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**THE ARCHITECTURE OF COLONIALISM, MOROCCO, 1912-1932: AN
INQUIRY INTO THE DETERMINANTS OF FRENCH COLONIAL
ARCHITECTURE**

University of Pennsylvania

Ph.D. 1983

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**THE ARCHITECTURE OF COLONIALISM
MOROCCO 1912-1932**
An inquiry into the determinants of French colonial architecture

Mohammed EL MALTI

**A DISSERTATION
in
ARCHITECTURE**

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

August 1983

(signature) 
Supervisor of the Dissertation

(signature) 
Graduate Group Chairperson

DEDICATION

To my wife Najiba who provided her love and all the moral support that brought this dissertation about.

To my daughter Rym who brought cheers and joy to my life.

To the memory of Zoubida Zaari.

To my parents for the education they gave me and for all the sacrifices they went through in order to raise a son they can be proud of.

To the people of Morocco who suffered difficult times and conducted harsh struggles in order to allow his sons to have access to knowledge.

I hope I shall be worthy of their confidence.

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To all my colleagues in the Ph.D program of architecture, particularly Sibel Dostoglu and Ibrahim El-Kaddi, who showed care and provided advice, I am grateful and thankful.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	v
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I: NOTES ON METHODOLOGY	7
I.1. Hegel and architectural history	7
I.2. On the concept of Problematic.	13
I.3. Terminology.	16
CHAPTER II: A HISTORY OF FRENCH COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE IN NORTH AFRICA	22
II.1. The colonization of North Africa: from military to psychological actions.	24
II.2. Architecture: from the 'style of the conqueror' to the 'style of the protector'.	27
II.3. Colonial politics and architectural research.	33
CHAPTER III: A SYMPTOMATIC READING OF COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE IN MOROCCO.	39

CHAPTER IV: COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE SERVICE OF POLITICS OF POLITICS	46
IV.1. The ideological roots of colonial architecture.	46
IV.2. The politics of the architecture of colonialism.	53
IV.3. Architecture and the French colonial image.	72
IV.4. French architects and their role in Morocco.	78
CONCLUSION	84
NOTES & REFERENCES	89
ILLUSTRATIONS	105
BIBLIOGRAPHY	122
INDEX	128

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Unless specified otherwise all the illustrations come from:

- A. Académie d'Architecture, L'Oeuvre de Henri Prost
- B. F. Beguin et al., Arabesances, Limites et Grands Tracés
- C. L'Exposition Universelle de Paris de 1889
- D. L'Urbanisme aux Colonies..., J. Royer (ed)

The dates of colonial realizations in Morocco are approximate. Although most designs were made between 1913 and 1924, their implementation, in most cases, was not entirely completed until the end of 1920's.

- I: The style of the conqueror. Tunis, Post Office, 1893, H. Saladin Arch.. (B)
- II: Grand Prix de Rome d'Architecture, 1862. Palais pour le Gouverneur de l'Algérie, F.W. Chabrol, Arch.. (Plan)
- III: Grand Prix de Rome d'Architecture, 1862. Palais pour le Gouverneur de l'Algérie, F.W. Chabrol, Arch.. (Elevation & Section)
- IV: Grand Prix de Rome d'Architecture, 1923. La Résidence du Représentant de la France au Maroc, M. Mathon, Arch.. (Plan)
- V: Grand Prix de Rome d'Architecture, 1923. La Résidence du Représentant de la France au Maroc, M. Mathon, Arch.. (Elevation)
- VI: 'La Bataille de Nazareth', 1801. A.J. Gros. From Le Romantisme et l'Art, L. Hauteceur (ed).
- VII: 'Les Convulsionnaires de Tanger', 183(8). E. Delacroix. From The Past Rediscovered: French Painting 1800-1900, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, 1969.
- VIII: 'Réception des Ambassadeurs Siamois', 1864. J.L. Gêrome. From The Past Rediscovered: French Painting 1800-1900.
- IX: Rabat, Plan of the city before 1913. (D)
- X: View of the Medinas of Rabat and Salé from the 'Palais de la Résidence'. H. Prost, Arch.. (A)
- XI: Plan for the development of Rabat. H. Prost, Arch.. (D)
- XII: Plan for the development of Fez. H. Prost, Arch.. (A)
- XIII: Plan for the development of Méknes. H. Prost, Arch.. (A)
- XIV: Plan for the development of Marrakech. H. Prost, Arch.. (A)
- XV: Theoretical scheme for a 'Cité Franco-Musulmane', 1945. Annabi, Eng.. (B)
- XVI: Aerial view of the Avenue Dar el Makhzen (now Avenue Mohamed V). (A)

- XVII: Perspective of the Avenue de Casablanca (now Avenue de la Victoire). (A)
- XVIII: Original Plan for 'Place Lyautey' (now Place de la Prefecture). Casablanca. H. Prost, Arch.. (A)
- XIX: 'Hotel de la Subdivision' (now Palais de la Prefecture), interior court yard. J. Marrast, Arch.. From Lotus International, 26.
- XX: 'Palais de Justice' (Left) and 'Hotel de la Subdivision' (Right). Casablanca. J. Marrast, Arch.. (A)
- XXI: Plan for the 'Résidence Générale et Services Centraux'. Rabat. H. Prost, Arch.. (A)
- XXII: 'La Banque du Maroc', Rabat. A. Cadet & E. Brion, Archs.. (B)
- XXIII: Hagia Sophia (Section). Envoi from Villa Medici, 1906. H. Prost, Arch.. (A)
- XXIV: Mihrab at Konya. Envoi from Villa Medici, 1906. H. Prost, Arch.. (A)
- XXV: Hagia Sophia (a capital). Envoi from Villa Medici, 1906. H. Prost, Arch.. (A)
- XXVI: 'Quartier Habous'. Casablanca. A. Laprade, A. Cadet & E. Brion, Archs.. (A)
- XXVII: 'Quartier Habous'. Casablanca. A. Laprade, A. Cadet & E. Brion, Archs.. (A)
- XXVIII: Sketches. A. Laprade, Arch.. (A)
- XXIX: Plan of the Colonial Exhibit, the Ministry of War and the Worker's Pavilion on the Esplanade des Invalides. (C)
- XXX: The 'Palais Algérien' at the 1889 Exhibition (Interior court yard). A. Ballu, Arch.. (C)
- XXXI: The 'rue du Caire' at the 1889 Exhibition. D. de Gleon, Arch.. (C)
- XXXII: Replica of an Algerian tent at the 1889 Exhibition. (C)
- XXXIII: An attraction of the 'rue du Caire' (C)
- XXXIV: Three cover pages of the Exposition Universelle de Paris de 1889. i & ii : The 'Palais Algérien'; iii : The 'rue du Caire'. (C)
- XXXV: The Native in contact with the bourgeois/aristocrats of Paris in a 'Café Maure' at the 1889 Exhibition. (C)
- XXXVI: The pavilion of the Ministry of War at the 1889 Exhibition (C)

INTRODUCTION

The present study was originally motivated by a critique of different models of architectural history and theory as they have been presented and advocated by most twentieth century architectural historians. The history of architecture is usually presented as an 'interpretative commentary', that is, a search for meanings, messages or conscience hidden in the work itself; or as a chronological account, that is a history of successive developments in architecture, solely on the basis of calendar time; or as a search for influences, that is a search for linear causal relationships as being the genesis of architectural development. All these models conceive of the historical⁽¹⁾ relationship of architecture to society and to men's lived reality on the basis of two paradigms: first, the idealist/Hegelian paradigm which presents architecture as a mere reflection of the "Absolute Idea" within the framework of a dominating "Zeitgeist" and which leads to teleologic histories; second, the empiricist paradigm which sees in the building itself the main object of architectural knowledge and which leads to descriptive histories.

This study will not deny the relevance or even the necessity of these categories for the architectural field of knowledge. Rather, it intends to emphasize the way they obfuscate the reality of the making of architecture. What we are aiming is not a better or alternative but a different framework for the production of architectural knowledge. We shall not try to read architecture in terms of style, representation, creation, origins...etc, but to understand what is the realm within which architecture is produced. We shall not explain architectural features of a building but reveal the structural causality of its production. We set out to identify some of the assumptions on the basis of which the real architectural object, as one sees it or perceives it, is envisaged,

conceptualized, and given credibility. More precisely, we attempt an understanding of the ideological and political practices governing architectural production, and the development of appropriate theoretical and methodological tools and concepts to undertake this task.

Though the work explores a number of issues, there are two basic ideas that run throughout. They are that architecture, without being itself an ideology, has close relations to it; and that architecture has been and is still used in many instances as a medium for political propaganda, and for specific political needs and interests. Our aims are basically theoretical in character: to develop some analytical concepts and explanatory propositions about: first, the operation of ideology through architecture; and second the intervention of politics into the production of architecture.

Our central hypothesis is that the concept of **overdetermination**, elaborated by Sigmund Freud, i.e. **Überdeterminierung**, in the realm of psychoanalysis, adapted by Louis Althusser, i.e. **surdetermination**, in the realm of the analysis of social formations, and applied by Stefan Morawski to the realm of aesthetics,⁽²⁾ is operational in the realm of architecture as well. The concept of overdetermination implies that the categories which participate in the process of reproduction or transformation of any given phenomenon, i.e. architecture, are not simple. They form a complex whole in motion where, in the ever-recurring interplay of mutual dependencies and dialectical material relationships between men and society, men and nature, nature and society, certain discourses or practices prove stronger and determinant. In other words, the history of architecture, architectural criticism and the practice of architecture have structural limitations beyond the realm of the physical architectural object, and that of human subjectivity. Architecture, seen as the product of the whole

society, cannot be conceived as a mere outcome of human subjectivity. It is part of the social process of production of knowledge and it is the architects' position within this process which determine their creativity. This of course does not deny the relative autonomy and the specific nature of architecture. It simply shows that architectural criticism and the history of architecture have to provide an adequate knowledge of the different processes which produce the aesthetic effects of a work of architecture. It is only when armed with this knowledge that one can define accurately this autonomy and this specific nature.

Our unit of analysis is the **social formation**, which prescribes the use of one architectural form instead of another, and which determines the architectural discourse. By social formation is meant a concrete complex whole comprising economic, political, ideological and theoretical processes of transformation or reproduction of social relationships, i.e. **practices**⁽³⁾. It is precisely by disregarding this articulation of practices, i.e. the structural causality of the production of architecture and architectural knowledge, that the idealist and empiricist paradigms in architectural history give a distorted and partial image of architecture.

Our discourse cannot be considered in isolation. It operates within and it is part of a coherent theoretical and ideological, rather than figural, framework: its **problematic**. The concept of problematic was originated in French, i.e. **problématique**. It was systematically used by Althusser, and can also be seen at work in Michel Foucault's writings⁽⁴⁾. It has been recently introduced in architectural literature by Demetri Porphyrios whose works, more particularly 'Notes on a Method' and **Sources of Modern Eclecticism**⁽⁵⁾, provide a clear statement of the conceptual and methodological framework with which this study is concerned⁽⁶⁾. The concept of problematic is at the basis of any discourse or

phenomenon. That is, the process of production of knowledge, i.e. any investigation of a problem, any answer to a question, 'is realized on the terrain and within the horizon of a definite theoretical structure: its problematic'⁽⁷⁾.

The **symptomatic reading** of the architectural documents constitutes our main methodological tool for the investigation of architecture. It is a procedure that reads the symptoms, rather than the signs of these documents in order to allow us to see what could otherwise only have existed allusively or practically. It points to a real, but non-visible problem, a real, but non-visible question, and it is the treatment of this non-visible entity which constitutes the symptomatic reading of an architectural document. This concept is also borrowed from Althusser, i.e. **lecture symptomale**, who uses it on the model of the Freudian analyst's reading of his patient utterances⁽⁸⁾.

It is within this four-fold theoretical and conceptual framework, i.e. overdetermination/social formation/problematic/symptomatic reading that we intend to inquire into the architecture of colonialism in Morocco from 1912 until 1932. We shall explain its overdetermination and isolate the two levels of practices, i.e. ideology and politics, that define the realm within which it was produced. We shall show that French colonialism was not only characterized by its police, army and government, but also by its use of architecture as a major medium for political propaganda in order to reproduce and reinforce its ideology. Up until now, the history and the criticism of architecture in Morocco, particularly the architecture of colonialism, have followed the paths of the idealist and empiricist paradigms. They faltered in describing origins; or in painting the creative impulse of such or such dynasty; or in trying to constitute stylistic unities; or in describing a linear succession of architectural events in Morocco. Never were they undertaken on the ground of the effective mode of

insertion and functioning of architecture in the Moroccan concrete, everyday life. Never was architecture seen as part of a complex totality encompassing the conditions of its production, entertaining particular and specific relationships with economy, ideology and politics, and taking part in the contradictions and antinomies of the reality to which it is a response⁽⁹⁾. In this context, the architecture of French colonialism was mainly described in terms of its stylistic affiliations with "Islamic architecture" and with the tradition of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. However, two recent works⁽¹⁰⁾ note the intervention of politics in colonial architecture but they do so in basically the same terms. Their criticism of the architecture of colonialism did not clearly reveal its fundamentally political and ideological motivations. They did not study it primarily as one of the few manifestations of a state manipulation of a visual culture in the twentieth century. It is precisely the aim of this study to do so, and it is precisely these arguments that it intends to discuss.

The thesis is in four chapters. The first chapter is largely theoretical. It is based on the works of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser and others, and on formulations drawn from our own experience and philosophical beliefs. Throughout, an attempt has been made to include enough theoretical discussion to locate our problem in its framework of analysis, and to provide a background for the basic concepts that will constitute the core of the study. It attempts to define ideology, knowledge, politics, and their operation within the field of architecture. It also attempts a critique of the Hegelian idealist approach to history and to architectural history.

The three following chapters address the architecture of French colonialism in Morocco. The second chapter provides a brief historical background of French colonialism in North Africa, its ideological discourses, its economical and political

motivations, and its cultural and civilizational aims. It draws a succinct history of French colonial architecture in Morocco as part of the evolution of France's 'politique du visible' in North Africa between 1830 and 1930. It gives an insight into the systematic development of research by colonial architects, aimed at building up a specific 'language of colonial architecture' and at legitimizing and giving credibility to its stylistic foundations.

The third chapter introduces the symptomatic reading of colonial architecture in Morocco. It develops the idea that only a precise inquiry into the overdetermination of colonial architectural production can enable us to understand the mechanisms, the undivulged events that shaped architecture in Morocco during her domination by France. Only by revealing both the consciousness and the unconsciousness of colonial buildings can one measure them in all their dimensions.

The fourth chapter look at ideology and politics as the two dominant practices that intervened in the making of the architecture of colonialism. It is devoted to a detailed examination of the ideological motivations of colonial architecture. After briefly noting the complexity of the debate on the relationships of architecture to ideology, it traces the ideological roots of colonial architecture to 'Orientalism', and to nineteenth century humanism.

Finally, the fourth chapter considers the intervention of colonial politics in architecture and examines its political motivations. It introduces a historical background for the involvement of architecture in the service of politics, and, against this background, addresses the architecture of French colonialism in Morocco as a medium for the psychological pacification of indigenous populations, and as a medium for inter-colonial and internal propaganda. It finally discusses the architects' involvement on the side of colonial politics and decision-making processes and shows both the structural and voluntary aspects of this involvement.

CHAPTER I

Notes On Methodology

I.1 Hegel and architectural history

G.W.F. Hegel played a major role in the development of not only modern art and architecture history, but of all the methodology of history.⁽¹⁾ The core of his approach is that the subject of human history is Spirit/Thought and that history is nothing else but the process of development of the Spirit.

This idealistic reading of history was articulated around the concept of dialectics which is the very heart of Hegel's doctrine. Dialectics, in Hegelian terms, remains idealistic in the first place for he argues that everything that exists is certainly not real and that 'attributes of reality belong only to that which at the same time is necessary'. 'The reality', he said, 'proves itself to be the necessary in the course of its development'⁽²⁾. According to him, dialectics is the self-development of the concept, the Absolute concept which is the Spirit, which always returns to itself. Hegel therefore suggested that the dialectical development apparent in history and nature is only a copy of the eternal self-movement of the concept, independent of any thinking human brain and of the real world.

Hegel's doctrine has been at the center of nearly all the philosophical debates that animated the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, both within the Hegelian school of thought and without. Within the school, the strongest critique came from the so called Young Hegelians including Ludwig Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer, Kaspar Stirner, David Friedrich Strauss, and Karl Marx. The greatest achievement of the Young Hegelians, particularly Feuerbach, is that the existence

of the 'Absolute Idea', the 'preexistence of logical categories' ⁽³⁾ before the world existed, is nothing more than the belief in the existence of an 'Absolute Creator'. They argued that the material world to which men belong is the only reality and that spirit, consciousness and thinking are the product of a material organ of the body, the brain. But having got so far, Feuerbach stopped short with a limited conception of materialism, resting upon the relation between matter and mind at the definite stage of historical development in the eighteenth century. This mechanistic stagnation brought about the dissolution of the Hegelian school.

However, there developed another tendency connected with the name of Marx. He elaborated Feuerbach's concept of 'dialectical materialism' and introduced the concept of 'historical materialism', thereby giving a social dimension and a dynamic character to the study of society and its history. When describing his dialectical method Marx usually refers to Hegel as the philosopher who formulated the main features of dialectics. He was, however, particularly critical of the idealistic determinant of the Hegelian doctrine. He presented his thesis of the primacy of the matter as opposed to Hegel's thesis of the primacy of the spirit.

'My dialectical method', says Marx, 'is fundamentally not only different from the Hegelian, but its direct opposite. To Hegel, the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the Idea', he even transforms it into an independent object, is the demiurge (creator) of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of 'the Idea'. With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought'⁽⁴⁾.

Hegel's doctrine bore important effects on his approach to art and architecture. His doctrine in this area was partly worked out in **The philosophy of Fine Arts**, and several other essays⁽⁵⁾, and largely popularized through his 'Lectures on Aesthetics' (1820-1829). He argued that 'art in its truth, the ideal in

the as yet undeveloped unity of its fundamental principles' is 'independent of its specific content and its distinguishing modes of envisagement'⁽⁶⁾. Thus art is determined by some kind of metaphysical force which, in Hegel's mind is the 'Absolute Itself', and seen without any connection with the real world. Indeed, he further argued that art ('the genuine unity of the beautiful in art')

'unfolded itself within its own resources in a totality of art-forms'

and that

'art-spirit was impelled to fashion from itself in an essentially articulate system of manifestation of beauty under which the Divine and human is envisaged to the world'⁽⁷⁾.

In other words, Hegel ultimately saw in art a manifestation of transcendent values, which are 'self-contained' and 'self-realized' in objective forms⁽⁸⁾.

In his doctrine, Hegel proposed the concept of the 'representation of the Idea' in art and architecture. He spoke of them as proceeding from the 'Absolute Idea' to the 'sensuous representation of the Absolute Itself'. He suggested that any artist or architect only appropriate the external world through the "idea", and, in the very act of designing, simply represent. Thus, the artist or architect has only a spiritual/metaphysical relationship to his designs. For Hegel, the artist/architect, through this very spiritual relationship, is the privileged link between the public and the art or architectural product. He argued that

'we no longer recognize the actual subject matter and the form which is imperatively rooted in itself, but rather the poet and artist with his own personal design, his peculiar type of production and skill'⁽⁹⁾.

He further added,

'for this reason the public is entirely released from the essential content of the work, finding itself by means of it placed in a personal relation to the artist, inasmuch as everything now wholly depends on its seeing that which

the artist through his art intended⁽¹⁰⁾.

Hegel's metaphysical evaluation of the role of the artist/architect in the process of material production, which is simply to formalize and realize the 'Idea' existing at an ideal level, raises the problem of the individual's responsibility in the process of designing. In opposition to that, we believe that design remains a conscious human activity, and its process is the encounter between visible and invisible forces. In his famous architectural metaphor, which is a declaration of the integral role of the individual's consciousness in any process of production, Marx wrote:

'A spider conducts operations that resemble those of a weaver and a bee puts to shame many an architect in the construction of her cells. But what distinguishes the worse architect from the best of bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality. At the end of the labour-process, we get a result that already existed in the imagination of the labourer at its commencement⁽¹¹⁾.

This fully engages the architect's responsibility in the final outcome of the design process: the building which conveys the ideology carried by the architect.

The work of nearly all contemporary scholars is founded in Hegelian idealism. They have merely reinterpreted Hegel's couple of Representation/Idea and his concept of Zeitgeist⁽¹²⁾. They have conceived of architecture as a by-product of the evolution of ideas which link historical events to a 'sovereign principle of intelligibility⁽¹³⁾' that can allow the architectural historian to 'outline' the birth, the development and, eventually, the death of an architectural event. They have also conceived architecture as a result of an interaction between different schools of thought or between individual architects, which ultimately alludes to a linear determination of the architectural form. They have linked architecture, at every historical moment, to the 'spirit of the age' which supposes

a collective universal consciousness and therefore a collective architectural archetype. Thereby, they have neglected the specificities and the particular historical conditions of the social formation within which the architectural object is produced. They have considered architecture as having a unity and a coherence based on its physical presence, and therefore disregarded the non-visible contradictions and antinomies, the non-visible forces inherent in architecture as a form as well as a mode of discourse.

Through such concepts as creation, representation, idea... etc, most architectural historians have conveyed and perpetuated a spontaneous language/discourse of architecture, and consequently, an ideology of architecture. This study proposes that any knowledge, and the knowledge of architecture in particular, presupposes what Althusser calls a 'preliminary rupture with the language of ideological spontaneity'⁽¹⁴⁾, and the constitution of a body of scientific concepts to replace it. That is, a break with the idealist and empiricist paradigms of architectural history, and the building of a theoretical problematic of architecture. It is certainly true that architectural historians such as Frankl, Wittkower, Pevsner, Giedeon were aware that architecture also has to do with such non-visible forces as politics, and ideology. But it is the fact that they neglected them or considered them as non-essential to the field of architectural knowledge which is the object of criticism.

Recently, a number of scholars connected with different schools of thought, e.g. Marxist aesthetics (Stefan Morawski), semiotics (Umberto Eco), neo-Rationalism, (Robert Krier and Antony Vidler), French structuralism (Demetri Porphyrios), have tried to look at architecture on the basis of a different conceptual and methodological framework. The present study contributes to the construction of this framework on two levels: first, it clarifies and elaborates the

concepts of the problematic and overdetermination as they have been used by Porphyrios in "Notes on a Method"; second, it introduces the concepts of symptomatic reading and social formation into the field of architectural study. Although Porphyrios quoted Althusser's definition of the problematic extensively, he disregarded its prime importance as a **theoretical or ideological structure of analysis**. Instead, he heavily emphasized the **visible-invisible dichotomy**⁽¹⁵⁾ which is what a problematic can help to explain, but which is not the problematic itself. In order to avoid such a confusion, this study introduces the concept of symptomatic reading which is centered on the visible-invisible dichotomy and which provides the procedure through which the problematic can be constructed. It adds the fundamental distinction between a **theoretical framework**, i.e. the problematic, and a **methodological procedure**, i.e. the symptomatic reading.

In addition, this study elaborates Porphyrios's application of the concept of overdetermination to the process of architectural knowledge. Although Porphyrios did not use the concept explicitly, he implied it in his use of the word 'overdetermining'⁽¹⁶⁾. Here also he introduced a double confusion. First, he separated the relationship between architecture and 'other discourses' from the relationship of architecture to 'economic-political life'. This weakens the concept of overdetermination, whose strength relies precisely on its wholistic character. It is only after defining the structural totality of practices that participate in the overdetermination of the production and discourse of architecture that one can build a hierarchy of those practices and determine which plays the dominating role. Second, he gave an 'overdetermining' role to natural science which he presents as an 'ideological region'⁽¹⁷⁾, neglecting the particularities of the articulation of various practices in every social formation. Every social formation indeed assigns the determining role to a specific practice according to its

particular conditions of existence. The present study introduces the concept of social formation as a necessary concept for the methodology of architectural history. By doing this, it allows us to differentiate architectural forms which, although they look the same, are determined according to different proper contexts, the contexts of social formation.

This brief evaluation of Porphyrios's contribution to the methodology of architectural history has two major roles: it acknowledges its importance as a valuable epistemological framework for the inquiry into architecture, but it also identifies its incomplete use of such key concepts as problematic and overdetermination.

1.2 On the concept of problematic

A problematic is defined in Althusserian terms as the theoretical framework of analysis which orders and governs any discourse, any production of knowledge: its object, its terminology, its method, its problems and solutions.

A theoretical debate can be held on two different and distinguishable levels: either on a pragmatic or positivistic level, that is on the level of merely locating problems, accepting or rejecting proposed solutions, or raising new problems; or on the level comprising a totality of dialectical relationships between the visible and the nonvisible, i.e. the problematic of the debate. In *Lire le Capital*, Althusser stated that the "scientific practice"⁽¹⁸⁾

'ne peut poser de problèmes que sur le terrain et dans l'horizon d'une structure définie -- sa problématique -- qui constitue la condition de possibilité définie absolue, et donc la détermination absolue des formes de position à un moment considéré de la science'⁽¹⁹⁾.

In other words, any process of scientific 'textual production'⁽²⁰⁾ has to be realized within a defined theoretical structure allowing the determination of the form and

the essence of the problems under investigation, hence avoiding an empirical inventory of appearances, a description of phenomena, or the production of an ideological discourse. The problematic ties architecture to its conditions of existence which lie in the conditions of its production. It allows us to look at architecture from both within and without the discipline of architecture itself. It allows the use of concepts and ideas with no visible connections to architecture, but still necessary to the field of architectural knowledge. As an example, the idealistic philosophies, which have conditioned the writings of architectural history for the last two centuries, attributed a metaphysical meaning to architecture separating it from social exigencies and from other forms of the 'production of space'. Consequently, a considerable amount of information and data, necessary for an epistemology of architecture, has been excluded from the field of architectural knowledge⁽²¹⁾.

Althusser wrote:

'the problematic opens the way to an understanding of the determination of the visible as visible, and conjointly of the invisible as invisible, and of the link binding the invisible to the visible'⁽²²⁾.

In other words, the problematic allows the differentiation between what we see or perceive as 'real object' and what are the determinants of the 'object of knowledge' which is characterized by the unity between the visible and the invisible. Defining the process of knowledge as a function of the 'real object' leads to a 'reading of the essence in the existence'⁽²³⁾, therefore, to know would be to abstract from the real object its essence. That is, knowledge becomes the extraction of what one subjectively considers as essential and the purging and elimination of what one also subjectively considers as inessential. Instead, Althusser proposes, the process of knowledge is a function of the 'object of

knowledge' and the two objects must not be confused. To illustrate this, let us quote an example given by Althusser in the realm of sculpture:

'Michelangelo developed a whole aesthetic of artistic production based not on the production of the essential form out of the marble material, but on the destruction of the non-form which envelops the form to be disengaged even before the first chip is cut out. A practice of aesthetic production is here buried in an empiricist realism of extraction'⁽²⁴⁾.

Althusser is describing through this example a process of empirical transformation and material modification of an unformed mass into an artistic product. The process of realizing such a formal mutation of a natural object creates a new, spiritual object which has its natural base in the marble but which is not identical with it. The process of knowledge is based not on the 'real object' but on the peculiar structure that gave birth to it. The latter constitutes its 'object of knowledge' which is distinct from the 'real object', and which has already been subject to elaboration and transformation throughout history by a complex social, technical, ideological structure.

It should be emphasized that the problematic is not a worldview, nor the essence of the thought and practice of an individual or a historical period which can be deduced from a body of documents through an empirical reading. It is focused on the 'absence' of problems as much as their presence and can therefore be reached only through a symptomatic reading⁽²⁵⁾. Only a symptomatic reading of architecture which reveals the 'unconsciousness', the 'non-objects', the 'invisible' would enable us to cross the gap which separates epistemology of architecture from ideology of architecture.

What we will be looking for in the following chapters is an epistemology of architecture which approaches the relation between a result (colonial architecture) and its conditions of existence (colonialism) as a relation of

production and not of expression, creation or representation. We will not see 'conclusions without premises' but investigate the processes which produced the 'conclusions out of the premises', and which are determined by the colonial reality of domination, exploitation and assimilation of a country, a culture, and an economy by another. In other words, we will address colonial architecture not on the level of its apparent themes or styles, but on the level of the implicit rules (ideological, political) which allowed its formalization to be conceptualized.

I.3 Terminology

The study will be articulated around very specific concepts such as knowledge of architecture, ideology of architecture and political determination, which we would like to clarify.

The ideology of architecture⁽²⁶⁾ refers to both the idealistic and the empiricist (rationalist and sensualist as well) conceptions of architectural knowledge. The idealistic conception proposes a process that takes place between a 'real' architectural object and a beholder strictly on the basis of feeling, seeing, perceiving, and on the basis of metaphysical judgements which present the architectural object as a result of a simple act of creation which sprang from some kind of an 'idea' in the mind of the architect. The empiricist conception of architectural knowledge, also found at work in Hegelian thought, proposes a process that takes place between a given architectural object and a given subject which predates the process of knowledge. It defines knowledge as function of the 'real' architectural object of which it is said to be the knowledge, which is therefore already present in the 'real object' it has to know. It prefers to investigate architecture as given, fixed and stable.

The scientific knowledge or epistemology of architecture refers to the

object of architectural knowledge. It is based on the objective reality of the architectural object as a product of a given social formation, rather than of an 'Absolute idea' that develops by itself, within itself. It holds that architecture, as all other phenomena, cannot be understood, and may even become meaningless if it is not considered in connection with its surrounding conditions but divorced from them. The epistemology of architecture also holds that it is to be considered not only from the standpoint of its connection with and dependence upon other phenomena, but also from the standpoint of its movement, its change and its development. It holds that the process of development should be understood not as a movement in a circle, not as a simple repetition of what has already occurred, but as an onward and upward movement. It allows us to observe the emergence of different architectural knowledge, its development, its diversification, the theoretical ruptures and upheavals within the problematic that governs their production, and the division between ideological and scientific knowledge of architecture.

The concept of ideology⁽²⁷⁾ was used for the first time during the enlightenment period in France, as a result of strong criticism of religion and religious representations which started to be perceived as an ideological prejudice. Helvetius (1715-1771) and Holbach (1723-1789) forcefully put forward this criticism in their theories about priestly deceit. They developed the idea that the priest were working to keep people ignorant in order to maintain their power and the power of the wealthy classes. This tradition of thought served as a background for Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836) who was the first author to have used the term ideology. De Tracy was largely concerned with systematizing ideology as a new science, the science of ideas. Ideology was then seen as a rigorous science which, by overcoming religious and metaphysical prejudices,

might serve as a basis for human consciousness. But very soon this positive connotation of the term was subject to a strong criticism from two schools of thought: first, the French positivist school represented by Auguste Comte (1798-1857) who saw in the concept of ideology a meaningless and arbitrary metaphysical speculation which obstructs the knowledge of reality; second, the German idealist school represented by Hegel who dismissed ideology as a "reduction of thought to sensation". However, in either case, the critique of ideology was implicit only through the critique of religion. It was with Marx that the concept overcame the critique of religion. Marx indeed originated with a concept of ideology which subsumes not only religion but all forms of distorted ideas and consciousness. Marx's basis for the concept of ideology was laid down in his *Theses on Feuerbach* where he developed a new context: the resolution of the opposition/unity between essence/knowledge and appearance/ideology through the construction of a theoretical critique of ideology. For him, ideology, as a distorted consciousness, has a particular negative connotation: firstly because it conceals social contradictions and, secondly because it does so in the interest of the dominant class. He therefore concluded that ideology should be overcome at its roots by solving the real contradiction that gave birth to it, i.e. the contradiction between essence and appearance.

The importance of Marx's contribution to the concept of ideology makes him the point of reference for nearly all new developments, debates and controversies over the concept. Contemporary philosophers, particularly Louis Althusser, besides pointing out a number of ambiguities in Marx's conception of ideology in such works as *The German Ideology*, contributed greatly to the clarification of the concept. Like Gramsci before him, Althusser worked to clarify Marx's conception of ideology as a 'pure speculation' suggesting that ideology has a material

existence. He argued that ideology is a system of representations, and he specified that in the majority of the cases these representations have nothing to do with consciousness: they are imposed upon the vast majority of men, independent of their consciousness. Therefore, because ideology is determined by its structure, it can be studied as an objective phenomenon.

Although Althusser considers ideological representations as false and misleading cognitions of the world, he argues that men cannot live without a certain representation of their world and of their relations to it, namely without ideology:

'Human societies secrete ideology as the very element and atmosphere indispensable to their historical respiration and life. Only an ideological world outlook could have imagined societies without ideology and accepted the utopian idea of the world in which ideology (not just one of its historical forms) would disappear... historical materialism cannot conceive that even a communist society could ever do without ideology'⁽²⁸⁾.

Althusser's contribution broke with the tradition of viewing ideology as a mere body of ideas and thoughts, conceiving it, instead, as a social process, as a representation of the "imaginary relations of individuals to their real conditions of existence", and as endowed with a material existence which is realized in and through various institutions.

In order to be fully understood, the concept of political determination, which is the key concept for our approach to the architecture of French colonialism in Morocco, has to be discussed in its proper context: that of overdetermination, that of 'the articulation of relatively autonomous yet interactive practices'⁽²⁹⁾. The concept of overdetermination recognizes the multiplicity of these practices as existing in particular historical situations. It is a way of understanding their complexities, their roles and hierarchies within a historical reality. Freud used

the concept to indicate the structured multiple causation of a symptom.

Althusser introduced it in Marxism to describe

'the effects of the contradictions in each practice constituting the social formation as a whole, and hence back on each practice and each contradiction, defining the pattern of dominance and subordination, antagonism and non-antagonism of the contradiction in the structure in dominance at any historical moment'⁽³⁰⁾.

There is an overdetermination in architecture, which considers the architectural object, the architectural design process and the architectural discourse as structured by autonomous and interactive practices within a totality which is always dominated by either one of the practices at a given historical moment. The dominant practice is not fixed for all time, it varies according to the level of contradictions and their uneven development. As an example, the making of the architecture of French colonialism in Morocco from 1912 to 1932 was overdetermined by culture, economy, ideology, politics under the dominance of political practice. In the same manner, the practice in dominance in the overdetermination of Modern Architecture was economical, which imposed such categories as standardization, mass production of building elements, simplification of architectural forms and so on.

Politics, in this context, refers essentially to the practice of a given ideology in order to organize and maintain a power as being 'the centralized condensation of social power relationships invested in the State'⁽³¹⁾. In other words, the State organizes and reproduces ideological relationships and the dominant ideology in order to consecrate and reproduce its political domination. There is no place here to discuss the concept of State. However, for the sake of a better understanding of our thesis on the connection of architecture to ideology and politics, we shall present the means of reproducing political domination:

these are the State's ideological apparatuses. The dominant ideology is ever present in the State apparatuses whose role is to elaborate, spread and reproduce this same ideology: these are religious apparatuses, educational apparatuses, information apparatuses (radio, television), cultural apparatuses and so on. Either separately or simultaneously, these institutions participate to forward the goals and objectives of the State, and as a consequence the economical interests of the social class which invested its political power in it⁽³²⁾.

Architecture in the threefold framework of epistemology/ideology/politics is not a simple act of creation representing an 'idea' which exists in the mind of the architect/creator regardless of the reality in which it is produced. We do believe that it is a more complex phenomenon, involving a number of connected elements which the architect translates into physical forms. This is realized through the material design process, the right that is given to the architect by the establishment of architecture as a profession and the limits within which a number of practices bind him in the context of a given social formation. These connected elements indeed constitute the basic determinants of the visible or perceivable architectural object. Architecture has to be looked at not from within the boundaries of a strictly isolated discipline, but rather from the point of view of interweaving forces which participate in the first place to the making of the real architectural object, and which are beyond the limits of the discipline of architecture itself.

CHAPTER II

A history of French colonial architecture in North Africa

At any given period, architecture has been explicitly or implicitly connected with some form of power, and corresponding ideologies at that given time. Man, in his will to dominate has always used his built environment, among other means, in order to express and further his domination over other men. From the slave, to the feudal, to the bourgeois societies, architecture has been aimed at condensing into reality the power and the ideology of a group, a nation, a class, a religious or philosophical beliefs. It is needless to give examples which run throughout history from Egyptian, Greek and Roman temples and other religious edifices, to the cathedrals of the Middle Ages, to Baroque architecture and town planning, to the tradition of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the neo-Classicism in Europe and the United States, to Modern architecture⁽¹⁾. However, we shall emphasize one example of this phenomenon which has been almost completely neglected up until very recently, although it constitutes one of the most spectacular manifestations of state architecture in the twentieth century: the architecture of colonialism. This phenomenon reached its apogee by the mid-nineteenth century with the overwhelming domination of the world by such industrial powers as England and France. Colonial powers all shared the common ideal of establishing and expressing their domination through architecture and town planning⁽²⁾. Two examples are very significant in this extent, they are those of Great Britain in India, and France in Morocco and North Africa in general.

After the transfer of the capital city of India from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911, it was decided that it should be made the occasion for a planned

architecture of 'commensurate majesty': 'An Anglo-Indian Rome' which should be expressive of 'Britain's imperial mission'. In the same way, the planning of the new capital city of the French protectorate in Morocco (Rabat) was made the occasion for French architects and politicians to use architecture for political and ideological purposes. However, although the goals were common in the two cases, they were achieved using sometime completely contradictory formal approaches. A comparative discussion of the two colonial experiences would show us that, at approximately the same period, the two powers had different attitudes towards architecture and town planning in their respective colonies.

In New Delhi, Sir Edwin Lutyens had a very clear prejudice (if not explicitly racist judgment) against Indian culture, civilization and architecture. He had made a survey of local architecture, but from it he adopted only a variety of motifs and minor effects which he engrafted on the essentially classical language of his buildings. For example, he employed some symbolic figures of India, such as elephants and lions, he selected rhyolite red sand stone that echoed the material of nearby Shahjahanabad, and he adopted the downswept cornice common in Mughal buildings. But, most important of all, he found in Indian architecture the monumentality of Mughal buildings, which perfectly complemented his strong faith in classical architecture.

In the planning and architecture of the new Imperial capital, Lutyens emphasized the insuitability of Indian traditional architecture for the majesty of such work. He was certain that an Indian style was out of the question⁽³⁾, for he did not believe that there was 'any real Indian architecture or any great tradition'⁽⁴⁾. He considered that Indian architecture was at a 'too elementary stage of evolution, spiritually and structurally; to be malleable into a work of art'⁽⁵⁾. Here is how he described the two chief styles in Indian architecture:

'Hindu: set square stones and build childwise, but, before you erect, carve every stone differently and independently, with lace patterns and terrifying shapes. On top, over trabeated pendentives, set - an onion'. 'Mughal: build a vasty mass of rough concrete, elephant-wise, on a very simple rectangular - cum-octagon plan, dome in any how, cutting off squares. Overlay with a veneer of stone patterns, like laying a vertical tile floor, and get Italians to help you. Inlay jewels and coruclians if you can afford it and rob some if you can't. Then on top of the mass put three turnips in concrete and overlay with stone or marble as before. Be very careful not to bound anything in, and don't care a damn if it does all come to pieces'⁽⁶⁾.

A very few outstanding Mughal monuments, like the Taj Mahal and Fatepur Sikri, impressed him, but more as scenery than as architecture⁽⁷⁾.

The architecture of French colonialism in Morocco, like that of the British in India, was aimed at expressing and displaying the power of French civilization, culture and technology. But unlike Lutyens in New Delhi, Henri Prost and his collaborators in Morocco were no doubt genuinely fascinated by the local architectural tradition, crafts and craftsmanship. Although these local forms were principally employed as ornamentation, without inflecting the well-established principles of Beaux-Arts composition, they were emphasized enough on the outside of the building to provide the French colonial administration with a subtle means to use architecture as a medium for political propaganda to reproduce colonial ideology. The following sections explore different processes which led to the establishment of the peculiar colonial state architecture in Morocco.

II.1 The colonization of North Africa: from military to psychological actions

French colonialism in North Africa started in 1830 with the 'Expédition d'Alger', mounted by Napoléon III in order to protect the interests of French

mercantilist bourgeoisie against the attacks against France's fleet in the Mediterranean Sea by the Corsaires. In fact, Napoléon's colonial enterprise had a twofold reason. It sprang out from the necessity of seeking new markets, sources of raw materials and manpower, prime exigencies for the new forms of exchange brought about by the French revolution of 1789, and by the developing capitalist mode of production in Europe. In addition, it took part in the inter-colonial disputes over the control of the Mediterranean Sea which was of a strategic importance for France who had also started the colonization of some countries of the Middle East, including Lebanon, Syria and Egypt. Thus, the 'Expédition d'Alger' was nothing else than a pretext for an overwhelming invasion of Algeria which ended in 1847 after an almost total control of the country had been established by the French military machine. Thereafter, the French Constitution of 1848 declared Algeria part of French territories and even gave it representation in the National Assembly.

The colonization of Algeria was only a starting point for a total domination of North Africa by the French. In 1881, France, taking advantage of a state of economical and political anarchy in Tunisia, easily took over the Bey's power and declared a French protectorate over the country.

The case of Morocco was much more complicated. Due to her strategic control over the straits of Gibraltar, she was the subject of envy for the major European powers who convened the meeting of two international conferences with the prime goal of deciding her destiny. The first, the 'Convention de Madrid', called in 1880, was to codify the economic absorption of Morocco into the orbit of Europe. It recognized the full right for any foreigner to own properties in Morocco, and was the starting point for the economic colonization of the country. The control of Morocco was eased by a state of financial anarchy. A

series of treaties had indeed been forced upon her, which gave a great deal of freedom to European traders, hence provoking a trade deficit from which she was not to recover. The Sultan could not do much to stem the tide of colonialism which had already overwhelmed Algeria and Tunisia. He complied, in a total submission, with the European dictate drafted in 1906 at the 'Conférence d'Algésiras' which extended even more privileges to foreigners in Morocco, and agreed upon the division of the country into two zones, a Spanish and a French. In addition, he agreed upon the conferment of an international status to the city of Tangiers where all Western powers, including the United States, were to be represented. The capstone of the total colonization of North Africa was given in 1912 with the signature of the Acts of the Protectorate over Morocco by the Sultan Moulay Youssef. The Maréchal Lyautey, with his long colonial experience in Indochina, Madagascar and Algeria was then put in charge of the 'reorganization' of Morocco.

At their beginnings, French principles of colonization were explicitly based on racial prejudice against indigeneous populations and culture, against the 'savages' who were to be 'disciplined'⁽⁸⁾. These principles had the military machine as their main means of execution. Indeed, both in Algeria and in Morocco, the 'pacification' was achieved through a large scale war against the resistance led in Algeria by the Emir Abdelkader, and in Morocco by Mohamed ben Abdelkarim El khattabi, which lasted over two decades in both cases. Thereby, the prime aim of the French was to display enough power to demonstrate, both vis-a-vis the resistance and other colonial powers, their force and their ability to control North Africa and to protect and safeguard European interests and investments. This was delegated to them by the 'Conférence d' Algésiras' which indeed gave them a free hand over the control of North Africa.

However, the increasing opposition to colonialism in France and the everexisting struggle of the colonized peoples brought about a change in the means of colonization. It shifted from an aggressive to a more subtle attitude. In 1880, Jean de Lanessan published '**Principes de Colonisation**'⁽⁹⁾ for which he was commissioned by the French government. He focused on the danger that could result from prejudicial and negative attitude towards colonized peoples and culture, for the future development of the French colonial enterprise. He emphasized the necessity of a more conciliatory form of colonization: the protectorate, which will give an illusion of independence to the colonies and rid France from her image, both inside and abroad, of a conqueror and expansionist. Of course, this did not much change the spirit of French colonization. Later, Lyautey would reiterate that 'La France, toujours, a été un pays colonisateur. Aujourd'hui, comme autrefois, elle l'est dans son âme et dans son sang'⁽¹⁰⁾. Lyautey, like Galliéni in Indochina⁽¹¹⁾, had his colonial policy in Morocco largely inspired by Lanessan's ideas:

'Nos protégés (he said) on mieux compris le génie de notre race en nous voyant nous attacher à la restauration de leurs monuments, à la sauvegarde de leurs trésors'⁽¹²⁾.

II.2 Architecture: From the 'style of the conqueror' to the 'style of the protector'

The dominant characteristic of the architecture of French colonialism in Morocco is its strong political dimension as a State architecture. The period under investigation (1912-1932) corresponds to the stage of maximum amplitude of French manipulation of the visual culture in North Africa and particularly in Morocco. Indeed, it witnessed an intense construction activity of official buildings, and the institutionalization of an official architectural style. In order

to be fully understood, the latter has to be looked at within the totality of the development of French 'politique du visible' in North Africa since 1830. Indeed, far from being perfectly homogeneous, this 'politique' was following the paths of the colonial political needs at different phases of France's domination over the region. These needs were themselves conditioned by a series of internal factors both to France and the colonized countries, and by the evolution of the principles of colonialism at a larger scale. Within this framework, North Africa witnessed the emergence of two different forms of architectural discourse and practice throughout her domination by France. These forms have been very accurately designated as: the 'style of the conqueror' and the 'style of the protector'⁽¹³⁾.

The 'style of the conqueror' (Plate I) consisted of a full extension of the French architectural and urban landscape across the Mediterranean Sea. All the mother country's schemes of composition based on symmetry, order, monumentality, and theories of design following some kind of 'universal principles' of 'Bon gout' in architecture were exported to the colonies. But this did not happen without having radical consequences upon local architectural environment. In Algiers, in 1830, the list of demolitions undertaken by the French army was impressive. Indeed, boulevards and avenues were enlarged, numerous buildings changed function and were transformed, some mosques were torn down, some others turned to hospitals or churches, palaces became military barracks, local houses were transformed into French houses⁽¹⁴⁾. As for the new buildings, the architects were specifically asked to design an architecture which should be the image of 'France declaring with pomp her sovereignty in Africa'⁽¹⁵⁾, and should give an exact idea of the power that caused it to be built. The architectural forms held in honor in France were indeed reproduced in all their characters. At this point, it is interesting to examine what was happening at a

more academic level, at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. The same spirit was reigning, more particularly when, as the French colonial empire grew, some programs of the Grand Prix de Rome were devoted to official buildings in the colonies. The first, 'Palace for the Governor of Algeria', (Plate II & III) held in 1862, not only insisted upon the necessity for all competitors to show France's power in their designs, but also revealed the prejudice that the 'academicians', the State's ideological 'porte-parole' and policy makers in the matter of architecture, carried vis-a-vis Algerian traditional architecture. Nothing whatsoever was said, in the program, about expressing local architecture apart from a vague reference to material and climate. The program specifically asked for an architecture in a 'classical style', to which the winning design conformed⁽¹⁶⁾. It stated that the building

'devra joindre à une imposante grandeur, beaucoup de magnificence, à appliquer les principes d'après lesquels furent créés les plus belles formes de l'architecture aux siècles de Périclès, d'Auguste et de Léon X... Le but à atteindre est d'offrir à l'imagination et à l'imitation des peuples algériennes le haut degré de perfection de notre industrie et de nos arts'.

And it went on to specify that the competitors

'aurons à suivre en cela l'exemple des Grecs et des Romains,..., non pas imiter l'architecture incomplète des nations peu civilisées, mais agir au contraire sur elles, par leur beaux monuments empreint du caractère particulier de la haute civilisation d'Athènes et de Rome'⁽¹⁷⁾.

This strong similarity between the academic discourse and the practical discourse should not be surprising given the fact of the explicit or implicit involvement of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts with the needs of the French State⁽¹⁸⁾. The Beaux-Arts tradition has been described by Leon Krier⁽¹⁹⁾ as a 'phenomenon in the 19th century European society through which the production of visual culture was taken in charge by the State institutions'. The Ecole des Beaux-Arts was indeed more of an instrument in the hands of French political power than a cultural institution

devoted to the promotion of arts and architecture⁽²⁰⁾. Since its founding as the "Ecole Royale des Beaux-Arts" in 1819, it had always been an advisory body to the state in matters of architecture. The members of the Ecole came very quickly to be state employees making their living through the design of official and public buildings, and promoting an educational system aimed at forming architects devoted to the design of such buildings both inside France and abroad⁽²¹⁾. On this very subject, D.D. Egbert developed the idea of the strong links between the Ecole and the state's need and interests by building a chronological parallel between the programs of the Grands Prix de Rome and the different political systems which ruled France for over three hundred years.

The French state's involvement with architecture probably reached its climax during the nineteenth century. When the leadership in architecture passed in the hands of the "Academie des Beaux-Arts" in 1816, the state dominated the theoretical reflection on architecture through Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère-de-Quincy (1755-1849). As the "Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts", a post which he retained for twenty three years (1816-1839), he imposed the model of Roman antiquity upon French architects. Throughout the years, this resulted in a considerable number of buildings that demonstrated, in Robin Middleton words, that a 'routine and lacklustre classical spirit could be cultivated in France even more successfully than in Rome⁽²²⁾. However, very early, a whole generation of architects rebelled against the authority of Quatremère-de-Quincy, including men like Abel Blouet, Emile Gilbert, Félix Duban, Henri Labrouste, Louis Duc and Léon Vaudoyer. Even though their contributions were very different⁽²³⁾, these "rebels" were gathered around the same goal, i.e. to break with the established classical routine and develop a new architecture. Influenced by the humanitarian ideals of Claude-Henri de Saint Simon and Charles Fourier,

their goal was to provide architecture with a social and moral content. The influence of these architects, particularly Duban, Labrouste, Duc and Vaudoyer, was strongly felt in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, during the reign of the Baron Haussman over Paris, the rational tradition developed by the previous generation weakened considerably. It degenerated towards the expression of both the ostentation and the power of the Second Empire through such buildings as Charles Garnier's Opéra in Paris (1862).

The competition for the design of the Opéra revealed a strong opposition coming from a new generation of architects, i.e. Eugène-Emanuel Viollet-le-Duc, Julien Guadet and V.A.F. Laloux, to the destruction of 'the thoughtful tradition of French architecture'⁽²⁴⁾. They undertook determined attempts to restore the classical tradition in its rationality and its system of belief. It was on the basis of their writings and their designs that emerged the "progressive" tendency which challenged in its turn the authority of the Academy both in educational circles, i.e. the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, and in professional circles during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The forceful undertaking by the French army and politicians, and by Beaux-Arts educated architects in Algeria had a threefold goal: first, to mark a territory which was the object of international rivalry with French visual culture; second, to impress the Algerian people through the display of a high-flown architecture; third, to reconstitute a familiar architectural and urban environment for the new European settlers. The discourse and practice of both politicians and architects were consequently merging towards the enforcement and consecration of adequate architectural compositions. Pierre Ricard, describing the first impressions of a French newcomer to Algiers, wrote;

'L'architecture ne lui cause aucune surprise: Il la connait, il

l'a déjà vue de l'autre côté de la mer. Des hôtels aux enseignes dorées, des magasins aux riches devantures, des bars étroits et des débits de tabacs, des brasseries aux terrasses garnies de sièges, tout l'appareil en un mot d'une ville européenne a été apporté là...⁽²⁵⁾.

However, the urban and architectural physiognomical outcomes of the new Algiers were characterized by the austerity of the architectural ordinances drawn by the military corps of engineers. The strict aesthetic discipline which prevailed throughout the construction of the city led to an unsuccessful imitation of Paris or Marseilles, which Theophile Gautier described with a certain irritation:

'Maudites arcades (he wrote), on retrouvera donc partout vos courbes disgracieuses et vos piliers sans proportions!... Maisons à l'européenne qui ont la prétention, hélas! trop bien fondée, de rappeler l'architecture de la rue de Rivoli..., maisons françaises à toits de tuiles et à contrevents verts!⁽²⁶⁾.

This illustrates the rather negative feeling of nearly all the visitors looking for exotic images in Algiers, or Constantine, or Oran and who found themselves in typical French cities. The "Pavillon Colonial" at the "Exposition Universelle" of 1889 was intended, in part, to remedy to this problem which has become of an economical importance, since tourism was expected to be a large source of revenue for the oldest French colony. The pavillion exhibited exotic structures and typical ambiances as an advertisement of the touristic qualities of the French colonies⁽²⁷⁾.

The exhibition was also the concretisation of the drastic change in French attitude towards the visual culture in the colonies. This change was first inaugurated by Napoléon III during a visit to Algeria in 1865⁽²⁸⁾, when he ordered an abandonment of the tendency toward the progressive destruction of local towns and monuments which was then the main characteristic of the colonial politics of architecture. This change in policy was the result of comprehensive research⁽²⁹⁾

which revealed that the French economical and political interest in the colonies, and their future possible development, could be endangered without a significant change in the attitude of France's colonization. This research indeed showed that France could never achieve any profound and durable influence without building up alliances with local powers⁽³⁰⁾, respecting local traditions and allowing some expressions of the local civilization and culture. They pointed out the political danger that could result from the destruction of the local social structure which was bound to the ancestral forms of habitat, place and urban habits. The colonial order thereafter began to incline towards the model of the protectorate, better suited to new economical and political objectives.

This highly political decision shaped the entire future developments of the French 'politique du visible' in North Africa. It inspired the colonial administration to break with seventy years of neo-Classical architecture and with the desire to recreate, a familiar environment for the European settlers⁽³¹⁾. Thereupon, systematic research in architecture and urbanism was conducted, aimed at defining the new 'politique du visible' and at legitimizing the stylistic foundations of the future 'style of the protector' in accordance with the new principles of colonization. As we shall see, one of the most significant aspects of this research was its direct supervision by the colonial political power in the three countries of North Africa. However, it was not until the turn of the twentieth century that the shift in colonial politics had its first effects on architecture.

II.3 Colonial politics and architectural research.

In Algeria, Georges Guiauchain was among the first Beaux-Arts educated architects who raised the issue of the "Arabization" of architecture in a published work under the title **Alger** (1905)⁽³²⁾, and particularly in a chapter on

"Considérations sur le style algérien". Under the supervision of the Gouverneur Général Jonnart⁽³³⁾, he inquired into Algerian architecture, seeking a source of inspiration for a monumental French colonial architecture of an Arabic style. But he was very soon disappointed.

"Les Maures d'Algérie (he wrote), ne nous ont laissé aucun sujet d'inspiration; leur architecture monumentale n'existe pas, leur architecture privée est nulle"⁽³⁴⁾.

Nor could the Moorish monumental architecture in Spain provide a source of inspiration, Guiauchain found it more of a decorative art. This failure to develop a significant architectural alternative to the style of the conqueror showed the impossibility for the French colonial architects of the turn of the century to overcome the limits of their aesthetic and theoretical model of reference, which identified the architectural with the monumental in the very academic tradition of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

It was in Tunisia that the local architecture was for the first time looked at and analysed from a positive point of view by such architects as Henri Saladin, Raphael Guy and Victor Valensi who published respectively *Tunis et Kairouan, Villes d'Art* (1908), *L'Architecture Moderne de Style Arabe* (n.d.) and *L'Habitation Tunisienne* (1923)⁽³⁵⁾. The "politique du visible" was no longer sought in monumental manifestations and formal aspects, but through the specific character of the local visual culture. Emphasis was placed upon archaeological studies, and local and micro-local tendencies as the main source of an "arabizing" vocabulary of architecture, and of techniques of arabization. The outcome of these studies was of a purely formalistic character, for they relied on mere external aspects of traditional architecture, on facade composition. A whole generation of buildings, during the first two decades of the twentieth century was indeed shaped by a mechanistic application of decorative or structural elements derived from arab

architecture. Embattlements, whose origin was the fortification walls of certain old cities, were systematically used in order to give an arabicized look to high schools or hospitals; mucharrabiehs were used as facade ornamentations, painted ceilings, carved plaster and lattices gave the desired arab look to the inside of the buildings.

This new tendency reached its apogee, both theoretically and practically, in Morocco under the "Agence Prost" (1914-1924) which comprised, beside Prost himself, architects such as Albert Laprade, Albert Cadet, Eugène Brion, Joseph Marrast, Adrien Laforgue, all Beaux-Arts educated. Prost's attitude towards architecture, and towards local visual culture in Morocco was very striking, given his Beaux-Arts education, but in a sense not surprising. He was indeed among those young students of the Ecole such as Tony Garnier, Leon Jaussely, Joseph Duquesne, Eugène Hebrard, Alfred Agache who, in the turn of the century, started questioning and strongly criticizing the authoritarian academism advocated by the educational tradition of the Ecole. This new generation of students was concerned with new social values, and interested in town planning and architecture as related to these values. Prost distinguished himself, and reached a world-wide reputation by winning the 1902 Grand Prix de Rome in architecture, and the first prize in the international competition for the extension of Antwerp in Belgium. He was also introduced⁽³⁶⁾ into the 'section d'hygiène urbaine et rurale' at the 'Musée Social' in 1911 where he elaborated, with Alfred Agache, the first plan for the improvement and extension of Paris in 1912-1913 under Eugène Hénard's direction. This crucial apprenticeship undoubtedly provided Prost with the necessary background for his experiments in Morocco, later in Algiers and still later in Paris again⁽³⁷⁾.

The research on Moroccan architecture which started with the arrival of Prost in Morocco and which were undertaken under his supervision and that of Le

Maréchal Lyautey, were not much different from their counterparts in Tunisia, for they could not overcome the formalism and mechanicism which had characterized the works of Valensi and Guy. The most significant is probably Gallotti's '**Le Jardin et la Maison Arabe au Maroc**'⁽³⁸⁾ which was conceived as a 'code' or 'guide' provided to help the Europeans to build in the 'indigenous style'⁽³⁹⁾. The work consists of a comprehensive survey of Moroccan civil architecture from the modest house to the luxurious palace; using a considerable number of sketches and drawings made by Laprade in nearly all old Moroccan cities. The taxonomy of the book was faithful to the Beaux-Arts tradition. In an hierarchical ordering, the plan is studied first as the generating element of the Moroccan house, then the elements of construction, then the elements of decoration, and finally the different categories of houses⁽⁴⁰⁾. The type of drawings chosen for the illustration of the book shows some of the canons that the French architects working in Morocco understood as being the elements characteristic of Moroccan architecture. They systematically show the presence of water, pointed arches, "muqarnas" (stalactites), stone works around windows, tiles, stucco and mosaic decoration, the flat undecorated white washed wall surfaces, and so on. The fascination⁽⁴¹⁾ with these formal stereotypes will appear on nearly all what has been built in Morocco between 1912 and 1932, and particularly on the public building and on any other work commissioned by the 'Résidence Générale du Protectorat'.

Like the "style of the conqueror" which was implemented in Algeria, the "style of the protector", implemented in Tunisia and later in Morocco, had some significant echoes at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Indeed, in 1923, the program of the Grand Prix de Rome of architecture for the 'Résidence du Représentant de la France au Maroc' (Plate IV & V) used a much more conciliatory language. It spoke

about 'la souveraineté du Makhzen'⁽⁴²⁾, it asks for the reception areas to be majestic for that is the place where 'se tiendrait le représentant de la France lorsqu'il recevrait, en grande pompe, le sultan accompagné des personnages de marque qui composent sa suite'⁽⁴³⁾. However, the program, in addition, specified that the palace of the Résidence is a place of propaganda for the development of French influence in Morocco, and therefore, had to be conceived in the purest style of French architecture⁽⁴⁴⁾, and to express the power of French culture and civilization. The gardens had to be 'magnificent', 'well designed', 'ornamented with fine parterres' in the tradition of French Renaissance landscaping. And the whole had to be made of a 'belle architecture'⁽⁴⁵⁾. In their design answers to the program, most competitors abandoned their Beaux-Arts academicism to mix both classical and local architectures, though several did so by pictorial rather than architectural means. The winning design by B.V. Mathon⁽⁴⁶⁾ was characterized by a high degree of abstraction. Although it used some local architectural features in the lower part of the facade, e.g. the almost blind front wall with small windows and the white washed and slightly ornamented wall, it was the closest response among the competitors to the classical definition of beauty, i.e. beauty relies on a mastered use of symmetry, proportion, order and monumentality, and to the simplicity of forms and volumes which are proper to local tradition.

Given this short account of the architecture of French colonialism in Morocco, we find ourselves in presence of an overdetermination which involves ideological, aesthetic and cultural processes. These were dominated in the first place by politics which aimed at the reproduction of colonial social and economical relations, using visual culture, and architecture in particular, as a conveyor of the idea of a 'France protectrice'. The purpose here is not to evaluate the architecture of colonialism, to say whether it is good or bad, right or wrong,

for this would only give an illusion of knowledge by excluding architecture from the reality of the social formation in which it was created. This would give an incomplete knowledge of French colonial architecture in North Africa, and particularly in Morocco. The purpose is to see it not so much as a stylistic or thematic issue, but as a political operation which invested considerable power in the manipulation of the visible, and which placed architecture and urbanism among the top rank preoccupations of the colonial administration.

CHAPTER III

A 'symptomatic reading' of colonial architecture in Morocco

A symptomatic reading, rather than merely recording the architectural documents, analyzes the mechanisms which produced their syntax. It reveals both the conscious and the unconscious aspects of the building, and divulges the undivulged event in the building it reads. In other words, it does not content itself with answering questions obviously raised by the real architectural object. Rather, it measures the invisible aspects of the buildings, it tries to unveil the processes governing the discourse of the architecture of colonialism. The reading of French colonial architecture in Morocco involves a precise inquiry into its overdetermination, the articulation and hierarchy of its discursive concepts, the tensions and contradictions that it introduces within society, though they are not physically perceivable in the building as seen by the beholder. As an example, instead of asking what are the design rules and formal principles which are transparent in a colonial architectural work, and which govern its material design process, we will ask another question which is diffused in the work itself and which is: what are the political, economical and ideological motivations which caused these design rules and formal principles to be formulated, practiced and enforced, and what are the discourses underneath these motivations? In other words we will question the premises according to which the work of architecture has been shaped and presented to the public, rather than its style, the architect who designed it and/or the 'école' to which he belongs. The works will not be considered as individual masterpieces but as part of a complex social, economical and political environment. In this regard Gramsci wrote that an edifice is 'never

completely accomplished in itself, but it also has to be fitted in relation to the 'panorama' in which it is to be inserted⁽¹⁾.

A symptomatic reading provides the methodological tool for building the main assumptions of the framework that defines the realm where French architects unfold their discourse, their designs, and their stylistic and thematic identities. It provides the methodological tool for constructing the problematic of colonial architecture. French colonial architectural discourse was not a separate and independent entity operating by itself, within its own limited sphere. It was regulated through its relations of dependence upon a hierarchy of non-visible but real economic, political and ideological practices. This hierarchy assigned to architecture its effective role within the complex whole of the social formation in colonized Morocco. The primary task of the symptomatic reading of French colonial architecture in Morocco is not to give a mere interpretation of architectural documents⁽²⁾, nor to decide what is their expressive value, but to organize them, to establish what is relevant and what is not, to discover elements, and to define unities in the documentary material itself. The document, then, is no longer an inert material through which one tries to reconstitute what has been done or said, or the events of which only the physical traces remain⁽³⁾. More precisely, the symptomatic reading considers the relations of dependence from the view point of the extent to and the manner in which political and ideological practices, and their different 'apparatuses'⁽⁴⁾ intervene in the making of the physical architectural object regardless of its appearance. It is not, for example, a matter of showing that there exist colonial houses versus non colonial or local houses⁽⁵⁾. Rather, it is a matter of defining how political and ideological practices, through the respective colonial state institutions, reproduced and gave credibility to the discourse that prescribed the form of a given house. For,

architectural forms in themselves can be innocent, but not always without radical effects on society⁽⁶⁾. They can be used to seduce men's spirit and to reproduce given social and economical relationships. This has been understood by every age of builders, and the architects of colonialism and its politicians did not escape this rule. It soon became clear to them that only familiar visual culture could carry and transmit colonial ideological messages to the colonized masses. Likewise, Albert Speer had understood the use of scale, sight-lines and drama⁽⁷⁾ for the purpose of inducing the frenzy of the 'all-powerful' German race. Likewise, Giuseppe Terragni's Casa del Fascio displayed the all-familiar architectural vocabulary of the Roman proportioning for the local headquarters of the Fascist Party in Como. However, what gives the colonial experience its peculiarity is that it did not come out of the natural evolution of the colonized social formations, but rather out of their brutal disruption. What makes it even more peculiar is that it transferred an ideology which had developed within the European social and economic structure, out of its proper social formation.

Let us now formulate the body of economic, ideological and political practices which organized and unified the colonial architectural production.

The object of colonial architectural and town planning policies was primarily to provide colonial settlers and their economic interests with an adequate and safe environment in which they could develop. Indeed, all the 'production of space'⁽⁸⁾ was oriented towards the achievement of this objective. The cities were organized in such a way as to respond to the exigencies of the new economic relationships brought about by the capitalist mode of production. The process of material design shifted to a strictly controlled professionalization. The production of architecture developed towards greater industrialization and rationalization, with new building materials such as concrete, all better suited to

the needs of a growing building industry. However, this new trend in building activities did not exclude previous modes of building production. On the contrary, although this may seem to contradict the principles of capitalism, vernacular or traditional techniques of construction, local crafts and craftsmanship, and the pre-industrial division of labor in the building process, were artificially kept alive and even advocated by the French colonial administration. This policy was motivated by economic considerations. The incapacity of the newly established capitalist mode of production to integrate all forms of building activities and to provide jobs for a largely unqualified labor force, its incapacity to respond to all housing demands, required from it to leave the door open to pre-industrial forms of building production in order to reach an equilibrium in the building sector⁽⁹⁾. However, although economics are determinant in the final analysis, they were not the dominant factors of the colonial architectural discourse. The symptomatic reading allows the isolation of the two practices which motivated the French 'politique du visible' in Morocco, i.e. ideology and politics.

The discourse of colonial architecture was thoroughly ideological in character. It aimed at giving the indigeneous populations the illusion of a 'protective' France, and at the same time an allusion to the power of the 'mother country'. Architecture and urbanism, which were considered by the Maréchal Lyautey 'de la même famille que la politique indigène'⁽¹⁰⁾, were among the main subjects of the 'cours préparatoires aux affaires indigènes'⁽¹¹⁾. They were even proposed as part of the curriculum at the 'Ecole Coloniale' by the 'Congrès International de l'Urbanisme aux Colonies et dans les Pays Tropicaux'⁽¹²⁾. The French, indeed, built up a very sophisticated and complex structure solely devoted to the enforcement and the reproduction of the colonial ideological discourse in the colonies and in France herself.

The terminology of the colonial architectural discourse was directly borrowed from humanist philosophy or from anthropology, which considers the essence of man in man himself, independent of his social determinants. It posits the existence of a universal essence of men and attributes this essence to isolated individuals. This humanistic abstraction of man also proclaims that certain aesthetic and visual values remain unchanged throughout history. Humanism is the basis of such colonial architectural expedients as the cosmetic use of local architectural artifacts for the purpose of 'pacifying the soul of the indigenous'. This policy neglected the fact that these very artifacts were the result of the particular evolution of Moroccan society and culture which could not be replicated by a mere design decision. It also neglected the fact that the survival of these architectural models throughout the history of Morocco was regulated by peculiar needs and values at every historical moment. Finally, it neglected the fundamental changes that the Moroccan society underwent after the colonial penetration, which alienated man from his physical environment.

In addition to the humanist discourse, the 'Orientalist' discourse that characterized literary and artistic production in France, especially during the post-Enlightenment period, exercised an overwhelming influence upon the discourse on architecture in Morocco. Orientalism is a representation or idea of the 'Orient' defined as being other than the 'Occident', mysterious, mystic, exotic, unchanging and inferior⁽¹³⁾. It is through such discourses as Orientalism that the idea of European culture and identity was presented as superior in comparison with all non-European cultures and societies. It is through such a discourse that colonialism and the Western 'hegemony', which Gramsci identified as an indispensable concept for any understanding of cultural life in the industrial West, were defended and given credibility all over the world. It is the discourse of

'Orientalism' which guided and motivated the inventory of Moroccan traditional architecture, and it is under the banner of the same discourse that this architecture was interpreted in nearly all public buildings realized during the period under investigation. The discourse of 'Orientalism', and its repercussions on architecture, aimed to petrify the development of the national culture and civilization by cultivating an excessive fascination the past in order to reduce Moroccans to an non-intellectual, spontaneous and naive expression of their own culture⁽¹⁴⁾.

Colonial architectural discourse was finally grounded in politics. It was based on the manipulation of all aspects of visual culture with the prime objective of serving the highest interests of France. Sometimes, it even fought against the total 'modern' economical control of indigenous life and arts, and against the total capitalist take-over of the "medieval" social and economic structures then prevailing in Morocco. Talking precisely about this, Gallotti recognized that: "Il n'eût pas été possible que la vie et l'art des indigènes ne s'y trouvâssent bouleversés, si l'on ne les eût protégés"⁽¹⁵⁾. In fact the colonial 'politique du visible' aimed essentially to give an illusion of the French goodwill to civilize, develop and pacify. Colonial politics acted upon the local culture and civilization only to inventory it, to structure it in order for it to better serve the colonial strategy.

The prime problem to be solved by the discourse of colonial architecture was the reconciliation of the antagonistic forms of indigenous and colonial architectural production in order to make them coexist in the heterogeneous colonial socio-economical structure. It was indeed known that the preservation of a visual life and culture with which local masses could identify was necessary for a long and lasting domination of Morocco.

The solutions to this problem showed the deep involvement of politics with architecture (and vice versa). The Maréchal Lyautey himself issued a number of laws (Dahirs, arrêtés, circulaires) concerning the preservation of historical monuments, and the architectural ordinances for certain areas of the cities⁽¹⁶⁾, whose application and enforcement he personally supervised. He also advocated and implemented the creation of institutional bodies such as 'le service des Beaux-Arts' which were to control the strict application of the bills. The real idea underneath these solutions was, for the French political structure, to mark Morocco with French culture and image. It also aimed to dissipate, by means of architecture, the image of two absolutely incongruous civilizations and cultures, expressive of two universes whose only connection was the domination of the one by the other.

CHAPTER IV

Colonial architecture in the service of politics

IV.1. The ideological roots of colonial architecture⁽¹⁾

Althusser has characterized the concept of ideology in a manner that could be useful for an architectural discussion. He wrote:

Every ideological representation is in a way a representation of reality, it somehow makes allusion to reality but equally produces only an illusion. We understand too that ideology gives men some kind of cognition of their world, gives them some recognition while at the same time leading them to a misappreciation of their world. Ideology considered from the point of view of its relation to reality, yields only an allusion to reality which is always accompanied by an illusion, a comprehension accompanied by a misapprehension⁽²⁾.

This two-way allusion/illusion or comprehension/misapprehension feature which characterizes ideology in general, is also characteristic of the semantic context of the architecture of French colonialism in Morocco.

Indeed, architecture, because of its physical presence in the colonial situation, necessarily alludes to the objective reality of colonialism, i.e. unequal economic and political power accompanied by domination, assimilation and ethnic segregation. At the same time, it obfuscates this same reality through its subtle manipulation by the colonial power. The cosmetic adoption of a Moroccan language of architecture had strong ideological motivations, far from the "objective facts" or the "natural aesthetic laws" proclaimed by the French architects and politicians to be the motives for their visual policies. It has been argued that the "politique du visible" adopted by the colonial administration was essentially motivated by a good will to 'further and revive a civilization in course of decay'⁽³⁾, and to develop an architecture adapted to the local climate and

conditions of settlements. This is only an illusion. Its real motivations are alluded to by such statements as: 'In the past, the Maghreb al Aqsa (Morocco) was incapable of achieving any original civilization. At the highest moments of her history, she only echoed,..., outside streams. Left to herself, she only stood out through negation and disorder', and then came France with 'civilization, care, prosperity for all, and a strong and bright culture'⁽⁴⁾

The doctrinal and ideological roots of the architectural discourse of colonialism reach beyond the scope of mere architectural considerations. French colonialism strongly marked architecture in Morocco by disrupting the natural evolution of Moroccan society, civilization and culture. Prior to the colonial penetration, there was a 'Moroccan personality' profoundly rooted in a specific cultural and civilizational environment. From its early days, colonization negated this personality and attempted to disfigure its cultural values. It inventoried and structured Moroccan culture in accordance with its strategy of "pacification" and division⁽⁵⁾, and its ideology of assimilation and depersonalization. Thus, it created, within this very culture, partitions and disruptions which have not yet been overcome and which prevented any objective approach to an architecture which reflects the social and cultural reality lived by the Moroccan people. It created a break, sometimes a radical break, which reached deep into the mental and psychological structures of the indigenous populations. Furthermore, it has influenced even the intellectual and scientific methodologies used today to examine the problematic of architecture in Morocco⁽⁶⁾. Anatole Kopp described the effects of colonization on Algeria in a way that is, to certain extent, very similar to those on Morocco, he said: 'This colonization almost completely eradicated Algerian culture, leaving little resemblance between today's Algeria and the Algeria of 150 years ago. Even the language has been reduced for most

speakers to a dialect based on Arabic, French and local dialects⁽⁷⁾

The colonial discourse of architecture was supported by two different, but often interdependent discourses: the discourses of humanist and 'Orientalist' scholarship which constituted the main ideological support for colonialism, particularly in France and Great Britain.

IV.1.1. Colonial architecture and Orientalism

Edward W. Said, who has made one of the most interesting contributions to the contemporary discussion of the determinants of Orientalist scholarship, has written: 'Much of the information and knowledge about Islam and the Orient that was used by the colonial powers to justify their colonialism derived from Orientalist scholarship⁽⁸⁾. For him, Orientalism represents the Orient culturally and ideologically as a 'mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and styles⁽⁹⁾. The discourse of Orientalism is indeed at the basis of the pompous attitude of nineteenth and early twentieth century European, and particularly French, colonialism. The literary works of such novelists as Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Nerval, Flaubert are the direct by-products of this attitude. They propagated in France the image of the Orient as a 'dead world', as an ensemble of 'nations without territory, "patrie", rights, laws, security,..., waiting anxiously for the shelter⁽¹⁰⁾ of European occupation. Their claimed "mission" was to revive the Orient, to explain it to their European readers and consecrate the hegemony of the West and its right-to-power over it. The climax of this vision is exemplified by a statement of Lamartine. He wrote: 'This sort of suzerainty,..., consecrated as a European right, will consist principally in the right to occupy one or another territory, as well as the coasts, in order to found there either free cities, or

European colonies, or commerical ports of call...⁽¹¹⁾.

One of the major characteristics of French architectural discourse in Morocco during the 1910's and 1920's is its strong ties with the Orientalist scholarship through an almost permanent circulation of Orientalist ideas among politicians, architects, painters and novelists. Thus, travel accounts such as Chateaubriand's, de Nerval's, Gautier's were not unrelated to the architectural reflections of Prost or Laprade. Neither were they external to the paintings of Jean-Léon Gerôme (1824-1904) or Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863) before them. They often served as links between the architect and the architectural and urban landscapes by emphasizing such or such aspect of Morocco, and even by catalyzing their vision towards such stereotypes as the "charme" of the Moroccan cities. Jean Gallotti contributed to these stereotypes through such descriptions as: 'La nudité des surfaces semble dédiée à la gloire du soleil, les murs et les terrasses dressées et étendues sans ordre, s'ombrageant les uns les autres, sont pour le jeu des rayons d'ombres, un magique instrument, un grand orgue à la lumière...'⁽¹²⁾. A whole mythology was indeed created around Moroccan towns and architecture, describing them with an 'Arabian Nights' vocabulary. Such a vocabulary was in fact a sum of "mana words" defined very suggestively by Claude Lévi-Strauss as 'an indeterminate value of significatoin, in itself without meaning and therefore capable of receiving any meaning, whose unique function is to fill a gap between signifier and signified'⁽¹³⁾. This gap encompasses the colonial necessity to make up, through some kind of verbal and ideological cosmetics, the reality of colonialism with a noble and humanitarian morality.

The colonial architectural discourse, in many aspects, owes much to what Roland Barthes, in the field of linguistics, calls the French "African grammar"⁽¹⁴⁾ which he characterizes as follows:

'In a general way, it is a language which functions essentially as a code, i.e. the words have no relation to their content, or else a contrary one. It is a writing which we might call cosmetic, because it aims at covering the facts with a sound of language, or if we prefer, with the sufficient sign of language⁽¹⁵⁾.

This discourse was expressed, in many occasions, with a Roman-like imperial nostalgia which gave the French colonial enterprise the character of a "mission" which France alone can fulfill. Lyautey very often emphasized the French "civilizing" role in North Africa. He defended it on many occasions, saying that: 'Ici en Afrique du Nord, nous trouvons partout sur nos pas la trace de Rome: ce qui prouve bien que nous y sommes à notre place, c'est à dire au premier rang de la civilisation⁽¹⁶⁾. The object of such statement was to stress, with enough force, that France had replaced the Roman, the Arabs and the Turks in this part of the world, and that neither the indigenous nor the rival colonial powers could do anything about it.

Together with literature, painting constituted the strongest ideological tool for European colonial domination. Nearly all nineteenth century French painters represented images of the Orient, which included not only a broad geographic area stretching from Spain and Morocco to the Middle East and Persia, but also different cultures, religions and historical periods.⁽¹⁷⁾ At first, most painters depicted the Orient only on the basis of travel accounts, having no idea of what the Orient really was. This was the case of Antoine-Jean Gros (1771-1835) in two of his official commissions, i.e. 'La Bataille de Nazareth' (1801) (Plate VI) which represented the triumph of the Napoleonic army over the Turks and in which Robert Rey notes 'le paysage déjà 'colonial', avec son grand drapeau conquérant' (18); and 'Les pestiférés de Jaffa' (1804) which represented Napoléon's visit to a native hospital. Gros can be considered the pionner of French

Orientalist painting. He was indeed to have a great influence upon some of the most famous French painters of the nineteenth century, particularly Delacroix, and later Gerôme. Although Orientalist painters differed in some aspects of their works, their paintings were a result of the same enthusiastic fashion for the Orient, which characterized European artistic circles during the nineteenth century. Although they represented the Orient more or less successfully⁽¹⁹⁾, they all shared the same characteristic of doing so under the banner of the Western superiority and in direct relation with nineteenth century French colonialist expansion. Most of Delacroix's Orientalist paintings were realized during his appointment in 1832 as an attaché to the duc de Mornay, Louis Philippe's ambassador to the king of Morocco. It is during his stay in North Africa that he was able to produce some of his most famous Orientalist paintings, i.e. 'Les Convulsionnaires de Tanger' (183(8)) (Plate VII). Of all nineteenth century French painters, Gerome was probably the most significant example of a painter of official art. Albert Boime goes so far as to suggest that "Gerôme's work grew out of the Near-Eastern policies of Napoléon III"⁽²⁰⁾ and that "Gerôme's Orient of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories, and desert landscapes was actually the place of France's colonial projections"⁽²¹⁾. The climax of Gerome's identification with the state and its colonial expansion came about with his work showing the 'Réception des Ambassadeurs Siamois' (1864) (Plate VIII) by Napoléon III and the Empress Eugénie. This painting, one of Gerôme's most important official commissions, represented a powerful Siamese delegation genuflecting in reverence to the Emperor and Empress and to the splendor and pomp of French civilization and culture.

Gerôme's themes of representation of the Orient were associated with such clichés as slave markets, harem scenes, captured prisoners, baths, sexual

fantasies, 'all scenes of human beings subjected to involuntary servitude and overwhelming colonial power' which symbolize and 'urge to possess and to exploit'⁽²²⁾. These themes are ultimately related to French colonial expansion during the Second Empire and the Third Republic. The Orientalist discourse of painters, writers and politicians was the cultural expression of the assimilation and the domination of non-industrialized countries. It constituted the semantic context within which the architecture of colonialism was thought and produced. In its essence, it does not differ much from Gallotti's description of the "charme des villes marocaines", or from Laprade's 'étrange sentiment de vivre dans quelque Grand Siècle'⁽²³⁾, or from Michel's dream about 'des palais de marbre, des colonnettes ouvragées, des balcons polychromes et des architectures impossible chez nous, mais réalisables dans le pays des magiciens et des génies'⁽²⁴⁾. Although these statements might sound rather complimentary, they all converge towards a description of mysterious, mystical ambiances, offering up exotic pictures to the Westerner's fantasies, and reducing North African civilization and visual culture as a whole to a naive, non-intellectualized and backward expression. All of the visions of the Orientalists, whether they were architects, writers or painters, were shot through with doctrines of European superiority and ethnocentricity.

IV.1.2. Colonial architecture and humanism

Besides Orientalism, the colonial architectural discourse also finds its ideological roots in other philosophical currents which characterized nineteenth century Europe such as positivism, hermeneutics, Neo-Kantianism⁽²⁵⁾. However, it was mainly on the basis of humanism⁽²⁶⁾, a philosophy which neglects social determinants and presupposes that men are isolated from their concrete historical reality, that colonial architecture founded its discourse. This abstraction of men

is based on the existence of eternal values, particularly in the semantic and aesthetic fields, which are presumed to remain similar throughout history. Humanism indeed considers man as an 'object' of study, stamped with a kind of otherness, passive and unchanging. It transfixes the "object" of study within

'unalienable and non-evolutive specificity, instead of defining it as all other beings, states, nations, peoples, culture, as a product, a resultant of the vention, of the forces operating in the field of historical evolution'⁽²⁷⁾.

It sees architecture as disassociated from its social essence, hence transforming it into an object of ideological speculations. It establishes an unchanging relationship between men and their physical environment, between men and their architecture without the mediation of social facts and evolution, without taking into account the changing historical lived reality of the indigenous people⁽²⁸⁾. This non-scientific conception of the Moroccan man and his inhabited space, which ultimately constitutes their negation, was advocated by the colonial ideological institutions in which it was explicitly thought that: 'sans doute, il serait souvent plus simple de ne pas rencontrer d'indigènes entre les richesses du pays et le désir et la possibilité d'exploiter ces richesses; mais qu'on le veuille ou non, il y a des indigènes, il y a des tribus avec leurs traditions, leurs interets...'⁽²⁹⁾.

IV.2. The politics of the architecture of colonialism

Architecture has been used to a great extent as a medium for political propaganda, as can be seen in historical examples throughout the ages, from ancient Greece and Rome to Baroque Rome, France of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union under Stalin and the United States in the 1930's. In all cases, architecture aimed at symbolizing national power and constituted the basis for glorifying governments and states. The instance of French colonialism in

Morocco is a further area in which architecture has served political aims and in which architectural expressions and political strategies have frequently intersected. The knowledge of this architecture would be incomplete if not looked at within its political motivation, just as architecture in Hitler's Germany must be seen as a tool of Nazi ideology, and architecture in Mussolini's Italy as a tool in the hands of Fascist ideology. Ignoring this historical fact would generate further formal and empirical account of the kind that have characterized writing on the architecture of colonialism in general and French colonialism in particular.

Before addressing the specifics of the intervention of colonial politics into the making of architecture in Morocco, a question must be raised and answered. Do political orientations have any effect upon architectural forms? We do not think that they have a direct effect. Different political systems do not automatically produce different architectures, as one can see in an overview of the architecture of such antagonistic systems as the Soviet and the American. Both systems used a Neo-classical architectural vocabulary and Baroque town planning devices in order to express national power. However, we do think that politics have an effect on the production and the material design process of architecture, and on the way the architect understands his role. The political dimension of architecture has therefore to be brought to light not through the interrogation of the building's style but through the politics of architecture that brought them about.

It is within these limitations that the intervention of colonial politics in the making of colonial architecture in Morocco is investigated. This intervention had several objectives in addition to that of pacifying the soul of the indigenous populations. It also aimed at the justification of the French colonial state vis-a-vis rival colonial powers, and at the reassurance of the French people who began

to raise questions about the undertakings of their government in colonized countries. In order to illustrate this, we shall discuss four major issues that are directly related to the colonial "politique du visible"⁽³⁰⁾. The first issue is "urban apartheid"⁽³¹⁾, which includes such French policies as the preservation of old towns and the separation of old and new towns. The second issue is the role of town planning and architecture as symbols of power, and in order to understand this we shall examine the business and the administrative quarters in Rabat. The third issue is the necessity for France to maintain her "good" colonial image. This will be seen in such international events as the Universal Exhibition of 1889, the colonial exhibit of 1931 and through the Congr s International de l'Urbanisme aux Colonies et dans les Pays Tropicaux. The fourth and final issue is the role of architects in furthering colonial politics. We shall look at the architect's involvement on the side of the politicians and examine the determinist and the voluntarist aspects of this involvement.

IV.2.1 Colonial urban apartheid.

The concept of urban apartheid⁽³²⁾ refers to the system of ethnic urban segregation imposed by the French upon the development of Moroccan cities. The urbanism of Lyautey and Prost included two principles: first, the 'respect of the artistic integrity of the old towns'; second, the adoption of 'modern town planning rules for the new towns'. It was achieved through the complete separation of European agglomerations from native agglomerations: 'The European population centers must be separated from those of the indigenous populations for political, economic, sanitary and aesthetic reasons as well as for town planning purposes'⁽³³⁾. It was also achieved through the creation of a "cordon sanitaire" around these native reservations with a greenbelt of open land, or simply with a

large avenue as in the case of Rabat. Let us look at some examples in Rabat and Casablanca which are the cities in which colonial urban and architectural policies were expressed in their most sophisticated forms.

Historically, the city of Rabat⁽³⁴⁾ (Plate IX) grew progressively around the presentday Qasbah of the Udaya, as one can see in the concentric rings of fortification walls built on the occasion of every period of growth. The peak of the city's history was the twelfth century under the Almohad dynasty, and particularly the reign of Sultan Yaqub al-Mansour (1184-1199). Al-Mansour had the ambition of creating at Ribat al-Fath a royal capital worthy of the dynasty. He order that a large city be built on the site and be protected by oversized fortifications. Even future growth was taken into consideration to the point that the area within the walls - probably completed by 1197⁽³⁵⁾ - includes the Qasbah of the Udaya, the Medina, the colonial city, the extensive grounds of the King's palace, and the administrative quarters. The huge project was never completed due to the fall of the Almohad dynasty, and it is difficult to determine, beside the densely-constructed area which corresponds to today's Medina, how much of the vast terrain enclosed by the still-existing Almohad's walls was actually built upon. The city remained at this stage of development until 1913 when the French decided to make it the seat of the Residence du Protectorat. Up until that date, Rabat, like all Islamic cities, was characterized by a rather coherent community life with all its infrastructure, its laws, and its code of behavior⁽³⁶⁾.

Like every other culture, the culture of Islam has produced a considerable amount of writing about towns and architecture. In her recent work, **La Règle et le Modèle**⁽³⁷⁾, Françoise Choay points out to a large number of Muslim scholars who left a very rich literature on the subject. She particularly mentions Ibn Hawqal, Muhallabi, and Mugaddasi in the tenth century and Yaqut and Abul-Fida

in the fourteenth century who were members of a school of geographers, then unique in the world, to whom she added such historians as Ibn Khaldun. There is still a tremendous amount of uninvestigated data which exist in various archives and libraries all over the world and which consist of **fatwas** (opinion on a point of law), **fiqh** (jurisprudence, the science of religious laws in Islam), **hisba** (the function of the Muhtasib who is a person entrusted in a town with, among other roles, the supervision of a good moral behavior and of the markets) and other legal documents. These documents describe the urban life in Islamic cities with a high degree of detail.

An important account of Islamic urban life can be found in Mohamed Ibn Abdun's book of the **hisba**, translated into French under the title **Traité d' Ibn Abdun sur la vie Urbaine et les Corps de Métiers**⁽³⁸⁾. It describes the urban life in Seville in the beginning of the twelfth century during the reign of the Moroccan dynasty of the Almohads. Ibn Abdun devoted a whole section of his 'traite' to 'construction, street repair, sewers and sumps, and all that may be harmful to the health of the population'⁽³⁹⁾. He described different requirements for the building of a sound house, the making of bricks and tiles, wood cutting, the proportion of lime used in plaster and went on to provide a series of hygienic and sanitary rules⁽⁴⁰⁾.

Ibn Khaldun, two centuries later, addressed these issues in even more detail. In **Al Muqaddimah**,⁽⁴¹⁾ which is an introduction to his projected ambitious but unachieved work about the 'history of the Universe', Ibn Khaldun discussed several issues related to towns and architecture. He discussed techniques of construction, some judicial issues such as the statute regulating party walls, window and door openings, and even the education of the 'architect' and the necessity of such disciplines as geometry and algebra in training for the

'profession' of building and design.

Thus, prior to the colonial penetration, there was a clear awareness of the multitude of problems posed by the urban life and the ways to solve them, and a deeply-rooted tradition of building and architecture. The various texts and legal documents mentioned above did not constitute specific regulations. However, they were strictly enforced by community agreement until at least the end of the seventeenth century. Some of the codes even survived into the modern era and are still followed in most old Moroccan towns. All these texts and legal codes indirectly resulted in what Choay calls an 'organisation spatiale concertée'⁽⁴²⁾, produced by a play between non-written cultural, judicial, economic and institutional experiences.

The intervention of the colonial town planners and architects in 1913, in a large extent, contributed to the death of this tradition. They simply surrounded the Medina, leaving no room for its future developments. "Preserving" the Medina was in fact preventing it from growing given its inability to absorb the demographic growth, and given the impossibility for its population to gain access to the colonial city economically and often sociologically.

In the planning of the colonial city, one of the main preoccupations was to arrange a panoramic view over the old city considered as a "bel objet d'art" to be contemplated from far away by the European settlers. The lay out of the city was then traced accordingly. The "Palais de la Résidence" (Plate X), the residential and administrative quarters were placed on the highest point of the city allowing a general view over both the Medina of Rabat and its twin city Sale, and at the same time protecting them from any "social upheaval".⁽⁴³⁾ View was also one of the guiding principles of the internal arrangement of the colonial city: 'L'aspect d'une ville, quel qu'en soit le tracé, est fonction de l'architecture... Les rues et les

places ne seront interessantes que si les immeubles et les monuments qui les bordent sont agréables à regarder⁽⁴⁴⁾.

Native architectural idioms were used in nearly all the buildings designed under the supervision of Prost in order to produce the architecture "agréable a regarder". This provided the colonial ideology with an answer to its aesthetic preoccupations. It also calls to mind the Orientalist visions which were a la mode in Europe: kaleidoscopic color schemes, or the exotic motifs which Taylor related to the development of Art-Deco geometrization⁽⁴⁵⁾. This exotic vision is present in the major public buildings of Rabat business quarter such as the presentday Banque du Maroc, the Gare Centrale, and the Bureau de Postes. Significantly, even private buildings located in the same area had to obey the same architectural ordinances. In this manner, all the buildings along the Boulevard Dar al Makhzen (today's Avenue Mohamed V) were strictly supervised. This control over both public and private buildings in the area which is in direct contact with the native urban fabric follows a general pattern applied by colonial architects in most Moroccan towns. It is based on the idea that those areas should be a kind of buffer zone connecting the native quarters and the settlers' residential quarters, which is to be understood as a symbolic restoration of a morphological continuum broken by the juxtaposition of two incongruous urban systems⁽⁴⁶⁾. In Prost's mind, the objective was to create a modern city separated from the native city, but each linked to the other by large thoroughfares lined with financial and business activities. This closet part of the colonial city to the native city has to convey colonial political and ideological messages to the indigenous population and had therefore to be of a certain familiarity to them. This could not work in the reality of the colonial situation. In **The Wretched of the Earth**, Frantz Fanon describes very suggestively the antagonistic character of the two "worlds". He

wrote:

'The colonial world is a world divided into compartments.... The colonial world is a world cut in two.... The zone where the natives live is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed, but not in the service of a higher unity..., they both follow the principle of reciprocal exclusivity. No conciliation is possible, for of the two terms, one is superfluous. The settlers' town is a strongly-built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly-lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage cans swallow all the leavings... His (the settler) feet are protected by strong shoes although the streets of his town are clean and even, with no holes or stones. The settler's town is a well fed town, an easy-going town; its belly is always full of good things. The settler's town is a town... for foreigners.'

'The town belonging to the colonized people, or at least the native town, the negro village, the Medina, the reservation, is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there...; they die there... It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire. It is a town of niggers and dirty Arabs...

This world divided into compartments, this world cut in two is inhabited by two different species. The originality of the colonial context is that economic reality, inequality, and the immense difference of ways of life never come to 'mask the human realities'⁽⁴⁷⁾.

The colonial city was indeed designed according to the most recent, and often experimental, techniques of urbanism, i.e. zoning, use of aerial photography and "plans d'aménagement" which were not introduced in French urban regulations until 1919, that is five years after their introduction in Morocco. This provided the settler's town with all the requirements of "modern life": large boulevards, water and electricity, squares and gardens, a sophisticated network of public transportation. In the mean time, it left the native town to grow on its own, that is, disintegrate from within. No provisions for new indigenous quarters were

provided to back up the decision of "preservation" which thus remained on the level of a purely ideological discourse.

It is very interesting to note at this point the consistency with which the urban apartheid policy of the French was implemented in all the newly-planned Moroccan cities. Although Rabat was among the cities where colonial architecture was the most characteristic, it was far from being the most significant example of urban segregation (Plate XI). The topographic configuration of the site indeed left no alternative for the French town planners other than to develop the city toward the southern country side, and to use only a large avenue to separate the traditional and colonial urban fabrics. In other cities, like Fez and Méknes (Plate XII & XIII), the topography of the site was ideal for the colonial urban apartheid. The Medina of Fez for example, was located in a natural depression surrounded by swamps and uneven lands. The French planners chose a plateau to the south-west of the traditional urban fabric to build the new town. This provided the colonial administration with all the requirements of its policy of urban segregation. The two urban fabrics were indeed separated by a physical barrier, the only portion of land on which the Medina could have expanded became the site of the colonial town, and most important of all, the potentially disruptive local population was kept under control from the heights of the strategic plateau. With few differences, i.e. the existence of a river (Oued Bou-Fekran) which created the ravine that separates the two urban fabrics, the city of Meknes was planned with almost exactly the same set of constraints. In addition, all colonial town planning schemes shared a common characteristic: a military camp was conceived either in a close neighborhood of the Medina, i.e. Rabat and Marrakech (Plates XI & XIV), or as a kind of buffer zone between the Medina⁽⁴⁸⁾ and the colonial town, i.e. Meknes and Fez, thus making even more obvious the

policy of segregation.

It is very likely that the strict separation of the two urban entities played a major role in worsening the political climate between the two communities during the forties. It is in this context that the theoretical scheme of a "Cit  Franco-Musulmane" (Plate XV), conceived by Annabi, an engineer from the 'Ecole Polytechnique', in 1945 is to be placed⁽⁴⁹⁾. The scheme is a successor of Lyautey's and Prost's proposals for Morocco. However, instead of defining a strict "non-aedificandi" zone between the two urban systems, Annabi's scheme proposes an "axe de collaboration" which would be a progressive transition between the French zone and the Muslim zone, and a space where the morphological and cultural differences could coexist. The architecture within the boundaries of the "axe de collaboration" would be of Franco-Muslim character becoming increasingly French towards the European quarters and Muslim towards the native quarters. Annabi's "Cit  Franco-Musulmane" was an ideal scheme, it constituted one of the remedies thought of by the French bureaucracy in order to avoid the transformation of the urban separation into an obvious sign of political, cultural and social antagonisms. Annabi's scheme could never be implemented, but it remained the only theoretical attempt to define an "ideal" colonial urbanism. To a great extent, perhaps even more than Lyautey or Prost who only transposed an urban model which had already been implemented in Europe⁽⁵⁰⁾, Annabi can be considered one of the main theoreticians of colonial town planning. He conceived the colonial town as an articulation of urban techniques and architectural devices which would deal with the methods of colonization as they developed gradually.⁽⁵¹⁾

IV.2.2. Town planning and architecture as symbols of power: opposition and planned discontinuity.

The capital city of the French protectorate in Morocco was the place where the symbolism of power was expressed in its most sophisticated forms, through architecture and town planning. This was achieved by various means, among which was the display of the 'g nie d'ordre, de mesure et de claire raison de notre patrie'⁽⁵²⁾. Very seldom was monumentality used as a symbol of power as in the case of the "Palais de Justice" (the present day House of Representatives in Rabat), designed by Adrien Laforge, with its imposing overscaled colonnade and its strong symmetry. The "g nie d'ordre et de claire raison" was mainly shown through the opposition of a "rational" geometrical space to the organic and labyrinthic space of the Medina. To the network of interweaving streets of the Medina were opposed broad avenues with open perspectives, i.e. Avenue Dar el Makhzen and the Avenue of Casablanca (now Avenue de la Victoire) (Plates XVI & XVII). To the compactness of the M dina were opposed the openness and the great legibility of the colonial urban fabric which, unlike the M dina, was built on large area of land, thus expressing power, order and social antagonism. Impressive panoramic views were arranged wherever possible - from the "quartier de la R sidence" to the estuary of the Bou-Regreg, from the Palace of the R sidence to the M dinas of Rabat and Sal  (Plate X), and from City Hall to the M dina. To the absence of greenery in the native town was opposed the massive introduction of nature in the settlers' town. Nearly all the residential quarters, and even the administrative quarters, which Lyautey described in these words:

'Elle (the administrative quarters compared to a "usine a travailler") doit  tre souriante, accueillante; le travail consid rable demande   ceux qui l'occuperont doit  tre all g  par un s jour quotidien agr able. Pas d' normes constructions, mais le plus possible des pavillons noy s dans la verdure, commodement reli s par des galeries ou

pergolas⁽⁵³⁾.

All were drowned in luxuriant vegetation.

A sophisticated system of urban and architectural regulations was opposed to the spontaneity and community agreement which characterized building activity in the Médina, i.e. three administrative bodies were created to supervise the planning of the colonial towns. They were: "le Service Central des Plans de Villes", which was the only body to have power of decision over town planning options; "les Bureaux Municipaux du Plan" which were to supervise at a local level the implementation of the plans and regulations, and finally "le Service des Beaux-Arts et des Monuments Historique" whose role was to control the application of the architectural ordinances and the 'tenue artistique des facades'⁽⁵⁴⁾. These administrative bodies had to supervise the implementation of an extensive set of regulations governing street widths, alignment of buildings, their height (limited to four storeys of 3.5 to 4 meters), or the obligation that street facades, or those looking towards public gardens, be in harmony with the surroundings. Local bodies had even to approve the colors to be employed by a builder, and a landlord was required to clean and repaint his facades every five years. Thus, unlike other cases where architecture and town planning were overdetermined under the domination of politics, i.e. British New Delhi, the power of France in Morocco was expressed through a more complex opposition: an opposition between "order" and "rationality" in the colonial town and "disorder" and "irrationality" in the native fabric. The urban and architectural artifacts traditionally presented as being expressive of power, i.e. Neo-Classical architecture and Baroque town planning, were never extensively used by the French in Morocco.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Power was also expressed by a "planned discontinuity"⁽⁵⁶⁾ a planned

separation, by a complete rejection of the Medina and its urbanistic model under the pretexts of "comprehension and respect". It consisted in the encirclement of the Médina by a clear geometrical urban fabric in order to keep the potentially disruptive native population under control. Previous experiences in Algeria and Tunisia had indeed shown the inability of the colonial power to understand the Médina, to grasp its social complexity, and to penetrate its labyrinthical physical structure⁽⁵⁷⁾ which symbolized its resistance and the resistance of its socio-economic structure to colonization. In this matter Fanon wrote in **Sociologie d'une Révolution**:

'The European city is not the prolongation of the native city. The colonizers have not settled in the midst of the natives. They have surrounded the native city; they have laid siege to it. Every exit from the Kasbah...opens on enemy territory... The native cities are deliberately caught in the conqueror's vise. To get an idea of the rigor with which the immobilization of the native city, of the autochthonous population, is organized, one must have in one's hands the plans according to which a colonial city has been laid out, and compare them with the comments of the general staff of the occupation forces'⁽⁵⁸⁾.

In addition to its expression through an opposition and planned discontinuity, the power of France in Morocco was also expressed through the superficial use of certain formal aspects of local visual culture. Among other roles which conditioned the making of the architecture of colonialism were, the psychological pacification of the indigenous population, and the establishment of moral, religious and political alliances with the local powers. It indeed became clear to the French that no profound and lasting influence could be realized without gaining the sympathy of the natives and some support from their representatives. Indeed, the last could not act and be maintained if the physical and symbolic urban fabric which innervate the overall social structure is disturbed or destroyed⁽⁵⁹⁾. These were the main considerations on the basis of which the

local architectural vocabulary was kept and the "style du protecteur" developed and carried out throughout the first phase of French colonialism in Morocco. The fascination of French architects with the elements characteristic of Islamic architecture in Morocco and Spain was in great part cultivated by such travels accounts as Théophile Gautier's *Voyage Pittoresque en Algérie - 1845*⁽⁶⁰⁾ which belongs in the Orientalist tradition. This fascination was systematically reflected in their designs. However, the architectural outcome of this reflection was imprinted with a strong European background. It was characterized by a systematic reference to "style" as the semantic conveyor of European sensibility to materials and to rules of composition. This is particularly visible in the "Place Lyautey" (now Place de la Prefecture) (Plate XVIII) built in successive stages between 1913 and 1930 in Casablanca. It consisted of the major colonial public buildings and luxurious business centers, organized around a landscaped rectangular open space with a belt of streets designed in such a way as to provide an easy access to the "Hotel de la Subdivision" (now the Palais de la Prefecture) and the "Palais de Justice" which constitute the landmarks of the Place (Plates XIX & XX). It is in the "Place Lyautey" that Prost distinguished himself as a Beaux-Arts educated architect by the disposition of volumes (most notably the "Hotel de la Subdivision" and the "Palais de Justice" conceived in collaboration with Joseph Marrast), and their architectural treatment⁽⁶¹⁾. Indeed, the overall composition of the Place, the symmetry and proportions of the principal facades, the exhibition of a main monumental entrance, the totally disengaged and isolated siting of the buildings make them closer to the tradition of French public buildings than to that of Islamic or Arab institutions, and even less to a specifically Moroccan architectural tradition⁽⁶²⁾.

It is also in the design of the 'Residence Generale et Services Centraux'

(Plate XXI) in Rabat that Prost revealed his Beaux-Arts background and his European sensibility. The design of the complex -- carried out by Prost and his collaborators on the basis of a program written by Lyautey himself -- was located on the top of a strategic hill which has a view over nearly all Rabat. It consisted of a large area of man-made luxuriant landscape within which were placed various isolated buildings connected to each other by a network of "pergolas". The outside of the buildings displayed many characteristics of Moroccan architecture, i.e. very simple white-washed facades with very few openings which all look towards the court-yards, a systematic use of green roof tiles, and a height limited to two or three storeys including the ground floor. Although the general lay out of the quarter recalls more the model of an Anglo-American 'garden suburb' than the Beaux-Arts academic tradition, the single buildings were designed in the spirit of the symmetrical, axial and isolated plans of the Ecole. The villa of the 'Résident Général' for example, even though given a peculiar local character, displays a geometrical, symmetrical and monumental layout.

But the most significant characteristic of the quarter is its strong reflection of the new French 'politique du visible'. It is indeed very striking to observe that the quarter which, being the symbolic heart of the French presence in Morocco would be expected to display the pomp of France's civilization and culture, was designed on the model of a residential quarter. Although the configuration of the site might have imposed some constraints on the designers, the plan clearly shows their will to avoid imposing and monumental devices. For example, the villa of the 'Résident Général' was not given the importance it might have had in other circumstances, e.g. the House of the Viceroy in New Delhi. Instead of placing it at the end of a strong axis, which would have been possible, the designers, probably in concert with Lyautey, had recourse to other town

planning devices. They provided two oblique streets which merge in a curve that leads to the intentionally hidden entrance of the Residence (Plate XXI). This example can be generalized to all the major colonial buildings, not only of this quarter but of the whole city of Rabat. The monumentality of the buildings was also decreased by the lush vegetation spread all over the quarter and by the network of covered walk-ways which made it hard to have a full perception of the edifices. The axes which were emphasized in the quarter were the ones that led to two major doorways in the old fortification walls, i.e. the 'Porte des Zaers' and the entrance to the Royal palace. Moreover, the only two axes in Rabat, and probably the most imposing of all monumental devices used by French colonial town planners, also terminated at Moroccan historical monuments. I.e. the long vista of the Boulevard du Dar-El-Makhzen is closed with the Jamaa as-Sunna, and that of the avenue de Casablanca with Bab-Ar-Rouah, one of the most prestigious Almohads' doorways to the city (Plates XVI & XVII). Thus, it clearly appears that, in the seat of their capital and in the heart of their Protectorate in Morocco, the French used all kinds of architectural and town planning devices in order to keep a low profile while simultaneously emphasizing local edifices. The city of Rabat, and particularly its administrative quarters, encompasses all the determinants of the French 'politique du visible' in Morocco: to 'pacify the soul of the indigenous' by displaying forms in which they could identify, and to give them, by means of architecture and town planning, the illusion that France intended to play a modest and conciliatory role.

It was also in the designs for single buildings that Prost and his collaborators showed their European sensibility. The 'Hotel de la Subdivision' in Casablanca, for example, was designed in a vaguely Mediterranean-Italianate style. Its plan is organized around a series of interior open courtyards whose

fountains, pools and luxuriant vegetation constitute a kind of compromise between the European architectural landscape tradition and the Moroccan patio house (Plate XIX). Its facade, an encounter between art-deco motives and Byzantine ornamentation, is dominated by a clock-tower which, although not similar in appearance, can be easily connected with the clock-tower in Tony Garnier's 'Cite Industrielle'. Another example is 'La banque du Maroc' (Plate XXII) in Rabat which possesses a typical Beaux-Arts plan with its symmetry, strong axis, central space, isolated siting and monumental entrance. The facade is also a perfect symbol of the confidence of French architects in their European background. References to Palladio, (the central arch supported by two double columns with two side entrances), and to Italian mannerism (the use of rusticated stones on both sides of the central arch), were conjoined with references to Byzantine architecture (the capitals and the ornamental motives on the top of the facade), to give an Islamico-European look to the building. This cosmetic mixture of architectural idioms was characteristic, although varied by individual designers, of nearly all the buildings of the same period.

On another level of analysis, it was mainly in Rabat that Prost distinguished himself as one of the "progressive" Beaux-Arts educated architects and showed his awareness of contemporary urban planning models. It must be recalled that Prost was among the young generation of Beaux-Arts graduates and Grand Prix de Rome winners who, in the line of a tradition inaugurated by the 'rebels' against the academicism of the Ecole and the authority of Quatremère-de-Quincy, were impregnated with new utopian social ideas. Nearly all the ideas he applied to the planning of Rabat, e.g. creation of public parks and gardens throughout the city, the diffusion of residential quarters in vegetation, were circulating within the circles of the Academie de France in Rome. The idea of

the railroad which goes underground as it enters the city was very likely inspired by Tony Garnier's proposed solution in the "Cité Industrielle". In Villa Medici a great concern with town planning developed among the "pensionnaires". This was due in part to the tremendous urban growth and very urgent housing problems, and to the growing social concerns within philosophers and architects circles. Prost, together with Tony Garnier who chose in 1901 "Une Cité Industrielle à proximité d'une usine" as his last "envoi" from Villa Medici, and Léon Jaussely (Grand Prix de Rome - 1903) who in 1905 won the International Competition for the extension of Barcelona, seem to have been very strongly affected by the utopian-socialist ideas of the nineteenth century, and by the writings and works of such architects as Labrouste and Viollet-le-Duc⁽⁶³⁾. Prost also developed a certain sympathy for Byzantine architecture mainly through his trip to Constantinople and his thorough study of Hagia Sophia (Plates XXIII, XXIV & XXV), the subject of nearly all his "envois". The mark of Byzantine architecture was present in most buildings he designed, or of which he supervised the design, in Morocco. This appears particularly in the "Banque du Maroc" in Rabat and the "Hotel de la Subdivision" in Casablanca. In addition, the adoption of a denuded architecture of simple geometry, characteristic of most buildings in the administrative quarters of Rabat, is not unrelated to the first breakthroughs of the "Modern Movement" in Europe.

The same geometrization, the same abstraction, was characteristic of the very few housing projects build for natives during Lyautey's administration. This was particularly the case of the "Quartier Habous" (Plates XXVI & XXVII), the pseudo Médina designed by Laprade, Cadet and Brion in Casablanca in 1917. At its origin, the project sought to reproduce the organic urban fabric of the native towns. The quarter was conceived as an independent and severely

delimited urban unit, with a unified style inspired by local traditions and idioms. Prior to its conception, Laprade and his collaborators carried out a large survey in the Médinas of Fez, Salé, Rabat and Marrakech, and produced a considerable number of sketches⁽⁶⁴⁾ (Plate XXVIII). The quarter was designed for 5000 people and was realized within ten years. It contained some 1000 dwelling units structured by a series of public facilities. However, these various features failed to generate the spirit of the Médina and the systematic use of traditional forms alone was unable to recreate an appropriate traditional environment. In order to think a Médina, to conceptualize it, one must have built it, mastered it from within its physical structure and above all from within its socio-economic structure, things which, as we have discussed above, could never be achieved by the French architects throughout the history of colonization of North Africa. The Medina is indeed a complex organic urban fabric which developed over a long period. It grew up in progressive stages and as a result of the encounter between economic, social and cultural determinants. If French architects were certainly able to understand its physical composition, they were not able to understand the complexity of the community life which is its essence. Jacques Berques very accurately suggests that the Medina is in a

"constant state of oscillation, as is every living organism. But with its vicissitudes, it re-establishes a balance which needs no conceptualization, or hardly any institution. If its structure is not of itself explicit, it makes itself felt by the thousands of details of communal living closely attuned to the use of space"⁽⁶⁵⁾

Detached from this communal living, Laprade's design showed the formalism, and the aestheticism that Prost and Laprade demonstrated in all their works in Morocco. Aestheticism is not innocent, it always obeys an ideology that it aims to serve. Laprade realized a theatrical "mise en scène" aiming to mask

the profound and structural transformations brought about by colonialism and the capitalist mode of production into the spatial dimensions where the Moroccan civilization and culture had been developed. It is in projects like the "Quartier Habous" that the humanistic roots of the architecture of colonialism appears the most clearly. It indeed tried to provide a "human living space" for the "alienated" natives, alienated by having no control over their cultural, civilizational destiny, and over their physical environment⁽⁶⁶⁾.

IV.3. Architecture and the French colonial image.

The new colonial "politique du visible", i.e. the style of the protector, did not have the colonized people as its only target. The French central power was ideologically and politically committed both to the French people and to rival colonial powers as far as the preservation and the reproduction of a "good colonial image" was concerned. A series of events came about to serve this double commitment: the Exposition de Paris of 1867, the Exposition Universelle of 1889 in Paris, the Expositions Coloniales of 1931 and 1932 in Paris, and finally the Congrès International de l'Urbanisme aux Colonies et dans les Pays Tropicaux held in Vincennes in 1931. Quoting a news-paper of the time, **L'Exposition Universelle de Paris de 1889** emphasized the fact that 'l'Exposition rehausse extraordinairement le prestige de la France, à l'étranger, et peut-être plus encore, le prestige du Président Carnot aux yeux de ses compatriotes et des étrangers⁽⁶⁷⁾. Carnot, who made at least fifty visits to the exhibition was judged 'l'homme le plus populaire de France⁽⁶⁸⁾. In many occasions, he was shown cheered by some of the natives who participated in the Exposition⁽⁶⁹⁾.

The 1889 exhibition will be used in the following discussion to illustrate the way in which the French used international events to produce a good colonial

image. This exhibition has been selected for two major reasons. First, it was the first international event during which France could inaugurate and test her new 'politique du visible'; second, it reserved one of the most privileged locations of the Exhibition for the colonial exhibit, i.e. L'Espanade des Invalides (Plate XXIX). The exhibition occupied an area of 25,000 square meters. This was the first time that the colonies were given such an importance in an international fair⁽⁷⁰⁾.

On the occasion of the successive exhibitions, the French colonial image was expressed through numerous and often spectacular reconstructions of entire quarters and monuments from the colonies. In the 1889 exhibition, the 'Palais Algérien' (Plate XXV), designed by Albert Ballu, reproduced the minaret and the dome of the sanctuary of Sidi Abderrahman in Algiers. The 'Palais Tunisien', designed by Henri Saladin, replicated the sanctuary of Sidi Ben Arrus in Tunis. The Egyptian quarter, whose rue du Caire was among the most popular attractions of the exhibit, was designed by Delort de Gléon. A large number of ornamental devices used in the rue du Caire (Plate XXXI) were brought from Egypt. They were remnants from major demolitions of Egyptian buildings undertaken by the French, probably during Napoléon's 'campagne d'Egypte'⁽⁷¹⁾. Typical settings were also recreated in order to familiarize the spectator with France's colonies⁽⁷²⁾. Life in an Algerian tent (Plate XXXII), the ambiance of a 'Café Maure', North African fantasia, craftsmen at work, folk arts, every conceivable aspect of life in the colonies was reproduced in its entirety. Egyptian white donkeys were even brought for the occasion in order to give a more realistic appearance to the overly publicized rue du Caire (Plate XXXIII). The **Exposition Universelle de Paris de 1889**, which was published especially for the occasion of the exhibition, undertook a grandiose propaganda campaign advertizing the colonies.

It is significant to note that, in an event during which the Eiffel Tower was built and the most advanced technological and industrial discoveries were exhibited, the colonies were on the front page of thirteen out of the eighty issues of the commemorative magazine (Plate XXXIV). Together with the Eiffel Tower, the colonies were probably the most publicized of all the attractions of the exhibition. Not a single issue lacked at least one article about the architecture, crafts or folk arts of France's colonial possessions.

The magazine sought in particular to mobilize support for French colonial policies which, as we already mentioned, were put into jeopardy by an increasing internal opposition. The political role attributed to the colonial pavilion in 1889⁽⁷³⁾ was emphasized by the commissioner of the exhibition who stated:

'After the 1889 colonial display, who is not astonished that only two or three years ago, there were bitter disputes about the utility of the colonies? The least suspecting visitors have been seized with enthusiasm by the spectacle before their eyes; the skeptics have been obliged to face the facts.... In a word, the trial of colonialism was concluded by the trial of public opinion in 1889⁽⁷⁴⁾.

The campaigns sought also to awaken the interest of the French people in the culture and civilization of the colonies, respect and understanding which constituted the cornerstones of France's new colonial attitude. They had a double objective of first teaching the French their future colonial role and second catalysing their nationalism by displaying their colonial empire in its immensity, that is by 'annexing for the national consciousness distant landscapes, strange architectural forms and other spaces, with the aim of shifting elsewhere and further the imaginary frontiers of the Nation'⁽⁷⁵⁾

The exhibition also aimed at showing France to the peoples of the colonies who were brought for the occasion and who were among the main attractions. The purpose was to imbibe them with the grandeur of French civilization, and give

them the illusion of having a privileged position within this civilization and within the French 'family of nations'. In the words of Louis Henrique, they were to bring back home 'une impression profonde de la grandeur de notre pays,..., des idées nouvelles, et le rôle moralisateur de la France chez les peuple...⁽⁷⁶⁾. Bringing some natives to the Parisian fairgrounds was also aimed at fabricating a social nucleus which would be imbued with the bourgeois/aristocratic way of life on display at the exhibition (Plate XXXV) and which would advocate Western values back home. It was indeed a major concern of the French government to seek, in accordance with the new directions in its colonial policies, as much support as it could from some native social groups. The symbol of this support, as Deborah L. Silverman notes very accurately, is the image of the native entering the bourgeoisie by wearing a top hat, a frockcoat and carrying an umbrella⁽⁷⁷⁾.

The physical forms reproduced in these exhibits, the activities which took place within, the political, economical, social and cultural considerations which brought their reproduction about lose their full meaning if considered in isolation, outside their wholistic realm of possibility. The overdetermination of the architecture of colonialism is based on an articulation of practices dialectically linked to each other, defining a complex realm of possibility within which architecture is produced, and within which that architecture must be investigated in order to be fully understood. As an example, one has to place one's self within this realm in order to understand the significance of relegating the French workers' pavillon⁽⁷⁸⁾, the French colonies' pavilion, and the Ministry of War exhibit to a distinct segment of the exhibition grounds in 1889. This particular configuration 'symbolized the two means through which the French republican elite asserted its legitimacy and authority over two threatening social groups: workers at home and the colonial people abroad'⁽⁷⁹⁾. The facade of the Ministry

of War pavilion (Plate XXXVI) indeed sought the display of 'la grandeur et la puissance de l'idée militaire'⁽⁸⁰⁾, in the form of an imposing medieval castle combined with a monumental triumphal arch.

Forty year later, the architecture and town planning of colonialism, whose strong official character and politico-ideological dimensions were confirmed throughout the successive colonial exhibits, was the subject of long debates in 1931 at the *Congrès International de l'Urbanisme aux Colonies et dans les Pays Tropicaux*. This was conducted on the fairgrounds of a simultaneous colonial exhibition at Vincennes. The Congrès was held on this occasion as an academic "locus" for the representatives of different colonial powers to debate the whole issue of architecture and town planning in the colonies. It was explicitly acknowledged that the importance of such debates relied on the essential role played by architecture and urbanism from social, political, economic and artistic viewpoints, and on the influence they must have over the destiny of the colonized peoples. Further, it was emphasized that

'L'ordre et la sécurité sont en jeu; la paix sociale, la prospérité de la nation, sa formation artistique, l'attraction qu'elle peut exercer sur les étrangers',⁽⁸¹⁾

could be jeopardized by the implementation of one policy instead of another. The tone of the Congrès, as far as its ideological and political motivations were concerned, was clearly spelled out by Du Vivier de Streel:

'Si l'on compare, à l'aide de la documentation dont on dispose aujourd'hui, ce que firent les Assyriens, les Egyptiens, les Grecs, les Romains, les Hindous, les Aztèques, les Arabes,..., on doit reconnaître l'infériorité des derniers'⁽⁸²⁾.

This set the prejudiced Orientalist tone of the Congrès. A further statement by de Streel gave a racial tone to the Congrès, he emphasized

'la nécessité - qu'impose aussi la santé des blancs - de ne

jamais mélanger dans une agglomération urbaine la population indigène et la population Européenne⁽⁸³⁾.

Yet another statement established the political determination of the Congress:

'Il est souhaitable que leur (the Europeans) nombre aille, sans cesse, en croissant, car il constitue la meilleure sauvegarde de la souveraineté Européenne... C'est, en effet, cet accroissement qui, seul, permettra de tenir tête aux tendances nationalistes des populations indigènes qu'une propagande bolchéviste ou autre s'efforce de surexiter et de développer. Tout l'effort des urbanistes doit donc tendre à favoriser l'immigration Européenne dans les colonies et à procurer, à cet effet, le maximum d'avantages aux citoyens de race blanche dans les cités qu'ils organisent⁽⁸⁴⁾.

Everything had to be made in order to assure the well-being of the Europeans and to attract a maximum of immigrants, i.e. creation of very well-ventilated quarters, their ornamentation with various natural and artistic devices⁽⁸⁵⁾.

The Congress staged intensive intercolonial debates out of which France, particularly through her experience in Morocco, emerged as the leader and the model for colonial politics of architecture and urbanism to be followed by the other colonial powers. It was indeed Prost who summarized all the discussions of the Congress in twenty one "wishes" which constituted the cornerstones of his work in Morocco, and on the basis of which a unified policy was to be worked out, taking advantage of various colonial experiences. The members of the Congress decided to create, a permanent "Institut International" upon which all hopes for an intercolonial collaboration in the matters of architecture and urbanism were placed. One of the most controversial issues debated in the Congress was the separation between European and native towns, which shows in the "third wish" of the final recommendations. The "third wish" indeed softens the idea of a radical separation saying: 'Que soit envisagée la création de cités satellites séparées par des écrans de verdure, à l'exclusion cependant de toutes dispositions pouvant

s'opposer au contact et à la collaboration des races⁽⁸⁷⁾. The strongest critique came from the representative of the Netherlands who questioned the validity of urban segregation. He pointed out the uselessness of such a policy since, in every day life, all races come to work together and are in a constant contact. He argued that there is no way to maintain racial frontiers in a modern capitalist society which is based on the inter-racial division of labour. He then proposed that there was only one way to prevent epidemics, and that was to fight them in the indigenous quarters and the European quarters as well⁽⁸⁸⁾. This international gathering of colonial architects and town planners was among the most characteristic symptoms of their ideology and the politics which they ultimately served. It introduces us to the discussion of our last issue: that of the architects' role and responsibility in the act of advocating and designing the architecture colonialism.

IV.4. French architects and their role in Morocco

This section is particularly concerned with positioning the architects/town planners, as intellectuals, as professionals and as bearers of colonial ideology, within the framework of responsibility in the making of colonial architecture. We are not going to argue about the sincerity of their feelings towards Morocco and especially her visual culture. Indeed, we must acknowledge the very lively sympathy felt by most French architects working in Morocco for local architecture. Describing the design process of the "Cite Habous", Laprade indeed stated:

'...nous utilisons nos rares loisirs à remplir des carnets d'innombrables croquis... Parmi les documents indigènes étudiés avec ferveur, rien ne nous intéressait plus, ne parlais plus au coeur que les maisons pauvres de Rabat et de Salé la ville soeur. Nous avons passé des heures et des heures à les explorer, dessiner, mesurer. Mais, avant tout,

on en savourait le charme infini, car n'est plus magnifique que le jeu de la lumière sur ces beaux cubes tout blancs, sur ces murs grossiers et ondulants sous les couches centenaires de badigeon à la chaux⁽⁸⁹⁾.

Neither are we going to argue about the artistry or aesthetic qualities of their works, for we are more concerned with defining the politico-ideological realm within which these works have been produced than with assessing their qualities.

Several questions are at stake here. What was the role of the architects in colonized Morocco? Whom did their practice serve? Were they mere tools of colonization? Were they acting voluntarily or was their action structurally determined by the articulation of colonial practices?

Any answer to these questions has to take into consideration the peculiar relationships between the individual architect and the ideologies of colonialism. Let us return here to the three main characterizations of ideology proposed by Althusser: first, ideology is essentially unconscious; second, it represents the imaginery relations of individuals to their real conditions of existence; third, it is endowed with a material existence. The word ideology denotes, in its broadest sense, a system of ideas that dominate an individual or a society, i.e. the prevailing form of false consciousness. This false consciousness dominates the individual (and society) in the sense that it shapes his understanding of the world and makes him act according to this understanding. Ideology is a form of alienation of all society. It is independent of its creators and stands over to dominate them. It is therefore an "alienated consciousness" in the sense that its creators have no control over it⁽⁹⁰⁾. Thus the ideology of colonialism has to be seen not as an intentional imposition upon the indigenous people only, exclusive of all other social categories, i.e. the French architects living in Morocco. The architects were as alienated from colonial ideology as the indigenous population,

with the fundamental difference that the formers were the bearers of this ideology. It was only within this particular realm, defined by the particular hierarchy of practices discussed previously, that the individual architect was creative and could imagine his architecture. Marx's bee/architect metaphor, together with his famous observation in "18th Brumaire" ('...men make their own history but not the way they please'⁽⁹¹⁾), can be used to discuss the colonial architects' responsibility in the workings of a particular architecture. They were indeed called upon as "professionals", having, over architecture, an exclusive power which they aimed at maintaining and developing⁽⁹²⁾. They not only accepted the colonial domination and power relations, but also reinforced them through their architecture, hence furthering colonial political and ideological objectives. They were the 'hired hands of those who had the land, the money, or the power'⁽⁹³⁾, i.e. the colonial institution. In his discussion of "Architecture as social closure", Peter Dickens distinguishes three possible relationships between the architect and society which frequently co-exist: first, there is the relationship wherein the "architect" was part of the building-team directly employed by the client, e.g. the position of the architect in the Middle Ages; second, there is the process wherein the architect is separated from the building process and acts as his patron's arbiter, e.g. the position of the architect which emerged in 17th century Italy (with the rise of the merchant capitalist patron); finally, there is the architect as state employee aiding the state (particularly since the mid-nineteenth century) to provide all the facilities which are necessary to the reproduction of its ideology and of the dominant power relationships⁽⁹⁴⁾. Most of the architects in colonized Morocco obviously belong in the third category. They were indeed commissioned to build the colonial institutions and physical environment. This was done under the direct supervision of the high

command of the French Protectorate in Morocco, i.e. Le Marechal Lyautey, who was himself a devoted advocate of architecture and urbanism as means to reinforce France's colonial position⁽⁹⁵⁾. As he used to say: 'Un chantier m'évite un bataillon'⁽⁹⁶⁾. The "Agence Prost" indeed fully engaged its professional capacities to serve Lyautey's passion for architecture and town planning which he always put among the major preoccupations of the colonial administration.

To Dickens' three categories, one can add a fourth, i.e. the architect who acts in an extraordinary situation which makes him part of the decision making processes and gives him carte blanche over the design options and their implementation⁽⁹⁷⁾. This situation is most exemplified by Henri Prost who, in addition to having a free hand in the destiny of Moroccan towns, was part of the French colonial administrative body from within which he was able to supervise the strict implementation of his design decisions. In his project for the extension of Antwerp⁽⁹⁸⁾, or the development and preservation of the Cote d'Azur Varoise, or the restructuring of several quarters in Istanbul, Prost was commissioned to make the designs and leave their implementation to local authorities. Most of these projects were only partially or not at all realized as in the case of Istanbul. Although many examples of towns are known to have been built from scratch, i.e. European factory towns of the late nineteenth century, it was only in Morocco, and probably for the first time in the history of modern urbanism, that town planning schemes were implemented in their entirety, for a whole country, and in a short period of time (ten years).

However, Prost and his collaborators were not mere tools in the hands of colonization and Le Maréchal Lyautey. Indeed, although their action was determined by the colonial social formation, it was also voluntary, based on their professional and educational background. Prost, who was among the "progressive"

Beaux-Arts graduates of late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, distinguished himself through his particular concern with 'human manifestations of life' and with the 'social role' of the architect, which he actually applied in most of the designs that he made prior to his appointment in Morocco. Morocco was indeed a dream-land for a full implementation of all the ideas that Prost had been cultivating as a student at the Ecole and later on, as a pensionnaire at the Villa Medici, where he had the chance to be in close contact with such eminent urbanists as Tony Garnier and Alfred Agache. He wrote that 'Rabat, ville nouvelle, siege de la Residence generale, est un des plus beaux sujets pouvant tenter un architecte'⁽⁹⁹⁾. This personal, professional and educational background was not unrelated to Prost's nomination as the head architect and town planner for the French protectorate in Morocco. Prost perfectly complemented the concern about the social role of colonialism which Lyautey cultivated throughout his colonial career⁽¹⁰⁰⁾. Prost was probably the only French architect who, with his experience as a town planner, his "progressive" ideas about architecture, and his deep involvement with oriental visual culture (i.e., his thorough study of Byzantine architecture for his "envois" from Villa Medicis), was able to meet Lyautey's demand to build in a style which 'delights and reassures the indigenous soul'. If the decision to seek minimal alteration in the Moroccan quarters was strictly political, based on the colonial policy of "urban apartheid", Prost also showed many professional qualities in the design and construction "de novo" of 'the most modern, efficient, elegant cities that Europe could produce'⁽¹⁰¹⁾. This made him, in a sense, the first real practitioner of comprehensive, large scale urban planning in the 20th century⁽¹⁰²⁾.

But, whatever the quality of his work, it served in the first place the French colonial interests. It was achieved within the framework of the particular

relationships entertained by the professional practice and the colonial political tendencies and their implications. Furthermore, it was regulated by a dialectical relationship between practice and politics which 'takes the concept of professional practice outside the framework of value neutrality'⁽¹⁰³⁾. However good or bad, however creative they were, French architects practicing in Morocco between 1912 and 1932 were so only within the boundaries outlined by the colonial ideology and its different apparatuses, within the colonial social reality of domination, exploitation and urban apartheid.

CONCLUSION

Let us return for a moment to the different arguments and concepts we have considered in this study in order to show their interdependence and overall relevance to the field of architectural knowledge. We began our study by setting out the general theoretical argument which motivated our adoption of a symptomatic reading for the investigation of colonial architecture. We examined the Hegelian/idealist categories which have exercised an overpowering influence upon contemporary architectural scholarship. We then demonstrated the necessity to break away from Hegel's authority, which presents all arts as a manifestation of transcendent values and attributes a metaphysical meaning to the term "architecture". For Hegel, architecture is a reflection of the Divine and an aspect of the 'continuous process of creation which passes through the artist'. Idealist categories thus render architecture the product and the domain of individual creativity separated from other forms of production and environmental production in particular. They neglect a considerable number of practices, or consider them non-essential in the transformational genesis of architecture, and they provide only a partial knowledge of architecture and foster an ideological confusion. We also needed to break away from the idealist conception of architecture as a phenomenon that follows the "spirit of the age" and of architectural history as a history of influences. In addition, we found that the conception that the primary essence of architecture lies in architecture itself -- i.e. architecture possesses a coherence rooted in its physical presence alone -- gives a distorted idea of architectural knowledge. At a professional level, we needed to separate ourselves from the idea that the architect's creativity is being limitless, or, at any events, only limited by his thinking capacities.

This required us to move beyond the realm of architecture as such. We pursued our line of thought by providing the conceptual framework which allows us to read architecture both on the level of the "visible" and the "non-visible". We proposed four concepts, borrowed from other disciplines, i.e. **overdetermination**, the **problematic**, **social formation** and **symptomatic reading**, and showed their validity in the realm of architecture. We realized that architecture is the condensation, in an apparently trivial image, of a number of practices which constitute a given social formation at a given historical moment. This apparently trivial image must not be considered in isolation but within the theoretical and ideological framework in which it exists: its problematic, which can only be constructed through a symptomatic reading of architecture; that is, through a process that can allow us to read both the visible in architecture and the non-visible. The concept of social formation constituted our unit of analysis, for, unlike such concepts as "society" which only means a community of related independent individuals, it deals with the processes of production or transformation of social products or phenomena, e.g. architecture.

With this conceptual background, we undertook the investigation of a particular case: architecture in its relationship to the rise of colonialism in Morocco. We proceeded to examine the overdetermination of colonial architecture by presenting the body of practices which structured its discourse, i.e. economic, ideological and political. We then isolated the two levels, i.e. politics and ideology, which dominated its production. We particularly pointed out the strong connection between the colonial architectural discourse and the discourse of Orientalist scholarship. We found ourselves confronted with two principal areas within which this connection was the most evident, i.e. painting and literature. As far as literature is concerned, we adopted Said's argument

relating the works of such Orientalist novelists as Gautier, Chateaubriand and de Nerval directly to the French colonialist expansion of the nineteenth century. We then looked at some paintings by Gros, Delacroix and Gerome and recognized the almost perfect similarities between their discourse and techniques and the discourse and techniques of colonial architecture. We also realized that literature and painting possessed equally peculiar and privileged political links with various French state apparatuses. This enabled us to propose that the architecture of colonialism was part of the overall means of imposing French hegemony over non-industrialized societies. In order to illustrate this imposition, we described the object of colonial architecture, the problems it raised for French architects and politicians, and the methods and solutions proposed to solve them. We first showed the apartheid character of colonial architecture and town planning through a discussion of the policy of "preservation" and the ethnic segregation which came with it. We came to the conclusion that, by not including any provision for the future developments of indigenous quarters, the colonial "politique du visible" played a decisive role in the degradation of the physical structure of the traditional urban fabric, and the death of its socio-economic structure. We pursued our discussion by showing that, unlike the British in India who used idiomatic and stylistic architectural and town planning artifacts in order to express their power, the French in Morocco used opposition and planned discontinuity. That is, a clear cut distinction between the physical, sociological and economic structures of the two worlds of the settlers and the natives. We then went on to another level of analysis in discussing the necessity for France to maintain a "good colonial image", and examined her manipulation of architecture for that purpose. Using such events as the Universal Exhibition of 1889 and the Congr s International de l'Urbanisme aux Colonies et dans les Pays Tropicaux, we

were able to demonstrate the efficiency of this manipulation by showing how France came out as the leader, the model to be followed in the matter of architecture and town planning in the colonies. We also showed how she used these events to advertise the colonies to the French people and France to the colonized peoples. The last issue, far from being the least in our argument, concerned the role played by French architects in the materialization of France's hegemony over Morocco. In this section we worked to show that, as bearers of the ideology of colonialism, they fully engaged their skills in the service of the political colonial interests. We also showed that, because they were alienated from colonial ideology, they could be creative only within the practices dictated by the colonial structure, notwithstanding the fact that their action was also voluntary and based on their personal intellectual and educational background and on the "professional ideology" which gave them full power over architecture and town planning.

Throughout our discussion we tried to show that any problematic aimed at a scientific criticism of architecture in Morocco between 1912 and 1932 must acknowledge the fact that architecture had peculiar and specific concrete relationships with colonial politics and ideology. We have also tried to show that any trend to disturb this dialectic leads to an ideological confusion and therefore obfuscates the knowledge of the architecture of colonialism. We particularly emphasized the belief that the scientific knowledge of the architecture of colonialism is not to be achieved through the investigation of the styles, themes and forms of the buildings, which only produces descriptive history. Nor is it to be achieved through an account of linear and absolute causalities and influences, presented as the ultimate determinant of architectural production and its aesthetic effects, which would only produce teleologic history. Rather, we

proposed that an epistemology of architecture can only be produced through a thorough understanding of the structural causality and influences that constituted the realm of possibility within which colonial architecture was produced. It can only be produced within the boundaries of the theoretical problematic which allowed the styles and forms to be proposed in the first place. Thus, what we have pursued was not an interpretation of the birth, the development and eventually the death of an architectural event, namely colonial architecture, but a description of the processes that governed its production. The final goal was to uncover the implicit rules which define, within the historical context of colonialism in Morocco, the architectural field of knowledge on the basis of which the discourse of colonial architecture unfolded.

NOTES - INTRODUCTION

1. "historical" here does not refer to the relationship of architecture to society as a related phenomenon to history at a given time, but rather as a continuous process which links architecture to history.
2. L. Althusser, For Marx, Ben Brewster (transl.), Verso editions, London, 1979, pp. 252-53. And S. Morawski, 'Marxist Historicism and the Philosophy of Art', in Architectural Design Profiles: On the Methodology of Architectural History, 1981, pp. 61-67.
3. L. Althusser, op. cit., p. 251.
4. See 'A letter to the translator' in L. Althusser, *Ibid.*, pp. 257-58.
5. D. Porphyrios, Sources of Modern Eclecticism, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1982, and 'Notes on a Method', in Architectural Design Profiles: On the Methodology of Architectural History, 1981, pp. 96-104.
6. See in I.1 an evaluation of Porphyrios's discussion of the problematic and overdetermination. It should be mentioned here that, although the present study started long before Porphyrios published his article and his book, it recognizes and even identifies itself with his contribution to the elaboration of a different, and epistemological, methodology of architectural history.
7. See L. Althusser, in L. Althusser & E. Balibar, Reading Capital, Ben Brewster (transl.), New Left Books, London, 1972, pp. 24-28.
8. Though this identity between real and non-visible may seem paradoxical, it is a necessary connection which unites the visible to the invisible in the analysis of a given phenomenon, whose knowledge would be limited if it only addresses apparent problems, and answers only apparent questions. On the subject, see L. Althusser & E. Balibar, *Ibid.*, pp. 9-21 & 24-46.
9. P. Macherey, 'Lenin, Critic of Tolstoy', in A Theory of Literary Production, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1978, pp. 105-135.
10. B.B. Taylor, 'Planned discontinuity: modern colonial cities in Morocco', in Lotus International, 26, pp. 53-66, 1980; and F. Béguin & others, Arabisances, Limites et Grands Tracés, Roux-Bauer & Associes, Paris, 1978.

NOTES - CHAPTER I

1. On Hegel's contribution to the development of modern art and architecture history, see the works of Ernst Gombrich and particularly his article on 'Hegel and Art History', in Architectural Design Profiles: On the Methodology of Architectural History, 1981, pp. 3-9; and D. Porphyrios, 'Notes on a Method', op. cit. .
2. Quoted by F. Engels in Lugwig Feuerbach and the outcome of classical German Philosophy, International Publishers, New York, 1978, p. 10.
3. Ibid., pp. 24-25.
4. K. Marx, Capital, Vol. I, International Publishers, New York, 1974, p. xxx.
5. G.W.F. Hegel, The Philosophy of Fine Arts, Hacker Art Books, New York, 1975. Vol. III, Subdivision I deals specifically with architecture. And, On Art, Religion, Philosophy, edited and with an introduction by J.G. Gray, Harper & Row, New York & Evanston, 1970.
6. G.W.F. Hegel, The Philosophy of Fine Arts, op. cit., p.3.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 4.
9. Ibid., p. 12.
10. Ibid.
11. K. Marx, Capital, op. cit., p. 174.
12. For a more detailed discussion of the Hegelian legacy in architectural history, see D. Porphyrios, 'Notes on a Method', op. cit.
13. Ibid., p. 97.
14. See L. Althusser, Lenin and Philosophy and other essays, Ben Brewster (Transl.) Monthly Review Press, New York & London, 1971, p. 226.
15. D. Porphyrios, 'Notes on a Method', op. cit., pp. 99-100.
16. Ibid., p. 104.
17. Ibid.
18. "scientific practice" here is understood as being a 'process of production or transformation' that places itself within a given social formation. Practice is not understood as opposed to theory since we believe, with L. Althusser, that there also exists a 'theoretical practice'.

19. L. Althusser & E. Balibar, Reading Capital, op. cit., p. 25. "can only pose problems on the terrain and within the horizon of a definite theoretical structure, its problematic, which constitutes its absolute and definite condition of possibility, and hence the absolute determination of the forms in which all problems must be posed, at any given moment of science".
- 20.
21. See P. Portoghesi, After Modern Architecture, Rizzoli, New York, 1982, Ch. II, pp. 7-12.
22. L. Althusser & E. Balibar, Reading Capital, op. cit., p. 25.
23. Ibid., p. 35.
24. Ibid., p. 37.
25. See the glossary by Ben Brewster, in L. Althusser, For Marx, op. cit., pp. 253-54.
26. On the discussion about ideology and knowledge, see L. Althusser & E. Balibar, op. cit., pp. 34-46, and also M. Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge, A.M. Sheridan Smith (transl.), Pantheon Books, New York, 1982.
27. The historical development of the concept of ideology is described by R. Williams, Keywords, Oxford University Press, New York, 1976, pp. 126-130.
28. L. Althusser, For Marx, op. cit., chapter on 'Marxism and Humanism', pp. 219-247.
29. There are four categories of practices which constitute a social formation: economic practice, political practice, ideological practice, and theoretical practice. The latter is of a considerable importance for this study insofar as it is the process of transformation of ideology into knowledge by means of theory. See L. Althusser, Ibid., p. 253.
30. Ibid., p. 252.
31. G. Therborn, The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology, Verso Editions and New Left Books, London, 1980.
32. For a more comprehensive analysis of the concept of State, see N. Poulantzas, State, Power and Socialism, New Left Books, London, 1978.

NOTES - CHAPTER II

1. K. Frampton, Modern Architecture: A Critical History, Oxford University Press, New York, 1980, notes a significant period in the 20th century (1914-1943) as far as the connections between architecture and the state, between ideology and representation are concerned. He particularly outlined the cases of the British in India, the Soviet Union (1931-1938), Fascist Italy (1931-1942), the Third Reich (1920-1941), the Modernist Style in America (1923-1932), and finally the New Monumentality (1943-).
2. Unlike architecture, town planning or urbanism have been largely studied as a political, economical and ideological overdetermination. In French literature, see the works of M. Castells and particularly La Question Urbaine, Editions Maspero, Paris, 1977; A. Lipietz, Le Capital et son Espace, Editions Maspero, Paris, 1978; C. Pottier, La Logique du Financement Publique de l'Urbanisation, Edition Mouton, Paris-La Haye, 1975; J.P. Garnier, Une Ville une Révolution: La Havane, Editions Anthropos, Paris, 1973; A. Kopp, Ville et Révolution, Editions Anthropos, Paris, 1967.
In English literature, see R. Goodman, After the Planner, Simon & Shuster, New York, 1971; W.K. Tabb & L. Sawers (ed), Marxism and the Metropolis Oxford University Press, New York, 1978.
Concerning the writings on French and British colonial town planning, refer to J.L. Abu-Lughod, Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco, Princeton University Press, Princeton. 1980; A.D. King, Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1976.
3. Christopher Hussey, The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens, Country Life Limited, London, 1950, p. 256. For more on British architecture and town planning in India, see also A.S.G. Butler, The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens, Country Life Limited, London, 1950, Vol. II; and A.D. King, op. cit.
4. Christopher Hussey, op. cit., p. 277.
5. Ibid., p. 276.
6. Ibid., p. 278.
7. Ibid.
8. Le Maréchal Lyautey, Preface to the Domaine Colonial Français, Editions du Cygne, Paris, 1929, p. XII.
9. Jean de Lanessan, Principes de Colonisation, Felix Alcan, Paris, 1897.
10. Le Maréchal Lyautey, op. cit., p. XI.
11. Galliéni used to say that he served the French penetration in Indochina more by salvaging a sacred pagoda, profaned by troops, than by sending twenty columns of soldiers to conduct a battle.

12. From a letter by the Général Lyautey, dated July 5, 1917 quoted in *l'Art et les Artistes*, 1916-17, Special Issue, Le Maroc Artistique.
13. These two images have been used in F. Béguin et al., op. cit.
14. P. Cabat, *Civilisation des Espaces et Institutions Militaires, l'exemple de l'Algérie à partir de 1830*, unpublished, Ministère de l'Équipement, Paris, 1976, quoted in F. Béguin, op. cit., p. 17.
15. M. Chevalier, quoted in G. Baudez and François Béguin, op. cit., p. 50.
16. Eight students were admitted 'en loge', among them Julien Guadet. The winning design was that of F.W. Chabrol. Two other designs which were awarded the Second Grand Prix, deliberately violated the program in order to give some kind of local character to their designs, and therefore gained much support among anti-academic architects and critics. D.D. Egbert, *The Beaux-Arts Tradition in French Architecture*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1980, pp. 145-46.
17. P. Lampue, *Programmes des Concours d'Architecture pour le Grand Prix de Rome, Ecole Nationale et Spéciale des Beaux-Arts de Paris*, Alphose Derenne, Paris, 1881, p. 135.
18. D.D. Egbert, op. cit., p. 140.
19. R. Krier, 'Au Nom de la Loi et du Désordre, in *Architectural Design Profile* 17, Special Issue on the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, p. 84.
20. Ibid.
21. D.D. Egbert, op. cit., pp. 140-148.
22. R. Middleton, '19th century French Classicism', in *Architectural Design Profile*, 17, (The Beaux-Arts), London, 1978, p. 4.
23. Ibid., p. 7.
24. Ibid., p. 10.
25. P. Ricard, *Les Merveilles de l'Autre France*, Paris, 1924, pp. 6-7.
26. Th. Gauthier, quoted by Lespes, *Alger, Etude de Géographie et d'Histoire Urbaine*, Alger, 1930, p. 245.
27. See our discussion of the role played by various exhibitions in promoting the colonial discourse on architecture, in IV.3.
28. In a letter about French policy in Algeria, Napoléon III wrote to the Marechal de Mac-Mahon, Paris, 1865: 'Mon programme se resume en peu de mots: gagner la sympathie des arabes par des bienfaits positifs, attirer de nouveaux colons par des exemples de prospérité réelle parmi les anciens, utiliser les

ressources de l'Afrique en produits et en hommes; arriver par là à diminuer notre armée et nos dépenses'. In other words, more politics and psychological actions, less violence and military campaigns.

29. J. de Lanessan, op. cit.
30. F. Béguin et al., op. cit., p. 34.
31. G. Baudet & F. Béguin, 'Arabisations', in Lotus International, 26, 1980, p. 41.
32. G. Guiauchain, Alger, Alger, 1905.
33. Jonnart was the 'Gouverneur Général' of Algeria during the first decade of the 20th C. He was the instigator of the 'style du protecteur' which will change all the architectural physiognomy of North Africa, and his name remained attached to the first developments of the new official architecture: 'Style Jonnart'.
34. G. Guiauchain, op. cit.
35. H. Saladin, Tunis et Kairouan, Villes d'Art, Paris, 1908; R. Guy, L'Architecture Moderne de Style Arabe, (n.d.), Paris; V. Valensi, L'Habitation Tunisienne, Paris, 1923.
36. by Eugène Hénard, architect and proponent of Coordinated City and Regional Planning for the city of Paris.
37. B.B. Taylor, op. cit., p. 56.
38. J. Gallotti, Le Jardin et la Maison Arabe au Maroc, 2 volumes, Albert Levy, Paris, 1924.
39. In the foreword to his book Gallotti wrote: 'Je n'apporte ici ni une étude à tendances scientifiques ni un ouvrage purement littéraire. On y trouvera, continuellement rapprochées, des passages descriptifs et des indications techniques. J'ai écrit les uns avec le désir de donner une idée du charme particulier des maisons et des jardins arabes, les autres avec l'intention de faciliter la tâche aux européens qui voudraient faire construire dans le style indigène'. Ibid., p. vii.
40. There is a striking similarity with Guadet's ordering of his Éléments et Théorie de l'Architecture, and more particularly with his Livre III, IV, V of the first volume, Librairie de la Construction Moderne, Paris.
41. It is doubtless that there was some kind of sympathy felt by numerous French architects for the Arab World and the Arab culture. However, as we will discuss it IV.1., this sympathy is to be placed within the framework of the 'Orientalist' ideology.
42. The Makhzen is the Moroccan word for Government or Authority.

43. Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Concours pour le Grand Prix de Rome, (Programs), Vol. 7, Grand Prix de Rome 1923, 'La Résidence du Représentant de la France au Maroc', Vincent Fréal and Co., Paris, 1923.
44. Ibid.
45. It is interesting to note, in the specification of the administrative services, the presence of the 'Direction de la Propagande' which deals, among other things, with Beaux-Arts matters, exhibitions etc., and which gives a certain political connotation to the program. Ibid.
46. Pupil of Redon and Tournaire.

NOTES - CHAPTER III

1. A. Gramsci, Quaderni del Carcere, translation of three short chapters by Marco Frascari, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Feb. 1981, p. 1.
2. It includes the architectural discourse and the architectural practice, and the real architectural object as well.
3. M. Foucault, The Archeology of Knowledge, Pantheon Books, New York, 1972, pp. 6-7.
4. N. Poulantzas, *op. cit.*, defines the concept of apparatus in its relation to the State which, through its different institutions, reproduces its domination.
5. See the lecture by A. Kopp in G.R. Collins & A.K. Placzek (ed), 'Symposium on Politics and Architecture', in VIA 4, 1980.
6. See S. Torre, in 'Symposium on Politics and Architecture, in VIA 4, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-164.
7. Refers particularly to his Nuremburg parade ground.
8. See H. Lefevre, La Production de l'Espace, Editions Anthropos, Paris, 1974. The production of space includes the production of physical, social and mental or psychological spaces.
9. For a more detailed discussion of the articulation of different modes of production see Frank, A.G., Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, Monthly Review, New York, 1967; Godelier, M., Rationality and Irrationality in Economics, Monthly Review, New York, 1972; and Hindess, B. & Hirst, P., Pre-capitalist Modes of production, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1975.
10. Lyautey, in J. Royer (ed), L'Urbanisme aux Colonies et dans les Pays Tropicaux, Delaeyance, La Charite-sur-Loire, 1932, p. 7.
11. Courses were given to all candidates to jobs in the colonies in order to prepare them to deal with indigenous populations. See M.E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Conférences faites aux cours préparatoires des affaires indigènes", in Hesperis, Vol. XXVII, Rabat.
12. J. Royer, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
13. E.W. Said, Orientalism, Vintage Books, New York & Toronto, 1978.
14. See A.R.C. "L'Association pour la Recherche Culturelle", in Souffles-Anfas (Rabat), 12, 1968, pp. 3-9.
15. J. Gallotti, *op. cit.*, p. xiii.
16. In the case of Rabat, almost all the new quarters were under a strict control of the 'Service des Beaux-Arts' through an 'arrêté' of 5/28/25, prepared under the direct supervision of Lyautey.

NOTES - CHAPTER IV

1. Ideological purposes in architecture, although far from being a major interest for architectural historians, have not been totally neglected, particularly in recent years. The debate on the relationship of architecture to ideology is very complex. Only recently architectural historians started pointing out ideological determinants of architecture. We could distinguish two significantly different approaches to the debate, based on two significantly different definitions of ideology. One defines ideology as a system of ideas and looks at the buildings as a mere expression of these ideas, a reflection, that is, of the couple form/content. This approach is represented by such historians as A. Jackson, The politics of architecture: a history of modern architecture in Britain, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1970; Ch. Jencks, Modern Movement in Architecture, Anchor Press/Doubleday, New York, 1973; B.M. Lane, Architecture and politics in Germany, 1918-1945, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA., 1968; H. Lehman-Haupt, Art under dictatorship, Oxford University Press, New York, 1954; R.R. Taylor, The Word in stone: the role of architecture in the National Socialist Ideology, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1974. The second approach sees ideology as part of the general "structure", not having a direct/single-causality relationship to architectural form but a more complex/indirect effect on the production of architectural knowledge and its practice. It is represented by M. Tafuri, Theories and history of architecture, Harper & Row, New York, 1974, and Architecture and Utopia, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, MA., 1976; K. Frampton, Modern architecture: a critical history, Oxford University Press, New York/Toronto, 1980; D. Porphyrios, Sources of Modern Eclecticism, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1982, and his two articles 'Notes on a Method' and 'Classicism is not a Style', in AD Profiles: On the Methodology of Architectural History, 1981, pp. 96-104, and in Classicism is not a Style (Porphyrios, ed.), Architectural Design & Academy Editions, London, 1982, pp. 50-57; P. Portoghesi, After Modern Architecture, Rizzoli, New York, 1982. For the general discussion of the relationships between architecture and ideology, we refer the reader to these works. In this chapter we shall be concerned with the specific case of the architecture of colonialism in Morocco.

2. L. Althusser, 'Théorie et formation théorique-Idéologie et lutte idéologique', in Casa de las Americas, 34, Havana.

3. Lyautey, quoted in F. Beguin et al., op. cit., p. 22.

4. J.L. DeLacharriere, 'Au Maroc de 1929', in Bulletin Mensuel du Comité de l'Afrique Française, 12, dec. 1929, p. 526 (our translation)

5. One of the main goals of colonialism in Morocco was to create an artificial division between different Moroccan ethnic groups (Berbers and Arabs) by trying to emphasize cultural and civilizational variations and to hide thirteen centuries of common historical and cultural development which worked to shape Moroccan vernacular visual culture.

6. It is indeed oscillating between a traditional technicism which claims, in the light of H. Fathy's experience, that by merely using traditional techniques and materials one could restore the cultural values in course of decay; a cultural

eclecticism similar to that which was developed by the architects of colonialism; a populism advocating self-helped mass housing with a minor professional intervention; a community ideology based on urban sociology and presenting the old Medina as an urban and architectural model for the reestablishment of the community life of the Islamic city, desintegrated by the new forms of trade and production brought by French colonialism; and finally "modernism", a powerful survivor of the C.I.A.M. and LeCorbusier's influence over North Africa, advocating international values and principles for architecture, and still strongly believing in LeCorbusian devices of "habiter", "travailler", "circuler", "se cultiver le corps et l'esprit".

7. A. Kopp, contribution to 'Symposium on politics and architecture', G.R. Collins & A.K. Placzek (ed.), in VIA 4, 1980, p. 164.

8. E.W. Said, 'Letter to the Editor', in The New York Review of Books, 1982, in reply to an article by B. Lewis, 'The Question of Orientalism', in the NYRB, June 24, 1982, which strongly criticizes Said's interpretation of Orientalism on the basis that he politicizes the whole question and assigns a political significance to the statements of all those who have investigated the problem. The Orientalist scholarship has been the subject of harsh exchanges of arguments in recent years. It was an accepted fact during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Colonialism was then presented as a humanistic and civilizatory enterprise by Western scholars and as a "positive factor" for the development of productive forces in non-industrialized societies (a kind of accelerator of history) by such an eminent Marxist thinker as F. Engels (see his exchange of letters with K. Marx in Marxism et Algérie, Editions 10-18, Paris, 1976). With the rise of "Arab Nationalism", Orientalism started being loaded with negative connotations particularly through the works of such Arab scholars as A. Abdel Malek, 'Orientalism in Crisis', Diogenes, 44, Winter 1963, and through the numerous works of the eminent French Marxist scholar Maxime Rodinson. Orientalism became directly linked with colonial domination of the "Occident" over the "Orient". Said argues that Orientalism is a whole creation of the West as a supporting ideological discourse for the domination of non-industrialized societies. We are not going to enter this debate, however we find Said's argument particularly relevant to our discussion of the ideology of the architecture of colonialism. Therefore, for further details, we refer the reader to Orientalism, op. cit..

9. E.W. Said, Orientalism, op. cit., p. 2.

10. A. de Lamartine, Voyage en Orient, 1835, reprinted by Hachette, Paris, 1887, Vol. II, pp. 526-27 & 533, quoted in E.W. Said, Orientalism, op. cit., p. 179.

11. Ibid.

12. J. Gallotti, quoted in F. Béguin et al., Arabisances, Limites et Grands Tracés, op. cit., p. 72.

13. C. Levi-Strauss, quoted in R. Barthes, The Eiffel Tower and other Mythologies, Hill & Wang, New York, 1979.

14. R. Barthes, ibid., pp. 103-109.

15. Ibid., p. 103.
16. A preface letter by Lyautey in, P. Ricard, Les Merveilles de l'Autre France, Paris, 1924.
17. See Gerald Needham, 'Orientalism in France' in Art Journal, Winter 1982, p. 339.
18. Robert Rey, 'Gros-Gericault', in Louis Hautecocur (ed), Le Romantisme et l'Art, Henri Laurens, Paris, 1928, p. 81.
19. Ibid., p. 340-41.
20. J.L. Gerôme's personal fortunes were directly tied to the regime of Napoléon III. He was even considered as a kind of "court lackey" On Gerôme's involvement with the state's interests, see an article by A. Boime, 'Gerôme and the Bourgeois Artist's Burden', in Arts, Vol. 57, no. 5, January 1983, pp. 64-73, p. 65.
21. Ibid., p. 68.
22. Ibid..
23. A. Laprade, quoted in Académie d'Architecture, L'Oeuvre de Henri Prost, Paris, 1960, p. 59.
24. L. Michel, Tunis, 1883, p. 81.
25. See J. Hart, 'Reinterpreting Wolfflin: Neo-Kantianism and Hermeneutics', in Art Journal, Winter 1982, pp. 292-300.
26. humanism here does not refer to the Renaissance concept. It does refer to another philosophical current of the nineteenth century which can be related to anthropology insofar as it deals with men as isolated individuals out of their social context. See the last section of Althusser's For Marx, on Marxism and Humanism, op. cit., pp. 219-247.
27. A. Abdel Malek, 'Orientalism in crisis', Diogenes 44, Winter, 1963, pp. 107-8.
28. This conception is also a characteristic of the Orientalist discourse which sees the Oriental men and culture as static in themselves, and capable of being transformed only by and within the context of the "civilizing action" of Western culture.
29. M.E. Michaux-Bellaire, 'Conférences faites aux cours préparatoires du service des affaires indigènes', Archives Marocaines, Vol. XXVII, Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion, Paris, 1927, pp. 251-52. 'It would be simpler not to encounter any indigenous peoples between the resources of the country and the possibility of exploiting these resources; but whether we like it or not, there are indigenous peoples, there are tribes with their traditions, their interests...' (our translation)

30. We are limiting ourselves to four issues although there are many others that could be discussed but which we found of secondary importance. Among them are private architecture, colonial schools and universities, hospitals and their location, etc.

31. We owe this concept to J. Abu-Lughod who used it for the particular case of the capital city of Morocco, Rabat, in Rabat: Urban apartheid in Morocco, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1980, p. xvii.

32. We would disagree with Abu-Lughod on her speculation about the outcomes which would have had resulted from a more integrated colonial urban policy. We do not reject the possibility of such an outcome but we would argue that this remain within the realm of fiction.

33. H. Prost, in J. Royer (ed.), L'Urbanisme aux Colonies et dans les Pays Tropicaux, op. cit., p. 60.

34. Ribat Al Fath is the original name of the city, which was incorrectly transliterated as "Rabat" by the French. See J. Abu-Lughod, op. cit., Prologue and pp. 52-92.

35. Ibid., p. 55.

36. See Louis Guardet, La Cité Musulmane: Vie Politique et Sociale, Librairie Philosophique Jean Vrin, Paris, 1976 (Fourth Edition).

37. Françoise Choay, La Règle et le Modèle: Sur la Théorie de l'Architecture et de l'Urbanisme, Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1980, pp. 31-33. This book can be considered as one of the most interesting achievements on today evaluation of the texts that have influenced the theories and experience of architecture and town planning since antiquity. Choay made a classification of those texts, she proposes three categories: 'Les textes réalisateurs', the most important of which is Albertti's De re-aedificatoria; 'Les vraies et fausses utopies' among which Thomas More's description of the "Land of Utopia"; and finally, 'les textes commentateurs' among which she includes Vitruvius' Ten books on architecture, Palladio's Four books on architecture and various texts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As far as Muslim texts are concerned, Choay argues with some reservations that, although they did theorize towns and architecture, as in the case of De re-aedificatoria, they can be considered as 'indirectement réalisateurs'.

38. Muhammad Ibn Abdun, Séville Musulmane au début du XIIe siècle translated to the French with an introduction by E. Lévi-Provencal, Librairie Orientale et Américaine, G.P. Maisonneuve Editor, Paris, 1947.

39. M. Ibn Abdun, op. cit., pp. 74-84, (our translation).

40. As an example, Ibn Abdun wrote concerning the hygiene of the streets: 'Quant aux rues, il faut ordonner aux habitants des faubourgs de veiller à ce qu'on n'y jette ni ordures, ni matières sales, ni balayures, et de niveler les dépressions susceptibles de s'y produire et de retenir la boue. Chacun entretiendra et protégera le devant de sa maison; s'il s'agit d'un endroit où se trouvent beaucoup

de rigoles d'évacuation a ciel ouvert, on forcera le propriétaire à construire un égout et à l'entretenir. Il faut interdire à quiconque dispose d'une rigole d'évacuation des eaux usées de la faire courir, en période d'été, sur les chemins. On mettera fin à tout ce qui peut présenter un inconvénient public, qu'il s'agisse d'une chose ancienne ou récente'. Ibn Abdun, op. cit., p. 81.

41. Ibn Khaldun, Al Muqaddimah, translated to English by Frantz Rosenthal under the title The Muqaddimah: an Introduction to History, 3 volumes, Bollingen Series XLII, Pantheon Books, New York, 1958, pp. 357-64.

42. F. Choay, op. cit., p. 32.

43. M. Jole, A. Khatibi, M. Martenson, 'Urbanisme, Idéologie et Ségrégation. Exemple de Rabat', in CERM (ed), Les influences occidentales dans les villes maghrébines à l'époque contemporaine, Proceedings of the 'Colloque d'Aix-en-Provence' on 'L'urbanisation au Maghreb, Systèmes Culturels et Systèmes Urbains', Editions de l'Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence, 1974, pp. 161-177.

44. Quote from M. Jolé et al., *ibid.*, p. 166.

45. B.B. Taylor, op. cit., p. 60.

46. G. Baudez & F. Béguin, 'Arabisations', in Lotus International, 26, 1980, p. 43.

47. F. Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, Grove Press Inc., New York, 1966, translated from French Les Damnés de la Terre by C. Farrington, pp. 31-32.

48. Pierre Lavedan, Histoire de l'Urbanisme: Epoque Contemporaine, Henri Laurens, Paris 1952, pp. 261-65.

49. This scheme is described in an article published in Tunisia by the "Résidence Générale" under the title 'La coordination des villes musulmanes' in Bâtir Tunisie, 45, Tunis 1945. Due to a certain lack of accuracy in the documents which were consulted, we could not determine the first name of Annabi.

50. This is precisely the scheme which has been used by Prost in his design for the extension of the city of Antwerp in Belgium.

51. We are aware of the importance of discussing more thoroughly Annabi's contribution to colonial town planning. We avoided doing so for two main reasons: first, his work came almost two decades after the period which is our concern in this study; second, its discussion would bring up a series of other issues without relevance to our study, i.e. the rapid urban growth which followed the industrial boom of the forties in Morocco, the development of a Moroccan proletariat whose class consciousness was increasing partly because of bad housing conditions -- and which made the architectural and urban policy of the colonial power change its scope and incline towards other political and ideological objectives. However, we found it necessary to mention Annabi's work because of its importance as a historical fact, and because it encompasses some similarities with Lyautey/Prost's model.

52. H. Prost, in J. Royer, op. cit., p. 80.
53. Académie d'Architecture, L'Oeuvre de Henri Prost, op. cit., p. 83.
54. M. Emmanuel Durand, in J. Royer, op. cit., p. 91.
55. Only occasionally the street perspective were closed off with a building or a monument, in the tradition of Roman Baroque and later French planning, e.g. the 'Avenue Dar el Makhzen' and 'Avenue de Casablanca'.
56. B.B. Taylor, op. cit., p. 56.
57. M. Jolé et al., op. cit., draw a very interesting parallele between a labyrinth as a myth or enigma and the Medina as an urban fabric.
58. F. Fanon, Sociologie d'une Révolution, Editions Francois Maspero, Petite Collection, Paris, 1959, pp. 34-35; translated into English under the title A Dying of Colonialism by Haakon Chevalier, Grove Press Inc., New York, 1967.
59. Unlike the formula of a total colonization, e.g. Algeria, the idea of the Protectorate was based on the "preservation" of the power structure to which a series of reforms were introduced in order to suit the particular interests of the "protective" power. This was aimed at giving the native an illusion of security and continuity, and of France not willing to disrupt the ancestral structure of the Makhzen. Preserving the local power was indeed of a lesser danger than destroying it and thus provoking a rise of nationalism.
60. Théophile Gautier, Voyage Pittoresque en Algérie-1845, edited with introduction and notes by Madelaine Cotin, Librairie Droz, Genève-Paris, 1973.
61. B.B. Taylor, op. cit., p. 58.
62. Ibid., p. 60.
63. See our discussion in II.2.
64. Published in J. Gallotti, op. cit.
65. J. Berques, 'An Islamic Heliopolis', in The Aga Khan Award for Architecture. Toward an Architecture in the Spirit of Islam, Proceedings of Seminar One, in the series Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World, Aiglemont, Gouvieux, France, April 1978, p. 23.
66. On the concept of alienation, see Bertell Ollman, Alienation: Marx's conception of Man in Capitalist Society, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1976 (1971).
67. L'Exposition Universelle de Paris de 1889, weekly magazine, 80 issues in two volumes, Librairie Illustree, Paris 1889, No. 33, Sept. 7, 1889, p. 262.
68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. The pavilions of Morocco and Egypt were not located on the Esplanade des Invalides, for the two countries were not yet officially colonized. However, the Economic colonization which they were already undergoing made them potential colonies.

71. L'Exposition Universelle de Paris de 1889, no. 5, Feb. 15, 1889, p. 37.

72. Louis Henrique, Commissaire Spécial des Colonies, stated that the goal of the exhibit was to show the colonies to France, quoted by Debora L. Silverman, 'The 1889 Exhibition: The Crisis of Bourgeois Individualism', in Opposition, 8, Spring 1977, Special Issue "Paris under the Academy: City and Ideology", pp. 70-91, p. 77.

73. The 1889 exhibit played a definite role in bolstering the sluggish image of the Third Republic and even affected 1889 elections. Edouard Lockroy, quoted in Silverman, op. cit., p. 90, said that the overall exhibition 'dut contribuer dans une large mesure aux succès des élections de 1889'. Silverman makes a very interesting analysis of the political and ideological determinants of the 1889 Exhibition.

74. Ibid.

75. G. Baudez & Bégin, op. cit., p. 43.

76. Quoted by Silverman, op. cit., p. 91.

77. Ibid., p. 81.

78. The workers' pavilion included a model school, various forms of "public assistance", a "working class" restaurant", a "cercle ouvrier".

79. D.L. Silverman, op. cit., p. 81.

80. L'Exposition Universelle de Paris de 1889, no. 9, April 15, 1889, p. 67.

81. M.E. Du Vivier de Streel, in J. Royer, op. cit., p. 9. Du Vivier de Streel was the Directeur des Congrès de l'Exposition Colonial of 1931.

82. Ibid., p. 10.

83. Ibid., p. 11.

84. Ibid., p. 12.

85. Ibid..

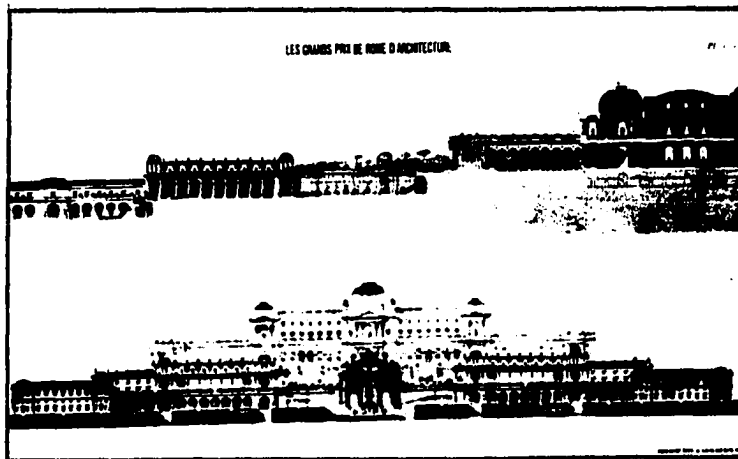
86. H. Prost, in J. Royer, op. cit., pp. 22-24.

87. Ibid., p. 22.

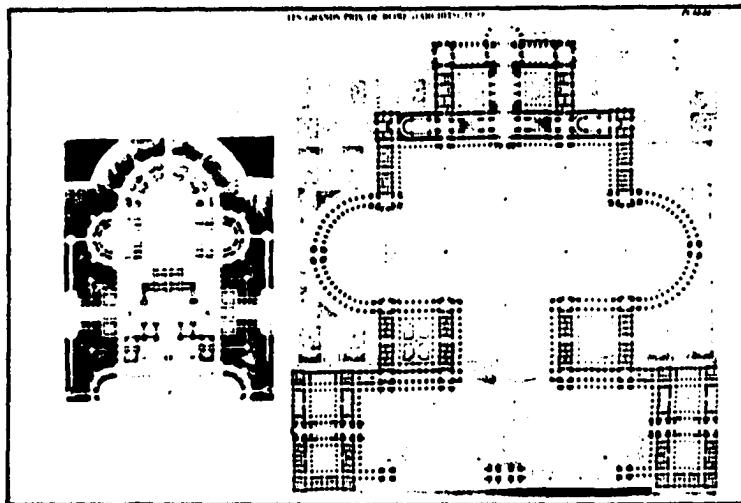
88. In J. Royer, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-77, 'A propos de la séparation des villes aux Maroc et aux Indes Néerlandaises', an exchange between M. Cohen-Stuart, E. Hebrard and Emmanuel Durand. Cohen-Stuart compared the Moroccan experience of France with the policies of the Netherlands in Indonesia. He argued that racial interpenetration was necessary for a healthy capitalist society.
89. A Laprade, in J. Royer, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.
90. R. Lichtman, 'Marx's theory of ideology', in Socialist Revolution, 3, pp. 45-76, p. 70.
91. K. Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, International Publishers, New York, 1964, p. 1.
92. For a discussion of "professional ideology" see Sibel B. Dostoglu, Towards Professional Legitimacy and Power, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1982.
93. In his talk at the 'Symposium on Politics and Architecture', *op. cit.*, H. Harms stated: 'To build, one needs land, money and political power, so the architects are, generally speaking, the hired hands of those who have the land, the money or the power'.
94. P. Dickens, 'The hut and the machine, towards a social theory of architecture', in Architectural Design, 1-2, 1981, p. 20.
95. The Maréchal Lyautey found himself involved with the design of two small cities in Madagascar, i.e. Ankazobe (1897-1898) and Fianarantsoa (1900-1902). See on this subject Le General Vacher, 'Lyautey Urbaniste', in J. Royer, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-125.
96. In Académie d'Architecture, L'Oeuvre de Henri Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
97. There are many cases of such a situation in the history of twentieth century architecture. Let us mention, as an example, the situation in which Albert Speer was at the same time Hitler's architect and personal advisor, and the Minister of the Industry of War of the Third Reich.
98. For a comprehensive exposé of all Prost's works, see Académie d'Architecture, L'Oeuvre de Henri Prost, *op. cit.*
99. H. Prost, in J. Royer (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 65.
100. P. Lavedan, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-90.
101. J. Abu-Lughod, 'Moroccan cities: Apartheid and the serendipity of conservation', in African Themes, Evanston, Illinois, 1975, pp. 77-111, p. 96.
102. B.B. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
103. H. Harms, *op. cit.*, p. 166.



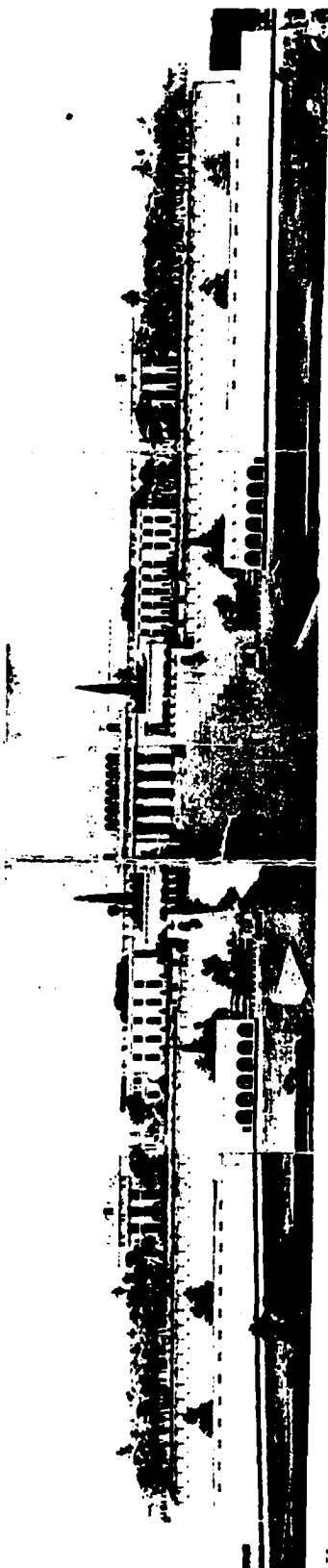
I



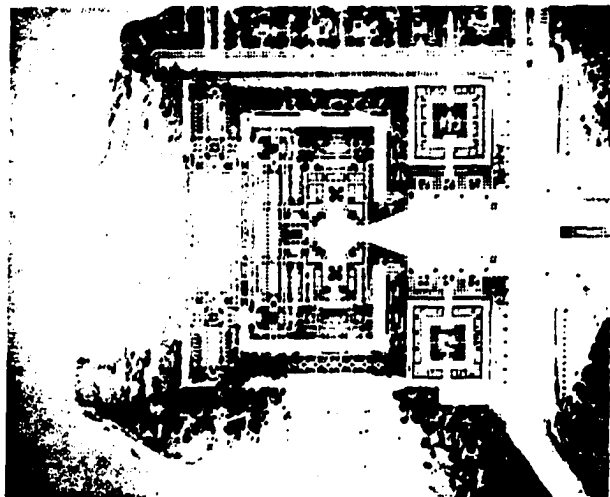
II



III



V



IV

VI



VII



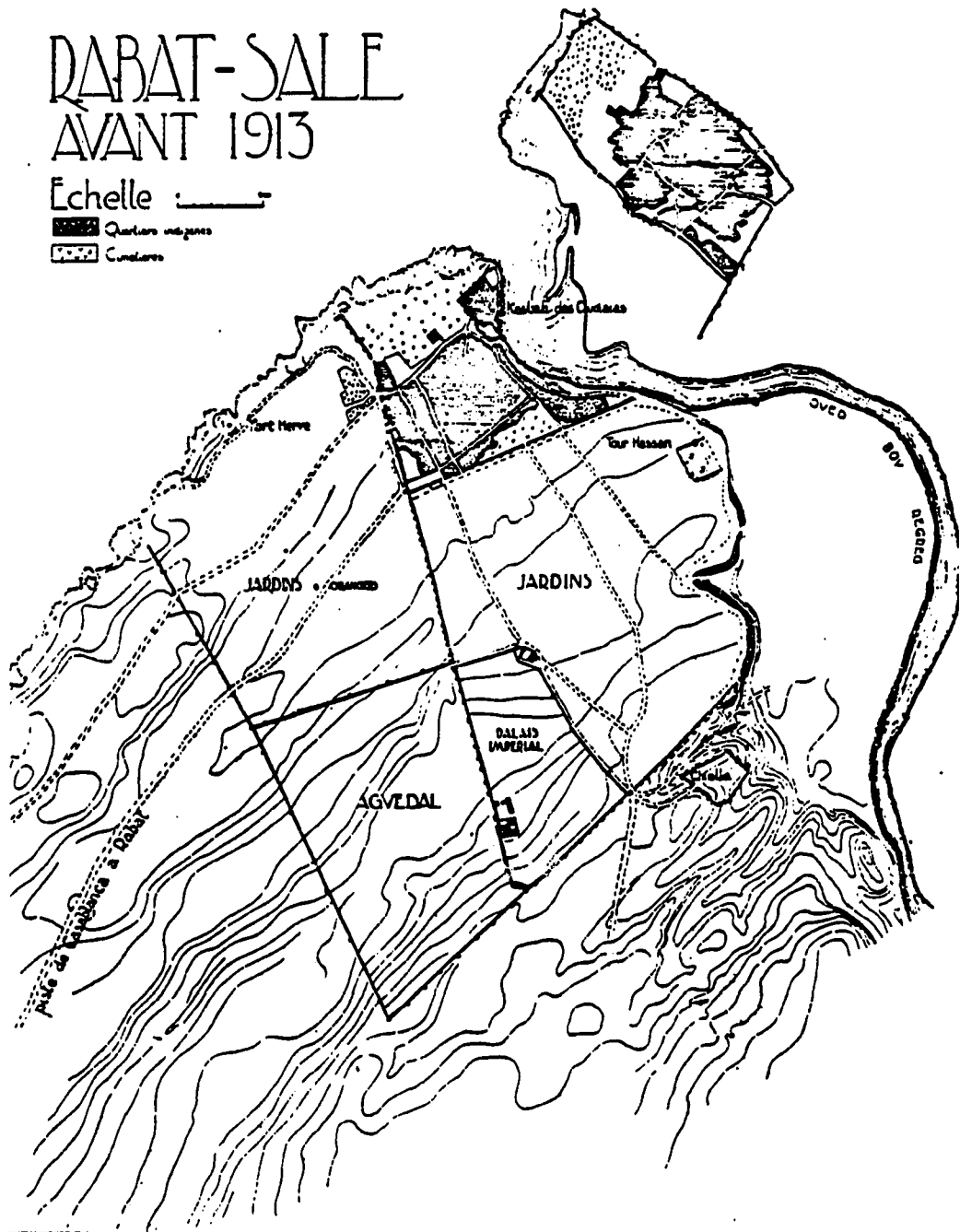
VIII



RABAT-SALE AVANT 1913

Échelle : ———

■ Quartiers indigènes
□ Cimetière









IX

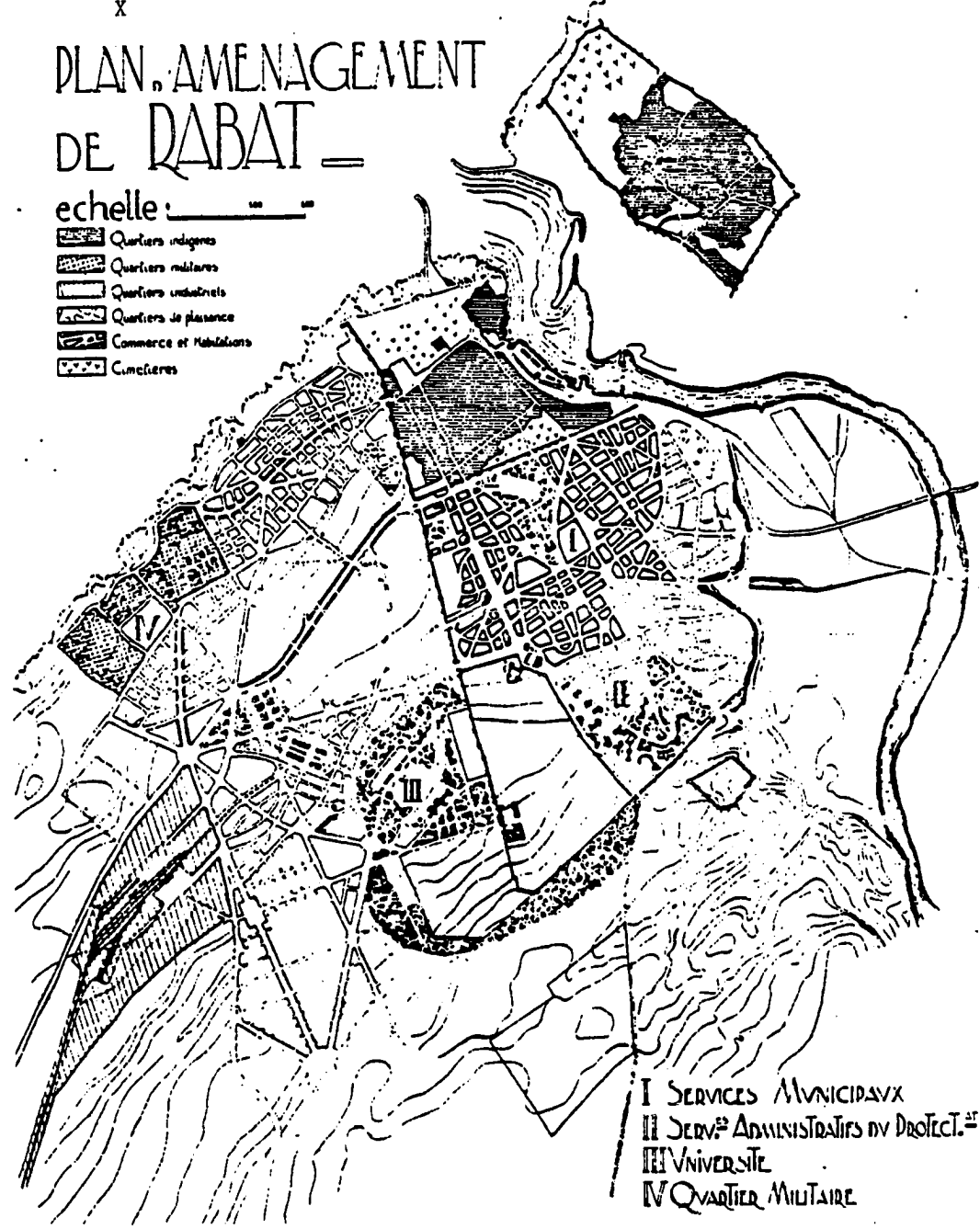


X

PLAN D'AMENAGEMENT DE RABAT

echelle : _____

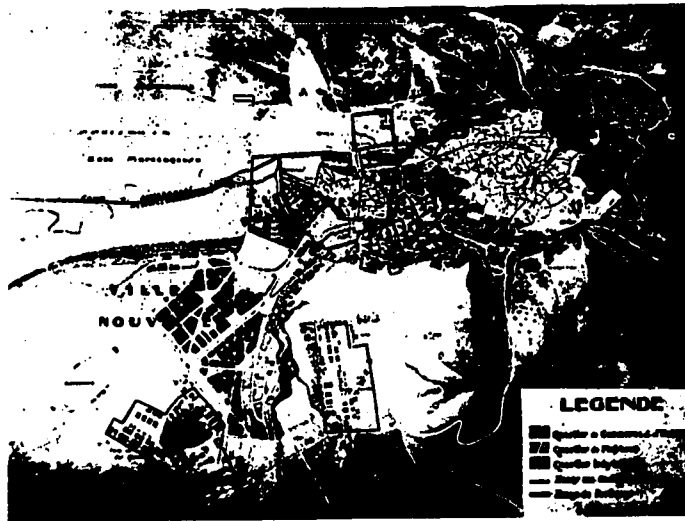
-  Quartiers indigènes
-  Quartiers militaires
-  Quartiers industriels
-  Quartiers de plaisance
-  Commerce et Habitations
-  Cimetières



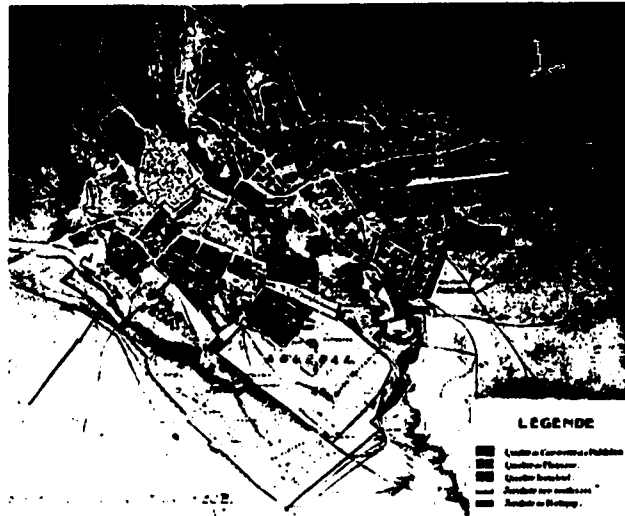
- I SERVICES MUNICIPAUX
- II SERV^s ADMINISTRATIFS DU PROTECT.^{or}
- III UNIVERSITE
- IV QUARTIER MILITAIRE

XI

XII



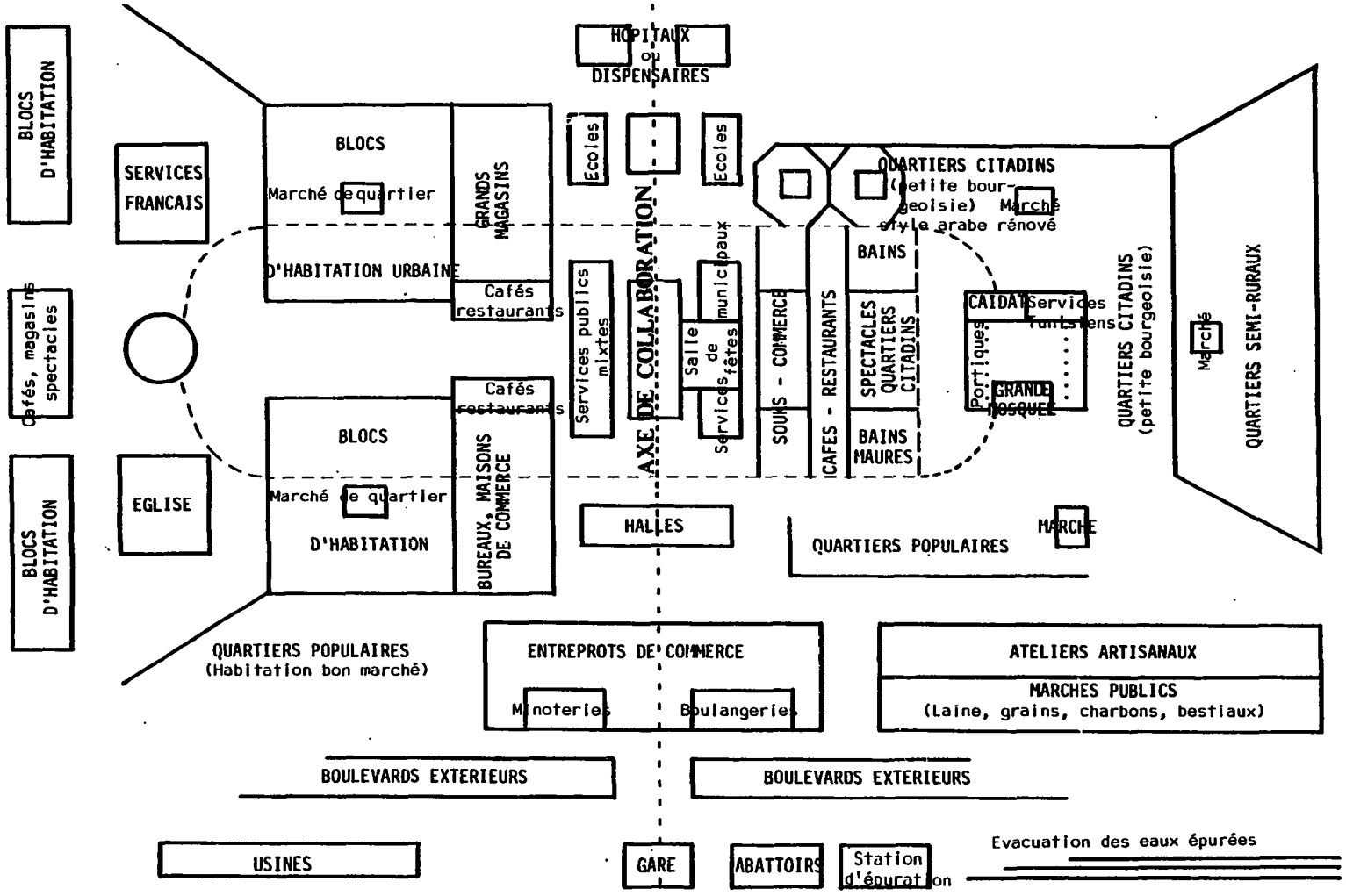
XIII



XIV



XX

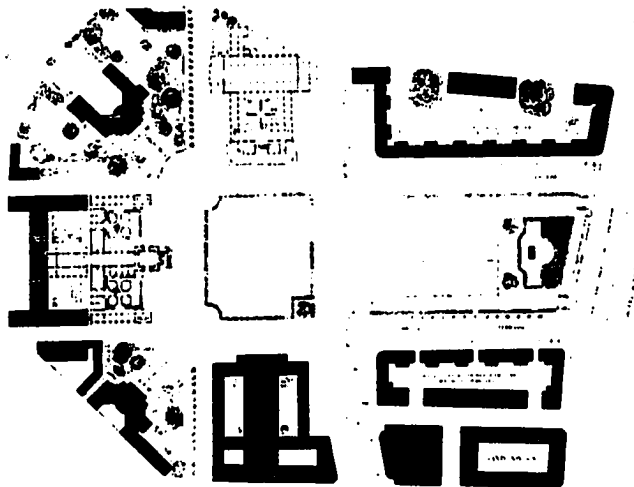




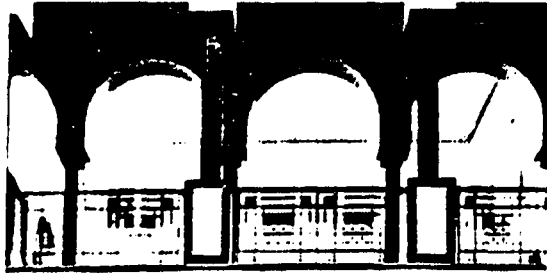
XVI



XVII



XVIII

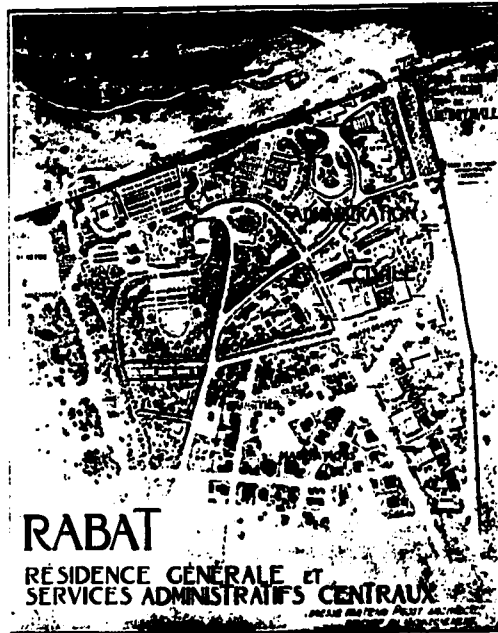


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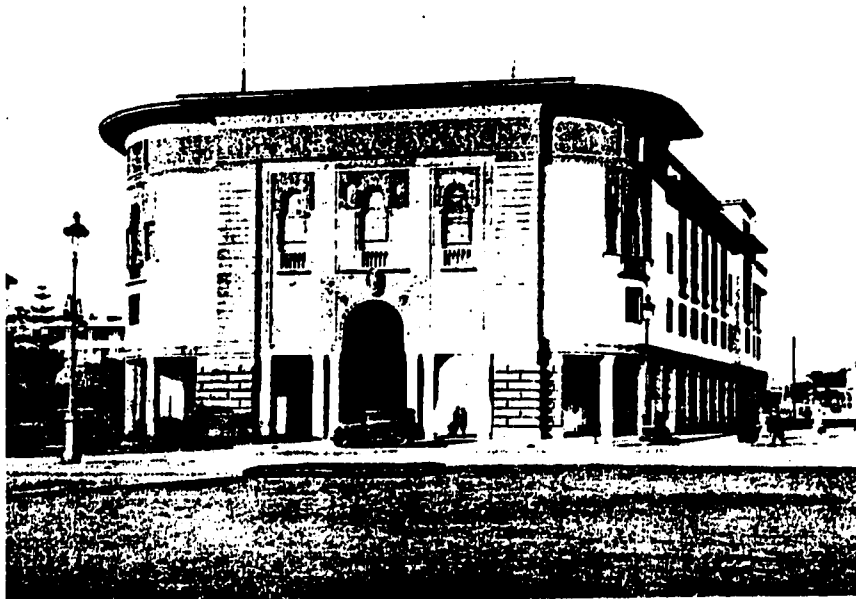


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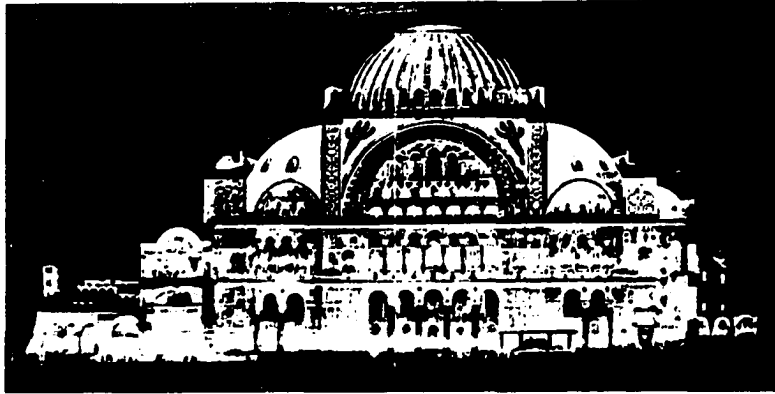
177



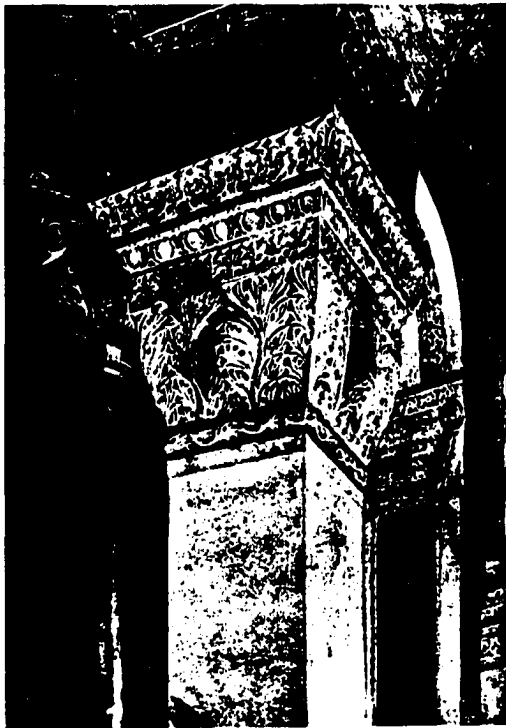
XXI



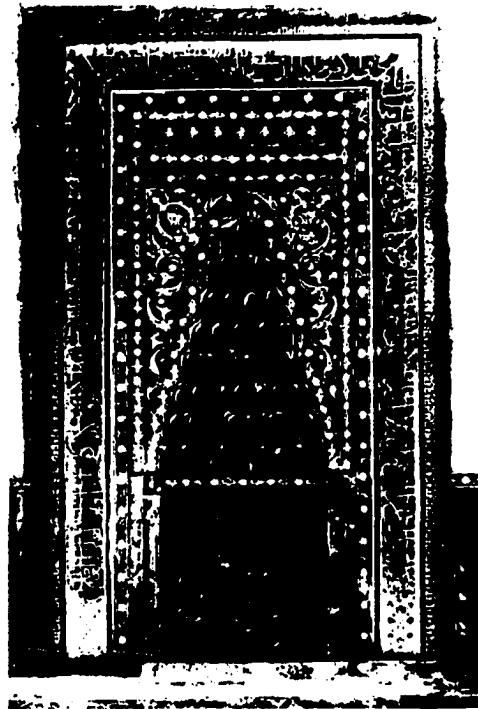
XXII



XXIII



XXV

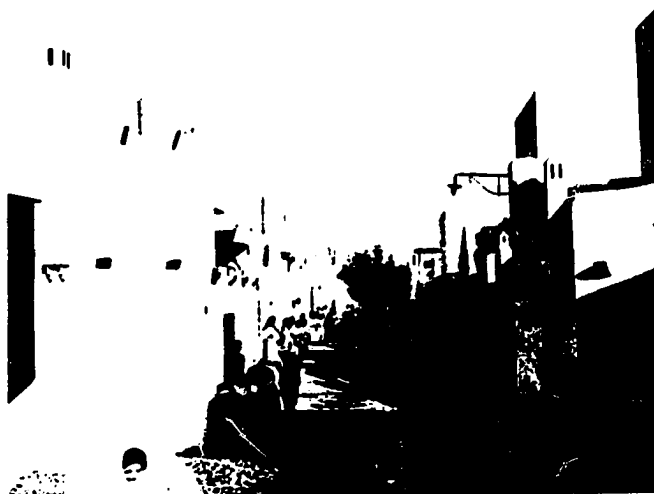


XXIV



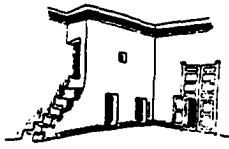
XXVI

1937



XXVII

1937



6. Maison pauvre



127. Maison d'école



128.

CROQUIS DE LAPRADE
in Le jardin et la maison arabes



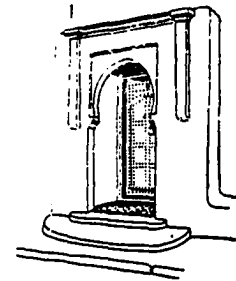
129.



131.



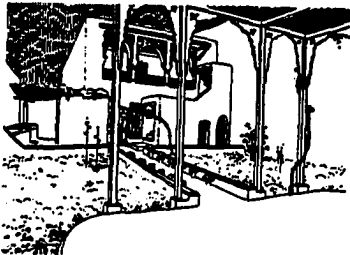
132. Rue à Salé



133.



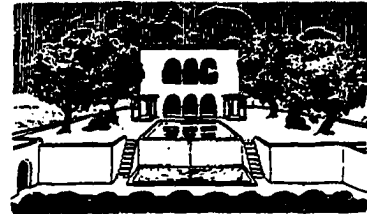
130. Maison pauvre



134.



135.



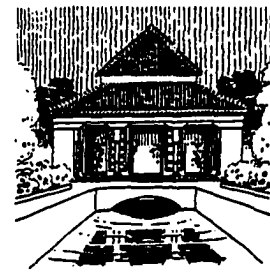
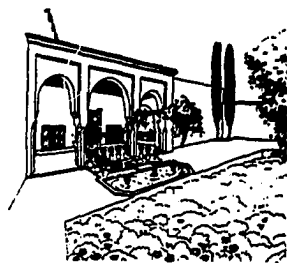
136.

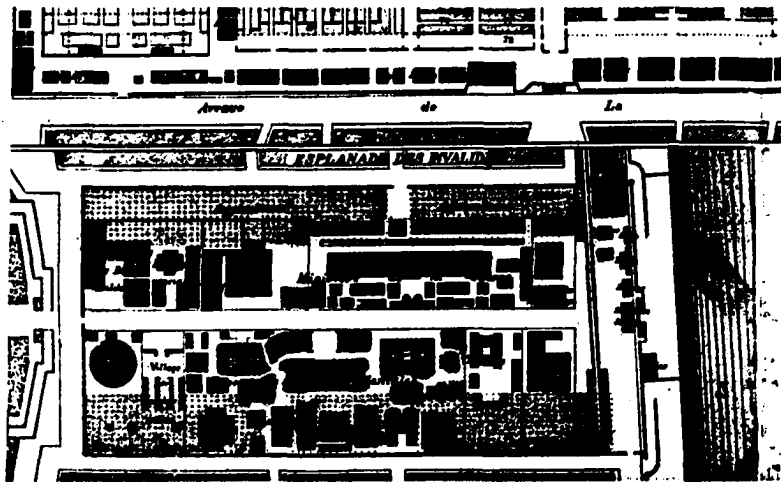
CROQUIS DE LAPRADE
in Le jardin et la maison arabes

Les riads

in Le jardin et la maison arabes

Les pavillons et les kiosques





XXIX



XXX



XXXI



XXXII

XXXI

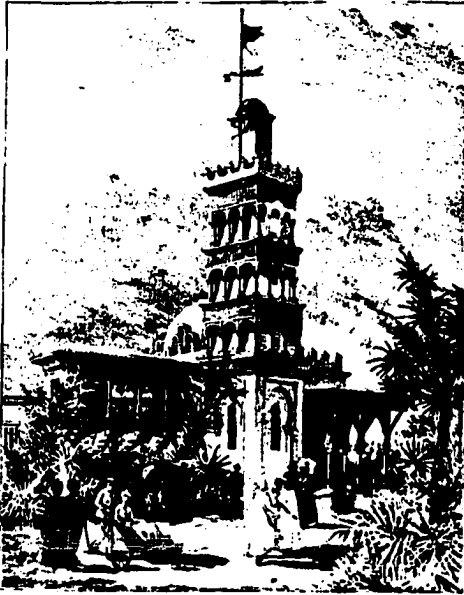


XXXIII

XXXIV

L'EXPOSITION DE PARIS DE 1889

Prix de vente : 50 centimes	Nombre d'exemplaires : 10 000	Prix de vente : 50 centimes
Imprimeur : G. BOUILLON	N° 20	Imprimeur : G. BOUILLON
Administrateur : G. BOUILLON	Paris	Administrateur : G. BOUILLON



i

L'EXPOSITION DE PARIS DE 1889

Prix de vente : 50 centimes	Nombre d'exemplaires : 10 000	Prix de vente : 50 centimes
Imprimeur : G. BOUILLON	N° 21	Imprimeur : G. BOUILLON
Administrateur : G. BOUILLON	Paris	Administrateur : G. BOUILLON



ii

L'EXPOSITION DE PARIS DE 1889

Prix de vente : 50 centimes	Nombre d'exemplaires : 10 000	Prix de vente : 50 centimes
Imprimeur : G. BOUILLON	N° 22	Imprimeur : G. BOUILLON
Administrateur : G. BOUILLON	Paris	Administrateur : G. BOUILLON



XXXIV iii



XXXV



XXXVI

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INDEX

- Alger (Algeria) : 24-26, 28, 29, 31-36, 47, 65, 73
- Al-Muqaddimah : 57
- Agache, A. : 35, 82
- Althusser, L. : 2-5, 11-15, 18, 19, 46, 79
- Annabi, (?) : 62
- Antwerp : 35, 81
- apartheid (urban) : 55, 61, 82, 83, 86
- baroque : 22, 53, 54, 64
- Barthes, R. : 49
- Beaux-Arts (Ecoles des) : 5, 22, 24, 29-31, 33-36, 53, 66, 67, 69, 82
- Brion, E. : 35, 70
- Byzantine : 69, 70, 82
- Cadet, A. : 35, 70
- Casablanca : 56, 63, 66, 68, 70
- Chateaubriand, F.R. : 48, 49, 85
- culture (visual) : 5, 27, 31, 37, 44, 52, 65, 82
- Delacroix, E. : 49, 51, 86
- determination (linear/structural), 4, 10, 87
- Ecole des Beaux-Arts (see Beaux-Arts)
- Eiffel Tower : 74
- empiricist (ism) : 1, 3, 4, 11, 16
- Exposition Universelle de Paris de 1889 : 32, 55, 72, 73, 86
- Fanon, F. : 59, 65
- Feuerbach, L. : 7, 8, 18
- Fez : 61, 62, 71
- Flaubert, G. : 48
- Foucault, M. : 3
- Fourier, Ch. : 30
- Gallotti, J. : 36, 44, 49, 52
- Garnier, T. : 31, 35, 69, 70, 82
- Gautier, Th. : 32, 49, 66, 85
- Gerôme, J.L. : 49, 51, 86
- Gramsci, A. : 5, 18, 39, 43
- Grand Prix de Rome : 29, 30, 35, 36, 69, 70
- Gros, A.J. : 50
- Guiauchain, G. : 33, 34
- Guy, R. : 34, 36
- Hagia Sophia : 70
- Hébrard, E. : 35
- Hegel, G.W.F. : 5, 7-9, 18
- Hegelians (Young) : 1, 7, 8, 16, 84
- humanism (ist) : 6, 30, 43, 48, 52, 53, 72
- Ibn Abdun : 57
- Ibn Khaldun : 57
- idealist (ism) : 1, 3-5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 18, 84
- ideology (of architecture) : 11, 15-17.
- Islamic architecture (Islam, Islamic) : 5, 56, 57, 62, 66, 69
- Jaussely, L. : 35, 70
- Jonnart, le Gouverneur Général : 34

- knowledge/epistemology (of architecture) : 11, 15-17, 54, 84, 87
- Kopp, A. : 47
- Labrouste, H. : 30, 31, 70
- Laforgue, A. : 35
- Lamartine, A. de : 48
- Lanessan, J. de : 27
- Laprade, A. : 35, 36, 49, 52, 70-72, 78
- Lévi-Strauss, C. : 49
- Lutyens, Sir E. : 23, 24
- Lyautey, Le Maréchal : 26, 27, 35, 42, 45, 50, 55, 62, 63, 67, 68, 81, 82
- mannerism : 69
- Marrakech : 61, 71
- Marrast, J. : 35, 66
- Marx, K. : 5, 7, 8, 10, 18, 80
- Medici (Villa) : 70, 82
- médina : 56, 58, 61, 63-65, 71
- Méknes : 61, 62
- modern architecture : 20, 22, 70
- Mughal : 23, 24
- neo-classicism : 22, 33, 54, 64
- Napoléon III : 32, 73
- Nerval, G. de : 48, 49, 86
- New Delhi : 22-24, 64, 67
- object of knowledge (architecture as an) : 1, 14, 15
- Orientalism (ist) : 6, 43, 44, 48-52, 59, 66, 76, 85
- overdetermination : 2, 4, 6, 12, 13, 19, 20, 39, 75, 85
- pacification (psychological) : 6, 26, 54, 65
- Palladio : 69
- 'politique du visible' : 28, 33, 34, 42, 44, 46, 55, 67, 72, 86
- Porphyrios, D. : 3, 11-13
- practice : 2-4, 6, 15, 19-21, 28, 31, 40-42, 75, 83, 84, 87
- 'preservation' : 58, 61, 86
- problematic (the) : 3, 4, 11-15, 17, 40, 47, 85, 87, 88
- Prost, H. : 24, 35, 49, 55, 59, 62, 66-71, 77, 81, 82
- Rabat : 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 63, 67-71, 82
- real object (architecture as a) : 1, 14-16, 21, 39
- Said, E.W. : 48, 85
- Saint-Simon, Ch. H. de : 30
- Saladin, H. : 54, 73
- Salé : 58, 71
- social formation : 2-4, 11-13, 17, 21, 38, 40, 85
- Speer, A. : 41
- Spirit of the Age (see Zeitgeist)
- structural causality (totality) : 1, 3, 12
- style of the conqueror : 27, 28, 36
- style of the protector : 27, 28, 33, 36, 66, 72
- symptomatic reading : 4, 12, 15, 39, 40, 42, 85
- Terragni, G. : 41
- Tunisia (Tunis) : 25, 26, 34-36, 65, 73
- Urbanism, le Congrès International de l'Urbanisme aux Colonies et dans les Pays Tropicaux : 42, 55, 72, 76, 77, 86

- Valensi, V. : 34, 36
- Viollet-le-Duc, E.E. : 31, 70
- Zeitgeist : 1, 10, 84