


9. RACE, ORIENTALISM, AND DISTINCTION IN THE WAKE OF THE “YELLOW PERIL”

 In 1904, the French began to understand the Orient as something other than a vague, mostly passive other, seductive as it might be, that served in the arts as the pretext for Western dreaming, escape, and an opportunity to foreground self-assertion.¹ A fear of “the yellow peril” (*le péril jaune*) set fire in French imagination when, after agreeing in 1902 to side with the Russians in their Far Eastern imperialism, the French watched in horror as the Japanese unexpectedly took on their ally, the beginning of a “war about race.” “It’s the yellow race threatening the white race for the first time since Genghis Khan and his band of Tartars,” a French critic wrote. If the Chinese should join the Japanese, as some predicted, their power would be “colossal,” a “threat to the rest of the universe.”²

French attitudes toward the Orient were in flux. With Turkey sympathetic to Germany and the Franco-Russian alliance encouraging the French to fund Russian

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1. From the late nineteenth century, the term “exotic” was used in France to refer to almost anything beyond French, German, Italian, and English culture.

2. “Le Péril jaune,” opinions of diverse French leaders, *La Revue russe* (9 June 1904): 7. Other revolutions in Persia (1905) and later Turkey (1908), China (1912), and Mexico (1911–12) increased the ominousness of such a threat. The concurrent revolution in Russia also threatened the Franco-Russian alliance, which was based on French confidence in Russian military forces.

imperialism, France's other expanded beyond North Africa and the Middle East to encompass her ally's other, the Far East.³ But when the Far East proved a force with military power and the capacity to defeat the West, the discourses about it became complicated. Edward Said and others have taught us to associate Orientalism with narratives of national identity as well as struggles concerning gender, class, and race, always focused on the "positional superiority" of one group vis-à-vis another.⁴ But after 1905, it was no longer unambiguous who was the stronger, who the weaker in the Orientalist's conventional binary constructions. Those who stood to profit from the growing interconnectedness of the international economy found it important to diffuse these binarisms, to reinterpret them in view of coexistence, at least from a Western perspective. Those who did not responded to this threat to Western hegemony by redefining the West and what was distinctive about it in new journals like *L'Occident* and *La Renaissance latine*. French writers argued that since civilization "marched westward," they, the French, the *extrême-occidentaux*, were the ultimate representatives of the West, its "resolution," and their culture was its "harmonious or bold conclusion."⁵

French political leaders likewise began to feel that "consolidation" among European countries was necessary to match the East's potential power. In 1904, this led to the Entente Cordiale, an alliance with Britain, the other major power in the East. Struggles with Germany in North Africa in 1905–6 resulted in even closer ties and in 1907 led to the Triple Entente between France, Russia, and Britain. The politics of these agreements, an increasing fear of the Far East, and an interest in exploring the origins of Aryan Westerners may well have encouraged French artists to turn to Britain's other, India, as a safer, more neutral terrain for their Orientalist fantasies.

In this chapter, I examine two composers' responses to this Orient. Both traveled to India between 1909 and 1912—Albert Roussel (1869–1936) on his honeymoon, after visits with the French navy, and Maurice Delage (1879–1961) on tour with his parents to the family's shoe-polish factories. Both went on to the Far East, Roussel to Indochina and Delage to Japan, though what they chose to write home, keep journals, and later write music about were their experiences in India. After retracing their footsteps and locating some of their sources in the fall of 1988, I was astounded to find great variance between Roussel and Delage in the musical experiences they describe and in the influence of Indian music and culture on the music they composed after these trips, especially since they visited many of the same places. Subsequently I wrote about the relation of self and other as

3. D. Pistone, "Les Conditions historiques de l'exotisme musical français," and G. Balardelle, "L'exotisme extrême-oriental en France au tournant du siècle," in "L'Exotisme musical français," special issue, *Revue internationale de musique française* 6 (November 1981): 22, 67–76, argue similarly.

4. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 7.

5. "Déclaration," *L'Occident* (1902): 116.

represented in this music.⁶ What interests me here are two other issues: first, how after 1904 India became a repository for new kinds of Orientalist projections, based on the acknowledgment of power in the other, and second, how these composers' interest in India was rooted in their own essentially Western preoccupations.

These attitudes were not so Western as to deny the influence of Indian music on their own composition,⁷ but rather were shaped by these composers' contrasting backgrounds, professional situations, aesthetics, and political orientations. A heightened awareness of the world at large, with its globally interdependent concerns and highly mobile capital, and the self-critical frameworks of modernism predisposed Delage to acknowledge the value of foreign resources and to engage with the culture in its own terms more than did the royalist nationalism and the more conservative aesthetics of the Schola Cantorum, where Roussel taught. Like other modernists, Delage sought to innovate in an international context and shared with global industrialists a desire for access to ever new resources. Indian music provided him with new sounds with which to enrich a composer's palette. Scholists, by contrast, primarily landowners from the provinces, were caught up more in the debates about French music and influenced by the rhetoric of the nationalist *ligues*. The Schola's religious philosophy prepared Roussel for a spiritually enriching experience of India, though one distanced from material culture (including its music) and resulting from a projection rather than an induction of value in its culture. The range of these two composers' vastly different responses to Indian music forces us to reexamine our understanding of Orientalism during this period and to accept the plurality of its meanings and functions in French culture after 1904.

INDIAN MUSIC, UNDERSTOOD FROM AFAR

In the early nineteenth century, at a time when Paris was a "hub of Orientalist study," India was perceived as "the scene of many cultural confrontations, the ground of an East-West meeting."⁸ The Belgian painter François Solvyns published

6. Jann Pasler, "Reinterpreting Indian Music: Albert Roussel and Maurice Delage," in *Music-Cultures in Contact: Convergences and Collisions*, ed. Margaret Kartomi and Stephen Blum (Sydney: Currency Press, 1994), 122–57.

7. In his "Albert Roussel et l'exotisme musical," in *Albert Roussel Musique et esthétique*, ed. Manfred Kelkel (Paris: Vrin, 1989), Kelkel speaks incorrectly of "the absence of any recourse to authentic Hindu music" (77).

8. Raymond Schwab makes this point in *The Oriental Renaissance*, trans. Gene Patterson-Black and Victor Reinking (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984; originally published as *La Renaissance orientale*, 1950), 45. For a discussion of the musical scholarship of the period and for a very extensive bibliography of Westerners who published on Indian music, see Joep Bor, "The Rise of Ethnomusicology: Sources on Indian Music c. 1780–1890," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* (1988): 51–73. I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for leading me to this and other recent ethnomusicological work relevant to this subject.

four volumes of *Les Hindous* in Paris between 1808 and 1812,⁹ and the French missionary Abbé Dubois (c. 1770–1848) left largely reliable analyses of Hindu life in his *Mœurs, Institutions, et Cérémonies des Peuples de l'Inde* (1825). Writers, too, especially Alphonse Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Alfred Vigny, and Jules Michelet, were “enchanted” by India’s religion and famous epics. Until the end of the century, however, “no major French Indic scholar visited India.”¹⁰ Of course, there were the memoirs of a few French visitors, occasional articles,¹¹ and, throughout spring 1902, *Le Matin*’s serial publication of Kipling’s novel *Kim* (based on the author’s travels in India). But the country remained for most French something nebulous, largely a function of their own hunger for escape.

Music was a classic means of making this point, with vague references to India serving as ideal opportunities to coax audiences into dreaming. One has only to think of Bizet’s *Les Pêcheurs des perles* (1863), a love triangle in antique Ceylon, Massenet’s *Le Roi de Lahore* (1872–77), also set in ancient India, and Delibes’s *Lakmé* (1883), a love story about an Indian priestess and a contemporary colonialist.¹² Each of these works explores the “enchancing Orient” as a “charming memory” or “sweet dream” of seduction, intoxication, and loss of self. Each serves as a pretext for composers to write fluid melismas, use drones, and feature delicate orchestration with harps and flutes. This suggests that, dangerous as this freedom might have been to the hegemony of late nineteenth-century musical conventions, this release from various musical constraints was as important to composers as the exotic locale.

What attracted nineteenth-century French musicians most to Indian music was the melodic character of the modes. This rendered it distinctive. The rebirth of

9. For an analysis of section 11 of this work on Indian music and musical instruments, see Robert Hardgrave, Jr., and Stephen Slawek, “Instruments and Music Culture in Eighteenth-Century India: The Solvyns Portraits,” *Asian Music* 20, no. 1 (fall/winter 1988–89): 1–92.

10. Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance*, 47.

11. For example, Pierre Loti, *L’Inde sans les anglais* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1903), P.-J. Toulet, *Journal et voyages* (Paris: Le Divan, 1955), documenting his trip there in spring 1903, René Puaux, *Ce fut le beau voyage* [in 1911–12] (from which *Le Temps* published excerpts and Debussy was inspired to name his piano prelude “La Terrasse des audiences du clair de lune”), and Antoine Mathivet, “La Vie populaire dans l’Inde d’après les Hindous,” *Revue des deux mondes* 131 (15 September 1895): 407–23.

12. Other, lesser known works from the period based on Indian subjects include Chausson’s meditation on Hindu philosophy, *Hymne védique* (1886), Gabriel Pierné’s incidental music for *Izyl* (1894), what he called an “Indian drama in four acts,” Florent Schmitt’s *La Danse des devadasis* (1900–8), and Bertelin’s *Danses hindous*. For a discussion of colonialism and the exotic woman as representing escape in *Lakmé*, see James Parakilas, “The Soldier and the Exotic: Operatic Variations on a Theme of Racial Encounter,” pt. 1, *Opera Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (winter 1993–94): 33–56. For further discussion and a list of Indian-inspired French works from the period, see my “India and Its Music in the French Imagination Before 1913,” *Journal of the Indian Musicological Society* 27 (1996): 27–51.

interest in modality, composers' use of scales other than the major and minor, parallels the colonial curiosity and acquisitiveness of the late nineteenth century. In France, the imperialist government of the Third Republic (1870–1940) saw music as an opportunity to expand its cultural horizons while asserting its cultural superiority.¹³ In the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s, the government gave grants to collect *chansons populaires* (indigenous folk songs), known for their modal variety, in the French provinces and abroad. Eventually this vogue extended to Indian music.¹⁴ Some composers even borrowed Indian scales to use in their own music;¹⁵ however, when it came to understanding the nature of these scales, their use of quarter tones, and their meaning, there was serious confusion.

Other kinds of knowledge about Indian music were even more limited. The Solvyns portraits, the first systematic study of Indian musical instruments, were virtually never cited.¹⁶ François-Joseph Fétis, who dedicated the fifth volume of his *Histoire générale de la musique* (1869–76) to Indian music, bemoans the little he has been able to learn. Pierre Loti's description of what he heard in India and Edmond Bailly's explanation of Indian musical philosophy go into little detail.¹⁷

The most thorough French study of Indian music from this period is chapter 5 of Tiersot's *Notes d'ethnologie musicale* (1905). Tiersot identifies "Hindu melodies" in *Le Roi de Lahore* and *Lakmé*, though he notes they are indistinguishable from other themes in the work. But mostly he criticizes Fétis and borrows from recent English-language studies by J. Grosset (1888), C. R. Day (1891), and the Bengali musicologist S. M. Tagore (1874–96).¹⁸ Tiersot includes musical examples and

13. So important did the government consider this project that, after a persuasive lecture on the topic by Bourgault-Ducoudray at the 1878 Exhibition, he was appointed professor of music history at the Paris Conservatoire. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Conférence sur la modalité dans la musique grecque* (7 September 1878) (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879).

14. The popular domestic publication *Figaro musical* published two "Airs indiens" transcribed by G. Pfeiffer in its March 1893 issue, including one with a "sanskrit text."

15. For example, see the use of the modes Varati and Bhairavi in Pierné's *Izeyl*, the modes Hindola and Asaveri in Déodat de Séverac's *Héliogabale* (1910), as well as those in Debussy's *La Boîte à joujoux*. In these cases, the composers explicitly notate the names of the ragas on their scores. During this period, however, because of the enormous number of pieces called "Oriental," it is impossible to determine how many compositions incorporate Indian influence, be it the use of ragas or some other attribute of this music.

16. Hardgrave and Slawek, "The Solvyns Portraits."

17. Loti describes the Indian classical music he heard at a maharajah's court in 1899–1900 in *L'Inde sans les anglais*; Bailly writes on Hindu musical philosophy in *Le Son dans la nature* (Paris, 1900). According to his article "La Musique hindoue," *Musica* (March 1909): 43–44, Bailly spent much time with the Hindu singer Nagenda Nath Roy, who spent six months in Paris in 1896.

18. Jacques Grosset, *Contributions à l'étude de la musique hindoue* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1888); C. R. Day, *Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Deccan* (London:

describes the Indian instruments at the Conservatoire museum. Still, he, too, makes mistakes, for example, asserting that this music is “purely melodic” and that “the *vīnā* only doubles the voice.” Tiersot concludes that “the problem of Hindu music offers [even] more uncertainty than that of Greek music . . . it remains for us, in large measure, a dead relic [*lettre morte*].”¹⁹

There is, in fact, little record of Indian musicians in Paris before 1910. Folk musicians took part in the 1900 Universal Exhibition, but Tiersot dismisses them: “We heard no song of high style or some development from their mouths . . . in general only very short rhythmic formulas.” After giving musical examples, he writes, “one cannot deny that this music is simple, simple to an extreme. . . . The negroes of Africa often have richer and less elementary musical forms. Decadence, or the remnants of a primitive art from the low classes of the Hindu society?”²⁰ Another opportunity to hear Indian musicians apparently did not arise until Edwin Evans led “an orchestra composed of pure-blooded Indians” on a European tour in summer 1910, hailed in the *Courrier musical* as an “Indian invasion.”²¹ In 1913 and 1914, the sitar player Inayat Khan (1895–1938) visited Paris.²²

With the growth of interest in so-called primitive or ancient societies, and the notion of India as the “cradle of civilization,”²³ came an important reason for the

Nocello, Ewer, 1891). Grosset’s book includes discussion of Indian music theory and musical instruments. Sourindro Muhan Tagore was a wealthy intellectual dedicated to reviving interest in classical music in India and to promoting it in the West. See Bor, “The Rise of Ethnomusicology,” 63. Julien Tiersot, *Notes d’ethnologie musicale* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1905), 62, acknowledges his use of several Tagore volumes, including *Six Principal Ragas with a Brief View of Hindu Music*, 2nd ed. (Calcutta, 1877), *A Few Specimens of Indian Songs* (Calcutta, 1879), *The Musical Scales of the Hindus* (Calcutta, 1884), and *The Twenty-Two Musical Studies of the Hindus* (Calcutta, 1886).

19. Tiersot, *Notes d’ethnologie musicale*, 57, 64, 73–74, 78–79.

20. Tiersot, *Notes d’ethnologie musicale*, 68–71.

21. According to Roussel, *Lettres et écrits*, ed. Nicole Labelle (Paris: Flammarion, 1987), 82–84, Evans is the same man who organized a concert of Roussel’s music in London on 24 March 1909, which Roussel attended. Evans was also to do the English translation of Calvocoressi’s text for his *Evocations*, though there is no record that he completed it. He was also a friend of Delage, possibly the person who arranged Delage’s meeting with Kipling in 1913.

22. Edmond Bailly arranged his first concert; Khan later gave several lectures on music and philosophy. In 1914, he addressed the congress of the Société Internationale de Musique. These visits made a significant impact on many, including Isadora Duncan, Jules Bois, Jules Echorcheville (who organized the meeting), and Debussy, whom Khan remembers as “very much interested in our ragas.” Inayat Khan, [Auto] *Biography of Pir-O-Murshid Inayat Khan* (London: East-West, 1979), 129.

23. Henry Woollett, *Histoire de la musique*, vol. 1 (1909; 4th ed. Paris: Eschig, 1925), 37. Inayat Khan, “La Musique archaïque,” *Revue bleue* (15 November 1924): 757–60, concurs with this idea: “If anything can give an idea about the ancient music of the human race, it is oriental music, which still preserves traces of older traditions in it” (757).

French to be interested in Indian music, one that both related to their own origins and allowed them to fantasize about the Orient as separate from the colonial present. In his 1907 correspondence with the modernist writer Victor Segalen, who had served as a student interpreter in the French navy, Debussy, considering a collaboration, questions: "You must be solidly versed on Hindu music? If you so please . . . you would render a great service to musicology—so awful on these wonderful subjects." Segalen responded:

Of course there is a lot to say about Hindu musics that has never been said. First of all, [we must] rid ourselves of all our prejudices about sound. But . . . India [is] vast and tumultuous like a continent, with two or three hundred separate dialects and different rhythms. It would be better to focus on a music assumed to be beautiful and homogeneous by reason of caste and ritual necessity: the music of the Aryans of Vedic India. . . . One would have for one's material an epoch of very noble allure, not too strange to our thinkers, because Aryan, not too familiar because distant in space and time.²⁴

In the long section on Indian music in his *Histoire de la musique*, the Scholist Henry Woollett also proposed this notion of India as originally Aryan (also meaning aristocratic). Even though there has "never been any resemblance between the music of our period and that of ancient India," he reminds French readers, "don't let us forget that we [too] are Aryans."²⁵ By 1910 then, especially for French nationalists, Indian music came to signify the music of the distant (and aristocratic) ancestors of the French—in this context, its relative imperviousness to Western influences could appear as a strength. Confronting India in this period thus must have been a complex endeavor based on little knowledge and a variety of self-serving projections.

ALBERT ROUSSEL

Albert Roussel was among the few who traveled to India. Then a professor at the Schola Cantorum, he left with his new wife on 22 September 1909. After disembarking at Bombay, the newlyweds toured the country whose shores he had often visited as a naval officer.²⁶ In a letter of 29 October 1909 to Henry

24. Annie Joly-Segalen and André Schaeffner, *Segalen and Debussy* (Monaco: Editions du rocher, 1961), 59–60. Roy Howat, "Debussy et les musiques de l'Inde," *Cahiers Debussy* 12–13 (1988–89): 141–52, mentions an unfinished sketch on the life of Buddha that Howat dates from 1906–9, "Siddhartha." We find the origins of this work discussed in the correspondence between Debussy and Segalen; Joly-Segalen and Schaeffner, *Segalen and Debussy*, 59–68.

25. Woollett, *Histoire de la musique*, 1:43.

26. Roussel was admitted into the naval academy in 1887 and, after many voyages abroad, resigned to concentrate on music in 1894.

Woollett—who was just finishing his music history book—he described his impressions of the country’s music:

I just traveled through Hindustan from Bombay to Calcutta and everything I saw impressed me profoundly. From the musical point of view, however, I haven’t heard anything up until this moment that is really curious. The Hindu music that I have heard, stripped of harmony and very different from Javanese or Japanese music, consisted uniquely of several folk songs [*chansons populaires*] in our ordinary tonalities. Maybe there is something else that I haven’t yet encountered?²⁷

Such a statement suggests what predispositions Roussel brought with him and how he processed his experiences. Surprisingly, while he admits to having been visually impressed, Roussel denies finding anything particularly interesting in what he heard. He describes the music as a form of absence, “stripped of harmony.” It is not even “really curious”—“curious” being a category in which music periodicals at the turn of the century published exotic music, *chansons populaires*, early music, and even some contemporary music (i.e. Satie). Roussel conceptualizes this music as if Western (calling it *chansons populaires*) but without recognizing that it has more than “our ordinary tonalities” to speak for it.

Indian music had come to signify the origins of Aryan civilization, but there was more underlying Roussel’s apparent denial of exoticism and his attempt to classify Indian music as a variant of Western music—specifically the institutional politics of the Schola Cantorum, where Roussel studied beginning in 1898 and taught from 1902 to 1914, and his colleagues’ conception of *chansons populaires*. Founded by a group of aristocrats, ecclesiastics, and musicians, the Schola Cantorum began in 1894 as a school to reform church music and encourage new compositions inspired by Gregorian chant and predecessors like Palestrina. Cardinal Richard, the archbishop of Paris, was its first and most important patron. In 1898 it became affiliated with the Institut Catholique and in 1900 moved to what had been a Benedictine church and became an Ecole Supérieure de Musique. As such, it became an alternative to the Paris Conservatoire, politically challenging the republican government’s hegemony in the field of music education. Musically, with its emphasis on counterpoint and instrumental music, it also challenged the Conservatoire’s historic emphasis on opera and virtuosity.²⁸

Many of the Schola’s teachers and students were from the French provinces, landowners who believed in decentralization and a return to what we might call “basic values.” They were not, for the most part, part of the emerging rich industrialist class, which was centered in Paris. Many of them, after studying in Paris, returned to the provinces to start branches of the Schola there (Roussel’s friend

27. Roussel, *Lettres et écrits*, 35.

28. See chapter 4 here.

Woollett founded one in Le Havre). The Schola's director after 1904, Vincent d'Indy, who came from the province of Ardèche, was staunchly Catholic and a member of the reactionary Ligue des patriotes, which espoused and promoted an antirepublican nationalism. They hoped for a return to enlightened monarchy. Some of this group started the journal *L'Occident*, which, as mentioned earlier, promoted a glorified sense of the French as the "harmonious conclusion" of the West. In one of its first issues, d'Indy articulated one of the group's main tenets: the idea of progress not as linear, as many republicans defined it, but as a "spiral," that is, one that based forward movement on incorporating the past, especially traditions that predated the French Revolution.²⁹ In his lectures at the Schola, *Cours de composition*, d'Indy presents a history of compositional style and method as intertwined. This *Cours* not only exemplifies his spiral notion of progress but also reflects the author's desire to codify Western syntax, defining what is Western heritage from his distinct point of view.

D'Indy and his colleagues at the Schola considered *chansons populaires*, especially those of the French provinces, to be a "collective inspiration," an important repository of their past and, as such, emblematic in some way of their character (which meant their race).³⁰ Like the republican scholars of this music, Bourgault-Ducoudray and Tiersot,³¹ they argued that what distinguished the *chansons populaires* from modern music were its modes, remnants of Greek and old church modes. Through their modes, Scholists insisted, these songs bore some resemblance to early liturgical music, a central interest of the Schola's founders. Unlike republican scholars of the genre, however, Scholists were not drawn to this music as part of a colonialist agenda to expand the boundaries of musical expression by assimilating forgotten modes. Politically, much of the aristocracy preferred regaining Alsace and Lorraine to acquiring new land elsewhere. Neither did they wish to use it, as Prime Minister Jules Ferry did in the 1880s, to help unify the country or argue for music's universalism,³² though they agreed that its relatively

29. For a fuller discussion of this idea, see my "Paris: Conflicting Notions of Progress," in *The Late Romantic Era*, ed. Jim Samson (London: Macmillan, 1991), 389–416.

30. In this way, they resembled the comparative musicologists of the early part of this century. As Ali Jihad Racy writes, "Historic Worldviews of Early Ethnomusicologists: An East-West Encounter in Cairo, 1932," in *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History*, ed. Stephen Blum, Philip Bohlman, and Daniel Neuman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), these scholars considered "folk music to be the purest manifestation of history and a living embodiment of the collective 'spirit' of the people" (87).

31. See Julien Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (Paris: Plon, 1889). For more on the differences between what the genre represented to different factions of the French musical world, see my "The *Chanson Populaire* as Malleable Symbol in Turn-of-the-Century France," in *Tradition and Its Future in Music*, ed. Y. Tokumaru et al. (Tokyo: Mita Press, 1991), 203–10.

32. In his *Histoire de la chanson populaire*, Tiersot concluded: "The sum total of the *chansons populaires* is identical from one end of the country to the other." Of course, there

unchanging character over time was essential to its identity. Scholists focused on what they could learn from this music about the immutable racial qualities of the French. They also considered this genre an easy way “to inculcate a love of nature,” this being another Scholist doctrine, reflecting their roots in the French provinces.³³

Study of French *chansons populaires* was considered very important at the Schola. D’Indy collected and published a volume of such songs from the Ardèche, his *Chansons populaires de Vivarais*, and included a section about *chansons populaires* in his *Cours de composition*. Under his direction, the Schola offered an annual course on the genre. Another Schola founder, Charles Bordes, published a volume of Basque *chansons populaires*, organized a conference on the genre in 1905, and founded a journal, *Chansons de France*, to publish such songs from all over the country.

Perhaps because of their underlying political agenda and their association of *chansons populaires* with their aristocratic past, national identity, and nature, Scholists considered this music to be good, healthy “nourishment.” Like Bourgault-Ducoudray, they believed certain of its modes were “full of vigor and health,” “very virile,” and “so masculine.”³⁴ Scholists claimed that this music was capable of inspiring “moral renewal” in the world. But when *la musique populaire et exotique* began to appear in the same category in music journals³⁵—in part because it became increasingly difficult to separate them—the Scholists became anxious. They associated exoticism with facility, impressionism, and a lack of solid construction and increasingly feared an “abuse of the picturesque”—traits they associated with “impressionist” composers trained at the Conservatoire. Scholists were reluctant to treat the *chansons populaires* of most other countries with the same respect as their own.³⁶

The diary and musical sketchbook Roussel kept during his journey to India document the strength of the Schola’s influence on how and what he perceived in

are variations, but “one always and everywhere gathers the same songs” (356–57). Moreover, in the chapter “Tonality in Popular Melody,” Tiersot poses as an axiom that “whatever the tonality at hand, antique, modern, French or Chinese, all agree on one fundamental principle: the existence of a tonic and dominant in each scale” (287).

33. Charles Bordes, “Résumé des doctrines esthétiques de la Schola Cantorum,” *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* 9 (September 1903): 307.

34. Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Conférence sur la modalité dans la musique grecque*, 12.

35. For example, in the index of the 1905 issues of the *Revue musicale*, a section with this heading included *chansons populaires* from Armenia, Spain, the Arab countries, Guatemala, and Morocco, as well as sacred Brahman dances, and harmonized “Oriental” melodies.

36. For more on the meaning of this genre, see my “Race and Nation: Musical Acclimatisation and the *Chansons Populaires* in Third Republic France,” in *Western Music and Race*, ed. Julie Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 147–67.

Indian music.³⁷ In the forty-five-page sketchbook, the absence of complex melodic and rhythmic structures, ornaments (*gamaka*), and microtones (*śrutis*)—otherwise characterizing the ragas and talas of Indian classical music—suggests that the composer may not have gained access to the courts and temples where classical music was regularly performed. Were his musical experiences limited principally, if not exclusively, to indigenous *chansons populaires* not performed by artful singers, as Day (1891) suggested was often the case?³⁸ Or were the subtleties of Indian music simply unimportant to him? A. H. Fox-Strangways (1914) also kept a musical diary during his 1910–11 trip there but bemoaned his inability to record timbral and intonation variations.³⁹ Unlike him, Roussel does not suggest in his diary or sketchbook that the melodies he noted were only partial transcriptions of what he heard. Although they capture the two-part structure and duple meter characteristic of much folk dance music in India, Roussel's sketches do not reflect the rhythmic acceleration and excessively rapid ornamentation that he otherwise describes in his diary. Furthermore, the F-sharp at the beginning of two of the melodies suggests that Roussel heard these tunes in G major, one of the "ordinary tonalities" of which he wrote to Woollett, even though he consistently uses F-sharp or C-sharp in ascending lines and F-natural or C-natural in descending ones, which might otherwise imply the presence of ragas.

One sketch, an unmetered tune, again with a key signature of F-sharp (ex. 9.1), is Roussel's "translation" of the litany he heard sung, without stopping, by a "fakir at the edge of the Ganges [fakir au bord du Gange]" at sunset.⁴⁰ His "vision of this

37. Madame Albert Roussel gave this sketchbook to Marc Pincherle on 7 April 1951, and in 1978 its owner, André Peeters (founder and editor of *Cahiers Albert Roussel*), was kind enough to allow me to consult it. Besides Indian melodies, the sketches include three tunes described as "Thai," "Cambodge," and "Annadhapura." The diary Roussel kept from 6 October through 13 November 1909 is published in Roussel, *Lettres et écrits*, 178–202.

Daniel Kawka has written a long analysis of the notebook Roussel kept on a previous journal to Africa, the Middle East, and the Antilles in 1889–90, *Un Marin compositeur Albert Roussel "Le Carnet de bord," (1889–1890)* (Saint-Etienne: C.I.E.R.E.C., 1987), and "Le Carnet de bord d'Albert Roussel," in Kelkel, *Roussel: Musique et esthétique*, 45–61.

38. Day explained that Europeans at the time rarely had a chance to hear "the good or classical music" of India: "what is usually played for them consists . . . of modern ditties, sung by ill-instructed, screaming, dancing women at crowded native durbars, marriages, and other ceremonials" (*The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, 58). In this chapter, I maintain the distinction between classical and folk music not to imply that the boundaries were clear or that folk and popular musics did not share many of the complexities of classical music—on 31 October 1988 in New Delhi, Vijay Verma pointed out to me that the "border between professional folk and classical music is quite thin"—but because composers and musicologists thought in these terms at the time.

39. A. H. Fox-Strangways, *The Music of Hindostan* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1914).

40. Fakir: a Muslim or Hindu religious ascetic, from the Arabic "faqir," meaning poor. R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, vol. 3 (London: Macmillan,

EXAMPLE 9.1. Albert Roussel's sketchbook, "Fakir au bord du Ganges."



half-naked young man addressing the gods and stars" greatly impressed the composer, even if the words were incomprehensible. In many ways, this tune is typical of many in his sketchbook. (Tiersot describes similar ones in Tagore's *A Few Specimens of Indian Songs*.)⁴¹ It is in two parts, each formed of a very short period, which, according to Roussel, the singer repeated many times. Its range is a sixth and its contour that of two sine waves. This is the only tune that appears more than once in the sketchbook; in its first recurrence, it is transposed up a step, and in its fourth, it is elongated, and its highest note is reached by a fourth rather than a second.

The evolution of musical thinking in this notebook suggests that Roussel was more interested in writing a composition during his trip than in recording what Indian music he heard. From page 18 on, one finds melodies, chord structures, short passages in four-part harmony, and even those on three and four staves. From the horns, trombones, bassoons, winds, and strings indicated, it is clear that Roussel was conceiving a piece for a Western ensemble. The occasional subtitles—*adagio*, *allegretto*, and *lent*—suggest that he was contemplating one with three movements. "Ellora," "Udaipur," and the letter "B" (for Benares) point to the three movements of his *Evocations*, "Les Dieux dans l'ombre des cavernes" (The Gods in the Shadow of the Caves), "La Ville rose" (The Pink City), and "Au Bord du fleuve sacrée" (On the Banks of the Sacred River). He finished this on his return to France in 1910.

Of course, there was a tradition of writing music based on one's travels—his teacher d'Indy wrote a set of piano pieces, *Tableaux de voyage* (1888), as did many of those who traveled as part of their Prix de Rome. In writing his *Evocations*, Roussel was concerned to maintain the nonprogrammatic quality of much of this genre. As he began work in March 1910, he explained to the critic Georges Jean-Aubry, "This will not be Far-Eastern music, but simply the sensations I felt over

1916), compares the fakirs of India to the monks of the "Oriental church," who "were alike persuaded that in total abstraction of the faculties of the mind and body, the pure spirit may ascend to the enjoyment and vision of the Deity." As religious mendicants and devotees of Siva, the fakirs believe "in the power of man over nature by means of austerities and the occult influences of the will" (243–45). In vol. 2, Russell explains: "The principal religious exercise of the fakirs is known as *Zikr*, and consists in the continual repetition of the names of God by various methods, it being supposed that they can draw the name from different parts of the body. The exercise is so exhausting that they frequently faint under it" (537–39).

41. Tiersot, *Notes d'ethnologie*, 66.

there translated into our ordinary musical language.”⁴² On 21 July 1910, as he was completing its first movement, he noted d’Indy’s advice:

So write your Hindu symphony without thinking about this or that, nor even about including too much local color; believe me, a simple indication (like the discreet trumpets in the Agnus of the Mass in D) is perfectly sufficient to put us in the mood, even better than a sound photograph of “national noises.” . . .

Look then at your India much more for the impressions it made on the man named Albert Roussel—impressions that, taken together, are a lot more European than Hindu—instead of for the orchestral imitation you might make of observed sounds; this procedure in art, inferior as it is, is becoming so commonplace that a mind such as yours could never be satisfied with it.⁴³

Two years later, in another letter to Jean-Aubry, he made it clear that “even though these *Evocations* were inspired by India, I am anxious that the country remain vague, India, Tibet, Indochina, China, Persia, it doesn’t matter.”⁴⁴ In a 1928 essay, he is more explicit:

If I haven’t specified these places in the titles, it’s because I don’t want to impose any kind of limitation on the expression of the music. However, if one absolutely must discover some bit of local color, I can point to a theme in “The Pink City” that was suggested to me by a scene I saw, the entry of the rajah into his palace, and in the third *Evocation*, the reminiscence of a melody that I heard sung on the banks of the Ganges by a young enlightened fakir.⁴⁵

These words, even if written in retrospect, suggest how Roussel thought about his Indian experiences vis-à-vis his composition of *Evocations*. As in Lamartine’s *Orient*, in which, as Said puts it, “the last traces of particularity have been rubbed out,”⁴⁶ they were not to “limit” his expression in any way. He might use a theme or two inspired by what he heard, but only in the tradition of “local color,” that is, as a signal for Western listeners to dream. The themes used in *Evocations*, then, were not meant to appear as actual transcriptions of Indian melodies, but rather as those “suggested” by what he “saw” or by “the reminiscence of a melody” he heard in India. This would be music that respects the intervening filter of time and space and that appropriates the foreign material not to vaunt it, but for other purposes. In describing music this way, Roussel draws attention to the important role his

42. Roussel, *Lettres et écrits*, 38.

43. Arthur Hoérée, “Lettres de Vincent d’Indy à Roussel,” *Cahiers Albert Roussel* 1 (1978): 46.

44. Roussel, *Lettres et écrits*, 42.

45. Arthur Hoérée, *Albert Roussel* (Paris: Rieder, 1938), 37.

46. Said, *Orientalism*, 179.

memory and creative imagination played in “translating” the Indian materials “into our ordinary musical language.”

Such statements give one pause in interpreting the musical sketches Roussel made during his trip. If the tunes transcribed were meant to serve as a reminder of what he had heard, an invitation to reminiscence at some point later, Roussel might not have considered it important to try to capture the idiosyncrasies of another musical language, not even its different concepts of timbre and intonation. And there would be nothing wrong with being reductive of its aesthetic.

Examining the music of *Evocations* contributes a somewhat different sense of Roussel’s perceptions of India from what his sketchbook or the letter to Woollett otherwise suggest. In many ways, the piece creates for the Western listener an evolving relationship with the differences represented by India. The first movement, virtually devoid of Indian musical influences, translates what Roussel calls his feelings of “grandeur and mystery” before the temples of Ellora. The sounds he describes in his diary—only water droplets and bird cries—may have inspired the musical opening, which resembles Debussy’s and Ravel’s music with its impressionist harmonies, arabesque arpeggiations, and pedal tone in the basses. In the second movement, Roussel creates a more generally Eastern sound, with his delicate instrumentation and the static, oscillating nature of his motives.⁴⁷

The third movement shows the most Indian influence, even an engagement with Indian music. The sliding to and away from neighbor tones in the first measures recall the *gamakas* of Indian music. The rapid ornaments, syncopations, and long sweeping line of the flute melody in rehearsal number 7 show an awareness of the improvisatory qualities in Indian music not otherwise accounted for in his sketchbook. The grace notes and glissandi, played by instruments of varied timbres, reflect the composer’s attempts to translate the unison sound that so impressed him, while respecting the timbral complexity that must have accompanied these unisons.

In the middle of this movement (r.nos. 31 to 36), Roussel sets verbatim his “reminiscence” of the fakir melody (ex. 9.2), using it to spin out a long ballade-like setting of six four-line stanzas written at his request by the French critic M.-D. Calvocoressi.⁴⁸ When I played a recording of this music for various Indian mu-

47. In the middle of this movement (at r.nos. 17, 20, and 21), comes a theme whose length, 6/8 meter, and descending sixth were “suggested” by those of the “Hymne du Maharana,” a tune that Roussel heard when the maharana was leaving his palace in Udaipur. The quotation is far from exact, as Roussel changes its rhythmic structure, deletes the repetition in the original, and extends the consequent phrase, thus transforming it in significant ways.

48. Among his other activities as a critic, Calvocoressi lectured at the Schola and was the editor-in-chief of their biweekly publication *Les Tablettes de la Schola*, which detailed the concerts and other events at the school. He also wrote about Russian music and was an active member of Ravel’s circle, the Apaches.

EXAMPLE 9.2. Roussel, *Evocations*, third movement, baritone solo.

31 + 1
Modérément animé ♩=96

Sous le ciel noir et sil-lon-né d'éclairs il-lu-mi-nant la nue, Plus haut que l'oeil ne peut atteindre et que l'oiseau ne peut vo-

ler, Son front ma-jes-tu-eux montant jusqu'aux palais des im-mor-tels, Se dres— se la mon-ta-gne sou-verai-ne.

sicians during my visit, most told me they found it totally lacking in Indian elements. In Benares, however, when I sang the tune myself after playing the recording, one of my drivers instantly recognized part of it as fakirs' devotional music, and the eminent Indian music scholar I had come to interview concurred.⁴⁹ As in Roussel's sketch, their version of the melody centered on the reiteration of one pitch surrounded by an ascending and descending pattern; but, in contrast to the Roussel version, the opening of their tune spanned a third rather than a second, did not repeat the initial pitch, and, what they found particularly significant, included an odd number of the repeated pitch in its middle section, thereby allowing the natural accent to fall on *that* pitch rather than on the next higher one, as in Roussel's version. Roussel had shifted the placement of the accent. By contrast, they found the second part of Roussel's tune totally unrecognizable: there was no consequent phrase in the music they knew. Roussel, with his classical Western training, evidently felt this tune needed one. In his sketch, he took his "reminiscence," or altered version of the Indian tune, as the antecedent of a theme and then completed it, giving it "consequence," that is, a goal, a point of arrival, as well as closure.

Repeating this theme over and over, as the fakir himself did, Roussel respects the way the original melody might be performed even today. Because this is devotional music, the fakirs may sing the same text and music for hours, stretching the tempo at will, giving it different colors and expressing different feelings through it: according to Prem Lata Sharma, they think they will derive some spiritual benefit from this singing.⁵⁰ In r.nos. 31–36, Roussel likewise sets the tune,

49. I am grateful to Dr. Prem Lata Sharma, professor emeritus of Benares Hindu University in Benares (Varanasi), Lalita Parsad, and Jay Parkash for their help in identifying this tune.

50. I had the opportunity to hear such music sung by a group of devotees at a temple in front of the train station in Benares. The "jai-lan" music goes on continuously until 4 a.m. every night, without a pause even between different singers.

with some variations, for virtually ten minutes. The only deviation in the antecedent phrase concerns whether it will begin on G (as in the first two stanzas) or on A-flat (as in the second two). The consequent phrase, by contrast, appears in different rhythmic and intervallic forms each time, depending on the number of syllables in the verse and which syllable the composer wishes to stress. This variation technique together with the timbral effects in *Evocations* suggests that Roussel heard more than he actually noted in his sketchbook. He evidently felt more comfortable in manipulating what he added to the music—the orchestration and the consequent of the baritone’s theme—rather than in tampering with his transcriptions.

ROUSSEL’S CHALLENGE TO NINETEENTH-CENTURY ORIENTALISM

To explain what Roussel drew on from his Indian experiences, it is helpful to consider *Evocations* as embodying a new kind of musical Orientalism, one that departs from the conventions of the genre in the nineteenth century. First, it is the male voice that represents the other, a baritone rather than a soprano or mezzo, as had long been the norm in earlier French works like *Lakmé*. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Republic used females as metaphors for the country, and Conservatoire composers such as Massenet associated music with the feminine. This shift in the gender identity of the composer’s voice is consonant with the new way the Orient was viewed after the Japanese defeat of Russia. It also signals a change in French identity itself, at least in the identity Roussel wished to explore.

Second, Roussel sets the text of this baritone syllabically rather than melismatically, that is, with one clearly articulated note per syllable rather than a string of fluidly meandering notes on vowel sounds. As such, his text can be easily understood; indeed, the repetition of the melodic line draws attention to the changing stanzas of text. What appears improvisatory is the text. Rational discourse draws more attention than musical discourse; again, one might say, the conventionally masculine is more prominent than the conventionally feminine.

The charm of such music is not erotic but almost shamanistic, for with the magic of repetition, it lures the listener to initiate transformation. This points to a third difference between *Evocations* and most nineteenth-century Orientalist music. The male here is not despotic or violent but devotional.⁵¹ He is also, perhaps ironically, not a leader (as in works like *Samson et Dalila*) but a poor

51. In his monumental study of Orientalism in music, “Constructing the Oriental ‘Other’: Saint-Saëns’ *Samson et Dalila*,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3, no. 3 (3 November 1991), Ralph Locke describes “Orientalist stereotypes of Middle Eastern males as smug, single-minded, intolerant, power-mad despots and fanatics, impulsive and prone to violence” (280).

beggar. His power comes from his relationship to God—a theme with which his Catholic peers at the Schola would have resonated. Already in the notebook he had kept during his first trip overseas twenty years earlier, Roussel had expressed interest in the religion of nature and in non-Christian religions as “teaching man admiration for all that is beautiful, grand, heroic.” Oriental civilization, for him, was intimately connected with “the luminous environment.”⁵² The fakir was the embodiment of this relationship to the divine through nature.

Calvocoressi develops these themes in his lyrics for the third movement of *Evocations* in a way that draws attention to the musical structure. The movement begins with what Roussel calls “an evocation of the night.” After a long choral section of homorhythmic chords followed by rich counterpoint, it ends with a contralto summing up the meaning of the musical metaphor, as one might find in a poem by Baudelaire: “more sweet than the perfumes of the night, more ardent is my love.” To prepare for the dawn, to reflect on the impending, magnificent change in nature marking the end of the night, Roussel then calls on the shamanistic fakir.

Music and text play complementary roles in the fakir’s section. The music’s relentless thematic repetition, pulsating sixteenth notes, and gradually ascending melodic line suggest the irreversibility of change just before the sun rises. At the same time, the text unfolds visions in which the fakir focuses on his ecstasy. Each of the stanzas echoes the musical structure. Like the musical antecedent and consequent, the initial images of each stanza prepare for understanding the final ones. For example, after beginning with the line “Under the black sky cut by lightning / Higher than the eye can see and the bird can fly,” the stanza culminates at “the supreme mountain,” the zenith of the image. At this point, the baritone sings the longest, highest note of the musical period. The other stanzas work similarly:

Its shade terrifies timid hearts . . .
 It’s a God whose voice descends among us;
 In the thick shade of the forests . . .
 O river that reflects the luminous sky;
 Happy he whose face extinguishes on this shore . . .
 Leaving the soul free to rise towards the innumerable stars;
 Sacred river that washes the temples of the holy city . . .
 Let the sky of a new day be reborn.

After the baritone solo, the chorus returns to sing the “hymn of the sun” as if speaking directly to God. Including a chorus allowed Roussel to frame the Indian

52. See the text as analyzed in Kawka, *Un Marin compositeur*, and “Le Carnet de bord d’Albert Roussel.”

material in an interesting way. While the chorus both begins and ends the piece, the baritone functions as an antecedent to the final chorus, much as the antecedent of the fakir's melody does to its consequent. That is, the Indian fakir prepares for and leads to a transformation in the chorus. This transformation takes place in the music the chorus sings; their shift from counterpoint (as in the beginning of the movement) to nonharmonized, homorhythmic singing resembles Western devotional music. Afterward, in a dynamic climax, the chorus praises God as the ultimate synthesis of masculine power and feminine beauty: "you hunt the immense army of the stars / And your passionate beauty reigns alone over the Ocean of heavens in your embrace."

This relationship of antecedent to consequent (or, preparation to arrival) in the theme, in the poetry, in the vocal forces, and in the devotion suggests a similar interpretation of how Roussel understood his Indian experiences vis-à-vis his composition. Numerous times Roussel refers to the feelings and visions he had in India, and in a letter of 20 May 1920,⁵³ he insists that listeners have the "text" (*argument*) before them at any concert performances of the work. The fakir and these experiences may in fact represent an India that transformed Roussel, initiating him not only into new visions of life and nature (such as those described in Calvocoressi's text) but also into a "new day" in his own spirituality, a deeper understanding of the ultimate other.

This interpretation suggests that we consider India, and not its musical exoticism, as the crucial catalyst, and transformation as the goal of each kind of antecedent in the work. Roussel later writes about both art and life as "a series of continuous transformations" and the function of a work of art as "provoking in the listener a response that if it is not identical, at least answers in some way the call of the composer."⁵⁴ From this perspective, perhaps the composer hoped his *Evocations* would likewise serve as an antecedent for his audiences, eliciting an experience of spiritual transformation that the founders of the Schola Cantorum would have enthusiastically endorsed.

MAURICE DELAGE

By contrast Maurice Delage was not yet a fully formed composer when he embarked on his voyage to India. He played the cello as an amateur and had studied composition with Ravel for about ten years. Otherwise, he was self-taught. Friends describe him as someone with a fine ear, "impatient with the weary discipline of technical training."⁵⁵ A friend of Stravinsky and host to the weekly meetings of

53. Roussel, *Lettres et écrits*, 85.

54. Roussel cited in Marc Pincherle, *Albert Roussel* (Geneva: René Kister, 1957), 53, 54.

55. Michel D. Calvocoressi, *Musicians' Gallery: Music and Ballet in Paris and London* (London: Faber and Faber, 1933), 61.

Ravel's group the Apaches,⁵⁶ Delage was an adventurer in many ways. In his first orchestral work, *Conté par la mer* (1909),⁵⁷ he wrote a note for horn outside its usual range. When, under d'Indy's leadership, the Société Nationale refused to perform it, his colleagues showed their esteem by breaking and forming a rival performance organization, the Société Musicale Indépendante (SMI).

The severity of this action suggests that by 1910 differences between Scholists and so-called impressionist composers from the Conservatoire had developed into a serious conflict, but one full of ironies, in part because some had sympathies in both directions, and the Apaches included representatives of both. Leaders at the Schola, which had been founded to allow composers more individual freedom (especially from the constraints of state competitions), were increasingly preoccupied with issues of control and structure, even in their music; those inspired by Debussy's use of unresolved, “impressionist” harmonies were intent on taking full advantage of this liberation from conventional syntax. And whereas it was d'Indy who turned to Wagner for inspiration and in 1890 argued for more inclusion of music by foreign composers at the Société Nationale, by the turn of the century, it was the young modernists trained at the Conservatoire who looked beyond national borders for new ideas. Debussy's innovations, some inspired by Javanese and Vietnamese music, were crucial to these composers, even though after 1902, like the Scholists, Debussy focused increasingly on a nationalist agenda. In their first concerts, the SMI premiered not only music by Delage but also Koechlin's transcriptions of Javanese “gamelang.” In 1913 Ravel solicited Schönberg's permission to perform *Pierrot Lunaire*,⁵⁸ a work whose novel instrumentation impressed both him and Stravinsky.

Delage did not study at the Conservatoire, but he associated with those who did—though he had little interest in writing opera, took part in no competitions, and shared very little socially with the conservative republicans who ran the institution, many of whom, like Debussy, came from very modest backgrounds. Like most Apaches, he was born into a family with money that had been made in the

56. In my “Stravinsky and the Apaches,” *Musical Times* 123 no. 1672 (June 1982): 403–07, I discuss this group and suggest that Delage was perhaps Stravinsky's closest friend in Paris before World War 1. See also my “A Sociology of les Apaches: Sacred Battalion for *Pelléas*,” in *Berlioz and Debussy: Sources, Contexts and Legacies*, ed. Barbara Kelly and Kerry Murphy (London: Ashgate, 2007).

In a letter of 9 August 1905, Ravel mentions that the brother-in-law of an Apache, Bénédictus, was appointed to a judiciary position in Pondichéry, India. In *Maurice Ravel: Lettres, écrits, entretiens*, ed. Arbie Orenstein (Paris: Flammarion, 1989), 78. Around the same time, Ravel, too, hoped for a government assignment (“mission”) in the East, possibly India.

57. See Ravel to Koechlin, 16 January 1909, in Ravel, *Maurice Ravel*, 101–2. The work is missing and was possibly destroyed.

58. Ravel to Mme Alfredo Casella, 2 April 1913, in Ravel, *Maurice Ravel*, 128.

industrial world of the late nineteenth century. His father owned *Lion Noir*, a shoe polish still sold today. It is difficult to say what Delage's politics were, but one thing is clear: he had a life of ease spent helping friends, especially Ravel. In the spring of 1912, his parents used their factories in India and Japan as an excuse to travel to the Far East; Maurice went along.⁵⁹ According to Léon-Paul Fargue, Delage left with the fervor of a pilgrim; he was not the kind who "brings along his slippers." Although their travels took them to many of the same places as Roussel, Delage's impressions were quite different, as was the compositional form that later emerged in his work.

In a letter from Ceylon, published in the Parisian music journal *S.I.M.*, Delage admits that he had never read anything about Indian music before his trip.⁶⁰ Yet his comments in this letter, subsequent published interviews, and a radio program on Indian music he gave in April 1948 show remarkable perceptiveness.⁶¹ From what he writes, especially about instruments and performance practices, it is clear that Delage was exposed to Indian classical music.

Many of Delage's attitudes toward Indian music were rooted in his modernist inclinations. These differed from the concerns of Roussel and other Scholists in four ways. First, there is a tone of resistance and critique, perhaps inspired by Debussy's and Ravel's attitudes toward their Conservatoire training. Delage can't help but refer to Western musical practices and concepts; however, his focus is on their limitations. Indian improvisations, he writes, had an audacity that "escaped all organization, according to our logic, of course. . . . With my poor ear accustomed to the almost artificial subtleties of our Western polyphony,⁶² I felt something that was beyond the notes." The *vīnā* player's use of parallel fifths led him to exclaim "severe Academy. . . . What could analysis and criticism do here, great gods! One must desire [only] to feel and love." Delage admits he "ignores what one must normally know" to speak of Indian culture. Using the other as a site for self-criticism is a typical Orientalist tactic, but he does not do this to reify the differences between the two or to demonstrate the strength and relative power of Western music. Rather, Delage hopes to set the terms for his own "naïve efforts

59. A close friend of Delage, the composer/conductor Manuel Rosenthal, provided this information to me in an interview in Paris in the spring of 1977. In his *Ravel: Souvenirs de Manuel Rosenthal*, ed. Marcel Marnat (Paris: Fayard, 1995), he notes that Delage's father sold this business to an Englishman who paid royalties to Delage for years (164).

60. Maurice Delage, "Lettre de l'Inde," from Kandy, 4 March 1912, *Revue musicale S.I.M.* (15 June 1912): 72–74. Except where noted, quotations in the following paragraphs come from this essay.

61. The text of Delage's radio program, "Une Géographie musicale," broadcast on channel A on 25 April 1948, Rés. Vmc. Ms. 46, is currently in F-Pn, Musique.

62. Jules Combarieu, *Histoire de la musique* (Paris: Colin, 1913), rehearses the standard view of counterpoint as the "cradle of harmony and the principle of all modern art" (350) and thus the essence of Western music, an idea shared with many Scholists.

toward novelty," his search to get beyond Western constraints, perhaps to appropriate some of the power inherent in Indian music.

Second, Delage supported Indians' resistance to foreign contamination in their musical traditions.⁶³ Underlying this was his respect for authenticity. Like Segalen, who proposed "salvaging the purity of the exotic by thinking it anew" for the sake of art,⁶⁴ and fantasized about India's distant past as a distraction from its colonialist present, Delage was most impressed with genres that seemed purely Hindu (performance of the *vinā* and South Indian vocal music). He railed against European influences on Indian music, especially phonographs, the harmonium, and, in South India, the violin.⁶⁵ Had he had access to the sultans' or maharajahs' palaces, he might also have been shocked by the presence of pianos in their midst.⁶⁶ He worried about how the "relative perfection" of Western tuning might endanger the "purity" not so of much the syntax of Indian music as its sound.⁶⁷ This was a complicated issue for Indians, too. A writer in *Modern Review*, published in Calcutta, claimed in 1912 that "the greatest problem of India . . . is how we can modernize ourselves and become progressive, without losing our heritage—without losing that spiritual power and wealth which made India great in the past."⁶⁸ Delage was also bothered by other non-Hindu influences, such as the

63. Parakilas, "The Soldier and the Exotic," points out that musical performance can signify cultural resistance in India. In *Lakmé*, for example, the bell song is "a political act in the Hindus' struggle for cultural survival" (50).

64. See Chris Bongie, *Exotic Memories. Literature, Colonialism, and the Fin de Siècle* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 107–18.

65. The violin became popular in South India around the time of the first Tanjore Palace Band and has remained so ever since. By the late 1880s, according to *Hindu Music and the Gayan Samaj. The Gayan: Dnyan Prakesh: March 1882* (Bombay: Bombay Gazette Steam Press, 1887), "the European violin had made great encroachment on popular favor" (27–28).

The Tanjore orchestra was basically an English-style wind band formed in the late eighteenth century at the court of Tanjore. It consisted of bagpipes, flute, brass, clarinet, and drum and represented perhaps the first "recognizable impact of western music" in India; D. S. Seetha, *Tanjore as a Seat of Music* (Madras: University of Madras, 1981), 111. It performed its tunes in unison, accompanied by the drone and drum. Delage brought back one recording by the Tanjore band (Gramo G.C. 2 10129) and, after playing "Parathpa Varali Athi" during his 1948 radio program, called it "an experiment in harmony" that sounded like "chance counterpoint."

66. Clement Autrobus Harris, "The Bicentenary of the Pianoforte: A Link Between East and West," *Calcutta Review* 270 (October 1912): 425.

67. The use of the harmonium has been a subject of much debate, and was so particularly around the time that Delage visited the country. See my "Reinterpreting Indian Music," 145, n. 14.

68. If this writer is representative, their anxiety at the time seems to have been focused more on homogeneity within the country than on growing too close to the West, for he

disappearance of instruments after the Muslim invasion. But even if such criticism may have stemmed from racial prejudice, he appreciated the music of Kishori Lal, a singer from Punjab, enough to play a recording of it during his radio broadcast. Delage was especially sensitive to the importance of individual performers in maintaining musical traditions in India.⁶⁹

With this focus on indigenous authenticity and performers, Delage differed from both Scholists (who tended to overlook the specificity of these traditions outside of France) and French republican scholars (who were more interested in the modal particularities of foreign music). In the context of the increased global contact that threatened the continuity of both Western and Eastern cultures, however, Delage and Roussel shared something crucial: both believed in preserving the “racial integrity” of musical traditions, be they Indian or French.

Delage’s preoccupation with the timbral richness of Indian music is a third reflection of his modernist aesthetics. Eastern music represented for French modernists a way of validating their belief in the primacy of sound over syntax and a means of exploring the origins of music (as opposed to the origins of the French race). An interest in sound vibrations, nuance, fluidity, and spontaneity underlies the impressionist style and differs markedly from the Scholist focus on solid construction, linear clarity, and rigorous logic. Delage’s attention to the immensely varied sound qualities produced on Indian instruments led him to take precise note of what he heard. Performance on the *vīnā*, the oldest multistringed Indian instrument used in both northern and southern India and the “most popular” one,⁷⁰ fascinated him. The slow glissandi, the striking of the strings and the *case*, and the staccato of the performer’s left-hand fingers produced effects the composer would later attempt to imitate.⁷¹ Likewise, he was drawn to the vocal techniques of

continues, “But all must admit that every race and nationality in India has an individuality which it should strive to preserve at the same time that it aspires to a closer political union with the rest of India. . . . A non-descript and amorphous cosmopolitanism which would destroy the identity and eliminate the peculiar racial characteristics of the Bengalis, Hindustanis, Punjabs, Gujaratis, and Marathis and fuse them into an incongruous whole seems equally Utopian and unwise.” *Modern Review* (February 1912): 220–25.

69. R. R. Ayyangar, *Musings of a Musician* (Bombay: Wilco, n.d. [apparently after 1977]), 55, makes this point.

70. Bor, “The Rise of Ethnomusicology,” 53, points out that probably the first description of the *vīnā* in Western sources was in Mersenne’s *Harmonie universelle* (1636–37). It is possible that Delage knew the *vīnā* from the Musée du Conservatoire in Paris. Tiersot, *Notes d’ethnologie*, discusses one as part of the collection there (78).

71. Day was also impressed by similar techniques of *vīnā*-playing, notably the peculiar tuning of the instrument, the staccato sounds achieved, and the striking of the instrument by the left hand on *vīnās* in the North and by the right hand on the somewhat different ones in the South (*The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, 110).

South Indian contraltos, especially the "voluptuous tension" of those who sang "with almost closed mouths, a high-pitched prosody involving strange nasal sonorities, cries, and breathing" and "the warm roughness of their low register where the rushed and feverish rhythms suddenly relax into a murmur full of caresses."⁷² Not only in France but also in Vienna, modernists were increasingly defining research in timbre as the newest form of musical progress (for example, Schönberg in his *Harmonielehre*). Delage's desire to "discover" such riches, then, has a future-oriented, even utopian aspect.

Fourth, Delage's essays suggest that he, unlike Roussel, was more engaged by the musical traditions of India's contemporary elite—his peers—than by Indian folk or popular music. His attraction to the *vīnā*—what he calls the "noble instrument of modern India"—is a case in point. This instrument was associated with the upper classes.⁷³ Day points out that, while the playing of the *vīnā*—considered an "imitation of the human voice"—was restricted to professional skilled musicians in northern India, it was a favorite among amateurs of the higher classes in southern India, perhaps those with whom Delage identified.⁷⁴

To solve the problem of access to a wide variety of Indian music, Delage resorted to buying recordings.⁷⁵ On 23 October 1912, he wrote to Stravinsky, "You will see that I have been working and I will make you listen to the Hindu records,

72. In his "Une Géographie musicale," Delage describes a singer, dressed as a tiger, who performed "vocalises produced by a staccato at the back of the throat with a whole lemon in his mouth." S. A. K. Durga and V. A. K. Ranga Rao explained to me that in the "Puli attam," a tiger's dance, performers even today place lemon wedges in each cheek so that their mouths won't get dry while they make purring/growling noises for hours.

73. As Hardgrave and Slawek point out, early nineteenth-century writers on Indian music observed that the high castes were prohibited from playing wind instruments but often sang and accompanied themselves on this instrument, "a favorite amongst the better classes" ("Instruments and Music Culture in Eighteenth-Century India," 4). This was equally true at the end of the nineteenth century, notably in the Gayan Samaj, schools that were formed in Madras and Poorna in the 1870s "to give European residents an idea of the excellence of Hindu music." (Bor points out, furthermore, that these institutions played an important role in the emancipation of classical Indian music"; "The Rise of Ethnomusicology," 63.) In this context, according to *Hindu Music and the Gayan Samaj*, the "best musician plays all but wind instruments," which were not considered appropriate for Brahmins; "wind instruments and stringed instruments are, of course, never played together" (21–28). Day echoes these observations; however, he points out that Brahmins can play a flute with their nostrils (*The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, 103).

74. Day, *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, 110.

75. Recordings were introduced in India just after the turn of the century. As Pekka Gronow reports in "The Record Industry Comes to the Orient," *Ethnomusicology* 25, no. 2 (1981): 251, the Gramophone Company's representative, Fred Gaisberg, first recorded there in 1901. The first factories opened in Calcutta in 1908. See also Michael Kinnear, *The Gramophone Company's First Indian Recordings, 1899–1908* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan,

a kind of music of which you have no idea.”⁷⁶ The Indian classical music preserved on these recordings, as opposed to the folk songs he might have heard or collected on records, are the key to the works Delage wrote on his return. In these compositions is a highly original approach to Indian materials, an intercultural influence that goes far beyond that of superficial impressionism, and a re-presentation of Indian music that empowers him to subvert traditional Western music practices. “Trying to find those Hindu sounds that send chills up my spine,” as he explained to Stravinsky,⁷⁷ Delage experimented with unusual timbres produced by altered tunings and vocal techniques, special kinds of ornaments that modify the Western sense of interval and pitch, improvisatory rhythms, new forms, and especially novel performance techniques. The works that resulted from such exploration spanned much of his career, beginning with the *Quatre Poèmes hindous* for soprano and small chamber orchestra (written spring 1912–fall 1913) and *Ragamalika* (written 1912–22).

The most interesting of these, from the perspective of Indian influence, is the second of the *Quatre Poèmes hindous*, “Un Sapin isolé” (An Isolated Fir Tree), subtitled “Lahore.” The text is a poem by Heinrich Heine. Its images invite the listener into reverie: one tree, covered with snow “on a bare mountain in the North,” dreams of another, a “solitary” palm clinging to the edge of a scorched rock “in the distant East”—a metaphor for the human condition. For the opening cello solo, Delage inserted his transcription of a performance on the *surbahār* of “Jaunpuri Todika Alap” by Imdad Khan (1848–1920), probably recorded in 1905

1994) and Peter Manuel, “Popular Music in India 1901–1986,” *Popular Music* 7, no. 2 (May 1988): 157–76.

In his 1948 radio program, Delage listed and described the eight recordings he played, ranging from rhythmic improvisations on the simple iron bars, called *khattali*, accompanying a wedding procession (Odeon 96. 541) and the oboe-like Nadaswaram, played in the temples of Ellora (Odeon 96. 453), to the complex singing of Kishori Lal (Gramo 12. 533) and Coimbatore Thyai (Gramo 5-013022). These were the among those he collected in India in 1912. According to my sources in India, most were extremely rare. Unfortunately, Delage’s collection has apparently been lost.

What was and who were recorded in the first decade has been a subject of debate. Kay Kaufman Shelemay, “Recording Technology, the Record Industry, and Ethnomusicological Scholarship,” in Blum et al., *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History*, has found that many of these early recording efforts focused on indigenous folk music (281), whereas Delage’s collection included classical music. On 15 October 1988 in New Delhi, Vijay Verma offered me a possible explanation: anyone with a patron or money, he posited, could make recordings, and so, consequently, many tended to be by popular singers, not necessarily the best performers of the day. Moreover, many musicians refused to work within the three to four minutes of the early 78 rpm disks, or to have their voices heard by “just anyone.”

76. Robert Craft, ed., *Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence*, (New York: Knopf, 1982), 1:24.

77. Craft, *Stravinsky*, 1:33.

EXAMPLE 9.3. Imdad Khan, “Raga Jaunpuri Todika Alap” (beginning). Transcribed by Paul Smith.

original tonic: F#
transposed to B

TRANSCRIBER'S NOTE:

All slurred notes are played as glissandi. Portamento indicates that the marked notes are lingered on briefly in the midst of the glissando passage. A broader, more accented pause is indicated with a tenuto mark.

starting tempo: ♩ = circa 116

(see exs. 9.3 and 9.4a).⁷⁸ The performance instructions indicate that while the right hand plucks the first note, the cellist should use the same finger of the left hand to slide between the two adjacent notes. This use of ornaments and glissandi to prolong a note, stress one, or slide from one to another results in a pitch continuum, microtonal shadings, and a timbre like those produced by sitar and *vīnā* players.⁷⁹ After the first few bars of music, however, the transcription is no longer exact. Khan elaborates on the raga for almost three minutes, while Delage cuts some of the recurring passages and condenses the overall shape. He also alters the complex rhythms, and indicates a slower tempo—perhaps to give the cellist the time to execute the difficult techniques.

The vocal part dominates in the rest of the piece. Most of it is unequivocally Western, though conventionally Orientalist. The final solo (ex. 9.4b) recalls two

78. A *surbahār* is a bass sitar with unmovable frets and a wider range. A North Indian *ālāp* is a slow exposition without a fixed pulse. I am indebted to Vijay Verma for pointing out the *rāg jaunpuri* in the cello part and to the staff of the Music Department of Benares Hindu University for help in locating two Khan recordings, both Gramo G.C. 17364, the source of the “Lahore” opening, and Gramo G.C. 17365. Kinnear kindly provided me with the probable date of these recordings. A 1994 reissue of this by EMI is on the *Chairman’s Choice: Great Gharanas: Imdadkhani* (CD CMC 1 82507-08).

79. When Khan shifts his melody to another string to move higher in pitch and weaves a duet between two strings, Delage gives the melodic line to the viola, which then enters into a duet with the cello. The subtlety of this instrumentation very much captures that of its model.

EXAMPLE 9.4a. Maurice Delage, “Un Sapin isolé,” from *Quatre poèmes hindous*, opening, cello-violin solo, mm. 1–19.

Larghetto ♩ = 72

Sourdine sur la touche

Viola

vibrato molto
pizz. II

Cello

tuning: 

Play the pizzicato  by sliding the same left-hand finger.
Pluck the string forcefully with the right hand.



actual pitch 

EXAMPLE 9.4b. Delage, "Un Sapin isolé," from *Quatre poèmes hindous*, vocalise, mm. 10–16.

gestures from the opening of the "Bell Song" from *Lakmé*. Still, an Indian influence prevails. The Indian-type scale (built on D with three sharps), the quickly ascending scale of six notes, and the gradually descending span of a thirteenth resemble the middle of the same Khan recording. Besides the low register, the quick, delicate staccatos throughout, and the ornaments that color the descending lines, Delage also calls for an Indian-inspired closed-mouth singing in numerous places. This technique of open- and closed-mouth singing shows Delage's first attempts to forge a personal style inspired by the vocal techniques he heard in India and on his recordings yet without attempting to retrain Western singers to produce their sounds in an Indian manner.⁸⁰ It became a favorite in all his subsequent Indian-inspired pieces, especially the vocalise he wrote for a Paris Conservatoire competition in the 1920s.

In the third Hindu poem, the "Naissance de Bouddha" (Birth of Buddha), subtitled "Benares," Delage borrows much of his thematic material from the flip side of the Khan recording discussed earlier, "Sohni." Delage transcribes this raga for English horn, giving it the same rhythms as in the recording. He then repeats the exposition as on the recording, has the clarinet respond with a similar virtuoso chromatic descent, and expands on these two ideas throughout the piece. The

80. Delage was perhaps the first French composer to use this technique of open- and closed-mouth singing for solo singing; however, one finds this technique in choral singing in other Orientalist works such as Delibes's *Lakmé*, Pierné's *Izyl*, Schmitt's *Danse des devadasis* (1900–1908), and Lili Boulanger's *Vieille Prière bouddhique* (1917).

cello's ostinato recreates the sound of the accompanying strings on Kahn's *surbahār* with an accompaniment oscillating between F and repeated chords on C–A. As on the recording, they function in this piece as a drone. The text, probably written by the composer, evokes the time when the gods and all of nature rejoiced at the news of Buddha's coming.

The first and last of the *Quatre Poèmes hindous* frame the middle two and assure unity and coherence in the set. Although they set texts thought to be by Bhartrihari, an Indian king who became an ascetic, musically they express the Westerner's perspective that must frame his or her perception of Indian culture. Both have the same tempo and bear much less Indian musical influence. The first is dedicated to Ravel, the fourth to Stravinsky—composers whose approach to orchestration may have influenced Delage's chamber setting of these songs. Both songs begin with chromatic flute arabesques à la Debussy and conclude with the same gesture. The end of the first incorporates the opening motive of the last, and the closing measures of the last song incorporate the opening motive of the first one; the final measures of both pieces are the same.

These two songs are conventionally Orientalist in two ways. First, India is feminized, likened to a beautiful woman. The first depicts her wandering the forest—the object of the poet's contemplation; the last refers to her as a troubled but well-cherished memory: "If you think of her, you feel an aching torment. If you set eyes on her, your mind is troubled. If you touch her, you lose all reason. How can one call her the beloved?" Second, in setting the last two phrases, the music breaks into a Western-style climax, the apex of the song's vocal line. Outside of occasional moments in the cello solo of the second song, this is the only *forte* in the whole set. Such a moment captures the pinnacle of the composer's own emotional response to his Indian experiences, one that obviously needs Western means for its full expression.

Ragamalika, perhaps Delage's most Indian-sounding piece, is indeed his transcription of almost an entire recording, "Rāgamālikā, Ramalinga swamis arulpa," sung in Tamil by Coimbatore Thaiyi and probably recorded in 1909 (see ex. 9.5 and fig. 9.1).⁸¹ Thaiyi was a famous *devadasi* singer whom Delage had the pleasure of hearing live during a visit to the temples at Mahabalipuram.⁸² *Arulpa* are

81. Gramo G.C. 8-13793. I am grateful to S. A. K. Durga for suggesting I consult the collection of V. A. K. Ranga Rao and to Mr. Rao for allowing me to peruse his collection on the morning of Diwali in the fall of 1988.

82. Delage, "Une Géographie musicale." She is among those whom Ayyangar heard and included in his list of famous women singers before 1930, published in his *Musings of a Musician*, 40. Those interested in the *devadasi* of Tamilnadu should consult Saskia C. Kersenboom-Story, *Nityasumangali: Devadasi Tradition in South India* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987). I am grateful to Rita Ganguli and T. Sankaran for help in this research. When Delage met Thaiyi, Sankaran surmises, she must have been at Mahabalipuram for a festival. No one seems to know to which temple she was attached.

EXAMPLE 9.5. Delage, *Ragamalika*.


♩ = 66

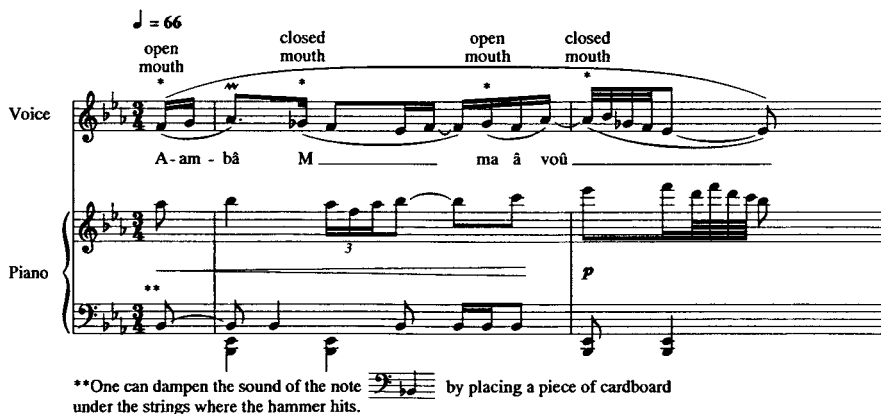
open mouth closed mouth open mouth closed mouth

voice

A - am - bâ M ma â vouî

piano

**One can dampen the sound of the note  by placing a piece of cardboard under the strings where the hammer hits.



devotional songs that the *devadasis* sang for the entertainment and pleasure of the gods at the temples to which they were attached. Thayi recorded many of them.⁸³ Her recordings are full of elaborate passages of closed- and open-mouthed singing, microtonal ornaments, and long stretches in which she might change the timbre but not the pitch of important notes.

In every way, *Ragamalika* reflects its model—in its changing modes (*rāgamālīkā* means “a garland of ragas”), its recurring refrain, its multipartite form, and its tempo relationships. The piano takes the place of the tabla and the droning accompanimental string instrument. Its ostinati octaves serve principally to support the vocal line, except in one very important instance. To articulate the system tonic, B-flat,⁸⁴ and to bring attention to the change of mode in the middle of the piece, Delage asks that one note on the *inside* of the piano be muted. This creates an unusual, otherworldly effect for the drone. It is perhaps the first example of “prepared piano” in European music. The publisher Durand was so “enchanted” by this music that on 20 June 1914 he paid Delage 500 francs to orchestrate it.

With the help of these recordings, Delage succeeded better than his contemporaries in reproducing the spirit and the style of the music of North and South India. With its emphasis on self-criticism, sound for its own sake, and respect for traditions in their own terms, the modernist aesthetic prepared Delage to hear Indian music in its own terms. The industrialist relationship to other—based on

83. Alain Daniélou, *A Catalogue of Recorded Classical and Traditional Indian Music* (Paris: UNESCO, 1952), 160–62, is a very incomplete listing of her recordings, which are extremely rare.

84. In *The Ragas of Northern India* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1968), Alain Daniélou notes that the system tonic used by most singers was often B-flat (23–24).



FIGURE 9.1. Delage, *Ragamalika*.

recognizing the importance of foreign natural resources and using them for one's own purposes—inclined him to want to re-present it in his own way.

COMPOSITIONAL DISTINCTION

This chapter has looked at two French composers' relationships with India, a country that, without any French military presence, remained an "Orient of mem-

ories.” Both fell under the spell of something so different from what was familiar to them and so dependent on their own consciousness that they referred to it as a dream. Both appropriated tunes and stories, but not for domination. Both became fascinated with religious characters as intermediaries with the divine. Both wrote pieces inserting French singers, French texts, and an explicit French framework to preserve their memories and, through the catalyst of their music, stimulate similar experiences in others. And both used Indian influences in their first major works to help them achieve distinction in their compositional careers.

For Scholists like Roussel, imagining another world was important. Their need to dream was a desire not for escape but for alternative power structures. The heroism and grandeur of ancient India presented these largely Catholic landowners, royalist aristocrats, and conservative traditionalists with a vision of what they sought and could not have under the anticlerical Republic. Their nationalism and fear of dealing with others, however, kept them anxious about outside influences on French culture. In response to a 1909 interview on Wagner’s influence on French composers, Roussel sounds like d’Indy:

In this question of influences, it is difficult to leave aside the question of races, and it would be very good if French music would tend to embody [*personnifier*] the genius of our race in an increasingly affirmative, vigorous way—the qualities of clarity, mind, sensibility, luminous and frank joy that form our artistic heritage.⁸⁵

This is the context for understanding Roussel’s challenge to conventional notions of the musically exotic. The Scholists could not accept any artistic limitations that might compromise their own racial “genius” and an art they increasingly defined as masculine, that is, resistant to the notion of subsuming anything external to itself.

Roussel’s resistance to others’ influence made sense from another perspective as well. Typically, it was important for a composer to move beyond his or her education and demonstrate a “personality.” With *Evocations*, Roussel found a sly way to earn widely recognized distinction (in Bourdieu’s sense). After its first performance on 18 May 1912 by the Société Nationale and on 30 March 1913 by Lamoureux’s orchestra, a debate emerged. Non-Scholist critics saw Roussel breaking with Scholist principles. Some, perhaps thinking about the first movement, said he had been “contaminated by Debussisme” even before he got to the Schola and had not assimilated all their “pedagogical influences.”⁸⁶ In response, Auguste Sérieyx vigorously reclaimed Roussel as a Scholist. Stressing the Western frame Roussel creates for the exotic locale, he points out specifically Scholist (and conventionally masculine) principles in the work:

85. “Wagner et nos musiciens,” *Grande Revue* (10 April 1909): 562–63.

86. J. Marnold, *Mercur de France* (16 August 1912): 863, cited in Christian Goubault, “Les Premières Oeuvres de Roussel,” in Kelkel, *Albert Roussel: Musique et esthétique*, 24.

What gives the magnificent triptych *Evocations* great value, above all, is the impeccable equilibrium and the strength of the thematic and tonal construction. . . . It is no longer these unhealthy and ornate visions of some Orient with opium and folding screens: instead it's the magisterial "evocation" of India, framed in the most pure form, blinding in its melodic clarity, infinitely rich in rhythm without any effort, vigorous and passionate in expression without anything disturbing the integrity of the traditional construction.⁸⁷

Jean-Aubry, too, pointed not to the Orientalism of the music but to the suave and voluptuous "quality of the dream" and hailed Roussel as "one of the most truly French souls in music today."⁸⁸ The nationalist Lalo praised it as "one of the principal works of our time."⁸⁹ In his review of a 1919 performance at which Debussy's *Nocturnes* was also performed, Antoine Mariotte points to truth in both Scholist and non-Scholist views. He sees Roussel's music as delicate, colorful, and powerful as Debussy's but also calls it "cerebral and willful. . . . With M. Roussel, we are no longer in the clouds; we are in India." Mariotte argues that Roussel's India "impressions" are the pretext for demonstrating his ability to build and control large musical forms, to "logically order considerable developments," to express his mind and will as well as his sensibility.⁹⁰ In this sense, he is a colonialist, though his realm is music.

Taking India as his subject thus provided Roussel with a way to challenge musical impressionists on their own terrain (nature) and to demonstrate the strength of Scholist principles on new territory. This was surely the ultimate distinction for a young composer. Its success led to two of his most important commissions from the Opéra director Jacques Rouché—the ballet *Le Festin de l'araignée* and his second Indian-inspired work, the opera-ballet *Padmâvatî*.⁹¹

For Delage, as we have seen, India was far more than a catalyst of visions and feelings. It had what Said has called "separate sovereignty"; its natives were not

87. A. Sérieyx, "A propos des 'Evocations,'" *Revue musicale S.I.M.* (May 1913): 65–66; cited in Goubault, "Les Premières Oeuvres de Roussel," 25.

88. G. Jean-Aubry, *La Musique d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Perrin, 1916), 135–36.

89. Hoérée, *Roussel*, 39.

90. A. Mariotte, *Courrier musical* (1 November 1919), cited in Goubault, "Les Premières Oeuvres," 26.

91. Roussel began this Indian-inspired work in December 1913, but it was not premiered until 1923. *Padmâvatî* has an Indian subject, the story of Padmini at Tchitor, based a novel written in 1856 that Roussel and his collaborator Louis Laloy found in the Bibliothèque des Langues Orientales in Paris; see Arthur Hoérée, "Lettres d'Albert Roussel à Louis Laloy," *Cahiers Albert Roussel* 2 (1979): 73–74. Given what he says in his diary and their absence in his sketchbook and *Evocations*, one can surmise that the numerous ragas Roussel used in *Padmâvatî* he learned after his return to Paris.

"subservient nor sullenly uncooperative" as many a colonialist or visitor imagined them but music-makers whom Delage admired, perhaps even envied.⁹² As for his father, the industrialist, for Delage India was a land of natural resources. Delage's success, like his father's, was based on understanding the value of these resources, particularly their use-value in the West. Self-taught, perhaps inspired by his father's entrepreneurial spirit, and aware of the marketability of the new, the composer took what he needed from his recordings. Incorporating the sound of Indian music—new to his contemporaries—Delage built the form of capital his world traded on, distinction and prestige.⁹³

One could compare Delage's works with transcriptions of Indian recordings to his father's shoe polish—something partially made in India but packaged and sold in France, something still selling today. But this would be to reduce his music to these transcriptions, to downplay his interest in Indian music as a means of criticizing Western practices, and to ignore his integration of Western and Eastern materials. Like Roussel's *Evocations*, Delage's *Quatre Poèmes hindous* is, ultimately, a hybrid form, what Said calls a "narrative of integration."⁹⁴ In this set of songs, the integration is effected not only by giving the borrowed Indian passages to Western instruments and elaborating on Indian gestures but also by juxtaposing and suggesting the interpenetration of the different materials, a device that allows each style to maintain, at least momentarily, its own integrity. In "Lahore," the text juxtaposes a fir tree on a snowy mountain with a palm on a hot rock, a vision possible only in an imaginary space. Sections of the Khan and Thai recordings give the context for this dream, as Delage's trip helps explain his music. Placed within the same piece, these transcriptions of music of North and South India, instrumental and vocal, testify to their juxtaposition in Delage's India experience. The set as a whole also works by juxtaposition. The outer songs with their Orientalist gestures and similar structure frame the inner ones with their Indian citations. The traditional Indian music serves as the basis, even the inspiration, for the experimental use of the voice, strings, and piano. To the extent that Eastern and Western musical materials coexist and interpenetrate without conflict, this multifaceted integration of musical materials suggests the global interdependence, mobility of resources, and continued fascination with the new on which international capitalism depends.

Delage did not go unrewarded. *Quatre Poèmes hindous* was premiered at the SMI on 14 January 1914, alongside first performances of Ravel's *Trois Poèmes de Mallarmé* and Stravinsky's *Trois Lyriques japonaises*.⁹⁵ Like them, it uses a chamber

92. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993), xxi.

93. I am using the term *capital* here in the sense of cultural capital, as coined by Pierre Bourdieu in *La Distinction: Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Minuit, 1979).

94. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xxvi.

95. The first of these is dedicated to Delage.

orchestra in part inspired by Schönberg's *Pierrot Lunaire*. Even though the audience had little idea of the work's secret—in his 1 February 1914 review in *S.I.M.*, Jean Poueigh makes reference to the “funny peculiarity” of the closed-mouth singing, which he thought Delage had borrowed from its use in choruses—they demanded an encore of “Lahore.” According to Georges Auric,⁹⁶ this stole the show, upstaging Ravel and Stravinsky, and the composer knew he had found a personal voice worthy of a career.⁹⁷

Despite their different perspectives, Roussel and Delage found in their attempts to reproduce Indian culture a means of expanding the “territory” over which they could demonstrate their compositional control. Neither created Orientalist works about their “positional superiority” or the feminine erotic in part because, for them, race was a positive attribute of a people, a key to understanding them. Still, through their integration of Western and Eastern materials—Roussel to effect spiritual transformation and argue for a certain kind of French music, Delage to introduce new musical sounds and participate in the international modernist movement—both nonetheless had Orientalist aims couched within personal hopes: to escape the constraints of their times through an exotic other, to appeal to listeners through something universal, and in doing so make a name for themselves.

96. Interview with author, 1977.

97. Delage used similar material in an orchestral work, *Les Bâtisseurs de ponts* [The bridge-builders], conceived as a pantomime for the Ballets Russes; the third movement of *Contrerimes* (1927–32); the *Vocalise-Etude* (1929); and “Themmangu,” from *Chants de la Jungle* [Songs of the jungle] (1914–34).