

**FROM RABAT TO MARSEILLE:
ŠĀLLA AND THE 1922 EXPOSITION COLONIALE IN FRANCE**

Péter T. Nagy

DPhil candidate, Khalili Research Centre, University of Oxford

Arabic geographical sources describing al-Mağrib al-Aqṣā (*circa* today's Morocco) in the 12th century unequivocally depict the site of Šālla (French 'Chellah') as a compound of ruins, some ancient, some Islamic.¹ Since two new urban centres, Rabat and Salé, had come into existence nearby on the Atlantic coast, it appears that Šālla gradually lost its prominent position as well as most of its population. Nonetheless, the first Marīnid sultan, Abū Yūsuf (r. 1258–1286), chose this place to be his dynasty's burial ground, and major building activities took place there during the reigns of Abū l-Ḥasan (r. 1331–1351) and Abū 'Inān (r. 1351–1358).² Apart from erecting the royal funerary complex – comprising a mosque, a madrasa, several mausolea, courtyards, and ablution buildings (fig. 1) – the site was also surrounded by ramparts. The construction of the walls began, as recorded by the foundation inscription on the main gate, in 1339. Contemporary sources reveal that the funerary ensemble functioned as a place of pious visitation already in the Marīnid period (1269–1465). In subsequent centuries, however, the identities of the people interred in Šālla faded from public memory, and the site became revered as a sacred place associated with various popular sagas and cults.³

Author's note: I am indebted to Professor István Ormos, not only for having shared his wealth of knowledge on a variety of subjects with me as one of his students, but especially for his ever-helpful supervision during my studies in Budapest. I have designed this paper so as to align with some of his research interests, even though substituting 'his' Cairo and Chicago for 'my' Rabat and Marseille. Besides, I am grateful to the staff of the Archives du Maroc à Rabat (henceforth: AMR) and the Archives d'Architecture du XXe siècle (henceforth: AAXX), Paris, for their assistance with my research for this paper.

¹ Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq* 238–239; *al-Istibṣār* 140. The Mashriqī geographer Yāqūt describes Rabat and Salé with no word on Šālla; Yāqūt, *Mu'ğam al-buldān* III, 231. See also al-Ḥimyarī, *ar-Rawḍ al-mī'ār* 319.

² Ibn Abī Zar', *Rawḍ al-qirtās* 373, 407. Some of the building activities are mentioned in Ibn Marzūq, *al-Musnad aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ* 243, 247, 307, 402; and an-Numayrī, *Fayḍ al-'ubāb* 199.

³ See Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922; Ettahiri and Tuil Leonetti 2014; Iványi 2016; Nagy 2019.



Fig. 1. Funerary complex of the Marinid dynasty, Šalla, 14th century, general view.
Photo by the author, 2018.

Whereas earlier scholarship has, to varying degrees, investigated the ancient and medieval history of Šalla and its popular rituals in the 20th century, the present paper discusses one of its hitherto overlooked aspects. It focuses on the period beginning in the second half of the 19th century, when travellers and scholars initiated the research on Šalla, and continuing through the first decade of the French protectorate of Morocco (1912–1956). As described in various sources at the time, especially admired was Šalla’s main gate, which thus became one of the most widely illustrated buildings in the country. Consequently, the commissioners of the 1922 *Exposition Coloniale* in Marseille chose this gate to be rebuilt amongst numerous other key monuments of the French Empire from West Africa to Indochina. In what follows, I shall outline the history of scholarship on Šalla between 1874 and 1922, describe how research under colonial rule facilitated the reproduction of its main gate in Marseille, and propose an explanation as to the rationale behind this phenomenon. In other words, this paper addresses the modern reception of Šalla’s main gate.

1 Discovering Šalla (1874–1912)

Since the first European consulates were opened in Morocco in the second half of the 18th century, the historic monuments of the country aroused the curiosity of many travellers. However, they often complained about the inaccessibility of Šalla

for non-Muslims.⁴ The only known exception was the Spanish traveller and spy Domingo Badia, *alias* ‘Alī Bāy al-‘Abbāsī (1766–1818), who visited the site disguised as a Muslim in 1802.⁵ The situation changed significantly in the last quarter of the 19th century, when Christian scholars were first allowed to enter Šālla, and thus the extant architectural and epigraphic evidence began to be explored.

Research on Morocco in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is sometimes construed in modern historiography as a precursor to the French occupation, carried out, in the words of Nadia Erzini, “with the intention of facilitating colonization” (Erzini 2000: 76). In fact, while the systematic geographical or anthropological exploration of the country could, after 1912, aid the French colonial administration, this was hardly the goal of scholars who had begun the work in the 1870s. Deciphering Arabic epigraphy or studying historical chronicles served no such political goal. Spanish academics, as even Edward Said admitted, seem to have had little interest in colonisation, at least in this period.⁶ As will be argued below, the rediscovery of Šālla was a scholarly investigation to which several nationalities contributed, even if some of their results were eventually co-opted as part of an imperialist agenda.

In this period, the first known European to enter Šālla openly was the French diplomat and archaeologist Charles-Joseph Tissot (1828–1884), who travelled across Morocco in 1874, exploring mainly its ancient sites. As his first impression of Šālla, he described its main gate as “the most beautiful monument of Arab architecture that Morocco possesses” (Tissot, *Itinéraire* 47). He then descended to the funerary complex and translated some of the epitaphs of the Marīnid sultans found in situ (Tissot, *Itinéraire* 48–50). Similarly, the British traveller Trovey Blackmore made use of the opportunity of being able to visit Šālla, and took rubbings of three tombstones in 1875, which he then gave to Charles Rieu (1820–1902) in the British Museum to translate.⁷ The successor of Tissot as France’s government-sponsored archaeologist in Morocco, Henri Poisson de la Martinière (1859–1922), took the first known photographs of Šālla, and even collected a piece of a tombstone in the 1880s.⁸ The Spanish traveller Saturnino Ximénez (1853–1933) also visited Šālla about the same time. He transcribed some of its Arabic epitaphs, which were then translated into Spanish by two eminent Arabists, Francisco Codera (1836–1917) and Eduardo Saavedra (1829–1912) (Codera and Saavedra 1888). What is evident from the work

⁴ See, for instance, Höst, *Nachrichten* 82; de Chénier, *Recherches* I, 28; III, 31, 286–287; Buffa, *Travels* 51; Jackson, *An account* 101–102; Roscoe, *The tourist* 256; Calderón, *Manual del oficial* 35; Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Le nord de l’Afrique* 358.

⁵ [Badia], *Voyages* I, 227–228. See also Montaner and Casassas 2004.

⁶ Said 2002: 9 (foreword by the author to the Spanish edition of his book); Marín 2009; 2017; cf. Stanard 2016; Fernández Parrilla and Cañete 2018.

⁷ Blackmore, “Remains”; “Moorish”. Two of the rubbings are catalogued in the British Museum; Rieu 1894: no. 605.

⁸ BNF, SGE SG WE-179.3–WE179.5; Ettahiri and Tuil Leonetti 2014: 502, note no. 2.

of this generation of scholars is their realisation that epigraphy was an important key for understanding the history of Šālla.

As for the architecture of Šālla, one early account is that of the American Orientalist painter Edwin Lord Weeks (1849–1903), who repeatedly travelled to Morocco in the 1870s and early 1880s, visiting the country’s Islamic monuments to attain subject matter for his paintings.⁹ He was particularly impressed by the main gate of Šālla. According to his description, “[i]n artistic beauty and good taste this gateway is unsurpassed by any similar work which Arab art has left us, either in Morocco or in Spain, or the farthest East” (Weeks, “Two centres” 447). Apart from some sketches and drawings, he also made a painting of this gate (fig. 2). Although he was not an academic, his comparisons of the monuments of Šālla with other buildings in Morocco, Spain, and Egypt were both insightful and accurate, thereby contributing greatly to the contemporary understanding of the site.



Fig. 2. Edwin Lord Weeks, *The departure of a caravan from the gate of Shelah*, 1880, depicting the main gate of Šālla, built in 1339. Oil on canvas, 1.55m x 0.90m. Image in public domain.

Scholarship at the turn of the 20th century carried on along the same lines. The Spanish scholar Manuel Pablo Castellanos (1843–1911), who had referred to Šālla already in 1878, summarised its history from Arabic sources in his 1898 *Historia del Marruecos* (Castellanos 1878: 61–62; 1898: 109–110, 311, 317). Another figure of particular interest was the British writer James Edward Budgett-Meakin (1866–1906), who published five books on the language, monuments, history, population, and culture of Morocco. In *The land of the Moors*, he provided a learned description

⁹ On Weeks’s travels in Morocco, see Garvey 2013: 139–172.

of Šālla, highlighting its “beautiful gate-ways” (Budgett-Meakin 1901: 176–177). In another volume titled *The Moorish empire*, he wrote a history of Morocco, and, within his discussion of the Marīnid dynasty, translated once again some of the epitaphs from Šālla (Budgett-Meakin 1899: 103). About the same time, a sociologist professor at the École des Lettres in Algiers, Edmond Doutté (1867–1926), came to carry out research in Morocco. Upon his visit to Šālla in 1901, he provided a scholarly description of the funerary complex and commissioned the first, though highly schematic, site map from the military commander August Bernaudat.¹⁰ In the eyes of Doutté, the ruinous state of Šālla was a fitting reminder to faithful Muslims that all earthly possessions are perishable (Doutté 1914: 400–405).

Regarding their motivations, Tissot and de la Martinière held the position of minister plenipotentiary of France, but this fact seems to have made little, if any, impact upon their scholarship. They shared a genuine interest in historical sources and archaeological sites, contributing significantly to the general understanding of Šālla. The Franciscan missionary Castellanos was one of many Christians who studied the Arabic language and Islamic history for religious purposes, whereas Doutté was a rare example of an academic who also operated as a spy for French Algeria.¹¹ Less of a scholar and more of a diplomat and journalist was the British Donald Mackenzie Wallace (1841–1919). His book on Morocco, although it includes a succinct account and valuable photographs of Šālla, is essentially a polemical work arguing that the time was ripe for colonising the country (Mackenzie Wallace 1911). In short, various motivations – or even ideologies – were made manifest in the literature on Šālla prior to the establishment of the Spanish and French protectorates in 1912.

2 Colonising Šālla (1912–1922)

On 19 March 1907, the dead body of Émile Mauchamp was discovered in a street in Marrakesh. The French medical missionary, who had been running a public clinic for locals, was accused of spying for France, and when the rumour spread, an angry mob lynched him. Although Mauchamp was neither the first nor the last victim of the protest against the increasing French influence in Morocco, outrage at this incident gained momentum.¹² The press back in France embarked upon a media campaign of words and images (fig. 3), fuelling the parliament’s decision to take control of Morocco. Initially, in 1907, the French army occupied only Oujda in north-eastern Morocco, but then, after the general dissatisfaction with Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥafīz (r.

¹⁰ On Bernaudat, see ANF, Léonore, dossier LH/201/35.

¹¹ See Pascon 1978; Rachik 2012: 63–66.

¹² For a detailed discussion of the Mauchamp incident and its consequences, see Katz 2006.

1908–1912) escalated into an uprising in April 1911, resumed the military operations. They put down the rebellion, made the sultan sign the Treaty of Fez – which officialised the French suzerainty over Morocco – on 30 March 1912, and soon occupied the country as far south as Agadir.

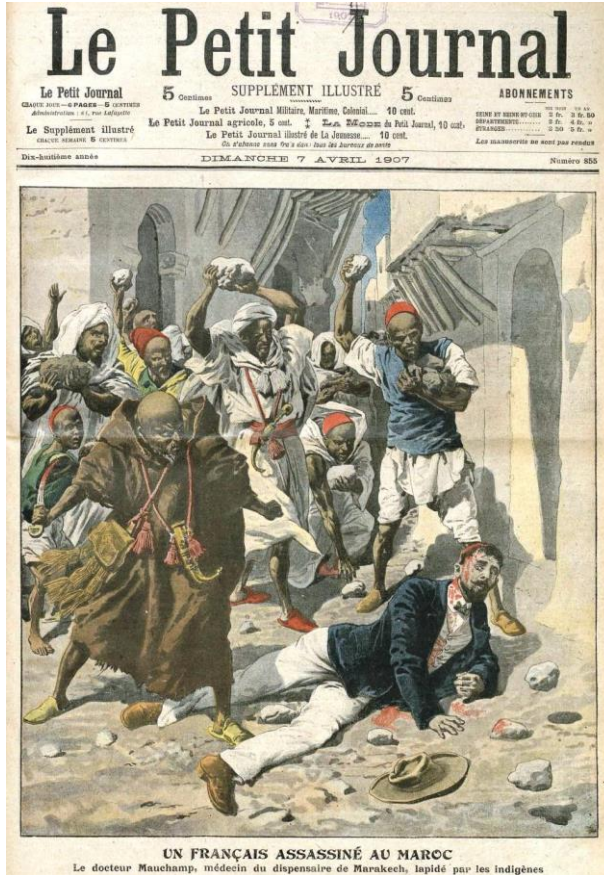


Fig. 3. The murder of Émile Mauchamp in Marrakesh, front page of *Le Petit journal* 855 (7 April 1907). Image in public domain.

While overseeing the French occupation, the first Resident-General of Morocco, Hubert Lyautey (1854–1934), decided to establish his palace in the south-eastern end of Rabat, directly overlooking Šālla (fig. 4). As noted in one of his letters, he would often spend time watching its ramparts from his windows or visiting the Roman and Islamic ruins therein.¹³ On Lyautey's initiative, new legislation was created for preserving the historic monuments of the country in 1912, and again, in a heavily

¹³ Letter from Lyautey to the director of the Service des Antiquités, Jules Borély (1874–1947); quoted in Borély, *Le tombeau* 124.

revised form, in 1914.¹⁴ The decrees (Fr. sg. *dahir*, Ar. *ḡahīr*) announced the establishment of the Service des Antiquités, Beaux-Arts et Monuments Historiques. Operating under the auspices of the Resident-General, this institution was in charge of assessing, listing (registering as protected), and restoring historic buildings.¹⁵ The reason for such measures was not only Lyautey's fondness for antiquities but also his previous experience in Algeria, where many monuments had become victim to colonialist urbanisation (Abu-Lughod 1980: 142–144; Theilborie 2012: 115). The first director of the Service des Antiquités was Maurice Tranchant de Lunel (1869–1944), while the restoration projects were directed by Edmond Pauty (1887–1980) (Théliol 2011: 188–189). France invested considerably in protecting and restoring Moroccan art and architecture, a phenomenon that Lyautey, among others, described as “a true renaissance” after a long period of decay.¹⁶



Fig. 4. Map of Rabat *circa* 1920, detail depicting the palace of Lyautey (encircled) and the ramparts of Šalla (‘Ruines de Chella’). Drawing by Henri Prost.
AAXX, HP-DES-017-03-01, edited.

¹⁴ *BO* 2 (8 November 1912) 9–10; *BO* 5 (29 November 1912) 25–26; *BO* 70 (27 February 1914) 126–129; see also *BO* 173 (14 February 1916) 169. The institution was reorganised in 1920; see *BO* 426. 2133–2134; and also *Direction générale* 111–116.

¹⁵ Lyautey, *Rapport général* 201–206; Théliol 2012: 2–3; Fadili-Toutain 2010.

¹⁶ Lyautey, “Une lettre” 4. See also *La renaissance*; Vacher 2010.

In the case of Šālla, the Service des Antiquités tabled a proposal for its listing as well as for creating a *non aedificandi* ('not to be built in') zone around it already in 1914.¹⁷ However, they had to deal with several cultivated plots registered as private endowments (Fr. sg. *habous*, Ar. *ḥubūs*) inside its ramparts, which made their intervention problematic. The government exchanged several letters with Rabat's administrator (Fr. *nadir*, Ar. *nāzīr*) of endowments in 1914–1915 in order to clarify the legal status of these properties, and commissioned a land survey from a certain M. Castaing.¹⁸ Then, in 1917–1918, the correspondence between the same parties concerned purchasing some of those properties,¹⁹ without, however, clarifying how the ownership issues were settled. Nonetheless, Šālla's listing was eventually declared on 19 November 1920.²⁰

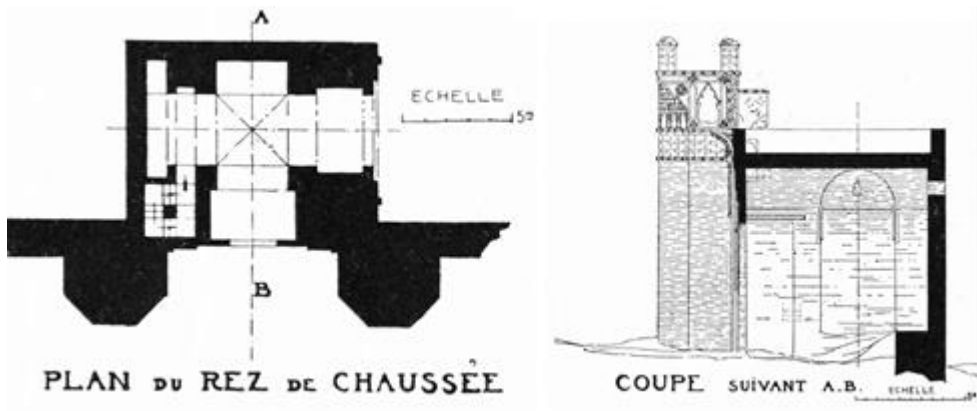


Fig. 5. Site plan and cross section of the main gate of Šālla, built in 1339.

Drawings by Jean Hainaut. De la Nézière 1922: figs. 28–29.

In the meantime, between 1915 and 1917, the first restorations of Šālla took place under the direction of Pauty, on which he submitted a short hand-written report to

¹⁷ AMR, D-626, dossier 456–457; see also *BO* 86 (19 June 1914) 456–457. Contrary to the official documents, Lyautey mentions Šālla among the listed sites in 1914; Lyautey, *Rapport général* 204. Another anonymous report in 1917 mentions Šālla both among the listed sites and those submitted for listing; “Les monuments classés” 36.

¹⁸ AMR, H-37, dossier 19, 1–8. During the protectorate, the endowments in each major city belonged to a single administrator, and the government controlled these affairs through the Habous Ministry (initially known as Direction Général des Habous); see Scham 1970: 111–118.

¹⁹ AMR, H-37, dossier 29, 1–8.

²⁰ *BO* 423 (30 November 1920) 2016. For a complete list of monuments listed up to 1930, see *Direction générale* 272–282.

the Service des Antiquités.²¹ He described briefly that they had rescued the funerary complex from the invasive vegetation, stabilised the foundations of Abū l-Ḥasan's mausoleum, cleaned one of the ablution buildings, restored the towers of the main gate, and reconstructed some sections of the ramparts. During these early years of the protectorate, the French began to dominate all investigations of Šālla. Their work soon resulted in the first monographic study on the site by two young professors in Rabat, Henri Basset (1892–1926) and Évariste Lévi-Provençal (1894–1956).²²

While a considerable volume of French literature was produced on Morocco during the early years of the protectorate, the local historian Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ad-Dukkālī (1868–1945) wrote a pioneering study on Šālla in 1914. He described the extant structures at the site, made numerous insightful historical and archaeological observations, and was the first to read and transcribe the foundation text of its main gate (ad-Dukkālī 2012: 64–65). When this work came into Lyautey's attention, he reportedly had it translated into French,²³ though only the Arabic version is known today. Four years later, the French Mission Scientifique du Maroc – a scholarly circle operating since the beginning of the century – also discussed the history of Šālla (*Rabat et sa région* 43–47). Although their work lacks any reference to the sources they used, it appears that some of their information might have come from ad-Dukkālī's study or, even more likely, from its French translation.

During the first decade of the protectorate, Basset and Lévi-Provençal carried out the first thorough investigation of Šālla, and, despite the fact that they had to study the site when it was still partially buried and overgrown by vegetation, their publications were exemplary at the time. They discussed all known historical sources referring to Šālla, documented and translated the epigraphic evidence, surveyed the buildings, and recorded the rituals and legends that they witnessed or heard about from local visitors. Their architectural study is elegantly illustrated with picturesque, though somewhat inaccurate, drawings by the painter Jean Hainaut (fig. 5). The elevation and two site-plans of the main gate are supplemented with drawings of its decorative details, clearly overrepresenting this building at the expense of the site's other monuments (Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922: figs. 5–9, 12–18, 20–21). Nonetheless, as a result of the work by Basset and Lévi-Provençal, Šālla became the best-studied Islamic archaeological site in Morocco.

²¹ AMR, F-140, dossier titled “Restauration des monuments historiques”, document titled “Chellah: Tombeaux et mosquée”; see also Pauty, “Rapport” 452–453; “Les monuments” 411–412; *Direction générale* 118–120.

²² Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922 (re-published as a monograph in 1923). Among their earlier publications relevant to Šālla, see Basset 1919; Campardou and Basset 1921; Lévi-Provençal 1920.

²³ See ad-Dukkālī 1996: 7–8; 2012: 34–35 (foreword by 'Abīr Fahd Šudūd).



Fig. 6. Moroccan Pavilion at the *Exposition Coloniale*, Marseille, 1922, general view. Postcard by Yve Rio. Author's collection.

3 Šalla travels to France

In a similar spirit to the world's fairs held since the mid-19th century, several countries organised colonial exhibitions with the aim of popularising the cultures of their colonies, and, thereby, of enhancing their imperialist agenda. The 1922 *Exposition Coloniale* in Marseille featured, among others, the pavilions of Indochina, West Africa, Equatorial Africa, Madagascar, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. By this grandiose cultural project, France sought to demonstrate that it had recovered from World War I, and also that the heritage of its colonies had become part of its own culture, unalienable and safely preserved.²⁴ The exhibition was of particular significance for Morocco, as it coincided with the tenth anniversary of its colonisation. There were, however, still many sceptical voices in France, unconvinced about the sustainability and profitability of the protectorate. As Lyautey openly noted about the Moroccan Pavilion in Marseille, “in one word, our presentation must show to the Metropole the balance sheet, if I dare say it, of our work in Morocco since the installation of the protectorate.”²⁵

²⁴ See Régismanset, *L'Exposition* 5–17; Francueil, “L'Exposition” 182.

²⁵ Quoted in Miller 2018: 55 (here slightly modified).

Surrounded by ramparts and dominated by a 36-metre-tall minaret, the roughly square Moroccan Pavilion at Marseille was designed to evoke the fortified palaces (sg. *qaṣaba*) typical of the Moroccan landscape (figs. 6–7). Its main gate was a nearly faithful, life-size reproduction of that at Šālla. The interior of the pavilion was divided into several units, including a *funduq* (‘caravanserai’), a street with shops alluding to the *madīna* (‘old city’) of Fez, several courtyards with *zillīj* (‘tile mosaic’) decoration, an armoury, and other exhibition spaces. Apart from seeing examples of traditional crafts, the visitors could enjoy the *café maure*, shop in the bazaar, visit the *bergerie* (‘sheep pen’) with imported livestock from Morocco, or marvel at the dioramas and paintings of city-views.²⁶

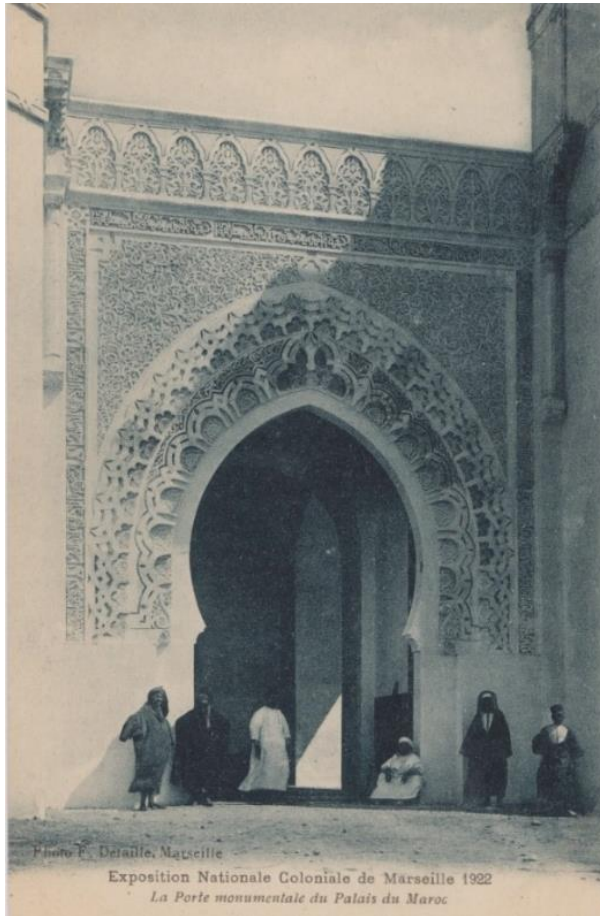


Fig. 7. Moroccan Pavilion at the *Exposition Coloniale*, Marseille, 1922, detail of the main gate. Postcard by F. Detaille. Author’s collection.

²⁶ See Régismanset, *L’Exposition* 46–48; Artaud, *Rapport général* 116–126; Miller 2018: 55–58.

It seems that the pavilion's architect, Joachim Richard (1869–1960), did not intend to copy and reproduce extant Moroccan buildings, but mainly to take inspiration from the country's historic monuments evoking the atmosphere of a *madīna*. For instance, while the *funduq* with its central courtyard imitated the design of the Naḡḡārīn (1711) in Fez, it reproduced only two of its three floors (fig. 8). Similarly, the minaret at Marseille was inspired by that of the Bū'ināniyya Madrasa (1356), also in Fez, but rendered about twice as large as the original.²⁷ The only building that Richard imitated nearly faithfully was the main gate of Šālla.²⁸ In this case, he copied the prototype not only in its architectural form but also, though less accurately, in its decorative details, with one ostensible difference: the gate in Marseille had four additional merlons on either of its towers. This was probably because the architect assumed that the towers at Šālla had originally featured complete crenellations, for which there is no evidence. Nevertheless, since this iconic monument of Morocco had been widely described and illustrated in books, paintings, newspapers, postcards, and stamps (fig. 9), its imitation was surely familiar to and recognisable for many visitors in Marseille.



Fig. 8. Cross section design for the *funduq*, Moroccan Pavilion at the *Exposition Coloniale*, Marseille, 1922. Drawing and watercolour by Joachim Richard. AAXX, AR-22-02-07-027.

²⁷ Cf. Miller 2018: 57. The author describes this minaret as a “direct replica” of that of the Bū'ināniyya, despite the fact that they differ in size and decoration.

²⁸ Notably, the same gate was imitated in the Pavilion of Engineering at the 1915 *Exposition Franco-Marocaine* in Casablanca, however, in a clearly less recognisable form.

The chief commissioner of the Moroccan Pavilion was August Terrier (1873–1932), the head-counsellor of the Office du Protectorate Marocain in Paris, assisted by a group of advisors, one of whom was the painter Joseph de la Nézière (1873–1944).²⁹ Since he worked, between 1914 and 1923, at the Service des Antiquités in Rabat, de la Nézière was well acquainted with the architecture of Morocco.³⁰ In 1917, he designed a set of stamps upon the request of Resident-General Lyautey, depicting some of the country's most appreciated monuments including the main gate of Šālla (fig. 9).³¹ A few years later, probably in 1922, he published his majestic album *Les monuments mauresques du Maroc*, which contained survey drawings of the same gate by Hainaut, some of which also appeared in the above-mentioned work of Basset and Lévi-Provençal (fig. 4).³² Similarly, de la Nézière's album also included drawings of the Bū'ināniyya Madrasa, whose minaret inspired the tower of the Moroccan Pavilion (de la Nézière 1922: 37–38). Thus it was the most recent and up-to-date research on these monuments that facilitated the re-creation of Moroccan architecture in Marseille.



Fig. 9. Moroccan stamps from 1917, depicting the main gate of Šālla. Design by Joseph de la Nézière. Author's collection.

As part of the publicity of the *Exposition Coloniale*, the popular magazine *L'Illustration* published two issues focusing mainly on this event. In one of them, the renowned writer Ludovic Naudeau (1872–1949) wrote an impressionistic account of

²⁹ Artaud, *Rapport général* 114–115. On Terrier, see Cooke 1985.

³⁰ When the Service des Arts Indigènes – a subdivision of the Service des Antiquités – was created in 1918, de la Nézière became its first director; *BO* 274 (21 January 1918) 50–51.

³¹ On the stamps designed by de la Nézière, see Théliol 2005.

³² De la Nézière 1922: figs. 27–28, 31. The book is published with no date, but library catalogues usually give 1921, 1922, or 1923.

his visit, highlighting “the faithful reproduction of one of the most beautiful and celebrated gates in Morocco, the gate of this enceinte of Šālla”.³³ Similarly, *The Times*’ correspondent in Marseille described:

[...] the Moroccan Palace, with an impressive crenellated enclosure, the front of which represents the famous gate of Chellak (*sic* for Šālla). This section is extremely interesting, with its specimens of native arts and crafts. There is a Moroccan street bordered by shops, as animated as if it were in Morocco (“France’s colonizing”).

Notably, Naudeau and *The Times* identified the gate of the Moroccan Pavilion with that of Šālla, an observation coinciding directly with the commissioners’ intention. The plans for the *Exposition Coloniale* were preliminarily outlined by Charles Régismanset (1873–1945), a civil servant at the Ministry of the Colonies, in his book published the year before the opening. He mentioned the gate of Šālla as the only Moroccan building to be reproduced in Marseille:

The entrance gate [of the Moroccan Pavilion], elegant and imposing with its hexagonal (*sic*) towers largely covered with arabesque, is the faithful reconstruction of the famous gate of Šālla, one of the purest monuments of 14th-century Marīnid art.³⁴

4 Conclusion

Visitors to Rabat in the period discussed in this paper perceived and appreciated the main gate of Šālla in several different ways. For many unfortunate, non-Muslim antiquarians in the 18th and 19th centuries, it represented the closed entrance to a legendary, sacred, and forbidden place. Some marvelled at its structure and decoration, others were keen to decipher its inscription. Notably, the explorations of Morocco in the decades before the protectorate, at least as far as Šālla was concerned, were not simply intended as a prelude to colonisation. Tissot, Budget-Meakin, Weeks, and many others conducted research to pursue their personal or academic interests. Even though Doutté worked on the side as a spy reporting to French Algeria, his description and map of Šālla formed a valuable scholarly contribution at the time. Then, by establishing not only the protectorate but also the Service des Antiquités, Lyautey strongly encouraged research on the historic monuments of Morocco, in particular, on Šālla. Therefore, it is reasonable to suspect Lyautey’s enthusiasm for Šālla to be

³³ “[I]a reproduction intégrale de l’une des plus belles et des plus célèbre portes du Maroc, la porte de cette enceinte de Chellah”; Naudeau, “L’Exposition” 394.

³⁴ “La porte d’entrée, élégante et imposante avec ses tours hexagonales ornées d’arabesques largement traitées, est la reconstitution fidèle de la fameuse porte de Chella, l’un des monuments les plus purs de l’art mérinide du XIV^e siècle”; Régismanset, *L’Exposition* 47.

behind the efforts made for its listing and first modern restorations, which also led to unprecedentedly detailed and accurate investigations of the site.

Scholarship on Šālla initially served no colonialist interest. However, this situation changed markedly in 1922, when some outcomes of that research – in particular, Hainaut’s drawings – were co-opted by the French state for the *Exposition Coloniale*. After Hainaut surveyed the main gate of Šālla, the architect of the Moroccan Pavilion in Marseille, Richard, most likely on the advice of de la Nézière, decided to make use of those survey drawings for designing the pavilion’s gate. The resulting reproduction of this already well-known Moroccan monument reinforced its reputation as an iconic piece of architecture, while its new setting anchored it among other symbols of the French Empire. The main gate of Šālla was thus re-employed in the service of a colonialist agenda, aiming to demonstrate that France had protected, resuscitated, and adopted the tangible heritage of Morocco.

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

AAXX = Archives d’Architecture du XXe siècle, Institut Français d’Architecture, Paris.

AMR = Archives du Maroc à Rabat.

ANF = Archives Nationales de France.

Artaud, *Rapport général* = Adrien Artaud, *Exposition nationale coloniale de Marseille, 16 avril–19 novembre 1922: Rapport général*. Marseille: Commissariat Général, 1924.

[Badia], *Voyages* = [Domingo Badia]. *Voyages d’Ali Bey El Abbassi en Afrique et en Asie pendant les années 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 et 1807*. 3 vols. Paris: L’Imprimerie de P. Didot l’Ainé, 1814.

Blackmore, “Remains” = Trovey Blackmore, “Remains of Moorish Art”. *The Athenaeum* 2499 (18 September 1875). 380.

_____. “Moorish” = “Moorish Antiquities”. *The Athenaeum* 2505 (30 October 1875). 581–582.

BNF = Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

BO = *Bulletin Officiel: Edition Française*.

Borély, *Le tombeau* = Jules Borély, *Le tombeau de Lyautey*, Paris: Éditions de Cluny, 1937.

Buffa, *Travels* = John Buffa, *Travels through the Empire of Morocco*. London: J. J. Stockdale, 1810.

Calderón, *Manual del oficial* = Serafín E. Calderón, *Manual del oficial en Marruecos, ó cuadro geográfico, estadístico, histórico, político y militar de aquel imperio*. Madrid: Imprenta de D. Ignacio Boix, 1844.

- de Chénier, *Recherches* = Louise de Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les maures et histoire de l'empire de Maroc*. 3 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Polytype, 1787.
- Direction générale = Direction générale de l'instruction publique des beaux-arts et des antiquités: Historique (1912–1930)*. Rabat: École du Livre, [1931].
- “France’s Colonizing” = “France’s Colonizing Genius: Marseille Exhibition Opened”. *The Times*, 17 April 1922. 9.
- Francueil, “L’Exposition” = Claude Francueil, “L’Exposition Coloniale de Marseille”. *Le Petit Journal* 16 April 1922. 182.
- al-Ḥimyarī, *ar-Rawḍ al-mi’ṭār* = Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Ḥimyarī, *ar-Rawḍ al-mi’ṭār fī ḥabar al-aqtār*. Edited by Iḥsān ‘Abbās. Bayrūt: Maktabat Lubnān, 1975.
- Höst, *Nachrichten* = Georg Höst, *Nachrichten von Marókos und Fes, im Lande selbst gesamlet, in den Jahren 1760 bis 1768*. Copenhagen: Verlegts, Christian Gottlob Prost, königl. Universitäts-Buchhändler, 1781.
- Ibn Abī Zar’, *Rawḍ al-qirtās* = ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Zar’ al-Fāsī, *al-Anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirtās fī aḥbār mulūk al-Mağrib wa-tārīḥ madīnat Fās*. ar-Ribāt: Dār al-Manšūr li-ṭ-Ṭabā‘a wa-l-Warāqa, 1972.
- Ibn Marzūq, *al-Musnad aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ* = Muḥammad ibn Marzūq at-Tilimsānī, *al-Musnad aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ al-ḥasan fī ma’āṭir wa-maḥāsin mawlā-nā Abī l-Ḥasan*. Edited by María Jesús Viguera. al-Ğazā’ir: aṣ-Šarika al-Waṭaniyya li-n-Našr wa-t-Tawzī‘, 1981.
- al-Idrīsī, *Nuḥat al-muṣṭāq* = Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs al-Ḥammūdī al-Ḥasanī, *Opus geographicum sive “Liber ad eorum delectationem qui terras peregrare student”*. 9 vols. Edited by E. Cerulli, F. Gabrielli, G. Levi Della Vida, L. Petech, G. Tucci. Naples and Rome: Brill, 1970–1984.
- al-Istibṣār* = *Kitāb al-istibṣār fī ‘ağā’ib al-amṣār: Waṣf Makka wa-l-Madīna wa-Miṣr wa-bilād al-Mağrib*. Edited by Sa’d Zağlūl ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. ad-Dār al-Bayḍā’: Dār an-Našr al-Mağribiyya, 1985.
- Jackson, *An account* = James Grey Jackson, *An Account of the Empire of Marocco, and the Districts of Suse; Compiled from Miscellaneous Observations Made During a Long Residence in, and Various Journies through, these Countries*. London: W. Bulmer & Co. Cleveland-row, St. James’s, 1809.
- La renaissance* = *La renaissance du Maroc: Dix ans de protectorat, 1912–1922*. Rabat: Résidence Générale de la République Française au Maroc, n.d.
- “Les monuments classés du Maroc”. *France-Maroc* 5 (15 May 1917). 36.
- Lyautey, *Rapport général* = [Hubert] Lyautey, *Rapport général sur la situation du protectorat du Maroc au 31 Juillet 1914*. Rabat: Résidence Générale de la République Française au Maroc, 1916.
- _____. “Une lettre” = “Une lettre du général Lyautey”. In: *Le Maroc artistique*. Paris: L’art et les artistes, 1917. 3–4.
- Naudeau, “L’Exposition” = Ludovic Naudeau, “L’Exposition coloniale de Marseille”. *L’Illustration* 4155 (21 October 1922). 371–378, 388–398.

- an-Numayrī, *Fayḍ al-‘ubāb* = Ibn al-Ḥāǧǧ an-Numayrī, *Fayḍ al-‘ubāb wa-īfāḍat qidāḥ al-ādāb fī l-ḥaraka as-sa‘īda ilā Qusanṭīna wa-z-Zāb*. Edited by Muḥammad ibn Ṣaqrūn. ar-Ribāt: Dār al-Ġarb al-Islāmī, 1990.
- Pauty, “Rapport” = Edmond Pauty, “Rapport sur la défense des villes et la restauration des monuments historiques”. *Hespéris* 2 (1922). 449–462.
- _____. “Les monuments” = “Les monuments historique (description des principaux monuments)”. In: *La renaissance du Maroc: Dix ans de protectorat, 1912–1922*, 411–412. Rabat: Résidence Générale de la République Française au Maroc, n.d.
- Régismanset, *L’Exposition* = Charles Régismanset, *L’Exposition nationale coloniale de Marseille 1922*. Paris: Les Imprimeries Françaises Réunies, 1921.
- Roscoe, *The tourist* = Thomas Roscoe, *The Tourist in Spain and Morocco: Illustrated from Drawings by David Roberts*. London: Robert Jennings and co., 1838.
- Tissot, *Itinéraire* = Charles-Joseph Tissot, *Itinéraire de Tanger à Rbat’*. Paris: Libraire Ch. Delagrave, 1876.
- Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Le nord de l’Afrique* = Louise Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Le nord de l’Afrique dans l’antiquité grecque et romaine, étude historique et géographique*. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1863.
- Weeks, “Two centres” = Edwin Lord Weeks, “Two Centres of Moorish Art”. *Scribner’s Magazine* 29:4 (1901). 433–452.
- Yāqūt, *Mu‘ḡam al-buldān* = Abū ‘Abd Allāh Yāqūt ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Jacut’s Geographisches Wörterbuch*. Edited by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, 6 vols. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1866–1873.

B. Secondary sources

- Abu-Lughod, Janet L. 1980. *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Basset, Henri. 1919. “La nécropole romaine de Chella”. *France-Maroc* 3:5. 131–134.
- Basset, Henri and Évariste Lévi-Provençal. 1922. “Chella: Une nécropole mérinide”. *Hespéris* 2. 1–92, 255–316, 385–425.
- _____. 1923. *Chella: Une nécropole mérinide*. Paris: Emile Larose.
- Budgett-Meakin, James E. 1899. *The Moorish Empire: A Historical Epitome*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
- _____. 1901. *The Land of the Moors: A Comprehensive Description*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
- Campardou, J. and Henri Basset. 1921. “Graffiti de Chella”. *Hespéris* 1. 87–90.
- Castellanos, Manuel P. 1878. *Descripción histórica de Marruecos y breve reseña de sus dinastías, ó apuntes para servir á la historia des Magreb*. Santiago: El Boletín Eclesiástico.
- _____. 1898. *Historia de Marruecos*. Tangier: Imprenta Hispano-Arábica de la Misión Católico-Española.

- Codera, Francisco and Eduardo Saavedra. 1888. “Inscripciones árabes de Xela”. *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 12. 503–507.
- Cooke, James J. 1985. “Auguste Terrier and Post World War One Morocco: 1914–1925”. *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society* 10. 231–244.
- de la Nézière, Joseph [1922]. *Les monuments mauresques du Maroc*. Paris: Albert Lévy.
- Doutté, Edmond. 1914. *Missions au Maroc: En tribu*. Paris: P. Geuthner.
- ad-Dukkālī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī. 1996. *al-Iṭḥāf al-wajīz: Tārīkh al-‘udwatayn* edited by Muṣṭafā Būša‘rā’. ar-Ribāt: Maṭba‘at al-Ma‘ārif al-Ġadīda.
- _____. 2012. *ad-Durra al-yatīma fī wasf madīnat Šālla al-ḥadīta wa-l-qadīma* edited by ‘Abīr Fahd Šudūd. Dimašq: Wizārat aṭ-Ṭaqāfa.
- Ettahiri, Ahmed S. and Bulle Tuil Leonetti. 2014. “Chella, de la nécropole méridionale au royaume des djinns”. In: *Maroc médiéval: Un empire de l’Afrique à l’Espagne* edited by Yannick Lintz, Claire Déléry, and Bulle Tuil Leonetti, 502–505. Paris: Louvre.
- Erzini, Nadia. 2000. “Cultural Administration in French North Africa and the Growth of Islamic Art History”. In: *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950* edited by Stephen Vernoit, 71–84. London and New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Fadili-Toutain, Rima. 2010. “Historique de la sauvegarde par la législation”. In: *Patrimoines en situation: Constructions et usages en différents contextes urbains. Exemples marocaines, libanais, égyptien et suisse* edited by Raffaele Cattedra, Pascal Garret, Catherine Miller, and Mercedes Volait. Beirut: Presses de l’Ifpo. <https://books.openedition.org/ifpo/883> (accessed 20 September 2019).
- Fernández Parrilla, Gonzalo and Carlos Cañete. 2018. “Spanish-Maghribi (Moroccan) Relations Beyond Exceptionalism: A Postcolonial Perspective”. *The Journal of North African Studies* 24. 111–133.
- Garvey, Dana M. 2013. “Edwin Lord Weeks: An American Artist in North Africa and South Asia”. PhD dissertation, University of Washington.
- Iványi, Tamás. 2016. “On Circumambulation in Chellah and Elsewhere: Popular Traditions, Legal Prohibitions”. *Arabist* 37. 65–98.
- Katz, Jonathan G. 2006. *Murder in Marrakesh: Émile Mauchamp and the French Colonial Adventure*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Lévi-Provençal, Évariste. 1920. “La littérature et l’archéologie arabes marocaines”. *Bulletin de l’Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines* 1. 164–174.
- Mackenzie Wallace, Donald. 1911. *The Khalifate of the West*. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co.
- Marín, Manuela. 2009. “Orientalismo en España: Estudios árabes y acción colonial en Marruecos (1894–1943)”. *Hispania* 69:231. 117–146.
- _____. 2017. “Francisco Codera y el colonialismo español en Marruecos”. *Revista de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos* 23. 97–112.

- Miller, Ashley V. 2018. "Tents, Palaces, and 'Imperial Souvenirs': Mobilizing Cultural Authority in the French Protectorate of Morocco". *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa* 9:1. 51–75.
- Montaner, M. Carme and Anna Maria Casassas. 2004. "Between Science and Spying: Maps of Northern Africa and Near East in the Works of Ali Bey el-Abbasi (1766–1818)". *Eastern Mediterranean Cartographies* 25–26. 181–196.
- Nagy, Péter T. 2019. "The Ka'ba, Paradise, and Ibn al-Khaṭīb in Shālla (Rabat): The 'Work' of [the] 14th[-]Century Maṛīnid Funerary Complex". *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos: Sección arabe-islam* 68. 257–287.
- Pascon, Paul. 1978. "Le rapport 'secret' d'Edmond Doutté: Situation politique du Houz 1^{er} janvier 1907". *Hérodote* 11:3. 132–159.
- Rabat et sa région*. Vol. 1: *Les villes avant la conquête*. Paris: Leroux, 1918.
- Rachik, Hassan. 2012. *Le proche et le lointain: Un siècle d'anthropologie au Maroc*. Marseille: Parenthèses.
- Rieu, Charles. 1894. *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum*. London: British Museum.
- Said, Edward. 2002. *Orientalismo*. Barcelona: DeBolsillo.
- Scham, Alan M. 1970. *Lyautey in Morocco: Protectorate Administration, 1912–1925*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Stanard, Matthew G. 2016. "The Colonial Past is Never Dead. It's Not Even Past: Histories of Empire, Decolonization, and European Cultures after 1945". *European History Yearbook*. 17. 151–174.
- Theilborie, Nadège. 2012. "La patrimonialisation du Maroc, entre tradition et rupture de l'héritage français". *Livraisons d'histoire de l'architecture* 23. 115–119.
- Théliol, Mylène. 2005. "La 'popularisation' des monuments historiques musulmans marocains: Les timbres-poste du protectorat (1917)". <http://africultures.com/la-popularisation-des-monuments-historiques-musulmans-marocains-les-timbres-poste-du-protectorat-1917-3879/> (accessed 20 September 2019).
- _____. 2011. "Le Service des beaux-arts, antiquités et monuments historiques, clef de voûte de la politique patrimoniale française au Maroc sous la résidence de Lyau- tey (1912–1925)". *Outre-Mers: Revue d'histoire* 370–371. 185–193.
- _____. 2012. "Entre modernité et traditionalisme la conservation et la restauration des monuments historiques sous le protectorat français au Maroc entre 1912 et 1925: L'Exemple des médersas des quatre villes impériales". *Livraisons de l'histoire de l'architecture* 23. 107–114. <https://journals.openedition.org/lha/132#quotation> (accessed 20 September 2019).
- Vacher, Hélène. 2010. "La planification de la sauvegarde et le détour marocain (1912–1925)". In: *Patrimoines en situation: Constructions et usages en différents contextes urbaines. Exemples marocaines, libanais, égyptien et suisse* edited by Raffaele Cattedra, Pascal Garret, Catherine Miller, and Mercedes Volait. Beirut: Presses de l'Ifpo. <https://books.openedition.org/ifpo/879> (accessed 20 September 2019).