

The first tourist encounters in Mallorca (1837-1842): Colonial denationalization and local resistance in music and dance performance

Antoni Vives Riera

University of Barcelona, Spain

Abstract: Although tourist performance of local identity has been regarded as an instrument of everyday nation-building from below, this article describes the opposite phenomenon as Mallorca became a tourist destination in the nineteenth century. The island's identity embodied through tourist dance performances, led to denationalization and subaltern silencing in the production process of a Mediterranean and insular exotic otherness of colonial nature. In this respect, this article explains how the host population refused to assume a denationalized local identity, as well as to perform a colonial stereotype through dance.

Keywords: History of tourism, everyday nationalism from below, nation-building, performativity, colonialism, dance

Introduction

Ever since the nationalization of the masses was formulated as a modern phenomenon of social construction,¹ the state has been regarded as the principle agent of national

¹ George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in German from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York 1975).

identity.² Nevertheless, public institutions have not been alone in developing nationalization: private initiatives have also played a part with regard to aspects that are not necessarily explicitly political.³ Historically, the power of nationalism as an ideology became effective insofar as it appropriated the meaning of people's everyday mundane practices.⁴ The phenomenon has been widely addressed in the field of sport,⁵ but leisure travel has hardly been studied from this perspective, even today.⁶

² Eugen Weber, *Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, CA 1976).

³ For the Spanish case, see Alejandro Quiroga, 'La Nacionalización en España: Una Propuesta Teórica', *Ayer: Revista de Historia Contemporánea*, No. 90 (2013), 17–38, 21.

⁴ Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (Thousand Oaks, CA 1995). No less important and taking into account tourist practice is Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford 2002).

⁵ Michael Skey, *National Belonging and Everyday Life: The Significance of Nationhood in an Uncertain World* (London 2011).

⁶ An author who has remarked on this is Shanti Sumartojo, 'Making Sense of Everyday Nationhood: Traces in the Experiential World', in Michael Skey and Marco Antonsich, eds, *Everyday Nationhood: Theorising Culture, Identity and Belonging after Banal Nationalism* (London 2017), 197–214. Another author that emphasizes the importance of tourism in the study of everyday nationalism from a historical perspective is Eric Storm, 'A New Dawn in Nationalism Studies? Some Fresh Incentives to Overcome Historiographical Nationalism', *European History Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (2018), 113–29, 118–19.

Although historical studies addressed the relationship between nationalism and tourism at a rather early stage,⁷ most work on the subject has gone back to focusing on the agency of the state and political elites.⁸ But tourism has been shown to play a major role in constructing local identities in the contemporary world.⁹ To the extent that it represents an act of ‘country consumption’, the organization and commodification of leisure travel has turned imaginary local culture into a product on offer. Consequently, tourist activity has become one of the main scenarios in which everyday experience is identified as national.¹⁰

Beyond the representation of local and national identities, leisure travel has been shown to be a social practice in which places materialize in space and become

⁷ See for example the pioneering work of Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford 2000). See as well the collective publication of Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, eds, *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America* (Ann Arbor, MI 2002).

⁸ Perhaps the most cited example is Eric Zuelow, *Making Ireland Irish: Tourism and National Identity Since the Irish Civil War* (Syracuse, NY 2009).

⁹ From tourist critical studies this aspect was raised by Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard, *Tourism Promotion and Power: Creating Images, Creating Identities* (Chichester 1998). Even before, the idea of production of local culture through tourist practice was proposed by Michel Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture* (Singapore 1996).

¹⁰ Elspeth Frew and Leanne White, eds, *Tourism and National Identities: An International Perspective* (New York 2011).

physically re-enacted.¹¹ Therefore, tourist encounters must be understood as a privileged scenario in which different countries are performed in daily life.¹² Far from being politically innocuous, these encounters have also represented a cultural sphere of unequal power relations in history. The first visitors to arrive often take a dominant stance: they are knowledgeable, and they possess a cultural authority over those visited, who are turned into mere passive objects of desire.¹³ On the one hand, travellers have adopted tourist practices, such as visual supervision and textual narration, in order to master the country visited.¹⁴ On the other, local populations have been silenced in these travel narratives, reduced to supporting the tourist fantasies projected onto them.¹⁵ Thus, despite its association with free time and pleasure, tourism has never been innocuous.

¹¹ From a geographical point of view this has been pointed out by Simon Coleman and Mark Crang, eds, *Tourism: Between Place and Performance* (Oxford 2002).

¹² Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture*, 69-103

¹³ Paolo Favero, "'What a Wonderful World!': On the 'touristic Ways of Seeing', the Knowledge and the Politics of the 'Culture Industries of Otherness'", *Tourist Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2007), 51–81. Based on the work of John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London 2002).

¹⁴ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York 2008).

¹⁵ Cara Aitchison, 'Theorizing Other Discourses of Tourism, Gender and Culture: Can the Subaltern Speak (in Tourism)?', *Tourist Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2001), 133–47.

Based on the work of .

On the contrary, tourism has constituted an institutionalization domain, a breeding ground for the microphysics of power.¹⁶

In tourism practices, various actors, in a position of power, are invited to stage and re-enact their respective countries of origin or destination:¹⁷ in so doing, they negotiate local and national identities. In this capillary space of intersubjective contact,¹⁸ national identities have not only been internalized, they have also been altered, through everyday acts of consumption.¹⁹ In this respect, studying tourism undoubtedly broadens our understanding of how nation-building has historically unfolded: not only through power strategies, led by public institutions and nationalist elites, but also by nationalized populations, who have developed, from the bottom-up, their own agency in constructing a national identity.²⁰

¹⁶ This concept has been applied to tourist studies by So-Min Cheong and Marc L. Miller, 'Power and Tourism: A Foucauldian Observation', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (2000), 371–90. Based on the work of Michel Foucault, *Vigilar y Castigar: Nacimiento de La Prisión* (Madrid 1998).

¹⁷ Jørgen O. Bærenholdt, Michael Haldrup and John Urry, *Performing Tourist Places* (Aldershot 2004)

¹⁸ This is the third space of transculturation explained by Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*.

¹⁹ This phenomena has been raised by Jon E. Fox and Cynthia Miller-Idriss, 'Everyday Nationhood', *Ethnicities*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (2008), 536–63. Based on the work of Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, CA 1988).

²⁰ From a historical point of view this bottom-up interpretation has been revised by Maarten Van Ginderachter, 'Nationhood from below: Some Historiographic Notes on

In the present text we approach the historical shaping of local identity in Mallorca based on the different signification of the encounters between the first travellers and their local hosts. Local identities generated from the practice of tourism have historically played a key role in consolidating regional and national identities.²¹ But in the case of Mallorca, the new tourist identity created in the mid-nineteenth century did not emerge as a regional complement to Spanish identity.²² In this article, we examine its historical shaping and how the omnipresence of national identities in everyday acts

Great Britain, France and Germany in the Long Nineteenth Century’, in Maarten Van Ginderachter and Marnix Beyen, eds, *Nationhood from Below: Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century* (London 2012), 120–39. Beyond the classical work of Billig, this interpretation has been also raised by Marco Antonsich, ‘The "everyday" of Banal Nationalism - Ordinary People’s Views on Italy and Italian’, *Political Geography*, Vol. 54 (2016), 32–42.

²¹ In the context of South-West Asia this has been shown by Michel Picard, ‘Cultural Tourism, Nation-Building, and Regional Culture: The Making of a Balinese Identity’, in Michel Picard and Robert Everett Wood, eds, *Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies* (Honolulu, HI 1997). On the role of local identity in the nation-building process, see Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Wurttemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918*, vol. 9 (Chapel Hill, NC 1997).

²² On the reciprocity between regional and national identities through history see Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley, CA 1990). For the Spanish case see Eric Storm, ‘La Cultura Regionalista en España, Francia y Alemania: una Perspectiva Comparada (1890-1937)’, *Ayer: Revista de Historia Contemporánea*, No. 83 (2011), 181–5.

of banal consumption has its limits.²³ In the case under study, a tourist encounter between guests and hosts did not signify a reinforcement of national identities from below. On the contrary, tourist everyday practice contributed to denationalizing local identity and to destabilizing an earlier process of Spanishization that had started at the end of the eighteenth century.²⁴

Nineteenth-century tourism, an early phenomenon of transnational mobility, led to increasing contacts between cultures: it potentially denationalized citizens to the extent that they were subjected to an international gaze and to a deeply local one at the same time.²⁵ Nevertheless, in the present text we will not approach tourism's denationalization as a weakening of national identity in a context of increasing mobility. Nor will we consider it, conversely, as a colonial power strategy of cultural assimilation

²³ The idea of the limits of latent banal nationalism has been raised by Roger Brubaker, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox and Liana Grancea, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* (Princeton, NJ 2006). This can lead to the idea of ordinary people's national indifference throughout history as it can be seen in Maarten Van Ginderachter and Jon E. Fox, *National Indifference and the History of Nationalism in Modern Europe* (London 2019).

²⁴ For the Catalan case, this chronology of the nationalization process in Spain has been established by Joan Lluís Marfany, *Nacionalisme Espanyol i Catalanitat (1789-1859): Cap a una Revisió de la Renaixença* (Barcelona 2017), 315-17.

²⁵ This is the traditional interpretation raised for example by Saskia Sassen, 'Towards Post-National and Denationalized Citizenship', in Engin F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner, eds, *Handbook of Citizenship Studies* (London 2002), 277-92.

to weaken previous national identities.²⁶ The results of our research show that denationalization should be understood as a colonization strategy only to the extent that separating local identity from national references in the tourists' imagination led to depoliticizing the destination identity. Therefore, the destination identity dissociated itself from the exercise of sovereignty.

Thus, we start by assuming that, historically, metropolitan centres have used tourism to exercise everyday control over colonial peripheries.²⁷ In Europe, the popularization of overseas travel and exploration literature in the nineteenth century triggered a hunger for travel and adventure;²⁸ ever since, colonial discourse has played a key role in shaping the tourist identities of destination countries.²⁹ In this regard, ever-increasing travel to distant and exotic lands has hugely contributed to reproducing

²⁶ This more singular interpretation has been defended for example by Nishtha Desai, 'The Denationalisation of Goans. An Insight into the Construction of Cultural Identity', *Lusotopie*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2000), 469–76.

²⁷ The uses of tourism as a practice of banal colonialism through history can be seen in Dennis Merrill, *Negotiating Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Twentieth Century Latin America* (Chapel Hill, NC 2010).

²⁸ The relationship between travel literature and ideas of exploration and adventure has been exposed in Ali Behdad, 'The Politics of Adventure: Theories of Travel, Discourses of Power', in Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst, eds, *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility* (New York 2009), 80–95.

²⁹ A pioneer publication on the matter was C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker, eds, *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations* (London 2004).

colonial discourses on a daily basis, in which the visited populations are represented in terms of otherness and in a position of inferiority, while being silenced at the same time.³⁰ As a form of banal colonialism, tourism has turned these forms of otherness into a consumer product which in turn has reinforced oriental or indigenous stereotypes by contributing to their physical performance in the space in question.³¹

Though classified as a part of Europe, the island of Mallorca was historically portrayed as a colony because of its southern, Mediterranean and insular nature.³² At the edge of Europe and bordering on Africa and Asia, Mediterranean shores and their populations have often been orientalized, conveying a Mediterranean otherness in opposition to their projected self-reference to the centre and north of the continent.³³

³⁰ This is the thesis defended by Charlotte M. Echtner and Pushkala Prasad, 'The Context of the Third World Tourism Marketing', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (2003), 660–82. Based on the work of Edward W. Said, *Orientalisme* (Barcelona 1991).

³¹ This phenomena has been analyzed in Michael Haldrup and Jonas Larsen, *Tourism, Performance and the Everyday: Consuming the Orient* (London 2009).

³² Eduard Moyà, *Journeys in the Sun: Literature and Desire in the Balearic Islands (1903-1939)* (Palma 2016).

³³ Iain Chambers, *Mediterranean Crossings: The Politics of an Interrupted Modernity* (Durham, NC 2008). Based on the work of Michael Herzfeld, *Anthropology through the Looking-Glass: Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe* (Cambridge 1989).

Furthermore, due to its insularity, different European colonial powers conceived Mallorca as a land that could be acquired or appropriated.³⁴

Regarding the subject under study, the process of Mallorca's tourist and colonial denationalization, this article focuses both on the textual meaning and on the bodily performativity of local identity through music and dance. It was in these cultural fields that, in the Spanish case, an early nationalization unfolded, based on the consolidation throughout the country of a series of standardized stage shows.³⁵ In this regard, class-related cultural barriers such as illiteracy could be overcome, thanks to music's supremely emotional nature and its immediacy.³⁶ On the other hand, dance has also played a key role in the tourist shaping of local identities, more specifically in the bodily performativity of destination country cultures.³⁷ This is because, in tourism

³⁴ The link between insularity and colonial imaginaries of otherness from the continent has been analyzed in Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith, ed., *Islands in History and Representation* (London 2003). See also Maeve McCusker and Anthony Soares, eds, *Islanded Identities: Constructions of Postcolonial Cultural Insularity* (Amsterdam 2011).

³⁵ Marfany, *Nacionalisme Espanyol*, 315-17.

³⁶ The importance of music in the early stages of the nation-building process has been emphasized in Philip V. Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Santa Barbara, CA 2004), 49.

³⁷ In the context of current times, the relationship between dance, tourism and local identity has been raised in Hélène N. Kringelbach and Jonathan Skinner, eds, *Dancing Cultures: Globalization, Tourism and Identity in the Anthropology of Dance* (Oxford

history, visual elements have predominated,³⁸ and foreign bodies have played a major part in representing local identity.³⁹ As a result, the visual and easily staged nature of dance turned dance music into a shared component of everyday nationalization from below shaping local identity through tourism.

In order to study tourist signification of the kind of music and dance categorized as local in Mallorca, this article starts with analysis of texts and images in the island's major travel stories published during the first half of the nineteenth century,⁴⁰ when Mallorca's tourist identity was forged as a Mediterranean destination.⁴¹ We study how music and choreographies gradually acquired a colonial signification after previously having had a clearly Spanish national meaning. Second, in order to deepen our analysis

2012). See also Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago, IL 1999).

³⁸ Judith Adler, 'Origins of Sightseeing', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1989), 7–29. See also Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*.

³⁹ From a gender perspective, this has been pointed out by Annette Pritchard and Nigel J. Morgan, 'Privileging the Male Gaze: Gendered Tourism Landscapes', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 3, No. 27 (2000), 883–905.

⁴⁰ This imagological analysis is based on the methodology of Manfred Beller and Joep Leersen, eds, *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters: A Critical Survey* (Amsterdam 2007).

⁴¹ The process is explained by Joan Carles Cirer-Costa, 'The Beginnings of Tourism in Majorca. 1837-1914', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (2012), 1779–96. On the importance of Mallorca in the construction of the Mediterranean as a tourist brand, see Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley, CA 1999), 173.

of the discursive reception and the subaltern social agency in this process, we adopt a micro-historical approach to examine the encounters, both positive and negative, between travelling elites and the local population.⁴² In this sense, we assume that the narration on local and decentred histories is a particularly effective method for making visible and analyzing the subjectivities and agencies of subaltern groups.⁴³ To this end, we focus on those scenarios of local particularity staged through dance music, in which the actors, finding themselves in an unequal position, exercised strategies of dominance and resistance in order to negotiate their identity. Since we lack any direct access to these historical contexts through fieldwork, we use a variety of sources to study and document them, including advertisements in the press, posters, theatre programmes, municipal documentation, correspondence, folklore studies of the time, and oral testimonies. By including this wide range of sources, we aim to highlight the subjective historical expressions of subaltern groups that were silenced in tourist accounts.

Tourist rejection of national culture as opposed to local authenticity

In 1837, the inauguration of the first regular steam line between the port of Barcelona and Palma, the capital of Mallorca, enabled the cultural elites of central and northern

⁴² An updated revision of microhistorical methods in Sigurður G. Magnússon and István Szijártó, *What Is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (London 2013).

⁴³ Idea raised by Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Decentering History: Local Stories and Cultural Crossings in a Global World', *History and Theory*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (2011), 188–202. From a decolonial point of view see Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton, NJ 2012).

Europe to include the island in their tours of the Mediterranean coasts and the Iberian Peninsula. The weekly route of the steamer *El Mallorquín* put the island on the map of an emerging tourism industry, driven by the development of railways and navigation.⁴⁴ It was in this moment that the first image of the Mallorca brand as a tourist destination was developed through the different travel accounts written by pioneering visitors to the island.⁴⁵

The first traveller to arrive on the regular steamship line was the French philologist Joseph Tastú, with the intention of researching common speech in Mallorca. However, it was the Parisian writer George Sand who, through her writings, left a more lasting mark on the island's tourist identity. George Sand and her lover Frederic Chopin arrived in Mallorca on the pretext of seeking a favourable climate for the delicate health of the famous pianist. In Mallorca they coincided with the Polish aristocrat Charles Dembowski, exiled in France, who was making a tour throughout Spain with the aim of getting into contact with the local nobility and reporting on the political climate of the time. The following spring, the news of the stay of the celebrity couple brought the painter Jean Joseph Bonaventour Laurens to the island. The purpose of his trip was to seek out views of exotic landscapes to inspire his paintings.

⁴⁴ This initial period in the history of tourism is explained in Eric Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism* (London 2015), 44-60.

⁴⁵ This special moment in the history of travels to Mallorca is explained in Amaya Alzaga, 'El Viaje a Mallorca en el Siglo XIX: La Configuración del Mito Romántico y sus Itinerarios Artísticos', *Espacio Tiempo y Forma* 0, Nos 18–19 (2006), 163–93.

Laurens was the first person to give an account of his trip, which was published in 1840, under the title *Souvenirs d'un Voyage d'Art à l'Ile de Majorque*.⁴⁶ The book's positive reception led George Sand to write and publish her own Mallorcan experience in 1842, under the title *Un Hiver à Majorque*.⁴⁷ This latter account quickly became a sales success; it was translated into German in 1847 and a seventh edition was published in 1875.⁴⁸ Following the publication, Mallorca was marked as a tourist destination for centuries to come.⁴⁹

If Laurens' quest for the picturesque and the sublime already heralded at an early stage the voyeuristic attitude of tourists that is typical of modern tourism,⁵⁰ there is no doubt that George Sand's confession of her true motivations with regard to her journey to Mallorca definitively preceded tourist anxieties of escaping from the everyday working routine, social life and political news, looking for a destination of tranquillity, security and comfort.⁵¹ In this sense, before leaving Paris, Sand asked herself 'Who

⁴⁶ Jean-Joseph-Bonaventure Laurens, *Recuerdos de Un Viaje Artístico a La Isla de Mallorca* (Palma 1971). Original edition: Jean-Joseph-Bonaventure Laurens, *Souvenirs d'un voyage d'art a l'ile de Majorque* (Paris 1841).

⁴⁷ George Sand, *Un Hiver a Mallorca* (Barcelona 2009). Original edition: George Sand, *Un hiver a Majorque* (Paris 1842).

⁴⁸ Bartomeu Barceló and Gabriel Frontera, 'Història del Turisme a les Illes Balears', in *Welcome!: Un Segle de Turisme a Les Illes Balears* (Palma 2000).

⁴⁹ Cirer-Costa, 'The Beginnings of Tourism in Majorca'.

⁵⁰ Judith Adler, 'Origins of Sightseeing'.

⁵¹ The escapist nature of modern travel practice has been pointed out by Chris Rojek, *Ways of Escape: Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel* (London 1993)

among us has not at some time had the selfish dream of abandoning his or her own work, habits, knowledge, and even friends to go to some enchanted island to live without care, without gossip, without obligations and without newspapers?'⁵²

In any event, Mallorca's tourist representation in the nineteenth century had its direct origins in a non-touristic visit by the French diplomat André Grasset de Saint-Sauveur. He remained on the island as consul of the Napoleonic Empire between 1800 and 1805. Back in France, he published the memoirs of his stay under the title *Voyage dans les Îles Baléares et Pithiuses* in 1807.⁵³ Until the publication of Sand's *Hiver*, the latter was the main bibliographic reference on the Balearic Islands for the whole of Europe. Both Sand and Laurens read Grasset at one time or another, and they signified their travel experience based on his work. Probably for this reason, the three books have in common the same approach to the music listened to and the dances observed in Mallorca, characterized by the search for local specificity and the rejection of Spanish national culture.

During his long stay in Mallorca, Grasset had time to become familiar with the music heard and danced on the island.⁵⁴ In his *Voyage*, he described a crowded theatre

⁵² Sand, *Un Hiver a Mallorca*, 192-193

⁵³ André Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, *Viatge a Les Illes Baléars i Pitiüses* (Palma 2003).

Original Edition: André Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, *Voyage dans les Iles Baléares et Pithiuses fait dans les années 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804 et 1805* (Paris 1807).

⁵⁴ As an introduction to foreign views on Mallorcan music in the first tourist encounters of this period, see Francesc Vicens Vidal, 'Música tradicional i literatura de viatges: la construcció del paisatge sonor de Mallorca a través dels arquetips folklòrics i

in the insular capital that held shows that combined different performing arts, among them singing and dancing. Indeed, the so-called *Casa de Comedias* (House of Comedies) combined supposedly popular theatrical performances with *boleros* and *seguidillas*. The Napoleonic consul regarded this type of scenic representation as Spanish nationalist in character and found it contemptible. In his opinion, the vocal frills of the *tonadillas* were ‘genuinely tiresome’, while the themes of the lyrics were ‘utterly immoral and indecent’.⁵⁵

The show in question was a sample of the genre known as *tonadilla escénica*, in which a variety of companies of professional musicians and dancers created numbers aimed at drawing the largest possible crowd of spectators. After the coronation of Carlos III in 1759, these shows had become hugely popular throughout Spain.⁵⁶ Since the arrival of the Bourbon dynasty at the beginning of the eighteenth century, administrative centralization had brought about greater freedom of movement of people and goods; with the creation of a professionalized and state-level popular theatre network, the illiterate majority gained access to a standardized offer of national cultural shows. Throughout the last decades of the eighteenth century, the dances reached Mallorca, adopted first by Palma’s aristocratic circles, and later by the upwardly mobile

regionalistes (1807-1911)’, *Butlletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* 0, No. 77 (2021), 101-15.

⁵⁵ Grasset, *Viatge*, 59-60.

⁵⁶ Clara Rico, ‘De las Ceremonias de los Bailes: Política, Identidad y Representaciones a través del Baile Español del Siglo XVIII’, *Bulletin Hispanique*, No. 114–12 (2012), 645–69, 655-6.

sectors of the bourgeoisie.⁵⁷ As Spanish music and dances grew in popularity among the educated elites, the sale of printed scores played a key role, bringing the songs and melodies performed in theatres to private and domestic spheres.⁵⁸

In contrast to the aristocratic and bourgeois character of the *tonadilla escénica*, Grasset looked for Mallorca's 'character and national spirit' in the *contradansa*. The French diplomat considered that the local character did not reside in the standardized cultural consumption in theatres, but in the 'simple countryside inhabitants (...) in the midst of their civil and religious celebrations'.⁵⁹ During his stay in Mallorca, the *contradansa* (or *contredanse*) was the most widespread dance among the island's common people,⁶⁰ so Grasset set out, enthusiastically, to describe how such dances were performed on Palma's summer evenings, or at cattle fairs 'to the sound of rustic bagpipes'.⁶¹ Despite the fact that the dance originated in France and was widespread throughout Europe, the Napoleonic consul associated *contradansa* with traditional

⁵⁷ Linda Dankworth, 'Embodying Mallorquiness through Performativity and Narration of Mallorquin Dance', *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2013), 33–47, 40.

⁵⁸ Eugeni Canyelles and Francesc Crespí, 'La Música Popular a Mallorca', in Jaume Ayats and Concepció Ramió, eds, *Història de La Música Catalana, Valenciana i Balear. Volum VI. La Música Popular i Tradicional* (Barcelona 2001), 207–27, 209–10.

⁵⁹ Grasset, *Viatge*, 125.

⁶⁰ Xavier Carbonell, 'La Contradansa a Mallorca. Aproximacions a la seva Història i les seves Músiques', in Antoni Bibiloni, ed., *La Contradansa a Mallorca: Projecte de Recerca i de Recuperació* (Palma 2009), 61–141.

⁶¹ Grasset, *Viatge*, 127–8.

Mallorcan culture rather than with a more modern Spanish national culture, due to its popular character. Therefore, he was de-Spanishizing the island's local identity.

Beyond his precociously romantic and populist taste for *contradansa*, Grasset loathed *tonadilla escénica* shows because they signified anti-French Spanish nationalism. This song and dance genre was, together with bullfighting, the main pillar of a *majismo* culture underlying the construction of an early Spanish national identity.⁶² During the first half of the eighteenth century, ancient autochthonous dances such as the *seguidilla* and the *fandango* were promoted by a large part of the Castilian aristocracy whose power was under threat from Bourbon absolutism. These dances represented a reaction to the spread of dances that were French in origin and were imposed by the new dynasty in the Court of Madrid.⁶³ During the reign of Carlos III, *majismo* also became a culture of resistance against the unpopular economic measures launched by the ministers of the king, whose identification with enlightened thought was also associated with France.⁶⁴ At any rate, during the reign of Carlos IV, the Royal Court succumbed to the fashion of *majismo*, especially with the outbreak of the first war against revolutionary France in 1793. In this new context, dances associated with the *tonadilla* went on to symbolise popular resistance to foreign military aggression. Grasset, in

⁶² An approach to the link between *majista* culture and early Spanish nationalism in Tara Zanardi, *Framing Majismo: Art and Royal Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Spain* (University Park, PA 2016).

⁶³ Rico, 'De las ceremonias de los bailes'.

⁶⁴ For the case of Madrid, see Dorothy Noyes, 'La Maja Vestida: Dress as Resistance to Enlightenment in Late-18th-Century Madrid', *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 111, No. 440 (1998), 197–217.

addition to his role as an official of the Napoleonic Empire, identified himself with the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. He thus rejected the Spanishizing dances, which were hostile to his own country.

When Sand and Laurens arrived in Mallorca over thirty years later, the political antagonism between French travellers and Spanish national dances had faded away. Following the positive experience of a new French military occupation of Spain in 1823, numerous romantic travellers, fascinated by soldiers' stories, freshly set out to tour Spain.⁶⁵ With this new influx, 'Spanish' music and dance performances, of a specifically Andalusian nature, became very successful in French theatres, responding as they did to a certain romantic demand for orientalizing exoticism.⁶⁶ Despite this, Laurens looked down on the 'Spanish airs' he heard in Mallorca because the music was 'based on the harmony of the tonic and dominant that anyone strumming a guitar could learn by following the silliest routine'.⁶⁷

Laurens was not only a painter, he was also a musician and he rapidly identified the *boleros* and *seguidillas* sung by the girls from Palma on their balconies with Spanish national music. He associated the rhythms and melodies with fashionable Paris shows. Thus, both his musical erudition and already fully romantic sensitivity led him to reject

⁶⁵ Jean-René Aymes, '¿Tres Conflictos Armados habrán Deteriorado Gravemente las Relaciones Franco-Española en los Siglos XVIII y XIX?', in Isabelle. Bes Hoghton, ed., *Illes Balears i França: Traces i Intercanvis (1730-1980)* (Palma 2008), 13–31, 27.

⁶⁶ Leonardo Romero, 'Teatralidad y Andalicismo en el Madrid de Medios del Siglo XIX', in Alberto Romero and Joaquín Álvarez, ed., *Costumbrismo Andaluz* (Sevilla 1998), 149–68.

⁶⁷ Laurens, *Recuerdos*, 98.

them as inauthentic fakes. In this sense, Laurens affirmed that ‘none of the national airs that I have heard are very old, and thus lack any historical interest’.⁶⁸ Unlike Grasset, the French painter was left with no other musical or choreographic popular alternative. In 1839, the *contradansa* had long since fallen into disuse and it seemed that Mallorca’s popular classes had adopted the Spanish fashion from Paris. He thus decided to take refuge in religious and medieval music he had heard in the island’s churches.

Tourist gaze and local silencing in the resignification of national tradition

Unlike Laurens, George Sand appreciated the genres inherited from the *tonadilla escénica* that saw the peasants of Mallorca dance. In any case, in his travel account he ignored their Spanish origins and redefined the dances he witnessed as a cultural singularity of the island. Indeed, when she was invited to attend the wedding of a wealthy peasant family, she did not miss the opportunity to witness a popular festive dance performance. At that time, Mallorca peasants were dancing the *jotas* and *fandangos* that professional companies had popularized in theatres decades before. The island’s popular classes had adopted Spanish dance genres during the War of Spanish Independence against Napoleon’s French troops between 1808 and 1814.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Francesc Vallcaneras, ‘Valldemossa, quan la Identitat és Ball’, in *El Parado de Valldemossa: Un Segle d’Història* (Palma 2009), 35–40, 36.



Figure 1. Drawing by George Sand's son Maurice of a wedding dance celebrated in Valldemossa. George Sand, *Mallorca y Chopin en la 'Historia de mi vida'* (Palma 1951), 10-11.

During this time, Spanish nationalism was exacerbated by the traumatic experience of a particularly devastating military occupation. Mallorca, having been under British protection, had never been occupied by French troops. Nevertheless, Spanish *majismo* was also enshrined due to a large influx of refugees from the Iberian Peninsula.⁷⁰ Thus, *tonadilla escénica* performances not only multiplied on the island, but they also took on a more unequivocally nationalist political significance. For example, in 1812, the Casa de Comedias posters announced a drama entitled 'Spain's triumph by the hero Lord Wellington in the fields of Vitoria'. The work re-created the

⁷⁰ Carbonell, 'La Contradansa a Mallorca', 62-4.

military triumph of the Spanish and British troops that same year in the Basque city. As always, the theatrical performance was followed by a *tonadilla* dance, in this case a *fandango* that was already explicitly defined as a ‘national dance’.⁷¹ The growing numbers of *jotas*, *boleros* and *fandangos* performed in the island’s theatres were accompanied at the time by people’s desire to learn and re-enact these dances themselves. As early as 1812, private classes of ‘two kinds of bolero [...] and fandango’ were announced in the press.⁷² In this way, ever larger parts of the population learned these dances by imitating those they had witnessed in theatres.

Thus, when Sand arrived in Mallorca, the peasants with whom she came into contact and who lived some way away from Palma, had already made these dance genres their own. As manifestations of Spanish national culture, they still represented a relatively recent fad, potentially hostile to the writer’s French origin. These incompatibilities could have ruined the performance that had been arranged at the wedding to which she was invited. According to her account, the situation was saved thanks to the differentiation between the Mallorcan *boleros*, *jotas* and *fandangos* and the same dances in the Iberian Peninsula. In this way, the pioneer tourist did not categorize them as Spanish national genres, but as local dances. If Grasset had seen the pan-European *contradansa* as an authentic expression of local island culture, Sand did the same decades later regarding later Spanishizing dances.

⁷¹ Domingo Garcías Estelrich, *El Teatro en Palma, 1800-1810* (Palma 2001), 194. The author reproduces a full collection of theatre programmes from the Municipal Archives of Palma.

⁷² Vallcaneras, ‘Valldemossa’, 37.

Sand did not possess Laurens' musical background. Intuitively, and not very thoughtfully, she contrasted the 'Mallorcan boleros' with 'the way the Spaniards put their foot forward and extend their arm'. Thus, she identified as particularly 'Mallorcan' a musical genre that, paradoxically, was the creation of Spanish nationalism. Not settling for the local resignification, she also linked the dance observed at the wedding to the 'ancestral' world,⁷³ attributing greater antiquity to the supposedly local dances of Mallorca than to the Spanish style they came from. In a way, Sand was inventing a story, but her insights were not completely fictional. Having spent more time in Mallorca than Laurens, she had had the chance to appreciate the contrast at that time between the old style of popular class dances and the new Spanish airs recently imported from French theatres.

Indeed, with the end of the War of Independence in 1814, the *tonadilla escénica* faded away throughout Spain,⁷⁴ first disappearing from the aristocratic salons, and then from the stage. Only the popular classes, especially the peasants, continued to engage in a dance style that was considered outdated. In her pursuit of times past, George Sand, welcomed these dances; in her description of the peasant wedding, she noted that the 'galvanic jumps' of a young boy commanded 'widespread admiration'. This old way of dancing contrasted with a 'Spanish' style that was more 'petulant and presumptuous' and executed by a well-to-do farmer.⁷⁵ So the romantic quest for local authenticity led

⁷³ Sand, *Un Hivern*, 205-6.

⁷⁴ Juan B. Varela, 'Origen y desarrollo histórico de la tonadilla escénica' in *Revista de Folklore*, No. 13 (1982), 26-30, 28.

⁷⁵ Sand, *Un Hivern*, 206.

Sand to rejoice that the dancer's more modern steps, probably imported from France, provoked the mockery of those attending the celebration.

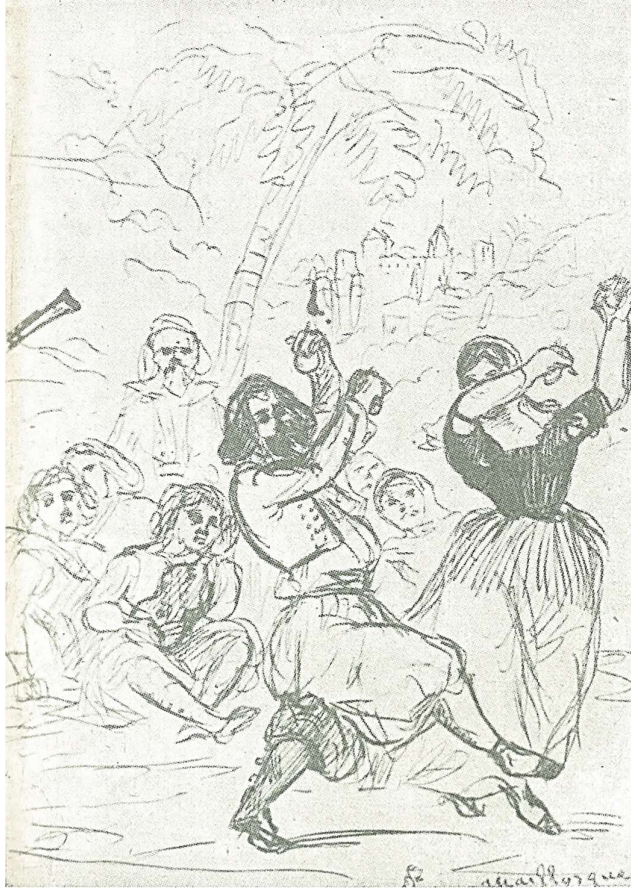


Figure 2. Maurice's drawing of peasant dancing in Valldemossa. George Sand, *Mallorca y Chopin en la 'Historia de mi vida'* (Palma 1951), 10-11.

Be that as it may, Sand's denationalizing representation of Mallorca's popular dances was probably far removed from the perceptions of the peasants who were performing them. Distinguishing between more modern and older dance styles surely did not prevent *boleros*, *jotas* and *fandangos* from being regarded as dances common to the rest of Spain. We do know, at least, that at the end of the nineteenth century, ongoing contact with the Iberian Peninsula maintained the perception that these musical

pieces and choreographies constituted a heritage shared with other populations in Spain. According to various oral testimonies, members of the peninsular police forces were able to join in Mallorca's peasant dances without any difficulty.⁷⁶ Others reported that Mallorcan dancers visiting different parts of Spain succeeded in 'following all the dances' as they were dancing in a 'Mallorcan style'.⁷⁷

Thus, from her own tourist gaze, George Sand singled out and denationalized popular dance in Mallorca, even though the musicians and dancers undoubtedly experienced them as a sign of Spanishness. In doing so, the French writer violently silenced her protagonists as the spectacle unfolding before her eyes was re-signified. Indeed, she explicitly remarked that Mallorcan peasants sung and danced 'with a poetry that impresses us but that they themselves are unable to perceive'.⁷⁸ Apparently, the cultural sensitivity that belonged to the travelling elites was required to signify and value local songs and dances; the tourist was the only subject with the authority to define the foreign culture under observation.

Textual orientalization and bodily resistance in the tourist encounter

⁷⁶ Bartomeu Ensenyat, *Folklore de Mallorca: Danzas. Música. Ritos y Costumbres* (Palma 1975), 165. Jaume Estrany, interviewed in 1973 at the age of 93 years old. In 1975, the folklorist Bartomeu Ensenyat published interviews made since the 1950s providing oral evidence of music and peasant dances of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Comparison with textual evidence from the mid-nineteenth century showed that dance practices had visibly remained almost unchanged in rural Majorca.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 142. Andreu Roig, interviewed in 1958 (78 years old).

⁷⁸ Sand, *Un Hivern*, 33.

In her *Hiver à Majorque*, George Sand not only provided the first definition of the *boleros* danced on the island as ‘Mallorcan’, but she also described in colonial and orientalist terms the *jotas* and *fandangos* executed by the peasants themselves, qualifying them as ‘indigenous’.⁷⁹ Thus, the process of Spanishization of popular music and dances in Mallorca was not replaced by a nationalizing Mallorcan significance, as Grasset seemed to insinuate at the beginning of the century. In Sand’s account, the denationalization of popular dances led to their indigenization: the tourist gaze adopted representations and descriptions of otherness that transmitted a kind of inferiority typical of colonial discourse. In this context, the local population resisted to bodily perform before the tourist gaze what it was clearly perceived as old colonial stereotypes and orientalist fantasies.

The tourist encounter at the peasant wedding dance was complemented in Sand’s text with comments along these lines. For example, she stated that the musicians and spectators sat on the ground in the ‘manner of Orientals and Africans’, expressing a degree of contempt as she animalizes the locals, who sat on the floor ‘like dogs’.⁸⁰ In fact, this colonial model of otherness that Sand circulated throughout Europe in her writings was rapidly identified by the island’s cultural elites. As early as 1841, in *La Palma*, the local newspaper, José María Quadrado denounced the French writer’s Mallorcan account which described ‘a grotesque dance where the whole gathering, including the mayor with his stick, were sitting on the floor like Orientals’.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Ibid., 205-6.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ José María Quadrado, ‘A Jorge Sand. Vindicación’, *La Palma*, Apr.15, 1841

The opposition between civilization and barbarism, characteristic of colonial discourse of the time, was also reproduced in Sand's narration of her encounter in Mallorca with a musical troupe during a carnival. She described the rattle of castanets as a 'continuous redoubling, similar to drumbeats in the fields' that 'fails to follow the cut and measured rhythm played in Spain'.⁸² With this affirmation, she again distances insular Mallorcan peculiarity from the Spanish national tradition, despite the fact that the castanet was closely linked to the genres inherited from the *tonadilla escénica*. At the same time, she emphasizes the more physical aspects of the music she heard, such as the volume or the percussion's rhythmic repetition. In this way, a clear primitivizing and colonial approach to music and island identity culminated in a disparaging comment:⁸³ 'nothing could be more primitive than this way of celebrating by bursting one's eardrums with the snap of wood'. In her impetus to indigenize the music, Sand eventually affirms that the melodies and vocal tones heard on the island are of Arab origin. With an orientalist sensitivity, characteristic of the time, she likened the songs that accompanied the castanets to melodies that 'the Arabs probably used to sing this way'.⁸⁴ Intuitively and not very rigorously, she orientalized a musical style that had originated in the precocious Spanish mass culture of the eighteenth-century.

In any event, the Spanish denationalization of Mallorca's music and dances in mid-nineteenth century tourist accounts was unnecessary as a cultural strategy of

⁸² Sand, *Un Hivern*, 202-3.

⁸³ Primitivist and colonial approaches to local music from a historical perspective explained at Ronald Michael Radano and Philip V. Bohlman, ed., *Music and the Racial Imagination* (Chicago, IL 2000).

⁸⁴ Sand, *Un Hivern*, 202-3.

colonization. In fact, France's colonial conception of Mallorca as a tourist destination was shared with the Iberian Peninsula. The bombastic 'Spanish' dance style of the farmer observed by Sand at the peasant wedding did nothing more than re-create a French representation of Spanish national identity with overtly colonial connotations. The farmer imitated new Spanish performances, which, having come from Paris, had become fashionable in the Iberian Peninsula in the 1830s. These dances re-enacted an otherness based on a clearly orientalist Andalusian style.⁸⁵ Within this new style, the Spanish national character was staged in dances that reproduced potent gender stereotypes. Both male and female Spanishness were based on a passionate temperament and an inability to control violent and sexual impulses, expressed corporally in a tendency towards sensuality. All this was in contrast with the self-control characteristic of modern and metropolitan civilization associated with France.⁸⁶

However, this passionate and unrestrained nature, associated with Spain in French colonial discourse, was not reflected in the dances that Sand observed at the peasant wedding. The French writer stressed in this regard that Mallorcans danced 'without lighting up their faces, without the slightest spark of joy'. It was these characteristics

⁸⁵ On the orientalizing genres of Spanish music coming from France in the nineteenth century, see Celsa Alonso, 'En el Espejo de los 'Otros': Andaluciso, Exotismo e Hispanismo', in Celsa Alonso, ed., *Creación Musical, Cultura Popular y Construcción Nacional en la España Contemporánea* (Madrid 2010), 83–103, 83-92.

⁸⁶ On the male and female stereotypes of Spanishness in the nineteenth century see Xavier Andreu, *El Descubrimiento de España: Mito Romántico e Identidad Nacional* (Madrid 2016), 213-60.

that led her to affirm that ‘the Mallorcan *boleros* possess ancestral gravity rather than the profane graces that one can observe in Andalusia’.⁸⁷

Again, the French writer did not entirely fabricate the difference between peasant dances witnessed in Mallorca and fashionable Spanish dances in city theatres. The solemnity of the dances can be explained by the event’s institutional context. At that time, the controlled nature of public dances was clearly differentiated on the island from the more unrestrained tone of the private ones. In this respect, the Barcelona writer, Juan Cortada, in his account of his visit to Mallorca in 1845, described dances taking place on public holidays in the squares: ‘couples dance a few handspans apart (...) and with simple glances’.⁸⁸ In contrast, he commented on the dances held inside the private houses: ‘one notices more movement’,⁸⁹ concluding that ‘the passion of love seems to be generalized and violent here’.⁹⁰ Apparently, this differentiation between public and private dancing was still maintained at the end of the nineteenth century. Oral testimonies of the time accounted for the difference between the two typologies because ‘during patron saint celebrations, girls had to dance before the eyes of everybody’.⁹¹ Indeed, the serious tone and content required in public dances were embodied in the facial expressions observed by Sand: dancers almost closed their eyes and expressed no joy whatsoever. Be that as it may, according to the testimonies, the same women

⁸⁷ Sand, *Un Hivern*, 205-6.

⁸⁸ Juan Cortada, *Viaje a la Isla de Mallorca en el Estío de 1845* (Barcelona 1845), 146.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁹¹ Ensenyat, *Folklore de Mallorca*, 164-5. Interview with Jaume Estrany in 1973 (at the age of 93).

‘danced at home with their head up high and their eyes wide open’.⁹² On that account, the social pressure of the upper classes and the clergy’s especially surveillant eye coerced the dancers’ movements and body language in public.⁹³

George Sand and her family attended a private wedding dance, but the description of the event and the dancers’ poses seemed to correspond to a much more contained public act. As it was a wealthy family’s celebration, more refined forms were surely expected. In addition, the presence of the French writer and her illustrious companions probably inhibited the party to some extent. In a way, the dance had become a tourist show that re-enacted local authenticity and hid the reality of the endogenous culture.⁹⁴ In that primary tourist encounter, the local population was exposing itself to powerful travellers, and they were careful to present the most refined and educated version of themselves in the light of an inevitable comparison with the French origin of the impromptu spectators. In a way, through their bodily performance, the Mallorcan peasants countered the traditional stereotype of Spanish passion emanating from the colonial Mediterranean orientalizing characteristic of French theatres. By refusing to perform it before tourist eyes, they were quietly following strategies of subaltern resistance to the colonizing of a national identity that was alien to them and beyond their control.⁹⁵

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., 68.

⁹⁴ On the fake theatrical nature of tourist encounter see Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley, CA 1999).

⁹⁵ On the everyday practices of resistance in the colonial context see James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, CT 1985).

Colonial insularity and tourist denationalizing of local identity

As the musical and choreographic performance of local identity did not fit the Spanish orientalizing national stereotype, Sand chose to define the colonial otherness of the destination in consonance with the denationalizing and insular model inherited from Grasset's *Voyage*.⁹⁶ In this way, the writer erroneously signified the solemnity of the dances she witnessed. Rather than as a symptom of social control and containment of impulses characteristic of more modern and civilized societies, she interpreted this seriousness as an archaic peculiarity of an indigenous community. She interpreted the island in colonial terms as a historical fossil, as an anachronistic space frozen in a stage of primitiveness due to isolation.⁹⁷ Thus, paradoxically, by emphasizing the apparent gravity of local Mallorcan dances, Sand was able to delve further into the colonial discourse of the time. Beyond the vague orientalizing of Spanish culture that the French used to render it inferior (even though it fascinated them), Mallorca's insularity became key to the tourist-colonial discourse within a programme of conquest and annexation of the island.

⁹⁶ On the connections between the texts of Grasset and Sand see Carlota Vicens, 'Majorque dans les Textes des Voyageurs Français entre 1800 et 1850: De l'Île à l'Insularité', in Carlota Vicens Pujo, ed., *George Sand, 1804-2004: L'Île et La Dame de Nohant* (Palma 2004), 37–61.

⁹⁷ The concept of anachrony for the historical colonial context has been raised in Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York 1995).

Indeed, the fact that Mallorca was an island made it more easily imaginable as a French colony. The spatial finitude, with which islands have been historically characterized from the continent, made it easier to conceive of the appropriation of the island not only as an object of tourist desire, but also as a colonized territory. Along these lines, George Sand represented the Mallorcan people as ‘unfortunate islanders, who due to their vulnerability, are continually preyed upon by stepmother nations who dispute them’.⁹⁸ She concluded that Spain was not the motherland of the Mallorcans, but a stepmother with no direct or natural authority whatsoever over the island. By decoupling Mallorca from any national belonging and therefore from the exercise of sovereignty, the territory became appropriable by any European nation wishing and able to conquer and dominate it. The tourism strategy of Spanish denationalization and particularization of Mallorcan culture responded to a desire to isolate that was clearly colonial.

In fact, throughout the eighteenth century, various European powers regarded the Balearic archipelago as a region of conquest and colonization. The island of Menorca had already been under French sovereignty between 1756 and 1763 and had undergone periods of British rule at various points during the century. Before the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1808, the French army had considered the Balearic Islands as the obvious choice for a first incursion into the kingdom of Spain. So, when Grasset travelled to Mallorca as a consul in 1800, his functions were not purely diplomatic; he was actually sent to the island by the Napoleonic state as a spy, tasked

⁹⁸ Sand, *Un Hivern*, 73.

with gathering economic and military information in order to evaluate the possibility of a future conquest.⁹⁹

In accordance with the objectives of his posting, the first part of his *Voyage* took the form of a colonial report commissioned by the imperial administrations.¹⁰⁰ This scientific literary genre was inaugurated by James Cook's Pacific Islands stories, which Grasset cited directly;¹⁰¹ he claimed that Mallorca's population possessed a certain insular otherness, based on its association with other colonized people who were looked down upon, like the Tahitians of Polynesia.¹⁰² Following the steps of Grasset and previous colonial exploration literature, Sand gave a chapter of her story the form of a 'geographical encyclopaedia entry',¹⁰³ where she stressed Mallorca's economic qualities and trade potential. The chapter was meant as a response and a patriotic contribution to the evidence that 'lately some comments have been made in the Chamber of Deputies

⁹⁹ Agustí Aguiló-Llofríu, 'El Voyage dans les Iles Baleares et Pithiusses o l'Informe Estratègic d'un Viatger Il·lustrat al Servei de Napoleó', in André Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, ed., *Viatge a Les Illes Balears i Pitiüses* (Palma 2002), 7–12.

¹⁰⁰ These kind of reports are analyzed in Michael T. Bravo, 'Precision and Curiosity in Scientific Travel: James Rennell and the Orientalist Geography of the New Imperial Age (1760–1830)', in Jás Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, eds., *Voyages and Visions : Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (London 1999). For this specific type of travel practice, through history see Roy Bridges, 'Exploration and Travel Outside Europe (1720–1914)', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge 2002), 53–70.

¹⁰¹ Grasset, *Voyage*, 61-2.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁰³ Sand, *Un Hivern*, 34.

[...] that the French might occupy Mallorca'.¹⁰⁴ In this regard, Sand classified the Mallorcans among 'the ancient peoples whom one day we will introduce into an authentic civilization', to later recall that 'these small primitive peoples in the Mediterranean sleep within our cannon fire'.¹⁰⁵ In fact, Sand's text was published at a time when France was directing its imperial expansion policies towards neighbouring Algeria. The Balearic archipelago, located exactly halfway between the metropolis and the main colony, was fully integrated into France's imperial geography of the time.

Thus, the tourist resignification of the most popular music and dances in nineteenth-century Mallorca was part of a knowledge and power strategy: tourist leisure travel was associated with possible military occupation, political domination and economic exploitation. By denying that the peasants' most beloved musical genres and choreography was of Spanish nationalist origin, the tourist discourse dissociated local identity from the exercise of sovereignty. In this way, the island could be imagined as an unassigned territory, ready to be conquered not only by tourists but by foreign nations as well.

Conclusions

The evidence presented in this article shows that tourism has not only contributed positively to the nation-building of visited countries. Our local decentred approach to tourist imaginaries and dance performances demonstrates that far from being gradual

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 72-3.

and unidirectional, peasant nationalization has moved forward in stops and starts.¹⁰⁶ Numerous instruments of power and agents of modernization interacted in the process and made their mark on the same local identity. In Mallorca, for example, the colonial nature of tourist modernization halted or even slowed down the introduction of a national Spanish mass culture. Indeed, the French origin of the first travellers who came to Mallorca as tourists, following the path marked by their direct textual antecedents of purely colonial intentions, led to a rejection of the music and dance perceived as part of Spanish national culture. If Grasset and Laurens chose to ignore them, Sand ended up indigenizing the remains of *tonadilla escénica* in the island. All of them imposed through their accounts the denationalizing desires of exoticism by silencing the local people.

In spite of this, our micro-historical analysis of tourist encounters during Mallorcan fiestas and dances also reveals that in this process, the host population was not completely silenced. The tourist signification of the island's identity as a colonial otherness was never fully adopted by the musicians and dancers who were expected to perform it. In this respect, local elites clearly perceived the first tourists' discourse on Mallorca as colonial and rejected the knowledge proposed in their texts. On the other hand, the peasantry, who was to embody denationalized localism as indigenous exoticism, continued to perceive their music and dances as expressions of a national culture and as a sign of modernity and civilization. We thus have evidence of the local population's determined bodily resistance to enacting and assuming the stereotypes of

¹⁰⁶ A similar critical approach from the local perspective to teleological interpretations of the nation building process can be found in Ginderachter and Fox, *National Indifference and the History of Nationalism in Modern Europe*.

barbarism and savagery characteristic of the colonial discourse of the time. Yet, despite the evidence of decorum and self-control exhibited before the tourist gaze by local people, the tourist George Sand insisted on signifying the witnessed dance style as a manifestation of indigenous primitivism, making use of the colonial stereotypes linked to insularity and French imaginaries of Polynesia.

Nevertheless, the bodily performativity of local identities in tourist encounters emerges as evidence of subaltern resistance to ascribed otherness. It also constitutes a third space in which new hybrid identities can be created, beyond hierarchical binomial representations.¹⁰⁷ In the same way, the everyday re-enactment of the nation through the bodily performance of local identities proves to be one of the major scenarios in which national identity is negotiated from below.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Jorge Villaverde and Ana Moreno Garrido for their careful revision of the text and for all their comments and suggestions.

Funding

This work was supported by the Spanish Ministerio de Economía, Industria y Competitividad, under Grant HAR2017-83005-R

¹⁰⁷ The concept of third space of cultural creativity in tourism has been applied to tourism by Keith Hollinshead, 'Tourism, Hybridity and Ambiguity: The Relevance of Bhabha's 'Third Space' Cultures', *Journal of Leisure Research* 30, No. 1 (1998), 121–56. Based on the work of Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London 1994).

BIO

Antoni Vives Riera is Associate Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Barcelona. His research has focused on the history of festivals and tourism in the rural peripheries of southern Europe, especially in Mallorca. He is particularly interested in the historical production of tourist spaces as natural landscapes, as well as in the tourist staging of local authenticity, specifically in relation to folk music and dance performances. In both cases he studies the relationship between tourist imaginaries and national and regional identities in the everyday practice.