IMAGINING THE PAST FORWARD:
FLAMENCO, ANDALUSIAN MUSIC, IDENTITY, AND CULTURAL DIPLOMACY IN THE FESTIVAL DES ANDALOUSIES ATLANTIQUES D'ESSAOUIRA

by

Daniel MacNeil

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
April 2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Abstract

This thesis examines the Festival des Andalousies Atlantiques d'Essaouira (FAAE) between 2010-2020 and uses the 2020 edition as a case study, focusing specifically on flamenco, Andalusian music and the festival's function in current Moroccan-Spanish relations. Scholarship pertaining to the FAAE is virtually non-existent and there has been no in-depth study of it; this thesis presents the first extensive study of the festival, demonstrating how it, and moreover its music as a representational force, is being used as a tool for cultural diplomacy between Spain and Morocco. By examining performances from the past decade, along with an analysis of two performance pieces in the 2020 edition, this thesis also demonstrates that while performers look to the past with utopian ideologies of an imagined, romanticized *al-Andalus* and *convivencia*, they are actively redefining identity and authenticity.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

EMA	Essaouira-Mogador Association
FAAE	Festival des Andalousies Atlantiques d'Essaouira
FTC	Three Cultures of the Mediterranean Foundation (*Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo*)
Junta	*Junta de Andalucía* (The Autonomous Regional Government of Andalucía)
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Acknowledgements

This project was made possible thanks to the funding from both the Fountain School of Performing Arts and the Faculty of Graduate Studies. Without their financial assistance, this research never would have been possible.

I would like to express my most sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Jacqueline Warwick. Not only did her encouragement and support inspire me to pursue the MA in Musicology at Dal (not to mention take a significant break from my professional life), but moreover, her insights, guidance and clarity have taught me how to focus my ideas as a scholar, and ultimately her confidence in me has made the completion of this project possible. I would also like to extend my warmest thanks to Dr. Steven Baur, Dr. Jennifer Bain and Dr. Martha Radice, whose input and expertise has greatly influenced my research and writing over these past two years, and to Dr. Estelle Joubert for her valuable feedback toward this project as a reader on the committee.

I would like to thank all of my family, friends and colleagues whose positive support and encouragement throughout this project has been truly invaluable. I would also like to thank those who have helped to verify translations used in this study. Particularly, my friend and colleague Maria Osende for helping with the Spanish translation and Souad el Mahrez for translating the Moroccan Arabic.

Lastly, and most certainly not least, I extend my deepest gratitude to my wife Genie. Her patience, support and taking care of "life" means more than what words could ever express.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> In contradistinction to common adages proclaiming music's inability to represent anything other than itself, there are remarkably complex ways in which identities—both embedded within music and appropriated from the extramusical contexts in which music takes place—actually engender culturally distinctive representational processes. [1]
>
> -Philip Bohlman

Music's propensity to be a representative process expands much further than the musical materials heard or experienced. As Bohlman states, music as representational processes can: [1] tell us "how music represents, say by stimulating the senses or giving power to those possessing the technologies of representation"; [2] contain an "object that music represents, such as a story or a specific cultural identity"; [3] give rise to distinct ideas of "what music really is or can be, and how it can be both subject and object."[2] These representational processes often run concurrently, particularly when music is intentionally employed to do so. I would take Bohlman's description and apply it not only to music itself but to music festivals as well. A case in point, and one which is the subject of this thesis, is the Atlantic Andalusian Festival (officially known as the Festival des Andalousies Atlantiques d'Essaouira).

Founded in 2003, the Festival des Andalousies Atlantiques d'Essaouira (FAAE) takes place annually in Essaouira, Morocco, within the venues of Dar Souiri, Sidna Bilal and

[1] Philip Bohlman, "Music as Representation," *Journal of Musicological Research* 24, no. 3 (2005): 205.
[2] Ibid., 210.

Zaouia.[3] Situated in a city and country that hosts a number of compelling festivals and activities, what distinguishes this festival is not just its thematic content and musical programming, but how it is uniquely embedded with transformative ideologies—musical, cultural and political, how it represents a shared musical and cultural heritage between Morocco and Spain, and how it is intentionally designed to function as an agent of cultural change. Among other things, the festival serves as a present-day musical honoring of the transcultural legacy between Spain and Morocco, and while the festival showcases a number of genres, its primary focus in music as representation (between these two countries) is on Moroccan Andalusian music (classical music of Morocco, having origins in medieval Spain) and flamenco from the south of Spain, the region known as Andalucía.[4]

Just a note here on terminology. Arab classical music of Morocco, in addition to the name *al-Ala*, is commonly known today by a number of other names. As noted by Carl Davila and Jonathan Holt Shannon, these include: "Andalusian music" (*al-musiqa al-andalusiyya*), *Andalusi* music, *al-maghribiyya* and *al-tarab al-andalusi*.[5] Additionally, Davila also notes:

> The expression *Andalusian music* probably was an artifact of oral tradition adopted by twentieth-century Western scholarship and then taken up by North African scholars. Certainly it never appears in scholarly texts associated with *al-Ala* before the era of the French [and Spanish] Protectorate (1912-1956)…Many Moroccan scholars prefer

---

[3] Festival des Andalousies Atlantiques, "Festival des Andalousies Atlantiques – Home Page," Facebook, October 31, 2019, https://www.facebook.com/FestivalDesAndalousiesAtlantiques/.

[4] Festival des Andalousies Atlantiques, "Les Andalousies Atlantiques – Official Site," accessed May 6, 2020, http://andalousiesatlantiques.com; Festival des Andalousies, Facebook.

[5] Carl Davila, *The Andalusian Music of Morocco: History, Society and Text* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2013), 7, 184; Jonathan Holt Shannon, *Performing al-Andalus: Music and Nostalgia Across the Mediterranean* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2015), 94.

> the label *al-Ala*, which appears to have been the most common name for the tradition before the arrival of the French [and Spanish] in 1912.[6]

Furthermore, the region of southern Spain known as Andalucía is commonly referred to by its anglicized "Andalusia." For these reasons, in this thesis I have decided to always refer to the Moroccan-Andalusian music by its common name "Andalusian," and always refer to the region of southern Spain by its native Spanish spelling "Andalucía" in an attempt to save the reader from potential confusion. Additionally, Algeria and Tunisia, with some differentiation, have their own classical music under the umbrella term "Andalusian," however, every time the term "Andalusian" music is used throughout this thesis, it refers to Moroccan Andalusian music.

In this thesis, I examine the FAAE between 2010-2020 and use the 2020 edition as a case study, focusing specifically on flamenco, Andalusian music and the festivals function in current Moroccan-Spanish relations. Scholarship pertaining to the FAAE is virtually non-existent and there has been no in-depth study of it; this thesis presents the first extensive study of the festival with the goal of demonstrating how it, and moreover its music as a representational force, is being used as a tool for cultural diplomacy between Spain and Morocco. Additionally, by examining performances from the past decade, along with the 2020 case study, this thesis also demonstrates that while the FAAE continues to explore shared Moroccan-Spanish history, the musicians involved are actively redefining identity and authenticity.

This study also brings to the forefront issues pertaining to identity politics, and lastly, with consideration of dominant cultural and political values, and consultation with works

[6] Davila, *Andalusian Music*, 7, 44.

such as James Sater's *Morocco: Challenges to Tradition and Modernity*, it calls into question dominant ideologies of the state, and whether or not the activities of the festival effectively support the interests of the people of Essaouira, and more broadly, Morocco and Spain.

In this chapter I introduce the FAAE, highlighting its goals of transformation through ideological design. With reference to scholarly literature on festivals, I outline the unique position of the FAAE and how it serves Moroccan-Spanish relations. Next, I present a review of literature, articulating how the work of theorists, as well as scholars of Spanish and Arab music and culture, are pertinent to this study. Themes in the literature review include: *al-Andalus*, Andalusian identity through music and its construction based on an imagined past, flamenco and *al-Andalus*. This section unfolds with definitions of crucial terms. Subsequently, I present my methodology, followed by a chapter overview. In closing, I outline the significance of this thesis.

1.1 The FAAE: Introduction and Ideological Design

The port city of Essaouira on the Atlantic coast of Morocco boasts a cultural pluralism and, in conjunction, the FAAE's activities reflect and honour the memory of an intercultural dialogue and celebrate both the historical and current friendship between Morocco and Spain. The activities of the festival are musical and artistic, and according to the FAAE, the festival also functions as a conduit for Essaouira, and more broadly, Morocco, to foster inter-religious and intra-community relations, contributing to a hopeful future of peace, tolerance and respect.[7]

[7] Festival des Andalousies, Facebook.

At its roots resides a common Mediterranean culture—Muslim, Christian and Jewish––and the shared heritage of Andalusian music derived from medieval Spain is the fundamental theme.[8] It's worth noting here that although Essaouira is considered a multicultural city, and that the festival celebrates religious diversity and coexistence, more than ninety-nine percent of the Moroccan population is Muslim and less than one percent of the population is Christian, Jewish and Bahai combined.[9] While Artistic Director of the festival, and singer, musicologist, pianist, Françoise Atlan stated in a 2013 interview that: "The spirit of the festival is to bring together and commune around the music of artists from three cultures, Christian, Jewish and Muslim […] it is an event that allows us to remember our common roots [… it is] a message that André Azoulay carries with determination."[10] Azoulay, a senior advisor to Morocco's King Mohammad VI, is a patron, leader and driving force in actuating the annual festival. In a 2019 published article by Michèle Levy, Azoulay claimed that "the goal [of the festival] is to restore the shattered dream and resume where we stopped."[11]

These statements are thought provoking. The words of the king's counsel immediately bring to the forefront the prospect of a music festival to reinstate something cultural which has been lost or "shattered." Both the Artistic Director and Azoulay are, as Levy

---

[8] Ibid.
[9] U.S. Department of State, "2019 Report on International Religious Freedom: Morocco, Section I. Religious Demography," 2019, https://www.state.gov/reports/2019-report-on-international-religious-freedom/morocco/.
[10] Alice Joundi, "Exclusive Interview," Made in Essaouira, October 24, 2013, https://www.madein.city/essaouira/fr/stories/francoise-atlan-chacun-des-concerts-a-essaouira-est-un-moment-precieux-7307/.
[11] Michèle Levy, "Festival of Atlantic Andalusia: Once Upon a Time there was Mogador…," Cultures-Le site de reference des cultures juives, https://cultures-j.com/festival-des-andalousies-atlantiques-il-etait-une-fois-mogador/ (accessed May 6, 2020).

notes, alluding to secular life of Moroccan Jews before the independence of Morocco in 1956, however, more specifically, they are referring to *al-Andalus;* a time of the Iberian Peninsula's Islamic culture from 711-1492.[12] While *al-Andalus* is associated with, and known for, other terms and concepts such as *convivencia* (coexistence) and the 'Golden Age' (a period of tolerance, interaction and exchange of the three cultures under an idealized, benevolent Muslim rule in Spain), idealizing *al-Andalus* and *convivencia* for a temporalized restoration of a "shattered dream" and as a utopic frame of reference for the festival doesn't come without problems. The rhetoric surrounding *al-Andalus* can be sensitive for its subjects, and scholars continue to debate the rhetoric's accuracy and validity.

The late scholar of *al-Andalus*, María Rosa Menocal, is exemplary as one of many who have widely accepted that this was a time of relative peace, respect, harmonious diversity and flourishing with great intercultural exchange and interaction (as both Azoulay and Atlan are inferring). Menocal promoted the idea of cultural openness and coexistence by stating: "A thousand years ago on the Iberian Peninsula, an enlightened vision of Islam had created the most advanced culture in Europe…*al-Andalus* prospered

[12] For more on *al-Andalus*, see: Eric Calderwood, *Colonial al-Andalus: Spain and the Making of Modern Moroccan Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018); Beebe Bahrami, "Al Andalus and Memory: The Past and Being Present Among Hispano-Moroccan Andalusians from Rabat," in *Charting Memory: Recalling Medieval Spain*, ed. Stacy Beckwith (New York and London: Garland, 2000), 111-143; Brian A. Catlos, *Kingdoms of Faith: A New History of Islamic Spain* (New York: Basic Books, 2018); Imam Ghazali Said, "The Heritage of Al-Andalus and the Formation of Spanish History and Identity," *The International Journal of History and Cultural Studies* 3, no. 1 (2017): 63–76; Dwight Reynolds, "Musical Remembrances of Medieval Muslim Spain," in *Charting Memory: Recalling Medieval Spain*, ed. Stacy Beckwith, (New York: Garland, 2000), 229-262.

in a culture of openness and assimilation."[13] In conjunction with portraying it as a time and place of tolerance and openness, Menocal's best-selling book *The Ornament of the World* also promoted *al-Andalus* as a dynamic civilization of mutual respect and an advanced way of life (in science, philosophy, literature, music, culinary arts and architecture). Menocal outlines that by the eleventh century, Córdoba's library (in the southern Spanish city ruled by the Caliphate of Córdoba at the time) was believed to hold more than four hundred thousand manuscripts, while the largest library in all of Europe held less than four hundred.[14] However, in her 2002 *New York Times* article, Menocal went even further to promote the medieval time-place. Bringing it into the twenty-first century as a model of mutual respect and understanding to live by in modern times, she also alluded to it as a lost paradise. Menocal stated:

> Much of Europe far beyond the Andalusian world was shaped by the vision of complex and contradictory identities that was first made into an art form by the Andalusians. The enemies of this kind of cultural openness have always existed within each of our monotheistic religions, and often enough their visions of those faiths have triumphed. But at this time of year, and at this point in history, we should remember those moments when it was tolerance that won the day.[15]

---

[13] María Rosa Menocal. "A Golden Reign of Tolerance," in *The New York Times*, March 28, 2002, Section A, 31, Accessed August 26, 2020, http://www.nytimes.com/2002/03/28/opinion/a-golden-reign-of-tolerance.html.
[14] _____, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2002), 33.
[15] María Menocal, "Golden Reign of Tolerance," 31.
For more on the supportive side of *al-Andalus* as a time-place of harmonious coexistence, see, for example: David Levering Lewis, *God's Crucible: Islam and the Making of Europe, 570-1215* (New York: W.W Norton, 2008), xxii-xxiii; John W. Fox, Nada Mourtada-Sabbah, and Sulayman N.Khalaf, "Ethnography and the Culture of Tolerance in al-Andalus," *Harvard Middle East and Islamic Review,* no.7 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2006), 146-71, quoted in Dario Fernandez-Morera, *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise*, 8; Tony Blair, "A Battle for Global Values," in *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, 2007, (accessed September 3, 2020), https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2007-01-01/battle-global-values.

While many support and promote a celebrated, harmonious coexistence (*convivencia*) of intercultural dialogue, respect and exchange, some scholars, however, outline a different understanding.[16] Darío Fernández-Morera brings to light a different historical account of this period in his book *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise*. Fernández-Morera presents European scholarship depicting a specifically dystopian image. A revealing example is from Islamic Spain's ruler Muhammad Ibn Abu Amir al-Mansur (c. 938–1002), who "made clear that the burning of the Catholic cities and the town of infidels was allowed in *Jihad*; so was flooding them and cutting their trees and their fruits, killing their animals, and destroying their buildings and all that can be broken down."[17] Another example is from historian Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406). He states: "In the Muslim community, *Jihad* (holy war) is a religious duty because of the universalism of the Muslim mission and the obligation to convert everybody to Islam either by persuasion or by force."[18] Fernández-Morera argues that, "In short, Islamic Spain enjoyed no harmonious *convivencia*; rather, Muslims, Christians, and Jews had a precarious coexistence."[19]

---

[16] For detail on medieval Iberia pertaining to the *convivencia* debate, see (among others): Maya Soifer, "Beyond Convivencia: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1, no. 1 (January, 2009): 19-35; Alex Novikoff, "Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain: An Historiographical Enigma," *Medieval Encounters* 11, no. 1-2 (January, 2005): 7-36; Jonathan Ray, "Beyond Tolerance and Persecution: Reassessing Our Approach to Medieval Convivencia," *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no. 2 (Winter, 2005): 1-18.
[17] Dario Fernández-Morera, *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise: Muslims, Christians, and Jews under Islamic Rule in Medieval Spain*, (Wilmington: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2016), 29-33.
[18] Fernández-Morera, *Myth of Andalusian Paradise*, 28.
[19] Ibid,115.

These are just two of numerous examples Fernández-Morera gives on account of historical claims to conflict and discord in *al-Andalus.* No matter what side of the *al-Andalus* debate one presents, one must consider that written history has possibly been documented by someone to suit or benefit either a personal ambition or the agenda of another (for example, that persons superior). I bring these examples up not to move into a discussion of history, but rather to illustrate that in light of existing literature (in addition to the fact that most evidence from *al-Andalus* has either been lost or non-existent), there are conflicting perspectives (or evidence) and debate continues, correlating to my argument that the festival is a construct based on interpretations of an imagined past. On that point, while considering current scholarship such as Fernández-Morera's and ongoing debates, it is interesting to observe that Azoulay, the king's counsel, founder and president of the festival, and Atlan, the artistic director of the FAAE, each present the festival as being directly related to *al-Andalus*, the notion of *convivencia*, and a current objective aimed at actuating, what I argue is an idealized cross-cultural exchange and coexistence by intertwining the festival with an imagined past and a hopeful future.

1.2 Festival Distinction

The FAAE, in many ways, appears to fit seamlessly into common narratives of festivals: spatial and temporal limits are fixed, multiple genres of music are presented and performances are made available to the public. Upon closer examination, however, one can see that there are a number of factors which distinguish this Moroccan festival from others. Essaouira's major festival, The Gnaoua World Music Festival, for example (which welcomes up to 130,000 festival-goers per day), celebrates the Gnaoua musical

culture and heritage, however, its inclusivity of unrelated genres is broad as it aims to celebrate music as a universal language, including: Gnaoua, jazz, flamenco, Indian, Raggae, Tamil and Cuban, among other genres.[20] To this end, El Maarouf Moulay Driss states that "Essaouira is a melting pot for encounters and intersections of world music in a postmodern postcolonial Morocco," and that the Gnaoua World Music Festival is fabricated as a " twenty-first century technology to make it possible for nations to consume other nations under the brand name of globalization."[21] This situates the FAAE in a unique position; its transnational celebration of current musical cultures, each with a heritage specifically tied to *al-Andalus*.

The Fes Festival of World Sacred Music is a Moroccan festival which aligns much more closely with the FAAE. Sharing the same objective of contributing to cultural and religious dialogue, and to demonstrate Morocco's openness to others, international artists are invited to perform from genres such as: Berber, Bara-Khyal from Pakistan, Ghazal from Syria, Judeo-Arab, Madih from Egypt, flamenco, European classical, Irish, and Gregorian chant.[22] A distinct feature of the FAAE in comparison to the Fes festival is that the FAAE is completely free of charge every year.[23] Although the Fes festival and the FAAE share a common objective toward tolerance and open dialogue through music, along with presenting some similar choices in music, Taieb Belghazi's description on

---

[20] Essaouira Gnaoua and World Music Festival, "Essaouira Festival of Gnaoua and World Music – Official Site," accessed September 23, 2020, https://www.festival-gnaoua.net.
[21] El Maarouf Moulay Driss, "World Cultural Nomadictates: An Inquiry into the Trans-local Dynamics of Music Festivals in Morocco," *Open Edition Journals* (August, 2013): 11.
[22] Fes Festival of World Sacred Music, "Fes World Sacred Music – Official Site," accessed September 23, 2020, https://fesfestival.com.
[23] Festival des Andalousies, Facebook.

festival cost is exemplary; demonstrating the distinct position of the FAAE's free annual operation. Belghazi states:

> the Fez Festival comes across as an elitist happening, attended by cultural tourists—who can afford its high prices in order to consume the cultural other […] I would argue that the Fez festival is a meta-statement about social order […] It appears that those who control the social order also dominate the festival […] Performances and organization of access through invitations and ticketing ritualize the social order in order to perpetuate it and legitimize it.[24]

Considering the FAAE's ideological design mentioned earlier, its propensity as a festival of nostalgia certainly situates itself amongst common and current festival narratives which extend far beyond the borders of Morocco. As festival musicians and dancers perform, and audience members participate through attendance, verbal and physical gestures, they are collectively sharing their support for and identifying with ideals pertaining to *al-Andalus*, the idea of *convivencia*, and current musical traditions representing a shared cultural heritage. As Andy Bennett and Ian Woodward note, current festival literature significantly emphasizes the importance of festival sites "for the articulation, performance and rediscovery of identity."[25] Although in the context of an indie rock festival discussion, and referring to generationally preferred music repertoire and other icons, I would argues that the FAAE is emblematic of what Bennett and Woodward refer to as a nostalgia festival; a festival sub-genre.[26] They also present the

---

[24] Taieb Belghazi, "Festivalization of Urban Space in Morocco," *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 15, no. 1 (August 2006): 106.
[25] Cara Aitchison and Annette Pritchard, *Festivals and Events: Culture and Identity in Leisure, Sport and Tourism* (Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association, 2007), in Andy Bennett and Ian Woodward, *Festivalization of Culture*, ed. Andy Bennet, Jodie Taylor, Ian Woodward (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 11.
[26] Andy Bennet and Ian Woodward, "Festival Spaces, Identity, Experience and Belonging," in *Festivalization of Culture*, ed. Andy Bennett, Jodie Taylor, Ian Woodward (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 14.

notion of nostalgia festivals being more than a celebration of memories of the past, also potentially playing "an important role in helping festivalgoers to define their individual and collective identities in the present," and that the festival is a chance for like-minded individuals to participate in a collective, ongoing "lifestyle project."[27] Throughout this thesis, I expand on Bennett and Woodward's notion of the nostalgia festival and demonstrate that one of the functions of the FAAE is to serve as a site for defining identity through interpretations of memories of the past. Moreover, it is my hope to demonstrate that through participation in the ongoing "lifestyle project" embodied by the FAAE, participants are not just defining identity, but they are redefining both identity and authenticity in a current musical culture.

While the FAAE celebrates Spanish-Moroccan relations, articulated respectively through flamenco and Andalusian music, the festival also, as Bennett states in his own discussion, lends itself "to the exploration of political sensibilities-particularly when these are bound up with alternative ideological standpoints."[28] I argue later in this study that this is exemplified through the FAAE's ideological design based on imaginings of *al-Andalus* and a romanticized *convivencia*, in conjunction with identity politics, and its place in current diplomatic relations between Spain and Morocco.

Furthermore, when considering Moulay Driss' discussion on festival state sponsorship, one can glean further insight into the political positioning of the FAAE. He writes that both the Gnaoua World Music Festival in Essaouira and the Fes Festival of World Sacred Music are sponsored by the state for "wanting to keep some elements of

[27] Ibid., 15.
[28] Ibid., 13.

culture alive, not just for benevolent reasons, but for economic sustainment."[29] While the FAAE does attract tourists and promote the city, the extremely low numbers of festivalgoers in comparison to the Gnaoua and Fes festival for example, point to an ulterior motive: in addition to the musical-cultural preservation and celebration, the political payoff is worth the investment. This payoff comes in the form of what I later argue is leverage for political power used for cultural diplomacy and bilateral relations between Morocco and Spain.

1.3 Literature Review and Crucial Terms Defined

With an emphasis on the festival's two contextually primary musical genres, flamenco and Andalusian music, this study focuses on the FAAE and how it functions in current Moroccan-Spanish relations. While scholarship and secondary sources contribute significantly to this thesis, my analysis found in chapters two and three relies predominantly on primary sources. The primary sources I consult includes official artistic texts (concert footage, programs, photographs, promotional videos and quotes) released by the festival through its official website and social media platforms such as Facebook, as well as other journalistic media (digital archives of newspapers, interviews and blogs). For secondary sources, some key scholarship includes work from Carl Davila, Dwight Reynolds, Sandie Holguín, Thomas Turino, Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm.

An argument I make throughout this project is that the FAAE is a construct based on interpretations of an imagined past. Carl Davila and Dwight Reynolds provide

[29] Moulay Driss, "World Cultural Nomadictates: An Inquiry into the Trans-local Dynamics of Music Festivals in Morocco," *Études caribéennes* (2012): 7, https://doi.org/10.4000/etudescaribeennes.5993.

scholarship which serves as a stepping stone to this argument, outlining how Andalusian identity through music is a construct of an imagined past. Davila, in his book *The Andalusian Music of Morocco*, describes what he calls "the standard narrative," that is, the commonly accepted origins of Andalusian music and the person known as Ziryab (b.789, d.857) as its progenitor.[30] The arrival of Ziryab is universally considered to be the point which marked the beginning of the elite Arab Andalusian musical tradition, and it is widely believed that "everything in the musical culture of *al-Andalus* after Ziryab owes its existence to him."[31] Interestingly, all of the different forms of Andalusian music claim a direct connection and descendancy from Ziryab (Abul-Hasan Ali Ibn Nafi) and today, in Spain, Morocco, and Syria (among other places), it is commonly believed and accepted that Andalusian music, in all of its cultural forms, originated in *al-Andalus* with Ziryab. He is also accredited as being the founder of the first music school in *al-Andalus*, taught several thousand songs, and developed musical structure and form such as the *nawba* (*nuba*) suite, which is still common in modern Andalusian music today.[32] Interestingly, while today it is Ziryab who is widely recognized as the progenitor of Arab-Andalusian music, and by extension the founding father of the elite Andalusian music of medieval Spain and modern-day Morocco, a second place contender in this

---

[30] Carl Davila, *The Andalusian Music of Morocco: History, Society and Text* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2013), 53. For more on Ziryab, see: Carl Davila, "Fixing a Misbegotten Biography: Ziryab in the Mediterranean World," *Al-Masaq: Islam in the Medieval Mediterranean* 21, no. 2: 121-36; Dwight Reynolds, "Musical Remembrances of Medieval Muslim Spain," *Charting Memory: Recalling Medieval Spain*, ed. Stacy Beckwith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 60-82; Reynolds, "Al-Maqqari's Ziryab: The Making of a Myth," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 11, no. 2 (2008): 155-168.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Reynolds, "Musical Remembrances of Medieval Muslim Spain," 229-262.

legacy is Ibn Bajja (Abu Bakr Ibn Yahya al-Sayigh, d. 1139), commonly known as Avempace in the West. As Davila notes, Bajja is considered to be "solely responsible for a new and distinctive style of music that distinguished the Andalusian musical tradition from that of the Middle East."[33] This is an important statement to consider because it implies that Ziryab's music was effectively Middle Eastern and it was Bajja who paved the way for a new tradition; one truly and distinctly of *al-Andalus.* Yet, for some reason throughout Spain, Morocco, Syria and other countries, scholars, aficionados and everyday music listeners identify (imagine) Ziryab to be responsible for establishing the elite Andalusian musical tradition in *al-Andalus*. A passage referred to throughout modern histories of Andalusian music further substantiates the ambiguity of the music's origins and history. In the thirteenth century, al-Tifashi (d.1253) wrote:

> Ibn Bajja, the greatest master, appeared and devoted himself for some years (to working with) expert female slave musicians. He improved the *istihla* and the *amal*, and he combined the songs of the Christians with those of the Middle East, inventing a style found only in *al-Andalus*. The temperament of the people inclined to it, and they rejected everything else.[34]

This statement, along with the previously outlined narrative for Ziryab leads one to a number of unanswered questions. If Ibn Bajja invented the uniquely Andalusian style by combining songs of the Christians and those of the Middle East, does this mean Ziryab's music was distinctly Middle Eastern, Islamic, and not representative of a uniquely Andalusian style? Al-Tifashi's work certainly necessitated a reimagining of the history of *al-Andalus* and the history of Andalusian music. Another question is: why, after all this

---

[33] Ibid., 55.

[34] Al-Tifashi, Ahmad b. Yusuf, "al-Tara'iq wal-alhan al-musiqiyya fi Ifriqiya wa-l-Andalus," *al-Mut'at al-asma fi ilm as-sama*, ed. Muhamad b. Tawit al-Tanji, 21: 1, 2, 3 (Beirut: Al-Abhath, 1968), 115, quoted in Davila, *Andalusian Music of Morocco*, 55-56.

time, does Ziryab still exist in a collective, imagined memory as the founder of Andalusian music? Has Ziryab's recognition for what he has done to spread music of the Arab East into Europe been so absorbed into the rhetoric of Andalusian music and *al-Andalus* that it's simply easier to maintain his image as the founder-creator given the lack of concrete evidence? Or, does his story better support the imagination and the idea of a "lost paradise?" Furthermore, how does this relate to the notion of *convivencia*? Surely, if *al-Andalus* was effectively a time and place of harmonious coexistence it wouldn't have taken five centuries to pass before there was a mixing of musical styles. Was al-Tifashi misinformed and wrong about Ibn Bajja? With a lack of documented history and the early sources being more than a century after Ziryab, I argue that one can only imagine the answers to these questions no matter how logical the rationalization may be.

There is scholarship which opposes the universal narrative of Ziryab by drawing attention to shortcomings, ambiguities and recent discoveries. For instance, in efforts to debunk potentially false notions, Shannon notes that aside from anecdotal information written by some historians, nearly no documented biographical information can be found on him, and most information which did appeared was a century or more after.[35] To this end, Davila notes that the most commonly cited source is *Nafh al-tib fi gusn al-Andalus ar-ratib*, written by the scholar and historian Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Maqqari (d.1632), and, quite curiously, it is often cited as a primary source by modern authors despite it being written after the fall of Granada (Spanish-Catholic reconquest of 1492), more than eight centuries after Ziryab arrived in Córdoba and more than five centuries after Ibn

[35] Reynolds, "The Making of a Myth," 155-168; Owen Wright, "Music in Muslim Spain," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 555-579, quoted in Shannon, *Performing al-Andalus*, 39.

Bajja.[36] Furthermore, al-Maqqari's work has been cited as the primary source for nearly all biographical information written about Ziryab.

To complicate matters further, an encyclopedic work from the fourteenth century containing biographies of eighteen musicians and singers from the period of al-Hakam I (r. 806-822) and Abd al-Rahman II (822-852) is changing current ideas and scholarship pertaining to musical life in Córdoba. Reynolds writes about the multivolume work compiled by Ibn Fadlallah al-Umari (1301-1349), which is titled, *The Paths of Perception among the Kingdoms of the Capitals* (*Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar*), stating that scholars of music history never noted that in the back of the volume exists biographies of musicians and singers from *al-Andalus* and North Africa which don't appear in any other surviving work.[37] A clear example from Ibn Fadlallah, which provides evidence that mixing of the musical traditions of the Christian Iberian kingdoms with the eastern Mediterranean was already taking place in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, is demonstrated in the biography of Salim—a *mawla* (client) of al-Mughira (son of al Hakam). Counter to most modern scholarly belief and the standard narrative of Ziryab, Reynolds writes:

> When Christian emissaries arrived in Córdoba from the North, he hosted them, studied their singing, and learned it well ("akhadha al-tarab an rusulin atuhu min qibal al-nasara…wa-atqana al-fann wa-haqqaqa al-zann"). When al-Mughira, Salim's patron, was later given an Iraqi female slave-singer as a gift, he sent her to Salim who learned Iraqi music from her and then set out to combine Iraqi singing with that which [he] had learned from the Christians ("jama'a al ghina al-iraqi ma'a ma jama'a"), which they later performed together in the gatherings of al-Mughira.[38]

---

[36] Davila, *Andalusian Music of Morocco*, 60.
[37] Reynolds, "Music in Medieval Iberia: Contact, Influence and Hybridization," *Medieval Encounters* 15, no. 2-4 (January 2009), 241.
[38] Ibn Fadlallah al-Umari, Abu l-Abbas Ahmad Ibn-Yahya Shihab al-Din, *Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar*, eds. Faut Sezgin et al. 30 vols., (Frankfurt: Ma'had ta'rikh al-

The combined works from Ibn Fadlallah and al-Maqarri, albeit late upon arrival, demonstrate that Christian, Jewish and Muslim musicians were performing early in the Umayyad period, and furthermore, intentionally combining their musical styles. To this end, a result from Davila's analysis of the earliest sources available on the matter is that the conjecture of past historians has instituted the idea of Ziryab the myth; the Ziryab existing in today's collective imagination.[39]

All of the aforementioned findings, cumulatively, are quite revealing. Despite inconsistencies and ambiguities in scholarship, as well as a disjointed timeline, people have accepted rhetoric and narratives pertaining to *al-Andalus* and Andalusian music as fact. These findings also serve as a stepping stone to my argument that Andalusian cultural identity, through music, is a construct of an imagined past. I expand on the work of Reynolds and Davila by setting their findings in the context of the FAAE's current activities and questioning interpretations of an imagined past.

Sandie Holguín, in her book *Flamenco Nation: The Construction of Spanish National Identity*, studies flamenco as a symbol of Spanish national identity. The belief that the development of flamenco correlates to Islamic Andalus, therefore, extends beyond a matter of musical origin; it is at once historical, cultural and political, connecting today's Andalucía and Spanish national identity to its Arab past, Andalusian music, and by extension, Morocco. Building on Holguín's work, I outline flamenco's significance and role in the FAAE. I also connect flamenco to the festival's ideologies, Andalusian music,

---

ulum al-arabiyya wa l-islamiyya/Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabo-Islamic Sciences, 1988-2001), 385, quoted in Reynolds, "Music in Medieval Iberia," 242.

[39] For detailed analysis of early sources pertaining to the standard narrative, see: Davila, *Andalusian Music of Morocco*, 43-131.

and demonstrate its critical function in identity politics and my arguments pertaining to music being used as a tool for diplomacy.[40]

For the benefit of reading the following two chapters without too much interruption of theoretical explanation or definitions, I offer here definitions of concepts and terms regularly used in this study. Since much of this thesis pertains to identity, culture and identity through music, it is pertinent to consider here what I mean by these terms. The words self and identity are often used synonymously, however, it is important to understand each word conceptually because of how identities function in the world. Thomas Turino sums up the two by writing that "the *self* is the composite of the total number of habits that determine the tendencies for everything we think, feel, experience, and do." However, *identity* "involves the partial and variable selection of habits and attributes that we use to represent ourselves to ourselves and to others, as well as those aspects that are perceived by ourselves and by others as salient."[41] Furthermore, *identity politics* refers to "the strategic use of group identities for political ends as well as to the struggle over who has the right or ability to control public representations of particular groups that, in turn, affect the social status and life chances of group members."[42]

Moving to the concept of *culture*, after outlining its earliest conception from Anthropologist Edward B. Tylor (1871) and later from Alfred Louis Kroeber (1876-1960), Turino settles on a more recent and helpful conception of culture which moves away from the idea of culture as something unified and whole to the idea that in social

---

[40] Sadie Holguín, *Flamenco Nation: The Construction of Spanish National Identity* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2019).
[41] Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 101-102.
[42] Ibid., 104-105.

life everything has a cultural component. Turino effectively uses habits to describe this concept of culture: "Just as the self is the composite of habits guiding everything an individual thinks and does, we can think of *cultural phenomena* as consisting of habits of thought and practice shared among individuals within social groups of varying sizes and specificity…"[43] He also notes that just as the self and identity are mistakenly used synonymously, so too are culture and society; *society* "refers to networks and institutions of existing social roles and relations unified by structures of governance and/or common patterns of social organization…"[44] Using Turino's terms, I contend that the FAAE is a cultural institution that features a Spanish, Moroccan, Essaouiran society, infused with identity politics for the promulgation of dialogue, respect and coexistence and it is instrumentalized for cultural diplomacy.

Philip Bohlman takes identity and self-identity into a musical context, noting that scholarship at the end of the twentieth century paid significant attention to the study of musical representation of self-identity. For Bohlman, self-identity is neither inherent nor authentic but it is *imagined* and music provides a means for constructing and representing it.[45] On this point, *authenticity*, as it pertains to the two musical traditions in FAAE and this study, can be seen as having a number of meanings. *The Cambridge Dictionary* defines authentic as "being what it is claimed to be, or genuine," and authenticity as "the quality of being real or true."[46] Common definitions of authenticity in the recent past include those from Richard Taruskin and Peter Kivy. For Taruskin, authenticity is

---

[43] Ibid., 109.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Bohlman, "Music as Representation," 223.
[46] The Cambridge Dictionary, s.v. "Authentic; Authenticity," accessed March 21, 2021, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/authentic.

understood as fidelity and production of a work's original intent.[47] Kivy on the other hand, disposes of the idea of a singular authenticity and states, rather, that there are multiple *authenticities* (composer, sonic, personal, sensible) and believes that performers should be permitted to use their own musical intuition and judgement to interpret music for the listening audience.[48] Recently, however, Andreea Stoicescu presents an interesting alternative to authenticity: she proposes "authenticity to mean 'accordance' between internal characteristics of a musical work and the interpreter's personal, but at the same time informed, vision of the same work."[49] Considering the conventions and expectations of ornamentation, improvisation and personalization in both flamenco and Andalusian music (articulated in more detail later in this study), both Kivy and Stoicescu provide definitions for the parameters of authenticity pertaining to the FAAE and the musical genres later analyzed.

Continuing along the trajectory of defining crucial terms used regularly throughout this study, the next concepts to consider are those of nation, region and national identity. Holguín writes that "A nation may describe a group of people, that has ties to a particular language, culture, territory, history, and political trajectory," whereas, national identity "…is a type of conceptual shorthand, a way people think they can sum up the complexity of all the people living in a particular territory, usually a nation-state."[50] Benedict Anderson defines nation in *Imagined Communities*: *Reflections on the Origin and Spread*

---

[47] See: Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
[48] Peter Kivy, *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).
[49] Andreea Stoicescu, "The Concept of Authenticity in Musical Interpretation: An Ontological Perspective," *Artes Journal of Musicology* 22, no.1 (March 2020): 193-208.
[50] Holguín, *Flamenco Nation*, 15.

of Nationalism in a manner particularly suited to this study. For Anderson, a *nation* is "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."[51] He continues, stating that all nations are imagined because their citizens will never meet, know, or even hear of most other citizens, "yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."[52] Furthermore, he adds: virtually all communities are imagined (and therefore all nations); they are differentiated by the manner in which they are imagined, and a nation is "imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship."[53]

Anthony D. Smith provides a modern description of *national identity*. He states that it is "the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the pattern of values, memories, myths, and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identification of the individuals with that pattern and heritage."[54] Additionally, Eric Hobsbawm points out that the construction of *national identity* is ultimately shaped by the modern state, exemplified by Massimo d'Azeglio's claim: "We established Italy and now it is time to create the Italians."[55]

Pertaining to the construction of *nationalism*, most scholars agree that no nation is solid and unchanging, rather, the idea of a nation is fluid.[56] As Alejandro Quiroga states:

---

[51] Anderson, Imagined, 6.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid., 6-7.
[54] Anthony D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundation of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), 19.
[55] Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 44.
[56] See, for example: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991); John Breuilly, *Nationalism*

> Individuals are not born with fixed, immutable national features…People are 'nationalised' as they incorporate the nation as part of their identity. Against a backdrop of complex historical developments, national identities are created, transmitted and transformed at different social levels. These procedures are complicated further by the simultaneous processes of identity formation that shape diverse loyalties, such as religious, class and regional allegiances.[57]

While defining what a nation is proves to be complex, equally so is to define the concept of region. There is no singular definition for the term, however, Joost Augusteijn provides an excellent explanation for its use in this study. He notes:

> A region can be described as an imagined or established smaller territorial part of a bigger whole, either with administratively defined borders or linked to emotionally defined spatial categories that become the object of nostalgia and may act as links between the individual and collective sentiments of belonging are economic entities, historical territories, frontier areas and geographical units bounded by natural features.[58]

He also notes that regions can be considered extensions of landscapes and attributes of spaces which define everyday experiences and that "they are economic entities, historical territories, frontier areas and geographical units bounded by natural features. But they are also a form of collective identity."[59] This explanation of region is helpful in both chapter two and three where I discuss flamenco and its place in the FAAE.

All the aforementioned terms and concepts are critical to this study, in relation to both my argument that the festival and its music is being used for cultural diplomacy and my

---

and the State (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[57] Alejandro Quiroga, "The Three Spheres. A Theoretical Model of Mass Nationalisation: The Case of Spain," *Nations and Nationalism* 20, no. 4, (September 2014): 684, https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12073.

[58] Joost Augusteijn and Eric Storm, *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Nation Building, Regional Identities and Separatism* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 15.

[59] Ibid.

argument that while performers look to an imagined past, they are actively redefining identity and authenticity.

1.4 Methodology and Limitations

The goal of demonstrating how the FAAE, and moreover its music, functions—used as a tool for cultural diplomacy between Spain and Morocco, and redefining identity and authenticity—necessitated a system of diverse analyses. Methodologically, my approach was to analyse the festival along with flamenco and Andalusian music in context. I adopted an interdisciplinary approach which included analyzing social, political, historical and musicological components pertaining to the FAAE.

A qualitative analysis of scholarly sources pertaining to relations between Morocco, Spain, Andalusian music and flamenco—historical and current, pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial—provided context, an understanding of their respective, complex relations and the foundation to my analysis of the FAAE. Additionally, secondary sources from social and historical theorists have provided an insightful platform to examine and understand the social-cultural and social-political positioning of the festival.

In choosing which primary sources to include, I analyzed material pertaining to the festival's programming, performances, promotion, and rhetoric surrounding the artistic, social, and political environment of the festival. I chose to use sources which were, what I perceive to be, both impactful and most representative of the festival's activities in relation to the subject of this thesis. The primary sources consulted for my analysis of the festival's history (performances and social-cultural-political context) and my case study of the 2020 edition, included: official artistic texts (concert footage, programs,

photographs, promotional videos, quotes) released by the festival through its official website and social media platform Facebook, as well as other journalistic media (digital archives of interviews, newspapers and blogs). The case study involved a focused analysis of two performed pieces and the various speeches from diplomats, government officials and statespersons. Within the study, I analysed the music and provided my own transcriptions by referring to the video (posted on the festival's official platform), my own instruments (piano, guitar and oud), and using notation software (Sibelius).

Initially, my study of the FAAE was presented with an obstacle. I had aimed to include an ethnographic interview with a past performer, providing critical data for my analysis. The performer told me that although he performed flamenco guitar for the Jalal Chekara Orchestra in Essaouira, he wasn't certain if it was for the festival.[60] Without this confirmation, the interview was unable to happen. However, due to the global pandemic, the 2020 edition of the festival went live online and I was able to 'attend' the entire edition virtually. Furthermore, the virtual edition had been digitally archived for public consumption and continued reference. Additionally, while being a Canadian living in Nova Scotia presents its own challenges to this project, I was able to make use of my fifteen years of professional experience and specialized training in both flamenco and Arabic music. Lastly, while being a native English speaker, I have had the help of a native Spanish speaker from Spain as well as a native Moroccan Arabic speaker in verifying the transcription of the Spanish and Moroccan Arabic lyrics to the song-texts I analysed in the case study.

[60] Tino van der Sman (Seville based flamenco guitarist), email to author, August 10, 2020.

1.5 Chapter Breakdown

Chapter two examines the history of the FAAE with attention to the 2010-2019 editions. By examining past activities, including performances by groups such as Jalal Chekara and Leonor Leal, I consider the music and festivals role in cultural diplomacy and the construction of an imagined community. The chapter begins by outlining flamenco and Andalusian music, considering their relations to one another, *al-Andalus* and *convivencia* and their place within the FAAE. Before the analysis of the festival's history ensues, I also give a brief overview of André Azoulay and his significance to the festival and its ideological design.

Chapter three serves as a case study for the 2020 edition of the festival. With a focused analysis on two pieces performed in this edition by David Peña Dorantes (flamenco) and the Jalal Chekara ensemble (Andalusian), including descriptive musical language and some transcription, this study demonstrates how musicians are reshaping a hopeful future and redefining identity and authenticity through music. By situating the cultural-political significance of flamenco, Andalusian music and the FAAE, along with an examination of various speeches from statespersons, diplomats and government officials, this chapter also reinforces my argument of the festivals function in diplomacy between Spain and Morocco. Furthermore, this study expands on the concept of ideology and questions the transparency of the state.

The case study is followed by chapter four, a brief conclusion summarizing the findings in this thesis. I also comment on the direction the festival is currently taking and provide unanswered questions and suggestions for further research.

1.6 Significance of Thesis

This thesis presents the first in-depth study of the FAAE. There is a developing state of knowledge concerning musical and cultural encounters across the Strait of Gibraltar, and this research will add to that knowledge base and complement it perfectly. This original research will contribute to the developing Moroccan-Spanish relations through festival and its function in cultural diplomacy. While the future intent behind political maneuverings of flamenco, Andalusian music and the FAAE are not entirely understood, what is clear is that the festival is an artistic expression and celebration of a common culture.

CHAPTER 2: FESTIVAL HISTORY

> In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined. [1]
>
> Benedict Anderson

2.1 Routes for Diplomacy; Imagined Roots

This chapter looks at the history of the FAAE between 2010-2019 with attention to the festival's role in cultural diplomacy between Morocco and Spain and the construction of an imagined community. It is therefore pertinent to begin by contextualizing the festival's music. I start by considering both Andalusian identity and Andalusian music, framing my discussion in the context of cultural diplomacy. I consider flamenco and its respective relations to Andalusian music and the FAAE. My discussion moves next to André Azoulay's significance to the festival and finally to a consideration of representative performances from past festivals.

An account of when power had shifted from Islam to Christianity in medieval Spain is provided by Brian Catlos. He describes that the Reconquista (Christian re-conquest to expel the Muslim rulers who seized Spain) culminated in 1490 when Fernando and Isabel (Ferdinand—later to be king of Aragon and Castile with Queen Isabella I) formed a siege camp nearly the size of a city itself just below Granada, and on January 1, 1492, the keys to the Alhambra (of Granada) were handed over in ceremony to Fernando and Isabel, marking the final submission on the day before the Catholic kings entered the city,

[1] Anderson, *Imagined*, 6.

establishing a new Christian rule in Granada and bringing *al-Andalus* to an end.[2] The transition of authority provided some Islamic elites positions as administrators and rulers to help smoothen the change, however, many *mudéjares* (Muslim subjects under Christian rule) were mistreated, given heavy taxes, had property taken away and were charged under false accusations. In 1499, Francisco Jiménez Cisneros (archbishop of Toledo) arrived in Granada with the Inquisition, bestowing upon the *mudéjares* cruelty, violence, imprisonment and torture in pursuit of conversion. Catlos continues describing that Cisneros also had all Arabic books burned in public, culminating in a massive rebellion which Hernando de Talavera (archbishop of Granada who promoted conversion through education and precept) had defused by offering rebels a pardon if they converted. This resulted in the conversion of more than 50,000 to Christianity, and, by 1501 the rebellion was put down, the city was placed under quarantine, and Muslims, like the Jews of Aragon and Castile, were given the option to either convert or face exile.[3]

Facing religious intolerance and severity set by Christian rulers, tens of thousands of Andalusians emigrated from Spain to Morocco between the end of the fifteenth century and the early seventeenth century (a migration which appears in a number of recorded documents), bringing about significant changes to Morocco.[4] With the most widespread transitions occurring in 1492 and 1610, Andalusian refugees arrived in Morocco and either settled or founded cities such as Tétouan, Fez, Tangier and Rabat, providing

---

[2] Brian A. Catlos, *Kingdoms of Faith: A New History of Islamic Spain* (New York: Basic Books, 2018), 389-390.
[3] Ibid., 392-93.
[4] For more detail, see: Mercedes García-Arenal, "Los moriscos en Marruecos: De la emigración de los granadinos a los hornaceros de Salé," in *Los moriscos: Expulsión y diáspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Valencia: Universitat de Valéncia, 2013), 275-311.

Morocco with culture and refinement from medieval Spain. There, they maintained and preserved customs and traditions from their homeland, established a Hispano-Muslim culture within the Moroccan State which does not exist anywhere further East, and, eventually, Morocco became what some call a "living museum," where medieval Andalucía still exists today.[5] Gil Benumeya continues on this point, outlining a number of cultural practices, such as music, language and dialect, dress, religion, architecture, cuisine and craft, all of which, he argues, arrived in contemporary Morocco from *al-Andalus*.[6] I would question Gil Benumeya's notion of a "living museum," and reframe it in the context of Anderson's imagined communities. That is, I would suggest that medieval Andalucía exists in an imagined, collective memory, serving as a construct through which a group of people imagine themselves to be representative of today.

So who exactly are Andalusians? Should this identity only belong to those who call the south of Spain their home, or to those who have been born in the region whether or not they still reside there? Can those who are born in today's Morocco still consider themselves Andalusian because of a connection to their ancestral lineage? Recalling the concepts of identity and authenticity outlined in the introduction, one can argue that creating a new home rooted in a lineage of cultural practices authentic to one's traditions and customs can maintain a continuous and collective identity. Those who continued to live in Andalucía are Andalucían, and although they may now have some different sets of cultural practices, the Andalusian culture and communities in today's Morocco are also Andalusian, Moroccan-Andalusian. Beebi Bahrami argued that Moroccan-Andalusian is

---

[5] Rodolfo Gil Benumeya, *Marruecos andaluz*, (Madrid: Educación Popular, 1942), 139-140.
[6] Ibid., 122-176.

a distinctly different culture from that of the Arabs, Berbers and other ethnicities in Morocco because in Morocco, Andalusian refers to specific geographical locations, populations (associated with an elite culture) and a culture (practices believed to have come from medieval Spain, such as music).[7] Additionally, Andalusian identity can be further steeped into complexity when one considers the argument that Spanish colonizers used the imagined memory of *al-Andalus* and *convivencia* as a tool to further substantiate their colonial ambitions.

With a brief outline of Spanish colonial activity that took place in Morocco, I argue that Andalusian national identity in Morocco has been further absorbed into the rhetoric of *al-Andalus* and *convivencia*, identifying, in part, as an exported product of Spanish commodification and ideology. In other words, Spanish colonizers used the imagined memory of *al-Andalus* and *convivencia* as a tool to further substantiate their colonial ambitions, which, inadvertently, became part of a foundation for Moroccan-Andalusian national identity. These colonizing strategies inadvertently became part of a foundation for Moroccan-Andalusian national identity, and, furthermore, connected this national identity directly to Spain through music.[8] While today the Andalusian identity directly correlates to an idea, image, or imagination of a direct descendancy of a medieval Iberian

---

[7] Bahrami, "Al Andalus and Memory,": The Past and Being Present Among Hispano-Moroccan Andalusians from Rabat," in *Charting Memory: Recalling Medieval Spain*, ed. Stacy Beckwith (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000), 111.

[8] For detailed reading which cumulatively supports this argument, see: Calderwood, *Colonial al-Andalus;* Sebastian Balfour, *Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Fernando Valderrama Martínez, *Historia de la acción cultural de España en Marruecos* 1912-1956 (Tetouan: Editora Marroquí, 1956); Muhammad Ibn Tawit, Introduction, *Journal Titwan* 1 (1956): 9-11; Patrocinio García Barriuso, *La música hispano-musulmana en Marruecos* (Larache: Artes Gráficas Boscá, 1941; Davila, *Andalusian Music*.

cultural heritage, I contend that it is intangible and yet authentic, and is bound by recurrent cycles of interpretations of an imagined past.

For purposes of context and the analysis of the FAAE it is important to briefly consider changes which have (or have not) occurred in Morocco pertaining to post-colonial Spanish-Moroccan relations, as well as their shared cultural identity in *al-Andalus* and *convivencia*. Officially, the Spanish and French Protectorates ended in 1956 with the independence of Morocco, but Spain still continues to occupy Ceuta and Melilla on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco today and it also continued to occupy the Western Sahara territory until 1976.[9] However, for the first two decades after the protectorate ended, Spain and Morocco went from having a close relationship to upholding only minimum diplomatic relations.[10]

With independence came the return of Islam's full authority in Morocco, and in order to legitimize the monarchy, the head of state must be a direct descendant from the Prophet Mohamad, confirming *Sharifian* status (of the lineage) for the royal family, and, as James Sater writes in *Morocco: Challenges to Tradition and Modernity*, it is a requirement for one to be able to be called *Amir al-Mu'minin* (commander of the faithful), which is written into the constitution.[11] Despite independent Morocco being a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary democracy, the king's legitimacy through *sharifian* status, in conjunction with the *bay'a*, effectively places him above the constitution and any organized institution within the nation-state. With the power given

[9] For more on the Western Sahara issue, see: James N. Sater, *Morocco: Challenges to Tradition and Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 157-75.
[10] David Stenner, "Mediterranean Crossroads: Spanish-Moroccan Relations in Past and Present," *The Journal of North African Studies* 24, no. 1, (2019): 7-16.
[11] Ibid., 6.

to the king through religion and Islamic law, he would maintain hegemony over political decisions as well as virtually any decision in any field.

The king's position is important to consider while observing the social, political and cultural stratification of Andalusians, and by extension, Andalusian music. Morocco's constitution, most recently amended with official consent in 2011, declares that Moroccan culture today descends straight from *al-Andalus*, and it also proclaims "the Moroccan people's attachment to the values of openness, moderation, tolerance and dialogue."[12] This is interesting to consider while remembering that Morocco's population is more than ninety-nine percent Muslim. Although less than one percent of the population accounts for all other religions, both Morocco's constitution and the FAAE draw on an imagined *al-Andalus*, effectively romanticizing a harmonious religious and cultural coexistence based on ideals of openness and dialogue.

The king's position is also a constituent of Andalusian identity through music. In post-colonial Morocco, Andalusian music is broadcast daily on public television (known as *al-ula*) throughout the month of Ramadan, Islam's holy month of fasting, prayer and reflection which facilitates in the development of empathy, compassion, generosity and charity and celebrates Muhammad's receiving of the first revelations of the Qur'an. In addition to the Ramadan broadcasts, Andalusian music is also broadcast and employed for royal family events and celebrations as well as annual music festivals in cities such as Tetouan, Chaouen, Essaouira and Fez.[13] As Shannon notes, for example, the rhetoric of

---

[12] Royume de Maroc, Secrétariat Général du Governement, "La Constitution," July, 2011, www.sgg.gov.ma/Portals/0/constitution/constitution_2011_Fr.pdf.
[13] Jonathan Glasser, *The Lost Paradise*: *Andalusi Music in Urban North Africa* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2016), 23-27; Davila, *Andalusian Music*, 167-175; Shannon, *Performing al-Andalus*, 84-118.

al-Andalus and Andalusian music in the cultural and political sphere is "historically grounded in a genealogical imagination and more closely associated with the Moroccan nation."[14] He also notes that in Morocco, "Andalusian music is a social institution with links to a wide array of centers of power and authority (state, religion, ethnicity, commercer)," and that Andalusian music and the rhetoric of *al-Andalus* connects modern Morocco to "a prestigious past, a refined high culture [...and] Europe."[15] Furthermore, on both a sociopolitical and sociocultural platform, Andalusian music is presented as the national, elite classical music of Morocco, and the acknowledgement of the king's patronage of music festivals such as the FAAE is always a display of prominence, suggesting a relevance and connection to discourse in national identity, culture, heritage and tradition.

It is pertinent to take a moment here to consider Andalusian performance practice. Instruments used in the Andalusian *farqa* (small ensemble) include the Arabic oud, violin, viola, cello and sometimes the contrabass. Percussion instruments include the *tar* (small frame drum with cymbals) and *darbuka* (goblet shaped hand drum). Sometimes the *qanun* (stringed Egyptian or Turkish zither) and *rabab* (two string bowed instrument) are included. The leader of a *farqa* almost always plays the *oud*, the violin, or the *suwisan* (three stringed instrument with round neck and leather covered soundbox). Larger ensembles and orchestras, *jawq* or *ajwaq*, will include the *rabab*, *oud*, more than one violin, *tar* and *darbuka*. Sometimes ensembles will have a *qanun* and one or more violas, cello and a contrabass. Every main city in Northern Morocco has its own *jawq*,

[14] Shannon, *Performing al-Andalus*, 86.
[15] Ibid., 86-87.

and each has a leader called a *ra'is* or *rayis*. Group leaders are highly skilled and respected, and also perform on an instrument throughout a concert (typically an *oud* or violin).[16]

Outlining the fundamentals of structure and terminology for the most significant form of Andalusian music, the *nuba* (pl. *nawbat*), helps one to understand performance practice of Andalusian music. The *nuba* is a suite named according to its melodic mode (*tab*, pl. *tubu*). It is the primary Andalusian music which is aired on Moroccan radio and television (as previously mentioned) and is also the representative form used throughout the FAAE. An entire suite consists of five movements (*mizan*, pl. *mayazin*), each based on its rhythmic mode (*iqa*, pl. *iq'at*). Only eleven *nawbat* remain in the Andalusian canon, so considering each *nuba* consists of five *mayazin*, in theory, there are only fifty-five movements total in the Andalusian canon, each with its own presentation of *tab* and *iqa*. Vocal components typically draw on poetic resources and are sung in anachronistic Arabic from *al-Andalus*.[17]

There are two types of instrumental passages in a *nuba*, called *bugya*, (pl. *bugaya)*, and every performance begins with these. They are slow and thoughtful, performed rubato. The introductions serve to set the mood and present the *tab* to the listener. Each *tab* has a *bugya*, and one will hear the *bugya* for the principal *tub* (there are often secondary modes) of the *nuba* as a performance begins. The *bugya* is precomposed, but instrumentalists can improvise on the main melody and personalize it. If improvisation ensues, the instrumentalist must still maintain the integrity of the melody (as was done in

[16] Davila, *Andalusian Music*, 23.
[17] Ibid., 7-34.

Western Baroque for example). Following a *bugya*, a rhythmic, composed instrumental piece is performed (tushiy, pl. *tawshi*) to introduce a *mizan* (section of a suite).

Considered to be the heart of Andalusian music is its vocal material. Following a *tushiya*, a short vocal improvisation ensues (called *inshad)* in which the vocalist (*munshid*) will improvise on a either a couple of words or a line or two of poetic text. This is performed either free or molto rubato, and often comprises nonsense words (*taratin*). Improvisation serves as an opportunity to display one's skill, personal expression, knowledge and command of the musical materials of the tradition. Another solo improvisation section in Andalusian repertory is the *baytayn*, which is performed in time with a composed melody and may take place anywhere in the music. In this case, the singer will improvise on two lines the same way instrumentalists would.[18] Most vocal sections are labelled *san'a*, pl. *sana'i,* and there is also the *barwala* pl. *barawi*l, the more recent music sung in Moroccan Arabic dialect.

Andalusian music also has its own sociocultural practice when it comes to audience participation. In concert, the audience may applaud or give boasts of admiration if an aspect of the performance is enjoyed, in which case the instrumentalist or singer may elaborate even further in response to the audience's participation. In this respect, we can consider the performer-audience relationship as interdependent rather than separate, tangibly expanding the Andalusian community and constructing its corresponding identity through music.

[18] Ibid., 12; for Arabic poetry structure see Davila, 16-18.

2.2 Cultural Diplomacy

While considering the role that the festival and its music has in *cultural diplomacy*, it's important to consider what is meant by this concept. Milton Cummings describes cultural diplomacy as "the exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding."[19] However, Richard Arndt states that "Cultural diplomacy only takes place when the governments pay attention to this complex field and try to give sense to chaos so as to configure it, to some extent, and put it at the service of the elusive 'national interest', so difficult to define."[20] However, Mariano Martín Zamorano provides a summary which draws on multiple descriptions of cultural diplomacy representative of how the concept is used in this study. Zamorano states:

> Cultural diplomacy involves the systematic intervention of governments in the arts, sciences, and other cultural expressions as the basis of an official categorization of national identity [that it] is characterized by the multiplication of its intervenient agents at different scales and levels and by the growing importance of supra-national organizations. Aside from a nation's government, its business people, artists, emigrants, etc. also participate in this complex space.[21]

It's important to consider here exactly how Zamorano's explanation of cultural diplomacy pertains to this project. Despite Morocco's transition to independence, Spain and Morocco continue to have a reciprocal relationship, at times cordial and congruous,

---

[19] Milton C. Cummings, *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey* (Washington, D.C: Center for Arts and Culture, 2003), 1.
[20] Richard Arndt, "¿Cultura o propaganda? Reflexiones sobre medio siglo de diplomacia cultural
de Estados Unidos," César Villanueva Rivas ed. *Revista Mexicana de Política Exterior*, febrero, 2002, 31.
[21] Mariano Martín Zamorano, "Reframing Cultural Diplomacy: The Instrumentalization of Culture under the Soft Power Theory," *Culture Unbound Journal of Current Research* (November 2016): 169, https://doi.org/10.3384/cu.2000.1525.1608165.

at other times conflicting and discordant. For example, in 1991, the first friendship treaty was signed between Spain and Morocco under Spain's Prime Minister Felipe González. After Spain enjoyed positive developments in economic, cultural and political relations with Morocco, its attitude toward the neighbor to the south evolved; Morocco was now a place of much broader interest.[22] However, ongoing diplomatic and political sensitivity has been required from both sides on issues such as the Western Sahara conflict, Morocco's claims to the Ceutan and Melillan territories, migration, and drugs. As Sater notes, Morocco had to move its ambassador a number of times upon provocation by Spain, as recently as November, 2007 after King Juan Carlos I visited Ceuta.[23]

One area, interestingly, which proves to be a consistent constituent of valuation for both Spain and Morocco is *al-Andalus* and its associated idea of *convivencia*. The rhetoric of *convivencia* and *al-Andalus* continues to be a powerful tool for negotiating Islam's place in Spain and, more broadly, Europe, facilitating a cultural integration for government organizations, tourists and immigrant Muslims from North Africa. Furthermore*, al-Andalus* serves Morocco in its negotiating power with the West; becoming a point of leverage to strengthen alliances, develop trade and stimulate economic growth.

Many in Spain have struggled to try and escape the influence and identity of *al-Andalus* and its Muslim past. As Imam Ghazali Said notes, an orientalist approach (likened to Edward Said's *Orientalism*, 1978) identifies Spain as the "Orient" of Europe; associated with the Near East to help the West understand the Middle East, and thus, the

---

[22] Richard Gillespie, *Spain and the Mediterranean: Developing a European Policy towards the South* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 2000), 42-77.
[23] Sater, *Morocco: Challenges*, 155.

"integration of *al-Andalus* into Spain is even problematic," distancing Andalucía and all of Spain from Europe.[24] Said continues, noting that for Spanish historians the term *al-Andalus* "represents diverse phenomena," from 711-1492, including social behavior, political systems, artistic, scientific and literary achievements, and has served as the foundation for Spain's construction of history and identity.[25] These statements are interesting to consider because they position Spain at various levels of a multi-lateral platform. On one hand, Spain is being looked upon as a subaltern "Other" in the EU, keeping its status, power and influence in the West quite low, however, it also provides Spain with significant power and leverage in its bi-lateral relations with Morocco, and, by extension, it equips Spain with negotiating power with North Africa and further eastern Arab countries.

In short, Morocco and Spain engage in ongoing diplomatic efforts and the rhetoric of *convivencia* and *al-Andalus* continues to be a powerful tool for negotiations. This is where the FAAE becomes significant. Constructed on ideologies pertaining to *convivencia* and *al-Andalus*, the festival engages in artistic communications and negotiations through Andalusian music and flamenco, which is further utilized in cultural-political discourse between government officials, diplomats, non-government agencies and artists (which I examine in chapter three). This, representationally, encapsulates Zamorano's definition of cultural diplomacy as the festival's activities

[24] Imam Ghazali Said, "The Heritage of al-Andalus and the Formation of Spanish History and Identity," *International Journal of History and Cultural Studies* 3, no. 1 (2017), 63-67.
[25] Ibid., 65.

involve national identity, governments (both the *Junta* and the Royaume du Maroc), and organizational actors of different scales and levels.

2.3 The Case of Flamenco

The Andalusian musical canon today is considered to be a current reverberation of *al-Andalus* in addition to being an extension of a heritage and identity originating from the medieval time-space. Another fundamental part of the programming at the FAAE is flamenco. A look at flamenco along with its relations to *al-Andalus* and Andalusian music provides context and positioning for the two musical genres' place in diplomacy and the construction of an imagined community in the festival.

Flamenco's origins have been written about at length by a number of scholars, resulting in the notion that it developed from cross-cultural exchange between the post-Reconquista refugees and the *gitanos* (Gypsies).[26] This notion, along with a lack of documented evidence, points toward flamenco's foundation in a collective imaginary. It's interesting to observe that in conjunction with the FAAE being based on an imagined past, both of its essential constituents (Andalusian music and flamenco) have their imagined roots based somewhere within the imagined past of *al-Andalus* and post-Reconquista.

[26] See, for example: Dwight Reynolds, *The Musical Heritage of Al-Andalus* (New York: Routledge, 2021); Manuel Barrios, *Ese difícil mundo del flamenco: gitanos, moriscos y cante flamenco* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2000); William Washabaugh, *Flamenco: Passion, Politics and Popular Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 1996); Blas Infante, *Orígenes de lo Flamenco y Secreto del Cante Jondo* (Seville: Consejereía de Cultura, Junta de Andalucía, 1980).

The belief that the development of flamenco correlates to Islamic Andalus extends beyond a matter of musical origin; it is at once historical, cultural and political, connecting today's Andalucía and Spanish national identity to its Arab past.[27] As Cristopher Paetzold points out, influential Andalucíans of the early twentieth century such as composer Manuel de Falla, poet Federico García Lorca, and father of Andalucía nationalism, Blas Infante, all looked for cultural and ethnic relationships that connected Islamic Andalus and flamenco to contemporary Andalucía. Furthermore, between 1929-1933 Infante wrote a number of essays which argued that Andalucía's "collective identity was linked to its Arab history, with flamenco music being one of the major threads joining the past with the present."[28]

A look at some of flamenco's maneuverings and appropriations into the politics of identity helps to understand flamenco's position in Spanish national identity, further substantiating its relevance in the FAAE and its significance in cultural diplomacy. As Holguín notes in her book *Flamenco Nation: The Construction of Spanish National Identity*, many scholars often begin flamenco's story with reference to José Cadalso's 1789 novel *Cartas marruecas*.[29] Holguín points out that Cadalso's novel offers the first glimpses into the early makings of flamenco performances. Moreover, within the text he warns that as long as the leaders and elite of Spanish society continue to take part in *juergas* (flamenco parties) with *gitanos*, Spain would maintain a backward trajectory of

---

[27] For more on flamenco, Spain and national identity, see: Sadie Holguín, *Flamenco Nation: The Construction of Spanish National Identity* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2019).
[28] Christopher Paetzold, "Singing Beneath the Alhambra: The North African and Arabic Past and Present in Contemporary Andalusian Music," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 10, no. 2 (2009): 209.
[29] Holguín, *Flamenco Nation*, 27.

nationhood. Cadalso produced a notion of flamenco which became the seed of development in anti-flamenco "literature of disdain and decline," outlining problems with flamenco that many writers would follow throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[30]

After the Franco era (1936-1975), Spain quickly transitioned to a democracy and the Spanish constitution underwent a referendum (1978) officially designating cultural affairs to Spanish regions. The *Junta de Andalucía* made reclaiming its regional identity a top priority and started sponsoring Arab and flamenco music events. As Silvia Calado Olivio notes, blending flamenco and identity politics results in a "soft power" which Spain can use nationally and internationally. Additionally, flamenco was highly sought after due to its marketability and significant contribution to the tourism industry and economy.[31]

Flamenco's place in identity politics and its affiliation with Andalucía became officially recognized in 2007 with the approval of the *Estatuto de Autonomía de Andalucía.* In accordance with the central government of Spain, the *Junta's* legislation assigns a diverse range of responsibilities, and article sixty-eight, in particular, assigns culture (music, theater, literature and film) to Andalucía. Moreover, article 68.1 delegates flamenco exclusively as the responsibility of Andalucía, stating: "*Corresponde asimismo a la Comunidad Autónoma la competencia exclusiva en materia de conocimiento, conservación, investigación, formación, promoción y difusión del flamenco como*

[30] José Cadalso and Juan Tamayo y Rubio, *Cartas marruecas* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1935), 79-86, quoted in Holguín, *Flamenco Nation*, 28.
[31] Silvia Calado Olivo, "Flamenco, un negocio a compás," *La Nueva Alborea* no. 1, (2007), 51-52.

elemento singular del patrimonio cultural andaluz," (The Autonomous Community also has exclusive competence in the field of knowledge, conservation, research, training, promotion and dissemination of flamenco as a unique element of Andalucían cultural heritage).[32]

The appropriation of musical traditions for political advantage, however, extends further than the *Junta* upholding responsibilities for flamenco throughout Spain. The autonomous government has a vested interest in *al-Andalus*, *convivencia* and Andalusian music as well. As Matthew Machin-Autenrieth points out in "Spanish Musical Responses to Moroccan Immigration and the Cultural Memory of al-Andalus," "The musical legacy of *convivencia* has gained particular traction in Spain and above all in Andalucía, the 'ancestral' home of *al-Andalus*, a region that frequently extols its alleged interfaith past as a golden age of regional history."[33] Identity politics contributes to Andalucía's claim on regional history and identity, Andalusian music, flamenco and its interest in the idea of *convivencia*; this is exemplified through institutional activities. The *Junta* promotes flamenco-Arab interconnection along with Andalucía's Arab history through official institutions such as the *Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo* (FTC) and the *Junta's* public cultural foundation, *El Legado al-Andalus*. The Granada-based foundation

[32] Gobierno de España, Jefatura del Estado, "Ley Orgánica 2/2007, de 19 marzo, de reforma del Estatuto de Autonomía para Andalucía," *Boletín Oficial del Estado* 68 (marzo 2007): 11871-11909.
[33] Matthew Machin-Autenrieth, "Spanish Musical Responses to Moroccan Immigration and the Cultural Memory of al-Andalus," *Twentieth-Century Music* 16, no. 2, (June 2019): 259-287, https://doi.org/10.1017/s1472218000324.

celebrates the cultural heritage of *al-Andalus*, promotes intercultural exchange, respect and tolerance, and produces musical recordings and concerts.[34]

A final example of flamenco's political maneuverings, reflecting its place in identity politics and further substantiating its relevance in the FAAE, includes the *Junta's* proposal to UNESCO. In 2004, the autonomous government, with support from the governments of Spain, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, the European Union, and a number of other organizations including *el Legado al-Andalus*, the Council of Europe and *el Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía*, proposed that flamenco, along with Andalusian music, is to be included in its Intangible Cultural Heritage sites list.[35] In 2010, the proposal was officially approved; section D. of UNESCO's representative list declares that "Flamenco is the most significant, representative and distinctive cultural manifestation of the intangible cultural heritage of Southern Spain, representing a unique badge of Spanish culture worldwide."[36] With Andalucía's interest in the heritage and cultural identity of *al-Andalus*, flamenco's position on UNESCO's list and considering its support from the central government of Spain, the EU, Morocco and other North African countries), flamenco is much more than a stake in regional economic growth; it

---

[34] For more on El legado andalusí, visit: Junta de Andalucía, "El legado andalusí—Official Site," accessed December 28, 2020, https://www.legadoandalusi.es.
[35] "Encuentros: Música Andalusí y Flamenco (Propuesta de Andalucía para la Declaración de las Obras Maestras del Patrimonio Oral y Inmaterial de la Humanidad)," 2004, Depósito 1, Carpeta 1, Archive of the Centro de Documentación Musical de Andalucía, Andalucía Consejería de Cultura, Granada, Spain, quoted in Christopher Paetzold, "Singing Beneath the Alhambra: The North African and Arabic Past and Present in Contemporary Andalusian Music," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 10, no. 2 (2009): 219, https://doi.org/10.1080/14636200902990711.
[36] UNESCO, Intangible Cultural Heritage, "For Inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2010," November, 2010, https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/07533-EN.pdf.

is, I contend, both seen and used as an invaluable constituent in cultural diplomacy—both domestically and internationally.

By observing the scope in which flamenco has been used for political leverage, one can glean further insight into its socio-cultural and socio-political metamorphosis as well as its relevance and unique place in the FAAE project. As Holguín states, "Flamenco and its cultural progenitor, the Gypsy, have remained steadfast markers of national identity in Spain."[37] Flamenco has, for the most part, made its way into being an integral part of Spanish national identity not from being affiliated with high society or the royal family (like Moroccan Andalusian music for instance), but rather from its unique position as representing an authentic culture and heritage of Andalucía. Once perceived by some as Spain's subaltern "Other," flamenco and the *gitanos* were often pooled into a stereotypical lower-class of thieves, beggars, and prostitutes, representing the decline of Spain's politics and spirituality. On this point, Holguín notes that social reformers and elites of Spain, nearly without exception, never wanted flamenco to represent them or their nation and have tried to clean "what they perceive to be the flamenco stain from Spain" for more than a century."[38]

Interestingly, flamenco has gone from being stigmatized as performances of debauchery by degenerates, to being considered an image of Spanish nationalism through Franco and tourism, to being further steeped into the imagination of Spanish national identity when it was appropriated by Andalucía's autonomous government as a commodity for regional identity politics. Moreover, as I have asserted, flamenco now stands as a symbol for cultural diplomacy with Morocco due to its cultural and political

[37] Holguín, *Flamenco Nation*, 15.
[38] Ibid.

affiliations with the *Junta*, its place in Spanish national identity, its perceived interconnectedness with *al-Andalus*, Andalusians and Andalusian music, therefore, making it the quintessential "partner" for the FAAE project.

2.4 Musical Characteristics

Much has been said already on Andalusian music and flamenco, but what do these traditions have in common with each other and in what way do they differentiate? Moreover, considering these two traditions, what does the FAAE sound and look like? An outline and comparison of musical characteristics reflects a historical relationship and exemplifies how the two musical cultures are partially bound together.

For example, both Andalusian music and flamenco commonly feature the voice through "sung poetry."[39] While the predominant mode in flamenco is phrygian, the same melodic material is used in Arabic classical music (known as *maqam kurd).* Additionally, flamenco performers commonly raise the third note one semitone to produce a major third in the mode (ex. e, f, g#, a, b, c, d), commonly known as phrygian dominant, or the fifth mode of the harmonic minor scale. Likewise, performers of Andalusian music frequently do the same, however, in Arabic traditions this mode is commonly known as *maqam hijaz*. These distinctions can be seen here in figure 1.1.

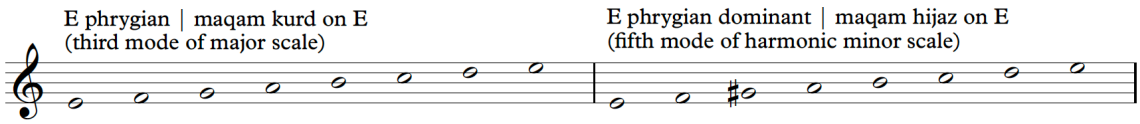

Figure 1.1 Phrygian and Phrygian Dominant Modes

[39] Cristina Cruces, *El Flamenco y la Música Andalusí: Argumentos para un Encuentro* (Barcelona: Ediciones Carena, 2003), 121-124.

Other parallels between the two genres includes melodic flexibility and the use of microtonal intervals. Both genres feature highly melismatic vocal ornamentation, strophic form and vocal monody. Rhythmically, both commonly make use of polyrhythms for form and structure. In terms of textual themes, both characterize pieces with similar themes of emotional expression (love, longing, passion, loss, and natural surroundings). Each style is traditionally oral; however, both now incorporate musical notation into practice.

Both flamenco and Andalusian music have traditionally developed through singing. When vocalists are featured in concert, singing is considered to be at the heart of each. As a reflection of each respective genre today, *cante* (flamenco singing) can feature poetry from any era, and in addition to traditional *letras* (verses) passed down orally, *cantaores* (singers) commonly compose and perform their own lyrics. This differs from common Andalusian music. Vocalists of the preserved tradition frequently perform text of classicized Arab poetry associated with *al-Andalus* and, interestingly, today music is commonly sung in anachronistic Arabic.[40]

Another contrasting feature is that flamenco is often performed in concert with dancers. In fact, many dancers lead their own companies where music and dance are inseparable. This is not the case with Andalusian music. In recent times, concerts occasionally feature dancers during one or two pieces for very special occasions, however, Andalusian music is traditionally and typically performed without any dance.

[40] For more on Andalusian singing and poetry, as well as corpus and manuscripts used, see: Davila, *Andalusian Music*, 12-28; 219-241.

In this regard, one can consider the possibility that increased visibility of flamenco dancers seems designed to appeal to Western tourists.

Some famous Andalusian groups and orchestras also include piano and some have introduced accordion, woodwinds (including the *ney*, an Arabic and Turkish reed flute), Western concert flute, saxophone and clarinet. On this note, experimentation with Western instrumentation led to new compositions and arrangements generally met with controversy by both musicians and audience members. Experimentation within the tradition has been generally short-lived and rejected. As Brian Karl notes, experimentation with saxophone, clarinet and piano made Andalusian music "less than static," however, the overall consensus on experimentation, as audience members proclaim, is that it is "an unnecessarily short-sighted [...] impulse," on a highly canonized form.[41]

This points towards motivation for Andalusian musical heritage and tradition preservation linked directly to ideals of *al-Andalus*. Audience members claim that present-day music, which connects them to an imagined past, is perfect as it is and should not be altered; quite possibly associating the change in music as a potential loss of tradition, reflecting the perceived loss of a past paradise. Or, perhaps, it reflects a belief that *al-Andalus* as an imagined past paradise should never have changed, and therefore today's Andalusian music as a surviving, living representation of that period shouldn't change either. In any case, it indicates the Andalusian community wishing to maintain

[41] Brian Karl, "Across a Divide: Mediations of Contemporary Popular Music in Morocco and Spain" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2012), 144.

the preservation of the past in the present and any indication of stepping away from that past is viewed as an oversight.

In contrast, the traditional flamenco troupe will include a singer or singers, guitar and *palmas* (hand claps for percussion). Today, flamenco groups typically have one or more singers, guitars, *palmas* and *cajon* (box drum). However, on occasion one will also find violin, contrabass, piano, saxophone and auxiliary percussion such as the djembe, congas and cymbals. Another contrasting feature, which perhaps is indicative of a sociocultural, or even sociopolitical ideology reaching back to flamenco's development with the *gitanos*, is that in performance practice, flamenco has no singular leader (in contrast to the Andalusian ensembles). This extends to full productions including dancers. Within the flamenco art form, the "hierarchy" between singer, dancer and guitarist is distributed equally among the three. For instance, when a singer is singing, he or she leads and the others follow and accompany; when the dancer is presenting *zapateado* (footwork), especially in an *escobilla* (footwork solo section) for example, all others follow and accompany; when the guitarist is performing a *falseta* (melodic passage of varied length), everyone else follows.

It is also important to note stage presence and traditional attire, as each respective tradition presents themselves accordingly throughout the festival every year. Andalusian musicians wear a traditional *tarboush* (red Fez hat with black tassels), *darboush* (yellow slippers), long sleeved hooded robes (which have various names, including the *jalaba, djellaba, jilaba, jilbab*), and traditional undergarments such as a *qamis* (shirt) and *shirwal*

(pants)."[42] Sometimes musicians wear slippers other than yellow, or a striped *djellaba*. Women's costumes are usually colorful and feature bright colored *djellaba* and matching slippers. They also might wear an embroidered veil tied over their head and hanging down their backs, or a *fawqiyya* (a looser garment that goes over the *jalaba*).[43] Flamenco performers do not have a uniform presence in attire, instead they wear whatever they individually feel comfortable in. For men, this is typically semi-formal attire (dress shirt, blazer, dress pants, dress shoes), for women, typically a dress (anywhere from bright colors with frills, ruffles or multi-colored design to a solid color like red or black) unless performing the masculine *farruca* or *martinete*, in which case it is common for women to wear what men typically wear. Additionally, it is common for dancers to include hats, scarves, shawls, fans or castanets. Andalusian musicians can be seen with traditional dress from a performance in the 2020 edition of the FAAE in figure 2.1. Flamenco musicians and dancers can be seen in their dress in figure 3.1.

Figure 2.1 Andalusian Musicians in Traditional Dress

[42] Ibid., 24; Jonathan Shannon, *Performing al-Andalus: Music and Nostalgia across the Mediterranean*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), 193.
[43] Ibid.

2.5 Festival Agent; Agent Festival

Before looking at past performances of the festival, it is important to consider Azoulay's significant role within the festival, because as its founder and driving force in actuating the FAAE's activities every year he is a pivotal character. On Saturday, February 29, 2020, headlines all over Europe and North Africa, including, for example, *The North African Post and Morocco World News*, stated that André Azoulay, senior advisor to Morocco's King Mohammed VI, was awarded the 2020 Gold Medal of Andalucía: the most prestigious distinction awarded by the *Junta de Andalucía*.[44] During the ceremony, which took place in Sevilla, Spain, during the 40th anniversary of the Declaration of Andalucían Autonomy, President of the Andalucían government, Juan Manuel Moreno, presented the award to the king's counsel, stating that Azoulay is the recipient "for his exemplary commitment to solidarity and harmony, and for his pioneering approach at the head of the Foundation of the Three Cultures, which for more than twenty years, had associated Morocco, Spain, and Andalucía to the world the art of living together."[45] Moreno also stated that, with the award, Andalucía wants to "praise and distinguish the career of André Azoulay, who has worked for years, for understanding and mutual respect between Morocco, Andalucía and Spain." In response, Azoulay dedicated the award to his king and country, spotlighting the shared history of

[44] Staff, "Andalusia Awards 'Most Prestigious Distinction' to Morocco's Azoulay," *Morocco World News*, Saturday, February 29, 2020, https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2020/02/294931/azoulay-receives-2020-gold-medal-of-andalusia/; The North African Post, "Royal Advisor Azoulay Awarded 2020 Gold Medal of Andalusia," *North African Post*, Saturday, February 29, 2020, https://northafricapost.com/38564-royal-advisor-azoulay-awarded-2020-gold-medal-of-andalusia.html.

[45] Ibid.

Morocco and Andalucía, noting that "Morocco's commitment to keep diversity and cultural plurality [is] at its heart. The Foundation of the Three Cultures reflects the principles of modern Morocco, and its relationship with Spain and Europe more widely."[46]

Receiving such an award is an honor which brings prestige to Azoulay's career, and at the heart of his life's work is the promotion of dialogue, peace and coexistence between cultures and peoples on both sides of the Mediterranean. Public addresses and statements made by the king's counsel, whether official or personal, consistently support these ideals and often demonstrate his propensity for the arts. These substantiate a diplomatic constitution which, I argue, indicates Morocco's dependence upon artists to actuate its political agenda. In other words, Morocco needs and uses the arts and artists as agents of the state to support and actualize their own ideologies.

One example of this can be found in an interview with Azoulay, in which he states: "artists know better than policies how to bring people and cultures together…[they] can go to places where indeed ideologies [and] policy, in the general sense of the term, have not always been able to provide the answers we expected; in terms of dignity, in terms of justice accorded to all others, in terms of freedom of speech."[47] Azoulay's statement here is compelling. When he states: "…have not always been able to provide the answers we expected," he is clearly demonstrating that, one: policies put into place do not always attain the desired results, and two: because those policies (implemented to facilitate in the

[46] Ibid.
[47] Medi1TV Afrique, "L'invite: Essaouira vibre au rythme des Andalousies Atlantiques," YouTube video, 12:34, Posted October 24, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z9b4hDb3Oas.

transfiguring of the public or social landscape) fail to produce an expected outcome, artists aid in the realization of a desired result. While the immediate impression of his statement is one of glorification of the arts and artists, when considering artist-led, state sponsored activities, the statement also becomes problematic. I would question whether artists are being appropriated to serve a political agenda and whether or not such actions lack transparency or are spurious for the artists and the attending general public.

A primary vehicle which, in part, serves to propagate Azoulay's work and ideals of dialogue, peace and coexistence between cultures is the *Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo* (FTC), which operates under the patronage of both King Mohammed VI (Morocco) and King Felipe VI (Spain).[48] Azoulay is co-president of the Seville based foundation, which is based on the principles of "peace, dialogue and tolerance" and promotes "the encounter between people and cultures of the Mediterranean."[49] However, to the south of the Strait of Gibraltar one can find an organization where he is arguably more active and intimately involved; the Essaouira-Mogador Association (Morocco). Founded in 1992 at the initiative of Founder-President Azoulay, the activities of the association include three principal projects: The Gnaoua and World Music Festival, Festival des Alizés and the FAAE. A primary function of the foundation is to facilitate intercultural and religious dialogue and diversity. Notable objectives also include the

[48] For more information on the foundation, see: Tres Culturas Fundación, "Tres Culturas Fundación," http://tresculturas.org/ (accessed April 02, 2020).
[49] "Foundation: Know Us," Tres Culturas Fundación, accessed March 30, 2020, http://tresculturas.org/fundacion/.

protection of the cultural, economic, social and urban heritage of Essaouira, as well as the promotion of the city and its region.[50]

Known for his work in promoting and facilitating peace, dialogue and cultural diplomacy between cultures and nations including Morocco, Spain, Israel and Palestine (among others), Azoulay has also "implemented economic reforms, which have been applied throughout the kingdom since their inception in the early 1990s," and has also "largely contributed to promote Morocco throughout the world."[51] Moreover, Azoulay is known as a foremost agent of peace, dialogue and cultural diplomacy, and most recently he has been heralded as a "key architect of the peace agreement," a peace agreement between Morocco and Israel which sees the opening of embassies and full diplomatic relations between the two countries.[52] Commenting on the peace agreement, Azoulay stated "this is a dramatic and important initiative, the ramifications of which will lead other Arab and Muslim countries to normalize relations with Israel."[53]

While considering Azoulay's aforementioned statements (and those outlined in the first chapter pertaining to *al-Andalus*, *convivencia* and the festival), along with his position as the founder and driving force behind the FAAE, one can make two significant observations: [1] Azoulay serves as a primary agent for both the festival and for cultural diplomacy between Morocco and Andalucía, and by extension, all of Spain; [2] Azoulay,

---

[50] For more information on the Essaouira-Mogador Association, see: Essaouira-Mogador Association, "Essaouira-Mogador Association," http://www.essaouiramogador.org/ (accessed June 08, 2020).
[51] "André Azoulay," Essaouira, accessed March 29, 2020, https://www.essaouira.nu/icons_azoulay.htm.
[52] "Peace Deal with Morocco," *Israel Hayom*, accessed March 29, 2021, https://www.israelhayom.com/2020/12/11/peace-deal-with-morocco-could-be-a-sign-of-impending-accord-with-saudi-arabia/.
[53] Ibid.

as the founder and primary force in the actuating of the FAAE, functions as both a conduit and facilitator in the development of a transnationally imagined community whose meeting point, or place of representation is the FAAE.

2.6 FAAE Past Performances

An outline of the festival's history helps one to understand the FAAE's role in cultural diplomacy and in constructing an imagined community, as well as how past activities relate to its ideological structures, reinforcing them domestically and internationally. With consideration of its founding year along with highlights from 2010 to 2019, I look at past performances and performers. Furthermore, I look at how past performances have been used to promote the festivals agenda to create a sociocultural and political tradition that claims to pave way to a new future of peace, respect and harmonious coexistence; a tradition that I continue to argue is established through efforts of recreating an imagined past. In other words, an understanding of past activities will also assist in understanding the festival as an imagined community and a sociocultural event which concurrently functions as an agent for political change.

The inaugural year for the FAAE (which is held in the fall over either three or four days depending on the year) proved to be quite different than subsequent annual iterations in that it was the only year that expanded further than Mediterranean or EU relations. *Aujourd'hui le Maroc* published an article on September 15, 2003, stating that the first FAAE will be "oceanic and not Mediterranean," noting that the festival isn't just interested in the Maghreb and the southern Iberian peninsula but Latin American

countries as well.[54] The aim of the premiere edition was to promote countries of Andalusian influence which included South American countries. In the same article, the festival's first director, Oumama Aouad, explained that Arab-Andalusian culture was brought to Latin America through Spanish and Portuguese conquistadors, including many Moors.[55]

The first year, as in subsequent editions, was organized by the EMA in partnership with the FTC and the autonomous government of Andalucía. The two venues for the festival were Bab el Menzeh (main stage) and the intimate setting of the cultural hub, Dar Souiri, and the precedent was set for the festival to be completely free for the public. True to its mandate to celebrate Morocco's friendship with Spain, the festival played host to a full line-up of flamenco performances by renowned artists, including Ketama, Curro Albaycin and Marina Heredia (traditional song and dance), Kiko Veneno (singer) and a host of artists from Mexico presented by the Spanish company, Atico7.

The 2010 edition of the festival reinforced its objective, presenting Andalusian music from the Fes orchestra, Haj Abdelkrim Raiss and the orchestra of Mustapha Regragui (Casablanca). A highlight concert was performed by the Granada based Andalusian, Jalal Chekara with Los Jovenes Flamenco (Seville), where traditions of Northern Morocco and Andalucía presented what was promoted as "warmth and *convivencia*."[56] The festival also featured renowned flamenco singer Esperanza Fernandez, Palestinian poet and

---

[54] ALM, "Essaouira will be Andalusian," *Aujourd'hui le Maroc*, September, 15, 2003, https://aujourdhui.ma/culture/essaouira-sera-andalouse-1426.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Meryem Essofi, "2010 Edition of the Atlantic Andalusia Festival of Essaouira," *Vivre Essaouira*, November 26, 2010, http://essaouira.vivre-maroc.com/agenda/programme-festival-des-andalousies-d-essaouira-2010-n224.html.

singer Moneim Adwan, a closing concert by the Andalusian orchestras of Fez, Tangier and Meknes featuring singers Abderrahim Souiri, Haim Louk, Nourredine Tahiri and conductor Mohamed Briouel, and a forum entitled "The Sharing of Cultures: a Privileged space for Resistance to Archaism and Regression."[57] It's interesting to note that the forum's title, at least in part, seems contradictory to Andalusian musical practice and principles, a culture that claims it's a preserved heritage from *al-Andalus*. By that very definition, aren't Andalusians intentionally facilitating the development of archaism, the very opposite of resisting archaism?

The 2011 edition could be deemed a contemporary apogee by exploring genres of Andalusian influence beyond what the festival typically programs. The theme of the festival, "Sharing our Memories and Added Cultures," was reflected in its programming of the Royal Ballet of London for a show entitled "Brises de Ballet" to highlight the Arab-Andalusian influence in Western dance choreography.[58] One could argue that the inclusion of the ballet was to contribute to the idea that Andalusian influence reaches even further than Spain, continuing into the modern western European arts and at the same time giving the festival a more diverse sense of being modern and global. The edition's program, which was performed primarily by women musicians and artists, was punctuated by conferences and debates on the theme of sharing memories and added cultures. Additionally, the festival highlighted performances by flamenco dancer Carmen

---

[57] The Economist, "Atlantic Andalusian Festival: Several Thousand Festival-Goers Expected in Essaouira," *L'economiste*, October 28, 2010, https://www.leconomiste.com/article/festival-des-andalousies-atlantiquesbrplusieurs-milliers-de-festivaliers-attendus-essaouira.

[58] Lawrence Quammu, "The Festival of Andalusia Essaouira 2011," *Vivre Essaouira*," October 20, 2011, http://essaouira.vivre-maroc.com/culture-festival-essaouira/le-festival-des-andalousies-essaouira-2011-n368.html.

Ledesma and traditional singing from Cinco Voces (five generations of Spanish female singers), Son Aires de la Frontera with Fusion Flamenca, and the Tlemcen Arab Andalusian orchestra, featuring the renowned Algerian Andalusian singer Naima Dziria, known as the "Diva of Divas."[59]

Every year the festival operates through its sponsors: the Kingdom of Morocco: Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, Department of Culture; the Foundation of Three Cultures (Seville, Spain, in partnership with the Junta de Andalucía); the Province of Essaouira and the Essaouira Mogador Association.[60] Furthermore, every year, each edition consists of speeches and discussion forums pertaining *to al-Andalus*, *convivencia*, and the goal of dialogue and peaceful coexistence between Spain and Morocco, essentially making each edition of the festival a platform for not only musical performance and celebration, but also a platform for discourse in cultural diplomacy between these two countries.[61]

The 2013 festival once again celebrated the relationship between Morocco and Spain by emphasizing Andalusian roots in conjunction with flamenco. The artistic director of the festival, Françoise Atlan stressed in this edition that "The spirit of the festival is to bring together and commune around the music of artists from three cultures: Christian, Jewish and Muslim […] it is an event that allows us to remember our common roots."[62] Alluding to the time of *al-Andalus* and an imagined *convivencia*, Atlan and the festival support the notion of "remembering our roots" with the headliners of the year: Estrella

[59] Ibid.
[60] Festival de Andalousies, Facebook; Festival des Andalousies, Official Website.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Joundi, "Exclusive Interview."

Morente and returning favorite Jalal Chekara and his ensemble. While Chekara symbolizes an authentic, institutionalized musical canon (Andalusian), Morente, one of flamenco's most esteemed *cantaoras* (singers), represents an authentic voice in flamenco not only through her skillset as a vocalist, but also by being the daughter of one of the most renowned flamenco singers of all time; Enrique Morente. Additionally, the Morente family hails from Granada, the ancestral homeland and last stronghold of *al-Andalus*. In this edition, Chekara and Morente collaborated on stage for a fusion of Andalusian music and flamenco which exemplified the notion of an imagined, shared common heritage from *al-Andalus* and represented a meeting point of an imagined community. Additionally, their collaboration exemplified the festivals ideology of dialogue, respect and peace through a shared musical culture.

Other highlights included performances by female vocalists Behidja Rahal, Bahaa Ronda and Atlan, along with three Andalusian orchestras from Fez, Tetouan and Essaouira. As Atlan stated in an interview pertaining to the highlight of women's voices, "We made this choice because women are the guarantors of musical transmission, but often left behind." Notably, the FAAE, often portrays women as leaders. This can be observed in the festival's long line of female vocalists and flamenco dancers who have been headliners throughout the past decade, such as: Estrella Morente, Esperanza Fernandez, Raymonde el Bidaouia, Hajja el Hamdaouia, Neta Elkayam, Leonor leal, Pastora Galván, Françoise Atlan, the all-female ensemble Tangerois Arij and many more. Despite the festival being held in a country with a poor track record of women's rights and freedoms, every year the FAAE features female headliners, essentially positioning them in a role of leadership, power and control. While much progress has been made on

women's rights in Morocco under King Mohammed VI so far, there are still reforms to have yet taken place, such as inheritance laws, legalization of abortion, and criminalization of marital rape.[63] I would suggest that considering the disproportionate allocation of rights between men and women in Morocco, featuring women prominently in the FAAE can be considered a social and political act of support for change for women, however, without concrete evidence explicitly stating so, this can also be interpreted as political window dressing.

The 2019 edition, in addition to performances by returning favorites of Andalusian music, featured Compania Leonor Leal (flamenco). Compania Leonor Leal, which features dancers Leonor Leal, Úrsula López and Tamara López, guitarist Alfredo Lagos, percussionist Raúl Domínguez and cantaora Gema Caballero, is an interesting addition because, unlike most past flamenco performances at the festival, Leonor Leal is a modern dancer who incorporates Western modern dance and ballet. Additionally, Alfredo Lagos (guitarist) plays a modern style, providing an overall modern and Western experience, moving further from roots associated with *al-Andalus*. In addition to the company's solo performances, they also collaborated with the Andalusian Rawafid Orchestra for a fusion concert. This fusion, much like that of Chekara and Morente, represented a present-day meeting of traditions based in an imagined past, believed to share and authentic cultural-musical heritage. The decision to have Leal's company in the FAAE is no doubt in part due to her popularity as a dancer, but also because her style and reputation, along with a

[63] For an outline and critique of some reform under Mohammed VI, see: Yasmina Abouzzohour, "Progress and Missed Opportunities: Morocco Enters its Third Decade Under King Mohammed VI," *Brookings*, July 29, 2020, https://www.brookings.edu/research/progress-and-missed-opportunities-morocco-enters-its-third-decade-under-king-mohammed-vi/.

modern approach to the music, provides a modern flare to a festival that is steeped in a tradition which claims to have roots dated back to medieval times; making the FAAE appear as a tradition which is at once authentic to a cultural heritage yet current with the modern world.

Figure 3.1 Compania Leonor Leal with the Andalusian Rawafid Orchestra

It is important to consider what Leal's performance meant for the festival and the notion of an imagined past because it connects the festival directly to Spain, and it also sets the imaginary of the shared medieval Andalusian heritage in current times. Representationally, on the one hand, the flamenco ensemble is a commodity from Europe fitted for touristic consumption, providing the Moroccan festival a performance by the Western other. It is an exotic object which features not just one, but three female dancers in a festival where all other performances (non-flamenco) are devoid of the dance performance element. Furthermore, as both the musical and dance components of the ensemble are steeped in a modern style of flamenco, they represent not just an exotic other from West, but one which is current opposed to emblematic of the traditional.

On the other hand, the ensemble by its very nature (flamenco), regardless of whether it is traditional, is directly connected to a collective imaginary of *al-Andalus* and *convivencia*. I would contend here that due to this connection and the critical role the imagined past has in the FAAE, modern dance and music (flamenco) performance is being absorbed into the community's identity. Moreover, just as Bohlman's notion that self-identity is neither inherent nor authentic but it is *imagined* and music provides a means for constructing and representing it, Leal's ensemble identified as part of an imagined, transnational community through the festival and a shared imagined past of *al-Andalus*. And, in reciprocally, the performance provided a means for the FAAE to identify as a site connected to a current Spanish culture, and by extension providing Morocco a means to identify with today's Spain.

Lastly, while Leal's ensemble collaborated with the Rawafid orchestra, an exploration between Andalusian and flamenco commonalities ensued, providing a platform not just for a new artistic collaboration and performance aesthetic, but also for a symbolic representation of dialogue, respect and open collaboration between Morocco and Spain.

Activities of the FAAE between 2010-2019 have demonstrated that the festival has consistently programmed Andalusian music with flamenco which facilitates in the construction of an imagined community through a shared culture, founded on interpretations of an imagined past. Additionally, through artist collaboration, government sponsorship and discourse, the festival has also functioned every year as a platform for cultural diplomacy. In the next chapter, I offer a focused case study on the 2020 edition, which further outlines how performers are redefining identity and authenticity, and expands on the festival's position in cultural diplomacy.

CHAPTER 3: THE 2020 EDITION—A CASE STUDY

> *Another important variable in the dynamics of identity formation is whether we are interested in differentiating ourselves from or uniting ourselves with those we are interacting with. When trying to create a political alliance people might emphasize one or two aspects of the self* […] *the many differences that will necessarily exist among the people involve*d […] *will probably not come into conceptions of identity for movement membership* […].[1]
>
> -Thomas Turino

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the festival's activities with an emphasis on Moroccan-Spanish relations by examining its final day. I begin with a general introduction of the 2020 (virtual) edition by contextualizing the festival and providing a brief overview. This study provides two primary objectives: [1] it provides a detailed examination of performances by David Peña Dorantes' ensemble and a fusion piece with the Jalal Chekara ensemble which also serves to demonstrate that the performers involved are currently redefining identity and authenticity; [2] Through an examination of officials' discourse, I argue that the festival is being used as a tool for cultural diplomacy and I also call into question dominant ideologies of the state, its transparency, and whether or not the FAAE is being used as a form of transnational currency to negotiate power.

The year 2020 was a year unlike any other due to the COVID-19 global pandemic, and likewise, it was a year unlike any other for the FAAE. With the implementation of global restrictions on travel and sizes of gatherings and social distancing, the festival was initially cancelled. However, with ingenuity the FAAE moved forward with a virtual

[1] Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 104.

seventeenth edition taking place from December 13-16, 2020. The festival presented performances recorded without an audience, edited video selections of what the FAAE deemed to be the best of past editions, and, for the first time in the festivals history, some of the festival was based in Sevilla, Spain, broadcasting a livestream for the festivals grand finale.[2] The virtual edition worked to my personal advantage because it allowed me to "attend" the festival, which otherwise would not have been possible.

Figure 4.1 Poster for the 2020 Edition of the FAAE

[2] Festival Des Andalousies Atlantiques, "Festival Des Andalousies Atlantiques – Home Page," Facebook, October 31, 2019, https://www.facebook.com/FestivalDesAndalousiesAtlantiques/.

The 2020 festival once again highlighted the Andalusian heritage and its Spanish-Moroccan relations, and through concerts it reflected and honored the memory of intercultural dialogue between Morocco and Spain. In a social media press release, the FAAE stated that it is a celebration of "flamenco, ancestral Andalucía and *convivencia*… [which] will strengthen the sustainability of the Atlantic Andalusia Festival by giving full depth to the Essaouira partnership with the Foundation of Three Cultures [Spain]."[3]

The festival began on December 13, 2020, at 8:00pm Morocco time, ran online for more than two hours each day and was streamed to the FAAE's Facebook and YouTube pages where anyone could "attend." The festival opened with an edited video of a serene meeting point between Essaouira and the Atlantic Ocean. Background music began as footage displayed various scenes of Essaouira, such as: fishing boats, canons on top of buildings, streets and narrow corridors. Although there were dynamic variables to the virtual edition, such as edited video broadcasts, Andalusian orchestra performances, videos of "the best of" past performances, and edited video interviews of past audience members and performers, for the sake of staying on-point, and moreover, the space for this project, what follows are the analyses of the closing day. Please note here, that transcriptions used for festival musical performances are mine.

3.2 Forward with the Past

The festival's closing day took place on December 16, 2020, and was livestreamed from the FTC in Sevilla, Spain, in front a sparse (due to pandemic restrictions) audience.[4]

---

[3] Ibid.
[4] For more on the foundation, see chapter one of this thesis, and visit: Tres Culturas, "Tres Culturas Fundación," accessed September 2, 2020, http://tresculturas.org.

The highly charged day, entitled *Hermanados por la música*, meaning "Twinned by Music," was unparalleled in the FAAE—never before was the Moroccan festival actually hosted in Spain. While the exact reasons for the dual hosting were never outlined, there are a number possibilities for this unexpected maneuver. One, is that hosting the final day at the FTC in Spain strengthens a political alliance through cultural bi-lateral relations, further deepening support from the FTC and the *Junta*. Another reason for involving Spain in the FAAE more directly could be for financial reasons. It is possible that the 2020 edition is a first step toward long-term financial security for the FAAE to continue operations after Azoulay's death or his retirement from organizing the annual festival. A third reason for the dual hosting could be due to the pandemic. Performers from Spain may have had travel restrictions, so it simply could have been a practical choice to broadcast live from the FTC. The activities of the day stressed, with great clarity, the significance of flamenco and Andalusian music in current Spanish-Moroccan relations.

Hosted by Manu Sánchez, the stage was set with a backdrop of logos for the FTC, the Royaume du Maroc and the Junta de Andalucía. The performances featured a set from Dorantes' modern flamenco ensemble (piano, percussion, voice and dance), a set from Chekara's traditional Andalusian ensemble (*oud*, *qanun*, *darbouka*, voice and violin) and the musicians joined together for a fusion piece as the grand finale.[5] The flamenco ensemble included renowned dancer Pastora Galván and flamenco singer Rafael de

[5] Festival des Andalousies Atlantiques, "Hermanados por la Música, Jumelés par la Musique," Facebook Video, 2:36:00, live streamed on December 13, 2020, https://www.facebook.com/FestivalDesAndalousiesAtlantiques/videos/3401255756670556/.

Utrera, however, the featured artists were specifically Dorantes (piano and composition) and Jalal Chekara (violin and voice).

Dorantes comes from a highly respected and influential flamenco and *gitano* family which includes his uncle, the renowned flamenco singe Juan Peña "El Lebrijano," and, likewise, Chekara is born from a highly respected Andalusian musical family, including his renowned uncle Abdessadak Chekara (violin, *oud* and voice). The respective uncles collaborated and initiated a search for musical roots and religious openness through flamenco and Andalusian music in the 1980s; their efforts were predecessors of the current FAAE's celebration of flamenco and Andalusian music. While Dorantes and Chekara were selected in part due to their skillsets and popularity, which is evident, for example, in the marketing found on the FAAE's social media platforms, they were also selected in part due to familial relations. Official promotion for the highly anticipated concert stated: "The concert will bring together the most iconic artists of the flamenco scene, including the Gypsy pianist Dorantes, nephew of El Lebrijano, and the Sevillan formation of Jalal Chekara in the purest tradition of the Andalusian repertoire."[6] Not only do they each represent authenticity in their own respective traditions, but they also symbolize the continuity and fostering of a developing Moroccan-Spanish relationship and a developing musical language; one emblematic of a shared musical-cultural heritage.

While Chekara's set featured traditional Andalusian music, Dorantes' set featured original compositions, highlighted influences from Latin jazz and Western classical

[6] ——, "Facebook Homepage," posted December 16, 2020, https://www.facebook.com/FestivalDesAndalousiesAtlantiques/.

traditions, and made use of current extended piano techniques. Additionally, Dorantes featured Galván's dancing on his instrumental "Orobroy" and on a modern percussive piece featuring an *escobilla* (footwork solo) from Galván.[7] The contrast between the two sets clearly demonstrates once again the FAAE's programming of the preserved Andalusian tradition with links to *al-Andalus*, and a modern flamenco ensemble with dance, representing the imagined medieval Andalusian past set in the modern European world.

3.3 Orobroy

Dorantes' "Orobroy" was chosen as one of the two pieces analyzed for two primary reasons. It is a modern flamenco piece, representing European modernity in a Moroccan festival that programs traditional Moroccan Andalusian music, and opposed to previous performances of the piece, this performance features dance.[8] For the festival performance of his famous "Orobroy," Dorantes opens with a short, molto rubato piano solo, establishing the phrygian mode through his left hand cadence while the right hand improvises soft, fluid and densely filled flourishes.[9] After resolving to the tonic A(b9) chord, he begins playing in 6/8 time at a broad tempo (dotted quarter note = 56 bpm), this time outlining the full harmonic progression (dmin, Bb, Gmadd4, C, Bb, A7b9) while the right hand introduces the first theme of the composition. The percussionist texturizes with soft atmospheric cymbal tones, and on the second pass of the primary theme, he

[7] ——, "Hermanados," 1:02:52; 1:17:38.
[8] I have a professional performance history with this piece. For instance, I had the opportunity to perform an arrangement of this piece with Symphony Nova Scotia in 2014, in Halifax, Nova Scotia.
[9] Ibid., 1:02:52.

changes to *cajon* (box drum) to provide a consistent sixteenth note rhythm in 6/8 meter, accenting every first and fourth sixteenth (**1** 2 3 **4** 5 6 **1** 2 3 **4** 5 6…) to establish a classic polyrhythmic two over three, commonly found as a rhythmic structure in much flamenco and Andalusian repertoire. As Dorantes continues, he presents the primary theme which runs for eight measures in an ostinato-like fashion. He repeats this three more times, ending the second and third iteration with a two-octave (15ma.) melodic sequence and intersperses the primary melody with quick improvised gestures (not noted in the transcription). The harmonic progression and cajon rhythm can be seen in figure 5.1, mm. 17-24, and the 15ma. melodic sequences are shown in figure 5.2, m.32 and mm. 40-41 respectively.

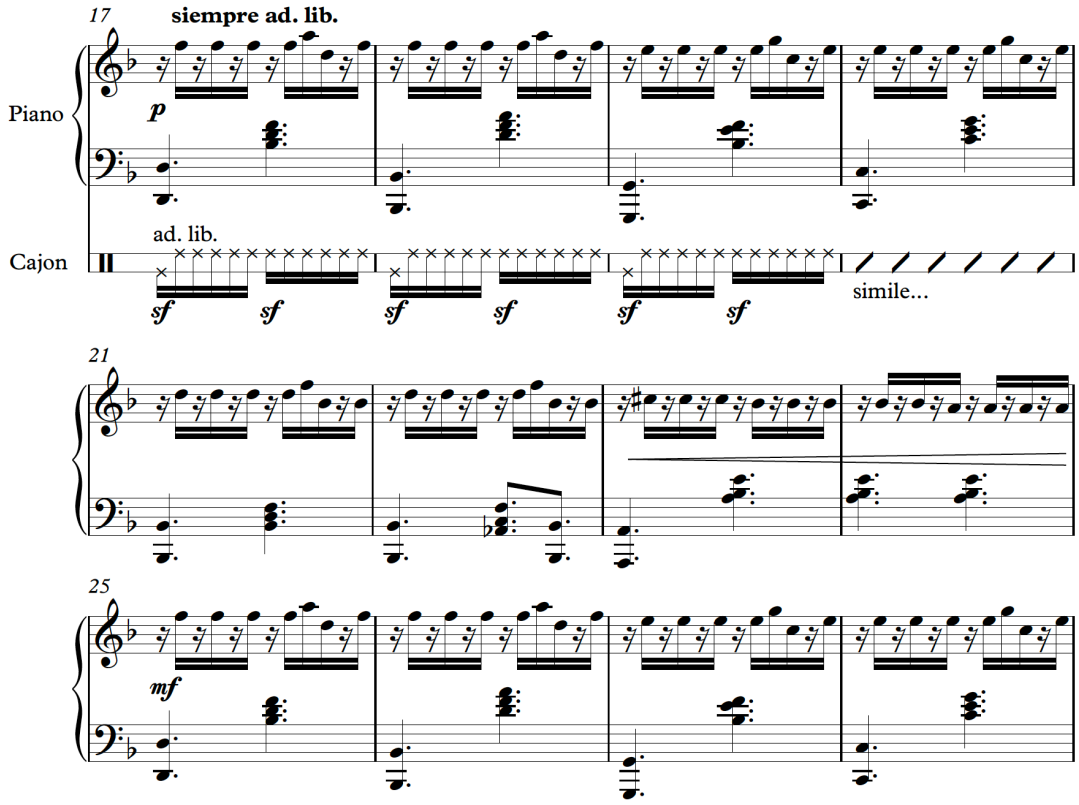

Figure 5.1 Excerpt from "Orobroy"

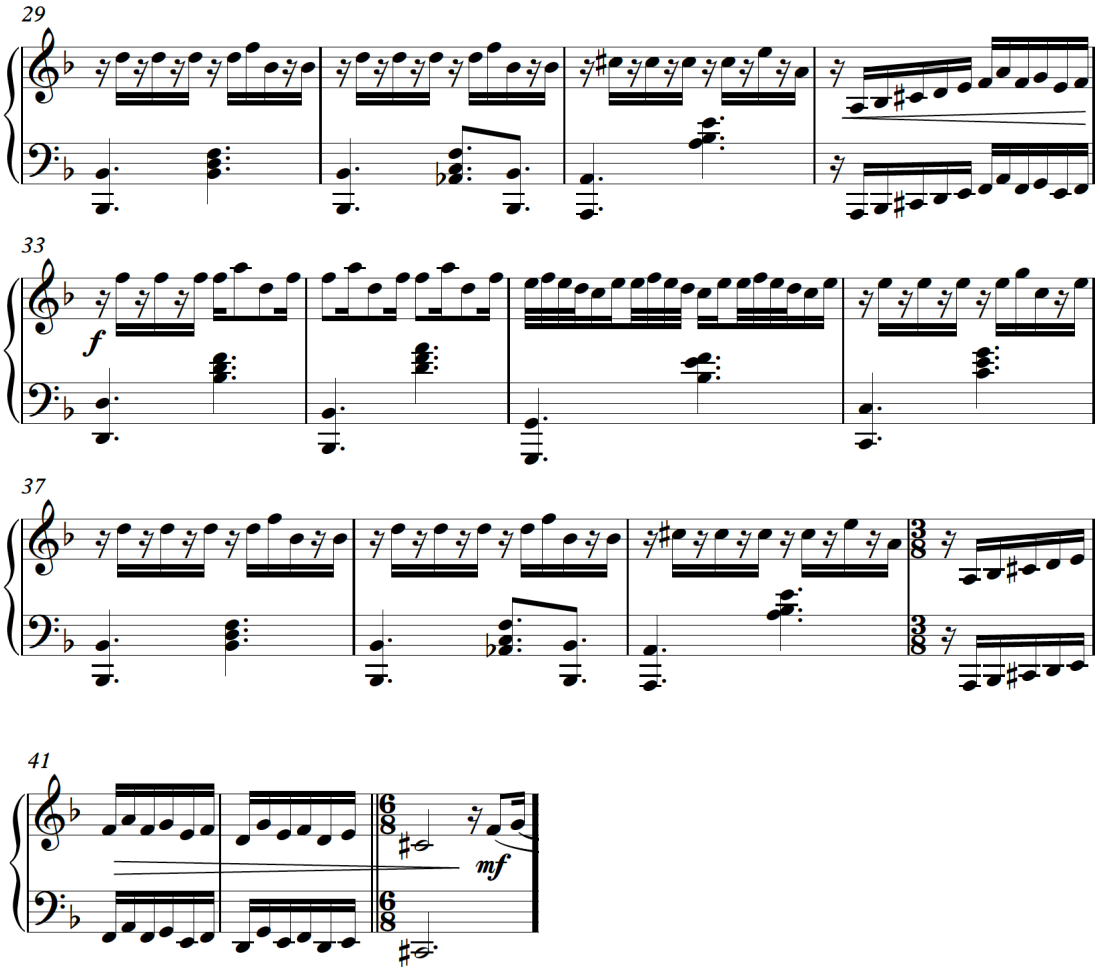

Figure 5.2 Excerpt from "Orobroy"

After resolving the second melodic sequence, the piece moves into the second theme; one which has a distinctly lyrical quality, opposed to the rhythmic orientation of the first theme. This section of the piece also shifts rhythmically from the "two over three" in the first theme, to a well-defined 6/8 as the left hand of the piano shifts, marking every first and fourth sixteenth with the cajon. Along with the change in melodic construction and rhythm, the harmonic progression shifts; presenting a much lighter aesthetic (FMaj7, C9, Bb6, Bb7(13), A7b9). The lyrical melody, left hand's rhythm and harmonic progression can all be seen in mm. 44-50 in figure 5.3. It is during this theme that flamenco dancer

Pastora Galván enters the stage. Galván dances to the lyricism of the melody with *marcaje* (marking time with movements of the body), coiling wrists, sudden turns of the body and a few powerfully accented *golpes* (full foot stomps) which line up with rhythmic accents of the music's meter. The second theme of the piece runs for eight measures with one repetition before segueing into the third theme of the piece.

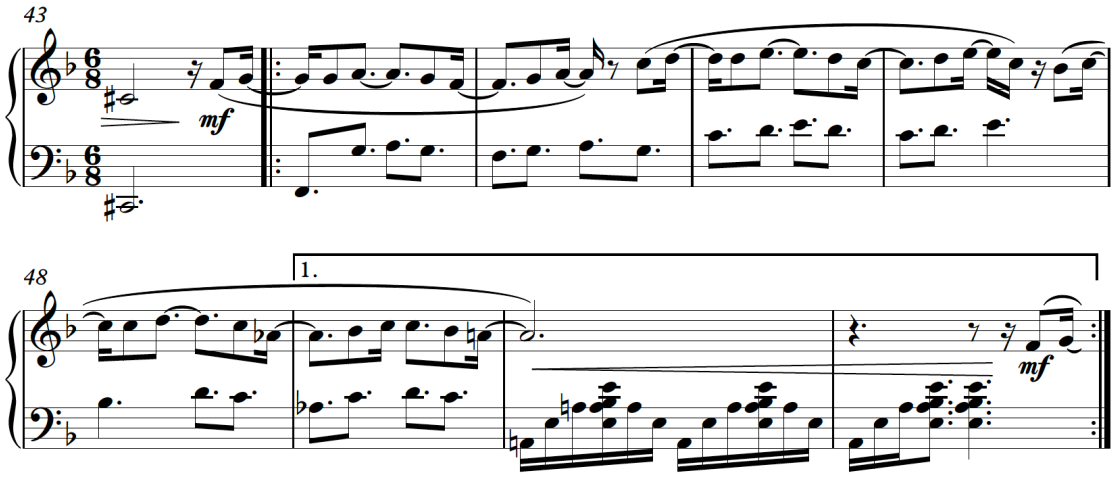

Figure 5.3 Second Theme of "Orobroy"

After the second theme, the music crescendos back to the first for two iterations while Galván continues the same approach to the dance. The third theme of the piece presents, in an instant, a dynamic development both in rhythm and intensity. With a sudden jump in tempo (dotted quarter note = 76 bpm), the piano immediately takes on an exciting intensity with a driving sixteenth note melodic sequence, essentially outlining a i-iv progression in d minor, with dominant to tonic movement in the left hand on d minor and g minor chords respectively. The effect from not using the pedal for the first time in the piece also contributes to the sudden change in this sections mood. In this section, the percussionist switches to the *tabla* (from the Indian classical tradition), continuing his

sixteenth note exposition but this time with a completely new sound, and Galván continues slow moving *marcaje*. In the remaining four bars of this theme, Galván performs more intensely as well with more frequent *golpes* and a little more footwork overall. With a molto rallentando combined with a decrescendo, this section closes with the familiar 15 ma. melodic line, moving back to a final, and most intense, exposition of the first theme. The aforementioned characteristics of the third theme can be observed in figure 5.4.

For the final section, Dorantes expressively plays the first theme for a total of four times in a forte dynamic while displaying a number of improvised flourishes. Percussion moves back to the cajon and Galván steps up the intensity as well with a number of expressive and classic flamenco turns before exiting with rhythmic marking of the 6/8 beat. The piano slowly finishes the theme, percussion stops and the piano ends with a freely improvised melodic run, outlining an augmented chordal harmony.

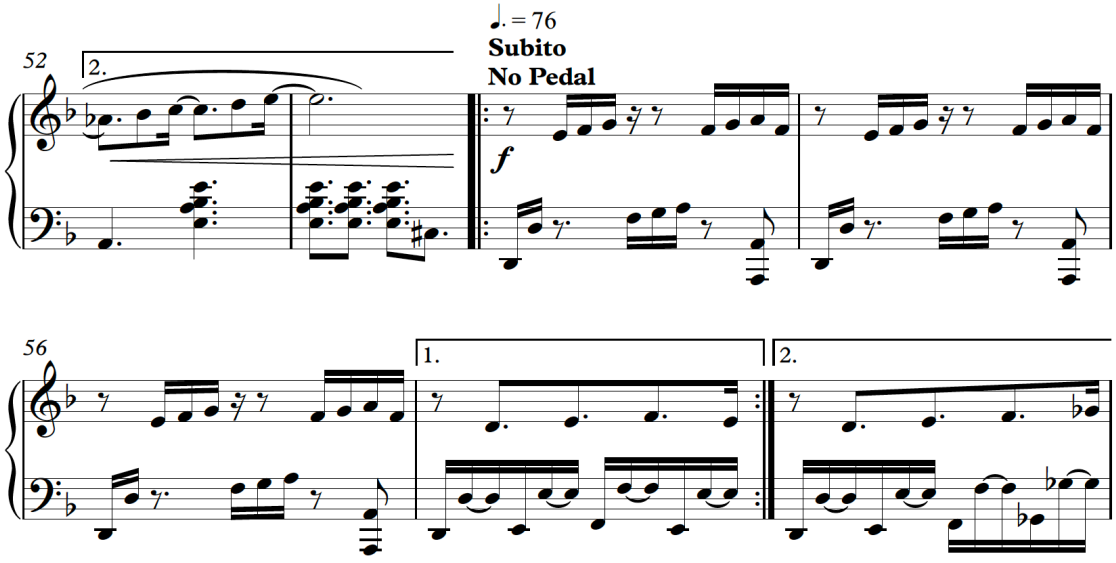

Figure 5.4 Third Theme of "Orobroy"

Building on Bohlman's notion of music as representation, it is important to consider some of the elements at play in this performance. As highly respected artists in the flamenco tradition, Dorantes and Galván immediately draw a level of respect and recognition as being authentically flamenco. Yet, interestingly, Dorantes plays a completely untraditional instrument, and furthermore, the composition just analyzed moves far beyond conventions of what is considered to be flamenco music. While traditional flamenco is based on the phrygian cadence II-I, Bb-A(b9) for example, and later the iv, III, II, I, Dorantes, as just outlined, moves away from this completely both harmonically and melodically. However, what does provide a strong "flamenco" framing is that both the first and second themes always finish with the II-I cadence—the Bb to Ab9 harmony—establishing what is commonly known as the flamenco sound.

Although Galván presents flamenco dance in a somewhat traditional sense, when considering her place in this performance and the festival, she can be seen as a symbol of modernity and the European "Other." In light of this festival performance taking place in Seville, Spain, along with considering the composer, the composition, the dance and the introduction of percussion relatively new and foreign to flamenco (cymbals and the tabla), one can argue that this performance is redefining identity and is at once authentic and modern; representing not just flamenco as such, but also representing the festival the same way; a forward thinking festival rooted in an imagined past and a symbol of Andalusian roots in modernity.

3.4 Redefining Authenticity

The final musical analysis for this study is on the grand finale of the 2020 edition of the FAAE. While the musicians of Jalal Chekara's ensemble collaborate with Dorantes' ensemble, I argue that through music they are actively redefining identity and authenticity.

As the musicians took to the stage, Chekara's Andalusian ensemble was uniformly dressed in traditional attire (as outlined in chapter two), contrasting with the flamenco musicians who were each dressed to their individual taste. Once seated, Dorantes began a molto rubato (free) improvised introduction on the piano centered around a IV-iii (D Maj-C# minor) progression in the key of A Major with a soft improvised cymbal accompanying to provide texture and atmosphere.[10] As the piano cycled through nine iterations of the progression, phrases could be described as reflective or pensive and pretty, as they were soft, short, busy and built to a peak in contour before resolving lower in register with a plagal cadence (V-I) in A Major.

Next, *cantaor* (singer) Rafael de Utrera entered and sang a *libre* (free from meter) *letra* (verse) while the piano freely accompanied with two cycles of a V-IV-V-I progression and the cymbals continued. The piano then established the tempo (quarter note = 80 bpm) with a soft quarter note pulse on the tonic A major for one bar in 4/4 time and the percussionist changed to the *cajon*. Once the verse continued in time, it ran nine measures and was of mixed meter: one bar of 6/4, followed by five bars of 4/4, then one more bar of 6/4 and ending with two more bars of 4/4. De Utrera's voice has what is considered to be a true and authentic flamenco timbre, and the verse was expressive,

[10] Ibid., 2:21:51.

lyrical and dynamic. Every lyrical phrase of the verse resolves to the scale's mediant (C#), with the exception of the third last (ending on the dominant—E) and the final phrase which resolves to the tonic. The harmonic progressions are simplistic, alternating between a I-ii-I progression and holding the tonic, however, interestingly, in between the second and third phrase of the verse, while the singer is tacet, the piano arpeggiates a C#7b9 chord, alluding and briefly superimposing the familiar "flamenco sound" of a phrygian tonality.

The lyrics sung by de Utrera are from "La bandera blanca y verde," (The White and Green Flag) the Andalucían anthem. Presenting these lyrics in the performance automatically sets a political tone. Although the politician, historian, writer, and musicologist, Blas Infante, is accredited for having written down the lyrics for the anthem (first performed on July 10, 1936, in Seville, one week before the Spanish Civil War began), its origin is popular; a hymn of Andalucía having "origins in the '*Santos Dios*,' [Holy God] a religious song sung by peasants from various parts of the region during harvesting tasks," combined with Andalucían "demands that express the desire for socio-economic transformation and the desire to achieve a future of peace and solidarity."[11]

While the anthem was reflective of the political environment in Spain at the time, considering the FAAE's ideological design, appropriating the anthem into the FAAE can be interpreted as contextually reflective of the current Moroccan-Spanish political landscape. However, I question the choice to use the anthem in the context of the FAAE

[11] Junta de Andalucía, "Symbols of Andalusia—Official Site," Accessed April 23, 2021, https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/organismos/sobre-junta/simbolos.html.

because it explicitly references war, the return of peace for Andalucíans, and their demands for freedom and land. Although diplomatic relations between Spain and Morocco are not particularly smooth, the themes outlined in the anthem do not exist between Spain and Morocco. I would argue that the use of the anthem in the FAAE not only embellishes the subject of Spanish-Moroccan relations, but it also contributes to an unfounded, transnational imaginary of the state of current Spanish-Moroccan relations. I would argue that a different set of text or lyrics pertaining to themes of acceptance, respect, and peace would be better suited to the FAAE and its ideological position. The melody, phrasing and harmonic progression described for the verse can be observed in figure 6.1, and subsequently the lyrics can be seen in figure 6.2.

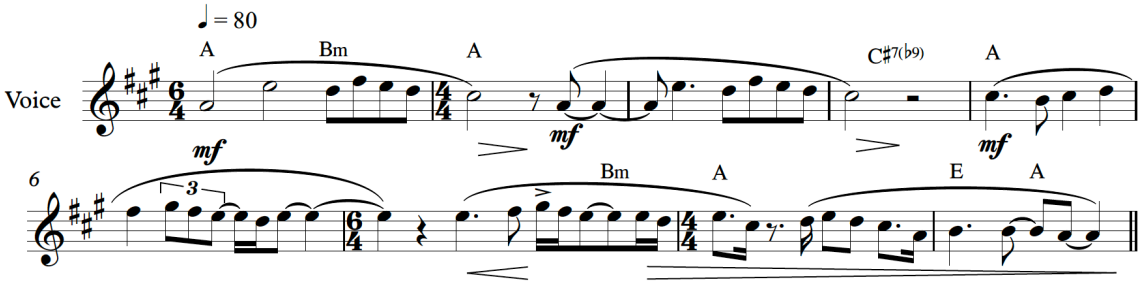

Figure 6.1 Melody for Verse Sung by Rafael de Utrera

Libre

La bandera blanca y verde,	The white and green flag,
Vuelve tras siglos de guerra	Returns after centuries of war
A decir paz y esperanza,	To say peace and hope,
Bajo el sol de nuestra tierra	Under the sun of our land

Metered

¡Andaluces, levantaos!	Andalucíans, get up!
¡Pedid tierra y la libertad!	Ask for land and freedom!
¡Sea por la Andalucía libre,	For a free Andalucía,
España y la patria!	Spain and homeland!

Figure 6.2 Text for *Libre* and Metered Verses

After the sung verse, the piano moves to the forefront with melodic phrasing similar to the opening solo, and also serves to modulate to the key of C major for the Andalusian ensemble's entrance. The progression is: D, C# minor, D, C# minor, CMajor7, B major, A minor7, C/G.

Resolving on C major, the piano and percussion go (and remain) tacet while the *qanun* (trapezoid shaped, plucked zither) presents a *taqsim* (freely improvised solo), further establishing the new key.[12] Following the solo, Chekara leads the ensemble into a 6/8 rhythm (dotted quarter note = 84), with a classic **1**, 2, 3, **4**, 5, 6 rhythm outlined by the darbouka (goblet shaped hand drum), completely transforming the sound world just established by the flamenco ensemble's first section.

Chekara's lyrics contrasted with those of de Utrera both musically and lyrically. The text from Chekara's singing, without any definitive explanation given, is open to interpretation, and can be considered to be spiritual, religious, or symbolically political. If one interprets the lyrics as political, there is much ambiguity, the opposite of the Spanish lyrics. The text, in Moroccan Arabic, along with its transliteration and translation, can be seen in figure 7.1. The melody and phrasing of the Andalusian music is also very different than that of the opening flamenco section. With exception of the first couple phrases, the melodies are continuous, and at times challenging to discern where one ends and the other begins, particularly when the melody resolves on unaccented beats to the dominant note and occasionally to the tonic. This can be observed in mm. 33-42 in figure 7.2. The melodies take on a fluid yet relentless nature, and additionally, consistent accentuation on beats one and four early in the piece grounds the piece firmly in the

[12] Festival des Andalousies, "Hermanados," 2:24:30.

duple meter. Furthermore, the melodies of this piece move step-wise and centricity is on the scale's dominant note and occasionally the tonic, suggesting a melodically simplistic composition whose complexity lies in the unpredictability of some of the phrasing. All of this can be observed in figure 7.2.

يا مولاتي لله حني علي	ya mulati lilah haniy eali
روحي بيك مسقية	ruwhi bayk misqia
سولي لي معايا و انتي حدايا	suli li maeaya w anty hadayaan
يا مولاتي لله حني علي	ya mulati lilah haniy eali

Oh my beloved lady, in the name of god do me mercy
My soul is watered with you
Ask who's with me while you are by my side
Oh my beloved lady, in the name of god do me mercy

Figure 7.1 Text for Jalal Chekara's Verse

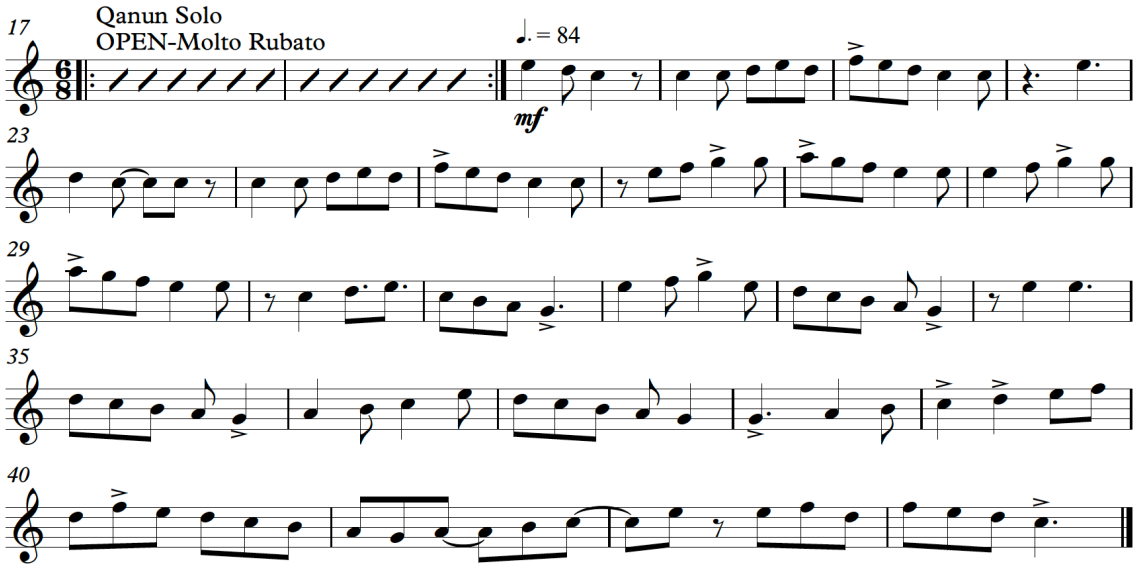

Figure 7.2 Andalusian Music

After the Andalusian section finishes, the piano and flamenco percussion join on a 6/8 vamp on C Major. Dorantes improvises long melodic passages, many of which played in octaves, while each respective musician improvises ornamentation. After Dorantes improvises with some piano extended techniques (muting the piano strings with one hand while soloing with the other), de Utrera begins to recapitulate his first verse, however, this time he sings it in *Guajira compas* (flamenco form influenced by Cuban music, in a twelve beat cycle). This is a particularly unique moment.[13] The *guajira*, which functions as a hemiola, produces a polyrhythm, advancing the complexity of the piece. At this moment, every musician is playing something different than the other; a performance practice completely removed from the conventions of the Andalusian heterophonic style where everyone plays the same melody (with some improvised ornamentation), along with a second accompaniment part (percussion).

After the flamenco *letra* ends, the Andalusian ensemble moves into their second theme, which is set to the same 6/8 rhythm, with phrases ending on the dominant, tonic and mediant, which essentially outline the tonic triad C Major. After playing the melody, with piano and percussion accompanying, Chekara takes his turn improvising over the tonic vamp, demonstrating his skill as an improvising vocalist. Following the improvisation, the second theme is recapitulated, and subsequently, the Andalusian musicians improvise. The second theme can be seen in figure 7.3. Next, just before the end, another interesting and unique moment occurs when Chekara improvises on the melody (violin) along with Dorantes improvising on the piano. The moment could be considered improvised counterpoint.

[13] Ibid., 2:27:26

The final section of the piece recapitulated de Utrera's singing from the opening of the piece (see fig.6.1), however, this time the Andalusian ensemble continued playing, improvising along with the Spanish verse on liberty and freedom.

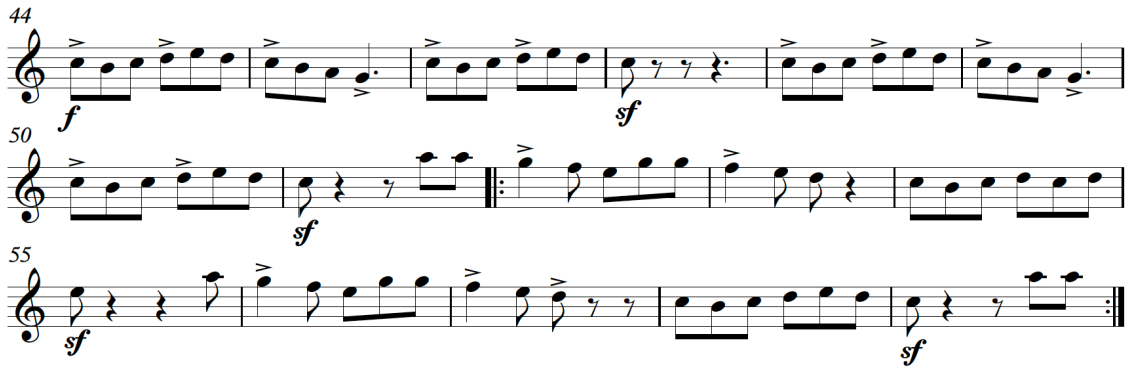

Figure 7.3 Andalusian Second Theme

This piece, upon closer observation, is embedded with symbology. First, the overall form begins with introductions and trades back and forth between each respective ensemble—symbolically representative of Spain and Morocco. Next, the ensembles join one another, although somewhat cautiously and musically reserved. After some time passes, the traditions (flamenco and Andalusian) trade back and forth with full group participation and the remaining sections become more involved, much more creative and completely joyous. This creative, joyous moment continues and concludes with a recapitulation of the anthem from de Utrera, lyrics imploring others to stand up for freedom, peace and hope after much violence.

While the musicians collaborated on this piece, they embarked on a musical project which led each of them into performance practice considered unconventional from a traditional perspective. Despite creating a new and unique sound through their

collaboration and collective efforts, all of the elements of authenticity were present (certainly in terms of how Stoicescu and Kivy describe authenticity). To review from chapter one in this thesis, these elements include authenticity to mean accordance between internal characteristics of a musical work and the interpreter's personal, but at the same time informed, vision of the same work. The flamenco and Andalusian performers each worked with the internal characteristics of their respective genres, and juxtaposed and overlapped their personally informed interpretations. Considering the conventions and expectations of ornamentation, improvisation and personalization in both flamenco and Andalusian music Furthermore, through being highly respected artists considered to be emblematic of their respective traditions, their creation of a new sound, steeped in the authenticity of their respective craft, is redefining what it means to be authentic (authentically flamenco or Andalusian in this case). Furthermore, through this project, their exploration of shared musical and cultural roots, along with the resulting performances thereof, is redefining identity.

The end of the performance was met with a highly enthusiastic standing ovation from all officials, dignitaries and audience members in attendance. The powerful response verified support for the artistic expression of the performers and their ability to collaborate and celebrate a shared authentic cultural identity, and by extension, the FAAE itself.

3.5 Transparency

As mentioned in the introduction, the FAAE is embedded with an ideology to function as an agent of change, facilitate in the restoration of a "shattered dream" (as quoted by

Azoulay, and examined in chapter one), and to serve as a present-day musical honoring of the transcultural legacy between Spain and Morocco. It is important to consider here the distance between the FAAE's ideological claims and quantifiable reality. After seventeen years of operation, there has been no policy change directly related to the efforts of the festival, and a lack of results pertaining to the restoration of an idealized *convivencia*, reinforces the festival as static. Of all the FAAE's rhetoric surrounding its position to facilitate social, cultural, and political change, evidence has shown that what the festival does is celebrate a shared cultural heritage from *al-Andalus* through music and dance performance.

Before presenting the festival's discourse from government officials and diplomats from the festival's closing day, I consider issues of promotion, image and transparency worth consideration. Every year, Essaouira, in conjunction with the FAAE, is frequently promoted as a city that boasts cultural pluralism, peace and a diverse cultural coexistence. As an example of the common language used in promoting the festival and the city, *Vivre Essaouira* writes that there is a clear reason why Essaouira was chosen as the location for the FAAE. It states that the city is renowned for its openness and coexistence of Spaniards, Christians, Jews, Muslims and Berbers who have together created its "rich multicultural and artistic weaving."[14] Essaouira is certainly a creative Moroccan city, however, one must question if promotion is curated to tailor to the tourism industry and support the festival. In 2017, the Economist noted that there were

[14] Fanny, for Living Essaouira, "The Esasouira Atlantic Andalusia Festival," *Vivre Essaouira*, September 9, 2016, http://essaouira.vivre-maroc.com/culture-festival-essaouira/le-festival-des-andalousies-atlantiques-d-essaouira-edition-2015-n1741.html.

only a few (specifically three) Jews in Essaouira; André Azouly being one of them.[15] Furthermore, in 2020, Jean Claude Gans, priest for the only Catholic Church in Esaaouira, stated that there are only a few Christians in the city and after years of trying to persuade the Governor to allow the church bells to ring for Sunday mass, the request was only approved after Pope John Paul II visited Morocco, attracting 180,000 Christian tourists.[16]

Both of these examples, along with the fact that the country's population is just over ninety-nine percent Muslim, immediately draws attention to the inconsistencies of how Essaouira and the FAAE are promoted and what the demographics actually are. This can lead to several questions, such as: how can something be expressed as rich with open coexistence between Muslims, Christians and Jews when there is an obvious lack of such diversity? Is the minute percentage of Christians and Jews actually considered a symbol of rich, harmonious coexistence? If so, does that mean they should feel privileged to be living in the Islamic state? Or, is it a matter of false advertisement to attract attention for the city and festival, and if so, is the false promotion actually propaganda used for another desired outcome? These questions leads one to consider if the FAAE has a place for Aomar Boum's conception of "performance of tolerance."[17] Referring to a number of popular festivals in Morocco, Boum states that *al-Andalus* gets used to align Moroccan

---

[15] Middle East and Africa, "A Moment of Religious Harmony: Morocco's Little Idyll of Jewish-Muslim Coexistence," *The Economist*, November, 4, 2017, https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2017/11/02/moroccos-little-idyll-of-jewish-muslim-coexistence.

[16] Les Vents de Mogador, "Et les Cloches de L'église de Mogador Continuent à Sonner," YouTube video, 3:39, posted July 9, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=evYbwPE_7Io.

[17] Aomar Boum, "Festivalizing Dissent in Morocco," *Middle East Report* no. 263 (Summer 2012): 25.

culture with an imagined culture of tolerance from the past, however, with the lack of interaction between Muslims, Jews and Christians, "the state-backed festivals are thus better described as performances of tolerance rather than instances of a consistent policy to celebrate Morocco's diversity and openness."[18]

Jean Claude Gans' story of the church bells points toward an even deeper question: if freedom of religious expression (bells ringing for mass) is only granted upon an influx of tourism, and therefore a boost to the economy, is rhetoric of a harmonious coexistence, and openness intentionally being used for political leverage or economic growth? Furthermore, continuing down this line, is rhetoric of a present-day, harmonious coexistence being used in conjunction with rhetoric of an imagined past (*al-Andalus* and *convivencia*) for motives which are more spurious than a matter of nostalgia for the past?

Recent findings from the Arab Barometer, interviews published by the BBC, along with demographics and laws outlined in the United States Department of State Report on International Freedom, all point toward a potential intent on the part of the Moroccan state; one more aligned with power and control than perceived on the surface. In 2019, as King Mohammed VI celebrated two decades of reign in Morocco, the country faced discontent and unrest. The Arab Barometer stated that in 2019, seventy percent of Moroccans between eighteen and twenty-eight years of age considered emigrating.[19] Forty-nine percent of Moroccans were in full support of immediate political change; the

[18] Ibid.
[19] Arab Barometer, "Arab Barometer V: Morocco Country Report," June 2019, https://www.arabbarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/ABV_Morocco_Report_Public-Opinion_Arab-Barometer_2019.pdf.

greatest number of all Arab countries polled.[20] Furthermore, in an interview published in *BBC Africa*, Saleh al-Mansouri stated that Moroccans emigrate to Europe to get "…certain things they don't have here…like freedom…there are many things…like respect…there is no care here in Morocco for the population. It's the lack of care that make people migrate."[21] Moreover, the pro-democracy uprisings in 2011 (protests for freedom of speech, press and organization), resulted in false promises. Not only did the regime fail to follow through on reform but it pressed forward with greater control tactics over the media, thereby controlling its public image. This is achieved, for example, through business personalities who have close ties to the palace and authority over media channels by spreading pro-regime propaganda.[22] Their loyalty is rewarded while critical journalists are taken to court and regularly found guilty.[23]

Additionally, pertaining to freedom, openness and equality, Section II of the 2018 Report on International Religious Freedom in Morocco outlined that by law, all educational institutions which are publicly funded must teach Sunni Islam and any foreign-run or private schools can choose to either teach Sunni Islam or not include religious studies at all.[24] Moreover, the executive summary notes that in an interview on June 14, 2018, the Minister of State for Human Rights, Mustafa Ramid, stated that

---

[20] BBC News, "Could Morocco see the next Uprising after Sudan and Algeria?," *BBC News Africa*, June 27, 2019, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-48771758.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Abdelfettah Benchenna, Driss Ksikes and Dominique Marchetti, "The Media in Morocco: A Highly Political Economy, the Case of the Paper and On-Line Press Since the Early 1990s," *The Journal of North African Studies* 22, no. 3 (2017): 386-410.
[23] Reporters Sans Frontières, "Monarchy's Red Lines Gag Morocco's Independent Media," September 17, 2015, https://rsf.org/rsf/node/27783.
[24] U.S. Department of State, "2018 Report on International Religious Freedom: Morocco," 201, https://www.state.gov/reports/2018-report-on-international-religious-freedom/morocco/.

"freedom of belief does not pose a short-term threat to the state but is certainly a long-term danger to natural cohesion."[25]

The prime observation I make here highlights inconsistencies between what is written, what is said and what is done, reinforcing caution towards potential spurious intent. Morocco's Constitution of 2011 stipulates, respectively, in Article twenty-five and Article twenty-eight that "The freedoms of thought, of opinion and of expression under all their forms[,] are guaranteed; The freedom of the press is guaranteed and may not be limited by any form of prior censure."[26] The constitution also states that the king is: the head of the Islamic state, referred to as the "Commander of the Faithful," is inviolable, appoints the head of Government and on his initiative can terminate any member or function of government, and he presides over the Council of Ministers (heads of government and ministers).[27] Furthermore, the constitution also states that the legitimacy of its democratic representation is elected through free, honest and transparent elections. While equality, along with freedom of thought and expression are constitutionally outlined, actions have revealed that what is written is not necessarily what is practiced. Though it is worth noting that this is not uncommon; very few countries, if any, are successful in putting their constitutions into practice as written. Furthermore, these "freedoms" are only granted so long as subjects act in accordance with the ideals of Islamic law and ultimately, the king, who at the end of the day has absolute power.

---

[25] Ibid.
[26] Constitute Project, "Morocco's Constitution of 2011," Translated by Jefry J. Ruchti, Constitute Project, Accessed January 4, 2021. https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Morocco_2011.pdf.
[27] Ibid.

How exactly does all of this pertain to the FAAE? The constitution in conjunction with the aforementioned examples of inconsistencies deserves closer scrutiny and questioning of whether or not the state has the best interest of the people of Essaouira, and more broadly, Morocco. The FAAE, on one hand, is an event supported by the Kingdom of Morocco, governments, and other official organizations. This reflection can lead one to question the transparency of festival's ideological structure (particularly its use of *al-Andalus* and *convivencia*). In Morocco, there is political unrest, many youth are interested in emigrating and they proclaim that there is no freedom, peace, respect or care for the people (as al-Mansouri attested). The festival's ideology may serve to not only preserve the Andalusian musical tradition, but also help people forget, albeit for a short time, societal and political problems. By emphasizing the direct link between *al-Andalus*, *convivenica* and the festival, Moroccans receive a direct message that an Islamic led paradise of the past exists in present-day Morocco and is just waiting to be rediscovered. This notion is also reflected directly in Azoulay's statement, "This story is not only written in the past."[28] Additionally, having the festival free of charge serves to give the people an impression that they are being cared for, and in a country where poverty levels are high and the socioeconomic gap between classes is wide, providing a free festival (including renowned artists visiting from Spain) can help people overlook the state's failure to create equality.[29] To this end, Antony Easthope and Kate McGowan state in the

[28] Lynn Sheppard, "Essaouira's Atlantic Andalucía Festival, Your Morocco Tour Guide," Travel Exploration blog, November 9, 2014, http://blog.travel-exploration.com/tag/festival-des-andalousies-atlantiques-essaouira/.
[29] For detail pertaining to Moroccan poverty levels, see: Marie Anne Chambonnier, "Macro Poverty Outlook: Morocco," The World Bank, 2019, http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/919381570664049212/EN-MPO-OCT19-Morocco.pdf.

second section of *A Critical and Cultural Theory Reader* that "With the development of mass education, forms of parliamentary democracy and, in the twentieth century, the mass media, the social control of thought has become of major political importance, and with it, the question of ideology."[30] I bring this up here because it remains unclear what exactly the motives and vested interests are on the part of the state. In the final section of this chapter, these questions are considered further, along with others, when I look at Spain's direct involvement in the festival; situating the cultural-political significance of flamenco, Andalusian music and the FAAE in the spotlight on its closing day.

3.6 Discursive Festival

While the musical performances were the artistic highlight of the festival, what is particularly interesting, in addition to situating the FAAE in Spain, is how prevalent the political discourse was throughout the entire day; discourse that verified officials' propensities for the two musical traditions, affirming the necessity for the two governments to use music as a tool for diplomacy. This is demonstrated through the numerous speeches that were interspersed throughout the performances. For instance, Minister of Presidency, Public Administration and Interior of the Regional Government of Andalucía, Elías Bendodo, emphasized in his opening speech that the festival celebrates both the cultural and musical heritage shared between Spain, Andalucía and Morocco, and it offers the opportunity to bring together the spirit of dialogue and exchange between cultures of the Mediterranean. He recognized and thanked Azoulay for

[30] Antony Easthope and Kate McGowan, *A Critical and Cultural Theory Reader* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004), 41.

his work and initiative towards peace and respect between cultures, and for his work in establishing the festival. Bendodo added that flamenco and Andalusian music can transcend politics and are a symbol for the world in how cultures can coexist in respect and harmony.[31]

Another example is from José Manuel Rodríguez Uribes, Spain's Minister of Culture and Sport. He stated that the event demonstrates the universality in music and its capacity for exchange in dialogue and coexistence. Furthermore, he stated that flamenco and Andalusian music are testimonies of the encounters and interconnectedness between cultures in Spain dating back to ninth-century Córdoba, connecting the two countries through the FAAE and FTC in peace and respect.[32]

The concert was also a celebration of flamenco's tenth anniversary of inscription into UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, and Ernesto Ottone Ramirez, UNESCO's Assistant Director-General for Culture, expressed in a speech the importance of the festival and its exemplary demonstration of how to celebrate world heritage, particularly cultural coexistence as demonstrated through flamenco, Andalusian and Arabic music.[33] Additionally, the king's advisor Azoulay, in his video speech sent from Morocco, expressed that flamenco's anniversary is "at the heart of what animates the FAAE and what brings us Moroccans and Andalucíans together through the foundation [FTC]."[34] In the same speech, he expressed his deepest gratitude to Juan Manuel Moreno (President of the *Junta*) and Elías Bendodo for their involvement in the festival.

[31] Ibid., 27:02.
[32] Ibid., 56:24.
[33] Ibid., 32:23.
[34] Ibid., 39:40.

All of the speeches serve to demonstrate the governments' support for, and effective use of, of the FAAE for cultural diplomacy. Moreover, the testimonies provide the FAAE, and by extension flamenco and Andalusian music, a form of political soft power. In other words, the speeches provide support for the festival and it's ideological design, positioning it as a tool for dialogue and persuasion in diplomatic bi-lateral relations between Spain and Morocco.

A final example, perhaps the most poignant in terms of delineating the overall cultural-political environment of the day, came from the Minister of Culture and Historical Heritage of the Junta de Andalucía, Patricia del Pozo Fernández. In her speech, while speaking of Spain and Morocco being siblings in the future, she emphasized *convivencia* as a model for the two countries in modern times. She further emphasized the significance of the FTC, the EMA, their work with the FAAE, and the importance of their objectives in current times for alliances between the two countries, people and cultures.[35] She continued, reinforcing earlier sentiments, stressing that music has the ability to express what political discourse cannot, achieve results which politics cannot, and that flamenco and Andalusian music are the protagonists for the world today.[36]

What is particularly interesting is that del Pozo, with support from Bendodo, announced an initiative to call upon UNESCO to officially recognize and inscribe Andalusian music as an Intangible Heritage of Humanity along with flamenco.[37] Because Andalusian music has its roots in medieval Spain, it still exists today in the country, and it is identified as a national and traditional musical culture of Morocco, the result of this

[35] Ibid., 2:07:44.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

decision would further blur the lines of national identity (through music) for both Spain and Morocco. Additionally, it would further develop interdependence and incentive for diplomatic reciprocity through each countries' respective musical culture and identity.

The identity politics involved in such an initiative, however, has potential to become rather problematic. If Andalusian music is approved and officially declared by UNESCO, who exactly gains official recognition? It is possible that Spain, Morocco or both receive designation and either could use the musical culture as a form of transnational currency to negotiate power, gain favor and support from citizens, or even assert control. When one considers how ideologies have been used historically between the two countries (to justify colonial ambition for example), it is easy to think that both sides already have their own vested interests in the advancement of the sociocultural and sociopolitical valence of Andalusian music and flamenco, and both intend to use music and the FAAE for future power negotiations and cultural diplomacy.

While the aforementioned rhetoric demonstrates the role that flamenco, Andalusian music, *convivencia* and *al-Andalus*, and moreover, the festival, plays in cultural diplomacy, how exactly the festival will continue to develop and function in this way is unclear. Certainly, Spain taking a pivotal role in the 2020 edition brings a significant shift in the festival's activities. A suggestion for future research could be to investigate the application to UNESCO to make Andalusian music a cultural heritage of Andalucía and how that impacts the festival and Moroccan-Spanish relations. Additionally, while it is beyond the scope of this thesis, one could create a project to research Judeo-Arab music in the FAAE and how exactly it ties into the festival's ideological design.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

History has shaped a modern complexity and ambiguity in current Spanish-Moroccan relations. Mirrored in current activities of the FAAE, performers of Andalusian music and flamenco collaborate and perform today, celebrating their awareness of a shared culture. With consideration of Andalusian music, flamenco and Spanish-Moroccan relations, in conjunction with political positionings of ideologies thereof, this thesis has demonstrated two primary findings: one, the FAAE isn't simply an event for musical performance and collaboration; it functions as a tool for cultural diplomacy between Spain and Morocco through its use of flamenco and Andalusian music. And two, through the festival, whose foundations are based on interpretations of a romanticized, imagined past, Morocco and Spain explore commonalities of a shared cultural heritage and the performers are concurrently actively redefining identity and authenticity.

Chapter two of this thesis outlined flamenco and Andalusian music, and considered their role to *al-Andalus* and *convivencia*. It also discussed flamenco's position in the FAAE and how it identifies and contrasts with Andalusian music. This chapter also introduced André Azoulay, and his critical role in the festival and its ideological design. Furthermore, it outlined past performances of the festival, demonstrating the festival's role in the construction of an imagined community, cultural diplomacy and lastly, provided context for the analysis in chapter three.

Chapter three presented an analysis of the 2020 edition's final day of the festival. With a focused study on two performance pieces, I demonstrated how performers are redefining identity and authenticity. Additionally, this chapter further demonstrated how the music and the festival functions as a tool for cultural diplomacy.

Furthermore, I considered issues pertaining to the states' transparencies and whether or not there is intent for power and control behind the use of the musical cultures, particularly for their role in identity politics and diplomacy. A critical question arose: are the musical cultures, along with the festival, being used as transnational currency to leverage power between the two countries, and if so, to what end? While there is currently no answer to this question, an attempt to respond is beyond the scope of this project and would warrant potential future research projects.

This research is important and unique and it is my hope that it contributes to the literature on music festivals and politics, particularly between Spain and Morocco. While the future intent behind political maneuverings of flamenco, Andalusian music and the FAAE are not entirely understood, what is clear is that the festival is an artistic expression, exploration and celebration of a common culture that is in constant evolution.

Bibliography

Abouzzohour, Yasmina. "Progress and Missed Opportunities: Morocco Enters its Third Decade Under King Mohammed VI." *Brookings*, July 29, 2020. https://www.brookings.edu/research/progress-and-missed-opportunities-morocco-enters-its-third-decade-under-king-mohammed-vi/.

Africa, Middle East and. "A Moment of Religious Harmony: Morocco's Little Idyll of Jewish-Muslim Coexistence." *The Economist*, November, 4, 2017. https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2017/11/02/moroccos-little-idyll-of-jewish-muslim-coexistence.

Afrique, Medi1TV. "L'invite: Essaouira vibre au rythme des Andalousies Atlantiques." YouTube video, 12:34. October 24, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z9b4hDb3Oas.

Aitchison, Cara, and Annette Pritchard. *Festivals and Events: Culture and Identity in Leisure, Sport and Tourism*. Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association, 2007.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1991.

Arndt, Richard. "¿Cultura o propaganda? Reflexiones sobre medio siglo de diplomacia cultural de Estados Unidos." *Revista Mexicana de Política Exterior*, César Villanueva Rivas ed. (febrero 2002): 29-54. https://revistadigital.sre.gob.mx/images/stories/numeros/n85/arndt.pdf.

Association, Essaouira-Mogador. "Essaouira-Mogador Association." Accessed June 08, 2020. http://www.essaouiramogador.org/.

Atlantiques, Festival des Andalousies. "Festival Des Andalousies Atlantiques – Home Page." Facebook, October 31, 2019. https://www.facebook.com/FestivalDesAndalousiesAtlantiques/.

———. "Hermanados por la Música, Jumelés par la Musique." Facebook Video, 2:36:00. December 13, 2020. https://www.facebook.com/FestivalDesAndalousiesAtlantiques/videos/3401255756670556/.

———. "Les Andalousies Atlantiques – Official Site." Accessed May 6, 2020. http://andalousiesatlantiques.com.

Augusteijn, Joost, and Eric Storm. *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Nation Building, Regional Identities and Separatism*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012.

Bahrami, Beebe. “Al Andalus and Memory: The Past and Being Present Among Hispano-Moroccan Andalusians from Rabat.” In *Charting Memory: Recalling Medieval Spain*, ed. Stacy Beckwith, 111-143. New York and London: Garland, 2000.

Balfour, Sebastian. *Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Barometer, Arab. “Arab Barometer V: Morocco Country Report.” *Arab Barometer*, June 2019. https://www.arabbarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/ABV_Morocco_Report_Public-Opinion_Arab-Barometer_2019.pdf.

Barriuso, Patrocinio García. *La música hispano-musulmana en Marruecos*. Larache: Artes Gráficas Boscá, 1941.

Belghazi, Taieb. “Festivalization of Urban Space in Morocco.” *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 15, no. 1 (August 2006): 97-107.

Benchenna, Abdelfettah, Driss Ksikes, and Dominique Marchetti, “The Media in Morocco: A Highly Political Economy, the Case of the Paper and On-Line Press Since the Early 1990s.” *The Journal of North African Studies* 22, no. 3 (2017): 386-410.

Bennett, Andy, and Ian Woodward. *Festivalization of Culture*, ed. Andy Bennet, Jodie Taylor, Ian Woodward. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.

Benumeya, Rodolfo Gil. *Marruecos andaluz*. Madrid: Educación Popular, 1942.

Blair, Tony. “A Battle for Global Values.” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, 2007. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2007-01-01/battle-global-values.

Bohlman, Philip. “Music as Representation.” *Journal of Musicological Research* 24, no. 3 (2005): 205-226.

Boum, Aomar. “Festivalizing Dissent in Morocco.” *Middle East Report* no. 263 (Summer 2012): 22-25.

Breuilly, John. *Nationalism and the State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Calado-Olivo, Silvia. “Flamenco, un negocio a compás.” *La Nueva Alborea* no. 1 (2007): 51-52.

Calderwood, Eric. *Colonial al-Andalus: Spain and the Making of Modern Moroccan Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018.

Catlos, Brian A. *Kingdoms of Faith: A New History of Islamic Spain*. New York: Basic Books, 2018.

Cruces, Cristina. *El Flamenco y la Música Andalusí: Argumentos para un Encuentro*. Barcelona: Ediciones Carena, 2003.

Chambonnier, Marie Anne. "Macro Poverty Outlook: Morocco." The World Bank. 2019. http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/919381570664049212/EN-MPO-OCT19-Morocco.pdf.

Cummings, Milton C. *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey*. Washington, D.C: Center for Arts and Culture, 2003.

Davila, Carl. *The Andalusian Music of Morocco: History, Society and Text*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2013.

———. "Fixing a Misbegotten Biography: Ziryab in the Mediterranean World." *Al-Masaq: Islam in the Medieval Mediterranean* 21, no. 2 (2009): 121-136.

de Andalucía, Junta. "El legado andalusí—Official Site." Accessed December 28, 2020. https://www.legadoandalusi.es.

———. "Symbols of Andalusia—Official Site." Accessed April 23, 2021. https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/organismos/sobre-junta/simbolos.html.

de Maroc, Royume. "La Constitution." Secrétariat Général du Governement. July, 2011, www.sgg.gov.ma/Portals/0/constitution/constitution_2011_Fr.pdf.

de Mogador, Les Vents. "Et les Cloches de L'église de Mogador Continuent à Sonner." YouTube video, 3:39. July 9, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=evYbwPE_7Io.

Department of State, U.S. "2018 Report on International Religious Freedom: Morocco." U.S. Department of State, 2018. Accessed November 18, 2020. https://www.state.gov/reports/2018-report-on-international-religious-freedom/morocco/.

———. "2019 Report on International Religious Freedom: Morocco, Section I. Religious Demography." U.S. Department of State, 2019. Accessed November 18, 2020. 2019, https://www.state.gov/reports/2019-report-on-international-religious-freedom/morocco/#:~:text=Section%20I.&text=More%20than%2099%20percent%20of,Jews%2C%20and%20Baha'is.

Dictionary, The Cambridge. s.v. "Authentic; Authenticity." Accessed March 21, 2021. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/authentic.

Dowd, Timothy J. "Music Festivals as Trans-national Scenes: The Case of Progressive Rock in the Late Twentieth and Early Twenty-First Centuries." In *Festivalization of Culture*, ed. Andy Bennet, Jodie Taylor, Ian Woodward, 154-155. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.

Easthope, Antony, and Kate McGowan. *A Critical and Cultural Theory Reader*. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004.

Economist, The. "Atlantic Andalusian Festival: Several Thousand Festival-Goers Expected in Essaouira." *L'economiste*, October 28, 2010. https://www.leconomiste.com/article/festival-des-andalousies-atlantiquesbrplusieurs-milliers-de-festivaliers-attendus-essaouira.

Essaouira. "André Azoulay." Essaouira. Accessed March 29, 2020. https://www.essaouira.nu/icons_azoulay.htm.

Essaouira, Fanny for Living. "The Esasouira Atlantic Andalusia Festival." *Vivre Essaouira*, September 9, 2016. http://essaouira.vivre-maroc.com/culture-festival-essaouira/le-festival-des-andalousies-atlantiques-d-essaouira-edition-2015-n1741.html.

Essofi, Meryem. "2010 Edition of the Atlantic Andalusia Festival of Essaouira." *Vivre Essaouira*, November 26, 2010. http://essaouira.vivre-maroc.com/agenda/programme-festival-des-andalousies-d-essaouira-2010-n224.html.

Fernández-Morera, Dario. *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise: Muslims, Christians, and Jews under Islamic Rule in Medieval Spain*. Wilmington: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2016.

Festival, Essaouira Gnaoua and World Music. "Essaouira Festival of Gnaoua and World Music – Official Site." Accessed September 23, 2020. https://www.festival-gnaoua.net.

Fox, John W., Nada Mourtada-Sabbah and Sulayman N.Khalaf. "Ethnography and the Culture of Tolerance in al-Andalus." *Harvard Middle East and Islamic Review,* no.7 (2006): 146-71.

Fundación, Tres Culturas. "Foundation: Know Us." Official Website. Accessed March 30, 2020, http://tresculturas.org/fundacion/.

Fundación, Tres Culturas. "Tres Culturas Fundación." Accessed April 2, 2020. http://tresculturas.org/.

García-Arenal, Mercedes. “Los moriscos en Marruecos: De la emigración de los granadinos a los hornaceros de Salé.” In *Los moriscos: Expulsión y diáspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, 275-311. Valencia: Universitat de Valéncia, 2013.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Gillespie, Richard. *Spain and the Mediterranean: Developing a European Policy towards the South*. Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 2000.

Glasser, Jonathan. *The Lost Paradise*: *Andalusi Music in Urban North Africa*. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2016.

Hayom, Israel. “Peace Deal with Morocco,” *Israel Hayom*. Accessed March 29, 2021. https://www.israelhayom.com/2020/12/11/peace-deal-with-morocco-could-be-a-sign-of-impending-accord-with-saudi-arabia/.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

———. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Holguín, Sadie. *Flamenco Nation: The Construction of Spanish National Identity*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2019.

Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO. “For Inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2010.” November, 2010. https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/07533-EN.pdf.

Jefatura del Estado, Gobierno de España. “Ley Orgánica 2/2007, de 19 marzo, de reforma del Estatuto de Autonomía para Andalucía.” *Boletín Oficial del Estado* 68 (marzo 2007): 11871-11909.

Joundi, Alice. “Exclusive Interview.” Made in Essaouira, October 24, 2013. https://www.madein.city/essaouira/fr/stories/francoise-atlan-chacun-des-concerts-a-essaouira-est-un-moment-precieux-7307/.

Kivy, Peter. *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performance*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Le Maroc, Aujourd’hui. “Essaouira will be Andalusian.” *Aujourd’hui le Maroc*, September, 15, 2003. https://aujourdhui.ma/culture/essaouira-sera-andalouse-1426.

Levy, Michèle. “Festival of Atlantic Andalusia: Once Upon a Time there was Mogador….” Cultures-Le site de reference des cultures jueves. Accessed May 6, 2020. https://cultures-j.com/festival-des-andalousies-atlantiques-il-etait-une-fois-mogador/.

Lewis, David Levering. *God’s Crucible: Islam and the Making of Europe, 570-1215*. New York: W.W Norton, 2008.

Machin-Autenrieth, Matthew. “Spanish Musical Responses to Moroccan Immigration and the Cultural Memory of al-Andalus.” *Twentieth-Century Music* 16, no. 2 (June 2019): 259-287. https://doi.org/10.1017/s1472218000324.

Menocal, María Rosa. “A Golden Reign of Tolerance.” *The New York Times*, Section A, 31, March 28, 2002. http://www.nytimes.com/2002/03/28/opinion/a-golden-reign-of-tolerance.html.

———. *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2002.

Moulay Driss, El Maarouf. “World Cultural Nomadictates: An Inquiry into the Trans-local Dynamics of Music Festivals in Morocco.” *Études caribéennes* (2012): 1-19. https://doi.org/10.4000/etudescaribeennes.5993.

Music, Fes Festival of World Sacred. “Fes World Sacred Music – Official Site.” Accessed September 23, 2020. https://fesfestival.com.

News, BBC. “Could Morocco see the next Uprising after Sudan and Algeria?.” *BBC News Africa*, June 27, 2019. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-48771758.

Novikoff, Alex. “Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain: An Historiographical Enigma.” *Medieval Encounters* 11, no. 1-2 (January, 2005): 7-36.

Paetzold, Christopher. “Singing Beneath the Alhambra: The North African and Arabic Past and Present in Contemporary Andalusian Music.” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 10 no. 2 (2009): 207–223. https://doi.org/10.1080/14636200902990711.

Post, The North African. “Royal Advisor Azoulay Awarded 2020 Gold Medal of Andalusia.” *North African Post*, February 29, 2020. https://northafricapost.com/38564-royal-advisor-azoulay-awarded-2020-gold-medal-of-andalusia.html.

Project, Constitute. “Morocco’s Constitution of 2011.” Translated by Jefri J. Ruchti. Constitute Project. Accessed January 4, 2021. https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Morocco_2011.pdf.

Quammu, Lawrence. “The Festival of Andalusia Essaouira 2011.” *Vivre Essaouira*, October 20, 2011. http://essaouira.vivre-maroc.com/culture-festival-essaouira/le-festival-des-andalousies-essaouira-2011-n368.html.

Quiroga, Alejandro. “The Three Spheres. A Theoretical Model of Mass Nationalisation: The Case of Spain.” *Nations and Nationalism* 20, no. 4, (2014): 683-700. https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12073.

Ray, Jonathan. “Beyond Tolerance and Persecution: Reassessing Our Approach to Medieval Convivencia.” *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no. 2 (Winter, 2005): 1-18.

Reynolds, Dwight. “Al-Maqqari’s Ziryab: The Making of a Myth.” *Middle Eastern Literatures* 11, no. 2 (2008): 155-168.

———. “Musical Remembrances of Medieval Muslim Spain.” In *Charting Memory: Recalling Medieval Spain*, ed. Stacy Beckwith 60-82. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

———. “Music in Medieval Iberia: Contact, Influence and Hybridization.” *Medieval Encounters* 15, no. 2 (2009), 241-242.

Said, Imam Ghazali. “The Heritage of Al-Andalus and the Formation of Spanish History and Identity.” *The International Journal of History and Cultural Studies* 3, no. 1 (2017): 63–76.

Sans Frontières, Reporters. “Monarchy’s Red Lines Gag Morocco’s Independent Media.” *Reporters Without Borders*, September 17, 2015, https://rsf.org/rsf/node/27783.

Sater, James N. *Morocco: Challenges to Tradition and Modernity*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Shannon, Jonathan Holt. *Performing al-Andalus: Music and Nostalgia Across the Mediterranean*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2015.

Sheppard, Lynn.“Essaouira’s Atlantic Andalucía Festival, Your Morocco Tour Guide.” Travel Exploration Blog, November 9, 2014. http://blog.travel-exploration.com/tag/festival-des-andalousies-atlantiques-essaouira/.

Smith, Anthony D. *The Cultural Foundation of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008.

Soifer, Maya. “Beyond Convivencia: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain.” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2009): 19-35.

Staff. “Andalusia Awards ‘Most Prestigious Distinction’ to Morocco’s Azoulay.” *Morocco World News*, February 29, 2020. https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2020/02/294931/azoulay-receives-2020-gold-medal-of-andalusia/.

Stenner, David. “Mediterranean Crossroads: Spanish-Moroccan Relations in Past and Present.” *The Journal of North African Studies* 24, no. 1, (2019): 7-16.

Stoicescu, Andreea. “The Concept of Authenticity in Musical Interpretation: An Ontological Perspective.” *Artes Journal of Musicology* 22, no.1 (2020): 193-208.

Taruskin, Richard. *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Turino, Thomas. *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Valderrama-Martínez, Fernando. *Historia de la acción cultural de España en Marruecos 1912-1956*. Tetouan: Editora Marroquí, 1956.

Zamorano, Mariano Martín. “Reframing Cultural Diplomacy: The Instrumentalization of Culture under the Soft Power Theory.” *Culture Unbound Journal of Current Research* (November 2016): 165-186. https://doi.org/10.3384/cu.2000.1525.1608165.