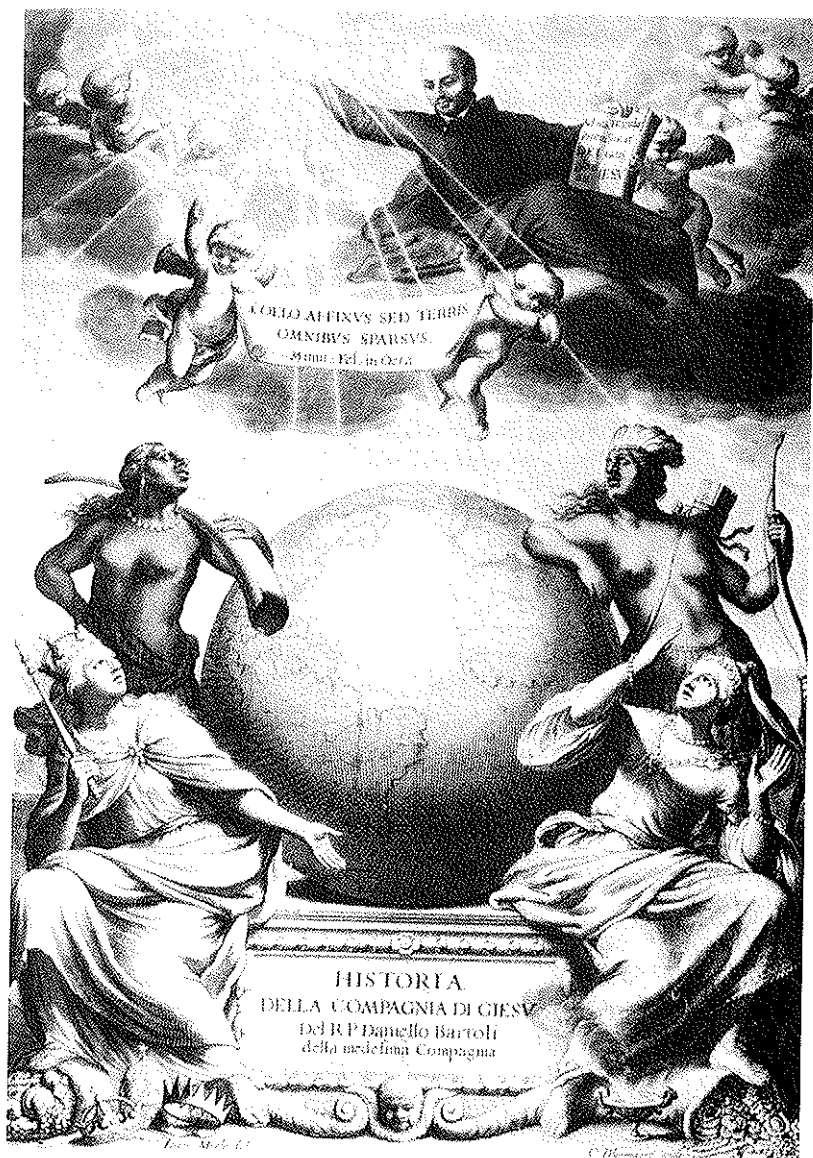


Constituting Opera



Kapsberger's Apotheosis . . . of Francis Xavier (1622) and the Conquering of India

Victor Anand Coelho

It was so that in a single month I baptized more than ten thousand men, women, and children. My method, upon arriving in a heathen village, was to assemble the men and the boys apart, and to begin by teaching them to make the sign of the cross three times as a confession of faith in Father, Son and Holy Spirit. . . . I then recited in a loud voice the General Confession, the *Credo*, the Commandments, the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the *Salve Regina*. . . . The baptisms over, I told the new Christians to demolish the shrines of the idols, and saw to it that they crushed the images into dust. I could not express the consolation it gave me to watch the idols being destroyed by the hands of those who so recently used to worship them. I went thus from village to village making Christians. . . .

—Francis Xavier¹

Fittingly, Francis Xavier's imperishable relics now lie in the Renaissance ghost town of Old Goa at the Minor Basilica of Bom Jesus, a Baroque church that was built, like most other churches in Portuguese India, where ancient Hindu temples once stood before they were demolished by the European "discoverers." Situated on the monsoon path some 500 kilometers south of Bombay, Goa was the undoubted emporium of the East and has been coveted throughout history for its spectacular terrain and strategic location. Following the landings of Vasco da Gama (1498) and Afonso de Albuquerque (1503–1504), the city was the capital of the Portuguese Asian empire and a magnet for both traders and evangelists. Goa was established as a diocese in 1533 and soon became the main theater for the Christianization of the "heathen" that constituted the aggressive missionary program of the Jesuits, the educated and obedient church soldiers who were recognized as an order by Pope Paul III in 1540, and arrived in Goa two years later in the person of Francis Xavier. His presence coincided with the founding of the Goan Jesuit College of St. Paul in 1542, which instructed newly converted boys from all races in the fields of theology, music, grammar, and

St. Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits, holding a host whose rays subdue the female figures representing the Jesuit conquests of the Americas, Africa (mistakenly shown in reverse in the engraving), and Europe. From Daniello Bartoli, S.J., *Historia della Compagnia di Gesù* . . . (Rome, 1650). (Courtesy of Brera Library, Milan.)

Latin toward the formation of a native clergy. A strict, cohesive education was central to Jesuit training, since much of their subsequent missionary work would depend on their ability to articulate a narrative of history and of destiny. Drama was especially effective as a pedagogical tool in the Jesuit colleges through its representation of martyrdom and other biblical stories on stage, enhanced by special effects and all-embracing metaphors.² For similar reasons, singing and instrumental music were permitted in the Jesuit college churches of Goa, Cochin, and Bassein as a means of evangelization.³ These pedagogical methods strengthened the concept not only of a Society of Jesus but of a "nation" of Jesus in recognizing that the success of conversion is predicated on shared cultural and national values.

To demonstrate the political and nationalistic motives implicit in the Jesuit campaigns, an appropriate parallel might be drawn between the Jesuits of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and a modern right-wing political party. For many years the right-wing party exists on the fringe, trapped by its own unreasonable ideology of nationalism and rhetoric of "Christian values" but thriving anyway as a result of the "mission" being crusaded by its constituents. The networks of the party are comprehensive and involve local representatives, bureaus, and media outlets. The indoctrination of youth is key. The group is tightly knit, fraternal ("My method . . . was to assemble the men and boys apart [from the women]"), gender and racially exclusive, and usually fundamentally racist and homophobic. (The new native clergy in Goa trained by the Jesuits were always referred to as dark-skinned and shown disrespect for this reason.⁴) Its members are highly critical of opposing parties. Eventually, a charismatic spokesman emerges, one who links the aspirations of the party with a newly constructed definition of nation, citizenry, and patriotism. They build infrastructure through vigorous campaigning and recruitment, advocate the use of force in cases of noncompliance, and develop a rhetorical language that employs officially sanctioned themes. They willfully carry out the most conservative policies, as seen in the Jesuits' strict following of the rules imposed by the Council of Trent: censorship of books, strengthening of the Inquisition, rigid control over the lives of clergy, and the instilling of high morals through conservative education. The party soon develops alliances with influential figures with capital (the Jesuits found their ally in Pope Urban VIII) and finally enter the mainstream.

In the decade following Xavier's arrival on the shores of Goa, his letters described in passionate detail the mass baptisms and conversions he administered in India and Japan. Before about 1545, Europe's knowledge about India came mainly through the Portuguese spice trade, but now Xavier's correspondence provided models for the Jesuit histories and newsletters that gave European intellectuals their image, however distorted, of Asia.⁵ To counter reports that filtered back to Europe about the failure of missionary activity in India and about the tormented lives of martyrs, these documents set the foundations of an *imagined* history, in which the success of the mis-

sions, the efficacy of Jesuit teachings, and the urgency of Christianizing much older non-Western societies became stories for edification and inspiration. Part recruitment, part moral teaching, the Jesuit letters constructed a history that relied on the "irreproachable" Western techniques of claiming historical facticity and chronology. They succeeded in creating a concept of *nation* that was a complete abstraction in an India divided many times over by caste, language, ethnicity, and religion. At the same time it was altogether clear to the Jesuits that although there were pockets of success in conversion, India's deep, complex, and ancient culture would not give itself over easily to Christianity. Undaunted, the Jesuits continued their campaign of missionary recruitment through the persuasion of Xavier's correspondence, now rife with hyperbole in order to assuage fears back home. In the letter quoted earlier—which became the best-known item of his Asian envelope—he claims to have baptized 10,000 Mukkuvas on the fishery coast in a month; in another he estimated that 100,000 could be baptized in a single year. And in a famous passage reported widely in Europe, he alleged that 635,000 heathens had been converted in various parts of Portuguese Asia by 1545, an unreasonable figure that exceeded all previous estimates.⁶ By the end of the sixteenth century, Xavier's letters circulated throughout Europe, and as printed editions of the letters were frequently appended to Xavier's biography, a hagiography was clearly in the making.

Xavier's martyrdom in 1552 on Sanchwan, an island off mainland China, inspired the central themes of most Jesuit theater and histories: "the highly emotional lives of the saints, sensual tortures of Jesuit martyrs in Japan and America, and allegories—all aimed polemically at pagan and licentious subjects fashionable among unbelieving, hypocritical, or simply nonconformist high society."⁷ In 1619 the Brief of Beatification was issued by Pope Paul V, and in 1622, Xavier, the "Apostle of the Indies," along with Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Order, and three others were canonized at an ornately decorated St. Peter's by Pope Gregory XV in one of the largest and most lavish celebrations that Rome has ever seen.⁸ The canonization marked a turning point for the Society of Jesus. It was an undisputed triumph, the end of a long road to acceptance; the Jesuits had entered the mainstream. In particular, the canonization was an investiture of the Society of Jesus as the greatest force in defending Counter-Reformation Catholicism and promoting it militantly to the "pagan" sectors of the world, such as India.

The Jesuits now had their first two saints, and this was celebrated by weeks of solemn processions and special services, as well as by three new Jesuit dramas. The most opulent of these was an important musical production entitled *The Apotheosis or Consecration of Saints Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier*, which was performed at the Roman College, the pod of Jesuit knowledge.⁹ The music was composed by Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger [Kapsperger] (1580–1651), a virtuoso lutenist, a prolific and successful composer of instrumental and vocal music, and a well-connected Roman musician who was appointed to the papal court in 1624, where he served under

Pope Urban VIII and his nephews for the next twenty years.¹⁰ The Latin libretto was by Father Orazio Grassi, the chair of mathematics at the Roman College and the architect of the new church dedicated to St. Ignatius in Rome. We will see later how the libretto and Grassi's concept of St. Ignatius are connected in stating a unified cultural policy of the Jesuits. Grassi would gain more notoriety a year later as Galileo's most bitter adversary.¹¹ Grassi's Latin text recounts the missionary conquering by the two new saints and features personifications of countries—including India, China, Japan, and Palestine—in which Xavier was most active. The five-act work was a great success "as much for the excellence of the composition, as for the wealth of the actors and their sprightliness of delivery [*lor vivezza nel recitare*], the wealth and beauty of the machines, and finally for the abundance and organization of the decorations . . ."¹² According to Verzellino, it "played three times in the Roman court, always to renewed applause."¹³

Because the work is in Latin, contains no real action (the characters sing to the audience), and the libretto neither creates tension nor seeks a resolution, it should not be included in the same genre as the earlier Florentine/Mantuan operas of Peri and Monteverdi, or the Roman operas performed at the Barberini Court after 1631, even though there are many similarities. On the one hand, the *Apotheosis* follows directly in the didactic tradition of the Jesuit dramas, whose stories entwined Christian literature with pagan mythologies around a core of moral teaching.¹⁴ On the other hand, mainstream operatic traits in the *Apotheosis*—insofar as an operatic "mainstream" can be identified in early seventeenth-century Italy—involve recitative style, participation of a chorus, and the inclusion of instrumental dances. The *Apotheosis*, although indebted to both opera and theater, is a unique genre that is more political and didactic in nature. The libretto establishes a history—a summing up and prognosis—and a politics that constitute something between an apology and propaganda for the "spiritual conquests" of the Jesuits. These themes are rendered most powerfully not by the musical setting, as is the case in Monteverdi's brilliant *L'Orfeo* of 1607, but by the stunning visual component of the work, which promotes an "official" iconology that ensnares the subjects in the matrix of a highly subjective and political Jesuit program. The *Apotheosis* is closest to a large allegorical painting with music, employing the theatricality and sensuality that are so much a part of Baroque art in the early seventeenth century.

The scene takes place at the Field of Mars, located in the heart of Baroque Rome just to the north of the Roman College. The pre-Christian backdrop sets the stage for a Christian conquest of paganism. In the Prologue, Wisdom appears in a cloud and asks the youths of the Roman College to honor the saints Ignatius and Loyola by reenacting the pagan rites used by the ancient Romans to celebrate their (false) gods. In Act I Rome instructs the architect Metagenes to build a temple, which is done hastily. (The parallels to Grassi, the architect commissioned to build St. Ignatius, are clear.)

Spain and Portugal appear in their own chariots and offer Ignatius the weapons he used in battle and present to Xavier the vessel that took him to the shores of India. Portugal concludes the act by claiming that "Xavier proclaimed God to the Indian world as the dawn of a new day."¹⁵ Act II opens with the appearance of India in her own chariot, and while seventeen Indian youths amass pearls at Xavier's feet, India praises "the mighty right hand by which Xavier conquered India." After a large globe is built, the Indian chorus proclaims "Francis' valor which, poorly confined within a narrow circle, is now challenging and hardly to be contained in one world." Later in the act India celebrates the "triumphs on the Eastern shores" achieved by the saints and praises Xavier, whose "authority subdues conquered India." Acts III and IV introduce other countries along the saints' missionary itinerary, each of which bears gifts: France offers its lifeline of the Seine; Japan, palms and laurel as a gesture of peace in view of the martyrdoms on its soil; China, silks; Italy, flowers and aromatic herbs. In the final act India, China, Palestine, and Japan are on stage, and statues of the saints are carved. A spectacular earthquake gives way to an opening in the heavens and all the countries prostrate themselves before the two new saints and a chorus of angels, while prayers of thanks and adoration are given to the saints, the church, and Pope Gregory XIV.

Grassi's text clearly requires scrutiny as an early example of colonial history and its representation of the other. In particular, the images in the libretto drawn from pagan and ethnic sources, insofar as they relate to Christian images used to validate a colonial narrative, need to be carefully examined. Further, the relations between Jesuit homosociality—that is, the web of strategies that define patriarchal relationships—and colonial narratives of subjugation are deeply and intentionally embedded in this work. Finally, gendered representations of European creativity and fecundity are also used as part of the appropriative function of the colonial imperative of the *Apotheosis*.

So how do we reconcile this work—easily the most elaborate musical production in Rome prior to Landi's *Sant' Alessio* of 1632—with our present reformulations of missionary and colonial activity during this time, and what is its relationship to, and influence on, opera? The characterization of a penitent (and colorfully plumed) India willfully subordinate to the Holy Church is one of the most troubling aspects of the work, and it betrays an official and already revisionist history constructed by the Jesuits themselves. Moreover, it anticipates by a century the binary Orientalism of Occident–male/Orient–female relationships in operatic librettos, whose origins Edward Said has located in the late eighteenth century.¹⁶ With its gendered formulation of India's subordination to the Catholic Church and the themes of procreation as its *modus operandi*; its strangeness of genre, which lies somewhere between Jesuit drama and opera; and the constructed sense of nation to promote the paternity of the church, the *Apotheosis* is ideal for investigating the themes of gender, nation, and genre.

Using sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents from Indian archives, as well as travelogues, Jesuit histories, dispatches from Italian and Portuguese missionaries, and candid European reactions to life in Baroque Goa, I shall attempt in this essay to (re)position the *Apotheosis* at the nexus of cultural confrontation and nationalist history, rather than at the altar of the Jesuit church in post-Tridentine Rome. By confronting the characterizations of India in the *Apotheosis* with the largely different picture of the denigration of Hindu and ancient Indian aesthetic values that emerges from other sources, this discussion of the *Apotheosis* will move us closer to identifying issues of cultural politics and ethnic representations that are embedded in operas written during the early modern period of global maritime exploration.

Gendering India

Working just beneath the surface of the *Apotheosis* in the portrayal of India's submission to the church is a Magdalenesque program of converting sexuality to penitence, for sexuality is a traditional attribute of the "heathen," and in Western iconographic discourse, of the female. Said has remarked that sexualizing is a common manifestation of the anxiety of empire,¹⁷ and although the trope of equating the colonized landscape and the female body has been overextended in postcolonial scholarship, it is an integral part of colonial rhetoric.¹⁸ In the *Apotheosis*, India is feminized both in dress and through subordination, as is traditional in representations of Asia in Western discourse and in the visual arts. She is also implicitly linked to heathen or pagan sexual (deviant) practices and sensual images, of which India is cleansed in the *Apotheosis* through submission and conversion. In short, India, being both feminine and sexual, embodies attributes that are almost archetypes in the Western formulation of colonialism. For example, in psychoanalyst/musicologist Maynard Solomon's analysis of one of Beethoven's dreams, in which the composer remembers a "very long journey, as far even as Syria, as far as India, back again, as far as Arabia . . .," he delineates the gendered codes that are behind the archetypal profile of the conquering nation: "The conquistador here fuses with Don Juan, for distant nations are the embodiment of the (taboo) female. Simultaneously, these lands represent the exotic bisexual religions of the East and Mediterranean . . ." ¹⁹

This feminization and exoticization of India were already well understood within the iconographic lexicon of the Renaissance. In Cesare Ripa's famous guide to symbols in art, the *Iconologia* (Rome, 1597/1603), the personification of Asia is a woman crowned by a garland of flowers and wearing clothes adorned with gold and pearls—symbols both of the Orient and of maritime abundance (see figure 1.1). In her right hand she holds leaves, cassia, pepper, and cloves, and in her left hand there is an incense burner emitting perfumed smoke. A camel reposes behind her.²⁰ All these attributes are promoted in the *Apotheosis*: India arrives wearing clothes of feathers, and China of beautiful silks; India's inhabitants present Xavier with gifts of pearls, while disheveled

and weeping Palestine, depicted by Kapsberger with a more agitated rhythmic motion, appears as an old abandoned woman (for Palestine is no longer venerated) and offers to Loyola the gift of smoky incense.

The themes of procreation, church paternity (conqueror), and Oriental femininity (conquered) are introduced into the work at its outset. Loyola and Xavier are scored for bass voices, whereas the countries, including “mother” Rome, are soprano parts—an interesting example of gender inversion because these roles would have been sung by castratos. (Women were forbidden to sing in the Roman College, though cross-dressing—men playing female roles—was acceptable, as it always has been in boys-only clubs.) The prologue introduces us to Loyola, “Father of an indefatigable race,” which promotes themes of progeny and nation, and Xavier, who “ennobles the offspring of an illustrious Father.” In Act 1, Spain, the birthplace of Loyola, is positioned as a “foster mother of Kings” and “fertile parent of the stars”; similarly, Portugal, “the powerful matron of the Lysians,” is the womb of Xavier, who is also the “foster child of the Virgin Mother.” These themes suggest a complex relationship among power, gender, and colonialism, and can further inform about the characterization of India in Grassi’s libretto.

Figure 1.1

Asia, from Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Rome, 1603).



Krishna's offerings of divine love to the maidens and his playful bantering with them; cults of suprasensual goddesses like Parvati; the fine line between sex and worship codified in some Tantric philosophy; the activities of cleansing, adorning, touching, releasing, and fulfilling found in Hindu texts; and the lingam of Shiva. . . . The missionary position (that is, the ideological position of missionaries) on these practices, whether they encountered them in philosophical or iconographic manifestations, was one of general contempt and ignorance. "Limited by their cultural and religious hostility to Hinduism," writes Lach, citing documentary evidence, "the Jesuits were naturally unable to penetrate beneath the surface of Hindu life."²¹ They learned almost nothing of Hindu doctrine or their sacred representations, and lumped together most Indian idols in the category of monsters or devils, the latter inspiring the image of the famous Idol of Calicut that was promoted in the German edition of Varthema's influential *Itinerario* of 1515 (see figure 1.2).²² Indian music and dance were also considered to be demonically inspired and sexually transgressive. A Jesuit dispatch of 1598 complains that Hindu and Moslem dancers in Goa "include many vile and indecent things and obscene songs, and other things that they can only perform through some diabolical art, and in their songs they include their temples and idolatry, which are all opposed to the common good of the Christian republic, and against good upbringing."²³

The Jesuit reaction to Indian erotica must be seen within the context of the zero tolerance they had already demonstrated in their condemnation of

Figure 1.2

L. de Varthema: *Die Ritterlich von Lobwirdig Raisz* (Augsburg, 1515), p. 1: Idol of Calicut.



Jews, Moors, and the Portuguese for their practice of sodomy—the *pecado nefando* analogous to the “unspeakable” trope in English literature.²⁴ Sexuality for the Jesuits was by no means seen as culturally variable, and their punishment of sodomists reveals more of the Jesuits’ evolving concept of nation, which I discuss in some detail later. As Parker et al. have remarked, “Typically represented as a passionate brotherhood, the nation finds itself compelled to distinguish its ‘proper’ homosociality from more explicitly sexualized male–male relations, a compulsion that requires the identification, isolation, and containment of male homosexuality.”²⁵ Although this is not in itself a theme in the *Apotheosis*, it is crucial to the image of a Jesuit “nation,” which is one of the most emphatically articulated themes in Grassi’s libretto.

Not surprisingly, the Christian missionaries in India showed some respect for the Brahmin yogis, who practiced celibacy and devoted their lives to acquiring and contemplating knowledge. But many of the most holy Indian art forms frequently involve ceremonies in which the object of veneration is the phallus, such as the *Shiva-lingam*²⁶; and their rituals, along with the equally gendered zoolatry in Indian worship,²⁷ were subjects of considerable concern to the Jesuits. Even the Italian traveler Pietro della Valle, whose tastes in music, as we know from his valuable *Discorso dell’età nostra* (1640),²⁸ leaned clearly toward the adventurous, exposed a characteristic hypocrisy by his incapability of equating the images he saw in an Indian temple with the sacred sensual images he admired in his own Baroque Rome. While visiting a temple in Honelli, he complained that “many of these figures represented dishonest actions. One was of a Woman. Another was of a Man and a Woman kissing, the Man holding his Hands on the Woman’s Breasts, and sundry such representations fit indeed for a Temple.”²⁹

The point of this discussion is that the Jesuits in the end saw the sacred context of the lingam as proof that India was a society—with the exception of certain Brahmins and yogis—of unrepressed sexual motivation, ignorant of the fact that the lingam denotes the male creative energy of Shiva and is often placed in balance with the yoni, the female symbol of energy, both of which symbolize the cooperative forces of the sexes.³⁰ But the relegation of the lingam to a purely sexual object was a useful taboo for the Jesuits, because it brought India into line with the paganism of licentious pre-Christian and similarly polytheistic Egyptian and Greek cultures. These associations swirl behind the personifications of countries in the *Apotheosis* and its setting of Christian deeds playing out on a pagan field, evoking the Jesuit campaigns in India and elsewhere. India’s conversion is predicated on the rejection of its own history and its “erotic” ritualistic practices, symbolized by Xavier’s method of demolishing the shrines of the Indian idols. India must be reborn (or reformed) through baptism. The Prologue thus defines the Jesuit College (or the Church of the Gesù) as a “chaste Queen,” which “influences good conduct.” Stripped of its cultural and aesthetic roots, India submits to the church: “That bold spirit of Francis penetrated into the remotest kingdoms of India, conquering seas under his broad sway” (Act

II). These hegemonic and gendered distinctions between “pagan” and Christian cultures, as well as the Christian solution, are formed through the important role that nation plays in the *Apotheosis*.

Nation: Locating India

“Loyola endures as Father of an indefatigable race”—by positioning the Jesuits as a *race* in the very Prologue of the *Apotheosis*, Grassi introduces the theme of nation and defines the powerful role of nationalism. The claim to racial status evokes consanguinity and nationalism, which are powerful and troubling issues within the intricacy of the Indian caste system, about which the Jesuits were always perplexed. Five castes of Brahmin in Goa alone can be found, all of them descendant from either Aryan or Dravidic race, and thirty other castes and subcastes can be identified.³¹ Caste and race are crucial issues when dealing with Indian culture and religion. They provide(ed) unwritten laws that govern(ed) marriage, diet, worship, professional standing, and social interaction, with severe penalties for any transgression of caste protocol. Caste also plays a role in the most terrifying by-products of a consanguine or strictly insular culture: highly restrictive marriage laws, legal privilege, obligatory head shaving of divorced Brahmin women, and the despicable practice of *Sati*, or widow burning, which Pietro della Valle describes as an eyewitness.³² It is clear that a criticism of the *Apotheosis* from the “other side” could trigger highly sensitive concerns about the role and empowerment of nation, particularly when the employment of race in the work serves to ally the Jesuits with those same structures of caste authority in India. As if caught in the web of the Indian caste system itself, India the character in the *Apotheosis*, is voiceless to define herself as India the country, not only because of the authority of race and singularity of nation that were imposed in the Prologue, but also because such concepts of nation are alien to her.³³ In the *Apotheosis* India is devoid of both national identity and an autonomous voice. This homogenization exposes one of the more rapacious strategies through which “nation” is defined in the *Apotheosis*: we meet India only after her conversion; we are unaware of her prior history. The work offers no cultural sanctuary in which India can avoid the gaze of the Jesuits. Stripped of her own cultural past, India offers no resistance.

As we have mentioned earlier, the Jesuits employ the same homosocial strategies used in nationalistic movements: fraternity, exclusion of others, “union between men,” their willingness to die in the line of duty, and the memorializing of such martyrs in the name of *patria*, all of which is made explicit at the beginning of the *Apotheosis*. Consequently, India remains voiceless except to support a Jesuit concept of nation that is destined to be a singular, male history. India is indeed “a nation subdued” (Act II) and the “mute but necessary allegorical ground for the transactions of nationalist history.”³⁴ If the creation of nationalism is dependent on a “project of deracination”³⁵ as it is in many parts of the world today, the sublimation of India

in the *Apotheosis* can be seen as part of that process, in which conversion is a metaphor for alienating her from an "unreasonable prehistory."³⁶

Genre: Repositioning the *Apotheosis*

Even recognizing the fluidity of genres that exists in music of the early *seicento*, this work is not opera in the traditional or evolutionary sense. We have already remarked upon the absence of dialogue between characters (they speak to the audience) and the relative dramatic stasis of the work. Unlike opera, too, Kapsberger does not attempt to carve out individual profiles through stylistic means. He sets Grassi's libretto in a fairly unbroken, syllabic, recitative style with many cadential and motivic clichés. There are no experiments with chromaticism, no unusual or surprising rhythmic gestures. The style is identical to Kapsberger's setting of Pope Urban VIII's poetry, the *Poemata et Carmina* of 1624, which was composed throughout with what we might call a "purity" of monody. In 1626 the neoclassic music theorist Giambattista Doni wrote to the French Jesuit Marin Mersenne that "you will never find [the *Poemata*] full of affectations, but rather a melody that is pure and simple *and of which you will be the better judge* [*italics mine*]," which suggests that the music conformed to a certain Jesuit aesthetic.³⁷ In her detailed study of seventeenth-century Roman opera, Margaret Murata describes the use of the recitative soliloquy in some of these works as demonstrating the "struggle for spiritual purity against incursions of secular institutions."³⁸ The musical and textual styles in the *Apotheosis* are thus united by their austerity and solemnity; the work proceeds reflectively, and the staid, obedient, predictable musical characterizations of the countries evoke various degrees of cohesion, loyalty, sublimation, penitence, and shame until the apotheosis in the final act, when the new saints appear amid elaborate effects from stage machinery.

Acknowledging the presence of dance sections sprinkled throughout the work, Ambros places the *Apotheosis* within the genre of a "grand ballet with song" (*Prachtballet mit Gesang*).³⁹ Forbes feels the work is a unique combination of Roman opera and Jesuit drama, in which the idea of spectacle is an "integral part of the *Apotheosis* and essential to the understanding of it."⁴⁰ Hammond distinguishes it from the Jesuit dramas and is content with the moniker *opera*.⁴¹ Parallels can indeed be drawn between the *Apotheosis* and Roman opera as cultivated during the pontificates of Urban VIII (*reg.* 1623–44) and his nephews, and Alexander VII (*reg.* 1655–67). Urban and the most important librettist of this period, Giulio Rospigliosi (*reg.* Pope Clement IX, 1667–69), were educated at the Jesuit College, and their guiding principle of Roman opera, *Delectare et docere* ("instruction and delight"), is also one of the aims of the *Apotheosis*.⁴² Other common themes include religious subjects and stories of saints (*Il Sant'Alessio*, 1631–1632), and the trepidation of Christian conversion (*Il Sant'Eustachio*, 1643; *La comica del cielo*, 1668) and/or martyrdom (*I Santi Didimo e Teodora*, 1635; *San Bonifazio*, 1638).⁴³

Musical productions with dance on an operatic scale were certainly not unknown in the Jesuit institutions; similar works by Agazzari (1606), Mazzocchi (1628), and others were used in the service of Jesuit education. Although Catalani's work *David musicus* (1613), set to a text by the Jesuit Alessandro Donati, is in Latin, Murata refers to this work as an opera, perhaps because of the dramatic scenes, and possibly because of the strong prosodic elements of the text (which survives) that bring this work into line with the humanistic origins of the genre, neither of which, however, is characteristic of the *Apotheosis*.⁴⁴ She does not place the *Apotheosis* along her evolutionary line of Roman operas that begins with Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo* (1600) and continues through Landi's *Sant'Alessio* of 1631. Grassi's libretto does not employ ancient prosodic formulas, and a regular rhyme scheme is present only in certain parts of Acts II and IV. In the end, the *Apotheosis*, drawing features from both opera and Jesuit drama, is of a complex genre that cannot be determined by stylistic features alone.

So what is it? Hammond, among others, has argued for a greater sensitivity to the relationship between genre and context,⁴⁵ and an investigation along these lines suggests the description I have alluded to earlier: a *tableau vivant en musique*. The *Apotheosis* is partly a didactic tool for mounting a deep, cultivated Jesuit ideology. But it is also a visual history about the preeminence of the Catholic Church as seen through the gaze of a cohesive and insular fraternity with a specific program in mind. The *Apotheosis* does not chronicle fact. The lessons as revealed in the work create instead a fundamental myth, a *Grundmythos*, which serves an important function in any colonial history. As Jürgen Maehder has found in his examination of operas dealing with the discovery of the New World, "Mythologizing is . . . an interactive process through which historical events and protagonists are translated into cultural discourse, often subordinating the actual facts of an event to the value system of the dominant society."⁴⁶

The *Apotheosis* was thus conceived to create an overall effect, like a ceiling fresco, but one that employs words along with images to capture the ultimate sum of various forces, a totality, "the impassioned and total integration of Tridentine faith and culture."⁴⁷ It is, in essence, a triumphant celebration of Jesuit missionary history through propaganda. Although it is not true opera, it does employ operatic conventions that serve to contemporize what is otherwise a Jesuit drama. By the 1620s the Jesuits were certainly aware of how their message and the image of the order itself could be evoked powerfully through the contemporary styles of art and music that were being cultivated in Baroque Rome. Opera was the most modern form of musical discourse available to the Jesuits, and they well understood opera's ability to make illusion shape reality, as the editors write in the introduction to the present volume. Furthermore, through its use of operatic conventions—recitative-style singing, instrumental dances, and specta-

cle—the *Apotheosis* profiled the Jesuits as moderns with contemporary taste, poised for a new future.

Although art historians have been cautious about validating the existence of a direct Jesuit influence on art, there is no doubt that a consistent artistic program emerges quite clearly in Jesuit-patronized art and, as the *Apotheosis* shows, music, after 1600.⁴⁸ Hibbard, for example, has convincingly reconstructed the detailed iconographic program of the Gesù,⁴⁹ and Dixon has similarly discussed the common aesthetic base of music and architecture at the Gesù during the early Baroque.⁵⁰ Although specific documentary information about the first performance of the *Apotheosis* has yet to surface, we may be able to understand the scenographic, aesthetic, and political priorities of the work by briefly examining our librettist/architect Grassi's conception for the mammoth Church of St. Ignatius, whose first stone was laid in 1626.

According to Redondi, the Church of St. Ignatius is inextricably connected to the personality of its architect. Grassi's plan was for a church, exceeded in size only by St. Peter's, that would celebrate the arching triumph and the supremacy of the Jesuits. The church does not achieve its greatness through virtuosity but through Grassi's uncompromising faith in the fundamental tenets of Jesuit education and orthodoxy. If one can ignore the stunning decorations installed in the 1680s by the Jesuit Andrea Pozzo, what remains is a sober, *terribilis* structure that conforms to what was understood as the Jesuit "style" in architecture. The facade was modeled on that of the mother Jesuit church of the Gesù, whereas the floor plan was a Latin cross as prescribed in Counter-Reformation treatises, rather than the Greek cross of Renaissance churches.⁵¹ These same aesthetic choices guide the *Apotheosis*. Despite the spectacle involved, the work does not waver from its scholastic intent, which it pronounces in long, pontifical monologues without interruption or challenge from other characters, rather than in humanistically inspired, active dialogue, as in Florentine opera. Within the immensity of St. Ignatius, the eye is directed toward the altar of the church, which is raised by five steps. In a similar fashion, Act V of the *Apotheosis* is the climax and fulfillment of the work, in which praise for the saints is offered in the form of altar worship. Finally, the visual spectacle of Jesuit dramas and the *Apotheosis* is matched by the dazzling effect of the *trompe-l'oeil* cupola in St. Ignatius, which dramatizes the immensity of the church.⁵² The visual effect of the *Apotheosis* is thus based on a coherent Jesuit iconographic program, which is drawn from traditional images used by the Jesuits, such as martyrdom and ascension, and is combined with the newer Jesuit themes of the 1620s: union with the pope, the thaumaturgic powers of the saints, the banishment of demons, and the missionary triumph over the heathen.

The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier by Peter Paul Rubens (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) offers an even closer look at these conventions, and in the process reveals the Jesuit aesthetics behind the visual spectacle of the *Apotheosis* (see figure 1.3).⁵³ Against the same backdrop as

in the *Apotheosis*, a pagan temple, Xavier stands high on a short column, his right finger pointing toward heaven. The group of figures below him to the right are those in need of his miracles: a blind man (with arms outstretched), a cripple (with the beard), and a kneeling figure with a darker face who is demonically possessed and must be restrained by the two kneeling youths in front of him. Across from this group are people whose graves are being dug but who through Xavier's miraculous intercession have avoided death in the nick of time. A woman running onto the scene from the left pleads with Xavier to intervene in the imminent death of the child she is holding. The remaining group consists of Asian figures: one of them, obviously an Indian—Rubens appears to have based his images of Indians on the engravings in Linschoten's *Itinerario* of 1596 (see figure 1.4)—is lying on a bench in anguish, while another Asian (directly below Xavier's right hand) wears a ceremonial headdress. A man in armor occupies the center of the painting as a symbol of the militancy of the church. Finally, the background consists of more Indians fleeing in agony from their temple whose "pagan" idol is being dismembered by a ray from the Catholic faith, represented by the chorus of angels in the clouds above Xavier. It has apparently escaped the attention of Rubens scholars that the image used for the Indian idol is identical to the same horned demon species promoted by Varthema more than a century earlier as the Idol of Calicut (compare to figure 1.1).

The narrative in this painting of Xavier's "miracles" is very much indebted to the letters of Xavier and his autobiography, which were widely available in Europe. The destruction of idols is described in the famous letter with which this article began; the woman holding the dead child in Rubens's painting is directly inspired by Xavier's awakening of a small, dead boy in front of a crowd at Cape Cormorin⁵⁴; and his healing of the sick was well known from his letters from the coast of Guinea in 1541.⁵⁵ The painting is identical to the *Apotheosis* in its general program of the sublimation of heathens and their conversion, and the pagan temple around which the action takes place. More specific connections between Rubens's painting and the *Apotheosis* include the gladiator in the painting, who may well represent the gladiatorial games that take place in Act V, as a mockery of Rome's "ancient customs"; even the torches aflame behind the gladiator are part of the same scene in the *Apotheosis*, in which Rome declares, "Bring together at the same time all the torches" so that the pagan temple can be set aflame. Finally in Act V, "a sudden cloud departed into the air," at which point Rome wonders, "Is not the very house of the highest heaven revealed now, where the head is already graced by divine light?" As in Rubens's canvas, the heavens open up with a beam of light as a signal for the apotheosis. Xavier's last and only words in the *Apotheosis* encapsulate the entire scene, gesture by gesture, of Rubens's painting: "This right arm of mine which once expelled the hostile band, summoned back again the bodies only recently laid in their graves that call out for the gift of eternal life, and

washed countless races in the river of life [baptism]—this arm . . . is ever intent to protect Gregory and his great successors.”

Although there is no actual connection between Rubens and Grassi as far as we know, their images are drawn from exactly the same sources: from Xavier’s correspondence, from his highly embellished autobiography, and through the filter of Jesuit histories and their panegyrics on Xavier’s death. Given the close similarity between visual images in Rubens’s *Miracles* and the *Apotheosis*, the painting does suggest how the *Apotheosis* might have been envisioned as a series of tableaux. Because the work is a drama devoid

Figure 1.3

Peter Paul Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*
(Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).



of actual drama, dialogue, virtuosity, or tunes, it must rely on iconographic representation in the form of a *tableau vivant en musique* as the main channel through which the work is understood.

V. A. Coelho

42

The *Apotheosis* and Goa

Now that a new feast had been inaugurated by this work, as well as for didactic reasons, the *Apotheosis* was destined to be repeated. The canonization was celebrated yearly after 1622, and the *Apotheosis* may have survived in the Jesuit repertory for some years.⁵⁶ From 1620 to 1630 the Feast of St. Francis Xavier was the most important festival at the Church of the Gesù, and more costly than the feasts of Christmas and Easter. By 1624 the feast of the canonization had reached Jesuit outposts in India, where it was observed with the same extravagance as it was in Rome. Della Valle reports from Goa in January of 1624 that the celebration consisted of squadrons of collegians "one of which represented the *Asiaticks*, one the *Africans*, and another the *Europeans*. . . . Before the Cavalcade went a Chariot of Clouds with *Fame* on the top, who, sounding her Trumpet with the adjunction of Musick, published the news of the said Canonization."⁵⁷ A few months later, the celebrations continued, and della Valle witnessed a performance of a tragedy entitled *The Life of Santo Sciavier*, which included "Musick, gallant

Figure 1.4

Goan fisherman, from J. van Linschoten, *Itinerario* (Amsterdam, 1596).



dances, and various contrivances of Chariots, Ships, Galleys, Pageants, Heavens, Hells, Mountains and Clouds.”⁵⁸

These descriptions suggest that a seventeenth-century Goan performance of the *Apotheosis* is not unlikely. The forces required by the work—solo and choral parts of no great technical difficulty scored mainly for boys, along with brief instrumental sections—could easily have been found at the College of St. Paul. By the end of the sixteenth century, the college supported ninety Jesuits, the boys of the seminary, the choirboys, and the servants, amounting to a total of 250 persons on the payroll. Documents show that polyphony (*canto d’organo*) was being sung in Goan churches before the middle of the sixteenth century, from which we can assume that by 1622 the musical training in Goa was sufficiently developed to support such a production.⁵⁹ Feast days were celebrated in Goa with unusual opulence, particularly the Feast of 11,000 Virgins or the Feast of St. Ursula (October 21), and the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (January 25), in honor of the College. Masses for these days included singing (sometimes with organ) and wind instruments.⁶⁰

Mainstream Italian or Portuguese music is not extant in Goa in the form of manuscripts or printed books, and archival sources are characteristically vague in their descriptions of sung or played music. Nevertheless, we know that a musical infrastructure capable of supporting mainstream Roman music must have been in place by 1622, because Sebastiani describes that during his trip to Goa in 1663, he heard works by Carissimi (the most famous composer at the Jesuit German College in Rome between 1629 and 1674) performed on a massive scale at Bom Jesus for the feast of St. Ignatius. Sebastiani also confirms the high musical standards in Goa by the middle of the seventeenth century:

In that city [of Goa] I enjoyed many times listening to very beautiful music for feast days, especially that of St. Ignatius Loyola, which was celebrated with seven choirs and the sweetest *sinfonie* [instrumental pieces or sections] in the Professed House of the Fathers of the Society, where lies the body of St. Francis Xavier; and when I said that it was like being in Rome, I was told that I was not mistaken, because the composition was that of the famous Carissimi that was brought to that place. I cannot believe how musically proficient are the Canarini [Goans and Konkanis], and with what ease they perform.

There is no town or village of the Christians which does not have in its church an organ, harp, and a viola, and a good choir of musicians who sing for festivities, and for holy days, Vespers, masses, and litanies, and with much cooperation and devotion. . . .⁶¹

Sebastiani’s description is borne out by archival documents from the College of St. Paul, Goa, which show regular payments to musicians for harp and viola strings, as well as for the playing and teaching of the organ during the years 1680–1710.⁶² These three instruments constitute a small but fairly

typical Spanish or Portuguese continuo group, one that would be entirely appropriate for small services and everything but the instrumental numbers in a work like the *Apotheosis*. The archives also show payments for a choir of twelve, and for certain occasions, twenty-two singers. Significantly, there are frequently extra payments for music (listed with the food payments) in March for the feast of St. Francis Xavier.⁶³

The *Apotheosis . . . of Francis Xavier* celebrated one of the most important events ever to take place in Catholic Rome. Its purpose was to recognize the Jesuits' historical role, to promote a Jesuit myth, and to define the theological substance of the Jesuit worldview. Through their clever synthesis of an officially sanctioned Jesuit program with operatic splendor and Jesuit drama, Grassi and Kapsberger created a living painting that is didactic and nationalistic but *imagined*. Cultural difference between east and west is bridged in the *Apotheosis* through India's willful subordination to the church. But a reading of the work from the side of the other, as I have attempted here, exposes the rhetorical strategies and images that are part of the Jesuit program to sublimate India's national identity. By freezing these deeply embedded forces of Jesuit colonialism, nationalism, and gender in the powerful genre of tableau images, the colonial imperative is made powerfully and eternally clear. *This* is how Xavier conquered India.

NOTES

1. Letter of January 27, 1545, from Cochin, India, to Ignatius Loyola about the conversion of the Mukkuvas, a fishing community on the Arabian Coast, quoted in P. Rayanna, S.J., *St. Francis Xavier and His Shrine*, 2nd ed. (Panaji, Goa: Rekha Printers, 1989), 105. The most thorough account of Xavier's activities in India is in Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, vol. 4, *India, 1541-1545*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J. (Rome: The Jesuit Historical Institute, 1977); for the context of the letter of 1545, see p. 470.
2. The standard book on the Roman College is Ricardo G. Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù (1773)*. *Analecta Gregoriana* 66 (Rome: Pontificae Universitatis Gregorianae, 1954), 84-115.
3. Joseph Wicki, ed. *Documenta Indica*, vol. 10 (1575-1577): *Missiones Orientales* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1968), 330. For a study of political and cultural implications of Western music in Goa, see Victor Coelho, "Cross-Cultural Repertoires and the Politics of Music in Renaissance Goa," in *Encomium Musicae: A Festschrift for Robert Snow*, ed. D. Crawford (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1997).
4. See Charles J. Borges, "Foreign Jesuits and Native Resistance in Goa, 1542-1759," in *Essays in Goan History*, ed. Teotonio de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1989), 77.
5. For a summary of Jesuit chronicles of India from approximately 1545-1600, see Donald F. Lach, *India in the Eyes of Europe: The Sixteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 427-66.
6. On the Jesuit letters and their statistics, see Lach, *India in the Eyes of Europe*, 438ff.

7. Pietro Redondi, *Galileo: Heretic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 69.

8. The other canonizations were for Filippo Neri, the founder of the Oratorians and Teresa of Avila, both Catholic reformers, and the twelfth-century Isidore "the Worker" of Madrid, a saint for veneration by the lower classes.

9. *Apotheosis sive consecratio S.S. Ignatii et Francisci Xaverii*. The work survives in two manuscript sources only: (1) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. F. 1075 (in Kapsberger's own hand); and (2) Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 16013; there is at present neither a modern edition nor a facsimile. The *argomento* was published in *Argomento dell'apotesi de' Santi Ignatio Loiola e Francesco Saverio rappresentata nel Collegio Romano nelle feste della loro canonizzazione* (Rome, 1622). The *Apotheosis* has received surprisingly little critical study. The earliest examination of the piece is in Wilhelm Ambros's *Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig: F. E. C. Leuckhart, 1909), 4:469–89. The most detailed but relatively noncritical examination of the work is by James Forbes, "The Non-liturgical Vocal Music of Johann Hieronymus Kapsberger," Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1978, 245–451. In 1991 the *Apotheosis* was revived at Boston College as part of its Ignatian year celebrations.

10. A detailed account of Kapsberger's life is in Victor Coelho, "G. G. Kapsberger in Rome, 1604–1645: New Biographical Data," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 16 (1983): 103–33. On Kapsberger's operatic output, see Victor Coelho, "Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. S. Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), 2:949–50. Kapsberger was not a Jesuit.

11. See Redondi, *Galileo: Heretic*, 179–202.

12. From documents quoted in Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano*, 283–84.

13. Verzellino, quoted in Redondi, *Galileo: Heretic*, 69. The Vienna manuscript source of the *Apotheosis* states that the work was performed five times.

14. On Jesuit dramas, see Per Bjurström, "Baroque Theatre and the Jesuits," in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, eds. Rudolf Wittkower and Irma Jaffe (New York: Fordham University Press, 1972), 99–110.

15. The English translations are by the author and George V. Coelho, with occasional recourse to the translation printed for the Boston College performance of the *Apotheosis*, prepared by Frank T. Kennedy, S.J.

16. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), 3.

17. *Ibid.*, 222.

18. See Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 16.

19. Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 69.

20. The version consulted was Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, ed. Piero Buscaroli (Milan: Editori Associati, 1992), 297–98, based on the 1603 edition.

21. Lach, *India in the Eyes of Europe*, 439, lists relevant documentary evidence.

22. See Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 18–19.

23. Historical Archives of Goa, Livro Morato da Relação, f. 120v, letter of Antonio da Cunha: "e nos ditos bailos e ensaios delles metem muitas cousas torpes, e cantigas ruins, e outras cousas que só por arte diabolica as podem fazer, nas cantigas metem seus pagodes e idolatrias, o que tudo he contra o bem commum da república christã e contra a boa criação. . . ."

24. This theme is treated in Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 94-96.
25. *Nationalism and Sexualities*, eds. A. Parker, M. Russo, D. Sommer, and P. Yaeger (London: Routledge, 1992), 6.
26. Shiva is also representative of the dance, which can bring ecstasy.
27. The elephant god Ganesha, the remover of obstacles, has phallic associations; see Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, 78.
28. The *Discorso* is printed in Angelo Solerti, *Le origini del melodramma* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1903), 148-79.
29. *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India*, 2 vols., ed. Edward Grey (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1892; reprint, New Delhi and Madras: Asian Educational Service, 1991), 1:235.
30. See Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, ed. Joseph Campbell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), 126-30.
31. See S. S. Desai, "An Ethnological Study of Goan Society," in *Goa: Cultural Trends*, ed. P. P. Shirodkar (Panaji, Goa: Casa Packmaster, 1988), 34-45. On the roles of Brahmins in Portuguese Goa, see M. N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*. Xavier Centre for Historical Research Studies Series 2 (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1980), 93-115.
32. *The Travels of Pietro della Valle*, 2:266-76.
33. I have borrowed this term, the "voiceless," from the Goan scholar Teotonio de Souza; see his "The Voiceless in Goan History," in *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, ed. John Correia-Afonso S.J. (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1981), 114-31.
34. R. Radhakrishnan, "Nationalism, Gender, and the Narrative of Identity," in *Nationalism and Sexualities*, 84.
35. *Ibid.*, 91.
36. *Ibid.*
37. See Coelho, "G. G. Kapsberger in Rome," 121.
38. *Operas for the Papal Court, 1631-1668* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 175.
39. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, 476.
40. Forbes, "The Non-Liturgical Vocal Music," 297.
41. Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 185.
42. On *Delectare et docere*, see *ibid.*, 199-254. For a comprehensive study of Roman operas by Rospigliosi, see Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*.
43. See *ibid.*, 221-434. Hammond has placed these operas within the program of Barberini patronage in *Music and Spectacle*, 183-98.
44. See Margaret Murata, "Classical Tragedy in the History of Early Opera in Rome," *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 111-22.
45. Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, 189.
46. Jürgen Maehder, "The Representation of the 'Discovery' on the Opera Stage," in *Musical Repercussions of 1492: Encounters in Text and Performance*, ed. Carol E. Robertson (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 258. For an extended treatment of the use of myth within scientific and musical discourse of the early seventeenth century, see Victor Coelho, "Musical Myth and Galilean Science in Giovanni Serodine's *Allegoria della scienza*," in *Music and*

Science in the Age of Galileo, ed. V. Coelho (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992), 91–114.

47. Redondi, *Galileo: Heretic*, 120.

48. See Rudolf Wittkower, "Problems of the Theme," in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, 1–14.

49. Howard Hibbard, "Ut picturae sermones: The First Painted Decorations of the Gesù," in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, 29–50.

50. Graham Dixon, "Musical Activity in the Church of the Gesù in Rome During the Early Baroque," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 49(1980): 323–37.

51. See Redondi, *Galileo: Heretic*, 123–26.

52. On the relationship of the *Apotheosis* and previous Jesuit dramas, see Forbes, "The Non-Liturgical Music," 443–44.

53. This large canvas, along with its companion, *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* and a cycle of thirty-nine other paintings, was executed by Rubens around 1617 for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp. The works remained there until the fire of 1718, which destroyed all but the two *Miracles* paintings, which were relocated to Vienna. For a history and analysis of the cycle, see John Rupert Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp* (London: Phaidon, 1968).

54. See Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 389–90.

55. *Ibid.*, 16–27.

56. On the Vienna manuscript version it is written that the work was performed five times, in a hand that is undoubtedly later than Kapsberger's autograph in Paris.

57. *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India*, 2:402.

58. *Ibid.*, 411

59. On the introduction of polyphony in Goa, see Coelho, "Cross-Cultural Repertoires. . ."

60. See Wicki, ed., *Documenta Indica*, vol. 12 (1580–83), 881.

61. Joseph di Santa Maria (Giuseppe Sebastiani), *Seconda spedizione all'Indie Orientali* (Venice, 1683), 3:105: "Godei più volte in quella città con occasione di feste assai belle musiche, particolarmente in quella di S. Ignazio, che si celebrò a sette cori con suavissime sinfonie nella Casa Professa dei Padri della Compagnia, ove si trova il corpo di San Francesco Saverio; e dicendo, che mi pareva di stare in Roma, mi fi risposto che non m'ingannava, perché la composizione era del famoso Carissimi portata in quelle parti. Non può credersi quanto rieschino nella musica quei Canarini, come ci si esercitino, e con quanta facilità.

"Non v'è aldea, o villaggio di cristiani, che non abbia nella chiesa organo, arpa, e viola, o un buon coro di musici, cantandovisi nelle feste, e nei sabbati, vesperi, messe, e litanie, e con molto concorso, e devozione. . ."

62. Historical Archives of Goa (HAG): Jesuitas 2088, *Receita e despeza dos Jesuitas, 1684–1692*, f. 113: "De consertar, ensinar os orgaos dous x.e e meyo-002.2.37"; HAG Jesuitas 2570, *Lembranças dos artigos recebidos do Reino pelos padres jesuitas, 1664*, *Registo de efeitios*, f. 28v: "Tres macos Cordaduras de Arpa-003" / "Tres macos de Cordas de Violla-003."

63. HAG, Jesuitas 2088, f. 106v, *Despesa domes de Majo de 1685*: "De muzica da festa de S. Fran.^{co} X.^c. . ."