

Tourism and nationalism in the production of regional culture: the shaping of Majorca's popular songbook between 1837 and 1936¹

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ABSTRACT. This article offers a microhistorical approach to the shaping of regional cultures during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to show that this process was not only imposed from centres of nationalisation as a complement of national identity, but that it also had to be negotiated with elites in provinces at the periphery. Specifically, the article looks at how the regional songbook of Majorca took shape between 1837 and 1936. In this process of musical regionalisation, the cultural authority of the tourism and colonial discourse about the island was strategically exploited by local musicians to gain some share of power from below in negotiating their own regional identity with nationalising institutions. In this way, the Spanish and Catalan national identities being projected over the island were ultimately decentred and transformed.

KEYWORDS: banal nationalism, musical folklore, nationalisation, regional cultures, tourism

Billig published *Banal Nationalism* in 1995; the everyday reproduction of national identities through mass communication and consumer culture has gained weight in the interpretation of nationalism (Billig 1995; Edensor 2002; Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008). Billig's idea brings together the long-studied phenomenon of the nationalisation of populations (Mosse 1975) with Foucault's theory of power (1998 [1975]). Effectively, Foucault's notion of the omnipresence of power ties in with the emphasis put on the politically neutral and apparently insignificant aspects of everyday life in which national identity is developed. If the nation is reproduced in small day-to-day things, the daily contact between nationalists and the nationalised sets in motion a circular game in which power is not exercised solely from the top down as a property of certain sovereign subjects, but also more horizontally in a network of often unstable relations (Foucault and Gordon 1980). Thus, national identities have been negotiated interactively and built from the bottom up as well (Beyen and Ginderachter 2012).

In this dialogic or multilogic process of nation-building, the relation between urban national centres, or cores, and their largely rural territorial peripheries was key. In this respect, nationalisation must not be thought of as produced solely from the administrative capitals outward to the countryside, but also in the opposite direction (Molina-Aparicio 2008; Weber 1976). Thus, in the nationalisation of provincial peripheries in the late nineteenth century, it was necessary to build intermediate regional identities to reconcile the national prototype to peasant subjectivities (Applegate 1990). In any event, this process of shaping regional cultures also occurred as a reaction of provincial elites to the social distress caused by the dizzying historical change of modernisation being experienced at the time (Storm 2010). Thus, while regionalism may have appealed largely to a working-class and peasant tradition identified with the past, it was nevertheless a new, urban and middle-class construct. This is the position from which it contributed to processes of nationalisation and modernisation carried out by the public administrations (Archilés 2006; Confino 2006).

This article focuses on one of the most important fields of everyday power in which different subjects negotiate the nationalisation and regionalisation of their culture: musical folklore. More specifically, the focus is on the interplay of power and resistance between core and periphery that developed over time to shape the popular songs anthology in Majorca between 1837 and 1936. The analysis of this process is built on a methodological approach that is microhistorical in nature, centred on the local context of Majorca (Ginderachter 2012; Levi 1993; Storm 2010). Therefore, it is a painstaking analysis of the tools of knowledge, the collection procedures and the predominant selection criteria by which some songs and melodies were classified as 'Majorcan', while others present on the island were not. That is, we start from the premise that the production of the island's musical repertoire was, to some extent, the invention of a tradition (Hobsbawm 1988).

One of the aspects of daily life in which the process of nationalisation–regionalisation has historically been carried out most effectively is music. Aside from determining official anthems, an important element of nationalisation was to shape properly national genres (Bohlman 2004; Lajosi 2014; Samson 2001). This involved more than cultural and political elites. Through mass culture, certain types of apparently apolitical music were introduced into the daily consumption of the middle classes (Fauser 2008; Scott 2004). In this way, the establishment of 'regional' repertoires constructed out of folklore research was practically an obligatory first step (Leerssen 2014).

In addition, another field of everyday power in which the regional culture of Majorca was produced and negotiated with particular intensity has been tourism. The practice of tourism has been related to processes of nation-building and the shaping of regional cultures (Storm 2014; Walton 2009). In any case, the research conducted in this area is still scanty, and the predominant approach has held that regionalisation moved from the centre outward to the periphery. Local tourism identities have been posed as a

functional matter arising out of the prior political and nationalising influences of the State (Afinoguénova 2014; Picard 1997; Young 2012). Indeed, since the phenomenon of tourism has been connected to historical processes of nation-building (Baranowski and Furlough 2001; Koshar 1998), the political and state perspective has eclipsed the analysis of daily practices of consumption from below (Moreno-Garrido 2004; White and Frew 2011; Zuelow 2009).

As with banal nationalism and regional culture, tourism has been singled out as an everyday activity, apparently innocent and apolitical, within the framework of which the microphysics of power (following Foucault) has been exerted (Cheong and Miller 2000; Hollinshead 1999). As institutional apparatus and discursive formation, tourism has generated a way of seeing and knowing that has placed different subjects in unequal positions of power (Urry 2002 [1990]; Amoamo 2011). Through the tourist gaze, the traveller has assigned othering identities of a local and ethnic character to destination countries and their populations (Morgan and Pritchard 1998; Picard and Giovine 2014). Far from acting as an element of cultural homogenisation, tourism activity has been a resource of the first order in the building of national, regional and local differences (Bruner 2001; Picard 1996).

Majorca is an especially fitting case for the study of tourism's production of regional cultures. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the island has been one of the main focuses of attraction for travellers out of which the prototype of the Mediterranean tourist destination has been constructed (Cirer-Costa 2012; Löfgren 1999; Moyà 2013). Therefore, the Majorcan regional identity has been one of the identities most heavily influenced by the tourism discourse in contemporary Europe. Indeed, when the various institutions of nationalisation proposed the exogenous configuration of a regional island culture in Majorca, there already existed a solid endogenous tradition of musical regionalisation whose origin lay in tourism. This discursive tradition dated back to the alterity of a colonial character that Central European travellers in the nineteenth century had assigned to the island's population. Despite its similarly exogenous origins, Majorca's tourism-derived musical identity was appropriated by provincial elites so that they could use it in the exercise of their own agency and subjectivity to negotiate Majorca's song anthology with nationalising centres.

Another feature that makes Majorca especially interesting is the fact that since the beginning of the twentieth century, it has been the focus of a double nationalisation that is both Spanish and Catalan. In this vein, the discursive contradictions generated in the conflict between the two processes were exploited by the island's elites to regain control of their own regional identity and promote their subjective agency in both cases of nation-building. This article shows how Majorcan musicians drew on various sources of nationalising and tourism discourses, whose materials were then employed in the everyday *bricolage* of building their own regional, somewhat autonomous identity (Certeau 1988; Fiske 1997).

The article is structured as a historical retrospective and a genealogy of Majorca's regional song anthology. The first section lays out the nationalising efforts to produce the repertoire in the early twentieth century by the institutional apparatus of Catalan nationalism. To the extent that the voice of popular sectors of the peasantry was silenced in this process, we rule out the agency and subjectivity of the popular stratum in the island's regionalisation as a political construct. The second section then addresses the conflicts and negotiations that took place in the establishment of the anthology between the centres of Catalan nationalisation and local Majorca elites that were following a different tradition in the representation of their own regional music. The third section rules out the possibility that this endogenous tradition arose out of previous attempts at musical regionalisation by Spain in the late nineteenth century. The ambivalence of Majorca's song anthology is confirmed in the fourth section, where we determine that the local tradition of musical regionalisation is not prompted by any nationalisation project, but rather grows out of the repertoire of colonial, tourism-based representations of the island harking back to the mid-nineteenth century. Lastly, the fifth section shows how, as a result, local elites availed themselves of the external authority of the tourism image of the island to gain shares of power in negotiating regional identity with the centres of nationalisation. This is how they achieved the predominance of their own tourism tradition of self-representation in the shaping of the regional song repertoire, even though popular and peasant sectors on the island would remain silenced.

The *Obra del Cançoner*: nationalisation and the silencing of the peasantry

Practically from its inception in 1891, the Barcelona choral institution Orfeó Català adopted an attitude that was clearly Catalan nationalist, starkly in opposition to Spanish nationalism. Indeed, by opting for choral singing, the institution was already distancing itself from genres such as the zarzuela, which was more closely identified with Spain (Encabo 2007; Marfany 1995). Before long, it became the centre from which emerged patriotic Catalan anthems like the *Cant de la Senyera* and *Els Segadors* (Cattini 2015; Narváez-Ferri 2005). Beyond these explicitly nationalist arrangements and compositions, the Catalanising efforts of the Orfeó Català also took the form of systematising what was known of popular musical experience based on a selectivity whose aim was unequivocally regionalising (Ayats 2005). In the absence of their own public institutions, various organisations from so-called 'civil society' took charge of a process of musical nationalisation that was clearly political and governmentalising in nature (Foucault 1999; Rose and Miller 1992).

From 1914, the creation of the new autonomous administrations of the Mancomunitat of Catalonia translated into increased public support for the Orfeó Català so that it could expand its activities. Thus, in the field of musical folklore, the *Obra del Cançoner Popular de Catalunya* (Popular Song Project of

Catalonia) was launched (Massot-Muntaner 1995). Shortly after starting in 1921, the Project issued a call to civil society to collaborate in the collecting, cataloguing and archiving of 'all our songs which are a mirror of all aspects of the Catalan soul' (Samper 1994 [1949]: 92).² Aware of the institutional weakness of the Mancomunitat, the Project's call also went out to hiking centres and all kinds of local musical organisations, even parish organists. Among the aims of the Project was the encyclopaedic task of cataloguing and archiving all previously collected musical scores.

The main purpose of the Project, however, was to search out and actively collect melodies and songs on campaigns of fieldwork conducted by disinterested collaborators and salaried staff. One of the latter was the musician Baltasar Samper, who took advantage of his Majorcan roots to lead the systematic collection of musical materials on the island between 1924 and 1931. Samper, who was also a nationalist activist in Acció Catalana, was faithful to the objectives of the Project's Catalan nationalisation. Indeed, from his exile in Mexico in 1945, he continued to defend his songbook as an example of 'a peculiar Catalan culture that has its own traits' (Samper 1994 [1949]: 87). In fact, Catalan was the major language spoken in Majorca at the time and regional elites were closely linked to Barcelona as a university and publishing centre from the early beginnings of the *Reneixença* cultural movement in the mid-19th century (Carrió and Marimon 2003; Ramis 2002).

As with the other people doing fieldwork for the Project, Samper followed the methodology set out in the handbook published in 1922 by the Archive of Ethnography and Folklore of Catalonia (1922). The research involved the use of standardised questionnaires, rules for transcription, cataloguing categories and other tools provided in the handbook. Following the newly established scientific rules, Samper devoted as much time to transcribing lyrics and melodies as to writing reports on the conditions under which the information had been collected or to the biographical profile of his informants. When deemed necessary, he even photographed informants and took phonographic recordings of musical performances. Both the rhetoric and the lexicon of the ensuing publications were a clear reflection of the scientific spirit of the entire *Noucentisme* generation engaged in developing the Catalan nationalism of the Mancomunitat (Capdevila 2010; Puigvert 1998).³ Precision, accuracy, systematisation, standardisation and absolute objectivity became imperatives for the assigned tasks of recording, transcribing, documenting, indexing, numbering, classifying, archiving, inventorying and creating the statistics of a corpus of knowledge that aspired to be totalising, nationalising and, in short, governmentalising.

Such a rigorous research methodology involved an aggressive intervention on the subject of study. Indeed, this often led informants to refuse to take part. In his reports, Samper himself often complained of the resistance of many individuals to sing for researchers. He put this down to shyness or to distrust borne out of a disbelief that their songs could be of interest to people with academic training (Samper 1994 [1953]: 73).⁴ Fear of the derision of others

was even more visible when the folklorists asked them to sing a song outside of the places and times that were appropriate. For instance, they were often asked to sing work songs when they were not at work. In this case, the singers viewed their decontextualised singing as a symptom of madness that they preferred not to display. Also, if the singing was not accompanied by the activity to which it was closely related, difficulties and errors multiplied in the execution of the lyrics and melody and the feeling of embarrassment rose. The informants felt embarrassed because they were subjected to a process of examination, objectification, evaluation and scrutiny that they did not understand and never controlled (Bendix 1997; Foucault 1998 [1975]).

Also, the studied singers never had the power to choose the songs by which to show their vocal gifts to the world. In this respect, Samper acknowledged the disillusion of the youngest singers when asked to sing old songs, because they would have preferred to 'sing the *cuplé* in vogue or the hit *romanza* from the latest zarzuela' (Samper 1994 [1953]: 73). In this way, the voice of largely rural working classes was silenced and channelled into conduits that their spokespeople did not choose (Spivak 1994). Thus, the leading figures in popular culture lost control of their public identity. In the effort to define the regional song repertoire of Majorca, the island's working classes and peasants were not taken into account except as a passive support on which to project the very essence of cultural differentiation. Thus, the shaping of the musical aspect of Majorca's regional culture is shown to be a governmentalising construct that was urban and bourgeois in nature and carried out by cultural elites.

Work songs: conflict and negotiation of regional culture

Following the folklorist tradition of the period, the two main components by which Samper appraised the songs of the island's musical tradition were their antiquity and their particularity (Bendix 1997). Of all the music played and sung on the island, Samper highlighted work songs as the most endemic, ancient and authentic example of regional culture. For Samper, these melodies were 'evidence of a particular school of singing, one of long-standing tradition on the island, in which the peasants are educated and develop their capacities from childhood' (1994 [1953]: 80). Curiously, Samper's emphasis on these songs eventually brought him into conflict with the higher authorities of the Project. In 1931, the director Francesc Pujol voiced complaints in a letter to patron Rafel Patxot on the excessive number of work songs in Samper's collection (cited in Massot-Muntaner 1994: 22–23):

These songs are very interesting from the viewpoint of Orientalism, but for my taste, I find perhaps too much Orientalism; it seems to me unnecessary to dwell further on this Oriental aspect of certain Majorcan songs, which, though it is a very real fact, is precisely rather an aspect of diversification between Majorca and Catalonia. In Catalonia, there also exist orientalising work songs, but fortunately they have been

vanishing so that today almost none can be found, while our song, the fully Western song, is still very much alive across a great deal of our land.

The overly differentiating notes between Catalonia and Majorca were seen by the upper reaches of the Project as obstacles in the joint nationalisation of the popular song. In this respect, they would have preferred to exclude some songs from Majorca's regional repertoire that had an 'Oriental' tonality because it made them too different from what was considered to be the Catalan national prototype, an entirely Western construction circumscribed to the European continent (Balcells 2013; Ucelay 2003).

Also, the 'Oriental', Mediterranean and African character attributed to the work songs coincided with the Spanish national prototype. Indeed, the Spanish identity has been historically orientalised by the rest of Europe, especially since the eighteenth century in France (Andreu 2005; Lamas 2003). In the nineteenth century, the tourist representation of Spain as Mediterranean and Oriental that had been appearing in the travel literature was finally appropriated by Spanish nationalism (Andreu 2009; Gracia Cárcamo 2010), making the Spanish national identity become gradually more orientalised with a heavier accent on Andalusia and flamenco.

Indeed, Samper himself stated that the characteristics of the work songs brought Majorca's musical tradition closer to the flamenco genre of *cante jondo*, which was especially deep-rooted in Andalusia. Along these lines, he mentioned that 'many peasants that communicated work tunes to us showed great ease in imitating flamenco singing' (Samper 1994 [1953]: 81). Thus, while not excluding the possibility of a later contaminating influence through mass communication (Vicens 2012), Samper ultimately leaned towards the hypothesis that the two musical traditions shared a common Arab origin going back to Al-Andalus (1994 [1936]: 44).⁵ In this respect, he was arguing for a common ancestor in different regions of the Spanish state that would not be transversal across the whole Catalan cultural territory as had been proposed by the Mancomunitat. All of this involved a certain dysfunction in the process of Catalan nationalisation. In a sense, the work songs de-Catalanised the island's song repertoire.

One of the reasons why Samper departed from the script laid out by his superiors was because of the influence and authority of the Majorcan musician Antoni Noguera in the island's highbrow music circles. Indeed, Samper always saw himself as indebted to a man he regarded as the architect of the first major collection of popular music in Majorca (1994 [1929]: 27–33).⁶ Noguera's songbook had been published in 1893 under the title '*Memoria de los cantos bailes y tocatas de la isla de Mallorca*' (Report about the songs, dances and instrumental compositions in the island of Mallorca). In his collection, Noguera singled out the work songs because of their antiquity and went so far as to say that they 'are of real importance because they bear the hallmark of originality that is hard to find in their counterparts in other provinces' (Noguera 1893: 26). Prior to Samper, Noguera had already dated the origins of the work songs

back to Arab rule on the island. Noguera's prestige as a musician on the island was such that the selection criteria that he used in his collection established a local canon of orthodoxy that would be followed not only by Samper, but also by other musical compilers like Josep Massot (Massot-Planes 1984).⁷

Noguera's pioneering collection was prompted by a competition called by a journal called *Ilustración Musical Hispano Americana* (Hispano-American Musical Enlightenment). The prize would go to 'the best report of a compilation of traditional popular music from a Spanish province or overseas region where our language is spoken' (*Ilustración Musical* 1892a: 23). To the extent that the territorial scope of the contest coincided exactly with the borders of Spain and its former empire, the objective was to nationalise Spanish musical research in line with a clearly imperial identity (Berger and Miller 2008). Indeed, various projects were excluded because they fell outside the established territorial and cultural area (*Ilustración Musical* 1892c: 114–15). Here again, from an organisation as apolitical in principle as a cultural journal, the popular musical experience was nationalised with clearly governmental intentions. Though the publication was private, it did receive political support for the contest from the royal family. One proof of this was that the Infanta Isabel was the honorary sponsor of the prize-giving event (*Ilustración Musical* 1892a: 23).

With these prizes, the *Ilustración Musical* wanted to encourage the collection and transcription of popular music in order to create a corpus of musical scores to serve as support and inspiration in the shaping of a properly Spanish classical musical tradition. So the objective was to 'appropriate folklore in order to give it back to the people transformed poetically' (*Ilustración Musical* 1892b: 2). In this way, the aim was to contribute to the creation of a new mass culture that would nationalise the daily life of the population. Also, a particular aim was to overcome Italian hegemony in the commodified consumption of music, given the belief that 'in folklore lies the pure, direct and wholly national product of the popular song' (*Ilustración Musical* 1892b: 2). Indeed, the journal's editor-in-chief later published his Spanish popular songbook following the same principles (Ayats 1991; Bonastre 1991; Pedrell 1922).

In this respect, Noguera conveyed these same nationalising aims explicitly in his report when he wrote that 'we are moved only by our love of the smaller homeland, at the behest of which we showcase to the larger homeland a rich store of popular music worthy of being explored and perhaps exploited' (Noguera 1893: 97). In a prototypical attitude of the regionalist spirit of the late nineteenth century, the Majorcan musician understood that the province had to put its repertoire of popular music at the disposal of the nation to be used in the higher task of creating a genre or style of highbrow music that would be properly national. Indeed, with the lesson so well learnt, Noguera's compilation ultimately took first prize in the competition.

Thus, we reach the conclusion that the reason why Gaspar Samper gave special emphasis and dedication to work songs in the collection he started in

1924 was not due to the guidelines for Catalan nationalisation established by the Popular Song Project of Catalonia. Rather, it can be explained by the influence of the regional songbook for Majorca compiled in 1892 by Antoni Noguera under the patronage of institutions engaged in Spanish nationalisation.

‘Country dances’: the ambivalence of regional culture

Despite the clear intentions of Spanish nationalisation expressed by Noguera in his writings, a careful examination of his compilation effort shows that his selection criteria did not always hew to the Oriental and flamenco prototypes of Spanishness. In the broad section of his report devoted specifically to dance, Noguera wanted to draw a distinction between Majorca and the Iberian Peninsula. Under the epithet of ‘dances in the style of the country’, he regionalised as properly ‘Majorcan’ only a selection of all the dances danced on the island (Noguera 1893: 68–78).

Of the five dances categorised by Noguera, the *fandango*, the *jota* and the *bolero* were not originally from Majorca but came from different regions of the Iberian Peninsula (Carbonell 1993; Dankworth 2013). The three dances had become popular throughout Spain, particularly during the French occupation in the early nineteenth century, when the prototype of a free, unoccupied Andalusia became a model for Spanish nationalisation in contrast to French dances like the *minuet* and *rigaudon*, which had hitherto been fashionable in aristocratic circles (Vallcaneras 2009). In any event, the imported character of *jotas*, *fandangos* and *boleros* in Majorca led Noguera to disregard them in his compilation and he focused his attention only on the two dances that he deemed exclusively to be native to the island: the *mateixa* and the *copeo* (Noguera 1893: 74). The exclusion of the *bolero* comes as a particular surprise since it was so popular in nineteenth-century Majorca that the name came to be applied to any form of public dancing in the squares and streets, whether or not it was strictly speaking a *bolero* (Bernat-Ferrer 1993). Thus, in his songbook, Noguera underscored the factors of differentiation with respect to the national centres on the Iberian Peninsula. Years before Samper’s collection, his direct predecessor was already trying to maximise the singularity of Majorca’s regional culture while simultaneously minimising the common ties linking it to Spain.

In the section on dance music in his report, Noguera cited and reproduced musical scores that the Archduke Ludwig Salvator had published years earlier in *Die Balearen* (1893: 78; Habsburg-Lorena 1985 [1871]). Indeed, the text promoted and penned by the distinguished member of the Austrian imperial family was the work most cited by Samper. *Die Balearen* (The Balearics) was an ambitious, encyclopaedic attempt to collect all the knowledge of that time on the Balearic Islands. In this respect, the various volumes of the work published between 1869 and 1891 sought to give a systematic and totalising

characterisation of the Balearic character. In his role as an ethnographer, Ludwig Salvator selected, described and catalogued the different cultural characteristics of a population that was, for the first time, being thought of as an ethnicity in the context of Mediterranean Europe (Nagel 1994; Trias 1992). From the dialectal character of the speech to the traditional peasant architecture: everything adhered to a unitary regional whole.

In the preparation of such a vast work, the Archduke counted on the keen collaboration of the island's bourgeois and church elites bound up with the Catalan-speaking movement of the *Renaixença*. The Archduke and this literary circle shared the same Romantic, folkloricising view of Majorca's regional culture (Trias 1994). Thus, everything points to his imperial highness becoming the driving force in Majorca behind the conservative and even counter-revolutionary character of the recently configured regional cultures of Europe (Storm 2010). Indeed, Ludwig Salvator was only twelve years old when his father, Leopold II, was deposed as Grand Duke of Tuscany as a result of the liberal-minded Italian unification process. Thus, he projected upon Majorca his nostalgia for the lost Mediterranean of his childhood in Italy, together with a longing for the conservative values of stability and hierarchy that had supposedly disappeared on the continent because of revolutionary processes (Schwendinger 1991). As a consequence, his ethnography found in the population of Majorca a reserve of morality and a stock of tradition that was located outside European history (Trias 1992).

In his totalising purpose to set the general characteristics of the Majorcan ethnicity, the Archduke preceded Noguera in calling the dances described in his work 'country dances' (Habsburg-Lorena 1985 [1871]: 578).⁸ *Fandangos*, *jotas* and *copeos* were the three genres of 'Majorcan' dance included in *Die Balearen* (Habsburg-Lorena 1985 [1871]: 582). While acknowledging that the first two were dances imported from the Iberian Peninsula, Ludwig Salvator always stressed their island particularity. As for the *jota*, he took the view that it was a dance of Aragonese origin, and he chose to push back as far as possible the date of its introduction to the island, ultimately settling on the Middle Ages in order to emphasise the ancient ties between the various kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon. Accordingly, the Majorcan *jota* became a feature of Catalan-Aragonese particularity and ceased being a transversal sign of Spanishness.

Turning to the *fandango*, the Archduke never denied its Andalusian provenance. However, in exchange, he emphasised the particular character with which the Majorca population had appropriated the genre. According to Ludwig Salvator, the Majorcan *fandango* had a calmer, more sedate character than its Andalusian original, which boasted a reputation for being particularly unbridled and morally questionable. In this way, he particularised and moralised Majorca's regional culture in relation to the passionate character attributed to the Spanish identity. Even so, the outside origin of the *fandango* led the Archduke to doubt the quality and authenticity of the dance, particularly when sung in Spanish instead of Catalan: 'As may be

expected, these songs lack artistic value, particularly the Spanish ones, because their performers, being humble country people, rarely understand their meaning and offer them with a pronunciation that is highly *sui generis*' (Habsburg-Lorena 1985 [1871]: 583).

Lastly, the Archduke put special emphasis on the *copeo*, just as Noguera would later do. In this respect, Ludwig Salvator considered the *copeo* to be one of the island's endemic genres of dance and he explicitly distinguished it from the more widespread 'Spanish *bolero*' (Habsburg-Lorena 1985 [1871]: 591). Indeed, the boleros did not receive specific treatment as 'country dances' even though they represented the most widespread type on the island at the time. By contrast, the *copeo* gave a weight and specificity to Majorcan regional culture that the German-speaking aristocrat was putting forward to the rest of Europe.

Thus, we reach the conclusion that Antoni Noguera, in the section of his 1893 report on dance music, was following in the tradition of particularist representation close to Catalan nationalism that had been established back in 1871 by the Archduke in *Die Balearen*. As a result, rather than contributing to a Spanish-style regionalisation of the island, Noguera was contributing to the formation of a tradition of autonomous and properly island-based musical regionalisation that was definitely ambivalent in the face of the twofold process of Spanish and Catalan nationalisation being experienced on the island.

The gaze of the 'enlightened tourist': colonial discourse and Mediterraneanness

One aspect of *Die Balearen* that cannot be ignored is the Central European background of its author. The habitual residence of Ludwig Salvator was Prague, where he served as governor of Bohemia under the protection of his cousin Emperor Franz Josef. So the main architect of Majorcan regional culture posed the ethnic specificity of the island as a form of otherness in the style of so many other imperialist ethnographies and travel books of the period (Hall 1997; Pratt 1992). Because the author was not a native, the third-person plural became his text's predominant grammatical structure to refer to the population of Majorca. Also, the treatise was written in German, and certain chapters adopt rules used in the literary genre of travel narrative (Trias 1992). *Die Balearen*, therefore, was aimed at potential German-speaking visitors who might want to retreat to the archipelago for rest and recreation. Indeed, the Archduke knew that it was being read by the members of Vienna Geographical Society (Schwendinger 1991). As a strategy of power, therefore, the accumulated knowledge in the Archduke's work was primarily for tourism purposes.

Beyond writing the text for *Die Balearen*, Ludwig Salvator also acted as a tourism promoter for Majorca. On the one hand, he and his estates in the Majorcan mountains played host to an entire court of different members of Europe's cultural elites and aristocracies, who then carried news of the island back into the outside world. He also set up the first accommodation for hikers

and travellers on his properties. As a sign of gratitude for his pioneering labour to promote tourism on the island, the sector's association and lobby Fomento del Turismo de Mallorca (Tourism Promotion of Majorca) named the Archduke honorary chairman in 1909 (Vives-Reus 2005).

The tastes and preferences by which the kinds of music that could be heard in Majorca were deemed to be properly regional clearly related to tourism. Indeed, in his report, Noguera openly confessed that his special focus on work songs could be put down to their prior influence on earlier enlightened travellers: 'these songs have repeatedly drawn the attention of foreigners who have visited these islands (...). No enlightened *touriste* has failed to notice the improvisations full of gentle melancholy' (Noguera 1893: 26–7).

According to Noguera, Joseph Tastú was the first traveller to mention the work songs of Majorca. Tastú, who was also seen as the pioneer in promoting the hypothesis of their Arab origin, had arrived on the island in 1837 on the recently opened regular steamship line connecting Majorca with Barcelona. As a philologist, he was seeking to verify certain vestiges of the Limousin language from the South of France that he thought had survived in Majorca thanks to the island's isolation (Seguí-Llinàs 1992). Despite the fact that the philologist explorer never published his studies, his notes fell into the hands of another, even more illustrious visitor: George Sand.

Aurore Dupin hid her identity behind the male pseudonym of George Sand in order to become one of the acclaimed writers of her time. She came to Majorca because of the frail health of her lover Frederic Chopin. The couple's intention was to spend the winter in search of a climate that would be milder and more benign than Paris. The selection of the island as a destination was due to the influence of their Majorcan friend Francisco Frontera, who was residing in the French capital at the time (Estaràs 2001). The visit of the famous couple made Majorca fashionable as a tourist destination among certain circles of Parisian high culture. A year later, the painter and musician Jean-Joseph Laurens travelled to the island, publishing his recollections of the visit in 1841 (Laurens 1971 [1841]). It was precisely as a response to Laurens's book that Sand penned her bestseller 'A Winter in Majorca' (Sand 2009 [1841]).

Sand's text evinces the othering, Orientalist and colonial character of the tourism discourse of that time (Baumann 2001; Said 1991 [1977]). Indeed, when the French author depicts the festival and carnival music of Majorca, she makes use of the most conventional clichés of savagery and barbarism that have historically legitimated colonial expansion (Sand 2009 [1841]: 202):

some few children, covered in filthy, horrifying masks, played all at once, and not following a measured and reserved rhythm, as in Spain, but with a ceaseless redoubling that was like drum beats over the fields [...] nothing is more salvage than this way of celebrating something by bursting one's eardrum.

In this respect, the emphasis put on the masks and repetitive, percussive music places the island's musical tradition in a position of primitivism

alongside the music of many other colonised peoples (Radano and Bohlman 2000). Indeed, throughout her text, Sand represented the population of Majorca as having a character 'of greater likeness to the African than to the European' (Sand 2009 [1841]: 52). Unsurprisingly, therefore, she regards as 'indigenous' the Majorcan dances danced to the beat of the *jota* and the *fandango* (Sand 2009 [1841]: 205).

In the same vein of colonial discourse, the Parisian writer emphasises the Oriental nature of the work songs that Tastú had earlier noticed. She says that 'Majorca's foremost rhythms [...] are Arab in type and tradition' (Sand 2009 [1841]: 203). It seems, therefore, that the search for authenticity by means of exoticism in the modern practice of tourism made especially attractive this musical type so far removed from Central European standards (Hall and Tucker 2004; MacCannell 1999 [1976]). Rather than a study, Tastú's notes were free-wheeling comments on a melody that he had heard the helmsman sing on the vessel carrying him from Barcelona to Palma. In his notes, which are reproduced verbatim in Sand's text, it can be observed that the characteristics being described coincide with those of the work songs later collected by Noguera and Samper (Sand 2009 [1841]: 227–30). The musical regionalisation of Majorca, therefore, did not begin with a nationalising purpose at the end of the nineteenth century. It harked back to a tradition of tourist representation a half century earlier.

Indeed, the first transcriptions of work songs in Majorca were entrusted by Francisco Frontera to his student Bartomeu Torres (Torres et al. w. d.).⁹ Doubtless, the positive influence of Tastú's notes and the curiosity of Sand's Parisian friends prompted Frontera to push forward with the initiative. At the time, transcribing and compiling popular music were not at all common in Majorca. The earliest tourists' fascination with the more Orientalising touches of island culture, therefore, prompted the local elites to begin to put down in writing and in scores the popular musical tradition of the island.

Not many years later, in 1871, Archduke Ludwig Salvator put the very musical scores commissioned by Frontera into the second volume of his own *Die Balearen*. Indeed, in the same text, he thanked the Majorcan musician for providing the transcriptions (Habsburg-Lorena 1985 [1871]: 574). Because his imperial highness had no musical training, he was unable to put down in writing the melodies that he heard on the island. Nevertheless, Noguera acknowledged the section of the Archduke's work dedicated to music as a direct influence and a clear forerunner to his own collection (Noguera 1893: 6). In the pages of *Die Balearen*, it is notable that four of the five transcribed melodies are work songs (Habsburg-Lorena 1985 [1871]: 572–6). This is doubtless proof of the colonial gaze of the tourism pioneer who, like his fellow devotees, was especially interested in Arab influences on Majorca's popular culture (Rosselló Bordoy 1991). Indeed, as a good Orientalist, Ludwig Salvator knew how to speak Arabic and paid frequent visits to the Holy Land.

In conclusion, we can say that the pages of *Die Balearen* on local colour in Majorcan music, of 1872, were determinant in the process of selecting,

organising and evaluating the popular melodies collected subsequently by Noguera, in 1892. Nevertheless, the fascination that both men professed for the work songs harks back to the trips made by Sand and Tastú between 1837 and 1839. Indeed, the musical scores published by the Archduke in *Die Balearen* were first collected by Majorcan musicians under the influence of the re-appraising gaze of the travellers from Paris.

The prevalence of work songs: the power of tourist authority

Despite the pressure exerted by the leadership of the *Obra del Cançoner Popular de Catalunya* (Popular Song Project of Catalonia), Baltasar Samper never gave up on his intention to focus the Majorcan compilation on work songs. Indeed, these melodies already played a prominent role in the overall set of songs when the project director Francesc Pujol decided to present their joint work to the rest of Europe. Pujol, in attendance at the Congress of Music History held in Vienna in 1927, dedicated four praise-laden pages of his tract to Samper's findings in this musical genre (1927: 24–27). In his hypotheses about the songs' origins, Pujol also tried to westernise them insofar as he related them to the Doric songs of ancient Greece. Nevertheless, he gave in ultimately to Orientalist theses when, in his conclusion, he identified 'Oriental tonalities' in the songs (Pujol 1927: 27).

In the Central European context, the expectations that Orientalising kinds of music would attract greater attention led the director of the *Obra del Cançoner* to give centre stage to the work songs of Majorca, thereby contradicting his own nationalising aims. In this way, Catalan nationalism had to accept the regionalisation of the island's music as Orientalised music. Starting from a Catalan nationalism defined as pro-Western and pro-European, what ultimately came to be promoted was a regional identity for Majorca as a place on the Mediterranean border with Africa. In the face of a largely Central European audience, the selection of what was officially fundamental to Catalan music shifted in order to spark greater interest among a public eager for colonial exoticism.

Ultimately, Samper's effort to include the island tradition of musical regionalisation in the Catalan national songbook met with success at the Third International Congress of Musicology held in Barcelona in 1936 (1994 [1936]: 34–44). At this scientific event, the Majorcan musical missionary, under his own authorship, gave a lengthy and specific presentation on the island's work songs. Thus, thanks to the authority of the tourist gaze, he was able to shift Majorca from the southern periphery to the very core in the governmental representation of the Catalan nation. In this respect, he succeeded in including and maximising Majorca's particularity in a decentred official Catalan identity.

This does not mean, however, that Samper managed to impose grassroots Majorcan regional essences on Catalan nationalisation. He simply elicited

the prevalence of an endogenous tradition in the building of a regional identity whose origins harked back to the first encounters with tourists in the mid-nineteenth century. In this respect, Samper, at the congress of 1936, accompanied his presentation with a singing showcase by two peasant youths brought from Majorca expressly for this purpose. More than giving visibility to the subaltern musical experience of popular sectors, the showcase turned the island's peasantry into a passive object and immobile support onto which the provincial bourgeoisie could project their fantasies of a traditional regional culture in contrast to modernity and its dangers. Beyond the decontextualised songs straitjacketed by folkloristic discourse, the subaltern groups of Majorca were still being silenced and violently exposed to the gaze of others as an exotic curiosity (Spivak 1994).

In this respect, one question remains: how did the island's popular classes act in relation to the regional prototype that they were supposed to embody and perform? In the absence of a voice that was recognised and heard, the everyday practices of performativity of the regional culture offered them an opportunity to resist regional otherness and to channel their agency through spatial and corporeal politics (Csordas 1994; Thrift 1996). For example, events such as the decontextualised performance of work songs before the eyes of national elites, or the staging of regional dances as tourist spectacle, enabled them to express themselves publicly and regain control of their identity from their position of subalternity (Haldrup and Larsen 2009; Rickly-Boyd et al. 2016).

Conclusions

The shaping of Majorca's regional songbook between 1837 and 1936 illustrates beyond question that the colonial and Orientalising gaze of the tourist played a key role in the production of regional cultures in contemporary Mediterranean Europe.

Looking at its music, Majorca's regional identity was built throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by means of two processes, which were distinct but convergent. The first consisted of nationalisation efforts, both Spanish and Catalan in nature, which treated the music played and heard on the island as provincial. Under these governmentalising programmes, cultural regionalisation had to be carried out using selection criteria focused on complementarity with core national prototypes. In any event, in the case of Majorca, its regional identity of a tourism-based, Mediterranean character ultimately prevailed over this double nationalisation.

The second regionalising process on the island had older historical roots going back to the colonial and Orientalising representation of the tourism discourse. In this case, a taste for Arab reminiscence was combined with the mythification of regional particularity as a moral paradise and ahistorical fossil. All together, this not only contributed to the creation of a local tourist

brand that could be projected outward. The new identity was also appropriated and reproduced by the provincial cultural elites themselves. When this local representation came into conflict with the institutional apparatus of the centres of nationalisation, the elites at the periphery succeeded in making it prevail in their negotiation over regional identity.

At no time did Majorca's provincial elites stand in opposition to regional nationalisation. Their contribution to the process was plain to see and undoubtedly genuine. Nevertheless, in their work of cultural regionalisation, they strove to bring the province itself into the symbolic core of the nation. That is, within the limits of what was possible, they attempted to 'Majorcanise' both Spain and Catalonia. In this respect, Samper was successful in putting the work songs into an important place within the Popular Songbook of Catalonia, despite their southern, Orientalising tone. Also, Noguera received an award for his selection of dance music, even though he played down the characteristics it shared in common with the regional cultures of the Iberian Peninsula.

The experience of unease caused by losing control of one's own identity that accompanied regionalisation processes surely pushed modest provincial elites to carry out these everyday tactics of semiotic resistance (Certeau 1988; Fiske 1997). In this respect, the multiplicity of discursive logics that converged in the regional identity of Majorca offered cognitive interstices and third spaces of autonomous creativity and political manoeuvrability (Pratt 1992; Bhabha 1994). On the one hand, Majorca's musicians exploited the contradictions in their own identity arising out of the duality of nationalisation processes so as to decentre the Spanish and Catalan national prototypes. On the other hand, the local tradition of tourist and colonial origin offered semiotic materials that differed from the nationalising ones and could, when recombined, generate a new island identity. Although this is a discursive resource that is equally exogenous and othering, the representation of the island as a tourist destination was used by local musicians to give the maximum weight to their own regional identity. Based on this discreet tactic of low-intensity imitative resistance, which was almost invisible but effective, the island elites succeeded in gaining shares of symbolic autonomy with respect to the political and cultural centres on which they depended (Hollinshead 2004; Scott 1985).

Thus, the regionalisation of daily life was not only achieved at the behest of nationalising centres. The subjective agency of territorial peripheries also had a hand in the process. The processes of nationalisation and regionalisation did not consist in one-directional movements in which power was imposed from the top down. They were contentious phenomena in which regional identity was negotiated between nationalising cores and provincialised peripheries (Hutchinson 2005; Núñez-Seixas 2012). In this respect, we come to the conclusion that national and regional identities have historically taken shape in contemporary Europe as a result of the outcomes of negotiations like this one.

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Endnotes

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- 2 The call is partially reproduced in Samper, G. 1949, 'La investigación folklórica en la obra del Cancionero Popular de Cataluña', *Anuario de la Sociedad folklórica de México*, Vol. 4 (1945). The article is reproduced in its entirety in Samper 1994: 86–110. All of the translations from Catalan or Spanish are the author's work.
- 3 This set of publications was collected by Josep Massot-Muntaner in Samper 1994.
- 4 Samper, B. 1952, 'Els cants de treball a Mallorca', *Pont Blau*, February–April 1952. Reproduced in its entirety in Samper 1994: 64–85.
- 5 Samper, B. 1936, Les cançons de treballs agrícoles a Mallorca: comunicació al congrés e musicologia de 1936. Unpublished typewritten text reproduced in its entirety in Samper 1994: 34–44.
- 6 This set of publications was collected by Josep Massot-Muntaner in Samper 1994.
- 7 Originally entitled *Colección de Cantos, Bailes y Tocatas Populares de la Provincia de Baleares*. Unpublished collection presented to the public in 1909.
- 8 Translation of the original *Die Balearen in Wort und Bild* published in Leipzig in 1871.
- 9 Collection of musical scores, unnumbered, with unknown date of publication (191?).

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