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MARE NOSTRUM

Mediterranean Knowledge Space



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Focus

A common Mediterranean heritage?
Who we are and who we want to be

Community

At a time when Europe and the World are moving away from each other, it is interesting to have a look on what unites people

Commemoration

An address by the late Bernd Thum, President of the Euro-Mediterranean Knowledge Space Foundation

Generations

A case by Asiem El-Difraoui for the creation of a new truly shared cultural heritage

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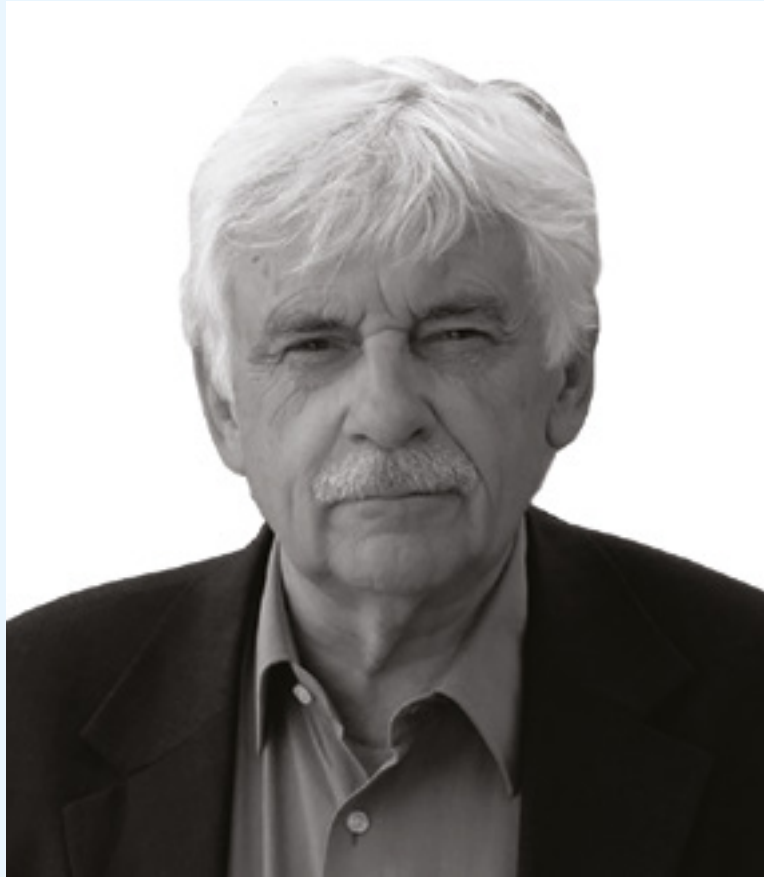
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In memory of Bernd Thum

(* 1940 - † 2018)

President and Founder of the Euro-Mediterranean
Knowledge Space Foundation (WEM) e.V.



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Dear Readers,

The Mediterranean should be an area of understanding. But is it really? The journalist and political advisor Asiem El Difraoui points out in this volume that the Mediterranean has been a bloody scene of political conflict throughout history. Thus, the 'Mare Nostrum' was the expression of an imperial claim of the Romans, redeemed by campaigns of conquest first against the Greeks, then against the North African trading power of Carthage. Of course, the Mediterranean was also shaped by the Crusades and the resulting division between the Occident and the Orient, which brought about and defined today's understanding of Europe. Centuries of piracy followed, during which the buccaneers wreaked havoc. Due to malaria in swamps and lagoons, the coasts outside the port cities were sparsely populated for several hundred years. It was only through steam and motor shipping that the Mediterranean came closer together than ever before in the 19th century. Barcelona, Genoa, Marseille, Split, Thessaloniki, Beirut, Alexandria, Algiers, Tunis and Tangier were more cosmopolitan than ever before, or ever again. Here the world met and mixed. The Suez Canal made the Mediterranean the most important trade route between Europe, Africa and Asia. At the beginning of this era, European writers such as Goethe and Lord Byron rediscovered the idea of the Mare Nostrum. They redefined it and contributed to the establishment of a new founding myth of Europe. The Mediterranean was declared the cradle of human civilisation. Today, the Mediterranean



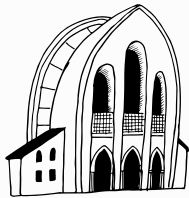
Sebastian Körber
ifa Deputy General Secretary

has once again become a source of bad news, whether because of the conflicts in Syria or Libya, the continuing poor economic situation of its neighbouring states or the refugee disaster. 3,081 people drowned in the Mediterranean in 2017 alone, while attempting to escape. But also, ever-increasing mass tourism – the Mediterranean is, according to the World Trade Organisation, the most

popular destination in the world, with its holiday planes, hotel bunkers, artificial beaches and cruise liners, which send their guests for a few hours to Palermo, Barcelona and Marseille – more of a threat than a real opportunity for exchange between people and cultures. Civil wars, mass tourism, urban concentration and climate change are a dangerous mix for the cultural heritage of the Mediterranean. The destruction of cultural heritage has increased dramatically over the past 15 years. This destruction is used like a weapon of war to destabilise societies, undermine their symbolic clues, break popular resistance and prevent reconstruction. And it is not only historical monuments and archaeological sites that are in danger, but also entire natural and cultural landscapes, islands, oases, marine species and immaterial cultural assets, such as manuscripts and musical works, as Mohieddine Hadhri of the University of Tunis impressively describes in his contribution. The situation in Europe also gives cause for concern: the increasing resistance to the European Union and everything foreign, the return of populism, the emergence of nationalist movements, the irresponsible isolation policies

of some European states. Our common roots seem lost, and cultural diversity is seen by many as a threat rather than an enrichment. «The Mediterranean, the cradle of human civilisation, is rocking threateningly» says Hadhri, summarising the situation. That is why we need to make people more aware of what holds our societies and civilisations together. Especially at a time when Europe and the whole world are drifting ever further apart politically, it can be worthwhile to look at what connects continents and people, says Verena Metze-Mangold, former President of the German Unesco Commission, in her contribution on the European Year of Cultural Heritage. It is a question of culture if we become more susceptible in our societies in the heart of Europe to populist formulas that question coexistence in diversity. Cultural heritage makes it possible to reflect on who we are and who we want to be, how we live and how we want to live. Over the past forty years, World Heritage has become the core of a «world cultural domestic policy» and the greatest success story of cultural cooperation between the peoples of the world to date, says Metze-Mangold. «It inspires our imagination; we recognise connections and can design counter-drafts of social action». UNESCO and the European Union have already done a lot to protect this heritage, and many cultural approaches are going in the right direction. However, much remains to be done and it is important that we look at the common or shared heritage of the Mediterranean peoples across the cultural borders between Islam and the West. A little wistfully, El Difraoui takes a look at the 1996 issue of the magazine for cultural exchange: «Between demarcation and rapprochement – Mediterranean cultural

area». Some of the very renowned authors have died, according to the Islamic historian and philosopher Mohammed Arkoun. The title of his article, however, remains of burning topicality: «The Euro-Mediterranean region as a community of destiny». What has happened since then with regard to the Mediterranean and our community of destiny? Definitely not enough. The present volume takes up the results of two conferences of the Euro-Mediterranean Knowledge Space Foundation (WEM). The first conference, 'Shared Heritage. Trans- and Intercultural Cultural Heritage in the Euro-Afro-Mediterranean Area', took place as part of the 2018 European Year of Cultural Heritage in Stuttgart. The follow-up conference in Tétouan in 2019 was devoted to the challenges and perspectives of the architectural heritage of the colonial era. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those involved. Our sincere thanks go to Mohammed Benaboud from the University of Tétouan and Fadoua Chaara from the University of Tangier for organising the conference in Morocco. Ludolf Pelizaeus from the University of Amiens, who has now taken over the presidency of the WEM Foundation, deserves our sincere thanks for the content of both conferences and of this volume. We would also like to thank the Candid Foundation for its editorial and publishing work. The greatest thanks, however, go posthumously to the founder and mastermind of the entire Euro-Mediterranean Knowledge Space project. The Germanic medievalist and cultural scientist Bernd Thum committed himself throughout his life to a cultural dialogue in the Mediterranean region, which he understood as a «condensed communication space». The cultural and scientific exchange



between North and South, as well as the development of a Euro-Mediterranean knowledge space, were particularly close to his heart. It was of particular concern to him to let common knowledge content and knowledge structures develop in Europe, in the southern and eastern Mediterranean region, and in Africa south of the Sahara, whereby he set in motion important new impulses in foreign cultural and educational policy. Before retiring in 2007, Thum was a professor at the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology. The network of scientists from Germany and the Maghreb which he built up became the Euro-Mediterranean Knowledge Area Space foundation in 2010, with the support of ifa. Bernd Thum died in June 2018 after a short, serious illness. With the publication of this volume, we would like to thank him and his family with all our hearts and make a small contribution to the further dissemination of his life's work.

Sebastian Körber, is Deputy Secretary General and head of the media department at ifa (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen).





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© Henry Sowinski, Genius Loci Weimar 2016



The « Hafez Goethe Memorial » in Weimar recalls Goethe's encounter with the work of the Persian national poet Hafez (1326-1390) ◀

P R O L O G

From Dublin to Damascus, from Niger to the North Cape

The European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018
and the Euro-Mediterranean Knowledge Space
Foundation




Shared Heritage. Trans- and Intercultural heritage in the Euro-Afro-Mediterranean Area was a conference organised by the Euro-Mediterranean Knowledge Space Foundation (WEM), as part of the European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018. The Year of Cultural Heritage focuses on the links between European cultures, their heritage and their memory. The aim of the conference was to expand the traditional memory gap of European cultural heritage and to take part in the discovery and organisation of a heritage widely shared by Europe, the southern Mediterranean, and Sub-Saharan Africa.

BY BERND THUM, GERMANY




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The Euro-Mediterranean Knowledge Space Foundation (WEM) sees the Euro-Afro-Mediterranean area as a dynamic network of condensed relationships from the past, present, and future. This network of relationships was formed by a political and economic history which includes, but is not limited to, negative aspects such as slavery and colonialism. A network of relationships has also been created through long mutual intellectual and artistic exchange; through a long association of languages; through mobility and migration; and through shared needs for common development; and through education and we in Europe still have a lot to learn about nations south of us. The network of relationships is so closely meshed that some speak of a “functional” Euro-Afro-Mediterranean space. This space, extending “from Dublin to Damascus, from Niger to the North Cape”, forms a fabric that is important to perceptions and discoveries, and should become the subject of political thought and action. Politics for me is thought and action that aim at a permanent order for the social coexistence of people. Permanent? This is possible only if there is justice. So, this overarching order must be defined multilaterally, together, in cooperation.



**We in Europe still have
a lot to learn about
nations south of us.**



Multilateral policy for a common Euro-Mediterranean Knowledge Space

A just policy includes a partially shared, multilateral cultural heritage policy. The aim of such a policy is its contribution to the creation of a common Euro-Afro-Mediterranean area of knowledge. This knowledge should be pragmatic; in both the north and south, it should raise our awareness of how cultural heritages overlap. We cannot rely on traditional knowledge. We have to uncover hidden things. In so doing we must, so to speak, free the national or regional consciousness of its inheritance – not destroy it but strengthen it by freeing it from stereotypes. How many people of different cultures play a part in the heritage of Germany or Tunisia or Senegal? What people in these cultures were impressed by “other” cultural knowledge? I think Germany has a lot of catching up to do when it comes to the Mediterranean heritage and the heritage of Africa. This means enhancing elements of our modern education systems that strengthen our own identity, through the awareness of how closely our own culture is linked to the cultures of the southern Mediterranean and the Sub-Saharan worlds. In this case, I am mainly addressing us Germans. Where does cultural knowledge from the south emerge in normal debates in Germany? Where are Ibn Khaldun, We must free the national or regional consciousness of its inheritance – not destroy it, but strengthen it by freeing it from stereotypes.

We must free the national or regional consciousness of its inheritance – not destroy it, but strengthen it by freeing it from stereotypes

Taha Hussein or the great African authors and artists? Where are the places of remembrance that illustrate the connection between our cultures and their great figures, which also preserve the traditional spaces of memory? One fine example is the Goethe-Hafez monument in Weimar, which commemorates Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s encounter with the work of the fourteenth-century Persian poet Hafez. The European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018, which sees heritage as a result of condensed cultural relationships, is a great concept! The organisers saw no objection to extending the functional space of our common heritage as far south as Senegal. Let us make something out of this! Let us make heritage and heritage policy part of the big project of a new multilateral and just Euro-Mediterranean-Sub-Saharan policy. Let us invest in this. Development in functional space only works when we get together. ◀

Bernd Thum

Former Head of the German Studies Department medieval/intercultural studies at the University of Karlsruhe, he was founder and president of the Euro-Mediterranean Knowledge Space Foundation until his death in June 2018.

Emerged - A country as you have never seen before!

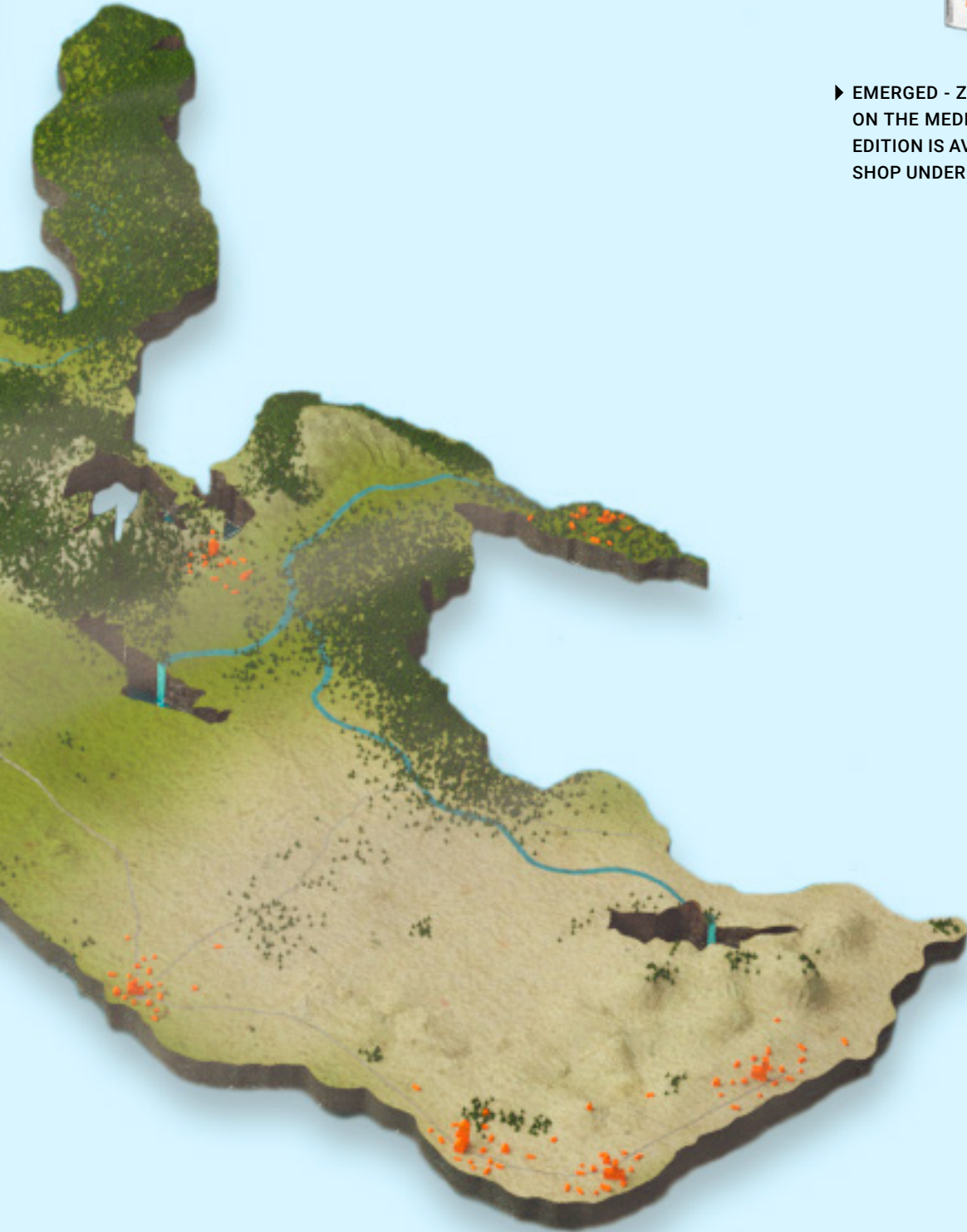
This is what made the front page of the zenith magazine in its «Mediterranean» publication, showing a mysterious map to the reader. Could it be the sunken and rediscovered Atlantis?

Not quite. The card forces the reader to change perspective: imagine the Mediterranean not like a mass of water but like a terrestrial mass. Thus, it suddenly becomes clear that the Mediterranean cultural space connects us.





► EMERGED - ZENITH PUTS THE FOCUS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA. THIS EDITION IS AVAILABLE IN THE ZENITH-SHOP UNDER [SHOP.ZENITH.ME](https://shop.zenith.me)

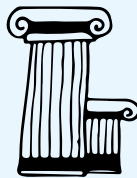


A large community of heirs



At a time when Europe and the rest of the world are drifting ever further apart politically, it may be worthwhile to take a look at what connects continents and people: a contribution to the European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018.

BY VERENA METZE-MANGOLD



We are currently right in the middle of the European Year of Cultural Heritage, and we have high expectations. We want to emphasise the cultural foundation of the European peace project and thus work on the unification process. But considering the moment in world history we are in, we must first talk about the crises that surround us. The most powerful Western democracy is increasingly abandoning multilateral politics, withdrawing from the Iran peace treaty and from the Paris Agreement on the climate. China will roll out its 'Social Scoring' and plans to develop the 'Silk Road' from the east. In addition, the United Kingdom has decided that it no longer wants to be part of the European project.

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**So what can a celebration like the European Year of Cultural Heritage achieve if Europe itself struggles to be a community of values?**

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what can a celebration like the European Year of Cultural Heritage achieve if Europe itself struggles to be a community of values?

These are just three developments that currently threaten to fundamentally change the global order. Europe is subject to severe political and cultural tensions that have a significant influence on the concept of the West, and that of Europe itself. So, what can a celebration like the European Year of Cultural Heritage achieve if Europe itself struggles to be a community of values?

A Euro-Afro-Mediterranean cultural heritage?

Two of the European Union's most important cultural programmes are the European Capital of Culture and the European Heritage Label. The European Capital of Culture programme has been a great success, with high potential for tourism and thus economic

development for the participating cities. The European Heritage Label programme is still little-known and suffers from the fact that the participating sites tend to be of 'only' national importance. On the other hand, the broad definition of culture by UNESCO gives us the opportunity to take a closer look at what Europe must be all about. Culture and cultural heritage are absolutely essential in the European peace project: it is a question of culture if our societies right in the middle of Europe become more vulnerable to populists who call into question coexistence in diversity. Cultural heritage enables us to reflect on who we are and who we want to be, how we live and how we want to live. Experiencing culture encourages reflection on self-determination, cultural identification and our history. It inspires our imagination; we recognise connections and can design alternatives to social action. We are not only facing the challenge of raising awareness of our cultural foundations within Europe itself, we also now have to question the relationship we develop with our neighbouring regions. The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and the Union for the Mediterranean are promising tools to breathe life into important partnerships. Within the framework of the EUROMED Heritage programme and within a timeframe of 10 years, the European Union has implemented a €60 million programme involving partners from the EU and the MENA region. Cultural cooperation with the countries of the MENA region, especially in the light of recent political developments in the region, presents special opportunities and growing challenges, particularly in the field of cultural heritage, with the concept of shared heritage offering the greatest opportunities to create mutual understanding. The concept has been developed very successfully and effectively by UNESCO since 1972 with the World Heritage Convention.



World Heritage and World Citizens – the mission of the UNESCO World Heritage List

In terms of World Heritage, our most important role is to be citizens of the world. The UNESCO World Heritage List is, therefore, based on a global idea and a multilateral concept of action. When in 1960 the Aswan Dam was threatening to submerge the 3,000-year-old rock temples of Abu Simbel, Egypt asked UNESCO for help and \$80 million was collected in a spectacular solidarity action. The rock temples were dismantled, moved and rebuilt at a higher altitude. This made clear that there are places whose importance is so great that they do not belong solely to the state on whose territory they are located – for if the world loses these highly valuable sites through decay or destruction, the heritage of all people is diminished. The responsibility for the protection of a cultural or natural heritage no longer lies solely in the hands of the respective state but falls under the care of all humanity. This is what makes the concept of a World Heritage List so revolutionary. In addition, the World Heritage concept means outstanding cultural sites and magnificent natural landscapes are testaments to the common history of present and future generations. Therefore, it is important that the World Heritage List also includes the dark sides of the past, such as the Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland and the slave deportation island of Gorée in Senegal. Such sites of painful remembrance are places of teaching and experience in the international sense, and they assume an important task on the way to an enlightened world. Over the past forty years, World Heritage has become the core of a World Cultural Domestic Policy and the greatest success story of cultural cooperation between the people of the world. The World Heritage Convention of 1972 was the first internationally binding instrument for the protection of cultural and natural heritage, and the obligations set by this treaty bind 193 states today. The keystone of this success story is the Convention

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It is a question of culture if our societies right in the middle of Europe become more vulnerable to populists who call into question coexistence in diversity

of the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions of 2005, which allows national cultural policy to be shaped under the conditions of global markets and also, with its adaptation in 2015, under the conditions of digital production methods. In addition to all its member states, the European



Moving of the Abu Simbel temple, threatened by the construction of the Aswan Dam (Egypt, 1967)

Union itself has also negotiated and ratified this agreement. Today, international culture law determines the policies of European countries, and the values, principles, and provisions of international conventions play an increasingly important role in the Mediterranean region.

Cultural cooperation with the MENA region

Cultural cooperation reached a new level with the revolts and social mobilisation in the Arab region since 2011. These were initiated by art actions and new forms of youth culture. The German government reacted quickly. Since 2011 it has provided more than €130 million to transformation partnership' projects with five MENA countries, primarily for training projects in the fields of culture and media, the promotion of democracy, and the creation of jobs for young adults. The Connexions programme initiated in 2012 by the German UNESCO Commission (DUK) as part of these 'transformation partnerships' contributes to strengthening civil society in the arts and culture sector. DUK has established extensive cooperation networks with key partners in the Mediterranean region and Africa. The reference framework for this is, in particular, the UNESCO Convention on the Promotion and Protection of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, with its focus on more cultural citizen participation on the basis of democratic values. This human rights-based instrument has so far been ratified by Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, and Tunisia. The DUK Connexion programme's participation on the 'Culture Strengthens the Public' project in the southern Mediterranean countries (SouthMED CV) has also opened up new and expanded opportunities for action. Over three years, a total of 40 cultural projects have been created, on contemporary art and cultural themes as well as on heritage-related issues. There is no doubt that this neighbouring region,

which is so important for Europe, still has a difficult path ahead. Many North African countries continue to face great internal tensions. Cultural cooperation, artistic exchange and initiatives in the range of cultural industries cannot directly solve these essential structural questions. They do, however, strengthen groups and activities that are actively involved; they do give hope and encouragement to those groups and activities by contributing to cultural resources; and they do design feasible visions of the future.

The power of being a stranger to oneself

'The West and the Rest?' was the British sociologist Stuart Hall's polemic title. We must find the power to encounter each other as strangers. The combination of the concept of shared heritage with the European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018 and the Neighbourhood Policy is a good way of doing this. But there is a mandatory requirement: our perception of Northern and Sub-Saharan Africa must not be shaped exclusively by images of migrants landing on European beaches. For a good neighbourhood, we need multidimensional perspectives that do justice to the richness of culture and, despite all differences, maintain respect and curiosity. If we learn to understand ourselves culturally as Europeans, then we will also learn to appreciate the Mediterranean region as a historical cultural area to be shaped together. If this proves to be a result of the European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018, that would be a fine thing! ◀

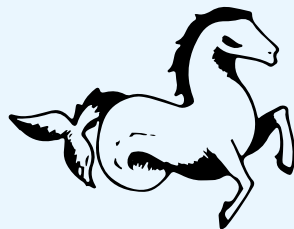
Verena Metze-Mangold is a journalist, media researcher and intercultural communication expert. She works for the German communications and media sector and was President of the German Commission for UNESCO from 2014 to 2018.

Cultural partnerships to protect the Mediterranean heritage



At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Mediterranean is a very vulnerable region facing great challenges because of the threats of cultural and tourist globalisation. Not only are the political and economic relations between East and West or North and South endangered, but our cultural heritage is also threatened. The countries around the Mediterranean Sea harbour an infinite number of cultural treasures and a unique history that unites them. This is why we need strategies and projects that help us preserve our common roots. The following article gives an overview of the many programmes that have already been implemented by UNESCO and the EU to protect cultural heritage and strengthen partnerships between the European Union and North African countries.

BY MOHIEDDINE HADHRI, TUNIS



Religious and political conflicts, violence and wars, migration flows, the upsurge of populism, growing mass tourism – the equilibrium of our society is undergoing enormous fluctuations. The view of our common roots seems lost and cultural diversity is understood by many as a threat rather than an enrichment. We, therefore, need to bring back into people's consciousness fabrics which hold our societies and civilisations together. The Mediterranean is a region full of cultural treasures and its history is our common heritage. By protecting our cultural heritage across borders together, we can help strengthen relations between the North and the South, particularly in the Mediterranean. Many EU and UNESCO projects and initiatives are striving towards this goal.





The Mediterranean – the cradle of human civilisations is teetering in the balance

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Fernand Braudel, a great French historian of the Mediterranean, describes the region's history as follows: "What is the Mediterranean? Thousands of things at once; not landscapes, but countless landscapes; not a sea, but many seas; not just one culture, but many cultures stacked atop one another". The countries around the Mediterranean Sea are particularly rich in cultural treasures and historical memories – think only of the great Pharaonic, Greek, Roman, Carthaginian and Islamic cultures, and all the many historical cities such as Athens, Rome, Jerusalem, Alexandria and Constantinople, and all the many great mythological and legendary epics of universal value such as the Odyssey or the legend of Cleopatra. Over the centuries, the Mediterranean has also been an area of the transfer of science and knowledge, marked by many important personalities: Augustine (354–430 AD), a native of North Africa educated in Carthage, lived in Rome and Milan and is one of the founding fathers of the Latin Church; Averroes (1126–1198), a Spanish-born Muslim, was a brilliant philosopher and the father of modern rationalism; Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), a Tunis-born Tunisian-born historian, philosopher, diplomat and politician was a pioneer of modern sociology; Michelangelo (1475–1564) was an outstanding Renaissance figure of modern times. Their knowledge and insights have been carried far beyond the borders of their home countries.

The list of such figures is nearly endless. Just as long is the list of great monuments and memorial sites, which includes such impressive buildings as the Pantheon in Athens, the Colosseum of Rome, the Alhambra in Granada, the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Istanbul, and many more. Of course, the city of Jerusalem itself is the universal symbol of the religious heritage of Jews, Christians and Muslims, and it will long remain the key to war or peace in the Middle East and around the world. However, mass tourism, in particular, has serious impacts on the Mediterranean heritage and region, which according to the World Trade Organisation is the biggest tourist destination in the world at almost 27%. But high urban concentrations in many coastal regions, climate change, increasing desertification, revolutions and civil wars also have serious environmental, economic and political consequences. They threaten to destabilise the region and endanger many historical monuments and cultural and archaeological sites. Particularly in Syria, Egypt and Libya many cultural heritage sites have already been largely destroyed. Even entire natural and cultural landscapes, islands, oases, marine species and intangible cultural assets such as manuscripts and musical works are in danger. Especially threatened are the landscapes of the Costa Brava, Venice, the oasis of Tozeur in Tunisia, and Palmyra, one of the martyred cities of Syria.



Alhambra in Granada, one of the most significant examples of the Moorish style of Islamic art



Tozeur's oasis in Tunisia, threatened by desertification and the hotels overuse of water

Europe, UNESCO, and the protection of the Mediterranean heritage

Since its founding in 1945, UNESCO has implemented an impressive number of measures and programmes to preserve the cultural, natural and intellectual heritage of humanity. An important year in the history of UNESCO is 1972, when the World Heritage Centre in Paris was founded and the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was signed. Even in the decades before, numerous international projects for the preservation of important historic sites and monuments, such as the Abu Simbel Temple in Egypt (1960) and the city of Timbuktu (World heritage since 1988), were already initiated. Another important milestone was the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, also known as EUROMED, initiated in 1995 and dedicated to the protection of Mediterranean cultural heritage. The aim of this programme is to bring the traditions of cultures on both sides of the Mediterranean closer together by promoting personal, scientific and technological dialogue and strengthening mutual understanding between peoples. In 1998, the European Union also launched the Euromed Heritage programme, whose projects are being implemented not only in the EU but also and especially in Mediterranean partner countries like Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia and Palestine. The numerous Euromed Heritage projects include the establishment of cultural routes between Phoenician and Greek cities and Mediterranean ports, as well as and the promotion of sustainable tourism in historic centres such as Amalfi, Valletta, Alexandria and other cities. Since 1995, the European Union has been keenly aware of its responsibility for European architectural and urban heritage in the southern Mediterranean. It funds various programmes for the restoration of monuments and buildings in various cities in the Maghreb and in Egypt. For example, between 2002 and 2005, the Hercomances programme promoted the establishment of an administrative system for the preservation of



Averroès (1126-1198): doctor, lawyer and philosopher, he shared his life between Spain and Morocco

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The reverse side of Baron Empain Palace (Qasr Al Baron) in Heliopolis, Cairo

cultural heritage in Egypt and Syria. With Euromed Heritage II (2002–2008), the programme has been extended to other southern Mediterranean countries and cities, including Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. Over the past 20 years the protection of Europe's cultural and urban heritage has mobilised numerous civil society and public actors in the Maghreb countries. The construction of many cities in North Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries took place under the influence of European architecture, and at the same time, through the use of Arab and Islamic elements, oriental styles flowed into the cityscape. Because of their artistic and constructional affinity, which affects both urban structures and decorative elements, these cities are now considered part of the shared heritage of the Mediterranean region. Public authorities have already restored numerous monuments, palaces and European city quarters in Tunis, Casablanca, and Algiers. For example, in Egypt, the question of protecting cultural sites and monuments of the late nineteenth century has been on the agenda of public media and major cultural and scholarly events for almost 15 years. Today, the country is also experiencing the emergence of a widespread longing for this Belle Époque, with its monumental architectural symbols. Particularly remarkable is the restoration plan for the monuments of Heliopolis. The "City of the Sun" is a relatively new city founded in 1906. Its architecture is very multi-faceted and reflects the most important trends of the first half of the twentieth century.

Cultural bridge-building to strengthen relations between North and South

All these programmes and projects show that Europe today recognises the Mediterranean as a hub of culture and history. These efforts also reveal that the joint preservation of the Mediterranean cultural heritage can revive North-South partnerships. Such

initiatives are especially needed in times of religious fanaticism and xenophobia. UNESCO and Europe have accomplished much to protect this heritage and many cultural approaches are heading in the It is important that we look at the common or shared heritage of the Mediterranean peoples beyond Islamic

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**It is important that we look at the common or shared heritage of the Mediterranean peoples beyond Islamic and Western cultural borders**

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and Western cultural borders right direction. But much remains to be done, and it is important that we look at the common or shared heritage of the Mediterranean peoples beyond Islamic and Western cultural borders. By reconstructing and renewing the bridges between Europe and the Arab world in literature and art, we may slowly begin to overcome the problems and conflicts of the past and present. ◀

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Taha Hussein

the intellectual pioneer who makes the past
the future



In the second half of the 19th century, a new liberal elite in the Egyptian society began to strive for reform and demand a democratic, political system with elections, a parliament, a constitution and a separation of powers. One of the pioneers of this young renewal movement was Taha Hussein (1889-1973), who is considered one of the most important and influential Arab writers of the 20th century. Cultural heritage was one of Hussein's central themes. His approach to this concept continues to have an impact on Arab thought to this day and can make a very interesting contribution to inspiring the discussion on relations between countries around the Mediterranean.

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BY ABDELLATIF BOUSSETA, TANGIER



The work of Hussein – an innovative-critical access to cultural heritage

Taha Hussein was much more than a man of letters: he was an historian, researcher, intellectual pioneer and politician, and his voice is one of the most important of a whole generation of thinkers and scholars of this intellectual and literary movement. A closer look at Hussein's definition of cultural heritage is extremely exciting because he selected, named, defined, and correlated the stocks of cultural goods in a very specific and, for his time, new way. He considered the preoccupation with the past and the cultural heritage to be very important and helpful in order to arrive at a healthy and clear vision of the future, and to establish an equal relationship between North and South. Hussein studied at the well-known Al Azhar Mosque in Cairo and did some of his university studies in France. From his teachers Emil Durkheim, Charles Seignobos, and Gustave Lanson, who belonged to middle-class, progressive, democratic France, he learned the new methods of research in the humanities and applied them to the study of literary cultural heritage. He learned that the researcher should rid himself of subjectivity and national emotions, and that historical and literary testimonies should be subjected to rigorous investigation. His professors also taught him that scholarship has a practical and political purpose, because it can help in the fight against political and religious rulers and protect thinking from religious authorities. Like his French teachers, Hussein was

concerned about the power of the religious sheikhs and the liberation of thought from metaphysical fetters. So, for him this approach fell on fertile ground. He devoted himself to history and literature. In his dissertation he explains that he wants to exclude all influences of an emotional or religious nature and to promote critical rationalism in his culture. The publication of his dissertation triggered such an uproar in the circle of Egyptian traditionalists that a lawsuit was brought against the author. The suit was dismissed, but the publication did not fail to have its effect and triggered a veritable revolution in Arab literary history research. Reactions to his book showed Hussein how easily writing can be used by

political opponents, especially when the people are under the tutelage of influential religious scholars and the sheikhs. He took his leave of elite circles and set himself the new task of educating the people so as to bring about social change. He now became himself a political actor and worked for the Wafd party newspaper Al Wafd. Later, he also held sev-

eral high posts in government and served, among other offices, in the Egyptian Ministry of Education and Culture. Hussein sought to exploit the fertility of the religious heritage and therefore published various texts on the history of Islam. He was convinced that religions, with their strong and effective teachings and symbols, should serve to give souls contentment and inner peace. He emphasized, however, and this was new, that human understanding evolves over time and hence that these symbols have to be reinterpreted. He therefore wanted to retell the history of Islam in a way that appeals to the modern Egyptian spirit of life. Hussein recognized the strong attachment of his compatriots to the narratives of early Arab life and the beginnings of Islam, and saw

He took his leave of elite circles and set himself the new task of educating the people so as to bring about social change

them as very important components of Egypt's cultural heritage. He took them up creatively and innovatively, choosing a narrative style that mixes history and fiction. He expressively stressed, however, that there is a very great difference between those who present these traditions as scientific truth and those who present them as the impulse to good and rejection of evil. He avoids metaphysical justifications and places historical events in their real-life political and social context. In this way he finds in the past solutions to the problems of the present.

Hussein also addressed the idea of cultural heritage in

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**He refused to view the Arab-Islamic heritage in isolation, but saw it instead as a space of exchange and built a bridge between Europe and Egypt, between Western modernity and the past Arab-Islamic civilization**

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his theoretical texts. He re-thought the past of Egypt and projected a new vision of the future for his country. He emphasized the great importance of history for shaping the future, because exaggerations, misjudgments and illusions could be avoided "the more we build our future life on our past and present life". Hussein achieved for his time an innovative understanding of cultural heritage, for he placed Egypt in the cultural sphere of the Mediterranean. He refused to view the Arab-Islamic heritage in isolation, but saw it instead as a space of exchange and built a bridge between Europe and Egypt, between Western modernity and the past Arab-Islamic civilization. Hussein thus paved the way for recognition of the great common heritage around the entire Mediterranean.



**Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser awards Taha Hussein the National Honorary Prize in Literature
November 19, 1959**

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The legacy of Hussein today – can we make him a contemporary?

Egyptian society is currently characterized by retrograde political and sociocultural tendencies. Many agree that the religious element prevails and that a despotic government is abusing religion for its own ends. People accuse intellectuals of being "servants" of political power, and in the areas of education, tolerance of foreigners, and the emancipation of women, society is tending to move backwards, reinforcing

problems such as unemployment, decline in critical thinking, extremism and so on. In such a context, the questions posed by the Arab-Islamic “Renaissance” and the many answers that the Liberals supplied at the time remain very topical. Hussein’s project is often described as a hindered enlightenment, an educational work that did not so much fail as was driven into failure. Hussein is mentioned in the Egyptian press today almost daily, but mainly with ideological intent. Many even portray him as an opponent of Islam, and his legacy is instrumentalized in the fight against Islamism by ignoring critical aspects of his work. His engagement against political tyranny and for the fight against poverty and social injustice hardly receive comparable attention. At the same time, and this approach is even more dangerous than the condemnation, Hussein is exploited by Islamists: a contradiction, since he was trying to build a bridge between Arab-Islamic and European culture.

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**In Hussein’s vision, nation,
region and globality can be
united**

What would a desirable return to Hussein look like, and is that possible in today’s circumstances? Hussein’s vision was to bring about lasting democratic systems in which human dignity, rights and freedoms are granted and protected. He distanced himself from the striving for greater cohesion of the Arab states and a unification of all Islamic peoples. He understood the Mediterranean as a reference area. Although he also had a national vision of his country, this is characterized neither by ideas of purity nor

**Hussein’s project is often
described as a hindered
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by needs for purification. Conditions have changed a great deal since his time, but the country’s basic problems are similar to those of the past. In a globalized world, therefore, Hussein’s view that nations should be ideologically open without renouncing their roots, what is looked upon as their heritage, is highly appropriate. In Hussein’s vision, nation, region and globality can be united. His message is suitable for building the state on the foundation of the secular ideas of democracy, rule of law, and freedom, and to work effectively against the fundamentalist ideas of the Caliphate. At the same time, his project offers the opportunity to emphasize commonalities of ethnic, cultural and regional identities without levelling the differences. Hussein’s legacy is, therefore, very helpful today in overcoming the cultural trench that is constantly being widened between the EU and the southern littoral states. He addresses on the one hand the Arabs with the demand to accept the achievements of European modernity, and on the other hand the Europeans with the call to recognize the equal dignity of Arab-Islamic culture. This would be a good design for the future. ◀

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More than
translating & interpreting

The treasures of the Arabic language – and translation



A world in which there are no translations – what would that look like? In answering this question, we quickly realize the great importance of translation for the development of mankind. The term harbours the meaning not only of pure translation and interpretation, but also of all other forms of human exchange. The influence of translation is extremely profound and diverse in linguistic and cultural terms, extending far beyond the boundaries of individuals and communities. Two of the most exciting translation movements in history were seen in Arab-Islamic and Western European culture and of the 8th and 12th centuries. At their centres stood the cities of Baghdad and Cordoba. A journey into the past.

BY FADOUA CHAARA, TANGIER

ترجمة

Translation – engine for knowledge and culture exchange

The meaning of the word translation goes far beyond simply solving communication problems, because it includes all situations in which cultural language exchange takes place. Due to misunderstandings, human communication does not always run smoothly, and sometimes it even founders on language and cultural borders. In such situations, translation has failed because its task is to diminish differences, or at least to make them visible. In this way, it achieves a work of utmost importance: it liberates people from linguistic and cultural boundaries, improving exchange, opening new worlds, and networking human knowledge. The power of translation and the extent to which it can change societies is shown by two movements of linguistic exchange that changed first the Arab-Islamic

world and then the Western European one in ways that had lasting effects on both cultures. The first of these translation movements began in the 8th century in the Arabic speaking areas of North Africa and Asia. Large parts of Greek learning were then translated into Arabic and a great deal of foreign knowledge and cultural possessions were thus acquired. This triggered a great momentum in Arab-Islamic culture, and barely a century later the Arab-Islamic sciences reached their peak. Then, at the beginning of the 12th century, a translation movement began in the other direction, namely the transfer of the Arabic sciences into Latin. In this way they reached the newly founded universities of Europe and exercised there a great influence on the European Renaissance. The cities of Baghdad and Cordoba played a significant role in this story. Baghdad was the centre of the first movement and of Arab-Islamic philosophy and sciences. Along with Baghdad, Cordoba, the capital of the entire western Mediterranean, was one of the most important centres of culture and science in the Middle Ages.

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The House of Wisdom: Baghdad's intellectual powerhouse

Baghdad – world capital between transformation and translation

Baghdad was founded in 761 AD. The round shape of the city was intended to symbolize the heart of the world and at the same time connect all the peoples and states of the Mediterranean and the Near East; and in fact, Baghdad became the melting pot of different peoples and cultures. The city brought together Arabs, Persians, Syrians, Indians and Turks, who belonged to many different religions and denominations. Baghdad experienced an unparalleled economic, social and cultural upsurge and, from its founding until its fall, was the mecca of scholars, scientists, traders, writers and poets. Here arose the first public libraries, which also served as academies for science, research and translation; mosques, which were places of education and learning; schools and hospitals. It is therefore no wonder that Baghdad was the site of

of Plato and Aristotle. By the beginning of the 10th century, the majority of Greek-Hellenistic and Indian science and philosophy had already been translated into Arabic. From the 9th century onwards, Arabian science flourished, boasting such great figures as the mathematician Al-Khwarzmi, the astronomer al-Battani and the celebrated Arab doctor ar-Razi. Their works were an integral part of teaching programmes in educational centres both in the Islamic world and in Europe up to the 16th century. The social life in Baghdad, however, was characterized not only by work and science, but also by cordiality and amusements, by poetry, music and song, far from what was thought to be the “raw life” of the Bedouins. Thus, poetry experienced a significant development. The Arabs based their writing not only on their own models but also on those of Persian poetry. Entirely new genres arose; for example, through the combination of poetry with music and song, and through the translation of the ancient Indian, Persian and Chinese narratives into Arabic.

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Baghdad was the mecca of scholars, scientists, traders, writers and poets

the first organized translation movement in history. The Caliph al-Ma'mun founded the Bayt al-Hikma, the “House of Wisdom”, which became the most important translation institution in the Middle Ages and was at the same time a library and academy of sciences. Its translators travelled to all parts of the world and brought back countless treasures of Greek, Persian and Indian cultural heritage to Baghdad, including such important works as the philosophical writings



Nasir al-Din al-Tusi at the observatory in Maragha, Persia

Cordoba – cultural boom on the Arab-Islamic model

With the advent of Islam at the beginning of the 8th century, the Iberian Peninsula underwent a major turning point in its history, putting an end to centuries of Visigoth rule. The new rulers, who brought a new culture to the conquered territories, were Arabs from the east and Berbers from the west of the Islamic world. In this changeover of power, Arab-Islamic culture played a key role, triggering a kind of “cultural revolution” throughout the Western Mediterranean. The new culture was characterized by its dynamism and diversity, but above all by the importance it attached to the acquisition of knowledge. Arabic culture and language spread rapidly in Cordoba and much of Spain, and Arabic, which was already recognized in the East as the language of civilization, science, worldwide commerce and social prestige, evolved over time into one of the most important elements of the Andalusian identity. In Cordoba, as in Baghdad, public institutions arose that promoted the development of society and culture, including centres of science, libraries, schools, hospitals, public baths, irrigation systems and roads. Beginning especially in the 10th century, the cities of Andalusia experienced a significant scientific and technical development. The knowledge, theories and teachings of the Andalusian scientists built on the achievements of the great Arab scientists of Baghdad and combined this theoretical knowledge with great inventions. An important example of the research of this period is the *at-Tasrif*, *The Method of Medicine* (or literally “*The Prescription*”), a thirty-volume work by the most famous surgeon of the Middle Ages, Abu Al-Qazim Az-Zahrawi of Andalusia. Translated into Latin, it became a leading medical work in European universities of the Middle Ages.

In philosophy, Cordoba saw in the early 12th century the births of great philosophers and jurists such as Ibn Tofail and Ibn Ruschd (Averroes), who initiated a rationalist movement in Arabic-Islamic thought based on Greek Aristotelian philosophy. As in Baghdad, in Andalusia poetry and music, which were looked upon as particularly Andalusian arts, were the number one forms of popular entertainment among all religious and social groups. To this day, Ziryab is regarded as the father of Arabic-Andalusian music, whose roots both in theory and in practice go back to Baghdad. Cordoba as a symbol of Andalusia was therefore rightly described by the picturesque expression “the illuminating pearl” of the Middle Ages, whose light has extended beyond the European Renaissance down to the present day.

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ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΗ

ترجمة

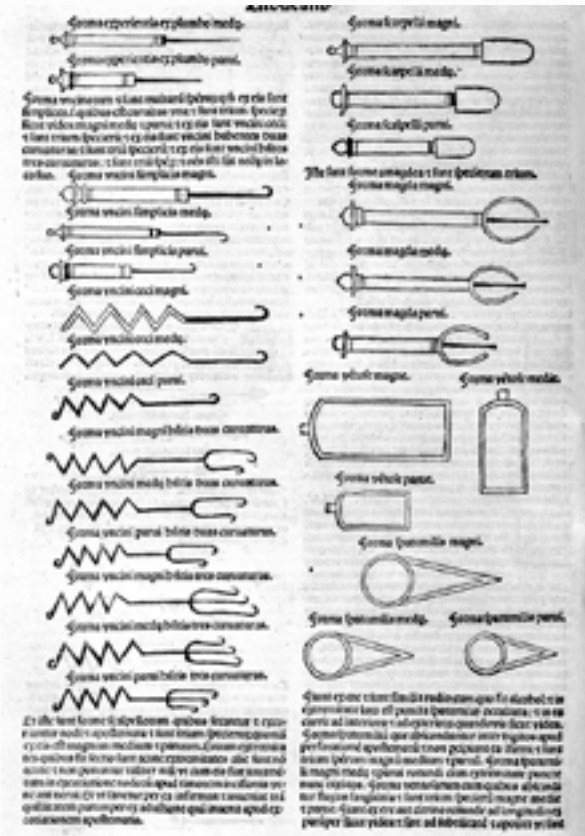
Translatione

A rich fund for our shared Euro-Mediterranean cultural heritage

Compared with Byzantium and Europe, Islam was a high culture when it integrated Greek-Arabic translations into itself. The translation of Greek, Indian and Persian works were important for the internal Islamic religious-cultural, scientific and political discourses. The Latin world of the second great movement of translation was intellectually, economically and militarily inferior to the Arab-Islamic world; its interest in the translation of Arabic is therefore very understandable, since this was essential for appropriating the treasures that had brought fame and prestige to Arab-Islamic civilization. In both cases, the impact of translation greatly affected the development of all areas of society. They extend up to the present day and harbour a tremendous fund of knowledge for our shared Euro-Mediterranean cultural heritage. ◀

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 Compared with Byzantium and Europe,  
 Islam was a high culture when it integrated  
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 itself  
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Surgical Instruments of Abu Al-Qazim Az-Zahrawi in a Latin Edition of the At-Tasrif by Guy de Chauliac, 1500

**Commemorations without a trans-cultural,
Euro-Mediterranean context**

**The Cultural European Year of cultural
heritage 2018 in France**

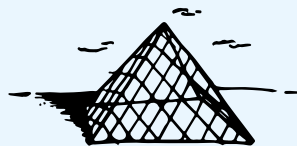


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France's official website of France for the Cultural European Year of cultural heritage 2018 lists about 300 cultural assets.

The long and voluminous catalogues are very gratifying and show that France's effort to present the Heritage Year is a highly significant event. The Cultural Heritage Year rests on a Eurocentric concept that dates back to the 1970s. Since then, however, social conditions have changed considerably. This change raises the important question of whether the concept of the Cultural Heritage Year should be adapted and a more a Euro-Mediterranean commemoration be sought. How should France deal with these questions?

BY LUDOLF PELIZAEUS, AMIENS



The birth of the French cultural movement

A systematic collection of art took place in France for the first time in the 1800s, producing an unprecedented link between culture and politics and creating a new awareness of cultural values. As part of the Peace of Campo Formio (1797) and Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition in 1798, inventories of selected works of art were compiled which, along with others, were to be transported from Italy and Egypt to France. With this, the foundations were laid for the transfer of works of art from North to France, most of which were exhibited in the Paris Louvre. After 1814, many works of art returned from France to their countries of origin – for example, the Quadriga to Berlin. Only the European states, however, were able to re-acquire their cultural assets. For the Egyptians, this was not possible. In the Third French Republic, between 1870 and 1940, middle class education was fostered on the basis of cultural heritage. Museums became "schools for the public" that were to hand knowledge down from generation to generation. With the separation of church and state in 1904 and the transfer of religious buildings into the custody of the state, the state became the sole bearer of the cultural heritage. Today, this monopolizing is no longer so vigorous. But the state continues to have a significant impact on the activities taking place in the European Year of cultural heritage. According to the French Ministry of Culture, its focus is primarily on the security of cultural heritage sites, meaning the architectural protection of buildings on the one hand and safeguarding against terrorism on the other.



Found in 1825 among the ruins of the Temple of Amun, the « Great Sphinx of Tanis » is on display at the Louvre in Paris

The European Year of cultural heritage – a question of priority and funding

The European Year of cultural heritage is not a given in France. There, Europe is seen very critically – this has been demonstrated by the Front National's good performance in 2017 – and is linked to issues such as the "refugee crisis", the "weakness of the euro" and "bureaucracy". Some effort is therefore needed to convey through the European Year of cultural heritage the feeling of a common European heritage. This makes its political component clear. The idea is that, by emphasizing Europe, by focusing on a continent, the foundations for a European identity can be created. At a time when national movements are on the rise and enthusiasm for Europe is diminishing, we should proceed here with caution. Especially in France, the beginning of the European Year of Culture was already marked by a series of political difficulties. The cultural heritage year was announced very late, which had to do with the French presidential elections of 2017. Since culture is considered a national issue in France, funds could not be granted until 100 days after the election.

Moreover, the French Ministry of Culture argued that the Year of Culture was a “German initiative”, which was merely “supported” by France. In the regional implementation of cultural events, there has been a new complication: a complete reorganization has shrunk the number of “régions” from 22 to 13 at present. Although the merger increases the visibility of the newly emerged regions, the totals of the new cultural budgets have become smaller. This has created a new austerity. In France, an attempt was made to use the Year of Cultural Heritage to receive financial support for structurally weak regions and to attract more attention to regions that are not well known by tourists. This approach to cultural heritage clearly shows that such a project must always be seen in connection with marketing opportunities. In France, too, cultural institutions must justify their budget allocations with visitor numbers. Ideally, museums should not just cost money, but also bring in money. Strategies must therefore be developed that attract, in addition to those visitors who are already culturally interested, those who are only sporadically interested and are only now and then drawn into museums out of a certain curiosity. On the other hand, especially in newly restructured regions, museums are the bearers of hope, since they attract tourists and so are important economic factors. As the bearer of the cultural heritage, it is the French state that is chiefly responsible for its preservation. It seeks, however, to ensure financial security not alone but also through private sponsors. The establishment of cultural institutes, such as the Institut Supérieur de Management Culturel, aims to engage partners from the private sector in cultural projects. The greatest success in this respect has been the founding of the Louvre Abu Dhabi. Unlike its counterpart in Lens, it was not built for reasons of regional funding. The idea behind it is rather to increase the prestige of France in the Arab world and serve as a source of income for purchases on the very expensive international art market. But this also makes France dependent on international relationships. The world’s most expensive work of art

promised to the museum, *Salvator Mundi* by Leonardo da Vinci, was indeed acquired thanks to money from Abu Dhabi – possibly paid by Prince Mohammed bin Salman of Saudi Arabia – but it has yet to be delivered to the Louvre in Paris.



Louvre Museum of Abu Dhabi

Euro-Mediterranean questions on preservation and retention

If you ask in the north of France for a dominant topic in the context of cultural heritage, the memory of the First World War is everywhere tangible. Especially in these days, the memory of the last year of the First World War is at the centre of commemorations. The battlefields of the Somme are well known in the Anglophone world. They have, however, long stood behind Verdun and the Champagne, the two memorial sites that have been the focus of the Franco German reconciliation. But today France seeks to inscribe itself more comprehensively in European memory. This is demonstrated, for example, by the application to UNESCO to include the cemeteries and monuments

of the World Wars, from the Hartmansweilerkopf to the Atlantic coast, as part of the heritage of mankind. What is lacking here are commemorations within a trans-cultural, Euro-Mediterranean context – for after all, thousands of soldiers fighting in the Somme in World War I came from Africa. Gravestones of African soldiers who fell in the fighting can be found in all military cemeteries. But it seems that the former South African fighters in the Somme will not be granted a place in the Cultural Heritage Year 2018. If we pose critical questions about the specific contribution to Euro-Mediterranean commemoration, the answers leave much to be desired. For example, the official map of heritage sites shows only one object in Africa, the Jardins Jnan Sbil in Morocco. And when the Cultural Year refers to the First World War and its commemoration, the discourse remains Eurocentric, or at most includes the Commonwealth.

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**It seems that the former South African fighters in the Somme will not be granted a place in the Cultural Heritage Year 2018**

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Another important topic for the Euro-Mediterranean area is the question of the return of African cultural assets to the countries of origin. Emanuel Macron's speech in Burkina Faso on 28 November 2017 made waves. The tone was surprising and new in view of the previous, strongly Eurocentric statements from France, which failed to show the desire for a real rapprochement. Macron made it clear in his speech that he expected genuine commitment, and that the keeping of these works in European museums could not be justified. Critical voices, however, have drawn attention to the possible consequences of this policy for European museums and the problem of creating

suitable and lawful conditions. First of all, the rightful heirs of the works will have to be determined. Are they, for example, the royal family in Benin or Nigeria? Secondly, it will be necessary to clarify what can be considered "lawful", and a further question arises as to whether there should be a large central museum for Africa or many small national museums. But the abundance of issues related to the return of cultural goods should be seen as a stimulus to discussion in the future rather than an obstacle to further action. Accordingly, it is all the more to be welcomed that, thanks to Macron, this discussion has been launched in Europe. We should not expect an easy solution, and it will take a few more years before any solution is discovered. France, however, has already gained some experience in the field of close museum cooperation with the Arab world through the Louvre in Abu Dhabi. This can certainly be important and helpful for the drafting of visions of the future and specific concepts at the pan-European level. ◀

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« The march of the African Army through Amiens 1914-1915 »

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The scientific and scholarly dialogue between Germany and the Arab world



40 Joint teaching and research are the two desirable goals in Germany's scientific and scholarly dialogue with the Arab world. In this dialogue, the individual countries must strive and take their own teaching and research conditions as an object of investigation so that they can act as equal partners. The humanities and German studies in particular play an important role here.

BY HEBATALLAH FATHY, CAIRO / MUNICH



Why our common heritage calls for collaborative research, teaching and learning

The great cultures of the Mediterranean have emerged in close two-way connections. Today, however, the differences between them often serve to justify new political boundaries and become constructs for finding identities. Europe's geographical affinity with Africa and Asia, and the developments of the last few years and months, demand that we in Germany, and people in Arab countries, engage more in scientific and scholarly dialogue. Through an investment in science and scholarship, much can be done in these difficult times. By protecting our common cultural heritage and intensifying scientific and scholarly exchanges across countries and continents, we can build new bridges. If we teach and research together, if we share technical and cultural knowledge, and if we seek

to have people of different backgrounds encounter each other in a more respectful and amicable way, the Mediterranean can once again become what it once was: a European-Mediterranean area of knowledge in which culture and society develop hand in hand. In September 2015, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the 2030 Agenda. It contains seventeen Sustainable Development Goals, two of which highlight the importance of international cooperation in education, science and research. Goal 4 calls for quality education that enables people to improve their political, social, cultural and economic situation, and Goal 17 makes it clear that achieving these goals is only possible through global partnerships. The importance of knowledge and culture transfer in our

shared geographical cultural space becomes particularly clear when we understand our cultural heritage as a shared heritage. This understanding should therefore flow more into general education and, above all, into higher education. And it is precisely here that the humanities, and German studies in particular, play a significant role.

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**The Mediterranean can once again become what it once was: a European-Mediterranean area of knowledge in which culture and society develop hand in hand**

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Two of the Sustainable Development Goals, adopted on 25 September 2015 by the UN as a part of the 2030 Agenda

The challenges and the desire for more scientific and scholarly cooperation

Scientific and scholarly collaboration is always committed to objective and rational dialogue. Universities have the potential to change traditional orders of knowledge by the way in which knowledge is analysed and produced and how, in particular, political, economic, media and legal insights are integrated into society. In addition, cooperation in education and research has the particular advantage of more quickly reaching young people, who make up a large part of the population in Arab countries. In this way, universities can provide sustainable intercultural dialogue. They are, therefore, indispensable in the face of global challenges and integral for world peace and the creation of sustainable prospects for the future. Sustainable structural reform, however, as formulated in the 2030 Agenda, can be successful only if, in addition to the natural sciences, medicine and technical subjects, the humanities and social sciences receive more attention and more funding in the future. The first positive developments can be seen already. In May 2011, an alumni seminar took place in Cairo, where for the first time, humanities scholars and social scientists exchanged ideas about areas in need of improvement.

For example, the young scientists wanted more support for empirical research, improved teaching conditions and regular training programmes. It also became clear that scientists, political decision-makers, social stakeholders and NGOs are still not networked to the extent that they should be. With regard to research cooperation, since the revolutions in the

Arab world in 2011, there has been a revived focus on the humanities and social sciences. So far, however, there are relatively limited research activities in these fields compared to the large number of students enrolled in them. Over the past decade, internationalisation has played an important role in universities worldwide. At the same time, it brings with it a variety of challenges that will have to be mastered; for instance, university collaborations often take place for their own sake and without any real willingness to

exchange ideas. Different scientific and learning cultures meet, and the lack of familiarity with foreign learning cultures often hampers cooperation. Another hurdle standing in the way of a dialogue on equal footing is the impression that subsidies from the Western European side are linked to expectations of political development. Democratic change in the partner countries requires protracted societal development, and international scientific and scholarly cooperation can provide much support here. It is important, however, to relinquish formulas such as 'more for more and less for less' since they create suspicions about neo-colonial behaviour in many parts of Arab society. There are already many international projects intended to act as a form of lighthouse. These are not, however, a substitute for the necessary, fundamental reforms which remain the task of the institutions and ministries of the relevant countries. For the Arab countries, this means they

need to substantially increase their budgets for education and research. In view of the fact that the population in Arab countries is predominantly very young, this is increasingly necessary. In this regard, international cooperation has already led to small success stories, especially in the area of training potential future leaders.



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**University collaborations often take place for their own sake and without any real willingness to exchange ideas**

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Promising forms of cooperation

In particular, cooperation projects developed locally and used in early-stage education systems – at schools, vocational schools and universities – have a long-term impact. They have a better chance of having a broader social effect than imported master's or doctoral programmes. By working more on interdisciplinary problem-solving, partner countries can be helped to provide quality education and better career opportunities. In this context, for example, the potential of e-learning concepts is far from exhausted. In the Arab world, German universities are mainly represented in the technical and scientific fields. Such cooperation is of course very important. But working towards higher goals such as world peace, sustainability and social change means the


Working towards higher goals such as world peace, sustainability and social change means the humanities should no longer be marginalised


humanities should no longer be marginalised. Innovative approaches have a location reference and are not simply copied from other research and teaching models. The most promising projects are those that are not based only on financial aid, but in which the region as a place of study is also made attractive to German students through its practical relevance to the subject. Particularly interesting here are subjects such as Urban Design or Area Studies. Ultimately, it is important that both partners clearly benefit from the cooperation. German education is held in extremely high esteem in Arab countries, and this is reflected in the increasing number of German philologists. At present, however, there is still too little networking in the Arab world at the regional level, and there has not yet been a single cooperative project.

One initiative that seeks greater cooperation in the Mediterranean is the Southern Europe German Studies Network, founded in June 2014 by representatives of the German philologist associations of Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Cyprus, and expanded in 2016 with the accession of Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt. Its primary objective is to support university-level German Studies in participating countries, through a more intensive exchange in research and the promotion of young researchers. The aim is to develop common teaching formats and to consider the social relevance of German Studies. It examines to what extent teaching programmes take into account current social processes, such as the economic crisis, democratisation efforts and migration movements.

Sharing our scientific and scholarly heritage: Future prospects

German Studies, like any other subject in the humanities and social sciences, are integrated into a country-specific educational and economic context that places special social demands on it. At the national level, therefore, it is first and foremost necessary to develop location-based teaching concepts; while at the international level, perspectives should be introduced that focus above all on dialogue between cultures. If this succeeds, the sharing of a scientific and scholarly heritage will also be possible, and such a dialogue will enable a transfer of knowledge that can lead to an actual perception of other cultures of knowledge, other ways of thinking and other methods. The dialogue with the Arab world has abundant need for this. ◀

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African strategies of appropriating European Literature

“Faust” in Africa – interpretations from new angles



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Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s name is a flagship of “German” culture, of Western civilisation and of Enlightenment thought throughout the world. In particular, his most famous work, “Faust”, has also engaged countless readers, theatregoers, artists, scientists and intellectual pioneers outside Europe who have often found completely new approaches to Goethe’s texts from their social contexts. The literary scholars Leo Kreutzer and Edith Ihekweazu and the director William Kentridge, three “kindred spirits” with Africa, give interesting insights into the interpretations of Goethe’s work in and from Sub-Saharan Africa.

BY GERD ULRICH BAUER, BAYREUTH / BAD VILBEL





“Man errs as long as he strives.” How often have these words been quoted in the most various of? Countless celebratory speeches, eulogies and lectures have made use of the rich treasure box of quotations from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s work, and even discourses on education have found it difficult to avoid the prince of poets, especially when it comes to questions of heritage. So, it is no accident that Goethe, the “Renaissance Man”, is a symbol of German high culture at home and abroad. The educational canon holds his “Faust” (1808) to be the epitome of the German language, and it has left many traces on everyday language and culture. At the centre of the tragedy is the scholar Dr. Faust, who must admit that he is incapable of obtaining the desired universal knowledge through his own power and so enters into a diabolical pact with his antagonist Mephisto. Goethe’s Faust is a man of the Enlightenment, a modern intellectual who liberates himself from the tutelage of ecclesiastical authorities. The poetic drama became part of a supra-regional popular culture and is today regarded as an integral part of the German and European cultural heritage.

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Léopold Sédar Senghor (1964)

Léopold Sédar Senghor and Leo Kreutzer – “world literature” as nourishment for cultural identity

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Leo Kreutzer traces an arc from Goethe’s “world literature” to the “negritude” of the Senegalese statesman and philosopher Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906-2001). The importance of both Goethe’s and Senghor’s works in their respective homelands is indisputable, and both men represent historical turning points: the former for Germany’s path into the modern age, the latter for the path of colonised Sub-Saharan Africa into independence. Senghor coined the term “negritude”, and Goethe’s literary work is an important source for him in redefining the cultural identity of the African people. “In ‘Gotz von Berlichingen’ and ‘Egmont’ we are storming capitalist imperialism and demanding political independence for the black peoples [...]. As Fausts with ebony faces, we confronted [...] the smiling wisdom of the ‘pale-faced God with pink ears’ with the bushfire of our brains.” Kreutzer quoted the words of Senghor in a UNESCO publication from 1949. For him they glow with the

“dignity of an anti-colonialist manifesto”. In contrast to the German Enlightenment, Kreutzer explained that Senghor was not concerned with radically freeing man from traditional dependencies by overcoming the power of religion. Instead, Senghor advocated a “modern pantheism”, an idea that can be found in various parts of Goethe’s work. Senghor also welcomed Goethe’s idea of a world literature which, in contrast to national literature, is created out of a transnational spirit and is universally accessible to kindred-minded readers. Here Senghor found nourishment in his search for a future, humanised community. He raised the struggle for a “black identity” against inequalities as a model for an appropriate attitude towards cultural otherness. His concept of negritude thus becomes a “civilisation of the universal”, which instead of levelling cultural differences propagates a humanity based on mutual understanding and respect.


In ‘Gotz von Berlichingen’ and ‘Egmont’ we are storming capitalist imperialism and demanding political independence for the black peoples


Chinua Achebe and Edith Ihekweazu – “African” readings as cultural door openers

The German literary scholar Edith Ihekweazu (1941–1991) worked intensively on Nigerian German studies and the findings of the respected Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe. According to Ihekweazu, Achebe, the author of the colonial-critical educational novel “Things Fall Apart”, published in 1958, adopted a radical position: he questions an understanding of European literature that relies on interpretations based on a European frame of reference. Against this form of reading, he asserts the validity of his own horizon of experience and incorporates into his interpretation the personal experience of colonisation and the sometimes-painful experience of European-African encounters. Ihekweazu’s reflections on the scholarly reading of German literature in Nigeria, however, bring to light another important finding: If the reader perceives the strangeness of the text and is aware of the different historical experiences, this can initially create a gap; yet it is precisely this gap, combined with an idea of the author’s intention, that can deepen the understanding of literature. The corresponding approach to the “foreign” text can then lead to an intercultural interpretation that allows for the equal validity of the foreign and the familiar. Such a textual interpretation was advocated by various literary critics in Nigeria. Countless Germanists in and outside Africa have dedicated themselves to the “spirit” of an intellectual mediation crossing time, cultures and spaces, doing so with the works of Goethe as well, and have thus contributed to the fact that his texts are read by schoolchildren, students and scholars in Sub-Saharan Africa.

William Kentridge and the Handspring Puppet Company – “Faust” in African garb

Even in the days of apartheid, the Market Theatre in the cultural metropolis of Johannesburg was the nucleus of intellectual resistance, the creative counterculture against the inhumane social policy of the white minority. The theatrical ensembles of this cultural site were multi-ethnic and many pieces were critical of the prevailing system. Among the Johannesburg artists, William Kentridge (born 1955) has particularly made a name for himself internationally. Kentridge’s trademark is animated films, which he

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The Market Theatre in Johannesburg, South Africa, nucleus of intellectual resistance in the days of apartheid

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integrates into productions of the Handspring Puppet Company, a theatre troupe founded in Cape Town in 1981. The productions bring actors and puppets together for adaptations, most notably in the 1990s, of classical texts of the European literary canon, among them "Faustus in Africa" (1996). This performance is a very faithful adaptation of Goethe's original, but with cleverly staged references to the "African", post-colonial and post-apartheid perception of the work: The Doctor Faust puppet, played by Kentridge, is already linguistically set apart from Mephisto, who is played by a black actor. In an interlude entitled "Faust on Safari", Faust appears as a colonial big-game hunter, and Auerbach's cellar mutates into an African tavern where Gretchen dances in African garb to African music. In the animated sequences, intertextuality and local colour also come into play, inviting the viewer to assume a central role and form his or her own interpretation. Through the figures of the "black" Mephisto and the "white" Faust, the original drama is given a socio-critical dimension. Thus, the production "Faustus in Africa" remains true to its South African context.

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Intercultural readings, cultural heritage and cultural dialogue

Despite current globalisation processes, language, literature and culture at universities in Europe are predominantly taught and researched within a national

context. In German studies too, the emphasis is clearly on national works and their influence on the literary heritage. The examples of African appropriation

strategies considered here show that national language and literary studies are closely related to the emergence of modern states. The dissolution of national constructs within a pan-European space inevitably raises the question of how future literary studies should conduct themselves with respect to the emerging national-hybrid constellations of languages, literatures and cultures. A special challenge here is the academic voices from the global South: postcolonial interpretations of the "crown jewels" of the German literary and cultural heritage. They open up interesting and highly relevant, contemporary readings. Two centuries after his death, Goethe's works combine a variety of cultural and linguistic spaces and ensure

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**Two centuries after his death, Goethe's works combine a variety of cultural and linguistic spaces and ensure dynamic, creative and often surprising interpretations**

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dynamic, creative and often surprising interpretations. In so doing, African readings often tend to be critical of colonialism. That these discussions are also a piece of German history has unfortunately not been sufficiently made clear in public discourse in Germany itself. Two centuries after his death, Goethe's works combine a variety of cultural and linguistic spaces and ensure dynamic, creative and often surprising interpretations. ◀

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Tétouan

Andalusian cultural heritage in Morocco



The medina, or old town, of Tétouan is one of the smallest in Morocco. Here, no house is like another, each building has its own identity. There are houses with large and with small courtyards, houses with or without columns, with or without gardens, houses with one or with two floors. A small group of dedicated citizens from Tétouan has made it their mission to help preserve the medina. Can their restoration project be a role model for other cities?

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BY MHAMMAD BENABOUD



More than other cities in Morocco, Tétouan reflects the “shared” Euro-Maghrebi-Mediterranean heritage. In 1997, the medina was included in the UNESCO World Heritage List. Because of the synthesis of Moroccan and Andalusian architecture and urban planning, UNESCO explained, Tétouan’s medina is an example of the influence of Andalusian civilisation in the Muslim west during the end of the Middle Ages. Moreover, because of the city’s strategic location on the Strait of Gibraltar, it is a link between two cultures and two continents.

Tétouan – an Andalusian “capitale”

The history of today’s Tétouan begins only after the end of Muslim rule in Andalusia in 1492. The city was founded in the fifteenth century by Sidi Ali Al-Mandari. Al-Mandari had fled Granada during the Catholic Reconquista and, like many immigrants from Andalusia, settled in Tétouan. Between 1912 and 1956, Tétouan was the capital of the Spanish protectorate in northern Morocco and the Sahara. The Spanish Quarter was built as the capital, as the “capitale méditerranéenne”. The city is thus inextricably interwoven with the history of Spain, Africa and the Arab world, especially the Maghreb, of the last 500 years. Today craftsmen work in the medina, traders sell their wares and residents and tourists stroll through the narrow streets. In spite of its status as a World Heritage Site, Tétouan’s medina is no museum. Preserving this “shared” heritage also means accepting shared responsibility. The joint restoration of the old town of Tétouan is a project that unites Morocco and Europe. Historic monuments include the city walls, towers, the historic cemetery, streets, alleys, mosques, houses and the zaouias, or the gathering houses of brotherhoods. The Andalusian heritage is not just material; it has also left its mark on the popular music, local cuisine and traditional art. For 25 years now, the regional government of Andalusia and

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Tétouan’s strategic location on the Strait of Gibraltar: a link between two cultures and two continents

its Spanish partners have been promoting restoration of Tétouan's medina and the Ensanche, the Spanish colonial district. Many Moroccan institutions have also been restored in recent years; one such project is King Mohamed VI, begun in 2011. There have been problems with the restoration work, in my opinion, mainly for administrative reasons. Public discourse about the historical fabric is important not only in Tétouan but in all Moroccan cities, for up to now, a strategy for the preservation of the medinas has been lacking. Administrative regulations are complex and complicated, so that only a few projects reach the implementation process. Moreover, there is a lack of coordination between the local and national levels of administration. Many administrators have no background in field research and very few of the staff responsible for the restoration projects are experts in the area. Finally, there is a lack of efficient project control. Funds cannot be raised or spent to the extent required. In some cases, the self-interest of the project partners also plays a part. In order to make the restoration efforts in Tétouan known to European tourists as well, an architectural walk has been set up, on which visitors get to know the special features of Tétouan.

Restoration and traditional crafts

The restoration project of the association Tétouan Asmir could become a model for the preservation of other cultural heritage sites in Morocco. Since the Tétouan medina is five hundred years old, exactly five houses, one from each century, have been chosen for restoration. All the buildings were uninhabited ruins. We studied the houses thoroughly, comparing

the characteristic building materials and techniques and exploring the architectural development of the medina. The houses functioned as a laboratory. We

were able to reconstruct the traditional methods of making lime plaster, paints, varnishes and tiles or zellige. Tétouani ceramics were used mainly in courtyards, columns and fountains. They are characterised by their bright colours and the variety of geometric shapes. Their use was especially widespread during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For Tétouan, characteristic elements are arches, columns, fountains and the ironwork of the shemasa, most often used in the entrances to the courtyard for better ventilation and more light. Numerous problems were associated with leaky roofs and the resulting water damage. After the roofs, the buildings themselves were restored along with the traditional water supply system, modern sanitation, electricity and telephone networks. Almost all of the materials

used come from the region, so they are cheap and do not incur additional costs for transport.

Water : A precious commodity

Water is a precious commodity throughout all Moroccan old towns, including the medina of Tétouan. Although most of the houses are now connected to the modern drinking-water system, a look at the traditional water distribution systems will show how difficult and elaborate the restoration was. The water from the Skundo system comes from springs on Mount Dersa and flows underground in pipes of burnt clay through all quarters of the medina. The system has existed for five centuries and is very complex.

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**Administrative regulations are complex and complicated, so that only a few projects reach the implementation process**  
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All restored wells are fed with Skundo water. In one of the five houses was a *matfiya*, an underground cistern in which rainwater was stored. In the past, water was brought to the surface with buckets; today pumps are also used. In one of the seventeenth century houses, six *bwate* – large clay pots in which rainwater was collected – have been restored.

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Sustainable use of the five houses

So that the restored houses are not exposed to decay again, they must be used straightaway. Today all the houses are *riads*, small hostels. In addition to the two to four bedrooms on the first floor, there is the reception and the cafeteria on the ground floor. This kind of restoration approach is advantageous because it not only preserves World Heritage sites, but it also simultaneously creates jobs and generates revenue through tourism. We hope that our project will be a model for similar projects in the medinas of other cities in northern Morocco such as Chefchaouen, Tangier, Larache, Ouazzane and Al Hoceima. ◀

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View of the entrance of a Mosque in Tetouan



« The water from the Skundo system comes from springs on Mount Dersa and flows underground in pipes of burnt clay through all quarters of the medina »

By Steven DosRemedios - CC-BY-ND-2.0

Reflection of an ambivalent colonisation policy

The history of the University of Algiers



Algeria has held a special place within the French Empire. Founded as a settler colony and, since 1848, enjoying the unique status of a French “département” located between its Moroccan and Tunisian neighbours, the French protectorate of Algeria built a colonial system of higher education that initially benefitted only the children of Europeans. Wavering between particularism and universalism, France launched a scheme of education in Algeria at the end of the nineteenth century that reflected the many contradictions of this colonial project.

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BY YAMINA BETTAHAR, NANCY



University of Algiers (1920)

Controlled autonomy – the construction of colonial higher education in Algeria

The discussion of the Euro-Mediterranean cultural heritage and the fundamental questions it raises is particularly sensitive when it comes to education. The Algerian education system, like the whole of Algerian society, is still strongly influenced by the historical relations of Algeria and France and the cultural heritage that France left on Algerian soil. Colonised by France in 1830, Algeria received a special status in 1848. It was now no longer considered a colony, but a département integrated into French territory. The policy initially indicated that it should become a French country with the same rights and obligations as other parts of France. The Algerians remained subject, however, to the Code de l'indigénat until after the Second World War, thus acquiring French nationality but not French citizenship. Algeria retained an equivocal status until its independence in 1962, and it is against this background that the unique history of the University of Algiers must be understood. Vehement and bitter debates accompanied its founding and bore witness to the ambivalence of the colonial project of the Third French Republic and the contradictory positions within colonial society. A few years after the conquest of Algeria, France realised that education was

The Algerian education system, like the whole of Algerian society, is still strongly influenced by the historical relations of Algeria and France and the cultural heritage that France left on Algerian soil

relations of Algeria and France and the cultural heritage that France left on Algerian soil a key element of its colonial policy and commenced a 'civilising mission'. France had already created medical training facilities in Algeria in the mid-nineteenth century, which then led to a college for medicine and pharmacy. This was expanded in 1879 by adding a school for literary and legal studies and natural science. Fearing too much independence on the part of Algerian academics, the authorities severely curtailed the rights of these schools and placed them under the control of the French state. It was only in 1909 that the long-awaited transformation became reality. The schools became universities, independent legal entities with their own budgets. Their autonomy remained very limited, but they underwent significant professionalisation. The new universities had a large increase in students, who came, however, predominantly from Europe. Teaching was tailored to the needs of the settlers; Algerian-Muslim students remained a very small minority for many decades. These new universities had been created primarily for French students, and this reform was eventually implemented largely because of the growing need of French settlers for scientific and technical knowledge and high-quality training opportunities for future leaders.



The path to independence – a balancing act between demarcation and cooperation

After the bloody conflict of the Algerian War and decolonisation, Algerian higher education faced a series of new challenges, for it had to be reformed and adapted to the new needs of a country that sought to heal its wounds and rebuild itself. In March 1962 the Treaty of Évian established a vigorous policy of cooperation with the former colonial power, and France pledged to contribute to the economic reconstruction of Algeria. In the early 1970s, a university reform was adopted that reflected the political aspiration of the new Algerian state to distance itself from the former colonial power. The exogenous university, originally created for the specific needs of the colony, was now to be converted into a national university. Algeria underwent comprehensive modernisation and, as the economy urgently needed skilled managers and technicians, the University of Algiers was re-established and reformed. Significant government funds were spent to build a model of technocratic education inspired by the former USSR, implemented by the ministries responsible for industrialisation and development

of oil and gas resources, and the newly established Ministry of Science. Algerian teaching staff was increasingly hired, more subjects were now taught in the Algerian language, and study access for Algerian students was simplified. The Algerian higher education scene gradually and profoundly changed in the 1960s, but the ensuing decades were to present significant challenges for Algerian universities. Despite

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**New tensions plagued the universities, which had been the scene of intense social conflicts between traditionalist and modernist currents since the independence of Algeria**

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the democratisation of study access, inequalities in the distribution of students remained. The situation was aggravated by the increase in the number of high school graduates, who now crowded the universities. With the aim of better aligning higher education with the needs of the Algerian economy, new measures were taken in the early 1980s. A policy to control student numbers aimed to ensure that only as many graduates were trained as were needed to meet the needs of the business sector. This allowed the academic system to be consolidated. However, new tensions plagued the universities, which had been the scene of intense social conflicts between traditionalist and modernist currents since the independence of Algeria. These tensions ignited questions of identity that affected the future of Algerian society. In addition, the universities, heavily dependent on the state budget, were hit hard by the economic crisis that shook the country in the 1980s. This made the work of Algerian researchers increasingly difficult. University libraries and research centres became poorer and

poorer, teaching materials ran out and, attracted by the prospect of better working and living conditions, a large part of the French-speaking elite moved to Europe and North America. The situation worsened in the 1990s, when the effects of terrorism dramatically contributed to the destruction of the university's human and material resources and compelled many more high-ranking academics to leave the country.

Paths of reconciliation into a common Euro-Mediterranean future

In December 2012, the French and Algerian Presidents signed a framework document that contributed significantly to the easing and reconciliation of conflicts, one in which scientific and scholarly university collaboration took a privileged place. As a result, a series of Franco-Algerian partnership programmes were introduced that promoted and strengthened student exchanges between the two countries. The academic reforms that were implemented in the context of the Bologna Process and the Lisbon Strategy also had a very positive impact on academic relations. They still need to be optimised, however, and to better address Algeria's specific social problems if they are to contribute to the improved integration of Algerian universities with European universities. This will enhance the mobility of students and teachers as part of the internationalisation of higher education systems in the Euro-Mediterranean area. In this context, how can we approach the question of the Euro-Mediterranean heritage with regard to an institution as symbolic as the University of Algiers? The issues surrounding the educational and scientific heritage left by France have sparked countless debates among intellectuals, academics and politicians in Algeria and France, raising fundamental questions about the shared and complex history of the two countries. Taking a critical stance towards this legacy, while at the same time recognising the

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**A series of Franco-Algerian partnership programmes were introduced that promoted and strengthened student exchanges between the two countries**

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contribution of many scientists and scholars to the education of young Algerians, is one way to reflect on and better understand this relationship. The Algerian university is the result of a great paradox. Its creation was based on much more than a simple institutional transplantation from one country to another, for it had a significant impact on the political, social and cultural contexts of Franco-Algerian history. Europe, the Mediterranean and northern Africa are very closely linked, and while the heritage weighs heavily, we must continue to work together on the awareness and recognition of this interdependence. The road to reconciliation will be long and full of obstacles, but the Euro-Mediterranean area has a common future and a great responsibility towards future generations who will live in peace. Nearly 67 per cent of the population of Algeria is under 30 years of age. The cultural bridge between Algeria and France will undoubtedly be youth, and close cooperation in the field of education is urgently needed, for young people are the future of this Euro-Mediterranean partnership, a partnership we seek to shape together. ◀

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Goethe, couscous and rap music



Conferences, congresses and seminars on the Mediterranean and the common Mediterranean heritage have been very much in vogue for the last three to four years. Europeans, including those in the north, have rediscovered the Mediterranean as a cultural space in connection with the so-called Arab Spring, the civil wars in Syria and Libya and the resulting refugee dramas.

The tenor of all these conferences is very similar: we have so much in common that the Mediterranean should be a sea of understanding. But is this really the case? What do we – particularly the younger generation – have in common across the Mediterranean today? A plea for the creation of a new, truly shared cultural heritage.

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BY ASIEM EL DIFRAOUI



The Mare Nostrum – a bloody scene of political conflict

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Why is it that these well-meaning meetings on the cultural Euro-Mediterranean heritage often suppress the fact that the Mediterranean has always been a battlefield of powerful empires and states, and so the witness of great suffering? Conflicts and human misery as a common heritage – that is depressing. The word ‘Mediterranean’ alone causes me some discomfort, because it begs the question: which middle? The middle between people who live on different shores and share much? Or, according to its original meaning, the centre of a power, the power of the Roman Empire? Mare Nostrum was an imperial boast of the Romans, a territory won by bloody conquests, first of the Greeks, then by Cato’s relentless demand in the Senate that Carthage must be destroyed – and in the Punic wars, the North African trading power was indeed razed to the ground. The Mediterranean was also shaped of course by the Crusades and the concomitant split between the Occident and the Orient, which first brought about and defined today’s understanding of Europe. This was followed by centuries of piracy, during which buccaneers wreaked havoc. Due to malaria in swamps and lagoons, the coasts outside the port cities were sparsely populated for several hundred years. The Corsicans, for example, are a mountain and not a coastal people. Relative security set in only in the seventeenth century, when piracy was put to an end by the great European fleets of the French and English, and later the Americans. The swamps were drained with modern technology, and the people left the mountains to settle in the plains. There began a wave of migration which, unlike today, moved not from south to north but from north to south. The agricultural land in Europe was almost exhausted – one of the reasons for the violent colonisation by the French. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, steam and motor ships brought the Mediterranean cities closer together. Barcelona, Genoa, Marseille, Split, Thessaloniki, Beirut, Alexandria, Algiers, Tunis and Tangier

were more cosmopolitan than ever before. Here the world met and mingled. The Suez Canal made the Mediterranean the most important trade route between Europe, Africa and Asia. At the beginning of this era, European writers such as Goethe and Byron rediscovered the idea of the Mare Nostrum. They defined it anew and contributed to the establishment of a new founding myth of Europe. The Mediterranean was declared the cradle of human civilisation. Of course, we know today that this is not true. Here it suffices to cast a glance at China or India. In the twentieth century, intellectuals and writers such as Paul Valéry invoked a common Mediterranean humanism. Valéry, however, was thereby lending legitimacy to the colonial ambitions of France under an intellectual guise. During the twentieth century the Mediterranean was again characterised by bloody conflicts, such as the expulsion of the Slavs and Turks from Thessaloniki. In World War II, probably more than 40,000 Jews of the now Greek port city were deported and murdered, not to mention Rommel’s campaign in North Africa. Nor should we forget the Palestinians, who even today hardly have any rights to ‘our sea’.



**The Amphitheatre of El Jem in Tunisia,
third largest amphitheatre of the Roman
Empire**

By Adel Brahem - SA-2.5/2.0/1.0

The Mediterranean – a great stage of cultural exchange

But despite all the violence, most Mediterranean cities have remained places of exchange between people of all kinds. This changed dramatically in the mid-twentieth century, due to decolonisation and the technological revolution. Container ships began to dominate the sea. With less time-consuming loading and unloading, there was no more need for sailors' shore leave. Passenger traffic on ships was replaced by faster travel in jet planes. Charter tourism to hotel bunkers on beaches, or cruise tourism that disembarks passengers for a few hours in Palermo, Barcelona or Marseille – these allow hardly any real exchange between the people and cultures by the sea. All these conflicts are an important

part of our common heritage and must remain in our collective memory as a warning to future generations. Despite – and because of – these conflicts, there has also been a rich and fruitful exchange in all directions: for example, the splendour of Gothic cathedral architecture would have been inconceivable without Arab influence. The minstrels of the Middle Ages were indebted for their art to the Arabs of Andalusia, who came to southern France via Spain and thence to all of Europe. That our European philosophy would never have existed had Arab philosophers not preserved the legacy of Plato and Aristotle in their translations and commentaries is even today known to only a few initiates.

The Greek and Roman cultural monuments around the Mediterranean are of course testaments to a common past. The countries with the most World Heritage sites, however, lie on the European side of the Mediterranean. This is a remarkable cultural-historical imbalance in view of the importance of Egypt, Iraq and Syria in the history of humanity. Perhaps just as important as these are the many imports from the Mediterranean in our everyday life. For example,

marmalade was brought to the Occident by the Crusades, and many recipes, such as the Spanish tapas, which goes back to the Levantine mezze, have roamed around the Mediterranean. The guitar is descended from the lute, an instrument from the Arab-Islamic world, and the German language has adopted dozens

of words from Arabic, from 'admiral' and 'matratze' (mattress) to 'zucker' (sugar).

All this should really be part of the general knowledge of every European, especially against the backdrop of migration, where the majority of immigrants come from the western and southern Mediterranean. This could restore to them a little of the pride in their origins that is often lacking.

And as for the historically established peoples here, it would make for a little more understanding that European roots are also planted on the other side of the sea, and that our own culture has been decisively enriched by the 'foreign'.

Our own culture
has been decisively
enriched by the
'foreign'

The young generation of Mediterranean countries – our bridge builders of the future

Pointing to common roots and being aware of them is of course not enough. What about the contemporary and future common cultural heritage? How do we build new bridges today? Some already exist, but we are often unaware of them, partly because they seem so mundane: couscous is said to be the most frequently eaten dish in France. The proposal by the former President of the German UNESCO Commission, Verena Metzke-Mangold, to declare the kebab a common intangible cultural heritage was no joke. She is right!

In the film and theatre scene, there is more cooperation than ever before. Arab theatre is very present at the international Avignon Festival. Current social issues such as homeland, flight, migration and integration are staged, as are the universal motifs of love and death. Berlin has become a kind of Syrian cultural metropolis: for example, the works of Syrian-Kurdish writer Widad Nabi, playwright Mudar Al Haggi and German-Syrian artist Manaf Halbouni – whose controversial bus installation has been shown in Dresden and Berlin – have decisively contributed to the cultural scene of the capital. Of course, the whole thing works the other way around too. The play *Auch Deutsche unter den Opfern* (There Were also Germans among the Victims), from German-Turkish director Tuğsal Moğul, about the murders carried out by the NSU, premiered in Istanbul in Turkish. We are inseparable.

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An example of the similarities of European youth culture is the music scene in the eastern Mediterranean. It is not uncommon for a Turkish pop song to be picked up by Greek bands and go on with Greek lyrics to Croatia and Lebanon, where it will be cast into a new local version – or the other way round. Following the UN definition of intangible cultural heritage, which includes not only traditions from the past but also contemporary practices, the building of new bridges lies above all in the hands of the young, and build they do. The young people around the Mediterranean share many modern cultural forms of expressions. Rap and street art are important opportunities of expression for an over-marginalised age group whose channels of exchange need to be promoted much more intensively. Many projects initiated around the Mediterranean have stalled or failed because they came from above. The initiatives must therefore integrate civil society actors at the interface between culture and society much more actively into the entire cooperation process, and network them with innovative and contemporary forms of encounter.





The installation «Monument» by Manef Halbouni, exhibited in Berlin and Dresde, referred to the current situation in Syria. In Aleppo, people placed buses upright in the streets to protect themselves from snipers

Last but not least, the prevention and combating of extremism requires the development of new narratives that bring young people together and respond to popular discourses that array 'the West' on one side and 'Islam', 'the Arabs', 'the Balkans' as the 'foreign' on the other. Engaged artists around the Mediterranean must present many more visions that are far from the propaganda of our present media and can form a counterpoint to the construction of the 'foreign' and the 'other'. Needless to say, this requires clear and strong political will.

Zwischen Abgrenzung und Annäherung – Kulturraum Mittelmeer (Between Isolation and Convergence – the Mediterranean Cultural Space): this is the title of the journal that lies before me on the table. A highly topical subject, I think. In fact, however, it is a copy of a journal for cultural exchange from 1996. I wonder what has actually changed in over two decades. Some of the very renowned authors who appeared in this issue have died – for instance, the Islamic historian and philosopher Mohammed Arkoun. But the title of his article remains of burning relevance: "The Euro-Mediterranean area as a community of destiny". What has happened since then in terms of the Mediterranean and our community of destiny? Definitely not enough. It is important to actively form this region into a cultural space that is open to other cultural spaces. With the help of young people in particular, we must create a new, positive and shared heritage. Otherwise, the supposed Mare Nostrum will remain merely a shipping lane, mainly a border and conflict zone, where thousands of people hoping for a better life in Europe perish every year. ◀

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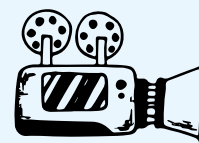
Moussa Sène Absa

and the dynamics of African film



The intangible cultural heritage of Africa, with all its social facets, offers an endless amount of exciting material for film – an excellent medium for preserving this heritage and passing it on to future generations and other parts of the world. Senegalese director Moussa Sène Absa is one of the pioneers who has strongly influenced African film. By focusing on the cultural and social characteristics of Senegal, he makes an important contribution to the preservation of the cultural heritage of his country and its continent.



BY MBAYE SEYE



The Senegalese film director Moussa Sene Absa during the presentation of his film «Teranga Blues» (2007)

Cultural heritage and nation building – the socio-cultural components of cinematic art

When we talk about intangible cultural heritage, we are talking not only of norms and values, worldviews and the ideas of great philosophers and thinkers, but also about social practices and expressions. Since the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, intangible cultural heritage includes oral traditions and forms of expression such as folk songs, fairy tales, customs and rites, knowledge and the performing arts. Cinematic art, with its transmission of narratives and stories, ways of life, customs and rituals handed down from generation to generation, is therefore also part of cultural heritage. The art of film, in fact, is one of the most important cultural assets: it provides society, as a global cultural phenomenon, with an instrument with which it can preserve and pass on the characteristic features of its social, economic, political and cultural values. In addition, it can help African countries, still struggling with the effects of colonisation, to rediscover their cultural identity. So far, too little attention has been paid to how formerly colonised societies were understood or misunderstood during the colonial era and how they can succeed today in restoring their cultural identity. Here, films can make a significant contribution and serve as a tool for nation-building. Moussa's work is a good illustration of this potential for culturalisation, for his productions contain innumerable typically African elements of cultural heritage.


The art of film can help African countries, still struggling with the effects of colonisation, to rediscover their cultural identity


Moussa Sène Absa – modern images of a traditional society

Born on 14 February 1958 in the Senegalese capital of Dakar, Moussa grew up with his mother. After graduating from high school, he studied at the University of Cheikh Anta Diop in Dakar and worked as an actor at the Théâtre Daniel Sorano. In 1991 he wrote the play "La légende de ruba" (1991), which he staged himself. After studying film at the University of Paris II, he worked in 1987 as an assistant to legendary Senegalese director Djibril Diop Mambéty. A year later he made his first short film in Paris, "Le prix du mensonge" (1988). Many more followed. In his films, Moussa succeeds in drawing attention to the peculiarities of Senegalese culture in a very vivid way. He wants to preserve the cultural heritage of Africa in his works and says himself that eighty per cent of his films are dedicated to culture. A striking feature of his films is that he first writes the music and then uses it as a guide for the shaping of the screenplay. In particular, he uses traditional sounds of Senegal as essential elements of his work. Many African film projects are funded by European institutions and influenced accordingly. This cannot, however, be said of Moussa's films. They are very realistic and based on genuine African cultures and traditions, which he portrays in a way that allows the viewer to easily imagine the social context. The following three film scenes illustrate how he succeeds in depicting ancient traditions and brings to the screen his country's search for a new cultural self-awareness based on issues such as migration, social ceremonies and child-rearing.

A tradition-rich symphony of happiness: the wedding ceremony in “Tableau Féraïlle”

In the film “Tableau Féraïlle” (1997), Moussa portrays many facets of Senegalese society. The film deals with a range of cultural topics and presents a variety of traditions, customs and habits. Among other things, it shows a Senegalese-Muslim wedding ceremony, which is traditionally very formalised and consists of many rituals. In one scene, Gagnsiri, the newlywed wife, moves into the marital home. She gets out of the car and walks slowly through the yard. Atoumaan, a wise librettist and singer, welcomes her with his Tama rhythms and with beautiful words that may be spoken or sung only at such a ceremony. The children perform prescribed rites. After this, Gagnsiri is allowed to go through to her husband’s room. When the bride reaches the door, the last ritual of the ceremony is performed: both must try to get into the room first and sit on the bed. Only then can they eat the tradition-prescribed millet porridge with cow’s milk.

In this scene, Moussa combines traditional and modern elements. For example, the bride is not traditionally dressed and wears modern gold jewellery. In this way the director portrays the peaceful coexistence

of Christian and Muslim relatives in Senegal. Ethnicity, clans and religious communities have long been outdated in modern societies. The combination of tradition and modernity makes the viewer aware of this encounter of opposites, one which continues to shape Senegalese society.

How do we bring our offspring to reason? Parenting in “Ça twiste à Popenguine”

“Ça twiste” (1993) is about a very old traditional way of teaching which was practised at home, in the Koran school and in the French school. Here, Moussa brings an old taboo into view. A white missionary, who has been a teacher in the village for a long time, is disparaged for the first time by the elders of the village. Traditionally, the former African colonies looked upon the white man as a ‘god’. Wherever the ‘tubaab’ (white man) appeared, everyone came to greet him in a friendly manner. If a child misbehaved at school, the parents would learn of it through the teacher, who would also inform them if their children misbehaved in the village. One scene shows a group of children setting fire to almost the whole village during a party. Afterwards, all the villagers



gather under the talking tree to discuss punishment. This is followed by a typical, traditional type of disciplinary measure often used in Senegal with adolescents: whipping by a highly respected person or relative in the village.

Will the journey to Europe go well? The seer in “Yoolé”

There is a long tradition of seers in Senegal. The seer can foresee both fortune and misfortune in the near future and even determines the necessary sacrifices to ensure that everything will take place peacefully, or at least under the best possible conditions. Typical offerings are laax (millet porridge with milk) or a farm animal, such as a cow, sheep or chicken. The animal must be killed, quartered, cooked with rice and then given to the children to eat. The central theme of “Yoolé” (2011) is the illegal migration of boat refugees who want to get to Europe. One scene shows a group of young people who want to know from a seer whether their project will succeed or not, lest they spend their money in vain, fail to reach Europe and drown in the Mediterranean.

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**He succeeds in depicting ancient traditions and brings to the screen his country's search for a new cultural self-awareness**

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A look into the future

The films described here all depict important elements of the intangible cultural heritage of Senegalese society and ought to trigger a necessary debate in Africa, Europe and the Mediterranean region on cultural heritage: African cinema must be supported so that its films are not confined to only national distribution but are shown worldwide and so reach other cultures.

The art of African film has great potential, and its many highly talented directors and producers deal with a variety of issues. But their work faces great technical, economic, cultural and networking challenges. African cinema can therefore develop only if the authorities ensure that national film is appropriately modernised and equipped. Only then can the many creative and extraordinary ideas of the filmmakers really be implemented; only then can directors and producers become serious, competent and financially capable partners. ◀

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Discussion threads in the context of restitution and restoration of cultural assets in the Mediterranean region



The official website of the 2018 European Year of cultural heritage in France presents some 300 heritage sites. The long lists are pleasantly complete and show France's effort to make the Year of Heritage as an exceptional event.

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The European Year of cultural heritage is based on a Eurocentric concept which dates back to the 1970s. However, social realities have changed considerably since then. The key question is to what extent this concept needs to be adapted, and to what extent be more in line with a Euro-Mediterranean commemoration.

How is France dealing with these issues?

BY LUDOLF PELIZAEUS - AMIENS



In different cultures, art serves as an expression of self-understanding and self-view. This applies equally to colonisers and colonised. At the same time, however, this also means that through contextualisation and recontextualisation, art is assigned new meanings in new contexts, thus developing a different view of the artworks torn from their original structure.

In this issue, the contexts in which buildings and works of art were created in the Mediterranean region will be examined. The chronological arc extends from the end of the 19th century to the 21st century. Although the focus is on the Mediterranean region, Senegal, Ethiopia and sub-Saharan Africa must be included in the context of the study, in order to broaden the view beyond the Mediterranean to the north and south.

At first it may seem somewhat daring to compare works of art in European museums with architectural testimonies in the southern Mediterranean, which is why it seems appropriate to briefly trace the connections and discussion threads, and then to illuminate the peculiarities of the architectural heritage, in order to be able to derive concrete recommendations for action.



Relationships and discussions

Museum collections are characterised by very different forms of acquisition. There are objects that have been donated, purchased or loaned to the museum. They often have a longer prehistory, which for many reasons has recently attracted increased attention. As an essential aspect, it should not be

forgotten that even with a legal purchase, unexplained provenance is by no means to be regarded as rare. Especially after Emmanuel Macron's speech in Ouagadougou, all museums in Europe are called upon to trace the origin of their objects more closely than before. Over the last twenty years, provenance

research in Germany has concentrated almost exclusively on the Nazi era and was actually to a large extent only initiated by research begun in the US, which led to the Getty database there. The discussion received a new impetus with the discovery of the Gurlitt collection, which clearly showed that entire collections which also con-

tained looted art had so far been left completely undisturbed. This recently led to the museums paying special attention to the origin of pieces and to whether they had possibly been illegally taken from Jewish collections. The discussion in Germany therefore has focused primarily on the question of restitution to Jewish owners. In this thematic and scientific debate, however, it must not be forgotten that since the 1970s, even though the media have been far less effective than in recent times, return claims have already been formulated from countries on the southern coast of the Mediterranean or from sub-Saharan Africa. In this context, it is worth remembering Egyptian Minister of Culture Farouk Hosni, for example, who in the 1980s already advocated the return of ancient Egyptian works of art, in some cases very effectively in the media. However, during this time the museums succeeded in evading such restitution claims, largely unscathed, with reference to the problematic conservation


**New tensions
plagued the
universities,
which had been
the scene of**


¹ In terms: contextualisation and recontextualisation on: <http://re-kontextualisierung.totalh.net/6-rekontextualisierung/index.html> and <http://re-kontextualisierung.totalh.net/?i=1> (accessed 30.7.2019).

² See the article by Gerd Ulrich Bauer in this issue and my article in issue I.

³ For the first time in 1919, Article 247 of the Treaty of Versailles established compensation for the destruction of the University Library of Leuven. as a cultural asset. See Treaty of Versailles of 1919, at: <http://mjp.univ-perp.fr/traites/1919versailles8.htm> (accessed on 31.7.2019).

⁴ Zu Farouk Hosni Jean-Gabrielle Turcq; Sylla Thier Noyoula, Farouk Hosni candidate for the leadership of Unesco. Chronicle of a controversial campaign, p. 120-121, auf: <https://leturcq.files.wordpress.com/2009/01/leturcq-farouk-hosni-unesco1.pdf> (Zugriff: 1.8.2019).

situation in the countries of origin. In the meantime, this has changed fundamentally. The claims for restitution are now not only becoming louder and more visible in the media, but are also shared by some scholars in Europe, though not all. Examples of this public discourse are Bénédicte Savoy, Felwine Sarr and Achille Mbembe, who advocate a return, whereas the directors of the Humboldt Cultural Forum and the British Museum, Hermann Parzinger and Neil MacGregor, are more reserved. While the first group emphasises how identity is precisely connected with traditional art, the significance of which is also reinforced by the fact that it has been stolen, the second group points out that in increasingly multicultural European cities, especially for the many people of different origins, a foundation

of non-European culture must be provided. Savoy, who dedicates her dissertation to the theft of art in Napoleonic times, rightly points to how art can gain in ascribed significance by transferring art from one place to another. The Quadriga on the Brandenburg Gate, for example, was a decorative figure on one of Berlin's city gates until it was transferred to the Louvre in 1807, and only later became a symbol of national identity. Something similar can be said for many other objects, be it the Parthenon from Athens in the British Museum, the masks from Benin in the Louvre, the Lindenmuseum in Stuttgart and the British Museum (and other museums), or the Nofretete in Berlin. Again and again, absence and thus the powerlessness of restitution has strengthened the significance of the objects.

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Cullen/Kieling: Brandenburg Gate



Caricature on the Defeat of Napoleon and the Return of the of the Quadriga to Berlin



⁵ Bodenstein, Felicity; Howald, Christine, *World Art Under Suspicion. Robbery, its History and Culture of Remembrance in German Collections*, in... : *Postcolonial Germany? The present of the imperial past*. Edited by Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Joachim Zeller. Berlin: Metropol, [2018], pp. 532-546.

⁶ Cf. the brief summaries of positions in: Mac Gregor, Neil: *Global Collections for Globalized Cities*. Berlin, Mathes and Seitz, 2016; Savoie, Bénédicte, *Province of Culture. From the pain of loss to the universal heritage of humanity*. Berlin, Mathes and Seitz, 2016.

⁷ Savoy, Bénédicte, *Objects of Desire. Objects of Desire - Cultural History of Artistic Heritage in Europe, XVIII-XX century*. Inaugural Lecture of the collège de France, auf: <https://www.college-de-france.fr/site/benedicte-savoy/inaugural-lecture-2017-03-30-18h00.htm> (Zugriff: 1.8.2019).

Architectural heritage from the colonial period

The question of the justification of restitution claims cannot be separated from the question of the purely practical implementation of a restitution, especially if works of art are very difficult to move. Since the early modern period, antique works of art, especially obelisks, have been taken from their architectural context and brought to Europe. In the 19th century, even larger objects such as the Ischartor, the Pergamon Altar and the façade of the Mschatta were taken, which we can admire in Berlin today. The same applies to the obelisks in Rome, Paris and London, and other objects in the Louvre in Paris. Of course, the question of restitution is a fundamental one with these large objects, but it goes without saying that their transport, erection and dismantling entail even greater problems than the relocation of individual objects. The attribution of meaning to art in certain contexts refers not only to ancient cultural monuments, but also to the architecture of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For in the Maghreb, an architectural heritage was created in the colonial or protectorate period, so we can speak of colonial art because the vast majority of the buildings follow the same stylistic forms of this period in Europe; they nevertheless originate from the period of foreign rule and also represent it. It is therefore important to emphasise that the


Modernity was thus not as an expression of integration, the provision of something new, but is rather to be understood as an expression of levels of mastery


buildings of colonial times should be placed in a desired context of meaning. The appropriation of architecture from a certain cultural context by the colonial rulers should be understood as symbolic appropriation, and the continuation in existence in the new cultural space as long-lasting legitimacy. A neo-Romanesque or neo-Gothic church, for example, should very consciously tie in with a medieval tradition and establish a Christian tradition and thus a line of legitimisation into pre-Islamic times. The

same applies to secular buildings, which were able to strengthen this historically founded legitimisation. Another pattern exhibits the integration of 'Oriental' motifs, especially in the Mediterranean colonial nations such as Spain, where the use of neomorphic architecture should be understood as a visible moment of historical togetherness, although the question of Eurocentric interpretation in relation to the genesis of art was certainly not at issue. In addition to the buildings in historicist style, we also find a significant number of modern buildings whose construction between 1920 and 1970 represents a new departure. The colonial rulers wanted to make it clear that they could derive from the 'modern' the right to subdue and shape the colonised territories

according to their own taste. Modernity was thus not to be understood as an expression of integration, of the provision of something new, but rather often as an expression of levels of domination. This makes it understandable that after the colonial period the handling of this heritage was very

⁸ Already between 1861 and 1869 Victor Hugo denounced the destruction of the palaces of Peking in 1860 by the European powers. However, the architecture destroyed here was a peculiarity in so far as all the buildings were constructed as imitations of European architecture, which has so been destroyed to a certain extent. Cf. <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2004/10/HUGO/11563> (accessed 1.8.2019)



Since 1930, the Ishtar Gate is in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin

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divided, since these buildings were regarded as a stone expression of domination. In many cases the neighbourhoods of the French or the Spanish Barrios de Espanoles or those of other colonial nations were forgotten, at least with regard to their previous use. Renovation was rarely on the agenda. This has changed in the meantime, because on the one

hand great efforts are often made to renovate and restore historical buildings, but on the other hand the enormous growth of many cities brings with it an enormous price increase, so that neighbourhoods not far from the city centre now often have to give way to shopping malls and hotels. The creation of an awareness of the cultural value of historical buildings thus goes hand in hand with the disappearance of this awareness.

Measures to preserve cultural heritage

It therefore seemed exciting to pursue the topic of 'sharing heritage' during the European Year of Cultural Heritage in 2018, by the Stiftung Wissensraum Europa Mediterranean, in Tetuan. In this way, this publication is able to shed light on very different cultural contexts in North Africa, specifically in Senegal, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia (Libya was also planned), Egypt and Ethiopia, including the restitution debate between Europe and the non-European world.

This publication cannot provide any concrete instructions for political action, but rather sees itself as a collection of considerations in an interdisciplinary and internationally comparative approach. But it seems to me that it is possible to formulate proposals to the political arena.

At the conference venue in Tetuan, it became clear that a large proportion of local associations are involved in the construction of houses while respecting traditional building traditions. Tetuan also stands for an incredibly rich cultural heritage dating from

⁹ Dondin Payre, Monique: Acteurs et modalités de l'archéologie française en Afrique du Nord, in: Das große Spiel: Archäologie und Politik zur Zeit des Kolonialismus; (1860 - 1940); [Book accompanying the exhibition Das Große Spiel - Archäologie und Politik; Ruhr Museum, Weltkulturerbe Zollverein, Essen February - 13 June 2010]. Cologne; DuMont; 2008; pp. 58-67; Altenkamp, Stefan: Romanità. Colonial architecture in Libya, in: ebenda, pp. 550-559.

¹⁰ Mercedes Volait ; Nebahat Avcıoğlu : Jeux de miroir : Architecture of Istanbul and Cairo from Empire to Modernism', in A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture. Hg. Von Gülru Necipoğlu und Finbarr Barry Flood. Hoboken (NJ), Wiley Blackwell, 2017, S. 1122-1149, yesterday S. 1137-1142; Volait, Mercedes, Egyptian Modern (1914-1954). Global architecture before globalization, auf: <https://inha-fr.academia.edu/MercedesVolait> (Zugriff 1.8.2019).

¹¹ See, for example, the situation in Marrakesh, where in the district of Gueliz, the French city, a series of shopping centres have been built, which has led to the demolition of the building stock since the time of the protectorate. See Sebti Mohamed, L'espace urbain des origines à la fin du protectorat (The urban space from the origins to the end of the protectorate).

in: People of Marrakech: geo-demography of the red city. Ed. by Mohamed Sebti e.a. Paris, Inst. nationale d'études démographiques, 2009, pp. 199-219, especially: pp. 210-218.

various eras, particularly influenced by the 20th century. Thus, this publication aims to encourage us to explore the question of where and how Europe can become more involved in preserving its cultural heritage. It goes without saying that this commitment should not be understood as a measure to make European presence visible, but primarily as a contribution to preservation in the context of coming to terms with and critically examining a controversial heritage.

However, problems must not be ignored. For example, a comparison between France and Germany reveals major differences in the applicability of conservation measures, from which certain hurdles can arise. Because in France the 'patrimoine national' depends on the centre of political power in Paris, decisions can be made on the restitution, conservation or recording of historical building stock in France and abroad. This is much more difficult for Germany, because the preservation of historical monuments is a matter for the Länder and is often not the responsibility of the ministries that are familiar with the matter. There is no institution that could centrally accompany and coordinate restoration or collection projects outside Europe.

However, it seems quite possible to use the existing structures, be they exhibitions, concrete construction measures or discussion events, to organise initiatives on the subject in order to focus public interest more clearly on the common heritage on both sides of the Mediterranean. In addition to the monument offices, whose scope of action is very limited in Germany, German cultural institutes

abroad could be responsible bodies, accompanied by the monument offices and the State Secretariat for Culture on the national level.

Outlook

Germany and France both have a responsibility for their cultural heritage, because of their colonial past. It is sufficient to look at the auctions at Sotheby's to come across a multitude of objects from colonial contexts which were taken away by German soldiers or civilians and are now demanded by their descendants, mostly without success. Achille Mbembe, a sociologist from Senegal, rightly points to a comprehensive European responsibility in this context. Is it not, it must be asked, a possibility that the VAT receipts that go to the state for the sale of art objects in auctions could flow back to a fund from which, if necessary, cultural and artistic goods could be obtained? A glance at the structural situation in many cities is enough to see how threatened our common cultural heritage is in many cases. Precisely because this heritage is present in North Africa, Africa and the world, concerted action is possible, and urgently needed, to enable us to work together on a common cultural heritage. ◀

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⁹ Dondin Payre, Monique: Acteurs et modalités de l'archéologie française en Afrique du Nord, in: Das große Spiel: Archäologie und Politik zur Zeit des Kolonialismus; (1860 - 1940); [Book accompanying the exhibition Das Große Spiel - Archäologie und Politik; Ruhr Museum, Weltkulturerbe Zollverein, Essen

¹¹ February - 13 June 2010]. Cologne; DuMont; 2008; pp. 58-67; Altenkamp, Stefan: Romanità. Colonial architecture in Libya, in: ebenda, pp. 550-559.

¹⁰ Mercedes Volait ; Nebahat Avcioglu : Jeux de miroir : Architecture of Istanbul and Cairo from Empire to Modernism', in A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture. Hg. Von Gülrü Necipoğlu und Finbarr Barry Flood. Hoboken (NJ), Wiley Blackwell, 2017, S. 1122-1149, yesterday S. 1137-1142; Volait, Mercedes, Egyptian Modern (1914-1954). Global architecture before globalization, auf: <https://inha-fr.academia.edu/MercedesVolait> (Zugriff 1.8.2019).

¹¹ See, for example, the situation in Marrakesh, where in the district of Gueliz, the French city, a series of shopping centres have been built, which has led to the demolition of the building stock since the time of the protectorate. See Sebti Mohamed, L'espace urbain des origines à la fin du protectorat (The urban space from the origins to the end of the protectorate).

in: People of Marrakech: geo-demography of the red city. Ed. by Mohamed Sebti e.a. Paris, Inst. nationale d'études démographiques, 2009, pp. 199-219, especially: pp. 210-218.

Gran Teatro Cervantes in Tangier : Symbol of a city between appearance and reality



The history of the Gran Teatro Cervantes, built 1911-1913 in Tangier, is the history of the city itself. At the beginning of the 20th century, Tangier was at the centre of the great political and economic competition of the major European powers, which had relocated their representatives to the city to better defend their interests in Morocco. The city was thus a great showcase for European cultural events and entertainment. With the construction of the Cervantes Theatre, the aim was to send a strong symbolic signal that Tangier, under international administration and above all under Spanish influence, could be led into modernity and develop into a flourishing economic and cultural island on African soil. For the Europeans, the city was to even become a new home, where the culture of their old home should be preserved, maintained and spread. On the other hand, there were different concerns for the local urban population. They had to fight for survival under hard living conditions, poverty and exploitation, protect their own culture and free the country from occupation. What was and is the importance of the Cervantes Theatre for the city of Tangier? Was it merely a display of the colonial power to satisfy individual and collective needs, dreams and desires? Or did it also stand for what Tangier had become, a city with many faces?

BY FADOUA CHAARA



Tangier between myth and reality

At the beginning of the 20th century, Tangier was declared a large international free port where everything could be bought and sold tax-free, and where land speculation and money laundering flourished. A city of uncontrolled free competition.

The image of Tangier as a gold mine, in which one could easily accumulate wealth or fortune and lead a prosperous royal life, can be seen, for example, in

the construction of many beautiful private and public buildings in the European style from neo-baroque to modern times.

Its image as a place with infinite potential for a market economy still holds today. Since the 1990s, Tangier has undergone major socio-economic upheavals that have radically changed the face of the city. The focus has been Tangier's mammoth project, the construction of the largest container port in Africa, the Tangier-Med. New industrial areas for the export-oriented branches of the automobile industry and electrical engineering have been created, and large



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The ceramic facade of the Gran Teatro Cervantes

infrastructure projects carried out. Despite rapidly increasing urbanisation, the idyllic image of Tangier remains alive in collective memory, the image of a city from which one can see and enjoy the blue sea and the outstanding mountains in the hinterland from small house terraces. Throughout its history, Tangier has become a city of harmonious contrasts, in both fiction and reality. At the end of the 19th century, Morocco went through a very serious economic and political crisis. One reason for this was the increasing pressure from competing with major European powers such as England, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, and Germany, who attempted by any means to gain access

MARY EVANS/SIPA to the country's wealth and resources and to open new markets for their industrialised products. As a result, Moroccan trade agreements were signed, which were detrimental to the country's state revenues from maritime trade. The treasury was also hit hard by a sharp decline in tax revenues due to political unrest in the country's interior. Morocco was further weakened politically and economically when France declared war on the country in Isly in 1844, and when Spain did the same in Tetuan in 1859-60. As a result of these defeats, fines were imposed on Morocco, which could only be paid by becoming indebted to the great powers. In 1906, the colonial plan of the Algeiras Conference became a reality: Spain took



MARY EVANS/SIPA

Allegory of the music overlooking the ledge of the Teatro Cervantes



over the northern and southern areas of Morocco, and France the rest of the country. However, due to its important geographical location and proximity to Gibraltar, Tangier remained a strategic base for the British to control North Africa, even under international administration. All important sectors and services of the city, such as hygiene, water supply, transport, post offices, banking and school education, were administered by multinational bodies. The major European powers moved their missions to Tangier. The city became the diplomatic capital of Morocco. With the introduction of new laws and reforms in favour of European investment, such as customs and tax reductions, reforms of property law, the promotion of land and real estate speculation, Tangier was opened to free trade and the liberal economy, attracting numerous traders, entrepreneurs, adventurers, speculators and money launderers from all over the world.

Gran Teatro Cervantes: Tangier under Spanish influence

Before we turn to the history of the Gran Teatro Cervantes, we will briefly discuss the Spanish presence in Tangier. Spanish influence in Tangier was not new at this time, as it went back to the Middle Ages, the age of Andalusia, and then to the time of the Inquisition when many Muslims and Jews had been expelled from the Iberian Peninsula and



sought Gran Teatro Cervantes: Tangier under Spanish influence refuge in northern Moroccan towns and villages. But at the beginning of the 20th century, other Spaniards also came to Tangier – the wealthy, traders and businessmen, but also simple migrants, workers who fled from economic and social problems in Spain and hoped for a new existence in the economic free city of Tangier. Despite political tensions, many Spaniards and Moroccans managed to live together in peace and solidarity because of their common cultural heritage. The Spanish influence in Tangier can still be seen today in the language, culture and architecture, because both private and public buildings such as churches, schools, hospitals, theatres and cinemas were built at that time. During the first Spanish structural expansion in Tangier, before the First World War, the Spanish

buildings were very close to the Arabic old town, and the Cervantes Theatre was one of them. The Cervantes was not the first theatre in Tangier. Even before its foundation there were small stages, or teatrillos, as Alberto España emphasises in his book *La pequeña historia de Tánger* (1950), such as *Le Salon Impérial* (1904), *Teatro Romea* (1905), *Teatro de la Zarzuela* (1910), the *Tivoli Theatre* (1912- 13) and *Teatro Alcazar* (1913). Even after the opening of the Cervantes, further stages were opened in Tangier. During this time, every effort was made to alleviate the tense and oppressive mood of political crises and the threat of war by means of art, shows and entertainment. With the construction of the Cervantes, the Spanish wanted above all to show their power and influence on the culture of Tangier, since


**A city of which
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political autocracy was no longer feasible. For the founding couple Manuel Peña and Esperanza Orellana, the construction of the Gran Teatro Cervantes was therefore about fulfilling a patriotic dream, “un sueño patriótico”. In a letter from Peña to the Spanish Prime Minister in 1916, he emphasised the importance of the project: “The Spaniards who work, trade and fight for honour in Tangier lack a place where they can reach the source of their patriotic culture.” He added that as a Spanish patriot, he had not hesitated at all to invest a large part of his fortune (750,000 pesetas) in such a “beautiful building”, a theatre with 1,500 seats. The history of the Peña couple is remarkable, because it was not a matter of course at the time for private individuals to invest in cultural enterprises; real estate, rather, was the norm – as is perhaps still the case today. The Gran Teatro Cervantes, inaugurated on 11 December, was the work of Spanish architect Diego Giménez, who designed other Spanish buildings in Tangier before the Cervantes. The sculptures and reliefs on the façade were the work of Candido Mata from Seville, while the roof painting was the work of Federico Ribera, a Spanish painter living in Paris. The stage decoration was the work of Giorgio Busato, a famous Italian stage designer living in Madrid. The craftsmen, the workers and the building materials (bricks, wood, cement, steel, ceramics) were all of Spanish origin. The architectural style of the theatre ranges from the classical to the modern, a style found in theatres and opera houses in Madrid,

Rome and Paris. Ceramics were used on the façade and figures were attached. Here you could also find the inauguration date surrounded by flowery decorations, while in the gable area there were Greek sculptures and in the bas-reliefs there were classical muse statues playing lyre, trumpet and tambourine. The inner semi-circular surface of the theatre consisted of 400 row fauteuils, an amphitheatre and lodges on two floors, in addition to the stage. The ground floor could easily be transformed into a dance floor for balls and other events. The interior architecture was richly decorated (faïences with flower engravings, paintings, sculptures, mirrors, etc).


Attempts were made during this time, through art, to show the tense and oppressive mood of the political crises and the war threats


Gran Teatro Cervantes: Short golden age, long crisis

In the golden age of the Teatro Cervantes, Spanish and French theatre and show companies organised operas, operettas, plays, concerts, variety shows, carnival parties, dance and ball evenings, film screenings, etc. Nevertheless, even then the income was not sufficient to keep the big theatre in profit and to compete with the small show stages. Peña got into a big financial crisis and asked the Spanish government for help in 1916, and from 1919 he received an annual subsidy. But it didn't help much, because not only the Cervantes, but also Tangier and northern Morocco went through

a very difficult time from 1920. War broke out in the Rif region. Spain suffered heavy defeats in 1921 in the liberation struggles under the leadership of Mohamed ben Abdelkrim El-Khattabi, and without the intervention of France, the history of the Spanish occupation in Morocco would have been different. The 'Hispanisation' of the city of Tangier was therefore finally abandoned with the Paris negotiations of 1923. The Peñas themselves gave up any hope that the Gran Teatro Cervantes would ever be profitable, and so decided to transfer the building to the Spanish state in 1928, for 450,000 pesetas. Thus, the Cervantes became the public property of Spain. However, its condition did not improve even after that, because Spain itself did not know what to do with it. One idea was to turn it into a school in order to make it something 'useful', but this idea was quickly abandoned. The theatre opened its doors further for entertainment shows, Arab spectacles, political meetings and sporting events such as wrestling and boxing. After the independence of Morocco in 1956, the theatre continued to play this small role until it was finally closed in 1974. So the words that Otto Lotthammer, director of the German school in Tangier, wrote between

1909 and 1914 had come true: "The opening of the Teatro Cervantes on 11.12.1913 with the awe-inspiring name aroused great hope. The name was jewellery, ultimately sound and smoke, for the

Cervantes Theatre has never become a site of true art." (1964:16). Over time, the Teatro Cervantes became a burden for Spain's federation and the building began to decay. The solution seemed to lie in

entrusting the theatre to Morocco again. Through a symbolic lease agreement between the Municipalité de Tangier and the Junta de Andalucia, the theatre was transferred to Tangier for a period of 25 years, on the condition that the restoration work and costs would be borne by the municipality and that the theatre would continue to fulfil its cultural functions. But the contract was not followed by action. The restoration was too big an endeavour for the commune. This led the urban population to ask whether a restoration was worthwhile at all, as it would cost an enormous amount. There were opposing opinions. For example: "Reveillons-nous! Cervantes c'est fini et son époque est révolue... Au cas où on tient à sa restauration et dépenser des millions, l'investissement vaudra-t-il la chandelle? Mais en faite, sauver Cervantes pour quoi faire? Est-ce que nous manquons de salles? Certainement pas" (la Dépêche de Tanger, 16 June 1984). Others, however, such as Tayeb Saddiki, the great Moroccan theatre-maker, were of the opinion: "Il n'y a rien de plus

triste qu'un théâtre fermé" (Le Journal de Tanger, 25.6.83). Voices from cultural associations and civil society organisations on both sides became louder and louder. The lease was terminated on 20 May

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**With the construction of the Cervantes the Spaniards wanted above all to power and influence on the cultural Tangier, since a political autocracy over the city was no longer feasible**

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Since its closure in 1974, the theatre has fallen into disrepair. Funds for rehabilitation projects were not previously available, either in Spain or Morocco.

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Credit : Pierre-Yves Babelon

"There's nothing sadder than a closed theatre."
(Le Journal de Tanger, 6/25/83)

1993. "Ca y est: Les clés du Teatro Cervantes viennent d'être remises au consul général d'Espagne à Tanger par le président du conseil de la Commune de Tanger-ville." (Tangier, 4.6.1993). Nevertheless, the decline of the theatre continued, and Spain contributed nothing to its salvation. This again triggered a heated debate on the question of who was responsible for the restoration of the theatre, the old colonial masters or the colonised. However, this was not the main focus. Rather, a large part of the urban population stressed: "Il faut le sauver... et l'exploiter" (Le Journal de Tanger, 29.01.2000); "Restauration de Cervantes: Un Dossier Négligé" (Les Nouvelles du Nord, 3.12.1999). Thus, the difficulties of restoration, as well as various political, economic and cultural questions, remained open, without it being possible to say which was the most important point. Was the solution to "convertir Cervantes en McDonald's", as some cynics (Libération, 5.11.99) suggested?

Grand Teatro Cervantes in Besitz Marokkos (February 2019)

In 2007, the Cervantes was recognised as part of Moroccan national cultural heritage. Nevertheless, hardly anything changed in its catastrophic structural situation. In order to save at least parts of the building from decay, some minor restoration works were carried out in 2006 by a Moroccan-Spanish company, thanks to a grant, but the important symbolic gesture to save the Cervantes was the one made in Rabat in February 2019, when the protocol of transfer of the Cervantes to Morocco was signed by the main representatives of the two royal houses, Morocco and Spain. The new and final contract stipulates as a condition the restoration of the building and its use for cultural purposes. The original condition of the lease that the cultural offer should also

have a Spanish reference has been deleted. For the Moroccan restorers, however, the restoration of the Cervantes remains a very complicated undertaking. Not only the building, but also its surroundings, the whole quarter in which the theatre is located, should be included in the restoration work. In addition to the technical and craft challenges, cultural issues pose

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**"The name was jewellery,  
but in the end, it was smoke  
and mirrors, because the  
Cervantes Theatre never became  
to a place of true art"**

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an even greater obstacle. In concrete terms, it is a question of the new tasks that the theatre should fulfil. It is therefore a question of clarifying the new identities that the theatre should assume, and how much of the old Cervantes should be preserved in its restored state. The Gran Teatro Cervantes, as well as the city of Tangier itself, is facing these and similar issues that still need to be discussed. ◀

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The Rehabilitation of the Medina of Tetuan :

The Mazmorras as an Example



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Tetouan, the white dove, is an architectonic ensemble of Muslim, Jewish, Spanish and Andalusian influences. In cooperation with Spain, large parts of the medina have been restored, but much remains to be done. This should include Mazmorras, the natural underground caves of Tetouan.

BY MHAMMAD BENABOUD, TÉTOUAN



Tetuan, the Andalusian pearl

The architectural heritage of the Mediterranean city of Tetuan is both Moroccan and Spanish. Tetuan, or Tétouan, is known as the 'white dove', the 'daughter of Granada' and 'little Jerusalem'. The Moroccan-Spanish cultural, artistic, urban and architectural encounter is unique in the former Spanish colonial district of Ensanche.

This district was conceived as a Spanish city on Moroccan soil in the Spanish colonial period from 1912 to 1956. The outstanding architectural trends popular in Spain at the time, from neo-baroque to modern styles, are reflected in the buildings of the Ensanche. The two historic quarters of the city, the Medina and the Ensanche, fit together seamlessly. Some of the most beautiful buildings in Tetuan's Ensanche have borrowed decorative elements from the Medina, such as the Andalusian-style arches. The authenticity of the Tetuan Medina undoubtedly inspired the Spanish architects who built the Ensanche. The best example is the great Granadine

artist Mariano Bertuchi, who was responsible for the urban and architectural development of the historic buildings, to express the "Andalusian imprint" of the city.

Tetuan was chosen as the capital of the Spanish protectorate in northern Morocco and the Sahara. The Spanish built the Ensanche for themselves, but since independence in 1956 this quarter has belonged to the Moroccan city of Tetuan. The Medina was founded by the Andalusians, who belonged to an Arab-Islamic culture that flourished on the Iberian Peninsula for eight centuries. This heritage is recognised by both Morocco and Spain as their own. The European Spanish architecture of Tetuan's Ensanche thus complements the Islamic architecture of the Medina with its Jewish quarter or Mellah, built within the city walls. Tetuan's Mellah is the largest Jewish quarter in Morocco.

Together they represent the cultural and architectural heritage of a city. The city is a mixture of history, architecture, culture and art, characterised by a variety of elements that intertwine to create a unity.

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"The mazmorras of Tetuan dating from the 16th century"

It is essentially this diversity within unity that has enabled Tetuan to stand out so strongly through its authenticity, specificity and originality.

While the architecture of the Ensanche reflects elements that are clearly of Spanish origin, including building materials, mainly brick and limestone, building techniques and decorative elements, the Andalusian influence in the medina is characterised by urbanity and architecture. This influence is reflected in narrow streets and squares, whitewashed buildings, city walls, gates, towers, mosques, Zaouias and private houses. Features such as the Sabats and the hanging arches supporting the walls on the opposite sides of the street, and the traditional Skundo water distribution system, reflect their Andalusian origin.



**Medieval street in the medina
of the city of Tetuan**

The Medina was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1997, precisely because it is still a vibrant Andalusian city today.

The value of this invaluable cultural and architectural heritage of the Spanish Ensanche and the Andalusian Medina should therefore be highly valued, generously protected and properly preserved. This was one of the priorities of the local authorities and several civil society associations such as the Tetuan Asmir Association, which defends this common cultural and architectural heritage most vehemently. One of the most important international cooperation programmes for the restoration of the Medina and the Ensanche is the support programme of the Spanish Junta de Andalucia, launched a quarter of a century ago under an agreement between the Regional Government of Andalusia in Spain and the City Council of Tetuan. Equally important is the official national project for the rehabilitation of the Tetuan Medina from 2011-2014, launched under the patronage of King Mohammad VI of Morocco. The follow-up project will be continued in the period 2018-2022. Together, these two projects have made a significant contribution to the preservation of the Medina and the Ensanche. However, much remains to be done.

History and importance of the Mazmorras

Special reference should be made here to the Mazmorras, which should definitely be included in the funding. The Mtamar of Tetuan, often called Mazmorras in Spanish, is one of the most interesting historical monuments in Tetuan. The Mazmorras are natural underground caves that have formed over the centuries and have been used for various purposes. This historical monument is indeed unique for many reasons:

1. The caves initially served as prisons for prisoners in Portuguese times.

2. In the 16th-18th century, as prisons for Christians, they were linked to the history of Moroccan-Spanish relations, especially when maritime confrontations between Tetuan's rulers and the Spanish kings intensified; this is reflected in a variety of written sources in Portugal and Spain. Tetuan's Mazmorras are thus part of a Mediterranean network of prisons for robbed people in other Mediterranean countries such as Spain, France, Portugal, Italy, Tunisia and Algeria.

3. The Mazmorras are also a unique monument because of the Christian church built in the 16th and 17th centuries for the Portuguese and Spanish prisoners. It was built in the heart of the medina at a depth of five metres and on an area of about 95 square metres. In addition to archaeological excavations dating back to the time of the protectorate of 1928, many famous European writers mention the Mazmorras in their writings, such as Miguel de Cervantes and Voltaire. The restoration of the Mazmorras is one of the projects that the Tétouan Asmir Association and other representatives of civil society have supported for two decades, and it has finally been announced as part of the

Royal Medina Restoration Project. The Ministry of Culture has presented it as a plan, and the Wilaya of Tétouan set up five meetings in 2018 with representatives of the Ministry of Culture and other organisations with the aim of finally launching this project, but these meetings have so far produced nothing concrete. The background is a competence dispute between the Ministry of Culture and Wilaya as to who is allowed to carry out this project.

Claims for the preservation of the Mazmorras



In the end, an estimated budget of 20 million dirhams was officially announced for the restoration of the Mazmorras, which is very much welcomed by associations such as Tetuan Asmir, which continues to regard the implementation of the project as a top priority, as this would be another important factor for World Heritage status.

However, there remain a number of misunderstandings that need to be clarified before the project can begin. In order to enable implementation, the following steps should be taken:

1. The purpose of the project should be more clearly defined. The Tetuan Asmir Association has proposed the creation of a museum of the Mazmorras or the Mtamar as part of a Mediterranean network of underground prisons within the framework of Tetuan's maritime and commercial relations with other Mediterranean countries from the 16th to the middle of the 19th century. To this end, a study of the Museum of the Mazmorras should be carried out by art historians, which could

serve as a basis for the creation of a Museum of the Mazmorras in their historical Mediterranean context of maritime relations.

2. The museum should consist of the Ben-Marzouk House, with a series of exhibition galleries and an underground section to which would be added the 16th-century underground prison and chapel. A clear rejection, on the other hand, must be given to the project to demolish and rebuild the Ben-Marzouk


**The Mazmorras are
a type of natural
underground caves,
that have been
formed over
the centuries**


House, as this is not a restoration. The restoration of the Mazmorras and the Ben-Marzouk House should therefore be discussed publicly with the help of architects.

3. The restoration of the Mazmorras and the Ben Marzouk House should be carried out using traditional materials and techniques, while preserving the original aesthetic elements. On this point too, it seems that the intention of the authorities is to rely exclusively on modern materials and techniques,

Also the central persons
in the administration
must learn to rely
on common sense
and listen to reason
and interest for
the general public

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even though traditional techniques could be cheaper and more effective, which should at least be considered. We must already demand that security measures be taken immediately to consolidate the fragile parts of the Mazmorras and the Ben-Marzouk House. The Moroccan telephone company Amendis should assume its responsibilities and work to preserve it, as the entity that has neglected this unique five-century-old monument over the last ten years.

Outlook

It is hoped that these proposed measures will all be implemented in accordance with the recommendations of the Tetuan Asmir Association. However,



Street in the medina of the city of Tetouan

this does not depend on academics and specialists in the restoration of historical monuments, but on government administrations, which act considerably too cautiously. In other words, the central people in these administrations must also learn to listen to common sense, reason and the interests of the general public, and to see the restoration of historical monuments and our cultural heritage as a top priority. That is why it is not yet possible to make predictions; the question of the future of the Mazmorras remains unanswered.

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Asmara's Colonial Heritage:

Problems, Opportunities, Challenges



When the Italian soldiers conquered the city of Asmara in 1889, situated on a high plateau and made it the capital of the colony of Eritrea in 1890, the foundations of an ambivalent urban history were thrown away. Known for its Italian architecture and modernism, the city has also become a symbol of Italian segregation and oppression, especially during the period of Italian fascism. Nevertheless, Eritreans are still proud of their architectural past and, thanks to funding from the World Bank and of the European Union, they have been able to restore and classify historical buildings. However, only the buildings owned by the Italian colonial community have been so. In this way, the sometimes-violent history of the city will be transfigured with the help of possible income from tourism. So, a real memory work about the colonial past is avoided.

BY VERA SIMONE BADER



Asmara is known throughout the world for its modern, unornamented buildings which fully correspond to the rationalist ideal of the 1920s.¹ The city is also celebrated for its architectural icons, which recall the aesthetics of Italian Futurism's awakening and expansion. The Fiat Tagliero petrol station designed by the engineer Giuseppe Pettazzi is often highlighted as a positive example, probably because its aircraft shape also bears witness to a more radically modern architectural language than was expected in sub-Saharan Africa. Witnesses to this euphoria are the many book and film titles, such as *City of Dreams*, *Sleeping Beauty* and *Secret Modernist City*, often used to describe Asmara.² From the outset, this view of architecture was called out by critics such as Christian Welzbacher of *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.³ He warned against an uncritical approach to this type of modernism, since the city – designed by Italian invaders – could not be considered “completely detached from its violent process of creation”.⁴ Italian soldiers and settlers occupied the area in 1890 and later gave it the name Eritrea. From the beginning, their aim was to transform the entire country as quickly as possible, according to their ideas and wishes. As a first measure, they built a railway line that brought new settlers comfortably from the coastal town of Massawa to Asmara, 2,300m above sea level; it was regarded as the prestige project of the colonial government and

was to contribute to the ‘domestication’ of the country.⁵ In the highlands, all the houses of the local population that hindered Asmara's expansion were demolished. The colonial government issued strict design guidelines for the new buildings and imposed a certain construction method on the locals. They were only allowed to build the so-called tukuls, round buildings which until then had been mainly found on the coastal plain. With this radical approach, the Italian colonial power alienated the locals and transformed the city as a means to control it based on its own interests. Urban planning supported the new control mechanisms: the structures that Odoardo Cagnani defined in 1916, in a first general development plan, still characterise Asmara's cityscape today. They are based on the principle of functional division, widely discussed at the time, and which shows Asmara to be a product of modernity from an urban planning point of view. Zoning also served as a means of segregation, excluding the indigenous population from the urban centre, while at the same time organising colonial society according to class hierarchies. Under the fascist colonial government that entered Asmara in 1935, these urban boundaries – supported by racial laws – were also reflected in the everyday life of the Eritreans. From this time on they were forbidden to maintain close relations with Italians or to use the same cafés, restaurants or buses as they did.⁶ They were pushed back to their

¹ Vera Simone Bader: *Moderne in Afrika. Asmara - Die Konstruktion einer italienischen Kolonialstadt*, Berlin Gebr. Mann Verlag 2016.

² Film: Ruby Ofori, Edward Scott: *City of Dreams*, 2005; Exhibition: Peter Volgger, Stefan Graf: *Sleepy Beauty*, Innsbruck 2018; Catalogue: Edward Denison, Naigzy Gebremedhin, Yu Ren: *Asmara: Africa's Secret Modernist City*, London, New York Merrell 2003.

³ Christian Welzbacher, *Mit Tankstellen Afrika erobern*, in: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, November 17th 2006.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ Vera Simone Bader: *Fascist Modernity in Africa. Cars and Architecture in Asmara*, in: Aram Mattioli, Gerald Steinacher (eds.), *Für den Faschismus bauen*, Zurich Orell Füssli 2009, p. 353-372

⁶ Irma Taddia, *La memoria dell'Impero. Autobiografie d' Africa Orientale*, Bari, Rom P. Lacaia 1988, S.77.

neighbourhood in the east of the city. Every Eritrean born in these years in Asmara, therefore, comes from the Aba Shaule district. Against this background, it is all the more surprising that in 2003 Semere Rus-som, Mayor of Asmara, wrote the following introduction to Asmara. *Africa's Secret Modernist City*⁷, a catalogue that presented the architectural modernity of the urban centre to the world public for the first time: "Eritreans are in a position to present to the world a heritage worthy of international applause and of which they should all be proud."⁸ Naigzy Gebremedhin, editor of the catalogue, also placed the traditional line of architecture in a new, non-colonial context by proclaiming that Italian architects had designed the buildings, but that they had been erected by Eritrean workers.⁹ In view of colonial history, this change in attitude, which at first glance seems astonishing, can be traced back to the 30-year war of independence against Ethiopia: Eritrea had been awarded to the Ethiopian state as an autonomous region by the United Nations in 1950, a resolution that was gradually eroded until Haile Selassie declared the country a province of Ethiopia, in violation of international law. The later Derg regime was to extend its aggressive dictatorship to Eritrea from 1974, leaving Asmara under a form of siege. Construction materials were used for defensive purposes, and the railway line used to transport weapons and ammunition to the highlands was destroyed.¹⁰



The Cinema Impero was founded in 1937 during the Italian colonial rule, in the art deco style. It is part of the UNESCO World Heritage

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The conflict with Ethiopia was to lead the Eritrean government after 1991 to seek and promote a new relationship with the difficult legacy that the Italians had left in the form of architecture and urban planning. After all, the new political elite's ambitions for independence referred to a territory that the first Italian governor Ferdinando Martini had negotiated with the Abyssinian emperor, Negus Menelik II. One of the first projects undertaken by the Eritrean government after the declaration of independence was, significantly, the restoration of the railway line in 1996.¹¹

⁷ Refer : Denison, Gebremedhin, Ren.

⁸ Ibid. p. 9

⁹ Naigzy Gebremedhin (Hg.): *Asmara: A Guide to the Build Environment*, Asmara 2003.

¹⁰ Calchi Novati, Giampaolo: *National Identities as a By-Product of Italian Colonialism: A Comparison of Eritrea and Somalia*, in: Bianca Maria Carangiu, Tekeste Negash (Hg.): *L'Africa orientale italiana nel dibattito storico contemporaneo*, Rom Carocci 2007, p. 47-74.

¹¹ Jr. McKinley, C. James: *Working on the Railroad, and on Eritrea's Revival*, in: *New York Times*, 19. Mai 1996.

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**“The development plan served as a means of segregation, which excluded the native population from the urban centre. But at the same time, it organised class-hierarchical the colonial society”**

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The railway line runs from the coastal town of Massawa to Asmara (2.300 m above sea level)

Two years later, the government also founded the Cultural Assets Rehabilitation Project (CARP), at the very moment when another conflict broke out on the border with Ethiopia. The organisation, whose director was Gebremedhin, declared the centre of Asmara a protected monument in 2001, also to prevent the construction of an architecture that did not fit in with the cultural-historical heritage.¹² The main buildings under discussion were those that had been designed by foreign (including Ethiopian) architects, and whose cool window fronts disturbed the otherwise rather homogeneous image of the city from the 1930s and 1940s. CARP received support for its project first from the World Bank (2001) and later from the European Union (2009-2011), which provided \$5 million each for the renovation of Asmara’s buildings.¹³ Most were intact, thanks in part to the climate, but the plaster on many walls had crumbled, windows were broken and roofs were in danger of collapsing. With this financial aid, the international organisations wanted to help the war-torn country out of crisis and create urgently needed jobs.¹⁴ Although the handling of the colonial past seemed positive at first glance, there was sharp criticism of individual steps. American anthropologist Mia Fuller, for example, criticised CARP’s approach of only listing the architecture of the Italian colonial society, such as theatres, cinemas and the residential buildings of the richer settlers, but not the buildings of the local population, which “alarmingly coincides with what Italian planners had in mind”.¹⁵ Christoph Rausch also examined the not entirely unproblematic actions of the World Bank and the EU, which supported a government that legitimised itself with its cultural-historical heritage, but at the same time

¹² Omar Akbar, Naigky Gebremedhin: Asmara: Africa’s Secret Capital of Modernity, in: one. Development Policy Information North-South, from 03.02.2007.

¹³ Asmara Proposed World Heritage Site Integrated Management Plan 2016-2021, January 2016, p. 17.

¹⁴ Document of The World Bank, Report No: ICR0000708: Implementation Completion and Results Report on a Learning and Innovation Loan in the Amount of SDR 4.0. Million (US\$ 5 Million Equivalent) to the State of Eritrea for a Cultural Assets Rehabilitation Project, January 2008.

¹⁵ Fuller, Mia: Italy’s Colonial Futures: Colonial Inertia and Postcolonial Capital in Asmara, in: California Italian Studies, 2(1), 2011, p.10. 16 On this and the following: Christoph Rausch: Global Heritage Assemblages. Development and Modern Architecture in Africa, New York Routledge 2017, pp. 95-125, here: p. 110f.

increasingly sealed off its own country and oppressed its people through a decades-long, poorly paid national service. To this day, around 10% of the population have fled into exile under life-threatening conditions due to the compulsory service that robs the younger generation in particular of any future prospects.¹⁶ UNESCO also plays an important role in this discussion. As early as 2003, CARP made a first attempt to place Asmara on the World Heritage List. UNESCO had a great interest in the nomination, not least as it would extend the shortlist of Heritage sites in Africa. The Asmara. Africa's Modernist City catalogue was intended to contribute to this. At the time, however, the interests of CARP and the government diverged widely. The former wanted to boost the economy by increasing tourism: but Eritrean President Isayas Afewerki expelled all UN organisations in order to prevent further interference in politics and to secure his power. Gebremedhin was put under house arrest after the publication of the catalogue and was eventually forced to leave the country due to intense political pressure.¹⁷ The situation did not change until 2014, when the Asmara Heritage Project (AHP), to this day led by Medhanie Teklemariam, was launched and there was once again a possible negotiating partner for international institutions. The task was to control the further expansion of Asmara and again prepare a candidacy for UNESCO, this time with the benevolence of the government, a rethink that can certainly be attributed to the aggravated economic situation. What was new about the proposal was that not only the former centre of the Italian settlers, but also the quarter of the poorer Italian immigrants – Ghaza Banda – and that of the local population – Aba Shaule – were taken into

“Building materials were used for defence purposes and the railway line, which was used to transport arms and munitions to the highlands, has been destroyed”



Street view of Asmara

¹⁶ UN Refugee Agency 2015. The data are from: Bartholomäus Grill: How is the real Situation in Eritrea?, in: SpiegelOnline, 01.03.2017.

¹⁷ Ebd.

¹⁸ See Management Plan, p. 42f. and UNESCOs Plan: Boundaries of World Heritage and Buffer Zone

account.¹⁸ This has significantly changed the way we deal with our urban heritage. The modern, partly revolutionary ideas implemented in the urban design are not, as before, detached from the colonial character; the architectural heritage of the Eritreans has also been recognised and has been officially anchored in the World Heritage List since July 2017. In order to make the application a success, the government was also forced to set up a close-knit network of organisations responsible for carrying out renovation work on the approximately 4,000 buildings constructed in the 1930s, and for ensuring that UNESCO also carried out inspections.¹⁹ This step must be seen as the first opening of the country. Several international organisations, including UNESCO with \$30,000 and the EU with \$107,000, have already financially supported a master plan for urban development, and the Netherlands and Italy have advised the government. Scientists from Italy, the UK, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland have also been invited to facilitate new partnerships, to support Eritrean experts in the expansion of Asmara. This is also urgently necessary, as the living conditions of many Eritreans are still completely inadequate today – they live in barracks outside the city centre, with no access to electricity or running water. The fact that a historic peace treaty was signed with Ethiopia in July 2018, with diplomatic relations and telephone and flight connections re-established, could speak in favour of positive future development. However, it remains to be seen how far this peace will go. In Ethiopia, there are also opponents of the political course of the head of government in office since April 2018; and in Eritrea, the years-long compulsory national service has not been limited, despite the



Residential building in Asmara

peace treaty. Tourists also seem to be anything but welcome; they are not allowed to move freely in the country but are forced to apply for a visa at the Ministry of Tourism for every trip outside Asmara.²⁰ The Eritreans hope that their country, one of the poorest in the world, will undergo a profound economic transformation that will also give its young people new prospects. Only then can Asmara's cultural heritage and its urban development be secured for the long term. ◀

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¹⁹ This and the described: Brief an Richard Lo Giudice, 11.28.2018 with attached report: State of Conservation Report by Eritrea on the implementation of the Decision 41 COM 8B.11 of the World Heritage Committee for Asmara – a Modernist City of Africa (ERITREA). p. 3f, in: UNESCO Archive 7B-Eritrea - Asmara 20181128 public Revised.

²⁰ See: Eritrea: Reise- und Sicherheitshinweis des Auswärtigen Amtes: 03.11.2019.

“Without colonial art, some European museums would be empty.”

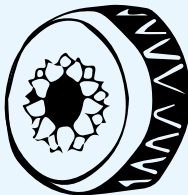
The Restitution Debate on Colonial Cultural Heritage in Museum Collections



In November 2017, Emmanuel Macron announced, to students in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso), the return of African cultural heritage from European museum collections. In doing so, the French president ignited a debate on the cultural policy that had been conducted since the independence of the former African colonies. The unconditional implementation of such a project would have far-reaching consequences for the museum landscape in the former colonial states. Museums and private collections in Germany are also home to countless objects acquired in the course of research and discovery trips, trade expeditions and military operations, including ethnological and everyday objects as well as aesthetic objects of high value.

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BY GERD ULRICH BAUER, BAD VILBEL/BAYREUTH



A rock begins to roll: Macron and the colonial cultural heritage

Bitter debates about the handling and presentation of pre-colonial and colonial objects from Africa are regularly ignited at auctions of 'African' art as well as at corresponding thematic exhibitions. Authors from Africa denounce the colonial plundering of the African continent and complain that Africans are denied access to their cultural heritage. The argument is that a trip to the relevant museums in Europe is unaffordable for the average person in Africa, this calls into question the supposed public nature of these cultural institutions. Only in their societies of origin are a living and meaningful relationship to the objects in question guaranteed, which is why the "kidnapped" masks, sculptures, etc must "return home".

92 Restitution claims from Africa are not new. However, in the past, they were rejected by European cultural politicians and curators, with reference to the principle of the inalienability of national cultural assets, or to the inadequate conservation and museum conditions in the possible recipient countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa.

Objectification of the debate

Macron's plans for restitution have hefted a specialist discourse into the public media. At the same time, they aim at a critical redefinition of how the cultural heritage of European colonialism is to be dealt with, and potentially place Europe's cultural-political relations with its neighbouring African continent on a new foundation of trust and recognition. The announced – and already sporadically carried out – restitutions are more than the rhetorical lip

service of politics. Recommendations for corresponding measures can be found in the Report on the Restitution of the African Cultural Heritage which Senegalese economist Felwine Sarr and French art historian Bénédicte Savoy presented on behalf of the French government in November 2018 (cf. Sarr / Savoy 2018).

The fact that Savoy's earlier research deals with Napoleon's art theft in Germany places debates about the colonial origin of museum collections in the historical context of power politics and cultural representation. The report by Sarr and Savoy also ignited a broad debate in Germany, in which cultural policy, science, the art world and cultural journalism have a part, and in which activists from civil society are also taking a stand in order to insist on the identity-creating significance of cultural assets, especially for post-colonial societies. Rather hidden from the public eye, extensive measures have already been initiated in the German museum landscape.

Heritage of the past in museums: of loot and looted art

There is hardly an ethnographic, historical or urban-historical collection in Germany that could give a complete account of the origin of its 'African' collection holdings. Provenance research is in demand here, i.e. the methodical reconstruction of origin and the acquisition or appropriation of objects. The current debates on restitution draw on long-standing developments in the international art world. In the second half of the 20th century, increasing globalisation tendencies in the art market led to warning voices that demanded the protection of cultural assets of particular relevance for a nation or society. The alleged selling out of cultural heritage on the



Statues from the Royal Palace of Abomey at the Quai Branly Museum. These statues are part of a series of works that were to be returned by France, after having been repeatedly demanded by the Beninese government

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Germany returns the remains of the victims of the Namibian genocide

international art market was denounced, and these tendencies were to be regulated or curbed by the UNESCO Convention on the Prohibition and Prevention of the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, adopted in 1970.

Two decades later, the opening of the Iron Curtain initiated profound changes in the geopolitical situation of Europe. The 1998 Washington Declaration created a legal basis to identify works of art confiscated or forcibly disposed of during the National Socialist era, to locate their pre-war owners (or their heirs), and to find a “just and fair solution”, as the Declaration states. The Lost Art Database developed by the German Centre for the Loss of Cultural Property in Magdeburg is the central instrument for identifying “cultural property seized as a result of Nazi persecution”. On the basis of international agreements, works of art identified accordingly from public collections have since been returned to their previous owners or their heirs. Heated debates about individual restitution processes illustrate the far-reaching cultural-political implications of such processes – art heritage is highly identity-creating.

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Family Bible of Hendrik Witbooi, captured by the German conquerors during the assault on Honkranz in 1893

Since the beginning of 2019, the Deutsches Zentrum Kulturgutverluste foundation has also been supporting provenance and basic research on colonial collections. This year, the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media has €1.9 million at its disposal for this purpose. Project applications from private and public institutions with colonial collections will be evaluated by an independent advisory board. In addition to the art historian Bénédicte Savoy, Albert Gouaffo is also a representative of the Global South. As a university lecturer, researcher and editor of *Mont Cameroun – the African Journal for Intercultural Studies in German-Speaking Countries*, the Cameroonian Germanist (Université de Dschang) is an important voice within German postcolonial studies.

Colonial heritage as an obligation – the role of museums

For some years now, museums throughout the country have been facing up to their colonial past. The following overview is by no means complete. In 2016, the German Historical Museum (DHM) in Berlin dedicated a substantial exhibition to the theme of “German Colonialism – Fragments of its History and Present”. In an arc of tension, colonial views of the world and relations of power were revealed, as was everyday violence in the colonies and protectorates; the victims of colonial wars, such as the Maji-Maji uprising in Deutsch-Ostafrika, are largely unknown to the public today. The exhibition concept implemented by the DHM links the past with the present and reconstructs colonial collections as “shared memories” of Europe and Africa. A critical reflection on the exhibition practice for “foreign” objects seamlessly follows on from exhibition didactic offerings and at the same time draws on historical-critical collection research. In autumn 2017, the Bremer

Kunsthalle opened an exhibition entitled 'Der blinde Fleck' ('The Blind Spot'), in which the commercial history of the Hanseatic city was examined and the colonial contexts of works from the collection examined. Important works of early modern art – including works by Paula Modersohn-Becker, Fritz Behn and Emil Nolde – were placed in their colonial context and illuminated with regard to their representations of the 'foreign'. In cooperation with the University of Hamburg, the Übersee-Museum Bremen has initiated a multi-year research project on the history and provenance of its Africa collection. This project is accompanied by exhibitions and various event formats on colonial history. At the same time as a change in exhibition practice, considerable progress has been made in colonial provenance research. The Linden-Museum, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Stuttgart, in cooperation with the Department of Ethnology at the University of Tübingen and the Institute for Empirical Cultural Studies, has been working on its own collection history for more than two years and has published an extensive report entitled *Difficult Heritage: Dealing with Colonial Objects in Ethnological Museums* (Grimme 2018). In 2016/2017, the Lower Saxony State Museum in Hanover also presented the first results of its own provenance research with the exhibition 'Heikles Erbe – Koloniale Spuren bis die Gegenwart' ('Heikles Erbe – Colonial Traces to the Present'). A scientific conference on "Provenance Research in Colonial Ethnological Collections" took place in the chronological context of the exhibitions mentioned, to which the Museum Working Group of the German Society for Social and Cultural Anthropology (DGSKA) had invited experts from museums with a corresponding focus on the collection. The published documentation of the scientific contributions offers an


**Only a cooperative
 approach and a
 sensitive dialogue
 guarantee
 transparency and trust
 in home societies**




impressive overview of the current status and challenges in connection with the preservation, exhibition and, if necessary, restitution of colonial cultural heritage (cf. Förster et al. 2018). The listed examples illustrate that museums with colonial collections are currently confronting their controversial past. Today, this debate takes place largely in public and with the involvement of science, politics, educational institutions and society, for example through lectures and forums. Against the background of the above-mentioned reservation against cultural institutions in the states of the Global South formerly categorized as 'Third World', it is remarkable that today the indigenous societies of origin of the colonial heritage are often included in debates. The aim is to work together 'at eye level'. Such cooperation is urgently needed in the case of a particularly sensitive group of objects. At the end of the 19th century and into the early 20th century, human remains from overseas entered German research institutions and museum collections as spoils of war and through grave plundering. In keeping with the spirit of the times, bones, skulls and even entire skeletons were presented to a public interested in exotic worlds and foreign cultures as visual objects within the framework of racial or ethnological exhibitions. The exhibition of 'primitive' peoples and people in a supposedly scientific framework of discourse culminates in the alleged superiority of the European-Caucasian 'race' and its culture or civilisation. For many decades the 'racial' aberration has been recognised as such. Except for mummies of ancient 'advanced civilisations', human body parts are banned from contemporary museum exhibitions. For a sensitive treatment of this part of the colonial heritage, the German Council of Museums has proposed "Recommendations for Dealing with Human Remains in Museums and Collections"

(2013). For example, the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation has begun researching the origin of more than a thousand human skulls from the former colony of Deutsch-Ostafrika. Scientific institutions from Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania are involved in this project because only a cooperative approach and sensitive dialogue guarantee transparency and trust in the societies of origin. One term illustrates the ethical dimension of this topic: Are human remains objects? With the integration into the museum world, a functional and aesthetic “transformation” (Sarr/Savoy) was carried out with the bones and skulls. Nevertheless, human remains represent “subjects” – they are the mortal remains of the ancestors of today’s people in the countries of origin, with whom unbroken narratives, e.g. traditional narratives and family genealogies, and symbolic relationships may exist under certain circumstances. Thus, the former exhibits and collection objects have living cultural and religious connotations in their context of origin. The restitution of bones and skulls thus inevitably becomes a symbolically charged act of re/ transformation and re/subjectification – and thus the basis for healing old wounds.

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Germany – Namibia: the dispute over genocide and reparations

As is well known, the German Empire had a number of colonies and protectorates on African soil. This colonial history plays into the interstate relations of Germany with the successor states of the former German sphere of influence. Even from an increasing distance in time, the colonial heritage connects and separates in equal measure. In the bilateral relationship with the Republic of Namibia after its independence in 1990, the colonial experience


**Cultural heritage is often
at the same time a shared
or common heritage
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to eye level**


plays a special role. Between 1904 and 1908, around 80,000 Herero and Nama were killed in what was then Deutsch-Südwestafrika by members of the imperial Schutztruppen, or died as a result of violent expulsion into a misanthropic terrain. Today, descendants of the victims demand official recognition of the German genocide and reparation payments. For three years now, the German government has been negotiating with the Namibian government on an official position on this issue: Berlin wants to send a signal of responsibility, but at the same time there are fears that the confession of guilt will set a precedent in which other countries could demand compensation for colonial tyranny. Against this political background, the restitution of colonial museum collections to the Republic of Namibia is extremely sensitive, and the corresponding occasions require a high degree of diplomacy. In 2011, 2014 and again 2018, human remains from the holdings of the Charité University Hospital in Berlin were restituted on a protocol basis. In February 2019, the Linden Museum in Stuttgart handed over objects from the personal property of the Nama leader Hendrik Witbooi to the government of Namibia as part of a state reception. A New Testament in the Nama language, as well as a whip, were probably captured by German Schutztruppen and donated to Stuttgart in 1903. In June 2018, an expert symposium at the German

Historical Museum in Berlin was devoted to the handling of colonial objects. The occasion was the Namibian government's request for the return of the so-called pillar of Cape Cross. This stone stele dates back to the Portuguese land seizure in January 1486 and is thus a symbol of colonial claims to power on the African continent. The ornately decorated stone was removed with the German occupation and brought to the German Empire in 1893. Raphael Gross, Director of the German Historical Museum (DHM), explains the complex symbolism of this stone column in an interview with *Deutschlandfunk*: "For today's Namibian population, it may well represent the first encounter between Africans and

Europeans and thus the beginning of colonial power relations, which culminated in the genocide of the Herero and Nama. For the Portuguese it is part of an imperial history of discovery under militant Christian auspices. And for the Germans, it is part of their colonial past." (Habermalt 2018) The debates about a possible restitution of colonial objects from museums and collections in Germany and Europe reveal several layers. First of all, it is questionable whether and to what extent restitution can be decided categorically and normatively, i.e. that unconditional and complete restitution is also undesirable from an African point of view. Rather, questions of provenance must be discussed in an exemplary manner and with



Vania Teofilo

The display of Witbooi objects at the Lindem Museum in Stuttgart

the involvement of many voices of those affected. Furthermore, cultural heritage is often at the same time a shared heritage and thus requires a trustful debate 'at eye level'. And finally, research on local history, and especially oral history in marginalised societies, suggests that objects and other artefacts can acquire very different meanings in the context of colonisation and decolonisation, as well as in the self-assurance discourses of colonisers and colonised people.

Germany – Namibia: the dispute over genocide and reparations

It is true that the commemoration events of the First World War and the end of the German Empire in 1918/1919 made colonial amnesia visible to today's German public. With the reports on restitution of colonial heritage from the museum collection, however, a noticeable sensitisation to the dark side of the German colonial era in the media and the public begins. This opens up the opportunity for German colonial history to find its way into identity discourses in Germany and into cultural memory – not as a transfiguration of German pioneering

spirit, as we know it from popular media and feature films, but as a relentless explanation of the atrocities committed in the name of Germany's claim to world power. The Nigerian poet Niyi Osundare published a poem entitled 'Africa's Memory' in 1998, in which he explores the diasporic circumstances of artworks that create identity for local communities across the African continent. In order to relate to them, the lyrical 'I' must leave its African homeland and travel to Bonn, London, Paris or New York. For the "memory of Africa" has been blown away by the wind. Osundare concludes with a Yoruba proverb: "A hunchback cannot hide his burden." Colonial-era objects represent such a burden, and for far too long they have been integrated into ethnological, scientific or aesthetic discourses in the German public, for example in the course of the debate on 'primitive art' and 'primitivism'. It is time for a differentiated, political examination of the colonial era and its effects, which have left their mark to this day. ◀

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Egypt's Architectural Heritage – Appreciate, Protect and Preserve



BY REGINE SCHULZ-MUNICH

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The colonial architectural heritage

Egypt's reconstructible architectural heritage reaches far back into the 4th century BC, and in the course of its history the architects and builders of the country have accomplished quite astonishing achievements. These include not only the great pyramids, the Pharaonic temples and Hellenistic Alexandria, but also Christian churches and monasteries (Saint Menas in Abu Mena; Saint Anthony in the Arabian Desert), impressive fortresses and mosques (the citadel of the Ayyubid ruler Salah ad-Din; the Fatimid Al-Azhar Mosque), special quarters with religious and secular buildings (the Christian-Jewish Masr al-Qadima in Old Cairo; the historic-Islamic Old Town of Qahirat al-Maez), and many other buildings throughout the country.

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In the last three decades, the colonial and post-colonial architecture of the Belle Epoque (c. 1860 to 1952), as an important component of Egyptian cultural heritage, has increasingly been the focus of interest. Many buildings of the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century were influenced by European historicism (from Renaissance to Art Deco and so-called Orientalism)¹, and were mainly erected by European architects (Max Herz, Antonio Lasciac, Georges Parcq, Mario Rossi).² This trend began under the Khediven Ismail Pasha (in power from 1863-1879), who was extremely impressed by Europe and wanted to transform Cairo into a "Paris on the Nile".³ In the following decades, new districts and palaces were built throughout Egypt (Fig. 1), as well as world-famous hotels (such as the Old Winter Palace in Luxor, completed in 1907 by architect Léon Stienon) and impressive museum buildings (such



Photo: D. Noack

Fig. 1 : Palace of Abdel Salam Khalil Pasha in Cairo, built by Antonio Lasciac (1856-1946)

as the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, opened in 1902 by Luigi Manham).

The influence of Orientalising architecture, which in the Western world was mainly characterised by elements known as Andalusian-Moorish, Mamluk and Mogul, led to Egypt's very own neo-Mamluk architectural style.⁴ Examples include the Islamic Museum in

¹ Said, Edward W., *Orientalism*, London 2003; Wiedemann, Felix, *Orientalism*, in: *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte* (19.04.2012), <http://docupedia.de/zg/Orientalismus> (accessed June 2019).

² See e.g. Scharabi, Mohamed, *Cairo: City and Architecture in the Age of European Colonialism*, Tübingen 1989; Johnston, Shirley, *Egyptian Palaces and Villas (1808-1960)*, New York, 2006; Mostyn, Trevor, *Egypt's Belle Epoque: Cairo and the Age of the Hedonists*, London 2006.

³ See Minty, Cynthia, *Paris Along the Nile: Architecture in Cairo from the Belle Epoque*, Cairo, 1999.

⁴ p. el-Akkad, Tarek, *Neo-Mameluk Style Beyond Egypt*, in: *RAWI's* ISSUE 5, 2013 (accessed at <https://rawi-magazine.com/articles/neomamluk/> June 2019); p. also Volait, Mercedes, *The reclaiming of «Belle Époque» Architecture (1989-2010): On the Power of Rhetorics in Heritage-Making*, in: *ABE Journal - Architecture Beyond Europe*, 3|2013 <https://journals.openedition.org/abe/371> accessed at <https://journals.openedition.org/abe/371> June 2019)

Cairo, built in 1902 by Alfonso Manescało⁵ (Fig. 2); and the Assicurazioni Generali di Trieste Insurance at 12 Alawi Street, built in 1911 by Antonio Lasciac, an architect who also influenced Europe.⁶

In the 1920s and 1930s, several architects increasingly preferred a neo-Pharaonic architectural style (such as the mausoleum for Saad Zaghlul, Prime Minister and leader of the Wafd Party in Cairo, built



Photos: R. Schulz

Fig. 2 : Islamic Museum Cairo after restoration (above), 2017 and immediately after the bomb attack of 24.01.2014 (below). The museum was built by Alfons Manescało in 1902 in 'Oriental' style

⁵ In January 2014, the museum was severely damaged by a bomb attack intended for the Cairo police headquarters across from it; although the building was completely repaired within three years, many of the exhibits unfortunately were not.

⁶ E.g. Giese, Francine/El-Wakil, Leïa and Braga, Ariane Varela (ed.), *The Orient in Switzerland: Neo-Islamic Architecture and Interiors of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Berlin 2019.



Fig. 3: Mausoleum of Saad Zaghloul (1857–1927). Built by Mustafa Fahmy (1886–1972), inaugurated in 1931

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by Mustafa Fahmy in 1936 (Fig. 3)). This style has been taken up again in the last two decades (for example, the building of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt in Cairo, built by Ahmed Mito in 2000 (Fig. 4)).

After the revolution of 1952, however, an international

building design prevailed, characterised above all by functional objectives, which in part led to a very monotonous uniformity within which innovative design was only possible to a limited extent. Only in the late 1980s did the picture change, especially in connection with prestigious buildings such as the new Bibliotheca Alexandrina (designed by Snøhetta Arkitektur of Landskap A/S), the still unfinished Echnaton Museum in El-Minya (designed by a German-Egyptian team of architects (Fig. 5)), and the Grand Egyptian Museum in Giza (designed by Heneghan Peng Architects), which is still under construction.

In recent years, there has also been increased state interest in the cultural heritage of the Belle Epoque. This can be seen not only in the increasing number of buildings of this era classified as historical monuments, but also in numerous state restoration projects, some supported by foreign countries, as well as in a trend towards 'Belle Epoqueisation' of existing buildings, such as the replacement of the neo-Islamic façade of 1935 by a Renaissance decoration on the building of the Automobile and Touring Club in Cairo.⁷

Despite all this Belle Epoque enthusiasm, colonial and post-colonial architecture has been increasingly endangered, especially in recent years. Over-population, especially in Cairo, and the associated steadily increasing demand for urban living space has led to a proliferation of urban areas that extends far beyond the situation in other Arab states. Many older building structures have fallen victim to demolition or overbuilding. In addition, the state-supported planning of luxury districts often takes place at the expense of valuable older buildings, as their restoration would consume additional funds. This also includes the now largely demolished Maspero quarter on the eastern bank of the Nile in Cairo, which is

⁷ Volait, Mercedes, op.cit., Fig. 14.



Photo : A. Badr

Fig. 4: Building of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt in Cairo, which opened in 2000. the architect was Ahmed Mito (1966-2015)



©Roemer and Pelizaeus Museum Hildesheim

Fig. 5: The unfinished museum in El-Minya was planned as early as 1974. changed several times, the shell was finally completed in 2008 under the direction of MimarArchitects and has since not been continued



Fig. 6 : Newly designed facade of the Egyptian automobile and Touring Club of Cairo, in the Renaissance style of the Neo-Belle Epoque

to be replaced by elegant new buildings and shopping arcades financed primarily by foreign investors. Most of the people who used to live there, often in very bad conditions, have been resettled and will not return. On the other hand, there are private groups

that want to enable the preservation of architectural monuments through participative urban development projects that involve the population living there.⁸

The reverse influence of Egypt on the architecture of



Fig. 7 : Foire du Caire in Paris; the façade with the Hathor heads and a frieze with battle scenes in relief was created in 1828 by the sculptor Joseph Garraud (1807-1880)

Photo: R. Schulz

⁸ Cf. Redeker, Cornelia/Seidel, Florian, Interview with May Al-Ibrashy and Ahmed Zaazaa, in: Bauwelt 26, 2014 <https://www.bauwelt.de/themen/Partizipation-ist-in-Aegypten-weit-verbreitet-weil-sie-ohne-Alternative-ist-May-Al-Ibrashy-Ahmed-Zaazaa-Partizipation-MEGAWRA-2094480.html> (last downloaded 10.08.2019)

Europe began in antiquity. The pyramid shape was particularly popular, and can still be found today in countless grave buildings, memorial sites and public buildings (such as the 1989 entrance to the Louvre in Paris and the 1987 radio station in Bratislava in the form of an upside-down pyramid).

Another popular building element is the Hathor capitals, adopted by the Phoenicians in the 6th century BC in the Kingdom of Kition on Larnaka, and later by the Romans in around 25 BC on the Palatine in Rome, and which can also be found in connection with the enthusiasm for Egypt in the 19th century as a decorative element on fascia (such as on the Foire du Caire in Paris in 1828, Fig. 7).

Orientalising and especially neo-Pharaonic architectural elements also became increasingly popular in Europe after 1851 as a result of major world exhibitions. They can be found not only on magnificent and prestigious buildings, but also in churches, synagogues and Freemason temples (Brussels, 1879), mausoleums (the tomb mausoleum of the Harteck family in Berlin)⁹, and pavilions connected with exotic African images (the 1856 Africa House in Antwerp Zoo; the 1901 Ostrich House in Berlin's Zoological Garden). Neo-Pharaonic monuments and buildings remain particularly popular in the US, such as the Luxor Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas, built in 1993 in the form of a pyramid with a monumental sphinx.

The colonial architectural heritage

Many of Egypt's ancient buildings can no longer be

found, or are no longer intact, in the place where they were originally erected. Since ancient times, individual monuments and entire buildings have been relocated for various reasons. For example, almost all the stone elements and sculptures of the capital of the Ramesside Pi-Ramesse were dismantled after 1110 BC and reused in the new residence of Tanis.¹⁰ Another example took place under the rule of the Romans, when obelisks and parts of other architectural monuments were removed from their Egyptian place of origin and shipped to Rome.¹¹

The enthusiasm for Egypt that began in the 18th and 19th centuries, and the establishment of large museums in Egypt, Europe and North America, also brought many architectural elements into the collections there.¹² The dismantling happened not only out of enthusiasm for collecting, but also because many antique buildings were in very bad condition and insufficiently protected. In addition, the constantly expanding areas used for agriculture or for residential purposes endangered their existence. In particular, intact stone architectural elements were reused in new buildings or, if decorated, sold to collectors. To counteract the increasing destruction, the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte was founded in 1835 to protect the Pharaonic cultural heritage, and on 15 August of the same year a first decree was issued against the unauthorised export of antiques.¹³ This is the oldest state law for the protection of cultural property in the world.

In the 2nd half of the 19th century, the first state museums were established in Cairo and Alexandria. In particular, the Islamic Museum, established

⁹ Gertzen, Thomas, Egypt at Berlin cemeteries, in: Loth, Marc, Pharaohs on the Spree, Norderstedt 2012, 125-138, Fig. 7a-f, here also further examples.
¹⁰ Push, Edgar B./Becker, Helmut, Windows into the Past. Insights into Ramses City through magnetic prospection and excavation. Research in Ramses City. The excavations of the Pelizaeus Museum Hildesheim 9, Hildesheim, 2017; Pusch, Edgar B./Franzmeier, Henning, Pi-Ramesse, in WiBiLex November 2016, <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/wibilex/das-bibellexikon/lexikon/sachwort/anzeigen/details/pi-ramesse/ch/9dbd4a8ee5c747b852ec370e1d77d6af/> (last accessed 10.08.2019).

¹¹ Susan Sorek: The Emperors' Needles. Egyptian Obelisks and Rome. Bristol Phoenix Press, Exeter 2010.

¹² Thomson, Jason, Wonderful Things: A history of Egyptology vol. 1: From Antiquity to 1881, Cairo 2015; vol. 2: The Golden Age: 1881-1914, Cairo 2016; vol. 3: From 1914 to the Twenty-First Century, Cairo 2018.

¹³ Colla, Elliott, Conflicted Antiquities. Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity, Durham/London 2007; see also: Frepoli, Luca, Ali Pasha: Ottoman Province Egypt - Antikenerlass (1835) <https://translanth.hypotheses.org/ueber/ali-pascha#Kurzbiographie> (last called 10.08.2019).

in 1881 in part of the ruins of the al-Hakim Mosque, was initially only designed to house and preserve the architecture and was hopelessly overcrowded after only a few years, which is why it was moved to today's museum building at Bab Al-Khalq in 1902. The first publicly accessible Egypt Museum outside Egypt opened its doors in Turin in 1824, the Egyptian Museum in Berlin opened in 1828, and the Gregoriano Egizio Museum in the Vatican opened in 1839. Individual Egyptian collections from larger museums, some of which included architectural fragments, had already been transferred to European museums earlier, such as the British Museum in London, opened in 1753, or the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, opened in 1816; and Egyptian sections were created, for example, in 1821 in the Vienna Antiquities Cabinet, in 1826 in the Louvre in Paris, and in 1828 in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden.

Most of the collections in museums outside Egypt were created by collectors, although the provenance of many pieces cannot be guaranteed. In the best cases, there is evidence of government or government-approved sales, distribution after excavation (carried out up to the 1980s), or official gifts. Unfortunately, in many cases provenance cannot be completely clarified, either because the pieces have been resold several times or because not all stations can be reconstructed. (don't understand the meaning) Moreover, in recent years more and more falsified provenance details have been appearing in order to conceal illegal exports from Egypt or to increase market value.

Since 1983, the export of antiques from Egypt has been prohibited, without exception. Nevertheless,

there is still an illegal trade in Pharaonic, Coptic and, increasingly in recent years, Islamic artefacts, a trade that has increased during Egypt's difficult political and economic situation since 2011. For these reasons, the Red Emergency List of Endangered Cultural Assets compiled by the International Council of Museums (ICOM), a section of which is dedicated to architectural elements, is a particularly important tool in the fight against this illegal trade.¹⁴

A number of objects have been found in museums outside Egypt through official find divisions (?) after excavation. Support for institutions that did not carry out excavations themselves came from the Egypt Exploration Fund¹⁵, which financed excavations in Egypt and passed finds on to its members. In this way, many discoveries were made in the 19th and 20th centuries, including numerous architectural elements in museums outside Egypt. In 1889, for example, a 1.78m chapter with the face of the goddess Hathor from the temple of the goddess Bastet in Bubastis was transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston; in 1908, parts of the cult chapel of Raemkai from Sakkara went to the Metropolitan Museum in New York; and in 1911, reliefs from the temple of King Mentuhotep II from Deir el Bahari went to the British Museum. The Hildesheim Roemer and Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim also received objects, as well as permission to purchase excavation finds. Wilhelm Pelizaeus, for example, received permission in 1914 to purchase the cult chapel of Uhemka after financing Georg Steindorf's excavations in Giza in 1903. Due to the Second World War, however, it took until 1925 for the chapel to be dismantled and transported to Hildesheim, with the help

¹⁴ p. <https://icom.museum/en/resources/red-lists/>

¹⁵ Stevenson, Alice, Artefacts of excavation: the collection and distribution of Egyptian finds to museum, 1880-1915. *Journal of the history of collections* 26 (1), 2014, 89-102.

of the later excavation director Herrmann Junker. Unfortunately, some buildings had been completely dismantled in antiquity; most of them were rebuilt. This also includes the Talatat – small-format, decorated stone blocks from which temples and palaces were built in the time of King Akhenaten (1340-1324 BC) in Karnak and Amarna. After the abandonment of the city, the buildings quickly collapsed again and the blocks were rebuilt, such as in Her-mopolis Magna. After the collapse and abandonment of these new buildings, the building fragments reached various magazines (?) and museums all over the world.

Architectural monuments or parts of buildings also reached other countries as state gifts. These include the 230-ton Ramses II obelisk from Luxor, given to the French King Louis Philippe by Muhammed Ali Pasha, who ruled Egypt as Viceroy from 1805 to 1848, and which today stands on the Place de La Concorde in Paris. A number of such gifts were also given by the Egyptian state to various countries as thanks. This was in connection with the construction of the large Aswan dam


and the resulting Lake Nasser, which flooded large parts of the Nubian and Egyptian cultural heritage. Through a large UNESCO campaign that started in 1960, numerous countries participated actively

and/or financially, starting from 1964, in the transfer of the most important temple plants. (?) In return, Germany, for example, received a gate to the Kalabscha Temple (now in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin), and the US received the small Dendur Temple (now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York), both as gifts.¹⁶

Today, in some cases in connection with architectural elements that have been moved to other places, the question arises as to whether they should remain in their present location or be brought back and integrated into the original context. However, this often cannot be achieved for various reasons, whether because these squares have now been built over by modern villages, or because permanent preservation can no longer be guaranteed on-site. An additional problem also arises, due to the fact that many ancient Egyptian buildings were partly built of air-dried clay bricks – only some parts, such as doorways, were made of stone. Most of these buildings are no longer preserved, as they have been dismantled in the last centuries and the fertile clay has been dis-

tributed to the fields – apart from the foundations, no building substance has been preserved.

Replacement options are castings (such as in the tomb of Haremhab in Sakkara, where such castings


**The 230 tonne
 obelisk from
 Ramses II from Luxor,
 was donated by
 Muhammed
 Ali Pasha, to the
 French King
 Louis Philippe as a
 state gift**



¹⁶ Victory in Nubia: the greatest archaeological rescue operation of all time, in: The UNESCO Courier 33, February - March 1980; Hassan, Fekri A., «The Aswan High Dam and the International Rescue Nubia Campaign», in: The African Archaeological Review, Vol. 24, No. 3/4 (September/December 2007), 73-94.

of decorated blocks from various museums in Europe were integrated in 1985) or printed 3D scans, which can replace the originals in the place of origin. A general answer as to which method of repatriation or integration of replicas is sensible and appropriate cannot be given, since many different factors must be taken into account, and each case can only be decided individually. Not only do legal and ethical aspects have to be considered; there are also questions about the state of conservation, security on-site (against environmental influences, theft or vandalism), the significance for the people living there, and the attractiveness for potential visitors. In addition, it must be considered whether an object has meanwhile been integrated into another local or architectural context, or whether it plays a decisive role in cultural mediation in a museum function.

108 A typical example of the dissolution of construction units, which can be used to illustrate some of these questions, are the blocks of the underground chapel C-C-2 from the animal necropolis of Tuna el-Gebel in the Middle Egyptian province of El-Minya. This is the cemetery of the city Chemenu (Hermopolis Magna), one of Egypt's most important religious centres. Egyptologists from Cairo University and Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich have been digging there for almost 40 years.

In a cooperative project supported by the Volkswagen Foundation and the Roemer and Pelizaeus

Museum in Hildesheim, Katrin Schlüter¹⁷ carried out a detailed investigation and reconstruction. Today, a large number of the decorated blocks of the walls, which show sacrificial acts and rituals of the king before the wisdom god Thot worshipped there, are missing, having reached the museums of Cairo and Hildesheim in various ways (Fig. 8).

The state of preservation of the blocks is problematic today, and it makes no sense to return them. Therefore, a team from the University of Applied Sciences and Arts of Hildesheim / Holzminden / Göttingen made 3D scans of the Hildesheim blocks, which together with 3D scans of the other decorated blocks in Cairo and Tuna el-Gebel are intended to enable a reconstruction of the chapel in a museum setting. This could then enable an important focus on the history and theology of the region in the planned permanent exhibition in the new museum of Minia after its completion, without competing with the real chapel in Tuna el-Gebel, and without destroying the meaning of the original blocks in the museum context. This procedure will not be the right solution in all cases, but it will allow both the protection of the objects and an appropriate archaeological and cultural contextualisation.

Questions about the preservation and reintegration of architectural elements within an original building context are relevant not only to Pharaonic architectural heritage, but increasingly also to Christian

¹⁷ The publication is in preparation for 2019/20.

Orthodox (Coptic) and Islamic traditions. Coptic cultural heritage, as well as the Christian Egyptians themselves, has been increasingly endangered by terrorists in recent years. Numerous churches and monasteries have been attacked and subsequently, for political reasons, repaired as quickly as possible. A consideration of the traditional building substance is, however, only possible to a very limited extent. In connection with the preservation of the Islamic architectural heritage of Egypt, with a particular focus on Cairo, a number of considerations and projects have been carried out in recent years, with international support.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the preservation of historical monuments faces major challenges. These are not only related to over-population and the neglect of certain parts of the city, but also to a flourishing illegal art trade for Islamic cultural heritage, which also includes architectural elements made of wood and ceramics, and which is currently very difficult to stop. ◀

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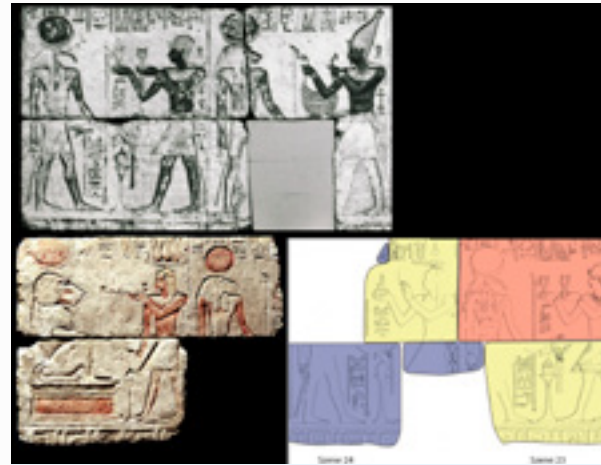


Fig. 8 : Tuna el-Gebel, blocks from the chapel C-C-2
Top left: Blocks from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo
Bottom left: Blocks from the Roemer- and Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim
Right: Reconstruction (Hildesheim: yellow, Cairo: red, Tuna el-Gebel: blue)

©Institute of Egyptology and Coptology of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität
 Munich and Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim, Project:
 World Formation and Theology of Hermopolis Magna

¹⁸ Cf. Mahdy, Hossam, Approaches to the conservation of Islamic cities - The case of Cairo, United Arab Emirates 2017

Colla, Elliott, Conflicted Antiquities. Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity, Durham/ London 2007.

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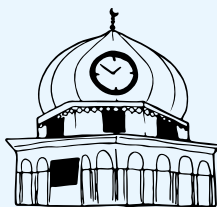
Heritage, Memory, Identity:

The Case of Colonial Mosques in Senegal



“There is a familiar argument that without memory we have no sense of identity, whether as individuals or as members of a common culture; and without identity we have no definition of ‘heritage’ that is meaningful.”¹

BY CLEO CANTONE, LONDON



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¹ J. Mack, “Museums & Objects as Memory-sites” in J. Mack and K. Yoshida (eds) *Preserving the Cultural Heritage of Africa: Crisis or Renaissance?* Suffolk, UK and Rochester, USA: James Currey, 2008, p. 17.

If the words of Prof. John Mack ring true, the same can be said for the opposite: without heritage we have no definition of identity that is meaningful. The very notion of heritage was largely a nineteenth century construct developed by John Ruskin who maintained that historic sites should be preserved because they belong “partly to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow”. In commissioning the report on the restitution of museum objects held in French museums, did President Macron open a can of worms or did he open up this pressing issue to the constructive debate it deserves?² In a letter to the FT, a Greek national bemoans the fact that along with the restitution of African objects, iconic Greek sculptures await their restitution: “let their eternal beauty shine once again over the place where they were masterfully created” speaks of repatriation not of an object but of a part, or a limb of Greek cultural heritage and “their lone sister”, referring to the Elgin marbles, equally confers to a piece

of carved marble an anthropomorphic identity. Conversely, monuments erected by European powers in their colonies have unleashed a series of backlashes such as the Rhodes Must Fall campaign that started in Cape Town, South Africa. While the debate about decolonisation is ongoing, as the former director of the Victoria & Albert Museum commented: “Once you start re-writing history on that scale, there won’t be a statue or a historic house standing...”³

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**Without heritage,  
 we have no  
 definition  
 of identity**  
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The phenomenon of ‘trans-culturation’ or the inflection, re-invention of an architectural form, consists of taking the ‘traditional’ form of the mosque and creating a new, ‘invented’ colonial hybrid. Behind not only the financing and provision of materials to build two great mosques in Senegal, but the French also

aimed to train local masons in a fundamentally new building technique and adjust the local eye to a completely novel and alien architectural aesthetic. We will therefore take an example from Senegal, because ... My contribution examines monuments built (read: commissioned, financed) by the French administration in colonial West Africa, most notably mosques: though firmly entrenched in the soil where they were erected, their presence is nevertheless ambivalent. Indeed, these mosques built by the colonial regime (France) in a colonised land (Senegal) should be interpreted as trans-cultural structures. Discourses around heritage and appropriation need to be examined alongside the value—symbolic or other—that they

hold today. In 2001 I took a photograph of the guardian of the Mosquée Blanchot in Dakar holding an old postcard of the mosque as it looked before undergoing multiple extensions. Although Mr Mbodj allowed me to photograph this prized possession, he was making it clear that I could not handle the object myself. As it later transpired, however, this was not a unique image as I subsequently came across the superb collection of old African postcards, belonging

² “Other artefacts stoically await repatriation”, Financial Times, 1 December, 2018.

³ L. Freeman, “Everywhere Sir Roy Strong looks, the thumbscrews are tightening” in The Times, 3 September, 2017. <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/past-six-days/2017-09-03/news-review/everywhere-former-va-chief-roy-strong-looks-the-thumbscrews-are-tightening-6qhsp3pv7> accessed on 14/02/2019.

to the late Georges Meurillon.⁴ Thus notions of objets-mémoire, cultural (or transcultural) appropriation and heritage as identity are all fused into this image-of-an-image: the custodian of the mosque and the colonial image of the mosque are captured by a toubab (white) photographer-researcher in search of the story of a building not found in Senegal's depository of memory par excellence, the Archives Nationales du Sénégal (ANS).

While one important aspect of the photographic medium is undoubtedly its documentary value (eg. helping to date buildings), another facet that has been recently explored is the role of these images in the "colonial imaginarium" used to fix ideas about non-European cultures. On a very mundane level, postcards were sent back to the Motherland and therefore their representations conveyed powerful symbols of us/them, civilisation/barbarism, white/black etc. In the words of Hans Hahn:



"Colonial pictures are not simply documents of colonialism, and they should not be understood naively as documents of those cultures in which they were taken. Following the conceptual framework of transculturation, colonial pictures create a 'third space'. This space represents the indissoluble connection between two cultures; it is the foundation of their polyphony."⁵

The Colonial Mosque of Saint Louis

The French initially settled in on the semi-deserted island of Saint Louis in the 17th century because of its mercantile potential and security. Undeterred by the lack of drinking water, the French founded a fort and the population on the island, which included European military men as well as their numerous domestic slaves, rapidly grew. Following the Congress of Vienna, under Louis XVIII, Senegal ceased to be a market for human flesh and its destiny was re-purposed to become an agricultural capital and hence a 'cleaner' type of colony. This project, however, turned out to be a total failure and by 1831 it was almost entirely abandoned.

The expansion of the city nevertheless continued unabated, transforming Saint Louis from a fort into a trading post or comptoir. Given the shortage of construction materials—The stone had to be imported from Thiès, Rufisque and from the River Bakel in the east—and a lack of lime, shells had to be used as mortar

instead. To make up for the paucity of stone, baked bricks were produced in great quantities. Apart from monuments, official buildings and residential quarters for rich merchants, the vast majority of dwellings


**The Ponts et
Chaussés created
a drawing of the
mosque, which
consists
in an imaginative
neo-Gothic building**


⁴ See http://richardis.univ-paris1.fr/cartes_postales/ accessed on 30/03/2019

⁵ H. P. Hahn, "On the Circulation of Colonial Pictures: Polyphony and Fragmentation" in *Global Photographies*, p. 103.



Reveyron

Postcard of the mosque of Saint Louis with its two bell towers

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Reveyron

Reveyron's photograph of the Blanchot Mosque, Dakar

was still made of straw and reed and due to the risk of fire, these were gradually banned and replaced with constructions en dur.⁶

Prior to the French, Senegalese comptoirs had been occupied by the Protestant British so as part of the mission civilisatrice,⁷ the colonial administration sent religious congregationalists to spread the Gospel to the métis population in order to bring them back to the fold of the Catholic Church.

Capitalising on the local workforce to make the bricks, a church was built in 1828 on the southern part of the island. The church's Neo-Classical style with its front porch resting on two square pillars, was subsequently used for the church on the island of Gorée.⁸ Around the same time, the marabouts of Saint Louis demanded a mosque, permission for which was granted by the administration in 1838 on the northern side of the island in what can be said the beginning of topographical partition. It appears that the Muslims had traced a space to pray in the sand so the administration—evidently puzzled by this custom—offered to help them build a monument that the French considered worthy of their faith.⁹ The Ponts et Chaussées produced a drawing which consisted in a fanciful Neo-Gothic structure topped by a kiosk

with an onion-shaped dome. This plan was abandoned and the one finally submitted was not altogether different from that of the church.

The mosque erected between 1844 and 1847 was roughly based on the Restoration style. The architect or engineer nevertheless attempted to modify what might have looked like the church of Saint Louis in La Roche-sur-Yon (1817-29)¹⁰ in north-western France with its double bell-towers (the left of which has a clock) by adorning the mosque with blind pointed arches. A bell still occupies the left-hand tower of the mosque, right below the now faded clock: it appears that the governor at the time had mandated the clock to chime with Christian practice.

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**The Architects who  
have been trained in  
the Parisian Beaux-  
Arts applied their skills  
in far distant colonies  
such as Brazil and  
West Africa**

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Dakar's Blanchot Mosque

The peninsula of Cap Vert or Cabo Verde—the name originally given by the Portuguese—was occupied by the Sossé and subsequently the Lebou ethnic group who had migrated from Futa Toro in the north-east of Senegal and settled in the area by the 18th century. The peninsula consisted of a series of eleven fishing villages whose names survive to this day in the form of pènc or local districts. Before the Lebou gained

⁶ In 1786 in Saint Louis perishable houses were set on fire apparently in retaliation for the banishment of a Marabout. Asking the French authorities for assistance, the dispossessed were told they would only receive it if they were to rebuild their houses using bricks. In Magnieu de Prat, 1875, pp.404-09 quoted in G. E. Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, 2003, p.279.

⁷ See Patricia M.E. Lorcin (ed), *Algeria and France: Identity, Memory, Nostalgia*, 2006.

⁸ C. Camara, *Saint Louis du Sénégal - Evolution d'une ville en milieu africain*, 1968 and A. Sinou, *Comptoirs et villes coloniales du Sénégal*, 1993.

⁹ Sinou, *Comptoirs et villes*, p.135. According to D. Robinson, the Muslims of St Louis "wanted a mosque, and had constructed one in the northern part of the island with the acquiescence of the colonial government" in "France as a Muslim Power in West Africa", *Africa Today*, p.109. Robinson places this event after the appointment of Faidherbe as governor in 1854 which is far too late, nor does he provide any evidence to confirm it was the local population who asked the French to build the mosque but they certainly would have contributed to the labour. See C. Cantone, *Making and Remaking Mosques in Senegal*, 2012, p. 126.

¹⁰ See https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Église_Saint-Louis_de_La_Roche-sur-Yon#/media/File:Tour_Nord_Eglise_Saint-Louis_de_La_Roche-sur-Yon.jpg Accessed on 28/03/2019

independence from the Damel of Cayor, the peninsula had been the object of transactions between the French government in Saint Louis and the Damel. In 1846 the Catholic Mission arrived as did free slaves from the United States who had converted to Christianity. This confluence of converts, missionaries, merchants and, increasingly, inhabitants from Gorée island was concomitant with the French administration's realisation that the Cap Vert peninsula was a far more strategic location from which to govern than their riverine outpost of Saint Louis although Dakar did not officially become the capital of AOF until 1902.¹¹

The second step was to develop the country's infrastructure: the port of Dakar served for the trans-shipment of goods and the planned railway between Saint Louis and Dakar would transport groundnut from the interior—something that was strongly opposed by the new

Damel of Cayor, Lat Dior (1862). In 1878 Dakar's population was still small (some 1500 inhabitants)¹² and the city extended as far as rue Blanchot, an area that was sparsely populated by natives and missionaries as most of the white population resided around the Marché Kermel with its commercial outlets and cafés. Housing made of perishable materials was

outlawed and in 1881 the railway project linking Dakar and St Louis was re-launched and completed in 1885.

If the infrastructure of Senegal was the administration's priority for logistical and commercial reasons, some attention was also paid to religious buildings.

Catholics had hitherto worshiped in a chapel: it was now time to build them a proper church. The then governor Brière assigned the project to the ministère de la marine who built the church in 1880, however, its vault was so heavy that it crushed its supporting walls, causing such deep cracks that it was eventually demolished in 1905. It was around the same time (ca. 1884), that the administration also built a mosque on the intersection of rue Carnot and rue Moussé Diop ex-Blanchot.

The circumstances around the mosque's construction are all but clear as little or nothing survives in the archives and literature in Senegal.

Like the mosque of St Louis, the architecture of Blanchot remains something of an enigma: both mosques are characterised by double towers flanking a pedimented façade, a pointed-arch portico and wooden-shuttered windows. Like the Mosque of St Louis, the Neo-Classical pedimented façade recedes behind the portico and the arches are given

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**France was a  
 Muslim power:  
 an imperial power  
 with Muslim  
 subjects**  
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¹¹ R. F. Betts, "Dakar Ville Impériale (1857-1960)" in R. J. Ross & G. J. Telkamp (eds), *Colonial Cities*, 1985, p.196.

¹² J. Delcourt, *Naissance et Croissance de Dakar*, 1983, p. 66.



Facade of the Blanchot Mosque today

a Neo-Gothic flavour. Undoubtedly, this unmistakably church-like style exemplifies the trans-culturation of architects trained in the Beaux-Arts in Paris who applied their skills in far-flung colonies such as Brazil and West Africa.¹³

As for the clocks inserted in the towers, they are totally at odds with the Islamic practice of making the call to prayer with the human voice: both Saint Louis and Dakar possess them in their minarets. The clock on the Blanchot left-hand tower bears the name of the makers—Bernard-Henry Wagner—who was a famous institution in Paris. The business was ceded to Château Père et Fils (the name that appears on the Blanchot clock) in 1884 which coincides with the supposed foundation of the mosque.¹⁴ Clocks are at once reminders of the British presence in India and the French presence in North and West Africa, reflecting the colonial obsession with order and punctuality which in turn contrasted with native people's perceived laziness and lethargy.¹⁵

Hybridity, Polyvalent Spaces and Lieux de Mémoire: to Remember or to Forget?¹⁶

I have used contemporary postcards to illustrate how “the colonising camera”¹⁷ projects monumentality and a sense of permanence of colonial presence. Furthermore as collectable items (objets de mémoire) although ephemeral, their recent resurgence in digital archives make them valuable tools for research. Moreover, the postcards of the mosques of Saint Louis and Dakar are far more abundant than smaller mosques—indigenous mosques, were therefore almost entirely ignored thus counterposing our

¹³ See H. A. Salgueiro, *La Casaque d'Arlequin - Belo Horizonte, une capitale éclectique au 19e siècle*, 1997; P. Rabinow, *French Modern - Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*, 1989.

¹⁴ See https://www.horloge-edifice.fr/Horlogers/Collin_Armand_Francois.htm accessed on 18/03/19



¹⁵ See T. Metcalfe, *An Imperial Vision - Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*, 2002, pp. 78-80.

¹⁶ See <https://fr.allafrica.com/stories/200205210520.html> accessed on 18/03/19

¹⁷ See S. Michels, “Re-framing Photography - Some Thoughts” in S. Hahn & S. Michels (eds) *Global Photographies*, pp. 9-17.

mosques with their mosques and in a sense, materially validating the principle according to which France was a Muslim power, ie. an imperial power with Muslim subjects. Technological innovation—photography, baked brick-making, clocks, railways and electric street lamps—were at once agents and

reminders of coloniser's mission civilisatrice. Both mosques are still in use today. Blanchot, however, has been the object of several extensions and modifications, not least the radical transformation that took place in the 1930s when the whole building was encased in another building, aligned with the street. Thus the original structure was preserved inside the new extension like a shrine. Although neither mosque is classed as part of Senegal's patrimoine culturel¹⁸, their unique hybrid identity—i.e. the fusion of church and mosque architecture—and their role in the history of Islam in Senegal make them an integral part of local heritage. The story of Senegalese mosques is aching to be told: both to non-Muslims who remain out of their bounds and to the active congregation who pray there every day. ◀


**Clocks are at the same time
a reminder of the British
presence in India
and the French presence
in North and West Africa**


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¹⁸ See <http://www.jo.gouv.sn/spip.php?article10644> accessed 08/04/2019

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Cemetery, Medina and Ensanche of Tetouan :

**three morphological units and a unique
heritage reality.**




Despite the geographical proximity of Spain to Morocco, the mistrust and partialities have developed on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea. Until now I myself have not been able to let go of it. To overcome them, I travelled through Morocco in December 2009 and I have been overwhelmed by the splendour and beauty of historical cities such as Tetouan, Fez and Meknes. The Medina of Tetouan, declared World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1997, with the Muslim cemetery and the Spanish Ensanche, is one of the most beautiful and best preserved cultural landscapes in Morocco.

A journey of encounters.


PAR BERNADINO LÍNDES VÍLCHEZ, GRENADA



At the foot of the Dersa mountain (Jebel Dersa), along the Martil river, tiny villages have been formed until the 15th century. The fertile soil was suitable for agriculture. During the Spanish Inquisition, led by Sidi Ali el Mandri, Moors and Jews fled Andalusia and settled here. The southern orientation of the Dersa foothills protects the city from the prevailing winds and provides it with inexhaustible sources of drinking water. In front of it lies the Mount of Ghorghiz, whose silhouette shines in various shades of grey in the morning mist. To the east, the Mediterranean Sea, where once there was a port for privateers. The sun rises there every day in a sublime play of blue light. The enlargement of the city and the successive extensions of the wall go hand in hand with the history of Spain. First the conquest of Granada in 1492, then after the Moorish uprising between 1568-1570 and finally the definitive expulsion of all the Moors and Jews under the reign of Philip III in the first decade of the 17th century. On the other hand, Spain's economic vigour declined. During the Andalusian diaspora, the al-Blad, al-Ayun and al-Tranqat districts appeared. Tetouan was at its peak under the governors al-Riffi and Luqash (1672 to 1757) with the development of the districts of Tala and Maswar and the suburb al-Safli. In the period of the Ash-Ash governors, from 1757 to 1860, the different districts were consolidated, the new Jewish area was created and the wall was



**The Ensanche of
Tetouan is the best
example of the Spanish
urban planning
in the old Protectorate**



completed with its seven gates: al-Muqabar, al-Nuadir, al-Tut, al-Ramuz, al-Uqla, al-Saida and al Yiaf. The period from the Spanish occupation in 1860 to the Protectorate in 1913 has led to a high level of Algerian immigration and the resulting Ottoman influence. During the Spanish Protectorate (1913-1956), the city grew almost exponentially and with it the number of Spanish mestizos. During this time, extraordinary and modern urban projects such as the Ensanche were developed. The result is the articulation of two urban structures that reinforce their own value, as Ramón de Torres pointed out with particular attention in his article "El espacio material y poético de la Medina de Tetuán" (The material and poetic space of the Medina of Tetuán)¹. Even more suggestive is his interpretation of the urban development of the medina, which is subject to the application of Islamic law and in particular to the Malikite ritual. According to this theory, the main civil and religious infrastructures are selectively located and determine the urban space by the creation of compact blocks of accommodations whose shape results from the needs of different family units and the additive and/or fragmented processes that follow. The street is banished to a servant's cabin, sometimes with no exit. The inviolability of the private, associated with the right to use and occupy public space, sometimes leads to the appropriation of this space, which, if

¹ Published in AAVV. (2011). The medina of Tetouan. Architectural guide (pp. 19-36). Regional Government of Andalusia. Administration Department and housing in the municipality of Tetouan.

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Photo of the author





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Medina of Tetouan, the "compact" city



Photo of the author

The Ensanche of Tetouan. Square Moulay El Mehdi

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approved, ultimately resulting in easements. So aerial structures (Sabat) and Adarve are created, which are privatised over time through closed doors. Outside the walls, to the south-east of Dersa Mountain, is the Muslim cemetery, linked to the medina by the oldest and most symbolic gate, al-Muqabar. Funeral processions necessarily transit here. The property, which covers more than 10 hectares, is located approximately 100 metres above sea level and projects out over the horizon on gorges that plunge into the Mediterranean Sea. Between dwarf palm trees, the tombs of the Mudjahidines of Granada dominate the highest peak of the Sidi Ali el Mandri cemetery. The vaults of the Tower of Honour of the Alhambra's Alcazaba are the constructive and architectural reference of these Quebas. On the lower promenade of the cemetery, known as Lalla Rkya, thousands of tombstones and tombs facing Mecca form a natural labyrinth of small paths that meander timidly through the bush. The Ensanche of Tetouan is the best example of Spanish town planning in the former protectorate. Unlike the extensions developed by the French as isolated cores, in cities such as Fez or Marrakech, the structure of the Tetouan extension is an extension of

the existing city and adapts to the old urban framework. Its structure is articulated around a large circular square called Plaza de Muley el Mehdi (formerly Plaza de Primo de Rivera), where six main streets converge and where famous buildings such as the church Nuestra Señora de la Victoria and the post office were erected. The buildings are no more than three storeys high, usually with a recessed attic. The streets are 12 to 15 metres wide.

The eclectic architecture tells the story of the Middle Ages, regionalism, modernity and increasing globalisation. The result is an urban morphology of great compositional unity and remarkable architectural coherence. Historic Tetouan with its medina, cemetery and Spanish Ensanche forms a living cultural space, like an organism delimited by the wall with seven gates. Carpenters, blacksmiths, tanners and places of worship, living, leisure and cultural spaces, the city combines the hustle and bustle of business with the calm of residential areas and, under the play of light and shade, offers striking perspectives as well as a normative void, the corruption fuelled by the progress of globalisation. The Medina and the Ensanche are articulated around two opposing



Photo of the author

**The cemetery of Tetouan.
In the lower levels, the tombs are laid out with geometric rigour**

organic structures: the medina, the generation of the city from the whole space, where public and private connect in a complex way, and the Ensanche, the generation of the city from the empty space, where public and private exist in one.

As a structuring element of sustainable development, its role in social, personal and cultural development should always be at the heart of the priorities. The historic city, alive and rooted in tradition (the Medina), and the modern city, nostalgic for the past without

renouncing the present and the future (the Ensanche), have common identities which form a unique cultural landscape. For this reason, the entire historic urban fabric should be declared a site. ◀

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The forms of safeguarding the perimeter of the Medina of Rabat :

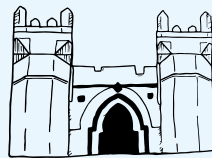
**as a heritage and landscape property, during
the period of the French protectorate in
Morocco.**

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Rabat's cultural heritage is a mirror of Morocco's history. This is particularly visible in the medina, whose preservation and development have been the subject of lively debates from the time of the French protectorate to the present day.

BY LAHRACH IBTISSAM



Introduction

After the establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco at the beginning of the 20th century, in 1914 the city of Rabat was chosen by the first French Resident, General Hubert Lyautey, as the political and administrative capital of the French zone, and became the headquarters of the General Residence. Very early on, the French colonial administration, in accordance with the wishes of its Resident General, was concerned about the conservation and protection of the historical heritage of the country's new capital, for aesthetic, historical, touristic and political reasons (Théliol, 2012, 2014).

In this article, we will approach the question of the relationship between the protectorate and the protection of the heritage of Rabat from a different point of view. We will focus here, on the one hand, on the role played by the services of the French protectorate in

the conservation, protection and enhancement of the perimeter of the Medina of Rabat, as a heritage and landscape property of the capital, and we will question the protocols and modalities of this protection policy. On the other hand, we will seek to highlight the fate of this protection policy, sixty-three years after Morocco's independence in 1956: is it still present in the practices of the Moroccan authorities, or has it fallen into disuse?

The choice of Rabat as the capital of the French protectorate in Morocco was due to several factors. Located on the Moroccan Atlantic coast, on the left bank of the Bouregreg River estuary, the city offers a site and a quality location thanks to its natural setting facing the ocean, and its position on the Bouregreg River (Lyautey, 1952). It also has a strong heritage capital, linked to its monuments and historical sites (the Kasbah of the Oudayas, the Medina, the minaret of Hassan, the necropolis of Chellah) (Figure 1).

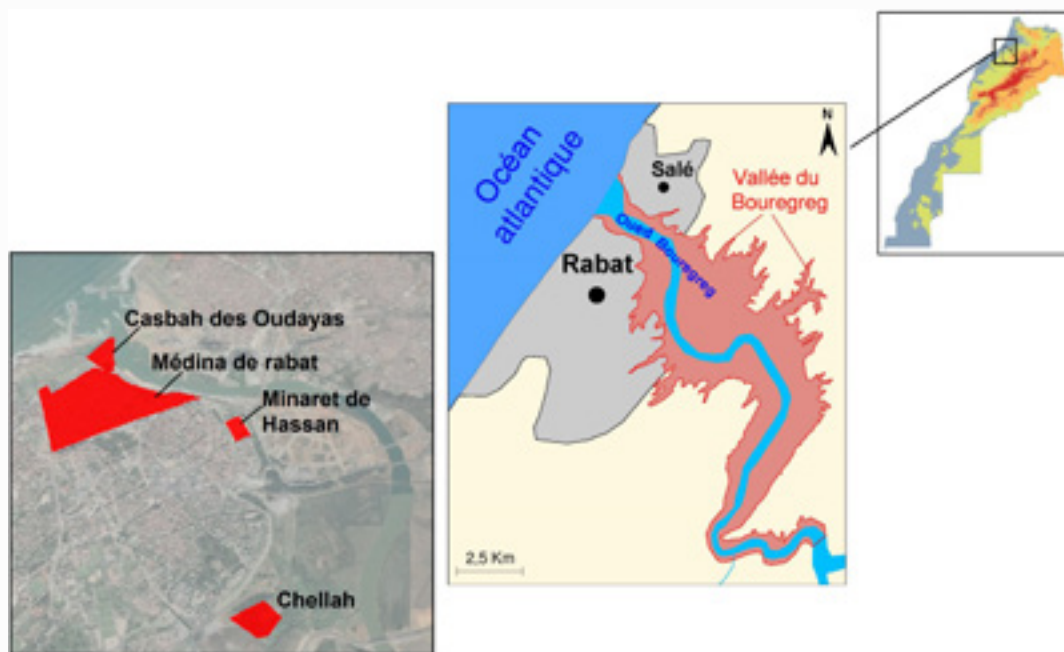


Figure 1 : Location of Rabat and its historical sites Author's illustration

Author illustration

The historical value of Rabat is often associated with the great age of human settlement in the estuary area, as demonstrated by numerous archaeological discoveries dating back to prehistory. In the 7th century BC, the Phoenicians founded a trading post on the left bank of the Bouregreg, three kilometres from the Atlantic Ocean, which later became a Roman colony under the name of Sala Colonia (at the site of the present necropolis of Chellah). When the Arab-Muslim dynasties arrived in the 11th-12th centuries, they built a military camp (Ribat) on the tip of the promontory that dominates the mouth of the Bouregreg, on the left bank: this is the Kasbah of the Udayas, the origin of the city's first urban centre (Ministry of Culture and Communication, 2011).

The Medina and the Kasbah of the Udayas can be considered the original heart of the urban ensemble of today's capital (Brown, 1971). Since then, each dynasty that ruled Morocco has left its monumental mark on the left bank of the Bouregreg estuary (Figure 1):

126 - the imprint of the Almoravid dynasty lies in the current archaeological city Ribat Tachfine near the Udayas gate, which is believed to date from the first half of the 12th century; - the Almohad dynasty marked the left bank of Bouregreg by the Hassan minaret (founded towards the end of the 12th century) and the walls of the Medina; - the Merinid dynasty, which strongly marked the twin city of Salé, left the monumental necropolis of Chellah on the left bank of the Bouregreg.

In June 2012, the city of Rabat was inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List as a "modern capital and historic city", a cultural property that bears witness to an exchange of considerable influences from various periods, from its origin to the contemporary era (Ministry of Culture and Communication, 2011). As such, the modern urban complex of Rabat is a World Heritage Site in particular because it respects and is inspired by the many values of the former Arab-Islamic heritage.

At the heart of this heritage, the Medina is a cultural property inherited from the Almohad period and has been redeveloped throughout the medieval and modern periods. It covers an area of 91 hectares, bounded by the Laâlou cemetery and the Atlantic in the north, the Andalusian wall (17th century) in the south, the Bouregreg wadi in the east and the Almohad rampart (12th century) in the west (Ministry of Culture and Communication, 2011). The enclosure of the Medina has many monumental gates, including Bab Chellah and Bab Al-Bouiba (Theliol, 2014) (Figure 2).

The many regulatory documents and archives from the colonial period (1912-1956), consulted at the Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN) and at the Archives of Morocco, show that the authorities of the French protectorate paid particular attention to this heritage, in particular the Inspection des Monuments Historiques, des Médinas et des Sites Classés (IMH), which replaced the Service des Antiquités, Beaux-Arts et Monuments Historiques in 1935. Safeguarding measures were taken from the beginning of the protectorate, first in the form of legislative and regulatory texts, including the dahirs of 26 November

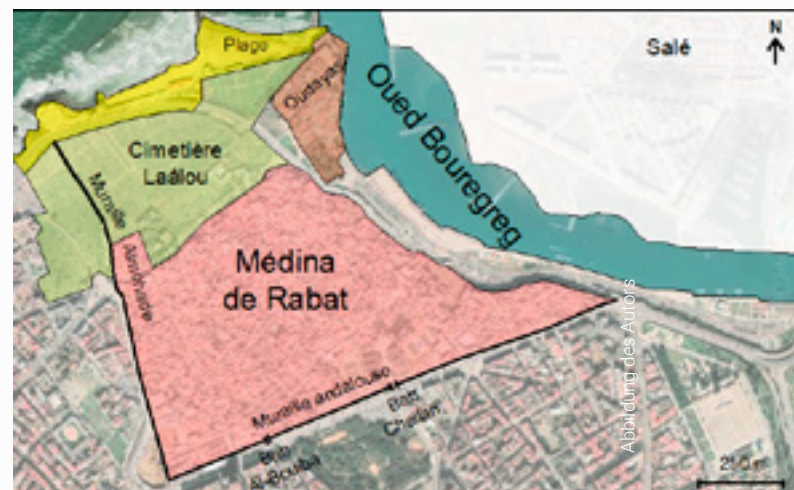


Figure 2 : The Medina of Rabat

1912 on the conservation of historic monuments and, above all, that of 13 February 1914, extending protection to the places surrounding these monuments, as well as to natural sites and monuments. The IMH was particularly interested in the protection and safeguarding of the Rabat Medina and its landscape heritage linked to the Bouregreg estuary, which offers panoramic views of the river, its banks and wetlands from the Medina (Figure 3). The Urban Planning Department (SU) had also identified the landscape setting offered by the Bouregreg River estuary and was considering exploiting it, through developments that would allow direct and close enjoyment of the site's beautiful views, charm and beauty, which are both of natural and architectural value. This has given rise to conflicts between different actors in the planning sector, such as the Urban Planning Department and the heritage protection body, in this case the IMH.

Thus, the Urban Planning Department planned various development projects of a different nature on the left bank of the estuary, opposite the Medina, aimed at developing and modernising the new capital (Wagner & Minca, 2014). This desire was translated, for example in 1951, following the request of the Rabat Yacht Club, into the proposal of a project that would be both sporting and recreational. This involved the construction of a yacht club, accompanied by sports facilities, to be built on the banks of the river, along the Rabat quay. The IMH strongly opposed this proposal with an "unfavourable opinion" (Théliol, 2014), considering that these developments would modify the original aspect of the Bouregreg estuary in a regrettable way, by hiding the views from the Medina on the estuarine landscape.

In its desire to allow the Medina of Rabat to keep its landscape heritage and unobstructed views of the entire Bouregreg estuary, in 1949 the IMH proposed a project for the classification of the estuary area, in order to extend by this protocol the protection perimeter of the Medina and to keep its charm

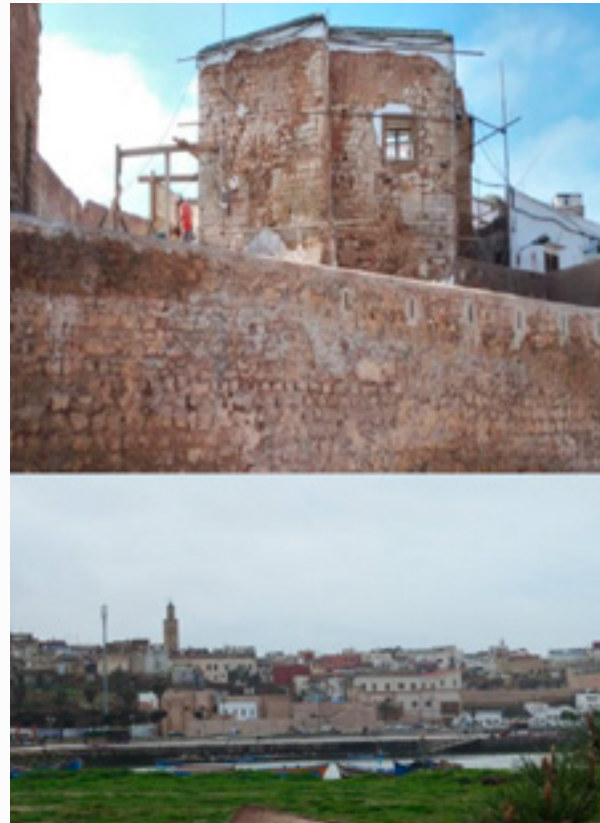


Figure 3: Photos of the Medina of Rabat and its views of the Bouregreg estuary

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and panoramic views over the Bouregreg. This project was made concrete in 1954 by the elaboration of a classification plan ratified by a Viziriel Decree of 13 January 1954, published in the Official Bulletin of Morocco, N°2154, of 5 February 1954, putting the estuary zone of the Bouregreg wadi in a "non-constructible zone" (the red zones in Figure 4). This way, the viewpoints of the Bouregreg Valley could be preserved from the Medina through its visual aesthetic value. This was a strong argument against development projects aimed at distorting the landscape, thereby giving it a heritage value.



Figure 4 : Classification plan of the Bouregreg Estuary

After Morocco's independence in 1956, the Bouregreg River estuary was the subject of five development proposals¹. However, for forty-four years (from 1956 to 2000) none of these proposals were implemented. In 2001, the estuary zone of the river and the entire Bouregreg valley was to be equipped with an ambitious new large-scale development and enhancement project (Mzaiz, 2011; Mouloudi, 2015; Benaballah, 2016). It took the form of the construction of important infrastructure and buildings on both banks of the Bouregreg, in areas classified as non-constructible by the Viziriel Decree of 13 January 1954, endangering the views of the Medina of Rabat on the river and materially impacting the landscape of the Bouregreg estuary.

According to interviews we conducted in 2018/2019 with officials of the Moroccan Ministry of Culture and the Bouregreg Valley Development Agency (AAVB), it turned out that the classification of the Bouregreg estuary area as a "non-constructible area" is largely ignored by developers. The same conflict can be found between the Moroccan authorities in charge of the development of the Bouregreg estuary (AAVB) and the conservation of its heritage (Ministry of Culture), as in the period of the French protectorate (conflict between the IMH and the SU).

Conclusion

On the landscape level, and since the start of development work under the Bouregreg Valley development project, the estuary area of the river has

¹ Five development projects and plans with various objectives, initiated by different actors, followed one another on the downstream part of the Bouregreg Valley: (1) In 1966, the National Youth Project or Zévaco Proposal. (2) The 1972 development plan drawn up by the Urban Planning Department. (3) The 1983 Partex proposal. (4) In 1994, Le plan d'aménagement du Bouregreg, or Plan Pinseau. (5) In 1998, the Rabat-Salé Urban Agency, in partnership with IAURIF in France, drew up a development plan for the valley.

undergone very profound transformations. The land classified as non-constructible by the Viziriel Decree of 13 January 1954 has experienced the construction of sumptuous infrastructures such as the Bouregreg Marina and its high-end residential complex Bab Al Bahr, the Great Theatre of Rabat, and the Mohamed VI Tower. All these were built without any decommissioning of the land, which jeopardises the integrity of the landscape heritage of the Bouregreg estuary, protected by the classification in 1954.

The new approaches at work in the Bouregreg Valley, whether in terms of development with the AAVB, or heritage inscription with the UNESCO classification, appear to be at odds with those inherited from

the protectorate period. If the modernisation and enhancement of the Rabat-Salé urban area seem to largely integrate a secular architectural heritage, the landscape heritage of its valley is ignored, despite its recognition and classification being already long-standing. ◀

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CADN, Secrétariat général du protectorat, 2MA/1/235, Service de l'urbanisme, protection des sites et Médinas, «Note portant sur la protection du site de l'estuaire du Bouregreg du 05 Janvier 1950».

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Documenting the architecture of colonial cities : Algiers 1830-1960



Physical proximity did not prevent the emergence of an abyss between them and us, between the two shores of the Mediterranean. When I finally overcame my initial mistrust and decided to go to Morocco in December 2009, Tetouan, Fez, Mekines, Xauen are revealed with all their strength and beauty and immediately dissipate so many prejudices born over time out of ignorance. A journey of meetings.

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BY CLAUDINE PIATON - PARIS



The architecture of the French colonial period is omnipresent in the urban and rural landscape of Algeria, and today constitutes the place of residence of a significant part of the Algerian population. Until the 2000s, however, little architectural research had been carried out on these buildings, with the exception of a few flagship projects from the 1950s, with the study of urban architecture from the Ottoman period or the more traditional Mzab preferred.

The post-colonial context easily explains why researchers, particularly Algerians and French, hesitate to take an interest, other than from a political angle, in an architecture that symbolises the French occupation. For the past twenty years, it is thanks to the initiative of Algerian schools of architecture that we owe the renewal of studies focused this time on the historical and material analysis of buildings built between 1830 and 1962.

Nabila Chérif, in a recent article on Algiers, explains this sudden interest by the threat of disappearance that hangs over these constructions, which have become “outdated and vulnerable”. The many rehabilitation operations launched as part of the intervention and protection programme of the Master Plan for Architecture and Urban Planning (PDAU 2000-2029) have been, she writes, “a formidable lever for the investment of university research on architecture and urban planning in the city produced during the French period”.¹

In this context, what role can European research play alongside Algerian researchers, and what can be shared?

Specificity of Algerian architecture

Several factors differentiate the architecture of the French era in Algeria from other architecture imported into the countries on the southern shore of the Mediterranean. Compared to Morocco and Tunisia, it developed in a different political context and over a longer period of time, is quantitatively more important, and reflects all the architectural trends that followed one another from the first half of the 19th century to the 1960s.

On the other hand, unlike the architecture of Egypt under British domination, produced by a cosmopolitan society (Levantine, European, Egyptian), its actors, particularly its sponsors and architects, have been almost exclusively of French nationality. Even if the latter has often come from Mediterranean countries (Spain, Italy, Malta) or, from the beginning of the 20th century, were born in Algeria, they are all linked to French political and economic networks.

The exclusive link between the colony and the metropolis² has as a corollary a concentration of historical archives in the French and Algerian collections; however, the latter, rich in architecture, remain almost inaccessible to researchers, whether Algerian or foreign.³ While the study of the forms and materials of buildings, essential to the knowledge of architecture, can be carried out in situ and without archives, this is not sufficient when it comes to writing the history of buildings. One of the challenges

¹ Sheriff 2017, p. 131.

² Algeria was a French department from 1848 to 1962.

³ The wilaya archives, for example, keep all the building permit files from the French period at the end of the 19th century and the 20th century and many urban development plans, but very few are inventoried. On the question of archives, see Guignard 2015.



Gueirouard Building, Ali-Boumendjel Street, Algiers, 1890.

of research on the architecture of the southern Mediterranean, and in particular Algeria, is therefore to uncover archives to document the buildings. Starting from the observation that these historical sources are widely dispersed, several cooperation programmes⁴ have sought to bring out European collections that are still under-exploited (company archives, land archives, private photographic archives) and make them accessible online on both sides of the Mediterranean.⁵

This documentation, combined with field inventories and journal operations, has contributed to the renewal of our knowledge of architecture and its producers, as illustrated by the work conducted on architects and building sponsors in Algiers between the mid-19th century and the 1930s.⁶

Identifying the actors in the construction industry

The list of architects in Algiers was drawn up on the basis of a systematic inventory of the plaques on the façades and the analysis of architectural reviews and professional directories. Depending on neighbourhood and period, the names of the owners were identified through the alignment plans kept in the French archives, the cadastral matrices preserved in Algeria and the lists of building permits published in newspapers, many of them online on Gallica, the digital library of the National Library of France. Biographical research in public and private archives was then systematically undertaken to document each of the protagonists of the construction.⁷

What has this data brought us, compared to previous work? Architectural research highlights the architects active in Algeria since the 1930s, particularly

⁴ Flying 2005. Euromed Heritage Project: Mutual heritage: Identifying and enhancing 19th. and 20th. century architecture and urban environments around the Mediterranean; European Projects (Culture): ARCHING: European Engineering ARChives and ELCONUM: Collaborative development of a digital heritage collection. <https://invisu.inha.fr/fr/recherche/projets-termines.html>

⁵ The ELCONUM project, focusing on the European archives of Algerian architecture, has, for example, given rise to an online exhibition: <http://elconum.huma-num.fr/> Archival documents are available at <http://halimede.huma-num.fr/node/1750>

⁶ Piaton et al. 2016; Piaton, Lochard 2017.

⁷ See biographical notes written by Juliette Hueber in PIATON et al. 2016, pp. 333-343.



Photograph T. Lochard, 2013.

**Alignment of neoclassical facades, Ahmed Bouzrina Street,
Algiers, 1860-1865**

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the 'modern' architects who followed in Le Corbusier's footsteps. In Algiers, their sometimes spectacular achievements (bridge-building, aeronautics, the government palace, Climat de France, etc), presented in major professional journals, have largely obscured the ordinary architectural production of the 19th century and the turn of the 20th century.

The field inventory revealed a massive production of Haussmann-style rental buildings, due to architect builders who were not very innovative, but was very productive. One of the best examples is the architect Antonio Lauro, both architect and developer, who at the beginning of the 20th century built several dozen buildings in the former Isly district (Ben M'Hidi district) and Bab-el-Oued, depending on their level of decoration and comfort, to house the small

and medium-sized colonial bourgeoisie (I don't get what the size is referring to). Other architects, such as Émile Lowe and Charles Rosazza, creators of many city centre apartment buildings, are like Lauro rarely mentioned.⁸

Research into sponsors has also revealed several rarely addressed phenomena. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the owners of the buildings along the realigned streets of the Old City (the Kasbah district) were to a large extent members of the indigenous Jewish community, even though these streets were the symbol of French presence. Archival research also shows that, in new districts, many clients (meaning? Owners of individual houses/flats? Owners of whole buildings? Renters?) of buildings with ostentatious decorations were building

⁸ See Piaton et al. 2016, "Architectes d'Alger 1830-1940", p. 31-49.

contractors from southern France, Italy or Spain. The architecture made it possible for them to demonstrate their professional success.

The monumental onyx marble staircase of a building built in 1890 by the entrepreneur Gabriel Gueirouard, inspired by the Paris Opera, is one of the best examples. Others are the 1902 building, designed by marble contractor Delgado, whose marble-covered entrance hall is a real promotional stand; and the 1864 building by port basin contractor Léon Lesca, with its facades⁹ decorated with masks and atlases.

Heritage choices

Unlike other cities in the southern Mediterranean, such as Cairo and Alexandria, where the architectural achievements of the nineteenth century and the turn of the twentieth century, although monumental, did not resist the urban pressure of the second half of the century, Algiers retains almost all its buildings from the French period. Although often in a poor state, they form exceptional ensembles due to their scale, such as the alignment of the neoclassical facades of the streets of the Lower Kasbah, the Haussmann alignments of the city centre or the groups of Art Deco buildings hung on the slopes; few cities have the equivalent.

Given the obsolescence of the buildings, the main dilemma facing municipal authorities in the short term will be their conservation or demolition. The question of the heritage recognition of this architecture, an ordinary landscape of the city, will then be truly raised.¹⁰ Today, only a few buildings from the French period are protected as part of Algeria's national heritage.¹¹ Among these monuments, neo-Moorish buildings dominate: Grande Poste, former Galeries de France (now MAMA), Ketchaoua Mosque. This raises questions about the distance

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Ketchaoua Mosque, Ibn Badis Square, Algiers, rebuilt between 1844 and 1890

Photograph of the author, 2018.

⁹ See building records in Piaton et al. 2016.

¹⁰ See for example the study conducted on the city of Kherrata, BENAIDJA 2018.

¹¹ Within the framework of the Programme of Support for the Protection and Enhancement of Cultural Heritage in Algeria, funded by the European Union from 2014 to 2017 (21.5 million euros from the EU), training courses on the methodology of heritage inventory (movable and immovable, tangible and intangible) have nevertheless included 19th and 20th century architecture.

between the history of production conditions and the contemporary reception of a type of architecture. Edouard Saïd, in his criticism of Orientalism, pointed out this style as a “Western style of domination, restructuring and authority over the East”.¹² The Ketchaoua Mosque, in the neo-Moorish style and now protected as a building of the Ottoman period, questions even more acutely the link between historical narrative, material authenticity and heritage recognition. While the mosque is several centuries old, its current form is the result of a complete reconstruction by the French occupiers in the second half of the nineteenth century, when it was transformed into a cathedral.¹³ In 2017, after its restoration by a Turkish company, the mosque was nevertheless declared “cultural heritage common to both countries [Algeria and Turkey]”¹⁴. By its own characteristics and its destiny as a monument, the building is thus particularly representative of the paradoxes of the patrimonialisation of the architecture of the colonial era.

Conclusion

In the context of our research, it seems essential to us to separate the study of colonial architecture from the question of its patrimonialisation. Our contribution is therefore made available through the provision of unpublished archival sources, the analysis of its forms in the light of our own experience, and the study of the political and socio-economic contexts of its production. Unlike movable objects, architecture is in fact attached to the territory. It thus constitutes, in the same way as the French language, a spoil of war of which only Algerians are able to decide to become (?). ◀

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¹² Saïd 1980, p. 15.

¹³ Piaton et al. 2016, pp. 93-95 and Nedjari 2012.

¹⁴ Statement by Orhan Aydin, coordinator in Algeria of the Turkish Cooperation Agency (TIKA), relayed by Algerian media: <https://www.elwatan.com/archives/magazine-archives/ketchaoua-retrouve-sa-splendeur-2-16-11-2017> The restoration, financed by Turkey, is part of the economic partnerships between the two countries.

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Cherif 2017: Nabila Chérif, “Alger, 1830-1980 : chronique d’une historiographie en construction”, *Perspective*, 2 | 2017, p. 131-152, <http://journals.openedition.org/perspective/7596> ; DOI : 10.4000/perspective.7596.

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Piaton et al. 2016: Claudine Piaton, Juliette Hueber, Boussad Aïche, Thierry Lochard, *Alger, ville et architecture 1830-1940*, Arles: Honoré Clair, Alger : Barzakh, 2016.

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Two districts of Cairo, 19th and 20th century :

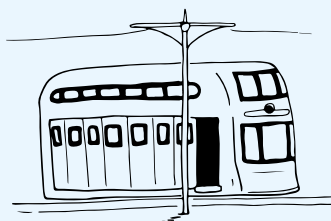
Plural readings



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Greater Cairo has undergone a huge urban transformation in the last few years late 19th and early 20th century. The districts of Abbasiya and of Heliopolis still testify to this today.

BY LOBNA CHERIF - CAIRO



Introduction

To understand the architecture of Cairo in the 19th and 20th centuries, it is necessary to read the city. But this Cairo is not homogeneous; its districts vary and change. It extends in different directions: to the west, south and northeast. Abbasiya and Heliopolis are examples of the fascinating growth towards the northeast. These two districts of different characters unite thanks to the tramway that crosses one to lead to the other.

An exploration of the urban fabric and architecture of the two districts leads to a comparison between their growth and their form. Multiple readings of architecture are presented: a reading that traces the history and universal trends of the time, a spatial reading of the urban and architectural image, and a critical reading in the Orientalist context. The underlying assumption of this exhibition is that the readings, whether from a historical, urbanist, architectural, architectural, critical or general perspective, are plural readings that take into consideration all perspectives, present an understanding of the past and present, and offer possibilities for the future.

Varied readings: Historical, spatial, critical

Au tournant du XIXe siècle Le Caire bouge dans différentes directions : vers l'Ouest, le Sud, et le Nord-Est. Ce mouvement s'accélérait pendant les années d'entre guerre. Quand la ville témoigne des améliorations de réseaux routiers, et du système de transport. Le nouveau tramway rapproche les distances. La croissance du Caire vers le Nord-Est se lie au centre-ville par le tramway et le chemin de fer électrique (le métro) qui facilite le trajet journalier des classes moyennes et les encourage à quitter leurs quartiers

pour les nouvelles périphéries. Les deux quartiers d'Abbasiya et d'Héliopolis au Nord-Est sont préférés par la classe bourgeoise professionnelle. Dès 1896 une ligne lie Abbasiya au centre-ville. En 1905 une nouvelle ligne traverse Abbasiya vers Héliopolis. Ce trajet représente la croissance du Caire au XIXe et XXe siècles. L'exploration du tissu urbain et de l'architecture des deux quartiers mène à comprendre les croissances et bâtis de cette époque de changement accéléré. Dès la fin du XIXe siècle la ville du Caire (avec l'établissement du centre-ville inspiré de Paris) et la vie des Egyptiens des différentes classes sociales a dramatiquement changée (Naguib Mahfouz présente dans La Trilogie du Caire une étude de la transformation de la société). Ils adoptent un style de vie européen synonyme de modernité, de plus en plus leurs demeures sont arrangées à la nouvelle tendance en gardant quelques vestiges des demeures traditionnelles, même la décoration est à l'europpéenne. Les places de loisirs publiques sont introduites : dorénavant on va au théâtre, au jardin public, au café, et au restaurant. Abbasiya is an extension of the city, with large villas surrounded by gardens. During the 1920s, it changed its character to become a middle-class district. The introduction of the tramway encouraged development. Hospitals, schools, mosques and synagogues multiplied in the eastern part of the district, to serve the city of Cairo. As elsewhere, Egyptians look for European styles. The facades are of tripartite, pediment, entablature, balustrades, surface decorations, garlands, statuette niches. Neoclassical, Neo-Baroque, Neo-Renaissance and Art Deco styles are freely used. The buildings on the main streets use the same varied, more provincial styles. From 1906, a private company – the Heliopolis Urban Development Company – developed an oasis garden city ten kilometres from Cairo. Two tramway routes connected the new city to the city centre and served shops, leisure facilities and the working classes located near the mosque.



Credit : eFesenko

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Facade with towers and carved ornaments of the Belle Epoque style, ex-Davis Bryan Building, located on Mohamed Farid Street in the city centre

A line led to the Luna Parc and the Hippodrome, or to the mosque square; the second line went through the streets of European-style shopping. The Company decided to build in an 'Arabist' style. European architects' study and use this style, because it is not entirely faithful to historical examples. The architectural vocabulary of mosques and madrasas, and of Fatimid, Mamluk and Ottoman residences, are united in new compositions. This historical repertoire creates an exotic, yet local, regional character in a modern context. Four-storey buildings with pedestrian

and commercial arcades offer a uniform architectural image. This architecture of an exceptional style that combines climate, comfort and local character – albeit unprecedented – remains one of the remarkable assets of the Company's buildings. The architecture, reflecting the oasis concept, uses elements from Cairo's history in new and bold compositions. The whole forms a coherent image by means of arcades of different periods, minarets, domes, arabesques and stalactites. These forms are ingeniously used to create an enchanting and exotic image and character. The

Mediterranean climate is encountered with arcades, covered terraces, balconies and louvered openings. Heliopolis attracts Europeans, Levantines and Egyptians by offering the wealthy, middle and working classes their housing needs: palaces, villas, buildings, apartments of different sizes and facilities, schools, shops, tourist and leisure establishments, and various attractions. It should be noted that the cathedral is placed centrally while the mosque is placed out of the centre in the Muslim workers' district. This new city of Heliopolis began as a colonial and Orientalist project: an economic idea to take advantage of Egypt's boom, an economic idea based on years of prosperity to attract Europeans residing in Egypt, and then the Levantines, well-educated, well-off Egyptians. This project entailed choosing the name of the ancient city to recall the Pharaonic civilisation, employing European architects to build in an Arab style, giving the cathedral a central location and marginalising the mosque. Managed by the Company, which handled all services.

Cairo's growth towards the northeast is remarkable, looking at these examples: one of expansion, the other based on the intention to create an independent but attractive city. Abbassiya remains a homogeneous district of Cairo, part of the city without a clear boundary. Heliopolis, which has become one of the districts of metropolitan Cairo, houses all classes, offers services and demonstrates unique urban and architectural planning in Egypt. This new city has become an example of success from an urban, architectural and management point of view. ◀

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European Cities and Heritage Safeguarding Strategies in the Maghreb :

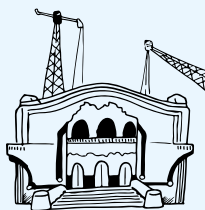
Some comparative and transversal approaches



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Maghreb cities, influenced by Europe, have for a long time were considered as the legacy and symbol of a period of time controversial, that of a painful decolonisation. However, in recent years, a new awareness has emerged to reassess their status as a rich urban and architectural heritage.



BY MOHIEDDINE HADHRI



Introduction

This contribution aims to shed some light on the heritage that European colonial cities in the Maghreb now constitute. While these European cities were for a long time considered the legacy and symbol of a very controversial period of painful decolonisation, a new awareness has emerged in recent years in the Maghreb to reassess the status of these Western cities as a rich urban and architectural heritage. In this new context, a whole series of questions arise as to the place of European cities in the heritage strategies adopted by the three Maghreb countries, namely Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. This subject will be addressed through three areas of reflection:

- I- European cities in the Maghreb: An essential component of the urban and architectural landscape.
- II- European cities in the Maghreb heritage strategies: Foundations and basic orientations
- III- European Architectural Heritage in the Maghreb: Euro-Mediterranean Safeguarding Actions and Programmes.


**Since the independence
of the Maghreb countries
in the 1960s, urban
landscapes have been
a kind of
“urban-east-west bipolarity”**


European cities in the Maghreb: An essential component of the urban and architectural landscape

European cities in North Africa are the most tangible expression of the colonial era, which began in the 19th century with the colonisation of Algeria in 1830 and continued until its painful independence in 1962. Half a century after the end of the colonial era, these cities today constitute an urban heritage of great architectural and cultural richness that unfortunately suffers from many problems: suspicion and illegitimacy, in some cases decay, ruin and abandonment.¹

In the Maghreb, the European city developed with the French, Italian and Spanish colonisation, especially during the first half of the 20th century. It is described as a new city (medina Jadida) and its organisation, technology and principles are inspired by Western experience.² Historically, the emergence of a modern European-style urban planning was not without pain. Indeed, in 19th-century Algeria, the French destroyed entire districts to build new urban infrastructure, gutting medinas to develop new spaces and new buildings. One of the best examples of these colonial cities is the city of Algiers, capital of the colony and seat of the main activities, which after 1870 experienced a period of great urban growth.³

Aware of the harmful effects of this practice and wishing to preserve traditional urban foundations, the colonial authorities adopted a more elaborate policy in Tunisia and Morocco at the beginning of the 20th century, by building cities juxtaposed with the

¹ LAZHAR GHARBI, Mohamed Le patrimoine colonial au Maghreb In. : Tensions méditerranéennes, 2003. - p. 205-218

² Mohamed Lazhar "Le Maghreb urbain : Paysage culturel entre la tradition et la modernité." Eurostudia 81-2 (2012): 251–264.

³ Aleth Picard et Xavier Malverti, « La Notion de Patrimoine Urbain et Architectural Méditerranéen : le Cas de L'Algérie » in EI KADI G., Sahar A. (dir), 2009. Le patrimoine partagé en Méditerranée, Ed. IRD/Bibliotheca Alexandrina, 365 p



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The municipal theatre of Tunis, built in 1902 in the Art Nouveau style



Oran's town hall in Spanish architectural style

medinas with an architecture specific to the Maghreb context. Thus a school appeared in the Maghreb in the 1930s, represented mainly by 'Arabising architecture' with an obvious Moorish and indigenous influence. Urban planners such as Marcel Lathuillère, Auguste Perret in Algeria, Prost, Forestier, Danger in Morocco, Saladin and Guy in Tunisia were the leaders of the 'Arabisation'. As the product of an architectural trend combining European influences and local contributions, colonial urban complexes constitute 'art cities', true jewels of great architectural and decorative richness.⁴

The construction of European cities in North Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries was influenced by the contributions of European architecture but also by local know-how, the Arab and Andalusian Oriental styles. The local approach to colonial architecture makes it possible to better reproduce the plurality of its sources and influences. What applies to Morocco applies equally to Tunisia and Algeria: the colonial architecture was not only French, but it was also Spanish or Italian.⁵ Since the independence of the Maghreb countries in the 1960s, urban landscapes have been characterised by a kind of East-West urban bipolarity. Thus, the medinas are the setting for traditional urban culture. They retain the prestige of religion and culture, while the European city is endowed with political and economic power. The latter stands at the gates of the old city as in Fez, Tangier or Tunis, when it has not torn the old urban fabric, as is so often the case in Algeria.⁶

European cities in the Maghreb heritage strategies: Foundations and basic orientations

In the Maghreb countries, the process of heritage development only dates back to the early 1980s. While it initially focused on traditional urban and architectural forms such as Arab and Islamic medinas, this process is gradually broadening to include the architecture produced during the European colonial era. In the countries of the South, the incorporation of the urban and architectural legacy of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, generally produced by colonial powers or agents, is not so simply self-evident.

The identity issue is thus at the heart of new heritage initiatives, particularly in Algeria. Far from being a valuable reference, colonial heritage sometimes suffers from the alteration of time, as evidenced by the state of ruin of several monuments from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Victim of a political break with colonialism, of an identity problem of Maghreb societies and of a selective heritage policy, the colonial heritage remains subject to the vagaries of these countries' economic development.⁷

In the Maghreb countries, the protection of European cultural and urban heritage has mobilised many actors over the past twenty years: public opinion,

⁴ Mohamed Lazhar Gharbi, Le patrimoine colonial au Maghreb <http://actualitesdrlahnite.over-blog.com/article-le-patrimoine-colonial-au-maghreb-64772401.html>

⁵ Ilvia Finzi, Milva Giacomelli, Ezio Godoli, Ahmed Saadaoui, Italian Architects and Architects in the Maghreb, Proceedings of the international symposium held at the National Archives of Tunisia (Tunis, 10-12 December 2009 See also Leïla Ammar, Le quartier de la Petite Sicile in Tunis, *histoire ancienne et enjeux actuels* p.237. On this subject, the reference book Myriam Bacha, *Architecture au Maghreb (XIXe-XXe siècle): Réinvention du patrimoine* published in 1911 in Paris offers a wide panorama of architectural inventions born from the observation of the heritage and constructive traditions of the Maghreb in the 19th and 20th centuries. It explores these creations invented on the basis of local heritage and traditional models and thus offers a better understanding of the physiognomy of current Maghreb cities. Myriam Bacha, *Architecture in the Maghreb (19th-20th century): Reinvention of heritage*. Presses universitaires François Rabelais, Paris 1911, p.321

⁶ As Camille Lacoste pointed out, the old city "had sometimes been reduced to a district, the Kasbah, in Algiers, where the European city had monopolised space; sometimes the old city had maintained the new creation as an appendix without depth or relief, as in the city of Fez. Tunis was an intermediate situation before urbanisation turned the whole thing into new forms of growth for the city." See Camille Lacoste, *Maghreb, Peoples and Civilisations*, 75-76. See also Nadir Boumaza, "Processes of urban manufacturing and action. Renewal of urban planning and contexts of action concerning Maghreb cities", in *Real Cities and Projected Cities. Villes maghrébines en fabrication*, dir. N. Boumaza Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 2005, 21.

⁷ Galila El Kadi, *Le patrimoine moderne dans les villes du Sud : une articulation en cours entre mémoires locales, modernités urbaines et mondialisation*, Autrepart 2005/1 (n° 33) <https://www.cairn.info/revue-autrepart-2005-1-page-3.htm>

ministries, universities, civil society... Thus, many monuments, palaces and European districts in Tunis, Casablanca and Algiers have been restored by the public authorities as part of a shared heritage. Much effort has been made to preserve and enhance modern heritage over the past two decades, covering several areas: public awareness of the values of this heritage, restoration practices, allocation to new uses, adoption of appropriate management methods, improvement of the quality of life and the environment, and tourism development.

In Tunisia, on the other hand, the policy of safeguarding the architectural heritage is not recent and dates back to colonial times. However, in 1970 Tunisia embarked on a bold policy to safeguard traditional and European heritage. Thus, some buildings in the historic district of the Medina were classified in 1992 and 2000-2001 as remarkable buildings and ministries, built between 1905 and 1915 by renowned architects such as Jean-Emile Resplandy and Raphaël Guy. During the

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2000s, the Association de Sauvegarde de la Médina de Tunis received the Agha KHAN prize for its action and achievements in the rehabilitation of the colonial fabric on both sides of the main axis of Habib Bourguiba Avenue. Three examples of conservation of

European architectural heritage⁸ Italian monuments and architecture in Tunis: From the mid-19th century to the mid-20th century, Italian architects and masons helped to change Tunis and the country's

main cities, such as the La Petite Sicile district in Tunis, which the Tunisian Government decided to rehabilitate in 1995.⁹ In addition, as part of the heritage safeguarding strategy, some of Tunis's historic monuments have been restored in recent years, such as the Théâtre Municipal de Tunis 1902 and Avenue Habib Bourguiba (formerly Avenue Jules Ferry), which underwent a restoration and rehabilitation operation in the 2000s.¹⁰

Let us add that the beautiful residence Ennejjma Ezzahra (1912), built by Baron d'Erlanger in Sidi Bou Said, was one of the first buildings to benefit from the provisions of the new 1994 Heritage Code facilitating the classification of recent buildings, before being the subject of an ambitious restoration intended to accommodate a centre for Mediterranean music.¹¹

European architectural heritage in Algeria: In Algeria, European heritage is still the vestige of a delicate period in the country's history, that of decolonisation. Despite recent developments, marked for example by the 1998 law which significantly broadens the

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**In Algeria, the  
 European heritage  
 is still the remains  
 of a delicate  
 period of  
 the country's history**  
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⁸ Christophe Giudice, 2006, La construction de Tunis, « ville européenne » et ses acteurs de 1860 à 1945, Doktorarbeit, Université de Paris Panthéon-Sorbonne. Siehe auch Leila Ammar, Les enjeux du patrimoine ancien et récent à Tunis aux XIXe et XXe siècles Entre volontés de sauvegarde et périls, in Al-Sabil, Revue d'Histoire, d'archéologie et d'Art, 03 | 2017

⁹ Leila Ammar, Le quartier de la Petite Sicile à Tunis, histoire ancienne et enjeux actuels A.237 Siehe auch vom gleichen Autor « Du présent et du futur du quartier de la Petite Sicile à Tunis », Archibat n° 6, Tunis, Juin 2003

¹⁰ Christophe GIUDICE 2002, « La construction de Tunis "ville européenne" et ses acteurs de 1860 à 1945 », Correspondances n°70, mars-avril, S. 11 – 17 (www.irmcmaghreb.org/corres/index.htm).

¹¹ Siehe einen kurzen Überblick über den Palast des Barons von Erlanger Ennejjma Ezzahra <http://www.cmam.nat.tn/content/fr/5/Le-palais.html>

notion of heritage, the question of heritage in Algeria remains marked by many paradoxes. However, today the European architectural heritage in Algeria challenges public power and opinion for a new positivist vision towards this European heritage as an integral part of the national heritage.¹²

To our knowledge, one of the most explicit and elaborate documents in this context is the book published by the Governorate of Greater Algiers under the title Algiers, Capital of the 21st Century, which puts forward a number of arguments for the enhancement of former colonial central fabrics. First of all, it places Algiers in a Mediterranean of similarity (comparability) and competition (comparative advantages) with the other cities, or rather metropolises, of the basin, specifying: "Our capital is naturally predestined for the role of a major Mediterranean metropolis (...) it must be able to support the comparison and compete as well as cooperate with all other metropolises of this rank (Barcelona, Marseille, Genoa, Lisbon...) in terms of attractiveness on high level activities."¹³ This new vision reflects a promising evolution of Algerian heritage strategy at the beginning of the 21st century.

Morocco, a crossroads of architectural modernity between East and West: Originally, the most common architectural style in Morocco was Arab-Islamic, where the exterior decoration is concentrated at the door. From 1920 onwards, the influence of European architectural movements dominated Morocco, especially in the economic capital. Thus, the European cities of Morocco, in particular, Rabat, Casablanca and Tangier, cities built almost entirely in the 20th century

by the French protectorate, constitute an architectural heritage and a shared heritage of great value.¹⁴ Thus many buildings of various architectural styles of great diversity such as neo-classical, neo-Moorish, cubism, art deco, Arab-Andalusian, art nouveau, Bauhaus, functionalism and more can still be found today. These Moroccan architectural styles are also rich in living evidence of confluence and crossed North/South perceptions.

The European Architectural Heritage in the Maghreb Euro-Mediterranean Actions and Safeguarding Programmes

Since 1995, the European Union has been aware of the importance of the European architectural and urban heritage in the southern Mediterranean, financing programmes aimed at identifying and restoring monuments and buildings in European cities in the Maghreb.

1- MONTADA programme for the restoration of Maghreb cities

The MONTADA project is part of the EUROMED HERITAGE 4 programme and was approved by the European Commission on 12 December 2008. Its main orientation is the establishment of forums on traditional Mediterranean architecture in the three Maghreb countries. These forums will raise awareness

¹² Rachid Sidi Boumedine, Le Patrimoine Architectural Colonial en Algérie : Evolution des Représentations et des Pratiques . » in El KADI G., Sahar A. (dir) , 2009. Le patrimoine partagé en Méditerranée, Ed. IRD/Bibliotheca Alexandrina, S.365

¹³ Das Gesetz Nr. 98-04 vom 15. Juni 1998 über den Schutz des Kulturerbes drückt den Willen aus, den Rechtsrahmen für den Schutz des baulichen Erbes zu erneuern, siehe Fatima Mazouz, Le renouvellement du patrimoine bâti vétuste en Algérie. Le cas du centre-ville d'Oran, In Droit et société 2015/1 (Nr. 89), Seiten 151 bis 170

¹⁴ Selektimmo , Les styles architecturaux du Maroc <http://www.selektimmo.com/magazine/styles-architecturaux-maroc/> Siehe auch Rabat, capitale moderne et ville historique : un patrimoine en partage, <https://whc.unesco.org/fr/list/1401>

among local populations of the value of this architecture. The overall objective of the MONTADA project is to promote the traditional built heritage by making it known, and to strengthen its identity through its appropriation by elected officials and the population – an appropriation that leads to the integration of heritage as a factor of sustainable development (cultural, social, economic and environmental) while strengthening mutual understanding and dialogue between cultures. Three Maghreb countries and six cities – Salé and Marrakech in Morocco, Sousse and Kairouan in Tunisia, Dellys and Ghardaïa in Algeria – are involved in the process.¹⁵



The city of Tangier with its architectural dualism Medina/ European city

2- The Shared Heritage project: Knowledge and know-how applied to the architectural and urban heritage of the 19th and 20th centuries in the Mediterranean¹⁶

Funded under the European Commission's Euromed Heritage programmes, this programme brings together 15 teams from the world of research, training and professional practice in nine countries around the Mediterranean. The project is presented as a research action that focuses on the knowledge and recognition of the so-called recent heritage in this region of the world, based on a partnership between the two shores. However, this programme focuses on colonial architecture, but also on the other forms of architectural production that characterised the period under consideration. The project has resulted in the publication of numerous studies on the urban and architectural heritage of the countries of the South.

¹⁵ Das Projekt Montada, Patrimoine et Participation, Vers un nouveau cadre de gouvernance au Maghreb, programme Euromed Heritage 2012 www.euromedheritage.net

¹⁶ Mercedes Volait. Patrimoines partagés : un regard décentré et élargi sur l'architecture et la ville des XIXe et XXe siècles en Méditerranée. Institut national du Patrimoine. Architecture coloniale et patrimoine, l'expérience française, Somogy, S.115-124, 2005

¹⁷ Mercedes Volait. Patrimoines partagés : un regard décentré et élargi sur l'architecture et la ville des XIXe et XXe siècles en Méditerranée. Institut national du Patrimoine. Architecture coloniale et patrimoine, l'expérience française, Somogy, S.115-124, 2005

Conclusion

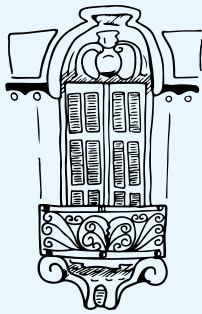
At the beginning of this century, it is becoming increasingly clear that Europe's colonial heritage is a vast field, ranging from simple historical monuments, industrial architecture and colonial agricultural estates to urban areas. In addition to the built heritage, it includes a range of literary, artistic, cultural and other elements of historical and memorial archives.

This summary presentation makes it possible to measure the primordial importance of the urban and architectural heritage in the Maghreb in the broad sense, a heritage that is nowadays caught up in the turmoil of globalisation and is going through socio-economic and identity crises of great gravity.

While it is necessary to take note of the new trends that have emerged in the Maghreb in recent years in terms of heritage policies and strategies towards European cities now considered as legacies that deserve to be rehabilitated, much remains to be done to safeguard this heritage in the future. Hence the need for active cooperation and a Euro-Maghreb partnership to achieve the safeguarding of monuments of great richness, a symbol of a shared heritage between the two shores of the Mediterranean. ◀

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