CROSS-CULTURAL MUSICAL ENCOUNTERS: MUSLIM MEDITERRANEAN IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT IMAGINATION

A THESIS IN
Musicology

Presented to the Faculty of the University
of Missouri-Kansas City in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF MUSIC

by
ALEXANDRIA LYNN SNYDER

B.M.E., Northwest Missouri State University, 2019

Kansas City, MO
2023

© 2023

ALEXANDRIA LYNN SNYDER

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

CROSS-CULTURAL MUSICAL ENCOUNTERS: MUSLIM MEDITERRANEAN IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT IMAGINATION

Alexandria Lynn Snyder, Candidate for the Master of Music Degree

University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2023

ABSTRACT

The rise of Enlightenment thinking during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prompted many thinkers to search for new knowledge in varied ways. This shift motivated travelers to journey to places farther outside of Europe and bring back information to publish for the public in the form of the travelogue. Cross-cultural encounters became more prominent in the eighteenth century for reasons such as maritime work, trade, politics, colonial conquests, and Grand Tourism, leading to many travelogues' publications. Travelers described music in the Muslim Mediterranean with either critical commentary or ethnographic documentation. Ideas of Muslim Mediterranean cultures were filtered through mediums such as published travelogues and staged works creating exoticist stereotypes that lasted throughout the century.

This thesis explores how cross-cultural musical encounters by Europeans in the Muslim Mediterranean during the eighteenth century influenced musical production in Europe. I reassess known experiences in published European travelogues for political, economic, and travel rationales during the eighteenth century. I then analyze musical discourse from these travelogues to show a dichotomy between the critical

judgments of politically motivated travelers and the descriptions of Grand Tourist travelers. Lastly, I investigate the influence of published travelogues upon European musical production throughout the eighteenth century, showing that the Muslim Mediterranean ultimately had a larger impact on European musical culture than the latter did on the former.

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the University of Missouri-Kansas City Conservatory, have examined a thesis titled " Cross-Cultural Musical Encounters: Muslim Mediterranean in the Enlightenment Imagination," presented by Alexandria Lynn Snyder, candidate for the Master of Music degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

Supervisory Committee

Jane Sylvester, Ph.D., Committee Chair

Alison DeSimone, Ph.D.

Stewart Duncan, Ph.D.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT iii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS vii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS viii

Chapter

1. INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW: ESTABLISHING ENLIGHTENMENT IDEALS THAT PROMPTED TRAVEL 1

2. EUROPEAN TRAVEL MOTIVATIONS AND THEIR PUBLICATION FOR THE PUBLIC 29

3. DICHOTOMIES OF DESCRIPTION: MUSICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE MUSLIM MEDITERRANEAN IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TRAVELOGUES 57

4. FILTERING IDEALS: AN ANALYSIS OF HOW THE EXOTIC WAS PORTRAYED IN SELECTED OPERAS AND ORATORIOS 88

5. EPILOGUE 127

BIBLIOGRAPHY 132

VITA 141

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure Page

1. Title page of Joseph Pitton de Tournefort's travelogue 44

2. Design for a stage set for Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus at the Theatre Royal, London for "Act I, Scene I, Arsinoe sleeping in a garden at night" illustrated by James Thornhill.. 101

3. Drawing from Cornelius de Bruyn's travelogue 102

4. "Then Tell it in the Cyprian Groves" from *Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus* 105

5. Musetta from Filippo Bonanni's illustrations..109

6. *Musette tendre* from *La naissance d'Osiris*..110

Excerpts from *The Fall of Egypt*

7. Excerpt from Recitative measures 19-25 115

8. Melisma one and the start of melisma two measures 45-54 116

9. Ending of melisma two measures 55-61 117

10. Moses' recitative measures 12-22.. 118

11. Scene II Recitative for the First and Second Eunuch measures 1-3 121

12. Excerpt of Pharaoh's Air measures 1-4 122

13. Continuation of Pharaoh's Air measures 9-11 123

14. Score indication of "Banda Turca" and crashes at the beginning of the finale from *Mosè in Egitto*.. 128

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my entire committee for their continued support through this project. Their assistance throughout this thesis was incredible and I am thankful for their willingness to listen to my ideas, help with any questions and concerns I had, and sharing of resources.

I would also like to thank my family and partner for their unwavering support of me going back to school and completing this degree. It was not easy, but it has been rewarding to see this project come to fruition.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW: ESTABLISHING ENLIGHTENMENT IDEALS THAT PROMPTED TRAVEL DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

> [While the bride] remains in the bagnio, she is diverted by a number of zenghi, or girls skilled in music and dancing; who are usually very well instructed in the ways of amusing their hearers or spectators. [...] There are constantly twelve performers, who are so expert as to keep two motions at the same time, the one in turning upon their own heels, and the other round the room, without ever being in one another's way, or so much as one man's moving out of his proper place. This exercise continues above an hour to the sound of a tabor, and an instrument something like a German flute, the notes of which are by no means harsh or unharmonious, through wild and irregular. When at a sign for the superior the music ceases, they all stop in an instant, and remain motionless in the spot of ground where they are last time happen to be.[1]
>
> - John Montagu

> I often saw passing in the streets of *Siout,* processions which accompany the ceremonial of the circumcision of children [...] The cavalcade is preceded by hautboys and cymbals; next come several flags of different coloured silk [...]. [The priest] precedes the group of the circumcised, behind whom are led several camels, carrying a pair of kettle-drums, the bowl of one of which is considerably less than the other, and the tone of them, and the style in which they are played, is altogether monotonous. Women who close the procession, incessantly mingle with the noisy music of the instruments, a shrill sound, accompanied by long quavers of the tongue, which is the cry of joy among the Egyptians.[2]
>
> - Charles Sigisbert Sonnini

---

[1] John Montagu 4th Earl of Sandwich and John Cooke, *A Voyage performed by the Late Earl of Sandwich round the Mediterranean in the years 1738 and 1739. Written by himself. Embellished with a portrait of his lordship, and illustrated with several engravings of ancient buildings and inscriptions, with a chart of his course. To which are prefixed, Memoirs of the noble author's life, by John Cooke. London: Printed for T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies.* 1799, Travelogue, From Eighteenth Century Collections Online (accessed November 10, 2022), 162.

[2] Charles Sigisbert Sonnini, *Travels in upper and lower Egypt, undertaken by order of the old government of France; by C. S. Sonnini, Member of several Scientific and Literary Societies; and formerly an Officer and Engineer in the French Navy. Illustrated by engravings, consisting of portraits, views, plans, antiquities, plants, animals, &c. drawn on the spot, under the Author's Inspection. To which is subjoined a map of the country. Translated from the French. London: printed for J. Debrett, opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly*, 1800, Travelogue, From Eighteenth Century Collections Online (accessed November 10, 2022), 537-538.

John Montagu (1718-1792) and Charles Sonnini (1751-1812) both answered the call of travel during the long eighteenth century.[3] Young men traveled away from their homes when they came of age (around 21 years old) to gain an education outside their everyday life, on an adventure referred to as the Grand Tour. According to Rosemary Sweet, the Grand Tour typically contributed to this call by serving as "part of the *rite of passage* of elite manhood."[4] Most traveled to Italy, however, as the era of the search for education progressed, the destinations changed as well. Rosemary Sweet states "travel was still valued as a means of educating young men, [...] its benefit lay in the acquisition of knowledge (commercial, agricultural, political) rather than in the acquisition of taste and social polish. [...] there was a parallel development that saw the promotion of travel for leisure and pleasure."[5] Consequently, these young men published their travelogues to document what they witnessed, experienced, and learned from their journeys. Once these accounts became published, they enchanted audiences that could not travel to places outside their cities, towns, and/or regions.

These encounters are likely to have influenced works in music, literature, art, and theater. During the long eighteenth century, most young men who participated in the Grand Tour traveled in search of discoveries, cultures, and knowledge in places away from their homes. Their adventures reflect some main concepts of the Enlightenment

[3] For the purposes of this thesis, the long eighteenth century refers to 1700 to 1825.

[4] Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, C.1690–1820*, Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 25.

[5] Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 25.

period and contributed to the exoticization of locations outside of Europe. Sonnini and Montagu are just two examples of young men that will be considered throughout this thesis. A "great deal of show" and "pomp" of the wedding ceremony in the Mediterranean, described by Montagu, the fourth Earl of Sandwich,[6] as well as the "pomp and parade" of the circumcision procession in Egypt, witnessed by Sonnini, a French naturalist, were often sources of inspiration in works of music, art, dance, and literature. These two men traveled to the Muslim Mediterranean[7] at different times as well as for contrasting reasons. Montagu, the first Lord of the Admiralty during the American Revolution, recorded the details of this leisure trip outside Europe in his travelogue from 1738 and 1739. The travelogue contains anecdotes from the Earl's Chaplain John Cooke as well.[8] Over forty years later, Sonnini, a former Naval officer and member of many scientific and literary societies published his travelogue in 1800 after his trip in the 1780s to Egypt by order of the old French government.[9]

Both Sonnini and Montagu's descriptions indicate that travelers voyaged to new places outside of Europe with an understanding of contemporary European musical style. However, due to the timing of travel, audiences, and locations of origin, the travelogues have some differences in language and how the music of the Muslim Mediterranean is discussed. Sonnini states at the beginning of his travelogue that "it could not therefore be

---

[6] John Montagu is the namesake of the sandwich as we know it today.

[7] The Muslim Mediterranean refers to Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Cyprus, Palestine, and Abyssinia (later Ethiopia) for the purposes of this thesis based on travelogues to this area.

[8] Montagu, *A Voyage performed by the late Earl of Sandwich,* Title Page.

[9] Sonnini, *Travels in upper and lower Egypt,* Title Page.

uninteresting to exhibit Egypt in the state in which it was found by the French; to delineate the manners of the different people by whom it was inhabited, and whose gross ignorance and ferociousness will be succeeded by polity and civilization."[10] His statement illustrates some of the preconceived biases about these locations in the European imagination. Sonnini's statement in his earlier quote of the instruments being "noisy," or the music sounding "shrill," with "long quavers of the tongue," indicate Sonnini's conception of "good music" according to his Eurocentric world. He may have perceived this ceremonial music as "bad" because it did not fit the mold of typical western music to which he is accustomed. This is the case for most European travelers both on adventures for the Grand Tour and those abroad for governmental purposes.

On the other hand, Montagu's anecdote indicates a different way of thinking during the Enlightenment period when travelers carried specific criticism of music in mind to their destinations. John Cooke, a contributor to Montagu's travelogue, states that one of the people who accompanied the Earl on his trip was a painter whose purpose was to "draw the dresses of every country they should go into, to take prospects of all the remarkable places which had made a figure in history; and to preserve in their memories, [...] [of] those noble remains of antiquity which they went in quest of."[11] It seems for Montagu, this quest provided the ability to see new places in the world for what they were rather than solely placing an opinion on their state at the time.

---

[10] Sonnini, *Travels in upper and lower Egypt,* 2.

[11] Montagu, *A Voyage performed by the late Earl of Sandwich,* iii.

Although he traveled with the intent to see the world as it was, his comments contain some European bias through comparisons of the music to that of his home. This seems to be foundational for him to discuss music, so it was attainable to his audience in England, who would be immersed in European musical criticism. For example, he compared the instrument he witnessed at the wedding to a German flute. He described this instrument is used as "something like a German flute" and the notes of this instrument being "wild and irregular." However, he does describe the music also as "by no means harsh or unharmonious." Montagu's description of the music during this ceremony shows conceptions of musical criticism of what he perceives as "good music," based on his experiences in Europe. His written encounter places a value judgment on the music he experiences through his European perspective, albeit a demonstration of an open-minded outlook on the music of the "other," which is not typical for this period. Not every wanderer traveled with the sense of simply taking in new things; others traveled and criticized anything that did not fit into the European Enlightenment paradigm.

These two men wrote their travelogues during different times, as well as, for different audiences. Simon Burrows affirms that critics "recognize that the writings of some major Enlightenment figures incorporate moderate, radical and even anti-Enlightenment strands of thought."[12] While the Enlightenment almost everywhere demonstrated a wide variety of views, the desire for new knowledge was prevalent,

[12] Simon Burrows, *The French Book Trade in Enlightenment Europe II: Enlightenment Bestsellers* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 10.

proving this era to be a "coherent intellectual movement."[13] Sharon A. Stanley declares that, while France showed tendencies of coherent intellectual thought, "French philosophies treated their own epistemological, moral, and social doctrines with a strong current of self-criticism that repeatedly manifested itself in apparent cynical beliefs, rhetoric, and practices."[14] Likely due to the impending French Revolution, the French would have been skeptical of the old government, the rising Napoleonic regime, and others outside of France. It seems that Sonnini's syntax in his description of the processional is centered around this skepticism or around the rise of the Napoleonic regime. His language presents as an "us versus them" paradigm, where he is documenting these places that were unknown to the French at the time through their eyes rather than seeing the place as it is.

Frank O'Gorman states that Britain's public sphere can be traced through four categories: warfare, religion, political culture, and elite unity. The fourth describes for whom Montagu could have been writing his travelogue. The British elite "emerge[d] as the landed classes from all parts of Britain and began to fuse into a self-conscious, British ruling class. A British elite was emerging, increasingly uniform in its values, lifestyles, educational and marriage patterns and social and political ambitions."[15] This "self-conscious" of the British public chose to be "proud and heroic, yet, at the same time

---

[13] Sharon A. Stanley, *The French Enlightenment and the Emergence of Modern Cynicism* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 13.

[14] Stanley, *The French Enlightenment,* 13.

[15] Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History 1688-1832* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 105-107.

loving freedom and liberty," as well as be "a land of religious freedom where different religious denominations lived in peace."[16] The Earl of Sandwich's travels likely were driven by the motivations of the British public's desire for new knowledge through the Grand Tour, while also being open to different religious events, such as music. Therefore, his syntax and discussion of his travels are more open-minded to the sights and sounds he encountered.

This thesis will examine cross-cultural musical encounters between Europe, predominantly France and Britain, and the Muslim Mediterranean during the long eighteenth century. Most scholarship has explored such encounters in the nineteenth century and later. However, scholarship on this subject in the eighteenth century is lacking, plausibly due to political and economic discourse between the Ottoman Empire and Europe, as well as scholarship being more concerned with musical exoticism in the nineteenth century. My research reassesses known musical encounters through the lenses of both European and Muslim Mediterranean people from 1700 to 1825 to present an unacknowledged angle of cultural reciprocity demonstrated through travelogues.

The Enlightenment

The Age of Reason provided a new way of thinking where people attempted to answer the question "Why?" in different disciplines. The Enlightenment spans the long eighteenth century and "encompasses several political, historical, social, and artistic

[16] O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century*, 108.

movements, each with its own equally difficult to define labels."[17] Gaining new knowledge proved to be a driving factor of many people's endeavors during this time which consequently led to the spread of this new knowledge. As recent scholarship has shown, the Enlightenment "was not an event but a way of thinking, a desire to reexamine and question received ideas and values and explore new ideas in new ways."[18] The printing revolution provided a means of spreading this knowledge much easier than it had been in the past. Writers, travelers, and more published their works to circulate what they have learned or discovered. By the mid-eighteenth century into the nineteenth, publishing houses printed so many travel books that authors were able to draw on many different manuscripts as literary models. This permitted a wider audience to obtain new knowledge, especially in the latter half of the long eighteenth century. The way of thinking during the Enlightenment period was an "interlac[ed] pattern of history, arts, science, philosophy, politics, and religion all reacting upon each other and in turn affecting people's attitudes to them."[19]

The Enlightenment thrived particularly in Britain and France in the long eighteenth century. France contributed a significant amount of public discourse on the criticism of music. The main ideas on music criticism and reception stem from writings and philosophies about music by Jean-Philippe Rameau (1638-1764), Denis Diderot (1713-1784), Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717-1783), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-

[17] Kim Sloan, and Andrew Burnett ed., *Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century: Enlightenment* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 13.

[18] Sloan and Burnett ed., *Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century,* 13.

[19] Sloan and Burnett ed., *Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century,* 13.

1778). Rousseau's comments on music center on the musicality of the Italian language in contrast to the nonmusical French language. He claims in his *Lettre sur la musique francaise,* published during the "Querelle des Bouffons,"

> The impossibility of inventing agreeable melodies has obliged the composers to turn all their [the French's] energies in the direction of harmony, and lacking real beauties, they have introduced beauties of convention [...] instead of good music, they have created a learned music; to supplement melody, they have multiplied the accompaniments [...] To avoid being insipid, they have augmented confusion; they think they are making music, but they only make noise.[20]

Curiously, Rousseau used the word "noise," in the same way as Sonnini in his description of the circumcision processional discussed earlier in this chapter. Rousseau wrote his letter in 1780/82 and Sonnini's travelogue was published in 1800, but he visited Egypt and wrote his travelogue about twenty years before it was published. Similar to Sonnini, another writer of a travelogue to be discussed in chapter two, Claude Étienne Savary (1750-1788), uses the word "noise" to describe his experiences with cymbals, drums, and trumpets during his visit to Egypt.[21] Perhaps Rousseau's letters and description of the "unharmonious" nature of French opera from an outsider's perspective (being that he was Swiss-born), translated to later writers on music to use such descriptions when experiencing the music of the "other." The word "noise" and others of this nature appear in many travelogues discussed in chapters two and three. This indicates that travelers

[20] Cynthia Verba, *Music and the French Enlightenment : Reconstruction of a Dialogue, 1750-1764* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 20.

[21] Claude Étienne Savary, *Letters on Egypt, with a parallel between the manners of its ancient and modern inhabitants, the present State, the Commerce, the Agriculture, and Government of that Country; and an account of the descent of St. Lewis at Damietta: extracted from Joinville, and Arabian authors. Illustrated with maps. By Mr. Savary, Author of the Life of Mahomet, and Translator of the Coran. In two volumes*, Travelogue, From Eighteenth Century Collections Online (accessed November 15, 2022), 223 and 430.

conceptually held certain ideas as they encountered music outside their own social sphere.

In Britain, the middle class contributed to the conversation of Enlightenment ideals. Those of the middle and professional classes gained “self-awareness as it rose to economic and political dominance. The point of articulation for this rise to power was a multifaceted conversation that encompassed political, social, aesthetic, and scientific thought that had turned public through intellectual societies, coffee-houses, travelogues and periodicals.”[22] In their travelogues, voyagers often embellished their encounters of Arabic music during their travels for “self-awareness.”[23] British travelers listened to music from other lands with two tenets in mind: science and emotions. On the one hand, music could be justified through scientific, i.e. mathematics or natural science, because it can be evaluated through geometry. On the other hand, music could affect a listener's emotions, both as entertainment and as a cathartic tool.[24] Both the scientific and artistic nature of music caused many discussions about what is “good music.” Although these ideas were present in earlier periods of music, the Enlightenment propelled them forward by bringing them to the center of academic conversation.

[22] Benjamin J. Harbert, “Of Their Knowledge in Musick: Early European Musical Encounters in Egypt and the Levant as Read within the Emerging British Public Sphere, 1687-1811,” *Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology* 13, (2008).

[23] Harbert, Of Their Knowledge in Musick,” 2.

[24] Harbert, Of Their Knowledge in Musick,” 4-6.

Both French and British intellectuals agreed that music is both an art, that can evoke emotions in individuals, and a science, that can be explained through theories. Charles Burney (1726-1814) expressed that

> [m]usic, indeed, like vegetation, flourished differently in different climates; and in proportion to the culture and encouragement it receives; yet, to love such music as our ears are accustomed to, is an instinct so generally subsisting in our nature, that it appears less wonderful it should have been in the highest estimation at all times, and in every place, than that it should hitherto never have had its progressive improvements and revolutions deduced through a regular history, by any English writer.[25]

Burney suggested that music in different locations is naturally going to be different yet, he acknowledges that their ear is accustomed to a certain way of music. Anything that is "less wonderful" could mean music outside the European musical sphere. This reasoning caused young travelers to go to other localities with a set of "rules" or "theories" on how "good" music should sound. In turn, the reasoning of music as science and art contributes to some of what researchers refer to as exoticism.

Literature Review: Exoticism in Music

Portrayals of the "other" in most musical settings are often shown in what the creator thinks to be true of the lands away from home, but mostly are a guess or based on what they have heard from stories.[26] These include travelogues that were published, and then possibly discussed in coffee houses or other places of Enlightenment discussion. Perhaps Sonnini and Montagu's travelogues influenced some musicological fact (or assumption) in a work. Scholarly literature on this specific topic of musical encounters

---

[25] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, (New York, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1957): II.

[26] Ralph P. Locke, "Cutthroats and Cabash Dancers," in *The Exotic in Music,* ed. Jonathan Bellman (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1998): 105.

during the long eighteenth century between Europe and the Muslim Mediterranean is limited.

Multiple articles present the specific use of travelogues in cross-cultural musical encounters. Stefano A. E. Leoni explores the idea of Western Middle-East music through Napoleon's Egyptian campaign.[27] Leoni documented Napoleon's use of François-Constantin Volney's travelogue as a landmark for preparing his expedition. Through the work of Edward Said, Leoni argues that the discourse on the East is simply a Western construct. Through Guillaume-André Villoteau's (1759–1839) work on Napoleon's Egyptian campaign,[28] Leoni asserts that the East was viewed through a "warped lens"[29] that travelers produced. He claims there was a shift in post-revolutionary France that changed the collective European consciousness of the East. I contend that this shift happened prior to post-revolutionary France through cultural reciprocity that inspired musical development. Similarly, Benjamin J. Harbert discussed the British cross-cultural encounters with Egypt and the Levant and how these were received in Britain's public sphere from 1687 to 1811. Harbert analyzes how musical depictions fit into the British Enlightenment view, why they were interested in music, and how it influenced readers in the British public.[30] Through examination of travelogues, Harbert argues that travelers

---

[27] Stefano A. E. Leoni, "Western Middle-East Music Imagery in the Face of Napoleon's Enterprise in Egypt: From Mere Eurocentric Exoticism, to Very Organized Orientalistic Ears," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 38, no. 2, (December 2007).

[28] From this expedition came many writings on Egypt including *Description de l'Égypte* published in 1809, which documents many aspects of Egyptian culture. Guillaume-André Villoteau wrote two treatises on Arabic music during the expedition.

[29] Leoni, "Western Middle-East Imagery in the Face of Napoleon's Enterprise in Egypt," 173.

[30] Harbert, "Of Their Knowledge in Musick," 1.

were able to dramatize their writings to find “self-understanding”[31] that was prominent during the British Enlightenment. These articles focus on imagery and musical encounters in differing countries, yet they both use travelogues to explain the musical influence between Europe and the Muslim Mediterranean, specifically Egypt and the Levant. I expand this knowledge by illuminating how travelogues possibly contribute to the reciprocity of musical development.

Using a slightly broader approach, Alexander Rehding’s article “Music-Historical Egyptomania 1650-1950” discusses how the fascination with Egypt grew significantly from 1650-1950. Through discussion of scholars such as Athanasius Kircher (c. 1602-1680), Rameau, and Pierre-Joseph Roussier (1716-c. 1790), Rehding tries to rediscover how ancient Egyptian music may have sounded. He makes many connections to “Hermetic traditions, Masonic symbolism, and exoticist musical representations”[32] throughout the article to illustrate how Egyptian music can be connected to musical and historical facts. Rehding states that this article may appear “far-fetched” but that it can illuminate the cultural practices of Egyptian music rather than simply reconstruct them. He also claims that “Napoleon’s Egyptian campaign of 1798–1801 may have ended in military failure, but it was a genuine boon to scholarship.”[33] The boon to scholarship after Napoleon’s expedition is great, yet I am curious as to why there is little scholarship focusing on Muslim Mediterranean music before this. Rehding’s connections of scholars

---

[31] Harbert, “Of Their Knowledge in Musick,” 2.

[32] Alexander Rehding, “Musical-Historical Egyptomania,” *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 75, no. 4 (October 2014): 549-550.

[33] Rehding, “Musical-Historical Egyptomania,” 566.

and ideas on Egyptian music serve as a launching point for this thesis which aims to uncover the narrative of travelogues during the eighteenth century.

In order to understand the nuances of how Europeans encountered other musical cultures, it is necessary to interrogate scholarly ideas of "orientalism" and "exoticism." Ralph P. Locke has done substantial research on exoticism in music, discussing its meaning and how it has shaped musical examples of "otherness" from that of Europeans. According to Locke, "[e]xoticism in music is a quality that links a work to some especially fascinating, attractive, or fearsome place: to an Elsewhere and, usually, to its inhabitants and their supposed inclinations and ways."[34] Here, Locke implies that many composers did not gain first-hand experience of other cultures even though they set operas and other works within the context of those other cultures. The use of "other" generally arises in scholarship as a means to describe music, art, or an alternative mode of thought from somewhere outside where a person resides.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, composers used "musical codes for exotic characters and situations that appear consistently enough to be categorized."[35] Composers most likely did not visit the locations set in their music but pulled from these musical codes and categories to create their work of "the other." These musical codes were likely created from sources of travel, possibly published travelogues, instrument descriptions, dance, and artwork. Many of the travelogues surveyed in chapter two show the typical European thought on exotic lands, similar to Sonnini's comments on the

[34] Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1.

[35] Miriam K. Whaples, "Early Exoticism Revisited," in *The Exotic in Music,* ed. Jonathan Bellman (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1998): 15.

Egyptian circumcision processional he witnessed. As we will see, the predominant language used to describe the music of these "far away" lands are noisy, unrefined, or primitive.

Locke covers exoticism in the modern era from the Middle Ages to the early twenty-first century throughout his works. In his book *Musical Exoticism*, he discusses many facets of exoticism such as criticism, value, and treatment of exotic matter. Also, he examines examples from multiple periods with the lens that he set up in the first part of the book. His second book *Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart*, discusses the cultural background of exoticism with a more focused lens by first establishing "the West and its Others," and then goes into specific examples in Western music inspired by the "others." He states that the exotic is

> [o]n the one hand, the fascination with foreignness in pageants, ballets, and operas may indicate a positive, healthy, somewhat Montaigne-like curiosity about what we today would call cultural difference. On the other, this same fascination may have provided a painless (if sometimes costly and labor-intensive) way for Europeans to "disguise to themselves" – I borrow a phrase of Edward W. Said's – the damage that was being done on foreign soil by their rulers, armies, and merchants; by the investors who bankrolled them; and by the religious authorities who praised the colonizing efforts as God's work.[36]

Most work in the eighteenth century is focused on the former ideal of exoticism or simply the fascination with works of the exotic and what musical aspects specifically portray this "otherness."

Another important aspect to consider in the way areas, such as the Muslim Mediterranean, have been referenced in music and scholarship is through Orientalism.

---

[36] Ralph P. Locke, *Music and the Exotic From the Renaissance to Mozart* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 94.

Edward Said discusses the concept of Orientalism as being born out of political and cultural contexts in Europe. Said states "[t]he Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences."[37] Europeans enjoyed fantasizing about these places of "other" and it became prevalent in musical productions such as operas during the eighteenth century, which will be discussed in future chapters. It is important to note that Said claims that Orientalism is not typically a political subject or a Western ploy against the East, but it is "a *distribution* of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts; it is an *elaboration* not only of a basic geographical distinction [...] but also of a whole series of 'interests' [...] it is, rather than express, a certain *will* or *intention* to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even incorporate, what is manifestly different world; [...]."[38]

Said claims through Orientalism that the Europeans ventured to immerse themselves in this discourse of West versus East (including the Muslim Mediterranean), in that they are different and cannot be the same.[39] I suggest this is prominent in political and cultural aspects because the West, in some ways, seemed to hold a desire to "fix" the East. Although I will use the term "exoticism," rather than "Orientalism," in this thesis, it is important to understand the discourse and background of this term along with

---

[37] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1994), 1.

[38] Said, *Orientalism*, 12.

[39] Said, *Orientalism*, 2.

exoticism. This is due to the Orient including parts of the Middle East, part of the primary focus of this thesis, along with China and other Eastern countries.

One specific "exotic" style of music that is prevalent in most discussions on exoticism is the *alla turca* style. This style has been denoted by some scholars as "the first recognizable exoticism in [Western] music."[40] Locke states that this claim may give some notion that exotic concepts before about 1750 did not leave any impressions on music, however, some locations did have some impact on music, though, it is not as prominent as the *alla turca* style has proved to be.[41] Although musical exoticism saw a rise in the nineteenth century, the eighteenth-century evocations of the exotic established a foundation for growth into the following period,[42] largely thanks to the *alla turca* style but also to other exotic influences that will be discussed in future chapters.

Travelogues from various travelers in the long eighteenth century show evidence of musical encounters in a wide variety of locations during the Grand Tour, specifically to Italy. However, many also traveled to the Holy Land around the Muslim Mediterranean. Little scholarly work focuses on cross-cultural musical encounters between European countries and the Muslim Mediterranean. A large portion of scholarship covering cross-cultural musical encounters between these locations covers the nineteenth century and subsequent periods, while the others focus on ancient times. This can be credited primarily to Napoleon Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign from 1798-1801. According to Said, "the image of the

---

[40] Ralph P. Locke, "A Broader View of Musical Exoticism," *The Journal of Musicology*, 24, no. 4, (Fall 2007): 480.

[41] Locke, "A Broader View of Musical Exoticism," 480.

[42] Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 131.

Orient expressed as an entire system of thought and scholarship [...] began with the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt in 1798."[43] Said's claim affirms one reason that scholarship from the nineteenth century and later periods has substantial scholarship on cross-cultural musical encounters compared to that of the eighteenth century. The deficiency of scholarship can be traced through politics in the eighteenth century and the primary European focus on the exotic and "other" in music during the long eighteenth century.

Traveling

Two forms of travel took precedence during the long eighteenth century: the Grand Tour and missionary work. The Grand Tour played a large role in the publication of travelogues and exposure to places outside of one's home country. Although the peak of European travel was to Italy in the eighteenth century, many journeyed further into the Ottoman Empire. According to Philip Mansel, "it is often forgotten, however, that the Ottoman Empire was so accessible at the time that many travelers went on from Italy to Constantinople and further east."[44] He also states that people were drawn to the Ottoman Empire for three reasons: power, pleasure, and scholarship.[45] Mansel discusses how the Grand Tour "could extend to the Ottoman Empire [from Europe] because the political links between it and European states made travelling easy."[46] Another factor that made travel between Europe and the Mediterranean is trade, which R. Murphy states employs a

[43] Leoni, "Western Middle-East Music Imagery in the Face of Napoleon's Enterprise in Egypt," 171.

[44] Philip Mansel, "Unfolding the Orient: Travelers in Egypt and the Near East," in *The Grand Tour in the Ottoman Empire, 1699-1826*, ed. Paul and Janet Starkey (Reading: Ithaca, 2001): 41.

[45] Mansel, "Unfolding the Orient," 41.

[46] Mansel, "Unfolding the Orient," 41.

new characteristic of the eighteenth-century Ottoman world where “broader participation of a diverse array of European trading partners instead of the domination of one or another of the ‘favored’ nations as had been the general pattern in earlier periods.”[47] These aspects of trade and politics will be further addressed in the subsequent section of this chapter.

The Tour also fed a growing fascination with seeing and collecting ancient artifacts, if oftentimes by problematic means. These collections of stolen artifacts became, as Kim Sloan remarked a “shared language that transcended political and cultural boundaries.”[48] For instance, people such as Charles Townsley (1737-1805) would collect ancient sculptures on their own Grand Tour and bring them home for friends to gather and discuss the artwork.[49] The European fascination with antiquity was at an all-time high during the eighteenth century. Townsley’s collection, as well as others, demonstrate the thirst for knowledge about antiquity in the Muslim Mediterranean.[50] Many of the travelogues discussed in the following chapter mention the Holy Lands or locations involved in the birth of Christianity and their desire to witness where it all began. It should be noted that societies were formed by people who shared travel experiences to discuss their voyages. Theologian and scholar Richard Pococke (whose travelogue will be explored in the next chapter) became a founding member of the Egyptian society in 1741, where scholars discussed the history of Egypt over dinner with

---

[48] Sloan and Burnett ed., *Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, 60-61.

[49] Sloan and Burnett ed., *Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, 62.

[50] Mansel, “Unfolding the Orient,” 47.

others who have traveled to Egypt.[51] Not surprisingly, John Montagu discussed earlier, was a member of the society after his trip ended in 1739.

A few documented encounters involve missionaries traveling to the Mediterranean, which can provide insight into another form of interaction between Europe and the Mediterranean. The Moravian church sent American-born John Antes (1740-1811) on a twelve-year Egyptian mission to Cairo. Antes's experience in Egypt was filled with some unfortunate events fueled by the political state of Egypt at his time of travel, however, he did compose a few quartettes while held in convalescence.[52] Likely, Egyptians were interacting with Antes who was familiar with the English way of music due to his American upbringing in a British church society. In a similar vein to the Moravian church, the Vincentian church sent missionaries to Istanbul in 1784 to take possession of St. Benedict's church in Galata. Different from Antes and the Moravians, the Vicentians were involved with Napoleon, who "wanted to use the Missionaries as an arm of his diplomacy in the Eastern Mediterranean."[53] One of the Fathers of the church, Father Vicherat, suggested this to the Cardinal and pointed out the asset the missionaries would be with their people, money, and protection.[54] In these ways, missionary work not only spread religion but also articulated power.

---

[51] Mansel, "Unfolding the Orient," 49.

[52] Donald M.McCorkle, "John Antes. 'American Dilettante'," *The Musical Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (October 1956): 487.

[53] Charles A. Frazee, "Vincentian Missions in the Islamic World," *Vincentian Heritage Journal* 5, no.1 (Spring 1984): 10.

[54] Frazee, "Vincentian Missions in the Islamic World," 10.

Political and Economic Encounters

The Muslim Mediterranean was situated in an advantageous position for economics, politics, and trade during the long eighteenth century. For example, Egypt provided its soldiers to the Ottoman Empire and was positioned perfectly between the East and West,[55] while Cyprus served as a major port island in the Mediterranean.[56] As Mediterranean scholar Richard Clement states "[t]he islands of the Mediterranean can be seen as crossroads and meeting points for different cultures and religions. And indeed, over the course of history, several world cultures have developed in the Mediterranean region."[57] This "meeting point" proved to be the perfect location for trading between the East and West, as well as the location of desire for the Ottomans, France, Britain, and other countries. Clement expresses how the field of Mediterranean studies is a growing field and offers a brief explanation of what is considered the Mediterranean, why it should be studied, and how to study it. He states "[i]t is such a rich place of where so much started religiously, geographically and more that it is important to discuss."[58] The Mediterranean is evidence of a location that is a wealth of religious, political, economic, and commercial desire, especially during the long eighteenth century towards the end of the Ottoman Empire's reign over this land.

---

[55] M. Nihal Gunes, "The Economic Condition of Egypt in the 18th Century AD," *Rosetta* 15 no. 5 (2014): 86.

[56] Güven Dinç, "The Ports of Cyprus and the French Invasion of Egypt (1798-1801)," *Mediterranean Studies* 24, no. 1 (2016).

[57] Richard Clement, "The Mediterranean: What, Why, and How," *Mediterranean Studies* 20, no. 1 (2012): 115-116.

[58] Clement, "The Mediterranean," 116.

The Ottoman Empire gained immense geopolitical advantage after they conquered Egypt in the sixteenth century. Egypt was the largest region under the Ottoman Empire's rule during the eighteenth century and served as the source of food not only for Egypt itself but for the surrounding areas such as Istanbul and Haremeyn. This was due primarily to the products from the rich land around the Nile and Mediterranean.[59] According to M. Nihal Gunes, "[Egypt's] geographic position allowed both the local merchants and administrators to acquire a generous income. Rather than supporting the central government in military aspects, Egypt provided large quantities of grain and tax revenue for the central government."[60] Cyprus held port cities on all sides of the island because of its importance of defense and commerce for northeastern Mediterranean locations, such as Syria and Egypt.[61] During Ottoman reign in the Mediterranean, the five port cities of Kyrenia, Famagusta, Tuzla, Limassol, and Baphos, were the "most important gates opening out to the wider world." This is because "they were key centers for transshipment and trade between the countries of the Levant and Europe, [...]."[62]

Egypt and Cyprus both played significant roles in the Ottoman military in different ways. The Egyptian military provided troops when the Ottomans needed them because they were particularly strong. According to Temel Öztürk, "Egyptian troops

[59] Gunes, "The Economic Condition of Egypt," 86.

[60] Gunes, "The Economic Condition of Egypt," 86.

[61] Güven Dinç, "The Ports of Cyprus and the French Invasion of Egypt (1798-1801)," 23.

[62] Dinç, "The Ports of Cyprus and the French Invasion of Egypt (1798-1801)," 24.

became less useful owing to poor discipline and training, they were sometimes sent home early. Such problems occurred during the campaigns of 1730 and 1732. These Egyptians were regarded as a heavy burden on the state as they even plundered state granaries."[63] During the seventeenth century, the Ottoman military began needing more help in their efforts, so the Egyptian military was called upon for revolts. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Ottomans relied on the Egyptian soldiers greatly, leading to them serving in four campaigns between 1711 and 1739 for the Ottomans.[64] Due to the geographic location of Egypt, their troops were sent into campaigns to the East and West as well as some in the North, yet another reason the Ottoman Empire benefitted from having Egypt as a part of their territories.[65] Despite this reliance on the Egyptian soldiers in the early eighteenth century, the late century witnessed quite the opposite effect of these soldiers. By 1764, Istanbul no longer called upon the Egyptian coalition due to their lack of funding and supplies, poor preparation, and absence from the battlefields at times. Ozturk claims "These are not glamorous matters but it is clear that failure to solve them greatly reduced the efficiency of Egypt's contribution to the Ottoman Army."[66]

Another factor of trade/politics that contributed to the interaction of Europe and the Muslim Mediterranean was trading companies and privateering. The Levant Trading Company contributed largely to trade between its homelands and Europe from its

---

[63] Temel Öztürk, "Egyptian Soldiers in Ottoman Campaigns from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," *War in History* 23, no. 1 (January 2016): 11.

[64] Öztürk, "Egyptian Soldiers in Ottoman Campaigns," 12-13.

[65] Öztürk, "Egyptian Soldiers in Ottoman Campaigns," 13.

[66] Öztürk, "Egyptian Soldiers in Ottoman Campaigns," 19.

beginning in 1581, yet around the mid-eighteenth century began to decline. Partially due to the activities of English privateers[67] in the eastern Mediterranean.[68] The British privateers were causing trouble for the Ottomans starting in 1704 because of their activities against the French around Smyrna.[69] Without digging too deeply into the trading company and privateering, the discourse and collaboration between European countries and the Muslim Mediterranean during the long eighteenth century can be acknowledged through the actions dealing with both groups of people. The interactions of politics and economics contribute to the larger picture of why Europeans were traveling to the Mediterranean around this time before the Napoleonic expedition to Egypt.

Cyprus was extremely important for trade between Europe and the Mediterranean.[70] Later in the century, it played a considerable role during the War of the Second Coalition (1798-1802). This was a time when France was growing in power during the Revolution while the Ottoman Empire's power was declining. During this time France began using words such as "employed keywords such as nation, fatherland (patrie), constitution, law, regeneration, and virtue to mark membership in the revolutionary community."[71] Napoleon's Egyptian Campaign served as a turning point in

---

[67] Basil Gounaris defined privateering as "a privately owned and manned armed ship, commissioned by a belligerent government to fight, capture, and harass enemy ships." For more information on privateering, see Basil C. Gounaris, "Unwanted Heros? British Privateering, Commerce, and Diplomacy in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century Eastern Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Studies* 22, no. 2 (2014).

[68] Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company,* (London: Frank Cass & Co LTD, 1964), 148.

[69] Gounaris, "Unwanted Heros?," 137.

[70] Dinç, "The Ports of Cyprus and the French Invasion of Egypt (1798-1801)," 24.

[71] Juan Cole, *Napoleon's Egypt: Invading the Middie East,* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007): 5.

many facets as well as musical exoticism. It also sparked the birth of modern Orientalism.[72] Which Edward Said claims was an "invasion which was in many ways the very model of a truly scientific appropriation of one culture by another, apparently stronger one."[73]

The *Description de l'Egypte* mentioned earlier in this chapter contributes largely to what we know about eighteenth-century Arabic music. Leoni outlines that Guillaume Villoteau collected multiple treatises and songs of Arabic music, yet with the failure of Napoleon's expedition in 1810, Villoteau's research was impacted because many of the songs were lost. The *Description* was published by the government and Leoni claims that censorship possibly emerged. The Institute of France was abolished and with that Villoteau "was not allowed to reproduce or to translate the ancient treatises, nor to refer to the connections between music and society, not to describe the effects of music on the human body. Due to this, his writing on Arabic music resorted to general statements about Arabic music rather than a full description as he had originally planned."[74] This censorship along with the political and economic factors of the eighteenth century all contribute to the small amount of scholarship that is available on musical encounters during this time.

---

[72] Leoni, "Western Middle-East Music Imagery in the Face of Napoleon's Enterprise in Egypt," 173-174.

[73] Said, *Orientalism,* 42.

[74] Leoni, "Western Middle-East Music Imagery in the Face of Napoleon's Enterprise in Egypt," 180.

Chapter Outlines

This thesis will expand current research by presenting an in-depth look at the travelogues that were published during the long eighteenth century and will analyze changes sparked in the Muslim Mediterranean and Europe. Starting in chapter two, I will discuss the prominence of travel during the long eighteenth century through an examination of travelogues. The Grand Tour, political motivations, and readership sparked the desire to travel to places away from home countries, typically to Italy. However, travelers expanded to new, more alluring territories later in the century. These travelogues are from various figures who traveled to locations such as Egypt, Syria, the Levant, and more along the Muslim Mediterranean. This chapter will additionally discuss the Enlightenment ideals that propelled individuals on these voyages of exploration. Europeans began to look beyond their own continent for worldwide experiences and developed an obsession with the "other." My research reexamines cross-cultural encounters by analyzing travelogues, primarily from Britain and France. By reassessing these documented encounters, this chapter proposes a new perspective of cultural reciprocity between Europe and the Muslim Mediterranean. I contextualize "tourist" descriptions through their reasons for travel, their use of language to describe other cultures, and different types of cultural exchange between Europeans and Muslims in the long eighteenth century in order to situate musical encounters discussed in later chapters.

In chapter three, I will concentrate on the musical encounters found in the travelogues. Travelers witnessed various musical demonstrations such as ceremonies,

concerts, rituals, military/processional functions, or public music making.[75] I aim to discover the traveler's thoughts on their musical encounters, if they participated in any musical functions, and how this impacted their perception of the music of the "other," to discuss in future chapters how this possibly influenced music in Europe and locations in the Muslim Mediterranean. Through examination of musical encounters in these travelogues and sources that came out of these travels, I will trace musical encounters that lay the foundation for future musical ideas in the nineteenth century.

In chapter four, I will consider examples of European operas and oratorios set in the Muslim Mediterranean. Composers created works with influence from other countries during the eighteenth century. However, this begs the question, did these composers visit these places or did they consult secondary information, such as travelogues or word of mouth? Due to this obsession with the "other," composers seemed to be specifically interested in Mediterranean culture and ideology. Were these composers interested in these aspects of "other" or were composers setting a typical European storyline within an exotic landscape? Works to be considered in this chapter are Thomas Clayton's *Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus,* Jean-Phillipe Rameau's *La Naissance d'Orisis,* and John Stanley's *The Fall of Egypt.* In this chapter, I complicate notions of reciprocity in musical practice specifically by arguing that the Muslim Mediterranean had a larger impact on European music than Europe did in the Muslim Mediterranean conversely. I will show that musical works filtered a vision of cultures, attitudes, and peoples as facts without indicating the truth in the customs abroad.

[75] Lise Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1991).

This thesis presents a cultural reciprocity that is demonstrated through travelogues showing that the exchanges were not all as one-sided as historical perspectives may claim. Historically, many writers present information through biased perspectives because they wrote from their own cultural viewpoint. My research builds upon this notion by reviewing the travelogues with a lens of highlighting the benefit of the exchanges that advanced both cultures' musical discernment. There was a cultural expectation for young men to travel on the Grand Tour to explore other areas and gather new knowledge and experiences to bring home to their country. Others went by order of their respective government. Based on their reason for travel some went for their own personal gain and talked about "exotic" locations with a seemingly unbiased viewpoint. While the others sent by their governing body focused on the politics and commerce of the locations, recognizing the intent of these voyager's travels will assist in interpreting their biases.

CHAPTER 2

EUROPEAN TRAVEL MOTIVATIONS AND THEIR PUBLICATION FOR THE PUBLIC

If the music of the East be not to the taste of the Europeans, ours is not less disagreeable to them. [We] often played upon the violin before Arabs of distinction, who came to see us. Although they did not openly or directly express their disapprobation of our music, yet they said enough to let us understand that it was not agreeable to them and that they preferred their own country music, as more masculine, and consequently more excellent.[1]

— Carsten Niebuhr

Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815), German mathematician and cartographer, was recommended by one of his professors to accompany Johann David Michaelis (1717-1791),[2] on his pursuit to get Denmark to make an "important contribution to biblical scholarship."[3] Niebuhr, eager to accept, decided he would only go if the trip was fully funded. Niebuhr's professor assured him the trip was funded by the King of Denmark and to think through it carefully before accepting. His desire for travel was to "broad[en] his knowledge of the world, and his only doubts were whether he actually had the capability and academic training for such an endeavor."[4] The twenty-five-year-old Niebuhr excitedly accepted the offer,

---

[1] Carsten Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia and Other Countries in the East*, Translated by R. Heron. Edinburgh: Printed for R. Morison and Son, (1792), 132. This is the only travelogue by a German author that I have been able to obtain.

[2] This man was a young philosophy professor at University of Göttingen.

[3] Lawrence J. Baack, *Undying Curiosity: Carsten Niebuhr and The Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia 1761–1767*, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014), 25.

[4] Baack, *Undying Curiosity,"* 47.

despite the dangers that a trip of this nature could hold, as the sole mathematician, astronomer, and cartographer of this expedition to Arabia.[5]

In my study of these travelogues, it is clear that he is one of the few Europeans who learned a native language of the Muslim Mediterranean. As a child, Niebuhr studied at a Latin school near Cuxhaven, Germany. By 1749, his mother, father, and stepmother had all passed away, and so he returned home to Altenbruch where he studied music with a local organist for a year. He also learned the violin and the mandolin along with the organ.[6] While he was attending the *Akademisches Gymnasium* in Hamburg, his professor recommended him for the trip to Arabia. Unlike some other travelers to be discussed, Niebuhr studied Arabic with a priest from Halab, who was a native speaker.

The quote above is one from a large portion of travel literature about music in the Muslim Mediterranean that was published in five different languages and has in its time "imprinted on the European consciousness."[7] Niebuhr's travelogue is one of many that will be discussed in this chapter. The travelogues I have acquired are mostly French and British, with Scottish, Italian, Dutch, German, Swedish, and Spanish outliers.[8] My research reexamines cross-cultural encounters by analyzing travelogues, primarily from Britain and France. By reassessing these documented encounters, this chapter proposes a new perspective of cultural reciprocity between Europe and the Muslim Mediterranean. I

---

[5] Baack, *Undying Curiosity,"* 48.

[6] Baack, *Undying Curiosity,"* 48-49.

[7] Zdravko Blazekovic, "Carsten Niebuhr and Beyond: Creating Stereotypes About the Arabic Music in Eighteenth-Century Europe," *Itineraria* 20 (2021): 144.

[8] There are 7 French, 8 English, 2 Scottish, and 1 of all the other travelogues mentioned above.

contextualize “tourist” descriptions through their reasons for travel, their use of language to describe other cultures, and different types of cultural exchange between Europeans and Muslims in the long eighteenth century in order to situate shared musical encounters discussed in later chapters.

Niebuhr’s Quote in Context

Many voyagers who traveled from Europe had no formal musical training and therefore did not have the proper knowledge or vocabulary to discuss music while documenting their journeys. As shown, however, Niebuhr obtained at least a year of musical training and took his violin with him on his journey to Arabia.[9] He was more likely to understand the nuances of music and possibly able to critique the similarities or differences in the music of Europe compared to that of Arabia. In his quote above, he describes the music of Arab Mediterranean culture as music the Europeans did not find to be “good,” however, he also comments that the Arabs felt that the music of the Europeans was not “good” to them either. This description informs readers that the cultural exchanges between Europe and the Muslim Mediterranean were not all one-sided.

“Good” music in the German-speaking lands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was considered through the imitation of nature or mimesis.[10] According to Alexander Gottlied Baumgarten, German aestheticians insisted that the “arts need not submit

[9] Blazekovic, “Carsten Niebuhr and Beyond,” 144.

[10] This was similar in France and Britain, but eventually developed some small differences. France and Britain differ from the German-speaking lands in their definition of musical mimesis being an imperfect imitative art that could invoke the passions and imitate nature. Britain leaned on poetry to assist music in invoking the passions. The German-speaking lands on the other hand, had a large amount of absolute music in which theorists would debate that music was a rhetorical art. For more, see Mary Sue Morrow’s *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century.*

to the 'principles of inherited logic' that lay at the root of Enlightenment philosophy, and thus allowed them to be judged by their own, more appropriate, criteria."[11] This was present before Baumgarten's treatises, specifically in France, where a distinction between the arts was being discussed. The value of art, such as painting, dance, and music, lay in mimesis; the imitation of nature or emotions in the fine arts. During this time, music itself was more complicated compared to the other arts because the medium did not always require words or imagery. Music was not able to clearly imitate nature as well as other arts, such as sculpture or poetry. Initially, a dichotomy presented itself in the discussion of music imitating nature.[12] Vocal music could "more or less cope with such a standard, because its text could elucidate the meaning, making the imitation more specific and understandable."[13] Vocal music could include poetry, an expressive form with more immediate potential for mimesis, which made it more aesthetically pleasing to philosophers at the time. Whereas instrumental music could not accommodate mimesis in a clear enough way to get the message of aspects of nature across to an audience.[14] However, this developed in the late eighteenth century when instrumental music became known to imitate sounds of nature rather than the previous total mimesis. Theorists' reflections on musical mimesis in accordance with other fine arts throughout the eighteenth century contribute to the tone of musical criticism in the nineteenth century. German language journals began to include musical criticisms; rather than curb

[11] Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century: Aesthetic Issues in Instrumental Music* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 5.

[12] Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century,* 5.

[13] Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century,* 5.

[14] Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century,* 5.

instrumental music's ability to articulate a kind of musical mimesis, as was done in the past due to its absence of words, critics began to describe music in attainable ways for musicians and non-musicians.[15]

Musical aesthetics in Britain, France, and the German lands were all slightly different, yet also intertwined. In France, the idea of musical mimesis was theorized through Descartes' work on the passions, where it was believed that music was an imitative art, specifically in operas and programmatic instrumental music. While Britain mirrored this notion, they added to the imitative art practice by pushing more towards engaging with the passions. During the decade of Niebuhr's travel, German writers "sought to explain the aesthetic value of music through increasingly elaborate schemes accommodating mimesis to the exigencies of composition."[16] It can be proposed then that Niebuhr's aversion towards the Arabic music he witnessed was due to the lack of musical notation, as Arabic music was improvised.

Niebuhr stated in the above quote that "if the music of the East be not to the taste of the Europeans, ours is not less disagreeable to them."[17] Although Niebuhr was classically trained, the training of Arabic musicians was different in a way that did not conform to his European training. Their music was more improvised than what he was accustomed to hearing. While this was not a detriment, this was likely unusual for Niebuhr's ears because of the use of partimento as an improvisatory technique. In the use of written out partimento or

---

[15] Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century,* 18.

[16] Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century,* 10.

[17] Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia and Other Countries in the East*, 132.

memorized bass lines musicians were “not asked to invent music *ex nihilo* but could assemble a ‘string of well-learned musical schemata to form a seemingly spontaneous and continuous musical performance.’”[18] Conversely, Arabic musicians may not have understood his violin playing either, as he was performing from a written score which would have been unfamiliar to them.[19] Theorists such as Jean-Benjamin de la Borde (1734-1794) argued that one of the major differences between Arabic and European musical systems was that the Arabic octave range included notes that did not exist in the European octave range. Italian author Giambatista Toderini (1728-1799) worked with a European musician familiar with Arabic music and two Ottoman musicians to write out the scale around which Arabic music was based. He deduced that an octave span was not divided into twelve, like the European scale, but was actually divided into twenty-four quarter tones.[20] This inclusion of more notes spanning the octave would explain why Niebuhr describes the music of the East as “not to the taste of the Europeans”[21] and the inverse of the Muslim Mediterranean.

Niebuhr was assisting with concerts of European music in Baghdad and Constantinople when he wrote the above quote. He states “although they did not openly or directly express their disapprobation of our music, yet they said enough to let us understand that it was not agreeable to them […].”[22] It seems that there was a perceived distaste between

---

[18] Dana Gooley, *Fantasies of Improvisation: Free Playing in Nineteenth-Century Music* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018): 18.

[19] Blazekovic, ”Carsten Niebuhr and Beyond,” 144.

[20] Anas Ghrab, “The Western Study of Intervals in "Arabic Music," from the Eighteenth Century to the Cairo Congress,” *The World of Music*, 47 no. 3, (2005), 56-58.

[21] Niebuhr, Travels through Arabia and Other Countries in the East, 132.

[22] Niebuhr, Travels through Arabia and Other Countries in the East, 132.

the two groups of musicians. Yet in Cairo after a concert, Niebuhr's group was traveling home when they heard an Egyptian singer with a flute and their Egyptian servant exclaimed how wonderful the musicians sounded. When asked how he liked the music from the European concert, the unnamed servant responded "your music […] is wild and disagreeable; and no man of sense or gravity can take pleasure in it."[23] This is striking especially in light of John Montagu's quote discussed in chapter 1 of this thesis which described the music of the Arabs to be "wild" and "unharmonious."[24] As I will discuss later in this chapter, some editors, and travelers would edit their travelogues to appeal to a broader audience in their homelands. This could possibly be an example of editorial liberties taken to make the travelogue attainable and attractive to the readership in Europe.

Since Niebuhr was one of the few travelers being trained in the Arabic language, his comments present a perspective that gives the impression of being open to learning about the music of the Muslim Mediterranean while still making a Eurocentric value judgment of what the music "should" sound like. Throughout this chapter, examples of travelers' discussions of the "exotic" will be used to illustrate that there was a reciprocal relationship between the two cultures similar to Niebuhr who seemed to recognize this in his quote. Through analysis of cultural exchanges, reasons for traveling, and their use of language, these travelogues illuminate the possibility of a new narrative of exchanges between Europe and the Muslim Mediterranean.

---

[23] Niebuhr, Travels through Arabia and Other Countries in the East, 133.

[24] Montagu, *A Voyage performed by the late Earl of Sandwich*.

Travel in the Eighteenth Century

As Niebuhr's enthusiasm and excitement above make clear, traveling during the long eighteenth century was considered a defining moment of one's life, whether it be for personal enlightenment, political purposes, or gathering information for trade or other financial endeavors. Travel provided a source of information from outside or "exotic" locations such as the Muslim Mediterranean. The Grand Tour was a cultural phenomenon that became a common occurrence for elite young men in the seventeenth century. Richard Lassels is credited with coining the term "Grand Tour" in 1670 when he described the practice as a time when "the independence and self-reliance wrought by travel would equip the young man with the necessary qualities of masculinity."[25] This time of travel allowed young men to learn how to be their own person outside their childhood home. Traveling permitted them to have conversations with "the polite society of other nations"[26] and gain experience in skills, such as dancing, that foster "poise and social grace."[27]

Young men of the elite classes typically chose to go on a Grand Tour; however, there are two aristocratic women known for their travels during the eighteenth century: Lady Elizabeth Craven (1750-1828) and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762).[28] Lady Mary Montagu's letters and dairies during her travels alongside her husband Edward Wortley

---

[25] Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 23.

[26] Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour,* 23.

[27] Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour,* 23.

[28] Mary Wortley Montagu was a cousin of John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich who was discussed in chapter 1.

Montagu[29] to the Levant provide insight into the culture of the time as she committed to learning the customs and languages during their stay in the area.[30] Lisa Colletta states "There are increasingly more travel accounts by women, but scholarship has remained resolutely focused on male accounts or "general" histories, which still seem to suggest that the male experience was the experience"[31] Regardless of gender, "[a]n individual's social status was positively associated with one's credibility, reliability as an eyewitness, and the truth of the facts related to an audience as testimony."[32] The Grand Tour allowed those with money to travel, along with promoting their ability to do so. Without a favorable social status, voyagers' accounts may not have been received well by the public in their homelands.

Travelers varied across different countries, but one similarity in Grand Tour traveling remained the same no matter their country of origin or gender: the desire to acquire knowledge of culture, sophistication, and taste. While on their voyage "tourists bought things; their acquisitions were the physical manifestations to others of what they had learned intellectually, culturally, and aesthetically."[33] Many voyagers returned from the Grand Tour with items to show what they saw abroad and have something to look back at their adventures. Searching for the origins of religion (mainly Christianity), writings on worship

---

[29] Edward Wortley Montagu was ambassador to Turkey and the consul-general of the Levant. He later also had dealings with the Levant Trading Company.

[30] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Arthur R. Ropes ed., *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu; Select Passages from her Letters* (London: Grolier Society, 1900/1909), 10-11.

[31] Lisa Colletta, *The Legacy of the Grand Tour: New Essays on Travel, Literature, and Culture* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2015), xvii.

[32] Brian P. Cooper, *Travel, Travel Writing, and British Political Economy "Instructions for Travellers," circa 1750-1850* (New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2022), 30.

[33] Colletta, *The Legacy of the Grand Tour,* xiii.

and gods, or sculptures and monuments, among many other artifacts, was a large aspect of Grand Tour travel which has led to some museums housing artifacts taken from other lands. However, memories and recollections also served to bring foreign cultures home from abroad. For example, some searching for origins of biblical sites may have brought back drawings of gods or written transcripts of worship. Others searching for art may have brought sculptures back; sometimes this included simply transcriptions or casts of items that could not be transported. Publishing travelogues served as a "main medium for transmitting […] carefully garnered observations and collections."[34] Print culture of the eighteenth century served as a medium that would reach wider audiences than individual letters penned on stationary could.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travel guides "attempt[ed] to instruct readers on what to observe, how to observe, and how to represent."[35] Observing a new place could have been overwhelming, so voyagers wrote their accounts in a way that allowed the reader to learn what to expect and how to represent Europe in foreign places. Travelers had the ability to exaggerate their experiences due to the absence of a source to check the truth of their logbooks. In Britain, the Royal Society of London created directives for travelers to follow based on the new science of Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and Robert Boyle (1627-1691). In this new science, Bacon and Boyle were merging the human and natural worlds.[36] Bacon, for example, seemed to have been interested in the insight of the histories of the arts, according

---

[34] Sloan and Burnett ed., *Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, 23.

[35] Cooper, *Travel, Travel Writing, and British Political Economy,* 29.

[36] John Gascoigne, "The Royal Society, Natural History and the Peoples of the 'New World(s)', 1660-1800," *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 42 no. 4, (December, 2009), 541.

to Charles Burney. He states "Sir Francis Bacon recommends the histories of art upon the principle of utility, as well as amusement; and collecting into one view the progress of an art seems likely to enlarge the knowledge."[37] Due to the interest in humans and the natural world, the Royal Society relied on travel accounts of foreign lands because travelogues provided an ability to study humans abroad, thus resulting in the directives for travel accounts.[38]

Some of the Society's instructions for travel were based on Sebastian Cabot's instructions for sailors and traders on their voyages in 1553. With the expansion of travel towards the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, the Society chose to use a part of Cabot's instructions stating that "merchants 'and other skilled persons in writing' on the expedition capable of doing so make and record navigational and astronomical observations, compare the same, and make good discrepancies."[39] In 1660 when the society was established, these scholars felt that the truth could only be found through established standards for travel. However, travelers did not follow or read the instructions; instead, they had autonomy in how they would observe new places and the language they used to discuss them. These travelogues remained true to what the traveler wrote until the eighteenth century when editors began to edit the documents to suit a broad range of readers.[40]

---

[37] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, II.

[38] John Gascoigne, "The Royal Society, Natural History and the Peoples of the 'New World(s)', 1660-1800," 541.

[39] Cooper, *Travel, Travel Writing, and British Political Economy,* 37.

[40] Cooper, *Travel, Travel Writing, and British Political Economy,* 30-31.

Those on the Grand Tour typically traveled around the continent of Europe to the Italian peninsula, however, interest grew in places farther abroad such as Egypt, Palestine, and Turkey. The Muslim Mediterranean in the eighteenth century was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire; which served as a challenge and inspiration due to religious, economic, and political pursuits, as well as a general curiosity. Some would travel to see with their own eyes the birthplace of Christianity, while others traveled to observe a culture different from their own. In his travelogue, Cornelis du Bruyn (1652-1727) mentioned Turks, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and European Christians all live together in the very populous chief city of the Levant, Smyrna.[41] The Mediterranean provided their people with a place to practice their religion freely. This most likely enticed European travelers because of the Catholic and Protestant dichotomy prevalent in Europe at the time.

Du Bruyn also described the city of Smyrna as a major merchant town that was full of ships every day.[42] As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Muslim Mediterranean was of great economic interest because of ports for trade to places outside of Europe; which in turn proved to create a political interest. The Ottoman Empire held control of the five ports in Cyprus throughout its entire reign. This location served as important for cross-cultural trade and exchanges because there was a lot of competition between Britain and France to establish trade with the Muslim Mediterranean.[43] This led to the political importance of the

---

[41] James Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773. In five volumes. By James Bruce of Kinnaird, Esq. F.R.S.* Vol. 3. Edinburgh: printed by J. Ruthven, for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, London, 1790 (accessed June 22, 2023), 19.

[42] Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile,* 19.

[43] Gunes, "The Economic Condition of Egypt," 90.

Mediterranean as France gained more power and the Ottoman Empire began to decline. As France and other European countries were looking to acquire more land, this area of populous trading and commerce could have been fruitful territory to utilize.

Some travelers were sent to learn about the conducting trade, inner workings of governments, geography, and natural history of locations in the Muslim Mediterranean. Brian Cooper has argued that European travelers, specifically commercial travelers, "had clear incentives to get details right about geography and valuable resources in non-European lands, despite religious intolerance and uncertainty about how to classify and treat people."[44] Travelers had to document the geography, customs, and governmental dealings correctly for successful trade to occur between Europe and the Mediterranean. Commercially, the Mediterranean presented a plethora of goods for trade with Europe. For example, the Levant Company (est. 1583) allowed England to send "cloth and tin […] to Constantinople, Chios, Syria, and Egypt, […] in return [the company brought] raw silk, mohair, cotton, wool and yarn, carpets, drugs, spices, currents, and indigo."[45] This company was supported well throughout England, including a subscription from the Queen,[46] and remained active for many subsequent years until it began to decline around the early eighteenth century.[47] Multiple travelogues illustrate this notion in their discussions of the state of various locals in the Muslim Mediterranean. Constantin-François Volney's (1757-1820) travelogue stated that

---

[44] Cooper, *Travel, Travel Writing, and British Political Economy,* 35.

[45] Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, 17.

[46] Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, 16.

[47] Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, 136.

his purpose of travel was to "present the natural and political state"[48] of the locations they visited. Volney was one of many voyagers who recorded the state of Egypt, Syria, and other locations near the Mediterranean.

Political and Religious Motivations in the Eighteenth Century

Although much of travel during the long eighteenth century was centered around the Grand Tour for one's personal development, many of these journeys were also politically motivated, such as Charles Sonnini and Joseph Pitton de Tournefort's (1656-1708) travelogues. In his writings, Charles Sonnini stated that his travels occurred by order of the old French government. The old French government, under Louis XVI, was undoubtedly interested in foreign policy, as this was one of his major focuses as King. At the beginning of his reign, he stated that "honesty and restraint must be [their] watch words."[49] He desired his foreign policy to be conducted where "honesty" meant complying with international treatises and "restraint" meant avoiding acquiring territory until he knew the full potential of his current territory.[50] It is in the realm of possibility that travelers like Sonnini were sent abroad by the King to learn of foreign lands before an attempt to acquire them.

Tournefort's travelogue specifically states that he was sent by "command of the Late French King."[51] His title page, pictured in Figure 1, depicts the specific details that the King

---

[48] Constantin-François Volney, *Travels through Syria and Egypt, in the years 1783, 1784, and 1785. Containing the present natural and political state of those countries, [...] Translated from the French. In two volumes,* Vol. 1. Dublin: printed for Messrs. White, Byrne, W. Porter, Moore, Dornin, and Wm. Jones, 1793, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online,* (accessed May 12, 2023), 2.

[49] John Hardman, *The Life of Louis XVI*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 107.

[50] John Hardman, *The Life of Louis XVI*, 107.

[51] Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *A voyage into the Levant: perform'd by command of the late French king. Containing the antient and modern state of the islands of the Archipelago; as also of Constantinople, the*

commanded him to document while in the Levant. The "Late French King" was likely Louis XIV as Tournefort's travelogues were published posthumously in 1718, just three years after the King's death. As the Ottomans were losing their territory in the seventeenth century, European countries began to gain political and economic power in the Muslim Mediterranean. Likely, Tournefort was sent to the Levant to document the "Ancient and Modern State of the Islands of the Archipelago; as also of Constantinople, the Coasts of the Black Sea, Armenia, Georgia, the Frontiers of Persia, and Asia Minor"[52] for the King to be able to conduct economic and political matters. Tournefort published on the front of his travelogue that he is documenting the "Plans of the principal towns and Places of Note," through their customs, trade, religion, and more. This provides insight into the King for conducting foreign matters in a political and economic hotspot during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Coasts of the Black Sea, Armenia, Georgia, the Frontiers of Persia, and Asia Minor. [...] Vol. 1. London: printed for D. Browne, A. Bell, J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, J. Pemberton, C. Rivington, J. Hooke, R. Cruttenden and T. Cox, J. Battley, E. Symon, M.DCC.XVIII. [1718], *Eighteenth Century Collections Online,* (accessed May 18, 2023), 1.

[52] Tournefort, *A voyage into the Levant,* 1.

A

VOYAGE

INTO THE

LEVANT:

Perform'd by Command of the Late *French* King.

CONTAINING

The Antient and Modern STATE of the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*; as alſo of *Conſtantinople*, the Coaſts of the *Black Sea*, *Armenia*, *Georgia*, the Frontiers of *Perſia*, and *Aſia Minor*.

WITH

PLANS of the principal Towns and Places of Note; an Account of the Genius, Manners, Trade, and Religion of the reſpective People inhabiting thoſe Parts: And an Explanation of Variety of Medals and Antique Monuments.

Illuſtrated with Full Deſcriptions and Curious Copper-Plates of great Numbers of Uncommon Plants, Animals, *&c.* And ſeveral Obſervations in Natural Hiſtory.

By M. *TOURNEFORT*, of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Chief Botaniſt to the late *French* King, *&c.*

To which is Prefix'd,
The Author's LIFE, in a Letter to M. *Begon*: As alſo his Elogium, pronounc'd by M. *Fontenelle*, before a publick Aſſembly of the Academy of Sciences.

Adorn'd with an Accurate MAP of the Author's Travels, not in the *French* Edition: Done by Mr. *Senex*.

Figure 1: Title page of Joseph Pitton de Tournefort's Travelogue

Some journeymen traveled to learn more about the Holy Land or inspect the Nile, but most travels were conducted for the Grand Tour or political matters. The cities of the Muslim Mediterranean were extremely cosmopolitan, inviting a rich diversity of various religions which led to racial and cultural diversity as well, making them an escape from both religion and nations.[53] According to Arnaud Blin, religion was not as much of a motivating factor for conflict after the seventeenth century. However, during the early eighteenth century, "the

[53] Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2011), 2.

struggle by many nations and peoples who tried to repulse the Europeans or, later, to unshackle themselves from their dominion, was inevitably marked by the religious identities and allegiances of those who fought Western colonialism."[54] As Europe began to assert itself as a power over lands outside of the Western hemisphere, a lot of these being Muslim lands in the Mediterranean, it is no surprise that their defense towards Europe was a religious war. Only one travelogue, seemingly written on a Grand Tour, purposefully mentions the Holy Land on its title page. Kornelis Philander de Bruyn discusses the "principal parts of Asia Minor, the islands of Scio, Rhodes, and Cyprus with an account of the most notable cities of Egypt, Syria, and the Holy Land."[55] Throughout his travelogue, de Bruyn discusses religion slightly and only mentions what he witnessed when traveling to Jerusalem. Surprisingly, the Dutchman does not comment more on the origin of Christianity.

The Consumption of Travel in European Cities

Travelogues were among many published materials that were discussed in social gathering sites such as coffee houses. England's coffee houses in particular proved to be a place where members of the middling and upper classes conducted personal and public affairs, held maritime discussions, and read newspapers and correspondence. Even the coffee house itself originated due to travel. In the seventeenth century, merchants of the Levant

[54] Arnaud Blin, *War and Religion: Europe and the Mediterranean From the First Through the Twenty-first Centuries* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018), 279.

[55] Cornelis de Bruyn, *A voyage to the Levant: or, travels in the principal parts of Asia Minor, the islands of Scio, Rhodes, Cyprus, &c. With An Account of the most Considerable Cities of Egypt, Syria and the Holy Land. Enrich'd with above two hundred copper-plates, wherein are represented the most Noted Cities, Countries, Towns, and other remarkable Things, all Drawn to the Life. By M. Corneille le Bruyn. Done into English, by W. J.* London: printed for Jacob Tonson, within Gray's Inn-Gate in Gray's Inn-Lane; and Thomas Bennet, at the Half-Moon in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1702, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (accessed May 28, 2023), 1.

Company wished to have Turkish coffee back in London, so they supported a Greek Orthodox servant in his endeavors to open a coffee house. By the eighteenth century, there were 500 or 600 coffee shops in London.[56] Coffee houses supported the "discussion, exploration of ideas, sobriety and refined sociability"[57] of the emerging English middle class. Negotiations and business deals were also conducted in coffee houses to avoid robbery when crossing town.[58] Business dealings included transactions from "merchants, shipowners, ship captains, insurance brokers, and others involved in overseas trade."[59] Coffee houses would also be a likely choice for those traveling to the Muslim Mediterranean. Travelers chose coffee houses for the same reasons that businessmen did as it was a great place for exchanging knowledge and news from the Levant.

A news article from 1781 discusses how business was conducted in the coffee houses as well as the general nature of the gathering locations.

---

[56] Keith Suter, "The Rise and Fall of English Coffee Houses," *Contemporary Review,* 286 No. 1669, (February 2005), 107.

[57] Keith Suter, "The Rise and Fall of English Coffee Houses," 107.

[58] Keith Suter, "The Rise and Fall of English Coffee Houses," 108.

[59] Keith Suter, "The Rise and Fall of English Coffee Houses," 108.

> The generality of coffee-houses are the proper theatres of idleness; but because that word bears a little too hard upon our dear selves, and because we are resolved to be flattered in little matters, as well as great, we have substituted the word business in its place; and where that will not do, conversation is a plausible pretence, and is always ready in every mouth you meet. This excuse, if it were true, would be a very good one: but of the millions who talk, how few are qualified to converse. The truth is, conversation is not the genius of the English. We conceive things, I suppose, as well, and with as much pleasure, as other people; but we have not the same ease in bringing forth. We cannot, or we will not tell all we know to every man we meet; not do we care to hear those that will.[60]

This quote illustrates how business happened in the shops; however, it also illuminates the nature of stories and withholding of some information that may have happened. Not everyone enjoyed these coffee houses; some, specifically those of Christian authority, saw them as "an Islamic plot to somehow poison the Christian world."[61] Although they were met with some displeasure, coffee houses served as a point for many to meet and discuss matters that would assist in later endeavors.

Coffee houses were often visited by maritime workers such as merchants, ship captains, and brokers. British coffee houses were integral to the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution during the eighteenth century for two reasons. First, they "provide[d] a physical place where people could go in order to meet, conduct business and manage mercantile affairs with some level of public legitimacy. The second was to provide a place where people could reliably go to acquire and discuss news and information in either printed

---

[60] Gordon, "COFFEE-HOUSES," *Town & Country Magazine, or, Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction & Entertainment*, 13 (May 1781).

[61] Keith Suter, "The Rise and Fall of English Coffee Houses," 109.

or verbal form."[62] These maritime coffee houses provided a place for maritime workers to join one another for business discussions, information trading, and more which would assist these sailors and business people in their efforts abroad.[63] Coffee houses not only housed business and maritime dealings, but they also served as post offices for many because of the unorganized delivery of mail during the eighteenth century.[64] Coffee served as the "news outlets" of their day by archiving and housing newspapers,[65] assisting with mail carrying, and runners who would share the major news of the day.[66] The likelihood of travelogues being circulated or discussed in these public places is high with the amount of business, maritime dealings, and news being engaged with by patrons of the English coffee houses.

Similar to the coffee houses of Britain, France more commonly had salons which were "regular gatherings – nearly all meeting weekly, on a designated day – hosted by women and populated by men of letters and intellectuals."[67] Similar to coffee houses, salons provided a time for discussion on events, arts, and cultural ideals. French salons of the late eighteenth century allowed a space for their members to reminisce about the Old Regime

[62] Anna Brinkman-Schwartz, "The Heart of the Maritime World: London's 'Mercantile' Coffee Houses in the Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence, 1756-83," *Historical Research* 94, no. 265 (August 2021), 509.

[63] Brinkman-Schwartz, "The Heart of the Maritime World," 509.

[64] Keith Suter, "The Rise and Fall of English Coffee Houses," 108.

[65] Brinkman-Schwartz, "The Heart of the Maritime World," 510.

[66] Keith Suter, "The Rise and Fall of English Coffee Houses," 108.

[67] Rochelle Ziskin, *Private Salons and the Art World of Enlightenment Paris*, Brill's Studies on Art, Art History, and Intellectual History, (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 4.

before the French Revolution.[68] However, the salons entertained the high elite class rather than the middling and professional classes that frequented British coffee houses. Criticism of the arts took place in these spaces, which seems to carry over into some French travelogues. Frenchman Claude Étienne Savary commented on music he witnessed using a word common to travelogues when describing music in the Muslim Mediterranean, "noisy." He also describes their voices as "hoarse."

> As we advance, we perceive a multitude of boats going up the river under sail; others that go down, and drive with the stream. The mariners amuse themselves with their rough and noisy music. They mix their hoarse voices with the sound of the tambour de basque, and of the wild flute made of reeds. These concerts for not charm the ear; but the joy they inspire, reaches the soul of those who hear them.[69]

While Savary does describe the music as noisy and rough, he does mention how the music was not meant to charm but to inspire joy to those who hear it. His tone reads with an air of criticism that may have been common in French salons but ends with a tone of understanding for the music and its purpose.

The Enlightenment period was characterized by the gathering of new knowledge and motivated travel during the long eighteenth century. People questioned ideas and searched for answers to those questions.[70] During a time when printing became quicker, easier, and more affordable, and Europeans were becoming more literate, travel accounts were a popular genre. These books allowed readers to "travel" to a faraway land in search of answers to questions they may have had but could not answer on their own. Those who had the funds or

[68] Ziskin, *Private Salons and the Art World of Enlightenment Paris,* 5.

[69] Savary, *Letters on Egypt*, 79.

[70] Sloan, *Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century: Enlightenment*, 13.

support to travel provided their findings, more often than not, for that reason or to provide sovereign powers with information from abroad.

Writing About Travel

Europeans wrote about their travels in different ways; nevertheless, the similar language used in both British and French travelogues provides an insight into the destination's culture through subjective accounts of voyagers. For example, numerous travelogues use the words "noise" or "agreeable/disagreeable" to describe the music of the Muslim Mediterranean. For example, churchman and traveler Richard Pococke (1704-1765) described the music heard during his witnessing of a Coptic church ceremony by stating that "their chant is not agreeable; and they sit on the ground very irreverently, for the most of the time that their devotion continues."[71] Another traveler, James Bruce (1730-1794) specified after hearing two young women singing wonderfully, "[t]his gave me great hopes that, in Abyssinia,[72] I should find music in a state of perfection little expected in Europe."[73] His quote indicates that there is a preconceived idea of how music should sound and he goes on to say that he was "miserably disappointed"[74] because the musicians were from a different country than Abyssinia.

---

[71] Richard Pococke, *A description of the East, And Some other Countries... Observations on Egypt. By Richard Pococke, LL. D. F.R.S.* Vol. 1. London: printed for the author, by W. Bowyer; and sold by J. and P. Knapton, W. Innys, W.Meadows, G. Hawkins, S. Birt, T. Longman, C. Hitch, R. Dodsley, J. Nourse, and J. Rivington, MDCCXLIII. [1743]-45 *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (accessed June 25, 2023), 245.

[72] This is now known as Ethiopia.

[73] Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile,* 51.

[74] Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile,* 51.

Sometimes editors altered travelogues to suit a broader public, but it should also be noted that travelers could also change their logs to gain a greater readership. Lisa Colletta discusses the ability to alter travels as "imparting a knowledge that others who have not traveled do not have, and lying or exaggerating is a way of accentuating the difference between those unfortunates or dullards who do not have the means, intellectually or financially, to travel."[75] These changes present a different narrative beyond documenting exactly what happened, yet there are parts of this that can be learned from the overall picture of eighteenth-century travel writing.

Through a lens of identity during the eighteenth century, "skin color and its association with race stood as key markers of identity and difference for Europeans; British travelers could use race as a proxy to judge the value of other peoples and societies around the globe."[76] Oftentimes, travelers discussed the subjects of political affairs, artistic facets, and more with this judgment value in mind. Volney, mentioned earlier, gives one example of how travelogues placed these value judgments on foreign cultures. In his introductory discussion of Alexandria, Egypt he describes what a traveler would hear and see.

> The name of this city, which recalls to memory the genius of one of the most wonderful men; the name of the country, which reminds us of so many great events; the picturesque appearance of the place itself; […] everything announces to the traveler that he is in another world; […] he hears a language whose barbarious sounds, and sharp and gutteral accents, offend his ear; he sees dresses of the most unusual and whimsical kind, and figures of the strangest appearance.[77]

[75] Colletta, *The Legacy of the Grand Tour,* xv.

[76] Cooper, *Travel, Travel Writing, and British Political Economy,* 40.

[77] Volney, *Travels through Syria and Egypt, in the years 1783, 1784, and 1785,* 2.

Volney's description of Alexandria reads with a tone of judgment based on what he knew from the European world. His statement "everything announces to the traveler that he is in another world," indicates that everything in Egypt was different; other travelers indicate the opposite. Volney describes the language as being "barbarious," "sharp," and "guttural" which "offends his ear."[78] Being that Volney is from France, it can be assumed that he feels their language is offensive to his ear because it may have not flowed quite as smoothly as French would. This traveler also discerns the dress of Egypt to be "unusual," "whimsical," and strange.[79] It is plausible that the dress was not similar to that of French fashion and, therefore could have been out of Volney's realm of perception. He did describe it as whimsical which signals that he may have been associating Egypt with fictional dress, being that it is far away from Europe.

Not every traveler participated in cultural judgment on such a level. Some such as John Antes, who will be discussed further in a subsequent chapter, argued that European voyagers traveled to faraway lands without understanding or respecting the culture.[80] Antes actually claims that travelogues such as Volney's contain "absurdities [that] are copied and inserted into some of the latest Dictionaries of Arts and Sciences, by which they are handed down from one century to another."[81] This

---

[78] Volney, *Travels through Syria and Egypt, in the years 1783, 1784, and 1785,* 2.

[79] Volney, *Travels through Syria and Egypt, in the years 1783, 1784, and 1785,* 2.

[80] Antes, *Observations on the manners and customs of the Egyptians*, 13.

[81] Antes, *Observations on the manners and customs of the Egyptians,* 14.

eighteenth-century missionary, who spent many years in Cairo, attested to the editing of some travelogues that were later circulated through Europe. He stated that voyagers who journey to Egypt may have been well-equipped but lacked the longevity of knowledge that one can obtain from immersing themselves in the culture. Therefore, they

> must compile his narrative, […] in proportion to the rank the author holds in the learned world at home, or on account of the elegant stile and embellishments with which it may be adorned. His assertions are frequently cited, and copied by others for the whole next century; and this is, probably, the cause of so many errors and misinterpretations as are frequently met with in geographical descriptions.[82]

Antes' discussion of other travelogues shows that some were biased to European aesthetics, yet, it also indicates that not all travelogues were edited with specific audiences in mind. Antes' motivations for the publication of his travels appear to be for more personal reasons. At the beginning of his travelogue, he writes a note to Daines Barrington, a friend of his brother-in-law stating that he compiled his thoughts on various topics in Egypt for him.[83] It is in the realm of possibility that there are travelogues that were written truthfully with minimal editing and an open viewpoint towards cultures outside of Europe.

European travel writing developed side by side with the novel. Authors capitalized on a "novelistic 'individual' or 'self'"[84] that encounters "others" abroad. Growth in the amount

---

[82] Antes, *Observations on the manners and customs of the Egyptians,* 13.

[83] Antes, *Observations on the manners and customs of the Egyptians,* 9. It should be noted that Antes translated his own thoughts from German to English for this publication.

[84] Nadine Böhm-Schnitker, "Articulating Differences: Practices of Comparing in British Travel Writing of the Long Eighteenth Century," In *Comparative Practices: Literature, Language, and Culture in*

of travel encounters with cultures outside of Europe, specifically Britain, occurred due to the "transition of power forms."[85] Comparisons between British people and others became a norm in British writing that can be seen specifically in novels such as Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), which Edward Said states is a novel that depicts a "European who creates a fiefdom for himself on a distant, non-European island" where Robinson finds a new world for England.[86] Robinson Crusoe uses a description of the climate in Pampeluna that is similar to some travelogues such as Constance Volney describing a desert in Egypt, Crusoe says

> [w]hen we came to Pampeluna itself, we found it so indeed; and to me that had been always used to a hot Climate, [...] the Cold was insufferable; nor indeed was it more painful than it was surprising, to come but ten Days before out of the old Castile where the Weather was not only warm but very hot, and immediately to feel a Wind from the Pyrenean Mountains, so very keen, so severely cold, as to be intollerable, and to endanger benumbing and perishing of our Fingers and Toes. [...] To mend the Matter, when we came to Pampeluna, it continued snowing with so much Violence, and so long, that the People said, Winter was come before its time, and the Roads which were difficult before, were now quite impassable: For in a Word, the Snow lay in some Places too thick for us to travel; [...] There was no going without being in Danger of being bury'd alive every Step.[87]

In a similar vein, Volney describes the winds[88] in Egypt as being "mentioned [by travelers]under the denomination of *poisonous winds;* or more correctly *hot winds of the*

Britain's Long Eighteenth Century, ed by Nadine Böhm-Schnitker and Marcus Hartner, Culture & Theory: 258. (Bielefeld, Germany: 2022), Transcript: Verlag für Kommunikation, Kultur und soziale Praxis, 150.

[85] Böhm-Schnitker, "Articulating Differences," 151.

[86] Böhm-Schnitker, "Articulating Differences," 160.

[87] Daniel Defoe and Thomas Keymer, *Robinson Crusoe,* New ed., Oxford World's Classics, (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2007): 244.

[88] The winds Volney refers to occur during a period called the *winds of fifty days* according to his travelogue.

desert. Such, in fact, is their quality; and their heat is sometimes so excessive, that it is difficult to form any idea of its violence without having experienced it, but it may be compared to the heat of a large oven at the moment of drawing out the bread."[89] Both travelers present the climate of locations outside their home countries as extreme and seem to dramatize the climate that is unusual to them. The way that people wrote about travel played a role in the development of the novel in the eighteenth century. It tied places traveled to with the "character" who did the traveling. In this way, readers discover these "new" lands through the lens of a person, similar to how readers of novels approach the plot and emotions through the main character's perspective.[90] Travelogues contributed to the nature of novels occurring in lands far away from Europe to draw readers into the stories through new or curious natures of other places.

My discussion of travelogues here frames further discussions on musical encounters in these travelogues in later chapters. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, public discussion on music became common, thus more accessible to all levels of society rather than just the elite. This fostered the ability to comment on music, whether skilled in music or not. Throughout a time of much debate, discussion, and curiosity, it was inevitable for people to travel and mention music that was different from what they may have been used to hearing in Europe. Music in the Muslim Mediterranean was somewhat different from European music because of its improvisatory nature compared to that of Europe which wrote out music more

[89] Volney, *Travels through Syria and Egypt, in the years 1783, 1784, and 1785,* 37.

[90] Nadine Böhm-Schnitker and Marcus Hartner, *Comparative Practices: Literature, Language, and Culture in Britain's Long Eighteenth Century* (Verlag: [transcript] publishing, 2022), 151.

frequently. Travelers' experiences of music in the Muslim Mediterranean provide details that cannot be heard. Although some descriptions are from a lens of distaste, the descriptions still allow readers to get an illustration of how their music may have sounded. Through “tourist” descriptions of the Muslim Mediterranean during their travels in the long eighteenth century, reciprocity between Europe and the Mediterranean emerges through how destinations were discussed, reasons for traveling, and cultural exchanges through musical experiences.

CHAPTER 3

DICHOTOMIES OF DESCRIPTION: MUSICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE MUSLIM MEDITERRANEAN IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TRAVELOGUES

> When the Bey and his company are tired of these exercises [wrestling], singers (male) appear. The plaintive vocal music of Kahira [Cairo], and the agreeable sensations occasioned by it, have been the subject of remark to many who have described Egypt. [On Ramadan celebrations][1]
>
> - William George Browne

> The barbarity of their music, want of taste in painting, unacquaintance with the power of eloquence and poetry, shew that a liveliness of imagination was not part of the *Egyptian* character.[2]
>
> - George Laughton

The two quotations above present two opposing judgments of Egyptian music in the eighteenth century. George Browne (1768-1813) endured a lack of support in his academic studies at Oriel College in Oxford which impelled him to travel through his desire of seeking knowledge on his own.[3] In this quest for knowledge, he traveled to North Africa to explore a world unknown to him. In the preface of his travelogue, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria,* he knew that he was not equipped to make a great impact in an investigation of the area. He stated "[t]he present work has merit of being composed from observations made in the places

---

[1] William George Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798. By W. G. Browne*, London: printed for T. Cadell junior and W. Davies, Strand; and T. N. Longman and O. Rees, Paternoster-Row, 1799, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (accessed July 10, 2023), 85.

[2] George Laughton, *The history of ancient Egypt, as extant in the Greek historians, poets, and others: together with the state of the religion, laws, arts, sciences, and government: from The first Settlement under Mizraim, in the Year before Christ 2188, to The final Subversion of the Empire by Cambyses. Containing a Space of 1664 Years. By George Laughton, D. D. of Richmond in Surry*, London: printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand, MDCCLXXIV. [1774], *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (accessed July 20, 2023), 361.

[3] Richard Garnett, ed. Elizabeth Baigent, "Browne, William George," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004; Accessed 10, Aug 2023.

and on the subjects described. But the praise of fidelity, the only one to which the writer lays claim, cannot be received till another shall have traced his footsteps."[4] Browne acknowledged that there were travelers who could draw conclusions and interpret the information from North Africa specifically, better than he could. His desire to expand his own world by traveling after reading another travelogue by James Bruce and the first report of the African Association.[5] Browne mentioned that many books on Egypt had been published at the time, yet the most known travelogues of Richard Pococke (1704-1765) and Frederik Ludvig Norden (1708-1742) were too expensive and not accessible to the greater public. Specifically, Browne discussed Carsten Niebhur's travelogue as valuable but stated that it was not significantly read compared to other writings on Egypt. Finally, he mentioned that Constantin-François Volney and Claude Étienne Savary's travelogues were well-known and accessible to the public, but they did not describe the East favorably. Browne strove for "materially different"[6] dialogue in his travelogue compared to that of Volney and Savary's chosen verbiage in theirs. Readers noticed this difference because his writings were met with "some controversy because of their considerable sympathy towards, and admiration of The East."[7] Sympathy towards and admiration of the Muslim Mediterranean are common themes in other tourists' writings.

---

[4] Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798*, viii.

[5] Garnett, "Browne, William George."

[6] Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798*, x.

[7] Garnett, "Browne, William George."

In contrast, George Laughton (1735/6-1800), a Church of England clergyman, was from a lower-class family in Bridgwater, Somerset. Laughton went to school at Wadham College, Oxford with a BA and then an MA, BD, and DD later in his schooling.[8] He dedicated his travelogue, published in 1774, to King George III of England.[9] Laughton's reasons for travel according to the dedication and preface of his travelogue were to "trace the early efforts of human genius,"[10] and to "trace back the operations of the human mind, and explore the principles of ideas and modes of thinking."[11] While this was similar to Grand Tourists, his dedication to the King shows that Laughton wrote this travelogue in part for his monarch to notice him. Laughton's travelogue claimed that Egyptians played a part in the development of human civilization but that the British were able to "soar to the grandeur and perfection of the *British* empire."[12] His published efforts focused on human development through discussions on religion and how lower classes fit into society. During his time as clerical magistrate, he felt that those who did not follow Christianity promoted equality ideals among the poorer members of society. He claimed that this notion "destroys humility and subordination, swells the inferior class of society to high notions of their importance, makes them dissolute, prompt to riot, and become the tool of the artful, to subvert all order and

---

[8] Robert Hole, "Laughton, George," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004; Accessed 10, Aug 2023.

[9] Hole, "Laughton, George."

[10] Laughton, *The history of ancient Egypt*, 3.

[11] Laughton, *The history of ancient Egypt*, ix.

[12] Hole, "Laughton, George."

government."[13] This claim reflects some travelers' discussions of other cultures as seemingly lesser than the higher classes of European society.

In the first quotation, Browne discussed his experience in witnessing the ceremonial event of Ramadan in Egypt. Browne mentioned "the agreeable sensations occasioned by it [vocal music of Cairo]"[14] being notable by other travelers who have described Egypt. His discussion assessed non-European music positively rather than placing a value judgment on it, as some other travelers did. Laughton, on the other hand, appeared judgmental of the music he witnessed in the East. He used the word "barbarity" and stated that the Egyptians had no taste in painting or poetry. This description shows the European Enlightenment thought on music and other arts being used as a framework to compare the arts of other cultures. "Barbarity" and other words such as "noise," "harsh," and variations on "howling" were common words in travelogues studied in this thesis; exploring the motivations behind these travelogues and their reasons for publication shows a polarity of judgments.

There were many reasons for travel during the eighteenth century, as mentioned in chapter one, but all of these reasons fall into two main categories: Grand Tour travel on the one hand, and travel on behalf of political powers, i.e. governments and Kings on the other. With the prominence of the search for new knowledge, it is no surprise that travelers were able to provide European audiences with information for discussion and debate. Travelogues provided a way for the public to learn about foreign lands without leaving home. Through analysis of these travelogues, I argue that there were two types of descriptions of music

[13] Hole, "Laughton, George."

[14] Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798*, 85.

outside of Europe during the eighteenth century: critical analysis,[15] which often took place when there were political powers at play, and description, which took place with Grand Tourist travelers.

The Language of Musical Aesthetics in Eighteenth-Century Europe

Musical aesthetics in different European countries, discussed in chapter two, were comparable to one another, yet held some differences. The French theorized that music is an imitative art, therefore, it should imitate nature. Britain agreed with this and took it one step further by engaging with the passions more. The Germans focused on showing the importance of mimesis through musical composition.[16] Understanding the language that Europeans used to describe their musical aesthetics and choices provide context for how travelers may have viewed music in the Muslim Mediterranean on their journeys. Each person can demonstrate a bias based on what the consensus on music is in their country during their lives. With European commentary on their music during the eighteenth century becoming more popularized, criticisms of music in places outside a person's country would err on the side of negative commentary because it did not fit into the ideal of their aesthetic.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau published his *Lettre sur la musique française* in 1753 where he discussed the fluidity of Italian operatic music in comparison to the rigidity of French operatic music. In this letter, he stated:

---

[15] Critical analysis in this thesis denotes commentary that is not always negative, rather it is an objective analysis used to create a judgment of music in the Muslim Mediterranean.

[16] For more information on musical criticism and aesthetics see Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century: Aesthetic Issues in Instrumental Music*, (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and John Stevens and Peter le Huray, ed. *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

> How could you ever conceive that the French Language, whose accent is so uniform, so simple, so modest, so untuneful, would be well rendered by the noisy and shrill intonations of that recitative, and that there was any relation between the soft infections of speech and those sustained and swollen sounds, or rather those eternal shouts which make up the fabric of that part of our Music even more than the airs?[17]

Rousseau used the word "noisy," "shrill," and "shouts" in this discussion on how the French language fits with a recitative or airs in French opera. Later quotes show these common words used by travelers. They describe some Muslim Mediterranean music as being these things, and it seems they do this because it does not fit into their ideal of "good" music, as seen here in Rousseau's commentary.

A letter written by Christoph Williband [von] Gluck (1714-1787) in 1773, preceding his first Paris opera performances, depicts European commentary on European music.[18]

> The imitation of nature is the acknowledged end to which they must all [composers] address themselves. It is this that I strive for; my music is consistently as natural and simple as I can make it; it aims to be as expressive as possible and to underline the poetic declamation. That is why I avoid the trills, passages, and cadences that are so beloved of the Italians. [...] I do believe that it is possible to say this, however, that I find the most suitable words are those in which the poet has given me the most varied means of expressing the passions.[19]

Gluck's comments about his own compositional decisions show the European aesthetic of imitating poetry and expressing the passions holds importance because it allows the music to be understandable. This also illustrates how Europeans and Northern Italians viewed the Southern Italians during this time when Italy was only nation-states. The Southern Italians' music, exotic to much of Europe at the time, may not have been understood by many because

---

[17] Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Essay on the Origin of Languages and Writings Related to Music*, (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 1998), Accessed August 12, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central, 166.

[18] John Stevens and Peter le Huray, ed. *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 148.

[19] Stevens and Huray, ed. *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries,* 148.

of its improvisatory nature. Improvisation and embellishments, or the "trills, passages, and cadences" that Gluck refers to here, may not have come across as clearly as contemporaries would have liked so it was different and sometimes not as respected. In fact, Rousseau apologized for "galicis[ing] the 'purely Italian' word *improvisar* in order to include it in his dictionary."[20] This indicates an example of foreign music being unfamiliar in Europe and Europeans attempting to make sense of it in their own culture.

Similarly, Charles Burney describes what a good singer should sound like through the context of musical criticism in his *Essay on Musical Criticism* from the third volume of his book *A General History of Music:*

> Good singing requires a clear, sweet, even and flexible voice, equally free from nasal and guttural defects. It is but by the tone of voice and articulation of the words that a vocal performer is superior to an instrumental. If in swelling a note the voice trembles or varies its pitch, or the intonations are false, ignorance and science are equally offended; and if a perfect shake, good taste in embellishment and a touching expression be wanting, the singer's reputation will make no great progress among true judges.[21]

Burney's description of what a good singer should sound like demonstrates two major points of commentary that I have noticed in the travelogues. First, according to Burney, the voice needed to avoid guttural or nasal tones, which offers a judgment on the Arabic language as well. Second, Burney stated that singers who did not follow these ideals will "make no great progress among true judges."[22] In other words, those who did not take these implications into

---

[20] Angela Esterhammer, *Romanticism and Improvisation, 1750-1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 20.

[21] Stevens and Huray, ed. *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries*, 193-194.

[22] Stevens and Huray, ed. *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries*, 193-194.

account when commenting on music are not “true judges.”[23] This indicates that some voyagers’ travelogues may not have been as helpful or reputable in the eyes of some in the European musical community. Judgment became more common in published works like critiques and observations because society at this time began to compare contemporary music to their predecessor’s music.

The canonization of musical works emerged at the end of the nineteenth century because of eighteenth-century society’s musical consciousness; the dialogue of aesthetics and previous music became more prominent. When eighteenth-century travelogues were written, “it [music] was not a repertory of great works but a set of compositional rules.”[24] Most musical works performed in the eighteenth century were new compositions and composers used sets of rules to write new works. These new works created discussions on the rules and nature of musical compositions. According to William Weber, new compositions before the nineteenth century remained the dominant medium for three reasons: celebration, study, and amusement.[25]

No stranger to celebration, Europe feted its monarchs and rulers through rituals and ceremonies. Musicologists have found that “the production of a new work [operas specifically] was often the focal point of a one- or two-week long extravaganza of entertainment.”[26] Operas could portray events of a coronation and there are writings of these

---

[23] Stevens and Huray, ed. *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries*, 193-194.

[24] William Weber, “The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste,” *The Musical Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 187.

[25] Weber, “The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste,” 177.

[26] Weber, “The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste,” 178.

coronations to base the music and staging on. For example, Nicolas Menin detailed the events of Louis XV in his "historical and chronological treatise of the anointing and coronation of the Kings and queens of France."[27] He wrote:

> Then the King rose up, put off his Cap, and gave it [his signed Oath] to the Great Almoner: The Great Chamberlain took off his Cloak of Probation, and his Majesty kneeling on a Cushion, the Archbishop put about his Neck the Cross of the Order fasten'd with a blue String' then the Provost and Master of the Ceremonies, put the Mantle of the Order over his Majesty's Shoulders; [...] This done, the King cover'd himself and took his Seat; [...] all the Knights went to the Throne, the highest in Dignity going first, to kiss the King's Hand.[28]

Travelers also witnessed and wrote about celebrations in foreign countries including Ramadan, a circumcision processional, and a march for the Grand Signior (or Sultan of the area)[29], among many others. For example, Charles Perry (d. 1780), discussed further later in this chapter, witnessed a march for the Grand Signior which he described as follows:

[27] Nicolas Menin, *An historical and chronological treatise of the anointing and coronation of the Kings and queens of France, from Clovis I. to the present King ; and of all the sovereign princes of Europe. To which is Added, An Exact Relation of the Ceremony of the Coronation of Louis XV. By M. Menin, Counsellor to the Parliament of Metz. Faithfully done from the original French*. London: printed for W. Mears, at the Lamb without Temple-Bar; S. Chapman, at the Angel in Pallmall; and J. Woodman, at Cambden's-Head in Bow-Street, Covent-Garden, M.DCC.XXIII. [1723]. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (accessed September 20, 2023).

[28] Menin, *An historical and chronological treatise of the anointing and coronation of the Kings and queens of France,* 300-301.

[29] Charles Perry, *A view of the levant: Particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and Greece. In which their antiquities, government, politics, maxims, manners, and customs, (with many other circumstances and contingencies) are attempted to be described and treated on. In four parts. By Charles Perry, M.D,* London: Printed for T. Woodward, between the Temple Gates in Fleet-street, and C. Davis, near Middle-Row, in Holborn, printers to the Royal Society; and J. Shuckburgh, at the Sun, near the Temple Gate, in Fleet-street, M.DCC.XLIII, [1743]. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (accessed July 20, 2023), 4. According to Perry, the sultan resided over the "Empires of the *Greeks* and *Saracens*; the Kindgoms of *Epirus, Macedonia, Peloponnesus, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Servia, Armenia, Egypt, Cyprus, Syria, Media, Mesopotamia, Tunis,* and *Algers*; with the Principalities of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*; and all the Isles of the *Archipelago."*

> The March was usher'd in by several armed Officers on Horseback; then follow'd 58 Emirs with green Turbants; Nine led Horses, richly caparison'd ; 40 Agas on Horseback, with Fire-arms; 27 Musicians on Horseback; 70 Tartars on Horseback, arm'd with Bows and Arrows, Pistols and Sabres. Then followed the Secretary of the Janisaries; and after him, 500 Couriers, all on Horseback, carrying each a Pike with a small Ensign tied at the End of it; and 16 others with Leather Caps, arm'd with Bows and Arrows, Pistols and Sabres.[30]

He described this as a grand parade with many types of people and items that showcased the Grand Signior's power and prestige. Travelers like Perry were able to provide descriptions of events such as this that suggest the Muslim Mediterranean participated in extravaganzas of entertainment similarly to Europeans.

Twenty-first-century listener's reception of music from the eighteenth century can only be understood from writings, yet the actual nature of the music cannot be known from writings alone. Due to this, music history must be considered through other disciplines; at this point, music had no "corpus of ancient works."[31] During the eighteenth century, theorists attempted to reconstruct older music through fragments and speculation on ancient treatises. This also left the major question of musical texture, such as monophony or homophony, unanswered due to the lack of knowledge of ancient music. "Music had no ultimate intellectual authority, no models from the past on which to build. Lacking ancient examples, it could not refer to an authority of previous works. [At this time] It had no Virgil or Petrarch; no line of great composers could be revered from the past as were Dante and Michelangelo."[32] Similarly, in the sixteenth century, painting had this issue of limited ancient

---

[30] Perry, *A view of the levant,* 62.

[31] Weber, "The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste," 184.

[32] Weber, "The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste," 181.

knowledge to go off of to establish an "intellectual authority."[33] This required musical study to be based on other disciplines such as science and literature. Therefore, studying music during the Enlightenment emphasized the intellectual need to rebuild and understand European musical tradition from the previous centuries. Also, music as a profession provided an "open-ended social structure"[34] because it was more accessible to learn in homes or from treatises. Weber states "It was not so much that musicians had a lower social standing than those in other arts or crafts, as it was that the profession was less closed because of the nature of the trade and therefore admitted many persons from the less educated social orders."[35] This could explain why so many travelers commented on music even though they were not musicians because they could learn music outside their profession through either a teacher or a printed treatise.

The third aspect of contemporary musical taste in the eighteenth century, amusement, played a large part in the inclusion of musical commentary in these travelogues. Due to the lack of an "intellectual authority" of music, it did not have to answer to a higher authority; this task fell to the public. According to William Weber:

---

[33] Weber, "The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste," 181.

[34] Weber, "The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste," 189.

[35] Weber, "The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste," 189.

> The primacy of the general public in the shaping of musical taste reinforced the contemporaneity of taste. Since the public did not defer to a higher academic authority, it was not segmented into various levels of learning or sophistication. Values toward music as amusement did not emphasize divisions between the more and the less learned listeners; training was appreciated but not demanded. If anything, the connoisseur had to be careful not to flaunt his knowledge, for neither he nor the artist would dare speak spitefully about the general public, as Berlioz and Wagner were later to do.[36]

As a large part of daily life, music for eighteenth-century musicians and listeners did not have a previous set of compositions deemed canonical at the time, therefore they relied on the current nature of music as a way to understand their present and their past. The commentary on music by the public could have led to the creation of the musical canon in the nineteenth century. At this point, listeners began comparing new works to works that were heard frequently or were well-known.

Due to the patronage of composers, subjects celebrated in musical compositions largely included the aristocracy during the eighteenth century. "[T]he most powerful patrons were normally royalty, patronage and celebration were necessarily involved in politics. The highest-level musicians in some cases were diplomats; in any event the composer of a king had to be politically adroit to retain his position at court."[37] At this point, a trope emerged in eighteenth-century musical life where people only discussed music in serious matters and denied they listened to the Opera. The opera at the time became more sought after to witness because of the link to "international elites."[38] With music being dedicated to the aristocracy during the eighteenth century, this aspect of social listening grew out of the superiority of

---

[36] Weber, "The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste," 191-192.

[37] Weber, "The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste," 180.

[38] Weber, "Did People Listen in the Eighteenth Century?," 682.

listening. However, with the shift in political climates in much of Europe, i.e. the rise of the middle/lower class, the authority of musical listening began to shift to the "public as the principle authority within theatre, rather than the monarch or the manager, as a matter of importance in a time when absolutism was beginning to weaken."[39] This suggests that anyone could have some sort of education in music or at least be familiar with its conventions because publications, like treatises, made music more accessible. With the decline in absolutism, people were able to discuss music outside what it was for political leaders since the shift to the public being the authority, leading to the possibility for more commentary from common people outside of aristocracy, i.e. travelers, although most were in higher classes.

Travelogues and Criticism of Foreign Music

Laughton stated that Egyptians in general "shew that a liveliness of imagination was not part of the *Egyptian* character."[40] As aforementioned, his description exhibits a value judgment on the Egyptian's taste in the arts. He reflected on their music only thinking of his own European experiences of music. Laughton did not study their music or their language in a way where he could have acknowledged its differences from European music but not judge it as "barbar[ic]."[41] Other travelers have varied backgrounds with the locations they visited in the Muslim Mediterranean. Some spent time learning Arabic beforehand while others spent a few years in the areas, either way, the travelers that follow in this section voyaged to the

[39] Weber, "Did People Listen in the Eighteenth Century?," 683.

[40] Laughton, *The history of ancient Egypt*, 361.

[41] Laughton, *The history of ancient Egypt*, 361.

Muslim Mediterranean for some sort of political reasons and all showed similarities in their discernment of the music.

Constantin-François Volney's motivations for his first travel publication have created some debate in scholarship about whether he went for personal or political reasons. Volney's background include learning Hebrew and enrolling in Arabic and medicine courses while also frequenting radical French salons. Traveling through Egypt and Syria for about three years as a lone voyager and spending some time learning Arabic in a monastery show Volney's personal interests in the language and history. However, it has been documented that he arrived in North Africa with a "letter of introduction from someone high in the French consular network, and it is clear that he had knowledge of French strategic ambitions in that region."[42] His descriptions of the people, culture, and geography of both Egypt and Syria, written through a political lens with tones of scouting for higher powers in France set a precedent for later travel works. It has been said by scholars such as Edward Said that Volney's travelogue provided a guide for Napoleon's Egyptian campaign in 1789, despite Volney's disagreement with colonizing Egypt in the past.[43] Volney's inclusion of information on the political and cultural state of the area proved to be useful for Napoleon; he stated that it would be easy to construct a revolution in Asia.[44]

---

[42] Alexander Cook, "Between the Old World and the New: C.F. Volney and the Politics of Travel Writing in France, 1782-1803," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 3, no. 385, (2016), 87.

[43] Said, *Orientalism,* 81.

[44] Cook, "Between the Old World and the New," 86-87.

His political interests lay in republican ideals during the eighteenth century.[45] This included discussing how to work republican ideals into a large nation. These ideals included political and religious liberty and questioning the moral philosophy of ancient and modern complements; similar to their British contemporaries at the time.[46] Early modern republicans believed in the freedom of religious and political beliefs and that they were related to one another. As for moral philosophy, "many were pessimistic about human nature, accepting that human beings are necessarily motivated by the passions and by self-interest. Consequently, rather than seeking to suppress these impulses they looked instead for means of directing and using them in order to produce the kind of behavior that was required for republican government."[47] Early modern republicans were searching for a way to implement their ideals for government into a monarchical system, as well as looking forward through their contemporary works rather than back at their antiquities. Volney's travelogue indicates his desire for free thinking through his descriptions which present as critically judgmental.

Volney's descriptions of Arabic music in Egypt and Syria include a critical overtone that mirrors other French travelogues. For example,

> To their music we must not ascribe so high an antiquity. [...] They have no music but vocal; for they neither know nor esteem instrumental, and they are in the right; for such instruments as they have, not excepting their flutes, are detestable. They are strangers likewise to any other accompaniment than the unison, and the continued base of the Monochord. They are fond of singing with a forced voice in the high tones, and one must have lungs like theirs to support the effort for a quarter of an hour.

[45] Minchul Kim, "Volney and the French Revolution," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 79, no. 2 (April 2018), 223.

[46] Rachel Hammersley, *The English Republican Tradition and eighteenth-century France: Between the ancients and the moderns*, (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2010), 7.

[47] Rachel Hammersley, *The English Republican Tradition and Eighteenth-Century France*, 7.

Volney claimed that the Muslim Mediterranean's music involved only vocal music sung in unison. His observation led him to believe that they did not have instrumental music because their instruments are "detestable." While most of their music seemed to be vocal, many travelogues claim to have witnessed instrumental music. Although he spent almost two years in Syria, he judged their instruments by comparing them to the standards of European instruments and determining that Syrian instruments were not as good or respectable. He also claimed that Arabs did not respect instrumental music. This shows that Volney judged Arabic music from the perspective of enjoyment, rather than for its intended purposes of ceremony.

Alexander Cook states that Volney aimed to separate himself from other travel writers at the time by taking "a stance systematically opposed to exoticism and the picturesque."[48] This avenue of description does not read well to the modern reader, as well as objects with his contemporaries such as Claude-Etiénne Savary whose travelogue "makes one wish to live in Egypt" rather than being "condemned to live there."[49] While Volney wrote to detach himself from other writers at the time, he also wrote in a way that reflected French views on other music such as Spanish and Italian music. He stated:

> Their [Arabic] airs, in point of character and execution, resemble nothing we have heard in Europe, except the Seguidillas of the Spaniards. They have divisions more laboured even than those of the Italians, and cadences and inflextions of tones impossible to be imitated by European throats. Their performance is accompanied with sighs and gestures, which paint the passions in a more lively manner than we should venture to allow. They may be laid to excel most in the melancoly strain.

[48] Cook, "Between the Old World and the New," 90.

[49] Cook, "Between the Old World and the New," 90.

The French considered Italian music to be more difficult because of the number of notes per syllable that they were able to perform, thereby creating difficult melodies for singers. Volney's comparison of the Arabic airs points to this French dislike of complicated melodies when he stated there were tones "impossible to be imitated by European throats." Additionally, his mention of seguidillas shows him comparing Arabic music to something different and new in France.

Another traveler, Charles Sigbiert Sonnini loved traveling and abandoned becoming a lawyer to start his military career. He traveled on a mission ordered by Louis XVI with François Baron de Tott (1733-1793) to Africa in 1777. Sonnini stayed behind as the mission moved past Egypt to learn more about the antiquities of the country.[50] He described his experience of witnessing a church service and circumcision processional, as discussed in chapter 1.

> [On the Coptic Church] The church is simple, and without any other ornament than a few ostrich eggs, and some bad pictures of saints. In countries where paintings are in a manner proscribed, these pass for masterpieces; and the monks, who took a pleasure in shewing them to me, appeared astonished at my viewing them with an air of disdain. Although the prayers are said in modern Coptic, which most of the monks understand, yet none of them can speak that language, and they make use only of the Arabic. In short, it is impossible to give an idea of the confusion that sometimes prevails in their church: they often know not what they are to sing; one would have a particular anthem or psalm, and another a different one; they then dispute and come to blows: in the mean time a third chants a prayer, which is followed by the choir, and thus the quarrel is terminated.[51]

[50] "SONNINI DE MANONCOURT, Charles Nicolas Sigisbert," Travelogues: Travellers' View, Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation, last modified 2014, https://eng.travelogues.gr/collection.php?view=16. Not much has been explicitly written on Sonnini's travels, author Iolē Vingopoulou at the National Research Foundation in Greece provides an overview of his reasons for writing his travelogue.

[51] Sonnini, *Travels in upper and lower Egypt*, 354.

He began by commenting on the nature of the paintings he saw. He claimed that the church was confusing because of the use of modern Coptic, while most monks could not speak the language but understood it. Curiously, he mentions the confusing prayers being said in a different language, when in the French church under Louis XIV to Louis XVI Latin text was strictly used in sermon rather than the French vernacular. Jean-Paul C. Montagnier claimed "the prayers they could have recited in the vernacular would not have been the same as those the priest pronounced in Latin. Thus, the French king and his courtiers had the leisure to concentrate on the psalm set to music, paying almost no attention to what the celebrant recited."[52] While it cannot be confirmed now how many people did or did not know Latin used in the French church, it is plausible that people would not know some of the prayers because of the use of a different language, similar to how he described this in the Arabic/Coptic church. Sonnini presented the confusion as an "impossible" task to describe while also presenting it as a fight, using the terms "blows" and "quarrel" when discussing the musical feature of this church. It is possible that Sonnini points out the differing languages because of the vernacular debate that transpired around 1757 when Pope Benedict XIV approved bishops to read vernacular bibles.[53] It is likely that with that happening in the Catholic Church before Sonnini traveled to Egypt, it would be at the forefront of his mind for him to comment on other cultures.

[52] Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, "French Grand Motets and Their use at the Chapelle Royale from Louis XIV to Louis XVI," *The Musical Times*, 146, no. 1891 (Summer, 2005), 55.

[53] Rebecca Messbarger, Christopher Johns, and Philip Gavitt, *Benedict XIV and the Enlightenment : Art, Science, and Spirituality*, (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 235.

After discussing the confusion, Sonnini described the singing he witnessed. He stated, "[t]heir singing consists of Turkish and Arabic airs, accompanied by cymbals, the noise of which, mixed with their squalling voices, and their discordant music, makes the church re-echo with a medley of jarring sounds."[54] There are many words in this small quote that indicate the European criticism that has been discussed in previous quotes. "Noise," "squalling," "discordant," and "jarring" depict what Sonnini heard. While present-day listeners will never truly know what music in the Muslim Mediterranean sounded like during the eighteenth century, this description presents it in a negative light compared to other accounts. Utilization of the specific words "noise" and "squalling" appear frequently in other travelogues, in addition to other words such as "discordant" and "jarring."

Louis XIV ordered Joseph de Tournefort, the earliest traveler in this study,[55] to travel to the Levant (primarily Constantinople and the Archipelago) to bring back new plants for the Royal Botanical Garden.[56] His descriptions had a critical tone, yet he also showed some commentary that merely observed rather than judged. His narrative is different from other politically motivated travelers because he "methodically narrates his visit to each island, and

[54] Sonnini, *Travels in upper and lower Egypt*, 354.

[55] Tournefort traveled to the Levant by order of the Late French King in 1700. His travelogue was published in 1718; ten years after his death.

[56] "TOURNEFORT, Joseph Pitton de," Travelogues: Travellers' View, Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation, last modified 2014. https://eng.travelogues.gr/travelogue.php?view=102&creator=1122320&tag=9717. Not much has been explicitly written on Tournefort's travels, author Iolē Vingopoulou at the National Research Foundation in Greece provides an overview of his reasons for writing his travelogue.

describes the locations as well as events that he witnessed and encounters with locals."[57] This type of description is more in line with quotes discussed later in this chapter. Likely, this is why his descriptions of the music appear as an outlier to the others. Tournefort described his observations of military undertakings under the Chief of the Chaoux.

> The Bassa's Musick was disagreeable in nothing but their repeating constantly the same Tune, as if they have never learnt above one Lesson. Tho their Instruments were different from ours, yet they began to grow familiar to our Ears. One day the Bassa did me the honour to ask me *how I lik'd his Musick;* I answer'd, *It was excellent, but a little too uniform:* he reply'd, *That in Uniformity consisted the Beauty of every thing.* 'Tis true, Uniformity is one of the Chief of that Nobleman's Virtues, for he seems to be of the most unchangeable Temper in the World.[58]

Tournefort commented on their use of melodic repetition, which was normal for military practices. In Europe, "drummers and fifers relayed orders which set the pace and direction of troop movements. Learning the messages of field music was an integral part of a soldier's training. Cadence was a key component of an infantryman's discipline; drum march provided the key to discipline."[59] Chants and other repetitive music were a staple in forming ranks and bringing order to military groups. Tournefort mentioned that the music was excellent when asked by the Chief how he liked it; he also stated that the local instruments, though different from their instruments, became familiar to the European's ears. Nevertheless, he still challenged their musical efforts by saying that "they [had] never learnt above one Lesson" and that he got used to the sounds.[60]

---

[57] "TOURNEFORT, Joseph Pitton de," Travelogues: Travellers' View, Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation, last modified 2014.

[58] Tournefort, *A voyage into the Levant,* 182.

[59] Ronald F. Kingsley and Michael R. Edson, "The Military Musician in Eighteenth-Century America: A View from Fort Ticonderoga," *New York History* 82, no. 3 (Summer 2001), 214.

[60] Tournefort, *A voyage into the Levant,* 182.

Claude Étienne Savary traveled to Egypt simply as a voyager but catered his writings to the Comte de Provence, Louis XVIII, who had a love for history.[61] Savary originally designed his travelogue to satisfy the tastes of the royal patron Louis XVIII but soon realized that his published volume pleased the Comte as well as the public, and they did not discern fact from fiction.[62] Alastair Hamilton states that Savary "had originally intended to limit the book to a single volume, but he changed his mind. Continuing to avail himself of the libraries at his disposal, he decided to add two volumes describing his fictitious journey and based entirely on secondary sources."[63] Savary is an example of a politically motivated traveler, not entirely from his political stance, but specifically from the catering of his travelogue specifically to the liking of Louis XVIII. In his travelogue, he explains an encounter with locals on boats going up a river and recounted their music and instruments in his travelogue:

> As we advance, we perceive a multitude of boats going up the river under sail; others that go down, and drive with the stream. The mariners amuse themselves with their rough and noisy music. They mix their hoarse voices with the sound of the tambour de basque, and of the wild flute made of reeds. These concerts do not charm the ear; but the joy they inspire, reaches the soul of those who hear them.[64]

Savary's portrayal of the mariners overall, comes across with Enlightenment criticism at the forefront. He used the words "rough," "noisy" and "hoarse" when describing their voices, similar to other travelers' accounts. As mentioned in chapter 1, other European writers like Rousseau used similar language when describing non-French European

---

[61] Alastair Hamilton, "Claude-Etienne Savary: Orientalism and Fradulence in Late Eighteenth-Century France," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 82 no. 1, (2019), 299.

[62] Hamilton, "Claude-Etienne Savary," 299.

[63] Hamilton, "Claude-Etienne Savary," 299.

[64] Savary, *Letters on Egypt*, 79.

music. Savary's discussion of their instruments included the use of the word "wild" when naming their flute, another frequent descriptor in travelogues. The last section of this quote initially reads with an err of disdain towards the music itself by saying "these concerts do not charm the ear" but also suggests that the joy it brought the Arabs was contagious. This quotation shows a balance between acceptance on the one hand, and judgment in comparison the ideal of "good" music according to his French heritage.

Later in the travelogue, Savary described a ceremony that he encountered; he attested that their predecessors influenced the ceremonies:

> Since the days of Herodotus, the Egyptians have passed under different governments, and are at length plunged into the depth of ignorance and slavery; but their character is not essentially changed. All the mad ceremonies, sanctified by the heathen religion, are renewed at this day around the tombs of the santons, before the churches of the Copti, and at the fairs I have spoken of. The taste for pilgrimages still subsists amongst them. Their dances, their music are the same. In spite of the shackles with which the Mahometan religion has enchained them, their natural character breaks forth, and the inclinations of their forefathers prevail; so true it is, that old habits, arising from climate, triumph at length over every law.[65]

His statement pointed out all the governmental changes the Egyptians went through and that these changes essentially did not alter their character; possibly meaning that these changes did not change their culture or moral customs. Savary used the word "mad" to describe their ceremonies. He likely perceived this as a "mad" ceremony to show how different their religion was from typically more solemn Catholic ceremonies. He categorized their religion as a "heathen religion," showing that exoticism was not only something to comment on in music.

[65] Savary, *Letters on Egypt,* 331-332.

Carsten Niebuhr, discussed in chapter 2, was a mathematician who traveled to Arabia for the Royal Danish Arabia Expedition funded by King Frederick V to help put Denmark on the map of biblical scholarship.[66] Niebuhr is somewhat of an outlier in this section because he acknowledged that he was not a connoisseur of music, simply a listener.[67] Niebuhr's quotes that follow demonstrate his "listener" descriptions that were different from those of the other travelers who went to the Mediterranean for political reasons. Niebuhr's first quote depicts an instrument known as a lyra.

> It should seem, from the simple construction of their musical instruments, as well as from various other circumstances, that those are of a very ancient origin, and have been transmitted down, without undergoing any remarkable alteration. [...] The Greeks have a bow instrument with three catgut strings, upon which they play with an wooden bow, fitted with horse's hair, to which they give the necessary tension in playing, by preferring it with the little finger; it is called the *Lyra.* These instruments are always accompanied with the voice.[68]

He described plainly that this instrument had a simple construction and that it had not changed much from its ancient predecessors, assuming he was able to trace its lineage, which is unlikely. Others in the section that follows have also stated that these instruments are simply constructed and described their appearance as well. Niebuhr then described the Greek instrument, *Lyra*, that shaped the Arabian instrument, along with how it always accompanied the voice. This indicates that music in the Muslim Mediterranean typically had some instruments like the Lyra that accompanied voice only at this time.

---

[66] Baack, *Undying Curiosity,"* 25.

[67] Blazekovic, "Carsten Niebuhr and Beyond," 148.

[68] Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia*, 133.

Niebuhr’s next quote erred on the side of the politically motivated travelers discussed above, but he still did not judge music in the Muslim Mediterranean too harshly.

> The Egyptians are fond of noise musical instruments; but the inhabitants towards the south of Africa, seem to prefer a softer species of music. In the hands of a *Barbari,* or native of the kingdom of *Dongola,* I saw a sort of harp that afforded a very pleasing sound. [...] My *Barbari* acquaintance danced while he played. This instrument seemed not unlike to David's harp. The *Barbari* call it *Kussir*; the Arabs, *Tambura.*

His mention of the Egyptian’s instruments being “nois[y]” is consistent with other travelers. Nevertheless, he continues to simply explain what he noticed during his travels. His observation showed that the Egyptians enjoyed a different type of music than that of Southern Africa, although he refrained from an overt judgment on quality. Niebuhr also described a harp-like instrument with a pleasing sound that he encountered in *Dongola.*[69] He compared it to King David’s harp from the biblical story, which shows Niebuhr’s reference to something that his audience would understand, especially given that he was on a trip funded by biblical scholars. It is possible that Niebuhr found this harp to be a “pleasing sound,” because this was an instrument that he had already been accustomed to hearing; his comment of the other instruments being “noisy” reveals that they could have been unfamiliar to him, so his initial value judgment categorized them as noise.

Travelers who journeyed to the Muslim Mediterranean for political reasons were more likely to place a value judgment. By using words such as “barbarity,” “noise,” “languishing,” “squalling” or “crying” travelers like Laughton indicate that music outside Europe, specifically in the Mediterranean in this instance, as poor music. These political

[69] This is located in what is now known as the Northern state of Sudan.

reasons varied from being sent by a monarch to the Mediterranean or publishing a travelogue with a preface to a monarch in hopes of being noticed. While most of their commentary displays disdain toward music outside of Europe, there are some instances where they do reveal acknowledgment of its beauty.

Travelogues and Observations by Grand Tourists

Browne described the music of Cairo during a Ramadan celebration as "plaintive vocal music [...with…] agreeable sensations occasioned by it."[70] As previously mentioned, his description entailed a more general description of the events he witnessed. The travelers discussed in this section voyaged to the Muslim Mediterranean with the desire to see beyond Europe for Grand Tour-like travel. No matter their reason for traveling to these locations, they indicate similarities in their descriptions of music in the area. Some in the following section are also outliers in their category much like the few travelers in the previous category.

Richard Pococke (1704-1765) was a British traveler who held many positions in the church due to his familial connections and aptitude to work with patrons. However, his legacy is more associated with his travels than his promotion through the church hierarchy. From 1737 to 1740 Pococke traveled to the East to visit cities beyond the typical Grand Tour such as Alexandria, Cyprus, Cairo, Jerusalem, Palestine, and more. In his travelogue titled *Description of the East* published in two volumes 1743 and 1745, Pococke probably stretched some of the truth in his observations, as discussed in chapter 2, through printing and editing. Despite this fact, he published his work at a time when not much was known

[70] Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798*, 85.

about the Muslim Mediterranean and proved to be a valuable resource in the revival of Egypt in European art during the eighteenth century.[71]

On his journey to Alexandria in the first volume of his travelogue he described his encounter with the Aga of Reah, who commanded the military in Syria near the Yarmuc (now Yarmouk) river.

> We met the aga of Reah in this place, with whom we drank coffee: The tent being pitched, we staid here all night. The aga had a great entertainment at this place, and music; he sent us some of his provisions; and I was told they were so polite, as not to begin their music until they found we were asleep, that we might not be disturbed by it.[72]

Pococke mentioned that their entertainment was great but did not describe their music in depth. He stated that the aga's entertainment waited until the travelers slept to start their musical entertainment, so they were not disturbed. Did these travelers hear the locals' music before and mention their distaste towards it or had the aga and their people encountered travelers who made them feel they had to hide their music? It is possible that European or other outside travelers to the Muslim Mediterranean could have made the locals feel that they needed to hide their music from outsiders.

Browne, discussed at the beginning of this chapter, provided a few more quotes on the music he witnessed.

---

[71] Elizabeth Baigent, "Pococke, Richard," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2011; Accessed 10, Aug 2023.

[72] Pococke, *A description of the East, And Some other Countries*, 146.

> The place of these, when they have received a present according to the pleasure of the Bey, is often supplied by female singers, who frequently accompany their voices with an instrument, touched like the guitar. There are women who are highly valued for this talent of amusing the public; and if any judgment may be formed from the manner in which they are sometimes rewarded the gratification of their auditors is far from being moderate. There are occasions when some of the *Harem* exhibit their vocal powers in the presence of select company; but this is not common; and in that case the performer is concealed behind a curtain or lattice.
>
> The last are the female dancers or *ghawasiè.* These, it may be supposed, if they are able to fascinate the eye of the multitude, in the public streets, with only ordinary exertions, neglect not to have recourse to the more laboured blandishments of their art in the presence of a prince.[73]

Browne's description of the etiquette of female singers is very similar to the way Europe regarded female singers. His travels did not happen until 1792 after Vivaldi's success with the Ospedale della Pietà orphanage.[74] His description of the women performing behind curtains or lattices is very similar to how Vivaldi was able to have his students perform his concertos on unusual instruments for the public.[75] Through Browne's quote, readers learned that an instrument similar to what Europeans called a guitar accompanied singers. They also learned that dancers in the Bey's company also entertained the public.

Later in Browne's travelogue, he described the scene of male dancers in comparison to the female dancers he witnessed before:

> In this country dancing is practiced by the men as well as the women, and they often dance promiscuously. Each tribe seems to have its appropriate dance: that of Fûr is called *Secondari,* that of Bukkara *Bendala.* Some are grave, others lascivious, but consisting rather of violent efforts than of graceful motions. Such is their fondness for this amusement, that the slaves dance in fetters to the music of a little drum; and what I have rarely seen in Africa or the East, the time is marked by means of a long stick held by two, while others beat the cadence with short batons.[76]

---

[73] Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798*, 85-86.

[74] Ellen Rosand, "Vivaldi's Stage," *The Journal of Musicology,* 18, no. 1 (Winter, 2001), 8.

[75] Rosand, "Vivaldi's Stage," 23.

[76] Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798*, 292.

This description illustrates that the male dancers moved, and the Bey treated them differently than the female dancers. Only male dancers danced in “fetters” or chains, as prisoners; female dancers were a part of a harem, used for public entertainment. Browne described these male dancers as less graceful than the female dancers, stating that their movements were “grave,” “lascivious,” and “violent,” whereas female dancers were “fascinat[ing]” and displayed “ordinary exertions.” The male dancers danced with chains; it is understandable why their movements would be more labored or awkward compared to the women.

Charles Perry was a traveler and medical writer who journeyed to the Levant between 1739 and 1742. Perry wrote his travelogue to document his encounters in Constantinople, Egypt, Palestine, and Greece, yet he does use judgmental language. Perry’s political stance is unknown, so it is difficult to compare his use of some words to others who traveled because of political motivations. In this quote, he describes the details of a march he witnessed:

> Such as are a Degree above the lowest Class are generally preceded by some Instruments of a chearful, merry sort of Music; but they are all, of what Class soever they may be, followed by a Symphony of Music, consisting of Drums, some kettle, some common, besides some other squeaking Instruments, which may be said to be a very scurvy Resemblance of Bag-pipes; and all these mounted on Camels. Be it observ'd that where the Condition and Rank of Bridal Pair intitles them to Two Concerts of Music, *viz.* One in the Van, and another in the Rear of the Procession, there the merry Music always goes before; which, we presume, may be construed into an ill Omen.[77]

Perry described the musical genre he witnessed as cheerful and merry and mentioned the instruments included in this march. This part of his description is not entirely critical of

[77] Perry, *A view of the levant,* 249.

the music, but rather more critical of people's class associations. The language that he used in listing the instruments used in this march mirrors the critical judgments made by politically motivated travelers. He commented on the other instruments being squeaky and continued by stating that they are a "scurvy resemblance of bag-pipes." He seemed to see these instruments as a contemptible comparison to a European instrument. Perry then compared the class of the march participants being able to have two concerts of music. By "concerts," he likely meant two groups of musicians at the beginning and end of the wedding processional. It seems that the first "concert" plays merry music to celebrate and that the second concert was some other type of music. Perry commented earlier in his travelogue about the Egyptians following strict guidelines in their ceremonies. Presumably, by saying if the two concerts were to go in an incorrect order there would be an "ill Omen,"[78] he thought that if the custom did not go as usually practiced something bad would happen. This shows that he placed assumptions on their culture from some other events that he witnessed, possibly not taking the time to understand their customs fully.

John Montagu, discussed in chapter 1, was another Grand Tour type traveler who wrote non-judgmental accounts of music of the Muslim Mediterranean, but who did sometimes include European criticism. When describing a sermon for a wedding he said:

[78] Perry, *A view of the levant,* 249.

> The ceremony begins with a sermon, which usually lasts about an hour and half. Then the dervishes rise from their seats, and going up one by one to the place where the superior of the covenant stands, make him a very low bow, and immediately begin to turn round upon their heel with surprising agility and swiftness. There are constantly twelve performers, who are so expert as to keep two motions at the same time, the one in turning upon their own heels, and the other round the room, without ever being in one another's way, or so much as one man's moving out of his proper place. This exercise continues above an hour to the sound of a tabor, and an instrument something like a German flute, the notes of which are by no means harsh or unharmonious, though wild and irregular. When at a sign form the superior the music ceases, the all stop in an instant, and remain motionless in the spot of ground where they are last time happen to be.[79]

Montagu observed what he saw happening in this sermon with few critical words to describe the music. He stated the music was "by no means harsh or unharmonious" showing that his ear was willing to hear their music without criticizing it, but then added, "though wild and irregular." These words, specifically "wild," discussed in other politically prompted travelogues indicated a critical tone, but in this context, it is possible that his choice of these words was to show that it was still an unusual sound to him, even though he did not find them to be not agreeable.

In contrast to travelers with political motivations, Grand Tourists were more inclined to plainly describe how the music sounded or what events transpired with the music. This is different from politically motivated travelers who frequently used descriptive words that showed their own discernment of the music. Tourists, however, candidly explained what they witnessed. Their explanations of their experiences provide an insight into the music of the Muslim Mediterranean. Readers were able to gain some semblance of what music must have been like during the eighteenth century without also hearing critical judgment.

---

[79] Montagu, *A Voyage performed by the late Earl of Sandwich,* 162.

It is completely plausible and expected that travelers, during any century, would compare their musical knowledge and aesthetics with those of other nations. However, in these eighteenth-century travelogues, there is a surprising dichotomy in these descriptions. Travelers who journeyed on behalf of monarchies or for political reasons tended to more critically judge the music they witnessed. In contrast, those who journeyed for the sake of the Grand Tour were more likely to see the music for its cultural significance. These travelers acknowledged that although the music differed from their own in Europe, it was no less beautiful in its own way. Not every quote placed a value judgment on the music of the Muslim Mediterranean; some attempted merely to describe it. I contend that both types of travelers went outside Europe to further their knowledge of the area, appealing to the Enlightenment values of the century. This confirms that both groups went for that same reason, however, some upheld the Enlightenment ideals in the simple search for answers to their question of "why?." Others upheld these ideals by also searching for answers but taking it further by comparing to Europe and likely looking to build settlements in the Muslim Mediterranean at a time when the Ottoman Empire was losing its foothold. While there were people in both groups that had language that coincided with the opposite group, there was a dividing line that exemplified this dichotomy of musical description during the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER 4

FILTERING IDEALS: AN ANALYSIS OF HOW THE EXOTIC WAS PORTRAYED IN SELECTED OPERAS AND ORATORIOS

> The following sheets were never written with a view of publication; but as they have passed through the hands of several respectable men, who gave it as their opinion, that they contained some useful information, which should not be withheld from the Public, [...] Some of those gentlemen even thought the Author ought to compile a history of the country, its customs, inhabitants, trade, &c. but when he was considering about it, Mr. Savary's Letters on Egypt and soon after Mr. Volney's Travels, made their appearance, which occasioned him to abandon that scheme entirely: not because he approves of every thing that they say, far from it: but he saw he would often be obliged to contradict not only one, but both of them, and thus confound the Public: for what reason has he to expect, that his assertions should be more entitled to credit than those of others.[1]

- John Antes

John Antes was the first American missionary to travel to Egypt on a missionary trip for the Moravian church. Antes' father, Heinrich, was responsible for the establishment of the Moravian church in America. Known for his mechanical abilities, Antes spent several years in an apprenticeship for watchmaking, as well as instrument making.[2] Antes' is also considered the first American-born composer to write chamber music.[3] Interestingly his travelogue from Egypt and Abyssinia[4] makes hardly any mention of music but allows readers to understand his time in the country. He was a thoughtful boy in his youth which led to him

[1] Antes, *Observations on the manners and customs of the Egyptians*, 3-4.

[2] Donald M. McCorkle, "John Antes, 'American Dilettante'," *The Musical Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (October 1956): 486-489.

[3] K. Marie Stolba, "Evidence for Quartets by John Antes, American-Born Moravian Composer," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33, no. 3 (Autumn 1980), 565.

[4] Abyssinia is now known as Ethiopia in Eastern Africa.

becoming "an instrument for deepening the religious life of his companions."[5] His character assisted him in helping others and eventually, the authorities of the congregation decided to put him in charge of a group of older boys. Antes had a servant's heart for the Moravian church and in time became an un-ordained assistant minister.[6]

The church attempted to send missionaries to Abyssinia a few times with little luck, due to "political disturbances and something like a civil war"[7] that only allowed them to get as far as Egypt. In 1768, the church tried one more time and sent Antes to meet two other men in Egypt. John left for Cairo in January 1769 and arrived, after some unfortunate issues hindered his travels, on February 10.[8] Antes' arrival in Cairo began with some political strain in which he remained neutral in a time and place where they rejected neutrality.[9] His experience also included jail time and undergoing the bastinado from the Osman Bey. [10] Outside these events, Antes spent most of his time working to spread the Moravian message and also composed some pieces while abroad. In separate letters to Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), Antes sent copies of his string quartets and trios.[11] Although Antes did not mention

---

[5] Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton, "Experiences of the First American Missionary in Egypt," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 12, no. 1 (1938), 27.

[6] Hamilton, "Experiences of the First American Missionary in Egypt," 27.

[7] Hamilton, "Experiences of the First American Missionary in Egypt," 28.

[8] Hamilton, "Experiences of the First American Missionary in Egypt," 31.

[9] McCorkle, "John Antes, 'American Dilettante'," 486-489.

[10] This is the beating of the soles of the feet.

[11] Nola Reed Knouse, ed., *The Music of the Moravian Church in America* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 267.

music in his travelogue, it is clear from this correspondence between him and Franklin that music was an important part of his life.

The Moravian church regarded music-making “like every other endeavor, as an act of worship.”[12] Their leader, Zinzendorf, agreed with Martin Luther that music was a “fifth gospel.”[13] Knowing this makes it more surprising that Antes did not comment on music during his time in Egypt. However, understanding that music-making in this church was a God-given talent that was practiced “for the good of the community, not to aggrandize the composer or the performer,”[14] shows why he possibly avoided mentioning music in his travelogue. Because music-making was strictly used for the good of the community as a means of spreading their message, Antes would not have commented on any musician’s performance qualities. This is especially true when it is considered that the Moravians “have not sought virtuosity [...]. Rather, modest competence and self-effacing sincerity [...].”[15] The Moravians’ thoughts on musical performance indicate that while they may not have sought out the music, they most likely enjoyed it when they heard it, but did not feel the need to comment on it due to their thoughts on virtuosity versus modest competence.

Antes’ above quote discussed his motivations to write and publish his travelogue. He did not intend to publish his observations, but “they [his notes] have passed through the hands of several respectable men, who gave it as their opinion, that they contained some

---

[12] Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, xii.

[13] Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, xii.

[14] Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, xii.

[15] Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, xii.

useful information, which should not be withheld from the Public."[16] Due to these comments, he decided to publish them but had reservations about doing so because of other travelogues that had already been available to the public. He felt that he would "contradict not only one, but both of them [Savary and Volney], and thus confound the Public."[17] Antes' desire to avoid confusion, although he did not agree with some of the major published documents, for the public is admirable considering the number of published materials circulated during the eighteenth century.

Additionally, unlike most other travelers, Antes actively spent his twelve years learning the language and customs of the Muslim Mediterranean. He called out other travelers later in his travelogue for not spending the time there to truly get to know the location. He also mentioned in the preface of his travelogue that there are some authors whom he would recommend while others were merely copies of previous work.[18]

> In my idea it is sufficient for most readers to have a general knowledge of the Mamelucks, and their government, which have varied but little these many years of which Pocock, Norden, Niebuhr, (these three authors, particularly Norden, I would recommend, in preference to all others, to the reader) have given very good information, and Mr. Savary's and Volney's accounts are mostly copies of it. For, though the former describes the whole of Upper Egypt, he never was himself beyond Cairo; of which I was an eye-witness. The latter came to Cairo near one year after I left it, staid but seven months without the advantage of the Arabic language, and in a troublesome time, when travelling into the interior parts was dangerous. We can therefore, not expect that his narrate should be sufficiently correct to pass for the standard of truth.[19]

[16] Antes, *Observations on the manners and customs of the Egyptians,* 3-4.

[17] Antes, *Observations on the manners and customs of the Egyptians,* 3-4.

[18] Everyone that Antes mentions was discussed in the previous chapter with the exception of Norden.

[19] Antes, *Observations on the manners and customs of the Egyptians*, 4-5.

His quote stated his feelings on the importance of understanding the culture, and he felt that Norden,[20] Pocock,[21] and Niebuhr[22] had given good information. Antes claims that Savary and Volney's works were copies of previous works. According to Antes, this time was dangerous to travel, therefore it is likely that they did not go further into Egypt as they claimed they did. His claims illustrate the notions previously discussed in earlier chapters of writers and editors stretching the truth to reach a broad audience back in Europe. It seems that Antes knew this was happening and was not happy with it.

Similar to Antes' claims about exaggerations in travelogues, music composed in Europe about exotic locations during the eighteenth century most likely were exaggerated as well. I argue that eighteenth-century travelogues and musical works were a medium through which ideals of the exotic were filtered into European culture. Through my analysis of operas and oratorios, I will show that musical works presented visions of cultures, attitudes, and peoples as facts without indicating the truth in the customs abroad. Despite the stereotyping that occurred in some operas, this chapter will show that the Muslim Mediterranean had more of an impact on European musical subjects than Europe did in the Muslim Mediterranean conversely. By looking into the European operatic culture of the time, it is clear that they were fascinated with exploring new characters and stories that were not familiar to them.

---

[20] Frederik Ludvig Norden, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia. By Frederick Lewis Norden. F.R.S. Captain of the Danish navy. Translated from the original Published by command of his Majesty the King of Denmark: and enlarged with observations from ancient and modern authors, that have written on the antiquities of Egypt, By Dr. Peter Templeman*. Vol. 1. London: printed for Lockyer Davis and Charles Reymers in Holborn; Printers to the Royal Society, MDCCLVII. [1757]. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

[21] Pococke, *A description of the East, And Some other Countries*.

[22] Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia and Other Countries in the East*.

Although these characters or stories may not have held high importance in other cultures, it was important in Europe to portray a new story that would entertain audiences.

Opera, Oratorio, and the Muslim Mediterranean

Similar to travelogues, music based on exotic topics provided audiences with a view into another world. Regardless of cultural or musical accuracy, these worlds allowed Europeans to "experience" exotic cultures and stories, and to learn about non-European customs - even if what was presented was flawed by stereotype. Travelers to the Muslim Mediterranean brought back stories of their journeys which were likely altered to suit publishing for a large audience,[23] just as music may have been written or staged as stories altered to suit the audience's tastes. Furthermore, the popularity of the Grand Tour propelled audiences to consume any information they could find on exotic locations, especially if they were not able to travel themselves. The lens of Grand Tour travel could provide audiences a way to simply "see" or "learn" about lands outside Europe. This was another medium for audiences to take in any information about exotic locations while not having to or being able to travel. Operas and oratorios were able to take people visually outside Europe in a theater whereas travelogues could only use illustrations. Operas and oratorios provide audiences with an immersive experience of staging, sound, and story to take them away from their everyday life and into the world of another story, location, or culture.

Operas and oratorios functioned similarly to the travelogues discussed in this thesis if considered through the lenses of politics and Grand Tour travel. Operas in both France often served the purposes of the monarchy, while British opera was subsidized by the monarchy

[23] Colletta, *The Legacy of the Grand Tour,* xv.

but catered to a ticket-paying audience. For example, in France, *tragédie en musique*'s "basic purpose was to mythologize absolutist kingship in order to shore up the reigns of Louis XIV and his descendants."[24] The genre held much "institutional and symbolic subservience to the French monarchy, whether as outright propaganda or as a subtler, subjective form of domination through the arts."[25] On the other hand in Britain, opera librettos "need[ed] to deal carefully with portrayals of monarchy, especially in a limited, parliamentary monarchy such as Britain's and with the monarch in attendance in the royal box."[26] Contrary to France, British composers and librettists had to "avoid the appearance of glorifying absolute monarchy and arbitrary rule and yet preserve the possibility of disposing monarchs without threatening monarchy itself; they would need to respect the monarch's authority while also presenting the monarch's responsibilities to his or her people."[27] This was because operas in Britain were not fully sponsored by the monarchy, but they still wanted to maintain respect towards the monarchs. Both British and French operas catered to the monarchy in different ways, yet also used ancient stories and faraway lands to tell allegorical or metaphorical stories of European monarchies.

Libretto writing, specifically from Italian librettists, took a turn at the beginning of the eighteenth century with more serious subject matter. Locke called this "purified" operas

---

[24] Olivia Bloechl, *Opera and the Political Imaginary in Old Regime France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 1.

[25] Bloechl, *Opera and the Political Imaginary in Old Regime France*, 1.

[26] Thomas McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 225.

[27] McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain,* 225-226.

in which the plots and comic elements were essentially taken avoided.[28] These operas almost always ended with a couple reuniting or a rightful leader regaining their throne and "[m]any of these 'purified' operas took place in exotic lands or, if set on European soil, included at least one prominent exotic character."[29] Likely the most popular librettist during the eighteenth century was Metastasio; he specifically assisted in changing the way poets wrote libretti towards the middle of the century. In his era of writing libretti, the libretto "was required to aim at simplicity, naturalness, dignity, and instruction, as well as being good literature."[30] These stories appealed to audiences because of their happy endings.

Serious opera often used stories based on Greek or Roman history, stretching to locations like Egypt, Carthage, eastern Bulgaria, western Turkey, Georgia, Scythia, Persia, and India, or stories of recent crusades or Chinese ministers.[31] These stories allowed the characters to be more dramatic, whereas famous figures often stuck to strict moral rules. These characters were typically more unknown to the European public, therefore allowing for the stories and characters to be more eccentric or exciting to audiences, likely contributing to the creation of stereotypes. Locke claims that "a serious opera that centers on an Eastern tyrant tends to subject him—and hence the society that he represents—to a moralizing 'improvement' or 'correction' by the time the work ends, as if he has now seen the light and found it rising—unlike the sun—in the West. What was unsettling, in short, has

[28] Locke, *Music and the Exotic,* 239.

[29] Locke, *Music and the Exotic,* 239.

[30] Robert Cannon, *Opera*, Cambridge Introductions to Music (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 43.

[31] Locke, *Music and the Exotic*, 240.

been settled, reconciled."[32] Issues that audiences may have encountered in travelogues and through other kinds of encounters could be "resolved" in the opera by either the character becoming civilized or defeated in the end.

However, cultural exchanges most likely impacted serious opera because of the anecdotal observations of Others that created stereotypes prominent in operatic works of the time. Contemporary observers were likely to take the stories presented in operas as true representations of customs and traits of foreigners, thus creating stereotypes. The majority of travelers at this time would have been young men as "part of the *rite of passage* of elite manhood."[33] Besides mediums such as operas or travelogues, the audience members who frequented the opera, outside of these elite men, would probably not have experienced non-Western cultures or customs directly. Therefore, it is possible that whatever operas or oratorios claimed or suggested about the Muslim Mediterranean could have been seen as a reality, or at least as a version of truth, by those who could not travel themselves.

Case Study: *Arsinoe Queen of Cyprus* by Thomas Clayton

Although many operas before this time depicted stories from exotic lands, operas in the eighteenth century began to portray these stories as more of the Orientalism "us vs. them" paradigm, rather than the more cosmopolitan nature of these areas as discussed in chapter two. An example of an early approach to an opera in an exotic location is Thomas Clayton's (1673-1725) *Arsinoe Queen of Cyprus*. At this point, the Grand Tour was relatively new, and therefore exoticism in libretti was less frequent. As Locke suggested, this plot includes a

[32] Locke, *Music and the Exotic*, 242.

[33] Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 25.

resolution between lovers and foes, as well as assassination attempts on the Queen and other jealousy and misunderstandings between characters.

Arsinoe premiered in 1705 after Clayton came to own his late father's shares for the Drury Lane Theatre and then went to study Italian music in Italy in 1702.[34] It was at Drury Lane that his opera *Arsinoe* premiered after his return from Italy when he felt satisfied with his learning of the Italian style.[35] He described his composition as a way to "introduce the Italian manner of Musick on the English stage, which [had] not been before attempted."[36] The libretto says that it was specifically performed by Her Majesty's servants indicating that it was written with royalty in mind like politically-minded travelogues. Although this was not commissioned by Queen Anne, it was presented at court for her birthday.[37] Clayton wanted to give the Italian style a foothold in England, and he mentioned in his preface on the libretto wanting to "pleas[e] the Nobility and Gentry,"[38] He likely composed this opera with the nobility in the forefront of his mind. This is similar to travelogues such as Claude Étienne Savary who traveled as a voyager but wrote his travelogue with the Comte de Provence, later known as Louis XVIII, in mind.

An opera about Cyprus in the Italian style could showcase a sort of melding of "other" cultures into one to produce a story that is "exotic." During the eighteenth century,

---

[34] Thomas McGeary, "Thomas Clayton and the Introduction of Italian Opera to England," *Philological Quarterly* 77, no. 1 (1998): 171.

[35] McGeary, "Thomas Clayton and the Introduction of Italian Opera to England," 171.

[36] Tomasco Stanzani, *Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus. An opera, after the Italian manner: all sung. As it is perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, by Her Majesty's servants*, (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, within Grays-Inn Gate next ..., 1705), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (accessed October 20, 2023), 2.

[37] McGeary, "Thomas Clayton and the Introduction of Italian Opera to England," 174.

[38] Stanzani, *Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus,* 2.

the nationalistic musical styles were popular in opera and the Italian style was no exception. Europeans saw the Italian style as spontaneous, emotional, ostentatious, and sometimes superficial.[39] All of these being "'southern' traits, and this perception is used, by contrast, to shape the 'northern' observer's notion of his or her own national identity and aesthetic values as English, German, French, and so forth."[40] This all points to the Italian style being exotic to Britain, France, and so on, so other exotic lands could be performed in this style because it was not in the typical European national style (i.e. English or French) and therefore was possibly all seen as similar by audiences who have never traveled to these locations but were familiar with the Italian style as it gained a foothold in Britain and France.

This opera's musical exoticism is found in the story that is set in Cyprus. The opera engaged the audience in a dramatic story of romance and betrayal, set in an exotic country with an exotic queen, who seems to be an amalgamation of many different historical figures. There are four Arsinoes in history, all four having ties to Egypt. Arsinoe I was the first wife of Ptolemy II, King of Egypt.[41] Arsinoe II became the Queen of Egypt when she married her brother Ptolemy II, when she died he built a shrine to her in Alexandria and many cities were named after her.[42] Arsinoe III was also Queen with her husband and brother, Ptolemy IV; they served during a tumultuous time and eventually were killed in a palace coup.[43] Lastly,

---

[39] Esterhammer, *Romanticism and Improvisation*, 5.

[40] Esterhammer, *Romanticism and Improvisation,* 5.

[41] "Arsinoë I." *Funk & Wagnalls New World Encyclopedia*, (January 1, 2018), 1.

[42] "Arsinoë I." *Funk & Wagnalls New World Encyclopedia*, (January 1, 2018), 1.

[43] Yale University Art Gallery, "Portrait of a Ptolemaic queen, probably Arsinoe III," *The Harold A. Strickland, Jr., Collection*, 1998. https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/74401.

Arsinoe IV was queen and co-ruler with Ptolemy XIII and half-sister of Cleopatra VII. Geographically, Arsinoe is a city in Cyprus named after Arsinoe II, sister to Cleopatra, connecting this story possibly to both Cyprus and Egypt, which conforms to the use of ancient stories as an operatic setting as previously mentioned. In Clayton's opera, the Queen of Cyprus is not a real historical figure and instead is based on a mixture of names and facts from these historical figures; audiences likely would not have known this fact when attending the opera. Clayton's operatic subject shows the early eighteenth-century interest in exotic geography, which corresponds with Said's ideal of the Orient as being created by Europeans as a place for romance, exotic people, and more.[44] For the English, exotic locations may have supplied excitement and novelty in their day-to-day lives while still offering cultural distance from the subject matter at hand. Operas and travelogues offered a window into another world without being directly affected by that culture in their own lives.

The dilemma in *Arsinoe* centers around Dorisbe who blames the queen for her father's death. Both women are in love with Ormondo who later reveals that he is Phelops, Prince of Athens. Throughout the opera, Arsinoe is described as a "tyrant" and a "barb'rous villain." These words are similar to those in travelogues, which used words such as "barbarity," to describe the people in the Muslim Mediterranean. The following is the libretto where Arsinoe is lamenting over the possibility of Ormondo dying.

[44] Said, *Orientalism*, 1.

Act 3 Scene II[45]
Arsinoe *alone*

Arsinoe: Must then *Ormondo* die?
And die by me?
What Tygress gave thee Birth, *Arsinoe*?
Feraspe! [She calls out
Ah! *Feraspe*'s gone!
Peace, my tumultuous Soul. [She walks considering.
Ormondo has conspir'd;

Interestingly, the phrase "what tygress gave you birth?" is sung by Arsinoe herself. It would be less surprising if another character asked her this but her asking this to herself seems like her putting herself down. This kind of language dehumanizes Arsinoe in the same way that some travelers described other cultures and peoples as "savage;" because he described her as being born to an animal rather than a human. On the other hand, Ormondo/Phelops who is from Athens, describes Arsinoe as a "deity" and a "goddess." This refers to the Greek stories that were so often portrayed in operatic presentations at the time. These characters were either a part of or a creation based on mythology, which was far enough away in time from eighteenth-century life that it could have been considered exotic. At this early point in the century, the exotic could have been portrayed through Greek stories because they were familiar, yet unfamiliar at the same time, just as exotic locations were to those who had not traveled.

The set design for this opera is yet another way in which Clayton immersed audiences in a story from an exotic land. However, the set design does not accurately represent Cyprus from the eighteenth century. Figure 2 illustrates James Thornhill's design for Act 1, Scene 1 where the audience and Ormondo find Arsinoe sleeping in a garden. Figure 3 is an

[45] Stanzani, *Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus,* 34

illustration from Cornelis Philander de Bruyn’s travelogue published in 1702 of Cyprus and the islands surrounding it.

Figure 2: Design for a stage set for Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus at the Theatre Royal, London for “Act I, Scene I, Arsinoe sleeping in a garden at night” illustrated by James Thornhill (1705)[46]

[46] Department of Prints and Drawings, “Design for a stage set for Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus at the Theatre Royal, London for Act I, scene 1, Arsinoe sleeping in a garden at night,” *Theatre Costume Design in the Victoria and Albert Museum Colour Microfiche,* Emmett Microform, 1985. https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O923751/design-for-a-stage-set-james-thornhill/

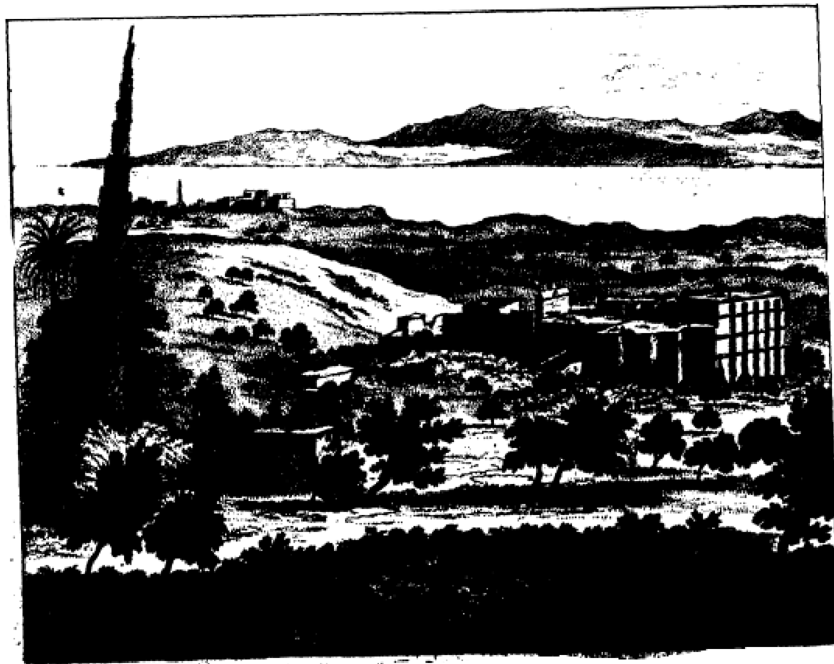

Figure 3: Drawing from Cornelius de Bruyn's travelogue[47]

While there do seem to be mountainous ranges in the backgrounds of both images, the drawing of *Arsinoe*'s set design seems to be more English than Cyprian. There are more trees such as palm trees in the travelogue drawing, while the set design has more hedge-like foliage. Thornhill's drawing seems to be in a stately English garden with hedge-like foliage and what looks like a fountain in the middle of the scene. The set design also has many sculptures at the edges of the hedges; which is not evident that it would be similar to Cyprus from this picture. This comparison reveals that the staging of this opera set the story in a location that might have looked more familiar to the European audience. This would have been a way to tell an exotic story while prioritizing a conventionally European-looking garden as a way to introduce a story located in an unfamiliar land.

---

[47] de Bruyn, *A voyage to the Levant*, 197.

Arsinoe has no overt musical exoticism, but it was the first English-language opera to be composed "in the Italian style." At this point, the Italian style was foreign to Britain. Clayton had the libretto translated from Italian to English and introduced fully sung opera to Britain. Clayton mentioned in the preface of the libretto "[t]he Musick being Recitative, may not, at first, meet with that General Acceptation, as is to be hop'd for from the Audience's being better acquainted with it: but if this attempt shall, by pleasing the Nobility and Gentry, be a Means of bringing this manner of Musick to be us'd in my Native Country, I shall think all my Study and Pains very well employ'd."[48] Clayton acknowledged that this style was foreign or exotic to Britain at the time and shared a hope that it could be subsumed into the English operatic culture. As stated earlier in a discussion with Locke's work on *opera seria*, often these stories would take place in faraway locations with an "Eastern tyrant"[49] that was not a familiar figure in European culture, who developed as a character and the audience was able to see a resolution in the end. There was likely not much known of Cyprus at this point so setting the opera in this location made it easier to portray an exotic story.

One of the two mentions of Cyprus in the libretto of this work is in the very last song of the opera. The short aria titled "Tell it in the Cyprian Groves," seen in Figure 4, is the only time that any variation of the word Cyprus is used in this opera and possibly the most exotic song in terms of subject matter. This song is relatively short and simple in melody. The range of this song is just above an octave from G4 up to A5. The baseline moves in sixteenth-note patterns and is more active than the melody line. There is only one accidental throughout the

---

[48] Stanzani, *Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus,* 2.

[49] Locke, *Music and the Exotic*, 242.

whole piece that is set in C major. This song is relatively accessible for audience members to sing at home, being that these pieces were published for community members to buy. This would allow audiences to study the pieces at home rather than only experiencing them in the theater; this makes the “exotic” more accessible to the public in a way that later operas would not be able to. By using the Italian style that was “exotic” to the public at the time, this piece provided a simpler melody to sing or learn at home that was about a different location without feeling entirely unfamiliar with the music. With music in the Muslim Mediterranean likely having a different temperament or scalar pattern than the Europeans, writing in the Italian style would have been a compromise between familiar and unfamiliar. Later, composers began writing their pieces specifically for trained performers to put both the singer's and composer's skills on display.

49

A SONG in the OPERA of Arſinoe Sung by Mr Hughs, Set by Mr Thº Clayton.

Then tell it tell it in the Cyprian Groves, tell it to all the Laughing Loves, while the tunefull Choir plays, while the tripping Satyrs bound, while they ſooth us with their Lays, while the Winds and Hills reſound we envy not Jove in grandure a bove, altho we endure, ſuch pains for a Cure, who live in the Realm of Love, we envy not Jove in Grandure a bove, altho we en_ dure, ſuch pains for a Cure, who Live _ _ _ _ _ _ in the Realm of Love.

Figure 4: “Then Tell it in the Cyprian Groves” from *Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus*[50]

Case Study: *La naissance d'Osiris* by Jean Phillip Rameau

At this point in the century, more travelogues were being published or in the process of being written. Most of the travelogues discussed in this thesis were written in the mid-century and then published later. With the amount of travel writing circulating, as well as coffee house and salon discussions, foreign concepts would likely have been becoming more familiar to the public. My next example is an opera ballet that continues the conversation of opera as a way of filtering ideals about the Muslim Mediterranean through European culture. Jean Philip Rameau composed *La naissance d'Osiris* in 1754 for the birth of Louis XVI.[51] This opera is different from the previous in portraying the exotic because it sets an event that could happen in everyday life, the birth of a child, however, the spin that the libretto created was that the baby being born was a god, popularly known in Egyptian mythology. This parallel is again similar to political travelogues in that it was possibly composed with a royal family in mind, therefore plausibly composed in a way to get the message to the public of royalty being above them across through an operatic filter.

Rameau's opera tells the story of Osiris, the Egyptian Lord of the Underworld, being born and Jupiter coming down from the skies to tell the mother and father that their baby was Osiris. Interestingly, the name Jupiter is for the Roman god who is the equivalent of the Egyptian Ammon, who is the oldest of ancient Egyptian gods and became the supreme God during the Middle Kingdom.[52] It is common to use ancient stories of the Gods in operas

---

[51] Robert A. Green, Anthony C. Baines, and Meredith Ellis Little, "Musette (i)," *Grove Music Online,* 2001.

[52] Mladen Tomorad, *Egypt in Croatia: Croatian Fascination with Ancient Egypt From Antiquity to Modern Times*, Archaeopress Egyptology (Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2019), 35.

during this time but interesting that the Roman version of Ammon is used in an opera placed in Egypt. Rameau, like many other creatives during this and other centuries, seemed to amalgamate any gods (regardless of their origins) together in a story from one location. This affects exoticism moving forward because there is no designation between certain cultures when telling stories in those locations. Audiences would also not know the difference between each character and simply assume that everywhere outside of Europe was the same in all aspects. The libretto is written in a pastoral style setting the scene of old-fashioned days or life in the countryside.

The libretto for this opera truly focuses on Jupiter and the mother Pamille. There are no words used throughout the libretto that resemble other librettos or travelogues presented in this thesis. This opera focuses on the story and at the end the chorus sings a prayer.

Dieu de nos cœurs, Dieu de nos cœurs,	God of our hearts, God of our hearts,
Ta main charmante, Point d'Inhumaine,	Your charming hand, Point of Inhumane,
Ici ne présente, Plus d'attente vaine;	Here there is no more vain waiting,
Que des nœuds de fleurs. Toujours des faveurs.	Only flower knots. Always favor.
Chantons, Les Ris, les Jeux,	Let's sing, the laughs, the games
Dansons, Ont embelli ta chaîne,	Let's dance, have embellished your chain,
C'est l'amour qui nous mene. Et tu remplis nos vœux.[53]	It is love that leads us, and we fulfill our wishes

The libretto praises Jupiter and allows the audience to see a happy ending similar to earlier in the century with Metastasio's libretto reform. This could be similar to praising God at the end of other operas and oratorios, but rather praising a god of Egyptian mythology.

Outside of Rameau using different styles of music such as a French overture or Italianate features, an exotic element that sticks out in this opera includes an instrument that appeared in France in the sixteenth century, but was refined throughout the centuries; the

[53] Louis De Cahusac, *La Naissance d'Osiris, ou La Feste Pamilie, Ballet Allégorique*, in *Fragments représentés devant le Roi à Fontainebleau le [12] Octobre 1754*, Paris Ballard, 14.

musette de cour.[54] This small bagpipe-like instrument was exotic in that it was seen as a close equivalent to ancient Greek aulos or Roman tibiae, possibly similar to the instrument pictures in Figure 5. This instrument appeared in France in the sixteenth century in court music.[55] This instrument came to France and then was developed throughout the years in the French aristocracy from its arrival in 1650 to 1760. The musette de cour, seen as exotic, assisted in the portrayal of exotic characteristics, although it was not true to the location that Rameau was portraying. The novelty that came with instruments that were not originally from Europe could have been used in operas to further the plot of being exotic without being completely accurate to what instruments of Egypt may have looked like.

During the seventeenth century, this instrument typically played rustic dances, and then in the eighteenth century, it received some changes which led to it being used in chamber music and operas often until around the end of the century.[56] Rameau used this instrument during a dance celebration at the end of the opera when the people were celebrating the baby's birth. The "musette tendre" towards the end of the opera uses the musette de cour, this instrument uses many embellishments, seen in Figure 6, such as trills and grace notes, indicating a more Italian style for this instrumental piece. The instruments do not move together for most of this excerpt. Since it is strictly instrumental, it is easier for Rameau to use these embellishments because it does not make the libretto and singing

[54] Cassandre Balosso-Bardin, "Musette Baroque," The Metropolitain Museum, Musical Instruments Collection, 2023. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/503578

[55] Green, "Musette (i)."

[56] Green, "Musette (i)."

unclear to the audience. This dance scene transitions into the end of the opera, where the chorus sings and performs a contradance in couples to celebrate the birth of Osiris.

Figure 5: Musetta from Filippo Bonanni's illustrations[57]

[57] Filippo Buonanni, *Gabinetto armonico pieno d'istromenti sonori*, In Roma: Nella Stamperìa di Giorgio Placho, 1722, 160. https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/gabinettoarmonic00buon

Figure 6: *Musette tendre* from *La naissance d'Osiris*[58]

Case Study: *The Fall of Egypt* by John Stanley

During the beginning of the eighteenth century, oratorios were "presented with the orchestra on the platform together with the singer who, music in hand, performed their parts with neither costumes nor acting in the operatic sense. From the mid-eighteenth century on,

[58] "Rameau // La Naissance d'Osiris // Ballet 1754," *Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département Musique,* VM2-322, 1771.

however, works identified by the term oratorio [...] were increasingly staged in the manner of operas."[59]

Handel's long-lasting impact on the English oratorio included changes such as the text being dramatically sacred, based on the Old Testament written in three acts or parts, and given during Lent.[60] From the oratorio's beginnings as a genre, composers were able to "[voice] the positions or reactions of ethnic, national, or religious groups of the region."[61] They could do this through scene-setting orchestral numbers or choruses, which were highly used in oratorios. Locke claims that often the regions that are portrayed in these oratorios could be places such as Egypt, Babylonia, or Persia.[62] Arguably, this gives later composers in the century more flexibility to portray the exotic, in a stereotypical way, because this genre allowed for large groups to sing as a people from elsewhere in the world.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, oratorios were not as popular due to "concerts of Ancient music"[63] that began in the late 1770s; oratorios were mostly given as excerpts by this point. Although the oratorios were a popular genre, the creation of new oratorios decreased to very few towards the middle of the eighteenth century caused by Handel's style of oratorio composition.[64] Stanley stated in a letter that he did not want to set music to some oratorio librettos due to the ineffectiveness of composing the works. He

---

[59] Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio : Vol. 3: The Oratorio in the Classical Era*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 5.

[60] Smither, *A History of the Oratorio,* 243.

[61] Locke, *Music and the Exotic*, 193.

[62] Locke, *Music and the Exotic*, 193.

[63] Smither, *A History of the Oratorio,* 213.

[64] Smither, *A History of the Oratorio,* 243.

declared "there is little reason to suppose that any other than Mr. Handel's musick would succeed, as people in general are so partial to that, that no other Oratorios are ever well attended."[65] Stanley did go on to compose some oratorios but declined the ones offered to him in this letter specifically because of Handel's legacy on the sacred genre. In France, a similar concert series, the Concert Spirituel, contributed to the performances of oratorios. The libretti of French oratorios were mostly based on familiar stories from the Old Testament, similar to Britain because they were easily recognizable to the audiences. This is a different portrayal of the exotic compared to the earlier two examples because this is when the stories set in exotic locations began to portray stories that the audiences would have been well versed in.

Additionally, it was around this point in the century that stylistic musical characteristics began to be recognized as exotic. The *alla turca* style is considered the first musical style to be recognized as such in classical music,[66] outside of various dance styles. This style was an "ambiguous marker of the Ottoman world, further confirmed by Turkish-style costumes and sets."[67] While earlier iterations of operas set in foreign lands, such as *Arsinoe,* used set design that looked more European than Cyprian, towards the end of the century operas began to include more sets and costumes that looked (to the Europeans) to be foreign. I contend that these costumes towards the end of the century possibly were more informed because of European's familiarity with the Ottoman military and Janissary bands.

[65] Smither, *A History of the Oratorio,* 243.

[66] Locke, "A Broader View of Musical Exoticism," 480.

[67] Locke, *Music and the Exotic*, 36.

However, the familiarity with the Ottomans could have contributed to costuming being only Ottoman looking and maybe not true to other locations, such as Egypt or Cyprus in the Muslim Mediterranean. Although these locations were under Ottoman rule, what is to say that their clothing and locations looked specifically Ottoman?

An example of an Old Testament oratorio is John Stanley's (1712-1786) *The Fall of Egypt* composed in 1774 in Britain. This oratorio also presents the most likelihood of having some sort of influence from published travelogues. Stanley was a talented pianist and composer; he directed some of Handel's oratorios in the 1750s.[68] Stanley did not want to compose oratorios after Handel because the latter composer dominated the genre at this time. Nevertheless, he set *The Fall of Egypt* as a dramatic oratorio and presented it in parts rather than acts (as Handel had done).[69]

The librettist John Hawkesworth (1720-1773) wrote the libretto based on the Exodus story from the Old Testament but added some characters to expand the plot.[70] In the libretto, similar words are used when describing the Pharaoh as in travelogues and *Arsinoe*. Hawkesworth writes the words "ruthless," "tyrant," "stern," and "relentless" to describe the Pharaoh. He also uses the words "wild," "wasted," "dreadful," and "boasting" when describing either Egypt or the Egyptian people. The word "wild" specifically had been used in many travelogues to describe people in the Muslim Mediterranean and beyond. For example, Savary described the music he heard while on a boat as hearing the locals "mix

---

[68] Smither, *A History of the Oratorio,* 202.

[69] Thomas Dewy, "The Fall of Egypt by John Stanley (1712-1786)," (MA Thes., University of New York, New York, 2016), White Rose eThesis Online, 9.

[70] Dewy, "The Fall of Egypt by John Stanley (1712-1786)," 18.

their hoarse voices with the sound of the tambour de basque, and of the wild flute made of reeds."[71] He stated that "[t]hese concerts do not charm the ear; but the joy they inspire, reaches the soul of those who hear them."[72] In another example discussed earlier, Montagu depicted an instrument sounding "something like a German flute, the notes of which are by no means harsh or unharmonious, through wild and irregular." Both descriptions were used in different contexts of describing the Mediterranean, yet it is an extremely common word used when discussing their music.

Although these words are similar to ones seen in *Arsinoe*, there are more words used that sound more judgmental such as "dreadful" and "relentless." Hawkesworth also chose to call the Egyptians a "guilty Race,"[73] during an Israelite prayer, seen in measure 22 of Figure 7. This section of the chorus is largely syllabic with a small embellishment right on the words "guilty race." It seems that Hawkesworth did this to show a resolution later in the story where the Israelites were able to escape the tyranny of Egypt and the Pharaoh. This is towards the end of the oratorio before Moses in his final recitative sings the following phrase. This oratorio showcases its biblical nature by being sung mostly in an Italian-like manner with syllabic notation for the libretto, however, there are two melismas, seen in Figures 8 and 9 that accentuate the word "glorious" as pieces have done in the past to bring importance to the biblical nature of this piece.

---

[71] Savary, *Letters on Egypt,* 79.

[72] Savary, *Letters on Egypt,* 79.

[73] John Hawkesworth, *The fall of Egypt; an oratorio. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal In Drury-Lane. Written by the late John Hawkesworth, LL.D. And Set to musick by John Stanley, M.B.* London: printed: and sold by Mr. Condell, in Cross-Court, Bow-Street, Covent-Garden, MDCCLXXIV. [1774], *Eighteenth Century Collections Online,* (accessed October 20, 2023), 22.

19

[Vln I]

[Vln II]

[Vla]

I [2]

praise! A weak, a - las, and guilt - y race; our mer-it claims no par-tial

[Bc]

Figure 7: Excerpt from Recitative measures 19-25[74]

[74] Dewy, “The Fall of Egypt by John Stanley (1712-1786),” 324.

Figure 8: Melisma one and start of melisma two 45-54[75]

[75] Dewy, "The Fall of Egypt by John Stanley (1712-1786)," 325.

Figure 9: Ending of melisma two measures 55-61[76]

In Moses' recitative below (Figure 10) he acknowledges that there is a "chosen race" in measures 18-19, and they will be led to "the Streams of Life and taste immortal fruit." This then leads to the chorus singing a prayer stating "Praise to the Lord who reigns supreme above! Praise to the mystic Wonders of his Love! Renew the grateful Song of Ages past, The

[76] Dewy, "The Fall of Egypt by John Stanley (1712-1786)," 326.

Song through Heaven's eternal Year shall last."[77] This oratorio libretto ends with a prayer as was to be expected of pieces that were performed during the Lenten season.

Figure 10: Moses' recitative measures 12-22[78]

It should be noted that Hawkesworth had a previous career as an official in the East India Company before he wrote the libretto. In 1771, Charles Burney recommended Hawkesworth to the Earl of Sandwich to be the editor for a collection of sea captain's journals from their travels in the South Seas.[79] Hawkesworth likely drew upon the descriptions of exotic locations for use in his libretto. Hawkesworth used this editing job to

[77] Hawkesworth, *The fall of Egypt*, 24.

[78] Dewy, "The Fall of Egypt by John Stanley (1712-1786)," 332.

[79] John L. Abbott, "John Hawkesworth: Friend of Samuel Johnson and Editor of Captain Cook's Voyages and of the Gentleman's Magazine," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 3, no. 3 (Spring 1970), 341.

gain money and fame, but when his edited book became available to the public it was not received well because he sold his publication for too much money and was accused of falsehoods and inserting classical allusions.[80] In the introduction to his edited book, Hawkesworth noted that one of the contributors who was not a commanding officer in this trip contributed papers that spoke to details that the Captains and Commodore did not notice, such as "descriptions of countries and people, their production, manners, customs, religion, policy, and language, [which were] much more full and particular than were expected from a Gentleman whose station and office naturally turned his principal attention to other objects."[81] Hawkesworth went on to say:

> As the materials furnished by Mr. Banks were so interesting and copious, there arose an objection against writing an account of this voyage in the person of the Commander, which could have no place with respect to the others; [...] It is indeed fortunate for mankind, when wealth and science, and a strong inclination to exert the powers of both for purposes of public benefit, unite in the same person; and I cannot but congratulate my country upon the prospect of a further pleasure and advantage from the same Gentleman, to whom we are indebted for so considerable a part of this narrative.[82]

This quote suggests Hawkesworth's inclination to share these accounts with the public to benefit their society. Interestingly, he chose to include Mr. Bank's papers as a "considerable part of this narrative." Joseph Banks (1743-1820) was an English naturalist and botanist; this

---

[80] Abbott, "John Hawkesworth," 342.

[81] John Hawkesworth, *An account of the voyages undertaken by the order of His present Majesty, for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, And successively performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, And Captain Cook, In the Dolphin, the Swallow, and the Endeavour: Drawn up from the Journals which were kept by the several Commanders, and from the Papers of Joseph Banks, Esq; By John Hawkesworth, LL.D. In three volumes. ... Vol. 2.* Dublin: printed for A. Leathley, J. Exshaw, W. Sleater, M. Hay, D. Chamberlaine, J. Potts, E. Lynch, J. Williams, W. Wilson, J.A. Husband, J. Porter, J. Milliken, T. Walker, J. Vallance, W. Colles, C. Ingham, R. Moncrifffe, L. Flyn, C. Jenkin, and T. Todd, MDCCLXXIII. (1773), 13.

[82] Hawkesworth, *An account of the voyages undertaken by the order of His present Majesty, for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere*, 14.

book was meant to focus on the writings of the captains and the commodore who journeyed to the Southern Hemisphere. Hawkesworth's editorial choices illustrate the same desires of other voyagers and editors who altered travelogues to appease the public. Some writers and editors, like Hawkesworth, presumably strove to make it as interesting as possible for an audience rather than focusing on solely the facts about the peoples and cultures. Although Mr. Banks described facts about the peoples, cultures, and more, Hawkesworth's comment illuminates a desire to captivate the readership with a story that goes further than what the captains may have noticed.

This oratorio portrays the exotic through a few musical elements that accentuate certain words or phrases. Stanley uses "melodic intervals such as tritones and diminished sevenths [...] to set the text more affectively."[83] Stanley's use of tritones and diminished sevenths are at select times in the libretto to accentuate words or peoples.[84] For example below in Figure 11, in Scene II during a recitative, the First Eunuch sings the words "thy looks are wild" in which a tritone is used to accentuate the word "wild."

[83] Abbott, "John Hawkesworth," 26.

[84] For more on the musical analysis of the entire oratorio, see Thomas Dewy's Thesis called "The Fall of Egypt by John Stanley (1712-1786)."

First Eunuch
Thy looks are wild, and ter-ror's in thy eye; what of this dread-ful night up-on thy
Second Eunuch
[Basso continuo]

Figure 11: Scene II Recitative for the First and Second Eunuch measures 1-3[85]

Stanley uses a vivace jig style in 12/8 when the Egyptians or Pharaoh are singing. There are other areas of vivace, but these sections with the Egyptians are the only ones in 12/8. It is possible that Stanley's choice of this Italian jig-like musical setting was because this was possibly "exotic" to England as the Italian style of music had gained popularity there. Wye Allanbrook often refers to the use of the gigue (or jig) as a musical style that evokes lower-class individuals or the pastoral style of rural life.[86] Although there were other jig styles already prominent throughout Europe, this 12/8 jig fits in the style of an Italian giga more than the English jig in 6/8.[87] According to Breandán Breathnach, this Italian-originated style that made its way to Ireland "consists of two eight-bar parts in turn being formed of two four-bar phrases. [...] the second phrase of the first part is a repeat of the first phrase, but in the great majority of cases, showing some modification."[88] In the first part of the jig during

[85] Dewy, "The Fall of Egypt by John Stanley (1712-1786)," 200.

[86] Wye Allanbrook, "Zerlina and Masetto," in *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart Le Nozze Di Figaro & Don Giovanni,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 262-267.

[87] Mary Ellen Snodgrass, *The Encyclopedia of World Folk Dance*, (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2016), 155.

[88] Breandán Breathnach, "An Italian Origin for the Irish Jig?," *Béaloideas* 39/41 (1971), 70.

the Pharaoh's first air, the pattern of eight bars is played and then repeated in the violins when the Pharaoh begins singing, as seen in Figures 12 and 13 below.

Figure 12: Pharaoh's Air measures 1-4[89]

[89] Dewy, "The Fall of Egypt by John Stanley (1712-1786)," 152.

[Hn I]
[Hn II]
[Vln I]
[Vln II]
[Vla]
P
Hence, ye pow'rs of death and night! Hence, ye pow'rs of death and
[Bc]

Figure 13: Continuation of Pharaoh's Air measures 9-11[90]

Stanley's compositional choices when the Egyptians are singing and when there are specific words that he wanted to accentuate used compositional techniques that were not entirely new to European culture at the end of the century. However, the choices that he made show an Italian style influence which was foreign to Europeans at the beginning of the century when Italy was a destination for the Grand Tour.

Compared to the earlier two operas, Stanley is using more compositional choices to showcase the exotic nature of his oratorio. His use of tritones and diminished seventh chords on specific words plausibly indicates one way that he accentuated some of the aspects that had to do with the Egyptians of the story. However, at this point, oratorios strove to tell stories based on the Old Testament while the previous two operas told tales based on Greek

90 Dewy, "The Fall of Egypt by John Stanley (1712-1786)," 153.

myths or amalgamations of historical figures/stories. The way that Stanley sets this oratorio contributes to audiences learning about other cultures through biblical stories. The audience would have been familiar with the Holy Land through the Bible, but oratorios provided an aural and visual aspect that was not previously as accessible. This familiarity with the story could have contributed to some stereotypes of the Egyptians in musical productions because of the audience's likelihood to digest these events as true to the biblical story.

Muslim Mediterranean Experience

Although there is not much documentation of the Muslim Mediterranean peoples' experiences with European travelers outside the travelogues themselves (which are written from a Western perspective), it is highly plausible that the music of the Muslim Mediterranean was not affected much by those encounters. Those traveling on behalf of political powers possibly hoped to leave some trace of their musical culture on the musical culture in the Muslim Mediterranean along with their political endeavors, trade, and more. This was definitely a narrative in other countries exotic to Europe. For example, in the late seventeenth century, Louis XIV sent embassies to what is now known as Siam. The first embassy went to "negotiate concessions for religion and trade, and gained a French monopoly over the tin trade,"[91] as well as, take note of Siamese court practices and attempt to convert the King of Siam to Christianity, which they failed to do.[92] They were sent with a desire to leave a mark or bring back artifacts and information in Asia, which is likely what would have been happening in other parts of the world, including the Muslim Mediterranean

[91] David R. M. Irving, "Lully in Siam: music and diplomacy in French—Siamese cultural exchanges, 1680–1690," *Early Music*, 40 no. 3, (August, 2012), 398.

[92] Irving, "Lully in Siam: music and diplomacy in French," 398.

However, the Muslim Mediterranean culture as a whole had a larger impact on European musical culture than the reverse, despite these dominant narratives in travelogues from the time.

The Mediterranean during the eighteenth century was largely an area for trade and visitors to the area were not necessarily looking to usurp local religions, customs, and cultures completely. Of course, eventually, that would change with the fall of the Ottoman Empire. The narrative of colonization dominating the Americas towards the end of the eighteenth century could have driven some to believe this was the exact same story everywhere. Additionally, as this thesis has shown, Europeans placed more importance on politics and trade in the Muslim Mediterranean during the eighteenth century; a distinct cultural impact, including through music was never a focus.

Despite not always understanding the customs and culture of the Muslim Mediterranean, the desire to consume it throughout Europe was strong. Thus, elements of this culture filtered through mediums like travelogues, art, and music, specifically operas and oratorios. Operas and oratorios provided a space through which audiences could immerse themselves in another "exotic" world. In some ways, this allowed them to travel to a location that was not a reality for most audience-goers. Yet, composers presented audiences with a stereotypical and inaccurate picture of this exotic world. Musically, many used the Italian style as a safe and more familiar way to perform exoticism.

These musical works discussed in this chapter are examples of the European perspective of Muslim Mediterranean culture, often based in stereotypes, and how these were dispersed in music throughout the century. All three works included Italian elements along with some other influences such as French overtures and a small Irish influence in Britain.

Throughout the century, the approach to exoticism in the librettos and music did not change entirely too much but the number of operas with stories set in the Muslim Mediterranean shows the interest that was prevalent throughout the entire century. Travelogues and operas/oratorios served as an accessible way for audiences to learn about other cultures without having to travel themselves. Some of these could have presented the truth, but often there were both small and large details that were altered or left out.

In the cases of operas and oratorios, they were set to present a picture of locations far away while still looking like European places or presented characters as tyrants or uncivilized peoples that eventually became "better" in the end. Travelogues similarly presented information for people back in Europe to read about experiences in the Muslim Mediterranean. As discussed in previous chapters, these were sometimes altered to cater to what would be interesting to audiences, similar to how operas and oratorios would have been composed and set in ways that would intrigue audiences. In this way, the Mediterranean had a gripping effect on the Europeans who visited, read about, listened to, and discussed this other culture, even without traveling to such a distant place.

EPILOGUE

Although the eighteenth century was a rich and fertile ground for travel, scholarship on cross-cultural encounters during this time is limited, especially concerning the Muslim Mediterranean. In this thesis, I have used primary sources, such as travelogues and music, to suggest that different kinds of relationships grew out of these encounters. While some encounters focused directly on colonization, the eighteenth century was also a time of exploration and observation. As shown, this period was the start of musical criticism and documentary notes in publicly circulated writing, and travelogues of the time show how travelers tried to make sense of what they heard, musically, elsewhere. Travels to other locations, such as Egypt, were fostered in the eighteenth century by travelogues. For example, Napoleon's Egyptian campaign from 1798-1801 specifically used Constantin-Françios Volney's travelogues as a touchpoint to plan the expedition.[1] Napoleon's campaign undoubtedly revolutionized the Western enchantment with ancient Egyptian culture, otherwise known as Egyptomania, "a fascination with Ancient Egypt in its many aspects."[2] Although his campaign was a military failure, the French scholars who accompanied him on the voyage "founded Egyptology as a modern empirical discipline and launched modern Egyptomania."[3] This campaign may have led to modern interest, but I contend that the seeds that allowed Egyptomania/the allure of the Levant to grow were planted earlier in the eighteenth century.

---

[1] Said, *Orientalism,* 81.

[2] Ronald H. Fritze, *Egyptomania : A History of Fascination, Obsession and Fantasy*, (London: Reaktion Books, Limited, 2016), 9.

[3] Fritze, *Egyptomania*, 158.

Through the analysis of travelogues and operas/oratorios presented in this thesis, it is clear that Europeans held a fascination for locations exotic to them, specifically in the Muslim Mediterranean, due to the desire to travel beyond the European Mediterranean shores. Alexandria, Smyrna, and Beirut[4] were established as the "largest, richest, and most international [ports] in the area, with the exception of the imperial capital, Constantinople," by the nineteenth century.[5] Their locations on the coast of North Africa were "on the front line between the Ottoman Empire and Europe,"[6] providing a specific area of interest during the eighteenth century for engagements between the cultures, such as trading or political dealings. This area allowed for a kind of melting pot of cultures and ideas because they were cities of mixed religions.[7] Trading routes especially show the interest of these areas in the eighteenth century because voyagers would come back with stories and relate them in English coffee houses or French salons, through discussions of writings and/or regaling their contemporaries in their adventures. These were captivating and sparked conversation and debate amongst those who did not have the means to travel. The amount of trading, traveling, and political efforts during the eighteenth century led to information on exotic lands being circulated more pointedly during the nineteenth century.

Nineteenth-century operas began to portray the exotic in musical ways. For example, in Gioachino Rossini's *Mosé in Egitto,* the exotic is presented in the form of orchestration. In the finale of Act I, Moses conjures rain of hail and fire from heaven when what he is

[4] Now known as Egypt, Turkey, and Lebanon.

[5] Mansel, *Levant*, 1.

[6] Mansel, *Levant*, 1.

[7] Mansel, *Levant*, 2.

promised by the Pharaoh is taken back for a second time. Rossini chose to portray this moment through the use of a tam-tam/cymbals. Additionally, Rossini calls for a "banda turca"[8] in the instruments which include triangles, cymbals, and bells to add to this final section (see Figure 14):

Figure 14: Score indication of "Banda Turca" and crashes at the beginning of the finale[9]

Rossini used the cymbal to portray strikes of lightning. This is similar to how Rameau used the musette de cour in *La Naissance d'Osiris*, but Rossini was much more explicit about the exotic associations. The tam-tam was said to have a "shrill noise" and often was met with harsh criticism from European listeners. The tam-tam became a "common operatic accessory" when it was "evoking archaic peoples [... or] of specifically Eastern cultures."[10] The instrument hailed from Asia originally, a place considered exotic to Europe, like Egypt and Babylon. This instrument's origins show again composers' continued fusion of cultures outside Europe into one; it was not native to the Middle East but was still used to portray the exotic in that location. In the scene where Moses calls on the rain of hail and fire, Rossini

[8] Gioachino Rossini, "Finale," *Mosé in Egitto,* 442. https://s9.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/d/d0/IMSLP108267-PMLP177805-Rossini_-_Mos%C3%A8_in_Egitto_I_(fs_ms_F).pdf

[9] Gioachino Rossini, "Finale," *Mosé in Egitto,* 442.

[10] Gundula Kreuzer, *Curtain, Gong, Steam: Wagnerian Technologies of Nineteenth-Century Opera,* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018), 123.

uses tam-tam crashes to imitate the sound of thunder and lightning coming down to earth. The tam-tam was seen as "an effective noise instrument, while previously it could be seen only at animal shacks during fairs."[11] Percussion instruments, specifically the cymbal, were often used as a means to distinguish an exotic character or location in operas earlier than Rossini's,[12] as the tradition of *alla turca* style-like indications carried on into the nineteenth century.

Interestingly later in the nineteenth century, composers began to use "noise" as a focal point in their music. While "noise" was used to describe other culture's music in these eighteenth-century travelogues, composers such as Stamitz and Rossini used noise in their music to inspire wonder and this was seen as a positive feature of their music. For example, according to Melina Esse, Rossini uses noise in the finalies of his comic operas to "overwhelm the senses, to both signify and induce madness or confusion, and to transform the bodies on stage into noisy automata, wound up and left to play like music boxes."[13] The notion of "noise" in the eighteenth century was used to describe unfamiliar music. Later in the nineteenth century, it became a more sought-after feature of music for some composers to captivate audiences rather than a description of music that was new or different.

Despite my work with travelogues in this thesis, many questions remain and may never be answered completely. I have argued that travelogues and musical compositions were two ways in which European audiences "learned" about the Muslim Mediterranean, but did any composers take direct influence from eighteenth-century travelogues? What other

[11] Kreuzer, *Curtain, Gong, Steam*, 110.

[12] Locke, *Music and the Exotic*, 301.

[13] Melina Esse, "Rossini's Noisy Bodies," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 21 no. 1, (March 2009), 28.

musical descriptions in travel literature influenced the impressions of Levantine music on European audiences? Can travelogues give us the same insight into how Europeans interacted with other cultures around the world? Are there any other documents from the Muslim Mediterranean that could provide some more insight into the cross-cultural encounters discussed in this thesis? A specific study on instrumental influences from the Muslim Mediterranean could show cross-cultural exchange. Further research on these connecting points between the Muslim Mediterranean and Europe in music would require more archival work to bring to light more cross-cultural encounters, hopefully from the Muslim Mediterranean point of view. In searching for cultural reciprocity, I was unable to find sources from the Muslim Mediterranean, this indicates that there is an important gap in research on this area because most of the sources used are from Europe and not the Mediterranean. This thesis provides an assessment of encounters and their influence on the music of the time period, but this is by no means the end of research on this topic. Many more threads need connecting. Although the predominant thought on these encounters seems to be that Europe most likely influenced the Muslim Mediterranean in all ways, this thesis proves through travelogues and music that Europe was captivated with the Muslim Mediterranean long before the nineteenth century.

Bibliography

Abbott, John L. “John Hawkesworth: Friend of Samuel Johnson and Editor of Captain Cook's Voyages and of the Gentleman's Magazine.” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 3, no. 3 (Spring 1970): 339-350.

Allanbrook, Wye. “Zerlina and Masetto.” In *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart Le Nozze Di Figaro & Don Giovanni*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Antes, John. *Observations on the manners and customs of the Egyptians, the overflowing of the Nile and its effects; with remarks on the Plague, and other Subjects. Written during a residence of Twelve Years in Cairo and its Vicinity*. London: printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly, 1800.

“Arsinoë I.” *Funk & Wagnalls New World Encyclopedia*. January 1, 2018.

Baack, Lawrence J. *Undying Curiosity: Carsten Niebuhr and The Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia 1761–1767*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014.

Baigent, Elizabeth. “Pococke, Richard.” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* 2011.

Balosso-Bardin, Cassandre. “Musette Baroque.” *The Metropolitain Museum, Musical Instruments Collection.* 2023. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/503578

Blazekovic, Zdravko. “Carsten Niebuhr and Beyond: Creating Stereotypes About the Arabic Music in Eighteenth-Century Europe.” *Itineraria* 20 (2021): 143-227.

Blin, Arnaud. *War and Religion: Europe and the Mediterranean From the First Through the Twenty-first Centuries*. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018.

Bloechl, Olivia. *Opera and the Political Imaginary in Old Regime France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018.

Böhm-Schnitker, Nadine and Marcus Hartner. *Comparative Practices: Literature, Language, and Culture in Britain’s Long Eighteenth Century*, Verlag: [transcript] publishing, 2022.

Breathnach, Breandán. “An Italian Origin for the Irish Jig?.” *Béaloideas* 39/41 (1971): 69-78.

Brinkman-Schwartz, Anna. “The Heart of the Maritime World: London’s ‘Mercantile’ Coffee Houses in the Seven Years’ War and the American War of Independence, 1756-83.” *Historical Research* 94, no. 265 (August 2021): 508-531.

Browne, William George. *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798. By W. G. Browne*. London: printed for T. Cadell junior and W. Davies, Strand; and T. N. Longman and O. Rees, Paternoster-Row. 1799.

Bruce, James. *Travels to discover the source of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773. In five volumes. By James Bruce of Kinnaird, Esq. F.R.S.* Vol. 3. Edinburgh: printed by J. Ruthven, for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, London, 1790.

Bruyn, Cornelis de. *A voyage to the Levant: or, travels in the principal parts of Asia Minor, the islands of Scio, Rhodes, Cyprus, &c. With An Account of the most Considerable Cities of Egypt, Syria and the Holy Land. Enrich'd with above two hundred copper-plates, wherein are represented the most Noted Cities, Countries, Towns, and other remarkable Things, all Drawn to the Life. By M. Corneille le Bruyn. Done into English, by W. J.* London: printed for Jacob Tonson, within Gray's Inn-Gate in Gray's Inn-Lane; and Thomas Bennet, at the Half-Moon in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1702.

Buonanni, Filippo. *Gabinetto armonico pieno d'istromenti sonori, In Roma: Nella Stamperìa di Giorgio Placho.* 1722. https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/gabinettoarmonic00buon

Burney, Charles. *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*. New York, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1957.

Burrows, Simon. *The French Book Trade in Enlightenment Europe II: Enlightenment Bestsellers*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2016.

Cannon, Robert. *Opera*. Cambridge Introductions to Music. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Clayton, Thomas. *Songs in the new opera call'd Arsinoe, queen of Cyprus.* Score. University of North Texas Libraries. UNT Digital Library. https://digital.library.unt.edu; crediting UNT Music Library London: 1705.

Clement, Richard. “The Mediterranean: What, Why, and How.” *Mediterranean Studies* 20, no. 1 (2012): 114-120.

Cole, Juan. *Napoleon’s Egypt: Invading the Middie East*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Colletta, Lisa. *The Legacy of the Grand Tour: New Essays on Travel, Literature, and Culture*. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2015.

Cook, Alexander. “Between the Old World and the New: C.F. Volney and the Politics of Travel Writing in France, 1782-1803.” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 3, no. 385 (2016): 87-108.

Cooper, Brian P. *Travel, Travel Writing, and British Political Economy “Instructions for Travellers,” circa 1750-1850*. New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2022.

De Cahusac, Louis. *La Naissance d'Osiris, ou La Feste Pamilie, Ballet Allégorique, in Fragments représentés devant le Roi à Fontainebleau le [12] Octobre 1754,* Paris Ballard.

Defoe, Daniel and Thomas Keymer. *Robinson Crusoe*. Vol. New ed. Oxford World’s Classics. Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2007.

Dewy, Thomas. “The Fall of Egypt by John Stanley (1712-1786).” MA Thes., University of New York, New York, 2016.

Dinç, Güven. “The Ports of Cyprus and the French Invasion of Egypt (1798-1801).” *Mediterranean Studies* 24, no. 1 (2016): 23-46.

Esse, Melina. “Rossini’s Noisy Bodies.” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 21, no. 1 (March 2009): 27-64.

Esterhammer, Angela. *Romanticism and Improvisation, 1750-1850.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Frazee, Charles A. “Vincentian Missions in the Islamic World.” *Vincentian Heritage Journal* 5, no.1 (Spring 1984): 1-43.

Fritze, Ronald H. *Egyptomania : A History of Fascination, Obsession and Fantasy*. London: Reaktion Books, Limited, 2016.

Garnett, Richard ed. Elizabeth Baigent. “Browne, William George.” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004.

Gascoigne, John. “The Royal Society, Natural History and the Peoples of the ‘New World(s)’, 1660-1800.” *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 42 no. 4 (December, 2009): 539-562.

Ghrab, Anas. “The Western Study of Intervals in "Arabic Music" from the Eighteenth Century to the Cairo Congress.” *The World of Music*, 47 no. 3, (2005): 55-79.

Gooley, Dana. *Fantasies of Improvisation: Free Playing in Nineteenth-Century Music*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Gordon. “COFFEE-HOUSES.” *Town & Country Magazine, or, Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction & Entertainment* 13 (May 1781).

Gounaris, Basil C. “Unwanted Heros? British Privateering, Commerce, and Diplomacy in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century Eastern Mediterranean.” *Mediterranean Studies* 22, no. 2 (2014): 135-165.

Green, Robert A, Anthony C. Baines, and Meredith Ellis Little. "Musette (i)." *Grove Music Online*. 2001.

Gunes, M. Nihal. “The Economic Condition of Egypt in the 18th Century AD.” *Rosetta* 15 no. 5 (2014): 86-92.

Hamilton, Alastair. “Claude-Etienne Savary: Orientalism and Fradulence in Late Eighteenth-Century France.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 82, no. 1 (2019).

Hamilton, Bishop J. Taylor. “Experiences of the First American Missionary in Egypt.” *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 12, no. 1 (1938): 26-39.

Hammersley, Rachel. *The English Republican Tradition and eighteenth-century France: Between the ancients and the moderns*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2010.

Harbert, Benjamin J. “Of Their Knowledge in Musick: Early European Musical Encounters in Egypt and the Levant as Read within the Emerging British Public Sphere, 1687-1811.” *Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology* 13 (2008): 1-12.

Hardman, John. *The Life of Louis XVI*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

Hawkesworth, John. *The fall of Egypt; an oratorio. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal In Drury-Lane. Written by the late John Hawkesworth, LL.D. And Set to musick by John Stanley, M.B.* London: printed: and sold by Mr. Condell, in Cross-Court, Bow-Street, Covent-Garden, MDCCLXXIV. 1774.

———. *An account of the voyages undertaken by the order of His present Majesty, for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, And successively performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, And Captain Cook, In the Dolphin, the Swallow, and the Endeavour: Drawn up from the Journals which were kept by the several Commanders, and from the Papers of Joseph Banks, Esq; By John Hawkesworth, LL.D. In three volumes. ... Vol. 2.* Dublin: printed for A. Leathley, J. Exshaw, W. Sleater, M. Hay, D. Chamberlaine, J. Potts, E. Lynch, J. Williams, W. Wilson, J.A. Husband, J. Porter, J. Milliken, T. Walker, J. Vallance, W. Colles, C. Ingham, R. Moncrifffe, L. Flyn, C. Jenkin, and T. Todd, MDCCLXXIII. 1773.

Hole, Robert. “Laughton, George.” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004.

Irving, David R. M. “Lully in Siam: music and diplomacy in French—Siamese cultural exchanges, 1680–1690,” *Early Music*, 40 no. 3, (August, 2012): 393-420.

Kim, Minchul. “Volney and the French Revolution.” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 79, no. 2 (April 2018): 221-242.

Kingsley Ronald F., and Michael R. Edson. “The Military Musician in Eighteenth-Century America: A View from Fort Ticonderoga.” *New York History* 82, no. 3 (Summer 2001): 213-230.

Knouse, Nola Reed ed. *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*. New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008.

Kreuzer, Gundula. *Curtain, Gong, Steam: Wagnerian Technologies of Nineteenth-Century Opera.* Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018.

Laughton, George. *The history of ancient Egypt, as extant in the Greek historians, poets, and others: together with the state of the religion, laws, arts, sciences, and government: from The first Settlement under Mizraim, in the Year before Christ 2188, to The final Subversion of the Empire by Cambyses. Containing a Space of 1664 Years. By George Laughton, D. D. of Richmond in Surry*. London: printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand, MDCCLXXIV. 1774.

Leoni, Stefano A. E. “Western Middle-East Music Imagery in the Face of Napoleon’s Enterprise in Egypt: From Mere Eurocentric Exoticism, to Very Organized Orientalistic Ears.” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 38, no. 2 (December 2007): 171-196.

Locke, Ralph P. “A Broader View of Musical Exoticism.” *The Journal of Musicology* 24, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 477-521.

———. “Cutthroats and Cabash Dancers.” in *The Exotic in Music*. ed. Jonathan Bellman Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1998: 104-136.

———. *Music and the Exotic From the Renaissance to Mozart*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

———. *Musical Exoticism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Manniche, Lise. *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt.* London: British Museum Press, 1991.

Mansel, Philip. "The Grand Tour in the Ottoman Empire, 1699-1826." in *Unfolding the Orient: Travelers in Egypt and the Near East*. ed. Paul and Janet Starkey Reading: Ithaca, 2001: 41-64.

———. *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2011.

McCorkle, Donald M. "John Antes. 'American Dilettante'." *The Musical Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (October 1956): 486-499.

McGeary, Thomas. *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

———. "Thomas Clayton and the Introduction of Italian Opera to England." *Philological Quarterly* 77, no. 1 (1998): 171-186.

Menin, Nicolas. *An historical and chronological treatise of the anointing and coronation of the Kings and queens of France, from Clovis I. to the present King ; and of all the sovereign princes of Europe. To which is Added, An Exact Relation of the Ceremony of the Coronation of Louis XV. By M. Menin, Counsellor to the Parliament of Metz. Faithfully done from the original French*. London: printed for W. Mears, at the Lamb without Temple-Bar; S. Chapman, at the Angel in Pallmall; and J. Woodman, at Cambden's-Head in Bow-Street, Covent-Garden, M.DCC.XXIII. 1723.

Messbarger, Rebecca, Christopher Johns, and Philip Gavitt. *Benedict XIV and the Enlightenment : Art, Science, and Spirituality*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2016.

Montagnier, Jean-Paul C. "French Grand Motets and Their use at the Chapelle Royale from Louis XIV to Louis XVI." *The Musical Times* 146, no. 1891 (Summer, 2005): 47-57.

Montagu, John and John Cooke. *A Voyage performed by the Late Earl of Sandwich round the Mediterranean in the years 1738 and 1739. Written by himself. Embellished with a portrait of his lordship, and illustrated with several engravings of ancient buildings and inscriptions, with a chart of his course. To which are prefixed, Memoirs of the noble author's life, by John Cooke.* London: Printed for T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies. 1799.

Morrow, Mary Sue. *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century: Aesthetic Issues in Instrumental Music*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Niebuhr, Carsten. *Travels through Arabia and Other Countries in the East*. Translated by R. Heron. Edinburgh: Printed for R. Morison and Son. 1792.

Norden, Frederik Ludvig. *Travels in Egypt and Nubia. By Frederick Lewis Norden. F.R.S. Captain of the Danish navy. Translated from the original Published by command of his Majesty the King of Denmark: and enlarged with observations from ancient and modern authors, that have written on the antiquities of Egypt, By Dr. Peter Templeman. Vol. 1.* London: printed for Lockyer Davis and Charles Reymers in Holborn; Printers to the Royal Society, MDCCLVII. 1757.

O'Gorman, Frank. *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History 1688-1832*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016.

Öztürk, Temel. "Egyptian Soldiers in Ottoman Campaigns from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries." *War in History* 23, no. 1 (January 2016): 4-19.

Perry, Charles. *A view of the levant: Particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and Greece. In which their antiquities, government, politics, maxims, manners, and customs, (with many other circumstances and contingencies) are attempted to be described and treated on. In four parts. By Charles Perry, M.D,* London: Printed for T. Woodward, between the Temple Gates in Fleet-street, and C. Davis, near Middle-Row, in Holborn, printers to the Royal Society; and J. Shuckburgh, at the Sun, near the Temple Gate, in Fleet-street, M.DCC.XLIII. 1743.

Pococke, Richard. *A description of the East, And Some other Countries... Observations on Egypt. By Richard Pococke, LL. D. F.R.S. Vol. 1.* London: printed for the author, by W. Bowyer; and sold by J. and P. Knapton, W. Innys, W.Meadows, G. Hawkins, S. Birt, T. Longman, C. Hitch, R. Dodsley, J. Nourse, and J. Rivington, MDCCXLIII. 1743-45.

"Rameau // La Naissance d'Osiris // Ballet 1754." *Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département Musique.* VM2-322. 1771.

Rehding, Alexander. "Musical-Historical Egyptomania." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 75, no. 4 (October 2014): 545-580.

Rosand, Ellen. "Vivaldi's Stage." *The Journal of Musicology* 18, no. 1 (Winter, 2001): 8-30.

Rossini, Gioachino. "Finale." *Mosé in Egitto.* Score.

Rousseau, Jean Jacques. *Essay on the Origin of Languages and Writings Related to Music*. Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 1998.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1994.

Savary, Claude Étienne. *Letters on Egypt, with a parallel between the manners of its ancient and modern inhabitants, the present State, the Commerce, the Agriculture, and Government of that Country; and an account of the descent of St. Lewis at Damietta:*

extracted from Joinville, and Arabian authors. Illustrated with maps. By Mr. Savary, Author of the Life of Mahomet, and Translator of the Coran. In two volumes. Travelogue from Eighteenth Century Collections Online.

Sloan, Kim and Andrew Burnett ed. *Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century: Enlightenment*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2003.

Smither, Howard E. *A History of the Oratorio : Vol. 3: The Oratorio in the Classical Era*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Snodgrass, Mary Ellen. *The Encyclopedia of World Folk Dance.* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2016.

Sonnini, Charles Sigisbert. *Travels in upper and lower Egypt, undertaken by order of the old government of France; by C. S. Sonnini, Member of several Scientific and Literary Societies; and formerly an Officer and Engineer in the French Navy. Illustrated by engravings, consisting of portraits, views, plans, antiquities, plants, animals, &c. drawn on the spot, under the Author's Inspection. To which is subjoined a map of the country. Translated from the French.* London: printed for J. Debrett, opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly. 1800.

Stanley, Sharon A. *The French Enlightenment and the Emergence of Modern Cynicism*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Stanzani, Tomasco. *Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus. An opera, after the Italian manner: all sung. As it is perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, by Her Majesty's servants*. London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, within Grays-Inn Gate. 1705.

Stevens, John and Peter le Huray, ed. *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Suter, Keith. "The Rise and Fall of English Coffee Houses." *Contemporary Review* 286 No. 1669 (February 2005): 107-110.

Sweet, Rosemary. *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, C.1690–1820*. Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Tomorad, Mladen. *Egypt in Croatia: Croatian Fascination with Ancient Egypt From Antiquity to Modern Times*. Archaeopress Egyptology. Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2019.

Tournefort, Joseph Pitton de. *A voyage into the Levant: perform'd by command of the late French king. Containing the antient and modern state of the islands of the Archipelago; as also of Constantinople, the Coasts of the Black Sea, Armenia, Georgia, the Frontiers of Persia, and Asia Minor. [...] Vol. 1.* London: printed for D.

Browne, A. Bell, J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, J. Pemberton, C. Rivington, J. Hooke, R. Cruttenden and T. Cox, J. Battley, E. Symon, M.DCC.XVIII. 1718.

Verba, Cynthia. *Music and the French Enlightenment : Reconstruction of a Dialogue, 1750-1764*. Clarendon Press, 1993

Victoria and Albert Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, "Design for a stage set for Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus at the Theatre Royal, London for Act I, scene 1, Arsinoe sleeping in a garden at night." *Theatre Costume Design in the Victoria and Albert Museum Colour Microfiche.* Emmett Microform. 1985. https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O923751/design-for-a-stage-set-james-thornhill/

Vingopoulou, Iolē. "SONNINI DE MANONCOURT, Charles Nicolas Sigisbert." Travelogues: Travellers' View, *Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation*. last modified 2014. https://eng.travelogues.gr/collection.php?view=16.

———. "TOURNEFORT, Joseph Pitton de." Travelogues: Travellers' View, *Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation*. last modified 2014. https://eng.travelogues.gr/travelogue.php?view=102&creator=1122320&tag=9717.

Volney, Constantin-François. *Travels through Syria and Egypt, in the years 1783, 1784, and 1785. Containing the present natural and political state of those countries, […] Translated from the French. In two volumes, Vol. 1.* Dublin: printed for Messrs. White, Byrne, W. Porter, Moore, Dornin, and Wm. Jones, 1793.

Weber, William. "The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste." *The Musical Quarterly* 70 no. 2, (Spring 1984): 175-194.

———. "Did People Listen in the Eighteenth Century?." *Early Music* 25 no. 4, (November 1997): 678-691.

Whaples, Miriam K. "Early Exoticism Revisited." in *The Exotic in Music*. ed. Jonathan Bellman Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1998: 3-25.

Wood, Alfred. C. *A History of the Levant Company*. London: Frank Cass and Co., 1964.

Wortley Montagu, Lady Mary and Arthur R. Ropes ed. *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu; Select Passages from her Letters*. London: Grolier Society, 1900/1909.

Yale University Art Gallery. "Portrait of a Ptolemaic queen, probably Arsinoe III." *The Harold A. Strickland, Jr., Collection.* 1998. https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/74401.

Ziskin, Rochelle. *Private Salons and the Art World of Enlightenment Paris*. Brill's Studies on Art, Art History, and Intellectual History. Leiden: Brill, 2023.

VITA

Alexandria Snyder was born on August 9, 1996, in El Paso, Texas. She graduated from J.M. Hanks High School in 2014 in the top ten students of her class. She holds a Bachelor of Music Education from Northwest Missouri State University (2019), where she was the principal clarinet in the Northwest Wind Symphony and drum major for the Bearcat Marching Band. Alexandria graduated magna cum laude from NWMSU. In 2019, she moved to Tennessee and assumed a teaching position in elementary music for two years.

She began her master's program in 2021 at UMKC. Here Alexandria has served as a Musicology Graduate Teaching Assistant, where she has enjoyed learning about teaching undergraduate courses. Alexandria also served as a Graduate Assistant for the Curriculum and Instruction department at UMKC, where she has enjoyed assisting with the assessment of programs and general education and transfer relations. Upon completion of her degree requirements, she plans to return to teaching before pursuing further schooling.