

11-2007

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Abstract

As missionaries across the New World quickly discovered, Indians exhibited a strong attraction to music and song, but it was the Jesuits who were particularly adept at exploiting those musical interests to reinforce their argument that the Indians could adopt Christian faith, understand its principles, and live by its commands. One of the first operas in the New World is *San Ignacio de Loyola* (1720?), written by Domenico Zipoli, a famed Roman organ master, composer and Jesuit missionary. This essay brings to light the little known fact that Jesuit opera exists and also discusses how Zipoli's work was a unique collaboration between European missionaries and the Indians in the composition and performance of the music, as well as in the writing and singing of the Spanish *libretto*, which also included a parallel text in the native Chiquitos language.

Keywords

U.S. Latino/a Studies

Disciplines

Latin American Literature | Latin American Studies | Spanish Linguistics | Spanish Literature | Theatre and Performance Studies

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Opera and Spanish Jesuit Evangelization in the New World



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For George P. Mansour

Recent investigation has found that the Jesuit missionaries in the New World took their musical teaching of the Indians very seriously and archival discoveries indicate that music and performance was an intricate part of the missionary experience. In the early 1970s in the Bishop's archives of the Diocese of Concepción de Chiquitos in Eastern Bolivia, musicologists discovered over 5,000 sheets of music dating from the Jesuit era which had been transferred there from former Jesuit reductions from around central South America.¹ Among the works uncovered was an opera known today as *San Ignacio de Loyola* (1717-1726) written by the great Italian organ master and composer, Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726).² The second known opera in the New World, *San Ignacio* tells the history of the Saints Ignacio Loyola and Francisco Javier, founders of the Company of Jesus.³

¹ "Reduction," or "reducción" is the term used to denote the Jesuit Indian missions in the former Paraguay province. According to Watkins, the reduction was a point of convergence where "different groups of nomadic Indians were brought together to live a sedentary lifestyle in which they could be both a protected from slavery and more easily evangelized" (15). The Jesuit reductions were famous for their resistance to Indian enslavement.

² Since the actual manuscript does not contain a title, one was given by Bernardo Illari, the musicologist who discovered it in Chiquitos and Moxos. Illari states that he consciously divided the work in several scenes in imitation of early eighteenth-century operatic style. For example each scene contains one or more short pieces (either a recitative, a short aria, or an accompanying recitative) and a long aria ("Metastasio" 348-9).

³ The first known opera in the New World was *La púrpura de la rosa*, written by Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco in 1701 and performed in Lima to commemorate Carlos II's first year as king of Spain and the New World, as well as his eighteenth birthday. Torrejón's is a *refundición* of Calderón de la Barca's 1660 opera

My goals in this study are the following: first, I wish to bring to light the existence and significance of this opera in the overall development of musical theater in colonial Latin America in the hopes of promoting new avenues of research into this understudied area. Second, I want to recontextualize the work within its original time of production and examine Zipoli's *San Ignacio de Loyola* as a wholly political and ideological work that exudes scholastic qualities as it crosses linguistic and cultural barriers becoming a transatlantic entity in the evangelization of the Indians. From this point of view the opera can be studied as an ideological tool for musical instruction and training whose purpose was to assist the Jesuits and the Spanish crown in extending their control over the native populations in the New World.

Several studies have indicated that in the former mission towns the Indian's musical preference included evangelical-style scores either written by the Jesuits or brought by the missionaries from Europe. This bolsters the argument that the Jesuit pieces were and are probably the only music the Indians have known. The role of music in Jesuit evangelization received heightened attention after World War II when a German photographer, Hans Ertl,⁴ on an aerial mission over the Bolivian highlands to test high-altitude photography equipment for Siemens, discovered that many of the settlements built by the Jesuit missionaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were still standing. Upon closer inspection, Ertl also was fascinated to learn that the Indians continued to gather in churches to sing and play music, even though no formal musical teaching had taken place there since the Spanish crown expelled the Jesuits from all Spanish lands in 1767. Ertl took a defining photo of Indian men in a church playing Western-style instruments. The photograph was widely published, giving Americans and Europeans one of the first looks at indigenous life in former Jesuit mission towns

of the same title. See my study, "Public Reception, Politics and Propaganda in Torrejón's *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa*, the First New World Opera" and the commentaries of Cardona, Cruickshank and Cunningham in their edition of *La púrpura de la rosa*.

⁴ Ertle (1908 Germany-2000, Chiquitana, Bolivia) was the official photographer of the German General Rommel, and cameraman on several propaganda films for Hitler's Third Reich including *Olympia*, the 1936 documentary of the Olympic Games that has been labeled a work of art in filmmaking and propaganda. His daughter, Monika, fought alongside Che Guevara in the Bolivian jungle. Ertle bought land in the Bolivian jungle and refused to return to Germany. See Mercado for a brief review of his life.

and, more important for this study, a record of Indians' attraction to recreating music. Up to the Jesuit expulsion, many textual and eye-witness accounts portrayed the Indians as highly motivated by music, and strong instrumentalists, but also claimed they were unable to read music. Instead, it was widely believed that they memorized the musical notes and played their instruments by rote. In Ertl's photo, however, the Indians appeared to read from the sheet music, and his immediate comments clarified what was really happening, "Hacían como que leían" (qtd. in *El País*). In other words, the Indians made use of their sheet music for show only, and despite having little or no musical instruction since 1767, they developed an oral tradition of musical teaching and training that, amazingly, exists up to the present day.

Until the Jesuit order was suppressed, the missionaries in colonial Latin America often wrote theatrical pieces extolling the virtues of Jesuit faith, and several historical dates were celebrated with ceremonies that included musical theatrical works that were extraordinarily elaborate. As the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians learned, the Indians exhibited a strong inclination for plays with music, especially in *comedias de capa y espada* and *comedias de enredo*. In fact, some theatrical pieces written in Spain made their way to the New World virtually as soon as they were published in the peninsula. And the Jesuits were particularly adept at including music "to bolster their argument that the Indians could adopt Christian faith, understand its principles, and live by its commands" (Mendoza de Arce 9). Overall, then, music, whether religious or profane, was often combined with religious dogma to become a part of the Jesuit's objectives for evangelization. Opera was a particularly good means of mass entertainment and, accordingly, a popular aesthetic form to Christianize Indigenous groups. Louise Stein states that opera and other significant wholly-sung dramatic works in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had clear political implications: "(...) these operas were composed and produced in circumstances that transcended those surrounding other court entertainments, such that the choice of genre was made for extraordinary, political reasons" (*Opera* 130). In other words, operas, such as *San Ignacio de Loyola*, are aesthetic and ideological creations that by nature are politically-motivated. Indeed, in *The Political Unconscious* Jameson declares that aesthetics and the creation of aesthetics is a political and ideological process (79). Similarly, it has been well-documented that colonial music and other aesthetic creations were used by the Spanish as an instrument of evangelization and control.

The opera is divided into two parts, the first half is called "Mensajero" and recounts San Ignacio's battle against evil as embodied in a demonic figure. The second part, "Despedida," features Javier's 1541 departure to the Indies to evangelize the natives. Zipoli's opera contains stage directions, thus indicating that it was likely performed at least once, probably in honor of one of the two Jesuit founders. Studies to date have discussed Zipoli's life and works from a historiographic perspective, but no known research has been carried out on this opera as a literary and musical phenomenon. This essay will do both. The peculiar circumstances surrounding Zipoli's appearance in the Colonial Latin America after a rather successful career in Europe, the loss of his works, and the thematic matter of his opera require explanation. *San Ignacio de Loyola* is rather brief and provides an ostensibly limited scope for study. Resituation of the work shows that Zipoli was greatly affected by the events in his life that lead him to compose an opera during what Bukofzer might denote the "late Baroque."

Domenico Zipoli was born in Prato, Italy (part of the Great Duchy of Tuscany, near Florence) on October 15, 1688.⁵ His musical formation and Catholic upbringing made him an excellent candidate to study cathedral music. For many years he fell under the protection of Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who also paid Zipoli's musical instruction in Florence (1707), and then Naples where he eventually became a student of the famed Alessandro Scarlatti (1709). Biographical details suggest that Zipoli and Scarlatti had some sort of falling out and Zipoli left for Bologna to study with Lavinio Felice Vannucci (1710). From Bologna, the composer traveled to Rome where the following year he published

⁵ For centuries Zipoli's works in the Americas were lost and the composer was nearly forgotten until Father Guillermo Furlong mentioned him in his seminal *Los jesuitas y la cultura rioplatense* (1933). This ignited a debate as to whether the Zipoli mentioned in several documents was the Roman composer, or another. In 1941 Ayestarán confirmed that Zipoli did, in fact, travel to the New World and study to be a Jesuit priest. Finally, in 1941 Lange, who offers the most comprehensive account of Zipoli's life in Europe and the New World, was able to secure Zipoli's birth certificate from Prato. The birth certificate matched known information about the mysterious South American Zipoli from an account published by a contemporary biographer, F.G.B Martini in the second volume of his *Storia della musica* (1757), as well as in embarkation documents held in Seville's *Archivo General de Indias*. A few eye-witness accounts then came to light such as those contained in Father Pedro Lozano's *Cartas Anuas* (1720-1730) and in José Manuel Peramás' *De la vida y costumbre de trece varones paraguayos* (1793) (Lange, "Redescubrimiento" 207-10).

his most famous piece for the organ, *Sonate d'intavolatura* (1711). The *Sonate* was dedicated to his protector, Maria Teresa Strozzi, the Princess of Forano, with whom some claim Zipoli was in love; others suggest the unrequited interest induced the young composer into joining the Society of Jesus on July 1, 1716.⁶ In that year Zipoli traveled to Seville to await passage with other Jesuits to the Paraguay reductions where the missionaries already were well-known in Europe for teaching, protecting and, most importantly, evangelizing the Indians. While in Seville it is believed that Zipoli routinely practiced the organ in the Cathedral and, according to Cardiel, he was even offered the coveted post of *maestro de capilla* but turned it down to enter the Jesuit order (qtd. in Lange, "Redesubrimiento" 217). Padre Pedro Lozano, a contemporary of Zipoli, states that Zipoli's performances in Seville were common and well-attended:

Dio gran solemnidad a las fiestas religiosas mediante la música, con no pequeño placer así de los españoles como de los neófitos, y todo ello sin posponer los estudios, en los que hizo no pocos progresos, así en el estudio de la filosofía como en el de la teología. Enorme era la multitud de gentes que iba a nuestra iglesia con el deseo de oírle tocar tan hermosamente. (qtd. in Ayestarán, *Gran Compositor* 26-27)

Zipoli did not officially occupy any musical post in Seville and no musical works have been found there (Watkins 11). Instead, Zipoli sailed with other Jesuit missionaries from Cádiz on April 5, 1717 on the three-month journey to the Río de la Plata basin.⁷ After resting two weeks, Zipoli made his way across the 400 miles of pampas (25 days) by ox cart to Córdoba where he studied for the priesthood at the Colegio Máximo and the University of Córdoba. Having completed all his studies for the priesthood, Zipoli died (probably of tuberculosis) in

⁶ Lange dismisses the idea that Zipoli entered the Society of Jesus to escape feelings for Strozzi stating that it runs contrary to Zipoli's known character (213-14). Similarly, Cerocchi points to the fact that Zipoli's two brothers, Giovanni Battista and Antonio Francesco, became priests and his family was known for its religiousness: "Un'ulteriore ipotesi, altrettanto persuasiva e realistica, riguarda la profonda devozione religiosa della famiglia del compositore" (33).

⁷ The *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville holds Zipoli's *documento de embarque* which reads "Domingo Tipoli, mediano, dos lunares en el carrillo izquierdo," an error (i.e., Tipoli vs. Zipoli) which helped fuel the mistaken identity debate mentioned in note 5 (qtd. in Lange, "Redescubrimiento" 217).

1726 at the age of 38 awaiting a bishop to ordain him. The whereabouts of his grave are unknown.

Zipoli was one of many great musicians whose work was performed in the reductions of the Paraguay system.⁸ Indeed, Peramás refers to Zipoli's role in the history of musical instruction given to the Indians throughout the missions:

...no había otra música que la de los criados de los jesuitas. Habían ido a la provincia, desde Europa, algunos sacerdotes excelentes en aquel arte, quienes enseñaron a los indios en los pueblos a cantar, y a los negros de los Colegios a tocar instrumentos sonoros; pero nadie en esto fue más ilustre, ni llevó a cabo más cosas, que Domingo Zipoli, otro músico romano, a cuya armonía perfecta nada más dulce y más trabajado podía anteponerse. Mas mientras componía diferentes composiciones para el templo, las que eran solicitadas por correo desde lugares remotísimos, hasta por el virrey de Lima, ciudad de América meridional mientras juntamente se dedicaba a los estudios más serios de las letras, murió, con gran sentimiento de todos: y en verdad, que quien haya oído una sola vez algo de la música de Zipoli, apenas habrá alguna otra cosa que le agrada, algo así como el que come miel, le resulta molesto y no le agrada comer algo otro manjar. (qtd. in Furlong, "Presencia" 327)

Besides being well-known in other major Spanish imperial cities such as Lima, Zipoli's fame was such that Stevenson reports that several Jesuit documents from 1728 and 1732 attest to his popularity in Yapeyú and other Guaraní missions, even those where Europeans had been excluded (31). And his reputation transcended time as well since it is believed that Zipoli's work was performed in village festivals in Bolivia until the early twentieth century, probably passed orally from generation to generation (Einhorn 4).

Unlike the European approach to evangelization in other areas of the New World, the Jesuit strategy was unique in that the missionaries Christianized the Indians through creative means such as music and other art forms. The Indians were allowed to keep their language, tupí-Guaraní, and all official tasks including

⁸ The Jesuits established multiple missions among the Indians and by 1610 they transformed the Paraguay landscape into a series of reductions leading out from Córdoba. By 1732 there were at least thirty large missions among the Guaraní with approximately 140,000 people (Morner 306). UNESCO declared them a World Heritage site in 1990.

educational instruction and musical training were carried out in Spanish (Morner 309). Claro reports that the Indians had an envious aptitude for music, dance and the arts which was especially useful to the Jesuits who came to believe that music and song were effective means of evangelization:

La afición por la música, la danza y la construcción de instrumentos musicales, aparejada con la extraordinaria facilidad que demostraron los naturales en el aprendizaje de la música, facilitó en gran medida la labor de los misioneros. (...) Los jesuitas enseñaron música a los indios y pronto éstos ocuparon sus lugares en el coro, como solistas, instrumentistas, copistas, constructores de instrumentos y hasta de maestros de capilla. (11-12)⁹

At the same time, popular stories circulated in Europe describing great Indian musicians with extraordinary talent from among the Guaraní, Tupí, Chiquitos and Moxos tribes who were said to be as good as, or better than, their European counterparts (Watkins 37). These reports bolstered the evangelization efforts and popularized and legitimized the efforts of the Jesuits to Europeans. Cardiel, for example, reported that “en todos los pueblos hay 30 o 40 músicos... estiman mucho este oficio... Enseñados desde niños salen muy diestros... Yo he atravesado toda España, y en pocas Catedrales he oído músicas mejores que estas en su conjunto” (qtd. in Furlong, *Jesuitas* 78). According to Zambrano, Jesuit missionaries provided detailed descriptions of Indian musicians who had a significant propensity for memorizing and playing music, but little or no ability to read music:

Los excepcionales dones musicales de esos pueblos eran frecuentemente mentados en la numerosa correspondencia epistolar que jesuitas y novicios remitían a Europa. Se encomiaba su sentido rítmico, su pronunciación exacta del latín y paciencia en el aprendizaje como también su memorial musical y la serenidad, sublimidad y devoción de sus interpretaciones. Se generalizó lamentablemente también la idea de su ineptitud para la composición sosteniéndose que sólo poseían el don para la imitación. (23-24)

As mentioned previously, the Jesuits were not interested in teaching Indians to read music since the missionaries simply believed they could not learn. It

⁹ See Watkins for an excellent review of the musical history in Córdoba and in the reductions (23-33).

seems ironic and perhaps a little xenophobic that the Jesuits supposed that indigenous tribesmen did not possess the necessary intelligence to read sheet music. On the contrary, as Claro points out, the Jesuits had no difficulty in permitting Indians to occupy important positions requiring a degree of study such as soloists in the choir, instrumentalists and instrument builders (12).¹⁰ What is perhaps most interesting is that the Jesuits also allowed several Indians to occupy the post of chapel master in several churches within the reductions, and others worked as copyists of musical works (Claro 12).

San Ignacio de Loyola exemplified mission activity, from performance and staging to collaboration among different Jesuit authors, and is a cross-cultural tool describing the working relationship between the Jesuits and the Indians. Illari has labeled the opera “mission style,” so named because it was performed by Indian musicians for an Indian public (“Introduction” 5). Watkins writes that Zipoli may have composed the opera with Guaraní Indians in mind and he understood well their differing performance levels (73). The opera was meant to be sung exclusively by Indian actors while other tribesmen played instruments, thus making the work fully performed by Indians for an Indian audience. This means that besides being the second known opera in the New World, it is probably the first known opera performed completely by Indians. Although the original *libretto* was in Spanish, the text includes a corresponding text written in the Chiquitos language which explained the opera to the indigenous audience: “Dado que el libreto cantado está en castellano, y que los chiquitanos no entendían la lengua, el texto paralelo debe haberles permitido comprender lo que se decía en escena: de manera extraordinaria, pues, la ópera se desarrollaba paralelamente a su propia traducción al chiquitano” (Illari, *Metastasio* 349). At first glance it seems that Spanish —the language imposed by the Spanish empire for political and religious purposes— could not be entrusted to the Indians because to possess knowledge of it gave power. Ironically, it appears that the opposite is what really happened. Missionaries likely understood that the Spanish language was only good enough when it came to musical instruction in the form of memorization. The inclusion of a parallel text in Chiquitos suggests that the indigenous language is really the privileged one, even if the Indians themselves did not realize it. Moreover, the Chiquitos parallel text tells us that the Indigenous language

¹⁰ Among the instruments known to have been played by the Indians are the bass, double bass, bugle, guitar, harp, harpsichord, lyre, organ, spinet, trumpet, violin, zither, and several types of mandolins.

was, at least for some, a written language —perhaps taught to the Indians by the Jesuits in the first place. In many ways this subverts what we have come to know about Spanish as a means of upholding the imperial agenda. It also supports what we know about Jesuit evangelization strategy. First, the missionaries were protectors of the Indians' culture and allowed them to keep their native language, even learning it themselves. Second, the Jesuits introduced Spanish as a second language, albeit one limited to musical instruction and learning.

While Zipoli was the chief creator of the musical and lyrical score of the opera, others played significant roles in its development as well. Important to Zipoli's story, for example, is Martin Schmidt (1694-1772), a Swiss Jesuit musician and architect who arrived around 1734 to work among the Chiquitos (See Hoffman). Zipoli died just before Schmidt's arrival and the two never met. However, Schmidt's role in musical and theatrical development in the missions was significant. He learned how to make musical instruments and even taught the Indians to do so. As a result, besides making one of the only organs, he learned "...la manera de construir cuantos aparatos [que] le podían ser útiles en las Misiones.... Llegó a fabricar gran cantidad de órganos, violines grandes y pequeños, flautas, liras, trompetas..." (Furlong, *Jesuitas* 82). Besides designing and building instruments —a task for which he was not formally trained but learned by experience— Schmidt copied a great number of musical manuscripts and even trained Indians to do the same. For example, Szarán reports that with the help of Fathers Mesner and Knobler, Schmidt's copying work was so extensive that manuscripts were distributed to as many as ten countries, and their Indian copyists were responsible for including Zipoli's name on several musical works:

I tre lavorarono nel campo della musica, e anche senza essere musicisti 'di prima linea' como Zipoli, compresero il valore della sua opera e occuparono il loro tempo, copiandole, per distribuirle in più di 10 paesi e farle interpretare nelle cappelle musicali. E' grazie a loro e agli anonimi copisti indigeni (...) se il nome di Zipoli appare nei manoscritti e la sua musica, oggi, dopo due secoli, viene finalmente ascoltata. (165-66)

Furthermore, it was probably Schmidt who brought the opera and other music by Zipoli from Córdoba to the Chiquitos' missions where they were performed in such locations as Santa Ana, San Rafael and San Ignacio de Moxos (Kennedy, "Colonial" 2; Illari, "St. Ignatius" 5). It is believed that beyond copying Zipoli's opera, Schmidt likely had a hand in its composition by compiling the pages to be

copied, and by correctly—or incorrectly—copying the original text and music.¹¹ Schmidt might also be responsible for including the Chiquitos parallel text since it is believed that Zipoli never left Córdoba to visit the reductions. If not Schmidt, then some anonymous Indian composer could have included the text which introduces a series of stimulating questions as to the Indian's musical and linguistic talents.

Turning our attention to the opera itself, on a basic level, *San Ignacio de Loyola* is a didactic work meant to teach about the founders of the Company of Jesus, Saints Ignacio and Francis, and to demonstrate that their militant-style of evangelization was an effective means for saving souls in the New World. It is clear, then, that this opera has unmistakable political and ideological implications as it extolled Christian faith and Jesuit principles. Stein traces the development of opera in the Colonial Latin America and reminds us of the general inherent political and propagandistic quality of music, particularly when included in theatrical works like opera:

The arts had two primary functions: when financed by the court they could proclaim the power and grandeur of the monarchy, while for the educated commoner and the nobility they were a forum for social criticism and a mirror of society. The visual arts were especially important for their representational potential and their immediate impact. Music, however, did develop its own propagandistic and nationalistic function, towards political or religious ends, especially certain forms of vernacular sacred and theatrical music. ("Iberian" 327)

Absent the clear hegemony of the Spanish crown, in the mission towns it was the Company of Jesus that set up systems of government and imposed Catholic faith upon the Indigenous. Based on what we know about Zipoli's background we can say that the composer drew on his European experiences when he composed an opera for performance in the reductions. One aspect that makes Zipoli's opera similar to either European operas or others in the Colonial Latin America is his use of certain musical components specific to seventeenth-century

¹¹ Illari states that the only indication of authorship of *San Ignacio* is a small piece of paper at the end of the libretto which reads, "P. Martín," which he believes refers to the copyist, Martin Schmid (*E-mail to the author*).

Florentine opera: recitative, arias, choruses (in duos or trios), and dances.¹² Stein explains that in the Spanish system of opera, starting first with Calderón de la Barca, then continuing in the New World with Torrejón, recitative and arias asserted persuasive qualities and were used exclusively by the gods:

...the mortals (unenlightened, powerless, and dependent on the will of the gods) cannot understand the recitative speech-song of the gods, so that the *tonada* (a song-type related to popular song and characterized by a memorable, repetitive melody) and not recitative was usually employed when the gods sang to the mortals. The use of the *tonada* for divine “persuasion” became conventional in Spanish court plays [...]. (*Songs* 138)

Around the time Zipoli wrote *San Ignacio*, recitative and arias were just starting to be used to any real degree in Spanish opera. In fact, like Torrejón before him, only a highly-trained composer such as Zipoli would even know how to employ them. Zipoli, however, was from Italy, and his opera diverges from the Calderonian-Spanish system.¹³ In *San Ignacio* recitative and arias may dominate the entire opera but they are sung equally by the mortals and the god-like angels. What this indicates is that the opera can be viewed as a full-on piece of propaganda since recitative and arias were conventionally used for persuasive purposes, and it was the mortal characters, Ignacio and Javier, who most sang them. Structurally, Zipoli’s opera is different from other operas in its brevity, and in its difficulty. Kennedy notes, for example, that Zipoli’s style often emphasized singing parts that no untrained soloist could ever sing, though it was believed that some Indians were trained in this level of difficulty (“Candide” 321-22). Similarly, Illari states that the Jesuits’ decision to carefully instruct the Guaranís, Moxos or Chiquitos to perform high quality and technically difficult pieces points to the Indians’ incredible musical abilities (“Vespers”).

¹² Recitative is a combination of speech and music and the arias were persuasive forms (Stein, “Plática” 42-43). See also Cotarelo y Mori’s works for more on recitative in the Spanish and early Latin American music. In the New World, Torrejón was the first to employ recitative and the musicologist Roque Ceruti perfected it.

¹³ It is widely believed that Juan Hidalgo —not Calderón— wrote the music for playwright’s 1660 operas *La púrpura de la rosa* and *Celos aun del aire matan*. Both were performed several times in the mid to late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century in Spain and Latin America.

It was therefore implicit that a production and performance of a musical piece like *San Ignacio* would carry with it a political and religious ideology akin to the Catholic Church's as embodied in their Jesuit brethren. Indeed, in the opera, emphasis is placed on the message —not the music. The first part of the opera, "Mensajero" centers on the appearance of two angels who call Ignacio to duty in the fight against the devil. Ignacio confronts a demon, fights off temptation, and heralds his own virtuous and heroic strength as leader of the Jesuits. The second part, "Despedida," features Ignacio sending Javier to the New World to carry the Jesuit message of Christianity. Hence, the opera retells the life of Ignacio from the time he dedicates himself to the spiritual conversion of non-Christians. His life story has bearing on the thematic and stylistic matter of the work, too. Ignacio was born in northern Spain in 1491, became a soldier in 1517 and was wounded in the Battle of Pamplona in 1521. During his recuperation, he began extensive reading of religious texts about the life of Jesus and the saints which hastened his spiritual conversion. He was especially inspired by the heroic good works of Saint Francis of Assisi and began to believe that he, too, could work toward the salvation of humankind and the conversion of non-Christians. Some time later he wrote his *Ejercicios espirituales*, a mystical manual containing a series of meditations, prayers and mental exercises designed to be carried out over a period of 30 days. Mystic literature and its accompanying spiritual exercises were meant to perfect humankind's spirit and unify the soul with God in a sort of ecstasy that ultimately leads to piety normally attained only through death. Since God alone grants his grace to certain individuals, humankind's efforts mean little. But, if the individual is successful, the soul experiences God personally and this divine union is reached through supernatural means. The literary vocabulary employed by the mystics often described the individual's attempt to seek out and achieve this divine union in amorous terms such as "pasión ardiente," "dulce amor," "dulce esposo" and "fuego de dios ardiente," as seen in the opening arias of the opera:

Ignacio: ¡Ay! ¡ay! qué tormento,
vivir lejos de Vos
mi Señor, mi Bien, mi Dios.
¡Oh, vida, cuánto duras!
¡Oh, muerte, lo que tardas!
¡Oh dulce Amor! ¿Qué aguardas

en romper ataduras? (33)¹⁴

Zipoli, like the mystical poets before him, abandons ordinary language and makes use of poetic expressions in the form of exclamations, symbols, metaphors, paradoxes and allegory in order to describe divine love in terms of human love. It also was common among mystic writers to focus their attention on the soul's salvation through penitence. During the Counter Reformation, penitence was believed to be a sort of purgatory on earth, a doctrine that found its greatest supporters among the Jesuits. At the beginning of the opera, Ignacio is found alone in penitence, lamenting his separation from the Lord and yearning for death to break the chains that bind his body and soul so that the latter may unify with Him in the afterlife:

Ignacio: Desátame, y separa
 del cuerpo con la muerte,
 que sin fin deseo verte,
 oh mi Dios, cara a cara

Mensajero 2: Un mensajero soy, a ti enviado,
 del campo de la paz, con el recado
 de que dejes ya tu retiramiento. (33)

During the Counter Reformation, mystical experiences were considered penitent acts described in terms of self-isolation meant to lead to the contemplation of life and death. In the opera, the angel reminds Ignacio that although he is forever connected to God through his burning passion to meet Him, a great battle is pending for which he must abandon his penitence, "dejes ya tu retiramiento." From the start Zipoli's overall goal is not only to portray the life of San Ignacio from his conversion on, but also to imitate the mystical style that so interested the saint and set about his conversion in the first place.

Mysticism continues to form an important element of the overall opera, but it is slowly undermined by a surprising turn toward more aggressive language. For example, it is compelling that Ignacio is described in blatantly bellicose

¹⁴ All citations are from Illari's edition found in the sound recording booklet of *The Jesuit Operas: Operas by Kapsberger and Zipoli*. Page numbers appear in parenthesis. Inaccuracies or typos from the booklet have been corrected here.

terms, thus destabilizing a bit the peaceful, mystical theme of the work. Indeed, Ignacio —and later Javier— are depicted as warring holy men, quite contrary to their habitual characterization. They are accompanied by angels who can be described as foot soldiers in an epic battle to uphold a Christian militancy that brings to mind the medieval Crusades and the most violent aspect of Spanish Conquest in the New World. From the outset Ignacio's duty is plain; an angel summons him to fight the devil by spreading the word of God. While the overall tone of the opera quickly turns from spiritual to aggressive, certain mystical elements dot the text recalling Ignacio's real-life story and reminding the audience of the mystical nature of the saint. At one point, the angel metaphorically describes Ignacio as God's fire, "fuego de Dios ardiente," who should return from his penitence to do battle with the devil:

Mensajero 2: Ignacio, pues eres fuego
 y fuego de Dios ardiente,
 ¡sal luego, ve diligente!
 No es tiempo de descansar
 Entre los astros y estrellas...

...cuando fulmina centellas
 el capitán del Averno
 y trata ya de formar su campo
 con su hueste del Infierno,
 y todo lo enciende. (34)

Couched in terms of impending destruction, the angel depicts the devil as an infernal captain who commands an army from hell, and who has set fire to the world with his deceptions. The aggressive nature of the angel's calling is not unlike the pattern of speech used by San Ignacio as he volunteers to confront the devil: "¡Alto pues! vamos apriesa, / a oponerse con valor, / que en batallas del Señor / tenemos su Fortaleza" (35). With terms such as "valor" and "batalla," it is obvious that the confrontational rhetoric sounds more like the soldierly Ignacio well before his conversion and sainthood. In the text Ignacio declares he will confront the demon accompanied by his "escuadrón volante," an army of warring angels who will fight alongside the saint (35). In general, a series of heraldic devices such as flags and a cross (recalling once again the Spanish Conquest) deliberately are used to emphasize that the fight between good and evil is like a

battle between two armies:

Mensajero 1: Las banderas por delante
de Jesús quiero llevar,
y cuando su cruz levante,
al soberbio he de humillar.

Mensajero 2: Por mi Jesús yo, constante,
iré también a pelear,
no dudando que triunfante
la victoria he de alcanzar.

Ignacio: Vamos presto y sin tardar,
puesto que el arma ha tocado. (35)

It is clear that it is Ignacio who must —and can— fight the devil’s temptations as the stage is set for the battle between good and evil. Verse after verse it is apparent that to describe the struggle as an epic war is to show the urgency of converting souls. Bellicose terms such as “constante,” “pelear,” “triunfante,” and “victoria” are emblematic of the warring holy man who is sent to the battle field in the name of God. This militancy is seen throughout the rest of the opera.

When the demon makes his first appearance, persuasion and temptation are his chief weapons. This rhetorical style serves to situate the battle in terms of absolute consequences where the winner claims the souls of non-converts and non-believers:

Demonio: Es el mayor monarca de la tierra,
en paz siempre feliz, y más en guerra.
El Orbe todo teme su potencia,
y hasta el alma le rinde obediencia.

Por él militan tierra, mar y viento,
mas por ahora es su intento, ...tiento
una cosa lograr muy estimada,
y con todos sus haberes buscada. (36)

According to the demon, his master is the most powerful monarch on earth who is feared by all; he commands obedience and devotion. The audience thus will understand that their salvation is in the balance since they first learn of the momentousness of the confrontation from their beloved San Ignacio, then they hear nearly the same message from the demon. It is through the demon's words that we learn that temptation is at the heart of all true evil: "...por ahora es su intento, ...tiento / una cosa lograr muy estimada..." (36). Similar to Ignacio's song, the demon declares that the devil is also a leader of soldiers, but that his is the army of darkness:

Demonio: Que sigáis su bandera es,
 y os convida con el goce feliz
 de vuestra vida, coronada de flores
 y laureles, arrayán, mirto y claveles. (36)

Spanish mystics believed that to be successful in their desire to unify the soul with God, they must be confronted with temptation in its many forms, often during penitence. In the opera, temptation is most apparent when the demon declares that if humankind follows his flag it will enjoy a blissful life crowned in flowers. For the audience of Indians, the rhetoric must have been decisive to their interest or ability to follow what could be considered a tedious story set to song. We might remember that the Indians had a high-degree of respect and affinity for music, and with the dramatic action provided by opera, they may have lingered on every word. The Indians would have known who San Ignacio was, and the opera was no doubt an alternative form of Jesuit teaching. The subject matter imbues a particular political or religious ideology which Zipoli emphasizes by depicting the unyielding-militant nature of the Jesuits. Their struggle is clearly at the heart of the message; the last lines of Act 1 signify the defeat of the demon at Ignacio's hands, but also reminds the audience that he is never truly gone forever: "Por más golpes que reciba, / siempre os haré guerra viva" (36).

Whereas the aggressive rhetoric is especially keen during Act 1, it is more suppressed in Act 2. Instead, in the second part Ignacio will emphasize the blindness of humanity when confronted with the temptations of the devil: "¡Oh ciega gentilidad condenada a las tinieblas!" (37). There is still a small degree of aggressiveness and urgency to Ignacio's song and emphasis is still centered on the message. But the general tone changes to one of compassion. Instead of a physical battle between Ignacio and the demon, the angel reminds the saint that

the next battle is for man's salvation: "De tu fuego una centella el Oriente ilustrará" (37). The orient refers to the New World, perhaps the reductions, the Jesuit's strongest outposts for their Christian work. Hence, representations of the Jesuits in the Colonial Latin America are central to Act 2. This is not surprising since one aim of the work is to teach Jesuit history to the audience including when Ignacio requests that his friend and follower, Javier, journey to the Indies and carry on the missionary work of saving humankind: "Al Oriente, hijo, el cielo te desatina, / y que vayas es voluntad divina" (38). Ignacio informs Javier that he is being called by God and the heavens, but that his task, like all fights against the devil, is a soldierly struggle:

Ignacio: De Jesús propagarás la milicia
contra la ceguedad y la malicia
sacando de las fauces del Infierno
tanto gentil que vive sin gobierno,
para que debajo del estandarte
de Cristo, milite tan grande parte. (38)

Returning once again to the crusading devices used in Act 1, Ignacio's fiery speech depicts Javier's mission as a military clash of good vs. evil. Here the Jesuit lesson is especially ideological, and stresses what they believed was their calling in the New World. Specifically, Zipoli sees the Indians as blind followers who live without a Christian government to fight for their salvation. For Zipoli, the Jesuit work in the missions was an entrenched struggle against paganism.

These images of the New World closely follow Zipoli's own journey to the Paraguay region from Spain. We might recall that Zipoli sailed from Cádiz with 53 other Jesuit missionaries on a harrowing journey across the Atlantic.¹⁵ After three months, the missionaries reached the Río de la Plata basin where they were greeted with a violent storm that killed a few workers on the ship. The exhaustiveness of the trip required Zipoli to rest for over two weeks before continuing his travels inland to Córdoba. While travel by sail had improved greatly since Columbus' expeditions, crossing the Atlantic during hurricane

¹⁵ Among the most significant Jesuits to sail with Zipoli were Sigismund Aperger, known as the Hippocrates of South America, Bernard Nussdorfer and Manuel Querini, who fought passionately for Indian rights, and Gianhattista Primoli and Giovanni Andrea Bianchi, both renowned architects.

season was especially dangerous. The hazards of Zipoli's crossing are portrayed in the opera when Javier talks about his passage and arrival in the New World:

Javier: pasa ligera
 oh navecilla,
 el mar profundo,
 que mi alma espera
 ya ver la orilla
 del otro mundo. (39)

The depiction of the diminutive boat within the deep sea echoes what Zipoli and Saint Javier must have felt as they crossed the ocean for unknown surroundings. The passage routinely took three months, so it is not surprising that Javier cannot wait to "ver la orilla / del otro mundo" (39). For Ignacio, the journey is described as one step toward victory and another in the glorious future of the Company of Jesus:

Ignacio: Ve sin recelo
 de la victoria,
 que Jesús te envía;
 y con tu celo
 dará gran gloria
 a su Compañía. (39)

We might recall that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Spain, fame was believed to be an achievement on earth, but glory was everlasting. Here, Ignacio states that their benevolent work will ultimately bring glory to their order. The opera concludes with a final message in third-person which sums up the reason for performing the opera on this particular day:

Relator: Estas las banderas son
 y su fin tan aplaudido
 de Loyola esclarecido
 con que en tan buena sazón
 en este día festejamos,
 Oh mi Padre San Ignacio
 y será nuevo favor,
 el perdón que suplicamos. (40)

Here, the narrator tells us that the Zipoli's opera was performed on special occasions, celebrations or religious holidays such as the Feast of Saint Ignatius, marked yearly by remembrance of his death on July 31, 1556.¹⁶ What is unexpected is that although the written opera was lost for centuries, the Indian tradition of musical memorization kept the work alive for posterity. Illari reports that the opera continued to be performed, probably by rote, up to recent years: "In 1991 the aged native musician José Sa'tiba has corroborated this in a conversation in San Ignacio de Moxos remembering the work perfectly as part of the annual celebration for the feast of the patron saint of the town" ("Introduction" 5). It was customary for theatrical works such as *comedias* or *autos sacramentales* to be performed on Corpus Christi, Epiphany, Christmas, etc. in major colonial cities such as Lima. *San Ignacio de Loyola* was no different. Despite its performance difficulty, it is amazing that the opera was passed from generation to generation since it was probably the only opera they ever learned. In this respect, the opera holds a special place among the Indians.

It is somewhat surprising that musical works such as Zipoli's have survived to the present day. When the Jesuits were expelled from Spanish territories in 1767, they destroyed nearly their entire documentary existence. Some manuscripts, however, have made it to the present. The case of the survival of Zipoli's opera, for example, is an interesting tale of coincidences and luck. Starting in 1972 Swiss architect Hans Roth worked in the Diocese of Concepción de Chiquitos in Eastern Bolivia renovating the San Rafael church. For 14 years he assembled a catalog of thought-to-be-lost musical works and instruments from the former Jesuit reductions in Paraguay. The manuscripts are not in very good condition: some are badly burned and worm-eaten and parts of books and loose sheets comprise most of the collection, much of which is still awaiting analysis or transcription (Einhorn 5). For several years Roth tried to convince musicologists to visit the church and examine his discoveries, but due to a series of mishaps virtually no one came. Finally, Roth traveled to Montevideo to meet Francisco Curt Lange, a well-known musicologist and specialist on Zipoli, to show him microfilm of the collection. Lange immediately realized the significance of the compilation and told Roth that it was an incredible find that featured several of Zipoli's works: "E' un tesoro enorme... sono perlomeno sei brani di Zipoli sconosciuti" (qtd. in Szarán 172). Einhorn suggests, for example, that as

¹⁶ It also may have been performed on St. Xavier's feast day, December 3rd.

many as 50 anonymous masses and several keyboard pieces may have been written by Zipoli (5). From that point on, several musicologists have traveled to Chiquitos to review the collection. And Roth affirms what we have come to know about musical training of the Indians, namely that many printed musical booklets are still being used by the Indian choirs, but that they are for show only. Instead, these incredible singers and players did not rely on printed sheet music but rather continued to learn and play by rote:

Ma solo dopo mi resiconto che gli indigeni utilizzavano le partiture per le messe solenni. Loro non leggevano la musica né comprendevano a cosa servivano quelle pagine. Ma avevano visto che venivano messe sul leggio al momento di interpretare la musica e così continuavano a farlo. Loro interpretavano il flauto o il violino mentre un ragazzo continuava a sfogliare lo spartito da una pagina all'altra, senza che loro potessero leggerla. Ciò significa che faceva tutto parte del loro rituale. (qtd. in Szarán 169)

While it is unfortunate that the Jesuit missionaries never felt the need to teach the Indians to read music, it has not impeded the Indian's interest in fostering a musical tradition. However, if the Jesuit missionaries had taught the Indians to read music, perhaps this would have been the tradition they passed down. Interestingly, while Roth was in Montevideo visiting Lange, he noticed that the latter had an original copy of the famous photograph by Hans Ertl that featured Indian men reading from sheet music and playing Western-style instruments in an unknown church. As Roth explained, Ertl's photograph was one of 5 or 6 known to exist in the world. The negative was lost a long time ago. When Roth asked Lange if he recognized the church in the photo, he admitted he did not: "No. Non lo so. Non so di quale chiesa si tratti" (qtd. in Szarán 172). But Roth immediately identified the unnamed church as San Rafael, the very same place where he had been laboring since 1972 and where some of the 5,000 manuscripts had been found.

Roth's discoveries as well as those by Furlong and others have revived interest in Domenico Zipoli, his life and works. To learn that Zipoli, with the help of Schmid and unknown Indian musicians, composed the second known opera in the colonial Latin America is a find awaiting further investigation. Operas like *San Ignacio de Loyola* are cultural and ideological forces. Zipoli's work in particular signifies the artistic and philosophical change from the Baroque to the Enlightenment and exemplifies the activity in Jesuit missions

where music and performance become cross-cultural ideological tools in the process of evangelization. At the same time, the opera is a record of collaborative music and drama among the Indians, representing a cultural space not readily visible without deeper investigation into mission activities. Zipoli's work, then, is symbolic of the transatlantic scope of music and religious politics emanating from the Jesuit mission towns and documents their ideological strategy to pacifically evangelize the Indians.

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