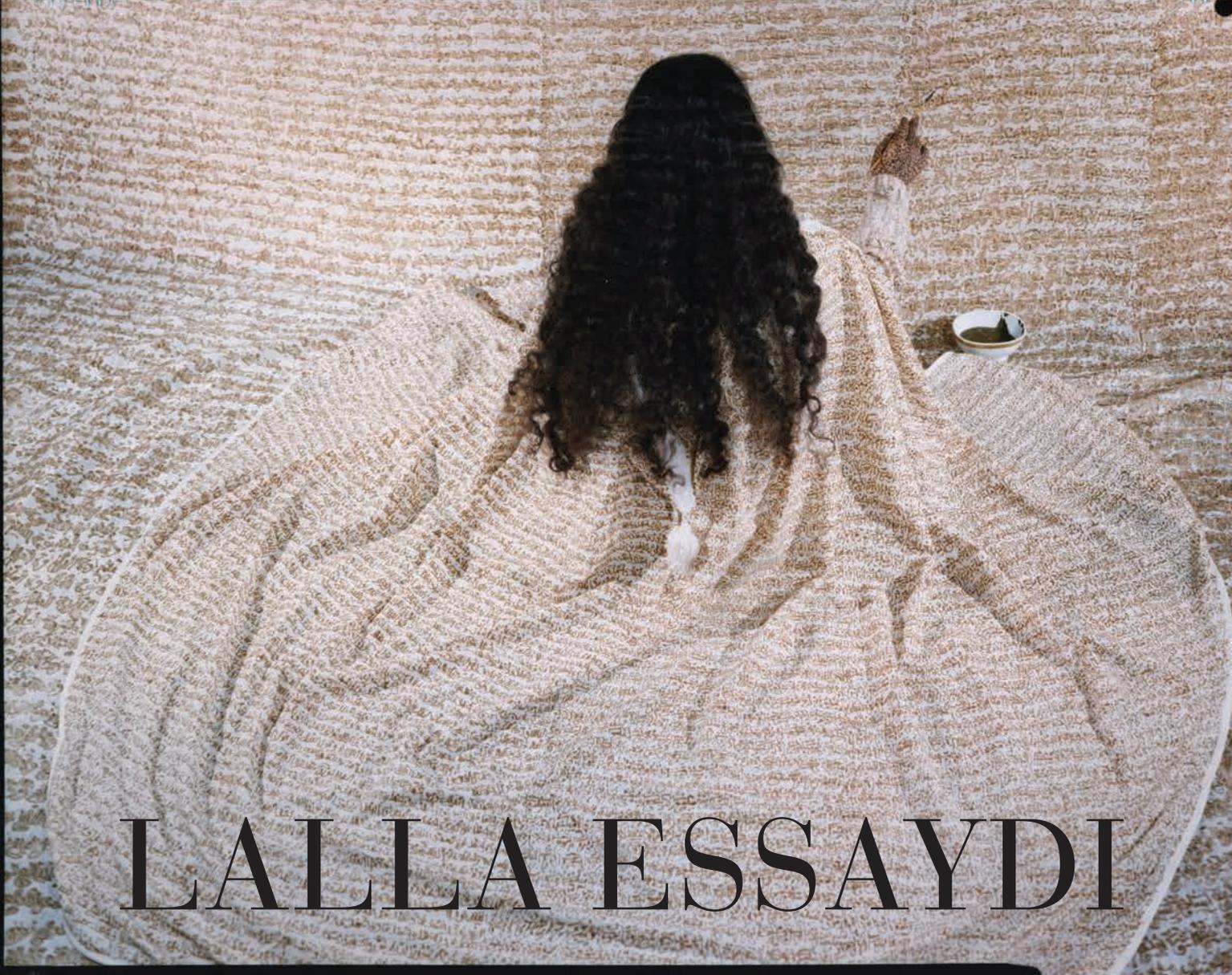


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LALLA ESSAYDI

THE PHOTOGRAPHY OF LALLA ESSAYDI: CRITIQUING AND CONTEXTUALIZING ORIENTALISM

Edited by Sarah T. Brooks

With Contributions by
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CONTENTS

FOREWORD William Wightman	4
PREFACE Ragan McManus	6
INTRODUCTION Sarah T. Brooks	8
A CONVERSATION WITH LALLA ESSAYDI Maureen G. Shanahan	16
AT THE THRESHOLD OF INTERPRETATION: IMAGINING MUSLIM WOMEN'S LIVES Danielle Widmann Abraham	42
ARABS, BERBERS, ISLAM, AND ORIENTALISM IN MOROCCO: HISTORICALLY AND CULTURALLY CONTEXTUALIZING THE WORK OF LALLA ESSAYDI Shah Mahmoud Hanifi	46
RECLAIMING THE HAREM. LALLA ESSAYDI AND THE ORIENTALIST TRADITION IN EUROPEAN PAINTING David Ehrenpreis	58
SAWHILL GALLERY ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS Gary Freeburg	65
DARRIN-McHONE GALLERY ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS Ragan McManus	66
CURATORIAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS Sarah T. Brooks	67

ARABS, BERBERS, ISLAM, AND ORIENTALISM IN MOROCCO: HISTORICALLY AND CULTURALLY CONTEXTUALIZING THE WORK OF LALLA ESSAYDI

Shah Mahmoud Hanifi

This essay positions Lalla Essaydi's 'expatriate performance-based photographs'¹ in the context of Moroccan history and society. The following interdisciplinary exercise is designed for a general readership and a broad viewing audience. It will engage literature across a number of academic fields, including anthropology, history, and art history.

The modern nation-state of Morocco in northwestern Africa (Fig. 7, Pl. 17–19) contains approximately thirty-two million "Arab-Berbers"², and this hyphenated identity is important to reckon with because it and other forms of hybridity and compounded-ness are evident in Essaydi's work. The issues and questions of identity and representation that Essaydi speaks to are treated in the concluding section of this essay, where the concept of Orientalism is discussed. Before arriving at the point where Essaydi's work can be engaged, our first priority is Morocco's geography, after which the local and global dimensions of Islam, French colonialism in North Africa, and the scholarship of Morocco are addressed.

Today Morocco is territorially bounded by Algeria in the northeast and Mauritania in the southeast, the Mediterranean Sea and the Strait of Gibraltar to the north, and the Atlantic Ocean to the east (Fig. 7,

Pl. 17–19).³ The main features of Morocco's geography and physical environment are its coastlines, mountains, deserts, and cities. For millennia the coast has provided a series of aquatic connections to the wider world, the mountains have conditioned multiple forms of local social organization and a wide diversity of cultural expressions, its deserts have insulated not isolated the country, and its cities have risen and fallen along with polities that have come, gone, and interacted among themselves and with outside powers over the course of Morocco's recorded history. The north-central coastal region in the vicinity of the contemporary capital of Morocco, Rabat, contains archaeological evidence of Phoenician trading activity dating to the third century BCE that brought this region into economic and cultural contact with a cosmopolitan and intellectually vibrant prehistoric eastern Mediterranean civilization.⁴ A Roman settlement approximately seventy-five miles inland from Rabat at Volubilis was active from approximately the first century BCE to the third century CE.⁵ By the fifth century CE, this area and other regions of what later became Morocco had been nominally incorporated into the Byzantine Empire. A small number of conversions to Christianity had occurred among the indigenous Berber population by the time Islam arrived in the seventh century.

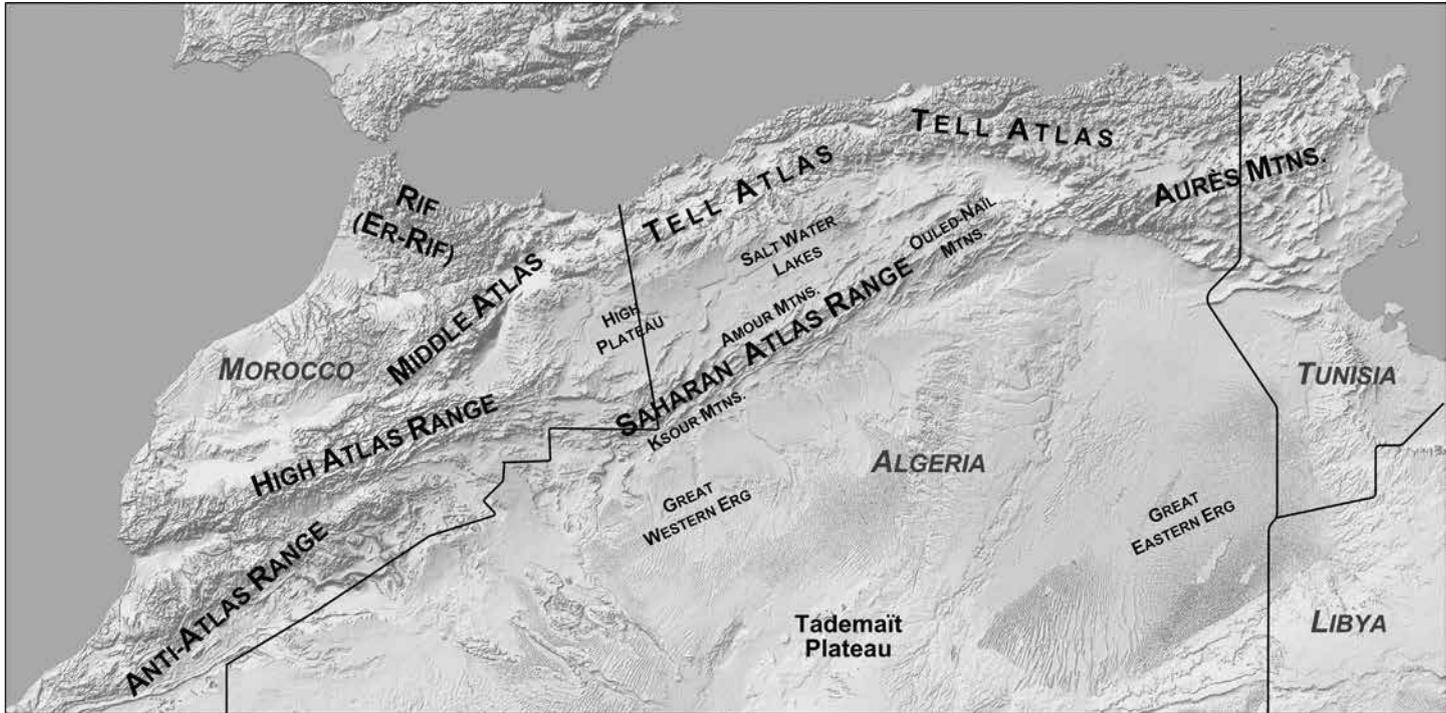


Fig. 7. Map of Western North Africa, including Political Boundaries, Showing the System of Mountain Ranges Forming the Atlas Mountains (Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Atlas-Mountains-Labeled-2.jpg>)

Islam's arrival brought Arabs and the Arabic language to the area that has since been known in that language as *al-Maghreb*. As with other regions Muslims encountered during the first century of Islam's existence, there were early large-scale voluntary conversions to the new faith in al-Maghreb. Over the next nine centuries as Islam expanded and congealed, a number of larger, 'structural' dynamics were in play.⁶ First was the establishment of multiple interactive local Islamic emirates and sultanates that were tied to the interests of various centers of powerful Islamic empires based in distant metropolises such as Damascus, Baghdad, and Cairo (e.g., the Umayyad, Abbasid and Fatimid dynasties, respectively.) Second, just as their distant imperial patrons were in many ways urban-based polities, the local emirates and sultanates also took shape around cities, some of which were first established in those contexts, including today's urban centers of Fez and Marrakesh (e.g., the Idrisids and Almoravids, respectively). Third, the Islamic empires and emirates represented both Sunni and Shia expressions of Islam as well as the mystical dimensions of Islam or Sufism. Finally, and most significantly for our purposes, was the constancy of interaction between Berbers and Arabs, both of which terms refer to very broad categories people generally treated as separate races. Our interest is the interaction between these two widespread, historically very well established heterogeneous groups of urban, rural, settled, and mobile peoples. Islam has thus far produced fifteen centuries of interactions between Arabs and Berbers that have occurred across a number of cultural, economic, and political boundaries, in public and private spaces, in cities, villages and hamlets, along the coastlines and in the mountainous and desertified interior regions. Berbers inhabited Morocco well before Arabs arrived, and the Great Berber

Revolt in the eighth century was a significant threat to the authority and stability of the Umayyad Caliphate.

Ibn Battuta (1304–1368/9), a Berber from the ancient city of Tangier, personifies a number of the many significant opportunities for new forms of mobility and boundary-crossing of geographic, cultural, economic, intellectual, and artistic domains produced by the internationalization of Islam between the seventh and sixteenth centuries. Ibn Battuta's training in Islamic law necessarily familiarized him with the Arabic language, and his professional and linguistic skills allowed him to market his talents throughout and beyond the Muslim world, from Spain to China. The record of Ibn Battuta's approximate quarter century of travels from Tangier in present-day Morocco to Mecca in the Arabian peninsula, and then to and through West Africa, the Arab Near East, Persia, Central Asia, Afghanistan, North India, East and South East Asia, as well as the Iberian Peninsula, or modern-day Portugal and Spain, is known as *al-Rihla* or the *Journey*.⁷ A substantial portion of Ibn Battuta's *Rihla* is connected to his employment by a ruler of the North Indian Islamic Sultanate based in Delhi, Muhammad Ibn Tughluq (r. 1325–1351).

In addition to *Qadis* or jurists such as Ibn Battuta, the vast webs of patronage extending out from Islamic rulers and their capital cities, such as the Tughluqs in Delhi, attracted large numbers of highly skilled engineers and scientists, talented poets and other men of the pen, and much sought-after craftsmen who worked with a variety of materials, including wood, stone, ceramics, and textiles. The already extensive patronage networks that arose in the medieval

period were further expanded and elaborated by the three major early modern Islamic empires that flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, namely, the Turkish Ottomans, the Persian Safavids, and the Mughals of India.

The eighteenth century was a time of significant growth in the numbers and forms of European influences in the Islamic world. British colonial activity in India and the French invasion of Egypt undertaken by Napoleon Bonaparte are the primary examples of this global trend. In the nineteenth century, when the British colonization of India intensified, the French, having relinquished Egypt to the British only three years after Napoleon's invasion, increased their activity in North Africa.

French colonialism in North Africa generated many kinds of writings and artistic representations of local landscapes and inhabitants. The images and texts of and about Arabs, Berbers, and Islam produced by French artists and intellectuals were designed primarily for consumption in France, where a large market for Oriental imagery, artifacts, texts and other forms of exotica had taken shape since at least Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798. The French colonization of Algeria began in 1830, which soon brought Morocco into the French imperial purview. The intensification of French interests in and around Algeria resulted in the establishment of Morocco as a French Protectorate in 1912 (Fig. 7). A picture postcard from the era depicts the boundaries of this new colonial state, as well as caricatures of its Berber and Arab subjects (Pl. 20). Hubert Louis Gustave Lyautey (1854–1934) was the first and most influential Resident-General for France in Morocco.⁸ Lyautey's tenure as

Resident-General from 1912 to 1925 resulted in substantial reconfigurations of Moroccan cities, major transformations in the relationships between Arabs and Berbers in urban and rural areas, as well as a series of new policies and initiatives relating to local arts and crafts production and marketing.⁹

During the imperial age of global empires, the cultural, economic, and political relationships between the European West and the Islamic East were fundamentally transformed. The economic, military, and general technological advantages that had accrued to the West conditioned the modes and means of European cultural representations of Islam and Muslims. Edward Said coined the term *Orientalism* to refer to multiple aspects of the Western European engagement of the Islamic East during the nineteenth century.¹⁰ An important aspect of Orientalism as the concept was introduced by Said includes the work of artists and writers who portrayed the Islamic Orient as being eternally and entirely culturally separate from the Western Occident. This style of Orientalist representation is predicated on the desire to produce and reproduce, materially and ideologically, an inferior "Other" culture destined to be dominated, exploited, and transformed by a superior civilization. As we will soon see, Essaydi's artwork critically engages colonial representations of North African women produced by French Orientalists.

Morocco gained its independence from France in 1956, which in turn generated new kinds of connections between Morocco and the outside world. In the 1960s and 1970s a large number of American scholars conducted fieldwork and archival research in the country, and today there is a large expatriate presence of



Fig. 8. Women in Festive Dress Wearing Berber Striped Textiles, in the High Atlas Mountains (Image after: Éric Milet, *Orientalist Photographs: 1870–1940, 2008*, 163)

jewelry worn by these Berber populations living outside Morocco's cities (Fig. 8).

Berbers refer to themselves as *Imazighen* (singular *Amazigh*), and their language, which is generally known as *Tamazight*, contains a number of dialects, including *Tishilhit* and *Tharifith*. In terms of social structure, the Berber tribes are organized by a system of partilineal groupings, among which small groups form larger groups and all groups at all levels have structurally similar groups that can either complement or oppose the group in question. Berber tribal groupings at all levels of the system are identified and defined by tribal chiefs who are referred to as *Imgharen* (singular *Amghar*) in Tamazight. Berber tribes and chiefs are often associated with shrines of famous deceased saints known as *Ziyarats*, *Khanqahs*, and *Dargahs* that serve a number of spiritual purposes in addition to providing general territorial associations and identities for the tribes and loci of political activity for the chiefs. The alliances, oppositions, tensions, and competitions within and among these graded Berber chiefs and their tribal followers that include kindred and non-relatives are mediated by groups of living saints. These saints are referred to as *Igurramen* (singular *Agurram*) in Tamazight and as *Marabouts* in French, and they as well as the tombs and shrines commemorating deceased saints possess divine charisma and power, or *Baraka*. These saints and shrines represent the conspicuous presence of Sufism through the Berber physical and social landscape. A 2012 photograph, shot in

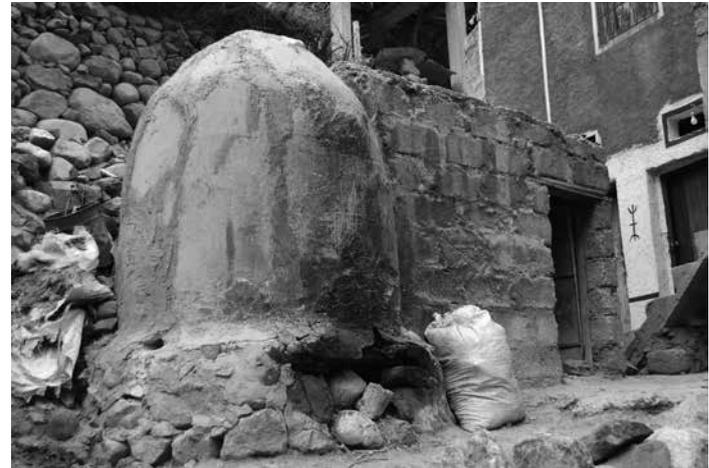
American students, professionals, and US government employees and military personnel in Morocco.¹¹ The American scholarship on Morocco is heavily weighted toward anthropology, and the American anthropology of Morocco has had a substantial global impact on the discipline as a whole. A primary example of this influence is that one strand of the American anthropology of Morocco generated a disciplinary subfield now known as symbolic or interpretive anthropology.¹² In general terms this anthropological scholarship provides a wealth of insight into Moroccan tribal society, particularly its Berber populations in the Atlas and Rif mountains. A photograph c. 1900 suggests the striped textiles and

Fig. 9. Women's Heated Bath in an Ourrika Valley village near the Setti Fatma Shrine (at right, note the Tifinagh script on the white door frame) (Photo: Author, 2012)

an Ourrika Valley village near the Setti Fatma Shrine, documents the forms of Tifinagh script written on the white door frame to the right (Fig. 9). This view is seen outside a woman's bathhouse, with the bath's wood-burning furnace seen to the left.

How much room the segmentary lineage system allows for entrepreneurial political activity by chiefs, and the locations and roles of saints and saintly lineages inside and outside Berber tribal society are issues that have been vigorously debated in anthropological literature. Among the issues that have been contested are the distinctions and relationships between the rural tribal areas characterized by small hamlets and mobile tribes on the one hand, and the larger market towns and cities associated with centers of state power and government bureaucracy, and characterized by comparatively larger, more diverse, and dense populations on the other hand. The relationship between urban and rural zones and the cultural, economic, and political activity entailed in each realm is framed in the literature as a relationship between the *Bled al-Makhzen* associated urbanity and statecraft, and the *Bled al-Siba* associated with rural refractory tribes.¹³

The abundance, quality, and importance of the anthropology of Morocco has infused the smaller number of historians and political scientists working on Morocco with an interdisciplinary orientation that increases the significance of their work.¹⁴ Political science imported tribal segmentary theory and saintly mediation from anthropology



and applied it to the urban ruling classes and the Moroccan king, respectively. The historians have generally focused on the pre-Protectorate and Protectorate eras, with various forms of resistance to French colonialism receiving the majority of analytical attention. Morocco's colonial history has been examined from the perspective of Arab-Berber interaction in the rural zone and urban ethno-history focusing on the maintenance of cultural identity in the context of rapidly changing economic fortunes. A wide variety of authors, including anthropologists, historians, as well as travel writers and novelists have written on Morocco's cities, among which Marrakesh draws our attention as Essaydi's birthplace. The literature on Marrakesh includes widely acclaimed travelogues and well-received



Fig. 10. Anonymous, *Arab woman, Algeria, North Africa*
c. 1870, Photograph
(Image after: Eric Milet, *Orientalist Photographs: 1870–1940*, 2008, 176)

Essaydi's engagement of Orientalists re-focuses our attention to the study of Orientalism since Edward Said's seminal volume of that title appeared in 1978.

Since its appearance, Said's *Orientalism* has been uncritically applied and parroted by legions of sometimes doting and over-devoted admirers, as well as thoroughly interrogated by such high profile and reputable scholars and authors as Robert Irwin (2006) and Daniel Martin Varisco (2007). Others have been more even-handed and original in their responses to the book,¹⁷ including Said himself, who subsequently expanded and revised his original position on the subject. Our concern is with that very expansion and revision that results in the continued viability of the core principles forming the original idea. Toward that end, we need to identify a number of problems with Orientalism as Said first explained the phenomenon. One is that it does not sufficiently distinguish between the powerful European actors, for example, such as by separating the British from the French varieties of Orientalism, male from female Orientalists, Orientalists from different social classes and social backgrounds, or Orientalist writers from Orientalist photographers. These and many other varieties of Orientalists and articulations of Orientalism clearly exist and must be analytically accounted for. Second is a similar reduction of Orientals to a homogenous mass of people who have no agency of their own to accommodate, resist, or avoid Orientalist impulses. Another is that the totalizing Saidian template

ethnographic and historical works focusing on the neighborhoods, alleyways, and markets of the city, as well as the fundamental distinction between public and private space in this cosmopolitan yet archaic urban environment.¹⁵ Collectively, the literature on Marrakesh draws attention to its Berber heritage and content, as well as its Islamic, Arab, and Jewish components.

As previously indicated, Essaydi's work engages Orientalist artists who were active during the period of French colonial rule in North Africa. These Orientalists drew paintings and took photographs of North African women that Essaydi critically engages in her work.¹⁶

lacks consideration of the limits, gaps, and inconsistencies of Orientalism.¹⁸

Most relevant for us among the many refinements to Orientalism and re-positionings of Orientalists that have been advanced since the appearance of Said's seminal text are those concerning the role of 'native' intellectuals and "cultural insiders" in reconfiguring Orientalist imaginings and representations. Authors such as Homi Bhabha, Franz Fanon and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak have directed our attention to this community of individuals who are products of and operate "in-between" multiple cultural, aesthetic, and political worlds. In so doing, they define a "third space," a hybrid arena where diasporic voices are heard and expatriate ruminations abound, a place where territory is de-privileged and yet space itself becomes amplified with hyper-meanings. To locate and describe this space we must necessarily use new vocabulary, and if one has not experienced such interstitiality and cultural liminality, this space and the movement to and through it must be imagined. The boundaries, overlaps, and disjunctions between experience and imagination constitute the location of Orientalism's imperial production in many ways. What we are concerned with at the moment is the world of the hyphen that connects Arab-Berber. Indeed, it is the tension of the movement between the terms that is at issue along this boundary. It is from this moving location, or location of movement—

Fig. 11. Anonymous, No. 347 from a *Picture Postcard Series: Mauresques* ("Moorish Women," or "Arab Women of Western North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula,") Photograph Collection Idéale, P. S. (French, active early 20th century)





Fig. 12. Lalla Essaydi, *Les Femmes du Maroc #10*, 2005

in other words, the hyphen itself—that I would like to view Essaydi and her work.

To look forward from that vantage point, we must recall the hyphenated definition of Moroccans as Arab-Berber. The point to emphasize is that the hyphen does not represent equal units or even representation for each element in the compound. For example, Moroccans do not speak Arabic half of the time and Tamazight half of the time, or split conversations evenly between the two languages. Quite to the contrary, each language is used in different contexts for different reasons, for example, Arabic might be used in official written communication, while Tamazight is spoken at home. Ultimately, we must reckon with the inequality and unevenness of this linguistic relationship that reflects larger fields and articulations of power. Essaydi markets her work as Arab, not Berber. In that sense, we can conclude that if there is a Berber presence in Essaydi's work, it is subdued and subordinated to the Arab side of the bifurcated Moroccan identity.

From her birth in Marrakesh, time at her family home in nearby Tameslot, her education in Paris and Boston, studio in New York, and exhibitions in the Gulf, Essaydi's biography involves considerable mobility and circulation within and between locations in the East and West. Her personal migrations are cultural boundary crossings informing her professional boundary-crossings as she combines work with text, textiles, architecture, and photography.

To move from Essaydi's biography to the photographs themselves, we must first address the spatial framing of the images.¹⁹ In her first series, *Converging Territories* (2003–2004; Pl. 1), the choice of the particular

interior space where Essaydi takes her photographs results from an adolescent experience of a boundary-crossing that caused problems because it involved a cultural transgression (however innocent and innocuous) that was interpreted as jeopardizing her family's honor. Her punishment was banishment (however brief) to some kind of an empty second home that is artistically recreated in her photography today. By crossing the boundaries of honor, Essaydi's actions carried the specter of bringing shame upon the family name. In Tamazight and Berber culture, such a situation involves *Hchouma* or actions that straddle the border between honor and shame.²⁰

The women in Essaydi's photographs are represented not as Orientalized, sensualized, objectified, captive harem concubines, or *Odalisques*; neither are these Moroccan women represented as *Mauresque*, or semi-nude, and marketed for the titillation of an imperially empowered European consumer population (Fig. 10; also see Pl. 2–6). Rather, Essaydi plays on the Orientalist image of the *Maghrabine*, or veiled women (Fig. 11–12). Essaydi's intervention or reframing of older Orientalist images appears designed to give the women subjects in her photographs a sense of agency regarding clothing and nudity, and discretion regarding sensuality and sexuality.²¹

The calligraphy that ordains Essaydi's photos is deliberately unclear, but the Arabic is written in the Kufic style of script that is associated with one of the three ways Tamazight can be written.²² The invocation of literacy, that is literacy in Arabic, represented in ways that resonate with Tamazight, is important because while it unevenly combines Arab and Berber elements and implications, it also positions the work in a middle- to upper-class, possibly elite domain of Moroccan society.

The photos have a clean, sanitized feel that conjures up sensations of luxury, choice, and relaxation. This interior, chic, elite world of concrete differs from the more open, rural, soiled environment inhabited by the popular classes and tribal communities of the country. Just as she has apparently made a personal choice to elevate Arab over Berber and upper- over lower-class signifiers in her representations of Morocco and Moroccan women, Essaydi has also made a number of other choices between urban-rural, interior-exterior, leisure-labor, and a world either with or without animals, plants, trees, mountains, wind, dirt, and dust. For us, the relevance of such choices lies in what these artistic and ideological decisions and commitments emphasize, as well as what they leave out, when it comes to artistically representing Moroccan culture. The point is that when we view Essaydi's work, we must keep a mind's eye on the fact that a large portion of Morocco does not benefit or seek, but rather tends to avoid and even oppose a world conditioned by urban, elite tastes and sensibilities tied either directly or symbolically to state or royal patronage and the international art market.

The extended interaction Essaydi has with the women subjects in her photographs draws attention to the ethnographic component of her artistic production. One wonders how she communicated with these women. Did they speak Arabic or Tamazight, or French, or in all three languages? What were the variables that fed into those linguistic decisions? Did patterns of linguistic interaction change over time? Many if not most readers and viewers of her work will have the impression that Essaydi is just like the 'one of those women' in the photographs. Yet, her apparent preference for Arab over Berber in negotiating her own Moroccan identity, as well as her global travels

and education surely distinguish Essaydi in significant ways from the women she photographs. This in turn re-focuses our attention to Essaydi's interlocution of these Moroccan women's voices from that third space between cultures referenced above.

With that complex, hybrid, fluid space in mind, we are left to wonder how the women in Essaydi's photographs navigate the ever-present hyphen between Arab and Berber in Morocco. Would they subordinate the Berber to the Arab components of their own Moroccan identities as Essaydi has apparently done, at least for public consumption? Maybe so. Maybe not. But if so, for an 'ordinary woman' in Morocco the decisions about how, why, and when to convey, emphasize, or tap into one component of her complex identity over another would likely be framed and taken for different reasons than those that motivated Essaydi. Perhaps we can only conclude that the cultural and physical distance between an artist and her subject matter can never be fully surmounted, no matter how close to the real thing an image may appear.

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1. Paraphrased from Lalla Essaydi in: Kristen Gresh, "Constructing Identities: Lalla Essaydi," in *She Who Tells a Story. Women Photographers from Iran and the Arab World*, exhibition catalogue (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2013), 39–42.
 2. Central Intelligence Agency, "Morocco," <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mo.html>, accessed electronically 1/23/2014.
 3. For the origin of Morocco's international boundaries, see: Anthony S. Reyner, "Morocco's International Boundaries: A Factual Background," *The Journal of Modern African Studies: A Quarterly Survey of Politics, Economics and Related Topics in Contemporary Africa* 1.3 (1963): 313–326.
 4. "Chellah (Rabat, Morocco)," in *ArchNet. Islamic Art and Architecture*, archnet.org, accessed electronically 1/23/2014.
 5. "Archaeological Site of Volubilis," in the *United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization World Heritage List*, http://whc.unesco.org/pg.cfm?cid=31&id_site=836&tl=en, accessed electronically 1/23/2014.

6. For this period, see especially the "Visual Arts in Islam" (and Volumes I and II more generally) in: Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, Volumes I–III (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), II 501–531.
7. For more on Ibn Battuta and his Rihla, see: Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta, a Muslim Traveler of the Fourteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
8. For Lyautey, see: William A. Hoisington, *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995); and Roger Benjamin, *Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880–1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 8–9.
9. See: James Mokhiber, "'La Protectorat dans la Peau': Prosper Ricard and the 'Native Arts'" in French Colonial Morocco 1899–1952," in *Revisiting the Colonial Past in Morocco*, ed. Driss Maghraoui (London: Routledge, 2012), 257–284.
10. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
11. A large number of James Madison University students have attended al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane (c. 70 kilometers from Fez) in the Middle Atlas Mountains.
12. When speaking of anthropology in this essay, the reference is to the socio-cultural branch of the discipline that by most definitions also includes archaeology, linguistics, biological and physical sub-fields. The following distills key arguments and vocabulary from books authored by Dale Eickelman (1976), Clifford Geertz (1973 and 1968), Ernest Gellner, David Hart, Paul Rabinow, and Lawrence Rosen, which are cited below. Clifford Geertz was a prominent advocate for interpretive or symbolic anthropology. It is important to note how much of the anthropology of Morocco is centered in and around the town of Sefrou. Also noteworthy is the inclusion of photographs (by Paul Hyman) in Rosen's ethnography and in the *Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society* volume by Clifford Geertz, Hildred Geertz, and Lawrence Rosen. Although not treated in the text, the work of the anthropologist Susan Slyomovics (2012 and 2005) should be mentioned, as should Vincent Cornell's work on Moroccan Sufism (Cornell is a scholar of religion and not an anthropologist per se). Vincent J. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); Dale F. Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam: Tradition and Society in a Pilgrimage Center* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); Clifford Geertz, Hildred Geertz, and Lawrence Rosen, *Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society: Three Essays in Cultural Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Ernest Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); David M. Hart, *Tribes and Society in Rural Morocco* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000); Paul Rabinow, *Symbolic Domination: Cultural Form and Historical Change in Morocco* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975); Lawrence Rosen, *Bargaining for Reality: The Construction of Social Relations in a Muslim Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Susan Slyomovics, "Fatna El Bouih and the Work of Memory, Gender, and Reparation in Morocco," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 8.1 (2012): 37–62; and Susan Slyomovics, *The Performance of Human Rights in Morocco* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

13. See Eickelman's 1985 *Knowledge and Power in Morocco* for a "social biography" of a rural Qadi who migrates to a city, only to find employment in the French administration, and as such personifies the interactive relationship between rural 'tribal' and urban 'state' forms of learning and traditions of scholarship. This example speaks to an important relationship between *Zawiyas* or the religious monasteries in the rural Bled as-Siba zone and the *Madrasas* or religious schools associated with states based in the cities of the Bled al-Makhzen. Dale F. Eickelman, *Knowledge and Power in Morocco: The Education of a Twentieth-Century Notable* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).
14. Here I am referring to the cited works of the political scientist John Waterbury and the historians Edmund Burke III and Kenneth Brown. Also worthy of reference is the work of the political scientist William Zartman, and the historical studies of Sebastian Balfour on the role of Morocco and Moroccans in the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), Sahar Bazzaz on the Moroccan mystic Muhammad al-Kattani's resistance against the French, Ross Dunn on Moroccan resistance to the French before the establishment of the Protectorate, and C. R. Pennell's introductory modern historical survey of the country. The work of the medieval historian and social theorist Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406; see Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Khaldūn and Paul Casanova, and Ibn Khaldūn and Franz Rosenthal) on Arabs, Berbers, and Arab-Berber interaction in the Maghreb has been a primary point of reference for modern scholars (anthropologists, historians, and others) of Morocco. Sebastian Balfour, *Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Sahar Bazzaz, *Forgotten Saints: History, Power, and Politics in the Making of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2010); Edmund Burke, *Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco: Precolonial Protest and Resistance, 1860–1912* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); Kenneth Lewis Brown, *People of Salé* (Manchester: University Press, 1976); Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta, a Muslim Traveler of the Fourteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb Al-'ibar Wa-Dīwān Al-Mubtada' Wa-Al-Khabar Fi Ayyam Al-'Arab Wa-Al-'ajam Wa-Al-Barbar Wa-Man 'asarahym Min Dhawī Al-Sultān Al-Akhlbar Wa-Huwa Tarikh Wahid 'asrih* (al-Qahirah: 'Abd al-Matba'ah al-Misriyah bi-Bulāq, 1867); Ibn Khaldūn and Paul Casanova, *l'Histoire Des Berbères Et Des Dynasties Musulmanes De L'Afrique Septentrionale ... Traduite ... Par M. Le Baron De Slane* (Paris, 1925); Ibn Khaldūn and Franz Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967); C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History* (New York: New York University Press, 2000); John Waterbury, *The Commander of the Faithful; the Moroccan Political Elite-A Study in Segmented Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); and I. William Zartman, *The Political Economy of Morocco* (New York: Praeger, 1987).
15. For a sampling of the wide variety of literature on Marrakesh, see the popular travel writings of Elias Canetti, Peter Mayne (2002 and 1953), and Tahir Shah, the urban ethnography by Elizabeth Fernea, and the urban ethno-history of Emily Gottreich. Elias Canetti, *The Voices of Marrakesh: A Record of a Visit* (New York: Seabury Press, 1978); Elizabeth Warnock Fernea, *A Street in Marrakech: A Personal View of Urban Women in Morocco* (Prospect Heights, Ill: Waveland Press); Emily Gottreich, *The Mellah of Marrakesh: Jewish and Muslim Space in Morocco's Red City* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Peter Mayne, *The Alleys of Marrakesh* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953); Peter Mayne, *A Year in Marrakesh* (London: Eland, 2002); and Tahir Shah, *In Arabian Nights: A Caravan of Moroccan Dreams* (New York: Bantam Books, 2008).
16. See, for example, the photographs of North African women that appear to inspire Essaydi: Éric Milet, *Orientalist Photographs: 1870–1940* (Paris: Flammarion, 2008), 19, 163, and 176.
17. See the following for an informative collection of critical essays on the origins, elaborations, qualifications, and re-interpretations of Orientalism: A.L. Macfie, *Orientalism: A Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).
18. Here I am referring to the work Behdad (2003 and 1994), and Beaulieu and Roberts (who reference the important expansions and revisions of Orientalism by Codell [2012, 2008 and 1998], Lewis, Lowe and Nochlin [1988 and 1989]). For more on Orientalism and Art (painting and photography) in the Middle East and Islamic world see Alloula, Netton, and Tromans. Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986); Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts, *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1994); Ali Behdad, "The Orientalist Photograph," in *Photography's Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation*, ed. Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2013) 11–32; Julie F. Codell, *Orientalism Transposed: The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 1998); Julie F. Codell, *The Political Economy of Art: Making the Nation of Culture* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008); Julie F. Codell, *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2012); Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004); Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Ian Richard Netton, *Orientalism Revisited: Art, Land and Voyage* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012); Linda Nochlin, *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989); Linda Nochlin, *Women, Art, and Power: And Other Essays* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); and Nicholas Tromans and Rana Kabbani, *The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).
19. See Maureen Shanahan, "A Conversation with Lalla Essaydi," herein, 16–41.
20. Milet, 126.
21. For more on Odalisque, Maghrabine, and Mauresque images as subtypes of Orientalist representations of North African women, see: Milet, 176 and 192; and Ken Jacobson, *Odaliques & Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839–1925* (London: Quaritch, 2007).
22. Tamazight can be written with the Arabic, Latin, and *Tifinagh* scripts.



Plate 1. Lalla Essaydi, *Converging Territories #10*, 2003, Chromogenic print, 121.9 x 152.4 cm
[LE.CT10.4860.AP1]



Plate 2. Lalla Essaydi, *Les Femmes du Maroc #1*, 2005, Chromogenic print, 76.2 x 101.6 cm
[LE.LFM01.3040.6]



Plate 3. Eugène Delacroix, *Algerian Women in Their Apartment*, 1834, Oil on canvas, 180 x 229 cm
Louvre Museum, Paris, France [Inv. 3824] (Image: © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY, ART177562; Photo: Le Mage)



Plate 4. Lalla Essaydi, *Les Femmes du Maroc: La Grande Odalisque*, 2008, Chromogenic print, 121.9 x 152.4 cm
[LE.LFMgrande.4860.exh4]

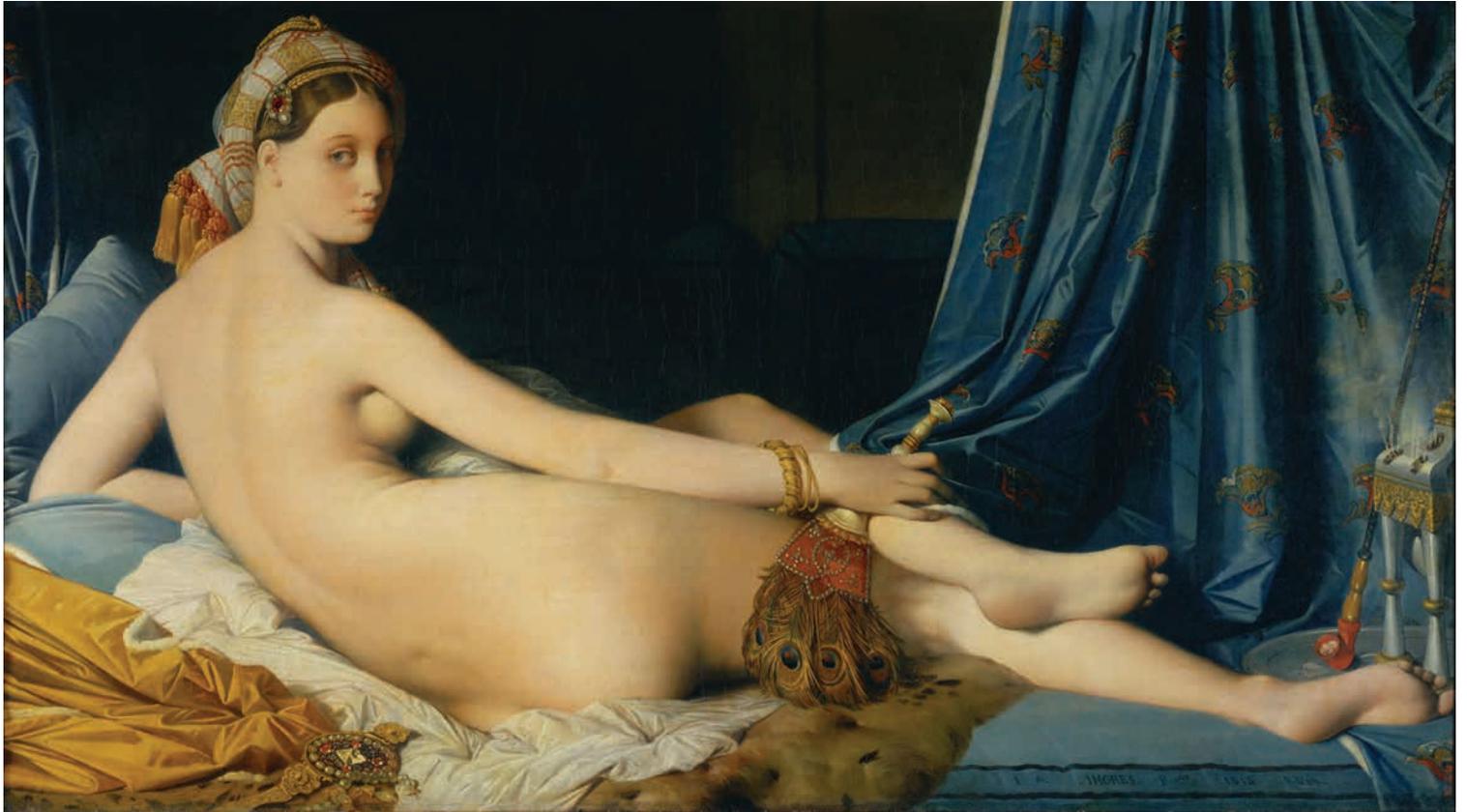


Plate 5. Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *La Grande Odalisque*, 1814, 91 x 162 cm, Louvre Museum, Paris, France [R.F. 1158] (Image: Scala / Art Resource, NY, ART25033)



Plate 6. Lalla Essaydi, *Les Femmes du Maroc #16*, 2005, Chromogenic print, 76.2 x 101.6 cm
[LE.LFM16.3040.11]



Plate 7. Lalla Essaydi, *Les Femmes du Maroc #51*, 2006, Chromogenic print, 182.8 x 276.8 cm
[LE.LFM51.7288.exh]



Plate 8. Lalla Essaydi, *Les Femmes du Maroc #21B*, 2005
Chromogenic print, 152.4 x 121.9 cm
[LE.LFM21B.4860.3]



Plate 9. Lalla Essaydi, *Les Femmes du Maroc #41*, 2006
Chromogenic print, 152.4 x 121.9 cm
[LE.LFM41.4860.exh]



Plate 10. Lalla Essaydi, *Les Femmes du Maroc #10*, 2005
Chromogenic print, 152.4 x 121.9 cm
[LE.LFM10.4860.4]



Plate 11. Lalla Essaydi, *Les Femmes du Maroc: Outdoor Gossip*, 2008
Chromogenic print, 152.4 x 121.9 cm
[LE.LFMgossip.4860.exh2]



Plate 12. Lalla Essaydi, *Les Femmes du Maroc: La Sultane*, 2008, Chromogenic print, 50.8 x 61 cm
[LE.LFM_sultane.2024.5]



Plate 13. Lalla Essaydi, *Les Femmes du Maroc: After the Bath*, 2008
Chromogenic print, 152.4 x 121.9 cm
[LE.LFMbath.4860.exh]

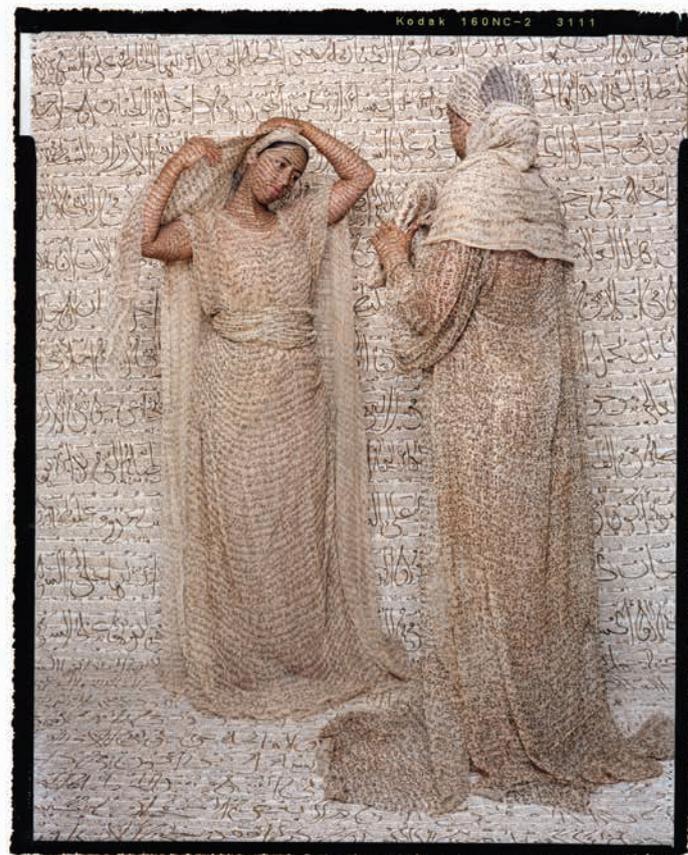


Plate 14. Lalla Essaydi, *Les Femmes du Maroc: Light of the Harem*, 2008
Chromogenic print, 152.4 x 121.9 cm
[LE.LFMlight.4860.exh2]

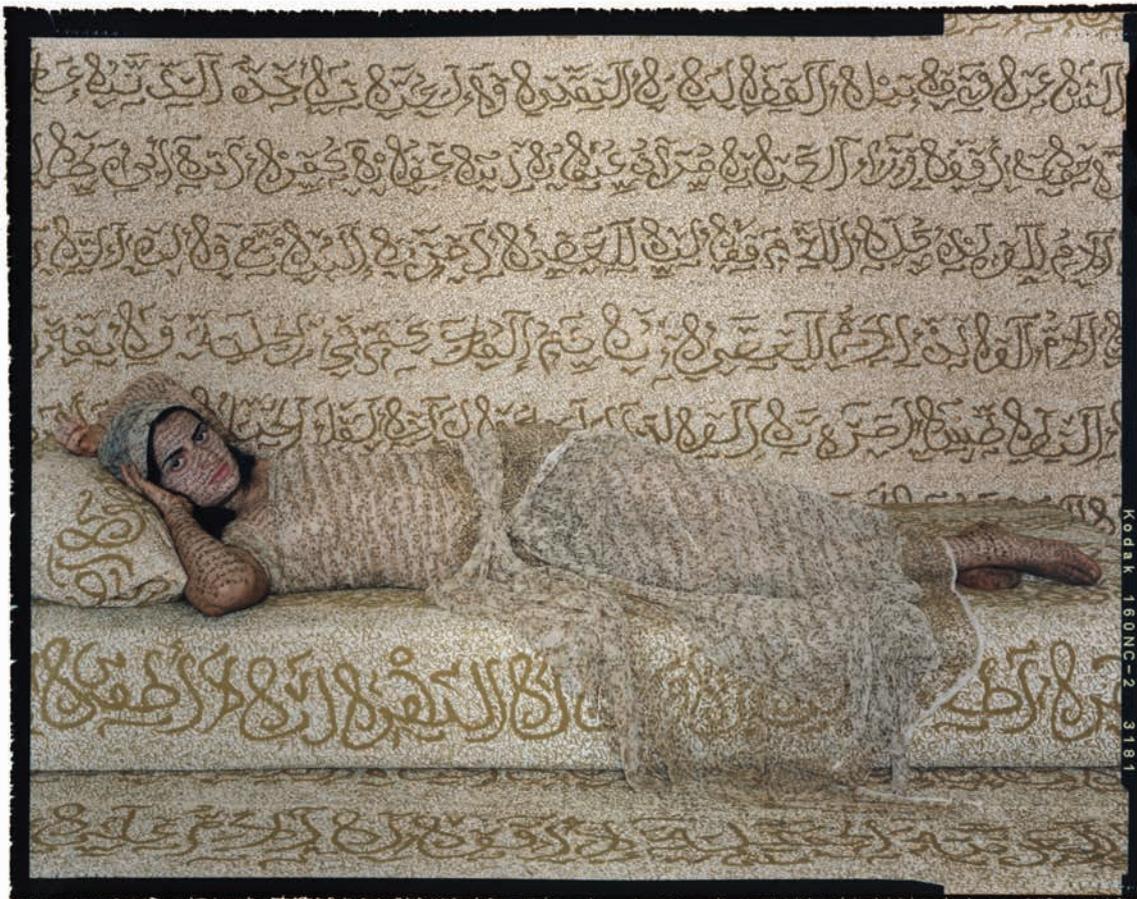


Plate 15. Lalla Essaydi, *Les Femmes du Maroc Revisited #2*, 2010, Chromogenic print, 182.8 x 276.8 cm
[LE.LFMrev02.7188.exh]



Plate 16. Lalla Essaydi, *Harem #10*, 2009, Chromogenic print, 76.2 x 101.6 cm
[LE.HAREM10.3040.1]

Northern Africa and the Middle East



Plate 17. Current Political Map of Northern Africa and the Middle East
 (Used by permission of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin;
 Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/n_africa_mid_east_pol_95.jpg)

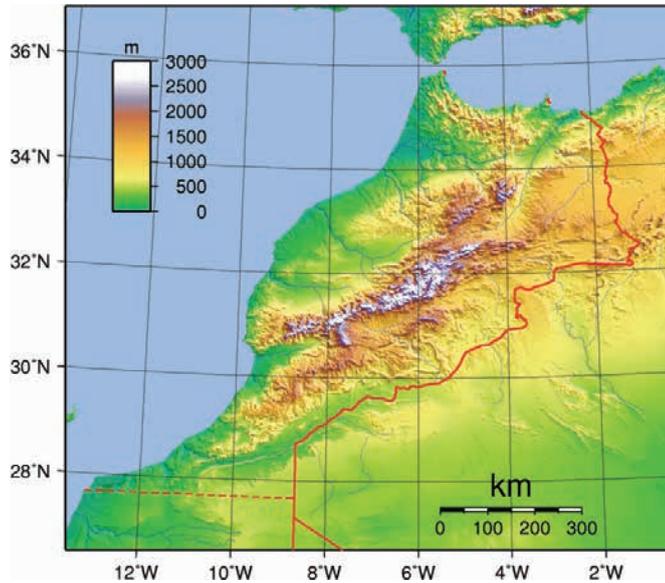


Plate 18. Topographical Map of Morocco
 (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Morocco_Topography.png)



Plate 19. Map of the Cities and Major Towns in Morocco and the Western Sahara
 (Used with the permission of www.planigold.com;
 Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:MoroccoWesternSaharaOMC.png>)

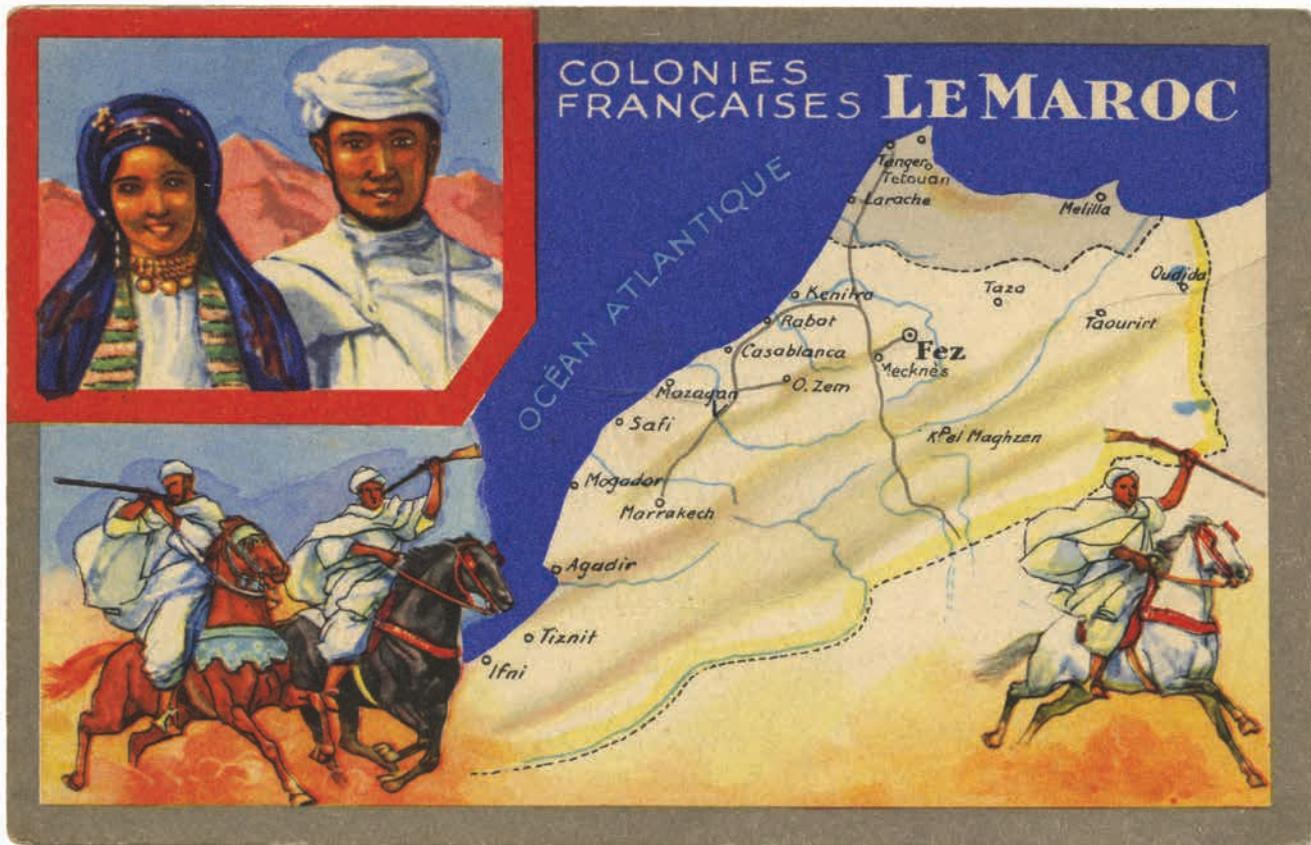


Plate 20. Anonymous, Color Picture Postcard, *Colonies Françaises: Le Maroc* (*The French Colonies: Morocco*)
Hand-drawn, colored map, mid-twentieth century, before 1956