

THE MAKING OF A FRANCO-MEDITERRANEAN CULTURE: MASSENET AND HIS STUDENTS IN ALGERIA AND THE CÔTE D'AZUR

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MASSENET AND HIS STUDENTS had great success in Algeria, in some cases even before their music reached the other side of the Mediterranean. Theaters, orchestras, chamber ensembles, recitalists, military bands, and radio stations performed their music in not only Algiers, but also Bône, Constantine, Oran, and Tlemcen. Part of this interest was due to theater directors such as Gaston Coste, Victor Audisio, and especially Amédée Saugey. Under Saugey's direction, Algiers' Théâtre municipal became known as 'Théâtre-Massenet'. These successes led to him being appointed director of the Nice Opera in 1902 and that of Marseille in 1908 where he brought productions first done in Algeria and built on his experiences there. By 1911 Saugey was a serious contender for director of the Paris Opéra-Comique. Also remarkable was the extent to which North African theaters and musicians performed operas by Massenet's students: Alfred Bruneau, Paul Vidal, Gustave Charpentier, André Gailhard, Henri Février, Felix Foudrain, Reynaldo Hahn, and Xavier Leroux, and Charles Silver. Focused on the 1890s through the 1930s, this article not only draws attention to the works performed and how they helped build the trans-Mediterranean careers of Saugey and others, it also discusses the various contexts — colonial, institutional, and musical — in which these performances took place and the global as well as regional meanings and purposes to which they contributed.

RACIAL AND COLONIAL CONTEXTS AND THEIR FUTURE

In an essay, 'Dégénérescence: Le passé et le présent de notre race' (1895), Alfred Fouillée used a musical chord to describe the French as made up of the fusion of three races: «une sorte d'accord parfait ou le Celte donne

la tonique, le Méditerranéen la médiante, et le Germain la dominante». He called this, «une harmonie rare et précieuse»¹. Similarly, Massenet was known for seeking the «la fusion harmonieuse» of German and French music². The capacity for assimilation, «la facilité de fusion avec des peuples étrangers», was thought to define the French character. In the 1890s much was at stake in France. Northern traditions and artists were becoming fashionable — not only Wagner, but also Ibsen, Grieg, and Franck. D’Indy’s *Fervaal* and Debussy’s *Pelléas et Mélisande* grew out of this spirit. As republicans became anxious about losing balance, some feared the end of civilization as they knew it. With the widespread fear of degeneration came the idea that this hybrid race could lose its essential character or risk disappearing. Fouillée ruminated at length on «les symptômes de notre prétendue ‘fin de race’»³.

In response came new attention to the south and what French traditions owed to ancient Greece and Rome. Theatrical performances were revived in the 1890s at Europe’s best preserved ancient Roman theatre at Orange, seating 10,000 spectators. Saint-Saëns wrote a number of works for it, including incidental music for *Antigone* in 1893 — the same year as *Die Walküre* had its first performance at the Paris Opéra — as well as ‘Hymne à Pallas Athénée’ in 1894 and *Les Barbares* in 1901. Through simplicity of means and the beauty of forms, he suggested the importance of Greek culture and its ongoing relevance to contemporary French society. Chant-like declamation and choral unison singing embodied his understanding of Greek *mousike*, words whose rhythms implied dance steps as well as musical declamation. Saint-Saëns’s *Déjanire*, composed in 1898 and performed at the Béziers arena, considered by some the French Bayreuth, was considered thoroughly ‘Gallo-Romain’. Gustave Larroumet commented that in uniting «la sobriété grecque avec la splendeur latine», the work resembled the region where it was premiered, «la Gaule Narbonnaise où la civilisation d’Athènes et celle de Rome se sont unies»⁴. New revues such as *La Renaissance latine* and *Revue latine* emerged. In his 1904 essay, ‘L’Avenir latin’, Gabriel Tarde proclaimed, «une chose est nécessaire: c’est que les Latins, trop éblouis du succès de leurs rivaux, reprennent conscience de leur valeur propre»⁵.

¹. FOUILLÉE, Alfred. ‘Dégénérescence: Le passé et le présent de notre race’, in: *Revue des Deux Mondes*, no. 131 (October 1895), pp. 800–801. This essay was most likely a response to the French translation of Max Simon Nordau’s *Dégénérescence*, Paris, Alcan, 1894.

². Citing an interview with Massenet (1884) in: LACOMBE, Hervé. *Les Voies de l’opéra français au XIX^e siècle*, Paris, Fayard, 1997, p. 284 (Les chemins de la musique).

³. FOUILLÉE, Alfred. *Op. cit.* (voir la note 1), p. 793.

⁴. LARROUMET, Gustave. ‘Chronique théâtrale’, in: *Le Temps*, 4 September 1899.

⁵. TARDE, Gabriel. ‘L’Avenir latin’, in: *La Revue bleue*, 15–25 June 1904, p. 773.

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There were significant political implications in turning south, particularly in promoting ties that linked France to Mediterranean civilization. This was a site to consider the future in global terms. The identity of the region was shifting and in play was a new kind of struggle, more global than national and with racial implications. This raised three possibilities:

1. Would Mediterranean civilization remain Greco-Roman?

In the Mediterranean, east, west, north, south — Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East — have shared geography and shared pasts; Christians, Jews, and Muslims have long lived side by side. From Carthage and Dougga in Tunisia, Tingad in Algeria, and Volubilis in Morocco to Orange in southern France, this region is strewn with ancient Roman ruins, harking back to ancient Greece. Louis Bertrand, a native of Lorraine who arrived in 1891 to teach at an Algiers *lycée*, believed that because Latin civilization had flourished in North Africa in ancient times, «France was merely repossessing what was hers by hereditary right»⁶. Some also believed the region had a shared musical past, as suggested by ancient Greek Phrygian scales in music of both the Algerian Kabyles and the French Bretons⁷. Saint-Saëns and Massenet wrote many works inspired by the region, not only Greece and Rome, but also North Africa, Corsica, Spain, Italy, Corsica, and Jerusalem. Besides those mentioned above and his early works on Hercules as symbolic of both Stoic virtue and the French people, *Le Rouet d'Omphale* (1872) and *La Jeunesse d'Hercule* (1877), Saint-Saëns composed *Chant Saphique* (1892), *Phryné* (1893), and his one-act opera *Hélène* (1903); *Souvenir d'Italie* (1887); *Jota Aragonese* (1880) and *Caprice Andalouse* (1904) referring to Spain, *L'Ancêtre* set in Corsica, and especially his many works inspired by Algeria and Egypt⁸. Massenet composed not only a tragédie antique *Les Erinnyes*, (1873) and an oratorio *Marie-Magdeleine* (1873), but also *Scènes napolitaines* (1876), *Hérodiade* (1881), *Thaïs* (1894), *Sapho* (1897), *La Terre promise* (1899), and *Roma* (1912), with two works premiered posthumously: *Cléopâtre* (1912; 1914) and *Jerusalem* (1911; 1914). Like Saint-Saëns who entitled his piano fantasy using the Latin for *Africa*, Massenet

⁶. Louis Bertrand, as discussed in LORCIN, Patricia. *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria*, London, Tauris, 1995 (Society and culture in the modern Middle East), pp. 200–201.

⁷. See PASLER, Jann. 'Theorizing Race in Nineteenth-Century France: Music as Emblem of Identity', in: *Musical Quarterly*, LXXXIX/4 (Winter 2006), pp. 459–504: 472–474.

⁸. The 'Bacchanale' from *Samson et Dalila* (1877), *Suite Algérienne* (1880), *Africa* (1891), *Caprice Arabe* (1894), *Marche dedicated to Algerian students* (1921) and, in Egypt, *Souvenir d'Ismaila* (1895), Piano Concerto No. 5 (1896), *Sur les bords du Nil* (1908), *L'Etoile* (1907), and *La Foi* (1909). For further discussion, see my 'Camille Saint-Saëns and Stoic Cosmopolitanism: Patriotic, Moral, Cultural, and Political', in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, LXVI/2 (2013), pp. 539–545.

chose *Roma* for the title of his five-act opera setting Parodi's *Rome vaincue*. Was his choice to use the Latin a comment on the Roman legacy, at risk of being 'vaincue' in modern times? This suggests an inherent anxiety about a second possible political future for the region.

2. Would the Mediterranean become a Pan-Arab civilization, its eastern and southern borders linked by shared religion?

Religion recognizes no national differences and, as such, easily crosses national boundaries. If Gabriel Tarde considered the opposition of 'latinité' and Islam an issue resolved by the 16th century with the ejection of Arabs from Europe, not everyone agreed. Indeed Andalousian musicians had brought their traditions to much of North Africa before Arabs and Jews were driven out of Spain in 1492. This planted the seeds for shared musical traditions across ethnicities and national identities. As Mlle de Lens explained in a public lecture at the Institut des Hautes *Études* in Rabat, Morocco in 1920, accompanied by a performance of Andalousian music:

A la fin du VII^e siècle, en effet, les Maures, envahissant l'Espagne, s'établissaient en Andalousie; ils avaient atteint une civilisation auprès de laquelle l'état des peuples européens était presque de la barbarie. Depuis ce moment et jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, les rois de France, d'Angleterre, de Sicile, se disputèrent les meilleurs artistes musulmans: musiciens aussi bien que nielleurs et céramistes. [...] Louis XIII fit encore venir de ces Arabes qui enseignèrent dans son royaume, en sorte que nos vieux airs français du VIII^e au XVII^e siècle présentent une frappante similitude avec les chants musulmans. [...]

La ressemblance des instruments ne fait également pas de contestation: les Rebecs, les Luths et les Tambourins employées par nos Trouvères et Troubadours, sont bien les mêmes que les "Rebabs", les "Aouods", et les "Tars" que l'on rencontre dans les mains des "mouallemine" de Fès ou de Marrakech⁹.

Ironically, it was the early music ethnographers of French descent, working closely with Arab and Jewish musicians, who most promoted the Andalousian tradition from Morocco to Tunisia¹⁰. Seeing their role as

⁹. LENS, Thérèse de. 'Ce que nous savons de la musique et des instruments du Maroc', in: *Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, 1/1 (1920), pp. 137-138.

¹⁰. Most notably, Jules Rouanet working with Edmond-Nathan Yafil in Algeria; Antonin Laffage in Tunisia; and Alexis Chottin in Morocco. See my 'The Racial and Colonial Implications of Music Ethnography in the French Empire, 1860s-1930s', in: *Critical Music Historiography: Probing Canons, Ideologies and Institutions*, edited by Markus Mantere and Vesa Kurkela, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015, pp. ???.

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‘protectors’ of this tradition, colonial administrators, scholars, and musicians sought to reinforce what they considered authentic in indigenous musical traditions, especially what linked them to the distant past of both Europe and North Africa. At stake, most of all, was resisting the ongoing influence of the Ottoman Empire in the region, Algeria having long been its North African capital. By respecting, appropriating, and promoting Arab classical music for their own purposes, the French encouraged local resistance to Ottoman forms of modernity and all that it brought with it, including contemporary Muslimism. However, in destroying traditional aristocracies, ironically, colonial conquest empowered Muslim proselytizing and contributed to an increasing Muslim identity in North Africa¹¹.

3. Alternatively, as some settlers hoped, would Algeria become the site for the emergence of a vital new race, the product of modern cosmopolitanism?

Colonized since 1830, Algeria was the most important of the French colonies in terms of the number of French settlers since 1870 when 40,000 Communards and displaced Alsatians and Lorrainers, fleeing Prussian occupation, settled in the capital, Algiers, port towns such as Oran in the west, and Constantine and Bône in the east. Born in Marseille, the composer Ernest Reyer left at 16 years old to work for nine years in Algeria. Here also was a mixed population, with all those naturalized there as French: the Jews since 1870 and the Spanish, Italians, and Maltese since 1889¹². To the extent that they shared musical tastes and practices with the French, these various peoples contributed to the notion of Algeria as giving birth to a ‘new Mediterranean race’, a vigorous and virile product of the intermingling of Europeans and locals willing to embrace France. This new race depended on migration, settlement, tourism, and trade while excluding Arabs who refused to give up their Muslim religion. As such, it was envisaged as a way to organize multiple alterities, linking them to France and its imaginary origins. If France dominated and administered the region, it could claim renewed grandeur.

¹¹. New religious communities were formed in response to military intervention and occupation. See MAMADOU, Diouf. ‘The Senegalese Murid Trade Diaspora and the Making of a Vernacular Cosmopolitanism’, translated by Steven Rendall, in: *Cosmopolitanism: Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences*, edited by Gerard Delanty and David Inglis, 4 vols., New York, Routledge, 2001 (Critical concepts in the social sciences), vol. III, pp. 343-345.

¹². While the number of Spanish increased in Algiers from 144,530 in 1886 to 157,560 in 1896, by that year Maltese had fallen to 12,815 and Italians to 35,589. In Algiers in 1900, among those of European descent, French made up roughly 69% of the population, Spanish 25%, and Italians 6%. See MANDEVILLE, G. – DEMONTES, Victor. *Etudes de démographie algérienne: les populations européennes, leur accroissement, leur densité et leurs origines*, Paris, Aux Bureaux de la «Revue des questions diplomatiques et coloniales», 1900.

When military control gave way to civil administration in Algeria, and with the territory now officially assimilated to France, life began to replicate the rhythms of the homeland. Like trade and commerce, music was expected to build community among various Europeans living there or passing through, crucial to the success of the empire. There were chamber music ensembles, local orchestras, wind bands, and choruses, but the most important space for this were the theaters, built as soon as the settlers arrived as a way both to domesticate the foreign space and construct a sense of place that felt European. To reinforce their connection to 19th-century France, Algiers, Constantine, and Bône built theaters for western music, Algiers's being most important French theater beyond the metropole. The government subsidized it beginning in 1830. In 1853 the city of Algiers built a large magnificent theater on the waterfront, using plans borrowed from the Parisian Théâtre du Châtelet so that grand opera and large *pièces de grande féerie* could be mounted. Already in 1877 the orchestra had 38 musicians and the company included 24 chorists; by 1900 there were 50 in the orchestra, along with 40 chorists. Its revenues put it on a par with the theaters of major French cities such as Toulouse and Nice, with those of Constantine similar to those of Tunis. Performing and listening to Western music provided settlers with a sense of the culture they shared, its assumed superiority, and an ongoing connection to the outside world.

PERFORMING MASSENET IN ALGERIA

French opera in the colonies served to remind settlers of their roots, express French *mœurs*, and encourage French pride. In the 19th century, with its strong commitment to grand opera, the repertoire at Algiers' Théâtre municipal was traditional. Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* was done repeatedly in part because many singers chose it for one of their three débuts. The works most often performed in 1874 and 1891 echoed those at the Paris Opéra (with only two exceptions): Meyerbeer's *Huguenots*, *L'Africaine*, and *Robert le diable*, followed by Gounod's *Faust* and *Mireille* (in its debut in Algiers), Donizetti's *Favorita*, *Lucia*, et *La Fille du regiment*, Verdi's *La Traviata*, *Rigoletto*, and *Trouvère*, and Hérold's *La Juive*¹³. In 1888 the theater gave its 'creation' of *Hérodias*, years before it was first done in French in Paris. Initial reviews were mixed, with particular objections to the libretto as «encore plus invraisemblable que

¹³. By December 1894, the ten most popular works at the Paris Opéra were: *Faust*, with 1000 performances; *Huguenots*, 902; *Guillaume Tell*, 789; *Robert le Diable*, 758; *Favorita*, 642; *La Juive*, 730; *La Muette de Portici*, 505; *Prophète*, 476; *L'Africaine*, 472; and *Lucia*, 289.

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la légende que chacun connaît». And although the music was «fort belle», especially Salomé's air, it seemed not «grandiose» enough for the situation, at least as performed by these singers¹⁴. This opinion would soon change, *Hérodiade* later becoming a favorite in the Mediterranean region.

Algiers' Théâtre municipal also put on lighter works characterized by charm and gaiety. In an 1893 essay on cultural differences, a local critic drew attention to this idea, defining the French as «vif, gai, moqueur, qui s'amuse de tout, qui n'aime que ce qui change et qui ne respect rien», whereas Arabs are «immobile, silencieux, qui n'aime que ce qui dure et qui a besoin de tout respecter, tout jusqu'à son vainqueur»¹⁵. Indeed, works that were gay and amusing not only helped soldiers and civilians alike forget their troubles, but also reinforced an identity they found appealing and necessary for their well-being. Particularly popular were Thomas's *Mignon*, Adam's *Le Chalet*, Planquette's *Les Cloches de Corneville*, Varney's *Les Mousquetaires au couvent*, and Audran's *Le Grand Mogul*, *Miss Helyett*, and especially *La Mascotte*, the latter often chosen by singers for their débuts. The same season as *Hérodiade*'s premiere, Algerians also put on *Manon*. This opéra-comique attracted three kinds of listeners: «ceux que la partition endort, mais que le livret tient terre à terre, intéresse; ceux qui n'écoutent pas le livret, mais s'extasient sur les beautés de la musique de Massenet [...] ceux qui ne comprenant ni le livret, ni la partition» but are «abonnés et qu'il est de bon goût d'aller, sinon entendre, du moins subir les chefs-d'œuvres des maîtres»¹⁶.

In 1890s came remarkable openness to newer works, perhaps inspired by Parisian musical tastes and yet, in part, anticipating them. In Paris in 1890–1891 and 1891–1892, the Concerts Colonne premiered 29 new works each season, 26 and 23 of them, respectively, by living French composers. This included five works by Massenet on eight concerts with his music in 1890–1891 and four works on six concerts with his music in 1891–1892, a popularity for orchestral music not often associated with Massenet and here surpassed only by the music of Berlioz and Saint-Saëns.

In the 1890s, the Théâtre municipal of Algiers also gave many premieres, including three of Massenet's major operas. In 1890–1891 the theater gave its first *Manon* along with Messager's *La Basoche*, Reyer's *Sigurd* and Bizet's *La jolie fille de Perth*, and «reprises importantes» of *Hérodiade*, *Le Tribut de Zamora* and *Ernani*. To prepare audiences, that summer the Société des Beaux-Arts,

¹⁴. ARGUS. 'Chronique artistique', in: *Le Patriote algérien*, 11 April 1888. On 16 February 1889, Algiers' theater director Fromant also produced their first *Le Cid*.

¹⁵. SAINT-GENEST. 'Question algérienne', in: *Moniteur de l'Algérie*, 27 February 1893.

¹⁶. 'Théâtre municipal', '*Manon*', in: *Le Petit Alger*, 8 December 1892.

the city's most important chamber music organization, presented «les meilleurs pages de Massenet» in their hall with 600 seats and good acoustics¹⁷. Then, in February 1892, ten months *before* the Paris Opéra premiere of Saint-Saëns *Samson et Dalila*, director J. Guillien presented its Algerian premiere¹⁸. This was followed by four more performances of *Samson*, a reprise and seven performances of *Sigurd*, six of *Carmen*, five of *Aida*; *Manon* returned with four more performances in December 1892¹⁹. More Massenet followed in 1892–1893, when director E. Manint put together an impressive season in part because the system of débuts was abolished. Despite a problematic start, one critic noted that if he were to «nous initier aux merveilleuses symphonies habillant les philosophiques idées de *Werther* — le dernier né de Massenet — il aura, je crois, bien mérité du public»²⁰. Indeed Manint offered the Algerian premiere of Massenet's *Werther* (notably, before its premiere in Marseille in December 1894), together with his ballet *Le Carillon*, and «reprises» of *Hérodiade* and *Manon*²¹.

Throughout 1893, as *Manon* returned in repertoire at Algiers' Théâtre municipal, Massenet's music was also featured on concerts throughout town. On 1 January 1893, the Société des Beaux-Arts presented the *Scènes alsaciennes*, perhaps in response to the large number of Alsatian settlers living there. On 26 January, their musicians also performed *Les Enfants* and an air from *Hérodiade*; on 23 April, *Les Enfants* and an 'Air de Salomé'. To keep the opera in the public's ear and introduce it to a wider range of listeners, the military band of the 1^e Régiment des Zouaves played a fantasy based on *Manon*. Then, in July and September 1893, the local Concerts populaires featured Massenet's *Scènes pittoresques* and the entr'acte from *Don César*²².

Traditional repertoire continued to dominate to Algiers' Théâtre municipal as its public remained conservative. Critics in 1893 complained that they'd heard *La Juive* 17 times, *Huguenots* 13 times and *Faust* 25 times — if the

¹⁷. 'Théâtre municipal', in: *Le Patriote algérien*, 1 October 1890 and 2 July 1891.

¹⁸. Note this was before *Samson et Dalila*'s premiere in Milan (1893), Cairo (1893), and Barcelona (1897). For a comparison with Saint-Saëns's music in Algeria, see my 'Saint-Saëns, Algerian by adoption', in: *Camille Saint-Saëns and His World*, edited by Jann Pasler, Princeton (NJ), Princeton University Press, 2012 (Bard music festival series), pp. 173–183.

¹⁹. Note, this was before premieres of *Manon* in Milan (1893), Barcelona (1894), and Madrid (1895).

²⁰. AUBANEL, Henry. 'La Saison théâtrale', in: *Les Annales algériennes*, 26 March 1893, p. 374.

²¹. 'Théâtre municipal', in: *Le Petit Alger*, 5 October 1892.

²². *Scènes alsaciennes* and *Scènes pittoresques* were also popular at summer 'Concerts populaires' of the Orchestre municipal in the Square Bresson in 1888, as were 'Airs du ballet du *Cid*' there in 1889.

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theater is a museum, it should be free, one wrote! There was also resistance to Wagner. On the theater's premiere of *Lohengrin* in spring 1892, only six months after the contentious Paris Opéra production, an Algerian critic remarked, «Il nous a semblé que *Lohengrin* n'a guère été compris du public algérois», despite being «essentiellement cosmopolite [...] eclectique». Besides the applause given to the final chorus of Act I «par la seule puissance de sa beauté musicale», there was «froideur générale». Of course, the composer was seen as a «gallophobe acharné», but the theater also lacked «des éléments nécessaires» to render it justice²³.

When Gaston Coste became director in 1896²⁴, he boldly began to add more new works to their repertoire, especially Massenet's opera. In 1896–1897, among his fifty productions of opéra, translations, opéra-comique, and drame lyrique put on annually during their six-month season, Coste produced six of Massenet's dramatic works — their «creations» of *Esclarmonde*, *Navarraise*, and *Portrait de Manon* and their «reprises» of *Hérodiade*, *Werther*, and *Manon*²⁵. He also presented «creations» by Saint-Saëns, Joncières, and Poise, and «reprises» of *Samson et Dalila*, *Sigurd*, *Salammbô*, Verdi's *Ernani* and *Aida*, *Le Roi d'Ys*, *Le Prophète*, and *La Tribune de Zamora*. Coste also gave the Algerian premiere of *Tannhäuser* and reprogrammed *Lohengrin*.

City officials, apparently pleased with these productions and wanting to encourage local composers, changed the *Cahier de charges* to require new works by Algerian composers. This resulted in world premieres of three operas by Algerian composers Spinazzi (1894–1895) and Marius Lambert (1894–1895, 1895–1896). Coste also took the risk of producing local premieres by students of Massenet only a year after their Paris premieres: in 1894 *L'Attaque du Moulin*

²³. V. R. L. 'Chronique théâtrale', in: *Le Moniteur de l'Algérie*, 3 April 1892.

²⁴. Gaston Coste, (originally a 'luthier', according to ARNAUDIÈS, Fernand. *Histoire de l'Opéra d'Alger: épisodes de la vie théâtrale Algéroise 1830-1940*, Algiers, Heintz, 1941), directed theaters in Oran, Constantine, and other principal Algerian towns before running the Théâtre des nouveautés and then the Théâtre municipal (1882, 1887–1888, 1896–1898, and 1902–1903). Although he was referred to as «fils» in press announcements, he was the father of two sons, the eldest, also Gaston, to whom I here refer as «fils». The latter became known as a conductor in Marseille, Tunis, and Biarritz (see below). Georges, a comic actor, in 1906 became director of the Limoges theater. 'Chronique théâtrale', in: *Limoges illustré*, 1 November 1906, p. 2282.

²⁵. 'Grand théâtre municipal: saison 1896–97', in: *Le Moniteur de l'Algérie*, 27 September 1896; for a list of Massenet scores in the music library of this theater, see *Le Bulletin municipal officiel de la ville d'Alger*, 20 November 1897, p. 362. Meanwhile, Massenet's *Les Erinnyes*, *Scènes pittoresques*, *Scènes alsaciennes*, and *Le dernier sommeil de la vierge* presented Massenet at local orchestral concerts in the late 1890s. Of note, these same four works were also the most frequently performed in Montpellier at the time by the Société des Concerts Symphoniques. See TABLE 3 of Sabine Teulon Lardic's article in this volume.

by Bruneau and in 1896 Benjamin Godard/Paul Vidal's *La Vivandière* (Paul Vidal completed the last act and orchestrated the work). In addition, perhaps honoring the wishes of the Italians in his public, Coste put on Leoncavallo's *Paillasse* two years after its Milan premiere and Mascagni's *Cavalleria rusticana* four years after its Rome premiere. This programming strategy was a tremendous success. Coste earned a heap of money, as suggested in the caricature of him smiling and holding a bag with 250,000 francs²⁶. It also established the Théâtre municipal d'Alger as a major French provincial theater, one that deserved and would soon receive regular attention in the French musical press, and for good reason.

MAKING A NAME WITH MASSENET:
SAUGEY IN ALGIERS TO NICE, MARSEILLE, AND PARIS

On 10 June 1898, after examination of all the candidates, the Mayor of Algiers named Amédée Saugey as director of their Théâtre municipal²⁷. He granted Saugey's troupe an annual subsidy of 36,000 francs as well as their three conductors' salaries (later Saugey successfully argued for another 15,000 francs). Under Saugey, the theater had fifty musicians, forty chorists (male and female), and sixteen ballet dancers. Like Miral in Montpellier, as Sabine Lardic has shown, Saugey was particularly interested in Massenet's opera and wished to present it in the most intelligent, artistic, and luxurious manner. That fall, alongside *Africaine* and *Huguenots*, *Mireille* and *Faust*, he produced *Werther*. In March 1899, only sixteen months after its Paris premiere, Saugey put on *Sapho* «devant un public enthousiasmé par l'œuvre, fort bien jouée et chantée», and, as reported in the Parisian press asking for «rappels innombrables» after the third and fourth acts²⁸.

Then in November 1899, since the company had good dancers, Saugey announced something new and unexpected: *Cendrillon*. The press hailed it as the «nouveau sensationnelle de l'hiver». *Saugey promised* «un luxe de distribution et de mise en scène inconnu jusqu'au présent ici». He was also counting on Massenet to come «surveiller les dernières études» of the production, though

²⁶. This image is reproduced in ARNAUDIÈS, Fernand. *Op. cit.* (see note 24), p. 167.

²⁷. *Les Annales algériennes*, 6 June 1892, p. 110. In *Alger-Mondain*, 10 January 1890, Amédée Saugey published an ad on his store selling musical instruments and scores and is later listed with M. Psaila as a «marchand de musique» in the *Bulletin municipal officiel de la ville d'Alger*, 26 February 1897, and later as a «marchand d'instruments de musique». He referred to himself as a music publisher.

²⁸. *Le Ménestrel*, 2 April 1899, p. 112.

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he could not come as early as planned due to stormy weather²⁹. As far away as Paris, its premiere the following January was praised as «un très gros succès» with a «mise en scène fort artistique dont on ne saurait trop complimenter le directeur Saugey». With numerous and frequent improvements of many kinds, «M. Saugey fait lentement de son théâtre colonial un théâtre d'art»³⁰. By April the theater had done *Cendrillon* twenty times. It was the biggest success of the season producing «un chiffre énorme pour Alger», (12,954 francs), its financial success «aussi brillant que le résultat artistique»³¹.

By November 1900, the Paris press was already following Saugey closely: «La saison théâtrale, sous la toujours active et très artistique direction de M. Saugey, s'annonce, d'après les premières soirs, comme devant être tout à fait brillante»³². Besides continuing with Massenet's *Cendrillon* and promising a new production of Massenet's *Le Carillon*, Saugey announced his intention to put on *Louise* by Massenet's student Gustave Charpentier. This production in January 1901 would be the first to follow the Paris premiere on 2 February 1900. For the occasion, Saugey hired the illustrious Parisian Lucien Jusseaume from the Opéra-Comique to make the sets. The composer himself came to oversee the final preparations. Local critics praised Saugey and Charpentier for having taken on such a bold work and «en forçant les chanteurs à quitter un peu leurs manières ridicules d'interpréter la vie...». In spite of «ovations bruantes prolongées» and «salles archibondes», reception was mixed. Some audiences felt deprived, with «aucune romance, aucune cavatine, aucun grand air. [...] Les autres s'effraient du livret 'révolutionnaire'»³³, with its story of a young woman from the working class who chooses personal freedom over her father's wishes. Not discouraged, Saugey continued with other «creations», including Humperdinck's *Hansel et Gretel*, Sarreau's *La Louve*, Serpette's *Shakespeare*, Roger's *Fétards*, Gastinel's *Le Rêve*, and four new ballets: Vidal's *Maladetta*, Widor's *La Korrigan*, Lecocq's *Le Cygne* and Wormser's *L'Étoile*³⁴. There were also «reprises importantes» of *Hérodiade*, *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*, *Samson et Dalila*,

²⁹. *Le Ménestrel*, 26 November 1899, p. 384; DEMAR, Irvine. *Massenet: A Chronicle of His Life and Time*, Portland (OR), Amadeus, 1994, pp. 223 and 225.

³⁰. *L'art dramatique et musical au XX^e siècle*, 1 (1901), p. 40.

³¹. *Le Ménestrel*, 28 January 1900, p. 31; *Le Ménestrel*, 22 April 1900, p. 128. Part of Saugey's success was attributed to his theater tickets that included a bus ticket. He received a patent for these (*Le Ménestrel*, 8 April 1900, p. 112).

³². *Le Ménestrel*, 11 November 1900, p. 360.

³³. *L'art dramatique et musical au XX^e siècle*, 1 (1901), p. 126; *Le Ménestrel*, 20 January 1901, p. 23 and 27 January 1901, p. 32.

³⁴. *Le Ménestrel*, 11 November 1900, p. 360.

Vie de bohème, *La Belle Hélène*, and other works³⁵. For the season 1900–1901, Saugey was rewarded with net receipts rising to 13,348 francs. These successes emboldened him to take on something equally significant: during Easter week 1901, a performance of Massenet’s ‘drame sacré’ *Marie-Magdeleine*. This was a first in Algiers. News traveled to France and helped revive interest in the work, which led to important consequences in Saugey’s career³⁶.

After these successes with so many new works, in August 1901 Saugey was appointed director of the Opéra de Nice, a theater from which, like those in Paris, French Algerians sometimes took inspiration³⁷. Was it the fact that he had made more money for the theater in Algiers than the annual receipts of the Nice Opéra³⁸? Or was it his success with Massenet’s and Charpentier’s operas, particularly their ‘mise en scène’? Or possibly his promise to put on important new works, those of Massenet as well as Wagner, thereby drawing national attention to the Mediterranean? After *Sigurd* and *Hérodiade*, Saugey took on Massenet’s newest work *Grisélidis*, which he promised to produce it soon after its Paris premiere that November at the Opéra-Comique. Like his *Louise* in Algiers, this would be the first production of *Grisélidis* outside Paris. It would also immediately follow the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo’s world premiere of Massenet’s *Le Jongleur de Notre-Dame*, as if in competition with his neighbor. As he did for Saugey’s *Cendrillon* in Algiers, Massenet came to town to direct the rehearsals. In anticipation of its premiere, in late January 1902, Saugey put on *La Navarraise*. Saugey’s strategy worked. His production of *Grisélidis* that March was so successful, both artistically but socially, that week after week many people wanting good seats had to be turned away. A local paper published Massenet’s letter of appreciation to Saugey³⁹. That season Saugey also offered *Sapho* and, also with Jusseume’s sets, a new production of *Louise*, a work that had been «si malcontreusement montée» in Nice the previous April⁴⁰.

³⁵. *Le Monde artiste illustré*, 11 November 1900, p. 710.

³⁶. *Revue musicale Saint Cécile*, 19 April 1901, p. 110.

³⁷. *Bulletin municipal officiel de la ville d’Alger*, 31 October 1902, p. 273. When Saugey left for Nice, his successors in Algiers, Brument and Coulanges, put on Isidore de Lara’s *Messaline* and Saint-Saëns’s *Les Barbares*, but otherwise returned to largely traditional repertoire.

³⁸. Compare Saugey’s net receipts in Alger — 12,958 (1899–1900) and 13,348 (1900–1901) — with those of the Opéra de Nice — 9447 (1901–1902), 10,553 (1902–1903), and 11,897 (1903–1904).

³⁹. *La Semaine Niçoise*, 18 January 1902; 25 January 1902; 1 February 1902; 8 February 1902; 15 February 1902.

⁴⁰. Later Saugey proposed to Charpentier that he give the premiere of the composer’s new opera, *Julien (Le Ménestrel)*, 8 June 1902, p. 183).

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Of note, in spring 1902, Saugey added Wagner to his repertoire, not only programming *Lohengrin* in alternation with *Grisélidis*, as if to draw attention to the differences in national styles, but also presenting *Tannhäuser* and the French premiere of *L'Or du Rhin*, the latter with an orchestra of 90 musicians⁴¹. This again drew significant national attention to the Mediterranean, as did their ballet productions, including Delibes's *Sylvie*, and new ones Saugey had first done in Algiers: Wormser's *L'Étoile*, Lecocq's *Le Cygne*, Widor's *La Korrigan*, and Massenet's *Cendrillon*. The director also instituted «democratic Thursdays with reduced price tickets»⁴². His season ended with *Louise*, *Faust*, and a gala performance of *Sapho*, its success attributed in part to the participation of Mme Jane Marignan from the Opéra-Comique. Saugey thus did well in Nice and was praised for pulling the theater out of «la période enguignonnée causée par ses maladroits prédécesseurs».

In fall 1902, after opening with *Aida*, the press announced that Saugey had obtained a number of very significant agreements: from Massenet to come help with a first-ever staged production of *Marie-Magdeleine* and from Jusseume to design its sets; from Bruneau to conduct the Nice premiere of his *L'Attaque du Moulin*, performed in Algiers in 1894; from Charpentier to attend Saugey's new production of *Louise* in Nice; and from Puccini to conduct *La Bohème*⁴³. There was evidently a strong Italian presence in Nice that demanded recent works in Italian. Saugey had also signed Mme Breval for *Marie-Magdeleine* and Breval with Delmas and Van Dyck for *La Walkyrie*. The promise to produce *Marie-Magdeleine* on stage was perhaps inspired by Gunsbourg's production of *Damnation de Faust* in Monte-Carlo. Saugey's *Marie-Magdeleine* brought him extraordinary national attention. *Ménestrel* gave the «inoubliable soirée» on 9 February 1903 a long, rave review: Saugey had transformed the oratorio into a «veritable drame lyrique», with costumes, four sets made in Nice, and movements forming a «harmonie parfaite non seulement avec la musique, mais aussi avec l'action». With such a work and the composer present to appreciate «la salle en délire», Saugey «a su faire de l'Opéra de Nice une scène lyrique de premier ordre»⁴⁴. Because the oratorio «gagne en intensité, ainsi adapté à la scène», some called for Paris to repeat this «spectacle merveilleux»⁴⁵. With Van

⁴¹. *La Semaine Niçoise*, 15 March 1902; 22 March 1902; 12 April 1902.

⁴². *L'art dramatique et musical au XX^e siècle*, I (1901), p. 162; III (1903), p. 16.

⁴³. *La Semaine Niçoise*, 18 October 1902.

⁴⁴. CHEVALIER, Paul-Émile. 'Semaine théâtrale: *Marie-Magdeleine*, drame lyrique', in: *Le Ménestrel*, 15 February 1903, pp. 50-51.

⁴⁵. *L'art dramatique et musical au XX^e siècle*, III (1903), p. 56; Saugey's production also resulted in reviving the work all over the country among orchestras and amateur and professional singers who soon thereafter began to perform solo and choral excerpts from it.

Dyck in the leading role, Saugey also produced *Werther*, the press noting that the production, again, exceeded expectations. The next season, in November 1903, Saugey opened with *Hérodiade*, again «monté avec infiniment d'art», and with Massenet expected to attend. This production was hailed as «une des plus belles tentatives artistiques de notre théâtre et un des plus grands succès personnels de notre directeur, M. Saugey»⁴⁶. Two days later *Werther* returned, with the tenor Leprestre, who had performed in it at the Opéra-Comique, and in 1903–1904 *Manon*, *La Vivandière*, *Louise*, and *Marie-Magdeleine*.

Saugey's success with dramatic works by Massenet and Massenet's student Charpentier was remarkable, from *Cendrillon* (1900), *Louise* (1901), and *Marie-Magdeleine* (1901) in Algiers, to *Grisélidis* (1902) and six other works by Massenet in Nice (see TABLE 1). Each production was praised for its artistic value, its luxurious *mise en scène*, and excellent singers, some from Paris. This fed Saugey's ambitions and led to his rivalry with none other than the director of the Opéra-Comique, Albert Carré. In January 1903, Saugey submitted a proposal to the Conseil municipal de Paris for the creation of a «théâtre lyrique populaire», in competition with a proposal from Carré⁴⁷. Whereas Carré proposed seats costing 1 franc, even 50 centimes, and a repertoire of «classiques et modernes», Saugey would keep normal ticket prices and concentrate on producing works as yet unknown to the Parisian public, including those of Franck and Berlioz. Saugey's qualifications: experience as a music publisher in Algiers, successful production of the most difficult works of Wagner, and his staged *Marie-Magdeleine*. As *Ménestrel* pointed out, he was «jeune, intelligent, et audacieux»⁴⁸.

This visibility most likely led to the opportunity to work in Paris for the first time. That same year Saugey signed an agreement with the Frères Isola to be the General Administrator of the Théâtre de la Gaité. Not surprisingly, perhaps, for his first production on 21 October 1903 he chose to give the Paris premiere in French of *Hérodiade*, with Massenet present to help and Mlle Emma Calvé as Salomé. Pougin was thrilled. He praised not only the conductor Luigini, but also

⁴⁶. *L'art dramatique et musical au xx^e siècle*, III (1903), p. 366; *Le Ménestrel*, 9 September 1903, p. 287; *Le Ménestrel*, 10 April 1904, p. 120.

⁴⁷. *Le Ménestrel*, 11 January 1903, p. 15. Saugey was also known for several radical proposals at a theater congress in 1900: protesting against the system of 'débutés' as practiced in the French provinces; advocating for regional tours by local musicians, not just those coming from Paris; advocating the hiring of children in provincial theaters; and advocating that all artists needed — including costumes and instruments — should be taken care of by the theater directors, that programs should be free. *L'Art théâtral: Congrès international de 1900 à l'Exposition universelle au Palais des Congrès du 27 au 31 juillet*, Paris, Pariset, 1901, pp. 126, 145, 147 and 152.

⁴⁸. *Le Monde artiste illustré*, 18 January 1903, p. 44.

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Saugey for «la richesse et le gout de sa mise en scène». The production was «tout ce qui nous a valu un spectacle complet, parfait, exquis»⁴⁹. In Paris that year, Massenet's *Werther* and *Manon* was dominating the Opéra-Comique, alongside *Louise*; Massenet had no place at the Opéra, whereas Saint-Saëns, Wagner, and Gounod each had 41 performances there that year. Massenet needed such productions to keep pressure on the Paris Opéra to include more of his music⁵⁰.

Back in Nice, in January and April 1904, Saugey reprogrammed his staged adaptation of *Marie-Magdeleine* while that fall Carré announced his own staged production of the oratorio, with sets by Jusseaume, at the Opéra-Comique in April 1905; for the role he too hired Emma Calvé. (Unfortunately she took ill and the production did not take place until April 1906 with Mlle Aïno Ackté. Carré programmed it with their 81st performance of *Navarraise* and their 81st of *Jongleur de Notre-Dame*⁵¹.) With the renewed attention this Opera-Comique production gave to Saugey's earlier staged *Marie-Magdeleine*, in 1906 Saugey felt ready to submit his candidature as director of the Opéra de Paris.

This position did not materialize, but in 1907, with Georges Marty as his conductor, Saugey conceived and created a Théâtre lyrique international at the Hippodrome in Paris⁵². Among their productions was a new *Hérodiade*. The opera was clearly becoming a kind of signature piece for Saugey, as *Marie-Magdeleine* had been earlier. Was it the «grandeur» of such subjects, the «splendeur du spectacle» which they shared that so attracted both audiences and critics⁵³? Not surprisingly, when Saugey left Nice to assume a new position as director of the Grand-Théâtre de Marseille in 1908 — a position he occupied until 1914 — he began by showcasing *Hérodiade* with new costumes and decors. Then he turned to Massenet's newest opera *Ariane*, which had premiered in Paris only two years earlier. Again he impressed his new public with a «belle et heureuse mise en scène», something apparently lacking in the productions of his predecessors. As *Méneſtreſ* put it, Saugey «avait mis tous ses soins et toutes ses brillantes qualités artistiques à dignement présenter l'œuvre maîtresse du maître»⁵⁴.

⁴⁹. *Le Méneſtreſ*, 7 June 1903, p. 183. The work had been altered for its Italian version, and so this was a premiere of the new French version. See also POUGIN, Arthur. 'Semaine théâtrale', in: *Le Méneſtreſ*, 25 October 1903, pp. 339-341.

⁵⁰. 'Statistique musicale', in: *L'art dramatique et musical au XX^e siècle*, III (1903), n. p.

⁵¹. *Le Méneſtreſ*, 16 October 1904, p. 335; 8 April 1906, p. 111; 13 May 1906, pp. 142-143.

⁵². *Le Temps*, 23 September 1906, 13 May 1907, and 14 July 1907; *Le Mois littéraire et pittoresque*, July 1907, p. 368; *Le Méneſtreſ*, 1 June 1907, p. 175. Unfortunately I was unable to find reviews of its concerts, so cannot verify that it took shape as planned.

⁵³. POUGIN, Arthur. 'Semaine théâtrale', in: *Le Méneſtreſ*, 13 May 1906, pp. 142-143.

⁵⁴. *Le Méneſtreſ*, 12 December 1908, p. 399.

As Saugey was known for his commitment to music beyond Paris, in 1907 he became president of the Union of Provincial Theater directors. At the same time, he expanded his activities in regional France, bringing with him the works of Massenet. In the summers from 1906 to 1910, he produced Massenet's operas at the Casino de Vichy, often with singers from his theater in Marseille (see TABLE 1). In 1909, he there produced another new work by Massenet, *Thérèse*, only two years after its world premiere, their premiere of *Grisélidis*, and an opera by Massenet's student Xavier Leroux, *Le Chemineau*, which had already been done in Algiers and Tunis⁵⁵.

When in 1911 Carré's contract was up at the Opéra-Comique and a new *Cahier de charges* called for more new works, especially by living French composers, the press saw Saugey as a «concurrent important»: «M. Saugey est une personnalité artistique fort connue. Ses directions artistiques successives nombreuses et brillantes, à Alger, à Nice, à Vichy et à Paris, à l'Hippodrome et à la Gaîté-Lyrique, l'ont mis en évidence comme homme de théâtre et comme musicien»⁵⁶. He did not win this appointment, but continued on the same path, producing the finest opera in the French provinces, especially that of Massenet. From 1919 until he died in 1922, Saugey directed what came to be known as the Théâtre-Massenet in Pau, another southern town not that far from the Mediterranean.

Saugey thus built a substantial career in presenting Massenet's works, both through the manner in which he produced them and through his choices, including the newest ones soon after their premieres. These came from various genres throughout the composer's career: *Marie-Magdeleine* (drame sacré, 1873), *Hérodiade* (grand opéra, 1881), *Manon* (opéra-comique, 1884), *Werther* (drame lyrique, 1892), *Le Portrait de Manon* (opéra-comique, 1894), *La Navarraise* (épisode lyrique, 1894), *Sapho* (pièce lyrique, 1897), *Cendrillon* (opéra féerique, 1899), *Grisélidis* (conte lyrique, 1901), *Le Jongleur de Notre-Dame* (miracle, 1902), *Ariane* (opéra, 1906), *Thérèse* (drame musical, 1907), and *Don Quichotte* (comédie héroïque, 1910). Although we may now think of Massenet as the most important composer of opera in his generation, in fact he needed directors like Saugey, for many of Massenet's opera premieres took place elsewhere than in Paris: *Hérodiade* in Brussels and in Milan three months later, *Werther* and the ballet *Le Carillon* in Vienna, *La Navarraise* in London, together with *Le Jongleur de Notre Dame*, *Thérèse*, and *Don Quichotte*

⁵⁵. In 1909, as organizer of the Fêtes d'Arles, Saugey put on *Mireille*, which he had produced in Algiers in 1898. This drew the interest of Mistral himself. *Le Ménestrel*, 15 May 1909, p. 159; *Journal des débats*, 30 May 1909.

⁵⁶. 'Chronique musicale', in: *Le Journal amusant*, 7 January 1911, p. 13.

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in Monte-Carlo. Undoubtedly it was these successes that put pressure on Paris to produce them later, although sometimes this took decades (the Paris Opéra finally produced *Hérodiade* in 1921).

Saughey, of course, had his own tastes, which excluded *Le Roi de Lahore*, *Le Cid*, *Esclarmonde* (1889), and *Thaïs* (1894), works not excluded in Montpellier at the time, although, except for *Le Cid*, not performed there often⁵⁷. And despite the enormous attention he brought to *Marie-Magdeleine*, reviving the work for the stage, I have not found reference to its successors, *Eve* and *La Vierge*, in his repertoire, although excerpts of *Esclarmonde* and *La Vierge* found their way into concert programs at the time. Over a fifteen-year period, Saughey showed a remarkable devotion to Massenet and his music and helped build and strengthen an audience for it on both sides of the Mediterranean.

MASSENET'S MUSIC IN ALGERIA AFTER SAUGEY

Even without Saughey, Massenet's music continued to thrive in Algeria where his music came to represent «la vivante personnification de l'âme française»⁵⁸ (see TABLE 2). In June 1902, two professors — amateur singers — put on *Marie-Magdeleine* with orchestra. In 1903-1904, the director of the Théâtre municipal, J. Guillien, announced not only productions of along with *Sapho*, *Manon*, and *Werther*, but also his «creation» of *Le Jongleur de Notre-Dame* (which did not open at the Opéra-Comique until May 1904, and was finally premiered in Algiers in January 1905⁵⁹). In May 1904, the cover of *L'Algérie musicale* twice featured articles on the composer in recognition of his importance to the Algerian public as an emblem of Frenchness: «Qui donc disait que, seule, l'Allemand était musicien? Qui donc prétendait que, seule, l'âme germanique pouvait vivre et souffrir l'intensité d'émotion de la musique? [...] Certes, le sentimental est universellement humain: mais la nuance dans le sentiments est éminemment française». What memories it evokes with its characters, «profondément naturels par l'expression des sentiments qu'ils manifestent». Who has not found in it «quelque parcelle de son 'moi' [...] l'expression parfaite, complète des ardeurs et des passions humaines?»⁶⁰. Implied here is that, through expressing sentiment, Massenet's music was ideal

⁵⁷. See TABLE 2 of Sabine Teulon Lardic's article in this volume.

⁵⁸. MAYNARD, Louis. 'J. Massenet: *Werther*', in: *L'Algérie musicale*, 15 May 1904.

⁵⁹. 'Les Spectacles', in: *L'Algérien*, 5 January 1905. Note, this was only the sixth production world-wide, after Monte Carlo, Hamburg, Brussels and Geneva. LOEWENBERG, Alfred. *Annals of Opera, 1597-1940*, London, John Calder, 1978, p. 1239.

⁶⁰. MAYNARD, Louis. 'Massenet', in: *L'Algérie musicale*, 8 May 1904.

for bringing together the diverse populations of Algeria. If, in *Werther*, «les paroles soient bien faibles, bien insuffisamment expressives», the music «se suffit à elle-même», needing no literary translation to penetrate the listeners with the same intensity as that felt by the characters on stage. «C'est bien l'émotion la plus saine comme la plus réelle qui s'empare de tous après l'audition de deux premiers actes [...] la perfection»⁶¹. In 1904–1905, *Werther* returned, along with *Hérodiade* (in a first as chosen for a singer's debut), and *Cendrillon* (although not as good as the «creation» by Saugey). Meanwhile, on 2 October, the municipal orchestra performed local favorites, the ballet from *Le Cid*, and *Les Erinnyes*.

Hérodiade, in particular, continued to be «bien accueillie à Alger», from its «reprise» in 1904 and annual productions up through 1910 to its presence among the transcriptions performed by the Zouaves on the Place du gouvernement. What underlies the choice by Algiers' city council to produce this work in their theaters? Was *Hérodiade*'s tremendous popularity related to its Biblical story, or the work's celebration of ancient Rome? Or how it raised the question of religious conflict, specifically between western and Oriental beliefs, or suggests the power of Christianity, especially valuable in the context of Islam in North Africa?

In addition, Algerian directors continued to embrace Massenet's newest works and, again, soon after their world premieres. In March 1908 the director Carvalho produced *Thérèse*, only a year after its premiere in Monte-Carlo. This was the third production world-wide, and preceded the first Paris production in 1911. Reviewers in Algiers heard in it «souvenances de *Manon* et de *Werther*» as well as «des pages d'une facture superbe de sentiment et d'imagination» and «une orchestration magnifique et grandiose»⁶². The following fall, the new director Poncet opened with *Werther*, a fantasy of which was performed at the Square Bresson on 11 September. With his subsidy increased from 80,000 francs for five months of opéra-comique and 22 performances of grand opera, to 100,000 francs for six months of the former and four months of grand opera, Poncet promised many new works. In October 1908, he put on Massenet's ballet, *Espada* — again following the lead of Monte-Carlo that had just premiered it that February. Then in April 1909, only months after Saugey did it in Marseille, Carvalho put on the composer's grand opera *Ariane*, originally projected in 1907–1908⁶³. In summer 1909, the Zouaves and the Orchestre

⁶¹. ID. 'J. Massenet: *Werther*', in: *L'Algérie musicale*, 15 May 1904. Note that in 1904, *Werther* was also frequently performed at the Opéra-Comique where its nightly receipts were among the highest. See, for example, *Le Monde artiste illustré*, 17 January 1904, p. 43.

⁶². 'Actualités théâtrales', in: *L'Afrique du nord illustrée*, 22 February 1908, p. 11.

⁶³. 'Actualités théâtrales', in: *L'Afrique du nord illustrée*, 10 October 1908, p. 12. Six months earlier, a local piano teacher and a violin teacher had included two «airs d'*Ariane*» on

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municipal performed many works by Massenet in Algiers' parks, not only tunes from *Ariane*, but also *Hérodiade*, *Le dernier sommeil de la vierge*, and *Werther*. Did this put pressure on the next director of the Théâtre municipal, Victor Audisio, to increase the presence of Massenet on his programs? In 1910–1911, besides their eleven local premieres that included Saint-Saëns and Puccini, the composer most often performed at his theater was Massenet. That season *Sapho*, *La Navarraise*, *Werther*, *Le Jongleur de Notre-Dame*, *Le Cid*, and *Manon* returned to Algiers' Théâtre municipal⁶⁴. *Thaïs*, a work strangely ignored by Algerians, although set in North Africa, also finally appeared there that season, and *Don Quichotte* in 1913, three years after its premiere in Monte-Carlo.

Massenet's music also penetrated far into the rest of the country. In Tlemcen, on the Moroccan border, a local wind band performed *Nuit d'Espagne* in 1892. When it came to his theatrical works, Tlemcen followed the example of Algiers. In May 1906, Tlemcen, like Algiers, did *Hérodiade*, then in 1908, *Werther*, the first act of *Thérèse*, and the ballet *Espada*, the latter the same year as Algiers⁶⁵. *La Navarraise* came to Tlemcen's stage in 1912 and *Manon* in 1914. The Théâtre municipal of the major western Algerian city, Oran, put on *Hérodiade* in November 1908 and in February 1914, «fort goûtée» by its public. In Mascara, a girls' school chose to put on *Cendrillon* for a fund-raising gala in 1909⁶⁶, and the opéra-comique troupe of Sidi Bel-Abbes did *Manon* in 1914.

Massenet was popular in the far eastern part of Algeria as well, particularly in Bône. In 1892, their Philharmonic society played a fantasy based on *Hérodiade* and in the late 1890s, a local music society performed excerpts from *Le Cid*, *Hérodiade*, *Le Roi de Lahore*, and *Esclarmonde*⁶⁷. Bône put on *Manon* in 1901–1902 and *La Navarraise* in 1907. In Bône, Massenet was asked to serve as the honorary president of an international music competition. Smaller towns also enjoyed Massenet's music. The troupe from Algiers' Théâtre municipal occasionally performed in Blida, just to the south, doing *Manon* there in 1904 the day before returning to perform *Werther* back in Algiers.

their recital program, suggesting that the score circulated in Algiers even before the Algerian premiere. *L'Illustration algérienne, tunisienne, et marocaine*, 18 May 1907, p. 9, and 12 October 1907, p. 11. Moreover, on 23 May 1909, the Zouaves performed a selection from its act 4 in the Place du gouvernement, keeping its tunes in the local public's ears and introducing *Ariane* to those unable to attend the theatrical production.

⁶⁴. 'Programme officiel de la saison théâtrale d'Algier, 1910–1911', in: *La Revue musicale de l'Afrique du Nord*, 1 October 1910.

⁶⁵. 'Chronique théâtrale', in: *Le Courrier de Tlemcen*, 7 February 1908.

⁶⁶. 'Une Fête de bienfaisance à Mascara', in: *L'Afrique du nord illustré*, 5 June 1909, p. 15.

⁶⁷. 'Chronique locale', in: *Le Courrier de Tlemcen*, 23 September 1892; *La Gazette algérienne*, 7 May 1892, 9 March 1895, 1 June 1895, 8 February 1896, 12 December 1896, 19 March 1898.

This sampling of performances reflects the rich musical life among Algerian settlers and shows that they had access to and appreciated a wide range of works by Massenet. The increasingly close relationship between the repertoire of Algerian theaters and that of theaters on the other side of the Mediterranean suggests that there was a kind of Mediterranean musical network in which, not only influence, but also an anxiety of influence, and possibly rivalry benefitted Massenet.

THE MUSIC OF MASSENET'S STUDENTS AND OTHER FRENCH COMPOSERS

Beyond Massenet's music, Mediterranean directors were also committed to supporting the work of younger composers who had studied with Massenet, as if this were a guarantee of quality or might share some valued musical or aesthetic aspects. Some were already distinguished composers when their works were produced in Algeria, others much less so. Algerian directors sometimes took advantage of the fact that these new works had already succeeded in Marseille or Nice, reinforcing the network-like relationships among Mediterranean theater.

Most notable, as mentioned earlier, was North African interest in Charpentier's *Louise*, despite or perhaps because of its close associations with life in contemporary Paris. The opera returned to the stage in Algiers in 1907 but had some problems. A local critic reported, «Charpentier est en grande faveur dans la Capitale de l'Afrique du Nord (Lisez Alger). Et nous avons de nouveau degusté les discussions passionnées sur la moralité ou l'immoralité de Louise au théâtre. Car il y a les mamans qui mènent leurs filles à *Louise* et les mamans qui les laissent à la maison»⁶⁸, after which he rehashed, in detail, the moral dilemmas raised by the opera.

Louise's Algerian premiere had been preceded by another socialist-realist opera, Bruneau's *L'Attaque du Moulin*, this one based on a story by Emile Zola, set in 1870, but transposed to the Revolutionary era. Algier's Théâtre municipal picked it up in 1894, only a year after its Parisian premiere in November 1893. As far away as North Africa, there was clearly interest in reflecting on French history, perhaps as a way to suggest solidarity among the French settlers. A second Algerian production was mounted in Bône in 1895, produced by a female director, Mme Gemma, a third one in Oran in 1910, and then Algier's «reprise» in 1911. When Saugey brought the work to Nice

⁶⁸. PHILOS. 'Les Spectacles', in: *Annales africaines*, 30 March 1907, pp. 13-14.

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in 1902, Bruneau came to conduct its local premiere, as Charpentier had done for Saugey in Algiers in 1901.

Paul Vidal, who had also studied Massenet and won the Prix de Rome in 1883, was also known for his work at the Paris Opéra where he had conducted *Gwendoline* in 1894 and co-founded the Concerts de l'Opéra in 1895. Godard's *La Vivandière*, whose orchestration Vidal completed, came to Algiers in 1896, only a year after its Paris premiere; it was later done in Constantine and Oran in 1910. The story was set in La Vendée during the Revolution and elicited patriotic spirit in its public. Although reception was mixed in Paris, the opera was very successful in the French colonies. If Fourcaud in Paris found it «médiocre [...] mais de ce genre de médiocre qui fait courir le public»⁶⁹, settlers found the work easy to follow and so pleasurable and reassuring. Vidal was also among the few of Massenet's students who had several works done in North Africa. Saugey included his ballet, *Maledetta*, as part of his 1901 season in Algiers. Bône invited Vidal to serve as President of their International Music Competition in 1907, under Massenet as honorary president. Among the five new ballets Victor Audisio put on in Algiers in 1908, was Paul Vidal's *Zino-Zina*, which had premiered outside Paris in Maisons-Laffitte.

Massenet's student Xavier Leroux had particular success in the Mediterranean. In 1904, Algiers heard his *La Reine Fiammette* and, in 1906, Saugey brought his *William Radcliff* to Nice, with the composer conducting the premiere. Saugey's «cadre somptueux» contributed to its success⁷⁰. Leroux's next work, *Le Chemineau*, had the most traction in France and North Africa. This opera appeared on stage in Algiers in 1907 only months after its premiere at the Opéra-Comique in Paris, testifying to not only Algerian directors' bold approach to programming, but also their trust in a composer who had studied with Massenet and was a harmony professor at the Conservatoire. That year *Le Chemineau* was also performed in Marseille and Nice, along with Nantes, Toulon, Cannes, Le Mans, La Rochelle, the Hague and Geneva. In contrast, other major French theaters in Bordeaux and Toulouse each waited until 1908 to mount a production, perhaps to ascertain its quality and audience interest. Most other French provincial theaters also waited until 1908 to present *Le Chemineau*⁷¹, whereas by 1908 the work was already into its second season

⁶⁹. FOURCAUD, Louis de. 'Musique', in: *Le Gaulois*, 2 April 1895.

⁷⁰. *Le Ménestrel*, 4 February 1906, p. 40.

⁷¹. Agen, Amiens, Angers, Avignon, Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Grenoble, Le Havre, Liege, Lille, Lisbonne, Montpellier, Nancy, Nimes, Reims, Rouen, Hyeres, Lorient, Limoges, Laval, Chambery, Perpignan, Angoulême, and Valenciennes performed the work in 1908.

of performances in Algiers and Marseille. Tlemcen produced it in 1909 and Constantine in 1910; the opera returned to Algiers in 1916 and 1922.

Such an example suggests how, increasingly, Mediterranean productions, and those of North African theaters in particular, should be understood in relationship to those of other French towns. Nice, Marseille, and Algiers often seemed to act in synchrony, as if their theater directors had similar goals and their publics similar preferences, despite their extremely different social and economic contexts. The performance history of *Le Chemineau* in its first years raises questions that can be asked of many such works during this period: how was the choice to perform one work over another, in one town before another, the product of competition, personal or municipal ambition, the desire for prestige, and values that Mediterranean settlers shared with the rest of France?

Minor composers who had studied with Massenet were also appreciated, including Charles Silver, Prix de Rome winner in 1891, forgotten today. Marseille put on the premiere of his 'opéra féerique', *La Belle du bois dormant*, in 1902. One review emphasized not only its trajectory from Marseille to Algeria, but noted that it was also currently being performed at the prestigious Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels. He explained its success by «la partie scénique et féerique», the music being «en verité par trop rudimentaire» and lacking inspiration⁷². Despite these limitations, Guillien brought it to Algiers in 1904, Constantine followed.

Inevitably such composers were recognized for their connection to Massenet. Fernand Jouteux, ironically considered by some as «un des meilleurs élèves de Massenet»⁷³, was made head of Ecole municipale de musique in Oran in 1909. Reporting on his success in 1910, a reviewer reminded readers that he was a student of Massenet⁷⁴. In 1909 Algiers heard *La Glaneuse* by Felix Fourdrain, another Massenet student. *L'Afrique du nord illustrée* described it as depicting «la vie de nos campagnes, le chant de la montagne vosgienne», an experience of which Saint-Saëns once compared the Algerian countryside, although certainly any «juste observation des moeurs paysannes» in France, as expressed in Fourdrain's opera, would be quite different from those in Algeria. Perhaps more to the point, in the first sentence the critic identified Fourdrain as a student of Massenet. Like Charpentier, Fourdrain attended the premiere and was applauded⁷⁵. In 1910-1911, the director Audisio included in his long

⁷². FRONTIN. 'La Semaine théâtrale', in: *Les Clochettes algériennes et tunisiennes*, Constantine, 10 January 1904, p. 7.

⁷³. L. V. 'Départements, Tours', in: *Revue musicale Sainte-Cécile*, 19 November 1897, p. 21.

⁷⁴. 'Lettre d'Oran', in: *Annales africaines*, 2 July 1910, p. 321.

⁷⁵. GÉRALD. 'Théâtre municipal d'Alger', in: *L'Afrique du nord illustrée*, 30 November 1909, p. 10.

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list of «creations», another Fourdrain opera, *La Légende du Point d'Argentan*, which had been premiered at the Opéra-Comique.

Also on stage in 1910-1911, Algerians heard André Gaillard's *La Fille du soleil*, only a year after its premiere in Béziers, and Henri Février's *Monna Vanna*, relatively soon after its premiere at the Opéra de Paris in 1909 and around the same time as Saugey produced it in Marseille. Février came to Algiers for the occasion. Then, in 1911-1912, Audisio produced another work by Février, *Gismonda*, and Reynaldo Hahn's *Méduse*, for which Monte Carlo had given the premiere that same year. In 1923, he did Henri Rabaud's *Marouf*.

This embrace of new music associated with Massenet and his students suggests that Algeria, from small towns to its capital, continued to find it relevant and appealing. But these were not the only living French composers whose works made it to Algeria. In 1906-1907, Algiers produced Erlanger's *Aphrodite*, premiered at the Opéra-Comique that same season, and in 1907-1908, Messager's *Fortunio*, six months after its Opéra-Comique premiere. The latter had a similar trajectory to that of *Le Chemineau*, in that in 1907 it was also done across North Africa, in Tunis and Cairo, and across France, from Bordeaux and Toulouse to Marseille, Lille, Lyon and others. In 1908-1909, Algiers also presented Dukas's *Ariane et barbe-bleue*, the year after its premiere at the Opéra-Comique in 1907 and after that of Marseille in 1908.

Victor Audisio's 1910-1911 season, with singers, chorus, and an orchestra of the first order, was extraordinary for the number of new works produced: seven drames lyriques, including Saint-Saëns's *Henry VIII*, *L'Ancêtre*, and a «reprise of *Samson et Dalila*; two opéra-comiques, Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* and Saint-Saëns's *Phryné*; two shorter new operas; four new operettas; and five new ballets, plus the reprise of Saint-Saëns's *Javotte*. Saint-Saëns, who was close to the mayor of Algiers, Charles de Galland, and his composer son Raoul, was thus represented by three genres and present to help rehearse his works. Audisio also offered the Algerian premieres of Alexandre Georges's *Miarka*, first at the Opéra-Comique in 1905, Widor's *Les Pêcheurs de Saint-Jean*, at the Opéra-Comique in 1905, the performance attended by the composer, Nouges's *Quo vadis*, premiered in 1909 at the Gaîté and in Nice, as well as Mariotte's *Salomé*, premiered in 1910 at the Gaîté and also produced in Oran in 1910. In other words, Algerian theater supported a wide range of living French composers in addition to Saint-Saëns and Massenet.

By 1908, Parisian debates over who is «moderne» and who is «pompière», had permeated the Algerian press. Earlier «il était de mode de tirer sur Reyer», especially among the «Saintsanistes», for «le soufflé, la flamme, l'inspiration ont toujours irrité les abstrauteurs de quintessence et les amants de l'Art factice».

Now, with the «Debussystes» and «D’Indystes», «l’a été décrété dans les cercles d’admiration mutuelle, qu’on ignorerait Massenet jusqu’à sa mort. Massenet n’existe pas; il n’a jamais existé. Le chantre de la Concupiscence, le maître du théâtre n’est qu’un mythe». Although Brument’s Concerts populaires had performed Debussy’s *Prélude à l’après-midi d’un faun* in January 1907, the context for this discussion was Messenger’s *Fortunio*, not written for «une élite musicale», but rather for «monsieur Tout le monde qui a plus d’esprit que Voltaire». Interesting here is that the critic does not follow Saintsanistes’s critique of Reyer with Massenetistes critique of Saint-Saëns, but rather quarrels among the next generation⁷⁶. But D’Indy did not come to Algiers with his music until 1923, and Debussy’s *Pelléas et Mélisande* was not produced there until 1927. *Hérodiade* would have been the more appropriate comparison since it followed *Fortunio* on the same stage in 1908, its singers’ performances examined next in this article. But then, for all its stylistic differences, one might say that Massenet, in certain ways, also wrote for «monsieur Tout le monde».

After the war, Algerians were still looking for emotion in music. *Hérodiade*, «une des œuvres les plus parfaits et les plus émouvantes de Massenet» returned to the Opéra d’Alger in January 1920, followed by *Don Quichotte* and *Sapho*⁷⁷. Visiting recitalists occasionally programmed Debussy, and in 1922 the new series in Algiers, Concerts de musique moderne included Debussy and Ravel. Yet, the success Debussy’s Quartet received in 1924 was attributed to the fact it was one of his few works «où notre musicien n’a pas soigneusement caché son émotion»⁷⁸. Debussy’s music increasingly appeared on concert programs in the years leading up to *Pelléas*, «que peu de provinciaux ont l’honneur d’entendre tant cette pièce est l’apanage de Paris»⁷⁹. Critics remarked that «une bonne partie des auditeurs en sont restés un peu abasourdis», even if one of them expressed real enthusiasm: «ces soirées auront été peut-être les plus belles qu’on a pu voir à Alger depuis que l’Opéra existe jusqu’à ce jour»⁸⁰. He suggested that pressure to produce such an opera came from two sources, «les spectateurs éclairés» and «les pouvoirs publics», and thanked them both.

⁷⁶. MUSETTE. ‘Théâtres. La Semaine au Municipal’, in: *La Vie algérienne*, 21 January 1908, pp. 10–11.

⁷⁷. ‘Les Spectacles’, in: *L’Afrique du nord illustrée*, 17 January 1920, p. 14.

⁷⁸. LAFLUTE, Jean. ‘Aux pupitres: 1er Concert du Quatuor Zimmer’, in: *La Vie algérienne, tunisienne, et marocaine*, 7 December 1924, p. 5.

⁷⁹. LE TIMBALIER. ‘Sur les planches’, in: *La Vie algérienne, tunisienne, et marocaine*, 10 November 1926, p. 15.

⁸⁰. ID. ‘Sur les planches: A l’Opéra, *Pelléas et Mélisande*’, in: *La Vie algérienne, tunisienne, et marocaine*, 25 February 1927, pp. 18–19.

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Still, in 1927 it was *Sigurd*, *Samson et Dalila*, and *Hérodiade* that, together and in concert, brought the director «un succès triomphal» that season. This co-presence of works that had previously been understood in direction competition with one another is ironic. In 1892, *Samson et Dalila* and *Hérodiade* had been in ‘bitter competition’ over which would be produced first at the Opéra de Paris. Given how much time Saint-Saëns spent in Algeria, also ironic is that the very works he criticized most harshly, *Marie-Magdeleine* and *Hérodiade*, were those that Saugey staked his career on in the Mediterranean, and that Saint-Saëns’s favorite work by Massenet, *Thaïs*, took so long to be performed in Algeria⁸¹. *Hérodiade*, *Werther* and *Manon* continued to have a strong presence at the Théâtre municipal of Algiers into the 1930s. On 17 August 1937, Radio Alger put on a Festival Massenet and that October aired *Marouf* by Massenet’s student Henri Rabaud.

CONCLUSIONS

Since the archives of theaters in Algiers have long been lost, such a study has to begin with the necessary, if tedious, reconstruction of concert life using the press. This gives us a window on Massenet and western music in general largely ignored by musicologists on both sides of the Mediterranean until the conference in Lucca (2012). The overwhelming presence of Massenet’s music in North Africa also invites us to rethink the basis of his popularity.

If in Paris, as has been suggested, it was his appeal to women, one must remember that the colonies were not overwhelmingly populated with women. *Bien au contraire*. Local governments had to work hard to attract men with families and in 1897 the Société française d’émigration des femmes was founded to encourage female emigration. The French government considered women «indispensable agents for the domestication of the empire». In 1900 Grace Corneau published *La Femme aux colonies*, with a section on Tunisia, and in 1929 Clothilde Chivas-Baron a similar book⁸². Ironically, in the small towns of Algeria women found positions as theater directors, a position open to very few women in France. But there is no evidence that women dominated theatrical audiences. Moreover, if some have promoted the notion

⁸¹. BRANGER, Jean-Christophe. ‘Rivals and Friends: Saint-Saëns, Massenet, and *Thaïs*’, in: *Camille Saint-Saëns and His World*, *op. cit.* (see note 18), pp. 36-37.

⁸². See the analysis of this book in HA, Marie-Paule. ‘«La Femme française aux colonies»: Promoting Colonial Female Emigration at the Turn of the Century’, in: *French Colonial History*, no. 6 (2005), pp. 205-224.

of Massenet's music as 'feminine', both among Parisian Wagnerians of the time and in recent Wagnerian scholarship⁸³, what the feminine meant and the nature of its appeal for listeners was not necessarily the same far from Paris and without competition with Wagner. To be sure, Massenet's music connoted Parisian music, *Manon* being the quintessential Parisian coquette. But equally popular were two reformed courtesans, Marie-Madgeleine and Salomé in *Hérodiade* a kind of Madgalen⁸⁴. Charm, so essential to French music, was far more than a 'feminine' attribute, reassuring as it may have been to French settlers. Charming audiences with French music was also deeply political, not only in France under republicans in the 1880s as I have argued elsewhere, but also in the colonies and protectorates⁸⁵.

The choice to perform so much Massenet thus had complex motivations. The emphasis in North Africa on how Massenet's music moves the listener suggests that his understanding of human emotion lies at the basis of his music's universal appeal to audiences, not all of whom were French native speakers. Equally important was how his music embodied concepts of 'Frenchness' for settlers in Algeria, those living amid not only Arabs and Berbers, but also naturalized Italians, Maltese, Spanish and Jewish elites, as well as for the public in Nice and Marseille, which had their own mixed populations. Performing 'Frenchness' took a particular shape in the Mediterranean where Massenet's music contributed to creating shared experiences and shared tastes for its diverse peoples. Some saw the theater as a form of education, education in French *moeurs* and values, especially important for those who wished to assimilate. Whether for this reason or the nostalgia and patriotism they evoked, stories based on French history, such as *La Vivandière* and *L'Attaque du Moulin*, did particularly well. *Manon* is certainly not a morality tale, but it suggested that pleasure can be enjoyed by all classes and in all forms. With grace, charm, and the aesthetic pleasure they produced, French directors had ways of getting inside listeners, creating empathy and desire for this 'Frenchness'.

'Frenchness' was also associated with what the settlers saw themselves as bringing to their colonies progress. In this spirit, directors across the region produced a continual stream of new works, with Algiers competing with major theaters in the metropole. Sometimes Mediterranean directors were among the

⁸³. HUEBNER, Steven. *French Opera at the «Fin de Siècle»: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style*, Oxford-New York, Oxford University Press, 1999.

⁸⁴. *Ibidem*, p. 40.

⁸⁵. See chapter 6, 'An Ideology of Diversity, Eclecticism, and Pleasure', with its analysis of charm and *Manon*, in my *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, University of California Press, 2009, pp. 358-400.

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first to produce the latest works of Massenet and his students, including works and those composers with limited success in Paris. Even if not reflecting the newest aesthetic trends, suggesting that North African settlers were less invested in the kinds of musical progress that fed Parisian *snobisme*, such programming was seen in Paris as bold. It demonstrated the region's independence from Paris and brought pride and prestige to the Mediterranean. In conjunction with similar performances in Tunisia and Morocco, performances of this music helped raise consciousness of the region as a whole, pointing to France and French traditions as part of the Mediterranean, and to Mediterranean identity as sophisticated and progressive, despite its association with conservative Islam.

Algiers produced eighteen of Massenet's opera and ballets and fourteen dramatic works by his students, but remarkable in the region was the popularity of certain works more than others. *Esclarmonde* was forgotten after its first performance in Algiers. Although based on a German story, ironically among the most often performed was *Werther*. Still more popular was *Hérodiade*, virtually ignored in Paris until Saugey produced it there, and yet widely embraced from North Africa to the Côte d'Azur. In 1920, the Algerian public still considered *Hérodiade* «une des œuvres les plus parfaits et les plus émouvantes de Massenet»⁸⁶. Even *Marie-Magdeleine* found new life in its first staged version there. To explain the notable resistance to *Thaïs* across North Africa, one needs to remember that it is set in Egypt, France's British rival in the region.

Crucial to Massenet's contribution to a kind of Francophile Mediterranean culture were the complex and mobile networks of people and repertoire that crossed the Mediterranean, finding a home on both sides. We should not underestimate the importance of certain directors, such as Coste, Saugey and Audisio, whose devotion to Massenet and other French composers and their commitment to presenting new French works to their public defined their theatrical seasons. With strong contacts, negotiating skills, and healthy budgets, they were able to hire excellent singers, conductors, and stage directors, some of whom also had trans-Mediterranean careers⁸⁷, build and maintain a public for French music. Massenet is relatively silent in his memoirs on these performances and I've not yet found any correspondence related to them. And yet, Massenet traveled to Algiers and Nice to help with rehearsals, and wrote letters of thanks for the productions, reproduced in the local press. Massenet's support and assistance also contributed to the career-building of Saugey and Coste as promoters of his music. The success of their

⁸⁶. 'Les Spectacles', in: *L'Afrique du nord illustrée*, 17 January 1920, p. 14.

⁸⁷. Such as, Mlle Jane Dasty, the contralto who first presented *La Navarraise* in Nice, or M. Milbert, the baritone who presented *La Jongleur de Notre-Dame* and *Grisélidis* in Oran.

productions, that led to prestigious positions in France, ultimately benefitted Massenet and his legacy most of all. Massenet, along with Charpentier, Bruneau, Vidal, Leroux, and Février, remained in Mediterranean theaters, concert halls, and radio for decades.

TABLE I
PRODUCTIONS OF DRAMATIC WORKS BY MASSENET AND HIS STUDENTS
BY SAUGEY IN ALGIERS AND FRANCE

Théâtre municipal, Algiers: 1898-1902

Cendrillon (1900, 1901)
Marie-Magdeleine (1901)
Portrait de Manon (1901)
Le Carillon (1901)
Charpentier, *Louise* (1901)
Grisélidis (1902)

Opéra de Nice: 1902-1906

Hérodiade (1901, 1903)
La Navarraise (1902)
Cendrillon (1903)
Sapho (1903)
Werther (1903)
Marie-Magdeleine (1903, 1904)
Grisélidis (1903)
Leroux, *William Radcliff* (1906)

Théâtre de la Gaité, Paris: 1903

Hérodiade (1903)

Casino de Vichy: 1906-1910 (en 1909 presque entièrement composée d'artistes du Grand-Théâtre de Marseille)

Werther (1907, 1910)
Thérèse (1907)
Grisélidis (1909)
Leroux, *Le Chemineau* (1909)

Grand-Théâtre de Marseille: 1908-1914

Hérodiade (1908)
Ariane (1908)
Février, *Monna Vanna* (1910)
Don Quichotte (1910)

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Théâtre lyrique international, Paris: 1908

Hérodiade (1908)

Palais d'hiver, Pau: 1919-1922

Thérèse

Marie-Magdeleine

TABLE 2

MASSENET'S DRAMATIC WORKS: PREMIERES AND PRODUCTIONS IN ALGIERS (SELECTIVE)

Hérodiade [1881] (1888, 1891, 1904-1905, 1904-1910)
Manon [1884] (1892, 1898, 1903-1904, 1910, 1918)
Werther [1893] (1892, 1897-1898, 1904-1905, 1907, 1908, 1910)
Le Carillon [1892] (1892, 1901)
Esclarmonde [1889] (1896-1897)
La Navarraise [1894] (1896-1897, 1910)
Le Portrait de Manon [1894] (1896-1897, 1901)
Cendrillon [1899] (1900, 1901, 1903, 1904-1905, 1914)
Marie-Magdeleine (staged) [1873] (1901, 1902, 1910)
Sapho [1897] (1903-1904, 1910-1911)
Le Jongleur de Notre Dame [1902] (1905, 1910-1911, 1914)
Thérèse [1907] (1908)
Ariane [1906] (1909)
Espada [1908] (1908)
Thaïs [1894] (1910)
Le Cid [1885] (1910-1911, 1912)
Grisélidis [1901] (1913)
Don Quichotte [1910] (1913)

TABLE 3

DRAMATIC WORKS BY MASSENET'S STUDENTS IN ALGERIA, 1890-1912

Bruneau, *L'Attaque du moulin*: Algiers 1894, 1911; Bône 1895
 Godard/Vidal, *La Vivandière*: Algiers 1896, Constantine 1910; Oran 1910
 Charpentier, *Louise*: Algiers, 1901, 1911
 Paul Vidal, *Maladetta* ballet: Algiers 1901
 Leroux, *La Reine Fiammette*: Algiers 1904
 Charles Silver, *La Belle du bois dormant*: Algiers 1904
 Leroux, *Le Chemineau*: Algiers 1907-1908, 1916, 1922; Tlemcen 1909; Constantine 1910
 Vidal, *Zino-Zina*: Algiers 1908
 Felix Fourdrain, *La Glaneuse*: Algiers, 1909
 Février, *Monna Vanna*: Algiers 1910-1911
 Gailhard, *La Fille du soleil*: Algiers 1910-1911
 Fourdrain, *La Légende du Point d'Argentan*: Algiers 1910-1911
 Février, *Gismonda*: Algiers 1911-1912
 Reynaldo Hahn, *Méduse*: Algiers 1911-1912

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TABLE 4
OPERA BY MASSENET AND MASSENET'S STUDENTS IN TUNISIA (SELECTIVE)

Manon (late 1890s, 1901, 1907, 1909, 1919)
 Bruneau, *L'attaque du Moulin* (1895)
 Godard/Vidal, *La Vivandière* (1896)
Werther (1898, 1900, 1909, 1913)
La Navarraise (1898)
Eve (1898)
Grisélidis (1903, 1913)
Louise (1903, 1909)
Thaïs (1907, 1909, 1913)
Thérèse (1908)
 Leroux, *Le Chemineau* (1908, 1909, 1913)
Marie-Magdeleine (staged) (1909)
Le Jongleur de Notre Dame (1912)

TABLE 5
MUSIC BY MASSENET AND MASSENET'S STUDENTS IN MOROCCO, APRIL–MAY 1928

	THÉÂTRE MUNICIPAL, CASABLANCA	RADIO-MAROC
7 April		<i>Le Jongleur de Notre-Dame</i> , ex.
9 April		<i>Sapho</i> , ex. <i>Leroux, Le Chemineau</i> , ex.
11 April		<i>Scènes pittoresques</i>
14 April		<i>Hérodiade</i> , ex., 'Enchantement'
15 April		<i>Thaïs</i> , ex; <i>Manon</i> , ex.
17 April	<i>Werther</i>	<i>Hérodiade</i> , ex.
18 April		<i>Grisélidis</i> , ex. Février, 'Un Bruit de rames'
19 April	Charpentier, <i>Louise</i>	Février, 'Sur le lac sacré'
20 April		<i>Sapho</i> , ex.
22 April		<i>Thaïs</i> , ex.
24 April		<i>Marie-Magdeleine</i> , ex.
25 April		<i>Werther</i> , ex. Février, 'Frvolités'
26 April	<i>Hérodiade</i>	
27 April	<i>Manon</i>	
1 May	<i>La Navarraise</i>	
3 May	Bruneau, <i>L'Attaque du Moulin</i> (local premiere)	
5 May		<i>Cendrillon</i>
6 May		<i>Méditation de Thaïs</i> , violin <i>La Navarraise</i> , ex. Février, 'Appassionato'
10 May	<i>Thaïs</i>	<i>Phèdre</i>