confirming the Moroccan identity of our Sahara. None of our Saharwi [Saharan] children should be deprived of the right to express themselves [Notre esprit reste dominé par la question de nos provinces récupérées du sud. Comme nous l’avons à maintes reprises affirmé, nous demeurons très fortement attaché au plan de règlement des Nations-Unies. Nous estimons que seule une application juste, équitable et non discriminatoire de ce plan peut faire valoir le droit et mettre fin aux turgiversations et atermoiements de ceux qui s’opposent à une réelle consultation référendaire confirmative de la marocanité de notre Sahara. Aucun de nos enfants sahraouis ne doit être privé du droit de s’exprimer (Hassan II 1999)].
CHAPTER SIX
TOURIST DISCOURSE

6.1 THE KASBAH OF MARRAKECH: A TOURIST SPACE

In Marrakech as tourism has developed it has become an increasingly visible presence in the Kasbah of Marrakech. Although the Kasbah may be disorientating for an outsider when encountering its twisting streets and alleys for the first time, there is an underlying structure in what is seen and experienced by tourists and equally significantly, what is out of view for visitors. In almost all cases tourists are excluded from the sight of interior domestic spaces and unless they are Muslim, from all sacred sites. There is generally a limited access to the sovereign space of the Kasbah except when the King is in residence, in which case the mechouar and surrounding areas are under constant military and police guard and visitors are turned back. Tourist routes are predominantly contained within the public spaces of the civil zone of the Kasbah.

Richard Sennett suggested that 'the spaces full of people in the modern city are either spaces limited to and carefully orchestrating consumption, like the shopping mall, or spaces limited to and carefully orchestrating the experience of tourism. This reduction and trivializing of the city as a stage of life is no accident' (Sennett 1991: xii). The Kasbah is located in a walled city without shopping malls and in which souks [markets], stalls, small shops and workshops predominate. In 1995, the Eighth I.C.O.C. (International Committee for Conferences on Oriental Carpets) met for three days in Marrakech; a description of the arrival of delegates in Marrakech after a tour of rural carpet producing regions revealed unforeseen expectations: 'after three and a
half days of a gruelling itinerary, we were exhausted, not that weariness dampened the spirits of a number of Americans. "Does Marrakech have a mall?" asked one.

"There's a Shell station - we must be near civilisation", another remarked (Purdon 1995: 88). If the Kasbah lacks the 'civilized' amenities of shopping malls, there are
nonetheless spaces that are directed towards and that attract tourism and tourist consumption. The orientalist decoration of the ‘Kasbah Rotonda Restaurant’ was

Illustrations 116, 117, 118. Carpenters’ workshops in the Kasbah.

analyzed in Chapter Three (3.3.4): to eat in the restaurant costs more per person than a week’s wages for an ordinary working person in the neighbourhood. The restaurant’s patrons are mainly foreign tourists – often in groups [Illustration 113] – though members of the Moroccan social and political elite, including the Royal family, have sometimes eaten there. The ‘Crafts Centre’ [Maison du Tapis: Centre Artisanal] [Illustrations 114, 115] is close enough to the Saadian tombs, the primary tourist destination in the Kasbah, to have a succession of guided groups move from one to the other. The interior of the ‘Crafts Centre’ is the inverse of locally defined space. Local houses present a blank and often windowless face to the street and interior life is hidden behind closed doors. Commerce on the other hand is by and large open to the public space. For instance in craft workshops [Illustrations 116 - 118] the quality of the workmanship is on public view. If satisfied by what they see, customers can commission what they would like to have made, paying for the materials (the craftsmen often do not have the capital to buy raw materials) and wait for the item to be made. Craft goods in the ‘Crafts Centre’ are sold in an interior
space concealed from public view and the decorative articles that are on display at fixed prices for immediate purchase have been made in another part of the city or outside of Marrakech.

6.2 THE FORMATION OF THE TOURIST DISCOURSE

Erik Cohen contended that ‘tourism is essentially a modern western phenomenon. Although travel for religious, cultural, educational and medical purposes, and even for entertainment, can be found throughout human history ... the motivations, roles and institutional structures of modern tourism differ significantly from those of pre-modern and non-western forms of travel, and are closely related to some other crucial characteristics of modernity’ (Cohen 1995: 10). As such, tourism is an activity that has been represented in industrialised countries as a commodity that may be regarded as a normal expectation for most economic and social groups. Admittedly tourist activity is often local and even international tourism is frequently regional. Marc Boyer, the founder of the centre of tourism studies in Aix-en-Provence [Centre d'études du tourisme d'Aix] proposed that as a rule the ‘the inhabitants of western Europe stay in their part of Europe, which had been expanded by tourism before it was politically. There is a trickle across the Mediterranean towards Morocco, Tunisia or Israel, the only three countries overseas that receive three million European tourists every year’ ['les habitants de l'Europe de l'Ouest restent dans leur Europe que le tourisme a élargie avant les politiques. Un petit courant traverse la Méditerranée vers le Maroc, la Tunisie ou Israël, les trois seuls pays d'outre-mer qui reçoivent trois millions de touristes européens chaque année'] (Boyer 1996: 125)). A seminal study of the mid-1970s raised critical questions about the relationships between tourism and those non-industrialised countries that had been adopted as tourist destinations: Turner and Ash introduced the idea of the ‘pleasure periphery’, by which was meant the ‘tourist belt which surrounds the great industrialised zones
of the world’ (Turner and Ash 1975: 11). Turner and Ash introduced an ongoing discussion in the countries that supply the majority of the tourists to Marrakech, questioning the real benefits that tourism has contributed to the host countries. At the same time the World Bank and Unesco jointly published a study reviewing the possibilities offered by tourism in relationship to development (De Kadt 1976).

Marie-Françoise Lanfant in a formative study (Lanfant 1980) critically analysed the economic model that had been applied in tourism policies in the 1970s. She concluded that it is derived from industrial societies and is not necessarily appropriate for the host countries involved. She argued that tourist policies are based on the idea of linking the potential development of host countries to the development of industrialised societies ‘but the tourist industry derives its profit from the economic disparities between countries’ (Lanfant 1980: 37-38). She also commented that anyway the profitability of tourism is controversial: substantial initial funding is demanded by tourist development and yet once that is in place, host countries still have to import consumer goods intended for tourists, thereby potentially neutralising the benefits gained. Lanfant used the ‘Moroccan Master Plan’ as the example through which she analysed ‘the grossly ambiguous situation in which a developing country finds itself trapped as soon as it decides to base its development on tourism’ (Lanfant 1980: 34). The ‘Master Plan’ project was given to the Insititut für Planungskybernetik, I.P.C. of Munich and to the Steinberger Consultancy of Frankfurt. Lanfant’s conclusion was that the ‘Master Plan’, which was considered necessary by the Moroccan government in the late 1960s for the development of a long term strategy for tourism, focused on the perceived needs and desires of potential tourists and largely neglected to research in any detail the host population. This ‘Master Plan’ was symptomatically the product of a European and not a Moroccan agency: the publication in 1975 of the Master Plan Touristique du Maroc [Moroccan Tourism Master Plan] reflected a level of research into demand that went much beyond the expectations of the Moroccan Government, unlike ‘the analysis of supply which remains purely descriptive’ (Lanfant 1980: 34). Lanfant used the Moroccan ‘Master Plan’ to direct attention to the consequences of an institutionalized
system in which Moroccan strategic planning was dominated by European suppositions about how the demands of tourists should be met.

The one way process in which people from the industrialised zones spent a defined period of leisure time in Morocco was well established by the mid-1980s. By 1988 there were more than two million visitors to Morocco (Bessis 1991: 477). In France, which has consistently supplied the majority of visitors to Marrakech, Pierre Aisner and Christine Plüss published in 1983 a text that was based on the premises of Turner and Ash (Aisner 1983). They looked at entrenched assumptions about tourism to the ‘pleasure periphery’ and argued that tourism, which is assumed to be a question of personal choice or an expression of individuality, is effectively a constructed pattern of behaviour in Western society, given the extent of the displacement of people from industrialised countries. They suggested furthermore that encounters on a relatively large scale between people from developed countries and people in the destination countries were not determined spontaneously or haphazardly but were subject to global strategies (citing the involvement of Unesco and the World Bank), through which ‘industrialised societies, in accordance with imperialist traditions, secure the means to control and power to recuperate a profit that tends to elude them by the very fact that consumption, within the framework of international tourism, is spatially differentiated’ [‘les sociétés industrielles, conformes à la tradition impérialiste, se donnent ainsi les moyens de contrôle et les pouvoirs de récupération d'un profit qui a tendance à leur échapper par le fait même que la con sommation, dans le cadre du tourisme international, se trouve différée dans l'espace’ (Aisner 1983: 8)]. Georges Cazes later dismissed as over obvious accusations such as ‘appropriation, colonisation and neo-colonisation, conquest and re-conquest’ [‘appropriation, colonisation et néo-colonisation, conquête et reconquête’] in assessments of tourism in the ‘third world’ but conceded that there was substance in identifying inequalities of power in the relationships between Europe, North America and Japan and host countries of tourism like Morocco (Cazes 1992: 10).
Peter Wollen contributed an essay on tourism (Wollen 1993) to a widely disseminated collection of ‘reflections on twentieth-century culture’. He cited Turner and Ash (1975) and Aisner and Plüss (1983) - his references as well as his argument were indicative of how a negative view of tourism had become central to discussions of globalization in Europe and North America. Wollen summarised how tourism had 'made a particular impact ... on a small group of tourist-oriented countries (Morocco, Tunisia, Kenya, Mexico, Thailand)'; he proposed that 'the effects of tourism have not been as horrifically catastrophic as those of slavery and colonialism, but they have been perhaps as ubiquitous and often as pervasive' (Wollen 1993: 190). Influenced by Janet Abu Lughod’s conception of changing core-periphery relations (Abu-Lughod 1989b), Wollen proposed that ‘tourism - the movement of consumers - is the inverse of immigration - the movement of producers. Both are mediated by the international flow of capital, as we can see from the similarities between EPZs (Export Processing Zones) and ITZs (Integrated Tourist Zones). Both are intrinsic to the emerging new world system' (Wollen 1993: 191).

Since the development of tourism first made a significant contribution to the Moroccan economy in the 1960s, national strategies for tourism have looked towards statistical and economic reports rather than concerns expressed in Europe and America about the asymmetry of power between Europe (where the majority of tourists to Morocco come from) and Morocco as a tourist destination. It would seem that the Moroccan Ministry of Tourism measures success and more particularly failure in terms of, for example, quantifying beds occupied and how far the Moroccan tourist infrastructure has matched or has not matched the expectations of European travel operators. In a speech made in June 1995 to open the International Salon of Tourism in Marrakech, Mohamed Alaoui M’Hamedi, who was at the time Minister of Tourism, spoke of ‘the promotion of Morocco the product’ ['la promotion du produit Maroc' (Lahlou 1996: 21)] and launched a national campaign to regulate the Moroccan tourist industry with the aim of enhancing Morocco as a marketable product. However within the structure of economic tourism in which Marrakech has been defined as a commodity, commercial agencies in Europe have
organized the transportation to and accommodation in Marrakech of large numbers of people and have thereby exercised a control that is beyond the influence of the Moroccan authorities responsible for tourism. Bessis asserted that the number of tourists entering Morocco has largely been determined by Western tour operators, who have been compelled to keep on varying their Mediterranean destinations to keep up with stiff competition in the region (Bessis 1991: 478). This fundamental weakness of the host country in economic tourism mirrors Morocco’s dependency on outside bodies in other economic areas. In the Kasbah, tourism is officially perceived as beneficial to the community since it is seen as representing a means of encouraging investment and thereby jobs. By direct and indirect taxation, the community receives funding from tourist activities. Shops selling craft objects and other goods to tourists are a valued source of revenue. State taxation relies heavily on a 20% direct levy on goods and some of this is redistributed to local municipalities. Revenues that are collected and spent locally are augmented in the Kasbah by high taxation on the proliferating tourist shops that have a frontage on to the main street (Sebbar to the author: 1999).

6.3 THE CONSTITUTION OF THE TOURIST DISCOURSE

6.3.1 Tourism and the Kasbah of Marrakech

The possibility of being able to take a break in a non-industrial environment from the draining stressfulness of everyday life in industrialised countries is represented as normal in the West. In tourist brochures, travel journalism and travelogues, a holiday in Marrakech is represented as a commodity and as such, many of the principles that
relate to consumption in general may apply to Marrakech. For instance GEO, a French travel magazine, evaluated for cost and convenience an 'initiation into the charms of the Orient' ['initiation aux charmes de l'Orient' (GEO 1992: 116)] – a range of packages and itineraries to the 'Imperial Cities' (Rabat, Meknes, Fes and Marrakech). GEO's assessment of the tours was illustrated by a dramatic night picture by Magnum photographer Harry Grayaert of Bab Ighli in the Kasbah (GEO 1992: 117). The mark of individuality may be bestowed on a commodity – whether a manufactured article, a holiday destination or a celebrity – by marketing. Viewed as a commodity, holidays in Marrakech are linked to a collective activity (tourism), even though they may be perceived by holidaymakers to be a product of their personal decisions, actions and experiences. The capacity to retain a perception of individuality even when acting in a way that conforms to a collective pattern was explained by Baudrillard through the example of Bardot: 'when it was fashionable to have hair like Brigitte Bardot, every girl who followed the fashion was unique in her own eyes, since she had not modelled herself on any of the girls like herself, but each individual girl had modelled herself exclusively on Bardot' ['lorsque la mode fut de se coiffer à la Bardot, chaque fille à la mode était unique à ses propres yeux, puisqu'elle ne se référât jamais à des milliers de semblables, mais bien chacune d'elles à Bardot' (Baudrillard 1976: 217)]. Bourdieu made a similar observation about holiday photographs, suggesting that 'landscapes and monuments appear in holiday snaps as decorations and signs; this is because popular photography is trying to consecrate the unique encounter (although this can be experienced by thousands of others in identical circumstances) between a person and a consecrated place' (Bourdieu 1990: 36). Bourdieu dismissed the explanation of photography as a ubiquitous activity that is psychologically 'natural' but argued that it is the product of a social construction (Bourdieu 1965: 32-33). That is to say, a photograph taken by an individual tourist of a sight in the Kasbah of Marrakech may be located within the social framework of photography and tourism. MacCannell's observation was that 'souvenirs are collected by individuals, by tourists, while sights are "collected" by entire societies' (MacCannell 1976: 42).
It can be argued that tourism in the Kasbah is in part structured by predefined choices that are presented both in the tourist’s place of origin prior to travelling and after arrival in Marrakech itself. Promotional literature, travelogues, guidebooks and newspaper and magazine articles aimed at people who might be tempted to visit a tourist destination make up a large part of a pre-departure tourist discourse. When tourists are in Marrakech, many if not all will have guide books that have been produced and often purchased in their own country of origin - for the most part, guide books that have been written by an outsider speaking about the Other. Graham Dann has written extensively about the ‘language of tourism’, which he claimed was more often than not ‘restricted to communication between the industry and tourists, between tourists themselves, and between tourists and potential tourists’ (Dann 1996b: 31) whereas 'local voices rarely constitute markers in contemporary tourism' (Dann 1996b: 10). In Roland Barthes’ analysis in Mythologies of the Guide Bleu, the renowned series of guide books published by Hachette, he remarked that ‘even the people of the country disappear for the exclusive benefit of its monuments. In the Guide Bleu, people exist only as “types” [“même l’humanité du pays disparaît au profit exclusif de ses monuments. Pour le Guide Bleu, les hommes n'existent que comme "types"” (Barthes 1957: 122)]. A comparison between the entries referring to the Kasbah of Marrakech in a Guide Bleu to Morocco published in the 1950s (Ricard 1950) and guide books currently available reveals a striking similarity in the construction of the guidebooks and of the material itself, which is largely based on individual monuments: this suggest that the representation of the Kasbah in guidebooks appears to be predominantly static and unchanging.

When Barthes analysed fashion through material he had drawn together from fashion magazines of 1957 to 1963, he made a fundamental distinction between analysing the structure of texts and the structure of reality - ‘real fashion (seen in the clothes that are worn)’ [‘la Mode réelle (saisie dans les vêtements portés)’ (Barthes 1967: 8)]. Barthes chose to discuss texts and to analyse the structure of how magazines told people what to wear in order to be fashionable. He found that imperatives were directed at readers as individuals (‘wear this in order to be in fashion’); however
individuals were directed through those imperatives to aspire to be located within an entire category of people (‘fashionable people’). It can be argued that correspondingly tourist brochures, magazine and newspaper articles, travelogues and guidebooks address the reader as individuals, even though through a construction of predefined choices and imperatives they direct individuals to experience in the Kasbah sights that are viewed by an entire category of people – tourists. Tourists represent a much larger category of people than ‘fashionable people’ and many of them may feel uneasy about being indiscriminately classed with all the other tourists who visit the Kasbah. Dean MacCannel raised the question of the dislike that everyone has of being a tourist but saw it as central to the problem of tourism (MacCannel 1976: 10). Indeed MacCannel was addressing a readership that lives in those parts of the world in which it is virtually impossible to avoid being a tourist at one time or another. In the next section, practices in which tourist brochures, magazines and newspaper articles, travelogues and guidebooks propose sites and routes through the Kasbah and some of the reactions and responses from individual tourists are analysed.

6.3.2 Tourism: practices, key terms and concepts

6.3.2 (i) Space

The identity of the Kasbah as a sovereign space was referred to in Chapter Five (5.1) but may not be readily recognizable to visitors making their way to the Saadian Tombs or the Badi Palace. In Marrakech there are no street signs pointing out the direction of a ‘Kasbah’ with the exception of one panel [Illustration 119], which is
located outside the walls near the Bab er Robb. There is a lack of information panels or comparable markers to indicate to visitors and inhabitants the identity and significance of the Kasbah itself or what it contains. Ceramic wall maps employed in

Illustration 119. Sign pointing to the Kasbah.
Illustration 120. Ceramic map, medina of Tunis.

Illustration 121. A section of the western ramparts of the Kasbah.

the medina of Tunis (Illustration 120) are indicative of the kind of markers that have been installed in other World Heritage sites. The boundaries of the Kasbah are now visually clear only in an unobstructed section of the ramparts south of the Bab Agnaou [Illustrations 121, 122]. An easily missed street sign at the entrance to ‘Derb Touareg El Kasbah’ [Illustrations 123, 124], which since 1997 has become part of a
route for guided tour groups to walk, marks a northern border between the Kasbah and the rest of the medina. Here the wall segmenting the Kasbah has almost disappeared altogether.

Illustration 122. A section of the western wall of the Kasbah.

Illustrations 123, 124. Entrance to Derb Touareg El Kasbah.

In reviewing a representative sample of relevant guidebooks published over the last two decades, it appears that as a rule they have straightforwardly divided accommodation and restaurants between the medina and the new city but have varied in how they have presented their guidelines for orientation and sightseeing in Marrakech. Some guidebooks categorised sights by type of interest rather than location. In the ‘Lonely Planet’ guide, which appears to be very popular amongst English speaking tourists, the Badi Palace was listed under a collection of ‘Palaces’
and the Agdal came under the various ‘Gardens’ of the city (Simonis 1995: 379, 381). In the equally popular ‘Rough Guide’, there was a division of material between the ‘the souks and northern Medina’ and the ‘lower Medina: the Royal Palace, Saadian Tombs and Mellah’. The ‘Rough Guide’ told the reader that the southern part of the medina is ‘an interesting area to wander round, though you inevitably spend time trying to figure out the sudden and apparently arbitrary appearance of ramparts and enclosures. And there are two obvious focal points not to be missed: the Saadian Tombs, preserved in the shadow of the kasbah mosque, and El Badi, the ruined palace of Ahmed El Mansour’ (Ellingham 2001: 362). An earlier edition of the ‘Rough Guide’ highlighted the Saadian Tombs as ‘the city’s main "sight" - overlavish maybe in exhaustive decoration, but dazzling nonetheless’ (Ellingham 1998: 340). Fodor’s Morocco, written primarily for American tourists, stated that ‘many of Marrakesh’s monuments are in the medina’s southern section’ and briefly described a walk from the Koutoubia Mosque to the Saadian Tombs and the Badi Palace (Aranow 2002: 139), without mentioning the Kasbah as such. In a separate section of ‘sights to see’ listed in alphabetical order, Fodor’s Morocco included the Agdal gardens, the Badi Palace, the mechouar, described as ‘the huge open Square of Allegiance’ (Aranow 2002: 145), and the Saadian Tombs. Amongst French tourists, who represent a dominant sector of visitors to Marrakech, the ‘Routard’ guidebook published by Hachette appears to be particularly popular. The ‘Routard’ listed the ‘Kasbah Mosque’, Saadian Tombs and Badi Palace among the ‘other monuments of the medina’ [‘les autres monuments de la medina’] and referred the reader to a ‘map of the palaces’ [‘plan des palais’ (Josse 1991: 152-153)]. The map has arrows directing the visitor through the Bab Agnaou to the Saadian Tombs and returning through the Bab Agnaou to the Badi Palace. Anyone following the ‘Routard’ map would make only a brief detour into the Kasbah solely in order to visit the Saadian Tombs. Hachette have also published a more informative and stylish guidebook to Marrakech, A long weekend in Marrakech [Un grand weekend à Marrakech], which allocated a section to the Kasbah and described its origins and the continuity of its royal status. In two pages of text and photographs, the Bab Agnaou, Badi Palace,
Saadian Tombs and the Moulay Yazid Mosque were juxtaposed with the 'Kasbah la Rotonda' restaurant and 'street life' (Campodonico 2001: 48-49).

The first edition of Barnaby Rogerson's *Morocco*, a 'Cadogan Guide', discussed in some detail the monuments of 'Imperial Marrakesh', which was defined as 'the inner city, the Kasbah quarter of the Sultans, the Imperial city' (Rogerson 1989: 389). Rogerson did not pursue the spatial characteristics of the Imperial City and confined himself to describing the Bab Agnaou, the Kasbah Mosque, the Saadian tombs and the Badi Palace (Rogerson 1989: 389-390). In Footprint's *Morocco Handbook*, Justin McGuinness concisely described the monuments in 'the Kasbah quarter' and opened with the statement that the 'Bab Agnaou, meaning the gate of the blacks, marks the entrance to the kasbah quarter ... The kasbah quarter dates from the late 12th century and the reign of the Almohad Sultan Ya'qub al-Mansur. Bab Agnaou is also Almohad' McGuinness 340). In addition, McGuinness drew attention to the Kasbah Mosque, the Saadian Tombs, the Badi Palace and the 'Dar el-Makhzen' (McGuinness 1999: 341).

It appeared that only some guidebooks informed the interested visitor that the Kasbah is a royal enclave but that all highlighted a visit to the Saadian Tombs and the Badi Palace, thus directing tourists by the same routes to the same destinations. Individual tourists expressed confusion about both spatial boundaries and terminology in the city. An American visitor in the Kasbah on his first day in Morocco said that he had an excellent ability to orientate himself in a town like Marrakech through having been to Venice many times but he nonetheless found it "intimidating" and was unsure about what difference that there might be between a 'medina', a 'souk' and a 'kasbah'. He supposed that 'kasbah' might be another word for market but he was not sure (Heinmann to the author: 2001). For the inhabitants of Marrakech as for outsiders, 'kasbah' often seems to be primarily associated with the mountain and pre-saharan kasbahs (Mouline 1991), some of which like the Kasbah at Ourzazate have been used as locations for films (Negri 1990). Marrakech is a city built on the level Haouz plain and its Kasbah is flat, unlike the mountain kasbahs that visually
resemble a preconceived image of a medieval citadel. Irrespective of whether or not the Kasbah is described in guidebooks, it appears that the historical characteristics and functions of an urban kasbah are generally unfamiliar concepts outside of specialist studies of Arab urbanism: the Kasbah is therefore unlikely to be perceived by outsiders or indeed by the citizens of Marrakech to have an independent spatial identity to the rest of the medina. By contrast specific sites – in particular the Saadian tombs and the Badi Palace – are clearly demarcated as ‘tourist spaces’.

6.3.2 (ii) Time

An article from the London Times about the hotel ‘La Mamounia’ is illustrative of travel writing of the mid 1990s when newspapers and magazines began to identify Marrakech as a fashionable weekend destination from London or Paris: ‘within five hours on a Saturday morning you are whisked to an exotic, medieval world, entering from the desert through ancient red walls a city of mosques and minarets, palaces and palm trees, where women still wear the veil and muezzin summon the faithful to prayer’ (MacArthur 1995: 18). The hotel ‘La Mamounia’ was a product of King Hassan’s fostering of an ‘authentic’ Moroccan architecture discussed in the previous chapter (5.3). Paccard’s transformation in 1986 of the colonial art deco hotel designed in 1923 by Prost and Marchisio into a palatial interior was stylistically comparable to his renovations for King Hassan II of the Royal Palace in Marrakech. Marc Augé invented a term 'surmodernity' to define a new kind of neutral space that he characterised by describing a journey through 'non-space' by everyman Pierre Dupont, who on an airplane idly flicked through in flight magazines, glancing at photographs of major hotels, including ‘the Mammounia in Marrakech, "which was a palace before being a palatial hotel"’ [‘La Mammounia à Marrakech "qui fut palais avant d'être palace"’ (Augé 1992: 10)]. The image of the traveller from the modern world being abruptly transported back into another time is deeply rooted in the European imagination. Pierre Loti wrote that when he arrived in Morocco in 1889, he felt that he had come face to face with a biblical past – suddenly Spain, which he
had just come from, seemed very distant (Loti 1988: 26). The orientalist myth of an unchanging Orient has been perpetuated in travel journalism. It is also reflected in impressions of individual tourists. A British tourist who is resident in South Africa was amazed by plunging into the "medieval" streets of the Kasbah (Duff to the author: 2002). An American visitor to the Kasbah said that "What I was expecting was that there would be more concessions but it seems just like it was two hundreds years ago" (Stifter to the author: 2002). A civil engineer from Istanbul was surprised by how ancient the Kasbah and the rest of the medina looked in contrast to his own city, which is thousands of years old (Gunaydin to the the author: 2003).

Ahmed Hanbali calculated on the basis of statistics supplied by the Ministry of Tourism that the average length of stay by a tourist in Marrakech was 3.1 nights in 1989 and 2.7 nights in 1990 (Hanbali 1994: 368). It has frequently been pointed out that in group tourism, there are in some respects more restraints on time than when individual are at work and at home (Rojek 1997: 3): within a predetermined period in Marrakech, meals, sightseeing and 'time off' are scheduled within an organised framework. Even independent tourists are advised by many guidebooks to organise their sightseeing around a schedule of for instance a day, two days or four. In a French guidebook published in 1990, Alain le Panot fitted the Bab Agnaou as well as the Saadian Tombs into an itinerary for the tourist with only one day in Marrakech (Le Panot, 1990: 254). The implications of this kind of organisation of sightseeing will be considered in the next subsection.

6.3.2 (iii) Authority

In the previous subsection (6.3.1) it was suggested that predetermined choices constitute a fundamental practice in the organisation of tourism even though the impression is conveyed through marketing that holidays represent freedom and a means of expressing individuality. The prescriptive structure of organised tourism
can be seen in the operations in Europe of travel companies who organise group holidays to 'exotic' destinations. Taking the programmes of large scale tour operators in the United Kingdom for the period 1998 to 1999 as a specific example, it is evident that the majority had excluded Marrakech from the choices that a potential client could make. Of the tour operators with high street agencies throughout England, only two - 'Panorama' and 'Cadogan' – offered Marrakech within a general portfolio of holiday destinations. Panorama's brochure enticed the client with the 'colourful souks of Marrakech', which are a 'maze' (Panorama 1998: 98). Marrakech was portrayed as a timeless ('past meets present') spectacle ('a hectic, colourful pageant') (Panorama 1998: 98). On the same page, the visual material that occupied more than half of the space comprised seven images, three of which were of an hotel with photographs of the swimming pool, the hotel building with swimming pool and an hotel bedroom. Nothing else in the medina was identified. Most of the information on Marrakech in the brochure focused on the amenities of hotels: the Sheraton was referred to as an excellent place 'from which to discover ... the Saadian Tombs' (Panorama 199: 99). In Cadogan's brochure, Marrakech was presented through imperatives: 'sit down, on cushions, to a feast. Be charged by musket wielding horsemen, entertained by belly-dancers and enthralled by fireworks. It's all in an evening out in Marrakech'. Day-time activities were sightseeing (spectacle), shopping (consumption), eating out (consumption), sports (recreation/consumption) (Cadogan 1998: 71). The hotels that were included in Cadogan's brochure were described in some detail. The Mamounia Hotel was made to appear glamorous through its history of famous guests – 'countless film stars and other celebrities' - and in particular its association with Winston Churchill. The swimming pool was said to be a 'peaceful haven', with the implication that there is something to take refuge from – no doubt the medina outside the hotel. The decorative style of the La Mamounia was described as 'Art Deco ... combined with a clever blend of Moorish design' (Cadogan 1998: 72). It was evident that the primary product being marketed in both brochures was accommodation and that hotels were presented as 'oases' in which refuge could be taken from the exoticism of the city.
The role assumed by a tour operator in the management of a client’s holiday in an organized group is by definition authoritarian and has been presented as protective, liberating the individual from the responsibility of dealing with an unfamiliar environment. In the mid 1970s Turner and Ash described how holidays to Marrakech had been marketed as a retreat into childhood, shedding for a week or two...
weeks the cares of the ‘real world’: ‘names like Waikiki, Nice, Majorca, Acapulco, Bali and Marrakech roll across the page evoking images of sun, pleasure and escape. In a world dominated by bureaucracies and machines, we are offered these destinations as retreats to a childlike world in which the sun always shines, and we can gratify all our desires’ (Turner 1975: 11). Group visits to the Kasbah reflect the organisational control of tour operators who send their clients to a major sight, the Saadian Tombs, and to the commercial ‘Craft Centre’ complex nearby. Groups have to disembark outside the Bab Agnaou as tour coaches are too wide to pass through the gate into the Kasbah. The presence of group tourism is particularly visible [Illustrations 125 - 129], not least through the organization required to transport large numbers of people to the Kasbah and guide them through the congested Rue de la Kasbah. For instance, on a typical Friday in the summer of 1999 (August 6th) there were eight tour coaches parked outside the Bab Agnaou until Friday prayers, when the groups vacated the Kasbah. On the following day, there were a similar number (six coaches). Tourists (often with labels identifying their group pinned to their clothing) have to negotiate the crowds and the traffic in single file or pairs, following a guide. Group visits have been increasing to the Kasbah since the mid 1990s, particularly as a consequence of an expansion in the activities of French tour operators. ‘Fram’, the leader in the field, has been in Morocco since 1972 and has its own hotels through its subsidiary ‘Framhotel’.
Tourists visiting the Saadian Tombs independently have an opportunity to spend longer in the Kasbah than those in organized groups. Without the support of an organized visit, it appears that the experience can be demanding. A couple from Stockholm with a three year old daughter said that in one sense they would be relieved to get back home to Sweden 'because it is hard work being a tourist' (Lassen to the author: 2000). One of the problems commonly experienced in independent tourism is that even for the most seasoned and sophisticated travellers, unfamiliar territories present difficulties that are not experienced by local inhabitants. ‘Outsiders’ who are culturally and practically disadvantaged on other peoples’ ‘home territories’ are not exclusive to tourism. The American anthropologist David Maybury-Lewis, who chaired a major seminar held in New York in 1976 on tourism and development (De Kadt 1976), described how in participant observation in field work, some members of the host society may view the anthropologist as childish. Maybury-Lewis narrated how in the Brazilian jungle ‘I made them [the Xavante men] laugh because I was so incompetent in the ordinary skills of the backwoods. I never knew where I was in their terrain. I was an indifferent hunter and a hopeless tracker. This meant that when I traveled with Xavante men ... I had to stay close to them for fear of getting lost ... So they were amused by my childish dependence on them’ (Maybury-Lewis 1992: 25). Carol MacCormack, who wrote her own obituary, described how the host societies that she had studied as an anthropologist responded to her inadequacies as an outsider: 'she enjoyed doing fieldwork as a periodic dose of humility, often feeling that villagers regarded her with good humour as a promising child. Try as she might, she could not knot a fish trap that would successfully trap fish, nor keep a head load balanced long enough to carry it anywhere' (MacCormack 1997: 18). It is perhaps less often recognised that what may appear to most inhabitants of a city to be a straightforward part of everyday life can present difficulties to people originating from different cultural backgrounds. Kevin Lynch suggested that ‘to become completely lost is perhaps rather a rare experience for most people in the modern city. We are supported by ... special way-finding devices: maps, street numbers, route signs, bus placards’ (Lynch 1972: 5); in the 1980s Azouz Begag researched the mobility of North African immigrants in the
modern city of Lyons and found that many of the women he interviewed were incapable of using the metro unaided. Unable to read the signs and maps in the metro and too timid or not speaking French well enough to ask directions, the women were at a loss to find any identifying features in the underground stations. Consequently when they needed to use the metro, their literate children had to guide them through the system. These mothers guided by their offspring had not received a formal education and were unable to interpret the impersonal, symbolic messages of signs and maps (Begag 1984; 154-161). Conversely disorientation is commonly attributed by tourists in the Kasbah to a scarcity in the streets of the impersonal, symbolic messages of the ‘way-finding devices’ that they are accustomed to. In particular few streets are identified by name and if they are, it is often solely in Arabic.

Illustrations 130, 131. Two couples orienting themselves near the Dar el Makhzen.

Independent tourists are guided round the Kasbah by two different but not mutually incompatible means: guidebooks and guides. A guidebook is an impersonal portable repository of instructions that are expressed authoritatively; a guide is a local person with whom the foreigner has to engage on a personal level. Said attributed the
The respect that may be accredited to the authority of texts was attested by one of the local faux guides [unlicensed guides] who operate in the Kasbah: asked how – since he had not had a formal training as a guide - he had acquired an historical knowledge of the monuments that he pointed out to tourists, he said that that he was confident of what he told people because he had a copy of the ‘Michelin Guide’ that had been passed on to him by a French tourist (Boumehdì to the author: 1999). Mistrust of

*Illustration 132. A faux guide (Moulay Hafid Bouhmedi) at the Bab Agnaou.*
human encounters is not necessarily misplaced in relationship to unlicensed guides. The *faux guide* interviewed approaches foreigners at the Bab Agnaou [Illustration 132], attempting to attach himself to complete strangers; he claims to have been doing this since 1996 when he was fourteen years old but can only do so with impunity within the boundaries of the Kasbah, where he lives with his family and where he grew up. It is common practice in tourist shops in Marrakech that when a purchase is made a commission is paid to an accompanying guide. Tourists are led by guides from the Saadian Tombs to the ‘Crafts Centre’ [Ensemble Artisanal: Maison du Tapis], in order to induce them to buy Moroccan handicrafts. The ‘Ensemble Artisanal’ in the Kasbah is a commercial enterprise that is understandably confused by visitors with its state controlled namesake, a national Crafts Centre [Ensemble Artisanal] under the control of the state Crafts Department [Direction de l’Artisanat]. The national Crafts Centre was established in Marrakech by the Ministry of Commerce to encourage the maintenance and development of traditional crafts. It is located near the Koutoubia Mosque and houses workshops for the training of young people in the crafts; in this respect the ‘Crafts Centre’ is a successor to the workshops that were established in the Dar Si Said Museum during the Protectorate. Guides and taxi drivers evidently profit from the assumption by visitors to the Kasbah that the ‘Ensemble Artisanal’ is government run.

Increasingly since 1997, instead of entering the Kasbah from the Bab Agnaou, organised groups led by guides licensed by the Ministry of Tourism have been taken to the Saadian Tombs by a back route. Guides have been leading groups from the Badi Palace by way of ‘Derb Touareg El Kasbah’ to the Souk Ksibt Nhass or in the reverse direction [Illustrations 133, 134]. On this alternative itinerary in which tourists can glimpse everyday life in the Kasbah, there are no ‘sights’ and the guides point out ‘typical doorways’ and other characteristic features, stopping so that members of the group can take photographs. The taste for ‘authenticity’ to be gained from viewing the back streets of the Kasbah is fed by the sense of mystery evoked by the alleyways of Marrakech. In a passage from a compilation of essays, mostly about travel in North Africa, Paul Bowles, the American writer who lived in Morocco from
the 1950s until his death in 1999, wrote:

When I meet fellow Americans traveling about here in North Africa, I ask them, "What did you expect to find here?" Almost without exception, regardless of the way they express it, the answer, reduced to its simplest terms, is: a sense of mystery. They expect mystery, and they find it, since fortunately it is a quality difficult to extinguish all in a moment. They find it ... in the unexpected turnings and tunnels of the narrow streets, in the women whose features still go hidden beneath the *litham*, in the secretiveness of the architecture, which is such that even if the front door of a house is open it is impossible to see inside (Bowles 1987: 23 – 24).

Bowles went on to describe the heightened mystery of the streets at night but group tours in the Kasbah finish well before dusk.
6.3.2 (iv) Authenticity

The guidebook *A long weekend in Marrakech* [*Un grand week-end à Marrakech*] proposes that a walk through the alleyways of the Kasbah is undoubtedly essential in order to soak up the genuine atmosphere of this residential area. The ceaseless traffic of mopeds, bicycles and carts drawn by donkeys or mules and the ensuing cacophony is a spectacle in itself [*‘une promenade le long des ruelles de la kasbah s’avère impérative pour s’imprégner de la véritable atmosphère de ce quartier d’habitations. La circulation incessante des Mobylettes, bicicletas, automobiles et charrettes tirées par des ânes ou des mules et le brouhaha qui s’en dégage est un spectacle à part entière’* (Campodonico 2001: 48-49)]. As was seen in the preceding subsection (6.3.2 (iii)), guidebooks conventionally direct tourists to the sights of the Kasbah rather than propose soaking up its atmosphere. Unlike the tourists in organized groups who are shown round the spectacle of the Kasbah by their guides, foreigners venturing independently through the backstreets of the Kasbah open themselves up to a greater diversity of encounters and experiences than if they had limited themselves to the tour of sights regularly recommended by guidebooks. The impressions of individuals who have explored the Kasbah independently have been correspondingly mixed.

Reactions from tourists to more direct experiences through the senses than is common in Europe or America are varied. In a geographical discussion of smells, Rodaway referred to Stuart Hall’s distinction between contact and non-contact cultures. Rodaway asserted that ‘much of Arab society has a long tradition of urban living and the people often live at densities much higher than those experienced in the West. For Arabs, smell is a more prominent sense and is particularly important in social relations’ (Rodaway 1994: 79). Michael Heffernan drew attention to the extent to which in historical accounts by Europeans, ‘the olfactory offensiveness of the North African city was a peculiarly insistent motif’ (Heffernan 1993:65). A British tourist said that as it was her first time in a place like Marrakech, she had been apprehensive before leaving home about the possibility that smells would detract
from the visual experience of the city. Her experience in the Kasbah was that she did find the smells difficult to come to terms with as they were more direct than in Northern Ireland (Sproule to the author: 2002). Rodaway suggested that ‘public spaces in the older parts of traditional Arab cities - such as Marrakech, Fes, Kairouan and in particular the souk market areas of Arab cities have far richer positive smellscape that the modern Western city’ (Rodaway 1994: 80). The mingled smell of fish, fruit and vegetables laid out on the ground in the Saadian Souk is memorable. In contrast an Indian tourist who now lives in California said that the Kasbah reminded him of India "but it is cleaner and the people are nicer" (Niyagi to the author: 2002).

‘Soaking up the atmosphere’ in the Kasbah may put independent tourists into close contact with the inhabitants. An Indian businessman who is resident in England said that his two young daughters were “too London” to be able to adapt and were discomfited by the crowds in the streets of the Kasbah (Shah to the author: 2002). An English tourist admitted that "we didn't know what to expect really" but found it "a bit overpowering with all the people" (Pritchard to the author: 2002). An office worker from London in her early twenties on the other hand said that the Rue de la Kasbah was "everything I imagined it to be. I loved the hustle and bustle of the street" (Davies to the author: 2002). A New York travel journalist resident in London complained that there was “absolutely no street etiquette” and disliked the attention she attracted in the backstreets of the Kasbah, whereas in a European city she would have been anonymous (Gallagher to the author: 2000). A black American lawyer living in Paris had the opposite experience: for the first time in his life he no longer felt conspicuous as a member of a racial minority when he walked with the crowds in the Kasbah (Stewart to the author: 2001). A retired English resident of southern Spain recoiled from the backstreets of the Kasbah - “I don’t like the Kasbah ... it is too native for me”. She distanced herself from the privations that she saw: “when you are middle class, you don’t know about that kind of poverty” (Craig to the author: 2001). A British head teacher on the contrary was taken by the experience of walking through the Kasbah on a wet day: he recounted how he had waded through a
flooded stretch of a muddy alley in the Kasbah and for him it was another dimension of Marrakech. He supposed however that it was unlikely that in similar circumstances his work colleagues would have reacted in the same way as him: “they like to travel in a protective bubble and like looking out but not being touched” (Arend to the author: 2002).

MacCannell argued that the reluctance that everyone has of thinking of themselves as a tourist is a central feature of tourism and that 'the modern critique of tourists is not an analytical reflection on the problem of tourism - it is part of the problem' (MacCannell 1976: 10). ‘Everyone’ in this context is understood to mean everyone from the geographical areas that supply the majority of tourists. Mohammed Berriane demonstrated that in the 1980s a pattern of national tourism along European lines had emerged in Morocco (Berriane 1990). The Director General of the Marrakech ‘Sheraton’ (Pantelides to the author: 2001) confirmed that in recent years the hotel has been booked out in mid-August by affluent Casablancans, who regard a family holiday as reflecting their status in a society in which travel is more often limited to visiting relatives or to the requirements of work. It is questionable whether families from Casablanca or indeed from the Gulf holidaying at the ‘Sheraton’ would share the mixed feelings of many European or American visitors to Marrakech about being described as tourists. A dilemma for some visitors is how to come to terms with the superficiality that they feel may be implied by tourism. A cosmopolitan woman unfamiliar with the Kasbah pre-empted categorization by referring to herself ironically as a ‘pathetic tourist’ (Massimo to the author: 2001). A New York photographer defensively asserted that he had assured a tour guide who had been booked for him by a travel agent that “I am not a tourist but a traveller” (Spadoni to the author: 2000). In Bowles’ novel, The Sheltering Sky, first published in 1949, one of the characters says that an “important difference between tourist and traveler is that the former accepts his own civilization without question, not so the traveler” (Bowles 2000: 14). The New York photographer who denied that he was a tourist had seen the Hollywood film version of The Sheltering Sky, directed by Bernardo Bertolucci. In the film, the narrator, played by Paul Bowles himself, said of the two leading characters: ‘they are
seasoned adventurers with no plans to return. Their friend Tunner wants to return with snapshots and stories of sexual conquests. He is a tourist. They are travellers’ (Negri 1990: 11). John Frow concluded that in effect the ubiquitous opposition of traveller and tourist are both integral to tourism ‘in that they carry a desire and a self-contempt which drive the industry at the most fundamental level’ (Frow 1997: 69).

Illustrations 135, 136. Butcher’s stall, entrance to the Souk Ksibt Nhass.

Individual foreigners and tour groups on the way from the Bab Agnaou to the Saadian Tombs and ‘Crafts Centre’ and back pass butchers’ stalls that are commonly photographed by tourists. The authenticity of the experience of the Kasbah appears to be confirmed by snapshots of meat hanging from hooks in the public space [Illustrations 135, 136]. Barthes suggested that in photography ‘the power of representation is overshadowed by the power of authentication’ ['le pouvoir d'authentification prime le pouvoir de représentation' (Barthes 1980: 139)]. Susan Sontag proposed that photographs ‘help people to take possession of space in which they are insecure. Thus, photography develops in tandem with one of the most characteristic of modern activities: tourism’ (Sontag 1978: 9). Photographs are taken by tourists in the backstreets thereby creating images that are detached from the smells, the clamour and human encounters of the public space of the Kasbah. A view
of sunlit ramparts with a backdrop of the snow capped Atlas Mountains is frequently used to promote tourism to the city and was sought out by a professional photographer on holiday in Marrakech [Illustration 137]. When he eventually found a location in the Kasbah [Illustration 138] with a view of the ramparts and mountains, the photographer took one of his own, even though the place where such a beautiful picture had been taken “turned out to be a kind of rubbish tip” (Baker to the author: 2000).

Illustration 137. Ministry of Tourism photograph.  Illustration 138. The west wall of the Agdal.

6.3.2 (v) Culture

In the ‘Footprints’ guide to Morocco, McGuinness stated that ‘in June, El-Badi comes alive for the annual festival of traditional dance and music’ (McGuinness 1999: 343). A dance and music festival performed nearly every summer in the Badi Palace in the Kasbah is an event with a long-standing international reputation. In June 1986, at the outset of the period covered in this study, the 27th Festival was held in Marrakech (Santucci 1988: 768). A picture book for sale in Marrakech tourist shops and sites and first published in
acclaimed Moroccan folk groups stage their performances' (Escudo de Oro 1986: 34). A photograph, identified as a 'folk group performing', showed a group of *gnaouas* [performers belonging to a religious fraternity] in front of a ruined wall of the Badi Palace; a short description was given of the 'Dekka, performed by the craftsmen and small traders of Marrakech' (Escudo de Oro 1986: 35). *Gnaoua* and *daqqa* performances are integral to neighbourhood communities in Marrakech but the staging of them at the Festival were part of a public event that was accessible to a paying audience. A performance of the *daqqa* by local inhabitants of the Kasbah in front of the Moulay Yazid Mosque was described in Chapter Two (2.1.2 (v)). *Gnaouas* entertain onlookers on the Jmaa Fna square but also go to houses to perform at night-long trance rituals to which only invited participants are admitted. In 1929, Octave Mauss visited Marrakech as part of a journey to investigate the fraternities of the Bori [the Muslim Hausa of Nigeria] and wrote a short description of the music and dance that had migrated to Marrakech with the trans-Saharan slave trade. With the help of the French authorities and through an intermediary, Mauss was able to spend a night with them and he confirmed that the words of the songs were pure Hausa - often his interpreter lapsed into Hausa – and that he had witnessed a distinctively sub-Saharan African and not Arabic ritual (Mauss 1969: 565-566).

Marrakech’s Festival appears to have been in decline since the mid 1990s. The 34th Festival took place in 1995 (Hamidou 1995: 56) but the event was then abandoned for several years. The 1995 programme of the Festival followed a formula that appeared to have changed little since 1986. It primarily consisted of a succession of troupes of musicians and dancers in regional dress organised around tribal affiliations; in addition urban *gnaoua* and *daqqa* performances were staged. Divorced from the context of their villages, oases or urban neighbourhoods, the participants were transformed into entertainers. After 1995 the Festival was abandoned for several years. The journalist Kamal Benbrahim, writing about problems with festivals in Morocco, described the
re-launching of the Festival in June 1999 as half cocked. The Festival of 1999, the thirty-fifth in the Badi Palace, was organised by the Wilaya of Marrakech and was financed through the sponsorship of the Ministry and Tourism and commercial benefactors. Benbrahim claimed that despite an adequate budget, technical problems with the staging, sound and lighting dogged the performances and sabotaged the international broadcasts by television crews that had been despatched from all over the world to cover the event in Marrakech (Benbrahim 1999: 29). The 37th Festival was held in the Badi Palace in July 2001 and was manifestly better organised than in the two preceding years. The formula of a sequence of regional performances had not been revised: on July 15th, the final night of the 37th Festival, the sight of well drilled changeovers from one meticulously rehearsed troupe to another was watched by an audience overwhelming made up of Moroccan tourists. The popularity of staged folk performances remains high in Morocco, as is evidenced by televised broadcasts of them virtually every Saturday evening on either of the state channels Maroc 1 or 2M. The folk troupes in the Marrakech Festival were characterized by the discipline and order that accorded with the institutional framing of them by national television in the stately ruins of the Badi Palace, whose symbolism was discussed in the preceding chapter (5.4.1 (iv)). The ordered staging of the Marrakech ‘National Festival of Popular Arts’ [‘Festival National des Arts Populaires’] in the Badi Palace can be contrasted with the interactions between performers and onlookers in the informal space of the Jmaa Fna. In Chapter Three it was noted that the Jmaa Fna had in 2001 been listed by Unesco as a cultural space that belongs to the ‘Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity’ (3.3.5); the Badi Palace is a cultural space that is claimed by the state and in which performances of popular arts intended for tourists are contained by a ruined but majestic setting.
CONCLUSIONS

Photographic images of the Moroccan hereditary monarchy, footballers, the *ka'ba* at Mecca and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem [Illustrations 139 - 145] are on open display in the shops and workshops of the Kasbah. The local and transnational imagery of these photographs in the public domain mirrors a fragmentary space whose perspectives are not contained by the boundaries of the Kasbah.

Clément had questioned how in less than a century in the Arab world, an Islamic society that had in the past excluded almost every representational form of art had become a consumer and even a producer of images (Clément 1993: 11). Morocco is characteristic of Arab states in the ubiquity of photographs of the head of state and of the most sacred sites in Islam. The monarchy in Morocco has been portrayed through dynastic images that have been stage-managed by the Palace. Mohammed VI, the current Alaouite ruler of Morocco, his brother Prince Moulay Rachid, his father Hassan II and his grandfather Mohammed V are represented in military
Illustration 141. _Fenj maker's stall: the ka'ba and the Dome of the Rock._

Illustrations 142, 143. _Shop, Sidi Mansour: football, Madina and Mohammed VI._

Illustrations 144, 145. _Palace photographs of King Mohammed VI for sale, the Place des Ferblantiers [formerly the Mellah souk] close to the Badi Palace._
uniform [Illustration 146] and in formal poses modelled on European state portraiture, in particular of the British monarchy as interpreted through photography. The formal title of the caliphs, Commander of the Faithful [emir al-muminin], adopted by Hassan II and Mohammed VI, denotes the religious leadership that has distinguished the Moroccan monarchy and is reflected in photographs in which the court traditions of the sultans have been maintained. By contrast, informal photographs of Mohammed VI have projected an image of an approachable individual who is in touch with modernity. ‘The King of cool’, according to an article in Time, has been reported as having been spotted in restaurants in the Kasbah of Marrakech and as referring to the Royal Palace as the “office” (MacLeod 2000: 28): the Dar el Makhzen is used by Mohammed VI solely for his state duties and he has had a new palace built on the site of a twelfth century reservoir (Allain 1957: 117-119) facing the Bab Agnaou [Illustration 147]. In an unprecedented move for an Alaouite ruler, photographs of the wife of Mohammed VI have been published but significantly they have not been included in the repertoire of Palace imagery: the dynastic photographs on display in the Kasbah both confirm that the constitution of the Moroccan monarchy is exclusively male and that the public space is the domain of men.
Illustration 147. Mohammed VI's new palace.

Illustration 148. Boys playing street football by the Dar el Makhzen.

Illustration 149. A neighbourhood football team playing in a square near the mechouar. Illustration 150. The same space made into a garden.

Photographs of regional, national and international footballers on display in the Kasbah contribute to the visibility of the globally popular game of football, which is
followed and played with great enthusiasm locally. Small boys and youths kick balls around in every street in the Kasbah [Illustration 148] and every available space is a potential arena for games between rival neighbourhoods. Illustration 149 shows a square at the entrance to the mechouar: until it was made into a formal public space in 2001 by the municipality [Illustration 150], it was regularly used for improvised football matches that were played to a crowd of local spectators without heed for vehicles passing through the square.

Photographs of pilgrims at the ka‘ba are symbolic of the world of Islam. The pilgrimage to Mecca [hajj] is one of the five pillars of Islam. For Muslims the ka‘ba at Mecca is the qibla [the direction of prayer indicated by the mihrab in mosques] and the most sacred structure in Islam. Since AD 624, it has been a requirement for mosques and prayers to be oriented towards the ka‘ba but the Moulay Yazid Mosque, like the majority of mosques in Marrakech, is not aligned in the true direction of Mecca (Wilbaux 2001a: 121): the inability in the past to determine the qibla accurately was a measure of the remoteness of Mecca from Marrakech. Photographs of the ka‘ba now represent in the public and interior spaces of the Kasbah a visible, emblematic presence of what in Islam is believed to be the centre of the world. The Dome of the Rock is situated on Al-Haram-Al Sherif, which has been accepted as the location of the ancient Jewish Temple and is one of the three most holy places in Islam. Al-Haram-Al Sherif, on which the Al-Aqsa Mosque is also sited, was the original qibla from AD 622 to AD 624. Photographs of the Dome of the Rock evoke a bitter conflict that has been constantly reported in the media worldwide since the occupation of East Jerusalem by the Israelis in 1967: the Western Wall, the heavily guarded focus of Jewish spiritual identity, confronts the Muslim Al-Haram-Al Sherif [Illustration 151]. In this unremitting confrontation, the Israelis and Arabs each claim with absolute certitude that their rights in the holy city and sacred sites have been inalienably decreed by divine edict.

Photographs of the Dome of the Rock are displayed in the Kasbah out of the deep religious respect that Muslims have for the place from which the Prophet Mohammed
is believed to have ascended to heaven but at the same time they are a constant reminder of the violence of the division between Palestinians and Jews in Jerusalem. Edward Said was a trenchant and influential critic of the American Middle East policy in which the situation of the Palestinians has been marginalised. The partiality in the American position on the Middle East was attributed by Said to a fundamental mistrust of Arabs and of Islam. Said had cited in Orientalism a range of American authorities on the Middle East to support his contention that in Middle East Studies in the United States there has been a material devaluation of Islam and Arabs. It was pointed out by Said that some of the authorities whose interpretations of the Middle East have commanded the most respect from politicians and the media in America have belittled Islam and the Arabs. Bernard Lewis in particular was described by Said as someone whose ‘standing in the political world of the Anglo-American Middle Eastern Establishment is that of the learned Orientalist, and everything he writes is steeped in the “authority” of the field’ but who has sought ‘to debunk, to whittle down, and to discredit the Arabs and Islam’ (Said 1991: 316). In 2003, a new edition of Orientalism was published with a revised introduction in which Said asserted that during the quarter of a century since the book had first appeared, there
had been no apparent advancement within the United States in an understanding of
the Middle East, the Arabs and Islam (Said 2003a).

Said’s contention was that Lewis and like-minded academics have significantly
contributed to American misinterpretations of the Middle East, most recently by
George W Bush’s Administration. The argument put forward by Said was that an
orientalist discourse has been perpetuated in the popularization by Lewis and other
prominent academics of their view of a deep decline in the Arab world that is
attributable to a failure to emulate the values that underpin the ascendancy of the
Western democracies under the moral leadership of the United States. The
proposition put forward by Said is that the world view that had been associated with
European imperial ambitions from Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt onwards has been
resumed in the theoretical foundations of American foreign policy up to the
American led invasion (2003) and military occupation of Iraq. Said pre-empted the
criticism that he had not offered any developed or compelling alternative to
orientalism by concluding his discussion in Orientalism with the question ‘is this
book only against something and not for something positive’ (Said 1991: 325).

Retrospectively it can be seen that the significance of Said was in his actions - his
engagement in the Palestinian struggle for national autonomy – and more
influentially through his critical resistance to the stereotyping that is embedded in
American policy, political rhetoric and media reporting. It is clearly not easy to
dispel stereotypes that have gained even wider international currency since
September 11th 2001 through representations of Arabs as generally backward,
irrational, prone to violent fanaticism and oppressed by despotic rulers and barbarous
judicial codes. At the western extremity of Islam, Marrakech has always been distant
from the historic Middle Eastern centres that have long been arenas of prolonged and
violent conflict. Nonetheless a localized study of the Kasbah of Marrakech presents
alternative perspectives of Arabs, Islam and modernity that it is hoped might
contribute, however minutely, to the accumulative academic endeavour in which Said
has been so prominent to counter an increasingly polarized world view expressed by
politicians and the media. A critical implication of Said’s argument was that the academic representation of Arabs and Islam through orientalist stereotypes has failed to acknowledge a major intellectual undertaking of the past fifty years: the construction of world views that have not been exclusively taken from Western perspectives. Foucault’s ideas about space, time, power and discourse have been adapted in part to this study of the Kasbah in a bid to locate effective decentering and relativizing positions in relationship to the Kasbah of Marrakech. Williams suggested that Foucault shared with Nietzsche the claim that knowledge and perception are a matter of perspective and a perspective that can be changed (Williams 1999:81). Thus the purpose of adapting Foucault’s notion of discourse in order to analyze cultural heritage, the history of art, the Palace and tourism in the Kasbah of Marrakech has been to interpret the complex interplay of divergent perspectives that have displaced a hitherto largely binary opposition between an inward looking, internal Islamic space and an external modernity. Deleuze referred to Foucault as a cartographer and cited an interview in Nouvelles littéraires [Literary news] in which Foucault declared that ‘to write is to fight, to resist, to write is to make maps’ [‘écrire, c'est lutter, résister; écrire, c'est cartographier’ (Deleuze 1986: 51]. In mapping out practices associated with cultural heritage, the history of art, the Palace and tourism, it has become more feasible to chart how they have intersected within the urban space of the Kasbah over the last two decades.

The ideal of conserving cultural heritage for all mankind and ensuring its survival for future generations originated in Europe and was institutionalized as a global value through the agencies of the United Nations, principally Unesco. The walled city of Marrakech was formally incorporated (1985) into Unesco’s list of sites that have been internationally designated as meriting preservation for present and future generations of humanity. The Kasbah comprises a spatial segment of Marrakech medina’s material cultural heritage, which has been internationally recognized as worth protecting. The old city walls define the Kasbah’s western boundaries and extend to the perimeters of the Agdal gardens to the south; to the north a less visible boundary of the Kasbah is marked by a wall that has all but disappeared and the Badi
and Royal Palaces complete its eastern enclosure. The Kasbah had survived intact during the Protectorate by virtue of an authoritarian colonial policy in which the containment of Marrakech as a remarkable ‘museum-medina’ was effected through legislation; it is doubtful that the regulations that were imposed in Marrakech would have been enactable in metropolitan France since the preservation of the medina as an artefact overrode the interests of the marginalized inhabitants. A consequence of French urban policies during the Protectorate was the segregation of the indigenous population; after Independence ethnic containment was succeeded by economic segregation as the wealthier section of the medina’s population moved out of the walled city to the suburbs and the population of the medina swelled through rural migration, as was commonly experienced throughout North Africa. The local administration assumed that endemic poverty and increasingly overcrowded living conditions in the medina would lead to immorality and crime.

The inclusion of Marrakech medina in the World Heritage List and the Kasbah’s present status since 1985 as a constituent of a ‘World Heritage Site’ belonging to humanity was determined by an intergovernmental agreement in which cultural heritage was understood to mean the material remains of the past (‘cultural property’), in particular buildings and artefacts. In the course of the negotiations that took place at an international level, the ideals incorporated in the intergovernmental accord that designated Marrakech a World Heritage site were taken to be universal civilized values. In the domain of local administrators and individuals, the notion that Marrakech medina is a site that transcends individual, institutional or national ownership and belongs to everyone’s heritage has not been acted on: administrative practices demonstrating a responsibility above personal, local or national interests have not been in evidence.

The assumption that the ideals of Unesco and the United Nations are unassailable had already been dismissed by the Moroccan thinker Laroui prior to the incorporation of Marrakech into the World Heritage list. Laroui’s post-colonial scepticism about the values articulated by Western media and politicians led to his conclusion that the
West had continued to be motivated by traditional liberalism: he asserted that the speeches by the ‘great’ at the United Nations and Unesco reflected history as progress, economic rationality, realism in politics, humanism in literature and art. (Laroui 1974: 17-18).

Responsibility for maintaining the practices instituted for the safeguarding of the cultural heritage of Marrakech was devolved by intergovernmental agreement from the top down to a local level at which the ideals of Unesco have demonstrably been disregarded. The prevailing internal disregard for world heritage has been reflected in the inactivity characterizing the maintenance of Marrakech as a World Heritage Site in contrast to the local activities in Fes, which have been externally rewarded by international support and financial aid from the World Bank to develop a structured programme in the medina. Mohammed El Faïz, of the Cadi Ayyad University (Marrakech) and a native of the city has been a persistent and articulate spokesman for the many individuals in Marrakech who regret that the optimism that had been generated in 1985 by the classification of Marrakech as a World Heritage site was largely misplaced (El Faïz 2002: 15-16).

In the history of art the Kasbah has generated little interest as an historic zone. The emphasis has been primarily on four sites that have been singled out on the basis of their significance and influence in the narrative of the history of art. The texts in which the Bab Agnaou, the Moulay Yazid Mosque, the Badi Palace and the Saadian Tombs have been described, analyzed and illustrated have been in principle addressed to an international audience for whom the Kasbah as a locality or physical space has little meaning. The power of de-contextualization in museums, which draw attention to objects and their makers, has been paralleled in the practices of art history publishing. In this sense the space of art history in the Kasbah is conceptual: the Bab Agnaou, Moulay Yazid Mosque, Badi Palace and Saadian Tombs have been referred to with appropriate comparisons from the history of Islamic art and architecture rather than the physical spatial context in which they are located; their inclusion in the narrative of art history attests to the high cultural achievements that
they represent and to their major contribution in the development of the monumental city gate, the mosque, the palace and the mausoleum. The intervention of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in the evaluation of the importance of the minbar of the Koutoubia elevated it into an object of worldwide significance. In 1985 when the medina of Marrakech was acknowledged by its inclusion in the World Heritage list to have matched the criterion of 'outstanding universal value', the minbar was then housed in obscurity in the Badi Palace. The subsequent conservation and study of the minbar followed by the publication of a monograph devoted to it endowed the minbar with the standing of an internationally acclaimed masterpiece. The minbar now occupies a key position in the history of art, in which sites and artefacts that are superlative examples of dynastic patronage in the Kasbah have been singled out.

The Palace’s rights of ownership and control extend over the zone defined by the boundaries of the Kasbah. Shortly after Marrakech was inscribed in the 'World Heritage List', King Hassan announced in Marrakech his commitment to a national cultural heritage, which was represented by him as constituted by the great monuments of the material heritage of his Kingdom. Hassan II was not primarily motivated, it seems, by the objective of conserving that legacy. His overriding aim was evidently to match the royal patronage of the past with his own ambitious projects, including the renewal of the architectural decoration of the Royal Palace in the Kasbah of Marrakech. Hassan II contrived to appropriate the ideology of the preservation of cultural heritage and acquired international recognition for his renewal of the Moroccan patrimony through projects that effectively enhanced his personal reputation as a builder of palaces and religious foundations in the dynastic tradition of the great sultans of Morocco. The culmination of his patronage was the Hassan II Mosque in Casablanca, which was begun in 1986. The consolidation of the King’s power at this period was reflected in the scale of the project. When the Mosque was completed in 1993, Interior Minister Driss Basri proclaimed the Hassan II Mosque to have exceeded in size the Blue Mosque in Istanbul, the Giralda in Seville and the Al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo (Basri 1993: 30). Characteristic of King
Hassan's patronage was that the architect (Michel Pinceau) of the Mosque was French and not Moroccan and that the style adopted for the late twentieth century Hassan II Mosque was Moroccan: 12th century 'Imperial Almohad', inspired by the Koutoubia Mosque in Marrakech, the Giralda in Seville and the Hassan Mosque in Rabat. The symbolism of Marrakech as the Almohad capital of an extensive empire appealed to a monarch whose reign was marked after 1975 by a contentious addition to Morocco's national territory through his occupation of the Western Sahara. It was telling that right until the end of his life, Hassan II asserted that the Western Sahara has always been inalienably Moroccan. Symptomatically, representatives from the disputed territory of the Western Sahara were placed at the forefront in pledging allegiance to the monarch at the beija ceremony held in the mechouar of the Kasbah of Marrakech on March 4th 1999. Through the performance of this ceremony in the Kasbah, the dynastic head of state derived a powerful symbolic legitimacy from the historical and visual authenticity of the sovereign space of the Kasbah.

Tour group leaders, guides and guidebooks - the means through which tourists generally negotiate the Kasbah - consistently direct visitors entering the physical space of the Kasbah to the monuments that have been singled out in the history of art. Given the brief time that most tourists spend in the Kasbah, the directives given to visitors appear to have a great deal of sway over what is seen. Although the minbar of the Koutoubia has recently acquired a pre-eminence within the history of art, the exhibition of it in the Badi Palace does not yet appear to be on the regular itineraries of 'unmissable' sights for tourists and consequently it has been effectively overlooked on the tourist map. The Moulay Yazid minbar, which still retains its ritual function within the sacred space of the Mosque, can only be viewed by Muslim tourists and has correspondingly been generally excluded from guidebooks that are addressed to an assumed readership of non-Muslims. Tourists are not only excluded from the sacred space of the interior of the Moulay Yazid Mosque and from the sovereign space of the Royal Palace, but also when the King is in residence in Marrakech, from the mechouar and Agdal gardens. Academic texts have analysed in detail the interior of the Moulay Yazid Mosque and the Royal Palace but little
information is offered to tourists about interior spaces that they are not permitted to visit.

Rojek and Urry proposed that an analysis of tourist social practices necessitates an enquiry into the different senses and in particular 'the privileging of the visual' (Rojek 1997: 5). Tourism is directed towards the sights that the narrative of art history has determined as the monumental legacy of the sovereign space of the Kasbah: the Bab Agnaou, the ‘Kasbah Mosque’, the Saadian Tombs, the Badi Palace and the mechour and Agdal gardens. Although academic texts instruct the viewer not only about what it is that is being looked at but also how to look at these dynastic monuments, tourists are more often simply told what sights they should see. However tourists as groups and individuals have been since 1997 increasingly following routes within the Kasbah’s civil space (in the sense of the streets, workshops, souks and shops that are not identified individually as ‘sights’ but constitute the urban terrain between the sights). It can be proposed that this represents a new kind of encounter for local people as well as for the outsiders ‘exploring’ the Kasbah. Visitors are directed to specified sights on the tourist map in order to look at and photograph the monuments of the Kasbah but the unfamiliar details of everyday life in the streets are easy to miss. For instance, at the end of the main thoroughfare of the Kasbah near the Sidi Mansour Mosque there is a street bread oven. Locally the dough is made at home and taken on a wooden tray covered with a cloth to be baked in the communal oven,
which is below street level and is easily overlooked by visitors unless they are taken there by a guide [Illustrations 152 - 155].

Space as conceived by Foucault is not neutral but is defined (in the West) by practices as well as by material constructions. The charting of the intersections of space, time and power in the Kasbah through practices associated with the maps of cultural heritage, the history of art, the Palace and tourism may be both provisional and far from comprehensive but does indicate that material structures demarcate a space that is subject to the kind of shifts and ruptures that are symptomatic of modernity. This was the implication in the descriptions of the specific sites of Sidi Mansour, Ksibt Nhass and Moulay Yazid in the second chapter (2.1.2 (v), even though the heritage of the material construction of the Kasbah appears to lack most of the conventional attributes of a modern urban environment and is dominated by walls enclosing inner spaces. The Kasbah itself is bounded by a wall, an appreciable section of which has survived. The vast expanse of the Agdal, always a symbol of royal power (El Faiz 2002: 85), was also encircled by a wall. Within the wall that divided the internal space of the Kasbah from the barren plain outside, walls enclosed
internal open spaces. Both the Badi Palace and the Royal Palace are large scale interior spaces that present a blank wall to the view of outsiders, unlike the external magnificence of European palaces. On a smaller scale this is mirrored in the courtyard and internal gardens of houses like the riad [Illustration 156] in Derb Si Messaoud. Abdessamad Dialmy differentiated between the linearity of the modern city (avenues and boulevards in which rows of shops, cafés, offices or apartments and houses are displayed) and the circularity of the derbs into which the stranger penetrated as opposed to passing through (Dialmy 1995: 51) and in which the houses of the rich may be concealed at the end of a dead end. In the past in the Kasbah, the derbs [neighbourhoods: winding alleyways, often leading to dead ends] that tourists now wander through were semi-private spaces that have been compared to the corridors of an apartment building constructed horizontally rather than vertically (Wilbaux 2001a: 78): no single individual owned the space but a stranger entering it was conspicuous and was observed. Wilbaux noted that the derbs were generally shut at night by gates and sealed off. Boughali recollected how popularly the entrance to the derb used to be called its mouth, inviting a comparison with the hand that protected the entrance to the house and to the inviolability of the human body; he recounted how a stranger entering a derb was not only noticed but also watched...
Erving Goffman, who like Foucault had written about asylums and influentially about space, commented on the complexity of the rules that govern entry into urban space:

Rules of trespass, for example, prevent unauthorized individuals from entering a private dwelling place at any time, and a semiprivate one during off hours. Less familiar are the many rules that restrict the right to be present in open, unwalled, public places: in nineteenth-century London, for example, the exclusion of certain categories from some parks, and the informal exclusion of common people from riding promenades such as Rotten row; in Islamic cities built on a quartier basis, the restriction of persons to their own neighbourhood after dark' (Goffman 1963: 10).

Exterior spaces in the Kasbah have not had the anonymity of public space associated with the streets of a modern city but as the rules governing the back streets of the Kasbah are falling into disuse – much as they did in the London parks and Rotten Row instanced by Goffman - and as outsiders are not generally familiar with the rules in any case, there has been a shift in the relationship during daylight hours between strangers and insiders in the intimate spaces of the derbs. Goffman’s image of a ‘back region’ of privacy (Goffman 1969: 116) was taken up (McCannell 1976: 92-94) in relationship to sightseeing and intimacy but Sant Cassia persuasively argued in a discursive analysis of Mdina, a small traditional Maltese city which is visited by large numbers of tourists, that the fleeting encounters between visitors and inhabitants was a much more flexible and unpredictable relationship than the opposition between Goffman’s ‘front regions’ and ‘back regions’ or the idea of trespassing would have suggested (Sant Cassia 252-254). Much the same could be said of the experiences of tourists and the population of the Kasbah except that there has been no evidence of the kind of staged ‘back region’, set up in advance for tourists’ visits, observed in Mdina and elsewhere.
David Levin remarked that Heidegger, Foucault, and Derrida had all argued that the thought and culture of modernity have continued the historical privileging of sight (Levin 1993: 5). In 1999 during France's 'Year of Morocco' the most visible and perhaps the most commented upon display in Paris was a full-scale replica created by Catherine Feff in painted canvas of a monumental gate that had been erected in Meknes by the Alaouite Sultan Moulay Ismaïl, a contemporary of Louis XIV of France and an ancestor of Mohammed VI (Champenois 1999: 23). The siting of the replica between the Obelisk of the Place de la Concorde and the Tuileries Gardens was both visually effective and symbolically potent. The re-created 'Bab El Mansour' (1732) was aimed at showing Moroccan high culture to a wider audience than would have visited the major exhibition of the ‘Year of Morocco’ – the ‘Treasure of the Realm’ at the Petit Palais (Chazal 1999; Adelle 1999). The dynastic connection between the original gate and the ruling family of Morocco and the positioning of a simulacrum at the focal point of clear, perspectival urbanism in the French capital could be interpreted as representative of a de-contextualizing of time and space. A revised relationship between sight and space has been assimilated into the Kasbah since 1999 when plans emphasizing urban views were projected (Sebbar, unpublished document 1999: 55). In particular attention was given to the external view of the ramparts on the west flank of the Kasbah. The space outside the walls had been untended scrub littered with debris until the realization of the scheme, which introduced neat pathways and flowerbeds at the base of the walls [Illustration 157]. A large parcel of adjacent land [Arset Bab er Robb] that is an irrigated,
productive garden has been bordered with flowerbeds and shrubs and fenced off with decorative ironwork [Illustrations 158 - 160], through which the garden can be seen - unlike the Agdal, which is shielded from view by blank walls. Moreover Royal patronage has further contributed to the view of the Kasbah from outside the walls by illuminating the ramparts. Indeed visual attention to the urban landscape incorporating the Kasbah could be seen as part of a sovereign project. A formal garden situated behind the Koutoubia Mosque was commissioned by Princess Lalla Hasna (Mohammed VI’s sister) and opened to the public in 2002. The garden’s walkways, rose beds and ornamental canals decorated with zellij contrived to echo the Alhambra [Illustrations 161, 162]. From the Koutoubia Mosque to the Bab Agnaou, the Almohad Imperial axis now leads to the freshly landscaped ramparts of the Kasbah and King Mohammed’s new palace, described as a “barracks” by a journalist who instinctively recognized its symbolic attributes of power (Patten to the author: 2002).

The Kasbah’s blank, crumbling walls concealing impenetrable interior spaces convey the appearances of a ‘museum-kasbah’. The landmark tower of the Kasbah is not a steel and concrete emblem of late capitalism but the minaret of the twelfth-century Moulay Yazid Mosque that is a focal religious site for the people of the Kasbah and from which non-Muslim strangers are excluded [Illustration 163]. In all, this does not lend itself to a perception of the Kasbah as having a significant relationship to the world beyond the boundaries of its twelfth-century walls. Nonetheless it can be
argued that, as Rodaway suggested, 'the built environment is a *historical artefact* reflecting past behaviours as much as, if not more than, present ones' (Rodaway 1994: 55). The frontiers of the Kasbah were once bounded from the inside by a protective isolationism that was succeeded by a colonial containment imposed from the outside.
Clifford pointed out that "cultural" difference is no longer a stable, exotic otherness' (Clifford 1988: 14). A fragmentation of the boundaries of the Kasbah, particularly in the last two decades, has engendered perspectives that belie representations of the Kasbah as an exotic, timeless medieval world steeped in the mystery and sensations of a mythical Orient. Foucault’s proposition that space is not vacant or abstract and is constantly redefined by the processes of contesting practices has been central to the argument that the Kasbah’s horizons are no longer demarcated by what is uniquely contained within its boundaries. Equally Foucault’s dissent from the ingrained belief that boundaries and identities are fixed and unchanging has informed the analyses of competing claims to cultural ownership. The introduction of discourses adapted from Foucault’s understanding of institutional discourse into a study of the Kasbah of Marrakech was motivated in part at least by an endeavour to deflect a dependence upon what has been referred to by Friedman as the supremacy of the eye of the observer. It has become evident, according to Friedman, that ‘the constitution of local situations’ can ‘only be adequately accounted for in terms of a larger set of relations’ (Friedman 2000: 638) but that an awareness of recent changes in the relations between local situations and the world at large has been a product of observation rather than systemic research (Friedman 2000: 640).

Rabinow concluded that a consciousness that ‘the Other is not a poorer, or more pristine, version of Us’ has been critical to the development of Western self-understanding (Rabinow 1986: x). Yet a centred perspective of the world is still largely overshadowed by an expectation in the West that the rest of the world should strive to imitate and assimilate Western modernity. In Orientalism, Said named American Middle East experts who have been dismissive of Arabs, Islam and modernity. He quoted Morroe Berger, a professor of sociology and Near Eastern Studies at Princeton, as saying in 1967 that there was at the time no intrinsic benefit to be gained from studying the Middle East and North Africa since they were not centres of great cultural achievement nor were they ever likely to become so (Said
The failure of North Africa to match the criterion of usefulness to the West explicitly stated in Berger's negative assessment of the region still echoes through American policies and the conviction that Arab culture is stagnant appears to be prevailing. What on the contrary can be gained from a study of the Kasbah is a questioning of the assumption that modernity is either an inferior imitation or a third-rate travesty that risks compromising the authenticity of the local situation. A central proposition in this thesis is that a study of the Kasbah of Marrakech is merited by virtue of the intrinsic value of its localized relations to modernity.
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**FILMS**


**UNPUBLISHED SOURCES**

Unpublished documents

Frost, Lee. 2001 Picture List.


Unpublished transcriptions and notes


The author's archives contain notes and transcriptions of interviews and verbal discussions between the author and the following individuals:-

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80. The Koutoubia *minbar* exhibited in the Badi Palace. The *minbar* was commissioned by the Almoravid Sultan Ali ben Youssef (reigned 1106-1143). Work on it began in Cordoba on the first day of the Muslim New Year of A.H. 532 / ad 1137. (Photograph: the author 2003).


82. The Bab Agnaou is the only surviving gate of the Almohad Kasbah and was the principal entrance to the Kasbah (Photograph: the author 2003).

83. The Bab Agnaou. A decorative motif (a palmette or a shell) sculpted in shallow relief. (Photograph: the author 2003).
84. The Bab Agnaou. Detail of a decorative inscription that borders the Bab Agnaou. The kufic inscription carved in shallow relief is of outstanding quality. (Photograph: the author 2003).


86. Detail of the decoration of the south face of the minaret of the Moulay Yazid Mosque. (Photograph: the author 2003).

87. The Saadian Tombs, attached to the Moulay Yazid Mosque. The main mausoleum was commissioned by Sultan Ahmed El Mansour (reigned 1578-1603). (Photograph: the author 2003).

88. The Saadian Tombs. The mausoleum in the courtyard was commissioned by Sultan Abdellah El Ghalib (reigned 1557-1574) and enlarged in 1590 by Ahmed El Mansour for his mother’s tomb. (Photograph: the author 2003).


90. The Saadian Tombs. The mausoleum in the courtyard was commissioned by Sultan Abdellah El Ghalib (reigned 1557-1574) and enlarged in 1590 by Ahmed El Mansour for his mother’s tomb. (Photograph: the author 2003).

91. The south face of the minaret of the Moulay Yazid mosque. The elements of the glazed ceramic decoration are simple. (Photograph: the author 2003).

92. The west face of the minaret of the Moulay Yazid mosque. The west face differs in detail from the south face. The lantern decoration is composed of just two elements. (Photograph: the author 2003).

93. The Koutoubia Mosque. The remains of the mihrab of the first Koutoubia Mosque are now visible on the external wall of the second (present) Koutoubia. (Photograph: the author 2003).


95. Detail of the decoration of the panels on the right hand side of the Koutoubia minbar viewed from the back. (Photograph: the author 2003).

96. Display panels designed in collaboration with the Metropolitan Museum, New York for the Koutoubia minbar installation in the Badi Palace.
97. Soldier on guard duty by the western wall of the Dar el Makhzen, the Kasbah, Marrakech. (Photograph: the author 2004).

98. A view of the Dar el Makhzen from an arch leading to the mechouar. (Photograph: the author 2004).

99. Women picknicking under olive trees in the Agdal. The gardens have been customarily open to the public on Fridays. (Photograph: the author 2003).

100. An entrance in the mechouar to the Dar el Makhzen. (Photograph: the author 2003).

101. The ‘Royal Speech’ (1986) delivered by Hassan II to assembled architects in the Dar el Makhzen, the Kasbah, Marrakech, with Crown Prince Sidi Mohammed [now Mohammed VI] on his right. (Photograph: reproduced in Les Nouvelles du Sud 13, 1999).

102. The Badi Palace. The minaret of the Moulay Yazid Mosque can be seen in the distance. (Photograph: the author 2004).

103. Spectators waiting outside the Bab Ighli, the ‘Festival of the Throne’ [Eid el Arch], March 3rd 1999. (Photograph: the author 1999).


109. The beña, March 4th 1999. The ceremony in the mechouar, the Kasbah, Marrakech. The mechouar has been used for Alaouite court ceremonies since the eighteenth century. (Photograph: Les Échos de Marrakech, March 1999).

110. An entrance to the Dar el Makhzen in the mechouar, the Kasbah, Marrakech. (Photograph: the author 2003).

111. The Atlas Mountains seen behind the Agdal. [Photograph: the author 2002].


113. Part of a group of Italian tourists on the roof terrace of the Restaurant ‘Kasbah la Rotonda’. (Photograph: the author 2004).

114. Tourists waiting outside the entrance of the ‘Crafts Centre’ [Centre Artisanal], Rue de la Kasbah, Kasbah, Marrakech. (Photograph: the author 2004).

115. Tourists waiting outside the entrance of the ‘Crafts Centre’ [Centre Artisanal], Rue de la Kasbah, Kasbah, Marrakech. (Photograph: the author 2004).


117. A carpenter’s workshop, Trik Kasbah [Rue de la Kasbah], Kasbah, Marrakech. (Photograph: the author 2003).

118. A carpenter’s workshop, the Souika Sidi Mansour. Samples of decorative woodwork are displayed at the entrance. (Photograph: the author 2003).

119. Signs outside the Kasbah ramparts near the Bab er Robb. (Photograph: the author 2003).

120. The medina of Tunis, Tunisia. A map of the medina of Tunis displayed in the public space on ceramic tiles cemented to a wall. A tourist route is marked on the map. (Photograph: the author 1998).

121. A section of the western wall of the Kasbah. The loam wall is almost two metres thick and eight to nine metres high, with square towers at intervals of about twenty to twenty-five metres. It is almost certainly the original Almohad wall constructed when Yacoub El Mansour built the Kasbah (1185 – 1190). The Bab er Robb and the minaret of the Koutoubia Mosque can be seen on the left. (Photograph: the author 2003).

123. An entry into the Kasbah of Marrakech through Derb Tuareg el Kasbah. (Photograph: the author 2004).

124. A street sign in Arabic and a street sign in French displayed high on the Derb Tuareg el Kasbah entry into the Kasbah. (Photograph: the author 2004).

125. A group of tourists filing through the Bab Agnaou to their coach. (Photograph: the author 2003).

126. A group of tourists entering their tour coach outside the Bab Agnaou. (Photograph: the author 2003).


128. Trik Kasbah [Rue de la Kasbah]. A guide leading a group of tourists from the ‘Crafts Centre’ to the Bab Agnaou. (Photograph: the author 2004).


130. Two disoriented couples encountering each other near the Dar el Makhzen. (Photograph: the author 2004).

131. Two couples heading in the direction of the mechouar after jointly consulting maps and guidebooks. (Photograph: the author 2004).

132. Moulay Hafid Bouhmedi, a ‘faux guide’, waiting at the Bab Agnaou in order to attempt to engage in contact with tourists entering the Kasbah. (Photograph: the author 2004).


134. A group of tourists being led to the Badi Palace pass a group being guided in the opposite direction to the Souk Ksibt Nhass. (Photograph: the author 2004).


138. A section of the west wall enclosing the Agdal. The ramparts protected the west flank of the Agdal, which is thought to have been originally planted between 1156 and 1157 by Abdel Moumen. (Photograph: the author 2003).


143. A photograph of Madina and a photograph of King Mohammed VI displayed in a shop by the Sidi Mansour Mosque. (Photograph: the author 2003).

144. Framed Palace photographs of King Mohammed VI for sale in the Place des Ferblantiers (formerly the Mellah souk), which is close to the Badi Palace. The upper photograph is of Mohammed VI when he was Crown Prince. The lower photograph shows Mohammed VI in the State Coach: the King is dressed in the tradition of his ancestors the Alaouite sultans. (Photograph: the author 2004).

145. Framed Palace photographs of King Mohammed VI for sale in the Place des Ferblantiers. The King is dressed as a modern head of state and is portrayed on a throne with the Royal Coat of Arms as a background. (Photograph: the author 2004).
146. Palace photograph of King Hassan II in military uniform. (Photograph: purchased 1998).

147. Mohammed VI’s new palace viewed from the south. Formerly the private residence of the King when Crown Prince, the palace was built at the outset of King Mohammed’s reign. It is located just outside the Kasbah opposite the Bab Agnaou. (Photograph: the author 2004).


149. An informal football match between two neighbourhood teams playing in an open square at the end of Trik Dar el Makhzen (Rue du Méchouar). (Photograph: the author 1999).

150. The square at the end of Trik Dar el Makhzen was converted into a garden by the Municipality of the Mechouar-Kasbah. Neighbourhood teams now play on waste ground outside the west walls of the Kasbah [Illustration 61]. (Photograph: the author 2003).

151. East Jerusalem. The ‘Western Wall’ and the Dome of the Rock. Following the Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem in 1967, Palestinian houses were razed in order to create the square in front of the Western Wall. (Photograph: the author 1999).

152. Trik Kasbah. A neighbourhood bread oven near the Sidi Mansour Mosque is used daily by local families to bake their bread. Tourists are being shown the baked bread by a guide. (Photograph: the author 2000).

153. Derb Mnabha. Bread is prepared at home and carried to the neighbourhood oven on a wooden tray with a cloth over it. The baked bread is carried home on the same wooden tray. (Photograph: the author 2003).

154. Trik Kasbah. The bread oven is a nuclear element of the neighbourhood in Marrakech. Wood for the oven is delivered on a donkey cart. (Photograph: the author 2004).

155. Trik Kasbah. A group of tourists pass the bread oven, which has not been pointed out by their guide: they walk straight past the oven without observing it. (Photograph: the author 2003).
156. *Riad, 2 Derb Si Massaoud.* The interior garden of the *riad* follows an established axially symmetric plan: four paths intersect a fountain in the centre of the garden.

157. The west wall of the Kasbah. The strip of land in front of the wall has been landscaped with walkways, seats, flowerbeds and decorative hedges. In the foreground to the right is one of the floodlights that illuminate the ramparts at night. The minaret of the Koutoubia Mosque is to the left. (Photograph: the author 2003).

158. The Arset er Robb is an irrigated, productive garden outside the Kasbah walls. (Photograph: the author 2003).

159. The Arset er Robb has been fenced in with decorative iron railings. (Photograph: the author 2003). Mohammed VI’s new palace is to the left and the minaret of the Koutoubia Mosque is to the right.

160. The Arset er Robb. Borders of flower beds and shrubs have been planted and can be seen from outside the garden. (Photograph: the author 2003).

161. The Mountazah Lalla Hasna to the west of the Koutoubia Mosque. The garden was commissioned by Princess Lalla Hasna and opened in 2002. (Photograph: the author 2003).

162. The Mountazah Lalla Hasna to the west of the Koutoubia Mosque. (Photograph: the author 2003).

163. The minaret of the Moulay Yazid Mosque is the tallest structure in the Kasbah and can be seen from outside the western walls. (Photograph: the author 2004).