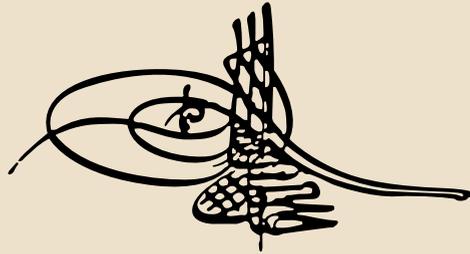


OTTOMAN EMPIRE
AND
EUROPEAN THEATRE

II

THE TIME OF JOSEPH HAYDN:
FROM SULTAN MAHMUD I
TO MAHMUD II (r.1730–1839)



edited by
MICHAEL HÜTTLER · HANS ERNST WEIDINGER



DON JUAN ARCHIV WIEN

OTTOMANIA

3

Series Editors

HANS ERNST WEIDINGER · MICHAEL HÜTTLER



**OTTOMAN EMPIRE
AND
EUROPEAN THEATRE**

II

**THE TIME OF JOSEPH HAYDN:
FROM SULTAN MAHMUD I TO MAHMUD II
(r.1730–1839)**

edited by

MICHAEL HÜTTLER · HANS ERNST WEIDINGER

HOLLITZER



Editorial assistance, copy-editing and index: Inge Praxl, Caroline Herfert (Vienna, Austria)

English copy-editing: Nicole V. Gagné (San Francisco, California)

Turkish copy-editing: Suna Suner (Vienna, Austria)

Layout and Cover: Nikola Stevanovic (Belgrade, Serbia)

Printed and bound by: Interpress (Budapest, Hungary)

Cover-image: Daniel Egg, using an image of the Tughra of Sultan Mahmud I

The symposia were supported by the Turkish Embassy Vienna, the Austrian Foreign Ministry, the UNESCO International Theatre Institute (ITI) – Austrian Centre and the Austrian Cultural Forum Istanbul

The symposia and the publication were supported by
DON JUAN ARCHIV WIEN FORSCHUNGSVEREIN
FÜR THEATER- UND KULTURGESCHICHTE

Michael Hüttler and Hans Ernst Weidinger (eds.): *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre*, vol. 2: *The Time of Joseph Haydn: From Sultan Mahmud I to Mahmud II (r.1730–1839)*.

Wien: HOLLITZER Wissenschaftsverlag, 2014 (= *Ottomania* 3)

© HOLLITZER Wissenschaftsverlag, Wien 2014

HOLLITZER Wissenschaftsverlag
Trautsongasse 6/6, A-1080 Wien
a division of
HOLLITZER Baustoffwerke Graz GmbH
Stadiongasse 6-8, A-1010 Wien
www.hollitzer.at

All rights reserved.

Except for the quotation of short passages for the purposes of criticism and review, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form by any means, digital, electronic or mechanical, or by photocopying, recording, or otherwise, or conveyed via the Internet or a Web site without prior written permission of the publisher.

Responsibility for the contents of the various articles and for questions of copyright lies with the authors. In the case of outstanding, justified claims, we request to be notified by the rights owner.

ISBN 978-3-99012-068-2 (hbk)

ISBN 978-3-99012-070-5 (epub)

ISBN 978-3-99012-069-9 (pdf)

CONTENTS

11 OUVERTURE

13 EDITORIAL

MICHAEL HÜTTLER (VIENNA) AND HANS ERNST WEIDINGER (VIENNA/FLORENCE)

25 FOREWORDS

31 PROLOGUE: POLITICS

33 THE RECRUITMENT OF EUROPEAN EXPERTS FOR SERVICE IN THE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1732–1808)

MEHMET ALAADDİN YALÇINKAYA (TRABZON)

59 AUSTRIA AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE BETWEEN 1765 AND 1815

BERTRAND MICHAEL BUCHMANN (VIENNA)

71 ACT I: FASHION AND DIPLOMACY

73 FROM ARISTOCRATIC TO BOURGEOIS FASHION IN THE SECOND HALF
OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ANNEMARIE BÖNSCH (VIENNA)

83 OF MESSENGERS, MESSAGES AND MEMOIRS: OPERA AND THE
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN ENVOYS AND THEIR

SEFÂRETNÂMES

SUNA SUNER (VIENNA)

143 TWO TURKISH-LANGUAGE PLAYS WRITTEN BY EUROPEANS AT THE
ACADEMY OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES IN VIENNA DURING THE AGE OF
HAYDN

ÇETİN SARIKARTAL (İSTANBUL)

155 INTERMEZZO I

157 KARAGÖZ AND THE HISTORY OF OTTOMAN SHADOW THEATRE
IN THE BALKANS FROM THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE TWENTIETH
CENTURIES: DIFFUSION, FUNCTIONS AND ASSIMILATIONS

WALTER PUCHNER (ATHENS)

195 ACT II: BOOKS IN AND ABOUT THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

- 197 EUROPEAN PRINTERS IN ISTANBUL DURING JOSEPH HAYDN'S ERA:
İBRAHİM MÜTEFERRİKA AND OTHERS
ORLIN SABEV (ORHAN SALIH, SOFIA)
- 209 MUSIC, DRAMA AND ORIENTALISM IN PRINT: JOSEPH VON
KURZBÖCK (1736–1792), HIS PREDECESSORS AND CONTEMPORARIES
GEOFFREY ROPER (LONDON)
- 231 THE AUSTRO-TURKISH WAR OF 1788–1791 AS REFLECTED IN THE
LIBRARY OF THE VIENNESE BIBLIOPHILE MAX VON PORTHEIM
REINHARD BUCHBERGER (VIENNA)

255 INTERMEZZO II

- 257 DID MOZART DRIVE A 'HAYDN'? CARTWRIGHTS, CARRIAGES AND
THE POSTAL SYSTEM IN THE AUSTRIAN-HUNGARIAN BORDER AREA
UP TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
KÄTHE SPRINGER-DISSMANN (VIENNA)

281 ACT III: THE ESTERHÁZ STAGE

- 283 TURKISH TRAVESTY IN EUROPEAN OPERA:
HAYDN'S *LO SPEZIALE* (1768)
LARRY WOLFF (NEW YORK)
- 291 ENCOUNTERING 'OTHERS' IN HAYDN'S *LO SPEZIALE* (1768)
CARYL CLARK (TORONTO)
- 307 HAYDN'S HUMOUR REFLECTED IN *LO SPEZIALE* (1768)
AND *L'INCONTRO IMPROVVISO* (1775)
NECLA ÇIKIGİL (ANKARA)
- 315 INTERPRETING 'ABDUCTION' OPERA: HAYDN'S *L'INCONTRO
IMPROVVISO*, SOVEREIGNTY AND THE ESTERHÁZ FESTIVAL OF 1775
MATTHEW HEAD (LONDON)

331 INTERMEZZO III

- 333 A ROYALS' JOURNEY IN 1775: THE VIENNA OFFICIAL PRESS REVIEW
CLEMENS ZOIDL (VIENNA)

443 ACT IV: THE FRENCH INFLUENCE

- 445 CRUSADERS, LOVE AND TOLERANCE: TRAGIC AND OPERATIC TASTE
IN AND AROUND VOLTAIRE'S *ZAÏRE* (1732)
DANIEL WINKLER (VIENNA)
- 463 THE SULTAN OF DENMARK: VOLTAIRE'S *ZAÏRE* AND KING
CHRISTIAN VII (r.1766–1808) – MADNESS AND ENLIGHTENMENT
HANS-PETER KELLNER (COPENHAGEN)
- 489 OCCIDENTAL PORTRAITS IN ORIENTAL MIRRORS: THE RULER IMAGE
IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY *TÜRKENOPER* AND GLUCK'S *LA
RENCONTRE IMPRÉVUE*
BENT HOLM (COPENHAGEN)
- 521 *TAMERLAN*: A 'TURKISH' OPERA BY PETER VON WINTER FOR THE
PARIS OPERA (1802)
ISABELLE MOINDROT (TOURS)

537 INTERMEZZO IV

- 539 TURKISH BRITONS AND OTTOMAN TURKS IN ENGLAND DURING
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
NETİCE YILDIZ (NORTH CYPRUS)

587 ACT V: THE OTTOMAN STAGE

- 589 WESTERNISMS AND OTTOMAN VISUAL CULTURE: WALL PAINTINGS
GÜNSEL RENDA (ISTANBUL)
- 601 SELIM III AND MAHMUD II IN THE LIMELIGHT: IMPARTING
KNOWLEDGE ON THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF
THE 'VIENNESE TURK' MURAD EFENDI (1836–1881)
CAROLINE HERFERT (VIENNA)
- 621 "EACH VILLA ON THE BOSPHORUS LOOKS A SCREEN | NEW PAINTED,
OR A PRETTY OPERA SCENE": MAHMUD II (r.1808–1839) SETTING THE
OTTOMAN STAGE FOR ITALIAN OPERA AND VIENNESE MUSIC
EMRE ARACI (LONDON)
- 631 SOUND, MILITARY MUSIC, AND OPERA IN EGYPT DURING THE RULE
OF MEHMET ALI PASHA (r.1805–1848)
ADAM MESTYAN (CAMBRIDGE/MA)

657 EPILOGUE

659 “THE LADIES OF VIENNA EN MASSE WAITED UPON THE TURKISH
AMBASSADOR TO COMPLIMENT HIM...”: EXCERPTS FROM FRANCES
TROLLOPE’S *VIENNA AND THE AUSTRIANS* (1838)

673 APPENDIX

675 INDEX

717 CURRICULA VITAE

SOUND, MILITARY MUSIC, AND OPERA IN EGYPT DURING THE RULE OF MEHMET ALI PASHA (r.1805–1848)

ADAM MESTYAN (CAMBRIDGE/MA)*

La musique est une langue, une
langue éloquent qui produit
d'immanentes effets sur les masses
Clot Bey¹

In 1826 Hasan Ahmad Ramadan, an ordinary Egyptian soldier, studied Western European music in one of the military camps in Egypt. More than forty years later, he retired from service as a musician in the Egyptian navy.² Why was he educated in music? What is the historical significance of his experience? In this article I examine military music as part of the new order in Egypt during the rule of Mehmet Ali Pasha (c.1769–1849, r.1805–1848), the Turkish-speaking Ottoman governor. Attached to his army were Turkish, Italian, French, Spanish, and German musicians who taught Egyptians military and other musical styles. This study includes a preliminary effort to clarify the history of the music schools in the early Egyptian army camps. The resident Western Europeans in Egypt also started to arrange their own entertainments in the mid-1820s, which provided further occasions for the local elites to join musical events. These privileged events, similarly to the musical formation in the army, were far from the local traditions of entertainment. Western European music remained isolated from the everyday life of ordinary Egyptians. Yet the military band became an important

* This article is a rewritten version of a presentation held at the Don Juan Archiv symposium in Vienna, 24 April 2009. I am grateful to Ahmad El-Bindari, Ralph Bodenstein, Khaled Fahmy, Marsha Siefert, Nadia Al-Bagdadi, Hervé Audéon, and Terry Walz for their help and comments, and to the copy editor of this volume for polishing my English. I follow the standard of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* for Arabic transliteration and modern Turkish for Ottoman Turkish names (such as the names of the governors of Egypt) and words. This article seeks to contribute to a new scholarly discourse, initiated by Ziad Fahmy, concerning the importance of sound in the history of the Middle East. Ziad Fahmy: “Historicizing Sound and Noise in the Middle East”, in: *History Compass* 11/4 (2013), pp. 305–315.

1 Antoine Barthélémy Clot Bey: *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*, vol. 2. Paris: Fortin, Masson et Cie, 1840, p. 88.

2 Notes dated 25 Rajab 1277 (6 February 1861) and 8 Rajab 1287 (10 April 1870) in the pension file of Hasan Ahmad Ramadan. Dossier 4208, Mahfaza 194, 'Ayn 1, Dulab 9, Milaffat Khidma. Cairo, Dar al-Mahfuzat al-'Umumiyya (Registry Office of the Egyptian Finance Ministry, in the following DM), Cairo.

element of the official state representation in Egypt. As a result, a widening gap between non-official and official music was inscribed into the foundation of the modern state in Egypt.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE MODERN MILITARY MUSIC BAND

Michel Foucault quotes a French regulation of the infantry in order to state that in the eighteenth century a new, ‘collective and obligatory rhythm’ penetrated the bodies of the soldiers. According to him, this collective rhythm was a development that changed the previous understanding of the ‘born’ soldier. From this moment on, a soldier could be ‘made’ by rhythm, sound, and discipline. This is the origin of the modern army.³ Indeed, the main reason to introduce music into military training was the need to move large troops of soldiers more effectively. “Marching to step” meant ordered marching; in the case of light infantry, it meant an expected speed of between four and five miles per hour.⁴ But the relation of sound, body, and the army entailed more than marching. The art of war always involved sound: the cries of wrestling, trumpets and drums conveying the signs of battle. Horns also “inflamed the souls of the warriors and created fear and affright in the enemy”.⁵ Military bands had aesthetic effects too – raising patriotic pride and morale, transmitting political messages about power – which were useful in luring potential recruits to the army.⁶ Music also accompanied the funerals of dead soldiers whose memory remained in songs.

From a princely entertainment and a tool in training and battle, the military band evolved into a popular and prestigious musical phenomenon in early nineteenth-century Europe. The leaders of the military bands, especially in German states, were expected to be refined musicians. The Master Musician, the *Kapellmeister*, or the *Capo-Musica* led their band often with an oboe. It was customary to hire foreigners as bandmasters. *Divertimenti* and operas started to be arranged for military bands as their ceremonial importance was acknowledged. In France, ceremony was already at the very heart of military music by the seventeenth century when Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687) and others composed music for the royal regiments of Louis XIV (b.1638, r.1643–1715). Later in the Habsburg Empire even Wolfgang Amadé Mozart (1756–1791) had to arrange his opera *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (‘The abduction from the seraglio’) for a military band in 1782. During the first ten years of the French Revolution, the French military bands became associated

3 Michel Foucault: *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1995, pp. 151–152.

4 Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow: *Music and the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 23.

5 Henry George Farmer: *Military Music*. London: Max Parrish, 1950, p. 10.

6 Herbert and Barlow: *Music and the British Military*, pp. 14, 243–253.

with modern political ceremonies. France had institutionalized the teaching of army music in 1792.⁷ By the middle of the nineteenth century, special journals about military music were edited in Britain; Sunday concerts were held in public gardens, with excerpts from operas or operettas. Thus, military bands had the potential to disseminate a new social behaviour in occupied territories in addition to their disciplinary and ceremonial functions.⁸

This Western European history of military music is a late development compared to practices in the Ottoman Empire. Bands of Ottoman military musicians (*mehter*) had fulfilled some of the very same functions. They were disciplinary (possibly models for the rhythmized ordered marching), ceremonial, and frightening in war. The noise of the special ceremonial bands of Janissaries pressed “men’s brains out of their mouth.”⁹ In the eighteenth century this Ottoman military music had an enormous influence on the music of European armies;¹⁰ janissary bands were sent as presents to European monarchs, and ‘Turkish’ music became a fashion.¹¹ However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman *mehter* belonged to a tradition that was no longer efficient for discipline or battle morals and had remained possibly only ceremonial.

THE NOISE OF THE OCCUPATION IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY EGYPT

Ottoman Egypt was ruled by semi-independent localized Mamluk households, in tandem and usually in conflict with the Ottoman governor who was sent from Istanbul. A small number of Italian, French, and English merchants lived in the principal trading cities, protected by the Capitulations, and they had their own private receptions, dinners, balls, and dances, possibly with their own music.¹² When a Mamluk leader, Ali Bey (?–1773), revolted against the Ottoman Empire

7 Armand Raucoules: *De la musique et des militaires*. Paris: Somogy éditions d’art, 2008, p. 154.

8 This paragraph is based on Herbert and Barlow: *Music and the British Military*, p. 24. – Farmer: *Military Music*, pp. 22, 30, 34 and 48. – David Whitewell: *Band Music of the French Revolution*. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979, pp. 27–29.

9 Evliya Çelebi (1609–1656) quoted in William F. Parmentier II: “The Mehter: Cultural Perceptions and Interpretations of Turkish Drum and Bugle Music throughout History”, in: *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre*, vol. 1: *The Age of Mozart and Selim III (1756–1808)*, ed. Michael Hüttler and Hans Ernst Weidinger. Vienna: Hollitzer, 2013 (= Ottomanica 1), pp. 287–305, here p. 290.

10 Henry George Farmer: “Turkish Influence in Military Music”, in: Idem: *Handel’s Kettledrums and Other Papers on Military Music*. London: Hinrichsen Edition, 1950, pp. 41–46. – For Ottoman music in general cf. Cem Behar: “The Ottoman Musical Tradition”, in: *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 3: *The Later Ottoman Empire: 1603–1839*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqi. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 393–407.

11 Henry George Farmer: *The Rise and Development of Military Music*. London: Wm. Reeves, 1912, pp. 71–78.

12 Raoul Clément: *Les français d’Égypte aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. Cairo: IFAO, 1960, pp. 157–160.

in 1770, he had Russian support and counted on a number of foreign merchants. His army included Albanian and Italian mercenaries. After his fall in 1771, the business of foreign merchants, especially the French, was ruined in the struggle for hegemony among the Mamluk emirs.¹³

In an attempt to re-establish French commercial positions, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821, emperor 1804–1814, 1815) occupied Egypt in 1798. His post-revolutionary army was modern also in the sense that it contained the newly institutionalized music bands. Egypt's first known public performances of French music were produced shortly after Napoleon occupied Cairo on 21 July 1798, when concerts were organized, most probably performed by military bands.¹⁴ What surely must have made an impression on both the Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants of Cairo was the celebration of Vendémiaire, the first day of the French revolutionary calendar in the seventh year of the revolution, on 22 September 1798.¹⁵

The Egyptian chronicler al-Jabarti (1753–1825/1826) was not pleased with the French festival, which included the erection of a pyramid (the usual custom of the French revolutionary commemoration) near Azbakiyya, an open pond and elite neighbourhood. He describes how loud the music was, with the soldiers beating drums in early morning and then firing cannons. The celebrations continued until late night, with more cannons fired and finally fireworks, sparkling until two in the morning.¹⁶ This noise did not entertain him. Al-Jabarti does not say anything about the French songs that were sung during these celebrations; these included the *Marseillaise* and a hymn by the poet François Parseval-Grandmaison (1759–1834) and musician Henri-Jean Rigel (1770–1852), who later became the personal pianist of Napoleon.¹⁷ These and other scholars who accompanied the army were active in offering entertainment for the soldiers and themselves. Speeches by the French generals often concluded with military music. Already in November 1798 a public garden for amusements was opened by a soldier called Dergane in Cairo, where balls took place. Napoleon demanded actors, ballerinas, and entertainers from Paris.¹⁸

13 Daniel Crecelius: "Egypt in the Eighteenth Century", in: *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. Martin W. Daly, vol 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 59–86, here p. 65 and pp. 80–86.

14 Philip Sadgrove: *The Egyptian Theatre in the 19th Century (1799–1882)*. Cairo: AUC, 2007 (orig. 1996), p. 27.

15 Juan Cole: *Napoleon's Egypt: Invading the Middle East*. New York: Palgrave, 2007, p. 170.

16 Shmuel Moreh (ed. and trans.): *Al-Jabarti's Chronicle of the First Seven Months of the French Occupation of Egypt*. Leiden: Brill, 1975, pp. 76–77.

17 Cole: *Napoleon's Egypt*, p. 170.

18 Marc de Villiers du Terrage: *Journal et souvenirs sur l'expédition d'Égypte, mis en ordre et publiés par le baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage*. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1899, pp. 50, 85–86.

There is an unconfirmed anecdote about one of the scholars, the mathematician Gaspard Monge (1746–1818), who thought that the hearts of the Egyptians should be conquered by music. Once he summoned the dignitaries of Cairo to an open space and performed songs and marches. But there was no reaction from the sheiks or the ordinary people. Not until Monge became desperate and ordered the military band to perform a popular French song, *Marlborough s'en va-t-en guerre* (For He's a Jolly Good Fellow), did the Egyptians start to enjoy the music and dance.¹⁹ Later, as we will see, this song became part of the Egyptian military-music repertoire.

A Comédie was set up somewhere close to Azbakiyya in December 1800. Rigel was responsible for organizing this theatre.²⁰ According to al-Jabarti, every night there was a performance and every performance lasted for four hours.²¹ General Jacques-François Menou (1750–1810), then commander of the French forces in Egypt, wanted it to be a 'public' theatre.²² It was probably in this theatre that an opera was first performed in Egypt. *Les deux meuniers*, a comic opera, had a libretto written in Egypt by the architect Charles-Louis Balzac (1752–1820). The composer was Rigel; he also composed another opera, *Valérie en Italie*, for this theatre.²³ The audience consisted mainly of French soldiers and some Frenchwomen, Arab residents and Egyptians (mainly Arab Christians and their ladies); the Circassian lovers of the French generals possibly also attended.²⁴ The operas of Napoleon's army took place in the context of occupation, amidst continuous revolts by Egyptians.

Local music formed a background to the French aural presence linked to hard weapons. Music was very much part of the Egyptians' daily life, as it is today. Famous men such as Isma'il Ibn Khalil al-Zuhuri (d.1796) and other Azhari sheikhs played the 'ūd and knew the 'ilm al-mūsīqī ('science of music') as both a philosophical and a practical art.²⁵ In everyday life one could hear Sufi music and the numerous folk songs originating from the towns and the countryside; Coptic religious music too. Melodies migrated between settlements and together with poetry, possibly constituted a subversive lure. When the Ottomans and the British

19 Vastin Lespy: *Notes pour l'histoire de la chanson*. Paris: Librairie de J. B. Dumoulin, 1861, pp. 94–95. I have found this book through a website of children songs, Mama Lisa's World: <http://www.mamalisa.com/?t=es&p=186&c=22>, see Monique's comment (19.10.2013).

20 Sadgrove: *The Egyptian Theatre*, pp. 29–30.

21 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti: *'Aja'ib al-Athar fi-l-Tarajim wa-l-Akhbar*, vol. 3. Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya, 1998, p. 232.

22 Villiers du Terrage: *Journal et souvenirs*, p. 284.

23 Germain Sarrut and Bourg Saint-Edme: *Biographie des hommes du jour, industriels, conseillers d'Etat, artistes, chambellans, députés, prêtres, militaires, écrivains, rois, diplomates, pairs, gens de justice, princes, espions fameux, savans*. Paris: Henrie Krabbe, 1837, pp. 351–352.

24 Sadgrove: *The Egyptian Theatre*, p. 30.

25 Al-Jabarti: *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, vol. 2, 1998, pp. 403–410.

jointly forced the French out of Egypt in 1801, nothing remained of the Comédie or of French military music.

MEHMET ALI AND THE NEW ARMY

When the Ottoman army re-occupied Egypt, its Albanian troops included Mehmet Ali, a shrewd and cruel man in his early thirties, born on the island of Kavala. He became the head of the Albanians in 1803, and by taking advantage of the fragmented forces in the province and allying with some of the local leaders, soon emerged as the sole ruler of Cairo. In 1805 the sultan reluctantly granted him the title of *vali* ('governor'). 'The Pasha', as he soon became known among the Europeans, introduced new initiatives in Egypt, some of which had long-standing effects.²⁶

In the 1810s Mehmet Ali consolidated his rule by involving his family members in governance and crushing, sometimes brutally, the remaining resistance. Relying at first on the Ottoman Albanian and Turkish troops, he massacred the leaders of local Mamluk households (1811) and attacked the first Saudi state in the Hijaz (campaigns 1811–1815, 1816–1818). He also sent his troops on an expedition to capture men from the Sudan (1820–1821) for a new slave-army. When they died due to the harsh circumstances, he forcibly recruited Egyptian peasants – an important decision, as peasants had not been made part of a local army in Egypt for hundreds of years. Using these new soldiers along with Greek and Turkish recruits, Mehmet Ali assisted his sultan during the Greek revolt and fought a disastrous battle where he lost his navy (Navarino, 1827). As compensation, the pasha – or rather his son, Ibrahim (17?–1848, r.1848) – occupied the Ottoman Syrian provinces (1831–1841) until he was promised that his heirs would rule Egypt.²⁷

Mehmet Ali's image was glorified by his descendants, who ruled Egypt until 1952, and in standard historiography he is regarded as 'the father of the nation', having established 'modern Egypt' through his various reforms. However, as Ehud Toledano and Khaled Fahmy have argued, he was an Ottoman soldier who wanted to create his own empire.²⁸ Yet the army of the pasha, as Fahmy shows,

26 Ehud R. Toledano: "Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb, vol. 7. Leiden: Brill, 1993, pp. 423–431.

27 Ibidem. – Khaled Fahmy: "The Era of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha", in: *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. Martin W. Daly, vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 139–179, here p. 154.

28 Khaled Fahmy: *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, his Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt*. Cairo, New York: AUC, 2002 (orig. 1997), p. 25. Cf. also Toledano: "Muhammad 'Alī Pasha", and his critique of Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid's book *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali* (Cambridge University Press, 1984); Ehud R. Toledano: "Mehmet Ali Paşa or Muhammad Ali Basha: An Historiographic Appraisal in the Wake of a Recent Book", in: *Middle Eastern Studies* 21/4 (1985), pp. 141–159.

was a decisive factor in the pre-national phase of Egyptian identity.²⁹ And music had a specific function in the establishment of that army.

MILITARY MUSIC SCHOOLS IN EGYPT, 1821–1848

As we have seen, music became an important element in modern military training. The making of a new army in Egypt involved this novelty as well. There are some uncertainties about the music schools of the pasha, which were part of the military camps. Qastandi Rizq lists four,³⁰ Salwa El-Shawan five;³¹ James Heyworth-Dunne also lists five music schools but with different names.³²

From these sources, it is difficult to determinate the exact number of schools or their locations. There are also the questions of the identity of the teachers and the origin of teaching materials and instruments. Even more intriguing is the reaction of the forced Egyptian recruits to their training in military music. In addition, the meaning of “school” is not clear; it is possible that there was training even when it was not institutionalized or named as a “school”. Comparatively, one must note that the army in eighteenth-century Britain had no special musical training, and France did not start its own until 1792, which was then reorganized in 1836.³³ It was only in 1857 when a formal school opened in Britain; before this date, either civil musicians were employed in military bands, or else untrained bandsmen went through a variety of semi-private music education.³⁴ In Egypt there was a gradual transition from Ottoman military music to Western European techniques. Turkish *mehter* and European polyphony may have co-existed for a long time.

The following is a preliminary attempt to clarify some of these questions. I had full access in the Egyptian National Archives to only one music school’s documentation, that of the Khanqah camp, 1837?–1841.³⁵ Using previous

29 Fahmy: *All the Pasha’s Men*, p. 268.

30 Qastandi Rizq: *Al-Musiqa al-Sharqiyya wa-l-Ghina’ al-‘Arabi ma’ al-Sira al-Dhatiyya li-l-Fannan ‘Abduh al-Hamuli*. Cairo: Madbuli, 2000 (orig. 1936), pp. 21–22.

31 Salwa El-Shawan: “Western Music and Its Practitioners in Egypt (ca. 1825–1950): The Integration of a New Musical Tradition into a Changing Environment”, in: *Asian Music* 17 (1985), pp. 143–153, here pp. 143–144.

32 James Heyworth-Dunne: *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*. London: Cass, 1969 (orig. 1939), pp. 134–135.

33 Frédéric Berr: *De la nécessité de reconstituer sur de nouvelles bases le gymnase musical militaire, pour améliorer les musiques de regiment*. Paris: Impr. de J.-R. Mévrel, 1838.

34 Herbert and Barlow: *Music and the British Military*, 131.

35 This school was under the Department of Schools (*Diwan-i Madaris*), for which I had permission at the time of the research. I could not access the documentation of any earlier or later music schools under the Department of War (*Diwan-i Cihadiye*) in Dar al-Watha’iq al-Qawmiyya (Egyptian National Archives, in the following DWQ).

research and foreign travelogues, I suggest that at least seven music schools were set up and abolished between the early 1820s and the 1840s:

- School of trumpeters and buglers, place unknown, 1824
- School of trumpeters, place unknown, 1824
- A European music band and its music school, Khanqah, 1825–before 1833
- School of professional musicians, Citadel of Cairo, 1833
- School of trumpeters, Giza, 1834–1835
- School of music, Khanqah, 1837(?)–1841
- School of trumpeters (identical with the Giza school?), 1839

A HYPOTHESIS ABOUT TRAINING DRUMMERS IN UPPER EGYPT (1821)

Before introducing the schools, one must note that sound had been used in Egypt for discipline before the new army in the 1820s. Between 1803 and 1822 the Janissaries, neo-Mamluks, and Albanians used Ottoman and local instruments.³⁶ The Ottoman way of training drummers may not have been institutionalized. This practice continued within the new training camps. Created in 1820 in Cairo at the foot of the Citadel, a camp was transferred in October 1821 to Aswan in Upper Egypt. It was headed by Mehmet Bey Lazoğlu, a favorite of the pasha.³⁷ Joseph Sève (1787–1860), a soldier of Napoleon, converted to Islam, and as Süleyman became the first director of this camp's *Military school of infantry*.³⁸ There was another camp at Arshut. These were the camps where the Sudanese captives died – if they ever reached them.

With the recruited Egyptian peasants added to the surviving Sudanese, there were six regiments of infantry by 1823. Every regiment was expected to be composed of five battalions containing eight *compagnies* (100 soldiers); and every *compagnie* had two drummers.³⁹ In practice, the numbers slightly varied. Possibly 480 drummers were in this army of approx. 24,000 men. A British observer described the troops in 1822: “the drums are beaten à la Française, the Drum Major being a French Mameluke. The officers are French and Italian.”⁴⁰ These hundreds of drummers must have been trained in the camp, though possibly without a special school. It remains a question what the rhythm “à la Française” means in this case. The noise of hundreds of drums must have been a novelty in the Egyptian rural soundscape.

36 For instance, in 1807 drums and pipes celebrated Mehmet Ali's reaffirmation in his governorship. Al-Jabarti: *'Aja'ib al-Athar*, vol. 4, 1998, p. 2.

37 Fahmy: *All the Pasha's Men*, p. 90.

38 General Pierre Weygand: *Histoire militaire de Mohammed Aly et de ses fils*, vol. 1. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1936, p. 159.

39 Ibidem, p. 165. – Fahmy: *All the Pasha's Men*, p. 92.

40 Quoted in Dale Pappas: “Grande Armée Veterans in the Egyptian Army of the Greek War of Independence 1824–1828”; http://www.napoleon-series.org/military/organization/France/Miscellaneous/c_MissiontoEgypt1824.html#_ftnref8, 09.10.2013.

THE MUSIC SCHOOLS UNDER OTTOMAN MASTERS, BEN 'ADI (1824)

Ottoman musicians directed two schools of music in 1824. These were possibly in Ben 'Adi, a new camp, under the direction of Chiandi (an Italian military engineer from Naples, in the service of Mehmet Ali since April 1823; he took the Muslim name Qasim) in early 1824.⁴¹ Heyworth-Dunne states that a music school was opened “for training trumpeters and buglers”, whose director was a Turk called Hasan Agha. (He does not provide the location, which may have been in Ben 'Adi.) According to him, another school, exclusively for trumpeters, was established in August 1824 under another Turk from Istanbul, a certain Osman Agha; it was abolished that same year in December. These two schools would be *Madrasat al-Tubul* and *Madrasat al-Tubul wa-l-Aswat* referenced by Rizq and El-Shawan, although Heyworth-Dunne cites the second not exactly as a school but rather as a unit: *Ujaq* (*ucak* in Turkish, especially Janissary troops) *al-Turunbita wa-l-Burujiyya* ('Corps of trumpets and bugles').⁴² These institutions, very possibly transmitting the Ottoman *mehter*-tradition, may represent a transitional phase in modern Egyptian military music.

THE EUROPEAN BAND AND THE MUSIC SCHOOL IN KHANQAH (1825–BEFORE 1833)

The pasha sent to France for teachers while the Ben 'Adi camp was moved next to the village of Khanqah. General Pierre Boyer (1772–1851) was the head of the French mission. The contingent was composed mostly of veterans of Napoleon, who were to stay ten years in Egypt.⁴³ Boyer arrived in December 1824 and placed Pierre Gaudin (1773–1837) in charge of the Egyptian infantry. The European instructors and the camp of Khanqah were headed by Gaudin instead of Chiandi (Qasim Agha).⁴⁴ Within the camp, a military school was opened with a director named Jules Planat (1796–1829), another soldier of Napoleon.⁴⁵ The memoirs and books of Planat and the doctor Antoine Clot Bey (1793–1868), who took care of the health of the troops, embody particular French perceptions of military life in the Khanqah camp.

A Western European music band arrived on 9 May 1825 in the camp. This band consisted of French, Spanish, and German musicians who were to train Egyptians to serve in each regiment of the infantry. Their head was a Spanish 'able composer'.⁴⁶

41 Bernardino Drovetti: *Epistolario*. Milan: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1985, p. 250.

42 Heyworth-Dunne: *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, p. 134.

43 Cf. Weygand: *Histoire militaire de Mohammed Aly*, vol. 1, pp. 177–178.

44 Ibidem, p. 183.

45 Planat joined the army of Napoleon in 1813 and left it in 1815. In August 1823 he left for Egypt, where was in the service of the pasha for five years, returned to France and died prematurely in 1829. His book was published posthumously in 1830. Cf. Weygand: *Histoire militaire de Mohammed Aly*, vol. 2, p. 201; and Jules Planat: *Histoire de la régénération de l'Égypte: Lettres écrites du Kaire à M. Le Comte Alexandre de Laborde*. Paris: J. Barbezat, 1830, p. iii.

46 Clot Bey: *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*, vol. 2, p. 87.

At the time, this training project aimed at the formation of twelve music bands for twelve regiments. It is possible that no special school was established for musical education – also that the forcibly recruited Egyptians were reluctant to perform European music. Planat, the director general of the military school, connected their reluctance to religion: “there is not a single Musulman who would find [European music] tolerable”. The members of the band were unsuccessful in the first days and entertained the Western European officers instead of training the Egyptian soldiers.⁴⁷

When Mehmet Ali inspected the troops a year later (24–27 December 1826), the European band performed, according to Planat, ‘the Arab national anthem’ (“l’air national arabe [*Abou lebdè*]”) for his reception. He also noted that the Turkish soldiers sang together with the Arabs ‘with a remarkable tolerance’ because the song was in fact against the ‘Turkish’ oppression.⁴⁸ It is a particular French perception to call a song ‘national’ in 1826 in Egypt. If we accept Planat’s description, then this event is indeed unique: the European band performed an Egyptian song for the ruler, which was sung in Arabic by all soldiers, regardless of their ethnic background. I have no information about the song. *Abou lebdè* should refer to *Abū Libda* (‘The man with a felt hat’). It probably was a mocking tune. If so, it is surprising that the soldiers greeted Mehmet Ali with this song, given that he was the Ottoman governor. On the third day of the pasha’s visit the Egyptian pupils played the fanfares from notes(!)⁴⁹ and ‘the precision with which they performed the music surprised the whole world.’⁵⁰ Planat adds that these students had been in training for two months, which would mean that the European musicians taught them only from October 1826.

The next year, possibly in August 1827,⁵¹ a special school for music was established in the Khanqah camp; in French it was called *École des Tambours*.⁵² There were two hundred students at this school. Clot Bey observed that these Egyptian students were also reluctant to appropriate European songs (‘our music has absolutely no effect on the Arabs’); they were interested in the *Marseillaise* only because they thought that it was the song of Napoleon.⁵³ A certain Ali Effendi was the official director, but the teaching supervision was in the hands of a Spanish conductor

47 Planat: *Histoire de la régénération de l’Égypte*, pp. 114–115.

48 Ibidem, pp. 174–175.

49 This is the only reference to notation being taught.

50 Planat: *Histoire de la régénération de l’Égypte*, p. 179.

51 Heyworth-Dunne: *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, p. 135.

52 Planat’s plan of Khanqah is also published in Clot Bey: *Aperçu général sur l’Égypte*, Plate III and later in Weygand: *Histoire militaire de Mohammed Aly et de ses fils*, Planche LXXII.

53 Clot Bey: *Aperçu général sur l’Égypte*, vol. 2, p. 88. Heyworth-Dunne confuses the number of students, Heyworth-Dunne: *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, p. 135. – Mengin’s data is about a later music school, Félix Mengin: *Histoire sommaire de l’Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly*. Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1839, p. 130.

accompanied by French musicians⁵⁴ (who might be the composer and his fellows from the music band). Heyworth-Dunne states that the school had five different directors in rapid succession and was closed in 1835.⁵⁵ However, Clot Bey narrates that, due to the reluctance of the students, the school had to be closed earlier; instead of training bands, a musician was assigned to every regiment.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the school is not mentioned by the travellers who visited Egypt in 1833. This silence leads me to hypothesize that the Khanqah music school did not function through eight years, as Heyworth-Dunne states, but rather for a shorter time.⁵⁷ As part of the French official mission for the professionalization of Mehmet Ali's army, the military music band represents the first effort to introduce a new type of musical modality in the training.

THE SCHOOL OF MUSIC IN THE CITADEL (1833?) AND
THE SCHOOL OF TRUMPETERS IN GIZA (1834–1835)

Rizq, El-Shawan, and Heyworth-Dunne agree that a so-called *Madrasa li-l-Muhtarifin* was founded in 1834. However, at this time, two music schools may have existed simultaneously.

A British traveller, James St. John (1795–1875), described a school of music in the Citadel of Cairo in 1833. Directed by a German professor, the students were Egyptians who could “execute in full band the most difficult pieces of the most celebrated European composers”⁵⁸. Charles Rochfort Scott (c.1790–1872), another British traveller-spy, wrote about his visit to Giza's school of cavalry in 1834 – and his surprise at finding a school of trumpeters there as well. He notes that the pupils were treated well, “on the most perfect footing of equality” and at the same rank as the “cornetcies”.⁵⁹ Heyworth-Dunne notes that it was opened in September 1834 under Osman Effendi (the director of an earlier music school) and was closed in December 1835.⁶⁰

54 Heyworth-Dunne: *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, p. 135.

55 Ibidem.

56 Clot Bey: *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*, vol. 2, p. 88. Clot arrived in Egypt in 1825 and wrote his book in the second half of the 1830s: He went to Marseille after the 1835 cholera epidemic to rest and marry, and during this time, perhaps 1836/1837, he wrote his *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*, published in 1840.

57 This suggestion may also make sense because the training of military musicians was needed only periodically.

58 James Augustus St. John: *Egypt and Mohammed Ali or Travels in the Valley of the Nile*, vol. 2. London: Longmann, 1834, p. 400.

59 Charles Rochfort Scott: *Rambles in Egypt and Candia with Details of the Military Power and Resources of Those Countries and Observations on the Government, Policy, and Commercial System of Mohammed Ali*, vol. 2. London: Henry Colburn, 1837, p. 238.

60 Heyworth-Dunne: *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, p. 135.

The school at the Citadel seems to have been an attempt to establish a professional company for entertainment or an official military band of the pasha. It is also possible that it was not a school *per se*, but only a workshop for training one professional band. If so, it was an official effort to use military musicians for non-military purposes, just like the trend in Western Europe dictated at the time. I have not yet found further data about this school and its German director.

THE SECOND MUSIC SCHOOL IN KHANQAH (1837?–1841)
AND A SCHOOL OF TRUMPETERS

A useful Egyptian publication about the school system includes three documents (translated from Ottoman Turkish to Arabic) about one *Muzika Medresesi* or *Madrasat al-Musiqa* in the Khanqah camp in the late 1830s, including the order of the school's abolishment, dated 24 Sha'ban 1257 (10 October 1841).⁶¹ The earliest letter I found in the Egyptian National Archives about this school is dated 17 Rabi' al-Thani 1253 (21 July 1837). Most of the orders/letters were dispatched in the year 1255 (1839/1840), because there was an exam in the school and a partial reorganization that year. The documents were written mostly in Ottoman Turkish.

Monsieur Carré (*Mūsiyū Qārah* or rarely *Mūsiyū Kārah*) was the director (*ra'īs*) of the music school; he might be identified as Claude Carré.⁶² Carré disposed over four professors of music. In addition to music, the students also studied Arabic two times a day.⁶³ There were 150 pupils in the school in 1838⁶⁴ but the documents make clear that this number changed very often. For instance, in the next academic year (1255; 1839/1840) there were 205 students in the school. The Department of Schools found this number high and ordered fifty-five students be sent to the school of *Mubtadiyan* (preparatory school).⁶⁵ Students or teachers were often

61 'Abd al-Man'am Ibrahim al-Jami'i (ed.): *Watha'iq al-Ta'lim al-'Ali fi Misr hial al-Qarn al-Tasi' Ashar*, vol. 1. Cairo: Matba'at Dar al-Kutub wa-l-Watha'iq al-Qawmiyya, 2004, pp. 402–406.

62 Caroline Gaultier-Kurhan mentions him as "Claude": *Mehemet Ali et la France: Histoire singulière du Napoleon de l'Orient*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2005, p. 63. Gaultier-Kurhan refers to Pierre Nicolas Hamont: *L'Égypte sous Méhémet Ali*, vol. 2. Paris: Léautey et Lecoq, 1843, p. 167 and gives the date of establishment of Carré's music school as 1826. However, in Hamont's book there is no mention of Claude Carré or of any date of establishment. Hamont arrived in Egypt in October 1828 and wrote his book in 1842.

63 Mengin: *Histoire sommaire de l'Égypte*, pp. 130–131. For the life of Félix Mengin, former French consul in Alexandria, cf. Richard N. Verdery: "The Use of al-Jabartī's 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār by the Historian Felix Mengin", in: *Essays on Islamic Civilization: Presented to Niyazi Berkes*, ed. Donald P. Little. Leiden: Brill, 1976, pp. 329–341.

64 Thomas Waghorn: *Egypt as It Is in 1838*. London: Smith, Elder, 1838, p. 48.

65 Letter dated 27 Shawwal 1255 (3 January 1840), no. 1394. New number of the *daftar*: 6, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki, DWQ. (Arabic translation in: Al-Jami'i: *Watha'iq al-Ta'lim*, pp. 403–404.) The new numbers indicate the present numbers of the *daftar* (registry

haphazardly sent to different corps of the army (perhaps without taking the final exam); students were also sent randomly from other schools to the music school.⁶⁶ In 1838, only thirty-five students had studied there long enough to take the final exam; the other 170 were relatively new and did not have enough education.⁶⁷ Musical instruments, such as trumpets, were imported from Western Europe. These were also exchanged with other schools (with that of in Giza).⁶⁸ Among the teachers there were Ottoman and perhaps Arab musicians.⁶⁹ Some names attached to this school include Ahmad Muhammad in the rank of Bashjawish, ‘Abduh Hasan Ghunaym in the rank of Jawish, Muhammad Hamza in the rank of Onbasha, etc. The European teachers had no military rank. It is possible that some of the Europeans were soldiers of fortune like Monsieur Īnī (Eni?) who was dismissed because of bad behaviour in 1840.⁷⁰ Teachers (*muzika ta’limci*) included Anton Dragon (Anṭūn Drāghūn),⁷¹ Monsieur Klinger (?), Q-l-n-j-r),⁷² Monsieur (Emile-Timothée) Lubbert (Lūbir, 1794–1859), a former director of the Opera in Paris,⁷³ and Monsieur Gordon (Kārdūn). This last teacher replaced Īnī, and

book) in DWQ while “old numbers” are those established before the 1950s when, for instance, Heyworth-Dunne did his research.

- 66 Letter *ibidem* and the following: letter requesting two trumpeters from the schools; dated 22 Jumada al-Ula 1254 (13 August 1838), no. 121. New number of the daftar: 3, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki, DWQ; letter concerning students of the Sitt Zaynab school, dated 10(?) Rajab 1255 (19 September 1839), no. 934. New number of the daftar: 5, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki, DWQ.
- 67 Letter dated 27 Shawwal 1255 (3 January 1840), no. 1394. New number of the daftar: 6, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki, DWQ.
- 68 Letter dated 24 Rabi’ al-Thani 1254 (17 July 1838), no. 944. New number of the daftar: 3, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki, DWQ. It was perhaps a previous practice, Hamont: *L’Égypte sous Méhémet Ali*, vol. 2, p. 166.
- 69 *Ibidem*.
- 70 It is not clear if these individuals were attached to the school as supervisors and/or teachers. Letter dated 27 Shawwal 1255 (3 January 1840), no. 1394. New number of the daftar: 6, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki, DWQ.
- 71 Letter dated 29 Muharram 1255 (14 April 1839), no. 88. New number of the daftar: 5, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki, DWQ.
- 72 Letter dated 5 Sha’ban 1255 (14 October 1839), no. 1046. New number of the daftar: 5, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki, DWQ; and letter dated 27 Shawwal 1255 (3 January 1840), no. 1394. New number of the daftar: 6, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki, DWQ.
- 73 This Lūbir might be identical with Lubert Bey, who was the director of the Opera (l’Académie Royale de Musique) in Paris during the time of Napoleon and Charles X and who came to Egypt to “look for fortune”. Nubar Pacha: *Mémoires*. Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1983, p. 14. Lubert is written as Lubbert in Giuseppe Radiciotti: *Giacchino Rossini*, vol. 2. Tivoli: Arti Grafiche Majella Di Aldo Chicca, 1928, p. 100. It seems that this is the right orthography and that he was Emile-Timothée Lubbert (1794–1859). Joseph-Marie Quérard: *La France littéraire ou dictionnaire bibliographique*, vol. 5. Paris: Quérard, 1833, p. 381. Lubbert became well-known in the French community of Egypt. M. Guisquet: *L’Égypte : Les Turcs et les Arabes*, vol. 1. Paris: Impr. Claye, 1848, p. 189.

arrived at the camp from the “victorious troops”⁷⁴ (possibly the ones in Syria) in the end of 1839. In the musical exam of 1255 (1840), the committee was composed of Klinger, Lubbert and Mehmet Efendi Mühennedi.⁷⁵

Documentation exists for another school of music (at least in 1839), perhaps under the direction of Osman Agha, which paralleled Carré’s school and specialized in trumpeters.⁷⁶ This institution belonged to the Department of War and therefore it is possible that it was the continuation of the Giza school of trumpeters. Heyworth-Dunne narrates that four music schools – among them Carré’s – were closed in 1841, hence possibly other military schools of music operated at this time.⁷⁷ In this year the decade of the Egyptian occupation of Syria was over and the military machine was no more needed.

THE RHYTHM OF LIFE AND MUSIC

How did military music function in Mehmet Ali’s army? The everyday life of the forcibly recruited peasants was regulated by military music; it was one of the tools used to break them. Around 1833 St. John noted that, in the military schools of the pasha, “[t]he exercise of prayer, ablutions, meals and the periods of study and examination are regulated by beat of drum”.⁷⁸ In this case tempo is the most important element of “music”. Sound was used to periodize the daily life. In addition, similarly to Europe, marching to step was crucial for the efficient mobility of the modern infantry. Trumpets and drums gave the tempo of the steps; the Egyptian soldiers were expected to make 76 steps per minute. The goal was to achieve “complete obedience”.⁷⁹

Egyptians tried to avoid military service as much as possible, even at the price of self-mutilation, and their behavior in the camps was resistant.⁸⁰ It is no surprise that Pierre Nicolas Hamont, another French doctor in the service of Mehmet Ali, observed that the Egyptian musician-soldiers, even if they play their instruments, do not show any emotion in the military movements. But after the daily service was over, they rushed to an Arab café and followed their own music with admiration. He illustrates the difference between the apathy for military music

74 Letter dated 27 Shawwal 1255 (3 January 1840), no. 1394. New number of the daftar: 6, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki, DWQ.

75 Letter dated 25 Sha‘ban 1255 (2 November 1839); published partly in Arabic translation in al-Jami‘i: *Watha’iq al-Ta’lim*, p. 405.

76 Letter dated 24 Rabi‘ al-Thani 1254 (17 July 1838), no. 944. New number of the daftar: 3, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki, DWQ.

77 Heyworth-Dunne: *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, p. 135. Based on daftar 2071, 2072, 862 (old numbers).

78 St. John: *Egypt and Mohammed Ali*, vol. 2., p. 397.

79 Cf. Egyptian training manuals quoted in Fahmy: *All the Pasha’s Men*, pp. 144–145; 155.

80 Ibidem, pp. 260–263.

and the enthusiasm for 'their' own heritage with an example. One day Hamont encountered a group of soldiers playing the *zoummara*, a kind of reedpipe, and singing an Arabic song with all their heart. Not only were the soldiers enthusiastic but the Egyptian women in the street also joined them in singing what Hamont thought a 'national song'. He remarks that European music would never produce such an effect. This Frenchman believed that unless Mehmet Ali introduced native instruments and songs into the repertoire of the military bands, there would be no enthusiasm for music in the army, and thus the whole project of teaching Western European melodies had been fruitless.⁸¹

But what did the recruits study? As we have seen, the basics must have been rhythm. They must have studied Ottoman *mehter* songs and techniques as well. As to the Western European polyphonic melodies, the *Marseillaise* was part of the repertoire, although according to Hamont, contrary to Clot Bey's description, the Egyptian soldiers were not enthusiastic hearing this 'amazing anthem, divine inspiration, magnificent song'⁸². Some of them certainly studied the popular song *Marlborough s'en va-t-en guerre* (cf. below). It might have been taught because there was a French assumption that this song has Arab origins.⁸³ As we have seen, at least some soldiers were trained in quite sophisticated Western European music as well, which supposedly included the knowledge of notation.

CONTINUITIES: HASAN AHMAD RAMADAN'S CAREER AND A BOOK ABOUT NOTATION

Hundreds of native Egyptians studied in the military music schools during the 1820s and 1830s, yet none of the great Egyptian musicians of the late nineteenth century – Hajj Rifa'i, Muhammad al-Rashidi, Muhammad 'Uthman, Mu'allim Sha'ban, 'Abduh al-Hamuli, Salama Hijazi – were trained in these institutions (although military music had a certain influence on later Egyptian entertainment). In fact, Egyptian musicians in the 1830s looked down on European music as inferior.⁸⁴ There were no European musical materials translated and printed during Mehmet Ali's rule; thus the knowledge of the soldiers remained exclusive. Training in polyphony or notation was not available in Arabic for larger audiences.

An example of continuity is Hasan Ahmad Ramadan, the Egyptian musician soldier, whom we met at the beginning of this article. One of the young Egyptian peasants who were forcibly recruited in the 1820s, he was first trained by the

81 Hamont: *L'Égypte sous Méhémet Ali*, vol. 2, p. 168.

82 Ibidem, p. 167.

83 Lespy: *Notes pour l'histoire de la chanson*, pp. 94–95.

84 E. W. Lane: *An Account of the Manners and Costumes of the Modern Egyptians*. London: J. Murray, 1860, p. 354.

European music band in the music school of the Khanqah camp in 1826. The next year he was transferred to the troops at the palace of Ahmet Bey (later Pasha) Menlikli but was actually employed in the music band (*tāqīm*) of the Arsenal in Alexandria. He served in the subsequent years on Egyptian vessels and ships of war as a military musician. His last service was on the ship of *al-Nil* and finally he became again a member of the music band at the port in Alexandria. After more than forty years of service Hasan Ahmad Ramadan retired in 1870 with the rank of Bashjawish. His life provides a glimpse on how some of the Egyptians who were trained at the Khanqah camp continued to specialize as musicians in the army through the mid-nineteenth century. His story also suggests that an individual recruited in 1826 could not or did not leave military service for a lifetime.⁸⁵

By the mid-century a printed text in Arabic (still for military purposes) was available, which explained European notation. During the rule of Sait Pasha (b.1822, r.1854–1863), the army's chief music teacher (*ta'limcī bāshī al-musīqī*) Gordon (Ghārdūn) wrote a short and simple text in French for training soldiers in European notation. It was translated into Arabic by Muhammad Effendi Isma'īl and into Turkish by Mustafa Resmi Effendi.⁸⁶ Gordon was 'the leader of the princely trumpeters'⁸⁷ which indicates that military music had acquired a ceremonial function and was related to the person of Sait Pasha. Gordon must be the same individual who had already taught in the last Khanqah school of music. In the Introduction of his book, Gordon acknowledges that there had been no book published in Arabic or Turkish, neither in Istanbul nor in Egypt, for this purpose. He is aware of the presence of Western European musicians in Istanbul – possibly of Donizetti Pasha (Giuseppe Donizetti, 1788–1856).⁸⁸ The book is in question-and-answer format and the material focuses on the teaching of notation and the scale. Seemingly, at this time there was a professionalization in the training of military musicians in Egypt, perhaps in a competition with the court of Sultan Abdūlmecid (b.1823, r.1839–1861). In addition, the French opera-expert Lubbert stayed in Egypt in the 1850s.

85 This paragraph is based on notes dated 25 Rajab 1277 (6 February 1861) and 8 Rajab 1287 (10 April 1870) in the pension file of Hasan Ahmad Ramadan. Dossier 4208, Mahfaza 194, 'Ayn 1, Dulab 9, Milaffat Khidma, DM.

86 Ghardun: *Mukhtasar Yatadammanu Qawa'id Asliyya min 'Im al-Musiqa Mu'allaf fi Khusus Jami' al-Musiqat al-Muta'alliqa bi-l-'Asakir al-Misriyya bi-'Ahd Hadrat al-Khidiwi al-A'zam Muhammad Sa'id Basha*. [Cairo]: Matba'at Bulaq, 1272 [1855], p. 4.

87 Bernard Moussali: "L'École khediviale", in: *Les cahiers de l'Orient* 24 (1991), pp. 175–185.

88 Ghardun: *Mukhtasar*, p. 4.

EUROPEAN MUSIC FOR PUBLIC OCCASIONS

During Mehmet Ali's rule, army musicians participated in a number of public events, usually in military parades, ceremonies of the pasha, or receptions. In this way military bands and their noise became an element of the changing soundscape of Egyptian cities. Parallel to this development, the resident Italians, Greeks, and French in Egypt gradually began putting on their own public entertainments. In surveying the scope of Western European music, this parallel presence – civil, migrant, and often privileged – must be taken into consideration. There were four main types of occasions when Western European-style music was performed publicly: 1. Religious, 2. State ("state" here refers to the person of Mehmet Ali), 3. Private (family or court occasions), 4. Public entertainment of the European residents. This taxonomy is artificial, as some of these occasions were equally religious, state, and court ceremonies. However, for the sake of clarity, I offer some examples under these headings.

RELIGIOUS OCCASIONS

The major Muslim religious celebrations are hard to separate from state events, with some of them always being celebrated in the presence of the ruler. The Egyptian *mawālid* (sing. *mawlid*; celebration of local saints) involved numerous musicians but European music is not known to be performed here. However, al-Jabarti tells us that, probably for just such a celebration, Mehmet Ali Pasha received a package of presents from the British in 1815. It was a strange assortment: different birds, one of which could speak (probably a parrot); a huge mirror; a clock that played Western European melodies (*maqāmāt mūsīqā*) on every quarter hour; and a candlestick from which a small puppet came out to extinguish the wick.⁸⁹

In the 1820s on another important Muslim celebration, *ʿId al-Fitr* (the end of the fast during Ramadan), the pasha and some of his officers used to present themselves in Europeanized uniforms.⁹⁰ In 1830 at yet another Muslim Egyptian public event, the sending of the cover (*maḥmal*) of the Ka'ba from Cairo to Mecca, Muslim religious music was performed as usual but a European-style military band participated in the celebration as well.⁹¹ The novelty here is not the use of military bands in public ceremonies – an established Muslim tradition – but the style and modality of the military band, perhaps the product of Khanqah.⁹²

89 Al-Jabarti: *ʿAjaʿib al-Athar*, vol. 4, 1998, p. 344.

90 [Anonymous]: "Tahniʿat ʿId al-Fitr", in: *al-Waqaʿiʿ al-Misriyya*, 21 Shawwal 1244 [26 April 1829], s.p.

91 [Anonymous]: "Hawadith Dakhiliyya", in: *al-Waqaʿiʿ al-Misriyya*, 13 Rabiʿ al-Awwal 1246 [1 September 1830], s.p.

92 Gaston Wiet: "Fêtes et jeux au Caire", in: *Annales Islamologiques* 8 (1969), pp. 99–128.

STATE CELEBRATIONS

Military bands became gradually related to the person of the pasha and to state ceremonies in public spaces. The camp itself was a public space. As mentioned above, perhaps the first time Mehmet Ali was greeted with Western European military music played by his own soldiers was on 24 December 1826, when he inspected the Khanqah camp.⁹³ Ships were another military territory. For instance, in 1834 a military band performed on board the ship *Misir*; according to the traveller Scott, “when the French leader is sober, [the band] plays *Malbrouk*⁹⁴ [sic!] and the *Marseillaise* with tolerable accuracy”.⁹⁵ In addition, Mehmet Ali Pasha hired Turkish musicians who returned to Istanbul when he died in 1849.⁹⁶ European music could be heard during state ceremonies, usually on the occasion of the pasha’s return from distant lands or departure from his troops. One such an occasion occurred when the ruler turned back to Egypt from Jaffa in 1834. Fahmy quotes an English traveller (although it is not mentioned what kind of music was played, it almost certainly was one of the new bands):

The “Marina” street in Jaffa was lined with the finest troops of the army, and a large band of music was placed in the center. At one o’clock two beautiful corvettes arrived and commenced firing a salute, which was instantly returned by the whole fleet and batteries. At four o’clock the yards were manned and with the roar of cannon from the fleet and forts His Highness Mehmet Ali Pasha disembarked.⁹⁷

PRIVATE COURT OCCASIONS

European consuls and emigrant Italians were not Mehmet Ali’s only source of knowledge about Western European-style entertainment; he could also acquire information from Rifa‘a Rafi‘ al-Tahtawi (1801–1873) who spent five years in Paris between 1826 and 1831. Upon his return to Egypt, this sheikh published his views on the French manners in Arabic in 1834. The pasha was so interested that

93 Planat: *Histoire de la regeneration de l’Égypte*, pp. 114–115.

94 The song *Malbrouk* was also performed in Istanbul on the Ottoman ships. Namık Sinan Turan and Ayşegül Komsuoğlu: “From Empire to the Republic: The Western Music Tradition and the Perception of Opera”, in: *International Journal of Turcologica* 2/3 (2007), pp. 7–31. Sadgrove mentions the song *Malbrouk*, which was a French popular song used in Arabic theatre under this name in the 1870s. It was originally *Marlborough s’en va-t-en guerre*. Cf. Sadgrove: *The Egyptian Theatre*, p. 130.

95 Scott: *Rambles in Egypt and Candia*, vol. 1, p. 37.

96 Document dated 25 Ramadan 1265 (14 August 1849), Mahfaza 118, al-Ma‘iyya al-Saniyya, DWQ, quoted in ‘Imad Ahmad Hilal: “al-‘Arzihal namudhijan”, in: *Khamsun ‘amma ‘ala insha’ Dar al-Watha’iq al-Qawmiyya*, ed. Muhammad Sabir ‘Arab. Cairo: Dar al-Kutub, 2009, pp. 113–158.

97 Quoted in Fahmy: *All the Pasha’s Men*, p. 131.

the book was translated into Turkish and printed in 1839 and 1840.⁹⁸ Al-Tahtawi described the Opera in Paris with the following words:

Wa-a‘ẓam al-sabaktākīlāt fī madīnat bāris al-musamma al-ūbīra [...] wa-fī-hā a‘ẓam al-ālātiyyāt wa-ahl al-raḡṡ wa-fī-hā al-ghinā’ ‘alā al-ālāt wa-l-raḡṡ bi-ishārāt ka-ishārāt al-aḡras tadullu ‘alā umūr ‘ajība.⁹⁹

(‘The greatest spectacle in the city of Paris is called ‘Opera’ [...] and in this place are the greatest musicians and dancers. Here instrumental singing and dance with gestures takes place, similar to the gestures of dumb signing, which refer to marvellous things.’)

Along with new music, a novel material culture was invited into the everyday life of the ruling class. From the 1820s, the pasha employed more foreigners to decorate his new palaces. They contributed with entertainment to the court events (marriages and circumcision celebrations).

On these occasions the new military bands were employed outside of the army camps. Edward William Lane (1801–1876) and his sister Sophie (1804–1891) describe the mixed use of European and “native” music during the rule of Mehmet Ali. In elite wedding ceremonies, European music was played by the military bands, as William Lane notes, “remarkably well”.¹⁰⁰ His sister attended the wedding of the pasha’s daughter Zeyneb Hanım and Kiamil Pasha in 1845. She describes the “very respectable military bands” which accompanied the processions, the female slave band of Zeyneb Hanım, the dancing girls, the farces, and the Turkish musicians.¹⁰¹ She notes that every night during the wedding ceremonies there were theatrical performances in the Citadel and tickets were sent to Europeans. One night the Pasha even invited the leading religious scholars to a performance.¹⁰²

The one who arranged these performances was possibly Pietro Avoscani (1816–1890). He came to Egypt in 1837 after his mother’s death, to visit his ailing brother, a captain in the navy of Mehmet Ali, and remained, mainly in Alexandria, until the end of his life.¹⁰³ The pasha was in the midst of decorating and designing his new palace Ra’s al-Tin in Alexandria, and he immediately hired the young

98 James Heyworth-Dunne: “Rifa‘ah Badawi Rafi‘ al-Tahtawi: The Egyptian Revivalist (continued)”, in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (University of London)* 10/2 (1940), pp. 399–415, here p. 401.

99 Rifa‘a Rafi‘ al-Tahtawi: *Al-Diwan al-Nafis fi Iwan Baris aw Takhlis al-Ibriz fi Talkhis Bariz*. Beirut: Al-Mu‘assasa al-‘Arabiyya li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Nashar, 2002, p. 141.

100 Quoted in Sophia Lane-Pool: *The Englishwoman in Egypt*, second Series. London: Charles Knight, 1846, p. 65.

101 Ibidem, pp. 79–148.

102 Ibidem, pp. 113–148.

103 Niccola Ulacacci: *Pietro Avoscani: Cenni biografici*. Leghorn: s.typ., 1871. – Luigi Antonio Balboni: *Gl’Italiani nella civiltà egiziana del secolo XIX*, vol. 1. Alessandria: Penasson, 1906, pp. 294–408. – Jacques Tagher: “Pietro Avoscani, artiste-décorateur et homme d’affaires”, in: *Cahiers d’histoire égyptienne* 4 (1949), pp. 306–314.

Italian.¹⁰⁴ Avoscani was also asked to stage an opera in the Gabbari Palace in Alexandria, possibly in 1842. It was the first known opera staged for the ruler in Egypt. We do not know its title, but the pasha was very pleased by both the opera and the decoration in the Palace Gabbari. Avoscani recounts in one of his letters that the ruler was so satisfied that he gave five hundred pounds to the company.¹⁰⁵ Avoscani then proposed the idea of building a state theatre in Alexandria (it was not realized during the pasha's reign). Considering the number of trained military musicians, at least some of whom also knew non-military music, and the presence of the opera-expert Lubbert, who was also employed in court festivals,¹⁰⁶ it is highly possible that the pasha and his family were entertained by more operas or extracts of Western European polyphonic compositions.

MEHMET ALI ATTENDING OPERAS:
THE PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS OF RESIDENT WESTERN EUROPEANS

The resident Western Europeans had their own amusements, often unrelated to the ruling elite, but which gradually catered to them as well. In 1828 the attendance in Cairo balls was still scarce¹⁰⁷ but it is reported from 1829 that a French theatre was already established in the city. There were private musical evenings; for instance, a certain Madame Colrinde Rogé hosted a musical evening at her home in Cairo.¹⁰⁸ In Alexandria, by 1837 there was an Italian theatre.¹⁰⁹ The consular high society in Alexandria organized public amateur concerts as well. The core of social life was the semi-private genre of the ball (with music), where people were so mixed that one could see “a Bim Bashee of Mohammed Ali's navy galloping [...] with the bright-eyed daughter of her most Catholic Majesty's Consul”¹¹⁰. By the end of the 1840s the Italian theatre had become so popular in Alexandria that a regulation was issued in Italian by the Foreign Secretary, Artin Bey (1800–1859), in 1847.¹¹¹ There were performances in this theatre of Donizetti's (1797–1848) *Maria de Rudenz* in 1844 and Donizetti's *Belisario*, Vincenzo Bellini's (1801–

104 Ibidem, p. 307.

105 Ibidem, pp. 309–310.

106 Louis-Gabriel Michaud (ed.): *Biographie universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne*, vol. 25. Paris: Madame C. Deplaces, [185?], p. 392.

107 Mrs. Charles Lushington: *Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Europe by Way of Egypt in the Years 1827 and 1828*. London: John Murray, 1829, pp. 160–163.

108 *Le Ménestrel*, 7 June 1835, p. 4.

109 Muhammad Yusuf Najm: *Al-Masrah fi al-Adab al-'Arabi al-Hadith*. Beirut: Dar al-Thaqafa, 1967, pp. 20–21. – Sadgrove: *The Egyptian Theatre*, pp. 31–34. – Matti Moosa: *The Origins of Arabic Fiction*. Boulder/CO, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997 (orig. 1983), p. 25.

110 Scott: *Rambles in Egypt and Candia*, vol. 1, p. 47.

111 The text of this regulation was published first in Jeanette Tagher: “Les débuts du théâtre modern en Égypte”, in: *Cahiers d'histoire Égyptienne* 1/2 (1948), pp. 192–207. Also in Sadgrove: *The Egyptian Theatre*, Appendix 1, pp. 169–171.

1835) *Norma*, and Luigi Ricci's (1805–1859) *Chiara di Rosemberg* in 1845. A Teatro del Cairo was operating in the 1840s, and Mehmet Ali, seems to have visited this Cairo theatre at least three times in 1844. The ruler attended Giuseppe Verdi's (1813–1901) new *Ernani*, Gioachino Rossini's (1792–1868) *Le barbier de Séville* and Donizetti's *Gemma di Vergy*. This last occasion he went with leading religious scholars and all were very pleased.¹¹² It was also the first occasion when a ruler in Egypt attended Western European public musical performances outside of his court or military occasions. Opera music and military sound gradually became attached to the official representation of the ruler of Egypt.

CONCLUSION

As I have shown, during the French occupation of Egypt, military music was used for ceremonies and entertainment. Next, at least seven military music schools operated in Egypt during the 1820s and 1830s. Sound and rhythm regulated the days of the recruits. Heyworth-Dunne saw Mehmet Ali introducing the system of regimental bands “to keep as close to the European model as possible”¹¹³. However, the regimental band was not a European invention but also an Ottoman tool of discipline and ceremony. The *mehter*, the Janissary band, had been also associated with the person of the ruler. In the first music schools the directors were Ottoman Turks, and they, or at least Osman Agha, continued teaching later as well. But Western European musicians, such as Carré or Gordon, occupied the highest positions. Resident Europeans attributed the Egyptian recruits' resistance against the new music to religious or racial differences. None the less, the forced teaching (and the teachers) of Western European music was also criticized, namely by Clot Bey, who thought that ‘it would have been more reasonable to call to Egypt those talented musicians who could have understood and appropriated the spirit of Arab music’¹¹⁴.

During the rule of Mehmet Ali, resident Western European communities were able to stage their entertainments publicly. These previously isolated and private occasions became available to the new Ottoman Egyptian elite. In addition, military music gradually constituted an element in the symbolic repertoire of the pasha. From the early 1830s military bands were participating in state rituals in which the person of Mehmet Ali was featured. The modality of Western European military music established a clear marker of officialdom in Egypt – and inscribed into the beginnings of the modern Egyptian state a gap between everyday Egyptian entertainment and official music.

112 Sadgrove: *The Egyptian Theatre*, pp. 37–40. Cf. also Moosa: *The Origins of Arabic Fiction*, p. 25.

113 Heyworth-Dunne: *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, p. 134.

114 Clot Bey: *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*, vol. 2, p. 88.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Cairo, Dar al-Watha'iq al-Qawmiyya
(DWQ, Egyptian National Archives)

- Letter dated 24 Rabi' al-Thani 1254 (17 July 1838), no. 944. New number of the daftar: 3, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki.
- Letter requesting two trumpeters from the schools; dated 22 Jumada al-Ula 1254 (13 August 1838), no. 121. New number of the daftar: 3, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki.
- Letter dated 29 Muharram 1255 (14 April 1839), no. 88. New number of the daftar: 5, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki.
- Letter concerning students of the Sitt Zaynab school, dated 10(?) Rajab 1255 (19 September 1839), no. 934. New number of the daftar: 5, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki.
- Letter dated 5 Sha'ban 1255 (14 October 1839), no. 1046. New number of the daftar: 5, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki.
- Letter dated 25 Sha'ban 1255 (2 November 1839).
- Letter dated 27 Shawwal 1255 (3 January 1840), no. 1394. New number of the *daftar*: 6, Collection 1/1/6M, Sadir, Diwan al-Madaris al-Turki.
- Document dated 25 Ramadan 1265 (14 August 1849), Mahfaza 118, al-Ma'iyya al-Saniyya.

Cairo, Dar al-Mahfuzat al-'Umumiyya
(DM, Archive of the Egyptian Ministry of Finance)

- Notes dated 25 Rajab 1277 (6 February 1861) and 8 Rajab 1287 (10 April 1870) in the pension file of Hasan Ahmad Ramadan. Dossier 4208, Mahfaza 194, 'Ayn 1, Dulab 9, Milaffat Khidma.

PRINTED MATERIAL

- [Anonymous]: "Hawadith Dakhiliyya", in: *al-Waq'a'i' al-Misriyya*, 13 Rabi' al-Awwal 1246 [1 September 1830], s.p.
- [Anonymous]: "Tahni'at 'Id al-Fitr", in: *al-Waq'a'i' al-Misriyya*, 21 Shawwal 1244 [26 April 1829], s.p.
- Balboni, Luigi Antonio: *Gl'Italiani nella civiltà egiziana del secolo XIX*, vol. 1. Alessandria: Penasson, 1906.
- Behar, Cem: "The Ottoman Musical Tradition", in: *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 3: *The Later Ottoman Empire: 1603–1839*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 393–407.

- Berr, Frédéric: *De la nécessité de reconstituer sur de nouvelles bases le gymnase musical militaire, pour améliorer les musiques de régiment*. Paris: Impr. de J.-R. Mévrel, 1838.
- Clément, Raoul: *Les français d'Égypte aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. Cairo: IFAO, 1960.
- Clot Bey, Antoine Barthélémy: *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*, vol. 2. Paris: Fortin, Masson et Cie, 1840.
- Cole, Juan: *Napoleon's Egypt: Invading the Middle East*. New York: Palgrave, 2007.
- Crecelius, Daniel: "Egypt in the Eighteenth Century", in: *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. Martin W. Daly, vol 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 59–86.
- Drovetti, Bernardino: *Epistolario*. Milan: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1985.
- Fahmy, Khaled: *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt*. Cairo, New York: AUC, 2002 (orig. 1997).
- Fahmy, Khaled: "The Era of Muhammad 'Alī Pasha", in: *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. Martin W. Daly, vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 139–179.
- Fahmy, Ziad: "Historicizing Sound and Noise in the Middle East", in: *History Compass* 11/4 (2013), pp. 305–315.
- Farmer, Henry George: *Military Music*. London: Max Parrish, 1950.
- Farmer, Henry George: *The Rise and Development of Military Music*. London: Wm. Reeves, 1912.
- Farmer, Henry George: "Turkish Influence in Military Music", in: Idem: *Handel's Kettledrums and Other Papers on Military Music*. London: Hinrichsen Edition, 1950, pp. 41–46.
- Foucault, Michel: *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.
- Gaultier-Kurhan, Caroline: *Mehemet Ali et la France: Histoire singulière du Napoleon de l'Orient*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2005.
- Ghardun: *Mukhtasar Yatadammanu Qawa'id Asliyya min 'Ilm al-Musiqa Mu'allaf fi Khusus Jami' al-Musiqa al-Muta'alliqa bi-l-'Asakir al-Misriyya bi-'Ahd Hadrat al-Khidiwi al-A'zam Muhammad Sa'id Basha*. [Cairo]: Matba'at Bulaq, 1272 [1855].
- Guisquet, M.: *L'Égypte: Les Turcs et les Arabes*, vol. 1. Paris: Impr. Claye, 1848.
- Hamont, Pierre Nicolas: *L'Égypte sous Méhémet Ali*, 2 vols. Paris: Léautey et Lecoite, 1843.
- Herbert, Trevor, and Helen Barlow: *Music and the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Heyworth-Dunne, James: *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*. London: Cass, 1969 (orig. 1939).
- Heyworth-Dunne, James: "Rifa'ah Badawi Rafi' al-Tahtawi: The Egyptian Revivalist (continued)", in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (University of London)* 10/2 (1940), pp. 399–415.
- Hilal, 'Imad Ahmad: "al-'Arzuhal namudhijan", in: *Khamsun 'amma 'ala insha' Dar al-Watha'iq al-Qawmiyya*, ed. Muhammad Sabir 'Arab et al. Cairo: Dar al-Kutub, 2009, pp. 113–158.

- Al-Jabarti, Abd al-Rahman: *‘Aja’ib al-Athar fi-l-Tarajim wa-l-Akhbar*, vols. 1–4. Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya, 1997–1998.
- Al-Jami ‘i, ‘Abd al-Man‘am Ibrahim (ed.): *Watha’iq al-Ta’lim al-‘Ali fi Misr hilal al-Qarn al-Tasi’ Ashar*, vol. 1. Cairo: Matba‘at Dar al-Kutub wa-l-Watha’iq al-Qawmiyya, 2004.
- Lane, E. W.: *An Account of the Manners and Costumes of the Modern Egyptians*. London: J. Murray, 1860.
- Lane-Pool, Sophia: *The Englishwoman in Egypt*, Second Series. London: Charles Knight, 1846. *Le Ménestrel*, 7 June 1835, p. 4.
- Lespy, Vastin: *Notes pour l’histoire de la chanson*. Paris: Librairie de J. B. Dumoulin, 1861.
- Mrs. Lushington, Charles: *Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Europe by Way of Egypt in the Years 1827 and 1828*. London: John Murray, 1829.
- Mengin, Félix: *Histoire sommaire de l’Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly*. Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1839.
- Michaud, Louis-Gabriel (ed.): *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, vol. 25. Paris: Madame C. Deplaces, [185?].
- Moosa, Matti: *The Origins of Arabic Fiction*. Boulder/CO, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997 (orig. 1983).
- Moreh, Shmuel (ed. and trans.): *Al-Jabarti’s Chronicle of the First Seven Months of the French Occupation of Egypt*. Leiden: Brill, 1975.
- Moussali, Bernard: “L’École khediviale”, in: *Les cahiers de l’Orient* 24 (1991), pp. 175–185.
- Najm, Muhammad Yusuf: *Al-Masrah fi-l-Adab al-‘Arabi al-Hadith*. Beirut: Dar al-Thaqafa, 1967.
- Nubar Pacha: *Mémoires*. Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1983.
- Parmentier, William F. II: “The Mehter: Cultural Perceptions and Interpretations of Turkish Drum and Bugle Music throughout History”, in: *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre*, vol. 1: *The Age of Mozart and Selim III (1756–1808)*, ed. Michael Hüttler and Hans Ernst Weidinger. Vienna: Hollitzer, 2013 (= *Ottomania* 1), pp. 287–305.
- Planat, Jules: *Histoire de la régénération de l’Égypte: Lettres écrites du Kaire à M. Le Comte Alexandre de Laborde*. Paris: J. Barbezat, 1830.
- Quérard, Joseph-Marie: *La France littéraire ou dictionnaire bibliographique*, vol. 5. Paris: Quérard, 1833.
- Radicciotti, Giuseppe: *Giacchino Rossini*, vol. 2. Tivoli: Arti Grafiche Majella Di Aldo Chicca, 1928.
- Raucoules, Armand: *De la musique et des militaires*. Paris: Somogy éditions d’art, 2008.
- Rizq, Qastandi: *Al-Musiqa al-Sharqiyya wa-l-Ghina’ al-‘Arabi ma’ al-Sira al-Dhatiyya l-il-Fannan ‘Abduh al-Hamuli*. Cairo: Madbuli, 2000 (orig. 1936).
- Sadgrove, Philip: *The Egyptian Theatre in the 19th Century (1799–1882)*. Cairo: AUC, 2007 (orig. 1996).
- St. John, James Augustus: *Egypt and Mohammed Ali or Travels in the Valley of the Nile*, vol. 2. London: Longmann, 1834.

- Sarrut, Germain, and Bourg Saint-Edme: *Biographie des hommes du jour, industriels, conseillers d'Etat, artistes, chambellans, députés, prêtres, militaires, écrivains, rois, diplomates, pairs, gens de justice, princes, espions fameux, savans*. Paris: Henrie Krabbe, 1837.
- Scott, Charles Rochfort: *Rambles in Egypt and Candia with Details of the Military Power and Resources of Those Countries and Observations on the Government, Policy, and Commercial System of Mohammed Ali*, vol. 2. London: Henry Colburn, 1837.
- El-Shawan, Salwa: "Western Music and Its Practitioners in Egypt (ca. 1825–1950): The Integration of a New Musical Tradition into a Changing Environment", in: *Asian Music* 17/1 (1985), pp. 143–153.
- Tagher, Jacques: "Pietro Avoscani, artiste-décorateur et homme d'affaires", in: *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne* 4 (1949), pp. 306–314.
- Tagher, Jeanette: "Les débuts du théâtre modern en Égypte", in: *Cahiers d'histoire Égyptienne* 1/2 (1948), pp. 192–207.
- Al-Tahtawi, Rifa'a Rafi': *Al-Diwan al-Nafis fi-Iwan Baris aw Takhlis al-Ibriz fi-Talkhis Bariz*. Beirut: Al-Mu'assasa al-'Arabiyya li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Nashar, 2002.
- Toledano, Ehud R.: "Mehmet Ali Paşa or Muhammad Ali Basha: An Historiographic Appraisal in the Wake of a Recent Book", in: *Middle Eastern Studies* 21/4 (1985), pp. 141–159.
- Toledano, Ehud R.: "Muhammad 'Ali Pasha", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb, vol. 7. Leiden: Brill, 1993, pp. 423–431.
- Turan, Namık Sinan, and Ayşegül Komsuoğlu: "From Empire to the Republic: The Western Music Tradition and the Perception of Opera", in: *International Journal of Turcologica* 2/3 (2007), pp. 7–31.
- Ulacacci, Niccola: *Pietro Avoscani: Cenni biografici*. Leghorn: s.typ., 1871.
- Verdery, Richard N.: "The Use of Al-Jabartī's 'Ajā'ib Al-Āthār by the Historian Felix Mengin", in: *Essays on Islamic Civilization: Presented to Niyazi Berkes*, ed. Donald P. Little. Leiden: Brill, 1976, pp. 329–341.
- Villiers du Terrage, Marc de: *Journal et souvenirs sur l'expédition d'Égypte, mis en ordre et publiés par le baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage*. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1899.
- Waghorn, Thomas: *Egypt as It Is in 1838*. London: Smith, Elder, 1838.
- Weygand, Pierre, General: *Histoire militaire de Mohammed Aly et de ses fils*, vols. 1 and 2. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1936.
- Whitewell, David: *Band Music of the French Revolution*. Tutzing: Verlegt bei Hans Schneider, 1979.
- Wiet, Gaston: "Fêtes et jeux au Caire", in: *Annales Islamologiques* 8 (1969), pp. 99–128.
- Yates, William Holt: *The Modern History and Condition of Egypt, its Climate, Diseases and Capabilities, Exhibited in a Personal Narrative of Travels in That Country*, vol. 1. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1843.

ADAM MESTYAN

ONLINE MATERIAL

Mama Lisa's World: <http://www.mamalisa.com/?t=es&p=186&c=22>, Monique's comment, 19.10.2013.

Pappas, Dale: "Grande Armée Veterans in the Egyptian Army of the Greek War of Independence 1824–1828"; http://www.napoleon-series.org/military/organization/France/Miscellaneous/c_MissiontoEgypt1824.html#_ftnref8, 09.10.2013.