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Alexis Chottin et le Protectorat marocain : un nouveau paradigme rela-tionnel pour la musicologie

Alexis Chottin and the Moroccan Protectorate : A New Relational Para-digm for Music Scholarship

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RÉSUMÉ

Alexis Chottin (1891-1975) franchit de nombreuses frontières— un Français, né à Alger, qui enseignait l'arabe aux enfants marocains ; compositeur, critique musical et correspondant à Rabat du *et* et ethnographe autodidacte, s'intéressant à la musique arabo-andalouse urbaine et aux genres ruraux, pour lesquels il développa une notation chorégraphique novatrice. Chottin a aussi combiné l'enseignement et la recherche avec la pratique, créant et dirigeant le Conservatoire de musique marocaine et ses ensembles, chargé des concerts de musique marocaine à Radio-Maroc et faisant une large diffusion de ses études. La vie et l'héritage de Chottin requièrent une nouvelle approche inhérente à la biographie musicale, à l'ethnomusicologie historique et à la musique dans l'histoire coloniale. Certains musiciens européens des empires modernes ont contribué aux projets coloniaux en même temps qu'à la production et la diffusion de musiques autochtones. Comme Jules Rouanet en Algérie et Antonin Laffage en Tunisie, Chottin doit être étudié non pas de manière isolée, mais à travers ses collaborations et les cadres de ses actions. En effet, Chottin nous donne des raisons d'étudier les goûts, les pratiques et les interactions des Européens et des autochtones, généralement analysés séparément. Son érudition et ses pratiques musicales venaient de telles relations. Pour comprendre le travail de Chottin sur la musique marocaine, cet article examine d'abord le discours et les programmes du protectorat : protection culturelle, articulation des distinctions entre des traditions urbaines et rurales et renouvellement par le biais de collaborations locales. Il aborde ensuite le rôle de Chottin dans trois formes d'action

MOTS-CLÉS

Prosper Ricard, La musique andalouse et chleuh, Service des Arts Indigènes, Rénovation culturelle, Dialogues interculturels, Radio-Maroc

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publique qui venaient de ces programmes : festivals de musique, éducation musicale et radio. Chacune d'elles, soutenue par Prosper Ricard et le Service des Arts Indigènes, entraînait un nouveau professionnalisme et une nouvelle visibilité pour les musiciens marocains. À travers ses relations interculturelles, l'article décrit le rôle de Chottin en tant qu'intermédiaire culturel. Ses activités soutiennent l'affirmation des historiens coloniaux Fred Cooper et Ann Stoler selon laquelle le colonisateur et le colonisé étaient « mutuellement formés dans un engagement intime ». Pour comprendre cela, il faut un nouveau paradigme relationnel.

ABSTRACT

Alexis Chottin (1891-1975) crossed many frontiers – a Frenchman, born in Algiers, hired to teach Arabic to Moroccan children; a composer, music critic, and Rabat correspondent for **usually**; and self-taught ethnographer, interested in both the Andalusian roots of Moroccan urban music and rural genres, for which he developed an innovative choreographic notation. Chottin also combined teaching and research with practice, creating and directing the Conservatory of Moroccan Music and its ensembles, in charge of Moroccan musicconcerts on Radio-Maroc, and promoting this music broadly. Chottin's life and legacy call for a new approach to musical biography, historical ethnomusicology, and music in colonial history as more than the story of appropriation. Some European musicians in the modern empires contributed to colonial agendas at the same time as the production and dissemination of indigenous music. Like his predecessors, Jules Rouanet in Algeria and Antonin Laffage in Tunisia, Chottin needs to be studied not in isolation, but through his collaborations and the frameworks for his actions. Indeed, Chottin gives us reason to study the tastes, practices, and interactions of Europeans **usually** Moroccans in relation, rather than as **usually** analyzed independently. His scholarship and musical practices grew out of such relationships. To understand Chottin's work on Moroccan music, this article examines first the protectorate's discourse and its agendas : cultural protection, articulation of distinctions between urban vs. rural traditions, and renewal through local collaborations. It then turns to Chottin's role in three forms of public action that emerged from these agendas—public music festivals, music education, and radio. Each of these, supported by Prosper Ricard and the Service of Indigenous Arts, led to new professionalism and visibility for Moroccan musicians. Finally, through his intercultural relationships and promotion of both Moroccan and European music, the article considers Chottin's role as a cultural intermediary. His various activities support the contention of colonial historians Fred Cooper and Ann Stoler : the colonizer and colonized were “mutually shaped in intimate engagement.” To understand this requires a new relational paradigm in music scholarship.

In May 1931, the Académie française awarded Alexis Chottin a medal for “the totality of his works and in particular his contributions to music education in Morocco.”

That same month in Paris the music journal *Le Ménestrel* reproduced a lecture Chottin had given on Moroccan music in Rabat in 1928 and Editions Heugel issued the first

volume of his *Corpus de musique marocaine : Nouba de Ouchâk*, a study and transcription of Arabo-Andalousian music in contemporary Morocco (Chottin, 1931a). Although his work on Moroccan music was in its early stages, already *La Revue musicale du Maroc* considered it “unnecessary to remind our readers of all that Moroccan music owes to him” (n.a., 1931).¹

A year later, when introducing Chottin as a representative of Morocco at the Congress on Arabic Music in Cairo and member of its recording committee, *La Bourse égyptienne* praised him as “a man whose knowledge of Arabic was perfect.” Born in Algiers in 1891, he had studied at its Conservatory of Music. Then in 1920 he began teaching in Franco-Arabic elementary schools in Morocco, directed a Muslim school in Fez, and longtaught Arabic at the École musulmane des fils de notables (Muslim School for sons of elites) in Salé and the Collège des Orangers in Rabat. At the same time, Chottin long devoted his spare time to studying Moroccan music. Inspired by listening to Koranic singing classes and beggars on the street, he composed 12 choruses, *Le Muezzin*, to be sung in French and Arabic by his students. Pathé recorded these under his direction in 1930 with a hundred singers and an accompanying orchestra of 32 musicians. Chottin hoped these choruses would be “a source of spiritual communion between French and Muslim people” (Chottin, c. 1930 : i). He also wrote symphonic poems, melodies, Arabic songs, and variations on indigenous themes, some of these “transcriptions, translations, and harmonizations.” *La Bourse égyptienne* considered Chottin well-versed in Arabic literature, history, and music, “a connoisseur whose opinion and whose advice merit being examined with great care” (W.S., 1932).

At the Cairo Congress, Chottin emerged as “more or less the only Arabic music specialist among the French delegation,” his work known even by the German scholar Robert Lachmann (Chottin, 1932b). Unlike for Villoteau, who

accompanied Napoleon to Egypt in the early 19th century, and Europeans sent by their governments to do fieldwork, such as André Schaeffner, member of the Mission Dakar-Djibouti in 1931-1932, Chottin’s support did not come from Paris, but from Rabat. From 1923 to 1927, his collection, transcription, and publication of popular songs from Fès had drawn the attention of local intellectuals and colonial administrators. In 1927 the protectorate paid him 5000 francs to report on “the state of music in Morocco” and make recommendations for its “methodical study, conservation and renovation” (Ricard, 1932c). To enact these recommendations, in 1929 he received a “mission” from the Protectorate through the Service of Indigenous Arts (SIA) to assist in the renovation of Moroccan music, including the creation of a Conservatory of Moroccan Music (CMM) which opened in fall 1930, an institution distinct from the Western-oriented music schools in Rabat and Casablanca. This Conservatory held its classes at the headquarters of the SIA (Kasbah des Oudayas) before moving to its own “House for music” in the medina in 1931. While colonial officials seeking to understand indigenous cultures across the empire were beginning to advocate for study of their music (e.g. Labouret, 1932), government support for the training of local musicians in their own traditions was virtually non-existent in the French empire.² *La Bourse égyptienne* considered these developments in Morocco “what the Egyptian government is currently requesting for Egyptian music” (W.S., 1932).

Yet, Chottin’s work as a respected, albeit self-taught ethnographer and scholar of Moroccan music does not tell the whole story. His life crossed many frontiers and can be characterized by what Menger (2009) calls “pluriactivity,” that is, several simultaneous and successive types of work.³ This had advantages. Teaching Arabic to the sons of Moroccan elites for years gave him a stable job and credibility among Moroccans. This undoubtedly helped with his fieldwork and the considerable challenge of attracting young Moroccans to study at the Protectorate’s CMM. At the same time, Chottin continued his involvement with Western music as composer and music critic. Chottin’s reviews

¹In the 1920s, Chottin published on Moroccan music in Rabat : in *Hesperis*, the journal of the Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines ; in a brochure, *Les Visages de la musique marocaine*, accompanying a music festival in April 1928 ; and in *La Revue musicale du Maroc*. His reputation beyond Morocco began in 1929 with an article in the colonial journal *Outre-mer*. The widely reviewed first volume of his *Corpus de musique marocaine* in 1931 was followed in 1933 by volume 2 and in 1939 by his magnum opus, *Tableau de musique marocaine*, which won the Prix du Maroc in 1938.

²The Ecole de musique arabe in Algiers, founded in 1909, was a private school, its classes free and expenses covered by the Jewish musician and music publisher Edmond Yafil.

³I develop this concept also in studying Antonin Laffage and Paul Frémaux in Tunisia (Pasler, 2019).

of local concerts show his continued engagement with European music and his desire to support it through concert attendance and music criticism. Chottin's willingness to review many kinds of performances—from visiting Parisian soloists, such as Alfred Cortot, to the children of French settlers—built trust in Chottin. As the Moroccan correspondent for *Le Ménestrel*, these reviews earned him a growing reputation abroad. Such standing led to the publication of his work on Moroccan music in Paris, mentioned above, and also, perhaps, encouraged French receptivity to it.

In this article, I argue that, like those of his predecessors, Jules Rouanet in Algeria and Antonin Laffage in Tunisia, Chottin's contributions need to be examined not in isolation, but through his interactions with larger contexts and collaborations, particularly with Prosper Ricard, director of the Service of Indigenous Arts in Morocco. It begins with the discourse with which the Moroccan Protectorate defined its agendas and shows how these underlie and help explain Chottin's "pluriactivity," scholarly choices, and intercultural relationships. Next it turns to Chottin's role in three forms of public action that emerged from these agendas—public music festivals, music education, and radio. Finally, it examines Chottin as a cultural intermediary. Like his compositions, teaching, and concerts, his written work often embodies an intercultural dialogue, pointing to resonances between Moroccan and European music and seeking to draw in both insiders and outsiders to these traditions. These investigations will not only help us better understand Chottin's work in the context of the Protectorate's cultural policies; they also encourage a multi-dimensional and relational approach to music scholarship in the colonial era.⁴

I. Cultural Agendas of the Moroccan Protectorate

I.1. Cultural Protection

From Indochina to the Maghreb, the notion of "protection" was a central aspect of French colonial discourse and

of great importance in the musical world. Anxious over the impact of building bridges, ports, railroad lines, and modern buildings in their colonies (Ricard, 1931b, p. 3), the French wished to "protect" historical monuments because they communicate, not only collective memory of their heritage, but also a people's aspirations and pride. "Protection" explicitly implies intentionality and agency, directed at achieving certain purposes, including the symbolic and the political. "Protection" in a colonial context signified a paternalist relationship between colonizer and colonized that served as both a military and a cultural argument for French conquest and continued presence. Protection, from the colonizer's perspective, implied providing something that was or could be perceived as needed by the colonized, whether recognized or not.

When Morocco became a French protectorate in 1912, virtually all its monuments were falling apart. That November, General Hubert Lyautey created an agency charged to "protect and restore the Moroccan heritage." Since 1900, colonial administrators in Algeria were taking interest in the history of Arab civilization, particularly Andalusian-inspired monuments and art. As the Andalusian period came to represent "la belle époque arabe," protecting its traditions across North Africa became integral to colonial policy.

As in architectural ruins, the deterioration of Andalusian music was a driving force in the French call for its protection. Earlier in France, wanting to maintain "France's superiority in the arts" amid increasing "decadence" and the "invasion" of Wagner in French concert halls, an arts administrator argued, "The truth is that our dramatic and musical heritage is part of the nation's wealth and that, without the state's protection, this heritage from the past would weaken and not grow in the present" (Larroumet, 1895, p. 291, 292). In Morocco, Prosper Ricard, who trained at the École normale in Algiers, directed professional schools to train artisans, and served as inspector of artisans in Fez before becoming director of the SIA, took an increasing interest in music. As he put it, Andalusian music 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,

⁴This article draws on my book-in-progress, *Sounding the French Empire: Colonial Ethnographies of Music, 1860-1960s*. See also Born 2010's "relational" musicology, which argues for studying "relations between social orders" and reconsidering not only "what counts as music to be studied, but also how it should be studied."

and so Moroccan music became more and more impoverished each day" (Ricard, 1931a, i, 1932b). Also problematic were deformations in Andalousian music over time, especially what resulted from "*brassage*," or mixing with outside influences, an analogue to the "contamination" he attributed to transformations in the decorative arts (Ricard, 1918a, 7 and 1931, II; Pasler, 2012 and 2015). When Ricard returned from Cairo, in comparison with what he heard there, Moroccan music of Andalousian origin seemed damaged.

Ironically, it was not modern European music that most concerned Ricard, but rather the growing taste for popular song from Egypt, independent since 1922. In 1930, he explained, "North Africa has its eyes turned towards Egypt whose every thought, every form of art, especially music, is avidly absorbed by the North African Muslim elite, as if the only spiritual nutrition worthy of its aspirations" (Ricard, 1930, p. 92). "Foreign airs" on recordings from the rest of the Arab world were also "marked by a dubious modernism and made with a commercial purpose" (Ricard, 1931a, ii, and 1932c, p. 20). From his perspective, "Andalousian music derives no benefit from this contact." Ricard feared a loss of its originality, "an immanent collapse [of the genre] precipitated by bad use of the gramophone and the radio, adopted with enthusiasm in all Moroccan milieux" (Ricard 1931b, p. 10 and 1932, p. 24). With the threat of the "local heritage" disappearing, Ricard was here employing a powerful tactic that called for "recovery" by the Protectorate (Ricard 1931a, ii). This decadence was also a threat to the lingering legacy of Europe in the region through the Andalousian tradition.

Like Ricard, who worried that outside influence could lead to "parasitic ornaments," a reference to the "parasitic constructions" attached to archaeological ruins, Chottin was concerned about accretions added over time. In the oral tradition, they may have gone altogether unnoticed. But how do we know what originated in the distant past and what was later added to this music? Chottin thus sought to collect, notate, and preserve "melodies and rhythms before they changed in reaction to foreign influences," that is, the oldest music available. It is important to note that Andalousian music expressed values the colonizers wished to support: as Chottin put it, "the quasi-religious respect for tradition, submission to the rules re-

ceived from the ancients, defiance in face of all innovation" (Chottin, 1928, XIII, 16 and 1931a, XIV).

At the same time, Ricard explained, "collecting, conserving and describing the old works is not enough. We must produce new ones. For this, we must make contact with people, decide who is the most capable to work on this," then "make an inventory, study, and revive the past: such is the program we have pursued from the beginning" (Ricard, 1930, p. 26 and 1931b, p. 6, 8). Renovation in all the indigenous arts, from embroidery and rugs to music, was to go hand in hand with cultural protection, the necessary next step.⁵ Teaching these old airs, performing them, making recordings, and creating a Museum of Moroccan Music with instruments and anthologies of poetry would make this possible, a compelling argument for the ongoing French presence in Morocco.

1.2. Urban vs. Rural Traditions

Whether the perceived distinctions between urban Arabs and rural Berbers were central to General Lyautey's strategy to divide and conquer the country or not, they impacted colonial discourse in Morocco in many domains. Ricard and Chottin organized their research into these two categories. Ricard's scholarship on rugs and other decorative arts along with Chottin's on music pointed to the different origins and influences of these "two civilizations" in Morocco. At the same time, both men define them by context, not race (i.e. urban and rural, the former including popular as well as classical and Jewish music, latter including that of nomads and sedentary people). Moreover, Ricard and Chottin take care not to overstate these generalizations and to acknowledge counter examples and intracultural hybridity.⁶

Right from the beginning, Ricard found that the repetitive geometric patterns of "peasant" or "rural" art, never representing nature, differentiated themselves from the more complex patterns of "urban art," often inspired by vegetation and designs from Asia Minor. The latter, with its mul-

⁵For a study of Ricard's background, work with artisans, and promotion of the decorative arts and crafts, see Mokhiber 2013.

⁶Ricard, 1918a : 7 explains that he encountered mountain tribes known for their Arab origins, yet producing work with a Berber character. Chottin 1932a : points out, "Popular songs use all genres, sacred and profane, urban and rural. They are simultaneously an original substratum and the residue of cultivated, learned music" (p. 351n).

tiple influences, were also harder to define (Ricard, 1917, 1918a, and 1918b, p. 10). When it came to music, while admitting that there could be a third kind that results from “their interpretation, their mixing,” Ricard similarly distinguished between “rural” music – “peasant, primitive, as varied as the contours of the soil that changes so much” from the mountains to the Sahara – and “urban” music – “learned and refined, from Andalousian memories that recall the Reconquista, quite unified and more or less classical ... often performed in bourgeois gatherings” (Ricard, 1931, ii, v). Chottin likewise identified two “states of mind” through two kinds of “aural education,” the first defined by rhythm, its “primitive” nature linked to rural people’s closeness to nature, the second by melody, associated with “the civilized, the refined” aspects of city life. Moreover, as he explained, whereas rural Berber music—older and more varied—was performed outdoors, in public, and accompanied by dance, urban Andalousian music—a classical art with its own “monuments”—as played indoors, in private, and by highly trained musicians (Chottin, 1928, p. 4-7).

Their early publications fall into these categories. Volume I of Ricard’s *Corpus de tapis marocains* (1923), written “under orders of the Residence-General for the Service of Indigenous Arts,” reproduces rug designs from Rabat. As Ricard notes in his introduction, these rugs were the “prototype” for all other urban rugs in Morocco “of which the oldest seem to go back to the 18th century.” This *Corpus* was assembled to codify and legislate which designs should be used in rugs exported abroad (Ricard, 1923, p. vii, 5). Likewise, volume I of Chottin’s *Corpus de musique marocaine*, “published under the direction of Prosper Ricard for the Service of Indigenous Arts,” transcribes an Andalousian *nūba* from Rabat, based on one in the Haïk compilation, itself an earlier “restoration” (Chottin 1931a, xiii). This was meant to serve as a model to be studied, used in teaching, and emulated or, as Ricard later puts it less prescriptively, “typical examples of classical urban music” (Ricard, 1935b, p. 19).

In the next volumes of his *Corpus* (1926, 1927), Ricard focuses on Berber rug designs from rural areas of the Moyen and Haut Atlas, but without the intention of having these used as models since the genre was always changing. Likewise in volume 2 of his *Corpus*, Chottin focuses on the music and dance of the Chleuh from the Haut Atlas, Anti-

Atlas, and Souss.⁷ This people, chosen for their musical talent and “suppleness in terms of assimilation,” were known for their “pastoral isolation,” believed to have kept their music vital and closer to ancient Greek customs than urban Moroccan music. Ricard wrote both a preface and an extensive introduction to Chottin’s analysis. He lays out the major practitioners, their collaborators and their instruments, examples of their poetry, their extensive tours around the country (one taking 31 months), and the three parts of their spectacles: an instrumental prelude, song, and dance. While Chottin’s volume I follows the model of Rouanet/Yafil’s *Répertoire* in terms of monodic transcriptions with rhythms notated on separate staves and texts in both French and Arabic, volume 2 presents musical transcriptions of short tunes similarly in various modes. These come only in the last 14 pages, organized geographically, acknowledging ethnicities, or by performance group. The rest focuses on notation of the rhythms, gestures, and movements of the dance accompanied by Chleuh music, including foot patterns, bodily positions, group configurations, and the duration of individual sections. This volume thus is a more analytical study of the genre and its instruments, the first of its kind, with musical fragments and their rhythms largely tied to dance steps. Photographs of performers with their instruments and in dance positions bring the notations to life. In Chottin 1939b, the author further explores the complexity of these rhythms. To show the four parts of the body enacting Chleuh musico-choreography, he developed another innovative notation consisting of a four-line staff, each with its own meter (e.g. 2/4 and 6/8). (See illustrations 1 and 2.)

In some ways, local political agendas gave rise to this important scholarship. The Andalousian refugees settled largely in Fez and Rabat. Having lived in both towns, Ricard and Chottin recognized that their music was a “healthy distraction,” “recreation” they could “perform for one another,” and “entertainment that keeps them away from political chitchat.” Even though the elites of these cities wanted another volume of Andalousian music (in effect, the second half of the same *nūba*⁸), Ricard asked Chottin to turn

⁷Chottin later prepared, but never published, a second volume of Berber music for his *Corpus, Songs of the Zemmour* (Chottin, c. 1949).

⁸Part 2 of the *Nuba de Ochchâk* was eventually transcribed, but never published.

instead to music of the Chleuh, “a very important part of the Moroccan population, larger than that of all the cities put together” (Ricard, 1933a, p. 5). Moreover, the regions the Chleuh inhabited largely remained outside the Protectorate. Looking to incorporate them, in 1928 Resident-General Théodore Steeg requested that cultural renovation should spread as far as the tribes of the plains and the mountains and include music.

The democratic nature of the Chleuh and the original character of their music led to widespread fascination among both French settlers and urban Moroccans, few of whom knew it. Chleuh musicians and the festivities to which they contributed were frequently featured in the popular press and even appeared in films. By January 1932, Ricard claimed that the “prosperity” of these artistic groups was “a consequence of our presence in Morocco,” overlooking the fact that the increase in the number of Chleuh groups from 3 or 4 to around 20 in the past few decades may have been due to raïs Bilaïd who claimed that 37 of his former musicians were now touring on their own (Ricard 1933b, p. 14). To the extent that French encouragement for the genre won the “hearts and minds” of a population that had here tofore resisted French involvement in the region, it may have helped in the Protectorate’s annexation of the rest of Morocco in 1934. Still, French ambitions continued to grow. Later Chottin went so far to claim, “we will attempt to predict what the future evolution of this art could be and in what direction official action should be taken to save its distinctive characteristics and its cultural value” (Chottin, 1939b : 54).

Thus, while Ricard and Chottin understood the urban arts as “more advanced” than rural ones, they recognized the latter’s inherent qualities and political importance. Moreover, from the beginning, the concerts and recordings they organized included popular genres that traversed these boundaries as well as female and “negro” musicians. They also acknowledged “reciprocal influences between Arabs and Berbers” (Chottin, 1929a, p. 39). Their work led to the conclusion that urban and rural art, each with a long history, were integral, valued parts of the Protectorate, a history they intended to shape.

1.3. Renovation through Collaboration

We’ve seen how important was Chottin’s collaboration with Prosper Ricard. Ricard commissioned Chottin’s re-

ports on Moroccan music; he “directed” and wrote long introductions to the two volumes of Chottin’s *Corpus*; they traveled together to Cairo and were the only westerners invited to a carnivalesque spectacle at the Sultan’s, about which they collaborated on an article (Chottin, 1936), and much more. Their respect was mutual, and they seemed to have shared many fundamental values, especially a commitment to the Protectorate’s agendas. But their success depended on investment in and collaboration with Moroccans. Earlier in Rabat, Resident-General Steeg, who began his career as a radical-socialist, opened the Congress of the Institute of Moroccan Advanced Studies in April 1928 noting, “Our coming together will result not from constraints and resignation, but from reciprocal esteem. This will give rise to the collaboration of these two peoples aware of their respective originality” (n.a., 1928). With French colonial policy having evolved from assimilation to association, the 1931 International and Intercolonial Congress on Native Society called on colonists to “act upon the native and promote him, in human terms,” through “tolerance” and “collaboration” (Wilder, 2005, p. 239).

In the decorative arts, collaboration with artisans arose out of the need to counteract the inevitable consequences of modern imported goods on the local economy—“unemployment and misery touching the majority of artisans in urban centers” – and to help them compete successfully with their rivals in other countries (Ricard, 1931b, p. 3, 4). To “protect” their jobs as well as the “local character of their industries,” at first the Protectorate created official workshops in the major cities. But in 1920 Ricard also began to travel throughout the country to locate, document, collect, and map the indigenous arts. Local leaders and military officers identified the best artisans who then filled out detailed questionnaires about themselves and their production, its typologies and fabrication methods. Ricard then published their answers and his analyses in his *Corpus*. To serve as inspiration, he also collected samples of older work and exhibited them in newly created regional museums. To encourage production of rugs in the traditional manner and their sale abroad, the Protectorate established a stamp guaranteeing a rug’s authenticity, quality, and indigenous character and deleting the customs tax. These strategies to revive the local industries increasingly relied on private initiative, which allowed ar-

tisans to remain in their homes, form their own corporations, and sell their own products. French administrators visited their workshops, provided them with designs, offered advice, purchased products that reinforced traditional values, promoted their work in arts fairs, and opened schools to train the next generation (Ricard, 1929). Not surprisingly, some resistance and mistrust accompanied the SIA's "successes," including later from the colonial administrator Jacques Berque (Mokhiber, 2013, p. 271, 275).

In music too, collaboration was defined as shared work on its renovation. Like Ricard, Chottin worked with local musicians with this goal in mind. Aware of problems inherent in the oral tradition, he sought musicians who were "above all, respectful of the tradition and in a way incapable of changing a single note." As he tells it, when it came to who and what to transcribe, "Moroccans themselves took charge of choosing for us the master that we needed in the person of Si Omar Jaïdi, originally from Fez and the personal musician of his Majesty the Sultan" (Chottin, 1931, xiii). In his introduction, Chottin explains :

We took care not to influence this informer.... He performed (dicted) for us what he calls the root (el-asl) of the song, that is, the fundamental melody stripped of its ornaments (zuak), very often parasites.... These ornaments are one of the most original characteristics of Andalusian music, what leads the artist to improvisation, to the need to create. As for embellishments used so often that they became obligatory ... our informer always pointed them out (Chottin 1931, p. xiv).

Ironically, Chottin begins his transcriptions of this repertoire by listing three manuscripts, acquired in Fez and Rabat, that he consulted to "corroborate the oral tradition," considering these his "essential source" (Chottin, 1931a, xvi). Yet, as was explained to me, current performers of this tradition continue to study and teach Chottin's work, republished in facsimile in 2012, because it preserves music performed by Jaïdi, unavailable elsewhere, thereby capturing the style and musical choices of a major predecessor.

If Chottin's contacts in Rabat helped him gain access to the Sultan's musician, similarly Ricard and the Pacha of Marrakech, al-Glāwī, a close collaborator of the French in their

conquest [*pacification*] of the mountains and desert, most likely introduced Chottin to Cheulh musicians. Ricard first encountered their spectacles in Marrakech on his first trip to Morocco in 1913, later at Glāwī's palace, after which he invited them to perform in Rabat and had Odeon record them. In his substantial introduction to volume 2 of Chottin's *Corpus*, Ricard describes four major Chleuh maestros from different regions, the size and makeup of their troops, a typical program, and the recordings he commissioned of their songs. Chottin explains that most of the music in his volume 2 comes from what he gathered from raïs ḥammad Sasbū, whose troop of 16 to 18 members, of which 12 were dancers, performed all over the country, including in Casablanca and Rabat where they most likely worked together on this volume. Some transcriptions are of recordings of Sasbū's "favorite songs" as well as his versions of European tunes. Chottin also includes a spectacle by raïs Ḥāj Bilaīd, an elderly poet-composer who spoke both Arabic and Berber languages and, a kind of "official" artist, "often proclaimed the benefits of the Moroccan state and its representatives." Glāwī considered him the most famous of them all (Ricard 1933a, p. 14). Ricard first met Bilaīd and his troop in Marrakech, there to perform at a wedding. Ricard most likely was responsible for their ten-day residency later at the CMM in Rabat. There, Ricard interviewed the raïs for his introduction to Chottin's *Corpus* (Ricard, 1933a, p. 13, 15). Strangely, Chottin makes no comments on their collaboration in his transcriptions of their music.

The CMM in Rabat offered Chottin an ideal context in which to collaborate with Moroccan colleagues in transcribing important repertoire. Besides another *nūba*, *Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī*, this time 26 pieces whose restitution required a great effort in terms of his informer's memory and repeated performances (Ricard, 1932b), he worked on one song that, although having an "oriental filiation," had degraded over time in terms of its rhythms and melodic shape. *Yā Asafā*, he explained, was neither an Andalusian *ṣan'a* nor a *ḡīda*, but an "intermediary," not the only lament inspired by nostalgia for Andalusia, but the best known one. After translating and analyzing its five stanzas of text and rhyme schemes as well as its free use of the modes, Chottin asked three Moroccan musicians to play it for him so that he might transcribe their performances, the first two being professors at CMM. Si ḥammad Mbirqū accompanied him-

self on the rebec, singing in unison with it; Hāj 'Abdassalām bin Yūssif on the *tār*, Si ḳtār Lūdiyi on the lute.

These performances resulted in three distinct versions of *Yā Asafā*, each with its own particularities. The first played the melody in a bare way as his rebec did not lead itself to virtuosity; the second used hesitation in his delivery to elicit desire for the melody, perhaps coming from the *parlando* he employed in performing *qaṣīdas*; in the third, full of irregularities and involuntary syncopations, his singing resembled his playing as a left-handed musician. In transcribing these, Chottin wished to show that, "transcriptions can bring to light not only variations related to the oral tradition, but also some individual aspects of the ornamented style" (Chottin, n.d.). Although he never published these nor the complete score he made of the song with each of the accompanying instrumental parts, Chottin did make a simple version of the first three stanzas, published in an article on the CMM as if an example of collaborative work at this Conservatory (Ricard, 1932c, p. 28; Chottin, 1934). (See illustration 3.) In the Oudayas museum, surrounded by old rugs and fabrics, in March 1934, the children's chorus of the local School of sons of elites joined CMM students in performing *Yā Asafā* after excerpts from six *nūbas*, the first of CMM's annual performances there⁹ (Ricard, 1934a). Chottin also composed his own rendition of the song for piano and voice. His transcription follows the song closely, respecting variations in the repeats, verses, and especially the refrain. It also adds rich harmonies and instrumental interludes, the second in the movement of a *habanera*.¹⁰

2. Public Action and the Music Business

Another kind of collaboration took place through public action. In all the arts, the Protectorate's engagement in cultural protection, promotion of Arab and Berber culture, and commitment to collaboration gave rise to new jobs for Moroccans. In the decorative arts, some artisans and their apprentices received regular salaries; markets for their products expanded, especially abroad. This allowed Moroc-

cans to make a living that was "interesting from both an artistic and financial perspective" (Ricard, 1931b, p. 6). Likewise, the participation of Moroccan performers in publicly supported music festivals, music education, and radio created a new professionalism in music, with enhanced visibility for musicians, more involvement of women, and regular salaries. This spurred unprecedented growth in the music business.¹¹

2.1. Music Festivals : from Rabat (1928) to Fez (1939)

Beginning with decorative arts fairs in Paris (1917, 1925), the Protectorate promoted and facilitated the participation of Moroccan artisans and musicians in the colonial exhibitions of Marseille (1922), Strasbourg (1924), and Paris (1931 and 1937). At the Granada festival (1931) and the Congress of Arabic Music in Cairo (1932), Moroccans' performances encouraged broad respect for their music (Ricard, c. 1932b). Moreover, after exposure to other Arabic music traditions in Cairo, Ricard felt that "Moroccan musicians better understood the goal and meaning of our efforts and returned even more disposed to collaborate on the task of renovation taken on by their country" (Ricard, 1936).

Such efforts were equally important in Morocco, especially two major music festivals, both explicitly devoted to Moroccan music. In 1928 Ricard, together with Jean Gotteland, director of Public Instruction, Fine Arts, and Antiquities, sponsored three "Three Days of Moroccan Music" in Rabat, 12-14 April 1928. This festival coincided with the Rabat fair and overlapped with the Congress of the Institute of Moroccan Advanced Studies.¹² Ricard called on the collaboration of Chottin and Moroccan musicians –

⁹In sponsoring this concert, attended by Gotteland, the Pacha of Rabat, and many other dignitaries, the SIA hoped to stimulate the formation of a "Franco-Muslim association, the Friends of Moroccan Music."

¹⁰In Chottin's *Chants arabes d'Andalousie* (Paris, Dupuis, c. 1936), the first two songs are based on excerpts from the *Nūba de 'Uṣṣāq*, albeit not among those transcribed in his *Corpus*; the last is his rendition of *Yā Asafā*.

¹¹By 1934b, Ricard was able to report the following statistics : in Fez 4000 artisans and 95 professional musicians, of which 7 female music teachers with 28 female aides; in Meknes 1233 artisans, of which 11 female music teachers and 55 apprentices; in Marrakech 4800 artisans, of which c. 200 Muslim and Jewish singers, instrumentalists, and story-tellers and 100 female instrumentalists and singers, mostly Muslim. Among others, this totaled over 12,000 artisans in the major Moroccan cities, that is, up to a quarter of the families living there (Ricard, 1934b, p. 423-427). Note that, somewhat earlier, R.B. 1930 gives the number of female *ṣikates* in Marrakech as around 50, divided into Arab and Berber groups.

¹²Ricard was on the Congress's organizing committee and spoke at its Muslim art session on 12 April.

the 22 - member music society, Andalousia, from Oujda, Si Omar Jaïdi, and other urban Arab groups. Its purpose was to present the current state of Moroccan music in order to decide how to move forward on its renovation. With this in mind, the first day presented the overall situation, with diverse musical examples; the second one, traditional Moroccan music; the third, modern Moroccan music. Concerts in the French-designed garden of the Kasbah des Oudayas and on the patio of the Residence were free. Along with many dignitaries, almost 3,000 Europeans and Moroccans attended.

The challenge was to create concerts that were both inclusive and coherent, most likely Chottin's responsibility. Ricard had advertised that this would be the first time musicians from all regions of Morocco would perform together; in reality, most were from near Rabat. On the first day, after a speech by Ricard, Chottin's lecture, "The Faces of Moroccan Music," addressed urban and rural genres, mystical and secular, popular and art music and instruments. His discussion was illustrated by an *Aḥidūs* air, sang and danced by three Berbers, *ḡayṭa* airs on the *ṭbal*, *qaṣīdas* and *muwal* sung by women (*ḥaḍarāt* and *ṣikāt*) as well as men (*ṣiak*), Andalousian airs and an Andalousian overture. Day two, focused on "traditional music," began and ended with music by the Andalousia orchestra. This surrounded songs by eight Berbers from Zemmour (100 km from Rabat), *ḡayṭa* airs by musicians from Salé, *qaṣīdas* by six female *ṣikāt* from Rabat, and an orchestra of musicians from Fez and Rabat, including Jaïdi, who performed Andalousian airs. "A very original interlude given by a negro clown from Marrakech" provided contrast.

Day three's concert was extraordinarily diverse, mixing repertoires and ensembles in juxtapositions of urban and rural, Moroccan and European, choral and instrumental, classical and modern, old and new music by young and mature performers. All this called for comparative listening in the French tradition of using concerts to promote tolerance and understanding of differences.¹³ This time the

concert began and ended with Chottin's compositions, as if modern day Morocco should be framed by a French perspective. The local military band opened with his warrior march, *Dans l'Atlas*, based on Berber themes, a reference to France's ongoing attempts to take over the region. Chottin's popular choruses, *Le Muezzin*, written for his students in French and Arabic, ended the concert. In between other similar pieces for these groups by Chottin, including a *Berceuse mauresque* and *Danse nègre*, came three performances of Andalousian music by the ensemble from Oudja. In this context, traditional Moroccan music functioned in contrast to modern hybridity, calling on dialogue between the past and the present.

In 1929, conceived to coincide with the Muslim "Mūlid" festival, Ricard and Chottin collaborated with ḥammad Bin Ḡabrit and Si Mammari in another such concert at the Oudayas. Bin Ḡabrit assembled an orchestra of the "best musicians from Rabat and Salé," and conducted them in performances of *nūba* excerpts. This was followed by two troops of female *ṣikāt*, one from Rabat, the other from Marrakech, in performances of popular *qaṣīdas*, *muwāl*, and *aytas*, and finally a dance-choral troop from Souss, most likely Chleuh, which he found "both primitive and refined." Chottin was charged with writing the program notes and published a review in *Le Ménestrel* (Chottin, 1929b). In 1930 and 1931, the Protectorate gave 10,000 francs to support two additional "Days of Moroccan music," including first "spectacles analogous to our medieval farces," then three troops of Chleuh musicians and dancers, with 12 to 15 members each from Souss, one of the last regions not yet in the Protectorate (Ricard 1931a, iii-iv).

When he came up with the idea of a Congress of Moroccan Music in January 1939, General Noguès, the Resident-General, called on collaboration with, "in particular, Chottin and Mohamed el Fassi" (Office of the Resident, 1939). This Congress, an international gathering, took place in Fez, 6-10 May 1939. Its motivations recall those Ricard articulated a decade earlier: restoration and conservation, return to sources, resistance to deformations, and bringing in not only the best performers of the Andalousian tradition, but also the Chleuhs. It involved not only orchestras from across North Africa (as at the Congress in Cairo), but also scholars from Spanish Morocco and especially a large number of French composers, critics, and scholars.

¹³I have argued that juxtapositions of *musique ancienne* with *musique moderne*, associated with monarchists and republicans, on concert programs during the early Third Republic were occasions for comparative listening with political implications: "Through the technique of comparison, listeners could build knowledge starting with what they already knew, hear something unfamiliar in a certain context, and contemplate relationships between music that was comparable" (Pasler, 2009: 219).

This Congress also involved greater collaboration among Moroccans and French than in 1928. Chottin and Aḥmad bin Ḡabrit shared the position of secretary of the planning committee. They decided whom to invite and how to study Andalousian music, seek out its most characteristic musical manifestations, and prepare recordings of what should be preserved. Headed by a representative of the Sultan, this committee had 6 French and 6 Moroccan members. Roughly the same number of Moroccans and Europeans presented papers: 15 Moroccans, 10 French (including Chottin) and four others, testifying to the vastly increased interest in the subject in Morocco since 1928. Some events also had speakers in French and Arabic. During the popular music concert on 9 May, Chottin served as the speaker in French, with Fassi the speaker in Arabic.

When he opened the Congress, Gotteland elaborated on Chottin's work and noted, "since the realizations of the previous ten years, Moroccan music has conquered the place it is due in the social life and cultural development of this country." Citing Chottin's *Tableau de la musique marocaine*, he continued, "We hope that [this music] has finally entered into its triumphant period of creative evolution" (n.a., 1939). Indeed, Chottin had just published this award-winning magnum opus, which he here presented, along with delivering papers on Andalousian music in the synagogue and on comparative terminology used across North Africa. He also participated in a session in Arabic, presenting on "Arabic music in the East and the West" after four Moroccans addressed aspects of the Andalousian tradition. In addition, the only westerner alongside Omar Jaïdi and other Moroccans, Chottin took part in a subcommittee on Andalousian music. Perhaps encouraged by Fassi, who had a passion for *malḥūn*, new at this Congress was greater attention to popular genres. There was not only a concert that included many kinds of work songs, lullabies, and processional music, but also paper sessions on these performers, *ayta*, and four on *malḥūn*, its speakers all Moroccan. Moulay Idriss Ben Adbelali El Drissi's paper on Moroccan popular music (*ayta*, *griha*, and mystical music) stressed its differences with both Andalousian and Berber music.

Chottin's influence also permeated how the concerts were organized. As in 1928, most used one group or genre to frame the concert and assert a certain authority, with contrast coming in the middle. For example, in the first

concert on 6 May, orchestras from Morocco (Fez and Marrakech) surrounded those from Tunis, Algiers, and Tlemcen. On 7 May, ironically after the session in Arabic, the concert began and ended with military bands encircling two distinct parts: Andalousian orchestras followed by Berber songs and dances, including those of the Chleuh—as if a French context "protecting" both urban and rural Morocco. Other concerts also juxtaposed Berber and Andalousian music. On 10 May, the Sultan's band began and ended afternoon concert. However, the evening gala presented an extraordinary opportunity to compare various approaches to Andalousian music. It started with "new forms of Moroccan music"—excerpts from two *nūbas* transcribed for and performed by a Western symphonic orchestra, conducted by Robert Barras of Radio-Maroc—followed by European music of "Moroccan inspiration," i.e. compositions by Marc Mény de Marangue and Chottin, then Andalousian music performed by five ensembles, and finally a return of the Sultan's band. Listeners were left with contemplating the rich diversity and potential of the Andalousian tradition, after which, symbolically, the Sultan had the last word.¹⁴

War was imminent in Europe, France needed to tighten its ties with local people and also bind its colonies to the mainland. The Resident-General knew that the Congress would have a favorable response in the Muslim community. That both he and the Sultan sponsored it was of major symbolic significance. In his review, Robert Bernard found their efforts successful: The Congress showed to the world French respect for the traditions of people in their empire (Bernard, 1939).

2.2. Preservation and Renewal through Music Education

In 1929, the same year that he published an article on "renovation" in rug production, Prosper Ricard argued for the creation of a "Conservatory of Moroccan Music." With this, he sought "not only to assure the conservation and transmission of native musical art," but also to "gather all useful information and documents" for a "methodical study of an art that, until now, has remained without any truly thorough examination." Ricard referred to it as a "labo-

¹⁴In contrast, Jonathan Glasser, in his study of Algerian musicians, suggests that "fusion" was the goal here, and that "to undertake effective fusion, there must be a clear conceptual separation of the practices that are to be brought together" (Glasser, 2016, p. 213).

ratory for Moroccan music” (Ricard, 1931a, iv). Research was integral to its purpose : “determining the diverse musical genres and their relationships with dance and popular theater, notating the music, helping to realize well-chosen recordings, and assembling documents to serve the history of music” (Ricard, 1935b, p. 19 and 1932c, p. 21, 23). The SIA budgeted 20,000 francs per year to support the CMM and, with the help of Pathé and Odéon, a library of recordings, musical instruments, and books.

Ricard appointed Chottin as its first director (see illustration 4). Involved in research as well as organizing and running the institution, Chottin wished to participate in the “general work of reconstruction undertaken by Marshall Lyautey” (Chottin, 1934). Beginning in October 1929, he hired the best local Moroccan musicians who could both teach and serve as “informants” in his research. Two of them, al-Ḥāj ‘Abdassalām bin Yūsif and al-Mbirqū, were part of the Moroccan delegation to Cairo in 1932. Ben Youssef, a singer, had a phenomenal memory, able to dictate to Chottin an entire *nūba* and identify the melodies on over 50 recordings. The singer Mūlāy Idrīs bin ‘Abdilali could dictate six classical songs, including their variants, and produced a collection of his songs for use in teaching. Mbirqū, rebec and luth performer, could notate his lessons. The eight others included three more violinists; three lute players, and two singers, such as Si ‘Abdassalām Bilfrāj.¹⁵ Chottin and his colleagues also consulted musical manuscripts, especially collections in Fez, their work producing enough material for three more volumes of his *Corpus*, sadly unrealized. The CCM also engaged a non-professional improviser and a westerner, Mme Decock, to help with phonetics and vocal technique. Although the CMM occasionally brought in other musicians, including rural ones, its curriculum focused on urban music, predominantly the Andalusian classical tradition (Chottin, 1934, p. 63).

Free and open to all, “regardless of origin, age or culture,” and with or without an instrument, the selection of students presented serious difficulties. They came from different social classes and had different habits, not always available at the same hours (Ricard, n.d. and 1936). Chottin solved this by dividing them into beginners and those

who came with some knowledge, and by scheduling lessons adapted to their schedules, usually after sunset. From 1929 to 1934, the CMM had 31 students. The first group of 14 ranged in age from 17 to 30, including artisans (2 working in leather, one in wood), a hairdresser, a chauffeur, a student, a property owner, and a journalist. Two of them considered themselves music “professionals,” five “amateurs” already playing in private concerts (one with Mbirqū, another with Bilād), and five “still pupils.” Three of these students participated in concerts at the Moroccan pavilion of the Colonial Exhibition in Paris (1931), another at the Chicago Exhibition (1933). Those admitted from 1931 to 1934 were also artisans (painter, shoemaker, tanner, hosier, draftsman) and younger, from 15 to 20 years old, though there was a 9 and 11-year-old with their father, age 35 (Ricard, 1936).

Given that some of these professors and students were illiterate and there was no indigenous form of musical transcription, Ricard and Chottin agreed not to employ teaching methods used in Europe. Echoing his resistance to foreign influences, Ricard felt that solfège “responds in no way to the needs of Arab music” and “would be dangerous for Arab music.” As with his 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 learned by listening, including to recordings. In general, a class would entail the performance of a piece by the teacher, his analysis of its principal characteristics, performance of its fragments and repetition by the students until they knew it. Students were to take care with the quality of the sounds and their performance— aspects that some felt were lacking in performances following Haïk (Ricard 1932d). Preparatory students concentrated on rhythmic and melodic types; middle-level ones learned instruments; advanced ones studied repertoire (Ricard, 1931, IV, and n.d.; Chottin, 1934).

Weekly concerts were a regular part of CMM. Professors played together for an hour each Saturday, introducing students to what their classes would study the following week (Ricard, 1932c : 25). Open to the public, these performances attracted a substantial audience, including Goteland and visiting artists. An ensemble of faculty and students also regularly played at both Moroccan and French receptions as well as on the radio, a relationship that grew

¹⁵Si Mohammed Bel Khadir, a singer and violinist, took over for Mbirqū in 1934 when the latter became conductor of Radio-Maroc’s Andalusian orchestra in Rabat.

over time. Chottin was inevitably involved in their organization.

After the war, distressed at the diminished state of the CCM, Chottin sought to reorganize it.¹⁶ Now convinced that the art and culture of North Africans “should be directed toward the West instead of the Middle East,” he proposed the creation of a new intercultural “Institute of Modern Arabic Music.” It would create composers as well as form good performers. Its personnel would be composed of Moroccans or young North Africans who knew traditional music, but were oriented toward the creation of new, original music that might be inspired by the rhythms of jazz, classical European, popular Spanish, or Hindu music. It would teach traditional Moroccan instruments as well as those of the western orchestra and jazz, the ancient and classical Arabic musical forms as well as those of classical and modern European music. “Renovation,” ever his focus, would be accomplished in two ways : first, “by taking the best pieces of the ancient repertoire and rendering them ‘audible’ and more intelligible by perfecting the *quality* of the performance, its *purity* through the rigor of the ensemble, and a better interpretation of the words ;” second, by “creating new works,” such as when “Balafreij dictated a few melodies to me with which I made an *abdou-tango*.” Crucial would be the Institute’s liaisons with other similar institutions, those producing film, and especially radio, from North Africa to the United States (Chottin, c. 1949).

2.3. Recordings, Radio, and Popular Journalism

Beginning in 1928, the need for live indigenous music on the radio to attract native listeners created regular employment, new professionalism, and legitimation for native musicians and producers, taking some musical genres into the public sphere for the first time. Rather than fearing its plethora of foreign music, Chottin embraced radio and facilitated these new jobs. Not only was he comfortable with its juxtapositions and natural hybridity, he thought radio could help in the renaissance of Moroccan music.

2.3.1. Recordings

After the success of the 1928 “Days of Moroccan Music,” encouraged by Henri Prunières and Hubert Pernot in Paris, and with Radio-Maroc just opened in Rabat, from 31 May

¹⁶By August 1944, Si Mohamed Es Sbiaa had become the “technical director” of the CMM.

to 15 June 1929, Ricard, probably aided by Chottin, organized the recording of almost 120 fragments of Moroccan music, that is, 60 records, in the courtyard of the museum at the Casbah des Oudayas. Columbia made 9 recordings of ten artists and their ensembles, mostly from around Rabat, including a Saharan musician Bin Yahya, two blind musicians, and the Sultan’s Black Guard. They performed a range of genres : *bitayn*, *aytas*, *qaṣīdas*, *muwal*, Andalousian music, and wind-band arrangements. Odeon took on ten more ensembles, making 51 records of their music—16 for a popular group from Marrakech, 7 of raïs Sasbū’s Chleuh troop (later studied in Chottin’s *Corpus*), 11 of another Chleuh group, 6 of an Andalousian ensemble from Fez, 5 of three Berber ensembles from Zemmour, 3 of a comic from Marrakech, and 1 of “Negro musicians from Souss” (Ricard, 1936). Surprisingly, only 8 of these were of Andalousian music perhaps because urban audiences could easily hear this music live. Beginning in 1931, the administration put Chottin in charge of choosing recordings for broadcasts intended for Moroccans and, later with Ricard, the recordings Radio-Maroc should purchase.

2.3.2. New Professionalism associated with Radio

For years beginning in 1928, Chottin was responsible for the live broadcasts of Moroccan music on Radio-Maroc. The concerts given during the 1928 festival, heard on air a few days before the official inauguration of this new powerful station on 15 April 1928, set a precedent for the inclusion of “Arab music” on evening programs starting two weeks later. Thereafter, with support from the SIA, Chottin chose the singers and instrumentalists as well as their pieces for the weekly concerts of “Arab music,” 30 minutes each Wednesday. In December indigenous elites petitioned for more such broadcasts. The following March, Gotteland budgeted 6,000 francs for performances of indigenous music on Radio-Maroc twice a week on Tuesdays and Fridays, 7 to 8 pm. Their success led him to give another 10,000 francs for these concerts. Besides visiting musicians, such as two violinists from Tunis and female *ṣikāt* from Fez, these broadcasts regularly featured Andalousian music by a CMM ensemble (Ricard, 1928, p. 13 ; Chottin, 1934). To attract listeners, their programs were published in *Es-Sa’āda*, a newspaper in Arabic associated with the Protectorate.

For local musicians, used to performing Andalousian music in private contexts, radio work was a rare, but regular

new source of income and public distinction; for Chottin, it was another new profession. Beginning on 1 September 1932, Chottin was paid 300 francs a month for organizing the Arab broadcasts on Radio-Maroc. He recruited the musicians, established the programs, and “oversaw (*surveiller*)” the performances, insuring a certain discipline among performers. Once Chottin had to intervene when a CMM colleague called for singing nationalist songs (Margot, 1932a,b,c, 1933).

The five musicians of the CMM orchestra each received 25 francs per performance, totaling 500 francs per month for the ensemble. After a committee report in 1932 recommended three days a week for broadcasts intended for Moroccans—Tuesday and Thursday for speeches and news mixed with recorded music, Saturday for an “*orchestre arabe aliyine*,” Radio-Maroc’s budget for performances increased to 40 francs each for 5 musicians over 52 weeks (10,400 fr), and, for the purchase of recordings, 100 at 30 fr each (3,000 fr). Expanding to four days a week in 1934, the CMM orchestra continued its Andalusian repertoire “under the direction of Chottin” on Saturday night, with the Sultan’s band performing on Sunday. During Ramadan Chottin organized daily concerts on Radio-Maroc. Increasingly in the 1930s, colonial divisions of both Sultan Affairs and Indigenous Affairs sponsored concerts of Andalusian music on Radio Maroc.

In March 1936, when Radio-Maroc created two new studios in Marrakech and Fez, bringing the total in Morocco with Rabat and Casablanca to four, Chottin’s job expanded again. This led to a fee of 1,000 fr per month. With his help, the SIA put together vocal and instrumental ensembles in the new studios, each with their own directors. Mbirqū, Bilqādir, and Barūdi conducted in Rabat, Kurriš and Brihi in Fez, Kiai and Ūğdaš in Marrakech, Knībir in Casablanca. By 1938, Radio-Maroc was broadcasting “Arabic music” by one of these ensembles every day. Increasingly Mbirqū included music from Tunisia and Tlemcen, colleagues in Marrakech, Berber and popular genres.

Chottin remained “musical advisor” in charge of Moroccan orchestras through at least 1939.¹⁷ He served on advisory committees in this role with French and Moroccan members. In June 1939 the overseeing committee asked

¹⁷Captain Ben Daoud was in charge of the broadcasts in Arabic in general in the late 1930s.

him, in conjunction with regional committees, to establish the music programs for Radio-Maroc a month in advance, that in recruiting musicians, he test them to determine their value, that he set up prizes to encourage new Moroccan musical works, and spend more time forming Moroccan musicians needing guidance and encouragement (n.a., 1939b).

During World War II, each Moroccan ensemble began to perform daily on Radio-Maroc, including occasionally the CMM’s student orchestra. For example, on 19 September 1943, the morning was shared by the Andalusian orchestras of Rabat and Salé with 45 minutes each, the Fez ensemble began the afternoon with an hour of Andalusian music, and a mixed program of Berber, popular, and Andalusian repertoire was performed for 90 minutes in the evening by musicians from Marrakech. Supporting 294 live radio concerts of Moroccan music by four ensembles for nine months cost 114,700 fr. Evening concerts of two hours cost between 350 fr (for the Fez and Marrakech orchestras) and 470 fr (for the Rabat-Salé orchestra); Berber performances once a month cost 200 francs, monthly Sunday afternoon concerts 125 fr, and a monthly performance by the Casablanca ensemble 175 fr. The annual budget included 5,000 fr for records and 9,000 for their advisor. Moroccan music occupied even more airtime with the creation of a second station in 1948 broadcasting entirely in Arabic. Given its appeal to both westerners as well as Moroccans and little distinction in these broadcasts, listeners could tune into Andalusian music on both stations.

2.3.3. Hybrid Contexts for Chottin’s Music on Radio-Maroc

Chottin’s compositions had a special status in Morocco. When it came to decide what music was appropriate on broadcasts oriented to Moroccans, in fall 1931 the administration, fearful of nationalist tunes difficult to detect, approved the inclusion of Chottin’s Franco-Arabic student choruses on these programs. Explicitly hybrid contexts for his music came in the late 1930s, such as when, in February 1937, Radio-Maroc wished to project an integrated Morocco. Along with expanding its commitment to Western music, when it came to the first performance of a new symphonic orchestra for the station, its director invited the CMM’s orchestra, led by Mbirqū, to collaborate on a “North African concert.” The program began with a local

favorite, Chottin's *Scènes marocaines*,¹⁸ followed by three Orientalist pieces inspired by Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria. The centerpiece was Andalousian songs, performed first in Arabic by the Moroccan orchestra, then in French by the Western one. These were followed by the first of Chottin's *Chants arabes d'Andalousie*, the song-set that included *Yā Asafā*, discussed above. The concert ended with one of Chottin's melodies performed by a local singer. A year later, for the Festival of the Throne in November, Radio-Maroc put on another hybrid concert from 7 :30 pm to 1 am. Audiences first heard Andalousian music performed by French orchestras, first in French conducted by Mlle Gouget-Valière,¹⁹ then in Arabic conducted by Chottin. They then could compare these with thirty minutes of music representing the Andalousian traditions of Fez, Tlemcen, Tunis, Rabat, and Casablanca—a predecessor to the final concert of the Fez festival six months later.

In 1948, alongside Radio-Maroc's two stations and Chottin's proposed Institute of Modern Moroccan Music, he and Belkhadir, a professor at CMM, formed a new "Franco-Arabic" orchestra. Not without political overtones, it aimed at creating a new sonority from the dialogue between the clarinet, saxophone, piano, and oboe, each performed by soloists, and traditional Moroccan instruments. Chottin also saw benefits in how this orchestra combined European discipline with the Arab talent for improvisation. Radio-Maroc supported this ensemble by broadcasting their concerts regularly (Chottin, 1948). (See illustration 5.)

2.3.4. Education through the Popular Press

In the 1940s, Chottin continued to send articles to scholarly and colonial journals, especially in France, but also turned to publishing a column and multi-partite articles, based on his previous work, in the local popular press. His weekly installments in *Pique-Bœuf* in 1941-1942 began with one on "Andalousian music and us," when he differentiates the Moroccan tradition from the Spanish one, then two ar-

ticles on Moroccan popular theater before serializing his 1928 lecture from August through the following May. The newspaper drew attention to these with large illustrations of Berber dance spectacles, customs, and arts on its front page. Chottin himself appears on the cover of the 30 May issue. These articles appeared next to Geneviève Rozier's regular column on contemporary French composers (Debussy and Ravel) and the old masters (Beethoven and Bach). Chottin eventually embraced this dialogue set out for readers, writing a year later on "Franco-Moroccan Harmony," his last essay here appearing in the context of his new series on the evolution of harmony in music history. In spring 1949, drawing on his *Tableau*, Chottin returned to writing on "Arabic Music" for the general audience, this time in *Hebdo-Radio*, oriented to radio listeners. Alongside these articles and listed in the radio programs of *Hebdo-Radio*, from January to July 1949 Ricard delivered a regular Monday lecture at noon on Radio-Maroc about the "Moroccan arts and *artisanat*."

3. Chottin as Cultural Intermediary

Through his various activities in the study and promotion of Moroccan and European music and his taste for intercultural hybridity, Chottin was able to fashion himself as a cultural intermediary, albeit strongly influenced by the colonial context. Like his predecessors, Salvador-Daniel, Lafage, and others, he based some compositions on music he collected, translated, and transcribed in Morocco, to which he added Western harmonies and accompaniments, most notably his *Chants arabes d'Andalousie*. In the introduction to his choruses for school children, he admits to bringing his own imagination to the project: "it's Arab and Berber music, but pondered over, digested, or, if you wish, 'reacted to' by a Western sensitivity" (Chottin c. 1930, i). Not surprisingly, such hybridities elicited both admiration and criticism (Pasler, 2012). For Chottin, they seem to have expressed his belief that music could bridge differences, including colonial heterogeneity.

Besides collaborations in his teaching and concerts, Chottin's written work often suggests intercultural relationships, whether purely imaginative, superficial and appealing to westerners who tend to compare what they hear to what they know, or substantial in the tradition of comparative musicology. In trying to describe the five-

¹⁸Chottin's *Scènes marocaines* had been performed during the 1931 Colonial Exhibition in Paris.

¹⁹Mlle Gouget-Valière was professor at the Rabat Conservatory. In 1939, she submitted to the Fez festival committee a collection of Moroccan songs in various modes and rhythms, ending with *qaṣīdas* and *aytas*, that she notated from performances by CMM professor Mulāy Idriss.

beat rhythms of Berber music, rare in French music, he asks French listeners to remember an air from Gounod's *Mireille* (Chottin, 1928). Later he proposes that this five-beat pattern is "nothing other than the peonic 'genre' of the Greeks from twenty centuries ago, used to accompany dances on Crete," also found in the Basque mountains (Chottin 1936, p. 67). For Chottin and his contemporaries, music suggested that North Africans had common origins with the Greeks, and not only through its scales, as Salvador-Daniel and Jules Rouanet had shown. At an "indigenous soirée" in Marrakech in 1929, organized by Si Mameri, a local reviewer was particularly impressed with the rhythms and dance of the Chleuh. For him, the timbre of the feet beating seemed so "ancient, perhaps the origin of poetry or the longs and shorts of the Phoenicians or Homer, maybe to show Stravinsky what people did four thousand years ago (n.a., 1929). On another occasion, a critic agreed that the Chleuh could "help us understand what Sophocles and Euripides must have borrowed from shepherd games in Thessaly" (R.B., 1930). If North African music could be a potential source of knowledge about ancient Greek music, then knowledge of the Other was capable of enhancing knowledge of the Self (Pasler, 2012, p. 22).

From the perspective of differentiating rural and urban music in Morocco, it was important to Chottin that Berbers' music predated that of the Greeks for it "has borrowed and borrows nothing from anyone." Later, however, he came to a more nuanced view. Following an article by Hornbostel and Lachmann in their journal suggesting parallels among Asian and Berber music, Chottin writes that the Chleuhs "never brag about preserving an old traditional folklore." Rather, as they constantly assimilate other music, it's the "Cheulh personality" that prevails, the way it "imposes its manner of listening, its rhythms, its modes of expression that continue over time with remarkable unity" (Chottin, 1933b, p. 11, 12).

In contrast, when it comes to Arabic music, Chottin points to specific bidirectional influences over the centuries between European and Moroccan music. For example, he writes that, according to Moroccans, the *Nfir*, a trumpet used during Ramadan to wake up the faithful, is a "relatively recent import" from Spain and this, "an imitation" of the Francs' "boq" and earlier the Roman "bucca" (Chottin, 1927). Meanwhile, the Western sonata form was "probably

an adaptation of the Arabic *nuba*" from Grenada (Chottin, 1928, p. 14, 1929a, p. 32, 38, 39, and 1931x)..

In the context of the Protectorate's promotion of *al-Andal*, bringing it into the public domain through radio so that it could play a larger role in Moroccan identity, European settlers began to take interest in the music of their own past, as if a counterpart. Were these traditions and the historical consciousness they stimulated heard as related or in competition? In Europe, the increasing presence of pre-1800 music on concert programs and radio was helping to rebuild a post-war, shared European identity. In Morocco too, recitals and radio programs began to feature both *la musique ancienne et moderne*, the latter sometimes inspired by the former. In April 1931, Chottin reviewed ten recitals in Rabat; its audiences could hear Rameau to Debussy, Scarlatti to Poulenc. He found that a local pianist made her instrument sound like a harpsichord in Scarlatti's "Pastorale," this carrying over into Mendelssohn's Rondo, which she performed like a tambourine (Chottin, 1931b). In December, a visiting piano-violin duo, sponsored by the French Association of Expansion and Artistic Exchanges of the Minister of Fine Arts in Paris, presented a concert of Boismortier, Mouret, and Destouches. When the Parisian Society of Old Instruments came to Rabat in 1932, performing 17th and 18th century music on period instruments, Chottin admired how Mme Casadesus, "with the most 18th century-like grace," played Ayrton's *Ruisseau* on the harpsichord as if it foreshadowed Debussy's *Jardins sous la pluie*. What interested him were the harpsichord's timbres, both "sweet and shrill." With his bicultural listening, these concerts reminded Chottin that the Moroccan *rabāb* and *cithare* (*qanūn*) resembled the rebec and clavecin used in Europe (Chottin, 1927, 1932c).²⁰ To the extent that these performers were able to "recover the spirit and the discrete, tender emotion of the old masters," they recalled the similar discourse at the time about old Moroccan music. In an almost direct analogue with concerts of *al-Andal*, audiences in 1939 were presented "ignored masterpieces" of the European past "scrupulously transcribed, restored, and performed with enthusiasm" by *Ars Rediviva*, led by a harpsichord-

²⁰Others too became nostalgic in recalling this same concert. Another writer explained that listening to the harpsichord and other instruments not only transported him to France, but also to 18th-century Meknes where the sultan's palace was modeled on Versailles (n.a., 1934).

dist (Chottin, 1939a).

Thus, it is reasonable to assume that French enthusiasts of Andalousian music shared with those enthralled with European *musique ancienne* a recognition of the importance of better understanding the past in order to invent the future. Negotiating a relationship, or at least a coexistence, between the old and the new in music and concert life, like Self and Other, goes to the heart of colonial processes, opening up questions about the extent to which a culture is defined by its past and who gets to define its future.

4. Conclusion

The richness of such a life, its multiple engagements, and its legacy call for reconceiving conventional approaches to musical biography, historical ethnomusicology, and global music history. Chottin's Western musical training brought new perspectives, sensitivity, and competence to his ethnographic work. At the same time, he, like other European musicians in the modern empires, worked within and contributed to local colonial agendas. As an employee of the Protectorate, he worked very closely with Prosper Ricard, this collaboration being at the core of his contributions to Moroccan music. Politics inevitably underlie how both pursued and produced knowledge, but not through unilateral domination, as we may have assumed. In creating the Conservatory of Moroccan Music, they served the needs of not only colonial administrators, but also Moroccan musicians. Combining teaching and scholarship with practice, Chottin organized both its classes and its concerts; he programmed Moroccan music on the radio; and he promoted it broadly through his lectures and criticism. As music advisor to Radio-Maroc, he created regular employment for Moroccan musicians, paid by the Protectorate, enabling a professionalism that did not exist previously. The production and dissemination of Moroccan music depended on mutually beneficial collaboration. Understanding this requires that we transgress the barriers between musicology and ethnomusicology, that we study the tastes, practices, and interactions of Europeans and Moroccans and consider the extent to which their agency and accomplishments were related, sometimes interwoven. To the extent that Chottin's multi-faceted *oeuvre* supports the notion that colonizer and colonized were "mutually shaped in intimate en-

gagement,"²¹ as colonial historians Fred Cooper and Ann Stoler have contended and I have here argued, it calls for a new paradigm in music scholarship.

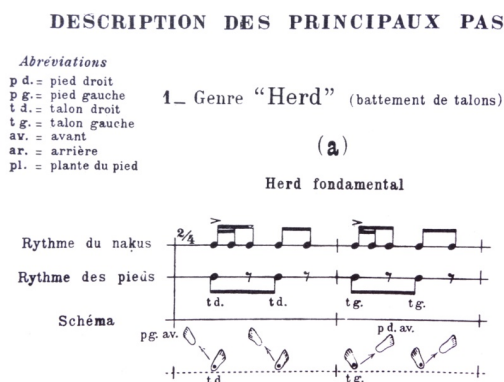


Illustration 1 : Choreographic notation from Alexis Chottin, *Corpus de musique marocaine : Musique et danses berbères du Pays Chleuh*, Paris, Heugel, 1933

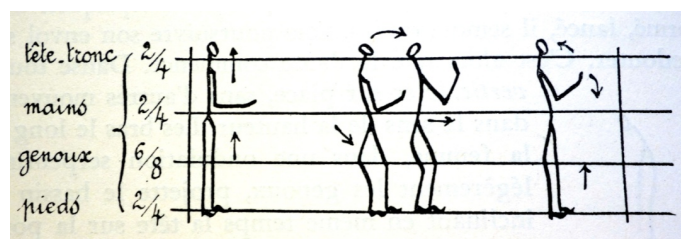


Illustration 2 : Choreographic notation from Alexis Chottin, *Tableau de musique marocaine*, Paris, Geuthner, 1939

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²¹ Cooper and Stoler 1997 : viii.

Yâ Asafa
(Hélas!...)

Complainte arabe
sur la perte
de l'Andalousie

TRANSCRIPTION
et
TRADUCTION
de
Alexis CHOTTIN

- I -

1
Bilal ! Tout ce qui s'est passé
Les temps lointains sont révolus.
Doux temps, doux temps d'Andalousie,
Vieux temps, j'ai connu un bon temps.
Bilal ! Adieu ! me diras-tu
Doux temps, j'ai connu un bon temps ?

2
Où sont les notes d'Andalousie,
Où sont les notes d'Andalousie,
Les notes que j'ai connus de l'Andalousie,
Bilal ! Adieu, me diras-tu
Doux temps, j'ai connu un bon temps ?

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Illustration 3 : “Yâ Asafa,” transcribed and translated by Alexis Chottin, published in Chottin, “Le Conservatoire de musique,” Nord-Sud (1934)



Illustration 4 : A group of students at the Conservatory of Arabic Music. Featured is M. Chottin, director of the Conservatory, in L'Afrique du Nord illustrée (11 October 1936)

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Illustration 5 : Franco-Arabic Orchestra of Andalusian Music, with Alexis Chottin standing (Bulletin publié par le Service des émissions en langue arabe de Radio-Maroc, 1940)

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