

7 Teaching Andalusian Music at Rabat's Conservatoire de Musique Marocaine

Franco-Moroccan Collaborations under Colonialism

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In studying North African postcolonial identities, scholars have pointed to the importance of the Andalusian tradition. And yet, until recently, and in Morocco in particular, music scholars have tended to skip over the colonial period, as if efforts to save this music took place independent of, in resistance to, or entirely after French policies.¹ We need to understand better both French and Moroccan investments in the Arabo-Andalusian music revival, even if, given available archives, this means beginning with French perspectives. What did each contribute, where did they come together in its teaching, study, and public valorization, who has been forgotten, and what does this tell us about colonial relations under the Protectorate?

This chapter examines the origins, nature, and purpose of the Conservatoire de musique marocaine, the first such public institution in francophone North Africa, founded for Moroccans by the French in 1930.² There, Franco-Moroccan collaborations helped “inventory, study, and resuscitate the past” (Ricard 1931b, 8). Thanks to the publications and extensive archives, both personal and institutional, of the colonial administrator Prosper Ricard—his contributions to musical life never before studied³—we can investigate how the Conservatoire took shape: Its administration, the teachers hired and students admitted; the curriculum, with special importance given to singing and improvisation; dissemination of this work in concerts, especially on Radio-Maroc; research collaborations leading to important publications; regional partners; and Moroccan leadership in 1944. Still functioning today with around one hundred students, the CMM continues to teach and promote the Andalusian tradition, now as the Conservatoire de musique andalouse, Moulay Rachid, in the same riad since 1931.⁴

Origins and Priorities

Concern for the deterioration of Andalusian music motivated the French call for its protection, along with that of the other arts. In 1912, soon after

conquest, Marshall Hubert Lyautey, the first Resident-general, created the Service of Antiquities, Fine Arts, and Historical Monuments, charged to protect and restore the Moroccan heritage, later defined as “sites and edifices presenting real value as art.” The first classified monument was the Kasbah des Oudayas in Rabat, original home of the Conservatoire de musique marocaine, today a UNESCO World-Heritage site. Included in this project were artisan crafts, overseen by the Office of Indigenous Arts (OIA, fd. 1918). Prosper Ricard, director of its successor, Service of Indigenous Arts (SIA), 1920–1935, had worked with artisans in Tlemcen and Oran, Algeria, after being sent by the Algerian government in 1907 to study Arabic art in Spain. Lyautey lured him to Fez where, from 1915, he was charged with renovating Moroccan artisanal professions and curating Fez’s Museum of Fine Arts. Ricard understood that renovation depended on collaboration with Moroccan elites, many of Andalusian origin, and served their mutual interests. He also understood Fassi artisans to be “descendants and heirs” of those from Andalusia (Ricard 1918). In 1920, Ricard moved to Rabat, where he established the SIA in the Oudayas, expanded this work nationally, and created a museum. With the SIA part of the Division of Public Instruction (PI), which included among its purposes “intellectual and moral renovation” (Protectorat 1923, 24), Ricard wrote extensively on pedagogical and practical methods for teaching artisans, which he devised from visiting, studying, and working with them regularly.

Ricard also recognized how highly Moroccan elites valued music. Ben Smail, a teacher of Arabic and Berber from Tlemcen, argued to “restore” and “revive” not only “the wonders of architecture and the Arabic plastic arts,” but also Moroccan music (Smail 1919). So too Mlle de Lens, a French musicologist living in Meknes, singer and performer of Moroccan music, who lectured on Moroccan music at the opening of the Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines in 1920, head of its music section (Lens 1920). Like her, Ricard recognized that the Andalusian musical tradition had suffered “decadence” from “lack of direction, lack of teachers, lack of appropriate instruction, lack of written documents [...] and lack of generosity because the professionals, miserly and difficult to learn from, were very little interested in passing this on to others, including future competitors, and so Moroccan music became more and more impoverished each day” (Ricard 1931a, i; 1932b). In addition, as Lens pointed out, most master teachers were over 40 and the young generation was more attracted to modern instruments than traditional ones. “Meritorious efforts” to reverse all this included a small group of indigenous music-lovers around Si Mohammed Ben Ghabrit in Rabat and cultured youth taking lessons from a valued master in Fez. In 1925, Smail created L’Andalusia, the first association of Moroccan music, eventually with 30 performing members and as many children.⁵ However, such groups were few in number, relatively isolated, and lacking cohesion. Perhaps on Ricard’s advice, in approving the statutes of L’Andalusia, PI director George Hardy called for “official action” to support indigenous

music (Protectorat 1931a, 27). This should begin with teaching “*chant arabe*” in Muslim elementary and secondary schools: 30 minutes, daily, of an “Arabic song, composed of an Andalusian melody on poetry of a moral and educational nature.” To encourage this, the PI division would commission a song collection for instructors’ use in classrooms (Ricard n.d., 1).

That same year, 1925, Ricard met Moulay (Mūlāy) Idriss ben Abdelali El Idrissi, a singer and intellectual from a distinguished family in Rabat. Finding him “very talented and intelligent,” able to discuss the “moral and philosophical” aspects of music, reinforced Ricard’s desire to help renovate Moroccan music (Ricard 1937). As he saw it, “collecting, conserving, and describing the old works is not enough. We must produce new ones. For this, we must make contact with people, establish who is most capable of accomplishing this” (Protectorat 1931a, 29; Ricard 1931b, 6). Teaching these old airs, performing them, collecting recordings, and creating a Moroccan music museum with instruments and poetry anthologies would make this possible—a compelling argument, from the French perspective, for their ongoing presence in Morocco.

In many ways, these goals and methods built on strategies the Protectorate was pursuing in arts and crafts under Ricard’s leadership: Survey, catalogue current practices, propose prototypes based on distinctive examples, teach, assist with new markets, and enhance professional sustainability. In 1920, Ricard began to travel throughout Morocco to locate, document, collect, and map the indigenous arts. Artisans filled out detailed questionnaires about themselves and their production, its typologies and fabrication methods. Ricard then published their answers and his analyses in his multi-volume *Corpus des tapis marocains* (1923–1929), assembled to codify rug designs, by region, as models to be studied, used in teaching, and emulated. To “facilitate the reeducation of adult artisans and initiate new generations to the arts of the country,” the SIA also collected ancient art and created regional museums (Protectorat 1931, 18). Reviving local industries relied most of all on investing in and collaborating with Moroccans, including their urban guilds (*corporations*). Organized by profession with masters, workers, and apprentices, including musical occupations, each was governed by a leader (*amine*) and constitution, its social importance dependent on relative size and status (Massignon 1924).⁶ Besides supporting their workshops and the “local character” of their creations, the SIA opened schools to train the next generation, including women. It also created an “official workshop” in Rabat, not to make or sell their crafts, but to form “expert workers” and produce “models appropriate for modern needs.” In these ways, along with exhibitions at local fairs and international exhibitions, the SIA promoted industrial growth, sustainable work, and careers (Ricard 1929, 190).

In support of similar actions in music, the PI administration, under George Hardy and his successor Jean Gotteland, subsidized a survey of Moroccan musicians (which, in 1927, Ricard commissioned from Alexis Chottin), the collection of musical instruments, and, in April 1928, a

three-day music festival to coincide with Rabat's annual Fair, where crafts were exhibited and sold. Fifty Moroccans from around the country, including L'Andalousia, performed traditional and popular, urban and rural music, praised by both Europeans and Moroccans. There, to "definitively assure the survival of a precious art," Ricard launched his proposal to create the Conservatoire de musique marocaine (CMM) in Rabat, originally to include Moroccan popular theater (Ricard 1936). In October 1929, with funding from Gotteland, it began as a Cercle musical in the SIA premises at the Kasbah des Oudayas. Three professors gave vocal and instrumental lessons to around ten students, all Moroccan (n.a.1). The next October, this became the Conservatoire, thereafter subsidized with twenty thousand francs per year. On 1 November 1931, to be closer to the indigenous population, it moved to a former palace of Moulay Rachid in the medina, dubbed Dar Tarab, or "House for music." Around a central courtyard with chalk-white walls, jasmine, red geraniums, and small red brick tiles, three rooms were transformed into classrooms, each able to hold a dozen pupils. During concerts there, rugs and oriental couches were added. A fourth room held the office, musical instruments, and a library with recordings, donated by Pathé and Odéon. Upstairs lived the concierge (Ricard 1931c). This context facilitated connection to the intimacy associated with Andalusian music, largely practiced in domestic settings.

Ricard's goals for the Conservatoire were multiple, complex, and interconnected. It would be a "laboratory for Moroccan music where performers come together several times a week at fixed hours throughout the year to work seriously on perfecting their technique and developing their musical culture." Lessons for "pupils asking for instruction as well as amateurs or professionals wanting to improve" would help "save traditional techniques from oblivion and give them new life." Besides assuring "the conservation and transmission of indigenous musical art," the Conservatoire should also "gather all useful information and documents" for "methodical study of an art that, until now, has remained without thorough examination" (Ricard 1930, 21; 1931a, iv; 1936 n.a., 1; Chottin 1934, 61). Such research should "enlighten us on all questions related to their art" and lead to a published corpus of "typical examples of classical urban music," analogous to his rug corpus (Ricard 1935b, 19).⁷ To enhance public appreciation for Moroccan music, the Conservatoire should give weekly concerts. With such objectives, Ricard thus launched the CMM, Franco-Moroccan collaboration being integral to its success.

Assembling a Staff

The Conservatoire began to take shape with Ricard's appointment of Chottin as director on 7 October 1930. Born in Algiers, Chottin spoke Arabic and had studied at its Conservatoire. He taught at Muslim schools in Fez before becoming teacher of Arabic at the Ecole Musulmane des Fils de Notables,

Salé, its director by 1922—a position he kept while at the Conservatoire. Since 1923, he was also known for collecting, analyzing, and transcribing Moroccan music. As composer, his popular bilingual choruses for Muslim students were later recorded by Pathé. Borrowing language used by colonial scholars and policy makers to describe France’s role as “guiding the young people to their full evolution, working with them to valorize their domains” (Michelet 1932), Ricard articulated his ambitions for Chottin. He would “look after the company and interact with it daily,” “guide it in its exercises and teaching,” and “obtain there all the information necessary for an objective study of Moroccan music and musicians” (Ricard 1936). Beyond “pure erudition,” Chottin saw his role as participating in the “general work of reconstruction undertaken by Marshall Lyautey” (Chottin 1934, 60).⁸

Putting together a faculty proved difficult. The Conservatoire needed well-known artists, but most lived in Fez or Marrakech, Rabat not a major city until the Protectorate’s capital. The Sultan’s musicians were busy, needing permission to work elsewhere. A year earlier, Radio-Maroc had featured an Andalousian ensemble directed by the violinist Taïbi Ben Kahia, but he was apparently not available. As Ricard explained, since the SIA could not afford to move musicians and their families from Fez or Marrakech, it had to look to “second-rate musicians.” This, however, had advantages: They tended to be “modest, devoted, ready to follow suggestions, and work for little pay” (Ricard 1936). Ricard’s relationship with local elites and “bourgeois” Moroccans also opened doors to their participation, though many were non-professionals.

Beginning in fall 1929, Chottin chose local, male, Moroccan musicians who could teach students, and, significantly, serve as “informants” for research.⁹ The first ones, originally at the Cercle musical and later considered its “founders,” resembled the traditional orchestra of Andalousian music, with singer/performers on the tambourine (*tar*), rebab (*rebâb*), violin (*kamenja/kemân-gâh*), and lute (*ûd*) (see Table 7.1). The importance of rhythm in Moroccan music may have led Chottin first to appoint the teacher who would lead this area. El Hadj Abdessalem Ben Youssef (*al-Hāj ‘Abdassalâm bin Yūsif*)¹⁰ played *tar* and sang popular and classical genres of Andalousian music, both important to Ricard and Chottin. He had a “phenomenal memory” and was very valuable for his musical knowledge, able to dictate to Chottin an entire *nouba* and identify the melodies on over 50 recordings (Chottin 1934, 63). Si Mohammed Guedira, violinist from a musical family of Andalousian heritage, was less informed on theoretical matters, but had good knowledge of classical Andalousian music. Guedira left for health reasons in October 1932. Si Mohammed Mbirko (*El Mbirkô/Mbirku*), aged 40, another devotee of classical music, played rebab and lute, the former particularly well. He had a medium-strength voice and knew how to please listeners. He was also able to teach and notate his lessons (Ricard 1931c; Chottin 1935b). By 1930, Mbirko was recording Andalousian music for Pathé. When deciding who would represent Morocco at the Congress



Figure 7.1 Students at the Conservatoire de musique arabe, with Chottin, Director, in *L'Afrique du nord illustrée* (11 October 1936)

of Arabic Music in Cairo (1932), Ricard chose Ben Youssef and Mbirko among the 8 performers.

Moroccan classical Andalusian music, *âla*, featured singer-instrumentalists, but, as Chottin pointed out, their vocal technique was relatively simple, not traditionally the “object of special care or instruction.” Singers produced chest voice, “without attention to timbre or nuance.” Sometimes *âla*’s choral singing was “cacophonous, little in harmony with the meaning of the words which became unintelligible.” In his report from Cairo, Ricard concurred: As Moroccan musicians tended to be “excessively individualist,” they often did not listen to one another, “too indifferent to the quality of the voices and instruments” (Ricard 1932a).

The exception was solo song, of which there were two types: *Bitâin* (bitayn/batayn) and *moual* (muwâl/mawâl), the singer accompanying himself on violin or lute, restating the vocal themes, and expanding on the vocal part.¹¹ The first were non-measured recitatives on couplets from classical verse, taking their name from their meter. *Bitâins* expressed “noble, elevated feelings, often with a moral or religious meaning,” restricting embellishments to cadences. Their performance often required a strong, powerful voice. *Mouals*, short non-measured preludes of 6 to 8 couplets, linked to a mode, used “free improvisation.” Expressing “tenderness or

passion”—some considered them love songs—at first Chottin associated them with female singers. Indeed, *chikhates* of Marrakech were known for their *mouals* (Mammeri n.d.). By 1926, Pathé had recorded many *mouals*, Cheikha Zineb Zdidya several in the 1930s (Chottin 1928, 11–12; 1933, 52–53; 1940, 439–440).

Although these genres receive little attention in both Moroccan and international music scholarship, Ricard chose a *bitain* singer, Mohammed Chouika, as part of the Cairo delegation and Chottin considered both genres important enough to hire one singer for each.¹² Perhaps Chottin was also addressing his own curiosity, recognizing that, while Europeans could follow instrumental parts, they rarely understood the singing (Harrat Dawdi 2016). This took time, as he looked for “quality and inventiveness,” more than expertise in the Andalusian tradition. Both singers eventually chosen had known Ricard, proven themselves on Rabat’s 1928 festival, and encouraged creation of the Conservatoire. Si Abdessalam Balafrej (Abdassalām Bilfraj), aged 25 and bourgeois, entered in 1929 as a pupil. As *moual* required great skill, taste, inspiration, and a voice that could be sweet and caressing as well as virile, he was one of the few who excelled in this and on the violin. With his “elegant nonchalance,” Chottin compared him to a “hildago” (Spanish nobility), able to elicit nostalgia for the “lost paradise.” Like other *moual* performers more interested in singing than “arid study” of the *noubas*, he would remain a “dilettante, never a true professional” (Chottin 1933, 55; 1939, 136–37). While leaving for financial reasons in late 1933, Balafrej continued to participate in CMM activities, in 1935 honored as “Officier d’Académie.”

It took Ricard until 1930 to persuade Moulay Idriss to join as *bitain* teacher. His family of venerated, highly-respected *chérifs* did not teach and forbade public performances. Yet, along with Balafrej, he had performed on Radio-Maroc in 1928 and made recordings in the Oudayas in 1929. Chottin praised Moulay Idriss for being able to dictate six classical songs for his transcription, including their variants. More “cultured” than other Conservatoire colleagues, Moulay Idriss also took on musicological work. He helped plan the programs of their weekly concerts, delivered Arabic translations of speeches for their guests, analyzed the texts of works sung for the students, and gave talks on music in SIA centers around Morocco, later functioning as associate director of CMM.

Four more teachers were hired in 1931–32, all lutenists, and Si Omar El Ouali, another *bitain* singer, was concierge. Si Ahmed El Ouazzani, lutenist and violinist, belonged to a noble family of Fassi music-lovers. Two other violinists joined in 1934, the most distinguished being Si Mohammed Belkhadir (Bilqādir/Bin Khidir), also a singer. In 1934, after MBirko left, Belkhadir replaced him as conductor of the Conservatoire orchestra. When needed, the institution also called on temporary instructors, 5 in 1934: Two singers of *moual* (a former teacher and former student), a professor at a local Muslim school, and a French musician/associate from the Institut

de Phonétique in Paris, Mme Decock (Table 7.1), the only European and female. She was hired to help with vocal technique and phonetics. Whenever possible, touring musicians were also invited to share their music, e.g. Tunisians and rural Chleuhs, the latter needed in Chottin's research (Ricard 1935b, 19).

To a certain extent, instructors were open to change. Recognizing problems with his voice—excessive throat contractions reducing its volume, constant sore-throats, and overly nasal sounds—Moulay Idriss took weekly lessons for 3 months in 1933–34 from Mme Decock. In her report to Ricard, she explained that after practicing breathing, abdominal exercises, and vocalises, his voice doubled its range and restraints on vocal gestures disappeared. However, the sound asked of him was more like Gregorian chant than *chant arabe*, less guttural and nasal. Moulay Idriss expressed misgivings, but accepted the “inevitable” (Decock 1934). Ricard thanked both for addressing his “defects, correcting them, and becoming a competent educator.” If this singing was a “sign of decadence in the arts,” such “decisive action” would bring improvements (Ricard 1934b). A year later, however, Moulay Idriss was losing students who complained of his constant bragging and modest talents. Some knew many more songs than the teacher. Concerned that he was also ignoring the Andalusian repertoire, Chottin proposed reducing his salary of 100 francs per month (Chottin 1935a). Despite such issues, Moulay Idriss remained on staff through 1939.

Forming Students

With Moroccan society “enamored of instruction and knowledge, wanting to learn,” Ricard disagreed with many colonialists who believed that “intellectual renovation” should focus on elites (Protectorat 1923, 27). Although those who self-identified as of Andalusian descent were its natural constituency, he was determined that the Conservatoire not be restricted to them. After all, “all social classes” had attended and appreciated Rabat's 1928 music festival (Protectorat 1931a, 28). The Conservatoire would be free and open to all Moroccans, “regardless of origin, age, or culture,” with or without an instrument. There is, moreover, no mention of religious preference.¹³ This led to a lack of homogeneity, constant turnover, and other problems, but the “best ones, the most talented and tenacious, remained” (Ricard 1932c, 23).

Those who “persevered and progressed,” “following the instruction profitably,” made it to the list of pupils on Table 7.2, of whom Chottin was proud. Like the private association, L'Andalousia, with members from different cities and professions, from 1929 to 1934 the CMM had 31 regular pupils, though far more registered and attended (25 taught by 6 specialists in 1931, 35 taught by 8 in 1932) (Ricard, n.d.2; Protectorat 1931b; Chottin 1935b). The first 14 ranged in age from 15 to 30: Artisans (3 in the leather profession, 1 cabinet-maker), employees (hairdresser, merchant, chauffeur,

2 bureaucrats), and a student; from the upper classes a property owner and 3 unemployed; from the lowest echelon, a day laborer. From 1931 to 1934, the 17 on Table 7.2 were aged 9 to 35, with 2 brothers, 9 and 11, accompanied by their father, and 5 in school. Even more were artisans (draftsman, shoemaker, hatmaker, tanner, leather worker, painter, 2 carpenters), along with a hairdresser, 2 merchants, and a bureaucrat. Opinions have been mixed on whether hierarchies existed among these professions. Nevertheless, tanning, shoemaking, carpentry, and architectural crafts were considered “noble,” “regardless of the identity or income of their practitioners,” and several pupils came from these backgrounds (Chottin 1935b; Ricard 1936; Irbouh 2005, 45–46). It is not clear if any had worked together. Table 7.2 suggests possible family connections. Were the two Ben Youssef violinist-pupils related to the tar teacher? The lutenist pupil Abdelkrim Guedira to the violin teacher? As in Andalousian communities, intergenerational continuity could help the Conservatoire succeed and endure.

This diversity in age, occupation, and musical experience brought organizational difficulties. As Ricard pointed out, urban social classes were very delineated and adolescents from the bourgeoisie did not mix willingly with sons of artisans, even less so with those of more modest backgrounds. Moreover, these adolescents had different obligations and habits, and were not always available at the same hours. Few could attend day classes. The bourgeoisie preferred their leisure activities after dinner, but its adolescents were normally not allowed to leave home then. In contrast, as those with jobs or school had to retire early for work the next day, they were free only between sunset and dinnertime. The concierge too could not stay late at night. The choice to hold classes after the workday and before dinner forced the Conservatoire to recruit mostly those of modest means, at least in the early years (Ricard n.d.3; 1931c; 1932c; 1936).

As Table 7. indicates, pupils’ various musical backgrounds were equally challenging. Three considered themselves music “professionals” (*âli*); Balafreij was promoted to teacher after one year. Five “amateurs” (*mûlû*) played in private concerts (one with his uncle Mbirko), and Ouazzani became teacher in a year. Only five started out as “still pupils,” but Meknassi and Jnieh already earned money for performances. Of these, Abdelkrim Guedira and Abdessalam Mouline later became renowned, Mouline and Hossein performing in Mbirko’s orchestra on Radio-Maroc and during the 1939 Fez Congress. From 1931 to 1933, all but one registered as pupils, although most previously paid for performing, Salah with Mbirko, Fares and Ferfra with Belaïd, from Sous, suggesting they may have been southern Berbers. To address these disparities, Chottin divided them into three groups, those without any previous musical instruction, those knowing the basics, and, in the first years, an “advanced” class for the nine considered “professional” or “amateur.” In 1934, 11 new students registered, but most were beginners, some “without talent” (Ricard 1931c; 1936).

Students' musical interests changed dramatically between 1929 and 1934 (Table 7.). In 1929–30, 11 concentrated on violin: Six as soloists, two violinist-lutenists, two using violin to accompany *moual*, as Balafrej. All the “professionals” and “amateurs” played violin, perhaps drawn to study with Guedira. In this same group, only two were solo lutenists, two rebab players. In spite of Ben Youssef's prominence, only one chose the tar, but three more tar players followed. In 1934, Guedira's departure brought a significant drop in violinists, only two studying with Belkhadir. With four lutenists now on staff, six pupils focused on lute, including the Aqasbi brothers. That eventually three singers taught *moual*, two *bitâin*, reflects the importance of these genres at the Conservatoire. A list of CMM's later students, such as Abdelkader Rachdi, is needed.

Curriculum and Pedagogy

Given that some teachers and students were illiterate and there was no indigenous form of musical transcription, Ricard and Chottin strongly believed in basing the Conservatoire's pedagogy on Moroccan ways of learning music, of which Ricard was aware from practices at L'Andalousia (Ricard 1931c; 1932c, 24). As with Ricard's hands-off approach to working with artisans, “no unusual intervention would disturb the traditional manner of oral transmission,” no “interference intended to perfect the teacher's pedagogical procedures” (Ricard 1935a). Students would learn by listening, including to recordings, as a means of improving their musical culture and helping them understand performances of the masters (Ricard 1932a).

Some teachers, who had “no habit of teaching,” became “accustomed to the indispensable regularity and perseverance” of instruction very slowly, and pupils did not realize the necessity for sustained effort (Ricard 1932e, 1936). A structure was established, each level having three weekly classes. They met on alternative days, Monday through Thursday. Preparatory pupils learned rhythms, taught by clapping or on the tambourine; middle-level ones were instructed on instrumental technique. As Ricard recognized that poor instruments were incapable of “rendering nuances” (Ricard 1932), pupils were provided with good quality ones, their sound improved by careful maintenance and their ensemble work tuned to the octave (Résidence générale 1931, 269). On Friday afternoons, Balafrej taught everyone *moual*. Students learned how to hold their instruments, sing and place the voice, and “resist the habit of shrieking and leaping octaves that disfigure the melody,” perhaps respecting Ricard's call for daily vocal exercises to soften and tone the voice (Ricard 1932). They thus were to take care with the quality of sound production, often lacking in traditional instruction (Ricard 1932d).¹⁴ On Saturday, as in the apprentice tradition of observation (Schuyler 1979, 23), all assembled to hear their professors perform, the best students eventually participating.

By the time the Conservatoire moved into the medina in 1931, Chottin had “figured out, with attentive observation, what seemed to be their method [...] practical and appropriate to their conception of music, based on rhythm and modes” (Ricard 1931c). Unlike traditional learning from example, trial, and error since “the master never bothered to facilitate the beginning stages for the uninitiated” (Lens 1920, 138), 15 beginners were given rhythmic and melodic types to practice, six middle-level pupils exercises for voice and their instrument, 15 more advanced ones, Andalousian classical music (Ricard n.d.2; 1931a, iv; 1932c, 25; Chottin 1934).¹⁵ On Fridays, all classes joined in learning *bitain*. Here the desired “imprecision” of the first years gave way to “more systematic” methods, producing more fruitful results. As in traditional music apprenticeships and at L’Andalousia, lessons began with the teacher performing the entire piece, analyzing its characteristics, then playing short fragments, sometimes transcribed on the blackboard, presumably using solfège.¹⁶ The pupils would repeat these, one by one, until memorized, then sing the whole piece. A lute accompanied, supporting the melody. On Saturdays, professors presented 75-minute concerts of known airs, those they were learning, and those students would be studying the following week—“exceptional occasions to form pupils’ ears and refine their taste” (Ricard 1932c, 25).

Although taught at L’Andalousia, Ricard and Chottin originally rejected classes in solfège as it “responds in no way to the needs of Arab music” and “would be dangerous for Arab music” (Ricard n.d.1; 1935a). Discussions at the Cairo congress reinforced their conviction that it should only be used “experimentally and with the greatest precaution” (Ricard 1932a). However, for whatever reason, “almost unanimous” student demand led to starting each class with a solfège exercise. Chottin rationalized this as promoting musical memory and helping to decipher difficult passages. While they were taught orally—without piano¹⁷—these exercises were also written on the blackboard. However, Chottin insisted that they “not be confined to the theoretical domain”: Each should be “as short as possible,” while containing “a complete phrase with melodic significance” and allowing for “individual expression.”¹⁸ To encourage emulation and foreground their diverse talents, an occasional “tournament” would invite pupils to sing “according to their own temperament” (Ricard 1931c; 1932c, 24).

To facilitate “the eventual renovation of Moroccan music,” the Conservatoire was to keep a “visible and durable trace of its daily actions,” that is, a diary indicating each day’s work, names of teachers and pupils who participated, exercises and pieces studied. “Observations and musical notations,” related to Chottin’s ongoing research, study, and collaborations with his colleagues, would be kept in files later transferred to the SIA. According to Benabdeljalil 2014, Chottin’s notebooks were still at Moulay Rachid in recent years, though apparently now lost.

Repertoire at CMM focused on urban Moroccan music, “Arab music with Spanish-Mauresque origins, *âla*, or Andalousian music.” Its most

important source was a songbook anthology (1789), named for its creator from Tetuan, Mohammed al-Haik, with poetry for 11 musical song cycles called *noubas*, identified by their mode. The CMM also taught popular genres drawing on this tradition, *qacidas* (qçida) and *aitas*, some of these “long scorned” (Ricard 1932a). Studying *bitain* and *moual*, with their Andalousian rhythms and melodies, was particularly important to Ricard and Chottin because not only did they help define the distinction of Moroccan music, but also, as “more free and personal” in nature, they involved improvisation. Traditionally, “a good singer must know how to improvise on all the themes” (Lens 1920), but CMM went further. Chottin once compared *moual* to Spanish flamenco. With these genres, he writes, “we try to encourage creativity,” crucial in the “possible evolution” of Moroccan music” (Ricard 1931c; Chottin 1933, 54; 1934, 63; 1939, 132).¹⁹

In 1938, Belkhadir presented the Conservatoire’s end-of-year concert. He began by summarizing progress in their pedagogy that encouraged “rapid assimilation of the principles of Andalousian music and practice of its traditional instruments.” Among new procedures were “advance study of the poetic text, rhythm exercises, singing and intonation exercises, study of the instrumental melody and, together, a *san’a*” (Andalousian music singing of a poetic stanza, including vocalises and ornaments).²⁰ As for repertoire, pupils had learned the entire *nouba* in mode *Isbihan* that year, performing excerpts of it at this concert along with *Bitain Jarka* and *mouals* by the pupil Abderrezzaq Loudiyi and Balafrej, and Chottin’s transcription of *Yâ Asafa* for violin, viola, lute, rebab, tar, and singer (*Le Petit Marocain*, 1 August 1938).

“Particularly distinguished” students elicited Belkhadir’s praise. In comparing them with those on Table 7.2, it becomes clear that many spent extended time at the Conservatoire. Still there in 1938 entered were Ahmed Ben Youssef, Meknassi, and Abdelkrim Guedira since 1929–30, Mouline since 1933, El Maati since 1933, and five since 1934. After perfecting one instrument, some turned to another: Mouline from tar to rebab, Abdelkrim Guedira from lute to violin, Mohamed Bel Oulladi from tar to violin, Ahmed Ben Youssef from guembri to lute, then violin and rhythm, Missaoui and Guelzim from mandolin to lute, Si Mjillali from guembri to lute. El Maati studied lute and rebab, both Mohammed Drissia and Mohamed Aqasbi lute and violin simultaneously. That so many students eventually learned several instruments and four performed other instruments before taking up the lute—two the guembri, two the mandoline—suggests flexibility and adaptability in Moroccan musical practices.

Disseminating a Tradition

Alongside teaching, from the beginning the Conservatoire’s staff was expected to “determine the diverse musical genres and their relationships

with dance and popular theater, notate the music, help realize well-chosen recordings, and assemble documents for the history of music” (Ricard 1932c, 21, 23; 1935b, 19). Colleagues in Fez lent rare music manuscripts and Chottin copied interesting passages. In 1931, he also analyzed the most important recordings of Moroccan music by diverse record companies, providing 27 Moroccan airs for use in teaching and a catalogue of the CMM’s disotheque-in-process. (Protectorat 1931b, Ricard 1932e). Interviews took place in the morning. When it came to who and what to transcribe, Moroccans “chose the master we needed”—Si Omar Jaïdi from Fez, the Sultan’s personal musician. After performing “the root (*el-asl*) of the song, the fundamental melody stripped of its ornaments (*zuak*)” (Chottin 1931, xiii,iv), Chottin notated, transcribed, and annotated the prelude and first 18 melodies (*san’a*) of *Nouba de Ochchâk*, published in Arabic and French by Editions Heugel as *Corpus de musique marocaine*, volume 1 (1931).²¹ The SIA subsidized it; Prosper Ricard wrote a preface. Informed by Chleuh visits to the Conservatoire, volume 2 on their music and dance followed in 1933. With help from Conservatoire colleagues, Chottin also published *bitâins*, *mouals*, and excerpts of *Yâ Asafa* (Chottin 1934, 63; 1939, 190–94). Ben Youssef dictated most of the *Nouba Hagaz El Mecherqi*, but transcribing its 26 parts required considerable collaborative effort (Ricard 1932c, 28). All this produced enough material for three more *Corpus* volumes, sadly unrealized. Harrat Dawdi (2016) notes that Chottin’s transcriptions served, and still serve, as valuable “memory aides” that facilitated rather than circumscribed CMM’s performances.

Moulay Idriss did related musicological work. He published articles on music in the Arabic newspaper *Es Saada* and a volume of Andalusian poetry with commentary, addressed to beginning singers for use in teaching (Ricard 1937). He also conducted field research with well-known popular singers and *chirates* from among the Chaouiïa people in the greater Casablanca region who sang about rural life. Seeking to promote this music, he organized and conducted a five-member ensemble to perform *melhoun* and *aïta*, urban and rural popular genres, the former influenced by Andalusian music. That May they performed at the Congress of Moroccan Music in Fez, the Moroccan successor to the Cairo Congress (1932), sponsored by the Protectorate and the Sultan. There Moulay Idriss also delivered two papers on Chaouiïan music. For such contributions, he became “Officier d’Académie” in 1939 (*Le Petit Marocain*, 14 July 1939).

Concerts, conceived as educational forms of dissemination for both performers and audiences, were integral to CMM training and future careers. Saturday performances in its courtyard eventually opened to Moroccan and European visitors, including Gotteland, educators, and touring artists (Chottin 1934). As in traditional performances, musicians and audiences there experienced little separation. This encouraged pupils to learn “proper social behavior” and gain recognition of “both audiences and fellow performers,” “patrons and spectators,” needed in becoming professional

musicians (Schuyler 1979, 19). Like other traditional ensembles, CMM's orchestra also played at Moroccan and French receptions.

As in the artisan industry, where crucial to success were new markets, CMM sought to reach a wide public, near and far. After 1929 and having organized 60 recordings, Ricard and the SIA no longer sponsored recordings, whether by Moroccan musicians working in various genres or its staff or students. The commercial market increasingly recorded Moroccan music of artistic value, but much Andalousian music was far longer than recordings could capture. Instead, CMM looked to Radio-Maroc. Performing there weekly on Saturday evenings beginning on 25 August 1932, CMM's musicians presented the "most representative and well-chosen examples of Moroccan music" to edify and improve public taste (n.a.3, 1935). With repertoire taught at the Conservatoire, soon their programs, published in *Es Saada*, were called "Concert de musique andalouse." The Sultan's advisor praised these concerts for offering "appealing diversion from Moroccans' daily chores" (Conseiller 1932). The five-member ensemble received 125 francs per performance through the 1940s, Chottin paid monthly as organizer.²²

Chottin eventually established a presentation style for CMM's concerts, unprecedented in Morocco. Unlike traditionally, performances in similar dress, their style suggestive of elites, used attire to connote the prestige and social value of their music, and musicians were arranged around the master by instruments rather than traditionally by experience, with lute and tar on the left, violins and singer on the right (Harrat Dawdi 2016). On CMM's first "public" concert (2 March 1934) at the Oudayas, Ricard announced his project to create a Franco-Muslim association to co-finance Conservatoire activities. The Pacha, Grand-vizir, and Gotteland attended. Student choruses from both the Conservatoire and the Ecole des fils de notables de Rabat joined in. Chottin introduced the instruments, works, and performers. Excerpts from five noubas were featured, interspersed with *bitain* by Moulay Idriss and his singing students, *moual* by Moulay Idriss, Balafreij, and their pupil Hossain Hajjam. The concert ended with Chottin's transcription of *Yâ Asafa* for CCM's orchestra (Ricard 1934a).

At the Théâtre Municipal on 25 February 1937, Arbéris (an organization of Arabists, Berberists, and Islamicists of Morocco) and the Resident-general sponsored a "lecture-performance" on *musique arabe*, the first such event in Casablanca. Chottin, "a reliable and enlightened guide," presented this music as "like the language, the history of customs, and institutions of our *protégés*: a means of getting closer to their spirit and heart." Under the direction of Belkhadir and expanded from the traditional 5 or 6 to 12 performers (perhaps for better balance or the theater's acoustics), CMM's orchestra played Andalousian pieces juxtaposed with French adaptations by the 36-member symphonic orchestra of Casablanca's Conservatoire de musique, de danse, et de déclamation. A reviewer noted that this was meant not only to please all music-lovers, but also to give French audiences "deeper

understanding of Arab-Andalousian poetry and music” (*Le Petit Marocain*, 25 February 1937). Promoting bi-cultural understanding of *musique arabe*, such concerts increased over the years, building the reputation of the institution and its musicians.

Like artisans taking part in international exhibitions, the SIA sent Conservatoire musicians abroad. Besides its two professors taken to the Congress of Arabic Music in Cairo (1932), in 1931 its pupils Hossein Hajjam, Ahmed Chefai, and Ben Salah played at the Paris Colonial Exhibition. Accompanying 21 artisans, 2 lutenists recruited in 1932, Errais and Jebli, and 2 pupils, Abdessalam Mouline and Moulay Idriss Ben Mohamed, performed from May to September at the Chicago World’s Fair (1933) (Chottin 1935b). Expressing the distinction of Moroccan music, their performances served as national propaganda and a form of diplomacy.

Regional Partners

Already in 1919, French administrators in Morocco had called for conservatoires in principal Moroccan cities, planting seeds for regional music policy, unique in North Africa in part because the administrative capital, established by the French in Rabat, was less important than traditional Moroccan capitals in the north and south. These efforts were concentrated in Fez, Meknes, and Marrakech where the SIA oversaw regional crafts in domestic and private workshops that trained thousands of artisans. In part to inspire local artisans, their museums stressed the regional nature of local arts. At the Paris Colonial Exhibition in 1931, Ricard presented a paper on “The Protection of Local Life in Morocco,” its last section on the musical arts.

In promoting local, private efforts to support Arab music, including autonomous associations on the model of L’Andalousia, subsidized by the PI administration, and “Friends of Music” groups of music-lovers, the SIA and local elites created the foundations for future music schools in these cities. Their collaborations were of mutual benefit as well as more cost-effective for the Protectorate. Given the strength of regional musical traditions and the Protectorate’s desire for both local autonomy and national cohesion, these schools would teach both regional traditions and Andalousian music.

In Fez, the SIA first supported El Idrissia, started in 1927 by Si Thami El Filali and Sidi Abderrahman Tahiri to preserve, study, and promote Andalousian music. Installed along with artisans at Fez’s museum (Dar Batha), its first class on Andalousian music began in 1930. A regular financial “allowance” from the SIA, combined with their own resources, funded a teacher, Abdelqader Korriche (Kurriš). His pedagogy, “admired by all,” quickly attracted 20 students. In 1932, this became an officially recognized music school, supervised by SIA regional director Marcel Vicaire and directed by Korriche, who offered courses four times a week. Soon, more than one hundred young musicians learned 30 *mizanes* (preludes introducing

a song, also means rhythm; Chottin 1939, 115, 116). Eventually other Fassi masters were hired: Hadj Mohammed Brihi and two on the Moroccan delegation for the Cairo congress, lutenist Hadi Othman Tazi, and violinist El Hadj Mohammed M'Tiri. Unlike in traditional apprenticeships, advanced students were encouraged to work with several teachers. That year in Meknes, whose "Friends of Arabic Music," patronized by both General Goudot and the pacha of Meknes, did not have the resources of Fez, the local SIA and the city contributed funding for a modest Ecole de musique marocaine at Dar Djamai. Si Mohammed Dadi, another luthenist brought to the Cairo congress, temporarily commuted from Fez to teach its 15 students until replaced by a local musician, Chaouch Mhammed (Protectorat 1932; Ricard 1936; n.d.2).

In fall 1930, after installing a branch in Marrakech, Ricard and SAI's regional director, Azouaou Mammeri, discussed what form their support for Moroccan music should take. Ricard invited musicians from Marrakech to perform at the Oudayas, proposed bringing local Chleuh musicians and dancers for the 1931 Paris Colonial Exhibition, and supported a "young association of indigenous music" that was providing music lessons for around 15 pupils (Protectorat 1932; Ricard 1936). With assistance from El Glaoui, the pacha of Marrakech, in August 1932 this became the Ecole de musique andalouse, overseen by Mammeri and directed by Si Abdesselem El Khiati (Khîyat), a 60-year-old, well-respected musician from Fez who had recently settled there. Given El Glaoui's considerable resources and influence, the school was able to function like an association. The pacha



Figure 7.2 Le Conservatoire de musique at Dar Si Said, Marrakech, in *Nord-Sud* (May 1934)

was president, Si Madani El Kebag vice president, and ten Moroccan elites served on its Board, which, on the pacha's recommendation, recruited El Khiati. The SIA offered space in its premises, Dar Si Said (DSS), and these elites covered instrument purchases, El Khiati's salary, and even remuneration for needy students. Significantly, this enabled their full-time study, free of other preoccupations, normally for three years. Depending on their level, 14 pupils would receive from 4 to 6 francs a day; pupils of rich parents, nothing. Others could also attend without a subsidy. To encourage those awaiting an entry exam, seventeen would receive 100 francs each for the month of August. Punishments entailed losing part or all of this remuneration, awards, and an increase in the monthly amount. Soon, with each pupil provided with an instrument, 25 were attending classes daily, except Fridays, held at fixed hours in the morning and afternoon. Music students performed for DSS's opening in November, attended by the Sultan. El Khiati, reporting to Mammeri, was paid 1,000 francs per month to teach "Arabic music," that is, the Andalousian repertoire. He was also compensated for performances (e.g. 240 francs to conduct four concerts with an ensemble of twelve in December 1936) (Mammeri 1932a,b; 1936; Essafi 1933; Ricard 1936). The school's successes led to multiple engagements for private and tourist festivities, helping to fund their activities. The "Friends of Moroccan Music," created under the auspices of the regional SIA and with Mammeri as assistant secretary, its statutes approved in October 1932, lent additional support (Mammeri 1932c).

By 1936, with the assistance of the regional SIAs, the teaching and concerts of regional music associations and music schools turned Oudja, Fez, Meknes, Marrakech, and soon Mogador into "centers for music education and artistic culture" (Ricard 1936). That year, when Radio-Maroc opened studios in Fez and Marrakech, their "Conservatoire orchestras" joined the CMM in weekly radio performances, subsidized by the SIA, and for years thereafter. Between 1936 and 1938, such concerts, popular with Moroccans, helped stimulate a 180% increase in Moroccan radio ownership. The 1939 Fez Congress, with its many European and North African participants, brought international exposure. There SIA's "Conservatoires de musique marocaine" presented an afternoon of performances. Korriche's pupils took part in two concerts of Andalousian music, ten listed by name,²³ 25 performing *Qoddam el Maia*, co-conducted by Korriche, M'Tiri, and Si Othman Tazi (*Courrier du Maroc*, 9 May 1939).

During the war, despite Chottin being temporarily absent, the Protectorate continued to support these conservatoires, raising their subsidy from 35,000 in 1941 to 40,000 in 1942 (n.a.2.). In 1943, the Spanish protectorate created a Conservatory in Tetouan modeled on the CMM (Calderwood 2018, 246–49). The next year, Jean Baldoui, Ricard's successor, approved appointment of Si Mohamed Es Sbiaa as "technical director" of CMM, the first Moroccan, assisted by Si Omar El Ouali, earlier concierge. Three sections remained—preparatory, advanced, and one teaching *griha* (light

popular song). Es Sbiaa's management was apparently more controlling than Chottin's: Teachers were paid by the hour; no public was allowed at the Saturday sessions; concerts continued as before, but neither professors nor students could perform without his permission (Baldoui 1944). After independence, similar conservatoires, under the Ministry of Culture, expanded in number, standardizing instruction across the country while continuing to coexist alongside apprenticeships and self-taught "inspiration" (Schuyler 1979, 28–30; cf. Loopuyt 1988).

Decolonizing the Conservatoire

Until we can dialogue with Moroccan perspectives from the period, how can we decolonize our methodology? We can ask not just who framed CMM's scope, but also whose interests did it serve, who benefited, and what was its legacy (Smith 2012, 10). Rejecting the reductive opposition of dominating/dominated, I have addressed the relative agency of Conservatoire teachers. Also important are questions of power and control. Ricard refers to director Chottin as "guide" toward the "evolution" of Moroccan music, implying that Chottin understood what was involved and how to achieve this, that Moroccan musicians were the guided, and, crucially, that the goal was consensual. Whether closely evaluated or merely supervised, Chottin depended on the Protectorate for his livelihood. In making his choices and enacting his responsibilities, however, he had considerable freedom, given his expertise and experiences. The essays and reports in Ricard's archives document not Chottin's obedient submission to demands, but the values he and Chottin shared, the collaborations in which they engaged, and, above all, Ricard's support for Chottin's activities and interests. The benefits were bilateral and lasted decades.

In some ways, the Conservatoire's teaching staff had a similar relationship to their employer. The overarching agenda—to teach and revitalize the Andalusian tradition—was shared among Moroccans and French settlers. Underlying interests too were shared. Cultural decay had long been used by the French to justify European intervention. Through the Andalusian heritage, as practiced in its four regional centers, the Protectorate could consolidate the country's elites and its image at home and abroad. Its revival also advanced the intellectual and cultural interests of Moroccan elites, especially in Fez, whose master-musicians dominated teaching of this tradition at regional music schools. Conservatoire beneficiaries, however, were drawn from the entire population. Ricard was determined to involve teachers and especially students from many backgrounds, like the artisans he worked with, not just those with the contacts, capacity, and resources for apprenticeships. For their part, like Chottin, these teachers had jobs and income not dependent on their students (as with apprentices), plus the opportunity to build careers in the public sector, rare among traditional musicians before this. Drawing attention to Conservatoire teachers and students, we hope to

stimulate study of careers that blossomed under the radar of the few remembered today and the impact they might have had.

While, in many ways, the SIA's actions in artisan industries resembled those in the musical world, there was one crucial difference. To assure quality, authenticity, and provenance, Ricard's predecessor created a government-produced stamp. When affixed to rugs, these commodities were exempt from duties and earned higher profits for artisans. However, Ricard preferred "indirect supervision" of artisans (Ricard n.d.3) and strong *corporations*. Likewise, at the Conservatoire, management was minimal. Chottin established class times when most students were available; he included a "day of rest" on Saturdays for students to listen to their professors' performances. Teachers were required to be "diligent and punctual" but, as both Ricard and Chottin were committed to "no interference" in the teaching, Moroccans practiced their own pedagogy in fulfillment of the curriculum. Chottin's research and transcriptions enlarged teachers' repertoire, but sharing their skills and forming their students through the oral tradition afforded teachers great flexibility. At the same time, unlike in traditional apprenticeships, pupils had multiple teachers whose "control over the student's progress" was not "absolute" (Schuyler 1979, 29). Moreover, with focus on *bitain* and *moual*, improvisation itself entered the curriculum, valorizing not just knowledge of the repertory, as in traditional music instruction, but also Moroccans' "creativity" and expression of their "temperament."

Arguably, the keys to the CMM's longevity were exchange, shared responsibilities, and co-production of knowledge and musical experiences. In conceiving and establishing the CMM, Ricard built on his experiences with local artisans, reached out to Moroccan musicians as collaborators, and kept detailed records of all who taught or studied there. Publications that appeared under Chottin's name, including transcriptions based on colleagues' performances, acknowledged his sources.²⁴ Moroccan performers built careers through Conservatoire concerts, while, behind the scenes, Chottin organized them and provided repertoire. Little in the archives suggests what kind of "renovation" in the Andalousian tradition resulted from the multiple teachers, fixed curriculum, and concerts of the CMM, except perhaps approaches to singing, analysis of texts, and attention to creativity and sound quality. Such collaborations encouraged the music's revival and, through public dissemination, especially on Radio-Maroc, expanded its national significance. The CMM, its values and methods, laid the foundation for subsequent efforts at keeping alive the Andalousian tradition, including a plethora of courses and music schools devoted to it since independence. But did the CMM's desire to educate large, diverse audiences and become a "public good" influence the genre, its meaning, its practices, and its evolution?

Today, Chottin's *Corpus de musique marocaine*, reprinted in 1987 and 2012, continues to be used at Dar Moulay Rachid—a rare trace of Omar Jaïdi's artistry, notated and captured for posterity, memorializing the work of the *Conservatoire de musique marocaine*.

Table 7.1 Professors at the *Conservatoire de musique marocaine, 1929–1936*

El Hadj Abdessalam Ben Youssef	rhythm (tar), singing, informant on notation	1 October 1929–1939
Si Mohammed Guedira	violin	1 October 1929–30 September 1932
Si Mohammed Mbirko	rebab, lute, musical information	1 October 1929–30 April 1934
Si Abdessalam Balafrej	Singing (<i>moual</i>), violin, (recruited as student 1/10/29)	1 October 1930–31 December 1933
Moulay Idriss ben Abdelali El Idrissi	singing (<i>bitain</i>)	1 January 1931–1939
Si Ahmed El Ouazzani	lute, violin	1930/31?
Si Mokhtar El Oudiyi/Loudiyi	2nd level: lute, singing	1 October 1931–30 September 1932
Si Abdessalam Ould Errais	lute	1 October 1932–31 December 1933
Si Abderrassak Jebli	lute	1 June 1932–1936
Si Mohammed BelKhadir/Belkhadir	singing, violin	1 May 1934–1939
Si Mohammed El Aoufir	violin	1 December 1934 (trial, one month)
Si Omar El Ouali	concierge, singing (<i>bitain</i>)	1 October 1931–1939
Collaborators in 1934:		
Si Abdessalam Balafrej	Singing (<i>moual</i>)	former professor
Si BenTsehmi, prof. Ecole des fils de notables, Rabat	Singing (<i>moual</i>)	former student
El Hossein Hajjam	Vocal technique, phonetics	3-month training course
Mme Decock		

Table 7.2. Students at the *Conservatoire de musique marocaine*, recruited 1929–1934

NAME	OCCUPATION	AGE	INSTRUMENT	LEVEL
1929, 1930				
Abdessalam Balafrej	unemployed	25	violin and <i>moual</i>	became professor, 1/10/30
Ahmed El Ouazzani	property owner	30	violin, lute	“excellent amateur”
Mohammed Ben Youssef	leather worker	25	violin	professional musician
Mohammed Sefrioui	chauffeur	25	violin, lute	professional musician
El Hossein Hajjam	hairstresser	21	violin, singing (<i>moual</i>)	professional, in MBirko’s ensemble
El Abbas Raissi	unemployed	21	lute	amateur
Abdellatif Harkatt	bureaucrat	23	violin	amateur
Mostefa Meknassi	leather worker	18	violin (through 1938)	Pupil, performs on private concerts
Ahmed Chefai, MBirko’s nephew	leather worker	16	violin	Performs with his uncle MBirko in private concerts
Ahmed Frenjiro	student	18	violin	amateur
Abdessalam Brital	bureaucrat	30	violin	amateur/pupil
Ahmed Ben Youssef	(blind)	18	violin/guembri to lute, rhythm (1938)	pupil
Abdelkrim Guedira	merchant	15	lute to violin (1938)	pupil
Mohammed Jenieh	cabinet-maker	18	rebab	pupil, plays in private concerts
Mohamed Tadlaoui	day laborer	17	lute	pupil, plays in private concerts
1931				
Ahmed Ben Salah	student	15	tar	pupil, plays for money with MBirko
Abdelkader Fares	draftsman	18	lute, violin	pupil, plays in private concerts with Belaid
Mohamed Soudani	hairstresser	17	rebab	pupil, plays for money in private concerts
1932				
Ahmed Ferfra	shoemaker	30	violin	pupil, plays for money with Belaid

Abdessalam Mouline	hatmaker	20	tar to rebab (1938)	pupil, plays with the best ensembles in Rabat and Fez
1933				
El Maati Ben Abdelouahab	tanner	20	Lute + rebab (1938)	pupil, "très demandé"
1934				
Ahmed Guelzim	carpenter	20	mandoline to lute (1938)	pupil
Mostefa Hakem	leather worker	15	tar	pupil
Ahmed Dimia	sales	15	violin	pupil
Bou Beker Ben Slimane	sales	20	lute (through 1938)	pupil
Mohammed Krim	carpenter	15	lute	pupil
Mohammed Aqasbi	student	11	lute	pupil
Othmane Aqasbi	student	9	+ violin (1938)	pupil
Jilali Regragui	student	18	tar (through 1938)	pupil
Larbi Ben Jilali	student	20	guitar	pupil
Abdellatif Aqasbi	bureaucrat	35	lute (through 1938)	father of M. and O. Aqasbi
Moulay Idriss Ben Mohammed	painter	28	violin lute	amateur

Notes

- 1 For example, Aydoun 1995, Cherki 2011, and Chaachoo 2016. For westerners' perspectives, see Davila 2013, Pasler 2015, Glasser 2016, Calderwood 2018, and the ongoing ERC project, *Past and Present Musical Encounters across the Strait of Gibraltar* (2018–23) directed by Matthew Machin-Autenrieth.
- 2 Western music had been taught in public institutions in Casablanca since 1917, at its Conservatoire de musique, de chant, et de déclamation since 1923, and in Rabat at its Ecole de musique since 1928, later known as the Conservatoire de Rabat. In contrast, Algier's Municipal Conservatoire, founded in 1925, included a class in Arabic music, but in a context dominated by Europeans.
- 3 The research in this chapter is based largely on the Prosper Ricard Collection, preserved after his death in 1953 in the library of the Oudayas Museum in Rabat, then lost, even to Moroccan authorities, during either transformation of the museum in 2006 or construction of the freeway tunnel under it. After an extensive search, I rediscovered a large portion of the documents in 2012. I am grateful to the Moroccan Minister of Culture for permission to consult what I found and to Jamaâ Baida for acquiring the collection in 2018 for the Archives Nationales du Maroc. This collection is a major source for my book-in-progress, *Sounding the French Empire: Colonial Ethnographies of Music, 1860-1960*, funded in part by the ACLS (2016–17) and my ERC advanced project MusiCol, *The Sound of Empire in Twentieth-Century Colonial Cultures: Rethinking History through Music* (2019–2024).
- 4 My thanks to Mohammed El Harrat Dawdi, professor there, and Abdelaziz Benabdeljalil, former singing teacher and director of the Conservatoire de Meknes, for interviews, 2014–2016. My thanks also to Ruth Davis for her close reading and helpful suggestions.
- 5 According to Moroccan law in 1914, an “association” could charge dues and, if by nature philanthropic, could receive private donations and government subsidies to support its activities (Protectorat 1924). This suggests that L'Andalousia did not operate with traditional master/apprentice relationships wherein the latter paid the former for lessons, but it does not exclude the association paying members for giving lessons to one another. Further research is needed in the Moroccan music community. Other registered and approved music associations at the time included Casablanca's Cercle musical (fd. 1921), Rabat's Lyre marocaine (1922) and Civic Band (1925), and Meknes' Municipal Wind-band, School of Music (1924), and Friends of Music (1929).
- 6 In 1923–24, Fez had 126 manual professions whose numbers could vary from 15 to 30 slipper makers to 60 *chikhates* (courtisane performers), 37 singers, and 38 drummers. Rabat had 17 instrumentalists, Casablanca 9 violinists, 3 clarinetists, 3 drummers, and 43 singers and dancers. In Marrakech, where there were more than 60 Jewish *aliyoun* (Andalousian musicians), divided into various kinds of singers, Mammeri bemoaned that the structure required treating them all equally, whether master or apprentice, and they lacked “artistic direction” (Mammeri n.d.). Also counted were Jewish singers, Berber singers, composers, parade musicians, story singer-drummers, and Ramadan trumpet players (Massignon 1924). However, whereas artisan guilds facilitated French surveillance of production and product sales, enabling their survival amid new commercial methods and competition, there is no evidence that the SIA worked with performers as *corporations*, except for professional *chikhates*.
- 7 Ricard 1936 acknowledges the work of Jules Rouanet and the Baron d'Erlanger as precursors.
- 8 Jann Pasler, “Alexis Chottin au Maroc: un paradigme nouveau pour la musicologie d'aujourd'hui,” *Acteurs et actrices des musicologues francophones: pros-*

- opographie et filiations*, Beirut, Lebanon (30 November 2018). An expanded version has been submitted for publication as “Co-producing Knowledge and Morocco’s Musical Heritage: A Relational Paradigm for Colonial Scholarship.”
- 9 Female *chikhates*, unmarried professional singers, often courtesans, made a living in Rabat, some with recording careers, but were excluded.
 - 10 In this chapter, I have chosen to use the French spelling of Moroccan names, since the archival sources are in French.
 - 11 On their differences, role, and performance style, see Chottin 1933, 53–54; 1939, 64, 132–136.
 - 12 As Ruth Davis pointed out (private communication), this was contrary to trends elsewhere in the Arab world, with its “increasing emphasis on instrumental performance.”
 - 13 Jewish musicians were integrated into guilds by 1924, at least according to interview statistics in Marrakech (Massignon 1924).
 - 14 Schuyler 1979 concurs: “the beauty of execution in itself is not terribly important to the professional musician” (25).
 - 15 It is not clear whether preparatory and mid-level classes remained close to traditional methods as described in Aydoun 1995, 14, that is, exercises taken “directly from the repertoire.”
 - 16 Later in Tunisia, according to Ruth Davis, where notation was strongly promoted in reviving the Andalusian tradition at the music association Rashidiya (fd. 1935), instrumentalists performed from musical scores whether they could read them or not.
 - 17 Unlike in Algiers at Yafil’s Ecole de musique arabe and music societies such as El Moutribia where instruction and performances could include the piano, there is no mention of one at CMM.
 - 18 Note that such exercises were not added “with the intention of eventually harmonizing the Andalusian repertory,” as suggested by Schuyler 1979, 27.
 - 19 Later, after studying improvisation with Martenot in Paris in 1957, Benabdeljalil included it in his book on singing instruction (Benabdeljalil 2014). Other scholars of Moroccan music (see n. 1, among others) mention them only in passing, suggesting that these vocal genres were not traditionally considered of major significance.
 - 20 See Chottin 1931, 13–14; 1939, 222.
 - 21 Calderwood 2018 suggests that this suite had been “popularly attributed to a Christian European living in Al-Andalus and thus a musical testament” to intercultural collaboration (158).
 - 22 See my article, “Live and Local: Making Sense of Musical Categories and Polyphonic Identities on Colonial Radio in North Africa,” forthcoming.
 - 23 Violinists Haj Briq, Si Boubeker El Alaoui, M’hammed Bennani, and Mekki Ressassi; lutenists Mohammed Seqqat, Ahmed Tazi, Mohammed Lamrani; tar player El Alaoui Tazi; and *bitāin* singer Si Ahmed Zeroudi, accompanying himself on the derbouka.
 - 24 In Tunis, the Baron d’Erlanger drew on the research and writing of others, both French and Tunisian, in his multi-volume *La Musique Arabe*, but Tunisians, who were both the source and the transcribers of *La musique tunisienne*, were subsumed under his name as author.

References

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