On Colonial Textuality and Difference: 
Musical Encounters with French Colonialism in Nineteenth-Century Algeria

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ABSTRACT

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As France expanded its empire in North Africa, French artists, writers and explorers traveled to Algeria in order to gain artistic inspiration and greater understanding of the culture, geography and inhabitants of the new colony. This dissertation places music within the context of French colonial culture, identifying the interconnections between government policies and cultural production during France’s occupation of Algeria. A central theme is the examination of colonial difference and a phenomenon that may be characterized as colonial textuality in music. Drawing from Homi Bhabha, I define colonial textuality as a space where signifiers of value, judgment and power are encountered, negotiated and embedded within colonial discourse. Three composers—Ernest Reyer (1823-1909), Francisco Salvador Daniel (1831-1871) and Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921)—are presented as case studies to understand the complexities and tensions that arose out of the colonial moment and to examine how each figure negotiated his own compositional style, musical career and artistic identity vis-à-vis colonial Algeria.

The dissertation is organized chronologically by examining the lives and compositions of three composers living in Algeria during three key periods of French political history, the July Monarchy, Second Empire, and Third Republic. Chapters draw on archival research, reception studies, travel journals, government reports, cultural and political history, and musical analysis to explore the ways in which music, broadly
defined, addressed social issues of identity, nation, race, and ethnicity. Topics include how violent tactics and events during the 1840s infiltrated the early musical compositions of Reyer and how music may be considered an act of violence; Salvador Daniel’s opportunistic musical career in Algeria from 1853-1865; Salvador Daniel’s *Album de chansons arabes, mauresques et kabyles* as a reflection of French politics and travel writing; Algerian tourism and Saint-Saëns’s *Africa* fantasy and *Suite algérienne*; and unisonance, soundscape and the typography of what I call Saint-Saëns’s “colonial marches.” In conclusion, I discuss a 2008 recording of Salvador Daniel’s Algerian song transcriptions by the soprano Amel Brahimi-Djelloul and the Ensemble Amedyez, thus illustrating that musical encounters with colonialism are continually reunderstood and readapted in the twenty-first century.
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NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration of Arabic words into English in the dissertation conforms to the transliteration system of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, with a few exceptions for Arabic words that have a common spelling in the English language, such as Mecca, Allah, Sufi, etc. Names of cities in Algeria follow the French transliteration method.
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My dear, there are but two cities in the world: Paris—the city of everyone, and Algiers—the city of artists.
-Jules de Goncourt (1849)

In his 1830 lithograph of Algiers, the French artist Félix Auvray portrayed artists huddled together in fear and uncertainty. A lion and snake circle around, ready to attack as the artists cling to their color palette, pen and inkwell, and music manuscript. They stand on the shore of the Mediterranean, perhaps the beach of Sidi Ferruch just west of Algiers where French troops first landed in 1830, with the city of Algiers in the background, as if they have ventured too far out of the city in search of artistic inspiration. Algeria is portrayed as still too wild for these French artists who are unaccustomed to the wildlife, culture, and climate of North Africa.


It would be several years before Algiers was fully conquered by the French, yet Auvray’s lithograph seems to foreshadow what was to come: Algeria, the Second France, a destination for artists, composers, and writers, a space for artistic inspiration, tourism, adventure, and new opportunities. It was during their 1849 trip to Algeria that the brothers Jules and Edmond de Goncourt found their own inspiration to embrace careers as artists and writers. Jules wrote that after arriving in Algeria, he had done nothing but run around Algiers with an artist’s enthusiasm, a pencil in one hand and a paintbrush in the other.³ By the time the Goncourt brothers had arrived, France’s Second Republic had given Algiers status as a French département, Algeria was named an “integral part of France,” and approximately 42,000 French citizens and 67,000 Europeans from other nations had settled there.⁴ What had seemed completely uninhabitable and inhospitable to Auvray in 1830 had become a land that beckoned and welcomed.

This study examines the motivations of three composers to travel to Algeria and their subsequent experiences, perspectives, and understandings of the colony. French colonization of Algeria provided new opportunities for Europeans, particularly for French citizens who were able to easily travel, live, and work in the new colony. The dissertation uses these composers—Ernest Reyer (1823–1909), Francisco Salvador Daniel (1831–1871), and Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921)—as windows into understanding the multilayered complexity of what nineteenth-century Algeria represented, embodied, and signified.

Colonial Textuality in Music

My study explores a phenomenon that may be characterized as colonial textuality in music, a phenomenon that I will argue extends beyond composers and their musical compositions. Colonial textuality has been discussed by comparative literature scholars with the focus on authors such as Ernest Renan, Frantz Fanon, Gustave Flaubert, and Joseph Conrad. My interest in colonial textuality lies in a desire to uncover and explore the context of nineteenth-century compositions that were influenced by composers’ firsthand encounters with colonialism. I define colonial textuality as the act of expressing colonialism in different forms. My study examines how various examples of colonial discourse create a space where different meanings and values converge and overlap. The study of colonial textuality within colonial discourse aims to untangle and understand the various meanings converging in this space. In this dissertation I will evaluate how colonial textuality became a French literary and artistic phenomenon. My contextualization will enable a clearer understanding of how French colonialism was expressed in music.

My definition of colonial textuality draws from a variety of sources. The focus on textuality is directly inspired by Roland Barthes’s description of the Text as a “methodological field” and a “process of demonstration [... that is] experienced in an activity of production” that moves beyond the reification of author/work and the fetishization of the object of the book—or compositional score.\(^5\) My interpretation of moving “From Work to Text” does not involve the neglect or disregard of the author. Rather, it replaces the author’s role and position from one of lone genius and exclusive

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authority to one of multiple forces, co-texts, and intersections. As Barthes writes, “it is not that the Author may not ‘come back’ in the Text, in his text, but he then does so as a ‘guest.’”

In thinking about colonialism from the perspective of textuality, I seek to show how French conceptions and policies of colonizing Algeria were expressed through music. Leela Gandhi understands the now well-known Saidian concept of Orientalism as a theory of colonial textuality that “produced the Orient as colonisable.” Homi Bhabha describes colonial textuality as a space where different meanings and values, such as government discourses and cultural practices, are encountered and negotiated. Explorations of colonial textuality reveal many “problematics of signification and judgement” including “aporia, ambivalence, indeterminacy, the question of discursive closure, the threat to agency, the status of intentionality, [and] the challenge to ‘totalizing’ concepts.” Bhabha goes so far as to argue that colonial textuality informs and anticipates the racial and ethnic stereotypes and conflicts of today. However, my interest in colonial textuality differs from Bhabha in that instead of examining the correlation between colonial texts and their postcolonial ramifications, I explore colonial textuality through a principally historical lens that focuses on how signifiers of value, judgment, and power are embedded within colonial discourse.

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9 Bhabha examines how colonial discourse reveals identity, difference, and desire in *Location of Culture* (121-131). Bhabha is specifically concerned with how colonial texts show the difference between colonizer and colonized through the device of mimicry.
By examining a life, composition, or performance in this way, I am not concerned with the intention of the author but rather with how these aspects of music, broadly defined, reflected French colonial policies, phenomena, and culture. Of course, an examination of colonial textuality implies the existence of colonial texts. For the purposes of this project, I identify a broader definition of texts to include lives, events, phenomena, writings, and artistic production, in addition to the musical score. As Gwendolyn Wright has noted, colonialism infiltrated multiple spaces and dimensions of society and culture, creating what she calls a “colonial space” that included “groups of new monuments, streets of new housing, magnificent ruins from the past, as well as quaint scenes of ‘native’ bazaars, rituals, and the natural beauty of the countryside. Books, magazine articles, posters, postcards, and exhibitions reiterated a narrative of colonial ambitions and accomplishments.”

Music was not exempt from being a part of this colonial space. It is through this definition that music—broadly defined—in the context of French colonialism in Algeria may be better understood.

France in Algeria: Soldiers, Artists, and Tourists

On 14 June 1830, 37,000 French army troops stormed the bay of Sidi Ferruch, beginning nearly a century and a half of occupation in Algeria. After gaining control of Algiers and the coast during the first four years of occupation, the French military expanded its control to Constantine in 1837. In the same year, the Treaty of Tafna was signed, with the French recognizing ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jazā’irī’s control over the regions south of Algiers and west of Oran.

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Throughout the 1830s, France focused on the coastal areas and the Tell mountains, the areas that were most fertile and conducive to agriculture. However, in the 1840s the French military, under the direction of General Thomas Robert Bugeaud, turned their sights south where they initiated a campaign to take control of the Sahara regions. The French implemented various projects and military tactics in order to appropriate and colonize the country. These policies included assimilation in the form of a civilizing mission, *mission civilisatrice*; settlement incentives for French citizens; and military tactics that employed brutal violence, including *enfumade*, asphyxiation of full communities and villages by setting fire to the entrances of caves where villagers hid, and *razzias*, or violent raids.

The French invasion and coercive forces were met with hostility, which inspired retaliations and insurrection movements led by individuals such as ‘Abd al-Qādir, Aḥmad Bey, and Bū Ma‘za. The use of guerilla warfare by these groups was largely successful in the first decades of the occupation, instilling fear of the Algerian troops in the minds of the French military. The Berber tribes of the mountainous regions in Algeria were another hindrance to French military control. The rugged terrain of the Kabyle region helped stave off French control of the territory until 1854.

To better understand—and therefore have a greater chance of taking over and maintaining their control in Algeria—the French government supported scholars to travel with the military in order to study and document the culture, populations, climate, crops, and natural resources in the various regions. The government also encouraged and supported artists, writers, and composers to travel to Algeria. Roger Benjamin explains that “the French ministry of the Colonies commissioned [...] artists and made the exotic
both a paying attraction and a form of propaganda.” These artist-travelers often traveled with the military into small villages and lesser-known regions where they took notes, sketched images, and transcribed folk songs. Publications of colonial discourse—broadly defined to include art and music—were subsequently sold in Algeria and France.

Colonial discourse found its way into books sponsored or published by the French government, travel journals, official government reports, and encyclopedias. The widespread interest in writing and information about Algeria sparked a number of journals dedicated to North Africa. These included *Bulletin officiel du gouvernement général* in 1830; *Revue africaine*, first published by the Société historique algérienne in 1856; *Recueil des notices et mémoires de la Société archéologique de Constantine* in 1853; *Bulletin de la Société de climatologie algérienne* from 1864-89; *Bulletin de la Société de géographie d’Oran* in 1878; and, similarly, *Bulletin de la Société de géographie d’Alger* in 1896.

Beginning under the July Monarchy, the French government encouraged French citizens, particularly from the working-class districts of Paris and Provence, to settle in Algeria. Settlers were expected to farm the land and increase agricultural exports in order to aid the French economy. Government officials also believed that the presence of French citizens among the Algerians would further “civilize” the Algerian population by exemplifying French culture and non-nomadic living. Lower-class workers were not the only French citizens to relocate to Algeria. The new opportunities for work and land ownership in addition to the “exotic” culture and famously temperate climate attracted

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many writers, scholars, artists, and musicians including Delacroix, Renoir, Monet, Matisse, Fromentin, and Flaubert.

In the second half of the century, tourism to Algeria increased as France expanded its governance of the country. Wealthy Europeans sought the mild Mediterranean climate and hot mineral baths. Hotels, restaurants, spas, and transportation companies marketed Algeria as a destination getaway. Tourists, soldiers, and other travelers could cross from Marseille to Algeria via steamship in just thirty-six hours. Benjamin notes that at the port of Algiers, these ships were met by smaller boats of porters hoping to carry baggage and hotel representatives advertising lodging and accommodations.12

Reyer, Salvador Daniel, and Saint-Saëns are important figures in nineteenth-century French and Algerian music history not only because of their importance to musical composition and performance but also because they each lived in Algeria during key periods of the colony’s history: the July Monarchy, the Second Empire, and the Third Republic. Historians, political scientists, and literary theorists have written volumes about French Algeria, yet none of their studies discuss the interactions between French colonialism and Western art music. My dissertation places music within French colonial culture by exploring the interconnections between government policies and cultural phenomena. As part of this, I suggest that the colonial culture of nineteenth-century France included the political and economic agendas of the French government. These had an effect on how composers represented Algeria within their music and also affected the marketing and performances of these compositions as colonial propaganda. Musical representations of French colonialism in Algeria became part of the larger colonial culture that pervaded the latter half of nineteenth-century France.

Examining the current state of scholarship on Algeria, James McDougall notes that modern Algerian history:

continues to be narrated in “evolutionary” terms: the canonical narrative moves from conquest and primary resistance (1830–70), through quietism (1870–1919), to a ‘reawakening’ (1919–45) which leads, through political reformism, to the armed revolution whose first shots are fired in the aborted insurrection, and subsequent massacres, of Sétif and Guelma in May 1945.\(^\text{13}\)

McDougall’s critique suggests that discourse on Algerian history presents Algeria not only as continuously developing as a reaction to French colonialism, but also as developing very simply and teleologically. One of the aims of this study will be to disrupt this canonical narrative and offer new insight for musicological and historical studies of France and Algeria. A study of the interplay between music and other historical and political events in Algeria cannot, of course, tell the full history of Algeria nor can it fully deconstruct the complexities and intricacies of that history. However, a focus on music at key moments in Algerian history can complicate an oversimplification of this history and shed new light on the colonial tensions circulating in nineteenth-century Algeria.

**AnOther Approach: Exoticism, Hybridity, Postcolonialism**

The exploration of the musical representation of difference has posed challenges to music scholars, producing divergent approaches to the topic. Scholarship on musical exoticism and Orientalism has analyzed musical gestures, scales, or patterns that signify the exotic Other. Scholars have also examined the use of extra-musical devices, such as costumes,

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sets, and plots, to support claims for the musical Other.\textsuperscript{14} Ralph Locke has especially given much attention to the topic of musical exoticism, revealing the long history of representing the exotic Other through music.\textsuperscript{15}

Scholarship on musical exoticism has often understood signifiers of the exotic Other to be stable in meaning and usage. Examining an engraving of a Tunisian ensemble performing at the Paris International Exhibition in 1878, Carl Dahlhaus wrote that the ensemble’s “genuine, imported exoticism was no different from the imaginary exoticism then fashionable in opera. For the European public, music that it did not understand merely functioned as audible local color.”\textsuperscript{16} It may be true that attendees at the exhibition connected the sounds of the Tunisian ensemble’s performance to sounds that they had


heard in operas. But what Dahlhaus does not question is Tunisia’s connection to the French empire.\textsuperscript{17} France, Italy, and Britain had set up an international finance commission in 1869 to oversee Tunisia’s economy. During the Berlin conference of 1878, Britain and Germany agreed to French interest to control Tunisia. Three years later, France invaded Tunisia and subsequently enacted the Treaty of Bardo, declaring Tunisia a French protectorate.\textsuperscript{18}

Colonialism is inherently about power. Representations of colonialism, whether artistic, literary, or musical, subsequently reflect the inherent tensions of power and domination embedded in colonialism. As Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler have pointed out, “the otherness of colonised persons was neither inherent nor stable: his or her difference had to be defined and maintained.”\textsuperscript{19} Stereotypes of the colonial Other differ from other markers of exoticism as they continually negotiate, define, and maintain the relationship between colonizer and colonized.

Recent musical scholarship on the exotic Other has relied heavily on the writings of Edward Said. As Olivia Bloechl has noted, these studies tend to apply Said’s writings in order to analyze the notated musical score while at the same time largely ignoring the later theoretical scholarship of postcolonial studies.\textsuperscript{20} This tendency has resulted in the creation of musical exoticism or Orientalism as a subgenre of any Western art music that

\textsuperscript{17} More recent scholarship has begun to investigate the political and colonial connections between music and international fairs and exhibits. For example see Annegret Fauser, \textit{Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World’s Fair} (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005); and Jann Pasler, \textit{Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).


\textsuperscript{19} Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, \textit{Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 7.

portrays the “East,” loosely defined. Sindhumathi Revuluri questions “whether musical exoticism should be treated as a field of study” as it is not “a single, unified phenomenon.” Later studies in postcolonial theory have advanced the work of Said by critiquing his oversimplification of the dominant West and subordinate East and offering tools that serve for a more nuanced and critical understanding of colonialism. Both Bloechl and Revuluri call for greater engagement with post-Said scholarship, which offers these more nuanced approaches.

Musicological studies of colonialism often examine the music within a larger milieu of European colonialism or imperialism. The specific policies, events, or activities of colonialism within a given region are therefore rarely connected to the production or performance of music or the lives of composers. In his recent book, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections*, Ralph Locke begins his chapter titled “Imperialism and ‘the exotic Orient’” by acknowledging the need for scholarship on the descriptions of “native” music to Western European audiences and the ways in which Western art music was used or appropriated for the colonial project. Locke’s own chapter, however, chooses to focus on how Western art music—especially opera—represents “distant and exotic-seeming regions.” These studies tie musical exoticism and Otherness to colonial interests and policies, but they neglect to examine colonial difference; that is to say, how colonialism impacted music in a different way than other examples of musical exoticism.

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Other scholars have acknowledged a lacuna in musical scholarship that situates music within specific events, phenomena, and policies of colonialist regimes. Discussing the music of composer/travelers, John M. MacKenzie argues against reductionist tendencies to identify aesthetic tropes of exoticism. In his book *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, MacKenzie offers examples from art, literature, music, and philosophy. He contends that “the arts of empire and Orientalism require a different approach to their understanding, a clearer periodisation, a closer relationship to event, mood, fashion, and changing intellectual context, an effort to comprehend authorial influence and audience reaction, and above all the multiple readings to which they can be subjected.”

MacKenzie is responding to the tendency for scholars to identify, observe, and classify Orientalism in the arts, a tendency Matthew Head calls the “safari mentality.”

On the other hand, scholarship on musical exoticism has come under criticism for tying exoticism too explicitly to imperialism. In his discussion on Russian musical Orientalism, Richard Taruskin asserts that the most important question to ask is “how overt shall we make our critique, and how bluntly accusatory?” Head writes that music scholarship on Orientalism typically exaggerates imperialistic relationships and neglects to analyze the actual affiliation(s) between Orientalism and imperialism. Both Taruskin and Head point to the importance of interrogating the connections between imperialism

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27 Head, “Musicology on Safari,” 226.
and musical expressions of the exotic or Orient. Interesting parallels may be drawn from musical portrayals of difference; however, there is a danger in treating all expressions of Otherness as the same or with the same critical and theoretical approaches.

The study of musical hybridity has proved another popular means to understand musical difference, especially music that communicates racial, ethnic, or cultural difference. This approach has been particularly prevalent in studies of popular music, drawing from Arjun Appadurai’s work on globalization theory.\(^{28}\) As Martin Stokes notes, hybridity evokes Homi Bhabha’s notion of a space that is neither Self nor Other but rather a third space located somewhere in between.\(^{29}\) However, it is problematic to use this understanding of hybridity to describe the portrayal of the Other in French art music during the nineteenth century. Bhabha acknowledges that the productive categories of hybridity have origins in colonialism, but contends that it is not through “exoticism of multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures but on the inscription of articulation of culture’s hybridity” that the meaning of culture may be expressed.\(^{30}\) According to Bhabha, hybridity is antithetical to nationalism and the building of national culture and identity. “Hybridity is the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination.”\(^{31}\)

Bhabha views hybridity as the existence of a new form or space that is not colonizer or


\(^{30}\) Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 56.

\(^{31}\) Ibid., 159.
colonized. The existence of this hybrid creates anxiety on the part of the colonizer because it does not fit the neat categories of colonizer/colonized. Thus, it takes power away from the colonizer. Hybridity, according to Bhabha, helps to undermine the power of colonialism.

Hybridity, however, is not solely a term of postcolonial theory. Julie Brown has discussed Béla Bartók’s use of the term hybridity to describe Hungarian gypsy and peasant folk music. Jann Pasler has examined how music folklorists and scholars such as Julien Tiersot and Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray used hybridity to describe the incorporation of foreign modes, scales, and other musical devices into French music in the late nineteenth century. According to Bourgault-Ducoudray, foreign modes, rhythms, and changing meters used in *chansons populaires* would eventually be acclimatized and thus assist in the progression of French music. This usage of hybridity is rooted in nineteenth-century racial theory, a physiological trait denoting a mixture of two species or races.

My project is, of course, indebted to the scholarship of musical exoticism, Orientalism, and hybridity; however, my interest lies in examining the bifurcated power relations between France and Algeria in the nineteenth century. By focusing on colonial

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33 Pasler also discusses eugenetic hybridity, the intermixture of two or more races, and Arthur de Gobineau’s consideration that hybridization was a precursor to racial degeneration. See Jann Pasler “Theorizing Race in Nineteenth-Century France: Music as Emblem of Identity,” *Musical Quarterly* (Winter 2006): 459-504; and Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*.


textuality, my project emphasizes the tensions of the colonial moment as a type of text that lies in between colonizer and colonized. I am not saying that these in-between texts are the same as the third space mentioned by Bhabha; however they may be viewed as a foreshadowing of Bhabha’s concept of hybridity. Rather, that the musical lives, performances, and compositions discussed here have been forced to deal with the inherent tensions within a colonial context. French composers living in Algeria for extended periods of time could no longer claim to be the same as their families or friends who had never left Paris. The experience and exchange of living in colonial Algeria impacted their lives and careers in various ways. Each had to negotiate his/her own identity, artistic output, and career around and/or within the colonial context.

Music scholars often note the abstract nature of sound and notes on a page. Yet, scholars have tended to support their arguments for evocations of difference in music by going back to the music itself in order to show tangible signs—costumes, props, scales, intervals—of this difference. Not only is music able to show difference, but music also encodes cultural value. My research shows that music can and does explicitly relate or express specific events, government policies, and phenomena connected with the French colonial project of Algeria. As such, my project seeks to re-create the historical and political context in which composers lived, composed, and performed.

In so doing, I am interested in taking a postcolonial approach to understanding music within the context of French colonialism in Algeria. The term postcolonialism has been brought under criticism, perhaps most of all for its intimation that the era of colonialism is over due to the term’s inclusion of the prefix “post,” a prefix that is attached to many theoretical modalities in the late twentieth and early twenty-first
centuries in Western academics.\textsuperscript{36} The addition of “post” thus signifies a sequential shift, that the West has somehow gotten past or has moved beyond the epistemological ideas of modernism, colonialism, and structuralism and has arrived at a new present, a present that is, according to Bhabha, an “expanded and ex-centric site of experience and empowerment.”\textsuperscript{37} It is no surprise, therefore, that those scholars most often associated with postcolonial theory, for example Bhabha and Spivak, have denounced the label for their own work. Nevertheless, it is a term that has tenaciously held. A full examination of postcolonialism lies outside the scope of my own study.\textsuperscript{38} However, as a tool for understanding cultural products and phenomena, postcolonial theory provides a window into understanding the processes, practices, and relations that helped to produce or bring about the music and performances discussed in this dissertation.

In his review of the term postcolonial, Arif Dirlik notes that the goal of postcolonial studies is to “abolish all distinctions between center and periphery as well as all other ‘binarisms’ that are allegedly a legacy of colonial(ist) ways of thinking and to reveal societies globally in their complex heterogeneity and contingency.”\textsuperscript{39} Dirlik’s definition is as much a goal of academic scholarship as well as a desired lived reality for today. However, in examining colonial history, it is impossible to abolish the binary of

\textsuperscript{36} Richard Serrano draws a distinction between post-colonial, “a political and historical term indicating formal independence from a colonizing power” and postcolonial, “a critical stance indicating that the scholar believes that colonization and de-colonization—in short, state-sponsored or—supported oppression and its neo-oppressive forms—are the central organizing principles of human existence.” Richard Serrano, Against the Postcolonial: “Francophone” Writers at the Ends of French Empire (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005), 4. I use the term postcolonial to discuss the body of literature (i.e. Said, Bhabha, Spivak) that examines the repercussions of European colonialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

\textsuperscript{37} Bhabha, Location of Culture, 6.


\textsuperscript{39} Dirlik, “Postcolonial Aura,” 329.
colonizer/colonized, as this was the perceived reality and lens through which many Europeans viewed Algeria. My goal, therefore, cannot be to abolish these binaries but instead to study and understand the relationships, tensions, and negotiated space within and between the two (or more) sides. In addition, my project aims to deconstruct the simplistic notion of center and periphery by showing the complexities of categories and populations within colonial Algeria and how colonial policies, events, and the arts mediated relationships between these populations. This, however, cannot fully eliminate all reductionist categories. Nineteenth-century travel writing and documents by the French government or military used these terms and understood, whether consciously or unconsciously, Algeria and France in terms of Self and Other.

Postcolonial theory also brings the voice of the Other to the foreground. As a study that is centered around three French composers, my project primarily emphasizes the expressions and perspectives of France. However, my interest in the colonial Other has prompted me to include the voices of the subaltern wherever possible. This effort is made difficult due to the lack of sources that give utterance to the Other. Existing archival documents, military reports, travel journals, and letters tend to be written by French and other European military and government workers and travelers. Many of these primary sources are rarely discussed in the context of music scholarship. I use postcolonial theory to understand the trends, issues, and tensions that occurred during colonialism. For the scope of this project, I have limited my study to how French composers viewed, discussed, and expressed colonial Algeria.
Categorization, Stereotyping, and the Polemics of Terminology

The diverse travelers to and inhabitants of Algeria throughout the nineteenth century complicate the neat categories of French and Algerian. These included French and European travelers passing through the region, European settlers, and “indigenous” Algerians of various races and ethnicities who had been in Algeria prior to the French conquest of Sidi Ferruch in 1830. Further complicating the understanding of identity are the cultural products of literature, art, and music that created representations of Algeria. Many historical studies of nineteenth-century Algeria examine a finite region or time period, thus allowing the writer to be quite specific in his or her discussion of identity. However, my project spans a large historical trajectory and examines composers who traveled to various cities within Algeria. Furthermore, artistic representations of historical and political events are never the same as the event itself. In order to create their musical compositions, composers consciously decided what to express and what to omit. Musical representations of French Algeria are thus an expression that has been filtered through the composer’s lens of what s/he understood—or wanted to understand—about Algeria.

Scholars of French and Algerian history employ different approaches to address the problem of categories and terminology. French settlers to Algeria came to be called Algériens while natives to Algeria, that is, those of non-European descent living in

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40 The term identity has come under criticism for being too ambiguous and hackneyed. Scholars such as Frederick Cooper and Rogers Brubaker argue that identity is, therefore, not a useful category of analysis. However, Ian Coller proposes conceiving identity as a “project of configuring cultural practices, and articulated self-understanding across a particular space.” My use of the term does not imply identity as essentialized or static but, rather, as a process of understanding that is continually transforming. See Frederick Cooper and Rogers Brubaker, “Beyond Identity,” Theory and Society (February 2000): 1-47; and Ian Coller, Arab France: Islam and the Making of Modern Europe, 1798-1831 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).
Algeria, were often designated as *indigène*. However, the terms historically used in the nineteenth century can create problems of ambiguity and racism today. French literature scholar Seth Graebner uses the term *Algériens* to designate people of European descent who were born in or made Algeria their permanent home. However, Graebner notes his discomfort with using the parallel term *indigène* to denote inhabitants who are of native or non-European descent and instead chooses to use the words “Arabs and Berbers.”

This choice, while showing the inherent problems of categories and labels, leaves out the many other diverse racial and ethnic populations living in nineteenth-century Algeria. Furthermore, the term *indigène* does not easily translate into Arabs and Berbers of Algeria. For example, at the time of French conquest, Algiers had a flourishing Jewish population, often noted as *Israëlites* in primary sources from the time. Documents also note the population of Moors, a term that was used indiscriminately to denote various people groups including Arabs, Berbers, descendants from the Iberian peninsula, and natives of Mauritania and/or Morocco.

The term *indigène* was not only a pejorative one that carried with it the stereotypes of barbarian, backwards, lazy, and volatile. As Benjamin Claude Brower notes, *indigène* was also a convenient tool that served the colonial project by allowing “colonial commentators to speak of Algeria’s inhabitants in the aggregate, not as a people

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41 Patricia Lorcin notes, “The word Algerian, in its modern sense, did not come into being until the twentieth century. *Algérien*, as used by the French at the time of conquest, meant a resident of Algiers; by the end of the nineteenth century it was used to describe the European settlers who had been born in Algeria.” See Patricia Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995), 13.

but as a population.”

The stratification and categorization of populations was certainly viewed as a scholarly tool to better understand foreign peoples and cultures. However, in Algeria, these labels were explicitly political. McDougall writes that the conceptual space of Algerian, or indigène, identity was a repressive invention of colonial jurisprudence that “condensed a range of meanings extending from the purely juridical (and supposedly transitory) status of non-citizen to the most potent racial fantasies of sexual threat and subhuman terror.”

Definitions of citizenship and nationality further complicated population categories. Under the government of the French Empire, all inhabitants of Algeria were considered French in nationality. However, as Emmanuelle Saada notes, while the indigenous inhabitants of the colonies had French nationality, this nationality should be understood as submission to the State’s sovereignty. That is to say, this was nationality without citizenship, and the inhabitants remained subjects, excluded from participating in the exercise of the sovereignty as well as most of the other national rights, most notably civil rights.

French colonialism in Algeria brought about new ways and terms of labeling and categorizing populations. Jean-Robert Henry notes that the category “European” first appeared in French legal language in 1831 concerning military contracts in Algeria. Todd Shepard writes that France in Algeria was a taxonomic state “in which categorizing

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and defining people and their possibilities authorized state action.” Categories such as “Muslim,” “Arab,” “Indigenous,” and “Jew” thus became legally defined in Algeria to support French government policies and tactics. Laws such as the Senatus-Consulte of 1865, extending French nationality to all indigenous Muslims in Algeria, and the Crémieux Decree in 1870, granting French citizenship to Algerian Israëlites, continuously redefined racial, ethnic, and religious categories in Algeria and impacted the ways in which the French public both in Algeria and in France understood Algeria.

Population categories in Algeria were continuously negotiated and in flux yet they were also stubbornly persistent. Hélène Cixous describes the lived reality of categories in Algeria, characters that were “simplified and purified ethnically grouped people”:

We always lived in the episodes of a brutal Algeriad, thrown from birth into one of the camps crudely fashioned by the demon of Coloniality. One said: ‘the Arabs’; ‘the French.’ And one was forcibly played in the play, with a false identity. Caricature-camps. The masks hold forth with the archetypal discourses that accompany the determined oppositions like battle drums.

For those living in Algeria under French colonialism, identity was something that was assigned and lived out in daily interactions, living spaces, and work.

Algeria also became a site for resettlement. In addition to French citizens settling in Algeria, there were large populations from other regions of Europe. Guy Perville states that during the first years of France’s conquest of Algeria, immigrants from other European nations, particularly Germany, Malta, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland,

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48 Ibid., 25.

outnumbered those coming from France.\textsuperscript{50} According to Kamel Kateb, the population of settlers from European countries other than France later outnumbered the French settler populations in Algeria in 1851 and in 1861 in Algiers.\textsuperscript{51}

Algeria was also categorized and stratified geographically. By the late nineteenth century, Algiers had racially divided neighborhoods with architecture that reflected its inhabitants. René Lespès described the third arrondissement of Algiers, near the Place du Gouvernement, as one of the most European and developed areas while the neighborhood of Bab-el-Oued, known as “Petite Espagne” and the first arrondissement, called “Petite Naples,” were less developed and more working class.\textsuperscript{52}

For the purposes of this dissertation, I use the terms French and Algerian to denote those people who were originally from France or Algeria.\textsuperscript{53} When possible, I give more specific identifications as to ethnicity, religion, and language. However, when discussing musical expressions of colonialism, it is often difficult if not impossible to narrow down a musical work to a specific people, group, or town. My use of French and Algerian categories reflects the perspective and lens through which composers, artists, and writers understood nineteenth-century colonial Algeria.

France and French are less problematic terms than Algeria(n) when discussing the nineteenth century. France was already engaging in the formation of a national identity and had a unified government and military that was working to expand and defend the

\textsuperscript{50} Guy Perville, “Comment appeler les habitants de l’Algérie avant la définition légale d’une nationalité algérienne?” Cahiers de la Méditerranée (June 1997): 56.

\textsuperscript{51} Kateb, Européens, «Indigènes» et Juifs, 29, 73.

\textsuperscript{52} René Lespès, Alger, Esquisse de géographie urbaine (Algiers: J. Carbonel, 1925), 87.

\textsuperscript{53} Art historian Roger Benjamin uses a similar approach in his discussions of nineteenth-century artists in Algeria. For example see Benjamin, Orientalist Aesthetics.
French empire. French nationalism also depended upon the Other, colonized and otherwise, for its own identity and subsistence. As Sindhumathi Revuluri has noted, musical forms of French nationalism likely originated as a direct response to the presence of “exotic” or non-Western art music in France.⁵⁴

Of course, to speak of a monolithic France or French people omits the diversity of social classes, languages, and occupations of French citizens in France and Algeria. For the purposes of this dissertation it is more helpful to categorize French citizens by their role in Algeria. For example, French citizens in Algeria took the form of settlers, tourists, military personnel, and government officials. As we will see, these unique identities often differed in the ways in which they viewed Algeria and engaged with the colony.

To speak of a nationalistic France and a pre-national Algeria during the nineteenth century is equally problematic. France’s geographical and political mapping of its colony unified Algerian identity—even if only in the minds and formal paperwork of the French government. At the same time, these reductionist views and stereotyping grossly oversimplified the multilayered complexity of what Algeria actually was and signified. This tension is an important feature of colonial discourse and what gives it its unique power and tenacity. Bhabha has discussed the processes of subjectification primarily through the stereotype, which he argues is colonial discourse’s major discursive strategy. The study of these processes is the study of this tension, the study of the relationship between discourse and politics and the recognition of the stereotype as an important

⁵⁴ Revuluri, “On Anxiety and Absorption,” 11. Further supporting her claim, Revuluri adds that French national musical forms often incorporated exotic musical sounds and styles, those very musics that it claimed to oppose.
mode of knowledge and power.\textsuperscript{55} This is certainly true in studying the processes of colonial textuality in musical discourse in and surrounding nineteenth-century Algeria.

**Three Composers in the Context of French Colonial Algeria**

Current musicological scholarship rarely discusses the music of Reyer, Salvador Daniel, or Saint-Saëns within the context of colonial textuality. Nor has there been a full-length study on music and French colonial Algeria in the nineteenth century. Each of these composers experienced Algeria during remarkably different time periods. French colonialism in Algeria provided opportunities for these composers to travel and live in the colony but, as we will see, their lives, experiences, motivations, and artistic output were distinctive and unique.

Reyer is best known for his operas and music criticism, activities that dominated his career from around 1850. Biographers of Reyer only briefly mention that he spent nine years of his youth working for the French government in Algeria, from 1839 to 1848.\textsuperscript{56} Scholars also note Reyer’s “Eastern inspired” compositions as directly influenced by earlier composers of exoticism such as Félicien David.\textsuperscript{57} However, there is little acknowledgement of the potential influence of his firsthand encounters with Algerian music and culture on his compositions.

\textsuperscript{55} Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 95.


\textsuperscript{57} For example see Steven Huebner, *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism and Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
Music historians have also largely ignored the life and musical contributions of Salvador Daniel. One exception was the early twentieth-century Orientalist Henry George Farmer (1882–1965), who wrote a memoir of Salvador Daniel’s life and translated his writings into English. More recently, scholars including Jonathan Glasser, Delphine Mordey, and Jann Pasler have begun to examine Salvador Daniel’s publications and life. Glasser studies Salvador Daniel’s interest in ancient music and its connection to nineteenth-century Arab music. He gives a brief biography and makes a comparative study between Salvador Daniel’s book, *La Musique arabe: Ses Rapports avec la musique grècque et le chant grégorien*, and a contemporary treatise by the Russian Alexandre Christianowitsch titled *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe*. Mordey focuses on Salvador Daniel’s connection to the Paris Commune. Pasler discusses Salvador Daniel’s discourse on and use of Greek and Arab modes, particularly in his transcriptions of Kabyle songs. However, even as Salvador Daniel has gained attention in recent musicological scholarship, no one has engaged in a close reading of his life and works.

Discussions of Saint-Saëns’s winter sojourns to Algiers seldom involve a close reading of the influence these trips had on his compositions. Musicologists routinely note that his annual trips to Algeria were simply due to doctor’s orders and rarely consider the possibility that his artistic interest, presumed homosexuality, or love for traveling

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58 Henry George Farmer, “Memoir of Francesco Salvador-Daniel,” in *The Music and Musical Instruments of the Arab* (London: W. Reeves, 1914). Farmer spells Salvador Daniel’s name as “Francesco Salvador-Daniel.” I have chosen to spell Salvador Daniel’s name as Francisco Salvador Daniel throughout this dissertation except when citing a source or incorporating an exact quotation that spells it differently.


61 Pasler, “Theorizing Race,” 15, 22; and Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 408n.
instigated his *hivernages* to Algiers. Locke, Pasler, and Myriam Ladjili have discussed specific works by Saint-Saëns including his *Samson et Dalila, Suite algérienne*, and his Piano Concerto no. 5 in F Major, op. 103, also known as his “Egyptian” Concerto. They note the colonial context of nineteenth-century France and Saint-Saëns’s trips to Algeria. Biographers of Saint-Saëns take an analytical approach to works often labeled “Oriental” or “exotic,” including those mentioned above. However, these authors tend to use Saint-Saëns as one example within a discussion of what they call “Eastern” or “imperially inspired” works by nineteenth-century composers. Therefore, these studies do not engage in a close reading of the composer’s biography nor do they attempt to identify specific trends in his life or works that coincide with phenomena or events that attest to their colonial textuality.

My study is also indebted to studies of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century French music and culture. These include Annegret Fauser’s study of music at the 1889 World Fair and Pasler’s examination of musical instruments in the context of French colonialism and empire-building. Both of these draw attention to colonialism’s impact on nineteenth-century music in France. Revuluri’s work on the absorption of exotic musical devices and folk song traits in the compositions of musical modernists such as

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Debussy and Ravel examines the aftereffects of France’s obsession with the musical Other. Revuluri seeks to understand how factors besides European imperialism influenced the appropriation of “other musics (real or imaginary)” and were, thus, “not simply a part of colonial or imperial projects.” These studies have shed light on the impact of foreign musics on French art music and the making of French identity at the fin de siècle.

To be a French composer meant to engage with the Other. My project examines the specific and unique relationship between France and Algeria. As Reyer, Salvador Daniel, and Saint-Saëns tried to understand and/or create their own identity and compositional style and technique, they also had to negotiate their identity vis-a-vis the surrounding political climate. These composers serve as case studies in musical colonial textuality and an opportunity for understanding how specific composers negotiated and identified with colonial Algeria.

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The dissertation is organized chronologically and situates the ways in which each composer viewed and/or experienced colonial Algeria. The five chapters are divided into three larger sections that are organized by the French government regimes under which they fall. In the first chapter under Part 1, Ernest Reyer and the July Monarchy, I discuss Reyer’s colonial career and his musical expressions of Algeria from 1839–1848. This period was one of the most violent periods in the history of French Algeria. In 1839,

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66 Ibid., 9.
Reyer moved to Algeria after accepting a job in the treasury department of the French Algerian government. During this early period of his career, he composed Bou-Maza (1852), a work for piano and recitation that sets a text about the Algerian self-styled mahdī Bū Maʿzá. The piece depicts key moments in the life of the mahdī, including his acceptance as a prophet, his attack on a French military camp, and Arab war cries of victory. Reyer also collaborated with Théophile Gautier to compose the symphonie orientale, Le sélam (1850). This composition portrays the violence of razzia or soldier pillaging raids.

The next section, Francisco Salvador Daniel and the Second Empire, includes two chapters under the titles “Impersonating Arabs: Creative Opportunism and Salvador Daniel as Colonial Settler” and “Transcribing Tourism and Politics in the Music of Francisco Salvador Daniel.” In the former chapter, I discuss Salvador Daniel’s career as a composer, musician, and teacher. Prior to moving to Algeria, his musical career was fraught with rejection and failure. He was unable to find publishers for his music compositions and was denied teaching jobs at several institutions. In 1853, Salvador Daniel decided to move to Algeria where he was able to capitalize on the many opportunities afforded French settlers in the colony. He was offered a teaching position at the École arabe française in Algiers, founded his own choral society, and was granted government support to collect Arab and Kabyle folk songs with the French writer Adolphe Hanoteau. These trips resulted in a number of books, articles, and musical scores by Salvador Daniel that were published and sold in Algeria and France.

In chapter 3, I focus on Salvador Daniel’s song collection titled Album de chansons arabes, mauresques et kabyles (1863). I contend that Salvador Daniel’s Album
resulted in a kind of musical travelogue: that is, a composition or collection of music that depicts specific locales or events, thereby providing a musical tour of a certain region. Salvador Daniel’s musical travelogue allowed European audiences to travel to North Africa without leaving the recital hall and offered composers a means by which to market their music. Salvador Daniel’s incorporation of songs from popular tourist locations and strategic French military bases created a musical map of France’s colonial influence in Algeria. The Album also reflects the colonial project of assimilation by placing songs of various North African genres, languages, ethnic origins, and modes under the label of France: French chansons with French text.

The final section of the dissertation, Camille Saint-Saëns and the Third Republic, includes chapters 4 and 5: “Hivernage, Souvenirs and Saint-Saëns as Tourist” and “Unisonance, Patriotism and the Colonial Marches of Saint-Saëns.” Chapter four examines the emphasis of temporal difference in perceptions and portrayals of the colonial binary. I connect stereotypes of time and progress to Homi Bhabha’s notion of the disjunctive time-lag. Saint-Saëns’s Algerian lifestyle as a tourist portrayed the temporality of the colonial binary. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how his Africa fantaisie for piano and orchestra, op. 89 (1891), and his Suite algérienne, op. 60 (1880), incorporated temporal stereotypes of Algeria and France.

In chapter 5, I discuss how French colonialism also invaded the soundscape of Algeria. As tourists crossed the Mediterranean to enjoy the sun and nature of Algiers, soldiers, and military bands often greeted them at the port of Algiers. Soldiers, military uniforms, and patriotic songs became icons of French identity. Benedict Anderson notes that the collective performance of national songs and marches brings about an
“experience of simultaneity” presenting the image of “unisonance.” In nineteenth-century France, loyalty to the nation included its colonies. Algeria became known as the “Second France,” a part of Greater France that included its colonies and protectorates. In this final chapter, I offer the first musicological study to construct a typology of Saint-Saëns’s “colonial marches.” Saint-Saëns’s Orient et Occident, op. 25 (1869), and Marche dédiée aux Étudiants d’Alger, op. 163 (1921), juxtapose Eastern signifiers with French military motifs. Saint-Saëns concluded his Suite algérienne, op. 60 (1879–80), with a “Marche militaire française.” This patriotic march follows three movements that musically depict North Africa, sending a message that France has triumphed over Algeria. I conclude by examining performances of these compositions that raised money for the French military and garnered public support for the colonial project in Algeria.

I conclude the dissertation with an Epilogue that examines a 2008 recording of Salvador Daniel’s Algerian chansons by the soprano Amel Brahim-Djelloul and the Ensemble Amedyez. In the recording, the musicians superimpose what they note as “traditional” North African instruments and performance practices. In addition to Salvador Daniel’s chansons, the recording includes other traditional North African music genres such as nūbah. The stated goal of the recording is to illustrate the rich cultural heritage of North Africa. The ensemble’s inclusion of Salvador Daniel’s songs reveals the complexity of the postcolonial moment and raises important questions about identity and agency in the twenty-first century.

The Epilogue brings the dissertation full circle. The recording and performance of Salvador Daniel’s Album in the twenty-first century illustrates how colonial discourse continues to infiltrate French and Algerian musical culture and society. Musical
representations of colonialism retain their colonial connections or textuality today while also being reclaimed and adapted to fit the desires and interests of twenty-first-century musicians. Instead of being forgotten on some dusty shelf in an archive, musical encounters with colonial Algeria continue to gain new life and purpose in the music histories and musical present of France and Algeria.
During his first trip to Algeria in 1841, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote of his surprise at the aggressive tactics enacted by the French army against the Arab and Kabyle populations. Under the leadership of the new governor-general of Algeria, Thomas Robert Bugeaud, the French military had expanded their use of violent and aggressive tactics in their pursuit of total conquest over Algeria during the 1840s. Although he lamented the brutalities of war, Tocqueville concluded that such tactics were “unfortunate necessities” for the French army to undertake in order to successfully take control of the region.

Tocqueville’s statement reveals the complex ideas about the rationale and epistemology of colonial violence. On the one hand, violence and barbarity were stereotypically associated with the imagined Orient and the colonial Other. In his description of Orientalism, Edward Said included ideas of Oriental despotism and cruelty. This is especially true of stereotypes of the Islamic Other. Tocqueville noted that even if the French army acted “like barbarians,” they would never be as barbaric as

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2 Bugeaud was a marshal in the French army and became governor-general of Algeria in 1840.

3 Tocqueville, *Writings on Empire*, 70.


5 For example, Said argued that in Europe the religion of Islam “symbolize[d] terror, devastation, the demonic [and] hordes of hated barbarians […] Until the end of the seventeenth century the ‘Ottoman peril’ lurked alongside Europe to represent for the whole of Christian civilization a constant danger, and in time European civilization incorporated that peril and its lore, its great events, figures, virtues, and vices, as something woven into the fabric of life.” See Said, *Orientalism*, 59–60.
“Muslim barbarians,” such as the Ottomans who had loosely ruled over Algeria prior to 1830. Following this line of thinking, the French could justify their violent tactics by arguing that the French army must fight violence with violence in order to succeed in colonizing the region.

Colonial violence also became part of the discourse of progress and modernity. In his book *Violent Modernity*, Abdelmajid Hannoum relates how the violent tragedies of colonialism and conquest were—and in some cases still are—perceived as necessary actions in order to bring “modernity and civilization” to what was viewed as a “premodern” Algeria. In this way, violence is not limited to actions and tactics deemed violent; rather, colonial violence extends to include any act that forcibly or purposefully changes existing cultural and societal structures and institutions by an outside agent. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak describes this “epistemic violence” as a “remotely orchestrated, far-flung, and heterogeneous project” whereby the colonial subject becomes the Other and any trace of that Other is erased. Through this project of epistemic violence, colonies became what Fred Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler call “laboratories of modernity, where missionaries, educators, and doctors could carry out experiments in social engineering without confronting the popular resistances and bourgeois rigidities of European society at home.” Violence, whether the violent actions of the French army or the epistemic violence of laws, education, or commerce implemented by the French

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6 Tocqueville, *Writings on Empire*, 70.
9 Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire*, 5.
government in Algeria, served the colonist’s interests by giving France the means to conquer, rule, and profit from its colony.

In this chapter, I use such a broad definition of colonial violence, one that includes physical violence; tactics and events of the French invasion and conquest of Algeria and epistemic violence; and the French government’s implementation of laws and creating or restructuring societal institutions and culture in Algeria. With this expanded definition of violence, I explore how specific strategies and events practiced by the French military and Algerian resistance movements in the 1840s infiltrated the early musical compositions of Ernest Reyer. I also consider how Reyer’s act of composing representations of Algerian society and culture and the subsequent performances of this music, particularly in concerts in Algeria, may also be thought of as an act of violence.

Returning to this chapter’s epigraph, Tocqueville notes his discomfort over seeing the violence of the French army. Such violence, Tocqueville believed, blurred the lines between colonizer and colonized. France prided its “enlightened” and “noble” culture over what it perceived to be the “barbaric” culture of North Africa. However, the violent tactics employed by the French army against defenseless civilians throughout the tribal villages in Algeria overturned the stereotypical understanding of East and West.

The harsh tactics employed by the French army were met with a mixture of support and criticism. In order to garner more public support and increase the morale of the army, military officials transmitted stories that portrayed the colonized population as the true aggressors. Taussig calls this device fabulation, by which stories are exaggerated or outright fabricated to justify the terror and force on the part of the colonizer:

The importance of this colonial work of fabulation extends beyond the nightmarish quality of its contents. Its truly crucial feature lies in the way it
creates an uncertain reality out of fiction, giving shape and voice to the formless form of the reality in which an unstable interplay of truth and illusion becomes a phantasmic social force. All societies live by fiction taken as real. What distinguishes cultures of terror is that the epistemological, ontological, and otherwise philosophical problem of representation[…] becomes a high-powered medium of domination.¹⁰

Fabulation creates an imagined binary between colonizer and colonized. The creation of this binary through fabulation uses stereotypes to bifurcate the population living in the colony: civilized/uncivilized, colonizer/colonized, ally/enemy.

The fabulation of Arabs and Kabyles in Algeria by the French during the 1840s reflects Said’s theory of Orientalism. The French public could easily accept and understand these Orientalist stereotypes. The irascible, violent Oriental male was already familiar from stories of the Arabian Nights published in French in 1704 by Antoine Galland and from the stock character of the “Terrible Turk” portrayed in literature and opera.¹¹

Throughout colonial histories, there is a noticeable trend where violence begets violence. Taussig uses the term “colonial mirror” to identify the mimesis of violence in colonial empires. According to Taussig, the colonial mirror “reflects back onto the colonists the barbarity of their own social relations, but as imputed to the savage or evil figures they wish to colonize.”¹² The colonial mirror gives the impression that violence is


¹¹ For example, Mozart’s Die Entführung aus dem Serail K. 384 (1782) and Rameau’s Le Turc généraux (1735). For further reading, see Locke, Musical Exoticism, 111.

¹² Taussig uses the colonial mirror to describe the reciprocal use of violence by the rubber company employees against British colonists in the Putumayo river district of Colombia. He argues that the devices of fabulation and colonial mirroring were integral to colonial society in Putumayo district. Likewise, I employ the terms fabulation and colonial mirror to show the complex relationships between and actions by the French army and the Algerian villagers in the 1840s that largely relied on the narration and production of violence. See Michael Taussig, “Culture of Terror-Space of Death,” in Violence in War and Peace, ed. Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 51.
intrinsic to the culture of the colonized. Instead of being viewed as overly harsh tactics on
the part of the colonizer, the colonial mirror credits this brutality to the colonized: It is a
reflection or reciprocation of what the colonized have required in order for the colonizers
to gain control of their land. The fabulation of Algerians as violent aggressors throughout
various mediums of colonial discourse enacted the colonial mirror, displacing the
violence of the French military and creating an image of a homogenous Algeria that was
coded as violent. This chapter examines how the devices of fabulation and the colonial
mirror allowed Reyer to omit the presence of the colonizers in his musical works and
inscribe the violent encounters and tactics of colonial violence back onto Algerian
communities.

Reyer in Constantine

At the age of sixteen, Louis-Étienne Rey, better known as Ernest Reyer, was sent to
Algeria to work with his uncle, Louis Farrenc, who served as the treasurer of the province
of Constantine in northeastern Algeria. Reyer had shown an early interest in music and
his parents believed that a job in Algeria would dissuade their son from pursuing a career
in music. However, Reyer could not be deterred. During his nine years in Algeria, from
1839–1848, he continued to compose music, particularly when his uncle was not paying
attention. These early explorations in composition resulted in several salon pieces,

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13 Rey changed his name to Ernest Reyer around 1848–1850 when he left Algeria to live with his aunt,
Louise Farrenc, in Paris. It is unknown exactly when or why he changed his name, but many scholars have
offered speculations. Arthur Segond notes that he changed his name when living in southern France. Marie-
Pierre Grilllet writes Reyer’s name change shows the composer’s desire to make a break from his family,
while Julien Tiersot wrote in 1918 that Reyer added the “er” ending to make his name sound more
Germanic in hopes to be taken more seriously as a musician. More specifically, Stephen Willier has noted
the “er” ending could have been added in deference to Carla Maria von Weber. See Segond, Ernest Reyer,
14; Marie-Pierre Grilllet, La Valse à deux temps: L’Exemple du compositeur Ernest Reyer
(1823-1909) (Besançon: Presses du Centre UNESCO, 1998); and Stephen Willier, “Il n’y a plus de Rhin:
Ernest Reyer’s Opera Sigurd” (paper, Nineteenth-Century French Studies Conference, University of
romances, and dances.\textsuperscript{14} Hugh MacDonald believes that a number of piano pieces later published by Reyer also date back to this time.\textsuperscript{15}

While in Constantine, Reyer filled his free time studying musical composition, attending and participating in concerts, and taking part in musical societies:

Despite his dislike for his job, Reyer continued to set aside his leisure time in order to study his art. He played the piano, gained a knowledge of harmony, organized some concerts and presided over all the society meetings that involved music.\textsuperscript{16}

Reyer’s interest in music was so great that he neglected his duties at home, much to the dismay of his uncle. One such occasion became a favorite story of the young composer’s carelessness passed down by the family:

One day, his uncle, who was leaving for one to two weeks, requested that Reyer take care of his horse and piano. When his uncle returned, he discovered his horse had died. His negligent nephew had left him in a field where he ate some poisonous grass. Moreover, the piano was completely dismantled, laying like a corpse in the middle of the sitting room.\textsuperscript{17}

Reyer also spent time in Algiers performing and directing his music. In October 1847 he accompanied a concert of songs at the Cirque Olympique. The program included two of his romances: \textit{Berthe de Normandie} and \textit{Au Désert}. Reyer directed his \textit{revue locale}, titled


\textsuperscript{15} I am grateful to Hugh Macdonald for sharing this information through email correspondence. Hugh Macdonald, email message to author, 14 April 2008.


\textsuperscript{17} Jullien, \textit{Ernest Reyer}, 7. “Son oncle, un jour, s’absentant pour une semaine ou deux, lui recommande de soigner particulièrement son cheval et son piano; quand il revint, il trouva le cheval mort, l’imprévoyant neveu l’ayant laissé dans une promenade mâcher des herbes vénéneuses, et le piano, tout démonté, gisant comme un cadavre au milieu du salon.” This story is also recounted in René Benoist, “Le Centenaire de Reyer,” \textit{La Grande revue} (1923): 34–35.
Théâtre d’Alger and co-written with the writer and publicist Désiré Léglise, at the Cirque Olympique several months later.\textsuperscript{18}

In addition to his negligence, Reyer’s impetuous decision to follow an opera singer to Tunis further exasperated his uncle. Reyer met the singer during a trip to Algiers where he was captivated by her beautiful eyes and, subsequently, fell in love with her. The singer was a member of a troupe of musicians touring the North African coast. Reyer resolved to take a boat to follow the singer to Tunis. When his family found out about his love affair, Reyer’s uncle became furious and sent his aunt to speak with the captain of the boat. The captain promised the aunt that he would keep Reyer from disembarking at Tunis and immediately bring him back to Algiers. True to his word, the captain used his power as a Navy officer to hold Reyer on board when they arrived in Tunis. The captain locked up Reyer on the boat for twenty-four hours until the crew had raised the anchor and departed for Algiers. Full of rage, Reyer swore to leave Algeria as quickly as possible and begin a successful career as a composer in Paris, the very career that his parents had hoped he would avoid.\textsuperscript{19}

Before leaving Algeria, Reyer composed the *Messe pour l’arrivée du Duc d’Aumale à Alger* (1847) for the arrival of Henri d’Orléans, the Duc d’Aumale, to Algiers. The mass was performed at the Cathedral of Algiers in celebration of the duke’s arrival on 5 October 1847. Attending the performances were members of French nobility and government officials. According to François-Joseph Fétis and Henri de Curzon, the


\textsuperscript{19} Benoist, “Le Centenaire de Reyer,” 34–35.
ceremonial mass was very well received. \(^{20}\) Reyer dedicated the mass to the duchess, Princess Maria Carolina de Bourbon Deux-Siciles, who married the duke in 1844.

The composition of the mass reflects an act of epistemic violence: the early establishment of French Catholicism in Algeria. The Catholic Archdiocese was established in Algeria in 1838 and in 1839 Algiers was granted an Episcopal seat from the court of Rome, prompting the construction of many churches in and around the city. \(^{21}\) The building of churches and cathedrals architecturally disrupted the landscape and space of Algeria. Likewise, the music of Catholic masses and songs invaded the soundscape of Algeria as the settler population grew and church congregations increased and spread throughout the colony. \(^{22}\)

Reyer took the mass out of its religious context and transformed it into a composition that celebrated French colonial politics. The mass was in honor of the Duc d’Aumale’s successes in Algeria, success that came at the price of brutal violence against Algerian resistance movements. Throughout the first two decades of France’s takeover of Algeria, Aumale proved his military and leadership skills, most notably in the Pris de la smala d’Abd el-Kader (the conquest of ‘Abd al-Qādir’s stronghold or tribe) on 16 May 1843. Following the Pris de la smala, Aumale led French troops into the Sahara in order


\(^{21}\) The first bishop of Algiers was Antoine-Adolphe Dupuch who served from 1838–46. His successor, Mgr. Louis Antoine Augustin Pavy served as bishop of Algiers from 1846–66. Pavy established a seminary in the Algiers suburb of Kouba, helped to establish the ecclesiastical province of Africa, and erected bishopries in Oran and Constantine. Pavy worked not only with French Catholic settlers but also with Muslim populations in Médéa, Sétif, and Constantine. For further reading see Tarik Seif-El-Islam Khiati, “Urban Forms Under Colonial Domination: Making Algiers French (1830–1880)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 2004), 114; and Jean-Marie Mayeur and Yves-Marie Hillaire, *Dictionnaire du monde religieux dans la France contemporaine*, vol. 6 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1985), 328.

\(^{22}\) Khiati notes that “Christian functions such as the *Fête de Dieu* and the *Te Deum* were performed in the open spaces” of Algiers during this time. See Khiati, “Urban Forms,” 114.
to expand France’s control and to increase his own celebrity. This endeavor included the takeover of Biskra in March 1844 that established a French military post serving France’s southern expansion. In 1847 Aumale became lieutenant-general and was subsequently appointed governor-general of Algeria on 27 September 1847, following Bugeaud, until he was forced into exile on 24 February 1848, due to the collapse of Louis-Philippe’s monarchy and the establishment of the provisional government of the Second Republic.

Reyer was friends with Ernest Ventre, paymaster for Aumale, and was therefore familiar with the duke and his successes in Algeria. Reyer saw his friendship with Ventre as an opportunity to further his musical career. In a letter to Gautier, Reyer wrote:

I delivered my letter to one of my oldest and best friends from the Treasury of Algiers, a friend of Roux and Chancel, M. Ernest Ventre. He is the paymaster to Aumale and will spend three months on leave in Paris. If you can get an agreement for a performance from him, that would be wonderful. He is a wonderful man who greatly admires you and you will be able to speak with him about Africa since he has been living there for fourteen years.  

According to Curzon, the mass was not commissioned but rather Reyer’s own idea to compose a piece in honor of the duke’s arrival. The mass was only the first of Reyer’s compositions with connections to colonial violence in Algeria.

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Bugeaud’s Brutality and the *Razzia*

Reyer’s Algerian career from 1839–1848 coincided with some of the most violent and bloody years of French colonialism in Algeria before the war of independence of 1954–1962. There was of course violence throughout the nearly century and a half of French occupation. However, scholars have repeatedly cited the tactics used by the French government in the 1840s against the Algerians as some of the most brutal examples of violence in the region.25

Following France’s invasion at Sidi Ferruch, a small port just west of Algiers, indecision and uncertainty circulated throughout the French government and among military leaders over what to do next. Many voiced their opinions that France should not have invaded Algeria in the first place and had no business being there. Others argued that colonizing Algeria would prove beneficial to the advancement of the French empire. In 1840, the lieutenant-general Bugeaud was named governor-general of Algeria. Bugeaud marked a sea change in the colonial government. Bugeaud believed that France had too much at stake to withdraw from Algeria. They were already there; how could they abandon the region? Withdrawing from Algeria not only would be publicly humiliating for the French empire but would also suggest that the destruction and deaths sustained during the first decade of France’s occupation were for naught.

Bugeaud organized and led a pacification project that sought to expand France’s control of Algeria. In February 1841, Bugeaud posted a proclamation in Algiers stating his resolution and determination to conquer and colonize the entirety of Algeria.

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[France] has committed itself; I must follow it. I have accepted the grand and beautiful mission of assisting in the accomplishment of its work[...]. The Arabs must be conquered; the standard of France must be the only one raised on this African land. But the war now indispensable is not the object. The conquest will be barren without colonisation. I shall therefore be an ardent coloniser, for I think there is less glory in gaining battles than in founding something of permanent utility for France.  

In order to fully conquer and colonize, Bugeaud implemented the regular use of violent tactics such as raids, mass executions, and scorched-earth policies. Bugeaud was not the first to implement these tactics. However, as noted by Mansour Abou-Khamseen, “what was new was the scale of Bugeaud’s proposed destruction and his commitment to it. He planned and carried out a ‘total war’ in which all the Algerian people were the enemy and everyone and everything was a target.” These actions created a culture of terror amongst the tribal villages. Bugeaud believed that the employment of such tactics was the only way to successfully gain control over the entire country.

In an effort to fully conquer the population, the French military believed that physical destruction was not enough. Bugeaud concluded that the French army must infiltrate and conquer all levels of society—from physical infrastructure to epistemic violence such as the establishment of lawful racism and the demonization and fabulation of Algerian society—to attain full conquest. This philosophy was integral to the success of the European colonial project throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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28 I borrow the term “culture of terror” from Taussig, Shamanism, 122. Benjamin Claude Brower notes that “terror became the army’s most important weapon” to fully conquer Algeria. Brower, Desert Named Peace, 22.

29 For example, Fanon explained, “The colonial world is a Manichaen world. The colonist is not content with physically limiting the space of the colonized, i.e., with the help of his agents of law and order. As if
French lawmakers and military officials used words such as “savage” and “barbaric” to describe the Arabs and Kabyles of Algeria. These words and images perpetuated common tropes that recur throughout colonial discourse. According to Bhabha, the ambivalent repetition of these signs or tropes forms an *idée fixe* of the Other as “despot, heathen, barbarian, chaos and violence.” By establishing an image of the Arabs and Kabyles of Algeria as violent, impetuous, and savage, Bugeaud and other military leaders were able to justify their plans for harsh and violent retaliation.

The colonial mirror and fabulation can be seen in two of the most noted military tactics during the 1840s: the *razzia* and *enfumade*, the second of which I will discuss later in this chapter. During a *razzia*, the French army would raid a tribe or village, mercilessly killing anyone who resisted. All inhabitants were taken as prisoners, herds were corralled and taken into French possession, and fire was set to all crops, orchards, and silos. A letter written by Lieutenant-Colonel Lucien de Montagnac to his uncle Bernard de Montagnac describes a successful *razzia*:

> Once we know the tribe’s location, we charge and disperse in all directions. When we reach the tents, all the inhabitants, awakened by the soldiers’ approach, come out pell-mell followed by their animals, wives and children. The soldiers surround and gather them, leading the people, cattle, sheep, goats and horses. The animals who flee are quickly collected. A sheep is killed and cut up in only a minute. Another soldier chases a calf until they both fall, head over heels, into the bottom of a ditch. Still others throw themselves under the tents where they load up the booty and everyone leaves happily, covered by rugs, bundles of wool, containers of butter, hens, weapons. Among many other things we often find a large amount

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30 For example, articles in the press and military documents repeatedly discuss the proper way to deal with the “sauvage indigènes” of Algeria. See Pierre Christian, *L’Afrique française: L’empire de Maroc et les déserts de Sahara* (Paris: A. Barbier, 1846), 7.

31 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 143.
of great riches among the *duwârs* [Arab tent villages]. Then we set fire to everything that cannot be carried away. The animals and people are led to the convoy; everyone is screaming and crying out: it is a dazzling racket. We finally leave the village, proud of our success. Then begin the executions […] and we distribute the spoils, glorious prizes of a brilliant day.32

The aim of the *razzia* was to destroy every level of society for the Arabs and Kabyles living in Algeria. Brower writes, “Kidnapping, summary executions, outright murder, torture, and sexual assaults produced […] the sense of ‘terrible fear’ that commanders thought would destroy existing social bonds and result in a docile population.”33 In 1840, Bugeaud ordered the Armée d’Afrique to officially adopt the policy of *razzia*. The widespread deployment of the *razzia* left nothing untouched, destroying entire villages in a single day. In addition, the raiding helped the soldiers to survive, providing food, clothing, and other necessities not always readily available to the troops.

In a lunch meeting on 30 May 1841, the Colonel Jean Baptiste Simon Arsène d’Alphonse (1792–1875) defended the actions of the *razzia* to Tocqueville:

> Nothing but force and terror, Gentlemen, succeeds with these people. The other day, I carried out a *razzia*. I’m sorry you weren’t there. It was a tribe that allowed

32 Lucien-François de Montagnac, *Lettres d’un soldat. Algérie: Neuf Années de campagnes en Afrique, 1837–1845* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1885), 193. “Aussitôt l’emplacement de la tribu connu, chacun se lance, se disperse dans une direction quelconque; on arrive sur les tentes, dont les habitants, réveillés par l’approche des soldats, sortent pêle-mêle avec leur troupeau, leurs femmes, enfants poursuivis, sont bientôt enveloppés et réunis par quelques soldats qui les conduisent, les bœufs, les moutons, les chèvres, les chevaux, tous les bestiaux enfin, qui fuient sont vite ramassés. Celui-ci attrape un mouton, le tue, le dépèce: c’est l’affaire d’une minute; celui-là poursuit un veau avec lequel il roule, cul par-dessus tête, dans fond d’un ravin; les autres se jettent sous les tentes, où ils se chargent de butin; et chacun sort de là affublé, couvert de tapis, de paquets de laine, de pots de beurre, de poules, d’armes et d’une foule d’autres choses que l’on trouve en très-grande quantité dans ces douars souvent très-riches. Le feu est ensuite mis partout à ce que l’on ne peut emporter, et bêtes et gens sont conduits au convoi; tout cela crie, tout cela bèle, tout cela brait; c’est un tapage étourdissant. On quitte enfin la position, fier de son succès; alors commence la fusillade […] l’on rentre avec ses prises, glorieux trophées d’un brillante journée.”

men to cross its territory on their way to rob and kill us. Still, I didn’t want to
push things too far: after having killed five or six men, I spared the animals. 34

Alphonse’s repeated call for “force and terror” is mixed with his rationalization that the
tribe’s permittance of and participation in violence against the French army necessitated
violence in response. The colonial mirror is thus implemented: The acts of defense by the
Arabs and Kabyles required the French military to retaliate with even harsher actions.

The razzia became standard practice for the military, practically eliminating any
attempts at peaceful negotiation. As Jennifer E. Sessions notes, “officers soon coined the
verb razzier to describe the routine activity of burning grain silos, trees, villages, and
whatever crops and animals they could not carry away.” 35 However, critics of the razzia
argued that the tactic was too brutal and disgraced the French military’s reputation. The
military commander and captain of the headquarters of the royal guards, François
Leblanc de Prébois, complained that “the system of razzias, which had gained favor, was
in my opinion, a revolting and monstrous thing, more likely to dishonor the army than to
insure glory.” 36

Declaring the military tactic raid a razzia has implications for identity politics.
The term razzia comes from the Arabic word ghazw meaning “to raid with the aim of
gaining plunder.” 37 The term can be traced to early Arab conquests of Muḥammad and

34 Tocqueville, *Writings on Empire*, 56–57.


36 François Leblanc de Prébois, *L’Algérie prise au sérieux*, (Algiers: Brachet et Bastide, 1842), 65. “Le système des razzias, qui a pris faveur, est à mon avis, une chose ignoble et monstrueuse, plus propre à déshonorer l’armée qu’à la couvrir de gloire.”

his followers. During the Ottoman Empire the term was often associated with Turkish nomadic holy warriors. Bugeaud’s choice to use the term razzia, and subsequently creating the French verb razzier, specifically ties the practice to the Arab and Turkish Other. The policy of razzia and the appropriation of the word itself thus reflects the colonial mirroring of brutal violence. By calling the barbarous attack a razzia the French military was not employing a French tactic but a military tactic of the Other.

The French military’s implementation of razzia greatly differed from the traditional North African razzia, a fairly peaceful raid by which the raiders sought to steal camels and other objects of wealth. Instead of solely stealing possessions, the French military’s razzia claimed violence as its most distinguishing figure. Turning the razzia into a violent French offensive against the Arabs and Kabyles even became a point of pride for Bugeaud who boasted “to subdue an Arab population in arms, French troops overseas had made themselves ‘even more Arab’ than their enemies.”

One of the most successful attributes of the razzia and, as we will later see, the enfumade was that they depersonalized the colonized. Lieutenant-Colonel Montagnac wrote in 1845 that the French press was too sentimental and overly concerned about “stupid philanthropy.” In documents recounting the events throughout the 1840s in Algeria, the men, women, and children who were executed and whose villages were

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38 However, Peter Benson Miller contends that the French adopted the razzia technique from the Roman army. See Peter Benson Miller, “By the Sword and the Plow: Théodore Chassériau’s Cour des Comptes Murals and Algeria,” *The Art Bulletin* (December 2004): 707.


40 Ironically, Montagnac was killed in battle a few months later. See Sullivan, *Thomas-Robert Bugeaud*, 130.
raided and burned to the ground are not discussed as individuals but, rather, portrayed as the savage Other.

Surviving documents from Algeria in the 1840s rarely incorporate the personal accounts of the lives destroyed by Bugeaud’s policies. The subaltern voice is archivally drowned out by the prevalence of letters, government decrees, and travel accounts written by French soldiers, military officials, and government workers living in Algeria. These accounts discuss the inhabitants of the Arab and Kabyle villages that were destroyed by the French army as an aggregate collective of barbarians, violent tribes that deserve to be subdued and conquered: in a word, the enemy. The documents present the colonial mirroring of violence as France’s only perceived possible means for success in the conquering and colonizing of Algeria. Whatever harsh tactics were used by the French military, however cruel and brutal, were portrayed as necessary and noble.

The prevalence of violence in the 1840s infiltrated artistic representations of Algeria by French artists. As Robert Young notes, “The trace of violence is the primary semiotic of the colonial apparatus, its means of communication.” As a semiotic of colonialism, French artists used depictions of violence as a means to communicate the colonial project in Algeria. Works portraying razzias were especially popular and often depicted the violent raid enacted by Algerian tribes, leaving out the presence of the French army.

The French painter Auguste Raffet (1804–1860) completed a lithograph titled “Une Razzia,” appearing in Charles Nodier’s *Journal de l’expédition des Portes de Fer*

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The work was exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1844. The image illustrates the tribes of Krachna performing a *razzia* as seen by the French marshal Bertrand Clauzel and his party on their return journey to Algiers.

**Figure 1.1: “Une Razzia,” Lithograph by Auguste Raffet**

The French artist Félix Henri Emmanuel Philippoteaux (1815-84) traveled to Algiers after which he gained several commissions for pictures. His painting *La Razzia* was

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exhibited at the Salon of 1844. The artist Émile Loubon (1809-63), possibly inspired by a trip “en Orient” in 1849, exhibited his painting of a razzia at the Salon of 1857.

During the 1840s and ‘50s, there was a high demand for artistic portrayals of events in Algeria. A review of the Salon of 1846 laments the lack of great art that does justice to the enormity of the colonial project in Algeria:

The glory of the Empire does not yet have a Homer-like figure that can express it, despite the great size and striking misfortunes that it holds. This important time, one of the greatest in world history, has only inspired mediocre and uninspired art.

The following year another article lamented that artists had only depicted France’s “beautiful conquest of Algeria through painting outdoor scenery” and that only a few artists had offered depictions of military battles and war, scenes that “make our soldiers the glory of France.” As artists took up this call through painting, Reyer, perhaps unknowingly, accepted this challenge to portray “the glory of the Empire” through music.

**Razzias, Goumiers, and Le Sélam**

Two years after leaving Algeria, Reyer composed *Le Sélam*, a *symphonie orientale* divided into four parts and five tableaux. Each tableau depicts many of the military

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44 Miller, “By the Sword and the Plow,” 707.

45 André M. Alauzen, *La Peinture en Provence du XIVe siècle à nos jours* (Marseille: La Savoisienne, 1962), 142; Miller, “By the Sword and the Plow,” 718n167. Loubon’s painting is currently housed at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen.


tactics and political events that occurred in Algeria during the 1840s. The first tableau, “Le Goum,” includes a serenade and chorus of North African soldiers; the second is titled “Razzia”; the third, “Conjuration des djinns,” depicts the mysterious spirits mentioned in the Qu’rān; the fourth is titled “Chant du soir,” and represents the Muslim call to prayer; and the last, “La Dhossa,” portrays a ceremony after the Islamic pilgrimage.

Reyer’s close friend, Théophile Gautier (1811-72), wrote the text for Le Sélam. The two ostensibly met while living in Algeria during the 1840s. According to Marie-Pierre Grillet, the French playwright and librettist Joseph Méry (1797–1865) arranged the initial meeting of the two in 1845 when Gautier visited Algeria. Reyer noted he first met Gautier on the streets of Algiers. According to Georges Servières, however, it was the painter Eugène Lagier who introduced Gautier to Reyer.

Gautier’s experience in North Africa included a trip to Egypt and a summer in Algeria in 1845 when he traveled with the French military as they pursued leaders of ‘Abd al-Qādir’s resistance movement. André Segond notes that it was during one of his trips accompanying Bugeaud during his campaign in Kabylia that Gautier initially met Reyer on a stop in Algiers. In a letter to his parents on 24 July 1845, Gautier noted that Bugeaud took him to a Kabyle region of Algeria in order to participate in a military campaign.

derives from the Arabic and Turkish word salām, meaning “greetings,” “salutations” or “peace” as in “peace be upon you” (salām ‘alaykum). Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762) and Seigneur Aubry de la Mottraye (c1674–1743) used the word sélam to describe a secret language of lovers through the exchange of objects, often flowers. Beverly Seaton notes that sélam is possibly the most commonly mentioned form of flower symbolism. Harem girls would pass messages through objects enveloped in a handkerchief to their lovers through the harem window. See Beverly Seaton, The Language of Flowers: A History (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 37. The bouquet of flowers became a symbol for salām or a silent greeting.

49 Grillet, La Valse à deux temps, 35.
50 Servières, “Les Relations d’Ernest Reyer,” 68.
51 Segond, Ernest Reyer, 14.
promenade. During this journey, Gautier dined at Bugeaud’s table and was treated as an army staff officer. Gautier no doubt became well acquainted with Bugeaud’s military tactics and philosophy of total conquest of Algeria.

Reyer wanted to collaborate with Gautier in order to create a musical composition that would express their experiences in Algeria. He was also interested in raising aid for the growing yet impoverished European settler population in Algeria. In addition, Reyer wanted to establish a committee of representatives of the “people of Algeria” that would support a charity celebration to benefit the settlers. The committee would include French artists, including Gautier, and politicians, such as Louis Marie de Lehaye Cormenin. Reyer realized his goal with a performance of *Le Sélam* at the opening of the salle Barthélemy in Paris in 1851. The composition filled the entire second half of the program for which all proceeds of the concert went to the “poor settlers of Algeria.” A review observed “judging the crowds of curious people drawn to this ceremony, the goal of the organizers was fully achieved.”

*Le Sélam* begins with a depiction of French military tactics in Algeria: the *razzia*. However, it is not the French army that is conducting the raid but, instead, local tribal militias. In the first tableau, “Le Goum,” North African cavalry or armed horsemen known as *les goumiers* carry out a *razzia* against a group of unsuspecting shepherds. The Ottomans originally established *gūm* in Algiers and Tunis as local tribal militias who in

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turn for their service were granted tax exemption. Under France, the system of *goums* was extended throughout the many regions under French control. *Goumiers* were expected to keep order and work with French military forces. The *goumiers* were paid for their services and in some cases received land and food as additional compensation.\(^5\)

In Reyer’s *razzia*, the *goumiers* are led by a shaykh and call on Allah for strength and courage. The warriors demand that the shepherds submit to them in the name of the holy prophet, a reference to the Muslim prophet Muḥammad. By placing the violence of the *razzia* in the hands of the North African Muslims, Reyer and Gautier covertly uphold French values of nobility and valor and reinforce stereotypes of the violent Islamic Other. Similar to the colonial mirror, this conscious narrative act writes out any French participation in the practice. The barbaric practice of *razzia* is a practice of the Other.

In the first section of *Le Sélam*, a shaykh rouses his soldiers to battle, readying them for the *razzia*. The lines of the serenade present the conflicted interests of the shaykh between his love for the female character Fathma and his thirst for battle. A chorus of warriors continuously interrupts the shaykh’s reveries of love. During these battle cries, the soldiers persuade the shaykh to leave his soul in the arms of his beloved and lead his soldiers in battle. The music echoes the shaykh’s confliction. His love serenades to Fathma are in triple meter and D minor and are accompanied by an ostinato rhythm, possibly his heart beating for Fathma. This contrasts with the fast march-like section of the duple-meter chorus of the warriors in A major.

Example 1.1: “Le Goum,” *Le Sélam*, mm. 141–151
Example 1.2: “Le Goum,” *Le Sélam*, mm. 161–176

Even though the shaykh relents to leave his beloved’s side and answer his duty for battle, Fathma is not lost. Gautier emphasizes the Orientalist stereotype of the seductive female by beginning and ending “Le Goum” with the same name: Fathma.

Reyer divided the second tableau into two sections: *razzia* and pastorale. In the first part, the warriors march toward an unsuspecting tribe to carry out their *razzia*. During the pillage, the warriors search for gold, money, yatagans (Turkish curved
swords), and turbans. The first three items are, of course, natural objects to steal but the turbans were probably worth relatively little and abundantly available. The inclusion of turbans and yatagans emphasize an imagined or fantasized Orient. The soldiers demand full submission from the shepherds who eventually pay a thousand pieces of money (boudjoux) to return to their peaceful desert life.

_Boudjoux (or boojoo)_ circulated along with the Spanish piastre and douro and the French franc until 1851 when the French government outlawed the currency with the creation of the Bank of Algeria and the introduction of Franco-Algerian bank notes. An article appearing in 1837 explained that _boudjoux_ were made of copper and silver and had a notched border. At the time, 1 _boudjoux_ equaled approximately 2.17 French francs. _Boudjoux_ is also similar in pronunciation to the name of the French general Bugeaud. The name Bugeaud, often pronounced _Bijoo or Bijou_, became a symbol for a monster or ogre in Algerian culture. Almost a century later, Algerian parents used the name to playfully chide their children into behaving. As one man who grew up near Constantine recalled, his mother would often send him to bed warning “Go to sleep, or I’ll call _Bijou_ to come and eat you up!”

The music portrays the opposing forces of soldiers and shepherds. The raiding warriors forcefully chant their demands in duple meter with small bursts accompanied by strings, brass, and loud timpani. At times, the soldiers get caught up in their warring as

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they swirl into a frenzy of chromatic sixteenth notes. Contrastingly, the shepherds sing lyrical melodies that are accompanied by winds—mostly flutes, oboes, and bassoons.

**Example 1.3: “Razzia et Pastorale,” Le Sélam, mm. 224-232**

During the final moments of the scene, the soldiers, finally satisfied by their plunder of money, transform the violent demand for *mille boudjoux* into a calm chant. The warriors sing “mille bijoux” 16 times, seemingly mesmerized by their success and completely oblivious to anything else. The music decrescendos until the last utterance of “mille boudjoux.” The soldiers have disappeared, the *razzia* is over, and the pastoral song of the shepherds is all that is left.

The *razzia* of *Le Sélam* also trivializes its brutality. In the scene, the warriors merely want to steal possessions. They ask for various items in addition to full
submission to their power and authority granted by the Prophet. The soldiers threaten death but are then satisfied with the offer of a thousand pieces of money. In the end, no one is killed, land is not burned, and no prisoners are taken. As quickly as it began, the soldiers leave with their plunder and the shepherds return to their flocks and families.

This pastoral section of the *razzia* depicts a Romantic image of the harsh desert landscape of North Africa. Gautier incorporates quintessential shepherds who decry “They have gone! The desert has resumed its silence” and “how sweet is life in the desert.” Gautier presents a picture of romanticized tranquility, the peaceful shepherd enjoying his life of abundance in the middle of the desolate desert. The section opens with oboe trills and birdcalls over a drone bass. Scales and appoggiaturas performed by the winds and the mention of the “flute’s sweet sound” complete the pastoral image of the scene. The tableau concludes with the pastoral version of “mille boudjoux” motive tossed around by the winds over the repeated drone rhythm from the opening of the section.

The pastoral life of the shepherd and farmer in *Le Sélam* illustrates another facet of Bugeaud’s tactics to conquer Algeria. During the 1840s, Bugeaud, along with the French government, initiated a campaign to encourage French citizens to relocate and settle in Algeria as farmers. The sparsely populated regions of Algeria provided a solution to the problems of overpopulation in France. French settlers in Algeria modeled stability amongst the nomadic tribes and provided revenue for the French economy by growing and exporting important crops such as grains and olives. Agriculture was an interest from the very beginning of France’s colonization of Algeria.

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59 The push for settling Algeria through agriculture also infiltrated French art, particularly paintings, during the 1840s. For further reading, see Miller, “By the Sword and the Plow,” 705.

In 1830 the French military erected a statue of the Marshal of Agriculture (*maréchal agronome*) at the Porte d’Isly in Algiers as a definitive emblem of victory and ownership.\(^{61}\) The perception of Algeria as a land with fertile soil and agricultural promise may be traced back to early travel writing and classical texts that served as the main sources for French scholars and government officials in the early nineteenth century.\(^{62}\)

An edict from 18 April 1841 established government subsidies for French settlers to Algeria. In an 1841 proclamation, Bugeaud stated:

> Agriculture and colonisation are one. It is useful and good no doubt to increase the population of towns, and to build edifices there; but that is not colonisation. First the subsistence of the new people must be assured, and of their defenders, parted by the sea from France; so that the earth can give what must be demanded from it. We will build villages; and when we can tell our country men and neighbours that we have to offer establishments ready-built, in healthy sports, surrounded by fertile fields, and effectually protected against sudden attacks from the enemy, be sure that colonists will come to fill them. Then France will really have founded a colony, and will reap a reward for the sacrifices she has made.\(^{63}\)

Charles-André Julien calculated that the population of farming settlers from France increased tenfold between 1840 and 1847.\(^{64}\) The majority of settlers came from the areas where the French government focused their recruitment: Bas-Rhin, Moselle, and Vosges in the east, the southeast region of Isère, and the southern district of Provence. To insure the success of the agricultural project, Bugeaud stated “the agriculture of the African colony must not produce the same things as French agriculture.”\(^{65}\)

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\(^{62}\) Sessions, *By the Sword and Plow*, 208.


\(^{65}\) Ibid., 252. “L’agriculture de la colonie d’Afrique ne devait pas produire les mêmes choses que l’agriculture française.”
Reflecting back on the entire tableau—both razzia and pastorale, violent and pre-modern—we are left with two contrasting stereotypes of North Africa. In this scene, the desert is both a space of brutal violence and peaceful serenity. The representation of the pastoral desert—even in the face of unexpected danger—reflects the anxiety and uncertainty many French felt toward the rapid industrialization and modernization of their own homeland. The placement of violence actually used by the French military into the hands of the Arabs and Kabyles of North Africa disorients the listener and renders the implementation of the colonial mirror, that is to say, the harsh tactics by Bugeaud’s troops as a necessary adoption of those strategies first used by the enemy.

The depiction of the razzia and other violent acts in a musical composition also illustrates the fear and uncertainty of France’s presence and future in Algeria. The 1830s and ‘40s saw a large amount of anxiety surrounding French public opinion, military decisions, and government support around the colonial project in Algeria. The French army feared the resistance movements of ‘Abd al-Qādir, Bū Ma‘za and others. Anxiety surrounded the French leaders as they decided how to navigate the complicated project of colonialism in Algeria.

The third, fourth, and fifth tableaux of Le Sélam do not express the military violence of French colonialism. In the third tableau, “Conjuration of djinns,” Gautier focused on the Islamic spirits mentioned in the Qur’ān. The spiritual bodies are said to be composed of smokeless flame and, as such, are imperceptible to humans. In pre-Islamic Arabia, the term jinn referred to the “nymphs and satyrs of the desert and represented the side of the life of nature still unsubdued and hostile to man.”

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part of French Oriental literature, presented in Antoine Galland’s eighteenth-century translation of the *Arabian Nights*. Throughout the *Nights*, there are “good Muslim jinn” and “evil infidel jinn,” the latter of whom are sometimes characterized as devils.⁶⁷ Even though *jinn* can be divided into “good” and “evil” spirits, it is only the latter group that is represented in *Le Sélam*. The text of the tableau uses words such as “unclean,” “wicked,” and “gloomy” to describe the *jinn*. The opening section is a “Chœur de sorcières” in which the *jinn* are making lots of noise with their dancing, singing, and drumming. Furthermore, Gautier sets the scene at midnight, the witching hour.

Reyer and Gautier were inspired by French artistic representations of the *jinn*. In a published version of the piano/vocal score of *Le Sélam*, Gautier and Reyer included the following note on the “Conjuration des djinns”:

In the Orient there is a popular superstition about the *jinn* or evil spirits who haunt certain homes. They are chased away by exorcisms, chants and dances. A beautiful painting by M. Adolphe Leleux, attracting great attention at the last exposition, reproduced one of the scenes of conjuration, the same scene that we witnessed with our eyes and ears in Constantine. Old women and young dancers are integral to work their charm. The first frightened the spirits by their music and the latter by their contortions which recall the convulsions of Saint-Médard.⁶⁸

The French painter Adolphe Leleux (1812-91) traveled to Algeria in the spring and summer of 1847 with artist Edmond Hédouin (1820-89). He spent time in Constantine and accompanied the French military official Captain Camille Gasselin on a short military expedition around the region. The trip resulted in a series of Algerian-inspired

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⁶⁸ “Il règne en Orient une superstition sur les djinns ou mauvais esprits qui hantent certaines maisons et que l’on chasse au moyen d’exorcismes, de chants et de danses. Un beau tableau de M. Adolphe Leleux, fort remarqué à la dernière exposition, reproduit une de ces scènes de conjuration dont nous avons été témoin oculaire et auriculaire, à Constantine. De vieilles femmes et de jeunes danseuses sont nécessaires pour opérer le charme. Les premières effraient les esprits par leur musique et les secondes par leurs contorsions qui rappellent les convulsionnaires de Saint-Médard.”
pieces including *The Arab Storyteller* exhibited at the Salon of 1848 and *Threshing Wheat in Algeria* of 1853. Gautier admired Leleux’s ability to depict realism and local color in his paintings, and the two were close acquaintances, supporting one another’s works and careers. In the above comment published in the score of *Le Sélam*, Reyer and Gautier mention Leleux’s painting *Danse des djinns (Constantine)* from 1849 as inspiration for their third tableau. Gautier reproduced an engraving of the painting that was published in *L’Illustration* on 28 July 1849 and also in his *Voyage pittoresque en Algérie*.69

**Figure 1.2: Engraving of Adolphe Leleux’s *Danse des djinns (Constantine)*, Salon of 1849**

In an article appearing in 1849, Gautier praised the sincerity and convincing realism of the painting that illustrated the “choreographic phantasmagoria” of the Orient.70 The subject of Leleux’s painting is placed in Constantine, the same city where Reyer was

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69 Gautier, *Voyage pittoresque*, 124.

70 Article appearing in *La Presse*, 7 August 1849, cited in Gautier, *Voyage pittoresque*, 90.
stationed to work with his uncle for the French government. In 1851, Gautier described the rock on which he sat in order to draw the house where “we went to see the dance of the jinn, painted by Adeolphe Leleux who, impassioned by our stories, visited Constantine.” A year later, Gautier wrote:

In 1845, in the month of August, we sat, with two friends, in the precise place where Adolphe Leleux had sat in order to sketch his picture. The premises of this scene are an Arab courtyard, modeled after a Spanish patio, whitewashed walls and marble columns.

Madeleine Cottin further explains that Gautier was invited to this house in Constantine to see the “strange” dance of the jinn, “a type of incantatory ceremony where they perform the sounds of the darbūkahs in order to chase out the nocturnal spirits from within the victims of their evil spells.”

Reyer composed driving rhythms and galloping drumbeats, possibly alluding to the North African vase-shaped darbūkah or drum. Certainly, the images of spirits and demons appealed to the Romantic ideas of the supernatural and macabre. Salvador Daniel described the “frenzied dance” of the jinn as demonic writing:

Who has not seen in Algeria those women who dance until they fall exhausted […] they seem to rise with haggard gaze and panting breath. They move an arm, then a leg, turning slowly at first, then more rapidly, leaping at the same time,

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71 Article appearing in *La Presse*, 29 September 1851, cited in Gautier, *Voyage pittoresque*, 61. “Voilà la pierre sur laquelle nous nous sommes assis pour dessiner un point de vue, la maison où nous sommes allé voir la danse des Djinns, peinte depuis par Adolphe Leleux qui visita Constantine, enflammé par nos récits.”

72 Article appearing in *Revue de Paris*, November 1852, cited in Gautier, *Voyage pittoresque*, 90. “En 1845, au mois d’août, nous étions assis, avec deux amis, précisément à la place où Adolphe Leleux a dû se mettre pour faire le croquis de son tableau. Le lieu de la scène était une cour arabe, modelé du patio espagnol, murs blanchis à la chaux et colonnettes de marbre.”

73 Gautier, *Voyage pittoresque*, 61. Gautier “avait eu la bonne fortune d’être convié, dans une maison de la ville, à l’étrange Danse des Djinns […] sorte de cérémonie incantatoire qui s’exécute au son des tarbourkas, dans le but de chasser les esprits nocturnes hors des demeures victimes de leurs maléfices.”
until they fall unconscious in their companion’s arms […] They are possessed by the demon.  

The sorceresses sing “You, you, you, you,” imitating zagārīṭ, the shrill, trilling sounds made by Arab women to express joy or emotion, usually at celebrations and festivities. A note in the score states that this text reflects the:

cries performed by the sorceresses to frighten away the spirits. In the homes of the Jews and Arabs, during funerals and weddings, the parents and friends of the deceased or the newlyweds make this same sound as a sign of mourning or joy.

As more Europeans traveled to Algeria and witnessed the dance of the jinn, the ceremony became a symbol of Algeria in French art, music, and travel narratives.

The “Conjuration des djinns” became one of the most popular sections of Le Sélam. A review of Le Sélam praised the tableau as the highlight of the entire work.

But the best part is, certainly, the last, the Conjunction of Jinn, where chorus and orchestra perform in a staggering whirlwind, imitating the fantastic flight of the demons of the desert. It is this section of the work that is appreciated the most.

Another friend of Gautier, Célestin Nanteuil (1813-83), depicted the “Conjuration des djinns” for the cover page of the published score.

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75 “Cri poussé par les sorcières pour effrayer les esprits. Dans les maisons habitées par des juifs ou par des Arabes, à l’occasion d’un enterrement où d’un mariage, les parentes et les amies du défunt ou des nouveaux époux font entendre ce même cri en signe de deuil ou d’allégresse.”

76 Paul Dukas, La Revue hebdomadaire (13 February 1897): 276. “Mais la meilleure partie en est, à coup sûr, la dernière, la Conjunction des Djinns, où chœur et orchestre sont lancés en un tourbillon vertigineux, imitant le vol fantastique des démons du désert. C’est le morceau de l’ouvrage qui a été le plus généralement apprécié.”
This scene remained popular after its premier. A concert held by the Société des jeunes artistes of the Conservatoire impérial de musique in 1855 included the performance of the “best fragments of Sélam […] la conjuration des sorcières.”

The fourth tableau is the “Chant du soir,” a scene also depicted by Saint-Saëns many years later in his Suite algérienne. The text strings together stereotypical images of Algeria, one after another, without much connection or plot. The soloist sings of palm trees, and the dark, unveiled gazelle eyes of his beloved while in the same breath he describes the minarets and mu‘adhādhīn—the Muslim official who gives the call to prayer—proclaiming the Arabic words “Peace be upon you, peace, there is no God but God and Muhammad is the messenger of God.” (Salam alaikoum el Salam la Allah il

77 Jullien, Ernest Reyer, 33.

Solemn religious incantation mixes with the captivation of his beloved beauty (*ma belle*).

The final tableau is “La Dhossa,” a ceremony held on Muḥammad’s birthday by the Cairene Sufi order of Saʿdī. Gautier and Reyer explained that “La Dhossa” depicts “the entrance to Cairo by the *ḥājjīs* or pilgrims returning from Mecca.”

During the ceremony,

a large crowd assembles around the pathway of the faithful who, from their holy pilgrimage, bring back relics taken from the tomb of the prophet and sacred water from the well of Zamzam. On the doorstep of the principal mosque where the caravan must stop, a large number of dervishes bow down with their arms crossed on their head, in front of the amīr of the *ḥajj*, who walks his horse over the bodies of these fanatic believers.

Gautier was close acquaintances with Gérard de Nerval (1808-55) and drew inspiration from his travel writing. The front page of the 1850 piano/vocal score published a note that includes a citation from Nerval’s *Scènes de la vie orientale* from 1848.

**Acts of Violence: The Production and Performance of Le Sélam**

*Le Sélam* was scheduled to premiere on 17 March 1850 at the Théâtre-Italien de Paris.

The actual premier came 15 days later on 5 April with a second performance on 17 April.

Extant reviews do not discuss the connections between the work and French colonial

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79 This is the French transliteration as published by Reyer and Gautier.

80 “L’entrée au Caire des hadjīs ou pèlerins qui reviennent de la Mecque.”

policies in Algeria. Instead, reviews focused on the “Oriental” nature of the music and immediately connected Reyer’s composition with Félicien David’s Le Désert (1844). According to Katherine Ellis, Gautier “admired David’s Le Désert, collaborating with him the following year on a sequence of three Arab-inspired songs.” Critics dismissed Le Sélam as a mere replication of David’s composition, adding that it was far less-inspired than its model. They especially connected the mu’adhdhin call in Le Sélam’s “Chant du soir” with the mu’adhdhin call in David’s Le Désert. However, a critique from 1850 argued that Reyer composed Le Sélam because he believed David “had not dared to be Arab enough” in Le Désert. According to the critic, Reyer sought to show his own experience in North Africa and lead the audience into the heart of Algeria, whereas David had only allowed his audience to “glimpse the borders.” In the end, though, the review concluded that Le Sélam was much less original and less likely to impress than David’s ode-symphonie.

Others viewed Le Sélam more favorably. On 21 June 1850, Reyer directed a performance of Le Sélam at the salle Boisselot in Marseille. The production featured 180 choir members from the Marseille choral society Trotebas, an orchestra of 80 musicians, and several soloists. Segond notes that the performance was so well received that it led to another production of Le Sélam at the Grand-Théâtre the following month. A review of an 1854 performance stated that Le Sélam was a highly original composition filled with a

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82 Karen Henson discusses how music critics rarely made connections between musical works and politics in their reviews. See Henson, “Of Men, Women and Others.”


84 R. “Théâtre Italien,” Revue et gazette musicale de Paris (7 April 1850): 120.

85 Segond, Ernest Reyer, 16.
great deal of authentic color. Following a performance of *Le Sélam* at the Théâtre-Italien, Berlioz praised the many threads of Arab themes, especially the *razzia*, the “Chant du soir” and the “very curious and truly original” chorus of the *jinn*. However, Berlioz reserved even more praise for David’s *Le Désert*, a composition that he claimed would have been accused of imitating *Le Sélam* had it not been composed first. In another review Berlioz noted that Reyer “made the simūn [hot, dry wind of the African deserts], caravans and desert sing again” without overdoing it.

Leaving aside the violent acts embedded in the composition’s narrative, the creation and subsequent performances of *Le Sélam* in both Algeria and France exemplify acts of epistemic violence. In this way, the score and the performance of *Le Sélam* become historical artifacts of colonial Algeria. Both Reyer and Gautier participated in the colonial project. They lived in Algeria, worked for the colonial government, traveled with the French army and were well aware of the tactics and events of France’s colonization of Algeria. Furthermore, their creation and production of *Le Sélam* illustrates Fanon’s statement “the Colonist makes history and he knows it.” The text of *Le Sélam* is in French, therefore, telling the story of Algerian culture and society in the language of the colonizer. The music is written in Western notation for a Western orchestra. Furthermore, the creation of concert halls and theaters in Algeria and the performances of Western art music were acts of epistemic violence that devalued the diverse musical cultures of Algerians and established Western art music culture. Performances of works such as *Le

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89 Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 15.
Sélam invaded the soundscape of Algeria and changed the social and cultural structures of music and performance from the venues that housed these performances to the audience members who attentively listened to the performers on stage. These acts of epistemic violence within Algerian music culture are perhaps best exemplified by the attendance of ‘Abd al-Qādir at a performance of Le Sélam in Paris.

Le Sélam enjoyed many performances in 1850 including one at the salle Ventadour in Paris. In a letter to Gautier on 18 July 1850, Reyer wrote that the first performance in Marseille was so well received that he presented the piece two more times:

After my first concert, I gave a second and then a third. These three performances of Sélam before the Marseille public resulted in poor Verdilhon having to pay 11 or 1200 francs in honor of having a nephew who composes such beautiful music. The last concert was given the day before yesterday at the Grand-Théâtre. We collected 700 francs in revenue; there was not even close to enough to pay all of the bills. Both male and female musicians wanted to be paid in advance. The mayor announced the revenue and the public booed and whistled at the singers. The police intervened and returned everything to order. Le Sélam was performed and, following a short discourse where I addressed the public in order to explain the reasons for a delay that strongly irritated them, I was showered with applause. In the end, I received a magnificent crown and a bottle of verbena oil wrapped in a lace handkerchief.

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90 Piano/vocal score of Le Sélam published by Choudens, n.d., A-Abn: Site Frantz Fanon. This score was most likely published between 1852 and 1880. The presence of this score in this particular collection shows that the work was most likely either performed in Algiers or taught at the Conservatory in Algiers, or both during the nineteenth century.

91 Servières, “Les Relations d’Ernest Reyer,” 66–67. “Après mon premier concert, j’en ai donné un second, puis un troisième, et le résultat de ces trois exhibitions du Sélam devant le public marseillais, c’est que le pôvre Verdilhon devra payer 11 ou 1200 francs l’honneur d’avoir un neveu qui compose de si jolie musique. Le dernier concert a été donné avant-hier au Grand-Théâtre. On a fait 700 francs de recette; il n’y avait pas, à beaucoup près, de quoi payer tous les frais. Les musiciens de l’un et de l’autre sexe ont voulu être payés d’avance. Le maire a fait saisir la recette et le public a hué et sifflé les chanteurs, la police est intervenue et force est restée à la loi. Le Sélam a été joué et, à la suite d’un petit discours que j’ai adressé au public pour lui expliquer les motifs d’un retard qui l’impatientait si fort, j’ai été couvert d’applaudissements. A la fin, j’ai reçu une magnifique couronne et un flacon d’essence de verveine enveloppé dans un mouchoir de dentelle!”
Le Sélam was performed again by the Société philharmonique in Paris on 24 June 1851 at the salle Barthélemy. The following year, on 4 November 1852, the Société Sainte-Cécile performed Le Sélam in Paris featuring Léopold Amat, Laurent, and Mlle Larcena. Attending this second concert was ‘Abd al-Qādir.

From 1833 to 1847, ‘Abd al-Qādir organized and led the Qādiriyyah order and provincial tribal areas in resisting the French forces. In 1832, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jazā’irī was presented by his father to the tribe of Hāshim Banī-‘Amīr at the age of twenty-four. He proclaimed jihad against the French and began a fifteen-year resistance against the occupying forces. ‘Abd al-Qādir was a master diplomat uniting many tribes under his leadership to fight the French. His military success earned him fame and honor as a legendary figure in French colonial history. Throughout the early part of the French conquest in Algeria the French army fought, often unsuccessfully, ‘Abd al-Qādir’s forces and learned to revere the Algerian leader’s prowess.

After his defeat in 1847 and subsequent surrender to the governor-general of Algeria, Henri d’Orléans, the Duc d’Aumale, ‘Abd al-Qādir was exiled to France despite the French military’s promise to allow him asylum in Alexandria, Egypt, or Acre in present-day northern Israel. ‘Abd al-Qādir and his family spent four years at the Château d’Amboise until Napoléon III released them in October 1852. At the time of his release, ‘Abd al-Qādir signed a declaration thanking Napoléon III for his “kind deeds” and promising to never return to Algeria.92 A month later, the he attended the concert of Le Sélam.

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92 Déclaration d’Abd el-Kader s’engageant à ne plus retourner en Algérie, 30 October 1852. F-Pan, Fonds Musée Cote AE/1/21/3.
‘Abd al-Qādir’s attendance at the performance of Le Sélam brings many questions to the fore: did he enjoy the music?, what did he think about the subject matter and text of the work?, and, perhaps most pressing, why did he attend the performance? Little is known about his reasons for attending or his reception of the work. Adding further irony, Gautier had even accompanied Bugeaud during the army’s pursuit of ‘Abd al-Qādir. What could ‘Abd al-Qādir have thought while listening to the words of Gautier sung on stage, the same person who had traveled with the French army who sought his capture? However, by attending the concert, ‘Abd al-Qādir became a symbol of French success both in military conquest by overcoming a powerful leader of Algerian resistance and in their mission civilisatrice by turning a resistance fighter into a seemingly willing audience member to a concert of French classical music in Paris, and a concert featuring a work that presents Algeria and North Africa as violent aggressors.93

‘Abd al-Qādir became a legend and a heroic figure in both Algeria and France. His successful leadership of resistance against the French seemed to have been forgotten as French writers, artists, and composers depicted him through various art forms. ‘Abd al-Qādir’s popularity and heroism transcended ethnic, racial, religious, and national boundaries. As a member of the audience for the performance of Le Sélam, ‘Abd al-Qādir was a symbol of France’s successful endeavors in colonizing Algeria.

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93 James H. Johnson traces the history of bourgeois politeness, silence, and decency as central characteristics amongst the concert-going public in Paris in the 1830s and ‘40s. I argue that ‘Abd al-Qādir’s participation as an audience member at a Parisian concert presents him in a similarly bourgeois setting. See James H. Johnson, Listening in Paris: A Cultural History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
**Insurrection Movements, *Enfumade*, and the Legend of Bou-Maza**

*Le Sélam* was not the only early work of Reyer depicting colonial violence. In 1852 Reyer composed *Bou-Maza*, a work for piano and recitation that sets a text about the Algerian self-styled *mahdī* Muḥammad bin ‘Abdallāh, better known as Bū Ma‘za.  

During the first few decades of the French occupation in Algeria, charismatic leaders who called themselves *mahdi*s rose up to lead populist revolts with apocalyptic overtones against the French military. These resistance movements were often successful, arousing fear amongst the French soldiers. Reyer’s *Bou-Maza* depicts key moments in the life of the *mahdī*, including his acceptance as a prophet, his attack on a French military camp, and Arab war cries of victory.  

Bū Ma‘za was greatly respected among the sedentary tribes living in the Chélif Valley and Ouarsenis Mountains. In 1845, he led an insurrection in the mountainous Dahra region of northern Algeria promising to “drive the Europeans into the sea.”  

Through his continued leadership of resistance against the French, Bū Ma‘za earned the reputation for being a fearless warrior. His reputation was so great that on one occasion, North African soldiers who had enlisted in the French army deserted their posts when they saw the flags and banners of Bū Ma‘za’s resistance fighters. In 1846, Bū Ma‘za joined ‘Abd al-Qādir in Morocco where he had sought refuge.

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94 Also known as Abū Ma‘za or the “man with the goat.” An article by John Paul Mason recounts the legend of how Bū Ma‘za earned his name: “Shaikh ‘Isa Bu Ma‘za. This is the story of a stolen goat; a man’s goat had been stolen and Bu Ma‘za asked that it be returned to its rightful owner. For a while the thief, who would not admit his guilt, went undetected. He was discovered when the *shaikh* mysteriously put his hand upon the guilty man’s abdomen and the culprit emitted a ‘m-a-a, m-a-a’ sound of the goat. With the thief thus detected, Bu Ma‘za (literally, possessor of a goat) achieved the notoriety which ultimately boosted him to holy man stature.” See John Paul Mason, “Oasis Saints of Eastern Libya,” *Middle Eastern Studies* (July 1981): 359.


96 Ibid.
The threat of Bū Maʿza and his resistance movements prompted the enactment of another brutal war tactic: the *enfumade* or the asphyxiation of entire villages. As news spread about the French military and their *razzias*, communities in the mountains and rugged terrain of Algeria began to hide in the caves and cliffs to escape massacre. The French military tried to coax the populations out of the caves but tribal leaders who feared for their lives and the lives of their community met these requests with suspicion. In response, the French soldiers piled pieces of wood outside the entrances to the caverns and lit them on fire. These *enfumades* secured the death of nearly everyone in the caves. Soldiers would continue to feed the fire for hours until a commanding officer believed the tactic had worked its tragedy. After the fires died down, soldiers entered the caverns to confirm the mass deaths.

Noted by Bugeaud as an act of last resort, the military nonetheless employed *enfumade* on several occasions, the most famous being the assault against the Ouled Riah tribe led by Lieutenant-Colonel Aimable Pélissier in June 1845. The Ouled Riah tribe was thought to be loyal to the resistance movement of Bū Maʿza, an individual who claimed that he was sent by God to lead the Arabs and Kabyles against the French. A French soldier wrote that “the violence of the fire is impossible to describe. The flames rise more than sixty meters toward the top of El Kantara [cavernous area southwest of Constantine], and thick columns of smoke are churning in front of the cavern entrance.”

Another recounted “hearing the muffled groaning of men, women, children, animals [and] the cracking of charred rocks falling” from behind an “infernal fire.” After the fire

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ended, Pélissier sent some soldiers into the caverns to report on the outcome. One officer described the naked cadavers and “tiny babies lying among piles of sheep, sacks of beans, and other remains.”

It did not take long before accounts of these brutal events appeared in both the Algerian and French press. Bugeaud unsuccessfully tried to censor what information was published, fearing the public’s reaction and the reputation of his army. Initial reports of the enfumade of the Ouled Riah appeared in the Algiers newspaper L’Akhbar and the Parisian Journal des Débats followed by the accounts of eyewitnesses who described the incident in graphic detail. The press published public opinions that expressed dismay and disagreement over the violent tactics employed by Bugeaud. An article appearing in Le National stated:

We pretend to be better, that is more enlightened, more human, more moral than the Arabs: that is our only title to the conquest. And yet! what do we show the Arabs? Men who borrow [Arab] mores, who burn crops, who destroy herds, who cut off heads, who suffocate by the hundred women and children piled in a cave; who, instead of giving examples of humanity, have invented atrocious tortures for themselves.

Bugeaud responded to these criticisms arguing that any “loyal soldier” would have acted the same.

It was not until 13 April 1847 that Bû Ma’za was finally captured by Jacques Leroy de Saint-Arnaud (1801-54), a member of Bugeaud’s military staff. The French

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100 Sessions, “Unfortunate Necessities,” 36.

101 Ibid., 39.

lieutenant Alphonse Marie Bedeau, who served in Algeria from 1836–1848, summoned Saint-Arnaud to Algiers for the specific task of capturing Bū Maʿza. After his capture, Bū Maʿza was placed in a townhouse in Paris with a pension of 15,000 francs. In 1854, Napoléon III allowed him to join the Ottoman army in which he became a colonel. Three years prior to Bū Maʿza’s release, Reyer published Bou-Maza and appropriately dedicated the composition to Saint-Arnaud.

*Bou-Maza* is a “quadrille based on Arab motifs” (*quadrille composé sur des motifs arabes*). The quadrille was a popular ballroom dance during the mid-nineteenth century often danced by four couples in a square formation. The dance suite consisted of five parts: *le pantalon, l’été, la poule, la pastourelle*, and *a finale*.

Quadrille arrangements often had nationalistic or militaristic themes, such as those by the French composer Louis Jullien (1812–60). Some of Jullien’s quadrilles include his *British Navy Quadrille* (1845), his *British Army Quadrilles* for orchestra and four military bands (1846), and his *Swiss Quadrille* (1847). Quadrilles could also be based on contemporary opera themes and often became the apparatus through which the Parisian public became acquainted with new operas. According to Maribeth Clark, the “different manifestations

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105 According to Andrew Lamb, these sections retained their names from the contredanses that comprised the original standard quadrille. For further reading, see Andrew Lamb, “Quadrille,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22622 (accessed 7 March 2010).
of the quadrille show how it functioned as something of a musical *lingua franca* in Paris during the mid-19th century.\(^{106}\)

Reyer’s *Bou-Maza* follows the standard dance structure of the quadrille with each part corresponding to a specific event from the alleged life of Bū Maʿza. The legend of Bū Maʿza, as told by Eugène de Richemont, was published along with the composition.\(^{107}\) In his opening remarks, Richemont recounts the popularity of the quadrille and proudly introduces this newest quadrille based on what he believes to be a most fascinating story:

> Several years ago the historic quadrille became popular at unprecedented rates [...] Now we announce *Bou-Maza*, the celebrated Kabyle chief, placed in *poule* and *pastourelle*, based on Arab themes and the most interesting historic legend.\(^{108}\)

Following these opening remarks, Richemont narrates the legend of the self-styled *mahdī*. Richemont was unconcerned about accuracy, as he mixes the French and Arabic words for God. The Arabic word “Allah” may be easily translated as the word God or Dieu in French. Richemont begins the story with the Islamic praise “God is great and all powerful” (Dieu est grand et tout puissant). However, a few lines later he refers to God as “Allah” instead of using the French “Dieu.” In this opening paragraph, Richemont also cites the words of Muḥammad, the “prophet of God who was sent to be the ruler of the worlds.” Muḥammad cries out:

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\(^{107}\) Vicomte Eugène de Richemont wrote libretti and texts for many French composers including Reyer. He also wrote the words to Reyer’s songs *Berthe de Normande* (1849), *Tanko le Fondeur* (1850), *Fleur des Nuits* (1861) and *Le Sorcier du Rhin* (s.d.).

\(^{108}\) “Depuis quelques années le quadrille historié a pris des proportions effrayantes [...] Maintenant on annonce *Bou-Maza*, le célèbre chef kabyle, mis en poule et pastourelle, sur des thèmes arabes et avec une légende historique des plus intéressantes.”
Allah speaks to you through my voice… Raise up to see my battle flag, he calls you to the holy saint… The times of testing are over… The Christians, who defiled the earth of the believers with their presence, die by the blade and by fire.\textsuperscript{109}

The five sections of Reyer’s quadrille include descriptive titles that tell the legend of Bū Ma‘za. Each movement employs exotic or Orientalist signifiers such as chromatic harmonies, repeated figures, scalar melodies, and drone basses. The first part is titled “Bū Ma‘za bears the green flag” (L’étendard vert arboré par Bou-Maza). As in the standard quadrille noted by Lamb, it is in 2/4 meter and has a very lively pattern of repeating sixteenth and thirty-second notes that takes on the frenzied nature of Bū Ma‘za’s calling the tribes of Dahra to follow him to holy war against the French army. Richemont inserted a footnote about the green flag: “The green battle flag was the flag of Muḥammad. All of the Arabs who descend from the right line of the prophet, have the right to dress themselves in a flag of this color.”\textsuperscript{110} The A section has a descending line with repeated chromaticism and dissonance. The repeating octave drones in the B section of the Pantalon create a tremolo effect that is hard to imagine as a ballroom dance. Instead, it creates anticipation for the returning A section.

Reyer titles the second part, l’été, “Bū Ma‘za is recognized as a prophet” (Bou-Maza reconnu prophète). Again in 2/4 meter, l’été is a simple dance movement whose only programmatic quality appears to be the title. The third dance, la poule, is descriptively titled “Celebration and Arab Dance” (Fête et danse arabe). Andrew Lamb notes that this movement of the quadrille is often in 6/8 and Reyer’s dance follows

\textsuperscript{109} The \textit{Légende de Bou-Maza} as written by Eugène de Richemont published in Reyer’s \textit{Bou-Maza} is in an appendix to this dissertation.

\textsuperscript{110} Eugène de Richemont, “Légende de Bou-Maza” in Reyer, \textit{Bou-Maza}. “L’étendard vert était celui de Mahomet. Tous les Arabes qui descendent en droite ligne du prophète ont le droit de se vêtir d’un drap de cette couleur.”
accordingly. The repeated eighth-note arpeggios in the left hand create a sound that is more of a lullaby than a celebratory dance. The second stanza of the movement sounds hauntingly similar to Le Goum in Le Sélam.

Example 1.4: Bou-Maza, No. 3 “Fête et danse arabe,” mm. 11–14

Example 1.5: “Le Goum,” Le Sélam, mm. 76–84

Reyer names the fourth dance, la pastourelle, “Bû Ma‘za’s attack on the French camp,” (Attaque du camp français par Bou-Maza). According to Lamb, the pastourelle was based on a ballad by the cornetist François Collinet. Reyer’s pastourelle is made up of repeated patterns that resemble a brass fanfare, perhaps the fanfare of an army. Bou-Maza concludes with the finale titled “Arab War Cry” (Cri de guerre des arabes). Reyer uses repeated grace notes, a melody centered on the first three steps of the scale and the repetitive left hand accompaniment centered around a C minor chord to create a percussive and rustic quality, two stereotypes of Arab music.

While the music belies any overt programmatic qualities, the illustration on the title page of Bou-Maza offers a variety of images that augment the composition’s

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111 Lamb, “Quadrille.”
narrative. The title page illustration is an imaginative melange of objects in complete
disarray. A minaret peaks out in the background above a large banner that recounts the
legend of Bū Ma‘za. In front of this banner lies a jumble of flowers, vases, spears and
flags. In the lower right-hand corner a long rifle sits with a stringed instrument and
tambourine or drum. To the left, an animal stands—perhaps a goat, recalling Bū Ma‘za’s
namesake—next to what appears to be a turtle. Bū Ma‘za stands wearing a white short-
sleeved robe, pistol in hand, with a kafiyyah or North African headcovering. His facial
expression is not what one would expect from a heroic warrior. His gaze extends
downward and to the right, appearing lost or forlorn, almost as if he is submitting to his
capture.

From 1845-47, Bū Ma‘za’s insurrection movements instilled fear and uncertainty
in the minds of the French army. However, Reyer’s depiction of the mahdī transforms
this potent enemy of France into a popular icon of French Algerian culture. Reyer’s
musical accompaniment to the legendary story of a man who was appointed by God to
lead a war against the French military trivializes the true nature of war fought between
both sides for two years. The quadrille was a set of popular ballroom dances during the
first half of the nineteenth century, a genre for entertainment and celebration. However,
Reyer’s quadrille of Bou-Maza does not resemble European dance music. The quadrille,
instead, serves as a popular genre for Reyer to compose a set of short songs to
accompany an Algerian legend.
Historian James McDougall has noted that Algeria has been and continues to be plagued by an enduring caricature of violence and “Algerian savagery.” He notes that the “social production and cultural encoding of various forms of violence” from the “colonial obsession with an imagined ‘native’ savagery” to the “institution of a legal system of inflexible repression” during the colonial period to the “complex afterlife of the war of independence” and warfare of the 1990s have produced an image of Algeria as coded violent. The devices of fabulation and the colonial mirror used in written reports, letters, and news articles helped in creating this caricature of Algerian violence by displacing violent physical acts and tactics from the French army into the hands of the Algerians. Likewise, Reyer’s Le Sélam and Bou-Maza are examples of musical fabulation, functioning as a homogenizing mechanism or a tool of colonial discourse that omits the presence of the colonizer and reinscribes the violent encounter back onto the subjugated community. These compositions perpetuate the stereotype of “Algerian savagery,” and the production and performance of these works in Algeria created acts of epistemic violence, displacing Algerian musical culture with French whereby Algerian culture and society became the Other.

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CHAPTER 2
CREATIVE OPPORTUNISM AND THE CAREER OF FRANCISCO SALVADOR DANIEL

"This time I’ve come to live, to settle down.
-Eugène Fromentin, Algiers, 1852"¹

In his book Orientalism Edward Said wrote, “By the middle of the nineteenth century the Orient had become [...] a career, one in which one could remake and restore not only the Orient but also oneself.”² Said is referring to the many European explorers, expeditions, armies, and merchants who reconstructed their experiences and research into neatly packaged information that could be marketed, bought, and understood by the European public. This was especially true in Algeria where the French government encouraged travel to their new colony in order to collect colonial knowledge and better assimilate the indigenous population. Algeria also presented new opportunities to Europeans who were looking for a new life or fresh start as settlers. In this chapter I examine the Algerian career of the French composer Francisco Salvador Daniel, a career catapulted into success because of his opportunistic decision to settle in Algiers.

During the nineteenth century, many writers, artists, and composers traveled to Algeria in search of compositional inspiration and exotic escape. Salvador Daniel, however, was unique from his contemporaries in that he moved to Algeria in search of a livelihood. Roger Benjamin notes that young and insecure artists often traveled to the Orient in order to jump-start their careers. These artists were often helped by government funding and stipends to travel to remote locations in order to study the geography, culture, and customs of the region. Benjamin notes that these “traveling scholarships”

² Said, Orientalism, 166. Said is citing from Benjamin Disraeli’s 1847 novel Tancred; or The New Crusade.
served a dual purpose by “bringing individual painters, sculptors, and architects into the broader machine of the French colonial empire.”

This description is easily extended to the life of Salvador Daniel, a composer who had little success in France and was looking to improve his mediocre career.

Prior to moving to Algeria, Salvador Daniel’s career as a composer and musician was fraught with rejection and failure. During his early career, he tried to follow the path of his father, Don Salvador Daniel (1787-1850), a composer, organist, pianist, and teacher. The father and son team co-wrote a music theory book for children titled *Alphabet musical, ou principes élémentaires de la théorie et pratique de la musique* (1843). Salvador Daniel and his father had more than music in common. In 1823, Salvador Daniel’s father fled Spain after the Spanish Absolutist Reaction. Don Salvador Daniel had been captain of the liberal forces in Spain.

Several decades later, his son followed the father’s interest in liberal politics by participating in the Paris Commune.

In Paris, Salvador Daniel attended the Conservatoire, studied with Belgian virtuoso violinist André Robberechts (1797-1860), and wrote several short songs for voice and piano. As a performer, he earned a position as second violinist at the Théâtre-Lyrique de Paris. Despite his education, he had trouble finding firms to publish his music compositions and was denied teaching jobs at several institutions. Recognizing his struggles, his composer-friend Félicien David suggested that he move to Algeria.

Salvador Daniel decided to follow this advice and in 1853 he moved to Algiers.

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5 These include 6 romances for 1-2 voices and piano under the title *Adieu* (1849) and a series of songs from 1849 that set texts by Louis Girard: *Le Myosolis, L’Oillet, Pie IX, Les Pilotes côtiers, Primavère, Les Proscrits: Mélodie nationale* and *Riches et pauvres.*
**Salvador Daniel as Settler**

In Algiers, Salvador Daniel studied Arabic and translated ancient Arab music treatises with the help of a friend named Cotelle, a “learned orientalist,” “distinguished musician,” and interpreter at the Consulate at Tangiers. Arthur Pougin noted that he was “arduously occupied” with the study of Arab music. He transcribed Arab folk songs and performed with native musicians. Captivated by Arab folk music, he collected no fewer than 400 “specimens” of music during his sojourns throughout North Africa. His travels to collect Arab music throughout North Africa were funded by the services of the general, civil, and military government and by a group of friends who were interested in his research.

Henry George Farmer attempted the only existing memoir of Salvador Daniel’s life, and letters and short biographical excerpts found in French music dictionaries give conflicting information. For example, a short essay by Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin, the assistant librarian at the Paris Conservatoire, notes that he left Algeria immediately after the death of his fiancée in 1857. However, Farmer states that the composer lived in Algeria until 1866 when he returned to Paris. Adding further confusion, Guy Bourligueux and María Sanhuesa Fonseca both state that he left Algeria in 1857 for Madrid, then went

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to Lisbon in 1859 and finally returned to Paris in 1865. Salvador Daniel published a number of musical critiques under the pseudonym “Sidi-Maboul,” or “Mr. Crazy,” in the Spanish journal La Independencia Española in 1858. However, he must have returned to Algeria after 1857, perhaps several times. He founded the Orphéon algérien in 1861-62, and his “Notice sur la musique kabyle” concludes with the signature Algiers, May 1863.

The controversy over Salvador Daniel’s biography extends to other matters, including his supposed fiancée. In a letter to Farmer, the journalist and music critic André de Ternant noted that Salvador Daniel’s only love interest was a young actress who abandoned him for a wealthier “protector.” Farmer, however, echoes Weckerlin’s account, adding that Salvador Daniel’s fiancée was “a beautiful girl, the daughter of a merchant of Algiers” who became ill the day before their marriage and died almost immediately. At this point, his biographers take a good deal of poetic license, embellishing upon the composer’s loss. Farmer simply writes that Salvador Daniel stopped working for a time but Pougin relates that he was struck by a “malady of despair.” Pougin’s supplement to Fétis’s Biographie universelle states that his mind became deranged and his intellectual faculties were violently disturbed. Ternant furthered this notion writing that Salvador Daniel was so tormented by melancholy, he

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12 These include performance reviews of opera productions in Madrid including La traviata, Lucia di Lammermoor and La sonnambula.

13 Farmer, “Memoir of Francesco Salvador-Daniel,” 15. In 1865, Algeria was struck by a cholera epidemic. Military personnel travelling from Marseille to Sidi Ferruch probably transmitted the disease and many Algérois (inhabitants of Algiers) were infected. It is possible that Salvador Daniel’s fiancée was amongst these casualties.

14 Fétis, Biographie universelle, 232.
spent time in a **maison santé**.\(^{15}\) Regardless, by 1866, Salvador Daniel was living in Paris and had left Algiers for good.

In 1853, when Salvador Daniel first arrived in Algiers, government officials in Algeria were in the midst of negotiating how to deal with the large numbers of settler populations in the colony. In 1848 and 1849 the French government enacted settlement projects encouraging working-class men and families, particularly those from the northern *quartiers* of Paris, to emigrate from France to Algeria in order to become farmers and workers in the Tell region. The settlement project fulfilled many of the government’s goals in Algeria, including their interest in further colonizing regions of Algeria and cultivating crops that would yield food and other agriculture products—a “granary of empire.” Furthermore, resettlement would bring to fruition the goal of “modular assimilation” in which the tribes of the Tell would learn “European methods of commerce, agriculture and property from daily exposure to settler life.” Some officials even supported the idea of intermarriage between the settlers and tribes of the Tell.\(^{16}\)

Tens of thousands of working-class men and their families seized the opportunity to immigrate to Algeria. The commission overseeing the Settlement Project received over 60,000 initial applicants, a number that grew to 80,000 in the following months.\(^{17}\) Between 1847-51, the population of French citizens living in Algeria increased by nearly 24,000.\(^{18}\) This exponential rise in population proved too great a burden on the burgeoning

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\(^{15}\) André de Ternant, “The Director of the Paris Conservatoire of Music during the Commune,” *The British Bandsman* (January 1889): 83.

\(^{16}\) Hill, “Imperial Nomads,” 138, 257.

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 132.

\(^{18}\) According to Kamel Kateb, the population of “Français d’origine” in 1847 was 42,274 compared to 66,060 in 1851. Kateb, *Européens, «Indigènes» et Juifs*, 29. Also see Sessions, *By the Sword and Plow*. 
government in Algeria, as many new settlers had been promised land, homes, livestock, food, and additional income.

In 1852, an article from the journal *L’Akhbar* surmised that Algeria had merely attracted those families who were too poor to travel to America.\(^{19}\) Government officials argued that many settlers had moved to Algeria simply to beg. This was especially evident in the large cities. In June 1852, officials created a law to stem the increase of these “pauper migrants” by creating a *dépôt de mendicité* and outlawing panhandling in the streets of Algiers.\(^{20}\) In 1852-53, officials began to withdraw government subsidies for settlers, insisting that settlers were lazy and too reliant on handouts. Officials imposed more stringent requirements for those applying to immigrate to Algeria. For example, in 1853, authorities raised the financial requirement from 2,000 to 4,000 francs for new settlers.\(^{21}\)

Salvador Daniel’s migration to Algeria in 1853 came at a serendipitous time. The government wanted to attract settlers who could show that they had the means and monetary funds to provide for themselves so as not to further burden the administration. His jobs as violinist with the Théâtre-Lyrique and playing viola in chamber music ensembles provided steady income. He also had noteworthy friends and contacts who could vouch for his character, credibility, and skills that proved he could make a living for himself. His abilities as a musician, composer, and teacher would also have been


\(^{20}\) Salinas, “Colonies without Colonists,” 217.

\(^{21}\) Ibid., 226.
attractive to the existing settler population and military personnel who were looking for forms of entertainment and leisure in their new home.

In Algiers, Salvador Daniel continued to perform the violin, most notably at the Théâtre d’Alger, also known at that time as the Opéra d’Alger. Napoléon III had “donated” the land for the new theater, located on Place Bresson, present-day Place Port Saïd, and construction began at the end of 1850.\(^{22}\) He lived within walking distance of the Théâtre d’Alger on rue Rovigo, a street that ran just behind the theater.\(^{23}\)

The opening of the theater, officially inaugurated as the Théâtre impérial d’Alger, occurred the same year as Salvador Daniel’s arrival in Algiers, with the first performance on 29 September 1853. He was a violinist in the orchestra of the Opéra d’Alger. His performances at the Théâtre d’Alger included two concerts of instrumental music in 1855. On 8 March 1855 Salvador Daniel played first violin—a promotion from his second violin status in France—in the first concert of instrumental music performed at the theater. The concert featured works by Mozart, Beethoven, and Weber. The theater’s second concert of instrumental music occurred on 23 March 1855 and included works by Mendelssohn, Fresca, and Mozart.

Salvador Daniel’s performances at the Théâtre d’Alger earned him high praise. A critic of the 1855 concerts at the Théâtre said that he “played with a skillful eclecticism and, thus, played circles around the violins of [Delphin] Allard, [Constant] Hermann,

\(^{22}\) The Théâtre d’Alger was not the first nor was it the only theater in Algiers at the time. However, the size and beauty of the theater was praised at its opening with one critic stating that it was beyond comparison among any other in Algiers. M. T. Luxeuil, *Théâtre impérial d’Alger* (Alger: Imprimerie de A. Bourget, 1853), 4.

\(^{23}\) Today, rue Rovigo has been divided into two streets: rue Patrica Lumumba and rue Ali Boumendjel.
Sivéry, [Heinrich Wilhelm] Ernst or [Henri] Vieuxtemps.” Indeed, this critic’s praise was generous, placing Salvador Daniel’s violin skills above the noted musicianship of those who even rubbed elbows with Paganini and Schumann.

**Teaching Culture Through Song:**
**The École arabe française and the Orphéon algérien**

Salvador Daniel taught music at the École arabe française on rue Porte Neuve in the Casbah district of Algiers. He was the only professor of music, so his skills must have been welcomed when he arrived. The Écoles arabes françaises were set up in many cities in the 1840s and ‘50s throughout Algeria, including Algiers, Constantine, Oran, and Blidah. These schools were not for French settlers but, instead, for the “indigène” population. Often nicknamed the Écoles arabes or Écoles arabes françaises, their official title was the “Institution publique indigène écoles arabes.” There were separate primary schools for boys and girls and secondary schools. Each school had a French director, “directeur français,” and an Algerian assistant director or “maître adjoint-indigène.” Students at the schools were taught reading, writing, and grammar in French and Arabic, mathematics, history, geography, and sewing. Other schools, such as the Écoles

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25 Ernst performed with Paganini and Schumann compared Vieuxtemps to Paganini. Coincidentally, Vieuxtemps spent his last years in a sanatorium in Mustapha Supérieur, a wealthy suburb of Algiers where Vieuxtemps’s daughter and son-in-law had settled.

26 CAOM, Fonds Ministériels, 80F/1572.

27 CAOM, Fonds Ministériels, 80F/1573.
françaises and the Écoles israélites, served the European and Jewish populations, respectively, in each province.

The Écoles arabes françaises were set up in the major cities of Algeria with the plan that as the French colonization project grew stronger and as funds allowed, more and more schools would be set up throughout the country. A declaration regarding the laws and governance of the schools stated:

There will be established, in each of the cities of Algiers, Constantine, Bône, Oran, Blidah, Mostaganem and successively in the other cities where there is need, a primary school for the teaching of Arabic and French to Muslim students.\(^{28}\)

In addition to teaching at the École arabe français, Salvador Daniel taught private lessons in violin, viola, and solfeggio from his home. His sister, a vocalist, taught private vocal lessons as well.

Barbès related that Salvador Daniel was especially adept at “converting” his students at the École arabe français “to the Western aesthetic and how to make them sing in the many voice parts of a European choir.”\(^{29}\) In addition to compositions by Salvador Daniel, the students performed pieces by Mozart, Bellini, Haydn, and Beethoven. A review of a concert given by the school choir at the Grande Mosque on 6 August 1863 noted that the audience, composed of many notable figures and Muslim families, was struck by the liveliness and confidence of the young singers.\(^{30}\)

\(^{28}\) CAOM, Fonds Ministériels, 80F/1573. “Il sera établi dans chacune des ville d’Alger, Constantine, Bône, Oran, Blidah, Mostaganem et successivement dans les autres villes où l’utilité en sera reconnue, une École primaire pour le double enseignement de l’Arabe et du Français aux élèves de la religion musulmane.”

\(^{29}\) Barbès, “Une Figure curieuse,” 221. “Surtout il sut, vrai miracle pour l’époque et le milieu, les convertir à l’esthétique occidentale et leur faire chanter à plusieurs voix des chœurs européens.”

\(^{30}\) Le Mobacher, 27 Safar 1280 (12 August 1863), cited in Barbès, “Une Figure curieuse,” 222.
and even Salvador Daniel himself, became a symbol for the policy of assimilation. The Prefect of Algiers stated:

A leading notion presided over the question of the Écoles arables françaises. This notion is the fusion of different races that presently make up the basis of Algeria in one nation alone. It represents the convergence of diverse strengths into one single force, strengths that are presently scattered without collective action and make up of dissimilar elements of origin, manners and language.\(^{31}\)

This “fusion of races” describes the *creuset Algérien* or Algerian melting pot. Andrea Smith argues that the ambivalence surrounding the metaphor of an Algerian melting pot reflects the contradictions and tensions inherent in the assimilation process itself, a process that necessarily involves loss and the death of one lifeway as well as the adoption and creation of new ones.\(^{32}\)

The Écoles arables françaises became a symbol of Algeria’s diversity and a microcosm of France’s perceived success in assimilating the population. This idea extended to Salvador Daniel’s students and school music ensembles, viewed by the Prefect of Algiers as a successful realization of this “fusion of races.”

In 1860 Salvador Daniel directed two ensembles: the Orphéon algérien and the Harmonie d’Alger. In establishing the Orphéon algérien, Salvador Daniel sought to create a choral society that included members from “all of the races that lived in Algeria.”\(^{33}\)

This choral society spurred the creation of similar ensembles throughout Algeria.

According to Henri Maréchal and Gabriel Parès, it was Salvador Daniel who introduced and popularized the *orphéon* in Algeria:

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\(^{31}\) *L’Akhbar* (8 August 1865), cited in Barbès, “Une figure curieuse,” 227. “Une grande pensée a présidé à la question des Écoles Arabes Françaises: cette pensée, c’est la fusion en une seule nation des différentes races qui peuplent aujourd’hui le sol de l’Algérie; c’est la jonction en un faisceau unique de ces diverses forces aujourd’hui éparses, sans action collective, formées d’éléments dissemblables d’origine, de mœurs, de langage.”


The orphéon still carried on its assimilative career in Algeria. Since 1860, the same time when Salvator [sic] Daniel (1830-1871) founded the Orphéon d’Alger, he never stopped working on the establishment of musique populaire in the land of Africa. First, he added a women’s part to his society in Algiers that he left under the direction of his sister, then he successively created other societies in Blidah, Boufarik and in a dozen other locations in the province of Algiers. These consisted of not only colons but also a number of indigènes became a part of these groups. An organist from Oran, Pascal, followed Salvador’s example and formed a chorale in Oran where it premiered with success in 1862.34

The orphéons in Algeria became so popular that a festival for the choral ensembles held in Algiers drew together 600 performers.35

Salvador Daniel’s choral societies included European and North African members. For his Orphéon algérien, he recruited singers “from all of the races that lived in Algeria: French, Arabs, Spanish, Kabyles, Blacks.” This diverse chorus became a symbol for the French assimilation project. Maurice Cristal affirmed that it was “the first example of an utterly complete and absolute fusion of nationalities.”36 Henri Maréchal noted that since the founding of the Orphéon algérien by Salvador Daniel, the society continued to pursue its “assimilative goal” into the twentieth century.37

Salvador Daniel’s orphéons attracted the attention of Napoléon III. On 4 May 1865, he directed a performance of the Orphéon algérien at the Palais du Gouverneur in Algiers with the Emperor and the Governor General Édouard de Martimprey in the


35 Ibid., 72.


37 Maréchal and Parès, Monographie universelle, 71-72.
The orchestra performed various works including *Les Enfants de l’Algérie*, *Vive l’Empereur*, and Auber’s *La Prière de la muette*. A description of a performance by the *orphéon* for the Emperor, most likely the 4 May 1865 concert, stated:

In the evening at 7:00, the Orphéon communal d’Alger, under the direction of M. Salvador-Daniel, had the honor of performing for the Emperor at the Palais du Gouvernement. Amongst the *orphéonists*, there were a number of young Muslims. The *orphéon* performed, in this order, *La Prière de la Muette*, *les Enfants de l’Algérie*, *les Gaules romaines* and finally *Vive l’Empereur!* His Majesty complimented the *orphéonists* on their good performance. He also acknowledged with satisfaction, the excellent spirit which presided over the choral society’s diverse participants who represented the different nationalities that lived in Algeria.

The Orphéon algérien was not the only Algerian choral society to perform for the Emperor. The *orphéon* in Boufarik, founded by Salvador Daniel, performed a national anthem during the arrival of the Imperial train at the town’s station. In Mostaganem, the town *orphéon* performed a cantata by Alexandre Brumpt under the windows of Napoléon III’s guest residence. The emperor was so moved by the performance that he went down to the entrance and thanked them for their performance.

Communal singing societies in Algeria had similar counterparts in France. Katharine Ellis notes that *orphéons* were initially established in France in the mid-1830s by Bocquillon Wilhem and quickly became a national movement. According to Ellis,
these local choral societies encouraged communal singing across class divisions with members from artisan and working classes.\(^{41}\)

**Figure 2.1: Growth of Orphéons in France\(^{42}\)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of orphéons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ellis writes that the *orphéon* movement had a “civilizing effect” that was intended to inspire devoted loyalty to the nation, particularly in the “potentially insurgent lower class.”\(^{43}\) Likewise, Jann Pasler notes that these choral societies were often called “conservatories of the people” and were believed to help control selfish passions and provide a means toward relaxation and rest from work and suffering.\(^{44}\)

This principle of providing accessible, music-performing ensembles for all people would have appealed to Salvador Daniel’s own interest in “democratic” music. The popularity of *orphéons* spread throughout the French empire. Similar choral societies appeared in Tunisia, Guyana, and Martinique during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

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\(^{42}\) Ibid., 223. Ellis notes that the choirs were unevenly spread nationwide.

\(^{43}\) Ibid., 224.

century. Ellis states that the *orpéon* in France presented a “microcosm of society” and “image of the singing nation.” The establishment of *orpéons* in France’s colonies expands this idea to an image of the singing French empire.

*Orphéons* provided a venue where bourgeois families mixed with aristocrat amateurs, thus giving “ordinary people an active role in culture.” The *orpéons* in Algeria and other colonies served the ambiguous interest in assimilating native populations. While in France the heterogeneous chorus ensembles promoted interaction across social classes, the *orpéons* in Algeria were praised for their membership that crossed racial and ethnic divisions. In France, members of *orpéons* engaged in the “emulation, judging, respecting and trying to equal or better one another’s sound” and thus “stimulated the capacity for assimilating knowledge and experience.”

The École arabes françaises and the *orpéon* seemingly fit the French government’s goals of colonization and the *mission civilisatrice*. Both aimed to not only educate the Arab and Kabyle populations but educate them using French education practices, language, and Western art music. Pasler argues that the *orpéon* in France served the Republican goals of enabling “everyone to hear great music and benefit from the self-growth encouraged by musical practices” and the conservative ideals to purify working-class music preferences. However, it is tempting to examine Salvador Daniel’s teaching at the École arabes françaises and his direction of the *orpéons* as a result of his

47 Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 198-199.
48 Ibid., 199.
49 Ibid., 202.
liberal political leanings and a precursor to his interest in socialist principles. No doubt he viewed both as ways to support himself and make a living, but his interest in teaching and bringing together the various ethnic populations of Algeria could be read as serving Republican nationalism just as much as populist socialism.

Pasler states that singing choruses did not require prior training or much expense and “strengthened ties to family, profession, neighborhood, region, and class.” Yet, a few lines later, she notes that these ensembles joined together men and women, bourgeoisie and aristocrats. It is understandable that a music ensemble could strengthen community bonds and self-identity. Likewise, such an ensemble—or school chorus, such as at the Écoles arabes françaises—could break barriers of gender, race, and class by literally joining everyone together into one harmonious voice.

The question of the public utility, to use Pasler’s words, of the orphéon, becomes more complicated when examining Salvador Daniel’s choral groups in Algeria. The composer certainly benefited from the French Republic’s financial and logistical support of his career as a settler and researcher in Algeria. But he had grown up in a politically liberal family, befriended Saint-Simonian artists, such as Félicien David, and participated in the Paris Commune after his return from Algeria. These affiliations reveal the ambiguity in teasing out what his political motivations—if any—were in creating and directing his orphéons and school choirs. Perhaps Salvador Daniel was a political

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50 Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 199. Katharine Ellis discusses the controversy over admitting female members to the choral societies. Opponents argued against the mixing of genders while proponents insisted that female members would make the orphéons more successful in performing works and “competing musically with Protestant countries.” See Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, 228.

51 As Ralph Locke notes, Saint-Simonianism was a socialist movement that “preached the elimination of all hereditary rights” and “the reorientation of social institutions towards ‘the moral, intellectual and physical improvement of the poorest and most numerous class.’” See Ralph Locke, “Saint-Simonians,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24339 (accessed 18 September 2010).
chameleon, adapting to the winds of governmental change to benefit himself. This idea certainly serves his creative opportunistic life and career in Algeria and it can hardly be refuted that his choral ensembles gave him prestige and respect among community leaders and political figures in both France and Algeria.

**Colonialism and Kabyles**

Salvador Daniel published a small number of his collected transcriptions in Adolphe Hanoteau’s *Poésies de la Kabylie du Jurjura* (1867). The collection, titled “Notice sur la musique kabyle,” was republished in Salvador Daniel’s *La Musique arabe: Ses Rapports avec la musique grecque et le chant grégorien).*52* Hanoteau (1814-97) was a military officer and served in various capacities in the French colon government in Algeria from 1845-1866. During this time he led several expeditions within the Kabyle regions of Algeria, allowing him to gain further knowledge of the people and customs in order to help French efforts in these areas.*53* Hanoteau studied various Berber languages and wrote several books including Kabyle and Tuareg grammars. His best-known work is *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles* (1872-73), co-authored with Aristide Letourneaux. Prior to this, Hanoteau published his *Poésies*, a collection of Kabyle poems and songs from specific times and events during the French conquest of Algeria from 1847-1862.

Salvador Daniel accompanied Hanoteau on some of the army expeditions. Hanoteau’s *Poésies* concludes with Salvador Daniel’s “Notice sur la musique kabyle.”

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His “Notice” includes a short introduction about Kabyle music including discussions of melody, rhythm, mode, and the performers who sang these songs. Four of the ten songs contain programmatic titles that describe events of France’s colonization of Algeria:

Figure 2.2: Transcription titles from Salvador Daniel’s “Notice sur la musique kabyle”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcription Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Conquest of Algiers, with luck and prayers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Expedition of Marshal Bugeaud in the Valley of the Desert in 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Expedition of General Pélissier to the Maâtka tribe in 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Expedition of Marshal Randon to the Ait-Bou-Addou tribe in 1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Submission of the Kabyle under Marshal Randon in 1857</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the songs in Salvador Daniel’s “Notice” are also discussed in Hanoteau’s portion of the book and include the texts of the songs in both Kabyle and French. Salvador Daniel notes the village and tribe from which the song was collected and the army officer who led the expedition.

The texts express the feelings of hopelessness and despair over French colonization. For example, the text to *Conquest of Algiers*, cries out in despair that the “Turks have left without hope of return.—And they have taken with them the beautiful Algiers.”54 Several lines later, the text exclaims “Unfortunate queen of cities!—The city of beautiful medieval architecture,—Algiers, the pillar of Islam, is now as good as dead;—the French banner surrounds everything.”55 The lines of *Expedition of Marshal*

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54 Hanoteau, *Poésies populaires*, 2. “Maintenant les Turcs sont partis sans espoir de retour.—Alger la belle leur est enlevée.”
Bugeaud in the Valley of the Desert in 1847 lament the excessive force used by Bugeaud to subjugate the Kabyles of the Aît-Mellikeuch. During this expedition, Bugeaud led approximately 7,000 soldiers in order to conquer the region surrounding Bougie.

The text of Expedition of General Pélissier to the Maâtka tribe in 1851 recounts: “The French are mighty in number,—during the night they surround us;—they disembark onto the sandy beach—24,000 soldiers;—they are organized in all that they do;—they carry an abundance of supplies.”

Salvador Daniel wrote that the song uses the edzeil mode, the “war mode par excellence.” Lastly, the poems of Expedition of Marshal Randon to the Aït-Bou-Addou tribe in 1856 and Submission of the Kabyle under Marshal Randon in 1857 relate Randon’s involvement in the combats of 30 September to 4 October 1856 and his subjugation of the Kabyle in 1857. During these combats, Randon forced the population of the village of Icheridioun to vacate their homes, purchased by the French government for approximately 25,000 francs each, in order to establish Fort Napoléon.

The authors of these poems were Kabyles inhabiting the regions where Hanoteau and Salvador Daniel traveled. For instance, Conquest of Algiers is by El-Hadj-Âmeur-ou-el-hadj from the Imecheddalon tribe, Expedition of Marshal Bugeaud and Expedition of Marshal Randon are by Si-Mohammed-Saïd-ou-Sid-Âli-ou-Âbd-Allah from the Aït-Mellikeuch tribe, and Expedition of General Pélissier is by Âli-ou-Ferhat de Bou-Hinoun.


56 Ibid., 53. “Le Français est puissant par le nombre,—pendant la nuit il nous a enveloppés;—il a débarqué sur la plage sablonneuse-quatre-vingt mille soldats;—il fait tout avec méthode;—il a apporté des provisions en abondance.”

from the village of Bou-Hinoun, in Tizi-Ouzou. Hanoteau included the Kabyle poetry texts in Arabic script and then translated them into French.

If we are to believe that these texts are in fact faithful transcriptions of what was recited and performed before Hanoteau and Salvador Daniel by the Kabyles mentioned in the book, we are then confronted with the question of the subaltern. Certainly Salvador Daniel and Hanoteau recounted and published the poetry and melodies. However, in the texts discussed above, the subaltern voice speaks. Through these texts, the Kabyle authors lament many of the actions of the French military and mourn over the loss of their country under the Ottomans who only marginally governed Algeria. The above lines appear brutally honest and may have been controversial to the military and government who were funding Hanoteau and Salvador Daniel’s expedition and research. The French colonial project in Algeria was an undeniably controversial topic amongst French government officials throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, for two men who depended on French colonialism and the French government for their careers, their inclusion of texts that expressed the voices and sentiments of the colonized—sentiments that depicted the negative aspects of colonialism—was noteworthy and even perhaps risky.

Various perceptions and motivations prompted Hanoteau and Salvador Daniel’s interest in the Kabyles. Little was known about the Kabyle tribes in North Africa in the middle of the century, partially due to the rugged terrain of the Kabyle regions. Myths and stereotypes about these tribes flourished as the French government sought to understand the Kabyles in hopes of expanding their empire.\(^{58}\) One contemporary belief

\(^{58}\) According to Patricia Lorcin, an 1847 map drawn by army cartographers of the Arab Affairs Bureau delineates the area of Kabylia as “a trapezoid running roughly from the mouth of the Isser river on the
saw the Kabyles as the most representative of Berber society since they were the most prevalent, non-Arab population encountered by the French in North Africa. French scholars also argued that the Kabyles were more assimilable to European culture due to their history and perceived origins.59

Among the French residents in Algeria, a group of advocates emerged for the Kabyle population, known as the kablyphiles or “Kabyle-lovers.” Hanoteau’s *Poésies de la Kabylie du Jurjura* was published during the pinnacle of “kablyphilia,” a term that gained popularity in the 1860s. This advocacy stemmed from the French government’s heightened interest in extending their empire into Kabyle territory. Government officials in France and Algeria also held a common perception that the Kabyles were superior to the Arabs, a phenomenon Patricia Lorcin has described as the “Kabyle Myth.”60 Hanoteau reflected this belief in *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, arguing that the Kabyles were the most promising candidates for assimilation and were more willing to accept innovation over other Muslim people.61 This myth spread to the reification of

Mediterranean between Delys and Algiers, south to Aumale, east to Sétif and north to Bougie. It is this area which was considered to be Kabylia during the nineteenth century and approximated to what is today known as Greater and Lesser Kabylia. The mountain ranges included in this area are the Djurjura (in Greater Kabylia today) and the Biban and Guergour mountains (in Lesser Kabylia today).” See Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 5.

59 General Eugène Daumas suggested that the Kabyles’s original religion was Christianity. See Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 62. There are also arguments over the origin of the Kabyle language. Some scholars stated that it was a Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) language, related to sub-Saharan African languages, while others stated that it was tied to Northern European languages.

60 Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 2.

ancient law, believing that Algerian political structures should be built on the ancient public law hidden within the village republics of the Kabyle. The joint publication by Salvador Daniel and Hanoteau illustrates the growing interest in the Kabyle that was strongly motivated by French government interests as well as common stereotypes accepted by the French public and settlers during this time.

Salvador Daniel’s “Notice” includes several pages describing Kabyle music, noting differences between the music of the Orient and that of “civilized people.” He remarked that harmony is unknown to the Kabyles, who employ twelve distinct modes and intervals of semi-tones, and that their music “like that of all of Africa, has only two elements: melody and rhythm.” He explained each of the melodies transcribed in the chapter with information about mode, scale, dynamics, rhythm, accompanying instruments, and, in some cases, the occasion for which they were sung. Asserting his position as an expert in the field of Arab music, he again reminded his readers that he has played this music with native musicians using their own indigenous instruments and reassures his readers: “Thus, in opposition to all those who have addressed this issue, I am able to say that I rely on personal experience; as such and in these conditions, the information that I give must have some value.” Salvador Daniel emphasized that it is his firsthand knowledge as a settler and researcher in Algeria that authorizes his account.

These beliefs echo the racial theories of superiority in Arthur de Gobineau’s *Essai sur l’inégalité des races humaines* (1853-1855).


64 Ibid., 463. “Ainsi, bien qu’en opposition sur ce point avec tous ceux qui ont traité cette question, puis-je dire que je m’appuie sur une expérience personnelle; à ce titre et dans ces conditions, les renseignements que je donne doivent avoir quelque valeur.”
Salvador Daniel as Cross (Cultural) Dresser

During his Algerian career, Salvador Daniel embraced local customs and dress. This cross-cultural dress afforded him the opportunity to meet and befriend important Algerian musicians and leaders. André de Ternant wrote that Salvador Daniel “cultivated a pointed Algerian beard and wore the Arab dress,” thus allowing him to access social circles normally closed to Orientalists in North Africa. 65 Foreigners were normally not welcomed into the society of respected Algerian musicians. 66 P. Lacome d’Estaleux related an incident when he met Salvador Daniel and, mistakenly, believed that the composer was Arab or from Middle Eastern descent. 67

Cross-cultural dressing was a popular trend amongst European travelers to foreign countries. Prior to Salvador Daniel’s career in Algiers, Eugène Delacroix used European models dressed in North African clothes in order to create his famed Women of Algiers (1834). Eugène Fromentin, who made several trips to Algeria in the 1840s, sketched a self-portrait in Arab dress. 68 Decades later, in 1881 and 1882, Pierre-Auguste Renoir traveled twice to Algiers where he took advantage of the cheaper prices for fabric and

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65 Letter to Henry George Farmer from André de Ternant on September 1, 1911, GB-Gu, Special Collections, MS Farmer 623/4/3, Bi. 23-2.3. Barbès noted that Salvador Daniel’s adoption of Arab dress and language afforded him many fortuitous opportunities in Algeria. Barbès was a composer and musicologist in addition to being the president of the Société historique algérienne in Algeria. The Société was founded in 1856 and published the Revue africaine. See Barbès, “Une Figure curieuse,” 195.


68 Barbara Wright and James Thompson, Eugène Fromentin, 1820-1876: Visions d’Algérie et d’Égypte (Courbevoie: ACR, 2008), 116; and John Zarobell, Empire of Landscape: Space and Ideology in French Colonial Algeria (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 95. Autoportrait en Arabe (undated), Private collection, La Roche sur Yon, France. Wright and Thompson note that it is not certain that this is a self-portrait of Fromentin but believe the physical resemblance in the sketch is strikingly similar to his other self-portraits.
clothing to buy costumes for his portrait subjects. This resulted in a series of paintings of French women dressed in Algérois costume, including *L’Algérienne et son enfant* (1882) and *L’Algérienne* (1883). In the 1890s, French novelist Pierre Loti traveled to Algeria where he adopted Bedouin and “Oriental” dress.\(^69\)

The phenomenon of Western Europeans dressing in the local costumes of the same people whom they were colonizing extends the process of colonization of land and borders to the space of body, culture, and costume.\(^70\) By dressing in “Algerian” dress, Salvador Daniel, Renoir, and his portrait subjects colonized the bodies that normally took up that space. Cross-cultural dressing was a physical representation of power. French visitors or settlers to Algeria had the power and means to purchase the clothing and fabric necessary to dress as they pleased. They were able to move between the lines of French and Algerian, negotiating these spaces and boundaries for their own purposes. For Renoir, cross-cultural dressing served his need for female sitters not readily available or willing amongst the Muslim population in Algiers. It also reveals Renoir’s ethnographic interests in using dress as a means to record local habits and dress.\(^71\) Salvador Daniel, however, used cross-cultural dressing to serve his interests to gain access to those spaces of society that may have otherwise been closed—or at least not welcome—to him as a French man. Likewise, Salvador Daniel used dress in order to gain access to further his ethnographic knowledge and recording of local musical cultures. By dressing in Arab

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\(^{69}\) For further reading on Loti and crossing gender and cultural boundaries in dress, see Peter James Turberfield, *Pierre Loti and the Theatricality of Desire* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008). Pierre Loti is the pseudonym of Julien Viaud.

\(^{70}\) I am thankful to James McDougall for his insight and suggestions about Renoir and cross-cultural dressing.

\(^{71}\) Benjamin, *Renoir and Algeria*, 81.
clothing, Salvador Daniel was able to meet and perform with musicians who presumably
would not meet with other researchers unwilling to cross the cultural dress divide.

This idea of “becoming Algerian” through dress and action works against Said’s
notion that Orientalism is purely a practice of exteriority. Said writes that the Orientalist’s
work is “meant to indicate that the Orientalist is outside the Orient, both as an existential
and moral fact.”\(^{72}\) According to Said, a line is drawn between author and subject in
Orientalist works. But the cross-cultural acceptance of the Other, as evidenced by
Salvador Daniel and Renoir, blurs this line. Salvador Daniel crossed the line, albeit for
his own selfish reasons, to gain knowledge and prestige, but he crossed it nonetheless,
even fooling his fellow Frenchmen to believe he is the Other.

Salvador Daniel’s, and as we will later see, Saint-Saëns’s, cross-cultural dressing
shows a later development in Orientalism. Whereas earlier interests in Orientalism drew a
clear line between Self and Other, later representations of the Orient obfuscated this line.
Nowhere is this better seen than through the phenomenon of cross-cultural dressing, the
actual dressing up in order to become the Other in costume, culture, and sometimes even
custom, in the case of Salvador Daniel who frequented the social circles of Arab
musicians. The acceptance of culture and custom by Western Europeans took Orientalism
one step further. Instead of merely portraying the foreign culture of the Orient, artists and
travelers accepted these activities as a part of their lives. The difference, however, was
that they did not leave behind their own native culture and customs but, instead, moved
between the two as they so desired. Cross-cultural dressing and engagement in the
activities and customs of the Other was a pastime in its own right. Salvador Daniel used

cross-cultural dressing as a means to learn about Arab music, but the activity itself was no doubt a thrill for him to become someone that he was, in fact, not.

**Salvador Daniel as Expert in Algerian Music**

After returning to France, Salvador Daniel continued to compose, but had little success. He composed the organ and contrabass accompaniment for the *Messe africaine* (1867) by Abbé Léon Joly and *Plusieurs Fantaisies pour orchestre sur des airs arabes*, the latter for which he also created piano arrangements for two and four hands. His “Arabian” opera depicting Algeria prior to the French invasion was to be produced during the 1866-67 season in Marseilles. However, the manager thwarted this plan by demanding more money for production costs than Salvador Daniel could afford. Salvador Daniel sent the score to Berlioz, who “was delighted with it, and promised to use his influence with Franz Liszt to have the opera produced at the Grand Ducal Theatre in Weimar.”  

A few years later, Berlioz passed away, the Franco-Prussian war broke out, and Salvador Daniel became involved with the Paris Commune, seemingly forgetting his opera altogether.

Salvador Daniel did experience newfound fame and respect in Europe as an expert on Arab music. Ternant’s 1889 article relates, “When Salvador Daniel arrived in Paris, the reputation he made in Algiers by his researches on the subject of the music of the Arabs turned out to be an excellent passport for him in many influential circles.”

Barbès wrote that after his return from Algiers, Salvador Daniel became established

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73 André de Ternant, Letter to Henry George Farmer, August 17, 1911, GB-Gu, Special Collections, MS Farmer 623/4/2, Bi. 23-2.3. I have been unable to locate any parts of the opera. However, Farmer reproduces Ternant’s narrative of the opera in his “Memoir” of the composer.

74 Ternant, “Director of the Paris Conservatoire,” 83.
among bourgeois circles as an esteemed professor and experienced musicologist. Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin invited Salvador Daniel to give two lectures at the Société des compositeurs de musique titled “La Facture des instruments primitifs pendant les premiers âges du monde” and “Les Chants de la race cabirique ou gallique.” Salvador Daniel also published a number of articles about Arab music and musical instruments.

Salvador Daniel’s expertise earned him respect among government officials. The French government viewed his projects and publications as a fulfillment of the colonialist agenda to preserve Algerian culture and history. He was invited to direct his orphéon and the choir of the École arabe français at the opening of the first official Algerian reception to Napoléon III on 4 May 1864. In Algeria, Salvador Daniel was introduced in person to the Governor General of Algeria and Marshal of France, Count Jacques Louis Randon, to whom he dedicated a series of articles originally published in the Revue africaine and later published under the title La Musique arabe. The Revue africaine was published by the Société historique algérienne, a society that Randon helped to create. Count Randon received Salvador Daniel’s articles with pleasure and responded by sending one thousand francs in recognition of Salvador Daniel’s “service given to the Muslim arts.”

Upon his return to France, Randon visited Salvador Daniel several times and presented him again to Napoléon III. Salvador Daniel received the favors of the Tuileries and, in June 1867, Napoléon III commissioned a series of concerts “antique et orientale”

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75 Barbès, “Une Figure curieuse,” 211.

76 Ibid., 214.
at the Maison Pompéienne in Paris. The concerts were given on a “grand scale” and were “highly praised by the press.”

A. de Gasperini wrote:

M. Ber, the organiser of the soirées *pompéiennes*, did not want to present a dull program to his audiences, as was customary, such as a collection of polkas and boring fantasies. He very audaciously requested that M. Salvador Daniel present his Oriental music, his Kabyle songs, his desert rhythms and his demonic modes. The venue fit these daring endeavors.

Another review that appeared a few years later was much less flattering. It noted that Salvador Daniel, who had recently been named the new director of the Conservatoire, was only known in Paris for his Arab music concerts at the Maison Pompéienne.

According to the critic, who had attended one of these concerts, the music resembled “the devil on earth” and was poorly attended.

In the same year, Salvador Daniel arranged for musicians from the Aïssaoua (‘Īsāwā) Sufi sect to perform at the Exposition Universelle in Paris. Under the guidance of Salvador Daniel, the musicians boarded a steamship to cross the Mediterranean. One of the musicians, Qaddūr bin ‘Umar bin Banīna, offered a satirical account of the musicians in Paris. He mockingly refers to Salvador Daniel as “the Christian” and describes how the composer promised to show the musicians all of the marvels of Paris and introduce them to Napoléon III. Each of Banīnah’s short comments was written in the voice of different Sufi musicians revealing their culture shock in coming to Paris.

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80 Glasser, “Genealogies of al-Andalus,” 121.
the port before leaving for Paris, the composer forced the musicians to be cooped up like a bunch of locusts. Commentators describe how Salvador Daniel exploited the musicians, keeping the earnings for himself, and reduced the performers to begging on the street. He required the musicians to perform each day from morning to night, locked them in a stable, and treated them like animals. These accounts, whether accurate, exaggerated or untrue, disrupt the idea of mutual respect between Salvador and his musician-informants, and reveal the tensions of power and class within colonial culture.

Salvador Daniel’s writings and transcriptions on Arab music received high respect and esteem. He wrote several articles and books including *La Musique arabe* (1863), “Notice sur la musique kabyle” (1867), and “Fantaisie sur une flute double, Instrument arabe” (1866). Salvador Daniel sent a copy of *La Musique arabe* to Félicien David, hoping to gain recognition for his expertise and scholarly contributions to the music of North Africa. He published a collection of twelve song transcriptions under the title *Album de chansons arabes, mauresques et kabyles* in 1863. Salvador Daniel recognized the importance of his writings on Arab music for his own reputation and even advertised

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82 *La Musique arabe* was first published from 1862-1863 in a series of articles in *Revue africaine*, the journal of the Société historique algérienne. The articles were then published together in 1863 under the title *La Musique arabe: Ses Rapports avec la musique Grecque et le chant Grégorien*. The Algerian publisher Adolphe Jourdan published a second edition in 1879 that included “Notice sur la musique kabyle.” In 1914, Henry George Farmer published an English translation of the book titled *The Music and Musical Instruments of the Arab*. Farmer also included two of his own writings, the “Memoir of Francisco Salvador Daniel” and “Notes on Arab Music.” In 1986, Ouahmi Ould-Braham oversaw the publication of a compilation of Salvador Daniel’s writings titled *Musique et instruments de musique du Maghreb*. This included *La Musique arabe*, “Notice sur la musique kabyle,” “Fantaisie sur une flûte double, Instrument arabe,” and “Les chants de la race cabirique ou gallique,” and a French translation of Farmer’s “Memoir.”

83 Guy Bourligueux states that the *Album de chansons* were published in 1865 while Farmer notes that they were published in 1863. The songs were originally published individually and then published as a collection under the given title above. The collected edition published by Richault does not note any date.
his publications within his works. The manuscript of one of the songs included in his *Album*, titled “Klaâ Beni Abbès,” refers the performer to the collected volume of the *Chansons* and to his book *La Musique arabe*.  

The success of and esteem for Salvador Daniel’s articles and publications are examples of the power of printed texts for colonial knowledge and the French empire. Examining printed texts and music from early twentieth-century Morocco, Jonathan Glasser calls the proliferation of printing in France’s colonies “colonization by the book,” appropriating a phrase from Arthur Christian, director of a Moroccan printing press at the turn of the century. Print technology flourished throughout the nineteenth century and French researchers to North Africa printed publications of their knowledge in French and Arabic, making their texts accessible to the North African and European public. Nicholas Dirks writes that “colonial knowledge both enabled conquest and was produced by it; in certain important ways, knowledge was what colonialism was all about.” The French government sponsored and used publications of colonial knowledge to support their imperialistic aims. In the case of Salvador Daniel, colonial knowledge created a symbiotic relationship, serving both French colonialism and Salvador Daniel’s career.

Salvador Daniel recognized that his career in Algeria made him uniquely qualified to write and give lectures about Arab music. Realizing this, he began his book *La Musique arabe* with the phrase, “Living in Algeria since 1853 [...]” He wasted no

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84 F-Pn, MS 1730.


time in asserting his position as an expert in Algerian music and eagerly attested to his firsthand knowledge and experience on the subject. This statement gives his testimony a greater sense of veracity and also elevated his image in European society. Living in Algeria was to live a life of privilege as a representative of the French empire. Salvador Daniel’s publications of his personal experiences and observations in Algeria became contributions to the “library of Orientalism,” authoritative writings that were accepted as scientific testimonies that furthered the stereotypes of the Other.  

As other nineteenth-century composers sought compositional inspiration from the Orient, Salvador Daniel took great pains to transcribe and perform indigenous music during his stay in Algeria. His enthusiasm on the topic led him to write extensively about the value of Arab music, noting “at present, it is with passion that I make music with Arabs. I not only seek the pleasure of overcoming difficulty; I want to take part in the joys of Arab music obtained by those who understand it.” Salvador Daniel began *La Musique arabe* with an entire chapter on “How to Appreciate Arab Music.” Salvador Daniel tried to appeal to his European audience by admitting his own difficulties in appreciating such music:

> Like everyone else, I at first recognised in [Arab music] only a frightful medley, devoid of melody or measure. However, when I had become habituated to it, from

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89 Salvador-Daniel, *La Musique arabe*, 3. “À présent, c’est avec passion que je fais de la musique avec les Arabes. Ce n’est plus le plaisir de la difficulté vaincue que je cherche; je veux prendre ma part des jouissances que la musique des Arabes procure à ceux qui la comprennent.”
a sort of education of the ear, a day came when I could distinguish something resembling a tune.  

Salvador Daniel continued the chapter by urging his readers not to evaluate the music by contemporary standards; “I must here warn the reader against the general tendency of people to judge everything by present standards.” At first, it appears that Salvador Daniel is defending Arab music and arguing against a Eurocentric attitude toward foreign music. After all, Arab music was believed to be stagnant and unchanging in contrast to the “progressive” art music of Western Europe. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europeans even held that the music of the Orient provided a glimpse of how ancient European music sounded. It is no wonder that Salvador Daniel thus titled a series of essays “Arab Music and its Relationship with Greek Music and Gregorian Chant.”

It is also not a surprise that Salvador Daniel’s main biographer, Henry George Farmer, spent the early portion of his career researching the influence of Arab music on early European music theory. Salvador Daniel’s plea, however, proceeds to focus on innovation and the restoration of gems from the past:

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91 Ibid., 48.

92 Salvador Daniel was not alone in lauding the achievements of the Middle East’s past. Alexandre Christianowitsch (1835-1874) collected Algerian folksongs in 1871, publishing his transcriptions in *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe aux temps anciens* (Cologne: Librairie de M. Dumont-Schauberg, 1863). Christianowitsch’s main goal was to “recall the magnificent past [of Arab music], in order to see more clearly and more strongly its misery and hopeless poverty today (1).” For further reading about Salvador Daniel’s and Christianowitsch’s interest in ancient music see Glasser, “Genealogies of al-Andalus;” and Revuluri, “On Anxiety and Absorption.”

Indeed, if a thing departs ever so little from what is known and accepted, a mass of quite honest people cry out at once against the rash innovator, who often brings forward as a novelty, merely something many centuries old, but abandoned for unknown reasons. And yet, how many good things thus forgotten have been restored to the light and have contributed to the development of human knowledge!94

Salvador Daniel then provided an example for his argument: Guido d’Arezzo. He noted that Guido used Arabic letters and sounds to create the musical language “as we understand it to-day” by extending the Arab theories and thus uniting melody and harmony.95 Instead of defending the Arab musicians with whom he met and performed in North Africa or the Arab melodies that he heard and transcribed, he lauds the Italian music theorist who is credited for creating Western musical notation. The attention switches to Europe. Salvador Daniel links innovation and progress with Western Europe and modern musical practices.

He recognized the “wonderful effects obtained by the Arabs by their music” due to their “analogy to those which the ancients attributed to theirs,” that is, the contemporaries of Guido and Johannis de Muris.96 In conclusion, he reminded his readers why his accounts and opinions should be trusted above other discussions on this topic:

Much has been written about Arab music, but nearly always the judgments come from persons of little musical knowledge and whose opinions were founded upon a restricted number of hearings. Under such conditions it was almost impossible not to be mistaken. If the opinion which I advance, is to have any value, it is not because I am a musician, as the term is understood in Europe, but because, mixing with Arab musicians, I take part in their concerts, playing their songs with them, and finally, in consequence of a habit acquired after several years of work, I have arrived at a comprehension of their music.97

95 Ibid., 49-50.
96 Ibid., 56. Johannes de Muris (c1240-1344), French mathematician, astronomer, and music theorist.
97 Ibid., 57.
His petition against judgment rests solely on the connection between Arab music and ancient European music and on his own expertise. Salvador Daniel’s argument seeks more to praise the efforts of his own career than to create a level of appreciation and understanding for Arab or indigenous folk music.

**Salvador Daniel, Socialism, and the Paris Commune**

In 1868 Salvador Daniel was an administrative delegate to the Socialist group in the sixth arrondissement and a delegate to the National Guard under the Commune. His political views influenced his philosophy of art and he believed that “true art impulse can only come from the people.”\(^98\) Shaver Silver wrote that Salvador Daniel spoke often of a democratic music, defined as music that “pleases the common people and disgusts persons of taste.”\(^99\) Farmer related that Salvador Daniel was a revolutionary socialist and became friends with various revolutionary littérateurs.\(^100\) His subsequent fall in popularity and success after his return from Algeria may have prompted his participation in radical politics. The French historian and composer Félix Clément recounted:

> I knew this artist. He was well-educated and very poor. His work was not encouraged by the administration that only supported those artists who had reached a position that enabled them not to need government assistance; the performances that he gave in the maison pompéienne of prince Jérôme Napoléon only interested scholars. After the misfortunes of the siege, which weighed heavily on the artist musicians, Salvador Daniel, researcher above all, got swept up by the Communist movement.\(^101\)

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101 Clément, *Histoire de la musique*, 62. “J’ai connu cet artiste. Il était fort instruit et très pauvre. Ses travaux ne furent pas encouragés par l’administration, habituée à n’accorder ses faveurs qu’aux artistes arrivés à une situation qui leur permet de s’en passer; les auditions qu’il donna dans la maison pompéienne
Salvador Daniel succeeded Daniel Auber as director of the Paris Conservatoire.\textsuperscript{102} According to Henri d’Alméras, he “wanted to reform music and society” with his “extremely violent theories.”\textsuperscript{103}

Salvador Daniel was interested in realism and authenticity when writing about Arab music. He professed himself “to be in music what Courbet was considered to be in painting—a realist and a democrat.”\textsuperscript{104} Gustave Courbet (1819-77) participated in the Commune of 1871 and was later jailed for his involvement in “art politics.”\textsuperscript{105} Salvador Daniel’s copious notes and detailed diagrams and graphs illustrate his many attempts to understand the music of the Kabyles and Arabs. Courbet’s paintings from the 1840s and 1850s depicted peasants and rural life and were strongly motivated by his ardent political views that formed artistic Realism. His paintings shocked Parisian audiences because they focused on ordinary life that portrayed peasants working in ragged clothing.

In 1870, Courbet was appointed to the Beaux-Arts and, along with others, nominated Salvador Daniel as director of the Conservatoire. Daniel Bernard also noted...

\textsuperscript{102} Salvador Daniel was officially nominated as “Delegate to the Conservatoire de Musique” along with Courbet who was named “Delegate for Fine Arts.” The Paris Conservatoire, then under the name Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation, denied that Salvador Daniel had any connection with the school during the Commune. On 20 September 1909, the Conservatoire responded to an inquiry by Farmer, stating “Salvador Daniel did not officially work [at the Conservatoire] and there are no existing documents concerning this matter,” (“Salvador Daniel, n’ayant pas exercé officiellement, il n’existe aucune pièce le concernant.”) Letter from the Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation written to Henry George Farmer, 20 September 1909, GB-Gu, Special Collections, Henry George Farmer Letters, MS Farmer 623/4/1, Bi. 23-2.3.

\textsuperscript{103} Henri D’Alméras, La Vie parisienne pendant le Siège et sous la Commune (Paris: Albin Michel, 1968), 441.

\textsuperscript{104} Silver, “Shaver Silver,” 411.

the similarities of style between Courbet and Salvador Daniel. According to Bernard Salvador Daniel “sincerely believed in a ‘music of the future’ which would be both social and democratic . . . and, without doubt, he enjoyed being the great expert and initiator of this type of music. As Courbet painted pictures under the inspiration of Proudhon, Salvador searched to create an opera in the same style. However, he never found the way to create such an opera.”

Salvador Daniel argued, “True art impulse can only come from the people.” Farmer connected this statement to Wagner’s view that “art was the result of a ‘common and collective need’ of the folk.” It was through this, Farmer wrote, that Salvador Daniel realized the importance of “Art to Life, and the immediate necessity for the social revolution.” Affirming the connections between academic Orientalism and realism, Roger Benjamin notes that artistic Orientalists were actually “academic realists who had a stake in accuracy.”

Salvador Daniel’s teaching at the Conservatoire also reveals similarities to his emulation of Courbet. As director, Salvador Daniel suggested the communal teaching of classes at the Conservatoire in which a single class would have 10-20 instructors. He believed this method would “broaden the intellectual horizon of the students.” Courbet had initiated a similar method of communal teaching of fine arts. Salvador Daniel’s

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108 Benjamin, Orientalist Aesthetics, 84.

teaching methods were met with hostility and discord. Critics argued that he was too bourgeois, noting his beautiful and white aristocratic hands, “conspicuous gallantry” and calling him a hermaphrodite by participating in both bourgeois and socialist activities. Salvador Daniel later gave up his attempts to democratize music.110

Salvador Daniel contributed articles about his democratic music in La Marseillaise, a rebellious (frondeur) daily paper published from 1869-1870 for which he was also the music editor. Writers vigorously defended socialism and railed against France’s colonial project in Algeria. The journal ceased to operate after fifteen of its writers were arrested for their participation in the Paris Commune. These affiliations hindered Salvador Daniel’s career. Ternant wrote:

[Salvador Daniel] became quite an authority on Arab music, and no doubt in time would have secured a brilliant position under Government patronage if he had not suddenly associated himself with extreme politicians, who were poisoning the minds of the Parisian working classes with their pernicious ideas.111

Although warned by friends of his imminent arrest and possible execution for his participation with the Commune, he persisted in his activities. Daniel Bernard notes that Salvador Daniel was a “ferocious wild boar” (sanglier féroce) who did his best to terrorize the people living in his neighborhood.112

Two months later during the Semaine Sanglante, on 24 May 1871, Salvador Daniel was in his mezzanine apartment. An officer followed by several soldiers from Versailles rushed toward Salvador Daniel’s home on rue Visconti. The officer found Salvador Daniel stretched out on the sofa where he had been talking and smoking a
cigarette. Salvador Daniel was then led out of his apartment. A firing squad arrested him at the corner of rue Bonaparte, where Salvador Daniel finally realized his grim fate. On rue Jacob, Salvador Daniel, asking the firing squad to aim at his neck, knelt down and was shot. His body was left on rue Jacob for several days along with others who had been executed. After his death, there was a rumor that Salvador Daniel had escaped and fled to London. Farmer wrote that three or four hours after his death, Salvador Daniel’s body was taken to the hospital of La Charité after which he was buried in a common grave. Salvador Daniel’s secretary, Paul Delbrett, carried on the composer’s legacy by issuing second editions of his publications and encouraging friends to write excerpts about Salvador Daniel in music dictionaries and journals.

The Question of Experience

Throughout his writings on Arab music, Salvador Daniel emphasized his firsthand experience. In doing so, he distinguished his research from those writers who wrote about Arab music yet had never been there. Perhaps the most famous was Fétis, who published several music dictionaries and encyclopedias. His *Histoire générale de la*

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113 Bernard, “Musicien de la commune,” n.p. This story was later recounted in Henry George Farmer’s “Memoir of Francisco Salvador Daniel.”

114 According to Ternant, during the assault against the Commune, “dead bodies were allowed to remain in the side streets for two or three days in order to frighten the sympathizers in the districts.” See Letter from Andrew de Ternant to Henry George Farmer, 1 September 1911, GB-Gu, Special Collections, Henry George Farmer Papers, MS Farmer 623/4/3, Bi. 23-2.3. Henri D’Alméras noted that Salvador Daniel was shot either on rue Jacob or rue Bonaparte. See Alméras *La Vie parisienne.*


116 This is not to say that Salvador Daniel’s writings are the only firsthand accounts about Arab music. For example, Guillaume Villoteau contributed to the *Description de l’Égypte* (1809-1822) during his trip to the Middle East as a member of Napoleon’s Egyptian expedition in 1798. In 1825, Edward William Lane left for the first of what would be several trips to Egypt. A few years later, Lane published his *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836), which included a chapter on music with examples of Arab melodies, song texts, and pictures of instruments.
musique (1869), published in two volumes, offers descriptions of music from all parts of the world. However, these accounts did not relate his experience but that of other informants. For example, the passages dedicated to Algeria include excerpts from letters written by the composer Sigismund Ritter von Neukomm (1778–1858), who traveled to Algeria in 1835. Similarly, in order to write his Die Musik der Araber (1842), Raphael Georg Kiesewetter relied on the original Arab source materials of Orientalist Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, a former appointee to the Austrian embassy in Constantinople.

Relying on firsthand experiences of a different sort, the French folklorist and musicologist Julien Tiersot based his Notes d’ethnographie musicale (1905) on his encounters with indigenous folk music in France. Attending the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris as well as other smaller music conferences and expositions, Tiersot argued that his account was more complete and definitive than that of his predecessors due to his extensive notes and firsthand encounters with the music. Tiersot’s account, however, offers the experience of indigenous folk music in a foreign context. Instead of hearing the danses des sabres in Morocco or Algiers, he heard them on Parisian streets next to the exhibits of Romania and Annam (present-day northern Vietnam). The exhibition was not laid out geographically but, instead, grouped French colonies and protectorates together with other French governmental displays. Thus, tourists experienced the Egyptian Bazaar and Moroccan exhibit across from displays of Japan and had to walk several blocks to visit the buildings of Cambodia, Tunisia, and Algeria.

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117 Tiersot, Notes d’ethnographie musicale. This book is a collection of articles originally published separately in Le Menestrel from 1900-1902. Ironically, Tiersot considered Salvador Daniel to be the most superficial and inauthentic observer.
The “authenticity” of performers at the Exposition Universelle was suspect as well. Doubts about “whether dancers and musicians came from Algeria and Tunisia or from Montmartre” prompted a temporary closure of the Exposition and the commencement of routine inspections that “verified” authenticity. \(^{119}\) Salvador Daniel’s mid-century publications and transcriptions, therefore, could proudly tout their

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trustworthiness and authenticity based on the author’s personal exposure to Algerian music and his choice to promote realism over imagination.

Reviews and critics noted the expertise and knowledge of Salvador Daniel, sometimes to a fault. After his death, Bernard wrote that Salvador Daniel “left two or three brochures, more curious than the rest, which show a special aptitude, perhaps even too special.”120 Fétis published sections of what he considered the best and most stylistically diverse songs of Salvador Daniel’s transcriptions in his _Histoire générale de la musique_ (1869-76).

Several decades later, musicologists still taught Salvador Daniel’s writings and transcriptions as reliable and dependable.121 Farmer praised the fastidious and thoughtful nature of his research, affirming his opposition to the theories of Villoteau and Kiesewetter. He notes:

He, unlike his predecessors, did not seek to probe the character of Arab music from the ancient Arab treatises alone, nor did he look to Egypt or Arabia as the most likely field for inquiry. He set about his task, as we have seen, in nine years’ personal investigation in a land (less influenced by Western civilisation) that could claim, besides its own traditional music, some vestiges of the great art of the Arabs of Spain. His work has therefore not only the value of being gathered at first hand by a practical musician and a specialist, but gathered in the very heart of Araby.122

In this passage, Farmer lauded Salvador Daniel’s theory of Arab scales in relation to Greek scales. However, instead of emphasizing his critical thinking skills or his elite


121 Although music scholars appear to have valued Salvador Daniel’s writings, the success of his books quickly faded after his death. Bernard wrote that none of his books were successful and an anonymous writer for _The Musical Times_ in 1878 stated that editions of Salvador Daniel’s _La Musique arabe_ was at that time “rare.” Still, supporters of his writings prompted a republication of _La Musique arabe_ in 1879 and the English translation of the book by Farmer in 1917.

education, Farmer stressed his personal investigation and his refusal to rely solely on the writings of others.

Farmer used Salvador Daniel’s scholarship to engage in a written battle over the origins of Arab music with the Irish musicologist Kathleen Schlessinger. Farmer lauded the erudite knowledge collected and ascertained by Salvador Daniel and stated, “After the publication of ‘La Musique Arabe’ and the ‘Chansons Arabes,’ Salvador found himself quite famous in Algeria, and looked upon as quite the authority in all appertaining to the native music.”

Composers also viewed Salvador Daniel’s transcriptions as sources of authenticity and inspiration. Borodin copied several of his Album de chansons that were then, subsequently, borrowed by Rimsky-Korsakov and incorporated into his “Antar” Symphony no. 2, Op. 9 (1868/R). In his book One Hundred Folksongs of all Nations (1911), Granville Bantock wrote that Salvador Daniel’s La Musique arabe was “one of the most reliable authorities on the subject” and that his accompaniments in the Album de chansons gave a “striking impression of reality” that preserved the “peculiar” rhythms and sounds of “Eastern music.” Bantock included three of Salvador Daniel’s chansons in his book, presenting each as a representative of North African nation states. The songs Zohra, Ma Gazelle and Soleïma each represent the nations of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, respectively. More recently, Abū ‘Alī al-Ghawthī bin Muḥammad incorporated sections from La Musique arabe in his book, Kitāb kashf al-qinā‘ ‘an ālāt al-samā‘ (The


125 Granville Bantock, One Hundred Folksongs of all Nations (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1911), xxiv.
Uncovering of Secrets About Musical Instruments). Salvador Daniel’s direct contact with Arab musicians and music offered a superiority and authenticity to his publications, a characteristic that increased his stature and respect.

In his memoir of the composer, Farmer wrote that Algeria seemed to call to Salvador Daniel. Of course, the foreign countries and regions of the so-called Orient attracted many Europeans. But Salvador Daniel’s calling was different. French Algeria offered convenient opportunities for a failed composer tired of rejection and poverty: an interest in settlers, a new career, support for research and expeditions, and a chance to recreate his own identity. As other artists, writers, and composers traveled to North Africa for artistic inspiration and winter vacations, Salvador Daniel saw Algeria as a space for a new beginning.

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“The world belongs to the man who travels.” In his travelogue *Between Sea and Sahara*, the artist Eugène Fromentin described his travels throughout the coastal and desert regions of French Algeria in 1848. The growing desire for exotic adventure and escape lured many Europeans to travel across continental borders for vacations, winter escapes, and adventurous encounters with the Other. British and French expansion in Asia and Africa provided easier public access to distant locales. Travelogues gained popularity and provided practical information for tourists, including tips on what to pack, where to go, and the best lodging and transportation means within the given locale. Travel writing also supported the French government’s colonial interests and policies in Algeria.

Salvador Daniel’s *Album de chansons arabes, mauresques et kabyles* is a collected volume that presents twelve transcriptions of songs for piano and voice collected during his time in North Africa. The extended title of the album advertises that the songs are “transcribed [transcrites] pour chant et piano” while each individual song notes that the words or lyrics imitate the original Arab text [paroles imitées]. However, several of the songs set poems by French writers. The album better resembles a collection of European art songs instead of transcriptions of folk music.

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2 Fromentin, *Between Sea and Sahara*, 190. Fromentin cited this statement by his friend and traveling companion Louis Vandell.
Salvador Daniel’s *Album* reflects two facets of nineteenth-century French colonial culture: the travelogue and assimilation. Addressing the former facet, the *Album* results in a kind of musical travelogue, that is, a composition or collection of music that depicts specific locales or events, thereby providing a musical tour of a certain region. Salvador Daniel’s collection includes songs from a variety of North African cities and towns that were popular tourist destinations and strategic military locations. The various modes and music genres represented in the collection reflect the ethnic and cultural diversity associated with Algeria. Furthermore, the mixture of song origin, mode, and genre depicts the government policy of assimilation in French Algeria. Salvador Daniel’s descriptions of each song reflect common practices of racial categorization, practices that were used to support and justify colonialism.

The transcriptions of Salvador Daniel’s *Album de chansons* were originally published separately as individual songs. Each *chanson* is several pages long, with a vocal line and piano accompaniment. In his book, Salvador Daniel noted that the Arabs “are exalted by the sounds of their instruments,” but in the *Album* he did not note the original instrumentation of his transcriptions. Salvador Daniel added markings for dynamics, tempo, phrasing, and the sustaining pedal. The song text is set within the music itself, in the vocal line, suggesting that he composed or rearranged the melody to fit the French translation. This layout also allows the songs to be easily performed. Two of the songs, “Klaâ Beni Abbès” and “Stamboul,” are set in different keys to

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4 This differs from a contemporary publication of Algerian song transcriptions published in the same year as Salvador Daniel’s *Album*. In his *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe*, the Russian military officer Alexandre Christianowitsch (1835–1874) placed song melodies in a single melodic line with the text in paragraph form underneath the song. For further reading on Christianowitsch’s transcriptions, see Glasser, “Genealogies of al-Andalus;” Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie*; and Revuluri, “On Anxiety and Absorption.”
accommodate tenor and baritone voice ranges. The songs “Chebbou-Chebban” and “Klaâ Beni Abbès” were also published for male chorus with tenor solo, oboe or flute, and tambourine. The latter was also transcribed in manuscript for baritone, bass, tenors 1 and 2, and flute or oboe. The *Album de chansons* has many similarities to European art songs that were intended for the stage or salon.

The table of contents to the *Album de chansons* lists twelve songs followed by a brief, individual description. These short descriptions note the origin of the song and its Arab musical mode. In an attempt to further showcase expertise, Salvador Daniel’s use of modes in the *Album de chansons* corresponds to those modes and scales listed in his *La Musique arabe*, a work that appeared in the *Revue africaine* just one year prior to the Arab song collection. In his “Notes on Arab Music,” Henry George Farmer used excerpts from the *Album de chansons* as examples for his discussion on Arab music theory.

**The Musical Travelogue**

Salvador Daniel’s *Album* resembles nineteenth-century travelogues in several ways. In addition to serving as practical guides for tourists, publishing firms marketed travelogues as a means for Europeans to travel to the Orient without leaving their living rooms. Travel diaries, such as Gérard de Nerval’s *Voyage en Orient* (1862), include descriptions of North African music, theater, and entertainment. Guides such as John Murray’s *Handbook for Travelers in Algeria and Tunis* (1878) and Eugène Fromentin’s *Un Été dans le sahara* (1857) advise travelers about the best routes and transportation to popular tourist spots—many of the same towns and villages that are listed in Salvador Daniel’s

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5 F-Pn, MS 1730.

album. Travelogues transmitted geographic and cultural information based on the author’s firsthand experience in a foreign locale.

My establishment of the musical travelogue differs from the specific literary genre of travelogue literature and guidebooks. I define the musical travelogue as a composition or collection of music that depicts specific locales or events, presenting a musical tour of a certain region. Salvador Daniel’s *Album* exemplifies a musical travelogue through its depiction of locations and tribes that were popular tourist destinations and/or strategic military conquests. Providing transcriptions and brief notes on representative songs from each region, the *Album* offers a musical tour through nineteenth-century North African politics and tourism.

The first song, *L’Ange du désert*, is listed as an ancient chanson of the Moors of Spain (*vieille chanson des maures d’Espagne*). Thus, our musical journey not only begins in a distant land but also in a distant time: the reified past of the Orient. However, Salvador Daniel did not search through archives for this *chanson*. Instead, it is a song that has ostensibly survived the test of time. Salvador Daniel advertised that according to his Arab informants, the song is a *Chanson andalouse*, referring to the regions of the Iberian Peninsula under Muslim rule from the eighth to the fifteenth century. Jonathan Glasser writes that Salvador Daniel’s attribution reflects the common practice of Algerian and Moroccan musicians who often connected the *nūbah* to al-Andalus. L’*Ange du désert* instantly transports the audience to the celebrated roots of European culture. The song is not only distant and exotic but also a part of Europe’s history. Instead of beginning with a song from a more obscure or foreign origin, Salvador Daniel attempted to connect with the French public and instantly grab their attention by affirming the preconceived

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7 Glasser, “Genealogies of al-Andalus,” 105–106; Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie*, 94.
European notion that the glorious age of Arab culture lies in its past—a past that connects with Europe’s own historical roots.

The remaining songs in the collection alternate between songs from Algiers and the Kabyle regions, with the addition of two Tunisian melodies and one villanelle from Malta. The carefully planned alternation of the songs presents a musical panorama of North Africa and the Mediterranean that allows the listener to travel back and forth between exotic locales. The emphasis on Kabyle and Algerian songs within the album reveals the importance of this region to France. During the 1840s and ‘50s, the French military focused their efforts on expanding their empire into the Kabyle regions of Algeria. The rugged mountains and desert terrain of these regions presented difficulties to the French military as they carried out their operations against the insurrection movements led by Bū Baghlah, Bū Ziyān, Lalla Fāṭimah, and others. Louis-Adolph Hanoteau, the military official and Orientalist who published Salvador Daniel’s “Notice sur la musique kabyle,” was given the task of traveling to the Kabyle regions in order to befriend the people and gain pertinent knowledge that would assist the French government in their endeavor to occupy the land. Salvador Daniel’s inclusion of four Kabyle songs illustrates the diverse musicality of North Africa while also representing the future of French political interests in their newly acquired colony.

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8 Salvador Daniel noted that several songs were from Algiers (d’Alger), choosing to identify the songs with the city of Algiers and not using the term “Algerian” (Algérien). According to Patricia Lorcin, the adjectival use of the word Algérien signified a resident of Algiers at the time of conquest but by the latter half of the nineteenth century it designated the European settlers born in Algeria. See Lorcin, Imperial Identities, 13. In his memoir of Salvador Daniel, Farmer reiterates this dichotomy, listing the “Algerian songs,” including Chebbou-Chebban, and “Kabyle songs” of the album. Farmer therefore assumed that “Algiers” (d’Alger) was synonymous for “Algerian.” Thus, that which Salvador Daniel labeled as from the city of Algiers, Farmer lists as Algerian.

9 Bū Baghlah, Bū Ziyān, and Lalla Fāṭimah led Kabyle resistance movements against the French in the 1850s. They were celebrated for their heroism and leadership and, after their deaths, became legends for their courageous efforts. For further reading, see John Ruedy, Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 66–68.
In addition to strategic military locations, Salvador Daniel’s *Album de chansons* incorporated music from popular tourist destinations. The fifth song of the collection, titled “Klaâ Beni Abbès,” was a well-known Arab fortress, or *qal‘ah*, in the town of Béni Abbès located in western Algeria near the Moroccan border. The village is on the edge of the Grand Erg Occidental in an area that was largely inhabited by the Kabyle tribe of Beni Hassane. Béni Abbès was also home to a French military post with many French inhabitants. The Kabyle village was separate from the military post and surrounded by palm trees, indicating that the area was an oasis just outside of the desert.

General Bugeaud organized an invasion of Béni Abbès in 1847, leading forces into the mountains of the region and destroying all of the villages. Bugeaud’s troops plundered carpets, *burnūs* (robe-like clothing worn by the inhabitants), weapons, and jewels that they then sold back to the villagers the very next day. After the invasion, the tribal chiefs of Béni Abbès convened and asked for protection and assurance of forgiveness from Bugeaud, who agreed to their request.

Travelogues included descriptions and historical narratives of the town of Béni Abbès. The *Guide Joanne* for Algeria and Tunisia advised travelers that access to the fortress was quite difficult. Visitors had to descend a narrow path between two steep ravines to reach the ancient castle. The fortress was connected to the Muqrānī family,

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10 In *The Music and Musical Instruments of the Arab*, Salvador Daniel noted that he heard this song performed in Constantine. Thus, while Salvador Daniel may not have heard the song actually performed in the town of Béni Abbès, his selection of songs from a wide range of geographical locations within North Africa illustrates his desire to create a musical map or travelogue of this region. See Salvador-Daniel, *Music and Musical Instruments*, 100.


leaders of the Béni Abbès tribe.\textsuperscript{13} Muḥammad al-Ḥajj al-Muqrānī would later lead a violent attack against the French in 1871.\textsuperscript{14} According to Dawson Borrer’s travelogue of 1848, the tribe of Béni Abbès was known for its war-like character and superior skill in manufacturing weapons and ammunition. Borrer recounted the difficulties encountered by the French military when attempting to seek passage through the tribe’s territory.\textsuperscript{15}

The town became a strategic location as the French sought to expand their empire south in the early twentieth century.\textsuperscript{16} The fortress’s proximity to Morocco, on a border that had more fluid boundaries during the nineteenth century than today, and its location on the western edge of the mountains, illustrates France’s far-reaching military hold on Algeria at this time. “Klaâ Beni Abbès” also foreshadows France’s entry into Morocco in the early twentieth century.

Colonial Algeria was both a space for tourism and war. However, writers and artists seldom presented these seemingly conflicting ideas as unnatural or atypical. The tension between these divergent notions only reaffirmed the stereotypical perceptions of the Orient. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, artists and writers portrayed the Orient as a space of exotic and alluring adventure while at the same time a locale of brutal and impetuous violence. Said articulated these conflicting images (Oriental despotism, splendor, cruelty, sensuality) as a “complex array of ‘Oriental’

\textsuperscript{13} Collection des Guides-Joanne: Algérie et Tunisie (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1901), 235.

\textsuperscript{14} Ruedy, Modern Algeria, 77–78.

\textsuperscript{15} Dawson Borrer, Narrative of a Campaign Against the Kabaïles of Algeria (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1848), 76.

\textsuperscript{16} In 1901, the French officer-general François-Henry Laperrine was stationed at Béni Abbès and led military operations against the Touareg insurrections. For further reading, see Jean Meyer et al., Histoire de La France coloniale: Des Origines à 1914, vol. 1 (Paris: Armand Colin, 1991), 726–727.
ideas.” Bhabha states that colonial discourse presents a “chain of stereotypical signification [that] is curiously mixed and split, polymorphous and perverse, an articulation of multiple belief.” Travel writers chose what to include and what to leave out in their descriptions of Algeria. In making these decisions, the violence of war was most often left out as writers chose instead to focus on the fascinating history, rugged landscape, and sunny climate of Algeria. These portrayals, in turn, shaped the French public’s view of Algeria as well.

French colonialism in Algeria provided European tourists with easy access to the new colony. The increasingly expansive control over Algeria by the French military and their success in quelling the violent insurrections led by Arab and Kabyle forces insured a level of safety for the tourists. The military convoys and posts throughout Algeria also provided European tourists with an easy means of transportation and lodging. Travel literature and artistic representations of Algeria treated any tension between war and tourism as practically nonexistent. Instead, they viewed the French military as a means toward improved access and tourism of the colony.

Salvador Daniel described the ninth song in the collection, “Stamboul,” as a “Chanson Kabyle” by “Si Mohammed Said Ben Ali Cherif.” This “song of Sebastopol” is described as being composed at the time of the Crimean War (1855–1856), following the Siege of Sevastopol. The words of the song were also published in French translation in Victor Bérard’s Poèmes algériens. Underneath this title, Salvador Daniel noted that Si Muhammad was “the leader of the friends or night entertainers from the tribe of Beni

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17 Said, Orientalism, 4.
18 Bhabha, Location of Culture, 118.
19 Salvador Daniel, Music and Musical Instruments, 101; Barbès, “Une Figure curieuse,” 218.
Aïdel.” The Beni Aïdel was a Kabyle tribe that lived near Zemmoura in northeastern Algeria. As a chief of the district of Constantine, Si Muḥammad was later honored alongside other tribal leaders at the occasion of Napoléon III’s 1860 voyage to Algeria. Si Muḥammad was well known to the French community in Algeria and a friend to the occupying military forces. The song “Stamboul” pays homage to a central figure in French Algerian history and musically commemorates Si Muḥammad’s friendship with the French government.

The name Stamboul, a variation on Istanbul, was used in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to signify the historical parts of the city between the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. Titling the song “Stamboul” instead of Constantinople calls attention to ancient Turkey during the Middle Ages, a time period that nineteenth-century French Orientalists believed to be the pinnacle of Middle Eastern culture. The Turkish title also draws attention to the Ottoman occupation of North Africa from 1517 until the French gained control in 1830. Twenty years later, remnants of the Ottoman occupation remained in the Algerian musical culture encountered by Salvador Daniel.

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20 According to Ernest Carette’s *Exploration scientifique de l’Algérie pendant les années 1840, 1841, 1842*, “La tribu des Beni Aïdel occupe un espace étendu sur la rive droite de l’Ouad-Akbou; dans le sens perpendiculaire au cours du fleuve elle s’étend jusque dans le voisinage de Zammôra.” See Ernest Carette, *Exploration scientifique de l’Algérie pendant les années 1840, 1841, 1842* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1848), 367. Carette also notes that the Béni-Aïdel were known for their trading and were less aggressive warriors than neighboring tribes. According to Abbas Aroua, the villages of both the Béni Aïdel and Béni Abbès, among many others, suffered massive destruction in 1851 during battles against Shaykh Bû Baghlah. See Abbas Aroua, *Reading Notes in French Colonial Massacres in Algeria*, trans. J. Hamani-Auf der Maur (Geneva: Hoggar, 15 August 1999), 1047.

21 Photographes en Algérie au XIXe siècle (Paris: Musée-Galerie de la Seita, 1999), 71. It is unclear if this photograph was actually taken in 1863 when Napoléon III invited six Algerian chiefs to the château de Compiègne in order to alleviate some of the tension between the Algerians and French during the many insurrections and raids occurring in the areas outside of the Sahara. For further reading, see Meyer, *Histoire de La France coloniale*, 465.

22 Although Salvador Daniel does not mention it, “Stamboul” could also be connected to the healing trance music of ștambêlî, practiced by certain groups in North Africa. See Richard C. Jankowsky, *Ștambêlî: Music, Trance, and Alterity in Tunisia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).
In addition to bearing similar qualities to travel guides, the *Album de chansons* incorporated exotic depictions of North Africa. Seductive drawings of veiled women and heroic portraits of noble men riding camels reinforced the European public’s preconceived notions of the Orient, further stimulating their appetite for the fantastic and foreign Other. The illustrated pages of Salvador Daniel’s *Album* emphasize stereotypical images of the Orient and resemble the Orientalist paintings of Delacroix or drawings by Théophile Gautier.

**Figure 3.1: Juive d’Alger, watercolor by Gautier**

**Figure 3.2: Title page for “Le Chante de la meule” from Salvador Daniel’s *Album de chansons***

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Titling his travelogue *Voyage pittoresque*, Gautier emphasized the imaginative and expressive nature of his writing and illustrations. The above images accentuate the stereotypical notions of the Orient, particularly in terms of gender. Wearing veils and jewels, the women are presented as objects of desire. In figures 3 and 4, the women

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25 *Le Trésor de la langue française informatisé* notes that travelogues often used the term *pittoresque*, signifying that the work contains illustrations and information that pleases, charms, and captivates by its beauty, exoticism, and originality. See *Le Trésor de la langue française informatisé*, s.v. “*pittoresque,*” accessed 10 October 2009, http://atilf.atilf.fr/dendien/scripts/tfiv5/advanced.exe?8;s=768758955;.

alluringly gaze directly out of the portrait. Arab men were, however, stereotypically portrayed as violent warriors or as lazy and indolent.\textsuperscript{27}

**Figure 3.5: Bearded Man with a Pipe (1842–43) by Richard Dadd\textsuperscript{28}**

**Figure 3.6: “Klaâ Beni Abbès” from Salvador Daniel’s *Album de chansons***

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\textsuperscript{27} These stereotypes were reiterated in travel guides. Robert Lambert Playfair wrote that a “life of lazy indifference” was characteristic of Arab men. See Robert Lambert Playfair, *Handbook for Travellers in Algeria and Tunis* (London: John Murray, 1878), 9.

The ubiquity of Orientalist depictions illustrates Bhabha’s description of the stereotype, something that “vacillates between what is always ‘in place,’ already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated.”29 Placing these stereotypical presentations of the imagined Orient in journals, art exhibits, travel journals, and (even) song collections expanded the growing European market for all things Oriental. The title page illustrations presented new songs in the familiar context of quintessential Oriental stereotypes and marketing of the Other. These images also fulfilled the French public’s desire for a more imaginative Orient, a longing that was not fulfilled through his transcriptions. Salvador Daniel’s musical travelogue resulted in an album that allowed the European public to experience some of the towns and attractions in French Algeria while simultaneously escaping to an imagined Orient.

**Salvador Daniel as Spokesman: Assimilation and Language**

In an 1860 photo of a French school in Algeria, a French teacher stands before his classroom of Algerian boys and girls who sit on carpets listening attentively. The teacher points to a phrase on the blackboard: “Love France, my children, your new country.”30 With the advent of the Third Republic in 1870, the French government instituted a policy of assimilation in Algeria. This policy was intended to bring about the full assimilation of the Algerian government and economy; in other words, the Algerians and their government institutions would become French. Assimilation prompted a civilizing mission or *mission civilisatrice* by which the indigenous population would eventually

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29 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 95.

become naturalized citizens of France. These ideas were not new to the Third Republic. Since the initial invasion in 1830, the French government in Algeria had struggled to determine the best policy for gaining control of Algeria and expanding their colonial empire throughout the world. The term assimilation, although never clearly defined or implemented, was continuously mentioned, suggested, and discussed in French colonial discourse on Algeria.\textsuperscript{31}

Support for assimilation extends back to the early stages of French colonialism in Algeria. John Ruedy notes that “emerging French colonial theory of the late 1830s and the 1840s invoked in vague terms the need to ‘assimilate’ the natives by demonstrating to them the advantages of France’s superior form of civilization.”\textsuperscript{32} The notion of civilizing Algeria had varied meanings to the French during this time. According to Jennifer Sessions, French colonial theorists and planners in the 1830s and 1840s “dreamed of ‘civilizing’ the ‘natives’ through trade and agricultural example” while others “fantasized about an Algeria ‘civilized’ by the replacement of its existing inhabitants with French farms and families.”\textsuperscript{33} The fall of the monarchy in 1848 led to the takeover by the Second Republic and the transformation of provinces into départements, furthering the process of assimilation by using the same terminology for government structure as in France. The government, however, did not fully replicate the geopolitical structures of France in Algeria. Ruedy argues that “the process of assimilation went only part way, however, because the Republic went only part way in attaching governmental functions in Algiers


\textsuperscript{32} Ruedy \textit{Modern Algeria}, 54.

\textsuperscript{33} Sessions, \textit{By the Sword and Plow}, 181.
to the appropriate ministries in Paris.”

34 Ruedy, Modern Algeria, 74.


36 P. Lacome, “Les chants de la race cabirique ou gallique d’après Salvador Daniel,” Revue et gazette musicale de Paris (5 Decembre 1880): 387. This is the last of a series of articles written by Lacome under the same title. “[Les] chansons arabes inspirées par les événements qui précédèrent ou suivirent la conquête de notre colonie africaine.”
imitées) those of the original Arabic text. Yet four of the twelve songs reveal that the text was actually written by a French poet. “Le Ramier” and “Stamboul” both state that the texts “imitate the original Arabic” or “indigenous” (indigène) text by the French poet Victor Bérard. The text of “Soleïma” is based on a translation by Nicholas Perron.37

The first song, “L’Ange du désert,” does not espouse to include any imitation or translation of the original text. Instead, the description frankly states that the poetry is by the French writer A. Nozeran. In the case of “L’Ange du désert,” the opening song of the album, the song unapologetically sets a French poem by Nozeran without any indication that the words imitate or translate the original language of the chanson. The collection opens with a song further removed from North Africa: a chanson for piano and voice that sets French poetry written by a French writer.

The question of authorship is further complicated by the transcriptions themselves. Salvador Daniel added harmony to his collected melodies and transcribed the songs for voice and piano. He then set the French imitations of the original texts to music. Instead of simply publishing the song transcriptions collected during his travels, Salvador Daniel transformed them into musical works that would be more familiar to French audiences, allowing the colonized to be both Other and yet entirely knowable and visible.38

37 According to Barbès, Victor Bérard was a government official in charge of registration and territories in Algiers. Barbès noted that the Album de chansons was a collaboration between Bérard and Salvador Daniel. Bérard published many books and articles including Poèmes algériens et récits légendaires: traduits ou imités en vers, d’après l’idiome arabe d’Alger (Paris: E. Dentu, 1858). In this title, Bérard used the words traduits and imités synonymously. Included in this collection of poetry is a poem titled “Chant kabyle” that is very similar to Stamboul. The collection also includes a poem titled “Le Voyage du ramier” that uses similar words and imagery but is not the same as Salvador Daniel’s Le Ramier. Bérard’s dates are often noted as 1864–1931 but this must be incorrect since his Poèmes algériens were published in 1858.

38 Bhabha, Location of Culture, 101.
Salvador Daniel’s *Album* bears striking resemblances to the implementation of assimilation within the education system of nineteenth-century Algeria. In addition to changing the political landscape, assimilation and the *mission civilisatrice* promoted the education of French language and culture to the Algerian population. Since a large portion of the population was illiterate, this pedagogical program served as a literacy program.\(^3^9\) At the École arabe française where Salvador Daniel taught, instruction included French reading, writing, and grammar in addition to classes on the phonetic system of the French alphabet.\(^4^0\)

One crucial piece of information is noticeably absent from the *Album*. In the table of contents, Salvador Daniel classifies and narrates details about each song within the collection. He recognized the French writers and poets who wrote or translated the texts and he notes the regions and tribes where he collected the music, but the names of the performers and informants for his collection are missing. The omission of Algerian authors or contributors in the *Album* silences the colonial Other. The colonial Other is replaced by Salvador Daniel’s self. By silencing these voices, Salvador Daniel then created his own understanding of Algerian song and filled the space of author and creator with himself.

Salvador Daniel depended upon his Algerian informants—whichever they were—to create his *Album*. Even if Salvador Daniel took a great deal of artistic license in composing the music—or composed the songs outright himself—he still wanted his

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\(^3^9\) Ruedy notes that the literacy rate in Algeria decreased after 1830 as the French sought to dismantle the existing educational system and set up new schools based on the French system. At first, only a handful of Algerian students were permitted access to these new schools, increasing illiteracy until the establishment of École arabes-françaises during the Second Empire. See Ruedy, *Modern Algeria*, 103.

\(^4^0\) CAOM, Fonds ministériels, 80F/1573.
audience to believe that they were collected from various regions and tribes of North Africa. He takes great pains to detail, categorize, and delineate the origins and information about the songs, yet he decided not to give any recognition to the Algerians he met, observed, or with whom he performed. In collaboration with French poets and the Richault publishing firm, it is Salvador Daniel who speaks for the indigenous inhabitants of North Africa. Through the *Album*, Salvador Daniel became the spokesperson for the Algerian musicians and informants from whom he collected the songs.

**Classifying the Colony: Assimilation and Categorization in Salvador Daniel’s *Chansons***

Nineteenth-century scholar-travelers to Algeria were highly interested in documenting everything they saw and experienced. Many of their travels resulted in compendiums or reports that described in great detail the region’s language, grammar, agriculture, climate, race, and ethnicity. Travel writers such as Flaubert and Chateaubriand adopted a similar style to these reports, adopting a style that Madeleine Dobie calls “Oriental realism.” Contrasting the use of stereotypical tropes of the Orient, many nineteenth-century travel writers sought to describe and observe rather than fantasize about the Other.41 Salvador Daniel’s *Album* reflects the scholar-traveler’s interest in “Oriental realism,” that is to say, an interest in documenting, describing, and classifying Algerian culture through his song collection.

Salvador Daniel’s *Album* describes the tribal and ethnic origin of each song. Patricia Lorcin notes that ethnic categorization in colonial discourse became “metaphors

41 Dobie, *Foreign Bodies*, 33, 123.
of control and instruments of marginalization” that supported the colonial project. The production of grammars, dictionaries, treatises, and other forms of colonial knowledge was an oft-used technique of colonial empires. Bernard S. Cohn discusses how the production of colonial texts in late eighteenth-century India created a discourse that ultimately transformed Indian forms of knowledge into European objects. France, in particular, was interested in the classification and hierarchization of race and ethnicities, a result of the nation’s own anxiety over identity during the nineteenth century.

Salvador Daniel was not unique to classify and categorize racial identity in his song collection. Jann Pasler has noted that French scholars and folksong collectors used music as a means to better understand racial origins and difference. Song collections such as Julien Tiersot’s *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (1889) and Christianowitsch’s *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe aux temps anciens* (1863) reveal similar interests in classifying ethnicity.

The song “Chebbou-Chebban,” an Arabic colloquial phrase meaning “man of men,” is described as a “Moorish song of Algiers” based on the “H’saïn” mode with words that imitate an Arab “Kacidah.” The title connects the song with a variety of ethnicities and time periods, creating confusion, a “moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside.” Identifying “Chebbou-Chebban” as a Moorish song from Algiers establishes connections with a variety of histories and people groups. Originating from

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45 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 2.
the Greek word *mauros*, meaning “black” or “very dark,” the word has been traced to the third-century B.C.E. when it was applied to the inhabitants of the Numidian Kingdom of Morocco. Throughout history the term has been used to describe Muslims of Berber and Arab descent in the Iberian Peninsula during the fifteenth century and “Barbary” pirates and corsairs.

In his travelogue *Une Année dans le Sahel*, Eugène Fromentin expressed his own frustration at the ambiguity surrounding the term Moor:

> Historians have written much about the Moors. Where do they come from? Who are they? To what Oriental grouping should they be assigned? Are they the aboriginal people of this country? Do they come from the Moors of Spain who were defeated and thrown back upon the shores of Barbary? Are they, as has been also said, the direct descendants of an invasion that preceded that of the Caliphs? Or should we see in them, on the contrary, the quite mixed result of all such invasions? Mightn’t there be in the veins of this people with their charming but indeterminate features a composite of barbarian and Greco-Roman blood? You have there a small sample of the hypotheses. The question is nebulous; the ancestry of the Moors has yet to be decided.\(^\text{46}\)

In Murray’s guidebook to Algeria, Robert Lambert Playfair wrote, “The term Moor, as used at the present day, is one of European invention and has no Arabic equivalent. It can have no other signification than that of a native of Mauritania” and when used by the French it “includes all Arabs who lead a settled life, and occupy themselves in commercial pursuits rather than in agriculture.”\(^\text{47}\) Other European writers used the term even less specifically to identify anyone from the African continent or of dark skin living in Europe. The only consensus among these wide-ranging usages of “Moor” is to describe a person who is non-white, non-European: an Other.

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Adding to the complexity of identity and difference, “Chebbou-Chebban” transports the listener to the city of Algiers. In his “Notice sur la musique kabyle,” Salvador Daniel noted that this is one of the most popular songs in Algiers and is sung in two different ways. Including this song in his collection of Kabyle music, along with its distinction as one of the most popular songs in Algiers, illustrates the nuances of ethnic identity in nineteenth-century Algeria. Although often discussed and presented separately, Kabyle and Arab culture were by no means mutually exclusive. These North African cultures influenced each other, particularly in urban settings such as Algiers, where greater diversity existed. “Chebbou-Chebban” illustrates the blurred cultural and ethnic boundaries of nineteenth-century Algeria and the portrayal of North African musical hybridity and mobility.

Salvador Daniel also classified and gave detailed descriptions on the song forms and genres that he transcribed in the Album. All of the song forms and genres are placed under the general description of chansons. Within the collection, Salvador Daniel included seven “Kacidahs” (qaṣīdahs), one villanelle, one “Noûba” (nūbah), and several chants and airs. Moreover, Salvador Daniel designated several different genres to a number of the chansons, adding confusion to the identity and origin of each song. His incorporation of several Arab poetic and song forms into one collection under the classification of chanson illustrates their assimilation into a French music form.

Categorizing the entire Album as a set of chansons reveals a fashionable musical trend in France during the latter half of the nineteenth-century and beyond. French composers and music critics collected folk songs from the French countryside in an

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48 “Chebbou-Chebban” is also listed in Adolphe Hanoteau’s Poésies populaires de la kabylie du Jurjura (1867).
attempt to establish their own national identity. Many of these folk songs were published in collections or in journals such as *Les Chansons de France*.\(^{49}\) As Pasler has noted, these *chansons populaires* served as national musical symbols throughout France.\(^{50}\) Salvador Daniel’s interest in the *chanson populaire* prompted his short essay titled *À Propos de la chansons*. This study examined three categories of the *chanson populaire*: the *chanson guerrière*, the *chansons religieuse*, and the *chanson d’amour et de travail*. According to the French writer and philanthropist Baron Isidore Taylor, Salvador Daniel made great sacrifices in order to propagate the *musique populaire* in Algeria.\(^{51}\)

By labeling the North African music as chansons, Salvador Daniel united French identity with the colonial project. The chanson genre represented not only France but also its expanding empire. Salvador Daniel assimilated Arab, Moorish, and Kabyle identity under the genre of French chansons. Yet the songs retain their racial and ethnic uniqueness. They are not titled *chansons françaises* but instead carry their multifarious labels of Arab modes and genres, North African tribes, and places of origin. Lastly, even though the song texts are in French, the album reminds us that the words imitate those of their original language. The album presents neither French chansons nor Algerian music.


\(^{51}\) Hervé Audéon, “Le Journal du Baron Taylor et l’Association des artistes musiciens,” in *Musique, esthétique, société au XIXe Siècle*, eds. Damien Colas, Florence Gétreau, and Malou Haine (Wavre: Mardaga, 2007), 238. “Il a fait de grands sacrifices pour y propager la musique populaire.” Baron Taylor was the Royal Commissioner for the Théâtre-Française from 1825–1838 and was a patron of the Théâtre Impériale d’Alger in Algiers. Taylor wrote some of his own travelogues based on travels throughout Europe and North Africa.
genres but, instead, a combination of the two: an *Album de chansons arabes, mauresques et kabyles*.

Turning toward the other musical genres represented in the *Album*, Salvador Daniel designated over half of his chansons as *qaṣīdas*. The classical *qaṣīda* is a poetic form that may be traced back to pre-Islamic poetry in the Arabian Peninsula. Out of the classical *qaṣīda* emerged a vernacular or folk version that incorporates vernacular text and a different prosodic structure. Salvador Daniel’s *Album* comprises vernacular *qaṣīda*, a genre characterized by a succession of independent poetic units or fragments, known as ḥabbāt, each separated by a refrain. The ḥabbāt typically incorporate or adopt stock themes such as unrequited love, passion and desire, nature, socio-political issues, historical figures, battles, and voyages. In his study of North African vernacular poetry, John Wansbrough noted that the adaptation of stock themes became a popular response to the external threats of invasion and European colonialism. The independent nature of the ḥabbāt allow performers to replace and adapt the fragments to reflect popular culture.

Salvador Daniel’s *qaṣīdas* also include stock characters and tropes. The title characters of “Zohra” and “Ma Gazelle” are also found in Arab poetry collections such as J. Desparmet’s *La Poésie arabe actuelle à Blida et sa métrique*. His *Album* includes popular stock names such as Fathma, Soleïma, and Yamina. The naming of characters in

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songs or paintings personalizes the subject and creates a familiarity between subject and audience. Renoir gave stock names such as Ali and Saïd to the models who sat for his paintings. In these examples, characters are only given a first name, rendering them familiar yet not important. Roger Benjamin notes that the use of first names rescues the model from anonymity while at the same time giving the effect that the artist has had a genuine encounter with the subject. The songs of Salvador Daniel’s *Album* offer the impression that Salvador Daniel himself has met these characters and transcribed their stories and songs for others to hear and experience.

“Chebbou-Chebban” is a *qaṣīda* that incorporates three couplets of short segments or *ḥabbāt* with a refrain. The song recounts the singer’s unrequited love for the beautiful Fathma whose absence cruelly injured him. The lover compares his pain to the torments of hell: *J’ai reçu blessure cruelle, Mes tourments sont ceux des enfers.* The second couplet relays his pursuit of the beloved, following her after she passes by: *Je la vis passer dans la plaine, Et mon cœur vola sur ses pas, Je suivis sa course incertaine.* The song concludes by stating that although Fathma is gone, the lover still cherishes her and his heart will forever remain under her tent: *Mon cœur est resté sous sa tente,* *Pourtant je la chéris encor.* “Chebbou-Chebban” illustrates assimilation on multiple levels. Salvador Daniel took the already assimilated form of the vernacular *qaṣīda* and further assimilated it into a chanson with French poetry in Western notation and instrumentation.

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55 Benjamin, *Renoir in Algeria*, 106. Benjamin writes that the effect of first names in Renoir’s paintings is similar to the interactions between French settlers and their servants and workers who were often known only by first name, a name that was in some cases given to them by their employer.

56 The picture on the title page portrays a female sitting on a divan with a small, circular table (two pieces of furniture often depicted by Orientalists) as she coyly smiles and flips her hair back beneath her head covering.
The nūbah is another Arab poetic form incorporated in Salvador Daniel’s Album. The classical nūbah comprises a suite for chorus and instrumental ensemble. In Algiers and Constantine, the nūbah was usually sung by a solo voice with responses performed by members of the instrumental ensemble. An entire nūbah may require an hour or longer to perform, musicians often performed the air or dance section of the nūbah. During the second half of the nineteenth-century in Algeria, the nūbah was usually performed by amateur or semi-amateur musical elites in private homes and settings, although detached fragments of the nūbah could be heard in the various cafés.

According to Alexis Chottin, the quddām is the fourth section of the nūbah and uses a syncopated dance rhythm in 6/8. Tiersot, hearing Algerian nūbahs at the Exposition Universelle, noted that the songs were in 6/8 with an indefinite yet monotonous rhythm accompanied by percussion.

57 Wright, “Arab music.” According to Christianowitsch’s Esquisse historique de la musique arabe aux temps anciens (1863), there were two popular opinions about the origin of the nūbah. The first was that it originated from Turkey and was music for war. The other widely held opinion argued that the nūbah came from the Moors of Spain and was a song of love and eternal life.


59 Glasser, “Genealogies of al-Andalus,” 105–106; and Delphin and Guin, Notes sur la poésie, 63–64.

60 Alexis Chottin, Tableau de la musique marocaine (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1938), 119, 125. Mahmoud Guettat notes that classical nūbah contain a dance song called the al-Mukhliq or Khlac that is in 6/8 with a fast tempo and free rhythm. See Mahmoud Guettat, La Musique classique du Maghreb (Paris: Sindbad, 1980), 207.

The song “Yamina” is the only example of the *quddām* in Salvador Daniel’s *Album*. Salvador Daniel published the first couplet fully harmonized in a piano/vocal score followed by the text and melody of the second and third couplets. The text for each of the couplets may be inserted into the piano/vocal score since the melody of all three stanzas is mostly identical. "Yamina" is in 6/8 and has syncopated rhythms and an ostinato piano accompaniment composed of dotted eighths, eighth notes, and a sixteenth-note triplet figure:

Example 3.1: *Yamina* piano accompaniment, mm. 1–4

![Piano accompaniment notation]

Salvador Daniel intended the repetitive piano accompaniment to reproduce the rhythm of the tambour and other Arab instruments. Julien Tiersot also noted the repeated rhythmic accompaniment of the “Algerian *nūbah*” performed at the Exhibition Universelle. The dance air or *quddām* of the *nūbah* usually focuses on a female subject. The text of “Yamina” relates the story of a lover’s longing for his beloved. Salvador Daniel further

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62 The page presenting only the melody of all three couplets reveals a curious detail: Salvador Daniel transcribed the second couplet in 2/4 and the first and third couplet in 6/8. Since the melody of all three stanzas is the same, the reduction of compound 6/8 into 2/4 does not present difficulties in performing the song.

63 Tiersot, *Musiques pittoresques*, 78.
obscured Yamina’s identity as a nūbah by also classifying the song as a chanson, air, and qaṣīdah. The full description of “Yamina” states that it is a “Chanson mauresque d’Alger, sur l’air de la Noūba de l’Hsain, Paroles imitées d’une kacidah arabe.” Furthermore, the title page of the song includes words in Arabic script. These words, however, do not reveal the main title of the song, “Yamina,” but instead spell out nūbat al-ḥusayn.

Figure 3.7: Title page of “Yamina” from Salvador Daniel’s Album de chansons

The conglomeration of genre and representation creates a confused mix of Arab and French identity. To an Arabic-speaking person, the most important detail of the song is that it is a nūbah in the ḥusayn mode. However, the words “Yamina” in the Roman alphabet under a picture of a veiled woman touching her breast focus attention on the
main character of the song, the beloved Yamina. As the text states, “I like the mosque, the beloved voice of the religious call to praise, but I still prefer Yamina, my treasure, Yamina, my love!”

The recounting of travel and longing for the beloved are typical stock phrases incorporated into the vernacular qaṣīdah. The text begins by describing the lover’s trek across sand, desert, and oases: “Riding on my fast steed which makes the dry sand blow, I like to cross the deserts, In my burning thirst, I like the wandering spring, the oasis of the green palms, I like their cool shade and the leaves which sway in the air.” The song resembles aspects of a qaṣīdah and a nūbah in addition to being called a French chanson. Lastly, Salvador Daniel’s designation of “Yamina” as an air presents it as a partial theme or melody detached from its original composition. The air offers a souvenir-sized snippet of Arab folk song that is only a snapshot of what he heard and collected in Algeria. From the representation of the vernacular qaṣīdah and nūbah to the identity politics of the fin de siècle French chanson to the musical souvenir of the air—a collectable tidbit that can never fully express the Algerian original—”Yamina” serves as a musical portrayal of the political and cultural climate in France through the categories of tourism, assimilation, and colonialism.

Salvador Daniel included one villanelle within his Album de chansons. “Marguerite” is noted as a villanelle arranged after a Maltese chanson. The villanelle is a popular and pastoral dance song dating back to the sixteenth-century in France. The

64 “J’aime sur la mosquée, La voix aimée du muezzin religieux, Mais ce que je préfère encor C’est Yamina, mon trésor, Yamina, mes amours!”

65 “Monté sur mon coursier rapide Qui fait voler le sable aride, J’aime à traverser les déserts, J’aime en ma soif brûlante, La source errante, L’oasis aux palmiers verts, J’aime leur frais ombrage Et le feuillage Qui s’agite dans les airs.”
standard villanelle consists of a verse/refrain form with two rhymes alternating between the first and third verses. “Marguerite” contains the same rhyme scheme and is set in three couplets with a repeating refrain. Nineteenth-century French poets and writers, such as Théodore de Banville, revived the formes fixes and other song forms from earlier centuries, including the villanelle. Including a villanelle in his Album illustrates this trend of popularizing of old forms.

Adding a song from Malta within a collection of North African songs further perpetuated the idea of a uniform, all-encompassing Orient. Maltese, the official language of Malta, has distant ties to Arabic. Napoleon captured Malta in 1798 while en route to Egypt during his expedition and maintained control until the British took over in 1814 through the Treaty of Paris. French colonial rule of the island was still fresh in the minds of the European public at the time of Salvador Daniel’s Album.

“Marguerite” serves as a symbol of European imperialism and the assimilation of the Other. Maltese citizens began migrating to Algeria in the 1830s hoping for a better life in this newly conquered French colony. Once in Algeria, the French government viewed the Maltese as more French than Arab and granted them French citizenship. “Marguerite” exemplifies the diversity of Algeria; a villanelle arrangement of a chanson maltaise published in a collection of Arab, Kabyle, and Moorish songs.


68 Smith, Colonial Memory, 8.
**Categorizing Modes and the *Mission civilisatrice***

Each of Salvador Daniel’s publications and compositions reveal his fascination with Arab modes. La *Musique arabe* includes two chapters that describe and classify modes: “The Diatonic Modes of the Arabs” and “The Chromatic Modes of the Arabs.” In these chapters, Salvador Daniel connected the Arab modes to emotions and feelings, similar to the seventeenth-century theory of the affects. His “Notice sur la musique kabyle” discussed the twelve modes of Eastern music and his “Fantaisie sur une flute double: Instrument arabe” offers diagrams and charts of modality and scale.

In his *Album*, Salvador Daniel listed the mode for seven of the twelve songs. He helped his audience to better understand and appreciate North African music by noting the modes of these songs. He began his chapter on the chromatic modes by admitting that when listening to Arab music, one

> should be inclined to flee from such a confused noise of voice and instruments as would offend our ears. They are exalted by the sounds of their instruments. With their music they express the most varied feelings, to which they attach wonderful effects.

Salvador Daniel believed that modal melody must be accompanied by modal harmony. Decades later, Farmer still found Salvador Daniel’s “rebel ideas in harmony and form” added to the “bizarrerie of Arab music” to be shocking. Farmer sympathized with earlier music critics who found Salvador Daniel’s music “wanting.”

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chapters in *La Musique arabe* and notes within his *Album* helped to explain the modes and sounds that would be potentially “offensive” and “confusing” to European audiences.

The Arab modes of Salvador Daniel’s *chansons* are placed in Western notation. In his explanation of chromatic modes, he noted that the Arabs “are exalted by the sounds of their instruments” yet he transcribed his chansons for voice and piano. Furthering the assimilation process, Salvador Daniel intersperses the songs that use Arab modes amongst five songs that use Western tonality. Whether using Arab modes or Western tonality, the North African songs had to be revised in order for them to be performed by Western instruments using a Western score. Salvador Daniel subjected his collected music to a sort of *mission civilisatrice*, transforming the North African songs into Western European salon pieces that could be understood and performed by the French public.

Salvador Daniel’s *Album* presents multiple layers of representation and transmission. During his collecting trips, he heard songs in their original language performed on indigenous instruments. As the songs were orally transmitted, Salvador Daniel transcribed the music in Western notation. In creating his *Album*, he selected twelve songs that further remove the music from its original form: using French texts that “imitate” the original language, transcribing the instrumental accompaniment for piano and, in some cases, using Western tonality. Salvador Daniel alleviated some of the foreignness of the music by formatting and arranging these North African songs as Western art music.

Similar to the civilizing mission of assimilation, Salvador Daniel made the songs closer to that which European audiences were accustomed. The songs are more readily
understandable and accepted by the French. The Other loses some of its Otherness. Arabic gives way to French, semitones are replaced by diatonic scales, *qaṣīdahs* become *chansons*. Aspects of assimilation provided a means for Salvador Daniel to create a collection of North African music that was palatable to the European public.

**Marketing, Reception, and Government Connections**

The French firm Richault published multiple editions of Salvador Daniel’s *Album de chansons* in the 1860s. Richault emphasized Salvador Daniel’s expertise as an Arab music scholar by marketing the songs as transcriptions in French translation. The songs were originally published individually and sold at prices between 2.50–6 francs each. In order to entice buyers to purchase the entire album, Richault advertised the complete collection in a lavishly covered volume for a discounted price of 12 francs.

Salvador Daniel’s *Album* was also published in Algeria by the Constantine firm of L. Bovard and J. Grima. The edition was published for the French-speaking settler population of Algeria. The Bovard-Grima edition does not include the same amount of description in the table of contents as the Richault edition, but, similar to the Richault edition, the Bovard-Grima version was published in French with a few selected words and phrases printed in Arabic on the cover. The cover in French reads *Chansons arabes*,

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72 Richault was the same firm that published many of Berlioz’s compositions, including *La Damnation de Faust, L'Enfance du Christ* and *Lélio* (all published between 1854–1855). Berlioz admired Salvador Daniel’s firsthand knowledge of the Orient and appreciated his Eastern-inspired compositions. Prior to his trip to Algeria, publishers were reticent to publish Salvador Daniel’s music. Berlioz had agreed to help him with his opera and it is possible that Berlioz also suggested Salvador Daniel’s work to Richault. The collected volume was published in at least two separate editions with the same title pages. Both editions are without date and differ only in a few of the songs for different vocal parts. One edition was published by Richault at their address 4 Boulevard des Italiens au 1er and the other was published by the same firm from their location at Boulevard Poissonnière 26, au 1er.

mauresques et kabyles but the Arabic states “Arab and Tunisian Songs” (Ghaniyyāt ‘arab wa tunisiyyāt). This Arabic title differentiates between Arab and Tunisian songs, even though the former is an ethnicity and the latter a nationality. Certainly there was an Arab population in Tunisia in the 1860s. The Arabic title also excludes the categories of other ethnicities presented through song in the Album. Kabyles and the more ambiguous category of Moors also inhabited Tunisia during the nineteenth-century. Constantine’s proximity to the Tunisian border may have been a cause for the inclusion of the word in Arabic. The back cover of the Bovard-Grima edition includes the publisher’s names in Arabic calligraphy. The Arabic words included in the issue fulfill a decorative rather than didactic purpose.

Salvador Daniel’s compositions had a reputation for being “too authentic” and shocking to Western audiences. In an article published after Salvador Daniel’s death, Daniel Bernard wrote:

[Salvador Daniel’s] works numbered three or four, not one of which is worth mentioning. The words are divagations on a crowd of themes, each more odd than the other. The composer’s greatest fault was an absolute want of precision in mind. He lost himself in endless dissertation under the pretext of fantaisie.  

Critiquing the Album de chansons, another review stated:

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74 Bernard, “Musicien de la commune,” n.p. “Ses ouvrages sont au nombre de trois ou quatre, dont pas un seul ne mérite d’être cité. Ce sont des divagations sur une foule de sujets plus baroques les uns que les autres. Le plus grave défaut de l’auteur était un manque absolu de précision dans l’esprit. Il se perdait en des dissertations sans fin, sous prétex de fantaisie.” Farmer noted that Salvador Daniel’s Fantaisies were the only other works published besides his Album de chansons. The only publication that includes “fantasy” in the title is Salvador Daniel’s “Fantaisie sur une flûte double” published in Revue africaine (1866). In his New Grove entry, Bourligueux notes that Salvador Daniel composed several Arab fantaisies for piano but these are not extant. According to Léo-Louis Barbès, Salvador Daniel’s Fantaisies arabes pour piano et orchestre were inspired by Ambroise Thomas’s virtuosity. See Barbès, “Une Figure curieuse,” 237.
Our ears protested against some of the songs, since they are hardly made for bizarre, monotonous chants that are accompanied by the rustling of Basque drums, notes sustained by choirs, and high-pitched sounds from the oboe.\textsuperscript{75}

An especially harsh review of a performance of the \textit{Album} at the Palais pompéien noted that Salvador Daniel’s music was “incoherent, bizarre and tiring” and that the audience’s ears were “injured by the harsh transitions and melodic jerks.” Our ears “search for rest,” the critic continued, from the “clashing and savage modulations” and “appalling scales.” After the critic’s initial shock, however, the reviewer seemed to become accustomed to the sounds, writing:

During the second hearing it becomes clear. The monotone accompaniment of the drums, that are supposed to take the place of the Oriental \textit{darbūkah}, creates the atmosphere of a charming, dreamlike state [and] the melodic fragments [...] captivate us with their strange and invading sweetness.\textsuperscript{76}

The sounds of the \textit{Album} were transformed from shocking and bizarre into Oriental stereotypes: “dreamlike” and “captivating.” The strange Otherness of the music becomes an alluring Other, exotic and filled with the desire of the Orient.

Those reviews that were favorable praised the erudite and scholarly nature of his music. Farmer wrote, “After the publication of ‘La Musique arabe’ and the ‘Chansons arabes,’ Salvador Daniel found himself quite famous in Algeria, and looked upon as quite the authority in all appertaining to the native music.”\textsuperscript{77}

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\textsuperscript{75} Y, “Auditions et concerts,” \textit{Revue et gazette musicale de Paris} (20 March 1864): 93. “Nos oreilles, peu faites à la mélopée bizarre de ces chants accompagnés par un frôlement de tambours de basque, par quelques notes soutenues des chœurs et par les sons aigus du hautbois, ont protesté contre quelques-uns d’entre eux.”

\textsuperscript{76} Gasperini, “La Musique arabe,” 253. “Puis, à une seconde audition, la lumière se fait. L’accompagnement monotone des timbales, chargées de remplacer la taraboucque des Orientaux, jette l’esprit dans un état de rêverie qui a son charme [et] ces fragments de mélodie [...] nous captivent par leur étrangeté même et je ne sais quelle douceur envahissante.” The \textit{darbūkah} is a single-headed drum commonly played in North Africa, especially Algeria and Morocco.

\textsuperscript{77} Farmer, “Memoir of Francesco Salvador-Daniel,” 15.
chansons retained their scholarly importance after Salvador Daniel’s death. In his *Histoire générale de la musique*, François-Joseph Fétis published sections of what he considered the best and most stylistically diverse songs: “Le Ramier,” “Ma Gazelle,” and “Soleîma.” Le Ramier, was published in *Le Figaro* on 19 October 1881 and scholars such as Farmer and Barbès used Salvador Daniel’s Album as an authoritative source for understanding the indigenous folk music of North Africa.

In 1863, three of the songs from his *Album de chansons* were performed at a concert organized by Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin before the Société des compositeurs de musique in Paris. The performance instantly transformed Salvador Daniel into a celebrity. The chansons became part of popular French and Algerian culture, performed at balls in Algeria and at high society concerts. Richault even used these performances to promote the songs of his *Album*, adding the note “sung by Mademoiselle Vertheimber” and “Madame Barthe-Banderali” underneath the titles of “L’Ange des déserts,” “Le Chant de la meule,” and “Marguerite.”

Salvador Daniel was à la mode amongst the French public and well known among literary and artistic circles in Paris. On 3 March 1865 at 8:30 in the evening, Salvador Daniel and his two sisters gave a concert in the foyer of the Théâtre Impérial d’Alger. The performance included two songs from the *Album*: “Chebbou Chebban” and “Klaâ Beni Abbès.” A review published on 5 March 1865 stated “the concert of M. and Mlles Salvador-Daniel were exactly what one might expect from them, that is to say perfect.”

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79 Barbès, “Une Figure curieuse,” 214.

80 E.L. cited in Barbès, “Une Figure curieuse,” 223.
In 1867, the *Album de chansons* were reissued and were “quite the rage of the salons.”

In addition, government officials viewed Salvador Daniel’s compositions as ideal musical propaganda, an advertisement in song promoting the imperialist cause of France in Africa.

Salvador Daniel’s expertise in the language, culture, and music of North Africa granted him prestige and respect. While in Algeria, he was introduced in person to the Governor-General Maréchal Randon, and was named professor at the École arabe française by Nicolas Perron, a medical doctor who worked in Paris, Egypt, and Algeria, and who also wrote a number of publications about pre-Islamic and Islamic civilization.

Salvador Daniel dedicated his series of articles originally published in *Revue africaine* and later published under the title *La Musique arabe* to “His Excellence, Monsieur Maréchal Comte Randon, Minister of the War.” Randon received the edition with pleasure and responded by sending one thousand francs in recognition to Salvador Daniel’s “service given to the Muslim arts.”

Salvador Daniel’s fame in Algeria continued to grow, earning him an invitation to direct the Orphéon algérien and the choir of the École arabe française at the opening of the first official reception to Napoléon III on 4 May 1864 in Algeria. A review appearing in *L’Akhbar* on 7 May 1865 stated:

His Majesty was especially struck by the mixture of young singers who belonged to all races and professed all religions. Their artistic education succeeded in connecting all of them. This fusion, which fulfills the imperial ideas so well, is a

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82 In Algeria, Perron founded and directed the Collège Impérial arabe français. On 1 October 1863, he was named Inspecteur général of the Education of the local population (*indigenes*). For further reading, see Barbès, “Une Figure curieuse,” 209.

83 Barbès, “Une Figure curieuse,” 214.
modest image of the great fusion that may be established and, thus, it could not help but attract the attention of the Emperor.  

According to this review, Napoléon III did not praise Salvador Daniel’s compositional style or the quality of the performance. It is the fusion of races and religions, the ideal of assimilation appearing through concerted music, that captivated the French emperor. The Orphéon also performed “with great success” during Napoléon III’s final trip to Algeria and, due to the suggestion of the Baron Isidore Taylor, the emperor presented Salvador Daniel with a gold medal.

Upon his return to France, Randon visited Salvador Daniel several times and presented him again to Napoléon III. Salvador Daniel received the favors of the Tuileries and, in June 1867, Napoléon III commissioned a series of concerts “antique et orientale” at the Maison pompéienne on the Champs-Elysées. The concerts were given on a “grand scale” and were “highly praised by the press.” In his Histoire de la musique, Félix Clément wrote that the concert attracted a scholarly audience. Had Salvador Daniel not participated with the activities of the Commune, his success as a composer and scholar of Arab music would likely have continued.

Salvador Daniel’s Album offers a musical reflection of his travels and experiences in North Africa. The Album comprises similar characteristics to contemporary travelogues by highlighting popular tourist attractions and military locales in Algeria. The collection also depicts Algerian history and French colonial politics through the

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84 “Voyage de l’Empereur,” L’Akhbar (Sunday 7 May 1865), cited in Barbès, “Une Figure curieuse,” 225. “Ce qui frappait surtout Sa Majesté, c’était le mélange de ces jeunes chanteurs appartenant à toutes les races et professant toutes les religions, entre lesquels l’éducation artistique avait réussi à établir un lien. Cette fusion qui répond si bien aux idées impériales, ne pouvait manquer d’attirer l’attention de l’Empereur.”


86 Clément, Histoire de la musique, 62.
integration of genres, language, instrumentation, musical notation, and tonality. The collection reflects the French government policy of assimilation and its mission *civilisatrice*. Salvador Daniel’s musical travelogue served as an important tool of communication and propaganda that sheds further light onto French Algeria in the mid-nineteenth century.
In October 1873, Camille Saint-Saëns arrived for the first time in Algiers. This was the first of what would become eighteen winter trips or hivernages to Algeria taken by the composer. For Saint-Saëns, Algeria was a winter getaway, a vacation destination, and a space for exploration and relaxation. During his lifetime, Saint-Saëns traveled to the Canary Islands, Egypt, Europe, Scandinavia, East Asia, the Solomon Islands, and America, but it was to Algeria that he faithfully returned, winter after winter. It was in Algeria where he made friends and continued correspondence throughout his summers in Europe. And it was Algeria that became his favorite destination for solace and sunshine.

This chapter examines the emphasis on the colonial binary in the representation and tourism marketing of Algeria. Scholars have long noted the creation of dichotomies of space and place throughout history. These include the binaries of center/periphery, Self/Other, East/West, Orient/Occident, and colony/metropole. In this chapter, I draw attention to the depiction of difference between colonizer and colonized in representations of and discourse on colonial Algeria. More specifically, I examine the portrayal of temporal difference between colonizer and colonized through which Algeria is viewed and represented as primordial and timeless while France is portrayed as modern. Saint-Saëns’s touristic lifestyle in Algeria exemplifies the perceived temporal difference between France and its colony. The chapter concludes with a discussion of two

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compositions by Saint-Saëns that incorporate these stereotypes of time and progress: the *Africa* fantaisie for piano and orchestra, op. 89 (1891) and the *Suite algérienne*, op. 60 (1880).

In the first chapter I discussed the violence of modernity: how the act of colonialism was intertwined with the act of bringing modernity to Algeria and how this act involved various forms of physical and epistemic violence. In this chapter I examine the temporality of modernity and how this temporality was emphasized in artistic representations of Algeria and marketed to develop the tourist industry in Algeria. The temporal difference between center and periphery is not unique to colonial Algeria. Raymond Williams notes the historically generalized stereotypes of city and country with “the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition; the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation. A contrast between country and city, as fundamental ways of life, reaches back into classical times.”² Homi Bhabha describes this phenomenon in colonial texts as a disjunctive time-lag or distance that perpetuates notions of progress and stagnation:

> What may seem primordial or timeless is, I believe, a moment of a kind of “projective past” […] It is a mode of “negativity” that makes the enunciatory present of modernity disjunctive. It opens up a time-lag at the point at which we speak of humanity through its differentiations—gender, race, class—that mark on excessive marginality of modernity.³

According to Bhabha, the time-lag places the Other outside progress and modernization.

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³ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 341.
Drawing from Frantz Fanon, Bhabha suggests that the time-lag of cultural difference places the Other as “belated” or in the past while the “universal” and “normative” Self or non-Other is a symbol of the future.⁴

The dichotomy between colonizer and colonized functioned as a homogenizing mechanism by erasing difference and emphasizing those characteristics that propagated the stereotype. Those aspects or characteristics that disrupted the stereotyped temporal categories of colonizer and colonized were displaced or omitted. Aspects that fit the category of modernity were attributed to or perceived to originate from France, even if Algerians had invented or participated in the creation or implementation of what was thought to be modern, while characteristics of the primordial past and pastoral lifestyle were associated with a timeless Algeria. These stereotypes bolstered the French colonial project as the French government purported to “save” the undeveloped Algerian culture and society from itself.

The pastoral style provided a means to musically represent the time-lag between colonizer and colonized. The pastoral in music depends on a Manichaeansian dichotomy, one like the philosophical opposition between country and city. In the nineteenth century, composers used the pastoral style to re-create or musically depict an archaic or earlier time period, a society and culture that was “lost under the constraints of civilization.”⁵

Nineteenth-century writers and artists described and depicted Algeria as pastoral and primitive. These representations created a canon of North African pastoralism by choosing to emphasize those aspects of the Algerian landscape and society.


Nineteenth-century composers, folklorists, and musicologists contributed to the common belief that the East had remained the same, a petrified culture that withheld the diverse and changing progress of the West, and that led Europeans to search the East for the ancient roots of their own heritage and identity. Composers and folklorists collected and studied Middle Eastern folk music, comparing their finds with ancient Greek modes and polyphonic music. Adapting these views for their own music, European composers musically portrayed North Africa as unchanging and stagnant. Musical depictions of the time-lag promote an image of ignorant simplicity and survival of outmoded, barbaric practices long superseded by Western innovation.

The colonial binary exhibits prevalent nineteenth-century European theories of race. One of the most famous of these was Arthur comte de Gobineau’s *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (1853–55). Gobineau argued that ethnic differences were permanent and that the human races were intellectually unequal. European governments used these theories to bolster their own imperialist agendas. Artists and composers depicting Algeria used racial stereotypes that reinforced European notions of perceived superiority over the inferior people of North Africa. Bhabha notes the importance in recognizing the stereotype as an “ambivalent mode of knowledge and power,” a recognition that he argues is often overlooked. According to Bhabha, colonial discourse uses stereotypes in order to “construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of

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7 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 95.
administration and instruction.”⁸ The use of pastoral stereotypes to represent Algeria echoed prevalent racial theories that argued North Africans were more primitive and less progressive than Western Europeans.

Reductionist stereotypes of the temporal difference between Algeria and France allowed Algeria to flourish as a tourist destination for wealthy Europeans. Artistic depictions, travel guides, and advertisements represented Algeria as the perfect destination for Europeans, a space that was timeless and pastoral while at the same time offering the comforts of home through French colonization.

Traveling to North Africa and other destinations certainly provided a means of escape for Europeans, a vacation from cold winters and crowded cities. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Algiers had many of the same luxuries and amenities as European cities. Travelogues and diaries often described nineteenth-century Algiers as a “civilized European city,” complete with theaters, European-style homes, and stores stocked with European foods and goods. Despite these amenities, artistic portrayals of Algeria largely ignored the “civilized” and “modern” aspects of Algiers emphasizing instead its difference from cities such as Paris or London. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett writes that it is this emphasis on difference that drives tourism:

To compete for tourists, a location must become a destination. To compete with each other, destinations must be distinguishable, which is why the tourism industry requires the production of difference. It is not in the interest of remote destinations that one arrive in a place indistinguishable from the place one left or from any of a thousand other destinations competing for market share.⁹

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⁸ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 101.

Algeria was marketed as a land of tranquility and simplicity while at the same time an ideal vacation destination hosting modern amenities, infrastructure, and European-style resorts. As Seth Graebner notes, this marketing strategy served as a welcome antidote to Parisians longing for an escape from the radical urban changes from Haussmanization in Paris.\(^\text{10}\) The city of Algiers became a microcosm of the colonial binary. Fromentin described Algiers as having “two cities. The French one, or, better put, the European one […] and] the Arab one.”\(^\text{11}\) Alfred Gubb’s guide *From Cloud to Sunshine* described Algiers as being composed of a “native city” and a “modern French town.” In describing the latter section of Algiers, the guide explained:

> there are now several first-class hotels constructed on European models, the sanitary arrangements whereof have been carried out more or less in accordance with the principles of hygiene as understood and applied in England. From the point of view of comfort and convenience they leave little to be desired.\(^\text{12}\)

The juxtaposition of the “old” or “native city” next to the “modern French town” allowed tourists to experience the colonial binary without leaving Algiers.

Despite its harsh climate and terrain, the Sahara desert became a paragon of Algerian pastoralism. Benjamin Claude Brower notes that plans for the French military’s takeover of the Algerian Sahara, known as the *pénétration pacifique*, described the desert in bucolic terms:

> In the 1840s the language of the “pénétration pacifique” ensured that the Sahara was represented within the conventions of the pastoral and the picturesque. The Sahara was calm, a place of rest—strikingly unlike the ravaged martial landscapes of the Tell. It was distinguished by its visual beauty—drifting dunes, swaying palms, and bubbling oasis springs—bathed in a glorious luminosity that few

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\(^\text{11}\) Fromentin, *Between Sea and Sahara*, 10–11.

regions could rival. A land of opportunity for merchants and scientists, the Sahara was especially suited to artists. Even as the French empire expanded through military conquest—the violence in the ksour, the bloodshed at Zaatcha, and the massacre at Laghouat—these original pastoral terms were little disturbed by events.\textsuperscript{13}

The idyllic perceptions of the Algerian desert lured many European artists and writers to visit the Sahara in search of artistic inspiration. The artist Eugène Fromentin’s \textit{Les Tentes de la Smala de Si-Hamed bel Hadj, Sahara} [\textit{The Tents of the Tribe of Si-Hamed-Bel-Hadj in the Sahara}] (1850) used palm trees, brush, and sand to depict the Sahara.\textsuperscript{14}

In 1857, explorer Henri Duveyrier ignored the desolate aspects of the desert and instead focused on the gardens and flowering trees of the oases. Duveyrier concluded his journal with a series of indices that list the plants and animals he encountered during his travels through the Sahara desert.\textsuperscript{15} Brower states “at the turn of the century images of desert palms and dunes became stock ‘images d’Épinal,’ filling tourist brochures that lured travelers to oases like Biskra and Touggourt.”\textsuperscript{16} French artists chose to ignore the harsh aspects of Algeria’s rugged terrain and instead highlighted the idyllic pastoral images creating a series of stereotypes of North Africa.

The promotion of a pastoral Algeria and modern France placed colonized and colonizer in separate places of time. The colonial project and France’s efforts to “bring modernity” to Algeria show how France not only invaded the geographical space but also

\textsuperscript{13} Brower, \textit{Desert Named Peace}, 207–208.

\textsuperscript{14} Musée Fabre, Montpellier, France, oil on canvas. The painting was first exhibited at the Salon of 1849. Fromentin later retouched the painting and dated it 1850.


\textsuperscript{16} Brower, \textit{Desert Named Peace}, 208. \textit{Images d’Épinal} were colorful woodblock prints named after the French town, Épinal, home of the Pellerin printing house. According to Jennifer Sessions, these prints became “one of the most effective means of communication in nineteenth-century France, and they served both as a powerful means [...] to transmit ideas about Algeria and ‘to sow ideas of war and of conquest among the people across the country’.” See Sessions, \textit{By the Sword and Plow}, 148–149.
the temporal space of Algeria. The image of a pastoral and primordial Algeria could not have existed without the opposing actuality of a modern and progressive France. The emphasis of these coexisting temporalities not only reinforced the colonial project but also gave power to the image, marketing, and artistic representation of colonial Algeria.

**Under the Algerian Sun**

In his *École buissonnière*, Saint-Saëns wrote:

> We leave in the evening, and the next morning we wake up surrounded by olive trees with their strange trunks and the golden leaves that delight our gazes; if bad luck does not meet you with the mistral, the gentle temperature will relax your nerves and the gaiety of Marseille puts you in a good mood. You board a beautiful ship: twenty-four hours later you land in Algiers; and it is sun, greenery, flowers, life!\(^\text{17}\)

For Saint-Saëns, Algeria was a land of sun, nature, and relaxation. In a letter, Saint-Saëns noted his hope to definitively leave Paris for Algeria where he would be free from all his worries.\(^\text{18}\) Another letter to his publisher, Jacques Durand, written on 24 December 1911, stated that in Algeria “the times are marvelous, the sun is hot and there are no clouds. At night, the stars are amazing. I do not recognize these things in Paris. I would like to have you here!”\(^\text{19}\)

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\(^{17}\) Camille Saint-Saëns, *École buissonnière* (Paris: Pierre Lafitte, 1913), 90. “On part le soir, et le lendemain matin on s’éveille au milieu des oliviers dont les troncs capricieux et le feuillage argenté réjouissent le regard; si la mauvaise chance ne vous fait pas rencontrer le trop fameux mistral, une température déjà plus douce vous détend les nerfs et la gaieté de Marseille, achève de vous mettre en bonne humeur; vous montez sur un joli navire, vingt-quatre heures après vous débarquez à Alger; et c’est le soleil, la verdure, les fleurs, la vie!” *The École buissonnière* is a collection of Saint-Saëns’s writings including his personal recollections, essays on composers, musical debates, travels, and scientific investigations.

\(^{18}\) Camille Saint-Saëns et l’Algérie (Dieppe: F-Dcm, 2004), 21.

\(^{19}\) Correspondence from Saint-Saëns to Jacques Durand, 24 December 1911, F-Pgm, Box Volume 22, 1911. “Toujours le temps merveilleux, soleil chaud et pas un nuage. La nuit, les étoiles sont un éblouissement je ne connais pas cela chez nous comme je voudrais t’avoir ici!”
During his first trip in 1873, Saint-Saëns purchased villa Ben-Marabet, a home on Pointe Pescade in the upscale neighborhood of Saint-Eugène just outside of the city limits of Algiers.\textsuperscript{20} The home was about four kilometers from the port and was described as a Moorish villa surrounded by a garden with a marble fountain and flowering orange and lemon trees. Saint-Saëns described and sketched his Algerian vacation home in a letter, noting that it was a delightful little villa in the country, surrounded by leaves and flowers with a view.\textsuperscript{21} While in Algiers, Saint-Saëns often escaped to his villa in hopes to remain left alone to complete his drafts and compositions in solitude. It was at this villa where Saint-Saëns composed \textit{Phryné} and \textit{Ascanio}. In 1910, the home was destroyed. The Église Saint-Christophe was later built on the site.

After 1910, Saint-Saëns continued to frequent Algiers for his winter vacations. Except for a short break from Algeria during World War I from 1914–1918, he stayed at various hotels in Algiers, Blida, Philippeville, and Hammam R’Irha. The composer ultimately planned to retire in Algeria. In a letter from Marseille on 5 April 1919 he wrote:

\textsuperscript{20} According to \textit{Cook's Practical Guide to Algiers, Algeria and Tunisia}, at the turn of the twentieth century, Saint Eugène was a large village of about 4,000 inhabitants and could be easily reached from the Place du Gouvernement in Algiers via electric tramcar. From Saint Eugène, one could reach Pointe Pescade by steam car. The neighborhood offered European settlers less expensive villas that were smaller and less extravagant than other more affluent areas. See Thomas Cook, \textit{Cook's Practical Guide to Algiers, Algeria and Tunisia} (London: T. Cook, 1904), 37. Saint-Saëns was known to be very affluent due to his own celebrity and grueling touring schedule in addition to his inheritances from wealthy family members.

My dear poet,
At last I am going to return to Paris, not without fear, for the newspapers are speaking of glacial temperatures. On Tuesday I shall be home. I shall find much to do, lots of correspondence, so don’t expect any long letters from me!

Ah! had I been able to, I would have stayed in Algeria amidst the greenery and the flowers! Why do I have to return to the cold, which I detest! […] I had dreamed, a while ago, of finishing my days in a little villa near Algiers, with no aim except to plant and to watch the plants grow. Instead of that I will be in an intolerable whirlwind until my final moment.\(^{22}\)

In this letter, Saint-Saëns expressed his love for the greenery, flowers, warmth, and tranquility of Algeria as opposed to the cold and busy lifestyle of Paris. Postcards and letters sent by Saint-Saëns in Algeria repeat his reductionist views of Algeria—as a land of peaceful tranquility, nature, and ignorant simplicity—and France—as a space of deadlines, innovation, and industry.

Saint-Saëns’s close acquaintances in Algeria shared his bucolic views of the region. In a letter written 2 March 1912, his close friend Charles Galland, former mayor of Algiers, wrote to Saint-Saëns:

We had a completely flourishing and sunny winter. Symphonies of orange trees, lemon trees and mandarin trees with pretty blossoms of wisteria; infinite varieties of blossoming roses. It is a joy for the eyes under a sky that is always blue. You were missed at the celebration.\(^{23}\)

\(^{22}\) Letter sent from Marseille by Saint-Saëns addressed to “My dear poet,” 5 April 1919, US-NHub, Frederick R. Koch Collection, GEN MSS 601, Box 55 Folder 1206. “Mon cher poète, Enfin je vais rentrer à Paris, non sans craintes, car les journaux y parlent de températures fraîche? Je serai rentré chez moi mardi. Je vais trouver bien de l’occupation, bien de la correspondance, car il ne faudra que l’attention de longues lettres de moi! […] Ah! Ci j’avais pu, comme je serais resté en Algérie, au milieu de la verdure et des fleurs! Pourquoi faut-il revenir dans le froid que je déteste! Mais on n’échappe pas à la destinée. J’avais rêvé, pourtant autrefois, de finir mes jours dans une petite villa aux environs d’Alger, sans autre souci que de planter et voir pousser des plantes. Au lieu de cela, je serai jusqu’à mes derniers jours dans un insupportable tourbillon.”

\(^{23}\) Correspondence from Charles Galland to Camille Saint-Saëns, 2 March 1912, F-Dcm. “Nous avons eu un hiver tout fleurir et ensoleillé! Symphonie des orangers, des citronniers et des mandariniers en fleurs jolie des glycines; variations à l’infini des roses épanouies. C’est une joie pour les yeux sous un ciel toujours bleu et vous manquez à la fête.”
Another letter from Galland related the natural wonders that Saint-Saëns was missing during the summertime:

Come back to Algiers where we truly love you. I will show you the new flowers, the categories of “suns,” the simplified suns with unexpected shapes and colors. I strongly believe that it is Vilmorin who produced these little wonders.\footnote{Correspondence from Charles Galland to Camille Saint-Saëns, 4 July 1919, F-Dcm. “Revenez à Alger où nous vous aimons bien. Je vous montrerai des fleurs nouvelles, de la famille des ‘soleils’, des soleils simplifiés avec des figures et des colorations inattendues. Je crois fort que c’est Vilmorin qui a produit ces petits merveilles.” Vilmorin refers to the French family of botanists.}

Saint-Saëns’s disposition for the sun of Algiers was well known by his biographers and critics. In November 1879 Henry Quittard noted:

The Orient has always excited an irresistible allure in M. Saint-Saëns. Each autumn, when the swallows take their flight towards the south of France in noisy flocks, the master goes to the sunny countries; he is drawn there because he enjoys it, by the nostalgia of this bright red mirage, and especially for the simpler reason of health! The winter forces him out; the atmosphere of Paris is unbearable to him beginning in November. The cold hurts him; even the climate of temperate Provence is too harsh. But due to this, he crosses the Mediterranean and then he reaches Algeria, Algiers, Hammam R’Irha, or Cairo, Egypt. He feels revived. He exhales from the top of his lungs. He needed the beautiful sun to fill his eyes and the spring to fill his heart. He is happy.\footnote{F-Dcm, Dossier Bonnerot, Folder 16, Piece 5, No. 53. “L’Orient a toujours excité sur M. Saint-Saëns un irrésistible attrait. A chaque automne, quand les hirondelles en troupes bruyantes prennes leur vol vers le midi, le maître s’en va vers les pays du soleil; il y est attiré un peu par goût, par nostalgie de ce mirage vermeil, et surtout par de simples motifs de santé! L’hiver lui extrude; l’atmosphère de Paris en irrespirable pour lui dès novembre; le froid le fut souffrir; même le climat de la douce Provence est encore trop rude. Mais dès qu’il a franchi la Méditerranée et qu’il aborde en Algérie, à Alger, à Hammam-Rirha, ou au Caire en Égypte, il se sent revivre, il expire à plein poumons, il a du beau soleil plein le yeux et printemps plein le cœur; il est heureux.”}

Saint-Saëns’s journals and writing are filled with descriptions of the flowers, gardens, and nature of Algeria. In his notes about Algeria, he wrote:

The nature here is beautiful! The ground teems with plants that are unknown to us, and some others which are simple variants on the plants that we know. The acanthus, the illustrious acanthus itself is easily found here, the arum lily, with spearhead leaves, abound here, some are little with blossoms gently marked with violet, others are bigger with white blossoms. From place to place, there appears a bouquet of braided blossoms, in a dark beautiful green. They come out of an enormous bulb, these are spring squills, which will later show a tuft of pretty blue flowers. The view stretches out into the distance, onto mountain chains with
varied colors. Closer, the view meets with the pine woods, where there are charming promenades, but one must not venture there at night. In the morning it is easy to notice the traces of wild animals who live there.26

Saint-Saëns also dabbled in poetry, including lines of prose in letters to friends or in his journals. Several of these poems were written in Algeria and describe the landscape and abundant nature of the region. His poem *Soirs d’Algérie* is especially detailed in its emphases on the natural and pastoral characteristics of Algeria:

*Soirs d’Algérie*

Quand le soir est venu, puis l’ombre et le silence,
Et l’étoile du ciel et celle du gazon,
D’un pas lent et discret je sors de la maison,
Pour goûter le repos de la nuit qui commence.

Je vais dans un jardin muet, sombre et désert.
Une vasque de marbre y répand son eau rare,
Don précieux et pur d’une naïade avare.
Des insectes lointains j’écoute le concert.

Nul ne vient en ce lieu. Pas de voix ennemies
Qui troublent le silence de son hymne divin;
Et je vois à longs traits, comme un céleste vin,
Le calme qui descend des branches endormies.27

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26 Saint-Saëns, *École buissonnière*, 92. “Que cette nature est belle! Le sol fourmille de plantes inconnues chez nous, et d’autres qui sont de simples variantes de celles que nous connaissons. L’acanthe, l’illustre acanthe, elle-même, s’y trouve à l’aise; les arums, aux feuilles en fer de lance, y fourmillent, les uns petits, aux fleurs gentiment striées de violet, les autres, plus grands, aux fleurs blanches; de place en place, paraît un bouquet de feuilles pressées, d’un beau vert foncé; elles sortent d’un oignon énorme: ce sont des scilles, qui, plus tard, montreront une touffe de jolies fleurs bleues. La vue s’étend, au loin, sur des chaînes de montagnes aux teintes diverses; plus près, elle rencontre les bois de pins, où l’on trouve l’occasion de charmantes promenades, mais où il ne ferait pas bon de s’aventurer la nuit, car, au matin, il est facile d’y relever les traces des bêtes fauves qui les habitent.”

Algerian Evenings

When the evening has come, then follows the darkness and silence,
And the stars of the sky and those of the ground,
I leave the house with a slow and discrete step,
In order to enjoy the relaxation of the coming night.

I enter a silent garden, somber and empty.
Water spills out of a marble basin,
A precious and pure offering of a miserly naiade.
I hear the concert of some distant insects.

Nothing comes to this place. Not the voices of enemies
Which disturb the silence of its divine hymn;
And I see in long strokes, like heavenly wine,
The calm that descends from the sleeping branches.

Throughout these letters, journal entries, biographies, and poems, a common current
prevails: the omission of the busy city life of Algiers and focus on the pastoral
characteristics of Algeria. The reiteration of these pastoral tropes throughout prose and,
as we will later see, his music, further supported the colonial binary.

France or Algeria? Progress and Modernity in Algiers

French colonialism in Algiers created an atmosphere where European tourists were
hardly foreigners. French-speaking tourists were greeted by French military or
government officials at the port and many Algerians knew at least a little French as an
increasing number of the indigenous population attended the Écoles arabes françaises.

The 1905 Guide Joanne advised French-speaking tourists that:

an interpreter is only needed in very exceptional cases. Even when one travels to
an area completely inhabited by native North Africans, it is possible to understand
and, more or less, obtain the necessary information without too much trouble.28

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28 Gilbert Jacqueton, Augustin Bernard, and Stéphane Gsell, eds. Collection des Guides-Joanne: Algérie et
Tunisie (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1905), XXIX. “On n’aura que très exceptionnellement besoin d’un
interprète. Même lorsqu’on voyage en pays tout à fait indigène, on parvient sans trop de peine à se faire
comprendre et à obtenir, tant bien que mal, les renseignements indisposables.”
Tourists who wanted to send a postcard from Algeria to France needed only a French stamp, the same postage as if sending a postcard within the city limits of Paris. Several cities in Algeria offered similar amenities to European cities with rail transportation, stores selling European foods and other necessities, luxurious European-style villas, opera houses and other concert venues.

This was especially true in Algiers where French culture and infrastructure was most evident. Travelogues described Algiers as a civilized European city with paved roads and elegant hotels. These same guides praised French colonialism for bringing progress and infrastructure to Algeria. European travel books and tour guides discounted any contributions from Arabs or Kabyles in modernization. Instead, any “modern” attributes of European city life in Algeria were viewed as imports to the “backwards,” “barbaric hinterlands” of Algeria. Saint-Saëns echoed these sentiments in a 1911 article:

Today, Algiers is a splendid European city, admirably situated, brilliant and gay, where one lives the good life and will be perfect if they enjoy wide walkways […] Fortunately, there are now electric tramways and automobiles which are surprisingly reachable; and one can find an abundance of roses, palm trees, some cycads, a long passage of gigantic bamboo, some ficus from India in numerous columns, the beds of strelizias one hundred feet high, and many other marvels.

These claims further strengthened the colonial binary. Stereotypes of colonizer and colonized were successful because there were few attempts to overtly contradict them.

29 Saint-Saëns sent many postcards from Algeria to Paris, especially to his publisher Durand. These postcards have the same French postage stamp as the postcards he sent from Paris to another address in Paris or France. According to the Guide Joanne, the rates for telegraphs sent from Algeria were the same as those in France. See Jacqueton, Bernard, and Gsell, Collection des Guides-Joanne, XLI.

European stereotypes of Algeria became ways into knowing and understanding the colony.

For Europeans, and especially for French citizens, Algeria provided the ideal vacation. It was a space that offered the excitement and escape of being on a new continent without the usual tourist inconveniences of language difficulty or the need to exchange money. Europeans could interact with the native culture as much or as little as they liked. Tourists lodged in European-style villas or hotels, ate in European-style restaurants, and surrounded themselves with other European travelers. European tourists determined what aspects of colonial Algeria they wanted to experience.

While in Algiers, Saint-Saëns surrounded himself with European accommodations, amenities, and even society. Unlike Reyer, who worked for his uncle in the government, or Salvador Daniel, who immersed himself in Arab and Kabyle culture, Saint-Saëns surrounded himself with the company of European friends, including many musicians and French government officials. He attended soirées and outings, re-creating a social sphere very similar to that which he enjoyed in France. Among his acquaintances in Algeria were musician and Algiers mayor (1908–19) Charles Galland, the English organist George Weddell, the president of the musical section of the Société des beaux-arts d’Alger Eugène Beguet, the orchestra director of the Opéra d’Alger François Gaillard, and musicians Gabriel and Charles Simian. Saint-Saëns spent a large amount of time with these friends, writing about his soirées and outings in numerous letters and postcards. In a letter written from Algiers to his publisher Auguste Durand on 6 February 1905, Saint-Saëns wrote, “I found my old friends, Béguet, Galland, Simian (the eternal
drunk!) at the place where I played my first sonata yesterday with an excellent violinist named Guillemin. Everything was perfect.”

Saint-Saëns often met friends at their homes or hotels. Postcards of Algiers hotels sent by Saint-Saëns show large sitting areas filled with European tourists. A postcard sent by Saint-Saëns to Geneviève Geslin in January 1911 shows hotel guests reading and visiting in the grand salon of the Grand Hôtel des Bains in Hammam R’Irha. Another postcard sent by Saint-Saëns of the same hotel shows a long hall where a small chamber ensemble including a piano, string bass, and two violins serenaded guests in the gallery.

After he gave up his villa at Pointe Pescade, Saint-Saëns became a regular guest at several European-style hotels in Algiers, particularly the Hôtel de France, Hôtel de la Régence at the Place de Gouvernement, Hôtel Continental, and the Excelsior Hôtel. After the First World War, Saint-Saëns often stayed at the Grand Hôtel de l’Oasis, a resort located on the Boulevard de la République overlooking the bay. The Grand Hôtel de l’Oasis boasted a café restaurant, American bar, en suite baths, elevator, electric lights, a dark room for picture developing, and a golf course. This hotel was to be Saint-Saëns’s final residence. On the evening of 16 December 1921, after returning from a performance of Lakmé at the Grand Théâtre, Saint-Saëns played a round of chess with his friend Jean

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31 Letter from Saint-Saëns in Algiers to Auguste Durand, 6 February 1905, F-Dcm. “J’ai retrouvé mes vieux amis, Béguet, Galland, Simian (l’éternelle ivresse!) chez qui j’ai joué hier ma 1ère sonate avec un excellent violoniste nommé Guillemin; tout était parfait, même la terrible conclusion du final.” Guillemin was the spouse of M. Guillemin, mayor of Algiers 1881–98.


33 Postcard titled “Hammam-R’hira—Au grand hôtel, la galerie, pendant le concert,” F-Dcm, Postcard 2004.2.44.13.
Laurendeau. He then went to bed and was later overcome with an unrelenting coughing spell. He passed away at 10:30 in the evening.

Saint-Saëns was so adored by the French community in Algiers that they held a series of memorial ceremonies in his honor before his body was taken via steamship to Marseilles and then to Paris where he was buried in the Montparnasse Cemetery on 24 December 1921. The many ceremonies and grand funeral service illustrate the important place Saint-Saëns held in the French society of Algiers. The funeral in Algeria was held at the Cathédrale Saint-Philippe d’Alger on 19 December 1921 and overseen by the Archbishop Leynaud. Other speakers included the governor-general of Algeria, Théodore Steeg, the prefect, Adolphe Lefèbure, commander of the Nineteenth Military Corps, General Marie Jean Auguste Paulinier, and the mayor of Algiers, Alphonse Raffi. Musical offerings were given by the Municipal Orchestra of Algiers, the Opéra d’Alger, Émile Marcelin from the Opéra-Comique d’Alger, cellist Robert Neris, and the choir of the Église Saint-Charles. There was also a ceremony at the port at which more speeches were given by friends and government officials. Saint-Saëns was viewed as a vital member of Algiers society and the city had become a second home to him.

**Health and Happiness: Algeria’s Medical Tourism**

Biographers contend that Saint-Saëns took his winter vacations in Algiers in order to follow the advice of his doctor.34 Raoul de Galland, composer and son of the former mayor of Algiers Charles Galland, and Léo-Louis Barbès noted that Saint-Saëns’s doctor Paul Reclus “was nervous about the progression of the beginnings of tuberculosis

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34 For example, Watson Lyle wrote that after a busy concert season, Saint-Saëns “followed the advice of his doctor and sought rest and rejuvenation in sunny Algeria.” See Watson Lyle, *Camille Saint-Saëns: His Life and Art* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1923), 33.
diagnosed several months ago [and] adamantly prescribed complete rest” for his patient.35

Many doctors believed that the warm winters, dry and unpolluted desert air, unending sunshine, and the tranquil and serene setting far away from the city life of Paris and London would help patients suffering from a variety of medical ailments. In his study of French tourism under the Third Republic, Patrick Robert Young notes:

By the late nineteenth century, Algiers and Tunis had become well-established destinations for hivernage, the winter tourism of the affluent lasting roughly from December through March. The region as a whole contained a wealth of thermal sources; Algeria alone had 173 recognized springs in 1891, and this abundance, combined with the country’s unique climate, made it a preferred destination for affluent patients, especially those suffering from tuberculosis.36

Of course, the climate alone did not drive medical tourism in Algeria. French colonialism allowed easy access to the colony and promoted European settlement and business entrepreneurship in the region. Medicinal spas and resorts catered to wealthy Europeans who could afford to travel and reside in the luxurious hotels.

Saint-Saëns was not the only artist to seek Algeria for medicinal reasons. The English painter and sculptor Frederic Leighton made several trips to North Africa. His letters reveal that for his initial visit in 1857, Leighton “decided on leaving England for two months and fixed on Algiers as a dry climate likely to suit his health.”37 Karl Marx visited Algeria for health reasons in 1882 and Renoir sought relief from pneumonia and


tuberculosis by traveling to North Africa in the winter. Believing so strongly in the medicinal benefits of the North African climate, doctors wrote guidebooks recommending the best thermal spas, activities, and accommodations for European patients traveling to the region. Alfred Gubb, a medical doctor and surgeon, argued that the climate of Algiers “is warmer and more tonic than that of Pau or Pisa, and less exciting than that of Nice or Cannes—that is to say, the climate of Algiers is intermediate between a dry exciting climate and a damp one; in a word, it is neither too moist nor too dry.”

The therapeutic qualities of the Algerian climate became a marketing strategy for entrepreneurs and businesses. Hotels and resorts sprang up around the natural springs in the region. Tourist committees, newly formed in order to meet the need of a growing tourist market, advertised Algeria as a winter vacation and respite for tourists seeking cures for their ailments. Whether imagined or real, Algeria became an “oasis of healing” to many Europeans, including Saint-Saëns. When he was not in Algiers, Saint-Saëns was often found at the Grand Hôtel des Bains de la Station Thermo-Minérale in Hammam R’Irha (Hammam Rīghah), approximately 50 miles southwest of Algiers. The thermal springs were reported to have a temperature of around 45 degrees Celsius and

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38 Khiati, “Urban Forms,” 114; Benjamin, Orientalist Aesthetics, 81.

39 For example, see Émile-Louis Bertherand, Les Eaux minérales et les bains de mer en Algérie (Paris: Au Bureau de la gazette des eaux, 1860); Comité algérien de propagande et d’hivernage, Alger reine des stations hivernales (Nancy: Imprimerie Farnier et Chauvette, 1905); and Comité d’hivernage algérien, Illustrated guide-book (Algiers: n.d.).

40 Gubb, Cloud to Sunshine, 41.

41 For example the Comité d’hivernage algérien was founded in April 1897. This organization marketed winter tourism in Algeria and published guidebooks and pamphlets that advertised the therapeutic climate, medicinal baths, and resorts in the region.

were known for their “invigorating, stimulating and energetic” effects.\textsuperscript{43} Postcards sent by Saint-Saëns from the resort show a beautifully landscaped hotel, endless trees, walking trails, and the mountains surrounding the region.\textsuperscript{44}

The warm, sunny climate, beautiful Mediterranean beaches, and grand resorts and medicinal spas no doubt contributed to Algeria’s thriving tourist industry in the \textit{fin de siècle}. But these conditions could certainly be found elsewhere in Europe. However, the burgeoning Algerian tourist industry at this time already understood the importance of marketing Algeria as something that was unique and not available anywhere else. Businesses and travel books exploited the pastoral stereotypes of Algeria as a means to lure tourists away from the noise and busyness of European city life. For many Europeans, including Saint-Saëns, Algeria became what European city life was not, a welcome respite to the hectic routines of daily life.

**Impersonation and Anonymity in Algeria**

While traveling in Algeria, Saint-Saëns further distanced himself from his life in France by taking the name Charles Sannois. Impersonation and cross-cultural dressing were not uncommon in the nineteenth century. However, unlike Europeans such as Salvador Daniel or the explorer Richard Burton who both impersonated Arabs in dress and name, Saint-Saëns disguised himself as an ordinary Frenchman. He was not interested in escaping his European identity or trying to disguise himself as an Algerian; rather, he

\textsuperscript{43} L’\textit{État actuel de l’Algérie}, 74.

\textsuperscript{44} Postcard titled “Hammam R’hira: Le Grand Hôtel vu de Vesoul-Benian,” F-Dcm, Postcard 2004.2.42.53; Postcard from Raoul Galland to Saint-Saëns titled “Hammam R’hira—Grand Hôtel et le Zaccar,” 21 March 1919, F-Dcm; Postcard from Saint-Saëns to M. Bonnerot titled “Hammam-R’hira—Hôpital Militaire,” 23 January 1919, F-Dcm.
wanted to escape his own celebrity as a musician and composer. In a letter to his publisher from 19 April 1889, Saint-Saëns wrote:

The trip to Algiers became impossible for me as everyone recognized me. It began to be overwhelming, I no longer dare to enter the main cafes. The street performers who recognize me show me to the others right away. It is unbearable.\footnote{Letter dated 19 April 1889, F-Pgm, Box Volume 5, 1889–1891. “La séjour d’Alger me deviens impassible tout le monde me connaît, il commence à être débord, je n’ose plus entrer dans les principaux cafés, les cabotins qui m’ont reconnu me montre à l’autre tout de suite. C’est insupportable.”}

Saint-Saëns had to contend with his own fame in Europe and beyond. Impersonation allowed him to further escape from admirers and opportunists who might request an impromptu concert or composition during his vacations. The use of a common French name allowed him to blend in with other ordinary French tourists, ensuring that his time in Algeria would remain uninterrupted.

But Saint-Saëns’s choice of pen name also reveals with whom he wanted to be identified. He specifically used the French name Charles Sannois while traveling outside of France. Sannois was not a composer but a businessman (homme d’affairs). Instead of trying to blend into the native culture of his surroundings, Saint-Saëns wanted to retain his French identity. He did not want to engage with or be confused with indigenous Algerian culture or inhabitants. Just as he surrounded himself with European friends, lodging, and other amenities, Saint-Saëns also adopted a French name. He did not want to be himself, but he did want to be French. The name Sannois also connected Saint-Saëns to French aristocracy. Jean-François-Joseph de la Lamotte-Géffrard (1723–99), otherwise known as Comte de Sannois, was an officer and gentleman from Brittany who fought
against government injustice. Saint-Saëns’s pseudonym made a powerful statement: He was a European from a respectable family who wanted anonymity. However, he also wanted to retain the comforts, prestige, and privileges afforded a European abroad. Charles Sannois allowed Saint-Saëns to be an anonymous French tourist.

Saint-Saëns’s practice of traveling under the guise of a pseudonym brings to light another favorite pastime of many nineteenth-century European bourgeois. Wealthy European families often owned costumes and garb from foreign countries or locales that they either acquired during travels or bought in Europe. Cross-culture dressing and posing as an Arab Bedouin or Egyptian gypsy became a means of entertainment. This activity defined ethnic and cultural boundaries: By cross-dressing as an Arab, you were making a clear statement of who you were not. Cross-dressing also delineated social stratifications; the ability and desire to cross-dress meant that you had the finances and leisure time to engage in such an activity. Saint-Saëns owned indigenous outfits from his travels around the world. Friends of Saint-Saëns also posed in indigenous costumes and a photo in Saint-Saëns’s collection shows an unidentified acquaintance posing in an Algerian costume.47

Traveling to Algeria under a pseudonym also brings to light the issues of sexuality, eroticism, and the Orient. Nineteenth-century European artists and writers depicted erotic and seductive attributes of Oriental harems and sex slaves.48 Benjamin Ivry writes that a new French translation of the 1001 Nights by J.C. Mardrus in 1899


47 Homme en costume algérien, Photographies du Progrès, A. Lanzaro, 6 rue d’Isly, Alger, reproduced in Camille Saint-Saëns et l’Algérie, 82.

48 For instance, see Jean-Léon Gérôme’s Slave Market (1871), Eugène Delacroix’s Death of Sardanapalus (1827–28), or the slave dances in Verdi’s Aïda (1871).
excited the French public, including Marcel Proust who was delighted by its “sexual license, celebrating the beauty of boy cupbearers and casting an amused eye at pederasts who pursued him.”⁴⁹ European tourists to North Africa often frequented brothels or paid money to willing parents who offered their prepubescent sons along the streets. European colonies during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were marketed as a domain and safe space where “colonizing men could indulge their sexual fantasies.”⁵⁰ Robert Aldrich notes that in the French colonies during the nineteenth century:

A European planter, bureaucrat or merchant so inclined could find sexual companionship with a porter, houseboy, shop assistant or unemployed graduate, whom he might cruise outside a café or restaurant, in a shop or brothel. Money generally changed hands and risks of theft, blackmail or notoriety awaited. Efforts to control “pederastic” activities seem not to have been very intensive in the French Empire.⁵¹

The erotic stereotypes of the Orient along with willing sexual companions in Algeria created a thriving sexual industry for those who sought it.

Pederasty in Algeria begs the question of Saint-Saëns’s sexuality, a topic that continues to arouse controversy and debate amongst scholars. Bernard Gavoty wrote that Saint-Saëns hid his homosexuality in North Africa and the Canary islands.⁵² When responding to a question about his sexuality, Saint-Saëns famously replied, “I am not a homosexual, I am a pederast.” This statement has stirred questions as to whether Saint-Saëns was “coming out” or if he was merely responding in sarcastic humor to what he believed to be an offensive question.

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⁵⁰ Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire*, 5.
In his biography *Camille Saint-Saëns: A Life*, Brian Rees examines the question of Saint-Saëns’s sexuality, examining his marriage, separation, and his subsequent love and sexual relationships with males and females in Europe and elsewhere. According to Rees, there are “stray comments which refer to homosexual relationships: his attending soirées at the home of Count Fersen, a notorious homosexual, where so-called ‘ballet roses’ involving youths in tableaux were presented.”53 The musician Reynaldo Hahn, a close friend of Saint-Saëns, stated that the composer went to North Africa and the Canary Islands to “hide a vice to which he never made the least allusion.”54 In his 1965 biography, James Harding wrote “there are also amusing stories that once in Algiers Saint-Saëns gaily donned a pink dress to receive the Archbishop of Carthage in a manner befitting his red robe, and that he indulged in Gide-like orgies with Arab boys and fellahen.”55 Jann Pasler reaffirms Saint-Saëns’s interest in cross-dressing, particularly at the Sunday evening salons of Pauline Viardot where the composer often dressed in female costumes with blond braids and sang opera arias.56 Michel Faure notes Saint-Saëns hired an Arab servant who was “not devoid of beauty” to work at his Pointe Pescade villa. Louis Laloy spoke of a young friend who accompanied Saint-Saëns like a shadow.57 According to police records, Saint-Saëns received a series of blackmailing letters from male prostitutes in North Africa. One such letter exclaimed:


54 Ibid.


Maybe there are pederasts of your kind in Paris whom you support with bits of bread, but it won’t be the same with me […] I possess in my hands a new vengeance and, within fifteen days, all of Paris will know what you are. You believed that you were having an affair with an imbecile and a tit, but you are the tit and the imbecile. The day when I come to meet you—and I will make sure that it is not too late—I will slap your face with my five fingers. You’re a liar, a thief, and a pederast. You insulted me in your letter, I will get back at you, it is my right.58

Rees argues that the composer’s sexuality influenced his compositions, writing Saint-Saëns expressed “a strong attraction towards themes with homosexual connotations,” in works such as *Omphale*, *Danse macabre* and *The Youth of Hercules*.59

Other scholars have vehemently refuted Saint-Saëns’s engagement in homosexual relationships, namely Stephen Studd who argues that the composer’s sexual preference was “very definitely for women.”60 Studd explains away any homosexual allegations, arguing that the pink dress Saint-Saëns wore for the Archbishop was most likely a *jalabiyyah* or Arab robe worn by men.61 However unconvincing Studd’s claims may be, to make a definitive claim about Saint-Saëns’s sexuality or sexual preferences misses the point. The mystery and speculation surrounding his sexuality along with his love for travel to distant locales under a pseudonym suggests undeniable parallels with the Algerian sex industry and Oriental eroticism.

58 Transcribed in Jeanine Huas, *L’Homosexualité au temps de Proust* (Dinard: Danclau, 1992), 161. “Que vous ayez à Paris des pédérastes de votre espèce que vous entreteniez avec des morceaux de pain, il n’en sera pas de même de moi […] Je possède en mes mains une vengeance inédite et, avant quinze jours, tout Paris saura ce que vous valez. Vous avez cru avoir affaire à un imbécile et à une loche, mais la loche et l’imbécile c’est vous. Le jour où je vous rencontrerais—et je ferai mon possible pour que ça ne tarde pas—je vous collerai mes cinq doigts sur la figure. Vous êtes un menteur, un voleur et un pédéraste. Vous m’avez insulté dans votre lettre, je me vengerai et c’est mon droit.”


61Ibid., 252.
Even with his assertions that Algeria was his sanctuary for rest and relaxation, Saint-Saëns still worked. Letters and postcards sent from Algiers and Hammam R’Irha reveal that Saint-Saëns spent much of his winter vacation composing, performing, and conducting business affairs with other musicians, directors, and publishers. In fact, much of Saint-Saëns’s correspondence while in Algeria was addressed to his publisher, Auguste Durand. A letter dated 17 November 1887 from Saint-Saëns states: “Today I began my great work. I found a corner that is completely tranquil where I am wonderful.” Saint-Saëns used his pen name in business and professional matters while in Algeria. Letters to Durand discussed professional business and pleasantries and contained his personal contact information under his pseudonym. A letter from Algiers dated 29 April 1887 to Durand states that he was travelling “as always under the name Charles Sannois.” Another letter from 11 March 1889 from Saint-Saëns to Durand disclosed his personal information with instructions not to share it with certain others. “My dear friend, here is my address: Ch. Sannois, Grand Hôtel de France, chambre no. 19, Algiers. Do not give my address to Lemoine who will resort to any deception in order to get it.”

Aside from being a tourist, Saint-Saëns’s trips to Algeria were often filled with concert tours and composing. In December 1910, Saint-Saëns wrote: “Arriving in

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63 Letter from Algiers, 29 April 1887, F-Pgm, Box Volume 4, 1886–1888.

64 Letter from Algiers, 11 March 1889, F-Pgm, Box Volume 5, 1889–1891. “Mon cher ami, voici mon adresse: Ch. Sannois, gd. Hôtel de France, Chambre no 19, Alger, ne pas donner mon adresse à Lemoine qui auprès ira tous les subterfuges pour se la procurer.” Lemoine refers to the French publishing firm of the same name.
Algiers, I settled on the principle that I would not perform in public.” But Saint-Saëns could not relax for very long. A few months later, in February 1911, Saint-Saëns performed his *Caprice arabe*, *Rouet d’Omphale*, and the *Danse macabre* in concert. Instead of a vacation, Algeria became another venue for Saint-Saëns to compose, edit, and perform. For example, during the winter of 1892–1893, Saint-Saëns composed his *Fantaisie pour harpe*, in A minor, op. 95, edited his poem *La Libellule*, began work on his opera *Frédégonde*, and completed his opera *Phryné*. During this time Saint-Saëns was also named an honorary president of the Société des beaux-arts, des sciences et lettres d’Alger.

Even into his old age, Saint-Saëns could not rest in Algeria. The winter of 1920–1921, a year before his death, he took part in a performance tour throughout North Africa. On 21 December he accompanied the cellist Robert Neris at concerts held in Algiers and Biskra. In February he performed at the wedding of the daughter of Charles Galland, former mayor of Algiers and close friend of Saint-Saëns. The following month, Saint-Saëns toured with the violinist Jean Della Casa Noceti in Algiers, Oran, and Tunis.

**Collecting Algeria: Souvenirs and Tourism**

As European travel to North Africa grew, so did the tourism market. Proprietors of hotels, resorts, and tourist destinations responded to this new market by selling postcards and souvenirs of Algeria. European tourists bought these souvenirs, keepsakes, and other objects as personal mementos that they could bring back and show off to their European

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65 Letter to Gaston Choisnel from Hammam R’irha, 30 December 1910, F-Pgm, Box Volume 21, 1910. “En arrivait à Alger, j’ai déposer en principe que je ne jouerais pas en public.”

66 Letter from Algiers to Jacques Durand, 18 February 1911, F-Pgm, Box Volume 22, 1911. “Je vais jouer à 2 pianos avec Llorca le Caprice Arabe, le Rouet d’Omphale et la Danse Macabre.”
friends. Tourists to Algiers were constantly met with the repetition of Algerian stereotypes and tropes: postcards of the desert or camels, souvenirs of curved Arab swords, replications of Bedouin embroidered cloth and cushions, and rustic plates and tea sets. As is the case with tourism today, it is the repetition of these stereotypes that greets and surrounds tourists in airports, hotels, city squares, sidewalks, and tourist sites. These objects carried a large symbolic meaning as a tangible representation of Algeria.

Souvenirs brought back by tourists to their homeland not only served as reminders of the traveler’s journey but became miniature symbols for an entire culture and society.

The collecting of souvenirs by tourists reveals tensions of social class and power. European tourists to Algeria had the finances and means to travel and purchase objects that were not essential. As noted by D. Medina Lasansky, “tourism provided the means by which to construct and maintain bourgeois social identities.” Affluent European travelers such as the eccentric French writer Pierre Loti (1850–1923) boasted their collections of art, furniture, and other objects and prominently displayed their collected items in their homes. Saint-Saëns was friends with Loti and the two corresponded regularly, often writing about their common interest in the Orient. The interest in collecting artifacts and objects, such as Roman ruins or artwork, and the ability to do so, also communicated a powerful message to the indigenous population about their culture and society. During the nineteenth century, the French took it upon themselves to take and preserve many of the cultural artifacts and monuments in Algeria. Ministerial archives include reports about transporting the Roman ruins of Lamboese to France in June 1848, the dismantling and transport of the Arc de triomphe of Djemilah in 1843 and

the conservation of fossils and monuments in Algiers. French authorities argued that only they knew how to correctly preserve and conserve historical objects. Furthermore, the French believed that the expansion of industry and infrastructure in Algeria would eventually take over the indigenous cultures and society, and, thus, collecting and preserving cultural artifacts was necessary to keep a record of a culture that would soon die out in the face of European “progress.”

Wealthy tourists and artist-travelers to North Africa contributed to the growing demand for Algerian goods and keepsakes. Ernest Reyer was an avid collector of souvenirs and furnishings from his travels. His apartment in Paris included a “very luxurious Oriental salon” that included an octagonal mosaic table, shibūk (long, tobacco pipe), an arkīlah (water pipe), and curved swords. Loti furnished his home in Rochefort with his collection of souvenirs, furniture, and objets d’art from his travels. His home, now preserved as a museum, includes rooms centered on time periods (salle Gothique, salle Renaissance) colors (salon bleu), and foreign cultures (chambre d’orient, chambre d’extrême orient, chambre arabe). Each room showcases his personal collections and artwork amassed from his trips throughout the world. The chambre d’orient is divided into two spaces: a reception area and a mosque. The chambre arabe replicates a Bedouin tent with a low table for sitting on the colorful, decorative cushions situated over the kilims or long and narrow Arab carpets. The walls of the room showcase curved swords in the shape of a crescent, and on top of the table sits an Arab tea serving set.

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68 CAOM, Fonds ministériels, 80F/1587 and 80F/1589.

69 Jennifer Sessions discusses the commercialization of Algerian-themed goods for French consumers. See Sessions, By the Sword and Plow, 130.

During his many winters in Algeria, Saint-Saëns collected Arab souvenirs, artwork, and furniture for his homes in Saint-Eugène and Paris. These objects reinforce pastoral stereotypes of Algeria. His collection includes octagonal coffee tables with mosaics, an Arab tea service, flower vases, curved swords, bow and arrows, small metal plates, an embroidered sachet, precious stones, and some grasshoppers.

**Figure: 4.1: Arab Tea Service and Octagonal Table from Saint-Saëns’s Collection**

He also collected paintings, photos, and drawings of Algeria. Saint-Saëns sent and received possibly hundreds of postcards from North Africa with images of the desert, the Algiers casbah, the port of Algiers, and photographs of Kabyles and Arabs. The French painter Georges Clairin (1843–1919) gave Saint-Saëns a gift of four Arab scenes that depict the Algerian desert and nature. In 1891, the French physicist and inventor Louis Clairin was a close friend and occasional traveling companion to Saint-Saëns.
Ducos du Hauron (1837–1920) gave Saint-Saëns a set of photos. The color photos show the Algiers neighborhoods of Faubourg Bab-El-Oued and Bisch.⁷³

Drawings and photographs of Algeria reinforce the colonial binary. Saint-Saëns attempted his own drawings and watercolors of the Algerian landscape. In 1898 he completed four drawings of Hammam R’Irha that showcase the mountains, trees, and desert of the region. His letters written in Algeria are also filled with small sketches and drawings of flowers, trees, and outlines of the desert and mountains of the region.⁷⁴ These images perpetuate the connections between Algeria and the pastoral notions of the country. Decorating his homes with souvenir objects and images created a constant narrative connecting remembrances of Algeria with its pastoral stereotypes.

The Colonial Binary in the Music of Saint-Saëns

Furniture and photos were not the only items collected by Saint-Saëns in North Africa. During his travels in Algeria, Tunisia, and Egypt, Saint-Saëns collected melodies that he heard on boat rides down the Nile or while in Arab cafes. These musical souvenirs were later incorporated into his compositions. Saint-Saëns’s collecting was that of a tourist. He did not go on expeditions or trips for the sole purpose of collecting folk music nor did he transcribe Arab or Kabyle folksongs in Algeria. Instead, Saint-Saëns’s collection of Algerian melodies was a byproduct of his tourist lifestyle visiting cafes or tourist landmarks in Algeria.

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⁷⁴ For example, see J.L. Croze, “M. Camille Saint-Saëns,” 272–274.
In this section, I examine two pieces that musically depict the colonial binary: the *Africa fantaisie* for piano and orchestra, op. 89 (1891) and his *Suite algérienne*, op. 60 (1880). Both compositions use pastoral devices and musical material collected by Saint-Saëns to represent the bucolic qualities of Algeria. Michael Stegemann notes that Saint-Saëns:

> wrote down characteristic melodies and rhythms on the spot, as for instance in the sketch sheet to Op. 89 preserved in the BN (MS. 916). He also had friends send to him in Paris other material which they had heard in Algerian coffee houses.\(^75\)

Saint-Saëns placed these musical “souvenirs” into the context of Western art music forms, drawing attention to the differences between France and Algeria.

Saint-Saëns completed his *Africa fantaisie*, op. 89 in Cairo on 1 April 1891.\(^76\) In a 1913 article published in *L’Écho de Paris*, Saint-Saëns wrote:

> The *Africa Fantaisie* for piano and orchestra is made of African themes recorded here and there throughout the years. One will even find the national anthem of Tunisia in it, the debris of a stillborn Concerto. For a long time my mind was filled with these tunes but I was unable to organize it, until one day, in Cairo, where I was the most hidden and ignored by everyone, I was struck with a “fever” and the composition easily came together.\(^77\)

From 1846 to 1958, the Tunisian national anthem was the “Beylical Anthem” purportedly composed by Giuseppe Verdi.\(^78\) During this period, the Regency of Tunisia was under the

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\(^75\) Stegemann, *Camille Saint-Saëns*, 151.

\(^76\) Saint-Saëns dedicated the work to the French pianist Marie-Aimée Roger-Miclos (1860–1950) who also performed the premier of the *fantaisie* at the Concerts du Châtelet on 25 October 1891.

\(^77\) Camille Saint-Saëns, “Pour Berlioz,” *L’Écho de Paris* (16 November 1913), published in Marie-Gabrielle Soret, “Camille Saint-Saëns, Journaliste et critique musicale (1870–1921)” (Ph.D. diss., Université de Tours, 2008), 716. “La Fantaisie pour piano et orchestre *Africa* est faite de thèmes africains recueillis çà et là pendant années; on y trouve même l’air national de la Tunisie, les débris d’un Concerto mort-né. Longtemps ces matériaux ont erré dans ma mémoire sans qu’il me fût possible de les coordonner, lorsqu’un jour, au Caire, où j’étais dans le plus strict incognito, ignoré de tout le monde, je fus pris de la ‘fièvre’ et la composition d’élabora facilement.”

\(^78\) Tunisia had ties to Italy during this time. Dating back to the sixteenth century, Tunisia had a large Italian Jewish population that especially flourished during the nineteenth century. For further reading see Janice
Ḥusaynī Beys, a ruling family loosely affiliated with the Ottoman Empire. The Beys ceded control over foreign policy and defense to France in 1881 when they signed the Treaty of Bardo, establishing a French Protectorate over Tunisia. Sabina Ratner writes: “To consolidate ‘Africa,’ Saint-Saëns has even included the Tunisian National anthem in the finale.” Ratner’s use of the term “consolidate” to describe the utility of the Tunisian national anthem in the fantasy reaffirms Anderson’s theory of unisonance and the “special kind of contemporaneous community” suggested by national songs and texts. On national anthems sung on national holidays, Anderson writes, “No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing an experience of simultaneity.” That Saint-Saëns somehow consolidated the continent of Africa by ending his fantasy with the national anthem of Tunisia reifies nationalism and the formation of an African empire.

In his Africa fantaisie, Saint-Saëns mixed musical tropes of the exotic Other with iconic signifiers for nature to depict North Africa. In a letter from Saint-Saëns in Cairo to Durand on 23 March 1891, he wrote, “Africa is a branch of the Suite algérienne, I shall not be surprised if it is destined to outshine the Rhapsodie d’Auvergne; it is much more developed. I have tried to show some original African, you will see if I have succeeded.” Saint-Saëns was not intending for the Africa symphony to be a transcription or replica of the melodies he heard in Algeria. Instead, he incorporated


“original African” elements in a piece that he wrote is “much more developed” than some of his other compositions. The “original African” elements are most likely the use of stereotypical devices of musical exoticism in the composition, such as the raised sixth and seventh, non-periodic sequence of stressed and unstressed beats, percussive rhythms, and scalar melodies. Trills and triplets reflect the birds that Saint-Saëns mentioned during his trips to the garden outside Algiers. Finally, the fantasy concludes with the Tunisian national anthem, an addition that Saint-Saëns possibly viewed as “African” yet is more a reflection of European colonialism and influence in Africa during this time. Eastern melodic themes mix with displays of pianistic virtuosity, a trademark of Saint-Saëns’s piano concertos.

Most striking is the pastoral nature evoked by the Africa fantasy. The 3/4 passage beginning at m. 87 is especially pastoral in nature, reflecting the stereotypes of the Algerian countryside. At m. 141 the music evokes a country fiddle playing folk tunes conflating the ideas of European folk and Eastern music. With the addition of birdcalls and the prevalent view of Algeria as a destination for tranquility and relaxation, Africa presents a pastoral continent through music.

Africa is a fantasy for piano and orchestra and fits the nineteenth-century description of the genre: a single movement with contrasts of tempo and figuration. Saint-Saëns’s Africa fantasy raises questions as to how his contemporaries composed in this genre. Other nineteenth-century composers also incorporated folk music into their fantasies. Max Bruch’s Scottische Fantasie for violin and orchestra (1880) combines folk melodies that Bruch collected during his time in Britain. The use of the term fantaisie

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82 Saint-Saëns included similar references to nature in his Piano Concerto No. 5, Op. 103 (1896), also known as his “Egyptian” concerto. It is unknown who provided this characteristic title.
may have also referred to the North African equestrian entertainments called *fantāziyā* where Arab horsemen staged mock battles. *Fantāziyās* were popular attractions for European tourists in North Africa. Georges Clairin, Saint-Saëns’s traveling companion and an artist, portrayed an Arab *fantāziyā* in his undated oil on canvas titled *Battle of Arabs*. The word *fantāziyā*, no doubt, is a European word incorporated into the local Arabic dialect. The Italian, English, and French equivalents, fantasia, fantasy, and fantaisie respectively, trace their etymology to the Latin word *phantasia*. The use of *fantāziyā* and fantaisie to depict the foreign Other calls forth notions of the fantastic and imaginative aspects of the Orient.

North African fantasia reenactments also included the singing of combat songs. In his report on life and society in the coastal town of Ténès, Ferdinand Lapasset, an Arabist and member of the Bureaux Arabes who was later promoted to the position of general in 1865, described a fantasia in which armed cavalrymen acted out a battle between two tribes. During the reenactment, musicians performed a “martial air” and the cavalrymen on horses sang combat songs. The fantasia was thus a spectacle of sound as much as sight. The sounds of galloping horses and clashing weapons mixed with war songs and sideline musicians that included stereotypical tropes of violence and war performed in an entertaining display for tourists and settlers to the region.

Saint-Saëns’s title for his piano fantasy brings to light a series of complicated issues and questions. Seemingly simple, the term “Africa” contained conflicting ideas

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83 *Battle of Arabs* (undated), oil on canvas. Dahesh Museum of Art, New York, NY, DM 64. One year after traveling to North Africa, Eugène Delacroix painted a similar scene in his *Fantasia arabe* (1833), oil on canvas. Städelischen Museums-Verein, Frankfurt; as did Fromentin in his painting *Une Fantasia: Algérie* (1869), oil on canvas. Musée Sainte-Croix, Poitiers, France.

and meanings during the fin de siècle. The naming of continents also became a tool of classification for imperial governments. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler discuss how “colonizers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries tried to make the categories through which they classified and surveilled their subjects—from ‘tribe’ or ‘caste’ to the very idea of ‘India’ or ‘Africa’—into organizing principles of daily life.”

The reduction of diverse cultures, peoples, languages, and geography into one idea or entity, such as Africa, greatly simplified the politics of colonialism. Governments used simplified names and ideas in order to subsume the actual diversity and complexity involved in invading, conquering, and governing diverse populations and lands, thus creating an orderly and straightforward package of colonialism. As noted by Cooper and Stoler, “the very ideas of ‘India’ and ‘Africa’ were homogenizing and essentializing devices useful both for imperial definitions of what it was they ruled and for nationalists to claim a broad domain that their cultural knowledge qualified them to govern.”

The partitioning and naming of continents presents a host of conflicts and reflects the imagined communities built through the rise of nation states. In her book Other Asias, Spivak asks:

But what is Asia? Should we train our imagination to allow “Asia” to emerge as a continent? The word “Asia” reflects Europe’s eastward trajectory. It is as impossible to fix the precise moment when “Europe” became a proper name for a real and affective space as it is impossible to fix the moment when a “European” first used the name “Asia.” Did the Hittite Assiuvans call themselves “Assiuvans” in the second millennium BC, down to the last woman and child? Given that that would be nation-think long before its time, such speculation seems useless.

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85 Cooper and Stoler, Tensions of Empire, 4.

86 Ibid., 11–12.

87 Anderson, Imagined Communities, 6.

The demarcation and identification of Asia and Africa, the two largest continents, attempt to unify large landmasses with disparate peoples, cultures, and societies. Spivak notes that Asia “reflects Europe’s eastward trajectory.” It can be similarly argued that the word Africa reflects Europe’s southward trajectory.

For the great Western European nations, Africa was a prize to be conquered and won. Anderson notes, “As the parcellization of Africa at the Congress of Berlin (1885) showed, great nations were global conquerors.” Africa was the Roman name for the region of present-day Tunisia. In the nineteenth century, French documents and reports reveal that the term Africa was often understood to mean North Africa and France’s expanding empire. In 1833, the French government formed a committee that was to recommend policy in Algeria, labeling it the African Commission. The French army regiment in Africa, the Armée d’Afrique, was formed soon after France’s 1830 invasion into Algeria and comprised soldiers from Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. As France expanded further south into Senegal and the sub-Saharan, the Armée d’Afrique grew both in size and diversity. By the early twentieth century, the Armée d’Afrique oversaw the French colonies and protectorates throughout North and Sub-Saharan Africa and included soldiers from Senegal. Thus as the French empire grew, so did the meaning and usage of the word Afrique.

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89 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 98.

90 Alexander MacGregor writes that Africa is most likely a Latinization of a Berber word. In 1482, Aphrica denoted the North Africa coast while the continent was often called Ethiopia or Libya. See Alexander MacGregor, “Gellius 17.8.7: The Roots of ‘Africa,’” *The Classical Journal* (October-November 1991): 9-12.

But what was Africa to Saint-Saëns? Certainly it was the sun, greenery, gardens, and relaxation that he often noted in his letters and journals. In his biography of the composer, French writer Émile Baumann (1868–1941) wrote:

Africa captured him, by its own unique strength. Each living form in these countries was an idea. The most meager things wore a certain splendor. A root twisting as it comes out of the dust, a beggar against a wall, these all take on a different feel. A single scarlet flower on a section of blood-soaked earth set a hill ablaze. Circular forms abounded, evoking the fertility of spheres, the eternal swirl of stars. The summits of the buildings are rounded like stomachs, the domes resembled apiaries, the continuous columns of palm barrels. He saw the sea in the afternoon, under the scourge of the sun, shining and somber, he rushed towards the gulf and hit the blocks of the old breakwater, clinking like amphoras [old Greek or Roman jars with two handles and a narrow neck], while the distant waters pressed a line of unmoving foam. The tawny sands of the promontory stopped in order to steeply assemble against a forest of laurels. He saw it, the evenings of storms, when the thunderous clashes crushed the wailing wind. At Pointe-Pescade, near Algiers where he lived in the winter, there was nothing on the horizon except the sea, and between the sea and his villa, a rocky cliff ending at a burnt ruin.92

Instead of using the French term Afrique, Saint-Saëns titled his fantasy “Africa.” This is most likely because he composed much of the work while in Los Palmas on the Canary Islands where the official language is Spanish. África is the Spanish spelling for the continent. In French, África becomes Africa, as the accent aigu is typically omitted on capital letters. By titling the fantaisie “Africa,” Saint-Saëns claims the continent for France and captures the multiple identities of Africa, both imagined and real, within the

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92 Émile Baumann, *Les Grandes Formes de la musique. L’œuvre de Camille Saint-Saëns* (Paris: Librairie Ollendorff, 1923), 104. “L’Afrique l’a saisi, en outre, par son unique intensité. Chaque forme vivante, en ces pays, est une idée. Les choses les plus misérables portent une splendeur. Une racine tordue qui sort de la poussière, un mendiant contre un mur prend un sens hallucinant. Une seule fleur écartlée, sur une tranchée de terre saignante, embrase toute une colline. La forme circulaire surabonde, évoquant la fécondité des sphères, l’éternel remous sidéral. Les sommets sont bombés ainsi que des ventres, les coupoles ressemblent à des ruches, les colonnes continuent les fûts des palmiers. Il a vu la mer, à midi, sous le fouet du soleil, brûlante et sombre, se hâter vers les golfs et battre les blocs des vieux môles tintant comme des amphores, tandis que les eaux lointaines pressent d’une ligne d’écume immobile les promontoires dont les sables fauves s’arrêtent aux masses raides d’un bois de lauriers. Il l’a vue, les soirs de tempête, quand ses cymbales tonnantes écrasent le hurlement des rafales. À la Pointe-Pescade, près d’Alger, où il vécut un hiver, il n’avait dans son horizon que la mer, et entre la mer et sa villa, une falaise pierreuse se terminant à une ruine calcinée.”
musical score. The title page of the “Africa” fantaisie is decorated with plants and trees, the verdure that Saint-Saëns associated with Algeria. There is also a white stone structure with Moorish architecture. In a letter to Durand on 1 April 1891, Saint-Saëns offered suggestions for the cover page of the fantasy:

If you want to create a stir with the title page, see if it is not possible to put the pretty mosque of the fishermen on the cover. It is on the place du gouvernement in Algiers and photographs of it are found everywhere. Or again, you could put a view of Tunis. (The Tunisian national anthem appears in the finale.)

In the end, Saint-Saëns chose the drawings for the title page and sent them to Durand:

“Attached here are the documents that I have gathered as the subject for the artists to use for the title pages of ‘Africa.’ I had forgotten to give them to you.” The descriptive title and cover illustrations reaffirm the bucolic stereotypes of North Africa and set the stage for the music that follows.

Throughout Africa, Saint-Saëns incorporated melodies and rhythms that he had collected or remembered from his travels throughout Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt.

Discussing his Africa fantasy, Baumann wrote:

The harsh and dark timbres of the Arab instruments and the rumble of the tympani can even be heard through the sonorities of the piano. His intention to be descriptive prevails over his desire to make the music lyrical.

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93 Letter from Saint-Saëns in Cairo to Durand, 1 April 1891, F-Pgm, Box Volume 5, 1889–1891. “Si vous faites un titre à sensation, voyez si on ne pourrait pas y mettre la jolie mosquée de la Pécherie qui est sur la place du gouvernement à Alger (on en trouve les photographies partout), ou encore une vue de Tunis (l’air national Tunisien apparaît dans le final).”

94 Letter from Saint-Saëns to Durand, c 1891, F-Pgm, Box Volume 5, 1889–1891. “Ci-joint les documents que j’avais rassemblés pour servir le thème aux dessinateurs à l’usage des titres d’Africa et que j’avais oublié de vous donner.”

95 Baumann, Grandes Formes de la musique, 233. “Les timbres durs et sombres des instruments arabes, les roulements des tympans se perçoivent à travers les sonorités du piano même. L’intention descriptive prévaut sur le lyrisme.”
Above a theme labeled *tranquillo* the piano and flute perform “birdcalls” of triplets and sustained notes.

**Example 4.1: Tranquillo theme, *Africa* fantaisie, op. 89, mm. 157–164**

At m. 175, the strings take up the *tranquillo* theme embellished by trills and triplets on the piano.

The various themes of *Africa* reveal the varied stereotypes associated with French Algeria. In m. 220, the orchestra announces fragments of the opening theme that eventually gives way to a new *scherzando* theme in m. 267. The lively theme, in duple meter, does not sound pastoral or exotic, but represents another aspect of Africa: fun and

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96 According to Brian Rees, Saint-Saëns identified nine themes of the fantasy in a concert program for a performance of the composition in Cambridge. See Rees, *Camille Saint-Saëns*, 304.
playfulness. The piano introduces this theme in repetitive sixteenth notes. The strings then relax the theme with slurred dotted eighth notes.

Example 4.2: Scherzando theme, Africa fantaisie, op. 89, mm. 275–280

After developing the scherzando theme, Saint-Saëns introduces yet another theme in m. 331. The rhythm and melody resembles a section from the “Bacchanale” ballet from Saint-Saëns’s opera Samson et Dalila (1877).

Example 4.3: Theme 5, Africa fantaisie, op. 89, mm. 331–339

Example 4.4: Theme from “Bacchanale” from Samson et Dalila, op. 47, mm. 368-375
Both passages have a similar melodic contour and rhythm with a descending appoggiatura, scalar passages, and chromaticism. Music scholars such as Ralph Locke have noted the erotic and sensual qualities of the music from *Samson et Dalila*, especially in the “Bacchanale.” The similarities between the two above themes call forth a fourth characteristic of North Africa: the sensual. In *Africa*, the strings loudly (forte) introduce the “Bacchanalesque” theme with percussive harmonies. The piano echoes the theme at m. 343, followed by the winds in m. 355 and then back to the strings. The distribution of the theme throughout the orchestra adds to its frenzied nature.

The audience is left with a final image of Africa as exotic and sensual. Indeed, *Africa* is more than just a fantasy in terms of a work in free compositional form for solo instrument and orchestra. It is also a composition that fulfills the fantasy of Africa itself. Through its depictive themes, the fantasy portrays Africa through stereotypes; a land that is exotic, pastoral, tranquil, playful, and sensual.

Saint-Saëns performed the *Africa* fantasy on several occasions in Algeria and France, including performances in Algiers with the pianist and music professor at the Société des beaux-arts et belles lettres d’Alger Vincenté Llorca. Reviews of the *Africa* fantasy recognized the mix of musical themes that represented France and Algeria. In a review from 1899, the German composer/critic Otto Neitzel wrote:

>Africa! A fantasia based partly on Eastern themes. Like everything this master musician produces, it is exquisite in its intellectual refinement, its stylistic perfection, and that enormous charm; yet it is quite whimsical, and we would not go so far as to assert that the piano and orchestra play well-balanced roles in “Africa.” Indeed, it seemed to us that the piano was treated in the pleasant,

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smooth style of the old masters, while the orchestra availed itself of all the profusion of modern music.  

Critics also revealed their own perceptions of Africa and how these preconceived notions were satisfied, or not, through the composition. A review appearing in the *Daily Graphic* from a performance of *Africa* in Cambridge stated “It has none of the darkness of Africa about it […] on the contrary, it is of the gayest, most brilliant and exhilarating character.” Another review from 1899 noted, “It is a sort of African banter, in which the little desert birds seem to play an important role.” Describing *Africa* as dark and mysterious, playful and energetic, pastoral and tranquil not only describes the music but also reveals the multiplicity of ideas subsumed under the concept of Africa. Saint-Saëns’s *Africa* provided a means to fulfill expectations and portray France’s expanding empire on a continent under a single composition.

Saint-Saëns’s *Suite algérienne*, op. 60 (1880) is subtitled “Picturesque Impressions from a Journey in Algeria.” Similar to *Africa*, the suite incorporates music collected by Saint-Saëns in North Africa and emphasizes the pastoral characteristics of Algeria. The first movement, “Prélude (En vue d’Alger),” represents the boat journey from France to Algeria. The movement does not employ Eastern tropes but instead uses signifiers of the sea, a popular subject in *fin de siècle* compositions, including Ravel’s *Shéhérazade* (1903) and Debussy’s *La Mer* (1903–1905). The instrumentation of the swelling waves grows as the boat travels further from the shore. The brass swells at m. 55 further represent the rise and fall of the boat over the crashing waves. A military topic or sixteenth-century madrigal theme represent the rise and fall of the boat over the crashing waves. A military topic or sixteenth-century madrigal theme provides a sense of order and structure in the otherwise free-form composition.

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100 Neitzel, “Camille Saint-Saëns” and “Harmonie,” cited in Jenkins, “‘Fantaisie’,” 72.
fanfare enters at m. 70, signifying both the presence of the French military and quelling the natural fear of sea travelers. Saint-Saëns noted his own preoccupation and fear of the sea and Barbary pirates, writing how one may never arrive through the storms or the immobility brought by calm seas. Haunted by the constant fear of death, hunger, thirst, and pirates, the French military was a welcome sight upon his arrival in Algeria.101

The second movement, “Rhapsodie mauresque,” begins with the musical representation of the Orient, a simple, scalar melody with little harmony. Saint-Saëns wrote about the lack of harmony in Arab music and its emphasis on melody and rhythm.102 At m. 25 Saint-Saëns harmonized the ascending scalar melody from the first theme with its inversion, therefore emphasizing the importance of the melody by not inventing a countermelody or independent harmony. Saint-Saëns emphasized the melody by composing the first theme through augmentation of the note values, beginning with eighth notes and moving to sixteenth notes in the fugal section at m. 41. He used augmentation to “self-harmonize” at m. 70, where the first theme in sixteenth notes is harmonized by the same theme in eighth notes. The use of fugal technique at m. 41 also allows the first theme to harmonize itself, relying on the importance of melody in Arab music while creating a Western-style harmony. Saint-Saëns believed that the use of foreign music was to further the progression of musical modernism in France. Composers should not copy examples of exotic music, but instead he urged them to study the music

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101 Camille Saint-Saëns et l’Algérie, 65.

and understand how it may renew the rules of modern music. Through self-harmonization, Saint-Saëns represented the character of Arab music while creating a composition that was an example of *musique moderne*.

The third movement, “Rêverie du soir (à Blidah),” is a pastoral composition that lacks any musical representations of the East or French military topics. The movement was composed prior to the rest of the suite and initially titled “Rêverie orientale.” It was premiered under Saint-Saëns’s direction on 7 July 1879 at a concert for the victims of a flood disaster in Széged, Hungary. Saint-Saëns composed this movement prior to the rest of the suite for the memorial in Széged, and this movement lacks the military and exotic signifiers represented in the other three movements.

The pastoral nature of the piece, however, reflects Saint-Saëns’s identification of Algeria as a bucolic space. The music fits the musical pastoral convention of a melody comprising irregular, expressive arabesques on a solo instrument with little to no accompaniment. Ralph Locke connects the arabesque to the depiction of the exotic Other, particularly in French music during the *fin de siècle*. His discussion examines arabesque figures, melodic lines that evoke “sensuality, curvaceousness, rhythmic and metrical fluidity, and a continuous spun-out quality” in compositions such as Debussy’s

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103 *Camille Saint-Saëns et l’Algérie*, 53. “Il ne fallait pas copier l’art «exotique» ou du moins reprendre telle quelle sa musique, mais seulement l’étudier, la comprendre afin de renouveler les règles de la musique moderne.”

104 It is unclear why Saint-Saëns initially titled the movement “Rêverie orientale.” Széged was a fairly large city in the 19th century with electricity, plumbing, and a railway, and a population of about 70,000. However, Saint-Saëns may have associated a city in southern Hungary with folk music and the musical Other. The devastating flood in Széged prompted aid from around the world. According to Dezső Legány, the greatest assistance came from Paris. The French Parliament created a financial aid commission that included Delibes, Dumas, Massenet, and Saint-Saëns as members. Massenet suggested the benefit concert and composed a new work for the performance along with new works by Delibes and Saint-Saëns. See Dezső Legány, “The Coming of French and Belgian Music to Budapest and Liszt’s Role,” *Studia Musciologica* (1995): 44–45.

105 Chew and Jander, “Pastoral.”
Prélude à l’après-midi d’un faune (1894), Rimsky-Korsakov’s Sheherazade (1888), and Saint-Saëns’s Samson et Dalila (1877).\footnote{Locke, Musical Exoticism, 217–221. Also see Gurminder Kaur Bhogal, “Arabesque and Metric Dissonance in the Music of Maurice Ravel (1905–1914)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2004).}

Although the third movement was originally written for flood victims in Hungary, Saint-Saëns added the words “at Blidah” in parenthesis in the title. Blidah, or Blida as it is spelled today, is a town southwest of Algiers at the base of the Atlas Tell Mountains. Saint-Saëns visited Blida several times during his winters in Algeria. On several occasions, Saint-Saëns noted that he would spend a few days in Blida on his way to Hammam R’Irha or to the mountains.\footnote{Letter to Jacques Durand from CSS, 14 December 1911, F-Pgm, Box Volume 22 1911; Letter to Gabriel Geslin from Saint-Saëns, 19 November 1913, F-Dcm, Box CSS-Coulon 2004.2.44.74.} A 1907 article discussing the “Rêverie du Blidah” described the picturesque and bucolic nature of the town:

Blidah, the true land “where the orange trees blossom,” the land of the gigantic olive trees. The most delightful of Marabouts is sheltered under their twisting and tangled branches and their impenetrable shadow; it is the blessed corner of Algeria, stripped at too many points, but there it is as fresh and charming as it is luxurious.\footnote{J. Guillemont, “La Musique orientale et la musique des orientaux,” Le Monde musical (30 August 1907): 239. “Blidah, le vrai pays où fleurit l’orangero, le pays des oliviers gigantesques, abritant, sous leurs branches tordues et enchevêtrées, et sous leur ombre impénétrable, le plus ravissant des Marabouts; c’est bien le coin béni de cette Algérie, dénudée sur trop de points, mais là fraîche et charmante autant que luxuriante.”}

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Blida was renowned for its orange trees and gardens. Hughes Imbert noted the orange and palm trees of Blida in his discussion of Félicien David’s Le Désert (1844). Saint-Saëns mentioned the “truly hot” temperatures and green flowers of Blida in a letter on 16 December 1911.\footnote{Letter to Emily Renaud from Saint-Saëns, 16 December 1911, US-NHub, Frederick R. Koch Collection, GEN MSS 601, Box 55, Folders 1193–1228.}
Despite these descriptions, Blida’s pastoral representation ignores the efforts by the French to modernize the area. In 1862, the Blidah Railway Company opened the Algiers-Blidah railway, the first rail service in Algeria. Steam engine and railroads were a quintessential symbol of progress and modernization in the nineteenth century. In Algeria, the railway showcased France’s stronghold on the colony and increased the attractiveness of the colony to would-be tourists and settlers. Madeleine Dobie identifies the contradiction between modernization and preservation of the pastoral in nineteenth-century Algeria through the life of Gautier who had a great “nostalgia for an authentic Orient” while simultaneously petitioning for the Algerian railway, a symbol of “progress” and industry, arguing that it facilitated the “artist’s quest for a refuge in the Orient.”

This same conflict is seen in Saint-Saëns’s own writing in which he laments the quickly changing landscape of Algeria while also enjoying the amenities offered by trains, electricity, and steamships in and to Algeria. “Algiers has well changed; it is no longer the Algiers of the Suite algérienne. They could not make it the most delightful of oriental cities, while making it livable for the Europeans: they did not want to.”

The “Rêverie du soir (à Blidah)” conjured images of nature and tranquility in the minds of its critics. The French writer Émile Baumann noted:

What intense pleasure Saint-Saëns experienced the first time that he arrived [in Algeria], during the hours when the light becomes crimson, when the intoxicated earth leaves a scattered harvest of herbs and spices. He also experienced the inexpressible listlessness of the evenings [footnote: see “An evening in Blidah” from the Suite algérienne and the andantino of Africa.] Imagine a night in Algiers, its magical clarity and its silence that invades the soul, like when the new

110 Dobie, Foreign Bodies, 156.

111 Saint-Saëns, “Algérie,” n.p. “Algier a bien changé; ce n’est plus l’Alger de la Suite algérienne. On aurait pu en faire la plus délicieuse des villes orientales, tout en la rendant habitable aux Européens; on ne l’a pas voulu.”
day appears, with the rising moon, on the palms and lilies, and all the depths of this space take form.\textsuperscript{112}

Perhaps Saint-Saëns was reminded of this composition when he was first in Blida, prompting him to insert the piece into his \textit{Suite}. The “Rêverie du soir” is not only the third movement of the \textit{Suite} that depicts a pastoral Algeria but it is also the last pastoral movement. Temporally, the \textit{Suite} has transported us across the Mediterranean, taken us to a Moorish café, and has allowed us to watch the sunset in Blida. The last movement is a drastic change from the tranquil and Oriental scenes presented in the first three movements.

The last movement of the \textit{Suite}, “Marche militaire française,” abandons any evocation of the pastoral or exotic. Algeria as an exotic or foreign space has been forgotten as the identity of French nationalism takes over. The march is a definitive statement of patriotism and support for the French military’s control of and presence in Algeria. Since the march does not contain signifiers of the pastoral, this movement is discussed further in the following chapter.

The entire \textit{Suite} was premiered at the Concert du Châtelet under the direction of Édouard Colonne on 19 December 1880. Rumors stated that this first performance was a “terrible failure and was booed off the stage.”\textsuperscript{113} Saint-Saëns dedicated the suite to the French ophthalmologist Albert Kopff who became friends with the composer while

\footnote{\textsuperscript{112} Baumann, \textit{Grandes formes de la musique}, 107. “Quelle volupté, la première fois qu’il y débarqua, à ces heures où la lumière se fait de pourpre, où la terre enivrée laisse se répandre une moisson d’aromates! Il connut aussi l’ineffable lassitude des soirs [fn: \textit{V. un soir à Blidah de la Suite algérienne}, l’andantino d’\textit{Africa}, etc.] Qu’on imagine une nuit d’Alger, sa limpidité magique et son silence envahissant son âme, comme le jour nouveau qui semble, avec la lune montante, sur les palmes et les lys, éclore de toutes les profondeurs de l’espace.”}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{113} Durand et Cie., \textquotedblleft Preface,	extquotedblright \textit{Suite algérienne} (n.d.), x.}
working for the French military in Algeria. On the other hand, the second performance on 26 December was a great success. An enthusiastic critique of the performance noted how the music elicited the images and stereotypes of Algeria:

The *Suite algérienne* by Saint-Saëns was the first modern piece on the program; the first movement represented the turmoil of the harbor; in the second movement, the Rhapsodie mauresque, he very skillfully drew from Arab themes and the distinctive Arab harmony; the harmony is the most ancient and seems new to listeners today who are not accustomed to it.

Following a concert on 5 November 1900, Saint-Saëns wrote to Édouard Colonne:

I fear that I have not said enough of my contentment with the performance of the *Suite algérienne; never* have I heard it performed so well to my satisfaction, not by you nor elsewhere. The picturesqueness, charm and enthusiasm were all there.

In an article discussing “Oriental music” used by Western European composers, J. Guillemont wrote that Saint-Saëns did not neglect to reflect the picturesque and charming aspects of the Algerian landscape.

Even after the death of Saint-Saëns, reviews still praised the *Suite’s* ability to capture the essence of Algeria. The program notes for the performance of the *Suite* at the festival Saint-Saëns d’Oran in 1922 provided the following explanation:

It is evident that the work offers a descriptive character or better yet, a picturesque character: the symphony allows itself to depict scenes that, if not accurately, are at

114 Kopff was also a pianist and arranged many of Saint-Saëns’s compositions under the name A. Benfield.

115 Philibert de Chalarieu, “Concerts Pasdeloup,” *L’Art musical* (19 October 1882): 330–331. “La Suite algérienne, de Saint-Saëns, était la partie moderne du programme; la première partie figure le tumulte du port; dans la deuxième, la Rhapsodie mauresque, il a fort habilement tiré parti des thèmes arabes et de l’harmonie qui leur est particulière; elle est des plus anciennes et semble neuve aux auditeurs actuels qui n’y sont pas habitués.”


117 Guillemont, “Musique orientale,” 239.
least fairly determined to evoke the spirit of the image of things seen and to form
tables of dynamic shades. It is the boat that reaches the port and the immense
panorama which unfolds in front of the passengers’ eyes, the city emerges from
the sea water and the great white walls sparkle under the blue sky. It is the strange
noise of instruments in the corner of an Arab house, that combine their plaintive
harmonies and their persistent rhythms in order to accompany the steps and the
poses of the dancer whose supple body undulates and bends. It is the starry night
under the pure sky of Blida and the distant vision of the immense desert in the
calmness of solitude.  

The Suite algérienne became a representation of not only Algeria but Saint-Saëns’s life in
the colony. The Suite was the first piece performed at a celebration of the centennial of
Saint-Saëns’s birth in 1935 at Pointe Pescade. As noted by Galland and Barbès several
decades after Saint-Saëns’s death, “The creation of the Suite algérienne […] shows to
what extent our country, its ambiance and its music struck the composer and how, from
his first reflection from Algiers, his soul was touched by a love which must no longer
falter.”

Saint-Saëns’s winter trips to Algeria constitute an important example of the artist
as tourist during the fin de siècle. He did not seek out Algeria to further his own career or
to find new ideas for his compositions; any benefit to his career or music was a byproduct
of his own curiosity and adoration for this country of sun, greenery, and tranquility.

Saint-Saëns emphasized those aspects of Algeria that he most cherished, creating an

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118 Program notes, “Société des concerts classiques,” 20! December 1922, F-Dcm, Salle du Théâtre
municipal-Oran. “L’ouvrage offre, on le voit, un caractère descriptif ou mieux encore, pittoresque: la
symphonie s’y met au service de scènes sinon précises, au moins assez déterminées pour évoquer à l’esprit
l’image de choses vues et former des tableaux d’un vigoureux coloris. C’est le navire qui pénètre dans le
port et l’immense panorama qui se déroule aux yeux des passagers, la ville émergeant des flots et des
murailles blanches étincelant sous le ciel bleu; c’est, dans la cour d’une maison arabe, le bruit étrange des
instruments qui mêlent leurs harmonies plaintives et leurs rythmes persistants, pour accompagner les pas et
les poses de la danseuse dont le corps souple ondule et se plie; c’est la nuit étoilée sous le ciel pur de Blidah
et, dans le calme de la solitude, la vision lointaine du désert immense.”

montre à quel point notre pays, son ambiance, sa musique avaient pu frapper le compositeur et combien,
dès son premier éloignement d’Alger, celui-ci était touché en son âme par un amour qui ne devait plus
jamais faillir.”
imagined space of a purely pastoral North Africa. But a tension remains between this pastoral Algeria and the colonized Algeria. During Saint-Saëns’s trips to Algeria, numerous battles, revolts, and the daily governance of this French colony occurred throughout the many cities and villages. Although this contradiction is, perhaps, overlooked in the many letters, poems, images, and music noted in this chapter, it will emerge in my next chapter, which explores the intersection between colonialism, nationalism, and patriotism in Saint-Saëns’s life and music.
CHAPTER 5
UNISONANCE AND THE COLONIAL MARCHES OF CAMILLE SAINT-SAËNS

Our perseverance will complete the courageous work of our army, and France will carry out its civilization in Algeria as a result of its glory.
-Louis-Philippe I (1842)

The cover illustration of a 1913 issue of Le Petit Journal features a regiment of the Armée d’Afrique, made up of Algerian soldiers fighting for the French army. They wear Orientalized versions of the French military uniform and carry weapons and flags of the French Republic. The army band in the front performs a nūbah, a classical music genre of North Africa, on bass drums, snare drums, and what appears to be a bugle. Stadiums of people cheer in the background. The photo suggests how French colonialism invaded and informed the soundscape of Algeria. The mixture of North African music and French patriotic song exemplifies France’s success in sonically invading and occupying the aural sphere of Algeria.

During France’s occupation, Algeria was a space of conflicting ideas. This new colony became a popular tourist destination while at the same time the French military fought to maintain control and squelch uprisings. French travelers to Algeria noted the bizarre scales and cacophonous sounds of street performers in Algiers. However, while Europeans experienced a new soundscape in Algeria, Algerians were introduced to a new soundscape as well. These new sounds included military fanfares of the French army and the introduction of Western art music concerts in cities such as Algiers and Oran. This chapter examines how performances of French military bands and Western art music in

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Algeria created a soundscape of French colonial control. The chapter concludes with a discussion of what I call “colonial marches,” that is, patriotic marches that also include representations of colonial Algeria. I focus on three colonial marches by Saint-Saëns and include a discussion of the composer’s loyalty to and patriotism for France.

Throughout the nineteenth century, soldiers, military uniforms, and patriotic songs became icons of French identity. Singing or performing national anthems or military marches brought disparate people together into the imagined community of the nation. Benedict Anderson notes that the collective performance of national songs and marches brings about an “experience of simultaneity” presenting the image of “unisonance,” or an imagined community of sound. Singing “La Marseillaise,” marching in a military band, or humming along with a parade band “provide[s] occasions for unisonality, for the echoed physical realization of the imagined community.” The result of this unison musical experience is the feeling of selflessness, of giving up one’s individuality to join the imagined community of the nation in which “nothing connects us but imagined sound.”

The rise of the national anthem has become a part of an invented tradition of the modern nation-state. Walter Frisch connects Anderson’s idea of the imagined community to Eric Hobsbawm’s notion of invented tradition, “whereby a group will observe a ritual or practice that may be quite recent but derives its authenticity from an appeal to a fictitious past.” Drawing from Ernest Renan’s theory of the “will to nation,” Homi Bhabha points out that unisonance suspends time into an imagined, simultaneous

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3 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 145.

experience of homogeneity through which people forget their heterogeneity and disparate pasts and instead remember the nation; thus erasing difference becomes the basis for building the nation.⁵

For France, loyalty to the nation included its colonies. Algeria became known as the Second France, a part of Greater France that included its colonies and protectorates. Edward Said notes that “the French empire was uniquely connected to the French national identity, its brilliance, civilizational energy, special geographical, social, and historical development.”⁶ The shared experience of military songs and anthems allowed the public to proclaim their “sacred patriotic love” and musically take part in the ever-growing imagined community of Greater France.⁷

Erasure of difference was complicated by the diversity of nineteenth-century North Africa. In the city of Algiers alone, inhabitants included Muslims and Jews, Arabs, Kabyles, and the so-called “Moors,” in addition to European settlers from France, Spain, Malta, Italy, and Germany. Despite this diversity of religions, ethnicities, and nationalities, the various regimes of the French government continued their determination to somehow make Algeria French. French nationalism and unisonance promulgated the reductionist categories of Algeria and France despite Algeria’s diverse population.

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⁵ Bhabha, Location of Culture, 231.


⁷ “Amour sacré de la patrie,” the first line of the sixth verse from “La Marseillaise.”
Unisonance and Colonial Soundscape in Algeria

Throughout the nineteenth century, France witnessed a growing interest in all things military, including music. Children’s books depicted the noble qualities of the war hero while poetry and romances heralded the bravery and valor of the military soldier.8

The social status of soldiers increased during the nineteenth century. Raymond Monelle views this change in the public’s perception as a direct outcome of nationalism, by which military soldiers were no longer viewed as servants or outcasts but rather responsible and useful citizens.9

The soldier and military uniform also became symbols for French colonialism and expansionism, particularly in Algeria. The French soldier’s uniform signified nobility and heroism. In 1854, Napoléon III partially modeled the uniforms for his Garde Impériale after the ornate red uniforms of Napoléon’s Grande Armée. As patriotism became en vogue during the nineteenth-century, the military uniform entered the public sphere and haute couture as a marketing tool in advertisements and a favorite costume at balls and fêtes.10

The military uniforms of the French forces in Algeria were equally recognizable. Lithographs of soldiers depicted their distinctive uniforms and swords in desert landscapes. Musical instruments played a large role in these images, emphasizing the


9 Monelle, Musical Topic, 151.

10 The New York Historical Society exhibit “Allure of the East: Orientalism in New York, 1850–1930” (11 April–17 August 2008) presented portraits and information about New York nobility dressing in French military garb to attend balls. A portrait of David P. Davis of the Fifth New York volunteer infantry (c. 1861–63) shows the subject in a zouave uniform. Advertisements also used the zouave costume in order to market their products, including Radway’s Ready Relief (1861). The zouaves were an elite military regiment based in Algeria that originally comprised Algerian soldiers. The zouaves took their name from the Kabyle tribe Zouaghas. After the initial creation of the regiment, the zouaves were entirely composed of French citizens.
important role of music within the French military. These drawings included trumpets and brass instruments as integral accessories to their uniforms. For example, members of the Algerian *tirailleurs*, a light infantry regiment of the French army, wore blue uniforms with wide, billowing pants.\(^{11}\)

Military uniforms in North Africa became collectible souvenirs and costumes. Saint-Saëns owned a photograph of a man standing at 26 rue Bab Azoun in Algiers wearing a *tirailleur* uniform with a *chechia*, the red cap worn by the *tirailleur* sergeants.\(^{12}\) The *spahis*, an auxiliary regiment of the Armée d’Afrique, composed of Algerian, Tunisian, and Moroccan *indigènes*, wore red jackets with navy pants.\(^{13}\) The Chasseurs d’Afrique, a light cavalry regiment composed of French settlers in Algeria, wore similar uniforms of red and blue with decorative jackets and shiny buttons.\(^{14}\) Saint-Saëns also owned a photograph, given by a friend, of a *chasseur* in Bône (present-day Annaba).\(^{15}\) The *zouaves*, French soldiers who primarily served in North Africa, wore distinctive uniforms of navy and crimson. These soldiers became a favorite subject for artists. Van Gogh painted several portraits of *zouaves*, including *The Seated Zouave* in 1888.

Artists also represented French military officials in their Orientalist paintings.

One of the most popular military figures in North Africa was Napoléon during his Egyptian Expedition in 1798. Saint-Saëns ardently admired Napoléon and often referred

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\(^{12}\) Homme habillé en tirailleur, photograph by A. Leroux and Historial de la Grande Guerre, Péronne, F-Dcm, inv. 1214.

\(^{13}\) Large, *Costume militaire français*, 33.

\(^{14}\) Ibid.

\(^{15}\) The photograph, taken by Prod’Hon in Bône, Algeria, is signed “To Monsieur C. Saint-Saëns, an affectionate keepsake from his young friend, Dr. [...] Biskra 1883, Bône.” *Camille Saint-Saëns et l’Algérie*, 17. “à Monsieur C. Saint-Saëns, affectueux souvenir de son jeune ami, Dr. [...] Biskra 1883, Bône.”
to him as “Our Great Napoléon,” *notre grand Napoléon*. Near the end of his career, Saint-Saëns argued that Napoléon was far superior to any other emperor throughout history.\(^\text{16}\) Saint-Saëns, along with many other French citizens, regarded Napoléon as a symbol of French loyalty, patriotism, and colonialism.

Concert programs included pictures of soldiers in uniform. The concert titled “L’Algérienne” illustrates soldiers in *tirailleur* and *spahi* uniforms marching through an archway next to the Mediterranean that states in Arabic, “Joyful love for the country.” The concert was part of a benefit for the society L’Algérienne, a society for the visitation and assistance of injured soldiers of the Armée d’Afrique. The gala was held at the Opéra-Comique on 12 April 1916. Saint-Saëns volunteered to direct his opera *Phryné* at the concert.

Numerous government officials from France and Algeria attended the concert and each attendee received a box of candy hand painted by the students of the primary school École Berthelot in Oran. The concert opened with a performance by the orchestra, percussion, and bugle ensembles of the Soldiers of France. Opera excerpts and popular dance songs by French composers, including the fourth act of Bizet’s *Carmen*, filled the remainder of the concert, which concluded with a performance of “La Marseillaise.”

“L’Algérienne” shows the complicated nature of unisonance in Algeria. During the nineteenth century, the term Algérien was often used by government officials to signify French settlers to Algeria, choosing the term *indigène* as the label for all

17Program cover for “L’Algérienne,” c. 1916, F-Dcm.
inhabitants who were of non-European descent and had been in Algeria prior to the
French conquest of Sidi Ferruch in 1830. The society was called L’Algérienne but aided
soldiers in the Armée d’Afrique who were of both French and Algerian descent. The
students at the École Berthelot in Oran were mostly children of French settlers but also
included a few Arab and Kabyle children. The concert program itself, however, only
presents French classical and military music. Sonically, the audience members attending
“L’Algérienne” only heard music from France. The program cover depicts Algerian
soldiers and the program raised money for the Army, but the performance of Algerian
music, that is to say music performed or written by Algerians, was not included.

The very nature of Western art music concerts suspends time. Audiences enter the
concert hall, closing off the outside world. Whether the audience’s behavior at
“L’Algérienne” was fairly quiet and attentive or more social and unreserved, they still
participated in the act of unisonance. In this participation of focused or partial attention to
the concert, I would like to extend Anderson’s notion of unisonance to include passive
participation. As James H. Johnson notes, “all public expression of musical response—
even silence—is inevitably social.”18 The communal participation of the audience at
concerts such as “L’Algérienne” reveals a passive unisonance through a suspension of
time where all came together in support of the French colonial project.

Nineteenth-century discourse about Algeria included depictions of French
military music. Musicians performed patriotic songs and Western art music on ships
carrying European passengers from Marseille to Algeria. French army bands greeted
travelers at the port in Algiers, performed at regal gatherings, and were exhibited at many
of the world fairs. The French army was often greeted with street celebrations, parades

18 Johnson, Listening in Paris, 3.
and fireworks, and resounding cannons upon returning from military attacks on Algerian villages. Travelers and tourists to Algeria heard military bands alongside or nearby the musical performances of Algerian musicians. Parades of French nobility and ceremonies celebrating military defeats often included French military bands. The ubiquity of military music in French Algeria musically invaded the colony and confirmed in sound France’s control within the region.

The increased popularity of soldiers and the military led to the publication of books and journals about military music and instruments. These publications romanticized notions of war music, musique guerrière, by decontextualizing the music with its initial purpose. Georges Kastner’s Manuel général de musique militaire, à l’usage des armées françaises (1848) discusses the orchestration and growth of French military bands. Comparing French military bands to their European counterparts of Germany, England, and Belgium, Kastner argued that the military bands of France were far superior in quality and musical composition.

The revolutionary marching song, the “Marseillaise,” was officially adopted as the national anthem in 1795 and continued to be popular despite Napoléon III’s attempt to replace it during the Second Empire. By 1837 it had already become a part of Algerian musical language, only seven years after the first French invasion. In his travel journal,

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19 Khiati, “Urban Forms,” 120.

20 Georges Kastner, Manuel général de musique militaire, à l’usage des armées françaises (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1848). This book provides diagrams of instruments, especially those newly invented for the band, such as the saxophone and piccolo. Kastner also discussed historical musique guerrière from Asia and Africa and cites Villoteau’s accounts of music from the Napoleonic Expedition to Egypt. See also Georges Kastner, Les Chants de l’armée française, Ou Recueil de morceaux à plusieurs parties composés pour l’usage spécial de chaque arme (Paris: G. Brandus, Dufour et Cie, 1855); G. Parès, Traité d’instrumentation et d’orchestration à l’usage des musiques militaires d’harmonie et de fanfare (Paris: Henry Lemoine et Cie, 1898); and Danièle Pistone, La Musique en France, De La révolution à 1900 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1979).
William Lumsden described his encounter with an Algerian family singing the “Marseillaise” with a young French boy:

While rambling idly about this evening, with my hands behind my back, my mind perfectly idle, not a single idea being awake, I stumbled upon a small but interesting group seated on the ramparts of a little battery which guards the harbour. It consisted of an old Moor, with two young ones, whom we may suppose his grandchildren, and a French boy. The young fry were singing, and the old fellow was accompanying the music, by good-natured smiles and encouraging nods. But what was my amazement, when I made out the air and got near enough to distinguish the words, to hear these little crescent worshippers vociferating at the pitch of their voices; “En avant marchons, Contre leurs canons, Courons à la victoire.” Talk of the march of intellect! after that: what can we expect when the fatalist children of Mahomet sing the Marseillaise, and when the revolutionary songs of France resound from Mussulman throats along the coast of Barbary?  

This impromptu performance of the “Marseillaise” offered proof to Lumsden that the French were succeeding in their mission civilisatrice. More specifically, the singing of the “Marseillaise” illustrates the push for Algerians to not only become French but also become supporters of the nation that occupied their land.

As the French military fought to expand the empire further into Algeria, the military band served as a symbol of triumph and success. Just as armies, government officials, and military bands paraded through the Arc de Triomphe and onto the Champs-Élysées, similar scenes unfolded in Algeria. The French fought continuously to suppress the Kabyles and extend their control further south into the Sahara. The government celebrated victories of expansion into Kabyle territory with parades and music. In his *Narrative of a campaign against the Kabaîles of Algeria* (1848), Dawson Borrer related the welcoming scene when the French infantry marched into the Grand Kabyle of Algiers.

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21 William Lumsden, *Journal of a trip to the Algerine territory, in 1837* (Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1847), 44–45.
with trumpets playing soul-inspiring airs, and the shouting of merry songs in one wild chorus.\textsuperscript{22}

In a print of the Théâtre impériale d’Alger titled “Arrival of their Majesties at the Square of the Theater of Algiers” by Henri Linton, a large crowd gathers near the theater to watch a parade of French military and government officials march through Algiers.\textsuperscript{23} The parade included soldiers on horseback and horse-drawn carriages proceeding through the large arch standing near the theater. The top of the arch states “The presence of the Sovereign gives life.” Processions of French officers, in addition to the words engraved on the arch, served as constant declarations of France’s control over Algeria. Parades and ceremonies throughout the colony publicly asserted France’s successful domination over Algeria.

Military personnel and music was seen and heard at Algerian music venues as well. At the inauguration of the Théâtre impérial d’Alger on 29 September 1853, an attendee noted how the grand foyer sparkled with the sumptuous and fantastic uniforms of the Armée d’Afrique and traditional outfits of the French officers.\textsuperscript{24} On 16 October 1877, the Théâtre impérial d’Alger held a performance by the fourth battalion of zouaves from the Armée d’Afrique.\textsuperscript{25}

Local Algerian authorities carried out their own ceremonial processions after traditional events and celebrations. However, French observers viewed these events as less distinguished than those organized by the French. Fromentin related:

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{22} Borrer, \textit{Narrative of a campaign}, 220.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{23} “Arrivée de Leurs Majestés sur la place du Théâtre à Alger, (D’après un croquis de M. Alph. Houet, s.-officier au 1er zouaves),” Estampes salles (engraving/print), F-Po, Salles Th. Afrique.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{24} Arnaudiès, \textit{Histoire de l’Opéra d’Alger}, 55.
\end{flushright}

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\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 155.
\end{flushright}
When the moment came to close the session, the caid had his horse brought. His horsemen mounted, his musicians in a group lined up behind him. Following custom, the standard-bearer placed himself between the caid and the musicians. I assumed that entourage, seeming quite superfluous, had no other purpose than to reflect prestige. And so to the steady sound of drums, hautboys, and flutes and keeping the dignified pace of a procession, we completed the short distance that separated us from the appointed meeting place at the festivities.26

According to Fromentin, this event was not an actual parade or procession. Instead, he described the actions as something close to a dignified parade, but not quite. The entourage seemed “superfluous” as it attempted to “reflect prestige.” The assembly kept “the dignified pace of a procession,” but was not an actual procession itself. Even though the event included local authorities riding on horseback and drums and other instruments, the Algerian parade could not be mistaken for what Fromentin believed to be a “true,” that is to say French, procession.

Tourists to the popular spa resort of Hammam R’Irha also encountered army personnel from the military hospital that was located 100 yards from the hotel. Hammam R’Irha was one of Saint-Saëns’s favorite destinations as he enjoyed the nature and solace of the resort. A photo dated 3 October 1914 shows Saint-Saëns surrounded by nurses, doctors, and injured soldiers sitting in front of the hospital.27 The photo of Saint-Saëns at the hospital suggests that the composer befriended those who worked and lived there. In the photo, Saint-Saëns sits proudly in the middle. Immediately next to and behind him are military officials in uniform and sitting on the ground in front of him are wounded soldiers. Even at an isolated vacation resort, tourists and visitors could not escape the sights of French soldiers and military.


27 Photo of Saint-Saëns sitting in front of the military hospital, 3 October 1914, F-Dcm.
Hearing Colonialism in Paris

The sounds of French military bands and Algerian music coincided in France as well. The 1889 Exposition Universelle showcased foreign musics and cultures in addition to the French military. The importance of French military music shaped the early planning stages of the exhibition. One of the subcommittees for the Commission des auditions musicales was entirely devoted to military music. The year 1889 marked the centenary of the French Revolution and many of the events and performances at the Paris exhibition commemorated the anniversary. Concerts and festivals at the exhibition featured French regiment bands performing the “Marseillaise,” opera overtures, and military marches. Bands also participated in parades that marched through the exhibition’s pathways. Officials strategically scattered the bands throughout the parade line so that onlookers were continually bathed in the sounds of military music. The sounds of military bands were inescapable throughout the concert halls, individual exhibits, and paths of the exhibition.

One of the main goals of the 1889 Paris Exposition was to present foreign cultures and life to the European public. The presence of French military bands alongside musical ensembles from France’s colonies created a tension between colonizer and the colonized. In his Musiques pittoresques, Tiersot illustrated the sonic mixture of colonizer and colonized by including chapters devoted to “Les Concerts russes,” “Les Espagnols,” “Les Tziganes de Hongrie,” and “Le Centenaire,” the latter of which discusses French military

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28 Fauser, Musical Encounters, 16.

29 Ibid., 107.

30 Ibid., 109. Fauser argues that the prevalence of the Marseillaise became a sonic symbol of the Republic that had a more direct and inescapable impact than any visual symbol.
and art music in celebration of the centenary of the French Revolution.³¹ “Le Centenaire” begins with a description of infantry music at the exhibition and moves to a more general discussion of French military music heard at parades and ceremonies. The section concludes by highlighting the musical accomplishments of France and Europe since the French Revolution. Tiersot noted the celebrated compositions of Gossec, Grétry, and Saint-Saëns, and described the rich heritage of French art music.

The chapter “Le Centenaire” portrays French musical identity and patriotism by placing military music alongside the art music of French composers. Furthermore, Tiersot included “Le Centenaire” in a book that is otherwise dedicated to the folk and indigenous musical performances of the Exposition—some of which were under French colonial rule at the time. As the sole chapter dedicated to French military and art music, “Le Centenaire” reminds the reader of the importance of French music and asserts France’s superiority and power.

Within the Musiques pittoresques, “Le Centenaire” is sandwiched between chapters discussing “Les Danses javanaises” and “Les Chanteurs finlandais.” The placement of the chapter resonates with the layout of the exhibits at the Exposition. The Exposition’s section titled “French colonies and protectorates” not only includes Algeria, Tunisia, and other colonies but also exhibits of the French War Office and French social and economic services such as hygiene and social economy. Exhibition planners further

³¹ Julien Tiersot’s Musiques pittoresques: Promenades musicales á l’Exposition de 1889 is a collection of transcriptions taken from the 1889 Paris Exposition Universelle. The transcriptions are categorized by geographical region and provide informal commentary to aid readers in deciphering the musical examples. Tiersot included a chapter on the French military bands that participated in the Exposition, revealing that the event was more than an opportunity to showcase indigenous cultures and art. The placement of the Algeria exhibit next to the French exhibit and the inclusion of the French military band made a distinct political statement about France’s expanding empire. Further emphasizing France’s colonial successes, Britain’s exhibit was placed far from the exhibits of its colonies. For further reading, see Fauser, Musical Encounters; and Revuluri, “On Anxiety and Absorption.”
emphasized France’s colonial successes by scattering the exhibits of Great Britain’s colonies throughout the exposition. This layout touted the success of France’s growing empire while simultaneously ignoring Great Britain’s imperial achievements.

Placing its colonies directly across from the French War Office justified the military efforts of the French army by presenting the colonies as war prizes. The exhibition also included exhibits of the École militaire, cavalry barracks, and military stores, further romanticizing the perception of the French military. Similarly, Tiersot surrounded “Le Centenaire” with chapters about the music of other foreign countries and French colonies. The physical ordering of these chapters further highlighted France’s prestigious power and influence within the world.

Apart from the Exposition Universelle, Algerian soldiers performed military and war songs for the French public at other concerts and events. In 1863, Algerian soldiers performed a Concert arabe at the “Moorish café” of the barracks of the Quai d’Orsay in Paris. The performance celebrated the arrival of the squadron of the spahis and a battalion of the tirailleurs algériens. The concert was well attended and included members of the French military, many of whom were honored for their war successes. A review of the concert noted that the most enjoyable songs were those that recounted the great achievements of the celebrated tribal warriors.\(^{32}\) Algerian soldiers of the Armée d’Afrique became a part of French national identity. Performances by the spahis and tirailleurs algériens illustrated Algerian support for the French military and the colonial project. Military music offered a romanticized image of war and colonialism. Through concerts, parades, ceremonies, and exhibitions, military bands united France and Algeria, soldiers and civilians, in unisonance, an imagined community of the French empire.

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Saint-Saëns as Patriot

Saint-Saëns was an ardent supporter of French musical culture. In 1871, he founded the Société nationale de Musique in order to promote and encourage the creation of a distinctly French musical language. Years later, in 1888, he left the Société when the committee decided to allow the performance of foreign composers instead of exclusively promoting the compositions of French artists. A special edition of *Le Guide du concert*, dedicated to Saint-Saëns, stated that even after his death, the composer continued to be the doyen of French music.\(^{33}\)

Barbara Kelly notes that by the time of his death, Saint-Saëns’s patriotism had grown deeply chauvinistic.\(^{34}\) Reminiscing about the character of Saint-Saëns in his 1938 biography, Pierre Aguétant stated “we are thus squarely faced with true patriotism: a patriotism that is sound, lucid and self-controlled, a patriotism without rants or bugle calls.”\(^{35}\) According to Aguétant, Saint-Saëns’s patriotism was born not out of arrogance or pride but out of a deep loyalty to his homeland.

Saint-Saëns’s patriotism was also exhibited by his participation in benefit concerts that raised money for the military or injured soldiers. Composers and performers traditionally volunteered their skills in order to allow the majority of proceeds to go to the

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\(^{35}\) Aguétant, *Saint-Saëns par lui-même*, 152. “Nous voilà donc bien en face du vrai patriotisme: un patriotisme sain, lucide, maître de soi, un patriotisme sans coups de gueule ni sonneries de clairons.”
charitable organization. A performance on 6 November 1913, publicized as Saint-Saëns’s “farewell concert,” raised support for the Cercle national pour le Soldat de Paris, a charitable organization for wounded war veterans. On 12 April 1916 he conducted his opera Phryné, along with excerpts from Bizet’s Carmen and the “Marseillaise,” at the Opéra-Comique in Paris in honor of the wounded members of the Armée d’Afrique in Algeria. The concert raised 180,000 francs for the war effort in Algeria. The Algiers division of the society Souvenir français invited Saint-Saëns to attend the performance of his Requiem at a mass service in Algiers on 7 March 1901. The service was held in honor of the military soldiers and sailors who died during their military service.

Saint-Saëns received a number of honors and medals from government officials acknowledging his years of participation in and loyalty to French musical culture in North Africa. In recognition of his Suite algérienne, Saint-Saëns was presented with a bronze medal on 12 April 1916. The medal includes two soldiers under the protection of an angel. The city of Oran presented Saint-Saëns with three honorary silk sashes during a musical festival on 16 March 1921. On 30 May 1921, he was given the Décoration de Grand Cordon by the Sufi order of Nichan Iftikhar in Tunisia. The certificate states:

Praises to God alone. On behalf of the praiseworthy servant of God, who places his confidence in God and leaves everything to him, Muḥammad Naṣr Basha Bey, bearer of the Kingdom of Tunis to the honorable Monsieur Saint-Saëns the music composer and member of the academic society in Paris on the recommendation of our Foreign Minister, who made your noble deeds known to us, we clothe you


37 The Souvenir français was founded in 1887. The society honors war veterans and soldiers who died or were wounded during their military service.

38 Bronze medal awarded to Saint-Saëns, 12 April 1916, F-Dcm.
with this medal, in our name. It is the highest class in our tradition from Nichan Iftikhar. Wear it with joy and happiness. Signed by the palace of the kingdom on Ramadan 22, 1339; 30 May 1921.39

Saint-Saëns’s fame and popularity followed him throughout North Africa. The French settler population and municipal government officials were honored to have him be a part of Algerian society. Saint-Saëns gave concerts at several Algerian venues including the Théâtre municipal d’Alger and Athénée à Alger. His fame would have helped attract audiences and increase ticket sales for the venues. Saint-Saëns also supported Algerian organizations including the Souvenir français, Opéra d’Alger, Comité des Amis du Vieil Alger, and the Société des beaux-arts, des sciences et lettres d’Alger, the latter of which he was named honorary president in 1892.

By 1873, the year Saint-Saëns began to spend his winter vacations in Algeria, his career and celebrity were already well established. He did not need to perform or have his works presented at venues in Algeria in order to further his career. Saint-Saëns’s participation and support of Algerian theaters, concert halls, and organizations served these institutions more than his own fame, not least because many of them were fairly new and still trying to become successful and profitable. Saint-Saëns’s fame allowed him to be a representative for France in Algeria. Granting awards and honors to Saint-Saëns allowed these burgeoning institutions to use his name and celebrity to increase their own profits and prestige. Saint-Saëns’s own celebrity in Algeria increased, a celebrity that carried with it his patriotism for France.

After his death on 16 December 1921, the composer’s life and legacy continued to be celebrated by the French government in Algeria. His funeral ceremonies were a

“grandiose” affair with all of Algiers in attendance. The funeral procession included regiments of soldiers from the Armée d’Afrique and two carriages carrying Saint-Saëns’s medals and awards. Over a decade later, on the occasion of the centennial of his birth, 21 July 1935, a bust of the composer was presented in Algiers and a plaque in his honor was placed in his former neighborhood of Pointe Pescade. Streets in Algiers and Oran carried his name and French and Algerians living in Algiers today are still familiar with the Algerian legacy of Saint-Saëns.

Three Colonial Marches by Saint-Saëns

Throughout his lifetime, Saint-Saëns composed many marches. Among these are several that also depict or suggest connections to Algeria. These allusions to Algeria combined with military topics and fanfares present a sound image of the military’s important role in Algeria. These marches constitute what I call Saint-Saëns’s “colonial marches”: marches that are an expression of French colonial Algeria. These marches remind the listener of the actions, tactics, and policies employed and carried forth by the French military in Algeria. The marches were performed in Algeria and France, connecting the soundscapes of the two nations and musically expressing the act of colonialism.

Scholars such as Raymond Monelle and Robert S. Hatten have pointed out that military topics and musical gestures such as fanfares and trumpet calls express ideas of the military, soldiering, and heroism. The musical expressions of a militaristic France differ greatly from those musical devices used to signify a militaristic Orient, most

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41 To give just one anecdotal example, many of the individuals that I spoke with in Algiers were very familiar with Saint-Saëns, his music, and his time in North Africa.
famously displayed in the *alla turca* style depicting the janissary band.\(^{42}\) Whereas composers used loud, percussive elements to depict the janissary band, composers tended to use trumpet calls and fanfares to represent Western European military music.

Jann Pasler has noted that the bugle-like horn patterns in Saint-Saëns’s “Rhapsodie mauresque” from his *Suite algérienne* suggest the French military presence in Algiers.\(^{43}\) This suggestion of military presence is even stronger within the genre of the march, a genre that has historically been connected to military movements, processions, and the celebration of nations and national leaders.\(^{44}\) Performances of Saint-Saëns’s colonial marches, both in France and Algeria, reminded the listener of the important role and success of the French military in Algeria.

**Orient et occident, Op. 25**

In October 1869, Saint-Saëns composed *Orient et occident* for the gala of the Union centrale des arts appliqués à l’Industrie in 1870. Saint-Saëns originally wrote the piece for military band. A few months later Saint-Saëns rescored the piece for piano duet. The piano version was performed on 22 February 1873 at the twenty-first concert of the Société nationale, by Charles-Marie Widor and Saint-Saëns, and on 24 February 1877 at the Société nationale, by Vincent d’Indy and Gabriel Fauré. The orchestration for military band was performed at the award distributions of the Exposition Universelle on 21

\(^{42}\) For example, see Mary Hunter, “The *Alla Turca* Style in the Late Eighteenth Century: Race and Gender in the Symphony and the Seraglio,” in *The Exotic in Western Music*, ed. Jonathan Bellman (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 43–73. Although the *alla turca* style peaked in popularity in the late eighteenth-century, Ralph Locke has noted that the janissary band still appeared in marches and dances until the end of the nineteenth century. See Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 126.

\(^{43}\) Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 402.

October 1878 under the direction of the French conductor and violinist Édouard Colonne and again on 27 December 1878 at the Hippodrome. In 1909, Saint-Saëns rewrote *Orient et occident* for symphony orchestra.45

Saint-Saëns composed *Orient et occident* four years prior to his first trip to Algeria in October 1873. One could argue that this composition lies outside of a study that focuses on the composer’s firsthand encounters with colonial Algeria.46 However, the composition exhibits characteristics of my typology of colonial marches and performance reviews of the march—many of which were written after Saint-Saëns’s initial visit to Algeria—connect the composition to the colonial project in Algeria. Moreover, Saint-Saëns maintained his interest in the march, directing numerous performances and reorchestrating the work for different ensembles.

*Orient et occident* musically presents the relationship of power and hegemony within the imagined binaries of East and West. The march is divided into three sections: (A1) Allegro, (B) Moderato assai sostenuto, (A2) Premier Tempo (Allegro). The first and last sections represent the Occident while the middle section represents the Orient. The form resembles the march and trio of many nineteenth-century military marches with a reprise of the march at the end. Saint-Saëns surrounded the Orient with Western music by

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45 Stephen Studd writes that Saint-Saëns rescored *Orient et occident* in 1916 after returning to Paris from a tour in southern France. See Studd, *Saint-Saëns*, 272. However, the Durand editions of the orchestral score and parts (plate numbers 7318 and 7319) are dated July 1909. In a letter sent from Elche, Spain, to Durand dated 15 December 1908, Saint-Saëns discussed his plans to write an orchestral arrangement of the march. See Letter housed at the F-Pgm, cited in Ratner, *Thematic Catalogue*, 245.

46 Saint-Saëns was already familiar with North African themes and music by 1873. Saint-Saëns owned a music notebook of popular Egyptian songs transcribed in the ancient city of Abydos titled *Chants populaires égyptiens recueillis à Abydos*. The notebook includes eight pages of melodies. He was also friends with Victor Loret, professor of Egyptology in Lyons. Prior to his first trip to Algeria, Saint-Saëns was familiar with the Middle Eastern-inspired compositions of Félicien David and Ernest Reyer. Moreover, *Orient et occident* was not the composer’s first attempt at musical exoticism or Orientalism—he began composing his opera *Samson et Dalila* in 1859.
beginning and ending the march with the Occidental sections. The Orient and Occident
do not mix. East does not become assimilated into the music of the West.

The Occident opens as an *alla breve* march in E-flat major that resembles those
actually used by military bands in the nineteenth century. The two-step meter and lively
yet stately tempo of the Occident theme create a marchable piece that could be used by a
military regiment or parade band. However, the A1 section gives way to a lyrical
transition in A-flat major that eliminates the strong march-step rhythm. The serene,
almost pastoral nature of this transition prepares the listener for the Orient (B) section.

Saint-Saëns represented the Orient through modal harmony. The end of the
Occident section prepares for the Orient with a chromatic descent beginning on the tonic
A-flat that then raises a minor sixth to D. The abrupt progression to D contrasts with the
lyrical transition section that moves mostly by step, thirds, or fifths. This unexpected
melodic leap serves as a signal for the new section. The B section modulates to the D
mixolydian mode based on G major. Saint-Saëns viewed modes as a pathway toward the
music of the future. In an 1879 article for the *Nouvelle revue*, he wrote:

> The tonality that founded modern harmony is dying. This is due to the exclusive
use of the two major and minor modes. The ancient modes re-enter the scene and
will be succeeded by the art of Oriental modes, which have an immense variety.
All this will provide new components to an exhausted melody. The harmony will
also be modified and the rhythm, which is hardly utilized, will be developed. All
of this will bring about a new art.47

Saint-Saëns was not alone in believing that composers should use modal harmonies for
artistic creativity and composition. At a lecture given at the Exposition Universelle on 7

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l’harmonie modern agonise. C’en est fait de l’exclusivisme des deux modes majeur et mineur. Les modes
antiques rentrent en scène et à leur suite, feront irruption dans l’art les modes de l’Orient dont la variété est
immense. Tout cela fournira de nouveaux éléments à la mélodie épuisée […] l’harmonie aussi se modifierra
et le rythme, à peine exploité, se développera. De tout cela sortira un art nouveau.”
September 1878, Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray argued that composers should use all modes, “old or new, European or exotic.”

The Orient section starkly contrasts with the fast march of the Occident. The lyrical section, scored in triple meter, is similar to the cantabile melodies of the trio sections found in John Philip Sousa’s *The Stars and Stripes Forever* or Edward Elgar’s *Pomp and Circumstance No. 1*. Saint-Saëns’s trio, however, includes a distinct stylistic change that musically depicts the Orient. This contrast resembles Monelle’s contention that “bandmasters sometimes interpret two parts of the modern march as symbols of war and peace.” In the case of *Orient et occident*, the march sections represent the ongoing tensions of colonialism. Saint-Saëns recognized the tension between Orient and Occident, writing

> The Occident willingly pokes fun at the immobility of the Orient; the Orient may well return the favor by making fun of the Occident’s instability, of its inability to sometimes maintain its method or habit of searching for something new at all costs without any goal or reason.

*Orient et occident* does not reflect the peace following war but stereotypically portrays the Orient as idyllic, pastoral, and picturesque while the Occident marches forward.

Before the entry of the Orient theme, a percussive ostinato opens the section and repeats continuously until the return of the Occident. One critic recognized these rhythms as representations of the *darbūkah*, a single-headed drum commonly played in North

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50 Camille Saint-Saëns, *Portraits et souvenirs* (Paris: Société d’édition artistique, 1900), 227. “L’Occident se gausse volontiers de l’immobilité orientale; l’Orient pourrait bien lui rendre la pareille et se moquer de son instabilité, de l’impossibilité où il est de conserver quelque temps une forme, un style de sa manie, de chercher le nouveau à tout prix, sans but et sans raison.”
Africa and the Middle East. A review of an 1878 performance of Orient et occident noted the “Moorish dance with bizarre melodic intervals over the monotone accompaniment of the darbūkah.” The darbūkah became a symbol of Algeria and North Africa in the nineteenth century. French artists such as Eugène Fromentin and Charles Landelle painted darbūkahs from Algeria. Algerian soldiers from the spahis and tirailleurs regiments performed the darbūkah. At a concert given by these regiments at the quai d’Orsay in 1863, the darbūkah accompanied other Arab string, wind, and percussion instruments.

Nineteenth-century studies of Arab music discussed this instrument. Jullien Tiersot described the loud pounding of the darbūkah played in Arab dance music at the Exposition Universelle. Edward William Lane and Alexandre Christianowitsch both included illustrations of wooden and earthen darbūkahs in their respected travel journals and transcriptions. The musical instrument collection at the Paris Conservatoire included several darbūkahs from North Africa. Gustave Chouquet, who became the curator of the collection in 1871, described these drums from around the world as “primitive” and “savage.” The emulation of the darbūkah in Western art music became a recognizable signifier for North Africa.

52 Eugène Fromentin’s Darbouka (undated), and Charles Landelle’s Algérienne jouant de la darbouka (1886–1887).
54 Tiersot, Musiques pittoresques, 86.
55 Lane, Modern Egyptians, 363; and Christianowitsch, Esquisse historique, 31.
Saint-Saëns incorporated *darbūkah* drum rhythms in other compositions as well. In his chapter titled “Exoticism in music,” Camille Bellaigue noted the *darbūkah* rhythms in Saint-Saëns’s fifth piano concerto. Bellaigue viewed the *darbūkah* as a fundamental element of Arab music, stating that the Arabs, and Muslims in general, only know how to sing with their voices, “*darabouks,*” and reed flutes.\(^{57}\)

In *Orient et occident*, the unaccompanied *darbūkah* ostinato is the first and last sound heard in the Orient section. The *darbūkah* ostinato forms the rhythmic accompaniment throughout the entire Orient section. After repeating their continuous ostinato, the percussion instruments fade away (m. 180), fully stopping at the final V7/vi chord that prepares for the return to the E-flat fugal section.

The modal harmony and instrumentation used in *Orient et occident* suggests the contradictions of the colonial Other. Modal harmonies were viewed as a way to expand musical language; however, scholars at the time also connected these harmonies with folk music of the past.\(^{58}\) Similarly, percussion and wind instruments were commonly thought to be more primitive than strings or brass instruments.\(^{59}\) In *Orient et occident*, the percussion and winds that prevail in the Orient section are bookended by the triumphant brass of the Occident. The Orient section presents alluring curiosities with novel *darbūkah* rhythms and ancient modes but these characteristics do not dominate the march. Instead, they are inserted in the middle of the piece, surrounded by the Occident march.

\(^{57}\) Camille Bellaigue, *Études musicales et nouvelles silhouettes de musiciens* (Paris: C. Delagrave, 1898), 327–328. Bellaigue’s emphasis that Arabs “only know” three ways to produce music further propagated the stereotypes of Arab music as primitive, simple, and percussive.


\(^{59}\) For example, see Chouquet, *Musée du Conservatoire*, 243–249.
In the A1 section, the Occident returns with the theme in counterpoint in E-flat. The fugue includes a real answer on the dominant, a countersubject, and several passages of stretto. Saint-Saëns also incorporated other material from the A1 section, such as the obligato wind passages, further unifying the entire composition. Scholars have long associated the fugue with the elevated, learned style. During the Classical period, fugal texture carried a general sense of authoritativeness, as it was associated with sacred music, the church, and God. Further supporting this idea, Robert Hatten has argued that fugues in major mode propagate notions of transcendence and triumph. In late nineteenth-century France, Bourgault-Ducoudray considered Western polyphony to be far superior to “Oriental” music as it exhibited musical progress and modern development. Saint-Saëns’s use of strict-style counterpoint presents the return of the Occident as both elevated and learned. The fugue is also in the major mode, allowing the West to musically transcend and triumph over the preceding Orient section.

The abrupt transition from the scalar melody and syncopated drum rhythms of the Orient to the Occident’s fugue makes a striking contrast between East and West. The bifurcated sections accentuate the styles of high and low society through “exotic” rusticity and “elevated” Western counterpoint. The learned style of the fugue quickly elevates the march from the perceived simplicity of the Orient. This juxtaposition of styles is similar to the succession of contrasting galant and learned styles in the

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compositions of Mozart and Haydn. Elaine Sisman notes that this technique allowed Classical composers to reach their increasingly diverse audiences composed of amateurs and connoisseurs. 63

In Orient et occident, the incorporation of contrasting styles appealed to the public’s fascination with exotic topics and patriotic marches. A review of the piece performed at the 1878 Exposition Universelle complimented the contrasting “pastiche” of styles:

The interesting work of the program was the march of M. Saint-Saëns, under the title: Orient et occident, showing quite a bit of thought. After a prelude of great allure, we hear a sort of Moorish dance with bizarre melodic intervals over the monotone accompaniment of darbūkah; the pastiche succeeds at being a pastiche, and it is also interesting that an artist such as M. Saint-Saëns produced the piece for our European ears. The second part, Occident, consists of another march that has the double worth of being brilliant, by nature of the ideas and sonorities, and offering a fine contrapuntal work. 64

According to the review, the success of the piece rested in its clever mixture of styles and compositional techniques. The “pastiche” of styles creates an “interesting work” that shows “quite a bit of thought.” The critic’s contention that the Occident section had the “double worth of being brilliant” supports the Occident’s hegemony over the entire piece. Saint-Saëns’s “fine contrapuntal work” further strengthened the triumphant and elevated nature of the march by reintroducing the march theme in strict-style counterpoint. Thus, the Occident theme is triumphant, authoritative, and elevated through the use of fanfares, march style, and strict-style counterpoint.


64 Anonymous, “Exposition Universelle,” 346. “L’œuvre intéressante du programme était la marche de M. Saint-Saëns, dont le titre: Orient et Occident, indique assez la pensée. Après un prélude de grande allure, on entend une sorte de danse mauresque, aux intervalles mélodiques bizarres, à l’accompagnement monotone de derbouka; pastiche aussi réussi que peut l’être un pastiche, et aussi intéressant que peut le rendre un artiste comme M. Saint-Saëns pour nos oreilles européennes. La seconde partie, Occident, consiste en une autre marche qui a le double mérite d’être brillante, par la nature des idées et les sonorités, et d’offrir un beau travail contrapuntique.”
Saint-Saëns included military fanfares in the conclusions of both Occident sections. In the A1 section, he included two fanfares as a brief conclusion to the Occident theme before moving to the *cantabile* transition section.

**Example 5.5: Orient et occident mm. 65–70**

The conclusion of the entire march in the A2 section contains twelve measures of military fanfares beginning with a scalar passage from the tonic down to the mediant and then moving to trumpet calls on the tonic and dominant. Monelle writes that signal-like motives and trumpet calls in concert music “directly evokes moral character: heroism,
adventure, manliness, courage, strength, decision.” In the context of French colonialism, the fanfares of the Occident express France’s successful military and their endeavors to expand their empire.

Reviews of *Orient et occident* were mostly favorable and praised the picturesque aspects of the march. *La Gazette musicale* claimed that this “very remarkable composition” was perfectly performed at the awards ceremony of the Exposition under the direction of Saint-Saëns and received enthusiastic applause. The patriotic nature of the march prompted many audience members to request the “Marseillaise” following its performance at the Exposition Universelle.

Several reviews emphasized the imaginative and evocative nature of the march. One critic stated that the piano rendition lacked the imaginative and expressive qualities of the orchestral version:

At the debut of the 66th session of the Société national de musique, on Saturday evening, 24 February at the salle Pleyel, we heard a march of M. Saint-Saëns, titled *Orient et occident*, played on four hands by MM. Fauré and d’Indy. In this reduction, the march does not have all of the desired clarity; it requires the orchestra and a variety of timbres in order to portray the composer’s ideas and picturesque aspects, which are heard, without doubt, in the new symphonic version.

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67 Anonymous, “Exposition Universelle,” 347. The director, M. Colonne, refused to comply with the audience’s request.

68 Anonymous, “Salle Pleyel: Société nationale de musique,” *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (4 March 1877): 69. “Au début de la 66e séance de la Société nationale de musique, qui a eu lieu samedi soir, le 24 février, dans la salle Pleyel, on a entendu une marche de M. Saint-Saëns, intitulée *Orient et Occident*, jouée à quatre mains par MM. Fauré et d’Indy. Ainsi réduite, cette marche n’a pas toute la clarté désirable; il faudrait l’orchestre et ses timbres variés pour rendre le côté pittoresque des idées de l’auteur, qui ont reçu, à n’en pas douter, la forme symphonique en naissant.”
Another review stated that the original orchestration for military band was more effective than the version for orchestra since the listener must make every effort to pay careful attention in order to hear the notes played by the violins.\(^6^9\) In addition to the increased clarity of wind instruments compared to violins, the performance of the march by military band also would have fulfilled the sonic expectations of the listener: a military march performed by a military band.

*Orient et occident* presents the binaries of East and West through the march genre. The Occident is not merely represented through Western art music or tonality but through the military march. The importance of the original instrumentation for military band further connects the march to French patriotism and the military. Saint-Saëns used the musical topics of fanfares, soldiering, and march to evoke the military, while at the same time using counterpoint and tonality to connect the West with the elevated, learned style.

In the context of French colonialism, *Orient et occident* exhibits a colonized Orient under the control of the French government. France musically surrounds its colonies and in the end, France has won.

**“Marche militaire française”**

Saint-Saëns dedicated his *Suite algérienne* to Dr. A. Kopff, a close friend and optician who lived in Algiers. A few years earlier, Kopff had sent Saint-Saëns some music for the composer to look over, including two marches by Kopff himself. The first three movements of the *Suite* portray Saint-Saëns’s impressions of Algeria.\(^7^0\) However, the last movement, titled “Marche militaire française,” leaves behind the many picturesque

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\(^7^0\) I discuss the first three movements of the *Suite* in Chapter 4.
depictions of North Africa included in the preceding movements. The inclusion of the
“Marche militaire française” within his Algerian suite connects the march, and the French
military, to the French colonial project in Algeria. Furthermore, Saint-Saëns concluded
the suite with the march, omitting any musical allusion to Algeria and turning his focus to
the triumphant sounds of the French military in this final movement.

Similar to Orient et occident, the “Marche militaire française” is an alla breve
march with a swift, two-step tempo. The march is in ABA form with a cantabile, trio
section that contrasts the stately march theme. Pasler writes that the closed, ABA form
represented the perceived structure and discipline that the French bestowed upon the
society and culture of their colonies.  

Saint-Saëns included brass fanfare topics throughout the march, including the A
section in mm. 25–31:

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71 Pasler, Composing the Citizen, 404.
Example 5.6: “Marche militaire française,” mm. 25–31
In mm. 68–71, the fanfares signal the new B theme of the trio section:

**Example 5.7: “Marche militaire française,” mm. 68–75**

The fanfares in the A section are more emphatic than those in the *cantabile*, trio section.

The A section fanfares are on the downbeat and repeat in continuous succession without rests in what Pasler has called “assertive C major.”\(^{72}\) They are also marked as *forte* or

\(^{72}\) Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 402.
fortissimo and are sometimes accompanied by a snare drum roll, as in mm. 68–71.

However, the B section modulates to F major, where the winds first perform fanfares, marked pianissimo, that are then echoed by the brass. The fanfares are on the upbeats, interrupted by rests:

Example 5.8: “Marche militaire française,” mm. 124–129

Whereas the fanfares of the A section are incorporated into parts of the A theme, the fanfares of the trio section are only heard as an accompaniment to the theme or during the transition sections between statements of the theme.

Saint-Saëns concluded the march with a trumpet call in fifths. The call outlines the triad of the tonic in successive triplets. These characteristics resemble many nineteenth-century French bugle calls.⁷³

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⁷³ For example, see Monelle, *Musical Topic*, 282–285.
Literal quotations of actual military calls further connect the march to the French military. Discussing his “Marche militaire française,” Saint-Saëns described the vivid bazaars and Moorish cafes where one hears “the repeated steps of a French regiment whose warlike accents contrast with the bizarre rhythms and languorous melodies of the Orient.”

During a time of continuous war and uprisings, the “Marche militaire française” reflected the French military’s success in Algeria. Saint-Saëns wrote the march in 1880 following a period of uprisings against the French throughout the 1870s and early ‘80s. According to Charles-Robert Ageron, these revolts actually facilitated the work of colonization by legitimizing the legal and economic policies subsequently enacted by the French government in Algeria. Following his initial visit to Algeria in 1873, Saint-Saëns corresponded with friends in Algiers, including Paul Samary, then deputy of Algiers, keeping the composer informed about current events in Algeria. The military march’s placement at the end of the *Suite algérienne* musically claims Algeria as France and shows Saint-Saëns’s support for the French military in Algeria.


In addition to the march, the illustration of the title page for the *Suite algérienne*, by L. Denis, includes images of the military and war. A mix of colonial and Orientalist objects are displayed underneath a minaret and palm trees.

**Figure 5.2: Title Page, *Suite algérienne*, Op. 60**

A military snare drum, bugle, and rifle surround an ‘ūd (Arab stringed instrument) and arkūlah (water pipe). The snare drum and bugle foreshadow the drum rolls and trumpet calls of the “Marche militaire française.” Pasler notes that illustrations of weapons alongside musical instruments, especially bugles and drums, appeared in late nineteenth-century issues of the French journal *L’Illustration*. French explorers collected these objects and considered musical instruments, weapons, and flags to be symbols of a country’s distinction, pride, and power.\(^{76}\) The illustration of weapons and instruments on the title page of the *Suite algérienne* mixes Algerian and French symbols of identity.

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\(^{76}\) Pasler, “Utility of Musical Instruments,” 41.
French military bugles sit beside Arab ‘ūds; Arab and Kabyle resistance succumbs to French military control; Algerian identity becomes assimilated with French culture.

The musical topics of soldiering and war also relate to contemporary ideas about masculinity. Saint-Saëns viewed his “Marche militaire” as masculine. In a letter to his publisher, Jacques Durand, he wrote:

Madame de Serres-Montigny-Rémaury confided in me that she wanted something masculine to include in her program. I wrote for her the arrangement (that I sometimes play) of the Finale of the Suite Algérienne. Perhaps you will find it appropriate to pass on this arrangement for young pianists; if not, Mme. de Serres will be the only person who will benefit from it. If she does not find it to be “masculine” enough, I wonder what she needs.77

Discourse surrounding the military—soldiers, war, battle, weaponry—often incorporates terminology of the masculine. Monelle describes the military topic as “manly” and the musical horse topic as “noble, masculine, adventurous, warlike and speedy.”78

Saint-Saëns’s designation of the “Marche militaire” as masculine creates a dichotomy between the first three movements and the finale. If he viewed the final march as “masculine,” the preceding movements are not masculine but, instead, feminine. The first three movements incorporate musical signifiers for the Orient. Gender connotations of masculine and feminine become codes for Occident and Orient, Western Europe and the Other. Susan McClary relates that “nineteenth-century Europeans habitually projected onto racial Others the erotic qualities they denied themselves. The racial Other became a

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77 The letter is cited in Ratner, *Thematic Catalogue*, 304. The letter was written on 22 June 1907 from Dieppe. “Madame de Serres-Montigny-Rémaury m’ayant confié qu’elle avait besoin de quelque chose de masculin pour mettre sur les programmes je lui ai écrit l’arrangement (que je joue quelquefois) du Final de la Suite Algérienne. Peut-être trouveras-tu opportun de livrer cet arrangement aux doigts des jeunes pianistes; dans le cas contraire, Mme. de Serres seule en aura le bénéfice. Si elle ne trouve pas cela assez ‘masculin,’ je me demande ce qu’il lui faut.”

favorite ‘feminine’ zone within the narrative of European colonizers.”79 Within the *Suite*, France is masculine while Algeria is feminine. The masculine French military march concludes the *Suite*, the feminine Other is overcome and the “masculine” topics of military and war triumph.

The “Marche militaire française” experienced great popularity during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Critics admired the images of heroism and war evoked by the “Marche militaire française.” A review of the *Suite*’s premiere praised the march’s “strapping allure and exuberant gallantry [that] brings together an image of the repeated march steps.”80 The music critic and writer Georges Servières wrote that the “Marche militaire française is a candidly alluring piece from a gallantry that recalls Auber. It is very rhythmic, well developed and resounding in every way.”81 Both critics describe the march’s allure and lively, militaristic or gallant (*crânerie*) nature. The second review connects the march’s *crânerie* to Auber, a composer whose works were known for their cleverness, wit, elegance, and “civility of the French spirit.”82

The “Marche militaire française” was not simply a triumphant march for parades or ceremonies. As the final movement of the *Suite algérienne*, the march was understood to be a musical representation of the French military in Algeria. One critic described the

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79 In her book *Feminine Endings*, Susan McClary discusses the common nineteenth-century portrayal of the racial Other as feminine. See Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 63.


Suite as a display of the French occupation in Africa in which the “regiment parades before us in their red pantalons.” Years later, the program notes for a performance of the Suite at the Salle du Théâtre municipal-Oran on 20 December 1922 described the Marche militaire française as:

the French regiment that marches onto the square and creates an echo of joyous fanfares. It is said that the old civilization of Europe was struck by its small perimeters and carried out its commotion that disturbs the dreamer and troubles the ancient serenity of the virgin countries: the Western prose brutally comes to alter the poetry of the East.

At the jetty of Al-Djafna in December 1918, Saint-Saëns relayed his joy at the sight of the military and the welcoming sound of the band performing his “Marche militaire française” from his Suite algérienne. The army representatives included French and Algerian soldiers from the zouave, tirailleur, and spahi regiments of the Armée d’Afrique.

Various composers arranged transcriptions of the march, including arrangements for piano, brass band, military band, and small orchestra. The march was often

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83 Guillemont, “Musique orientale,” 239.

84 Program notes, “Société des concerts classiques,” 20 December 1922, F-Dcm, Salle du Théâtre municipal-Oran. “C’est, enfin le régiment français qui défile sur la place et frappe l’écho de ses joyeuses fanfares, la vieille civilisation d’Europe, a-t-on dit, prise par ses petits côtés, menant son tapage, dérangeant le rêveur, troublant l’antique sérénité des pays vierges: la prose occidentale qui vient brutalement altérer la poésie de l’Orient.”


86 The third movement, “Rêverie du Soir,” has 20 arrangements, the greatest number of arrangements among all of the movements from his Suite algérienne. This movement, however, was written prior to the creation of the suite, originally written in 1879 for a benefit concert at the Paris Opéra on 19 December 1880 for flood victims living in Szegéd, Hungary.
performed alone, without the other movements of the suite.\textsuperscript{87} Examples of these performances are shown in Figure 5.3:

**Figure 5.3: Sole performances of the “Marche militaire française”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Director/Concert Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22 October 1893</td>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 October 1896</td>
<td>Paris, Hôtel de Ville</td>
<td>Paul Taffanel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 January 1901</td>
<td>Paris, Théâtre du Châtelet</td>
<td>Concerts-Colonne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 May 1913</td>
<td>Vevey, Switzerland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 September 1914</td>
<td>Houlgate, France</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 January 1920</td>
<td>Algiers, Salle des Beaux-arts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Saint-Saëns himself recommended directors to perform his “Marche militaire” separately without the other movements of the \textit{Suite}. In a letter to Sylvain Dupuis, director of the Conservatoire royal de musique in Liège, Saint-Saëns suggested that Dupuis conclude a concert with his \textit{Marche héroïque} followed by the “Marche [militaire] française,” which will “merrily conclude the ceremony.”\textsuperscript{88} Other performances of the march alone honored government officials and foreign dignitaries. On 7 October 1896, the march was performed by the Société des concerts du Conservatoire de Paris in honor of the Emperor and Empress of Russia at the Hôtel de Ville under the direction of Paul Taffanel.

The march gained great popularity in Algeria and Tunisia. Portions of the \textit{Suite}, including the “Marche militaire,” were performed in Algiers on 16 January 1920 at a

\textsuperscript{87} The “Marche militaire française” is still performed alone today. The 2007 recording titled \textit{Africa} featuring music by Saint-Saëns includes the “Marche militaire française” without the other movements from the \textit{Suite algérienne}. The march contrasts the other selections on the recording, all of which are more representative of Saint-Saëns’s Orientalist or exoticist pieces such as selections from \textit{Samson et Dalila} and \textit{Parysatis}. See Camille Saint-Saëns, \textit{Africa}, London Philharmonic, dir. Geoffrey Simon, Cala Records CD 4031, 2007.

\textsuperscript{88} Sabina Ratner cites this from a letter written by Saint-Saëns supposedly dated 13 December 1921 from the Hôtel de l’Oasis, Algiers. However, Saint-Saëns died on 4 December 1921. See Ratner, \textit{Thematic Catalogue}, 304.
small conference organized by Saint-Saëns on the Fables of Jean de La Fontaine. The entire *Suite algérienne* was performed at the Théâtre municipal in Oran on 9 February 1920 under the direction of the composer. On 6 April 1921, Saint-Saëns directed the “Rêverie à Blidah” and the “Marche militaire française” at the Théâtre municipal in Tunis.

Many critics noted the stark contrast between the “Marche militaire” and its preceding three movements in the *Suite*. A review of the premiere states:

> it is a very happy idea that M. Saint-Saëns concluded his suite with a French military march. The vigorous and firmly rhythmic style of this piece contrasts in a strange and pleasant way with the visible local color of the preceding movements.\(^\text{89}\)

Some reviews criticized Saint-Saëns for concluding his *Suite* with a movement so dissimilar from the rest. Watson Lyle described the “Marche militaire”:

> a vigorous, military march about which little need be said. The thematic material is tuneful, and the orchestration highly decorative. But although a piece of this description is conceivably an actuality in a picture of Algiers, the impression jars, and one feels that the suite would have benefited, poetically, without the addition of this number; or else by the substitution for it of a less blatant composition.\(^\text{90}\)

Still other critics praised the lively conclusion to the *Suite*. Arthur Hervey wrote “the bright and spirited French military March, in the course of which the composer pays a possibly unconscious homage to Rossini, brings this attractive Suite to a conclusion.”\(^\text{91}\)

The “Marche militaire française” is a bold and evocative conclusion to the *Suite algérienne*. The military topics and fanfares conjure images of soldiers and war. The four movements and illustrative cover to the *Suite* reveal the mixed identity of Algeria.

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90 Lyle, *Camille Saint-Saëns*, 141–142.

North African colony was a space for both exotic vacations and military battles. The conclusion of the Suite with the military march and the performances of the march apart from the other movements expressed French patriotism and impending success in its colonial ambitions. The “Marche militaire française” leaves behind the preceding movements of the Suite that offer picturesque depictions of Algeria and, instead, celebrates France’s victory in Algeria.

**Marche dédiée aux Étudiants d’Alger, op. 163**

During a busy concert schedule in Algiers, Oran, and Tunisia with the violinist Jean Noceti in 1921, Saint-Saëns composed his *Marche dédiée aux Étudiants d’Alger*, op. 163. In a letter written from Algiers on 25 February 1921, Saint-Saëns noted that the composition of the march did not come easily. “I just wrote a great march at the request of the Students of Algiers. This is what I call work.” Of course, the difficulty in composing the march may have been due to his age: He was 85 years old.

The *Marche dédiée aux Étudiants d’Alger* was written for the Association générale des étudiants d’Alger, an association that was affiliated with the Université d’Alger. In a letter to his publisher, Jacques Durand, in September 1921, he wrote “And the march of the Students of Algiers! We have not spoken about it; I did not think of it. It must be published for the [Association of] Students to be able to use it next winter.”

Saint-Saëns composed two versions of this march, one for piano duet and choir and the

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other for military band and choir. He intended the band version to be performed by the students during the coming year.\(^9^4\)

Saint-Saëns incorporated a variety of fanfares and trumpet calls within this march, beginning with a series of trumpet calls in octaves that alternate sixteenth and eighth notes.

**Example 5.10: Marche dédiée aux Étudiants d’Alger, mm. 1–7**

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Allegro (Tempo di Marcia)
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The trumpet call passage is restated throughout the march and then transformed into a triplet rhythm at the end of the piece.

**Example 5.11: Marche dédiée aux Étudiants d’Alger, mm. 254–270**

The triplet passage, also in octaves, transforms the double-tongued trumpet effect into an even-rhythm fanfare.

The most striking aspect of the march is its patriotic text. Unlike the other colonial marches discussed in this chapter, Saint-Saëns included a vocal text for the

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\(^9^4\) Durand published the piano duet version in 1922. In 1925 Durand published a transcription for military band by J. Bouchel, F-Pn, Pol. Vm15 1248. Durand published the military band version on single page scores, convenient for marching band. The examples provided are taken from the military band version.
march. In a letter to Philippe Bellenot on 3 March 1921 from the Hôtel de l’Oasis, Algiers, Saint-Saëns explained that he wrote the chorus part so that all students could perform the march. “The Students of Algiers requested that I compose a march for them. I promised them nothing, but I composed the march, with a small melody that the lesser musicians may be able to sing. I even arranged it for piano duet.”

95 Saint-Saëns did not intend his Marche dédiée aux Étudiants d’Alger to be performed only by professional musicians but, instead, composed the march for virtuosos and amateurs, the musical and non-musical. The march allows for true “unisonance” in which every voice and instrument—trained, untrained, and otherwise—may take part.

The vocal text, set to the march’s main theme, begins with the declamation, “The joyous children of Algiers, let us sing! The good wines from our soil let us drink! For France and for her rights let us fight! Courageously toward the future let us march!”

96 The text also includes two alternate lines. Instead of beginning with the joyous children of Algiers, the choir may choose to sing, “We the joyous students,” or “We joyous French soldiers.” These text options allow a diverse population to participate in the march. French children, students, and soldiers join together in unisonance. Through singing the march, the musicians experience the simultaneous proclamation of their French pride and patriotism.

The text expresses patriotism and loyalty to France through images of war, soldiers, and the conquering of enemies. The choir sings, “Let us always be proud and

95 Ratner, Thematic Catalogue, 75. “D’abord, les Étudiants d’Alger m’ont demandé de leur faire une marche. Je ne leur ai rien promis, mais j’ai fait la marche, avec un petit chant que les moins musiciens pourront chanter. Je l’ai même arrangée pour piano à 4 mains.”

96 “Nous, joyeux enfants d’Alger, chantons! Des bons vins de notre sol buvons! Pour la France et pour ses droits luttions! Vaillamment vers l’avenir marchons!”
courageous at work and at play! For duty and for the love of our hearts, never let the
enemies win!”97 The singing children, soldiers, and students of Algiers are subsumed
under the category of France collectively fighting for freedom against the enemy. As
noted earlier, the Armée d’Afrique included regiments of Algerian soldiers. In 1921,
France was recovering from the First World War in which more than 206,000 Algerians
fought for France. By the end of the war, approximately 26,000 Algerian soldiers had
been killed or were missing. An additional 72,000 soldiers were wounded or permanently
disabled.98 Opposition movements would later call for an independent Algerian nation in
the late 1920s. However, according to Ruedy, Algeria “remained fundamentally quiet and
loyal through those difficult four years” of the war.99 Coinciding with the march text,
Algerian soldiers are united with their “joyous” French counterparts.

Saint-Saëns was deeply affected by the war, noting his despair over the events in
several letters.100 In 1918 he wrote, “At this time I only think about the war.”101 The First
World War further intensified the composer’s patriotism. Anderson writes that the World
Wars were extraordinary due in part to the “colossal numbers persuaded to lay down their
lives.” He connects this ultimate sacrifice of dying for one’s country with the selfless acts

97 “Soyons fiers et courageux toujours! Au travail comme au plaisir nos jours! Au devoir comme à l’amour
nos cœurs, A jamais des ennemis vainqueurs!”

98 Ruedy, Modern Algeria, 111. Georges Clemenceau, who had returned as Minister of War and President
of the Council, lobbied to reward the Algerian soldiers for their service. In 1918, the government
eliminated the Arab tax, impôts arabes, and restored the tribal councils or jam‘aa. The Jonnart Law of 4
February 1919 permitted a greater number of Muslims to participate in elections.

99 Ibid.

100 In 1914, Saint-Saëns wrote a series of articles promoting a ban of German music, especially that of
Wagner.

101 Aguétant, Saint-Saëns par lui-même, 147.
of singing national anthems and the experience of unisonance. This persuasion to sacrifice for the cause of a nation prompted Saint-Saëns to participate in benefit concerts and to compose several patriotic marches throughout and following World War I.

During the war Saint-Saëns gave several benefit concerts to raise funds for the French military and their military orphanages. He also performed in military hospitals to play for the injured soldiers. Saint-Saëns composed several patriotic compositions near the end of the war. These include two marches for military band, Vers la victoire, op. 152 (1917) and Marche interallié, op. 155 (1918), and the choral piece Aux conquérants de l’air, op 164 (1921). Barbara Kelly reminds us that these compositions reveal his “deeply chauvinistic” patriotism at the end of his career. These marches are also a final testament of his loyalty and love for France.

Critics of the march heard the composition not as a representation of the Other but as French. The Marche dédiée aux Étudiants d’Alger was performed in Algiers on 18 January 1926. The program included an overture by the ninth regiment of the zouaves under the direction of M. Chevalier. A critic noted that Saint-Saëns’s Marche dédiée aux Étudiants d’Alger toned down the disruptive sounds of the zouaves. The march uses fanfares, march rhythms, and patriotic text to express the unisonance of patriotism and support for French colonialism. The march was commissioned by the Students of Algiers but does not include any musical signifiers of the East. Algeria is presented as French. The text is in French and declares support and victory for France by the soldiers.

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102 Anderson, Imagined Communities, 144–145.

103 For example, he directed a concert given at the Cercle des étrangers at a benefit for the war on 15 March 1916.


students, and children of Algiers. In the march, musicians and choir proudly join together to express their unwavering support for France.

The colonial marches of Saint-Saëns musically connect the composer’s French loyalty and patriotism to his interest and experiences in Algeria. Contemporaries perceived these triumphant, patriotic marches as appropriate pieces to begin and conclude a concert. In a letter dated 17 December 1909 to Jacques Durand sent from Luxor, Egypt, Saint-Saëns wrote:

I am delighted that you put me on your four programs. [Jean] Nussy Verdié just gave a concert solely composed of my works, beginning with Orient et occident and concluding with the Suite algérienne. My cousin tells me that everything went well despite difficulties and that the revenue covered all of the expenses.106 Servières also recognized the similarities between Saint-Saëns’s marches. He wrote that the Marche dédiée aux Étudiants d’Alger had a “great affinity” with the “Marche militaire française.”107 The march genre, programmatic titles, and allusions to Algeria created a set of works that expressed Saint-Saëns’s sentiments and the political climate of fin de siècle France.

The colonial marches of Saint-Saëns were born out of nationalism, an expression of the composer’s patriotism and loyalty to France. Anderson reminds us that “nations inspire love, and often profoundly self-sacrificing love. The cultural products of nationalism—poetry, prose fiction, music, plastic arts—show this love very clearly in thousands of different forms and styles.”108 This unique genre, however, had a more

106 Letter housed at the F-Pgm, cited in Ratner, Thematic Catalogue, 245. “Enchanté que tu m’aies mis sur tes quatre programmes. De son côté, Nussy Verdié vient de donner un concert entièrement composé de mes œuvres qui a commencé par Orient et Occident pour finir par la Suite Algérienne. Ma cousine me dit que tout a bien marché malgré les difficultés et que la recette a couvert les frais.”

107 Servières, Saint-Saëns, 133.

108 Anderson, Imagined Communities, 141.
specific tie to French colonialism in Algeria. French identity and patriotism extended to North Africa. The colonial marches of Saint-Saëns promoted and supported the colonial project and further propagated Algeria as an integral part of France.
EPilogue: reclaiming Colonial discourse in the twenty-first century

I thought then in Algeria of Algeria I heard its invisible music.
-Hélène Cixous

The Théâtre nationale d’Alger sits behind Place Port Saïd facing the Bay of Algiers, with the Casbah rising in the background. A long vestibule with chandeliers and large, arched windows leads into the main auditorium that is surprisingly simple and unornamented except for the four levels of seating lined with rows of chairs covered in faded red velvet. The theater houses large costume and makeup rooms, areas for building and storing props and sets, a box office, and a smaller theater for more intimate productions. On the top floor there is a large rehearsal room and dance studio with an upright piano that opens up to a small veranda that offers fantastic views of the city and Mediterranean Sea.

The theater has undergone many changes since its opening in 1853. A fire in 1882 required the rebuilding of the entire interior of the theater, a project that was completed in only eight months. By 1935, the theater had fallen into disrepair and underwent a complete restoration. This included the addition of several plaques and works of art in the foyer and on staircases; some of this art was removed or lost after the Algerian War of Independence.

During French colonialism, the theater hosted concerts of operas and instrumental works by Verdi, Rossini, Mozart, and Saint-Saëns. Today the theater’s programming includes comedies and theatrical works by Algerian writers, concerts by orchestras from Europe, Africa, and Asia, dance troupe productions, and film viewings. It was this very same theater where Salvador Daniel played his violin in the orchestra in 1855 and where,

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a century and a half later, on 25 May 2001, the soprano Amel Brahim-Djelloul honored the composer with a performance of his *chansons*.

Amel Brahim-Djelloul was born in Algeria in 1975 and began studying music at an early age in Algiers. She later moved to France where she continued her studies at the École nationale de musique at Montreuil and at the Paris Conservatoire, where she earned her degree in 2003. Brahim-Djelloul has appeared at venues such as the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées, Théâtre du Châtelet, and Lincoln Center and has gained international acclaim for her performances in operas by Debussy, Verdi, Mozart, Bizet, and Purcell. To date she has made six records, including two recordings that feature motets by Charpentier and Lully, and another that includes works by Purcell under the direction of William Christie.

The 2001 concert at the Théâtre national d’Alger featured two versions of Salvador Daniel’s songs. Brahim-Djelloul and pianist Claude Lavoix performed the *chansons* as published by Salvador Daniel using the same Steinway piano on which Francis Poulenc had performed half a century earlier. This was followed by the Nacer-Eddine Baghdadi ensemble’s interpretation of songs from Salvador Daniel’s *Album de chansons arabes, mauresques et kabyles*. Hélène Hazéra, producer at the French radio station France-Culture, was the first to suggest the concert after coming across Salvador Daniel’s *chansons* at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The concert was co-sponsored by Radio France and Radio algérienne.

Brahim-Djelloul’s concert in Algiers led her to record a set of Salvador Daniel’s songs seven years later, in July 2008, at the Temple Saint-Pierre in Geneva. The ensemble sought to “transform” Salvador Daniel’s songs into what the soprano’s brother
and director of the Ensemble Amedyez, Rachid Brahim-Djelloul, describes as “traditional versions” that use harmonies, rhythms, ornamentation, and instruments “inspired” by “North African musical culture.” The Ensemble Amedyez accompanied Amel Brahim-Djelloul, substituting Salvador Daniel’s piano accompaniment with an improvised accompaniment on violin, ‘ūd, darbūkah, mandolin, and guitar. The recording, titled Amel chant la méditerranée: souvenirs d’Al-Andalus, represents a significant departure from Amel Brahim-Djelloul’s previous recordings, featuring Arab and Kabyle folk music from Algeria and Tunisia. The recording includes three songs from Salvador Daniel’s Album des chansons arabes, mauresques et kabyles in addition to a song that he published separately under the title Chanson mauresque de Tunis (1858).

The recent performances and recording of Salvador Daniel’s songs by Brahim-Djelloul and the Ensemble Amedyez recover a historical artifact of colonial discourse and transform it into a living document in the present. The compilation of music constructs a North African musical heritage and identity. Brahim-Djelloul and her ensemble add another layer of representation to these songs. They reclaim these songs as part of their own diverse history and transnational identity of North Africa by focusing on the nostalgia and tradition of North African musical culture and overlooking the problematic and controversial history of these songs.

Little is known about the individual musicians who informed Salvador Daniel’s chansons. His writings and commentary tell us that he transcribed over 400 melodies while traveling throughout Algeria and Tunisia with support from the French army and colonial government. Brahim-Djelloul and her ensemble do not question the political

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contexts or polemical pretenses of how Salvador Daniel’s songs were collected, transcribed, circulated, and published. Instead, they overlook these political undertones and revise the *chansons* so that they fit the surrounding tracks of North African songs, reworking them so that the instruments, performance style, and sound fit their constructed idea of “traditional” North African music.

The album is divided into four suites with the penultimate suite comprising four songs by Salvador Daniel, *Chebbou Choubban*, *Klaa Beni Abbes*, *Zohra*, and a *Chanson mauresque de Tunis* with the addition of an improvisation on the ‘ūd.³ Brahim-Djelloul and her ensemble perform the same text and melodic lines as written by Salvador Daniel but with a greater amount of rhythmic freedom and the addition of improvised interludes between verses. The ensemble does not replicate Salvador Daniel’s piano accompaniment; instead they improvise accompaniments that double the melody. The ensemble replaces Salvador Daniel’s piano introduction for *Klaa Beni Abbes* with an improvisation on the melody for the first few bars and concludes the song by repeating the last couplet three times, accelerating the tempo each time. The rendition of the *Chanson mauresque de Tunis* only performs one of the three couplets, once repeated, and then seamlessly segues into the next track, which features extracts of a nūbah with Kabyle text.

The performance of Salvador Daniel’s songs by Brahim-Djelloul and her ensemble raises important questions of agency: Who is speaking and for whom? All but one of the musicians on the recording was born in Algeria, a detail that they note in their biographies. The musicians perform their own interpretation of Salvador Daniel’s

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³ The spelling of Salvador Daniel’s songs *Chebbou Choubban* and *Klaa Beni Abbes* on the recording differ from the original spelling in his 1863 publication.
*chansons*, songs the composer claims to have collected and transcribed in North Africa. However, Salvador Daniel did not note the names of the musicians that performed or composed the songs and, instead published them under his own name. These details bring certain questions to the fore: If Algeria is the subaltern, does a performer who has been trained and performed successfully in Europe and the United States still embody the Other? and is the subaltern voice constrained by performing songs that were collected, transcribed, and published by a French composer with the support and advocacy of a colonial government?

These questions draw attention to the complexity of the postcolonial moment. Today, in an age of globalization, international education, easier travel, and global marketing, categories of space and place are increasingly blurred. Artists and writers who stand in the interstitial spaces of the nation embody these tensions of agency and identity. The writer Assia Djebar perhaps best exemplifies these tensions, especially in the context of late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century Algeria.

Djebar was born in Cherchell, Algeria, in 1936 and attended schools in Algeria, France, and Morocco. She has taught at universities in Algeria and the United States and was accepted as a member of the Académie française in 2005. Critics reproach Djebar because she writes in French and has spent a large part of her career living abroad. Addressing the former critique, Djebar herself acknowledges the internal tension she experiences as a writer who writes in a language that is not her own: “French is the language of my stepmother. What is my missing mother tongue, the one that abandoned me on the sidewalk and ran away?”

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4 Assia Djebar, *L’Amour, la fantasia* (Paris: Albin-Michel, 1985), 298. “Le français m’est langue marâtre. Quelle est ma langue mère disparue, qui m’a abandonnée sur le trottoir et s’est enfuie?”
Brahim-Djelloul and Djebar share other commonalities in addition to their transnational educations and biographies. Both draw from Algerian history in their respective works and performances. In her novel *L’Amour, la fantasia*, Djebar uses a palimpsestic structure to reconstitute the omitted voices and experiences of Algerians in historical documents.\(^5\) Searching for the history of her ancestors, Djebar found archival French reports and letters that offer graphic details of *razzias, enfumades*, and other violent military tactics implemented in Algeria. However, these accounts are written from the perspective of the colonizer and do not incorporate the experiences of the Algerian villagers who suffered at the hands of Bugeaud’s army. In *L’Amour, la fantasia*, Djebar reinscribes the voices of her ancestors back into the history of nineteenth-century Algeria by recreating the personal stories and scenarios that may have transpired amongst Algerian villagers during the French attacks. The palimpsestic structure in *L’Amour, la fantasia* reveals the entangled and enmeshed histories of France and Algeria, histories that should not, and truly cannot, be separated.

Drawing inspiration from Djebar’s work, I would like to propose that Salvador Daniel’s songs as performed by Amel Brahim-Djelloul and the Ensemble Amedyez may also be thought of as a palimpsest, an overwriting of their imaginings of the musical voices of their Algerian ancestors onto Salvador Daniel’s transcriptions. The performers superimpose what they note as “traditional” North African performance practice in order to re-create what they believe Salvador Daniel may have heard while traveling and transcribing music in Algeria. The recording, thus, contains several layers of voices: the

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\(^5\) Scribes reused manuscripts by scraping off the original writing to make room for a new layer of writing. The original writing is never fully erased, leaving traces of each layer of writing, creating a palimpsest. Several scholars discuss Djebar’s *L’Amour, la fantasia* as a palimpsest, including Djebar herself. For example, see Anne Donadey, “Rekindling the Vividness of the Past: Assia Djebar’s Films and Fiction,” *World Literature Today* (Autumn 1996): 885–892; and Djebar, *L’Amour, la fantasia*, 115.
musicians who performed the songs for Salvador Daniel, the French composer’s transcriptions and interpretations of these songs, and Amel Brahim-Djelloul and the Ensemble Amedyez’s revised versions of the songs. The palimpsest structure allows both Djebar and Brahim-Djelloul to revive archival documents that would have otherwise remained solely in the voice of the colonizer.

The term palimpsest also has a second meaning: an object or place that reflects its history. Djebar and Brahim-Djelloul superimpose the history of their ancestors onto colonial documents, allowing their works to better reflect Algerian history. Furthermore, Djebar and Brahim-Djelloul re-commoditize these historical objects into the current-day commercial market. Salvador Daniel sold his chansons and books in France and Algeria in the mid-nineteenth century. The publication has long been out of print but Brahim-Djelloul’s recording re-places Salvador Daniel’s songs as commodities in Europe and Algeria.

The CD presents Salvador Daniel’s chansons as part of Algerian music history. These songs are nestled amongst Kabyle, Sephardic Jewish, and Ottoman songs from various time periods and illustrate what Rachid Brahim-Djelloul views to be the diverse musical and cultural history of North Africa.⁶ Amel chante la Méditerranée was released on compact disc in 2008 and was sold throughout Europe and Algeria at book and music stores and on websites such as fnac.com and amazon.fr. The ensemble has also performed Salvador Daniel’s songs live on radio programs in Europe and North Africa. Amel Brahim-Djelloul and the Ensemble Amedyez performed one of Salvador Daniel’s songs live on Radio France Musique on 9 December 2008. Amel Brahim-Djelloul was an invited guest on the program “Bahdja matin” on Radio bahdja on 24 December 2008 and

⁶ Brahim-Djelloul, notes to Amel chante, 15–16.
on Radio algérienne Channel 3 on 27 December 2008. She has performed Salvador Daniel’s songs with the Ensemble Amedyez at the Oran-Concert classique in 2007 and at the Cité de la musique in Paris on 25 May 2011.

The recording’s full title, *Amel chante la Méditerranée: Souvenirs d’Al-Andalus,* draws on the distant past of North Africa. Al-Andalus comprised parts of the Iberian Peninsula under Muslim rule from 711–1492. In the fifteenth century, after the fall of Islamic Spain, a large number of refugees migrated to North Africa. Rachid Brahim-Djelloul employs a nostalgic view of al-Andalus as a land where the population “formed a mosaic, composed of Hispano-Romans, Visigoths, Jews, Arabs, and native and North African Berbers.” The population of al-Andalus included Muslims, Christians, and Jews, a “‘colored fabric’ of peoples [who] created and developed its own characteristics in many fields: science, poetry, music, philosophy, and agriculture.” Al-Andalus is a common referent to a time period of high art and culture in Maghribi history. Jonathan Glasser writes that al-Andulus is a “widely recognized high-watermark of Arab-Islamic civilization” and has carried a “special prestige throughout North Africa.” In the nineteenth century, Andalusis were also believed to have carried and preserved artistic traditions to many North African cities.

In addition to this “mosaic” or “colored fabric” of people, Rachid Brahim-Djelloul recognizes the influence of the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe on North African civilization. He writes that despite the subjugation and hegemony of the West

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7 The region of al-Andalus in the ancient Iberian Peninsula should not be confused with the present-day Autonomous Community of Andalucia, created as a result of the 1978 Spanish Constitution. For further reading on the history of al-Andalus see: Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (London: Longman, 1996).

8 Brahim-Djelloul, notes to *Amel chante,* 15–16.

during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, “those who were dominated preserved and
nourished their traditions.”\textsuperscript{10} The recording attempts to recapture and rearticulate the
“golden past” and subaltern voices of North African music. This history becomes a site of
nostalgia that challenges nationalist identity, and overlooks violence and discrimination
in order to glorify North Africa’s rich diversity and past.

The tracks of Salvador Daniel’s songs on the recording allow them to become a
part of this nostalgic “golden past” of Algeria. The \textit{chansons} are a part of colonial
discourse achieved through Salvador Daniel’s privileged status as a French citizen that
allowed him to travel with the French military to collect folksongs. However, the
musicians look past the brutality and controversy of the \textit{chansons’} colonial context. The
ensemble enacts the selective memory of nostalgia and chooses to celebrate the songs as
a part of Algeria’s musical heritage.

The album’s diversity moves agency toward what Bhabha calls the “hybrid
location of cultural value” that moves away from the national and toward the
“transnational as the translational.”\textsuperscript{11} Rachid Brahim-Djelloul writes, “more than just an
absorbing personal research project, the voyage that we offer you is the multicolored, rich
fruit of human exchange; artists, historians, linguists, sociologists, and friends of al-
Andalus inspired my thoughts and motivated my endeavor.”\textsuperscript{12} An anonymous review of
the compact disc on FNAC gave the disc five stars, writing:

Marvelous disc! The artists offer us a magnificent voyage into a part of
Mediterranean history and the Andalusian history. The voice of Amel Brahim-

\textsuperscript{10} Brahim-Djelloul, notes to \textit{Amel chante}, 16.

\textsuperscript{11} Bhabha, \textit{Location of Culture}, 248.

\textsuperscript{12} Brahim-Djelloul, notes to \textit{Amel chante}, 18.
Djelloul is sublime and the instruments of the Ensemble Amedyez, under the direction of Rachid Brahim-Djelloul, are of a rare quality.\textsuperscript{13}

The reviewer accepts the ensemble’s assertions that the album enables the listener to journey back through Mediterranean and Andalusian history. Salvador Daniel’s songs are heard as part of this history, a history that spans the transnational and transhistorical.

Recognizing the complexities of culture, identity, and human exchange throughout history requires the revision of the colonialist pedagogies that relied on and perpetuated the presence of a hegemonic Self and subjugated Other. The album celebrates the heterogeneity of Algerian history but ignores the violence, war, and other uncomfortable realities that were inherent in this history. Amel Brahim-Djelloul and her ensemble repurpose Salvador Daniel’s colonial discourse through song as a part of the voyage of human exchange; a musical homage to Algeria’s diverse identity and complicated past.

Brahim-Djelloul and the Ensemble Amedyez recover an artifact of colonial discourse, superimpose their own voice, and reclaim the artifact to represent the subaltern voices of Algeria’s diverse past. The album transforms Salvador Daniel’s songs into living histories that span national, cultural, and language barriers. The reclamation of Salvador Daniel’s songs challenges the static notion of Algerian identity and points to a new way of understanding the past and moving forward in the present.

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A-Aan: Archives nationales
  Fonds du Gouvernement-Général de l’Algérie

A-Abn: Bibliothèque nationale d’Algérie
  Unclassified materials

FRANCE
CAOM: Centre des Archives d’Outre-Mer
  Fonds Ministériels

F-Pan: Archives nationales de France, Paris
  Fonds Musée

F-Pgm: Médiathèque musicale Mahler
  Fonds Camille Saint-Saëns

F-Pi: Bibliothèque de l’Institut de France
  Coll. Spoehlberch de Lovenjoul

F-Pn: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la musique
  MS 1730
  Pol. Vm15 1248

F-Po: Bibliothèque-musée de L’Opéra
  Fonds Ernest Reyer
  Fonds Camille Saint-Saëns

F-Dcm: Château-musée de Dieppe
  Dossier Bonnerot
  Dossier Durand
  Dossier Saint-Saëns

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GB-Gu: University of Glasgow Library
  Henry George Farmer Collection
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23-25.


APPENDIX

Translation of the Legend of Bū Ma‘za as told by Eugène de Richemont in the preface to Ernest Reyer's Bou-Maza, Quadrille composé sur des motifs Arabes.

God is great and all powerful… he controls the sky and the earth… Muḥammad, his prophet, is seated to my right… Praise God… I sent him to be the ruler of the worlds… Allah speaks to you through my voice… Raise up to see my battle flag, he calls you to the holy saint… The times of testing are over… The Christians, who defiled the earth of the believers with their presence, die by the blade and by fire. Rise up to my voice… I am sent by the master of the worlds… Praise God…

Such was the first war cry of the sharīf Bū Ma'za.

Originally from one of the most illustrious and most influential families of the Dahra, Bū Ma’za saw the lack of success that ‘Abd al-Qādir had against the French forces. He resolved to support the mountain tribes and availed himself to religious fanaticism in order to rally the people.

The tribes of the Dahra, who had already been roused many times by the voice of ‘Abd al-Qādir, and who had been vigorously crushed by the French troops, hesitated to believe the power of the one who said he was sent by God.

One day, Bū Ma‘za was seated inside his tent, working through his prayer beads, and thinking about what he needed in order to get the tribes of the Dahra to proclaim him the master. A Kabyle of high status presented himself to Bū Ma‘za. The Kabyle had a copper complexion, Herculean proportions, an impertinent and resolute manner and was armed with a long pistol. After having kissed his hand, according to custom, the Kabyle said to him: “You claim to be sent by God, to the right of which is seated the prophet… you summon us to holy war, swearing to us that the ordeal is over… you raise the green battle flag, and announce to us that the Christians die by blade and by fire… What proof do you have to show us that God bestowed his power to you? We need this proof, or you will die as an imposter…” Then, raising his pistol, he positioned the barrel at the mouth of Bū Ma‘za. The sharīf remained as still as a statue, without letting his face show the smallest trace of emotion. “This weapon is loaded with three bullets, continued the Kabyle, if they do not hit you, I will be the first to proclaim that you are the master of the believers and that you are sent by God…” Then, placing his finger on the trigger, he fired the gun… the cap only burned… the Kabyle picked up the hammer of the gun, fastened the touchhole, activated it again, and fired a second time… the bullet did not fire… He tried a third time with the same result.

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1 Nearly all Arabs, and especially the chiefs, always had a string of beads in their hands that they worked through as they muttered their prayers.

2 The green battle flag was the flag of Muḥammad. All of the Arabs who descend from the right line of the prophet, have the right to dress themselves in a flag of this color.
The Kabyle, alarmed by this triple miracle, fell with his face on the ground, kissed the footprints of the new prophet, and asked for forgiveness from God for not recognizing the one he sent. Then, brought to life with a frenzied devotion, he ran from mountain to mountain announcing that the liberator of the believers had arrived, and that God had given his strength and power to the sharīf Bū Maʿza.

The next day, the sharīf who was at the head of a large troop of cavaliers, went to attack the camp of Orléansville.

For two years, Bū Maʿza fought against the French; but finally, exhausted by fatigue, covered by wounds, lacking money and abandoned by the majority of those who had followed him for his wealth, he surrendered to the Colonel Leroy de Saint-Arnaud who had not stopped fighting him.

Eugène de Richemont