

## ARTICLE

## Marche Triomphale: A Forgotten Musical Tract in Qajar-European Encounters

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### Abstract

This article introduces Julius Heise's *Marche Triomphale* which reveals a history that was eliminated during the nineteenth century race theory publications. Beginning with an account of Iranians' encounters with European military music, this article provides a brief history of Iranian military bands in European style, or the bands of *muzikānchiān*. It then addresses racial motivations behind a short account on Iranian music in 1885 by Victor Advielle, a French administrator. Arthur de Gobineau's race theories were fashionable in nineteenth century Europe, and Victor Advielle used his fellow Artesian, Alfred Lemaire, to prove their racial superiority. Through Advielle's account, Lemaire became the main figure of European music in Iran in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The article proceeds with biographical information on two European musicians, Marco Brambilla (d.1867 in Tehran) and Julius Heise (d.1870 in Tehran), and uncovers the earliest known piece published for the bands of *muzikānchiān*: *Marche Triomphale, À Sa Majesté Impériale Nassir-Ed-Din Shah Kadjar de Perse*.

**Keywords:** Marco Brambilla; Joseph Arthur comte de Gobineau; Julius Heise; Iranian music; Alfred Lemaire; military music; race theory; Nāsereddin Shah Qajar; Johann Strauss

The history of Iranian military bands following European style, or the bands of *muzikānchiān*, is centered around a French musician, Alfred Jean Baptiste Lemaire (1842–1907). The performances of these bands, as well as a whole repertoire of European-Iranian musical encounters, have remained unknown to us not only because of the lack of sources, but because certain sources have been misconstrued and misremembered. One written source in particular, *La musique chez les Persans en 1885*, has caused much confusion. Published in 1885 in Paris by Alfred Lemaire's fellow Artesian from Pas-de-Calais, Victor-Hyacinthe Advielle (1833–1903), the short book has remained the sole document on the history and establishment of European-style Iranian military music, and its narrative has survived unchallenged. In addition, Alfred Lemaire was the musician who initially arranged recordings for the Gramophone Company when the first commercial recordings of music were made in Tehran in 1906. The recording sessions included many performances by Lemaire's bands of *muzikānchiān*.

In this article, I present an archival discovery that seriously challenges this established narrative. The source, which is the first published piece from the repertoire of the *muzikānchiān*, is titled *Marche Triomphale, À Sa Majesté Impériale Nassir-Ed-Din Shah Kadjar de Perse*. It is a march composed by Julius Heise (d. 1870) for the Iranian marching bands in

1864, twenty-one years before Victor Advielle published his book.<sup>1</sup> *Marche Triomphale* stands out as a unique archival document that has recently surfaced after 150 years. By considering this specific case, the present article demonstrates the need for critical studies of the history of Iranian music using archival sources that have long been hidden and require careful consideration. Although military music may represent a small subset among other genres of Iranian music, such sources reveal the history of Iran's encounters with European music, which was instrumental in the formation of the current "classical" music of Iran. The use of archival sources is paramount to dislodging a history of Iranian music that has been based on European writings from the colonial era. Furthermore, recovery of this forgotten musical source reveals a possible connection between the *Persian March* by Johann Strauss II and Heise's work, as will be discussed.

Beginning with an account of Iranians' encounters with European military music, both in Europe and in Iran, this article provides a brief history of European-style Iranian military bands (*muzikānchiān*). It then briefly addresses how and why Victor Advielle, a French administrator, published his short account of the music in Iran, an account that eventually became the sole document on the subject and shaped modern studies of Iranian music. This article then presents what I have learned about the composer of the *Marche Triomphale*, Julius Heise (d.1870).

### European Music in Nineteenth-Century Iran

Years before the Qajar rulers and members of the elite could view actual European musical instruments, they read about them in newly compiled Persian-language books that described aspects of European culture. In 1801, 'Abd-ol-Latif Shushtari (1759–1805) wrote in his *Tohfāt-ol-Ālam* what he had heard about European music.<sup>2</sup> In the same year, Mirza Abutāleb Khan was visiting London, encountered various genres of European music, and heard the band of the Duke of York.<sup>3</sup> A few years later, Abol-Hasan Ilchi (1776–1845) was sent to Britain as the Iranian envoy and reported his encounters with European music to the shah and other notables.<sup>4</sup> Ilchi was later sent to Russia, and his reports included more information on European military music.<sup>5</sup>

The largest comprehensive Persian encyclopedic dictionary, *Loġhat-Nāmeḥ-ye Dehkhoda*, claims that the French term *musique* is the root for the Persian term *muzikān*.<sup>6</sup> However, early Persian reports clarify that *muzikān* was borrowed from the Russian term *muzikant/musicant*, which was in turn borrowed from Germanic languages. Iranian encounters with European music emerged coincidentally after a tragic political incident. In 1829, when the Russian envoy, Aleksandr Sergejevich Griboyedov (1795–1829), was murdered by mobs in Tehran, Prince Khosrow-Mirza Qājār was sent to the Russian court in an act of reconciliation. He was welcomed by bands of military music on several occasions,<sup>7</sup> and the secretary of the delegation wrote down a new Persian term for the first time: *muzekān*.<sup>8</sup> This term was subsequently established as the Persian term for European military music. In another report

<sup>1</sup> I discovered *Marche Triomphale* using secondary publications, and I introduced it in 2016 in Mohammadi, "Chef de Musique or Chef de Macaroni: The Twisted History of the European Military Music in Persia." However, I was unable to locate a surviving copy. In 2020, Ershad Vaeztehrani unveiled the surviving copy of the publication, which is kept at the Austrian National Library; see Vaeztehrani, "Alfred Jean-Baptiste Lemaire (1842–1907), Chef de la Musique de Sa Majesté le Shah de Perse." I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Ershad Vaeztehrani for informing me about this copy which is yet the only known surviving copy of *Marche Triomphale*.

<sup>2</sup> Shushtari, *Tohfāt-ol-Ālam va Zeyl-e Tohfāt*, 388–89.

<sup>3</sup> Eshahāni, *Masir-e Tālebi yā Safar-Nāmeḥ-ye Mirza Abu-Tāleb Khān*, 207–8.

<sup>4</sup> Shirazi, *Heyrat Nāmeḥ*, 261–62.

<sup>5</sup> Shirazi, *Dalil-os-Sofarā*, 169–70.

<sup>6</sup> Deh-khoda, "Muzikān," 21873.

<sup>7</sup> Afshar, *Safarnāmeḥ-ye Khosrow Mirza*, 166, 207–11, 219, 222–23, 238.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 198, 177.

from a Russian trip in 1855, *muzekand/muzikand* was used for bands and *muzekandchi/muzikandchi* was used for musicians.<sup>9</sup>

The first band of *muzikān* in Iran was part of the Iranian regiments commanded by British Officer Charles Christie (d. 1812) of the Bombay regiment, who entered Iranian service at the request of Sir Harford Jones-Brydges (1764–1847), the British envoy to Iran from 1807 to 1811. The band was seen at the court of Crown Prince Abbas-Mirza (1789–1833) in Tabriz in 1812, four months before Christie was killed during the Russo-Persian War of 1804–1813. The band welcomed the British envoy to Iran by playing English tunes, including the British national anthem, “God Save the King.”<sup>10</sup> Five years later, the Russian envoy to Iran was received in Yerevan, and an Iranian band also welcomed him with the British national anthem, perhaps the same band from Tabriz in 1812.<sup>11</sup> The Russian delegation had their own music band comprising thirty musicians directed by a *capellmeister* (conductor).<sup>12</sup> The secretary of the delegation mentioned band performances on several occasions; the band must have played almost every day during the long travel and stay of the Russian envoy.<sup>13</sup> Thus, professional European military music was performed in public places in several cities in northwest Iran. Fath-Ali Shah (r. 1797–1834), however, did not pay special attention to the military band of the Russian delegation, as is suggested by the reception of their delegation at the shah’s encampment in Soltanieh, where they were placed close to a group of court musicians and rope dancers who were the least respected court attendees.<sup>14</sup>

However, Crown Prince Abbās-Mirzā asked the delegation to send their military music band for a close study. He requested that they play all the pieces they knew and then had every instrument presented to him separately. He had every individual play something and then asked them to march to music, admiring the harmony between different sounds.<sup>15</sup> When Abbas-Mirza died in 1833, Fath-Ali Shah appointed his son Mohammad-Mirza the crown prince. Mohammad Shah (1834–1848) was raised under the supervision of his father Abbas-Mirza, and he continued his father’s efforts to modernize the Iranian army. In 1836, two years after Mohammad Shah came to the throne, Sir Henry Bethune (1792–1851) received 400 pounds sterling from the Iranian court to purchase musical instruments.<sup>16</sup> A year later, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* reported publication of the first Persian newspaper in Tehran and reproduced a transcript of the first issue. The report included a description of a banquet at the British Embassy in Tehran on April 25, 1837, in celebration of the British monarch’s birthday. As the newspaper reported, the “band” of music from the Bahādorān regiment played *gharibeh* (strange) instruments.<sup>17</sup> This regiment, which was formed of Russian deserters from Caucasus and their sons,<sup>18</sup> was seen a year later returning from a battle in Khorasan and was described as the only regiment of the Iranian army that had a band.<sup>19</sup>

Three years after Henry Bethune was given a budget to purchase musical instruments, two years after the band of the regiment of Bahādorān was reported to play in Tehran, and one year after the same band was seen returning from an expedition, a European

<sup>9</sup> Qazvini, *Safar-Nāmeḥ-ye Seyf-ol-Molk beh Rusieh*, 57, 62, 65, 67, 71, 76, 79, 83, 89, 133, 135, 148–49, 151–52, 154–55, 158, 160–64, 166, 168–69, 171.

<sup>10</sup> Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, 1: 399.

<sup>11</sup> Kotzebue, *Reise nach Persien mit der russisch kais*, 67.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 65, 71, 77, 93, 105, 107, 119, 135, 140, 149, 159, 169, 179–80, 192.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 179–80.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>16</sup> Stuart, *Journal of a Residence*, 312.

<sup>17</sup> *Gharibeh* (غریبه) also could be a misread form of *gharbieh*, meaning Western. But in the nineteenth-century Persian vocabulary, the common term for European was *farangi*, not *gharbiyeh*, and those Western instruments and bands were indeed strange phenomena in traditional Iranian society. “Persian Newspaper and Translation,” 359.

<sup>18</sup> Stuart, *Journal of a Residence*, 187.

<sup>19</sup> Macdonald, *Personal Narrative*, 162.

musician was spotted in Iran. It is unclear whether the Iranian court recruited the first European musician or the European musician came of his own accord, perhaps following a fantasy about living in the exotic land of Persia. On December 12, 1839, Lieutenant Jules Pichon from a French diplomatic and military delegation reported his first days in Tabriz as follows:

During the first days of our stay in Tauris, Doctor Berthoni, whom I have already spoken of, presented us to Mr. Marca, an Italian by origin who was employed by the troops of the Shah of Persia as “chef de musique”; we had, in many circumstances, to praise him for his kindness. Later Mr. Marca introduced us to Mr. Colombari, an Italian like him, tied with Prince Karaman Mirza as painter.<sup>20</sup>

Marca's proper name was Marco Brambilla, and his name was mentioned in several subsequent reports by European officers, such as Xavier Hommaire de Hell (1812–1848) in 1848 and Giuseppe Anaclerio between 1862 and 1866; the latter stated that Marco Brambilla had left Turkey to attend the court of Iran.<sup>21</sup> It may be that Marco Brambilla had a connection with another Italian musician who served at the Ottoman court to establish military music bands in the European style in the 1820s, Giuseppe Donizetti (1788–1856), the older brother of the famous Italian opera composer, Gaetano Donizetti (1797–1848). Bosquet (also mentioned as Bousquet and Boschetti) and Royon (also mentioned as Rouyon and Rouillon) are the other two European musicians who organized marching bands in Tehran in the 1850s and 1860s.<sup>22</sup>

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Iranian court expanded the army, and new regiments were created. Several European musicians were hired to advance European military bands in Iran. Julius Gebauer (1846–1895), born in the Czech city of Šternberk, arrived in Tehran in 1879 as one of the Austrian officers who were hired to form the new Austrian-style regiment of or in the Iranian Army (Fig. 1a).<sup>23</sup> He was mentioned in the Iranian Almanac (*Sāl-nāmeḥ-ye dowlāt-e ‘aliyyeh-ye Iran*) of 1879, 1880, and 1881 along with the Austrian officers.<sup>24</sup> Julius Gebauer would perform at various gatherings of the European community in Tehran, and he received the Iranian Order of Science.<sup>25</sup> He was last reported at a military review in Tehran on February 21, 1895, about five months before his demise in Tehran on July 9, 1895.<sup>26</sup> An Italian drummer, Monsieur Angelo, also was mentioned as the director of drummers, *Tabbāl-bāshi*, of the Iranian army from 1877 to 1883.<sup>27</sup> Alexandre Duval, a French violinist from Lyon, was another European musician who lived in Iran during the last years of Nāsereddin Shah's era (d. 1896).<sup>28</sup> Finally, the Iranian Cossack Brigade, a cavalry unit founded in 1879, had their own music band, which started with thirty-five musicians of European style (Fig. 1b).<sup>29</sup> The band was mentioned in the Iranian Almanac from 1881 to 1884, and also was reported as playing at social gatherings.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Pichon, *Journal d'une mission militaire en Perse, 1839–1840*, 4.

<sup>21</sup> Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, 2: 119, 131–32, 146; Anaclerio, *La Persia descritta*, 98, 139.

<sup>22</sup> Brugsch, *Reise der K. Preussischen Gesandtschaft nach Persien*, 307; Anaclerio, *La Persia descritta*, 80; Lycklama à Nijeholt, *Voyage*, 356.

<sup>23</sup> Morel, “Les missions militaires en Perse,” 1–2.

<sup>24</sup> Etemād-os-Saltaneh, “Sāl-Nāmeḥ-ye Dowlāt-e Aliyyeh-ye Iran,” 1879, 40; 1880, 43; 1881, 25.

<sup>25</sup> Sheykh-Rezaei and Azari, *Gozāresh-hā-ye Nazmiyeh az Mahallāt-e Tehran*, 1998, 1: 348; 2: 410, 431, 439, 458; Morel, “Décorations,” 1–2.

<sup>26</sup> Eyn-os-Saltaneh, *Ruznāmeḥ-ye Khāterāt-e Eyn-os-Saltaneh*, 1: 700.

<sup>27</sup> Etemād-os-Saltaneh, “Sāl-Nāmeḥ-ye Dowlāt-e Aliyyeh-ye Iran,” 1877, 9; 1878, 9; 1879, 23; 1880, 26; 1881, 8; 1882, 8; 1883, 10.

<sup>28</sup> Gouget, *Histoire musicale de la main*, 357.

<sup>29</sup> Shah, *Ruznāmeḥ-ye Khāterāt-e Nāsereddin Shah dar Safar-e Sevom-e Farangestān*, 2: 365.

<sup>30</sup> Etemād-os-Saltaneh, “Sāl-Nāmeḥ-ye Dowlāt-e Aliyyeh-ye Iran,” 1881, 16; 1882, 18; 1883, 21; 1884, 36; Sheykh-Rezaei and Azari, *Gozāresh-hā-ye Nazmiyeh az Mahallāt-e Tehran*, 1: 21.



**FIGURE 1.** Two bands of *muzikānchi* in Tehran c. 1910: (a; left) Band of the regiment of Austrian style, founded by Julius Gebauer, directed by Gholam-Reza Salār Mo'azaz; (b; right) Band of the Iranian Cossack Brigade.

### *La musique chez les Persans en 1885* and the Fabrication of a Legend

Although *La musique chez les Persans en 1885* has been used widely as the unique text on the history of Iranian music in the nineteenth century, as I demonstrate, it was a patriotic and self-promoting collaboration between Alfred Lemaire and Victor Advielle, two compatriots from Pas-de-Calais in France.<sup>31</sup> Lemaire provided a story, and Advielle added patriotic and heroic elaborations. In that short account, the history of thirty years of European military bands in Iran was reduced to three simple figures: Bousquet, his sous-chef Rouillon, who had started marching bands but abandoned them, and Marco, an Italian sailor who was accused of ruining their efforts. Bousquet and Rouillon were not criticized, most probably because they were Lemaire's French compatriots. Marco, however, was ridiculed as being excellent at making a macaroni that could compensate for his detestable music.<sup>32</sup> It is unclear whether this humiliation was articulated by Lemaire or Advielle; however, it was a negative stereotype of Italians. Today, we know that Marco Brambilla was more significant than Lemaire and Advielle made him out to be. Brambilla was instrumental in the formation of European marching bands in Iran. He was well known among Iranians. Twenty years after his death, a book was composed on the achievements of Nāsereddin Shah's era, and his name appeared along with that of Alfred Lemaire, as the two directors of military music (*muzikānchi-bāshi*) of the Iranian army.<sup>33</sup> Marco Brambilla was not the only European musician whose efforts were eradicated from the history of Iranian music by Alfred Lemaire, as narrated in *La musique chez les Persans*. The work also completely ignored a German musician who was active in Iran's music scene before Lemaire arrived in Tehran. This German musician was trained at a major conservatory and published the first piece from the repertoire of

<sup>31</sup> This section is a revised summary of my work on the subject; see Mohammadi, "Chef de Musique or Chef de Macaroni," 51–59.

<sup>32</sup> Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans en 1885*, 6.

<sup>33</sup> Etemād-os-Saltaneh, *Al-Ma'āser val-Āsār*, 26.

Iranian marching bands. Nonetheless, in his published account, Alfred Lemaire succeeded in eliminating him from the history of music in Iran.

Alfred Lemaire was born in Aire-sur-la-Lys, a town in the Artois region of northern France, but studied music in Paris. In 1881, he contacted the Association d'Appui Mutuel des Enfants du Pas-de-Calais Résidant à Paris, an association for Artesian people living in Paris, and requested to be registered as an associate member, although he had been living in Tehran for thirteen years.<sup>34</sup> That correspondence inspired a series of actions that was meant to flatter the Artesian race of the members of the association and ultimately resulted in the writing of a *La musique chez les Persans*. A year after Lemaire's correspondence, an unidentified member of the Association d'Appui Mutuel des Enfants du Pas-de-Calais Résidant à Paris submitted a manuscript to the Académie des Sciences, Lettres et Arts d'Arras, or Académie d'Arras, an academy founded in 1737 in Arras, the central town of the Artois region.<sup>35</sup> The entire manuscript was about the Artesian Alfred Lemaire and his extraordinary efforts in teaching music and organizing music bands in Iran. The submission was aimed at winning the Concours des beaux-arts, the association's award in fine arts, which had not been awarded to anyone for a long time.

Although the identity of the petitioner for the concours prize could not be revealed, there is enough reason to believe that it was Victor Advielle, another Artesian who was born in Arras. It was Victor Advielle who first wrote a short account on Alfred Lemaire in *L'Artesian*, the journal of the Association d'Appui Mutuel des Enfants du Pas-de-Calais Résidant à Paris, in which he also reported Lemaire's correspondence with the association. Finally, Victor Advielle produced a concise book on music among Iranians: *La musique chez les Persans en 1885*. This notably short and self-published account became the sole "firsthand" account on European music in Iran and Iranian music in the nineteenth century. As a token of gratitude, Lemaire persuaded the Iranian court to decorate Victor Advielle as an Officer of the Order of Science even before the book was printed. Advielle proudly mentioned his Iranian decoration on the cover of the book.

Alfred Lemaire was a master at maintaining a network of power. He was the founder and the first grand master of Lodge Bidāri Iranian, the Iranian branch of the major Masonic organization of the Grand Orient de France.<sup>36</sup> He was hired by the Iranian court in 1873, with a hefty annual salary of 1,300 tomans—which was the equivalent of 13,000 francs—plus an extra 300 tomans (3,000 francs) in travel expenses, and another 300 tomans to teach advanced courses to a group of ten music students.<sup>37</sup> His salary would be raised regularly, as it was reported to be a few thousand tomans by 1895.<sup>38</sup> Despite his generous salary from the court for his services as a musician, he was not completely focused on music education. He was engaged in all manners of business, including importing European goods to Iran. In 1888, his imported European goods, which could have been worth a million francs, caused a scandal in Tehran when the Russians discovered he had falsely declared them as ordered by the shah to avoid paying Russian taxes.<sup>39</sup> He also was engaged in exporting tobacco from Iran.<sup>40</sup> In 1890, he was granted a contract to build a road from the northwestern borders to Tehran. The contract included generous monopolies and exclusive rights for shipping in Lake Urmia, building resting areas, and rehabilitating state lands all along the road.<sup>41</sup> Alfred Lemaire had no experience in construction and had no intention to manage that ambitious project, but he probably acquired the contract by paying higher bribes to

<sup>34</sup> Advielle, "M. Lemaire (Alfred-Jean-Baptiste)," 161n1.

<sup>35</sup> Guérard, "Rapport sur le Concours des Beaux-Arts (Histoire)."

<sup>36</sup> Sabatiennes, "Pour Une Histoire de La Première Loge Maçonnique En Iran," 421–22.

<sup>37</sup> Hashemian, *Tahavolāt-e Farhangī-ye Iran dar Dowreh-ye Qājārieh va Madreseh-ye Dārolfonun*, 217–19. I am grateful to Nader Motallebi-Kashani for referring me to the reproduction of Lemaire's contract in this book.

<sup>38</sup> Etemād-os-Saltaneh, *Ruznāmeḥ-ye Khāterāt-e Etemād-os-Saltaneh*, 1184.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 624.

<sup>40</sup> Nategh, *Bāzargānān dar Dād va Setad bā Bānk-e Shāhi va Rezhi-ye Tanbāku*, 107, 117.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 43–46.

the Iranian officials so that he could sell it to subcontractors. The project was never carried out.

As historical data show, but contrary to the narrative account published by Advielle/Lemaire, Marco Brambilla was the main figure in the formation of European military bands in Iran. He was seen there from 1839 to 1866. It was only after Brambilla's death that the Iranian court hired Alfred Jean-Baptist Lemaire. It was Alfred Lemaire, however, who remained known in the history of music in Iran and became a hero. Lemaire's presence in Tehran was longer than Brambilla's; moreover, his reputation benefited from European media, such as the printing press, photography, and recorded music, all of which became part of the elite culture in Iran in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Alfred Lemaire and his fellow Artesian French community portrayed him as the hero of European music in Iran.

In the nineteenth century, racial determinism and other racial interpretations emerged among European scientists and intellectuals. Those racial discourses shaped the writing of a history of music for Iranians in Advielle's short book. The main goal of the book was to promote the Artesian race, not Iranian music. Notably, Joseph Arthur comte de Gobineau (1816–1882), whose theory of racial determinism had an enormous influence upon the subsequent development of race theories and practices in Western Europe, spent a few years in Iran and produced influential works on the Aryan race, a racial pride that motivated changing the international name of Persia to Iran, the land of Aryans.<sup>42</sup> When Victor Advielle provided a short account for his Artesian fellows, to make them proud of their race and to make himself proud of producing an elegant piece, he never imagined his work would shape the history of European music in Iran. Iranians discovered Advielle's piece outside of its race-promoting context, and to date there has been no reference to the writer's motivations or how they could have shaped his account.

### Rediscovering a German Pianist in Tehran: Julius Heise (c. 1825–1870)

Thanks to a single mention of a European pianist serving the Iranian court, we are able to confirm the name of the German musician that Lemaire selectively failed to mention in his account of Iranian music: Julius Heise. A Dutch traveler and collector, Tinco Martinus Lycklama à Nijeholt (1837–1900), who was in Iran in September 1866, mentioned meeting a European pianist named Heise. According to Lycklama à Nijeholt, Heise was the shah's pianist and beloved by the monarch.<sup>43</sup> This mention, which is the only known mention of Heise in a European travelogue, was instrumental in discovering the existence and the identity of a European musician who served the Iranian court and died in Tehran in 1870. Nāsereddin Shah mentioned a pianist in his diary in 1866 and 1870. However, since his diary manuscript registered a transliterated version of Heise's name that is illegible in Persian, the name could not be deciphered by the diary's editors: one assumed it was *Monazzah* and the other suggested *Hanireh*.<sup>44</sup> On Sunday, February 11, 1866, Nāsereddin Shah wrote the following about Heise (Fig. 2): "Then Monsieur Heise, the Russian [sic.] musician arrived. They had brought the piano that was his own, and he played. He played extremely well."<sup>45</sup> Four years later, on Thursday October 27, 1870, the shah was on the road to the Holy Shrine in Karbala when news was telegraphed from Tehran that "the gardener of the square's garden and Monsieur Heise pianozan [the pianist] both have died."<sup>46</sup>

Nāsereddin Shah mentioned Heise as a Russian musician, even though he was Germanic. However, the reference to a Russian reflected a common practice among Iranians who would

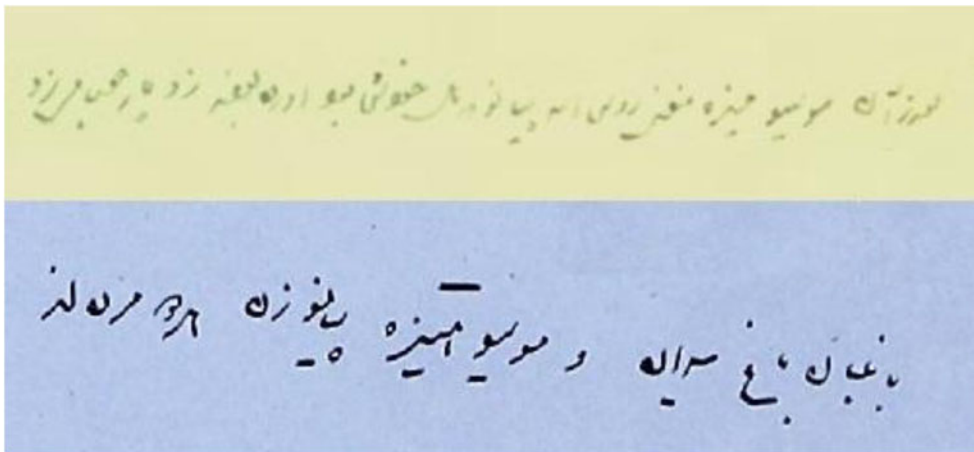
<sup>42</sup> Yarshater, "Communications," 62.

<sup>43</sup> Lycklama à Nijeholt, *Voyage*, 355.

<sup>44</sup> Shah, *Ruznāmeḥ-ye Khāterāt-e Nāsereddin Shah, Rabiōssāni 1282 tā Rabiōlavval 1283*, 90; Shah, *Shahriār-e Jādeh-hā*, 52.

<sup>45</sup> Shah, "Ruznāmeḥ-ye Khāterāt-e Nāsereddin Shah," 1866, 198.

<sup>46</sup> Shah, "Ruznāmeḥ-ye Khāterāt-e Nāsereddin Shah," 1870, 295.



**FIGURE 2.** Heise in Nāsereddin Shah's diary. From the National Archives and Library of Iran, courtesy of Majid Abde Amin.

associate any person from Europe with their typical European term. That is how *farangi* (Frankish) became the common Persian term for all Europeans.

A catalog of the musical works published in Austria in 1864 revealed a rare piece for the piano: "Heise, Jules, Marche triomphale. (Ueberpersische Melodien.) Wien, Wessely & Büsing. 45 kr."<sup>47</sup> Two years later, in 1868, *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur* provided a list of musical publications from 1860 to 1867, and included "Heise, Jul., Marche triomphale. A sa M. Nassir-Ed-Tin, Shah kadjar de Perse. Wien, Wessely 8 Ngr."<sup>48</sup> In the same year of 1868 and on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of the Conservatorium der Musik in Leipzig, a book was published on the history of the conservatorium titled *Das Conservatorium der Musik in Leipzig*.<sup>49</sup> It provided rare information, including the names of teachers and a list of students who had been admitted at the school each year. Among those students who were admitted on April 2, 1843, which was the first year of conservatorium's operation, was "Julius Heise aus Grossenhain."<sup>50</sup> The small town of Grossenhain is located around sixty miles to the east of Leipzig in Germany.

*Das Conservatorium der Musik in Leipzig* revealed Heise's German given name, Julius, which was turned into its French version, Jules, when the book was published with a French title. The book also revealed that the Conservatorium der Musik was founded by the famous German composer and pianist Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847), and that it was the first school of music in Germany. The famous German composer Robert Schumann (1810–1856), one of the major figures of German Romanticism, also was a piano teacher at the conservatorium.<sup>51</sup> We do not know Julius Heise's year of birth; however, it is likely that the Conservatorium der Musik would accept students at a young age, which means that Julius Heise would have had a robust music education under the supervision of Felix Mendelssohn. Music lessons were taught by notable musicians (such as Schumann).

The only known copy of *Marche Triomphale* is at the Austrian National Library. The Landesbibliothek Coburg library in Germany holds a rare music sheet titled *Les belles de Bucharest: contredanse composée pour piano*. Published in Vienna by H. F. Müller Veuve, it registers Jules Heise as the composer on the cover page. Landesbibliothek Coburg librarians

<sup>47</sup> Büsing, *Oesterreichischer Catalog*, 6: 14.

<sup>48</sup> Hofmeister, *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur*, 324.

<sup>49</sup> Kneschke, *Das Conservatorium der Musik in Leipzig*.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.





FIGURE 3. Cover pages of *Persian March* by Strauss, 1864–1865.

have concluded that the book had been published in 1848; however, a list of musical publications in 1852 in Germany and the neighboring countries included *Les belles de Bucharest*.<sup>52</sup> There is no other composer from the mid-nineteenth century identified as Julius Heise; therefore, it seems that *Les belles de Bucharest* was composed by the beloved pianist of Nāsereddin Shah.

It is difficult to measure the real influence of *Marche Triomphale* on the European music scene. As described, Tinco Martinus Lycklama à Nijeholt, another European adventurer, Orientalist, and musician, met Heise in Tehran in 1866 and apparently was inspired by him. Lycklama à Nijeholt composed a *marche triomphale* titled *Les Gardes de Persépolis* shortly after returning to Europe.<sup>53</sup> In addition, there seems to be a connection that is more than coincidental between Heise, or *Marche Triomphale* (1864), and *Persian March* (Op. 289), composed by the famous Austrian Johann Strauss II (1825–1899) in the same year of 1864 (Fig. 3). Since Heise was the musician living in Iran and Johann Strauss had no connection to the shah, who ruled a country far from Austria, it is highly likely that *Marche Triomphale* by Heise was an inspiration for Strauss's *Persian March*. Heise and Strauss were about the same age, and these two German-speaking musicians may have known each other at a time when the world of composers and musicians was not large. When Heise was in Vienna to publish his book in 1864, they may have met each other. It is notable that Strauss dedicated his *Persian March* to the Shah of Persia. Strauss had no direct connection to the shah and never traveled to Iran. Perhaps he wanted Heise to take a copy with him to Tehran, or maybe Strauss wished that Heise would inform the Shah of Persia about the piece dedicated to him. In the following years, after Johann Strauss composed his *Persian March*, he composed more exotic marches, such as *Egyptian March* (Op. 335, 1869), *Russian*

<sup>52</sup> Hofmeister, *Kurzes Verzeichnis Sämmtlicher Im Jahre 1852 in Deutschland*, 6: 70.

<sup>53</sup> Lycklama à Nijeholt, *Les Gardes de Persépolis*. I am grateful to Ershad Vaeztehrani for bringing this work to my attention.

*March-Fantasy* (Op. 353, 1872), *Russian March* (Op. 426, 1886), and *Spanish March* (Op. 433, 1888).

Heise must have spent some time in Iran before publishing his *Marche Triomphale* in 1864, perhaps having arrived in Tehran in 1863 or earlier. This suggests he lived in Iran for at least seven years, from 1863 to his death in 1870. Alfred Lemaire arrived in Tehran in early 1868, and the two musicians were the only European musicians working in Iran from 1868 until Heise's death in Tehran in 1870. Nevertheless, Lemaire completely ignored Heise in his report to Advielle, even though Heise had published the first piece of music for Iranian marching bands' repertoire. In all likelihood, Lemaire attempted to replace Heise's version of this piece with one he wrote. Alfred Lemaire published a few pieces for the piano in Paris in 1873, when Nāsereddin Shah traveled to Europe for the first time. Those pieces included *Kadjars Marsch (Marche Triomphale Persane)*, which appeared in *Le Monde Illustré* on Saturday, July 12.<sup>54</sup> Five years later when the shah was in Europe for the second time, Lemaire published *Kadjars Marsch* as a piano piece and added to the cover page that the march was "accepté Par sa Majesté Impériale Le Schah de Perse."<sup>55</sup>

## Conclusion

In oral traditions, historical information is usually passed on orally and transformed to mythology. Ethnography is the sole method of studying those traditions. In semi-oral traditions, as found in Iran, scattered information on music has been documented randomly and sporadically. Those documents are the only sources available; they remain unchallenged. It is essential to be critical of these sole pieces of information and not accept them at face value. It may seem obvious that source criticism and the search for new sources are essential to historical studies, but, at least in the case of Iranian music, historical research is based mainly on a few available written sources that are usually taken at face value. This article has unveiled a new source that seriously challenges the dominant narratives about the history of European music in Iran. It has provided a short history of European music in Iran and explained the role of a sole document shaping that history, *La musique chez les Persans en 1885*. The source's role in the erasure of two significant players in the history of European music in Iran, Marco Brambilla and Julius Heise, was briefly described. I have attempted to recover Iranian music history with the discovery of hitherto hidden sources and by introducing the German pianist Julius Heise, who was active in Tehran in the 1860s. This recent discovery is now supported by the finding of *Marche Triomphale*, the first published composition from the repertoire of European military bands in Tehran. Exploration of the history of European music in Iran and the musical analysis of Julius Heise's *Marche Triomphale* reveals that a self-proclaimed hero, Alfred Lemaire, eliminated the role his predecessor Julius Heise had in shaping European music in Iran through the selective account and influential narrative of *La musique chez les Persans en 1885*. Not only did Lemaire selectively remove Heise from this narrative, he also further concealed the influence of Heise by composing his own march titled *Kadjars March: Marche Triomphale Persane*<sup>56</sup> without acknowledging him in the historic record.

This article highlights the need for a critical study of Alfred Lemaire's influence on the history of music in Iran, considering both traditional music and the growth of European music in Iran. Lemaire lived in Iran for four decades as the most powerful person related to music. His legacy and publications, which form the body of written sources on Iranian music prior to World War I, have been generally accepted without critical inquiry. This article is only the first step in that inquiry, which should cover all aspects of musical life in Iran. Further studies may reveal Lemaire's influence on various aspects of music, such as the

<sup>54</sup> Lemaire, "Kadjars March."

<sup>55</sup> Lemaire, *Kadjars*.

<sup>56</sup> Lemaire, "Kadjars March (*Marche Triomphale Persane*)."

theory of music and the notion of music and the musician in society. When conducting this research, it will be important to consider the social circumstances of music in Lemaire's time. He represented European music, a musical culture that seemed far superior to the traditional music of Iran, and that supposedly superior music also was presented in military uniform. Understanding Lemaire's actions is essential to understanding the music of Iran. The discovery of a forgotten work by a musician who had been eliminated from history provides one example of Lemaire's influence on the history of music in Iran.

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