San Ignacio: A Bolivian Opera

by

Jodi Penner

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Abstract

San Ignacio, one of the musical works that came out of the Chiquitano and Moxos Missions of eastern Bolivia in the mid-18th century, is an enigmatic product of the Jesuit colonial project. Heavily loaded with dramatic religious language, this work is an intriguing blend of European influences within the remote region of the lower Amazon basin. The fact that the work has remained in circulation in various forms over the last two hundred and fifty years, demonstrates that the work left an indelible impression on the Indigenous people who were recipients of it. This thesis examines the sources of the opera, the historical context in which it was written, its dubious authorship and how it has been adopted into the Bolivian musical canon. Drawing from scores compiled in the recent decades and from dialogue with preeminent scholars of the Bolivian archives, this paper examines the relationship that "Mission Music" and *San Ignacio* has had on the Bolivian musical community.

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Introduction

In this thesis I examine *San Ignacio*, one of the operatic musical works that came out of the Chiquito Jesuit Missions of Eastern Bolivia. I argue for its ongoing value and importance both to Indigenous communities of the Amazon basin (particularly those of the modern nation-state of Bolivia), as well as to the legacy of the music of "Mission Baroque," being a product of the Jesuit colonial expansion of the sixteenth century. It is therefore necessary to recognize and acknowledge not only the manner in which both musical and religious education was incorporated into the colonial project, but also the complexity and asymmetrical power of colonialism at work during this period in South America, when assessing a piece of "Mission Baroque" like *San Ignacio*. As a product of religious, colonial, and musical intersectionality, the opera gives us insight today into that short chapter of Jesuit settlements in South American history and is worth further study. My conclusion is that *San Ignacio* is a fascinating, provocative, and important piece of Mission Baroque music that, by standing in the middle of several cultures at once, creates a space for the confluence of differences and the understanding of Indigenous peoples across the centuries.

I begin by briefly sketching the historical context of the *San Ignacio*, focusing on the controversial Jesuit missions, called "reductions" (Sp. *reducciones*) to the Amazon floodplains of Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, northern Argentina, and Peru. These missions on one hand, are defended by apologetic stances as a "noble experiment" of civilizing the Indigenous people who resided in the forest. On the other hand, the anti-Jesuit position perceived the religious order as exploiters of the natives who sought to create a kingdom independent from the Spanish and Portuguese crowns.[1] What ensued had profound and almost entirely negative effects on the peoples of the Amazon Basin, particularly on their ability to direct and determine their own futures and in the losses sustained by their particular cultures and languages, communal structures and more.

After the historical sketch, I turn to an examination of *San Ignacio* itself, beginning with an overview of the opera, then moving to an analysis of it as a mimetic ceremony, and finally working through the text and music of the opera. In terms of style and substance, the opera *San*

[1] Guillermo Wilde, Imagining Guaranís and Jesuits, p. 59. Wilde provides a good summation of the differing perspectives and lists authors who have written both for and against the reductions.

Ignacio, whose authorship remains obscure, is a mid-eighteenth century work that is a controversial, and even disturbing, product of European influences within the remote region of the lower Amazon basin. As Chad M. Gasta writes, *San Ignacio* 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."[2] It can be compared to the early operas of Bononcini, Schiassi and Caldara, but it is heavily loaded with dramatic religious language and gives a highly stylistic and propagandistic portrayal of Saint Ignatius, the founder of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits). *San Ignacio* is an intriguing example of Mission Baroque in terms of its authorship and score. However, its distinguishing feature is its Spanish libretto, which situates it within the hybrid culture of the Jesuit reductions. When we examine the piece of music further, I find that *San Ignacio* is also an important expression of the way in which ceremony and ritual characterized the cultural hybridity of the Jesuit reductions. We see this, for example in the militaristic language in *San Ignacio*, and its spiritual themes and imagery, such as the use of two angelic messengers and a demon. Finally, we see evidence of *San Ignacio's* importance as we look at the text and music itself. The music, its participation in the cultural hybridity of Jesuit reductions through mimetic ceremony and imagery, as well as its unique musical expression all indicate that *San Ignacio* is a unique and insightful piece of music.

And so in my conclusion I note that early opera in South America all served the purpose for propaganda and the consolidation of power, as stated by Garrido in his analysis of opera in South America. *San Ignacio* is no different. The fact that the work continues to be performed and guarded by Indigenous communities to this day- over two hundred and fifty years later- indicates that it has value outside of its oppressive and overly dogmatic themes. It indicates that the work is incredibly important to and valued by the Indigenous peoples who copied multiple versions shared across different missions, performed, and received it. The legacy of "Mission Baroque," then, appears to be more complex and nuanced than the casual, simplistic dismissals of this music may acknowledge. Mission music is being performed today across the world in collaborations between South Americans and Baroque groups and is upheld by the current mission inhabitants as a culture marker from the Jesuit chapter. Indigenous peoples are continuing to curate *San Ignacio* and the *cuerpo* [body] of mission music as cultural relics; enduring sources in developing a cultural narrative identity through interpretation. This is not, of

[2] Chad M. Gasta. "Opera and Spanish Jesuit Evangelization in the New World", p. 105.

course, an uncontroversial opinion in that the wide reaching effects of colonialism across the world, and especially at that time in South America, were certainly racist, infantilizing and requiring the Amerindians to become "civilized". Such regimes contributed to the spread of disease in Indigenous populations and created cycles of dependence and cultural erosion for Indigenous populations. In this context of the Mission Baroque experience, though, the music that survived has taken on a life of its own, and is acknowledged by Indigenous Bolivians as forming a unique element of their postcolonial? identity.

On a personal note, I want to highlight that a good part of my fascination with this topic stems from my personal experience of having lived in central Bolivia for five years and having been introduced to "mission music" while there.[3] I observed first-hand as a singer, teacher and conductor the collective sense of enthusiasm and activity around the curation and re-integration of this music within the local Bolivian music communities. This led to the foundational questions of this thesis: How could present day Bolivians come to celebrate such aspects of their colonial past? Wouldn't this music serve as a painful reminder of subjugation, lost culture and virtually extinct languages of ancestors? The irony that this music came out of such a tumultuous time, with such a barrage of cultural repressions of the Indigenous peoples of Bolivia is truly astonishing.

Jesuit Historical Context

At the end of the sixteenth century, Jesuits in South America adopted the term *reducciones* to refer to their newly formed mission communities. The term comes from the Spanish verb *reducir* ("to reduce", "to bring down" or "to bring into obedience"), but could, in the context of the Jesuit missions, be understood as derived from the Latin phrase, *reducti ad vitam civilem* ('conducted towards a human way of living').[4] In other words, the use of the term *reducciones* can be understood in two ways: 1) indicating the bringing of the Indigenous (and other) populations to heel, so to speak, 2) indicating the inculcation of a form of life or Jesuit

[3] I lived in Santa Cruz de la Sierra between 2013-2018. During that time, I worked in Santiago de Chiquitos with their Music School and also helped form the Philharmonic choir in 2016 for the Santa Cruz Philharmonic Orchestra.

[4] Imbruglia, 2017, p.3.

"our way of proceeding"[5], one which the Jesuits themselves were inducted into through *ascesis* [spiritual discipline]. Other religious orders which included the Dominicans, Augustinians, Mercedarians, and Franciscans preceded the arrival of the Jesuits in the Americas, but the Jesuit missions had the most renown and were the most successful.

In Bolivia, the Jesuit mission project was based on the *doctrina of Julí*, a town on the shores of Lake Titicaca which passed from the Dominicans to the Jesuits in 1577 under the order of Viceroy, Francisco de Toledo. The *doctrina* was not only focused on the spiritual edification of the inhabitants, but also their social welfare and was implemented by the administrative and organizational structure. The three key elements of this model were: communal self-reliance and self-sufficiency; cooperation with−rather than coercion of−native inhabitants; and as complete autonomy as possible from colonial authorities.[6] This model became the foundation for the success of the reductions of the Chiquitania and Moxos one-hundred and fifty years later and was adopted by the Guaraní reductions in Paraguay, Argentina, Peru and Brazil. The Jesuit reductions in South America have been described by some scholars as an example of a "subjectively well-meaning, paternalistic Colonialism, which also contributed to the objective for the common good of the colonized."[7] But, in order to grapple with the truly negative and long-lasting effects of colonialism, it is important to acknowledge the loss experienced by the Indigenous peoples. The enforced changes to the autochthonous way of life, by "civilizing" to European standards was a form of cultural violence that may not be apparent on the surface or from all accounts of the day. Neither can we listen to a piece of Mission Baroque music and distinguish the cultural loss emanating from the notes we hear.

Broadly, the reductions were a means to facilitate the Indigenous re-education into a Western lifestyle and worldview. Not only that, they were understood by the Jesuits as protective communities, shielding Indigenous people from the Spanish warlords taking land and slaves, while carrying out the goal to evangelize and propel the Jesuit mission of the Counter-Reformation. Thus, there was a three-pronged purpose to the Jesuit missions: the

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[5] "Modo de Proceder", DHCJ III, 2712-2713. As referenced by Thomas Flowers, "Understanding the Early Jesuit Context of 'Our Way of Proceeding'".

[6] Geoffrey A P Groesbeck. "A Brief History of the Jesuit Missions of Chiquitos".

[7] Heister, Hanns-Werner, and Deborah Singer, p. 217.

cultural, the political, and the religious. Taken together, these three made up the construction of their "empire".[8]

Contrary to the standard practices of colonialism, the Jesuits had no use for slaves or serfs, and so the Guaraní and other Indian groups in the reductions were physically better off than those outside of them, as they were protected by the Jesuit presence.[9] In the Guaraní reductions of Paraguay for example, the Guaraní exercised their own civil administration of the villages, occupying public offices such as mayor and chief magistrate. The Guaraní also formed a militia to protect the reductions which also served on occasion as the reserve army of the Spanish authorities. Gasta affirms that the Jesuit reductions were famous for their resistance to Indian enslavement.[10] For example, the arrival of Jesuit Father José de Arce to Santa Cruz, Bolivia in 1691 did not bode well with the locals there, because it threatened the lucrative business of the slave traders in that area. His reception in the first remote Chiquitanian town, however, brought relief and gratitude from the Indigenous inhabitants as they had been fighting attacks from *paulistas*[11] and a plague, most likely smallpox. Arce was begged by the local chiefs Manguta and Fayo to stay and instruct them in the faith. He decided to stay and build the mission of San Francisco Xavier, the first reduction settlement in the Chiquitos.[12]

One prevailing apologetic assessment of the Jesuit reductions is that in the words of preeminent scholars, "the work, behavior, and the influence (which is to say: the way of proceeding) of the pre-suppression Jesuits were characterized by innovation and imagination,

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[8] Imbruglia, 2017, p. 3.

[9] Heister, Hanns-Werner, and Deborah Singer. "Mimetische Zeremonien Und Andere Gewaltarme Herschaftsmethoden. Zur Rolle Der Musik in Den Guaraní-Reduktionen Der Jesuiten in Paraguay Im 17. Und 18. Jahrhundert." p. 219. "*Sie war auch im Gegensatz zum gewöhnlichen Kolonialismus mit Sklaven oder Leibeigenen auf den großen Gütern nicht wesentlich, da es im Ganzen den Guaraní in den Reduktionen entschieden besser als dort ging.*"

[10] Gasta, Transatlantic Arias, p. 152.

[11] Originating in the Brazilian state of São Paulo, they were explorers, slave hunters, and gold seekers a.k.a. *bandierantes* looking to expand westward. Well known for their attacks on villages, often setting them on fire, they sometimes dressed up as Jesuit priests singing the Mass in order to lure the villagers away from their settlements.

[12] (Fernández 1895 [1726] Relación historial de las misiones de indios Chiquitos que en el Paraguay tienen los padres de la Compañía de Jesús, Vol. I, Chap. IV, V.I-85). Quoted by Alejandro Gangui in "The Orientation of Jesuit churches in the Chiquitos missions of eastern Bolivia".

creativity, diversity, variety, heterogeneity, flexibility, adaptation, inclusiveness, dialogue or at least a high level of communication, generosity, and a willingness to be influenced by others and to give expression to that influence, and consideration for Indigenous traditions and world views different from their own."[13] The Jesuit approach was to live alongside the Indigenous in community with the goal of converting the local tribes to Christianity, often learning their languages, with the result that the reductions grew to substantial populations. Another view by Argentine writer Leopoldo Lugones wrote in *El imperio jesuítico* that the missions were organized on three fundamental principles: "communism, absolute authoritarianism, and the renunciation of individualism."[14]

"There were rarely more than two priests in a mission and one of them was frequently away on expedition: searching for the elusive Asuncion/Chiquitos/Charcas route […]; searching for Indigenous peoples to evangelize; or chasing groups […] who had decided to leave the mission."[15] This demonstrates that the Jesuit presence was within and without the established boundaries of the reduction and also that the boundaries were often fluid. The Asuncion/Chiquitos/Charcas route was one being sought by several European powers to create easier access to the silver mines of Potosi and the salt flats of the Altiplano.

Yet, there are accounts which convey a more complex picture of the semi nomadic and nomadic tribes of South America which were neither compliant nor defiant. As Venkataraman writes:

> … sometimes the missionaries would be extremely frustrated to find that a community that they had been working with had suddenly disappeared into the forest; they also lacked a central political authority which also made conversion difficult. Some Indigenous practices like cannibalism, polygamy, marriage within kinship inherently went against the tenets preached by the missionaries and it was not easy to make them give up these customs.[16]

One condemnatory explanation for the disappearing neophytes comes from a letter from Jesuit José Cardiel in his *carta relación* which describes in detail aspects of the Jesuit mission

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[13] Gillian Thompson, book review of "The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts: 1540–1773", p. 412. Edited by J.W. O'Malley, G.A. Bailey, S. Harris and F. Kennedy.

[14] Lugones, El Imperio Jesuítico, 1904, p.266.

[15] Ford, p.55.

[16] Venkataraman, "Fictional Missions: Representations of Jesuit Encounters in Paraguay", p. 312.

life of the Paraguayan Gauraní missions. In it he refers to some of the natives who displayed behaviours of resistance to the governing systems within the reductions:

> "[…] those runaways are the bad ones, they are the dregs of the people, [...] they are the ones who, because they see themselves persecuted by the mayors and jealous prosecutors for their crimes (which are usually crimes) run away to live on farms, farms and shepherds of the Spanish, through those fields where not even the military can reach."[17]

Jesuit priest J. Knogler also wrote about the local Indian chiefs, or *caciques,* who were incorporated into the daily life of the Chiquito missions with elevated positions in the church, ceremonial clothing and a cane of office which set them apart and gave them status. In this way, the Jesuit leaders of the mission were able to coordinate their power and share the governing within the reductions. There were also *cabildos* or "native councils" formed within the reductions which helped with the local governance.[18] However, the challenge of finding a balanced perspective of the Jesuit missions remains: from their foundation in Bolivia all the way to their expulsion in 1767, the Jesuits themselves were the ones telling their own story and as Imbruglia states, it was often inconsistent, romanticised or retrospective.[19]

Imbruglia describes certain ways of resistance of the *Indios* to this new way of Jesuit life in that "they were able to find opportunities, spaces and tactics that allowed them to limit the impact of this (spiritual conquest) and to hold on to some of their traditional identities." Thus, they found a compromise with the missionaries which created a "hybrid" culture within the Jesuit missions. This cultural subjectivity was at work in their daily practices, from body marking to continued use of shamans, and burial rituals.[20] The aspects of hybrid culture would continue even after the Jesuit Extrañamiento in 1767. Even after a royal decree in 1800 that freed Guaraní residents from communal labour obligations, "there was no widespread retreat into the

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[17] "[…] esos huidos son los malos, son la hez del pueblo, […] son los que, por verse perseguidos de los alcaldes y celosos iscales por sus laquezas (que ésos suelen ser delitos) se huyen a vivir en las granjas, quintas y pastores de los españoles, por esos campos adonde ni alcanza la militar." Furlong (ed.), José Cardiel y su carta relación (1747), p. 178.

[18] Cynthia Radding, Forging Cultures of Resistance on Two Colonial Frontiers: Northwestern Mexico and Eastern Bolivia, p. 166.

[19] Imbruglia, Girolamo. "Introduction". *The Jesuit Missions of Paraguay and a Cultural History of Utopia (1568–1789)*. p. 1.

[20] Ford, Kate. Two 'ways of proceeding': Damage Limitation in the Mission to the Chiquitos', pp. 46-52.

forests and most of the former Guaraní mission people continued to find their living within colonial society."[21] What may have been the case in the Guaraní missions of Paraguay would not necessarily transfer to the remote Moxos and Chiquitos missions of Bolivia, but it does give some insight into the activities in regions of proximity.

This moderate internal resistance could not compete with stronger currents at work in Europe that led to the suppression of Jesuits, beginning from circa 1750. According to Encyclopedia Britannica, the suppression of the Jesuits was the result of "the general anticlerical and anti-papal tenor of the times." Anti-Jesuit polemics from popular Enlightenment philosophers Montesquieu (The Spirit of the Laws, 1748) and Voltaire "Candide"[22] (1759), also contributed to convincing political leaders and opponents within the Catholic Church to shift their attitudes against the Jesuits, ultimately leading to the orders' suppression and expulsion from the missions in 1767. Additionally, European monarchs wanted increased authority over religious affairs, a demand that went against the Jesuits' fidelity to the papacy. On South American soil, Jesuits had to navigate between Spanish and Portuguese demands, and their own spiritual authorities. They were often caught in the middle in "defense of the [I]indigenous populations of the Americas against abuses committed by Spanish colonizers and by the strength of the order, which was regarded as an impediment to the establishment of absolute monarchist rule.[23] As mentioned in *Colonial Latin America*, recent scholarship by Barbara Ganson and James Saeger indicates that the Jesuits "controlled Guaraní lives and loyalties less than suggested by the usual emphasis on Jesuit actions and the regimentation of mission life."[24]

In 1750, the Treaty of Madrid resulted in dividing key areas of Spanish and Portuguese colonial territories which included many large Guaraní missions in South America. Known as the Guaraní War of 1753-56, or War of the Seven Reductions, thousands of the Indigenous Guaraní refused to leave the missions and even fought a bloody war to be able to stay on the disputed

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[21] Mills Kenneth et al. *Colonial Latin America : A Documentary History*. Scholarly Resources 2002. p. 310.

[22] "Candide" was a sharp criticism of organized religion and the optimism of "utopian" ideals. In the novel, Candide has conflicts with both the Portuguese and the Jesuits in the Guaraní War.

[23] Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Jesuit". Encyclopedia Britannica, 28 Mar. 2024, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Jesuits. Accessed 1 April 2024.

[24] Mills, Colonial Latin America, p. 310.

territory that Spain and Portugal were dividing.[25] The Treaty of Madrid was annulled in 1761; however the global conflicts continued in the Seven Years War and right on its heels, the "Fantastic War" (1762-63) between Spain and Portugal. Although centered in Europe, these conflicts resulted in several large territorial battles in South America.

Rare evidence of an Indigenous voice during this time comes in a letter dated July 1753 from Guaraní chief Nicolás Ñenguirú, which provides a salient contrast to the Jesuit portrayal of Indigenous passivity. In the letter, Nicolás writes from his position as a *cacique* (or mayor) of La Concepción, one of a few bilingual Spanish/Guaraní communities, to the governor of Buenos Aires in the midst of the local hostilities brought on by global politics of the Treaty of Madrid. The governor's order was to disband and relocate seven mission settlements or face a war to the death. Far from being a passive mission neophyte, Ñenguirú's letter (in Guaraní) "presents an [I]ndigenous voice well-versed in epistolary practice, history, and political theory, as well as a meditation on his Spanish American identity."[26] In the letter, Ñenguirú eloquently negotiates his relationship with state and church officials, as well as with his fellow Guaraní, and provides his own reading of the history of the Guaranís' interactions with the Jesuits and representatives of the Spanish state.

> Sir, we have never gone against our king, nor against you. You know this well. With all our heart we have honored your commands; we have always followed them very well. For love of you we have given our possessions, our animals, even our lives. This is why we cannot believe that our king would repay our faithfulness with an order to leave our lands. Our Indians, our children speak constantly of this; and, growing angry, they are going to extremes, acting as if they were in rebellion. They no longer wish to hear our words as those of their corregidor and the cabildo [council]. They get angry at us and only their caciques [chiefs] sway them. […] By our own free will we chose to place God above all, and then also our king so that he would always be our protector. For this reason alone we submitted and humbled ourselves. And we chose to do so. The king gave us his word to our grandparents to treat us well. And he has always repeated this same promise to us. Then how is it that suddenly he wants to break his promise? "This land," say our children, "was given to us by God alone. In this land our sainted teacher Roque González and many [Jesuit] fathers died among us, they raised us , and they labored for us alone. Why, then, are the Portuguese so intent upon this when it is none of their business? The magnificent church, the good pueblo, the ranch for our animals, the maté plantation, the cotton fields, the farmland and all that is needed to work it is a great endeavor that we alone have accomplished. How can they presume to take away the possessions that

[25] 1756, The Battle of Caiboaté fought by Guaraní against the Portuguese.

[26] Willingham, 2007, p. 209.

> belong to us, and wrongly mock us? It will not be so. God Our Lord does not wish this, will not stand for it; nor is it the will of our sainted king. We have not erred in anything, we have taken nothing from the Portuguese. They will never pay us anything for what we alone have built. [...] Sir, I have written these words of the Indians to you, and they are their true words. We, the members of the cabildo, have no more words to calm them, nor to oppose them when they become angry. Therefore we humble ourselves before you so that, in the words of the king, you will help us. In the first place,all of us are your vassals: please let our king know of our poverty and what we are suffering, and send him my letter wherever he may be, so that he himself will see, that he will hear and understand our poverty and tribulations.[27]

Ñenguirú claims the Guaraní's have a moral right to the settlements as well as reminding the governor that they made a free-will choice to become Christians and vassals under protection of the king of Spain. The strength involved by Nicolas to stand up to the political powers and represent the some 30,000 people under his charge displays great courage and strength of character. Unfortunately, the many letters sent to the governing powers were unsuccessful in reversing the order. A year later in 1754, the Jesuits surrendered control of the missions, yet most of the Guaraní (now betrayed by Spain and the Jesuits) were resolute. Their refusal to leave their mission towns culminated in the war between Spain, Portugal and Guaraní (1754-1756), ending with a great loss of lives and the destruction and abandonment of most missions. In a paradox of events, the treaty was annulled in 1761, leaving the Jesuit missions in ruin but staying for the time being under Spanish rule.[28] In another paradox, although more understandable, the vehemence with which the Guaraní fought to protect their mission pueblos did not present again when the Jesuits were expelled after 1767.

All of these violent conflicts dramatically weakened the power and prestige of the Jesuits in South America. Following the expulsion of the Jesuit missionaries from the continent in 1767, there were many expressions of loss from the Indigenous people left behind by the Jesuits which stemmed from being more vulnerable to slave traders and exploited by political powers.[29]

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[27] Mills, Colonial Latin America, full letter of Nicolás Ñenguirú to the Governor of Buenos Aires, p. 311-313.

[28] For a more detailed discussion, see Herzog, "Guaranis and Jesuits, Bordering the Spanish and Portuguese Empires", Spring 2015, Volume XIV, Number 3.

[29] One such letter from Mission San Luis to the Governor of Buenos Aires, February 28, 1768: "Because of this, we all have confidence in you, we say, of Señor Governador, with tears in our eyes, we humbly ask you to allow the holy fathers of the Company, sons of San Ignacio, to continue to live always among us and that you present this idea to our good Holy King in the name and love of God. All of the men, women, children in the town ask this with tears, especially the poor. We do lot like having a parish priest. The

Although the missions of Chiquitos in Bolivia did not gain the grand size of some of the Paraguayan missions, they were well populated. It is recorded that, at their height on the eve of the Jesuit expulsion, there were nearly twenty-five thousand of the semi-sedentary Indigenous population.[30] According to Groesbeck, there were "perhaps as many as thirty-seven thousand (when also including the non-baptised inhabitants) throughout the ten settlements in Chiquitania under Jesuit supervision."[31]

Music within the Missions

It is very clear that the religious character of the Jesuit missions in the Chiquitos was also decidedly *musical*. The Jesuits took great pride in their attention to the musical fabric of their communities. Musical exchange was a vital element in the evangelization and social integration within the reductions. It was standard practice across the Jesuit missions to use music as a sort of passport to gain entry into an Indigenous community, as music was perceived as a neutral, objective vehicle.[32] Gasta also writes that music, "whether religious or profane, was often combined with religious dogma to become a part of the Jesuit's objectives for evangelization.[33] Thus, in every Jesuit reduction there were two schools: one which taught the children to read and write, and another to sing, dance, and play "upon instruments permitted to be used in divine service, which they do, like the birds, as it were by instinct".[34] Among the instruments taught and played in these schools were the organ, theorbo, harp, oboe, shawm, bassoon, guitar, zither

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Apostle Saint Thomas, representative of God, spread faith in this land among our ancestors, and these parish priests are not interested in us. The fathers of the Company of Jesus are among us. They have taken care of us from the beginning; they taught our ancestors, baptized them, and protected them on behalf of God and the King of Spain. Because of this, we do not want other (Catholic) parish priests." (San Luis Misión, "Copia en Guaraní del Memorial de la mission de San Luis rogando permitir a los Jesuítas permanacer," February 28, 1768. Modern copy from the papers of Señor Woodbine Parish MG 1992.)

[30] Barbara Ganson, 2003, pp. 25-28.

[31] Geoffery A.P. Groesbeck, "The Long Silence: The Jesuit Missions of Chiquitos after the Extrañamiento".

[32] Irving, "Music in Global Jesuit Missions", p. 598. Music became a "passport for Jesuits to enter the closed circles of Asian high courts, indigenous societies in the Amazon, cosmopolitan societies in colonial port cities, and the global traffic of travellers, traders and spiritual people".

[33] Gasta, "Opera and Spanish Jesuit Evangelization in the New World", p.87.

[34] Irving, p. 264.

(psaltery), lute, trumpet, viola, and violin, along with choral singing. Many historical accounts verify the inhabitants "rapidly acquiring surprising skills for music, dance and manual arts."[35] One of the first written accounts comes from a letter from Julian Knogler, a Bavarian priest working in Santa Ana mission (Bolivia), in 1770:

> The music [here] is better than many Europeans can imagine. We have good organs, sometimes two of them in one church, double basses, three or four violas, fourteen or more violins, harps, flutes, and a few trumpets which are the only instruments which are imported. All musicians learn the practice and theory of their art - in the school where they master their skills in solfeo [solfeggio], and develop accuracy in rhythm by beating time with the hand as [it is done by] a choir-director. The compositions which they sing and play are simple, but delightful to the ear and adequate for them.[36]

There was an extensive amount of time invested in European styled musical education. Instruments were taught regularly as well as the art of making instruments.

In Paraguay, which borders the South-East region of Bolivia, several members of the early Jesuits believed that the Guaraní were the equal to Europeans in their talent. They praised the Guaraníes' abilities, noting that "they succeeded, as it were by instinct in all the arts, to which they were applied."[37] Inherent in these testimonies is an air of benevolent racism and bias which was a product of the Enlightenment values of the time. In a recent article, David Irving surmises, 'there is a certain teleology in the idea that non-Europeans would inevitably adopt European [...] music in a process of transculturation that enabled them to engage with Europeans on mutually familiar terms.'[38] But, he continues to say that it is easily deconstructed by examining non-European records. Waisman writes that, while "[i]t goes without saying that the Jesuit fathers did not conceive of their role as that of promoters of artistic endeavours," it is

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[35] Claro, p.8. Quoting E. Finot, "Los indios no tardaron en acostumbrarse a vivir en común adquiriendo rápidamente aptitudes sorprendentes para la música, la danza y las artes manuales"· p.11 "que llenaron de admiración a numerosos viajeros que visitaron esas tierras durante el siglo XIX, cuando de la acción misionera sólo quedaba un recuerdo."

[36] J. Knogler, S.J., Relato sobre el país y la nación de los chiquitos en las Indias occidentales o América del sud y las misiones en su territorio, redactado para un amigo [1767–72], in W. Hoffmann, Las misiones jesuíticas entre los chiquitanos (Buenos Aires: Fundación para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura, 1979), p. 174.

[37] Charlevoix, "History of Paraguay", 1769, p. 263.

[38] David R.M. Irving, "Interpreting Non-European Perceptions and Representations of Early Modern European Music", 2010, p. 45.

"nevertheless," true that "the aesthetic enjoyment of music which transpires from some passages in the writings of Knogler, Schmid or Paucke betrays a joy which seems to indicate that musical practices, in addition to serving as a tool of evangelisation, constituted promoters their own reward."[39]

Half a century after the Jesuit expulsion, a French biologist, Alcides D'Orbigny, visited the Chiquitanian missions in 1831. He observed musicianship at a very high level and described his visit to San Javier mission on Sunday, July 5, 1831 in great detail:

> A great mass was sung with Italian music and I was truly surprised to find among this music preferable to all that I had heard even in the richest cities of Bolivia. The choir director on the one hand led the singing; the orchestra, on the other, executed various fragments with admirable harmony. Each singer, each chorister, with the page(s) of music before him, played his part with pleasure, accompanied by the organ and numerous violins made by indigenous people. I listened to that music with pleasure partly because I had not been able to hear anything better in the rest of (South) America. It was a remnant of the splendor introduced into the missions by the Jesuits, whose work I necessarily had to admire, thinking that before their arrival the Chiquitos (Chiquitanos), still in a wild state, were scattered throughout the forests.[40]

This is fascinating as it shows that the inhabitants of the now dissolved missions were still carrying on musical activities with great enthusiasm and organization more than sixty years after the Jesuits had left the area. According to Dr. Piotr Nawrot, there were over five thousand pages of music manuscripts from the 18th century discovered in the archive of the cathedral of Concepción, Bolivia and seventeen thousand pages total between the two archives of the Chiquitos and Moxos locations.[41]

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[39] Leonardo J. Waisman "Music in the Jesuit Missions of the Upper Marañón", p.113.

[40] Claro, p.19. "se cantó una gran misa con musica italiana y tuve la verdadera sorpresa de encontrar entre esta música preferible a toda la que había escuchado aún en las ciudades más ricas de Bolivia. El director del coro por un lado conducía el canto; el de orquesta, por el otro, ejecutaba diversos fragmentos con admirable armonía. Cada cantor, cada corista, con el papel de la música ante sí, desem-peñaba su parte con gusto, acompañado por el órgano y numeros violines fabricado por indígenas. Escuchaba esa música con placer debido en parte a que en todo el resto de América no había podido oír otra mejor. Era un resto del esplendor introducido en las misiones por jesuitas, cuyos trabajos tuve necesariamente que admírar, pensando que antes de su llegada los chiquitos, todavia en estado salvaje, se hallaban dispersos por bosques."

[41] For more information, read Casey, Nicholas, New York Times, 09, May, 2018. Rev. Dr. Nwarot is professor at the Department of Pastoral Theology and Canon Law of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Adama Mickiewicza in Poznań, researcher in the department of musicology at the Ministry of Culture in Bolivia, Director of the Mission Archives of the Moxo Indians in San Igancio de Moxos (Bolivia) and the Guarayo Indians in Urubicha (Bolivia). He is also the creative director of the International Festival of American Renaissance and Baroque Music, "Misiones de Chiquitos" since 1997.

After the Jesuit expulsion, the majority of reductions quickly fell into disarray with properties and goods being confiscated, as well as disease and attrition making the reduction communities abandoned. This also contributed to the loss of compositions and deterioration of Jesuit musical works. However, the Indigenous peoples in Paraguay and Chiquitos missions had the benefit of greater autonomy due to the remoteness of their regions and, furthermore, they remained loyal to the Spanish Crown.[42] For this reason, the surviving musical manuscripts were kept relatively untouched for over two-hundred and fifty years. The relative demographic stability of these abandoned missions experienced after the Jesuit expulsion is one reason why the opera *San Ignacio* has survived in its various forms up to today. In 1987, the scores were rediscovered in several locations of Chiquitos missions during renovations.[43] More scores were donated by Indigenous people in the area who preserved the sheet music within their own families over the generations. As Plácido Molina Barbery states, "the scores corresponding to all singing voices and all instruments of the orchestra that, copied and in use then by *maestros de capilla* and Indigenous musicians, are still used today by their descendants with imperfections, for what is irremediable in the loving conservation of once flourishing traditions."[44] Further to this, musicologist and Artistic Director of Bolivia's International Renaissance and Baroque Festival, Piotr Nawrot, relays the sentiment expressed to him by the people who had safeguarded the manuscripts in Concepción, "if this is lost- if it dies, this tradition- we are all lost. We will die together with this manuscript."[45]

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[42] Jackson, "Demographic Change and Ethnic Survival among the Sedentary Populations of the Jesuit Mission Frontiers of Spanish South America, 1609-1803.", p. 161-2.

[43] Hans Roth, a Swiss architect, spearheaded the reconstruction and restoration of many of the former Jesuit mission sites between 1970-1990. San Francisco Javier, Concepción, Santa Ana, San Miguel, San Rafael and San José were the six mission sites that were successfully restored. They are now UNESCO World Heritage Sites. Other sites not on the UNESCO list are San Ignacio de Velasco, Santiago de Chiquitos, Santo Corazón, San Juan Bautista, San Ignacio de Boococas, San Ignacio de Zamucos, and Nuestra Señora del Buen Consejo.

[44] Claro, "La Musica en las Misiones Jesuiticas", p. 26. "las partituras correspondientes a todas las voces del canto y a todos los instrumentos de la orquesta que, copiadas y usadas entonces por maestros de capilla y músicos indigenas, todavia las utilizan hogaño sus descendientes con imperfección que enternece, por lo que tiene de irremediable en la amorosa conservac ión de tradiciones otrora florecientes"

[45] McCarthy, "Bolivian Mission Towns Revive Baroque Legacy." 2008. Rev. Dr. Nwarot is professor at the Department of Pastoral Theology and Canon Law of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Adama Mickiewicza in Poznań, researcher in the department of musicology at the Ministry of Culture in Bolivia, Director of the Mission Archives of the Moxo Indians in San Igancio de Moxos (Bolivia) and the Guarayo

For two centuries following the expulsion, the Chiquitos region would be largely overlooked, the townspeople passing on what traditions learned by the Jesuits that they remembered.[46] As Irving states, there has been an "impressive oral tradition of *San Ignacio* by Indigenous communities up to the 20th century.[47] Among these traditions are the time capsules of musical scores and renderings of works which were performed at that time. *San Ignacio*, has retained its socio-cultural value within the remaining Jesuit mission areas as something of an achievement, honouring a bygone era. The operas' resurgence in recent years is proof that the unique work still holds value within the culture it was created in and for. As Grant states, "Despite the many confusions and contradictions it entails, the mission repertoire is now a celebrated phenomenon known far beyond Bolivia's borders."[48]

Mission Baroque Style

The reductions aimed at an overall conversion of life for the Indigenous population and the teaching of *music* was a key feature of this effort. Music provided a means of self-expression and, to a limited degree, self-determination. The music that developed in the Jesuit reductions took on its own distinct form or genre that is now called "Mission Style" or "Mission Baroque" and it became an important avenue of creative self-expression for the Bolivian peoples.

Unlike the *stile antico* polyphony practiced in the cathedrals of Spanish colonial capitals, this music was influenced by Italian, French, and German models.[49] Mission Baroque music is characterized by minimal orchestration, generally two violin parts and continuo. The vocal lines may include 2-4 in the chorus, some up to double choir, and tend to be homophonic. The music, which is in Latin or Indian languages, has been described as "upbeat, joyful, rhythmic, and

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Indians in Urubicha (Bolivia). He is also the creative director of the International Festival of American Renaissance and Baroque Music, "Misiones de Chiquitos" since 1997.

[46] Geoffrey A.P. Groesbeck, "The Long Silence: The Jesuit Missions of Chiquitos after the Extrañamiento".

[47] Irving, Review of: Gasta, p. 228-9, Transatlantic Arias.

[48] Roger Mathew Grant. "Colonial Galant", p.131.

[49] Grant, Roger Mathew. "Colonial Galant: Three Analytical Perspectives from the Chiquitano Missions", p.130.

possessing a rosy tone."[50] Most of this music is for sacred or liturgical purposes and used during mass or sacred festivals such as Corpus Christi, Advent and Easter.

When the Bolivian Jesuit mission music is analysed through the lens of ethnomusicology, the matter is even more challenging. Indigeneity, Indigenous music, or interpretations of European style by Indigenous performers, is a complex and widely analysed field that is typically examined in terms of the norms and practices of global decolonization.[51] While it is not my purpose here to examine the complexities of Indigenous studies, Michelle Bigenho helpfully defines "being" Indigenous or *indigenismo*, as "a political and cultural current found in many Latin American contexts, in which *mestizo-Creoles* have used references to Indigenous cultures to bolster a national or regional identity".[52] In this context, we can see that music has the power to bridge gaps of mistranslation between cultures precisely insofar as it inherently disallows literal interpretations, while at the same time empowering and enabling the ongoing formation and exploration of identity. Music exists in performance; and performance is always expressive of identities – both individual and corporate. Musical performance empowers individuals, as well as communities, to name and rename themselves.[53] It is in this sense that we should understand Kennedy's conclusion that Indigenous participants in the Jesuit mission music project were, in actual fact, participating in the continuous process of reconciliation[54] and cohabitation with the colonial Jesuit missions. Through this, the inhabitants were able to form an identity and shared human experience, as they made sense of themselves and what was happening. In another article, Waisman elaborates on the selective appropriation of the Jesuit music by the neophytes in the missions and their continued use of it even after their ability to

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[50] Quoting Frederick Binkholder, director of Georgetown University Chamber Singers. Landau, 2016.

[51] For an insightful discussion of Bolivian Indigeneity and Music performance, see Rodriguez, 2014.

[52] Bigenho, 2002, p. 97. (Quoted in Rodriguez, 2014.)

[53] Kennedy and Carol E. Robertson, Musical Repercussions of 1492: Encounters in Text and Performance (Washington: Smithsonian, 1992), 24f.

[54] Kennedy, "Music and Jesuit Mission", p. 3. Reconciliation as 1)"continuous representation through the music of the eternal questions of human identity." 2) Through the postmodern concept that there is no particular person or time or place, but that all humans share the same nature in whatever place and time." And 3) woven into the Jesuits "our way of proceeding," or way of discernment as a method to find one's way in life, to all those who experience this process and not only to Jesuits themselves.

read the music faded. "Polyphony and notation were apparently not incorporated deep enough into the culture to survive the troubled times after the expulsion of the Jesuits. And their appropriation was localised: the pieces and the practice were adapted to local sensibilities, traditions, and styles."[55]

This is echoed by Bolivians today as evidenced by "positioning" their indigeneity *within* the music-making and re-performing of the Jesuit mission music. Raquel Maldonado, the Indigenous director of San Ignacio de Moxos Music School and the *Ensamble Moxos* states,

> I think from the moment that the Jesuits left and the Indigenous people decided to preserve this music, and appropriate it, then it is ours. Even though the sonata or the mass can sound very European, it has already gone through many years of appropriation, and it's ours. On the one hand we can feel we own this music, but on the other hand we also value, and it is more valued abroad, the new: the mixture that has been done with these two styles. The work of the ensemble is absolutely creative. If we showed you how we received the pieces that we performed in the concert yesterday, and then what we did… it is a recreation. We create them again, and we own this music, which is an advantage that we have…Other musicians may be jealous, because, since it is our music (and) we can do whatever we want and that is what we are here for, because culture has to be dynamic. It is not simply a reproduction of what happened in the past, but a recreation of what is happening now.[56]

It is clear from this that Maldonado is utterly convinced that the music of the Jesuit missions has helped curate – and in very concrete, tangible ways *continues to do so* – the unique identity that gives meaning and purpose both to herself, as a Bolivian, and to other present-day Bolivians as well. For her, the mission music has been thoroughly appropriated by the indigenous peoples in such a way that it is completely *their own*, and as expressive of their identities, their purposes, and for their benefit. Far from stifling, repressing, or coercing them, Maldonado understands the Jesuit mission music as a platform for the Bolivian peoples, from which they creatively express and explore their own distinct and unique identities.

About the Opera

The opera *San Ignacio* is unique in that it was written for Indigenous performers to be performed to an Indigenous audience. Through the work of musicologists and scholars, Bernardo

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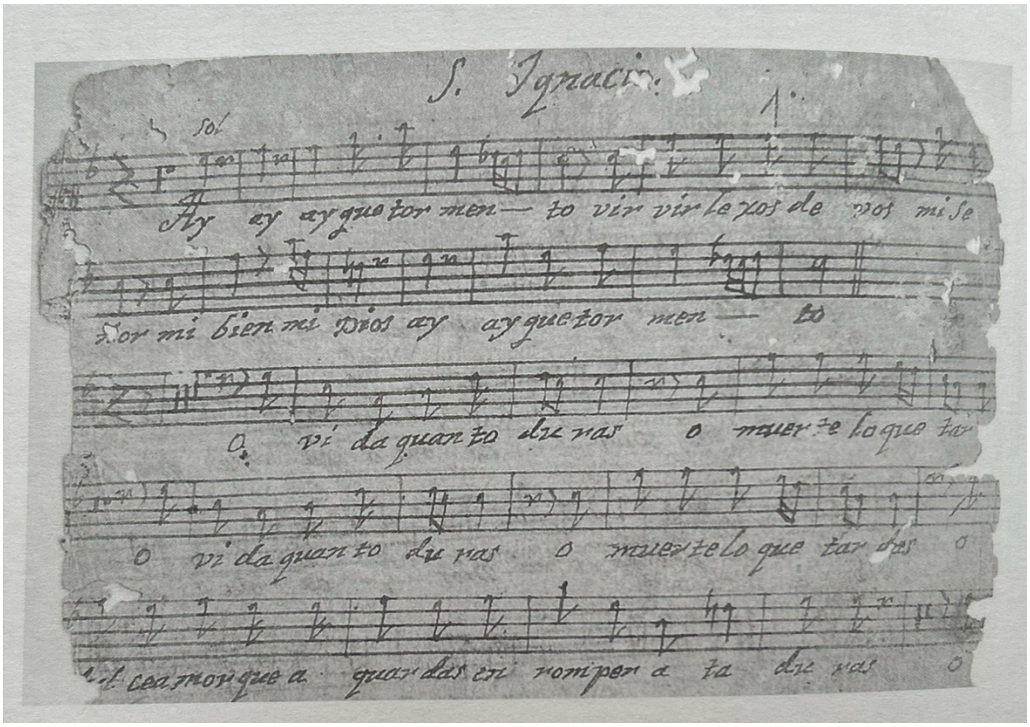
[55] Waisman, "Why did Indians Sing?", p. 325.

[56] Quote from Raquel Maldonado, interview and translation by Rodriguez, 2014.

Illari and Piotr Nawrot, the score has been painstakingly restored and published.[57] Nawrot in particular, (also incidentally a Jesuit priest) has lived and worked cataloguing the 13,000 pages of recovered music documents in Moxos and Urubicha, Bolivia for over thirty years. Nawrot states that the Indigenous people who saw this opera would not have understood the Spanish text, but he believes that *San Ignacio* would have been "translated into local languages for other performances. Fragments of the opera *St. Xavier,* which was in the language of the Chiquitano people provide evidence of this practice."[58] Performances of *San Ignacio* in Spanish would likely have been for festive days like St. Ignatius Day and for special dignitaries and visitors to the mission.

Saint Ignatius is the protagonist of the opera- a fascinating choice, as it humanises the founder of the Society of Jesus by portraying him in a theatrical setting as he grapples with his faith and purpose.

Figure 1. Page of manuscript recovered from Chiquitos



[57] Dr. Bernardo Illari, a scholar on Latin American colonial music, is on faculty at the University of North Texas and has many publications on the Mission Baroque music. He contributed to work on the score of *San Ignacio* and has a version that is being performed around the world.

[58] Raskauskas, 2016.

The precepts set forth by Ignatius Loyola in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus (written a few years before his death in 1556) commissioned the Jesuits to be "ready to live in any part of the world where there was hope of God's greater glory and the good of souls."[59] Firm observance of this precept, along with the educational priority of the order, made the documentation of missionary work and its dissemination an integral part of the Jesuit calling. As the time-line below shows, the opera *San Ignacio* was written before the Jesuit expulsion from Bolivia in 1767, which means it offers an important look at the practices of this era that predate many of the Jesuit narratives about their mission work.

As Bernier notes, the evolution of new forms of Jesuit mission over time were "fueled to a large extent by the nature of the New World material that required innovative rhetorical solutions and strategies, especially in light of the 1767 expulsion, after which many of the Jesuit narratives about Latin America were written."[60]

The ways in which the Jesuits used music to construct a narrative expressing their founding precepts in the opera *San Ignacio* is notable, particularly since subsequent to it, this practice became an autochthonous musical practice.[61] *San Ignacio* is one of two extant operas written in the Jesuit missions in the Bolivian Chiquitania in this era. Both were discovered in the 1980s and were thought to have been composed in the early 18th century (c. 1720-1740).[62] *San Ignacio* dates from 1755 in the township of Santa Ana in Chiquitos and, according to Kennedy, the opera was "without a doubt an inherited tradition that certainly began much earlier in the Guaraní townships." Confirmation of this is found in fragments of the score existing in three of

[59] Marc André Bernier, et al. "Jesuit Accounts of the Colonial Americas : Intercultural Transfers Intellectual Disputes, and Textualities", p.5.

[60] Bernier, p.5.

[61] Jutta Toelle, "Mission Soundscapes: Demons, Jesuits, and Sounds in Antonio Ruiz de Montoya's *Conquista Espiritual* (1639)", p. 70.

[62] The first opera staged in the New World which was entitled "*La purpura de la rosa*". Composed by chapel master Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco in Lima, 1701.

the Chiquitos missions. The other (second) Chiquitano opera is titled *San Francisco Xavier* (hereafter *SFX*), and some key characteristics of *San Ignacio* emerge when it is placed alongside *SFX* and examined. To begin with, *SFX* was written in the native Chiquitano language by an unknown Indigenous composer,[63] while *San Ignacio* was written in the vernacular Spanish language and *not* an Indigenous language. This key distinguishing feature is even more remarkable in light of the fact that *San Ignacio* was composed some 250 years before Vatican II allowed liturgical expressions (according to the liturgy within the mass) in the vernacular.[64] The fact that *San Ignacio* is in Spanish-rather than Latin, signifies it wasn't intended for liturgical purposes, but rather for entertainment. This feature – its Spanish libretto – is what makes *San Ignacio* a unique and important "Mission Baroque"[65] work: it is at once looking forward and outward from within the hybrid culture of the Jesuit reductions. It also demonstrates that the Jesuit influence was creative and collaborative with the local peoples.

Dubious Authorship

The authorship of *San Ignacio* is difficult to ascertain. Nawrot suggests multiple anonymous authors from the Chiquitos and Moxos missions in the editorial notes of the *San Ignacio* opera score. He states in a separate source,[66] that the musical fragments making up the opera were a "pastiche of music composed locally and later collated into a single work." Other scholars claim Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726) penned *San Ignacio* in Córdoba and that copies were sent across to different missions using text from Indigenous contributors.[67] This is vaguely supported by a statement of Fr. Jose Sanchez Labrador who wrote that "In some churches of the Indians there was performed at night an Italian opera that had been composed for them by the

[63] The opera *San Francisco Xavier* is the first and only opera composed in an Indigenous language in the Jesuit mission to Chiquitania.

[64] John Sloboda, "A Lost World of Sacred Music", p.8-9.

[65] Also termed "Mission style" by Bernardo Illari.

[66] Raskauskas, "Baroque Opera Discovered in Bolivian Jungles Has Midwestern Premier", p.1.

[67] Chad M. Gasta "Sacred Arias", p. 153. Also B. Illari.

brother Zipoli, one of the best musicians who lived in Rome and who came, already a Jesuit, to the province of Paraguay."[68] The only incongruity in that statement is "Italian" opera.

In a personal discussion on this topic, Bernardo Illari gave further perspective that although Zipoli may be a good seller, it is not a historical reality and there is no concrete proof of musical authorship for *San Ignacio*. A fragment of the libretto that survives carries the name "P. Martin" as if it were an attribution. The only "P. Martin" in Chiquitos at that time was Martin Schmid (1694-1772). Schmid, a Swiss Jesuit missionary sent to the Chiquitos who started music schools, taught music and instructed students to build the instruments. He also designed and helped build several missions. In a letter to his brother, 1744, Schmid states, "The superiors have ordered me to introduce the music in these missions. All villages now have (an) organ, many violins and double bass made of cedar, clavicordio, spinets, harps, trumpets, sharm." The connection with Schmid to Zipoli is also in the Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Jesuits: "While at San Rafael (Schmid) incorporated Zipoli's and unknown Indigenous composers' music in fashioning a chamber opera celebrating the lives of Saints Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier. The libretto is in Spanish with the conclusion in the Chiquitano language summarizing the moral of the play."[69]

We do find another reference to an early Jesuit opera made in an account from 1747, which describes pupils from Yapeyú travelling on an invitation to Buenos Aires to participate in the festivities on the occasion of the coronation of Fernando VI:

> [the celebration began] with a solemn *Te Deum* sung in the cathedral church…In the afternoon…at the concert, pieces- well in tune- delighted the ear…At night the Indians from the Jesuit missions…presented several dances to the sound of their instruments. An allegorical cart attracted attention, … in whose interior the concert of nicely composed and well measured music was arranged, on account of which many works full of praises of the King and lords were sung…The following night…the Indians [from Yapeyú] presented an opera, a very well put together work. … They sang with lovely balance of voices, recitatives, allegros, adagios, fugues and other musical forms, which the opera consisted of, ending with a short farce with very pleasing dances and steps (*mudanas*) of peculiar beauty.[70]

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[68] Nawrot, Anthropos, p. 99. (original quote: Gesualdo, 1961, I:53.)

[69] Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Jesuits, pp. 720.

[70] Ibid. *Descripción de las fiestas reales* …, (quoted in Gesualdo, 1978: 81).

Like Labrador's testimonial, it is plausible that the opera described in this account is *San Ignacio*, due to the description of the multi-movements and the proximity of Yapeyú to Cordoba and the eastern missions of Bolivia. However, beyond these statements referring to "an opera," little is known of the title or detailed descriptions of the work/s being referenced in the letters.

Studies to date have discussed Zipoli's life and works from a historiographic perspective, but little research has examined this opera as a combined cross-collaborative literary and musical phenomenon. [71] Domenico Zipoli, an already famous European musician and composer, became a Jesuit priest and arrived in Córdoba, Viceroyalty of Peru in 1717. Zipoli wrote many other works found in the Chiquitos and Moxos archives such as psalms, vespers, hymns, litanies, a Te Deum, Misa San Ignacio, motets, and sacred arias. Thus, it is plausible to link Zipoli to *San Ignacio*, which is in the style of early Italian operas – the style with which Zipoli was so familiar.

In a recent recorded performance of *San Ignacio* by the European early music ensemble, *Elyma*, Domenico Zipoli is cited as the composer of the opera, along with various anonymous composers, which were further compiled by Martin Schmid.[72] In our correspondence, Illari concurred with this, and brought up another aspect- there are several styles in the piece, from different time periods. Zipoli could be attributed some numbers from the first part (some of which were tampered with), but the beginning is in Schmid's style, and so is the beginning of the second part. "Pasa ligera", "Ignacio Amado padre" and "Estas las banderas" are by one or more European-trained composers different from either of them (and not earlier than 1740). In the first part, "Que sigais su bandera es" is an interpolation that could have been created by yet another composer (if it is not by Schmid).

The musician cohorts of the missions were taught simple music theory and techniques for use in each mission church. There were usually 30-40 musicians in each school at a time. A statement by Jesuit priest, José Cardiel, who was active in the Paraguayan missions between 1728-1768, also attests to this in the style of education and method of ear training. His startling observations give a much different picture of the character of music education:

> Boys begin their musical training at the age of eight or nine under the supervision of a native teacher whose work is normally characterized by considerable seriousness and

[71] Gasta, "Transatlantic Arias", p. 154.

[72] Also supported by the research of Garrido, Bernardo Illari, Frank Kennedy, and David Irving.

> zeal. They learn quickly, and yet there are limits to the musical vocation among them. No matter how skilled a musician, no Indian ever becomes a composer, because Indians lack the creative faculty, their abilities being limited strictly to imitation. They are instructed in the following manner. The instructor plays or sings an example of what is to be learned and is imitated exactly by the pupils. The instructor strikes an erring pupil immediately with his hand, just as one does in training a dog. By dint of continual practice, even indifferent pupils memorize each piece of music that they are to perform in church, and good pupils with attentive instructors learn to sight read difficult musical scores flawlessly after looking them over two or three times.[73]

Although Cardiel was a Jesuit and skilled at geography and cartography, he was not a musician. It is not clear just how reflective this is of the methods of instruction in the *reducciones*, or whether this is indicative only of the practices where Cardiel was based. But here we can see the colonial methods, prejudices, and abuses on full display. It is assumed that mimicry by ear indicates a low aptitude and lack of "the creative faculty," the young indigenous musicians are compared to, and treated like, dogs that must be trained, and the methods of the so-called "training" involves harsh corporal punishment. Apparently, it is not even considered that these abusive practices are detrimental to a productive learning environment and were themselves, in all likelihood, the reason that the young musicians opted out of creating/composing. The musical language being taught and learned was itself not based on creativity or originality. It was parroted. It was a model to be copied and duplicated and preserved- not invented on or expanded. There can be little wonder, then, that pupils declined composing themselves. Questions as to the differing musical backgrounds of the instructors would also inform the varied levels of musical prowess from mission to mission.

As the Argentinian musicologist Leonardo Waisman elaborates in his own article, "Why did Indians sing?", the musical trainees' abhorrence of composition was a source of frustration to the Jesuits and they were often hard-pressed to even write a "second violin or bass part to a very ordinary Minuet."[74]

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[73] Adapted from Guillermo Furlong, José Cardiel y su carta relacion (1747), pp.165-168.

[74] Leonardo J. Waisman, "Why did Indians sing? The Appropriation of European musical practices by South-American natives in the Jesuit reducciones". 2013, p. 315. Quote from Franz Xaver Eder,'...quodcum varios vere egregios musicos in Missionibus noverim, ad ipse etiam habuerim quod methodum componendi operose edocui, nunquam tamen conse- qui potui [que dato?] sibi summi ordinario alicui Menueto, secundum Violinum aut Bassum aponerent.' [Franz Xaver Eder]: 'Brevis descriptio missionum Soci- etatis Jesu Provinciae Peruanae vulgo Los Moxos,' MS in Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár [University Library], unfoliated, Liber I, Caput V.

Whatever the case, we can conclude that the opera resembles Zipoli's style and may very well have several sections written by him, it was also contributed to by Martin Schmid and could also have contributions from advanced musicians and copyists in the Chiquitos missions in the "galant style" of the day, discussed below.

There is also another question, though, that hangs over *San Ignacio*, regarding the type of work that it is. In all of the original manuscripts gathered on it from its own era, none refer to *San Ignacio* as an *opera*. And the categorization as such has occurred in recent years after being reconstructed and edited. Perhaps in its time the work was so obviously distinguished as an operatic work of the day by its obvious religious content that either it seemed inappropriate (or imprudent) to identify as an "opera," or its religious nature simply blinded those who encountered it so they did not discern its operatic character. Whatever the reasons may be, it seems to us today that, given its form and presentation, it is best described as an opera.

If we look more closely at the content of *San Ignacio*, we discover that it is a moralistic chamber opera that, as mentioned already, tells the spiritual history of the saints Ignacio Loyola and Francisco Javier. Saints Ignacio and Francisco were the spiritual founders of the Society of Jesuits who were later canonised by Pope Gregory XV not long before March 12, 1622. The opera depicts the conversion of St. Ignatius, his call to mission, his friendship with Francis Xavier, and finally his commissioning of Xavier to the East to preach and baptise. The overarching theme of the opera is love. First, God's love which compels Ignatius to action, then the brotherly love through Christ which Ignatius and Xavier share, which then calls Xavier to the New World. This love then "calls" even the audience to mission. As Kennedy reiterates, "Love is the force that is in all things. It represents the aims, the means, and the music of the Jesuits in South America."[75]

As the opera opens, there is a short instrumental introduction, after which the opera flows along with ten scenes of recitative and da capo arias and concludes with an Epilogue sung by all voices together. The sources from the Chiquitos are either unclear as to sections or brought together in a single, longer piece with the titles "*Mensajero*" and "*Despedida*", and separated by an instrumental minuet (whose melody is lost). Nawrot's version lists each movement but gives

[75] Kennedy, "Music and the Jesuit Mission in the New World", p.12.

no organisational structure. In Bernardo Illari's version, the opera is divided editorially into two short acts: *The Messenger* and *The Farewell*. The sources are the same for both scores; however, Illari chose to complete two sections that did not have vocal parts and commissioned local writers to pen the poetry. He did not inform me which parts were expanded with the new poetry in our correspondence.

The opera *San Ignacio* is scored for five solo singers, two violins, organ and "trompa" probably a French horn or other brass instrument made within the Jesuit missions. The horn only plays on the *presto* "Epilogue" movement "*Estas las banderas son*" ("These are the flags"). The five characters in the opera are San Ignacio, Messenger 1, Messenger 2, Demon, and San Francisco Javier. The work consists of a short overture, recitatives and arias in the Baroque style and Epilogue and around forty-five minutes long. There is no chorus included in the vocal parts, however, the Epilogue lists "voices" in unison for the final movement. Roger Mathew Grant writes that *San Ignacio* along with other large scale liturgical compositions of the Chiquitos missions are in the galant style: "characterised by simple harmonies, regular cadence patterns and transparent textures."[76] In his review of the work, Michael Wallin states the opera is a "complex intersection between European Baroque and Indigenous musical languages."[77]

The opera score referenced in this paper is edited and compiled by Piotre Nawrot from excerpts retained in the Archivo Musical de Chiquitos (Concepción, Bolivia) and the Archivo Musical de Moxos (San Ignacio de Moxos, Bolivia). Published in 2012 in Bolivia, Nawrot's score is a result of piecing together fragments from both archives. Another score exists of this opera compiled by Bernardo Illari of University of Texas, however I was unable to locate this score for reference or comparison other than a review of the recording in BBC Music Magazine, Jan. 20, 2012. "Using extant sources where possible, Bernard Illari has reconstructed, with some additions, the opera San Ignacio (by Zipoli, Schmid and others) as it may have been performed for the native Amazonian peoples, although without the didactic spoken drama." I contacted Dr. Illari for comment and he provided some valuable perspectives on the opera, the sources and libretto. Unfortunately, due to copyright restrictions he was not at liberty to share the score with me for reference.

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[76] Grant, "Colonial Galant: Three Analytical Perspectives from the Chiquitano Missions", p. 130.

[77] Wallin, "Domenico Zipoli: San Ignacio de Loyola.", p. 30

This is the scene order according to Nawrot's score:

Introduction: Instrumental

Scene 1: *¡Ay! ¡Que Tormento!*, San Ignacio, aria
Oh, vida, cuánto duras, San Ignacio, aria

Scene 2: Messenger 1, San Ignacio, recitatives
¡Oh! ¡Qué contento!, San Ignacio, aria
Cuanto Fui, soy y seré, San Ignacio, aria
¡Oh! ¡Qué contento! San Ignacio, aria

Scene 3: Messenger 2, recitative
Cuando fulmina centellas, Messenger 2, aria
¡Ah, pérfido!, San Ignacio, recitative
Messenger 1, Messenger 2, San Ignacio, recitatives
Contra este tigre rampante, San Ignacio, aria
Las banderas, Messenger 1, aria
Por mi Jesús, Messenger 2, aria

Scene 4: Demon, San Ignacio, Messenger 1, recitatives
Es el mayor monarca de la tierra, Demon aria
Por él militan, Demon, aria

Scene 5: Messenger 1, recitative
Que sigáis su bandera, Demon, aria

Scene 6: San Ignacio, Messenger 1, Messenger 2, Demon, recitatives
*Contra este tigre rampant*e, San Ignacio, Messenger 1, Messenger 2, aria (trio)
Oh, Jesus, mi bien amado, San Ignacio, aria

Scene 7: San Ignacio, Messenger 1, recitatives
Oh, Javier, esclarecido, San Ignacio, aria
San Francisco Javier, San Ignacio, recitatives

Scene 8: San Francisco Javier, San Ignacio, recitatives
De Jesús propagaras, San Ignacio, aria

Scene 9: San Francisco Javier, San Ignacio, recitatives
Pasa ligera, San Francisco Javier, aria
Ve sin recelo de la victoria, San Ignacio, aria

Scene 10: San Francisco Javier, San Ignacio, recitatives
Ignacio, amado padre, San Francisco Javier, San Ignacio, duet

Epilogue: *Estas las banderas son*, all voices, Chorus

Musical Style in San Ignacio

The music of the opera is, as previously mentioned, in the *galant* style which was in fashion from 1720-1770. Grant writes, "galant style has characteristic homophony, simple melodic imitations, and transparent modulation patterns". It tends to be lighter, with virtually no counterpoint. It also avoids complex fugues and has graceful ornaments. The galant style also parallels the Rococo style in artwork of the period.

The libretto, reconstructed by Ana Luisa Arce, was painstakingly re-imagined from comparing several fragments of pages in two separate archives. Nawrot and Arce explain that no full libretto existed previously and that one page of a fragment in the Chiquitos archive "with the text corresponding to Scene 10 (from the recitative *God increase charity*) was found intact.[78] In the case of the Epilogue, three versions of text were found which were historically used for performances of the opera on different feast days, specifically San Pedro, Santa Ana and San Ignacio de Loyola. The last version with text honouring San Ignacio was used in the libretto of the Epilogue in this score. Arce writes, "This material could be considered a form of the libretto as it was presented at that time. For this reason, the entire text has been reconstructed, giving it the format of what is usually called the libretto of a staged work." [79]

By threading these fragments together, the libretto holds together. However, no more information is given in the Nawrot score as to which text/s were re-written around the fragments that were used or from which archive they were found− only the regional variations of words used in the two archives.[80] Illari has noted in one source that "Nawrot's editions, whose content has often been found to be unreliable, are visually flawless."[81]

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[78] Nawrot, ed. "San Ignacio: Ópera de las misiones jesuiticas", p.20. "*En nunguna de las fuentes utilizadas para la reconstrucción de la ópera se ha encontrado el libreto de la misma. Sin embargo, en Chiquitos existe una hoja, o su fragmento con el texto correspondiente a la Escena 10 (a partir del recitativo Dios nos aumente la caridad) y a la version 3 del Epilogo presentado en este estudio.*"

[79] Nawrot, p. 20.*"Este material podría ser considerado como una forma de presentación del libreto en esa época. Por esta razón, se ha procedido a la reconstrucción de todo el texto dándole el formato do lo que habitualmente se llama el livreto de una obra escénica."*

[80] See appendix for full libretto with English translation.

[81] Illari, "Sacred Music from Eighteenth-Century Bolivia", p. 309.

Mimetic Ceremony and Imagery in San Ignacio

Ceremony and ritual were woven throughout the daily, weekly, and yearly life of the Jesuit reductions.[82] From Mass, to daily Vespers to processions and festival days, music connected the Indigenous peoples to the church and its ideals. The ceremonies offered the missionaries and the Guaraní a common platform in the admittedly asymmetrical context of the mission domination project.[83] The mimetic aspect and blending of Indigenous and European influences largely occurred through music and dance. Chilean musicologist Samuel Claro writes that the native dances were accepted by the missionaries and were often officially incorporated for religious ceremonies during processions, feast days and commemorating saint days. As Fr. Eder reported (1879), some dancers "put on monkey and bird skins; others carry shields of swallow feathers (sewn) into the cloth; and in them there are drawn several animal figures".[84] By giving the Indigenous a platform to display certain aspects of Indigenous religions (animism and shamanism), the Jesuits signalled their willingness to share temporal space, giving us some insight into the coexisting of Jesuits with the Indigenous in their communities. An example of the hybrid culture of the reductions and mimetic practice coincides with the militaristic language found in the opera, *San Ignacio*. This is found in the *machetero* dance performed by the Indigenous Mojeños of Bolivia as well as in Exaltación (modern-day Argentina). The dance dates back to the colonial period and is now typically done for the Ichapekene Piesta festival in the town of San Ignacio de Moxos in homage to San Ignacio de Loyola. In the dance, the men sing and brandish "their large knives (machetes) and machete swords (going) from cross to cross and before the altars of the church, followed by the whole tribe. Melchor María Mercado captures this in his drawing from 1859 with two dancers, one facing and another from behind

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[82] One eye-witness account of a normal day routine states, "After breakfast and confession, the Guaraní went to work in a march-like procession, carrying the statue of San Isidro on their shoulders and singing religious songs. The children, too, "play their drums (tamboriles) and flutes, and to the sound of these crude instruments they happily go to work with their alcaldes, which is commanded them." (quoted by Heister, Hanns-Werner, and Singer, p. 220. Original citation José Cardiel, 1747, S. 123. Hervorh. H.-W.H. und D.S.)

[83] Heister, Hanns-Werner, and Singer, p. 216.

[84] Claro, p.13. "*El P. Eder informa que "en ciertas horas se reúnen en casa del misionero, y bailan alli y dentro del Templo", y describe los atavios de los bailarines: "Para dar más gracia a sus bailes, hay algunos que se ponen pieles de monos y de aves; otros llevan escudos de plumas ingeridas (cosidas) en una tela; y en ellos hay dibujadas varias figuras de animales*." (Quoting from Edward D. Mathews, *Up the Amazon and Madeira Rivers, through Bolivia and Peru.* (London, 1879), p. 158.)

with a machete in his right hand, headdresses with large tufts of feathers – one red, the other blue – ending in a long, feathered tail of a toucan that reaches down the back until it touches the ground. They are accompanied by another musician playing the drum and the three are provided with bells attached to ankles and knees…."[85]

Figure 2. Imagery, Macheteros dance

The meaning of the *macheteros* dance varies: some believe that it represents the submission of the Indigenous peoples and their conversion to Christianity; others see the dancers as soldiers of the church fighting and conquering its enemies. Others say the dance represents the struggle of man with nature protecting their village from predators like tigers and jaguars. Still others see the connection to the headdress worn as solar warriors paying homage to the sun god and nature. and Finally, many Mojeño interpretations say the dance represents the resurrection of Jesus Christ and his ascension to heaven.[86]

Whatever the case, the dance is a perfect example of syncretic cultures and mimetic practice. What does this have to do with San Ignacio the opera? As a result of the Jesuit presence, both works are a performative expression flowing outward from the community gathered for entertainment outside liturgical practice, or "paraliturgical". The *macheteros* dance as well as the opera San Ignacio, combine images, language and movement that integrate two disparate cultures.

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[85] Melchor María Mercado, Plate 54, dated July 17, 1859; One of 120 brightly coloured plates that describe Bolivian customs from the mid 19th century. Cited in Claro, p.14. Melchor María Mercado, artist of an extraordinary manuscript that is preserved in the National Library of Sucre, Bolivia.

[86] Claro, p. 14.

Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits, used the image of 'militia' which was "intended to encourage a warlike determination (to spiritual perfection) which was directed both outwards and inwards."[87] Like Paul's exhortation in Ephesians 6, the early Jesuits used language which reflected engaging in battle, however their "battle was not against flesh and blood." Even today, the Society of Jesus uses the phrase, "soldier of God beneath the banner of the cross"[88], which brings to mind violent images of Crusaders and religious persecution. However, in this sense it is meant as fealty and piety.

The use of two angelic messengers and demonic characters in *San Ignacio* demonstrate that spiritual themes and imagery were very appealing to the Indigenous audience. As Bernardo Illari states, "Angelic imagery is not just common but also plentiful in the Chiquitano churches, as a possible way to Christianize native beliefs in spirits, a process that possibly involved offertories as well. Not surprisingly, other liturgical choices have a definite Jesuit slant, in their celebration of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier…".[89] A good example of this imagery in *San Ignacio* is the aria, "*Contra este tigre rampante*", in which San Ignacio likens Satan to a wild tiger roaming the earth which he has to fight. The historical manifestations of hell and its vulgar images in Chiquito culture support this. As one Jesuit missionary describes a dream of one of the Chiquitos Indians (Xarupá):

> (Xarupá saw) a corps of very ugly demons with terrible appearance and grotesque movements of body; some had the head of a tiger, others of a dragon and crocodile, still others had appearances of such monstrous and terrible forms that anyone would be discouraged from looking at them. [90]

Although the characterizations and interactions in *San Ignacio* remain rather uncomplicated, the imagery and references are loaded with militaristic language and are

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[87] Imbruglia, p. 77.

[88] Jesuits, Formula of the Institute of the Society of Jesus approved by Julius III, Chapter 1. "Whoever desires to serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the cross in our Society, which we desire to be designated by the name of Jesus, and to serve the Lord alone and the Church, His spouse, under the Roman pontiff, the vicar of Christ on earth, should, after a solemn vow of perpetual chastity, poverty, and obedience, keep what follows in mind."

[89] Illari, Bernardo. "Sacred Music from Eighteenth-Century Bolivia", *Notes*, vol. 74, no. 2, 2017, p.306.

[90] Jackson, 2015, p.38. (From the original quote in Spanish: "*Una cuadrilla de demonios feisimos, con terribles semblantes, y descompasados movimientos delcuerpo: unos con cara de tigres, otros de dragones, y cocodrillos, y algunos con aparencias de tan monstruosas, y teribles formas, que no sufria el ànimo mirarlos…*")

countered by spiritualized statements of love and longing. Jesuit scholar Nicholas Cushner elaborates:

> The audience may or may not have realized the theological import of what they were viewing. A staged spectacle, an elaborate performance with props, costumes, songs, music, and sometimes dance, overwhelmed but never eliminated the didactic element in Jesuit theatre. Actors, stagehands, audience, and community looked upon the theatre as entertainment with a purpose. The Jesuit theatre was a microcosm of what the Jesuits themselves wanted to inculcate in their students. They wished their students to be articulate, committed believers, learned in all forms of secular knowledge but with the realization that they were on a journey towards a more permanent homeland. How they behaved and lived in this life would determine the nature of the reward or punishment in the next.[91]

As the quote above explains, the use of music together with imagery and biblical references would have been a powerful tool of proselytising within the social fabric of the *reducciones*. By including demonic/angelic characters, the opera activates the imagination and creates opportunities for bridging cultural narratives on the spiritual world.

Text and Music

Because of its unique, almost *sui generis*, context, Mission Baroque music requires that it be analysed on its own terms, rather than those that are appropriate in more typical European Baroque contexts. In particular, the strength of the musical legacy of the *reducciones* was its adoption and advancement of oral tradition and communal memory. The musical language that was being taught to the mission musicians—and that they preserved— was both localised and selective and so some unique features developed. For example, musical notation and polyphony were apparently not incorporated deep enough into the culture to survive the troubled times after the expulsion of the Jesuits, which caused more of a reliance on an oral transmission than on musical notation to pass on the music to later generations. Waisman notes that the musicians in the *reducciones* continued to trade scores as late as 1880, however as the musical proficiency declined with subsequent generations, it was evident the sheet music was used more for ritual, even if the singers/players had the music upside down. This being the case, it is most appropriate to analyse this music using the methods and practices that were taught in the actual context in which it was produced, and by a comparison of the different archival scores.

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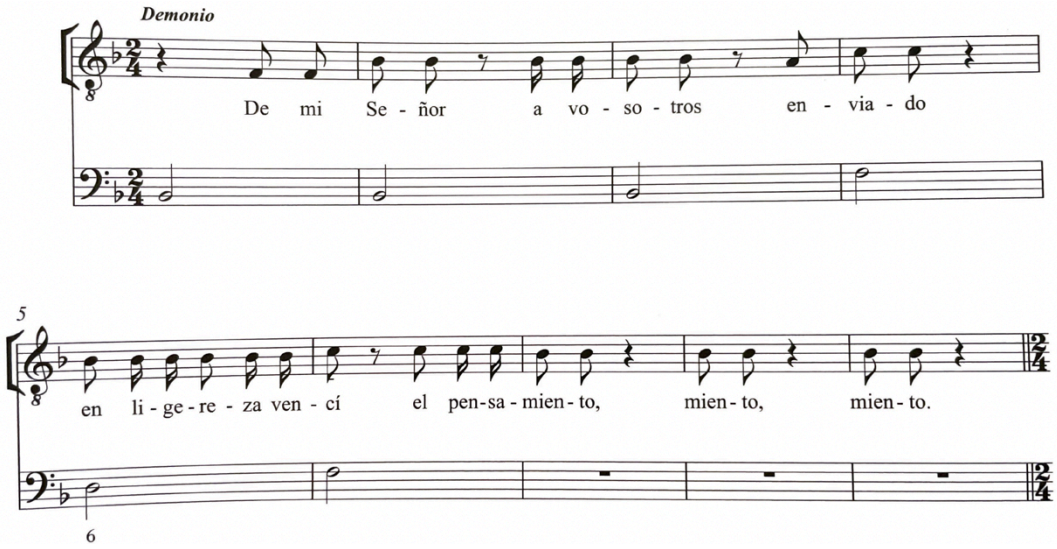
[91] Cushner, Nicholas P., “The Jesuits in Colonial America 1565-1767”, p. 106

The first appearance in Scene four of the Demon has stark continuo accompaniment and ends almost as a parody of himself by repeating "*miento*" twice after the word "*pensamiento*". The play on words here is clever – taking "thought" and making it into a "lie" as an afterthought or mockery. By parroting himself, the demon brings lightness to the moment and undoubtedly was entertaining to the Indigenous audience. The Demon character is akin to other mythological archetypes in Indigenous cultures as a "trickster" figure, sometimes depicted as a shape-shifting animal. In many Latin American cultures *El Duende/Los Duendes* are fabled as goblins or elves— mischievous woodland creatures, mostly malevolent and sometimes benevolent. The Wichí people group of the Gran Chaco have the legend of *Tokhwáh*; the Ava Guaraní and Chané people of northern Gran Chaco have shared myths about *Aguara,* a mythological fox. Notable tricksters in popular Spanish literature and folklore at that time would have been recognized by those of European descent, specifically Pedro Urdemales and Lazarillo de Tormes.[92]

Figure 3. Comedic Word play "pensamiento"

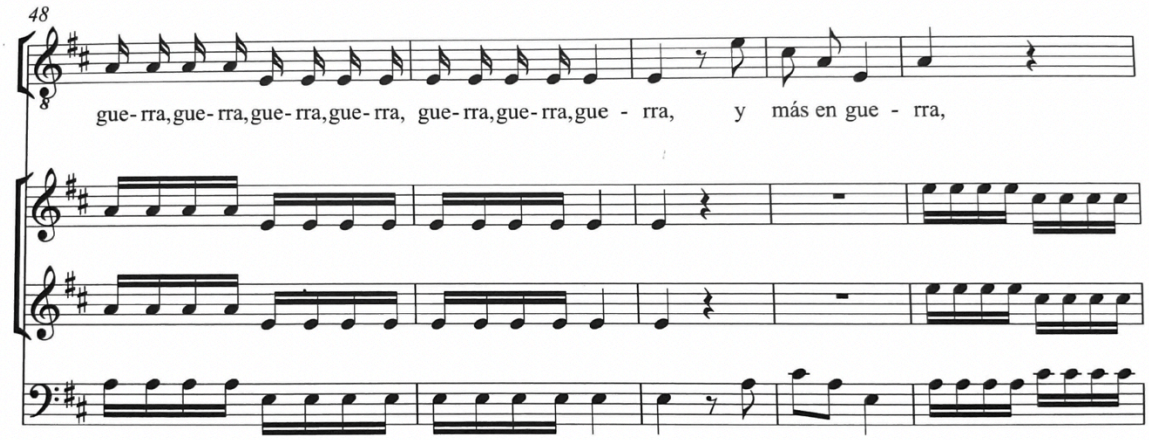


Later in Scene four, the demon sings in "*por el militan*" of the devil having "*intiento*" (his intent), then again mocking or mimicking himself by repeating "*tiento, tiento, tiento*" (to touch or feel). Additionally, the repeating jeers of the demon are acapella as if they are being echoed in his mind.

[92] See Miguel de Cervantes, *Pedro de Urdemalas*, a novel published in 1615, found in the collection "Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses". ("Eight Plays and Eight Interludes")

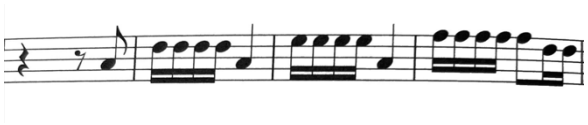
In the aria, "*Es el mayor monarca de la tierra*", the Demon sings of the ruler of earth in a way that comedifies the character through its repetitive use of "*guerra*" resembling bullets from a gun. This word painting technique can also be tied to famous madrigal traditions, for example, in *La Guerre* by the Renaissance composer Clément Janequin.

Figure 4. Comedic Word-play "guerra"



The musical gestures in both of the first two demon arias: "*es el mayor monarca*" and "*por el militant*" are almost the same with many unison sections in the accompaniment.

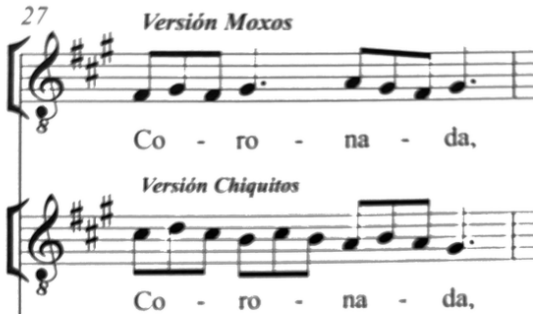
Figure 5. Repeated musical gestures



So closely related are they, that the second, "*por el militant*" I would argue, is an extension of the first aria. It also happens to be about half as long as the first aria which supports it as a "reprise" of the first aria.

The third sequential aria by the demon is in 12/8 time and shifts to A major. This is interesting as it is the only piece in the opera in this key. In Nawrot's score from mm. 27-45, there are two vocal lines shown from the two archives Moxos and Chiquitos.

Figure 6. Archival differences: Moxos, Chiquitos



It is an interesting, but not surprising result of having different copyists over many years and locations that two melodies would evolve. In Nawrot's editorial notes and throughout the score, the mention of different copyists are listed with the dates of their copy.[93]

Nicholas Cushner, explains that the "Devil" was identified by Jesuits as the ultimate agent responsible for opposing European culture. Aside from a general obsession with the devil which harkened back to folk Catholicism in Europe, all Indian priests or shamans as well as witches or *brujos* were considered servants of the devil. For this reason, the public *fiesta* in which individual saints were honoured as protectors against the devil were important spiritual as well as social activities.[94] In this case, the clear victory over the demon embedded within an entertaining public performance also serving as an evangelistic tool, would have been an obvious message to the neophytes in the community. The composer's choice to characterise the demon in *San Ignacio* opera with a singing role gives weight to the public acknowledgement and rebuking of the devil within the native belief system. The evident diabolism of the Indigenous cultures gave the Jesuits continued reason to both accommodate it and also grapple with the efficacy of their evangelising efforts.[95]

The dramatic pinnacle of the opera is in Scene six, "*Contra este tigre rampante*" Where San Ignacio and the two messengers vehemently condemn the demon and sing different texts at

[93] Copyists who signed their names on archival versions of *San Ignacio* opera: Geronimo de Peres (Chiquitos), Ignacio Tumo (San Ignacio, 1911), Manuel Trinidad Mosuba Muiba Noco Guaji (San Ignacio, 1915), Rafael Chapi (San Ignacio de Moxos, 1911), José Lorenzo Justiniano Noe Noco (San Ignacio, 1911), Ambrocia Nuni (San Ignacio de Moxos, 1924), Francisco Sucubono (San Ignacio 1922). Versions and excerpts of these copies make up the content of P. Nawrot's 2012 edition of the opera score.

[94] Cushner, Nicholas P. "Jesuits in Colonial America 1565-1767" Fundación Ignacio Larramendi, 2000. p. 6, 9-10.

[95] Cervantes, The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain. 1994.

the same time with rhyming on the first syllable of m. 39. (rampante, delante, constante) and in m.41 (pugnar, llevar, pelear). Each character is stating their emphatic distaste of the demon and their wish to fight the power of evil. The vocal line of San Ignacio in this movement largely borrows from the earlier movement of the same name and written in the same key of F major as in scene three. The trio is mostly homophonic, with some counterpoint in the accompaniment and voices.

San Ignacio: *Contra este tigre rampante con mi Dios corro a pugnar.*
(Against this uncontrolled tiger with my God I run to fight.)

Messenger I: *Las banderas por delante de Jesus quiero llevar.*
(The flags going before Jesus I want to raise.)

Messenger II: *Por mi Jesús yo constante iré tambien a pelear.*
(For my Jesus I constantly will also go to fight.)

Comparing the three vocal lines in the trio, San Ignacio has the most demanding melismatic passages, while the two messengers provide support equally.

Figure 7. Trio in Scene 6

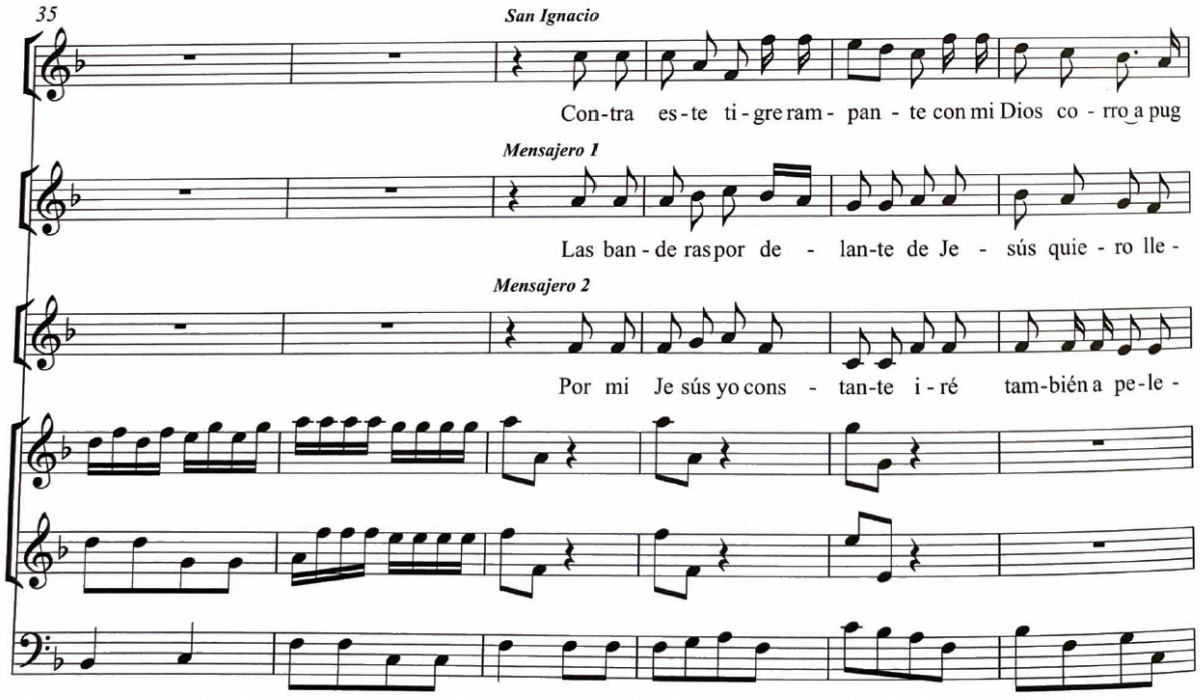
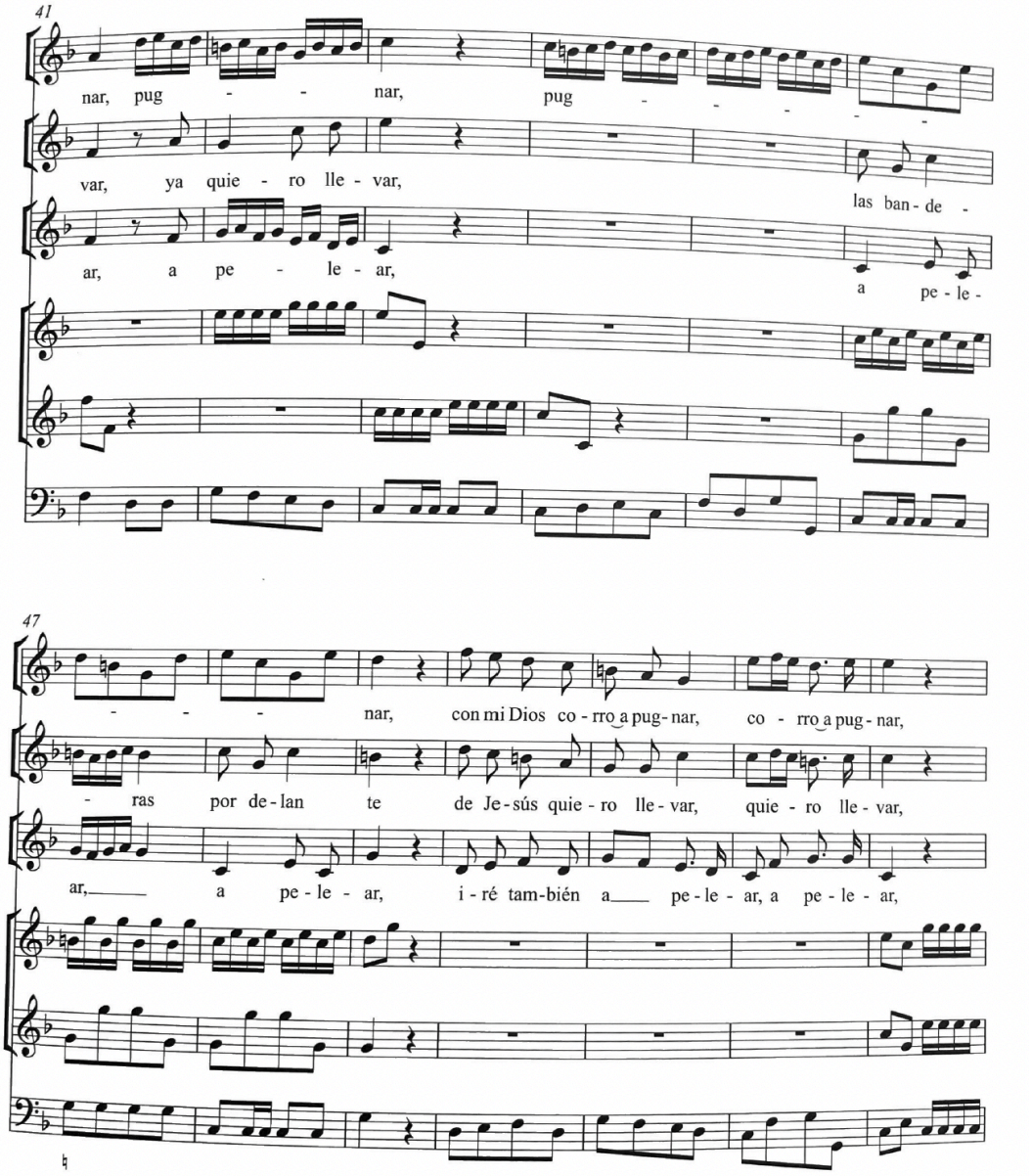


Figure 8. Trio in Scene 6, cont.

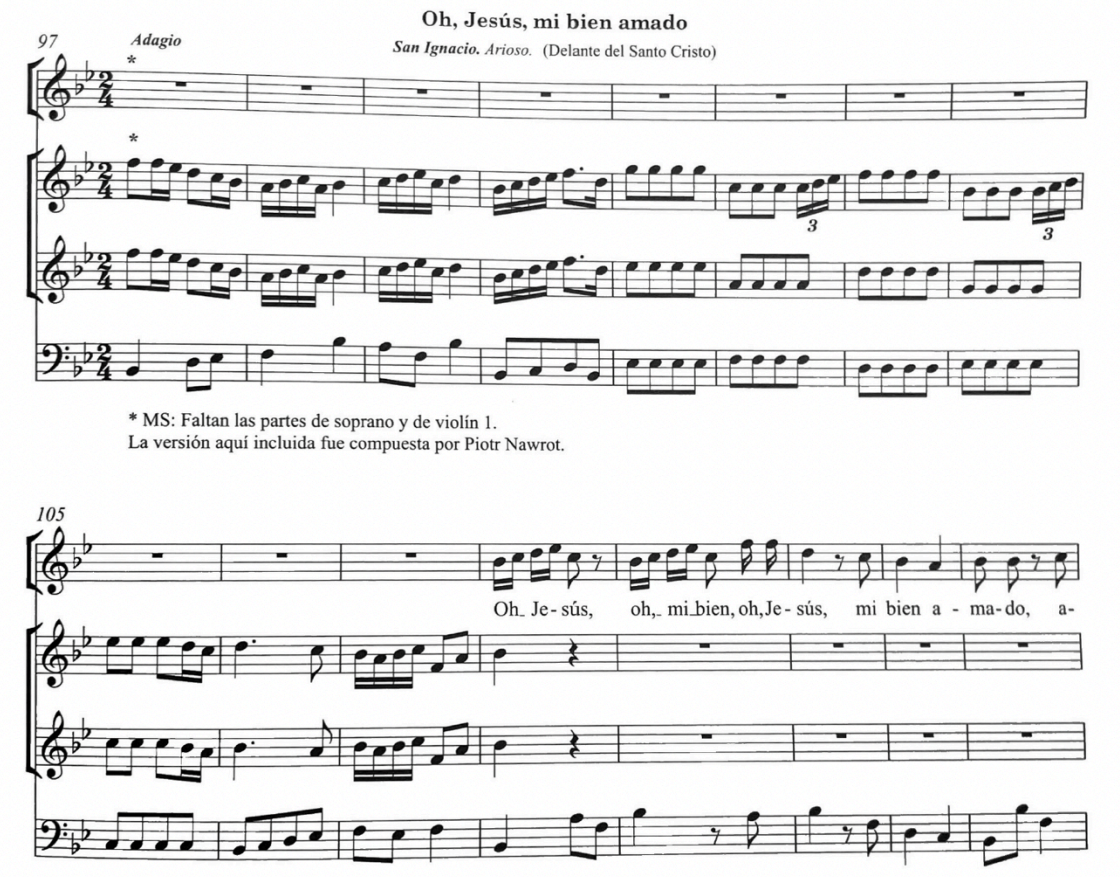


In several trio sections, the violins drop out which highlights the voices and thins the texture of accompaniment. The violins provide some excitement with their descending octave declamations and exchange of the sixteenth note repeated patterns. There are no dynamic or phrase markings in this section, however in several other arias there have been minimal dynamic markings included.[96] Like typical "galant" music of the period, dynamic markings are few, complex

[9644] San Ignacio aria "O vida…", scene 1; San Ignacio aria "Cuanto fui…", scene 2; Messenger arioso "Cuando fulmina…", scene 3. San Ignacio aria "Contra este tigre", scene 3; Demon aria "Es el mayor monarca", scene 4; San Ignacio aria, "O Javier esclarecido", scene 7; San Ignacio aria "De Jesus

counterpoint is avoided, and the bass line is purely functional- highlighting the strong tonic and dominant relationships.

Figure 9. Recurring musical theme #1

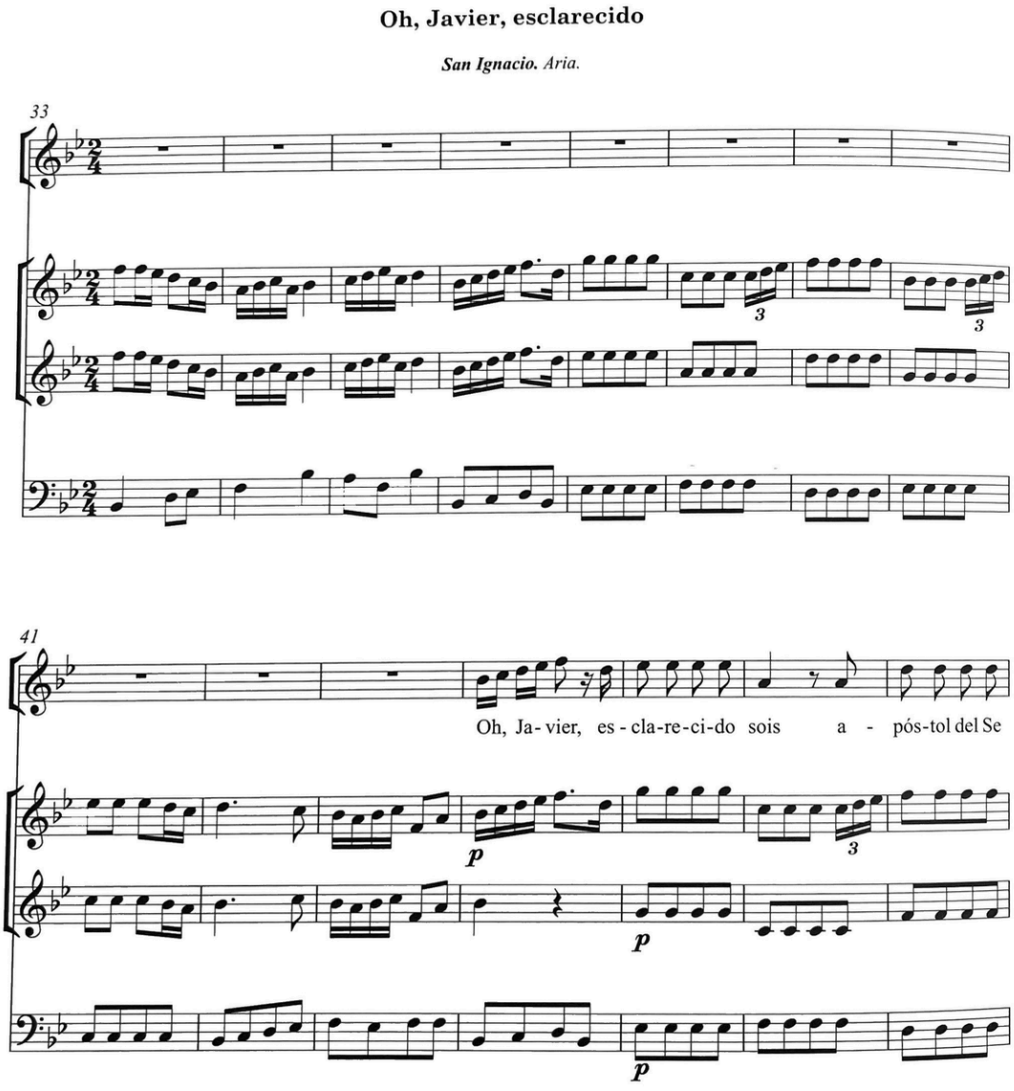


In three separate arias sung by San Ignacio, the opening accompaniment parts are virtually identical, providing a ritornello or musical introduction to his character. The first, "Oh, Jesus, me bien amado", appears in scene six. The second, "O, Javier, escarecido", in scene seven and the third aria, "De Jesús propagarás", in scene eight have identical measures 1-11. The first two arias are separated by short recitative sections, so the arias are consecutive, continuing the first

propagarás", scene 8; San Francisco Javier aria "Pasa ligera", scene 9; San Ignacio aria "Ve sin recelo…", scene 9; Epilogue, scene 10. Dynamic markings are only included for the accompaniment parts and none are seen in the recitative sections.

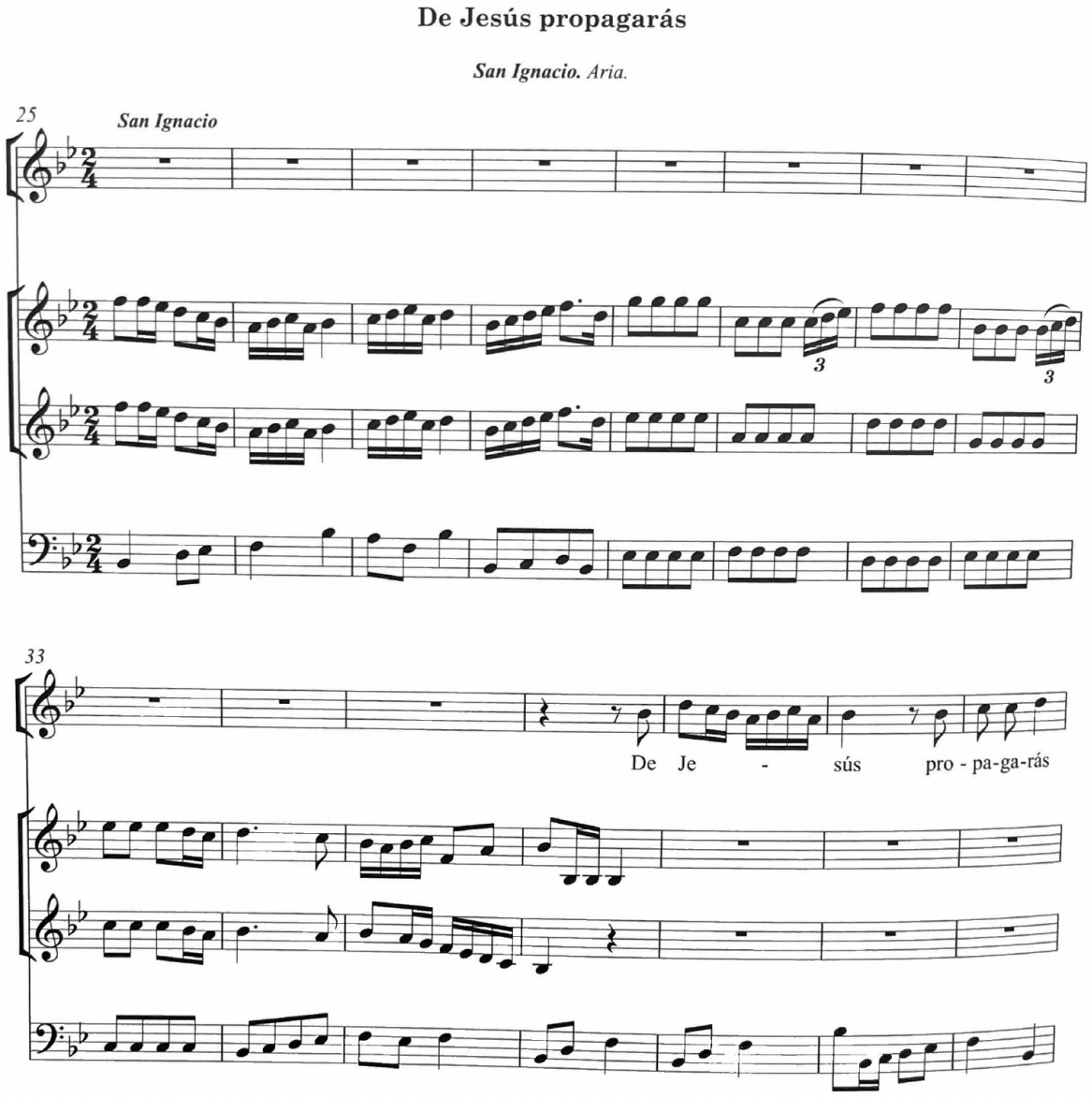
theme with a brief pause. As you can see in the editorial notes of the first example, Piotr Nawrot also realised the Violin I part to make up for the missing instrument in the salvaged score.[97]

Figure 10. Recurring musical theme #2



[97] This also occurs in the Introduction movement. Two other movements include a realized part due to the original not being found: 1) The voice line for San Ignacio in the opening recitative of Scene 7, and 2) the continuo part in the Epilogue.

Figure 11. Recurring musical theme #3



The musical repetition evokes a strong character theme for tying together scenes six through eight since San Ignacio sings all three arias and they occur sequentially in the work. Although the openings to the three arias are the same, the vocal lines take on new shape with each one and take on independence after the opening measures.

In Scene nine, San Francisco Javier sings a short aria in A minor with a strong harmonic minor scale mixed into the tonality of the orchestration, briefly going into E minor, the dominant minor key. The scene tells the story of San Javier travelling over the seas to an exotic land and

the tonality conveys that colour and differentiates from the rest of the opera vividly. The following aria by San Ignacio is virtually identical except for the change of text being sung and is slightly extended by the instruments as they repeat the introductory measures. The arias are essentially the same musically, with two verses, yet in the score are separated into distinct arias.

Figure 12. Recurring musical theme #4

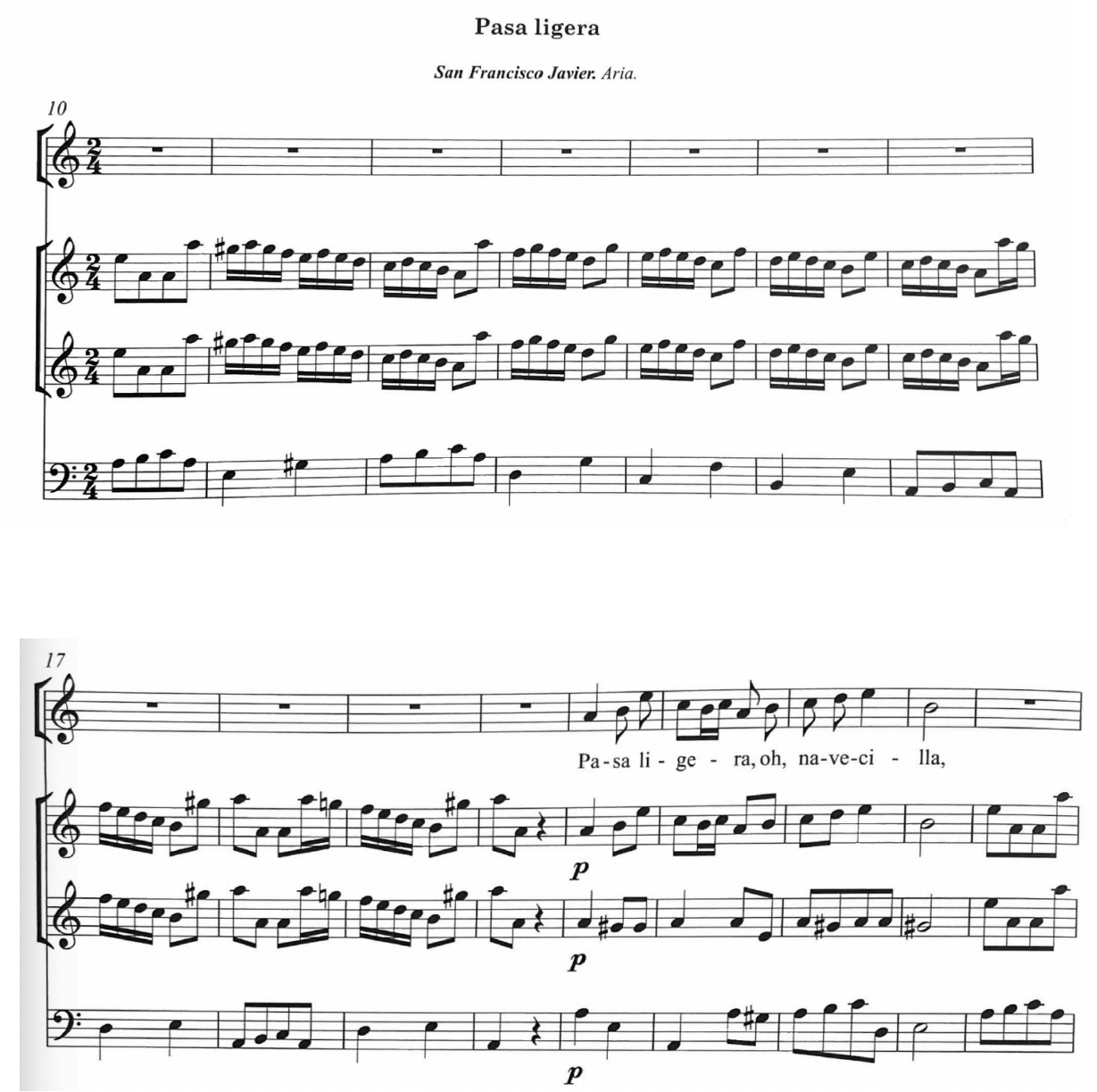
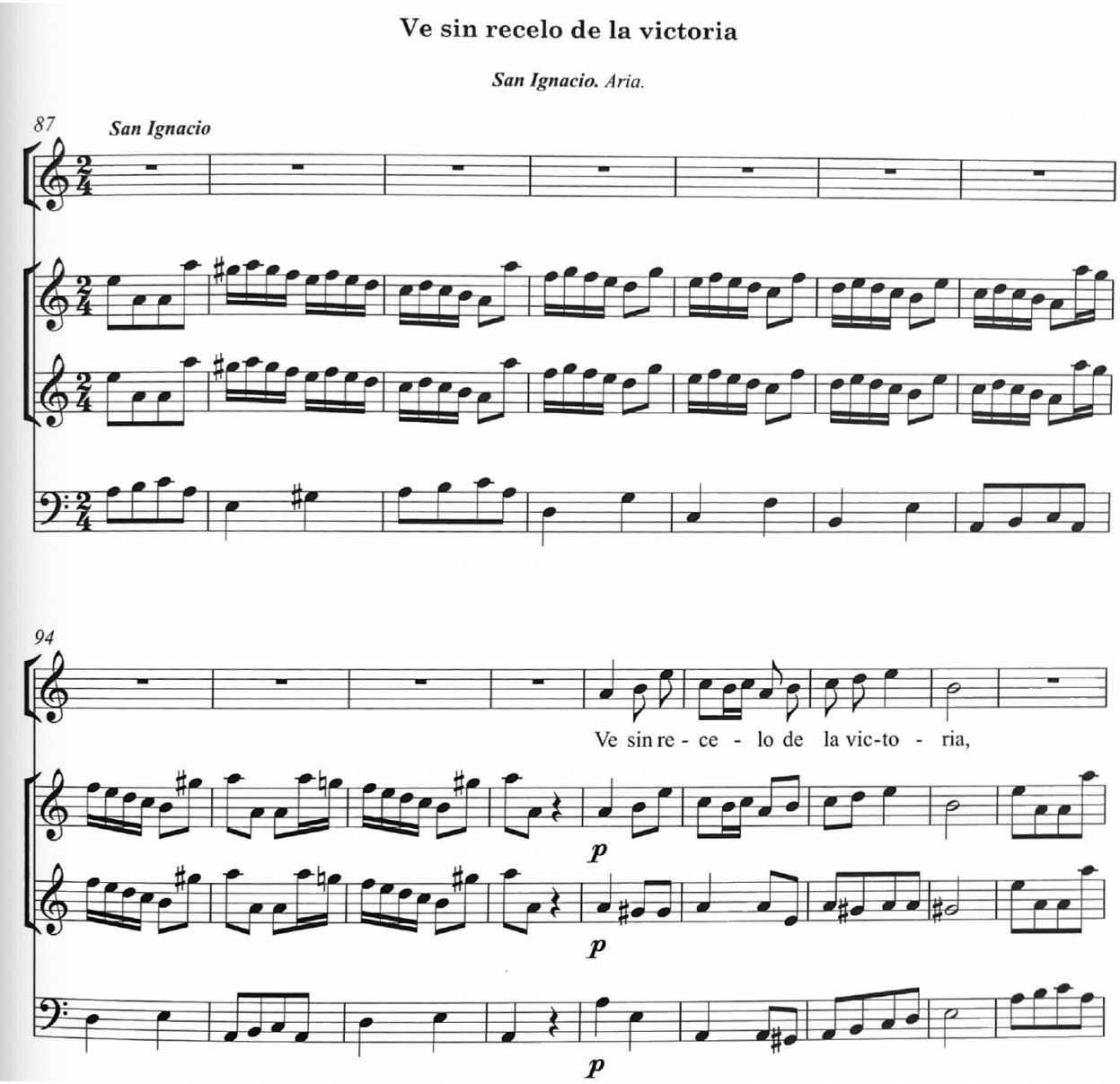


Figure 13. Recurring musical theme #5



The repetition of musical material throughout *San Ignacio* supports the idea that the opera was composed by local Indigenous musicians or copyists as Nawrot has stated. This is supported by Waisman who writes, "All written records of 18th and 19th-century music by Mojeño Indians share a number of traits: binary metre, sixteenth-note up-beats, and marked oxytone

accentuation."[98] Waisman also argues that the divine authority of the Spanish authorities combined with the paternalistic regime of the Jesuits were "sure to make the natives patently conscious of their inferior status and consequent inability to produce new sources of musical might within the European language conventions."[99] Generally, composition in and of itself was not an activity in the missions which had much value and for the most part, as Wilde writes, the music of the missions came from Europe. The "works" coming out of the missions were products of a collective, generally anonymous and oriented toward liturgical function.[100]

It is unlikely that Zipoli would have allowed so much borrowed material from previous movements within the opera given his oeuvre of choral and instrumental music that had gained a reputation in Europe as well as South America. The body of collected works found and attributed to Zipoli also evidence the fact that he rarely repeats himself with musical material within a multi-movement work. As Ayestarán describes it, Zipoli's music "has elegance in the style of the form and the melodic vein of fine articulation, a broad vein that irrigates all the pieces of his sonatas with original melodic substance, (and) makes their character very moving."[101] Further, Zipoli passed from a protracted illness in Córdoba in 1726, but accounts show that his music was copied as late as 1784 (in the case of his Mass in F Major)[102] and copies of San Ignacio opera were continued to be copied by hand in the Moxos missions of Bolivia up until 1924.[103]

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[98] Leonardo J. Waisman, "Why did Indians sing?", p. 319.

[99] Ibid, p. 315.

[100] Wilde, "Entre la duplicidad y el mestizaje: practices sonoras en las misiones jesuíticas de Sudamérica", p. 106. "Las «obras» solían ser productos colectivos, generalmente anónimos, orientadosa la función litúrgica. La composición no era una actividad que tuviera valor en sí misma, y buena parte de las músicas que se tocaban en las misiones venían de Europa."

[101] Ayestarán, "Domenico Zipoli-vida y obra", p. 28.

[102] Crook, "Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726): A Bibliographic Perspective", p. 10.

[103] Nawrot, Score, "*San Ignacio, Ópera de las misiones jesuíticas*", p. 11.

Conclusion

In this brief look at the Jesuit missions in the Bolivian region of Chiquitos and the "mission music" that came from them, we can see that its legacy is a mixed one that continues to have effects today. The mission opera *San Ignacio* provides for us an important window on a violent period of South American history and is a product of colonialism. In the Introduction, I noted Chad M. Gasta's assessment that *San Ignacio* was symbolic of the Jesuits ideological commitments and their attempt to evangelise the Indigenous peoples of the Bolivian Chiquitania. This is undoubtedly true, but the legacy is far more complex than that. Through continued performance, it appears that the Indigenous peoples found, and are continuing to find, *San Ignacio* and the mission music to be a powerful, enduring source of Indigenous identity and self-expression.

The opera has been performed in London (2022) and Chicago (2016) by South American performers who are passionately preserving the cultural treasure. According to Parisian critics when the opera was premiered, *San Ignacio de la Amazonia* is, in its concise narrative, in its austerity, in its modesty, "harmonious, refined, refreshing."[104] It is quite remarkable that an opera originating in the Amazon rainforests would now be heard across the globe by eager listeners.

By standing in the middle of several cultures, *San Ignacio* creates a space for the confluence of differences and the understanding of Indigenous peoples across the centuries. The ancestors who first learned the musical traditions of Europe through the Jesuits have continued passing on this musical knowledge to subsequent generations, and work vigilantly to carry on the preservation of this chapter of their shared history. The rural music schools in modern day Bolivia, many of which I personally visited and taught, attest to this thriving musical culture centering around "Mission Baroque" music. As Juan Vaca, the current Bolivian archivist for the Concepción library proudly states, "the Baroque is our tradition here."[105] Isaac Terceros, a Bolivian and current Artistic Director of the Philharmonic Orchestra of Santa Cruz, Bolivia says, "The music of the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos has had a significant impact on Bolivian cultural identity by preserving and promoting the musical traditions of the region." In our dialogue together on this topic, he shared that, "I have promoted the scores, publications and work of

[104] Barbería, Jose Luis. *"Un Jesuita Español escribió hace 300 años una ópera en Bolivia.,* p.1.

[105] Nicholas Casey, *"A Love of Baroque Music Thrives in the Bolivian Jungle",* p.1.

Associatión Pro Arte y Cultura in my academic work at the University of São Paulo, Brazil, the University of Central Arkansas and Indiana University in the U.S.". Furthermore, he stated, "the scores found in the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos represent an invaluable Bolivian musical treasure."

Cristina Zankis, a professional Bolivian violinist based in Santa Cruz, agrees and adds that by playing the Mission Baroque in groups formed by Bolivians, with instruments made in Bolivia, they aim to revalue and make known the Bolivian musical legacy they have inherited. She adds:

> I consider Jesuit music a Bolivian treasure, since it is part of our history. It is a heritage for Bolivians, who, thanks to the Baroque music festivals in Chiquitos, have become known to the world. When performing the music of the missions, and even more so in the churches of the Chiquitanía I can say that you feel a living and latent energy of our past. On some occasions, when interpreting a work, we look for reference of other interpreters, but in this case, it has touched us (the Bolivians) to premiere said works, becoming co-creators seeking the highest interpretive quality in style, thanks to the guidance of teachers such as Father Piotr (Nawrot).[106]

Cristina shared with me that with the recent reinstatement of music schools in the Jesuit Missions, young Bolivians can take ownership of their history and roots, and then become proud of it. Not only do they grow in musical appreciation, but the financial impact of tourism to the region helps the rural villages. Some students from the Chiquitania schools have gone on to train with excellent teachers abroad, thanks to the contacts made through the festivals organised by APAC.

This preservation and fusion of cultures within the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos in Bolivia lives on today in six surviving mission churches which were designated World Heritage Sites by UNESCO in 1990.[107] They and their archived music are the best-known expressions of this rich synthesis of cultures. As Ashley Solomon, director of early music group Florilegium in the U.K. and Arakaender Choir of Bolivia says, "in Bolivia, people took the music for their own- and got

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[106] Zankis currently plays first-chair violin with the Arakaender Orchestra as well as the Philharmonic Orchestra in Santa Cruz, Bolivia.

[107] Surviving missions in Bolivia: San Javier, Concepción, San Miguel de Velasco, San Rafael, Santa Ana de Velasco and San Jose de Chiquitos. Not on the UNESCO list is Santiago de Chiquitos, which also has a well-preserved mission church.

to the core essence of what music is about."[108] Solomon also observes that the music is sung "so passionately, in a way I've never experienced before, and that (is) so inspiring."[109] The musical heritage is not taken for granted within modern day Bolivia and works like *San Ignacio* that have been painstakingly curated and survived the elements will continue to be performed, drawing interest of the public as well as scholarly study.

[108] Casey, Nicholas. *"Jesuit Legacy in the Bolivian Jungle: A Love of Baroque Music", p.1.*

[109] "Bolivian Baroque", Review of "Bolivian Baroque vol. 2: Music from the Mission Churches".

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Choir and Orchestra of Santiago de Chiquitos, Bolivia: https://musicasantiago.wixsite.com/coroyorquesta

La Orquesta Filarmónica de Santa Cruz de la Sierra: https://filarmonicasantacruz.com/

Sistema de Coros y Orquestas (SICOR) Bolivia: https://sicorbolivia.wordpress.com/

Appendix

San Ignacio, Libretto

Scene 1

San Ignacio, Arioso

¡Ay!, ¡Qué tormento!	*Oh, what a torment!*
Vivir lejos de Vos,	*Living away from you*
Mi Señor, Mi Bien	*My Lord, My Good*
Mi Dios.	*My God.*

San Ignacio, Aria

Oh, vida, cuánto duras,	*Oh life, how long will you last?*
Oh Muerte, lo que tardas	*Oh death, how long will you take?*
Oh, dulce amor que aguardas	*Oh sweet love, you wait*
En romper ataduras.	*Breaking ties.*
Desátame y separa	*Untie me and separate*
Del cuerpo con la Muerte,	*the body from Death,*
Que sin fin deseo verte.	*I endlessly want to see you*
Oh, mi Dios, cara a cara.	*Oh my God, face to face.*

Scene 2

Messenger 1, Recitative

Ignacio, ya no es tiempo	*Ignacio, it is no longer the time*
De llantos y suspiros.	*For tears and sighs.*

San Ignacio, Recitative

¿Quien eres tú,	*Who are you*
Que inquietas mis retiros?	*That disturbs my meditations (retreat)?*

Messenger 1, Recitative

Un mensajero soy a ti enviado	*A messenger I am sent to you*
Del campo de la paz	*From the peaceful countryside*
Con el recado	*With the message*
De que dejes ya	*That you stop now*
Tu retiramiento	*your (solitary) retreat.*

San Ignacio, Arioso

¡Oh! Que Contento!	*Oh, how happy!*
Sufrir aquí por Vos,	*To suffer here for you*
Mi Señor, Mi bien	*My Lord, my good*
Mi Dios.	*My God.*

San Ignacio Aria

Contento fui, soy y seré,	*I was happy, I am and I will be*
Cuanto mereci y espero	*How much I deserve and I hope*
Con un ánimo sincere	*With sincere encouragement*

Ya todo t lo entregué. *I already gave you everything.*
Tan feliz fuera mi suerte, *So happy was my luck*
Cuánto, no puedo decirte, *How much, I can't tell you,*
Si aqui pudiera servierte, *If I could serve you here,*
Aunque arriesgara el no verte. *Even if I risked not seeing you.*

S. I. Arioso *(repeat)*
¡Oh! Que contento... *Oh, how happy!*

Scene 3
Messenger 2, Recitative
Ignacio, pues eres fuego, *Ignacio, you are fire,*
Y fuego de Dios, ardiente. *And fire of God burning.*
¡Sal luego, ve diligente! *Go out later, be diligent!*
No es tiempo de descansar *It is not time to rest*
Entre los Astros y estrellas. *Between the stars (and constellations).*

Messenger 2, Arioso
Cuando fulmina centellas *When lightning strikes*
El capitán del averno *The captain of hell*
Y trata ya de formar su campo *Tries to form his camp*
Son su hueste del infierno, *They are his host from hell*
Y todo, todo lo enciende. *And everything, everything turns it on. (activates it)*

San Ignacio, Recitative
¡Ah, Perfido! *Ah, untrustworthy!*
¡Ah, traidor! *Ah, traitor!*
¡Ah, inicuo engañador! *Ah, sinful deceiver!*
¿Y qué pretende? *What does he mean?*

Messenger 1, Recitative
Oponerse de Cristo a la persona. *Opposing Christ to the person.*

Messenger 2, Recitative
[…] y quitarle vasallos y corona. *And take away subjects (servants, land) and crown.*

San Ignacio, Recitative
Alto, pues! Vamos a prisa *Stop, then! Let's hurry*
a oponernos con valor. *To oppose with courage.*
Que en batallas del Señor *That in the battles of the Lord*
Tenemos su Fortaleza. *We have his strength.*

San Ignacio, aria
Contra este tigre rampante *Against this rampant tiger*
Con mi Dios corro a pugnar, *with my God I run to fight*
Y con mi escuadrón volante *And with my flying scuadron*

Quiero Guerra presenter. *I want to present (in) war.*

Messenger 1, aria
Las banderas por delante *The flags ahead*
De Jesús quiero llevar, *I want to take Jesus*
Y cuando su cruz levante, *And when his cross is lifted up,*
Al soberbio he de humiliar. *I have to humiliate the arrogant.*

Messenger 2, Aria
Por mi Jesús yo constante *For my Jesus, I am constant*
Iré también a pelear, *I will go also to fight*
No dudando que triunfante *Not doubting that triumphant*
La victoria he de alcanzar. *Victory I have to achieve.*

San Ignacio, Recitative
Vamos presto, y sin tardar, *Let's go quickly and without delay*
Puesto que alarma ha tocado. *Since the alarm has sounded.*

<u>Scene 4</u>
Demon, Recitative
De mi señor, *Of my lord*
A vosotros enviado *to you I sent*
En ligereza vencí *in lightness I conquered*
El pensamiento, miento, miento. *The thought, I lie, I lie.*

San Ignacio, Recitative
¿Quien es tu dueño? *Who is your master?*

Messenger 1, Recitative
¿De quien eres criado? *Whose servant are you?*

Demon, Recitative
¡Oídlo y lo sabréis en un momento! *Listen, and you will know in a moment!*

Demon, Aria
Es el mayor monarca de la tierra, *He is the greatest monarch on earth*
En paz siempre feliz y más en Guerra. *In peace always happy and even more in war.*
El orbe todo teme su potencia, *The globe fears his power,*
Y hasta el alma le rinde obediencia. *And even the soul renders obedience.*

Por él militant tierra, mar y viento, *For him, the militant earth, sea and wind,*
Mas por ahora es su intiento, tiento, tiento. *More now it's his attempt, (tempt, tempt)*
Una cosa lograr, muy estimada, *One thing to achieve, dearest,*
Y con todos sus haberes buscada. *And with all his assets searched.*

Scene 5

Messenger 1, Recitative

¿Cuál puede se esa, tan apreciada?	*What can be so appreciated?*

Demon, Aria

Que sigáis su bandera es	*That you follow his flag*
Y os convida con el goce feliz	*and invites you with the happy enjoyment*
Con el goce feliz de vuestra vida.	*Of your life.*
Coronada de flores y laurels,	*Crowned with flowers and laurels,*
Arrayáan, [mirto] y claveles.	*Myrtle and carnations.*

Scene 6

San Ignacio, Recitativo

¡Ah, Traidor!	*Oh Traitor!*
Tú mismo te manifiestas.	*You manifest yourself.*

Messenger 1

¡Huye tirano infiel!	*Flee, unfaithful tyrant!*

Messenger 2

¡Apártate, Luzbel, con tus propuestas! Get away Luzbel, (Lucifer) with your proposals!

Trio: San Ignacio, Messenger 1 and 2, Recitative

¡Huye! ¡Huye! ¡Huye!	*Flee! Flee! Flee!*
¡Tirano infiel!	*Unfaithful tyrant!*
¡Apártate, Luzbel!	*Get away Luzbel (Lucifer)!*

Demon, Recitative

Por más golpes que reciba	*No matter how many blows you receive*
Siempre os hare Guerra viva.	*I will always make you live (in) war.*

San Ignacio, Recitative

¡Huye! ¡Pérfido traidor!	*Flee! Deceitful traitor!*
Que no temo tu furor.	*I do not fear your fury.*

Trio: San Ignacio, Messenger 1, 2, Aria.

San Ignacio

Contra este tigre rampante	*Against this rampant tiger*
Con mi Dios corro a pugnar,	*With my God I run to fight,*
Y con mi escuadrón volante,	*And with my flying squad,*
Quiero Guerra presenter.	*I want to present (in) war.*

Messenger 1

Las banderas por delante	*The flags are ahead*
De Jesús quiero llevar.	*I want to take them (up) for Jesus.*
Y cuando su cruz levante,	*And when his cross lifts up,*

Al soberbio he de humiliar. *I have to humiliate the arrogant.*

Messenger 2
Por mi Jesús yo constante *For my Jesus I am constant.*
Iré tambien a pelear, *I will also go to fight*
No dudando que triunfante *not doubting that triumphant*
La Victoria he de alcanzar. *Victory I have to achieve.*

San Ignacio, Arioso
Oh, Jesús mi bien amado *Oh Jesus, my beloved.*
[En Ti confío yo. *In you I trust.*
Tu amor quiero anunciar. *Your love I want to announce.*
Que reine la verdad *Let the truth reign*
Sobre tinieblas y oscuridad.] *over the darkness and obscurity.*

San Ignacio, Recitative
Oh, ciega gentilidad *Oh blind gentleness*
[En pecado y Muerte sumergida, *In sin and death submerged*
Sin conocer el amor de Dios. *Without knowing the love of God.*

Messenger 2, Recitative
De tu fuego una centella *From your fire a spark*
El Oriente ilustrará. *The East will demonstrate.*

San Ignacio, Recitative
Dichosa mil veces ella *Happy a thousand times she*
¡Oh, y qué feliz, quien se va! *Oh, and how happy, he who is leaving!*

Messenger 2, Recitative
Javier es el escogido, *Javier is the chosen one,*
Eso lo puedes mandar, *You can send that mandate*
Vóytelo, pues, a llamar. *Go, then, to call.*

San Ignacio, Aria
Oh Javier, esclarecido, *Oh Javier, enlightened*
[sois apóstol del Señor, *[You are an apostle of the Lord,*
Su Reino anunciarás.] *His kingdom you will announce.]*

San Francisco Javier, Recitative
Aquí estoy, padre, ¿que ordenas? *Here I am, father, what do you order?*

<u>Scene 8</u>
San Francisco Javier and San Ignacio, Recitative

San Ignacio
Ya conviene, Javier, que partas *It is convenient Javier, that you leave*

a tu destino. *for your destination.*

San Francisco Javier
¿Cual es?, deseo saber *What is it? I want to know*
Para emprender el camino *So I can get on my way.*

San Ignacio
Al Oriente, hijo, el Cielo te destina, *To the East, son, Heaven destines you*
Y que vayas es voluntad divina. *It is divine will that you go.*

San Francisco Javier
Gustoso y pronto iré, *Joyfully and soon I will go*
Mas, padre, ¿allá que haré? *But father, what shall I do there?*

San Ignacio, Aria
De Jesús propagarás la milicia *For Jesus you will generate the militia*
Contra la ceguedad y la malicia, *Against blindness and malice*
Sacando de las fauces del infierno, *Pulling from the jaws of hell,*
Tanto gentil que vive sin gobierno, *So many gentiles that live without government*
Para que debajo del estandarte de Cristo *So that under the banner of Christ*
Milite tan grande parte. *The Military will be such a large part.*

<u>Scene 9</u>
San Francisco Javier and San Ignacio, Recitatives

San Francisco Javier
Es demasiado encargo a mi flaqueza. *It is too much for my weakness.*

San Ignacio
Dios lo ordena, Él te dara fortaleza. *God wills it, He will give you strength.*

San Francisco Javier, Aria
Pasa ligera, oh navecilla, *Go lightly oh little ship*
El mar profundo *the deep sea*
Que mi alma espera y aver *That my soul awaits and see*
La orilla del otro mundo *The shore of the other world.*

San Ignacio, Aria
Ve sin recelo de la Victoria *Go without fear of victory*
Que Jesús te envia, *Jesus sends you*
Y con tu celo dará *And with your zeal you give*
Gran gloria a su Compañia. *Great glory to your company.*

Scene 10

San Francisco Javier, Recitative

Ya parto, Ignacio, *I leave, Ignacio*
Sólo mi corazon queda contigo. *Only my heart remains with you.*

San Ignacio, Recitative

Francisco, aquí me quedo, *Francisco, here I will stay*
Mas con mi corazón también te sigo. *But with my heart I also follow you.*

San Francisco Javier, Recitative

Dios nos aumente la caridad fraternal *May God increase our fraternal charity.*

San Ignacio, Recitative

Y así nos lleve a su morada eterna. *And so take us to your eternal home.*

San Francisco Javier and San Ignacio, Aria

San Francisco Javier

Ignacio, amado padre *Ignacio, beloved father*

San Ignacio

Francisco, hijo querido *Francisco, beloved son*

San Francisco Javier

Irme lejos de ti. *I go (now) far from you.*

San Ignacio

Sin ti quedarme aquí. *Without you, I will stay here.*

San Francisco Javier and San Ignacio

¡Ay, qué tormento! *Ah, such torment!*

San Ignacio

Mas, Jesús amoroso *More, loving Jesus*

San Francisco Javier

Del alma dulce esposo *Sweet husband of the soul*

San Ignacio

Con su paterno amor *With his fatherly love*

San Francisco Javier

Convertirá el dolor. *It will turn (change) the pain.*

San Francisco Javier and San Ignacio

Convertirá el dolor	*It will turn (change) the pain.*
En gran content.	*into great contentment.*

Epilogue *(Version 3)*

Estas las banderas son	*These flags are*
Y su fin tan aplaudido,	*and its end so applauded*
De Loyola excarecido,	*of Loyola released*
Con que en tan Buena sazón	*With what in such a good seasoning*
Su visita festejamos.	*We celebrate your visit.*
¡Oh mi Padre superior!	*Oh, my supreme Father!*
Y será nuestro favor	*and it will be our favour*
El perdón que suplicamos.	*For us to beg forgiveness.*