

Music in new worlds

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Imagine that during the last week of December around 1600, a Portuguese vessel leaves Goa, the magnificent capital of the Portuguese Asian empire located 350 miles south of Bombay, for the six-month return to Lisbon. The bottom two layers of the four-deck ship are devoted to storing spices – mainly pepper, but the return cargo also includes cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg, cloves, indigo and Chinese silk bought from Moorish traders. With the remaining two decks reserved for official cabins and the storage of privately owned chests, little room is left for the 100 sailors and a chicken coop.¹ Crossing the Indian Ocean during the most pleasant time of the year, the ship docks briefly at the Portuguese possession of Mozambique (settled 1507) and arrives a month later at the Cape of Good Hope. But instead of rounding the Cape and sailing north up the coast of West Africa, past the Portuguese settlements of Benin (1485), the Congo (c. 1480), Sierra Leone (1460), the archipelago of São Tomé (c. 1471), and the Cabo Verde islands (1444), which lie along the route that brought them to India, the Portuguese crew sails due west into the heart of the Atlantic bringing the ship almost within sight of the Brazilian coast before its sails catch the easterly winds that will allow it to tack north towards the Azores, the last stop of the over 10,000-mile round trip before reaching Lisbon. Along the way, descriptions and opinions of native instruments and musical styles are logged into diaries: a Congolese lute, xylophones from Mozambique, cymbals, drums and bells, and reed instruments.²

Had this ship continued on to Brazil, where the Portuguese had settled in 1500, our musically minded crew would have noticed that the music performed in some of the larger churches there involved the same or similar repertory to what they had heard 7,000 miles away in the Sé Cathedral in Goa, which, in turn, was the music, including chant, used in countless Catholic churches in Portugal and across Europe. This observation will certainly come as a surprise for readers accustomed to the European map on which we have plotted the main itineraries

1 On the itineraries and personnel, etc., of Portuguese vessels, see Domingos, 'Vaisseaux et mariners'.

2 For a summary of these accounts, see Brito, 'Sounds of the Discoveries'.

of our early-modern music histories. We are so used to working on this narrow geographical scale – for example, considering how quickly Josquin’s music was disseminated throughout Europe, or the speed at which musicians in northern Germany kept abreast of developments in Baroque Italy – that we may be startled at how swiftly and comprehensively repertoires, instruments, performance styles and ceremonial practices were transmitted along the routes of exploration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, allowing the Oriental, Old and New worlds to share common musical experiences at roughly the same time. To give but two examples: non-European sources show that the music of Francisco Guerrero (1528–99) was heard during the late sixteenth century not only in Spain (and, to be sure, in other parts of Europe), but also in Guatemala as well as in the Philippines. And we find near-contemporaneous sources of dances of African origin in the Congo/Angola, Brazil and Portugal, some of which later found their way into the European guitar repertory.³

Interest in the transmission of mainstream European repertoires (or at least styles) across continents and cultures has emerged as a fertile area within musicology in recent years, not least because of its relevance to the discipline’s ongoing re-examination of its methods and canons. The topic has shed light on the colonial and political – what used to be considered ‘ambassadorial’ – roles of music, as well as on the self-awareness (or not) of ‘dominant’ cultures, and on the nature of and reasons for musical export itself.⁴ In many ways, work in this area is symptomatic of, if not a cause of, the new rapprochements between musicology, ethnomusicology, literature, critical theory and cultural studies. Colonial and post-colonial studies have inspired fresh examinations of opera and its subtexts, ranging from orientalism and missionary conquests of Asian ‘others’ in the seventeenth century, to an increased interest in New World sources, non-Western influences, and politics (both sexual and institutional).⁵

On the other hand, traditional methodologies such as documentary and source studies remain fundamental for any assessment of the global history and politics of cross-cultural repertoires during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The voluminous archival work on Jesuit documents by scholars such as Joseph Wicki and Carlos Leonhardt, for example, are rich with information about music’s function along the routes of Asian and New World missions respectively, and its context in terms of evangelical and institutional politics.

³ Budasz, ‘The Five-course Guitar (*Viola*) in Portugal and Brazil in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries’, pp. 148–56. See also Budasz’s study and edition of musical references in the works of the seventeenth-century Brazilian poet, Gregório de Mattos (1636–96): *A Música no Tempo de Gregório de Mattos*.

⁴ Baumann (ed.), *World Music, Musics of the World*.

⁵ Dellamora and Fischlin (eds), *The Work of Opera*; Machder, ‘The Representation of the “Discovery” on the Opera Stage’.

In his work on the Philippines, William Summers has also noted the detail and frequency of discussions about music in Jesuit correspondence.⁶ Similarly, archival research conducted in Japan, Paraguay, Brazil, Mexico, Bolivia and Guatemala – again, mostly dealing with Jesuit missions – has raised important issues concerning both the installation of European music in conquered territories, and the culturally embedded politics within that music.

Not surprisingly, despite the dispassionate and objective pretexts of archival work, post-colonial history has revealed its own subjectivity through the mounting tension between European and non-European perspectives that is part of the complexity that overwrites post-colonial identities to the present day. In other words, scholars have split, interpretatively speaking, along culturally grounded lines that are often in conflict. The result is a re-opening of the past that has allowed non-Western scholars to reclaim their own history, apart from, and on different terms from, their inherited tradition of Western historiography. After all, as Gerard Béhague has remarked, colonialism is ‘a pre-meditated act of transfer and imposition of the cultural/musical values of the colonising group. In this, it differs from more natural situations of contact.’⁷ Ever since the publication of Edward Said’s *Orientalism* challenged the post-colonial attitudes embedded in literary and artistic representation, many recent methods for understanding colonised cultures have appeared across the academic spectrum, though with varying degrees of success at escaping the gravitational pull of the West.⁸ According to Dipesh Chakrabarty, who has examined several post-colonial models for the study of Indian history, much of the newest work produces a situation in which even with a concerted effort to amplify the voices of subaltern others, the end-result remains predominantly Eurocentric: so long as the history remains a discourse ‘produced at the institutional site of the university . . . Europe remains the sovereign’.⁹ Third-World historians feel a need to refer to works in European history, Chakrabarty continues,

but historians of Europe do not feel any need to reciprocate. Europeans produce their work in relative ignorance of non-Western histories, and this does not seem to affect the quality of their work. This is a gesture, however, that Indians cannot return. They cannot afford an equality or symmetry of ignorance at this level without taking the risk of appearing ‘old fashioned’ or ‘outdated’.¹⁰

In sum, Indian history, when filtered through a Western genre of history (for example, colonialism, Jesuit histories, determinism, Marxism or Manifest

6 Summers, ‘The Jesuits in Manila’, p. 666.

7 Béhague, ‘The Global Impact of Portuguese Music and Musical Institutions’, p. 75.

8 Among the most successful challenges to earlier post-colonial models is Mignolo’s *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, which proposes new paradigms for studying ‘hybrid’ cultures and identifying the syncretic relationships that evolved between coloniser and colonised that were ignored in previous historical accounts.

9 Chakrabarty, ‘Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History’, p. 1. 10 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Destiny), is but a variation on a master European narrative. This may be inevitable, given that it is difficult to present any form of history as we understand the term without some recourse to Western structures of historical thought. However, the situation prompts some circumspection. Accordingly, my essay will examine the geographical reach of seventeenth-century music and its political and cultural ramifications by considering both sides of the colonial dialogue. If by the word ‘politics’ we can understand a web of interacting relationships involving authority, power and influence, music becomes an important source of information as both cultural product and mode of political discourse. Since music outside Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was mainly managed by missionaries, religious orders, viceroys, diplomats, merchants, and soldiers in the service of Christianity and nation, our sources are mostly European, ecclesiastical, diplomatic – not to mention written and therefore targeted at an audience – and so inescapably prejudiced and Eurocentric. But I have endeavoured to approach this material in a critical fashion, also acknowledging non-European voices and perspectives. Beginning with analyses of source studies and patronage in order to identify musical repertoires and their context, I will proceed to the connections between global politics through a case-study of music as it was exported to and developed within the Portuguese colony of Goa from the arrival in the city of the first Jesuit, Francis Xavier in 1542, to the decline of Goa’s role as the capital of the Portuguese empire in the late seventeenth century. I will also discuss some of the cross-cultural travels of instruments and instrumental music during the seventeenth century, which will permit some further observations about the role of music within the politics of culture.

*Quomodo cantabimus canticum domini
in terra aliena?*

‘How shall we sing the Lord’s song in a foreign land?’, wrote the Italian Jesuit Rudolf Acquaviva (quoting Psalm 137) during his celebrated mission to the heart of the Mughal Empire in India.¹¹ Source studies and documents have played a crucial role in identifying the global range of European musical transmission, music’s institutional setting and users, and the relationship between genre and ceremony. The most precise information concerning European musical exports comes from earlier in the sixteenth century, when Spanish, Portuguese and English colonial missions to the New World, Africa and Asia

¹¹ Letter from Fr. Rudolf Acquaviva to Fr. Nuno Rodrigues, 10 September 1580. For a translation of this letter, see Correia-Afonso (ed.), *Letters from the Mughal Court*, pp. 87–91. This book contains the complete correspondence dealing with the Jesuit mission to Fatehpur Sikri.

quickly established a musical infrastructure for use in liturgical services, diplomatic missions and military operations, thus necessitating the exporting of music books, choir directors, singers, trumpeters, drummers and occasionally string players. In essence, this was an installation of a prefabricated European musical tradition bound to its function, a co-ordinated system of ritual designed mainly to overwrite indigenous sacred and ceremonial practices, analogous to the manner in which Christian churches in India supplanted razed temples and mosques on the very same locations. The importance placed on music throughout early European colonialism betrays its role as both a superior language and a replacement of existing ones. Prior to coming to India, the Portuguese Vicar-General Miguel Vaz produced a 41-point plan that wrote into law extremely harsh measures meant to secure the conversion of the natives.¹² Shirodkar writes that ‘Hindus in Goa were to be deprived of all human rights, idolatry was to be outlawed, temples to be destroyed, idols in no form to be made’ – although Hindu idols were indeed replaced by crucifixes – and ‘Hindu festivals to remain uncelebrated’.¹³ In political terms, the penalty of violating any of these rules was harsh. King D. Sebastião II of Portugal banned even the domestic display of idols, and set severe limits upon temple festivities and ritual, marriage and cremation ceremonies, all of which normally called for elaborate and explicit musical expression.¹⁴ Punishments were meted out in the form of economic disenfranchisement in which violators lost their estates to the Church.¹⁵ Many other cases and laws could be cited to document further how indigenous practices involving music were both obliterated and comprehensively replaced by ready-made colonial values.

Thus the success of evangelical missions to both Asia and the New World was predicated to a large degree on a concomitant musical colonisation deriving from the transplanting of traditional representational ceremonies such as those of the Mass and Office, as well as of processions and feast-days. These rituals imposed a new cultural grammar through sight, sense and sound. In his study of music and death rituals in sixteenth-century Mexico, Wagstaff shows how the elaborate tradition of Processions of the Dead re-enacted by the Spanish in Latin America ‘served a pedagogical purpose because they provided a moment when the new “journey” of Christianity could be solidified in the new converts’ minds.¹⁶ In a similar fashion, the native dances and music in Corpus

12 For a full account of the suppression of Hindu practices, see Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, pp. 114–49.

13 Shirodkar, ‘Evangelisation and its Harsh Realities in Portuguese India’, p. 81, which provides a concise summary from a Hindu scholar’s perspective.

14 Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, p. 117.

15 Shirodkar, ‘Socio-Cultural Life in Goa during the 16th Century’, p. 33.

16 Wagstaff, ‘Processions for the Dead, the Senses, and Ritual Identity in Colonial Mexico’, p. 169.

Christi processions from colonial Cuzco were intentionally programmed by the Spanish elite as a way for Andeans ‘to “perform” their indigeneity and thereby act out the role of the defeated Other in the triumph of Christianity over native religion’.¹⁷ By 1545, musical training and its attendant ceremony in Goa had become institutionalised as part of a pedagogical system for the parochial schools that all boys were required to attend. On the other side of the world, the Spaniards of Guatemala, only a decade following their conquest of 1523–4, had built a cathedral, providing a theatre for such rituals to evolve within a mixed community; this was soon followed by the installation of a permanent organist, and also of a *chantre* ‘who must always be expert enough to sing and conduct chant at the choirbook stand’.¹⁸

On a more local level, missionaries in the field in Mexico and Goa were instructed to use chant, then polyphony, to assist in the conversion process. Polyphony, in fact, was introduced in Goa explicitly as a means for the musical seeding of villages and to increase the number of ‘heathen’ baptisms. The pedagogical success of the enterprise – in musical training if not necessarily in conversion – is borne out by the testimony of Joseph di Santa Maria from the last quarter of the seventeenth century, reporting on his visit to Goa:

In that city I enjoyed many times listening to very beautiful music for feasts, especially that of St Ignatius Loyola, which was celebrated with seven choirs and the sweetest *sinfonie* in the Professed House of the Fathers of the Society [the Basilica do Bom Jesus], where the body of St. Francis Xavier is found; and in saying that it was like being in Rome, I was told that I was not mistaken, because the composition that had been brought to that place was by the famous Carissimi. I cannot believe how musically proficient are the Canarini [Goans], and with what ease they perform.

There is no Christian hamlet or village that 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 . . .¹⁹

Amerindian choirs in Mexico had also become highly accomplished in singing polyphony and as copyists of European music.²⁰

17 Baker, ‘Music at Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco’, p. 364.

18 Stevenson, ‘European Music in 16th-Century Guatemala’, p. 343.

19 Letter from Joseph di Santa Maria (Giuseppe Sebastiani), in the *aggiunta* to Vincenzo Maria Murchio, *Il viaggio all’Indie orientali del padre F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena . . . con le osservazioni, e successi nel medesimo, i costumi, e riti di varie nationi . . . con la descrizione degl’animali quadrupedi, serpenti, uccelli, e piante di quel mondo nuovo, con le loro virtù singolari. Diviso in cinque libri . . . Con la nuova aggiunta della seconda spedizione all’Indie orientali di monsignor Sebastiani* (Venice, 1683), iii: 105.

20 S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (eds), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, 29 vols (London, 2001), xvi: 543 (s.v. ‘Mexico’).

Repertory and transmission

Along all of the roads of exploration, the documentary and musical sources, whether associated with the cathedral or with the village parish, reveal an extraordinary level of musical proficiency, both Euro-insular and syncretic. As I have already noted, the early repertoires brought to the New World and to Asia are remarkable both for their similarity to European music, and for their contemporaneity with it. The Guatemala and Puebla manuscripts studied by Snow and Borg dating from between the 1580s and the early seventeenth century, for example, contain a large and significant repertory of polyphonic Mass, motet, Magnificat, hymn and Holy Week settings by Spanish and Portuguese composers. Some of them were émigrés, such as Gaspar Fernandes; but other works are by the likes of Isaac, Josquin and Mouton, reflecting the ‘classic’ and retrospective – even canonical – tastes revealed by Spanish sources of the period.²¹ Other New World manuscripts from Bogotá and Mexico reveal trans-Atlantic concordances with works by the greatest Iberian composers of the age – Morales, Guerrero, Victoria and Lobo – alongside works by émigrés.²²

Similarly, Summers has shown how Spanish polyphonic sources in Manila reflect how the city’s celebratory life ‘was densely intertwined with the bifocal projection of Spanish colonialism, that worldwide enterprise undertaken by the inextricably interlocked institutions of the Roman Catholic church and the Spanish crown’.²³ Virtually all of the major Catholic orders – Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans and especially, of course, the Jesuits – were responsible for the cultivation of music and the teaching of musicians. The first books of polyphonic music, as well as the first *chantré* and organ, were brought to Manila not from Spain but from Mexico, where the parent tradition had presumably proved its ability to operate in a new context. An early seventeenth-century inventory of a Manila book merchant lists Guerrero’s first book of motets (Venice, 1570), leading Summers to speculate that his music was well known in Manila alongside much other polyphony, some of it by native musicians. The genres represented included virtually every type of music: Mass cycles, motets, *villancicos*, canzonettas, and polyphonic settings for Vespers, for the *Salve* service, and of the *Te Deum*.²⁴ The performance styles described by the

21 See Snow, ‘Music by Francisco Guerrero in Guatemala’, and his splendid edition of one of the Guatemala manuscripts: R. Snow (ed.), *A New World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service: Guatemala City Cathedral Archive, Music MS 4* (Chicago, 1996). See also Borg, ‘The Polyphonic Music in the Guatemalan Music Manuscripts of the Lilly Library’.

22 For general descriptions, see Stevenson’s indispensable *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas*, and the checklist contained in Sadie and Tyrrell (eds), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xxiv, s.v. ‘Sources, MS, §IX, 23: Renaissance polyphony: South and Central American MSS’, which also lists more specialised studies.

23 Summers, ‘The Jesuits in Manila’, p. 659.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 663–4.

sources – for example, *alternatim* performance between singing and instrumental sections played by loud winds, drums and bells – may prove to be valuable indications of European tastes as well. As a technique used in all colonial outposts, the polychoral style may also have had broader pedagogical and ideological aims. A report from Angola around 1620 mentions that a polychoral Mass was sung accompanied by instruments, with thirteen black musicians divided into three choirs for sonic effect.²⁵

The presence of the Jesuits in Paraguay from 1609 contributed to much the same type of New World musical culture.²⁶ The main activity remained the teaching of music as part of training missionaries for their work in the field and for the deployment of larger musical forces for processions and ritual. Indigenous music was initially tolerated, but soon native musicians, such as the highly-skilled Guaraní, were retrained. As for the specific repertory in Paraguay, little concrete evidence has surfaced prior to the residence there of the Jesuit composer Domenico Zipoli from 1717 to his death in 1726; his works are well documented in the Archivo Musical de Chiquitos in Concepción. However, Herczog believes that Spanish polyphony is likely to have been used by the Jesuits, though probably not before 1614. Between 1617 and 1639 a solid infrastructure of musical training, both vocal and instrumental, was created through the arrival of two professional Jesuit musicians, the Belgians Jean Vaisseau and Louis Berger, which initiated what has been described as a ‘Flemish-Iberian’ musical style.²⁷ Documents show that in just a few years, polyphonic, polychoral Masses were given with frequent participation of instruments. In addition, organs and harps, among other instruments, were manufactured locally, examples of which are extant in Bolivian collections.²⁸

The documentation for India is similar in that it provides only a few details of any specific musical works, and other than Carissimi as noted by Sebastiani, no other composer is named. But references to motets and *cantigas* are ubiquitous, as are numerous instances of polychoral performance, perhaps involving *alternatim* practice, along with the singing of Vespers. Frequently, Indian instruments were used along with the voices and organ. The political and evangelical purpose of such extravagant and pluralistic music is made very clear. Francesco Pasio, a key figure in the Japanese missions of the Society of Jesus, writes from Goa in 1578 that in the Colégio de São Paulo

²⁵ Stevenson, *Portuguese Music and Musicians Abroad to 1650*, p. 17; Brito, ‘Sounds of the Discoveries’, p. 13.

²⁶ On music in Paraguay under the Jesuits, see Herczog, *Orfeo nelle Indie*. ²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 165–87.

²⁸ Szarán and Nestosa, *Música en las reducciones Jesuíticas de America del Sur*. Some of these instruments are reproduced in Herczog, *Orfeo nelle Indie*.

the Divine Office is celebrated in this church with as much solemnity and perfection as there can be, because to make the gentiles dismiss their own ceremonies and to make them seize the important meaning and affection of our Christianity and divine cult, the Fathers celebrate the Offices very solemnly, singing the Mass of the principal feasts with a deacon and sub deacon, and Vespers with five Fathers with copes, employing very good music [performed by] orphans and new converts, who, numbering a little less than 100, remain in one part of the College, playing the organ and other instruments of the land.²⁹

The only sources that have come to light so far in Goa are two books, probably dating from no earlier than the 1690s, containing *villancicos*, *chacotas* and *cantigas* from the Convento das Mónicas, built between 1609 and 1627. Some of the texts, including a play, are to be sung to formulas, while others, intended for St Michael's day – to which a *villancico* in Guatemala and a Mass in Bolivia are also dedicated³⁰ – are scored polyphonically with parts for harp and viola.³¹

Instrumental diplomacy

One of the richest areas of study towards evaluating the (inter)relationships among colonial cultures (and their post-colonial ramifications) involves the history and transmission of musical instruments. As a barometer of cross-cultural influence, instrumental families have long been central sources for ethnomusicologists (including scholars of popular culture): they bear witness to a long history of multi-cultural appropriation, and they are also indicators of status and class, and, to use Bourdieu's term, of 'cultural capital'.³² Within the matrix of colonial or state politics, instruments are often pressed into service as symbols of national identity, whether through representations in art, through pre-meditated export, or through their subsidised production. Needless to say, the topic is immense and extends far beyond the scope of this discussion. But a few examples illustrating the cultural and political dimensions of instrumental transmission will, I hope, give an indication of how fertile this area can be to the topic at hand.

Ian Woodfield's important study on the global itineraries of English musicians delineates the role of music and instruments in cross-cultural encounters,

²⁹ Wicki (ed.), *Documenta indica*, xi: 358–9.

³⁰ Stevenson, 'European Music in 16th-Century Guatemala', p. 347. On the *Missa S. Miguel*, see Herczog, *Orfeo nelle Indie*, figs 17–18.

³¹ For a study, albeit superficial, of the texts, see Castel-Branco, 'The Presence of Portuguese Baroque in the Poetic Works of the Sisters of Santa Monica in Goa'.

³² For a broad look at cross-cultural itineraries and guitar history, see Coelho, 'Picking through Cultures'. For a more anthropologically oriented study that underscores the guitar's role within class hierarchies, see Reily, 'Hybridity and Segregation in the Guitar Cultures of Brazil'.

particularly after the establishment of the East India Company in 1600. This ranged from traditional gift-giving (still crucial in the mating dance between Western and Asian business executives today) and the use of trumpets for signalling and military manoeuvres, to anaesthetising the prick of foreign cultures (such as by allowing a native to 'have a go' at a Western instrument to promote cooperation and friendship),³³ as well as, of course, for ceremony and ritual. Here, politics, diplomacy and etiquette are allied concerns, with instruments used as olive branches to make inroads to the other side. If only they had organs, singers and other instruments, an Italian missionary in Japan wrote to Rome, it would take only a year to convert the populations of Kyoto and Sakai.³⁴ By 1601 a school of organ craftsmen was making instruments with bamboo pipes, initiating a decade during which Japan's cultural sympathies were officially bound to the West.³⁵ In this same year, the first clavichord arrived in China, beginning almost two centuries of use of Western keyboard instruments in the royal courts: brought by the famous Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci, the instrument stimulated the acculturation in, and teaching of, Western idioms, and was even used for accompanying Mass.³⁶

Continuing a convention well established by explorers, Portuguese traders of the sixteenth century routinely bartered portable organs with native leaders, presenting such instruments as wonders of European technology. The first organ probably arrived in India in 1500 in this manner, and both organs and harpsichords were carried as gifts on Portuguese expeditions from Goa to Ethiopia.³⁷ Intended initially as a traditional diplomatic overture, the gift-giving of instruments planted the seed for unexpected musical developments. The use of the harmonium in India, for example, is an outgrowth of the introduction of organs from this period, its fixed-pitch keyboard remaining a peculiarly Western element at odds with Indian variable-scale instruments and singing techniques. In 1550, Francis Xavier brought as gifts to Japan musical instruments which have been variously described as a 'monacordio', 'vihuelas de arco' and a 'clavicordio'.³⁸ Examples of Japanese art-works during the early seventeenth century reveal the extent to which the Jesuits promoted the representation of instruments as part of their pedagogy, as in the case of those Japanese paintings showing instruments mentioned in the Psalms (trumpets,

33 Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration*, p. 112.

34 See Waterhouse, 'The Earliest Japanese Contacts with Western Music', p. 38, which also contains an account of the famous European visit from 1582 to 1586 of four *samurai* musicians that was arranged by Valignano, during which they performed in Portugal, Venice and Rome on keyboard and stringed instruments, and were painted by Tintoretto.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

36 Lindorff, 'Missionaries, Keyboards and Musical Exchange in the Ming and Qing Courts', pp. 403-5. On Jesuit music in China in this period, see also Picard, 'Music (17th and 18th Centuries)'.

37 Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration*, p. 96. 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 183-4.

harp) or associated with angels (lutes, viols, vihuelas).³⁹ Guitars (synonymous with the Portuguese *viola*) are listed in Brazilian inventories of 1614 and 1615, and a 1676 inventory from a monastery in Chile lists a guitar and two vihuelas (whether *da mano* or *de arco* is unclear). There exist two seventeenth-century New World guitar manuscripts: the so-called Códice Saldívar no. 2 from Mexico, which contains a work by the Spanish guitarist Gaspar Sanz plus pieces for cittern with New World titles; and a Peruvian manuscript dating from 1670–1703 copied by a Franciscan. This has led James Tyler to speculate that by the end of the seventeenth century, ‘it seems that the guitar was as much a part of everyday life in the New World as it was in the homeland’.⁴⁰

By the middle of the seventeenth century, lutes and vihuelas begin to be mentioned in Goa. Pietro della Valle wrote from India that the Portuguese captain Manoel Pereira de la Gerda ‘entertain’d us with Musick of his three daughters, who sung and play’d very well after the *Portugal* manner upon the Lute’;⁴¹ archival sources frequently mention the playing of the ‘bihuela’ in domestic settings; and John Fryer’s *A New Account of East India and Persia* (London, 1698) describes (pp. 152–4) the women of Goa as being ‘extraordinarily featured and compleatly shaped’ and as ‘plying themselves wholly to devotions and the care of the house’ – ‘they sing and play on the lute, make confections, pickle *achans*’.⁴² In sum, it is no exaggeration to say that the strong Western classical tradition of music in Goa, formed within the Indo-Portuguese cultural crucible of the seventeenth century, is of a piece with the sentiment and temper of the period of exploration. Covert Christian communities in Japan, sent underground as a result of anti-Christian exclusion laws after 1614, nevertheless kept many Western traditions alive and even fostered them through contact with the Dutch up until the renewed interest in the West during the eighteenth century.⁴³

Goa: a case-study in Portuguese expansion and Jesuit patronage

The first European settlers in Goa were the Portuguese, who with the landing of Vasco da Gama in 1498 opened up the spice routes between Europe and

39 See the reproduction of a *nanban* screen showing a Japanese female musician playing a vihuela (not a lute, as stated in the catalogue) in Cooper *et al.*, *The Southern Barbarians*, p. 166. On the representation of Western instruments in Japan, see also Minamino, ‘European Musical Instruments in Sixteenth-Century Japanese Paintings’. On viols in Japan, as well as the visit there of some young Goan musicians skilled in chant and polyphony, see Kambe, ‘Viols in Japan in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries’.

40 Tyler and Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era*, p. 151; for a list of other New World guitar sources of the eighteenth century, see p. 163. On cross-cultural aspects of the Baroque guitar, see Russell, ‘Radical Innovations, Social Revolution, and the Baroque Guitar’, pp. 171–81. On the Portuguese guitar and its presence in Brazil, see Budasz, ‘The Five-Course Guitar (*Viola*) in Portugal and Brazil in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries’, pp. 24–8. For the Chile inventory, see Aguilera, ‘Music in the Monastery of La Merced, Santiago de Chile, in the Colonial Period’.

41 Grey (ed.), *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India*, i: 181.

42 Fryer may be talking about the guitar, or even a hybrid instrument.

43 Waterhouse, ‘The Earliest Japanese Contacts with Western Music’, p. 46.

India.⁴⁴ Goa came under Portuguese political rule in 1510, when Afonso de Albuquerque captured the city and overcame the Muslim domination of the area. (One could say that Jawaharlal Nehru ‘recaptured’ Goa with his march into the city 450 years later, leading to Goa’s official – and bloodless – independence from Portugal in 1961.) Under Albuquerque, Goa became one of the main cosmopolitan centres in all of Asia, a magnet for traders and sightseers, and the jewel in the crown, both architecturally and culturally, of the Portuguese empire, as well as its episcopal and administrative hub. Documents mentioning books of chant (*canto chão*) appear from 1512, with some of them, like a ‘livro grande de canto’, intended for the early Goan church of Santa Catarina (1513–30).⁴⁵ In the first few decades of Portuguese rule, Masses and the Office were sung by as many as ten clerks, who were probably not trained musicians since they were noted as singing ‘as best as they can’.⁴⁶ Thus in Goa as well as in Cochín and Cananor, an infrastructure was established very early on for using plainchant, although the precise liturgies are difficult to reconstruct given that the earliest extant chant books in Goa (located mainly in the chapter archives at the Sé Cathedral) date mostly from the eighteenth century. By the mid 1540s, polyphony is specified (*canto d’orgão*) in correspondence and in the Annual Letters between Goa and Portugal, which required the importing of trained singers, and much debate ensued over the efficacy of using polyphony to attract new Christians.⁴⁷

The most important role in the teaching of music and the development of polyphony in Goa was taken by the Jesuit Colégio de São Paulo, founded in 1542 (50 years before the Jesuit Colegio de San Ignacio in Manila began to fulfil the same function). The College, which included the first Jesuit church in Asia, offered throughout the seventeenth century a comprehensive musical

44 The fundamental work in this area, and still the starting point, is Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*. For a more inclusive, less hegemonic approach to Indo-Portuguese history, see Pearson, *Coastal Western India*. For documentary and post-colonial approaches to music in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Goa, see Coelho, ‘Connecting Histories’ and ‘Music in Portuguese India and Renaissance Music Histories’. On the relevance of Goan literature and music to its colonial history, see Coelho, ‘Saudades and the Goan Poetic Temper’. For a synoptic view of music in Goa in the service of exploration, see Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration*, pp. 219–48.

45 Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação para a historia das missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, i: 127, 431.

46 Ibid., i: 250: ‘Os clerigos: cantam as misas e ofícios honde ha hy livros, e hande os nom temos, dimeos emtoado, no millior modo que se pode.’

47 There is some debate regarding the definitions of the term *canto d’orgão* in a colonial context. Given the amount of discussion over its replacing of chant as an enticement to Catholic conversion, the term could hardly denote simply organ-accompanied, unison chant, as Harich-Schneider (*A History of Japanese Music*, p. 473) has suggested in relation to Jesuit reports from sixteenth-century Japan. Woodfield (*English Musicians in the Age of Exploration*, p. 227), has persuasively explained that the term, as used in Goa, was at least evocative of simple polyphony or harmonisations, and occasionally for polychoral performance. In any case, some evidence that the polyphonic style may have resembled something akin to simple harmonisations, perhaps in relation to a borrowed melody, comes from a late seventeenth-century account by the Capuchin Martin de Nantes, who wrote that the Cariri Indians of Brazil sang the rosary of the Virgin every night, divided into two choirs ‘à la maniere Portugaise fort agréablement avec une espece de faux bourdon’; see Castagna, ‘The Use of Music by the Jesuits in the Conversion of the Indigenous Peoples of Brazil’, p. 651.

training directed towards the formation of a native clergy, and it became Goa's main centre of musical activity and patronage.⁴⁸ The influence of the Jesuits in Goa also led to the building of the two most important churches in the city, the Sé Cathedral (1562–1631), the architecture of which was strongly influenced by the Jesuit design of the Chiesa del Gesù in Rome, and the Basílica do Bom Jesus (1594–1605), built by the Jesuits as a symbol of their power and to house Xavier's body.⁴⁹ Raised in 1946 to the status of a Minor Basilica by Pope Pius XII, Bom Jesus is as venerated a shrine on the pilgrim's itinerary as Compostela, Assisi or Vézelay.

The significant expense undertaken by the Jesuits to support music was justified by their reasoning that polyphonic Masses could be more effective than spoken or chanted ones in attracting new converts to Christianity. For the same reason, Masses at the Colégio de São Paulo increasingly included the participation of Indian instruments, a practice that conformed to one of the more successful Jesuit methods, of adopting local customs, language and dress. Documents of musical events at the College frequently mention the use of harpsichords, trumpets, flutes, shawms and organs alongside instruments 'of the land' ('instrumentos da terra'), all in conjunction with the singing of motets and *cantigas*.⁵⁰ In Goa, polyphony was generally not an everyday practice, but was used mainly for Mass on Sundays and particular feast-days ('todos os domingos e festas . . . se fere missa cantada'),⁵¹ often with instruments. Otherwise, services were celebrated in chant. The principal feasts cited in the documents are the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (15 August), Corpus Christi, the Feast of the Circumcision (1 January), the Feast of the Conversion of St Paul (25 January), Holy Week, and the Feast of 11,000 Virgins (or Feast of St Ursula; 21 October), which was the main feast of the Colégio de São Paulo involving 'muytos generos de instrumentos, assi come charamelas, atables, trombetas, frautas, violas d'arco, e cravo'.⁵² As was the case with recorders and reed instruments in New World polyphony, wind instruments may have been used to reinforce the lower voices. Other religious ceremonies called for instruments as well: for a baptism in 1567, for example, Fr. Gomes Vaz mentions 'trumpets and other instruments, with a gathering outside of a procession of singers'.⁵³

As a Jesuit enterprise, the education at the College was rigorous and modelled on the strict curriculum – the *ratio studiorum* – of the Jesuit schools in

⁴⁸ Today only the façade remains, following the demolition of the College in 1829. For a reconstruction of its ground-plan and a discussion of its function, see Kowal, 'Innovation and Assimilation'.

⁴⁹ Kowal, 'Innovation and Assimilation'; Hibbard, '*Ut picturae sermones*'. A good architectural summary of the churches of Goa is in Hutt, *Goa*. A more detailed, though somewhat pedantic, approach is in Pereira, *Baroque Goa*.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Wicki (ed.), *Documenta indica*, viii: 87, 89. ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, viii: 432.

⁵² *Ibid.*, iii: 189; see also p. 735 for a similar account. ⁵³ *Ibid.*, vii: 402.

Rome. Most feast-days were celebrated at the College with unusual extravagance, involving singing, dramatic presentations, processions, and the playing of instruments. In Goa, both chant (*canto llano* or *canto chão*) and polyphony (*canto d'orgão*) were taught along with grammar, the arts and theology, the aim being to instil in the students not just virtue and morality, but also kinship with a Christian, European tradition. Musical training was also regarded as a necessary tool for the arduous future of these students as missionaries. The introduction of polyphony was facilitated through the many debates that appear in the documents regarding the appropriateness of sung Masses versus those that were spoken, with the general consensus that sung Masses (in chant or in polyphony) were much preferred by newly converted Christians as well as by the Portuguese. The topic was important enough to merit discussion in a long letter from Antonio Criminalis to Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Order, regarding the suitability of either chanting or intoning parts of the Mass and Office.⁵⁴

The emotional and spiritual benefits of a sung, rather than spoken, Mass are also emphasised in a particularly revealing letter written by Padre Mestre Belchior from Cochin in 1561, which appears to summarise the relationship between the Jesuit missionary enterprise and musical aesthetics. Belchior's letter also provides valuable information about the motivation for using polyphony in churches, and the flexibility of musical styles encountered in a Goan service:

I preach here in this house of the Mother of God, where there is so much devotion among the people of Cochin who, for a greater part of the year, during all the Sundays and Holy Days of the year come here without any expense to celebrate our Masses with polyphony, flutes and shawms. At Vespers on feast-days, they come here with much solemnity, and whenever a voice is missing and they cannot have polyphony, there is never lack of chant.

During the first two years I was here, we said our Masses in prayers [i.e., spoken], and since there are in this city many churches and monasteries, it seemed that for a greater number of these people, they were not satisfied with the feast if the Mass was not sung; so it was necessary to meet the needs of the church-goers and to introduce a sung Mass at other church Offices, thus not only increasing much devotion among the Portuguese, but also enabling the native people [*gente da terra*], as well as Christians and Hindus, to show greater reverence to the Divine Mysteries.

It is for this very reason that in the principal feasts that the Holy Church celebrates for the mysteries of our Redeemer, we want them to be solemn feasts, for on Christmas Day, the mystery of the Nativity was celebrated with much

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, i: 20.

devotion among all the people and with much solemnity in the Divine Offices, which were sung with many instruments, and there were many *prosas e jubilos* [tropes, interpolations to existing chants, or additional cantus-firmus settings?] on the birth of the child Jesus. And during the Feast of the Circumcision, the solemnity was heightened for the love of the Church and for all the other things that might increase spiritual joy; for beyond the Mystery they celebrated the name of Jesus which is that of our Society, with as many means of devotion as they could gather, even having entertainment and dances of the school-children, with such songs that they were much more a rejoicing of the spirit than mere children's amusements.⁵⁵

Despite the boost given to the missionary campaigns by polyphony, multi-choir performance and the participation of instruments, the cold wind of the Tridentine reforms had reached the colonies by the early 1570s. Although only descriptions of Goan polyphony have survived, and not the actual music, it is clear that the Council would have found much to change in Goa. For one thing, the cross-cultural exuberance of the processions and celebrations that are mentioned by every visitor to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Goa was infiltrating the services themselves, and also spreading to other parts of Portuguese India – in Travancore the *folias* was danced for the feast of the Assumption in 1577⁵⁶ – threatening Tridentine aims and thus coming under criticism. In addition, the increasing use of 'loud' wind instruments such as shawms (*charamelas*), along with flutes, trumpets, indigenous instruments and drums, during Mass and other services, plus the presence of secular music, was seen as distracting and disrespectful, even though the practice of *villancicos* within Matins and Mass was much cultivated in Portugal and Spain during the Tridentine period.⁵⁷ Clearly, what happened at home was one thing, and in the colonies another, and there were strong attempts to have music in Goan churches restrained by Counter-Reformation austerity, even if such radical reforms met with some resistance.

But there was a deeper political motivation for these changes. By the early seventeenth century it had become clear that the Jesuits were falling far short of their goal in converting Indians to Christianity. At the same time, where music was traditionally used by missionaries as an evangelical technique – frequently the students of the Colégio de São Paulo would even walk through the streets singing the Credo – the extravagance of music was becoming a profession unto itself, rather than an activity strictly in the service of missionary training. The debates make interesting reading. The die-hard reformers Francisco Cabral

⁵⁵ Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação para a historia das missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, viii: 464–5 (31 December 1561).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, xii: 390. ⁵⁷ Nery, 'The Portuguese Villancico'.

(fl. 1581–94) and Claudio Acquaviva, respectively the Provincial and the General (1581–1615) of the Society of Jesus, proposed that many facets of music-making should be discontinued altogether. On the other hand, Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), one of the great Jesuit cultural pluralists, strongly supported the need for musical training and was persuasive in his attempts to keep it alive for the sake of proper education.⁵⁸ Valignano was convinced of the power of music to aid the Christianization of India and, especially, Japan, the country that held his strongest interest. Addressing the difficulty in teaching native boys to sing measured music in Latin, Valignano admitted Portuguese boys to the part of the Colégio de São Paulo intended for natives only, in order to help out with the choir. This was challenged by Acquaviva; he included music among his general reforms of abuses at the College, and sought to reduce the number of boys who were contracted to furnish liturgical music, with the eventual aim of abolishing the practice completely. The Jesuit historian Joseph Wicki concluded that this was ‘a wise decision’.⁵⁹ Valignano, however, insisted that liturgical music should not be suppressed in an area such as India, in which music had a very strong impact, and he was therefore against reducing the number of boys at the College. But a lack of finances was often cited in support of the reforms. Francisco Fernández wrote to Acquaviva in 1589 that it was unnecessary to have so many ‘ministriles’ – a designation for performers of secular songs (such as *villancicos*) rather than simply instrumentalists⁶⁰ – at the College, and likewise ‘moços’, the latter perhaps referring to young slaves, whose mention in the same breath as minstrels suggests musicians as well. This corresponds closely with Jesuit musical culture in Manila around 1600 in which the earliest documented orchestra consisted of nine slaves playing flutes and reeds (*chirimías*) that were brought to the Philippines along with an organ and music books from Mexico.⁶¹ This was one of several indigenous ensembles in Manila that performed for church services, and it had a significant influence on many local musical traditions within the native population.

For a brief time, the reforms were uncompromising: Acquaviva himself soon disallowed even organ music in the new Professed House of the Society of Jesus. His proactive approach was clearly an exaggerated response to the complaints he was receiving from all sectors of the Jesuit establishment. In 1591, Fr. Nuno Rodrigues wrote him a letter highly critical of an instance when instrumental music and ‘cantigas’ had been performed at the Saturday morning service (‘sinco horas de la mañana’) at the College, including ‘other vulgarities, which in Portuguese is called *chacota*, and similar instruments such as guitars, citterns

58 Ross, ‘Alessandro Valignano’. 59 Wicki (ed.), *Documenta indica*, xvi: 25.

60 Zayas, ‘Les ministriles et leur rôle dans l’interprétation de la polyphonie espagnole du Siècle d’Or’.

61 Summers, ‘The Jesuits and Music in Manila’, pp. 660–61.

and the like'.⁶² Taste aside, Rodrigues succeeded in leaving us with one of the most revealing documents in the Jesuit correspondence about cross-cultural music making and the spread of Portuguese popular culture through the indigenous community.

By the early seventeenth century, writes Wicki, 'singing and instrumental music were not in favour in the Society of Jesus'.⁶³ A close reading of the documents suggests that the reasons go beyond musical style. Aquaviva became further inflamed through his correspondence with Francisco Cabral, a veritable crusader against excesses in the church. But he was also racially prejudiced, vehemently opposing the admission of Japanese to the Society, and even the use of silk for Jesuit robes.⁶⁴ (For his part, even Valignano, who was sympathetic to 'white skinned' Japanese, dismissed the intelligence of the darker-complexioned Africans, Malay and Indians.⁶⁵) In a letter of 1594, Cabral urged Acquaviva to end the practice of singing Mass and the Offices in the College.⁶⁶ He gave three reasons: first, that in order to sustain the tradition, a Father or a brother of the Society was always needed as choirmaster and to teach singing, but these were not always dependable or available, nor was it economical; secondly, although singing was originally cultivated in order to assist in conversion, few new converts actually came to church, and therefore music was not making its intended impact; thirdly, singing was originally introduced to attract faithful and honourable people to church, but this had not proved to be the result.

All of this had little to do with music *per se*. By foregrounding music in the context of missionary directives, it was inevitable that it would share the blame for the larger failures that occurred in the missionary campaigns. What is interesting about Cabral's letter is that in having to justify the specific use and expense of music, he reveals information about the Society's mission that is often silenced. The discourse was normally constricted by position and station, but when entering into a dialogue over musical issues, these authors exposed their cultural and aesthetic beliefs.

(Re)Writing colonial history in seventeenth-century Rome: Kapsberger's *Apotheosis*

Even as the Jesuit missionary project in India no longer seemed so certain, weeks of festivities took place in Rome following the canonisation in 1622 of the first two Jesuit saints, Francis Xavier and Ignatius Loyola. Of the three Jesuit

62 Wicki (ed.), *Documenta indica*, xv: 721-2. 63 Ibid., xvi: 7.

64 Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America*, p. 61.

65 Ross, 'Alessandro Valignano', p. 347. 66 Wicki (ed.), *Documenta indica*, xv: 852-4.

dramas mounted for the occasion, the most elaborate was Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger's *Apotheosis sive consecratio SS. Ignatii et Francisci Xaverii*, a mixed-genre propaganda piece in which a feminised India, as one of the characters, willingly submits to the Catholic Church. Elsewhere I have examined this work in detail from the point of view of the Other, and as an example of a gendered colonial revisionism.⁶⁷ India's conversion was neither total nor willing, but Kapsberger's drama, replete with themes of procreation and church paternalism, redefines the Jesuits as conquerors and India as their progeny. It will come as no surprise that modern Jesuit scholars see things differently. Musicologist T. Frank Kennedy, who has produced a splendid recording and translation of the work, proposes looking at the libretto not as a didactic tool, as many non-Jesuit scholars – myself included – would have it, but as an affirmation of a 'human experience' that addresses 'sweeping transcultural issues that move beyond to reconcile all people of all time'.⁶⁸ But it is difficult to view it in such idealistic and egalitarian terms, devoid of any political subtext, particularly given the way in which the different countries represented are judged by the Church according to their acquiescence to conversion. It seems clear that the *Apotheosis* aimed to address the decaying situation in Asia by displacing those countries that had refused Xavier's ministrations.

By the early seventeenth century, the missionary map had been redrawn considerably. While missionaries continued to be disappointed by Indian resistance – particularly after the establishment of the Inquisition in 1561 that caused many Indians to flee to Muslim territory, beyond the missionary perimeter – there were a number of at least symbolic victories.⁶⁹ Peruschi's account of the Jesuit missions to the court of Akbar the Great (Abu'l-Fath Jalal Ad-Din Muhammad Akbar (1543–1605)) at Fatehpur Sikri (near Agra) is particularly relevant here.⁷⁰ The Jesuits saw Akbar's eventual conversion as necessary for the Christianization of the entire Mughal Empire. But even after lengthy visits by missionaries, and despite Akbar's keen interest in Christian art and liturgy (he celebrated the Feast of the Assumption in 1580–83), he did not convert. Nevertheless, Jesuits remained at the court until 1803, and Pastor writes of 'twenty parishes with 70,000 Christians on the peninsula of

67 Coelho, 'The *Apotheosis* . . . of Francis Xavier and the Conquering of India'.

68 Kennedy, 'Candide and a Boat', pp. 319–21. A more extensive discussion appears in his liner-notes to *The Jesuit Operas: Operas by Kapsberger and Zipoli*, Ensemble Abendmusik, directed by James David Christie, Dorian 93243 (2003). Quotations from the libretto in the present text are based on Kennedy's translation in the CD booklet.

69 The main targets of the Goa Inquisition were not primarily the non-converted Hindus or Muslims, but 'New Christians', i.e., descendants of Iberian Jewry forcibly converted to Christianity in Spain in 1492 and in Portugal in 1497; see Boyajiyian, 'Goa Inquisition'.

70 G. B. Peruschi, *Informatione del regno et stato del Gran Re di Mogor* . . . (Rome, 1597); see also Welch, *India*, pp. 146–64.

Salsette near Goa; ten in Ceylon . . . [and] another 60 parishes in Manar and Travancore'.⁷¹

In China and Japan, however, the Christian effort was decaying rapidly, and the persecution and execution of Jesuits were becoming commonplace. This might explain the hierarchy of nations in the *Apotheosis*, where these countries play roles subsidiary to India. In fact, China receives a paternal scolding as being Xavier's ultimate destination yet unable to receive him because Xavier had died on a nearby island waiting for a boat to complete his voyage: 'I am denied such glory of great praise', China states on her entrance in Act IV, 'as that of our parent Xavier's chaste bones embraced by my great blessed bosom . . . While Xavier was trying to approach my realm, but was repulsed by unexpected death that indeed sought to halt my progress, I have been cheated in my undertaking to honour the sacred spoils of the deceased Father in a poor land'. Thus China, 'cheated' by its failure to receive Xavier who was so close to her shores, yearns for union with the Church. But reports during the first decade of the seventeenth century confirm the difficulty of the missionary efforts in China. Although the Jesuit Matteo Ricci adopted Chinese customs and learnt the language, he could count only some 2,000 conversions over 25 years of work.

Even as the Portuguese empire in India began to collapse in the seventeenth century, however, the Colégio de São Paulo remained active in its use of the arts as a source of identity and as a consolidation of Jesuit power commensurate with the close relationships the order was forging with the popes in Rome. The festivities accompanying the 1622 canonisation in Rome were echoed on a lavish scale a few years later in Goa, as Pietro della Valle described in detail.⁷² From his account of processions, music and drama, it is clear that the musical austerity envisaged by Cabral and others was very much a passing phenomenon. Moreover, the itemised College accounts for the last two decades of the seventeenth century show regular payments for an organist, as well as for viol and harp strings, a combination of instruments capable of accompanying small- and large-scale genres that was used in Spanish and Portuguese churches at home and abroad.⁷³ But mid seventeenth-century reports attest to Goa's steady decline as a city and cultural centre in the face of rising competition from the maritime expansion of the English, Dutch and French. In 1672, Abbé Carré, visiting 'this large and once flourishing city of Goa, could hardly find a shadow or vestige of its former splendour'.⁷⁴ He found no worshippers in the Sé Cathedral, nor a church open for prayer on Christmas Day, while 'other

71 Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, xxvii: 147.

72 Grey (ed.), *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India*, ii: 402-13.

73 Some of these documents are listed in Coelho, 'The *Apotheosis* . . . of Francis Xavier and the Conquering of India', p. 47 nn. 62, 63.

74 Fawcett (trans.), *The Travels of the Abbé Carré in India and the Near East*, p. 214.

churches, both of the parish priests and of the regulars, are ill-suited, and in most of them the Mass and divine service are no longer sung for want of priests and monks'.⁷⁵

Placing seventeenth-century music in this colonial context permits the cultural and missionary subtexts embedded within European musical styles and training to come into sharp focus. Music was seen as a powerful political medium both in Europe and beyond, and it was very much part of the cultural and political imperatives of both the Portuguese and the Jesuits. Because this music was imposed on cultures that were bound to much older, unwritten traditions, and was used as ambassadorial and evangelical tools, studying it in the broader context of the colonial enterprise teaches us a great deal about the role of music in constructing and defining political, social and cultural hierarchies whether outside Europe or, for that matter, within.

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⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

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