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Tomo I - *Memorie, storie, immagini*
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Colonizer and Colonized: Intangible assets of l'exposition Coloniale Internationale in 1931

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Abstract
In the early 20th century new urbanism theory and practices were developed as a field with specific expertise in Western countries. Among others in France played significant role. In 1910s, the modernist urbanism principals were developed in Societe Française Urbanistes (SFU). These French based urbanism criteria were mainly executed to their colonial cities in North Africa. Finally, l'exposition Coloniale Internationale feted the accomplishment of colonial urban criteria in 1931. This exposition was organized in Paris and attracted the attention of the world. The pavilions represented different colonial worlds were established. Besides, various exotic decorative and fashion programs, entertainment exhibits and native displays were organized. After the exposition, despite the all pavilions were removed, the Museum of the Colonies reached to today as the unique permanent structure of the colonial exposition. The tangible assets of the exposition have been investigated intensively. Accordingly, this paper presents the architectural dynamics of the exhibition. However, the focus is to analyze the intangible assets of the pavilions by checking the changing dynamics of both colonizer and the colonized perspectives.

Keywords
Colonialism, modern urbanism, exposition.

Introduction
According to Jean-Paul Sartre, the actors who seal the colonial territories' fate are divided in two: colonizer and colonized. Moreover, they are bounded to each other by defining the colonial 'situation'. Sartre draw a frame where both actors generate the colonial 'situation' together [Sartre 1965]. Although this frame drawn by mainly political tendencies, social and economic aspects were the inevitable ingredients. Furthermore, architecture and town planning were the main tools that affects the 'situation'.
Being the main instrument of global dissemination of architecture and town planning developments, the universal colonial expositions strongly symbolized a display to represent this 'situation' by targeting the society of mother country. In other words, under colonial 'situation', expositions carried out an important role in order to formulate a mutual interaction between the colonizer and colonized.
As one of the well-known mother countries, France played a significant role in the colonial world. In early 20 th century, the colonial policy of French was shifted from assimilation to association [Betss 2005]. This shift means to shape a more humanist atmosphere to the colonized society and a more conservative approach to local *moeurs.* In other words, the colonizers formulated a new strategy in order to regulate the colonized life in a more modern and humanist perspective than their previous policies. Town planning was perceived as a principal tool to adopt this strategy in every segment of the cities. Meanwhile, modernist urbanism criteria were developed in Paris by the *Societe Française Urbanistes (SFU)*

members. Under the new association strategy, French colonies in North Africa represented a perfect 'laboratory' to practice their novel theories [Wright 1991]. Indeed, Maréchal Lyautey who was the responsible of the French Protectorate in Morocco mentioned the Moroccan works as *champs d'experience* [Lyautey 1927].

In 1914, one of the founder members of SFU, Henri Prost moved to Morocco in order to establish 'Special d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme au Maroc'. Under his leadership, several masterplans and urban interventions were implemented in Moroccan cities such as Casablanca, Rabat, and Fez. The main questions of the plans were based on how to integrate the modern city centre to historic cities. As a response to this question, a poly-centred approach was implemented by paying attention to the conservation of *medinas.*

It is well-known that expositions were/are representative areas where the protagonist may meet and exchange knowledge. However, under colonial 'situation', expositions also played an important role in order to formulate a mutual interaction between the colonizer and colonized. A year after to start town planning works, in Casablanca, the *l'exposition franco marocaine* was organized, and the colonizer strategy was introduced as «intervene everywhere, but change nothing» [Wright 1991, 130].

Until the 1930s, the execution of Moroccan plans was mostly completed. In the meantime, under the interwar period atmosphere, the need to present the accomplishment of colonial policy to the society of the mother country occurred. Even though the colonial expositions were organized since the 19th century, the on-going town planning works were never perceived as an ingredient of their program. Accordingly, in 1931, *l'Exposition Coloniale Internationale* in Paris marked a significant point within the history of the colonial exposition. While it was the first colonial exposition organized in Paris, it was also the last on this matter [Leprun 1986].

Yet, Lyautey explained the differences between former ones and 1931 exposition by referring *l'exposition franco marocaine* a 1915 in Casablanca as «the manifestation in Casablanca was an instrument of war, however this one is a work of peace». In addition, he highlighted the way to conquest colonized territories as winning the heart of colonized society instead of urban interventions [Artus 1931]. Therefore, after Lyautey's statement, the results of his previous manifestation as «intervene everywhere, but change nothing» revealed into 'authenticity' terms of 1931 exposition.

1. Organizing an exposition to display colonized values at colonizer hometown

Being a monumental historical city often made Paris a host for universal expositions. However, organizing a colonial exposition in Paris under the association influence created an intensive debate about the selection of the location. On the one hand, Lyautey preferred a very centrally located exposition in Paris. On the other hand, selection a virgin place which was a little far from the Parisian centre perceived suitable [Morton 2000]. Finally, an area covered 110 hectares and located on the east Paris, Bois de Vincennes was selected. The area was one of the large public parks designed by Adolphe Alphand in 19 th century at the western and eastern edges of Paris [Alphand 1867].

Another significant effect of this selection was the on-going social and political problems in this slum area of Paris. Indeed, Lyautey himself stated his hope that the exposition would bring social peace to quarter [Cohen 1999].

In order to form the exposition at Bois de Vincennes, Albert Tournaire appointed as the architect of the site plan [Laprade 1958]. As a part of the preparation of the site, a series of urban interventions were also realized. Accordingly, Daumesnil Avenue was enlarged and

some building blocks in the slum area were demolished [Urfer 1931]. Yet, in order to facilitate the transportation of visitors from the city center, the metro line-8 was extended through the site. A day before the celebration of exposition, the new metro station near the site was opened [Geppert 2010].
The exposition was inaugurated in May 6 and remained open six months. In the meantime, an intensive program met with the visitors until November 15 [Ruedel 1931, 2]. Many Beaux-arts architects contributed to the design process of various pavilions. One of the most attractive ones are Angor-Wat temple and Maroc pavilion. However, apart from the pavilions, a decision was made to construct a permanent colonial museum into the world-famous museum list of Paris. According to historians, the architectural style of the museum should represent the undergone colonial policy [Morton 2000]. The organizers' desire to leave a *monument durable* at the site after the exposition period encouraged them to take this decision. The main function of the museum was not only to exhibit colonial artefacts but also colonial flora and fauna [Hodeir, Pierre 1991]. The experts prepared a proposal to be selected as the museum's architect. Finally, against Leon Jaussely's proposal with orientalist details, Albert Laprade's design with the Art-deco style was selected for the construction. However, although this choice, Jaussely contributed to the design process [Laprade, Jaussely 1931].
The fact that the Museum of the Colonies was a permanent ingredient of the exposition and located at the entrance of the site made it a core point of events. The museum façade welcomed the visitors as the first scene of the exposition display and gave clues about what expects them at the rest of the site. Façade ornaments were designed by Alfred Janniot. As a Beaux-Art educated Art-deco sculptor, he depicted the lifestyle of colonized territories on the bas-reliefs. In other words, he summarized the association policy of colonizers by revealing the colonized habitat as a part of façade motifs [Tranchant 1931].
Another important point that welcomes the visitors was the Statue of *La France apportant la paix et la prospérité aux colonies.* As the sculptor, Leon Derivier's aim was to respond to the organizers' request in order to represent *Plus Grand France* towards her colonies. The bronze statue, later known as Statue of Athena, was inaugurated with the exposition and placed at the entrance of Museum of the Colonies [Viatte and François 2002]. Besides, as the complementary piece of the exposition atmosphere, palm trees were placed [Olivier 1933]. After the closure of the exposition, the statue was removed and replaced at the Daumesnil Avenue. Currently, it still welcomes the visitors of the museum as well as the Vincennes site between the palm trees.

2. Representation of colonizer's conservative approach: the *moeurs* of colonized society: *«La Cité des informations, ce soir, sera un autre Versailles»*

The exposition was reflected in the French printed media as «a miniature travel around the world». Indeed, the main slogan of the organization was «*le tour du monde en un jour*» [Tranchant 1931]. In contrast with the former expositions, but in parallel to the colonial urbanism approach, it was very rare to have the perception of Parisenne buildings and colonial pavilions in the same frame from the visitors' perspective. Therefore, it offers visitors an exotic but also pedagogical journey around the world from Martinique in the west to Indochina in the east.
As mentioned before, under the association policy, the main statement of the protagonists was in line with the conservative approach to the local traditions, beliefs, customs, daily habits, and so on. The exotic aspects of the colonial expositions have always been the most attractive side by the public. However, in contrast with the previous ones, the organizers of the 1931 exposition associated these exotic aspects to the authenticity terms. In other words, *moeurs* of colonized

1: The indigenous women who presents their products to French women. (gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothéque nationale de France).

territory should be remain 'untouched'. Indeed, Henri Prost describes one of the main objectives of urbanism works as «to the respect of these local values» [Prost 1932].

The exposition program included a series of daily events. To a brief specification: fashion shows were organized to display local customs and designs. Local foods were placed at the recreated local cafes to provide degustation selections for colonizers. Probably most significant movement of the colonizers is that a group of indigenous people was selected to move to Paris and exhibit their traditional dance and folk rhythms. In other words, the native display was conceived as a vivid solution of authenticity. Figure 1 shows the indigenous women from Senegal presenting their products to Parisenne women [Agence Mondial 1932].

Briefly, the large area of Vincennes was fully organized to bring the colonized characteristics to colonizer life. According to Morton, «the natives were further evidence of the Exposition's authenticity, proof that it was no mere entertainment or exotic fantasy, but an accurate tableau of colonial life» [Morton 2000].
The program of July 8, 1931, could be perceived as a summary of the entire exposition events. Minister of Colonies together with Lyautey organized *'une grandiose soirée'* at the grand hall of *Cité internationale des informations* [Fidel 1931]. In a single night, a wide range program list was offered to the invited audience. The program started with the Orchestra of Exposition Coloniale and continued with *tam-tam* show which is the traditional West African folk music. In order to perform the show, the indigenous dancer group from Ivory Cost 'Les Tam-Tam de Man' participated in with their traditional costumes. After that, the Indian danseuse Nyota-Inyoka took place with her authentic show. The first part of the program was concluded with Theatre Annamite and a show by Latin danseuses. After these shows, the second part of the program waited its visitors at the garden of *cité internationale des informations* with buffet and other shows of African and Cambodian dancers. The final event of the night was produced by combining Martinique rhythms with two jazz orchestras [soirée du 8-juillet 1931]. French printed media described this night by associating with the 19 th century high society balls in Palace of Versailles: «La Cite des informations, ce soir, sera un autre Versailles!» [L'Intransigeant 1931]. According to another popular newspaper of the period, Le Journal, the President Paul Doumer attended to the evening. In addition, after participating in the shows, he stated his agreement with Lyautey regarding to build a place in the centre of Paris similar to the exposition site [Le Journal 1931]. In other words, the desire to bring the authentic values of colonized society in the core of colonizer city was still an idea.

Conclusion

In 1931, organizing a colonial exposition in a city like Paris has created an interaction space both for colonizers and for colonized society. Colonizer's desire to present achieved developments in mother country ended with exporting two layers of colonized territory and importing them in Paris. These two layers are: On the one hand, the sought to the re-creation of tangible values in Paris required the building pavilions and reconstructing historical monuments of the colonies. On the other hand, intangible values were represented by providing the mobility of indigenous society from their hometown to Paris such as Senegalese women sellers, and by exhibiting the native traditions, customs, and habits such as *grandiose soirée.*

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Oggetto del volume è l'articolato patrimonio culturale di tracce, immagini e narrazioni che costruisce la città contemporanea. Gli autori dei numerosi contributi scientifici rileggono e raccontano per parti, per strati e a ritroso diverse realtà urbane per restituire i diversi elementi della città storica ancora presenti in situ, ma nascosti, modificati, distratti, frammentati, malcelati e nascosti in quell'intricato groviglio di sovrapposizioni che si è formato nel corso del tempo.

The subject of the book is the articulated cultural heritage of traces, images and narratives that builds the contemporary city. The authors of the numerous scientific contributions reread and recount different urban realities by parts, by layers and backwards to return the different elements of the historical city still present in situ, but hidden, modified, distracted, fragmented, ill-concealed and hidden in that intricate tangle of overlaps that has formed over time.

In copertina: Teresa Tauro, *Il quadrato centrale di Neapolis. Ortofotopiano del centro antico di Napoli, compagnia Generale Riprese, 1990* (2020).