

## Public Reception, Politics, and Propaganda in Torrejón's *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa*, the First New World Opera

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Some 41 years after its performance at the Palacio del Buen Retiro in Madrid, *La púrpura de la rosa*, the first opera written by Calderón de la Barca (1660), was revised by Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco and performed in Lima in 1701. Both versions tell the same mythological story of Venus and Adonis but because Calderón's music had been lost, Torrejón was forced to rewrite the musical score. The redrafted music featured a new operatic prelude, or *loa*, whose purpose was to commemorate King Felipe V's eighteenth birthday and the first year of the Bourbon monarchy in Spain and the New World.<sup>1</sup> Since it is common today to recontextualize artistic works to reveal their relationship to politics, economics and society, this study will resituate Torrejón's *loa* in its original time of production—sometime in 1700-1701 Lima—and draw on comments made by Frederic Jameson in *The Political Unconscious* to explain how the goal of the *loa* was to persuade Hispanic audiences to embrace and support the new Bourbon monarchy and consequently broaden royal authority over its New World subjects, including the indigenous populations. In this way, the content of Torrejón's work and context for its creation and presentation were conceived for political and propagandist purposes.

In her excellent work on opera in Spain and the New World, Louise Stein has shown that operatic performances in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, such as *La púrpura*, had clear political implications: "[...] these operas were composed and produced in circumstances that transcended those surrounding other court entertainments, such that the choice of genre was made for extraordinary, political reasons" (*Opera* 130). Similarly, Frederic Jameson in *The Political Unconscious* asserts that the process of aesthetic creation is just as politically and ideologically motivated

as the work produced by that process (79). Keeping in mind the political nature of these court entertainments, Jameson suggests that aesthetic works act as symbolic representations of real events, or, in his words, “a restructuring of a prior historical or ideological subtext” (80) whose function is to invent “imaginary or formal ‘solutions’ to unresolvable social contradictions” (79). It is from this perspective that I would like to approach Torrejón’s *loa*. My contention is that the *loa* also hinges upon a prior historical or ideological subtext: Torrejón was compelled to persuade Hispanic audiences to welcome and support the first Spanish monarch in the New World who was French in the midst of the 1700 War of Succession, and also to secure funding for future public musical performances in Lima.<sup>2</sup> The *loa* also assisted the Europeans—both the new French Bourbons and the Spanish Habsburgs—in extending their control over the native populations.<sup>3</sup> The *loa* then symbolically resolves this real-life challenge through propaganda, namely when the featured mythological characters sing the praises of the new Franco-Spanish alliance under the first Bourbon King of Spain, Felipe V, thereby ushering in a dramatic new monarchy as well as an innovative form of musical drama, opera.

As background to the conception of Torrejón’s work, it should be mentioned that among the *Púrpura* productions following Calderón’s original 1660 presentation, Torrejón’s was the most significant. Originally, Calderón’s opera was composed to celebrate the wedding of the Spanish princess María Teresa to French King Louis XIV and commemorate the Peace of the Pyrenees treaty which put an end to almost thirty years of hostilities between the two countries. The Calderonian *libretto* interprets the mythological love story of Venus and Adonis and incorporates the warrior god Mars as Venus’ rejected and wrathfully jealous lover. At the end of the opera, Mars kills Adonis and as he lies dead, his flowing blood gives the crimson color to the rose—la púrpura de la rosa. The myth thus could be interpreted as a warning against the vices of jealousy and vengeance and the opera’s *loa* expressed Calderón’s goal to persuade Spanish audiences to hail the royal nuptials and peace agreement. For his 1701 production, Torrejón, who was by then the *maestro de capilla* of Lima Cathedral, made use of Calderón’s opera *libretto* but was forced to compose a new musical score since the original had been lost. Torrejón also took the opportunity to invent a new *loa* that was more appropriate for praising the new Bourbon monarchy and Felipe V’s first year as King. Just as Calderón’s *La púrpura de la rosa* was the first opera in Spain, Torrejón’s rendering was the first opera in the New World. And just

as Calderón's celebrates the Franco-Spanish alliance between Louis XIV and María Teresa, Torrejón's praises the first Bourbon King of Spain, Felipe V.

The situation that led to Torrejón's choice of this opera for presentation, in addition to the way in which he created a new *loa*, demonstrate that there is a strong case for recontextualization within the work's original moment of production. His *loa* was rather brief (66 verses as compared to 502 verses in Calderón's version) and provides an ostensibly limited scope for study.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, resituation of the work shows that Torrejón's *loa* was greatly affected by the political and economic events that hampered all artistic production in 1701 Lima in addition to the playwright's professional formation in Spain prior to arriving in Peru. Allow me to briefly review of the socio-historical context that grounds Torrejón's work. Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco was baptized in Villarrobledo, Spain on December 23, 1644 as the son of Miguel de Torrejón, a royal huntsman of King Felipe IV of Spain who enjoyed powerful connections with the royal family.<sup>5</sup> The father secured for his son, Tomás, a position as page in the household of Pedro Fernandez de Castro y Andrade, Tenth Count of Lemos (1632-1672) who, in 1667, would become the nineteenth Peruvian Viceroy.<sup>6</sup> After marrying Doña María Manuela, on February 6, 1667 Torrejón sailed with the Count of Lemos to Peru as the new Viceroy planned to take over the Peruvian *virreinato*. During his five years as Viceroy (1667-72) Lemos made Torrejón *Capitán de la Sala de Armas*, then *Corregidor* and after, *Justicia Mayor of Chachapoyas* province (located near the upper Amazon river valley).

On January 1, 1676 Torrejón returned to Lima and succeeded Juan de Araujo as chapel master in Lima Cathedral, a post he would occupy for 51 years until his death at the age of eighty-three in 1728. The position was originally created in 1612 and Torrejón's responsibilities included conducting the orchestra and choir, the teaching of polyphony, the financial administration of the Cathedral, and the composition of musical works for all sorts of occasions. For at least a century, the Lima Cathedral appointment had been the foremost musical position in the New World, and Torrejón was highly qualified to occupy it. His talents must have been extensive or else he never would have earned the appointment. In fact, with Torrejón's appointment, social expectations were broken since he was not only the first cathedral master in the New World not to take orders, but after his first wife died, instead of entering the priesthood he married again. Moreover, during his time in Peru, Torrejón enjoyed a strong reputation: his music compositions

were printed in Antwerp, Madrid and Lima, and musical authorities from throughout the New World sought his opinions and services.

Torrejón's lengthy supervision of music in Lima Cathedral afforded him the opportunity to train some of the best Peruvian musicians and singers of the eighteenth century and compose a number of festive, commemorative, and funeral pieces for state occasions, as well as to inspire the direction of music in outlying centers from Cuzco to Trujillo (Stevenson, *First* 34). The composer's extended stay in these other colonial centers meant that he had the opportunity to work with some of the finest musicians and singers in the New World, and to learn about their musical background and techniques. In general, the music of both the indigenous and mestizo communities of the Andean highlands best characterize the two non-European forms of early music that existed throughout the viceroyalty. While in Lima Torrejón likely relied heavily on Indian singers and dancers for his memorials, *villancicos* and choral productions, and may even have implemented Indian dances as part of religious services, especially in the various processions commemorating the most important feasts (Béhague 4).<sup>7</sup> In addition to their participation in dance and song performances, Indians were also exceptional musicians.<sup>8</sup> There is little doubt that their participation was vital to musical productions in Lima primarily because of their known ability to easily master even the most complex European musical forms.<sup>9</sup> Interestingly, the number of Indian musicians became so large in Mexico and Peru that by 1561 King Philip II ordered a reduction in the number of Indians who were allowed to work as musicians.

Nonetheless, as was the case throughout the New World, budget cuts eventually severely restricted artistic spending, particularly in the music and religious sector. On April 22, 1681, the local *cabildo* had to decrease not only Torrejón's salary but also reduce the pay of his musicians and choir singers. The financial situation further deteriorated in 1687 after a tragic earthquake destroyed most of Lima's cathedral and there were no funds for immediate rebuilding. Without a cathedral in which he could work, Torrejón's salary was cut and it was not until September 6, 1697, that the *cabildo* was able to restore his salary to the initial 600 pesos at which he had been contracted two decades earlier (Stevenson, *Púrpura* 107).

The overall financial crisis confronting Peru was due in part to the slowness with which the vice regal treasury collected taxes, a crisis that left the Lima government weakened and impoverished for much of the seventeenth century. Moreover, the ever-necessary production of silver had been declining

for years meaning that the overall financial state of the mother country, Spain, was in ruin as well. Lack of funds for the arts meant that artists in Lima only rarely were commissioned to present traditional theatrical works, and most of these were associated with the Corpus Christi celebrations.<sup>10</sup> With the ascent of the French Bourbons to the Spanish Crown in 1700 a growth of public celebrations and festivities took place.<sup>11</sup> But, traditional Spanish *comedias*, *zarzuelas* and *autos* were quickly uprooted in place of new forms of entertainment that reflected the prestige of the Bourbon Crown and expressed its more secular view. This metamorphosis from a national Spanish style represented by traditional writers such as Lope and Calderón to a national French style is closely related to the unfolding political events. After all, the end of the Habsburg line in Spain and the New World and the turbulent arrival of the Bourbon monarchy thoroughly changed the pattern of patrons and patronage throughout the Spanish empire since there was little interest in traditional Spanish entertainment, and even less enthusiasm for Amerindian arts. Surprisingly, though, the new artistic trend was Italian, not French. In fact, the first Bourbon King, Felipe V, generously provided money to bring to Spain numerous Italian musicians, actors and painters in his determination to establish Italian opera as a commercial enterprise (Stein, *Iberian* 331). These tastes were of course exported to the New World (to Lima, for example) where, following the standards set in Madrid, musical and theatrical activity soon followed the Italian style. Such political and economic events meant that all musical productions, such as *La púrpura de la rosa*, would be ideologically marked, reflecting the likes, dislikes, concerns and influences of the Spanish, French and Italian styles, thus meaning that European tastes would further merge with the rich musical heritage of the native Indians.<sup>12</sup>

It was not until June 26, 1701—twenty years after Torrejón's first pay cut—that he was finally presented with proper financing for a memorable public performance in honor of the recently deceased King Carlos II.<sup>13</sup> A second public production followed shortly after when the new Viceroy—favorable to the Bourbons—arrived in Lima, Melchor Portocarrero Lasso de la Vega, Count of La Montclova. Montclova was interested in demonstrating his loyalty to the new Bourbon dynasty, and commissioned Torrejón to compose a less-somber musical piece to commemorate the foreign-born King Felipe V's eighteenth birthday and the first year of the Bourbon reign. The result was Torrejón's rewritten opera based on Calderón's libretto of *La púrpura de la rosa*.<sup>14</sup> Torrejón's opera premiered at the vice regal palace on October 19, 1701 and became known as the first opera production

in Lima and the New World, “a gesture welcoming in the new king just as the music of June 26 had ushered out the old monarch” (Stevenson, *First* 34).

It is extremely difficult to gauge the success of this new musical invention. We know the opera was long—perhaps over four hours—and its treatment of tedious mythological themes probably did not please most people, not to mention opera was not yet a viable alternative to popular, established forms of court entertainment. According to Stevenson the opera did not please the Archbishop of Lima who in 1702 ordered that any type of “música alegre” not be produced in the Cathedral so as to prohibit participation by religious personnel in anything that was exclusively produced for entertainment purposes (*La primera* 27). So, why did Torrejón attempt this innovative stage presentation? It is likely that Torrejón knew of the court entertainment preferences for the Franco-Italian style and almost certainly knew about the audience’s familiarity with traditional Spanish theatre. He needed to conceive an artistic work that would please both groups. Perhaps this is why he chose *La púrpura* since it was originally written by Calderón, the playwright synonymous with traditional Spanish tastes whose first opera undoubtedly would satisfy the new administration’s Italian preferences. While Torrejón did not change Calderón’s *libretto*, he did create a new *loa* to reflect the political and economic climate in Peru during the early eighteenth-century. Calderón’s 1660 *loa* presented Zarzuela, Música, Tristeza and Alegría, who set out to persuade the audience to accept the 1659 Peace of the Pyrenees and the marriage agreement between María Teresa and Louis XIV. For his part, Torrejón’s shorter *loa* portrayed mythological characters who sing praises in support of the new French Bourbon dynasty and King Felipe V, and also promoted a peaceful conclusion to the War of Succession already taking place.

The *loa* opens depicting Apollo and his Muses who unite at Apollo’s temple for the sole reason of honoring the new monarch. Torrejón may have selected these particular mythological figures because their individual characteristics were meant to suggest the celebrated attributes of the new king. For example, Apollo was the god of light, prophecy, music, poetry, and the arts and sciences; throughout history he was worshiped for his ability to bring prosperity and knowledge to humankind. Eternally young, Apollo was also regarded as the god of healing because he possessed the power to restore health and youth. It can be said that Apollo’s perpetual youth, his role as the heavenly musician of the gods and patron of the arts was meant to

recall the young eighteen-year-old Felipe V who was ultimately the benefactor of all arts in the New World, including Torrejón's opera.

In ancient mythology, during Apollo's musical performances nine muses accompanied him, three of which appear in Torrejón's *loa*: Calliope, the oldest and leader is muse of epic poetry; Terpsichore is the muse of dance and choral song; and Urania is the muse of astronomy.<sup>15</sup> Of all the mythological deities in Olympus, none occupy a more distinguished position than the muses. Originally, the muses presided over music, song, and dance, symbolizing their divine ability to influence and inspire poets and musicians, such as Torrejón. With the progress of civilization they assumed other responsibilities such as the arts and sciences, and poetry and astronomy (Berens 157). In Torrejón's *loa*, each muse's virtues evokes the glory and grandeur of Felipe V and his empire. For example, Calliope, the muse of heroic and epic poetry, was a particularly important character when one considers the exaltation of the heroic past and glorious future of the combined Spanish and French monarchy of Felipe V—a prevalent theme in the *loa*. That Calliope either shares or possesses the majority of the speaking parts in the *loa* suggests that her role as muse of poetry and leader of the other muses was held in high regard by Torrejón. The second muse, Terpsichore, carried a lyre, wore a crown of laurel, and was the inventor and muse of dance. The crown of laurel that she wears symbolizes the roman emblem of victory, and could represent the success and honor of this new Franco-Spanish alliance. Finally, Urania was also the muse of astronomy and was even considered the muse of poetry by later writers, such as Milton (Zimmerman 284). She is only briefly portrayed in Torrejón's *loa*, carrying her symbols, the compass and sphere:

los velos corred al templo de Apolo  
 vereis la atencion  
 conq Vrania consagra a su culto  
 quinto al compaz y ala esfera debio (41-44)<sup>16</sup>

Here, the compass and sphere point to the vast expanse of stars which were said to be the map by which sailors found their destinations. The devices also symbolize the boundless French and Spanish empire on which the "sun never sets."

If, as I contend, the intention of Torrejón's *loa* is to resolve the problem of public reception on both a genre and political level, the muses also may have been the perfect devices to do so on a personal level since they inspired musicians and poets, like Torrejón, to create aesthetic works that would

transcend the boundaries of artistic creation: “[...] they bestowed upon the orator the gift of eloquence, inspired the poet with his noblest thoughts, and the musician with his sweetest harmonies” (Berens 157). Torrejón, in a precarious situation since he is the first to produce an opera in the New World, likely called upon the muses to energize his fashionable introduction of music and song into drama. Indeed, his glorification of the Bourbons had to be a delicate task given that the Hispanic audience was uneasy about accepting the new French monarchy in the midst of a War of Succession with the Habsburg dynasty. Torrejón deals with this problem by idealizing the muses and their home which, in turn, is an idealization of the new Bourbon rulers in Madrid. In the *loa* the muses leave behind their home—the *locus amoenus* of the Gods, Mount Olympus—to dedicate themselves to performing this spectacle of music and song. Descending from the splendor of the mountain, Calliope joins Terpsichore to make a direct comparison between the serenity of Olympus and the tranquility of Felipe V’s court:

<i>voz sola</i>	Ya del monte en que habita dexando el esplendor del templo a los umbrales Calliope su influjo destinô
<i>voz sola</i>	Ya de la cumbre sacra pinaculo del sol la activa cumbre deja terpsichore al impulso de tu voz. (1-8)

What the audience sees on stage is that the muses have abandoned the serenity and security of the past as symbolized by Mount Olympus to descend to the throne of Apollo. This departure implies the rejection of past Spanish-French hostilities in order to share in the new glory of the court of Felipe V. And since throughout the *loa* Felipe V is compared to Apollo, the court of the Spanish King is similar to Apollo’s temple, the center of wisdom and power where the all-knowing oracles are housed. Indeed, in Greek mythology Apollo attained his greatest importance as the god of prophecy whose oracles influenced social and political life throughout time as foreign kings and philosophers conferred with the temple and relayed its teachings to their people. In the *loa*, the muses consult the oracle and prophetically insinuate future greatness and virtue for Peru and the rest of the Hispanic empire under the Bourbons:

dúo	Pues al descender al templo sacra Victima formô
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de los aromas de oriente  
nuestra humilde adoracion.  
A del sagrado templo  
cuyo retiro hallô  
Vrania tan propicio  
que la sombre reduce a rexplandor (9-16)

*a dúo*

The song of the muses makes clear that the Peruvians should collectively embrace the idealized “aromas del oriente” which could be understood as the spirit of the East, represented by the newly associated strength of France and Spain.

After the muses have been introduced, the rest of the *loa* centers on Felipe V. There are numerous references to images of the sun and light which are a means to further contrast Apollo and the King, a comparison that recalls Felipe V’s origins as grandson of the Sun King, Louis XIV. And it is important to point out that the Bourbon Louis XIV was also a Habsburg—his mother was Ann of Austria who married Bourbon Louis XIII. Furthermore, Felipe V, born and raised in France, is by birth as much Habsburg as Bourbon since his own mother was María Teresa, Felipe IV’s daughter. Torrejón uses this Bourbon-Habsburg union to impose a close, personal relationship between France and Spain, and to convince his audience of the forthrightness of the new monarchy as he shows that the French King boasts the righteous qualities of both France and Spain. Indeed, terms are carefully selected by Torrejón to persuade the audience to recognize the greatness of both French and Spanish lines. Hence, Apollo’s temple can be considered the new French court in Madrid, the throne of logic and understanding, “pinaculo del sol” (6) where “la sombre reduce a rexplandor” (16). These descriptions are metaphorical allusions to the sun and its rays which point to the light of reason, fairness and justice as well as allusions to the ability to heal and give life. By juxtaposing these qualities of Apollo’s temple with Felipe V’s court, the prophecy of Spain’s greatness is then recounted in the song of the muses:

*voz sola*            La siempre invencible españa  
la corona le ofrecio  
porque a su obediencia diesse  
quilates su obligacion (30-33)

The nymphs thus form an aura of renewed greatness for the decadent Spanish empire by citing key expressions like “siempre invencible” and “fama.” It is the audience’s “obligación” to accept unconditionally the new monarchy and listen attentively to the chorus of voices that sing Spain’s praises. It is

important to remember that this public, having lived their entire lives under Habsburg sovereignty, would not have been very receptive to the idealization of the French. We might recall that it is this perceived public disfavor of the Bourbons that provides the real-life social dilemmas that Torrejón sets out to resolve. Torrejón, himself raised during the Habsburg Empire, was acutely aware that to construct a mythical rendering of the Bourbons, he must also exalt the Habsburgs. That the new King Felipe was a descendent of both the Bourbon and Habsburg lines, however, made this reinterpretation a bit easier.

The *loa* also employs a number of symbols dealing with the sun and the Sun God Apollo which helped the composer to show that the characteristics of Apollo's strength, beauty and wisdom are shared by the youthful Felipe V:

*a cuatro*

Dela esfera luciente del fuego  
 los rayos dorados anuncios del sol  
 sin incendios que abrasan alumbran  
 el día que naze el planeta mayor (45-48)

It is strikingly obvious that the allusions to the sun, its rays and light are abundant. These references inform the spectator that Felipe V will be a great Sun King, like his renowned grandfather, Louis XIV. And Torrejón also associates the luster and intensity of light with Felipe by advising his audience that the future under the Bourbon dynasty will exhibit the same intense brilliance as it did under the Habsburgs. Thus, past and present come together as Torrejón unifies the two dynasties by portraying the fame of the present Bourbon Kingdom and by illuminating the former Habsburg Empire.

Another important goal of the *loa* was to prepare the audience for the main opera that followed by declaring that the celebration will take place with music. Like Calderón in his 1660 *loa*, Torrejón may have recognized the difficulties of moving away from the traditional type of theatre already known to the audience into the challenging genre of opera. Aware of the dangers of presenting this new musical and dramatic form of theatre, the muses highlight the combined strength of music and song with traditional drama:

dúo

Todo el coro delas musas  
 su influencia dedicô  
 a dar assumpto ala fama  
 con la pluma y con la voz

todo el coro

A del coro delas nuebe  
 ninfas cuya dulce voz  
 es al oido y al gusto  
 armonica suspencion [...] (33-40)

Here, all muses help to form the chorus of “las nueve ninfas,” whose divine effect is directly cited as a reason for the audience to pay heed to the message of the opera. Their task is to give esteem to composition, “la pluma,” and to song, “la voz” —two principal elements that make up opera. The chorus of the nine muses thus explains to the audience why opera was chosen as the medium for this celebration. But music and spectacle is really only a facade for demanding approval of the Bourbon monarchy. In short, the muses’ harmonized voices sing of the new national style of opera, “al gusto,” in which spectacle and song will remain eternally attributed to the generosity and magnanimity of the new Bourbon monarchy. To a modern-day audience, the latent propaganda might be obvious, but would that also be true of an early seventeenth-century one as well?

Another way to unite the two empires was to remind the spectators that the War of Succession that ultimately carried Felipe V to the Crown of Spain is nearing its end, and harmony will once again returned to Spain and its colonies. The muses sing about how even the planet Mars admires the peace and prosperity that has come about because of the Bourbon-Habsburg unification:

<i>a cuatro</i>	El quinto Planeta Marte de dos mundos superior se digna de que tu vista admire su perfección (49-52)
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The “Planeta Marte,” is Mars, the mythological god of war who will appear in the main text as the antagonist of Venus and Adonis, and who also represents the distrust and horrors of war, in this case the War of Succession. The state of war between the Austrian Habsburg and French Bourbon houses for control of the Spanish crown is demonstrated by the reference to “dos mundos” who have now have reached “perfection” through the alliance between France and Spain (and, by default, the removal of the Austrian contender). The implicit message is that two historic and glorious powers have joined to form a more powerful union, and the audience should admire the new dynasty and welcome its greatness. The message also may have meant to show that despite the War of Succession, the new Bourbon monarchy was firmly in control of public affairs and likewise in control of the people of Peru.

The final glorification of Felipe V in the *loa* takes place toward the end. Here, a quartet sings the praises of Felipe, wishes him a long life, and foretells of his future greatness:<sup>17</sup>

*a cuatro* Viua Philipo viua  
 viua el susesor  
 del imperio que puesto a sus plantas  
 seguro afianza su eterno blazon (54-57)

Being certain to trumpet Felipe's greatness, Torrejón is also careful to label Felipe a legitimate "successor" to the Spanish Crown, lest the competing suitor to the Crown or the audience think otherwise. In the final stanzas, the quartet asks for the audience's acceptance not only of the King but also of the opera production being sung:

*a cuatro* Viua Philipo y su nombre  
 aclame el clarin dela fama veloz  
 por invencible por justo y benigno  
 desde el oriente de su formacion  
 viuv [viva] y nuestro afecto  
 rendido ala superior  
 magestad de su grandeza  
 meresca aplauso y perdon (58-65)

The quartet declares that Felipe is the rightful heir to the Spanish Crown because he is "invencible," "justo," and "benigno" and his fame and renown will continue perpetually. Lastly, just as in Calderón's 1660 *loa*, Torrejón was compelled to offer a defense for opera as an artistic medium. In short, the muses ask for pardon and applause mentioning that music and song are the important effects for this new musical style of drama: "meresca aplauso y perdon" (65). Thus, the last lines of the *loa* state that the main opera that will follow can be appreciated for its innovation and musicality since it will be sung throughout. Torrejón seems to insinuate, just as Calderón had done 41 years earlier, that music and spectacle in opera are new trends that should be appreciated because they point to the modernization of the New World stage under the Bourbons.

Torrejón's explicit goal may have been the glorification of the Bourbons, but historical events also tell us that the deteriorated state of finances in Lima meant that elaborate productions like *La púrpura* were not likely to be financed. With the occasion of the 1701 production, Torrejón had the opportunity to protect his own job by securing funding for future performances. He carefully crafted his *loa* to also venerate the Viceroy, hoping that flattery would help acquire funding for additional productions. This aim is evident from the title page of the 1701 manuscript which acclaims the new monarchy: "[...] fiesta co q celebro el año decimo octavo, y primero de su reynado de el

rey nº, s<sup>t</sup>, D, Phelipe Quinto [...]” The title suggests that the sole reason for producing the opera was to commemorate the Bourbon monarchy. But, it could also be said that Torrejón, taking on the difficult task of dramatically changing Calderón’s work, was also interested in showing himself to be more than just a chapel master and musician. He was, in many ways, a political appointee who realized the consequences and opportunities provided by the celebration and set out to exhibit his uncanny talents as a composer and artist by integrating mythology and music. Recalling Jameson’s belief that artistic works resolve real-life problems in a symbolic fashion, it could be said that Torrejón’s employment future hinged on this opera since its success meant more funding for musical productions.

Metaphorically, Torrejón’s *loa* can be viewed as a type of currency—something useful to society—whose symbolic value was its artistic innovation and persuasive tendencies. New Historicists have called this practice a form of cultural negotiation and exchange. Artistic works, like this *loa*, are used as a sort of currency within a complex system of ideas and beliefs. As currency, the aesthetic work and its communally shared value are circulated and interchanged within a social market of negotiation and exchange:

[...] the work of art is the product of a negotiation between a creator or class of creators, equipped with a complex, communally shared repertoire of conventions, and the institutions and practices of society. In order to achieve the negotiation, artists need to create a currency that is valid for a meaningful, mutually profitable exchange. (Greenblatt, *Learning* 158)

The currency created in this *loa* is its content, not only spectacle and music, but also its propaganda. In much the same way that money can purchase goods, Torrejón’s *loa* is a legal tender that seeks to “buy” prevailing attitudes and beliefs. Moreover, in this network of circulation and exchange, each market figure received benefits from the system, while simultaneously contributing to the system. The author, the audience and the benefactor all play intricate roles in the supply and demand of this market. For example, for Torrejón the production provided an exceptional opportunity to praise the Bourbon Court for their generosity in providing resources for theatrical production for a New World audience not accustomed to new artistic trends, like opera. However, he may also have protected future artistic creations. For its part, the audience was happy that a production was undertaken at all, especially an elaborately staged spectacle like *La púrpura de la rosa*. Finally,

the Viceroy benefited from the network because he is thought to be responsible for the success of the politically charged message to the audience, thereby securing his position with the new Bourbon monarchy. This is especially true if one takes into consideration the importance of the monarchy placed on maintaining control of its colonies and the people that inhabited them. Taken as a whole, the *loa* renders a poignant sense of the culture, its economics and politics, out of which the production is socially constructed.

This cultural study of the text and context of Torrejón's *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa* demonstrates that artistic production is political, and that this opera resonates with contemporaneous history, politics and economics. Essentially, the *loa* divulges an expressive allegorical relationship with the culture from which it was exacted since it was conceived and produced for specific political and propagandist purposes. Drawing on comments made by Jameson, this study set out to show how Torrejón's *loa* described social problems evident to the public, proposed solutions to those problems, and in that process became a significant referent for understanding a socio-political context far removed from present-day scope. Whether the propagandist message was successful is not important; instead, the sole objective of imposing ideology on the audience suggests that the work was necessary within this politically-charged environment. In this light, it is easier to understand the intrinsic political and ideological nature of Torrejón's opera within its 1701 context.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> In both Calderón's and Torrejón's productions, the *loa* acts as a prelude or overture that introduces the main themes of the subsequent opera. It is also the first indication for the audience of the new form that this dramatic work will take place, i.e., through music and dance.

<sup>2</sup> Carlos II died November 1, 1700 but official notice did not reach Lima until May 6, 1701. Carlos, son of Felipe IV, was named King after his father's death in 1661. Called "el hechizado," Carlos II suffered many physical ailments and died in 1700 without an heir. In that same year a War of Succession occurred between the Austrian Habsburgs' principal contender to the Spanish throne, Archduke Carlos, and the French Bourbons who supported Felipe d'Anjou, the grandson of the French King Louis XIV and the Spanish Princess María Teresa. Eventually, Felipe ascended to the throne of Spain as Felipe V but the War of Succession continued for a number of years. Interestingly, it was marriage of Louis XIV and the María Teresa that sealed the Peace of the Pyrenees (1659-1660) which put an end to hostilities between France and Spain. This peace agreement and marriage were the principal motivations for Calderón de la Barca's original production of *La púrpura de la rosa* in 1660.

<sup>3</sup> It is important to point out that early Latin American music was used by the Spanish as an instrument of evangelization and control. As the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians learned, the Indians exhibited a strong inclination for plays with music, especially *comedias de capa y espada* and *comedias de enredo*. The Jesuits were particularly adept at including music “to bolster their argument that the Indians could adopt Christian faith, understand its principles, and live by its commands” (Mendoza de Arce 9). Overall, then, stage music, whether religious or profane in nature, was often combined with mythology to become a part of the Church’s evangelizing strategy in addition to being used as a means of mass entertainment.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham believes that it is likely that only three quarters of the text survived to the present, and that perhaps as much as one page (30-34 verses) is missing from the manuscript (496).

<sup>5</sup> As Stevenson points out, since the content of the opera deals with a hunt, it is interesting that his own father was one of Felipe IV’s huntsmen (*Musíc* 114), perhaps suggesting why Torrejón chose Calderón’s opera, rather than another.

<sup>6</sup> Exactly how Torrejón knew of Calderón’s 1660 *La púrpura de la rosa* is no longer a mystery thanks to the research of Stevenson who points out that as a 15-year-old page for the Count Lemos in Spain, Torrejón often accompanied the Count’s entourage to the theatre in Madrid. In fact, Torrejón’s love of music and his known attendance of theatrical presentations provided him ample opportunity to study Calderón’s production and it is even possible that he attended the two Calderón/Hidalgo operas of 1660, *La púrpura de la rosa* and *Celos aun del aire matan*, before departing for Peru where he would eventually (re)write *La púrpura*.

<sup>7</sup> The importance of Inca musical contributions cannot be overstated. Inca Indians became particularly skilled in the making and playing of musical instruments and among the pre-Hispanic song and dance genres cited by early chroniclers (El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega and Guamán Poma de Ayala, for example) is the *huayno*. The *huayno* was a very important genre that expressed deep emotions or significant ideas. Another genre, the *harawi*, was a song that contained one musical phrase repeated several times that still endures in the southern Andes today (Romero 387). The *harawi* is associated with specific ceremonies and rituals like farewells and marriages, as well as with the planting and harvest times (Romero 387). A third song genre noted by chroniclers is the *marinera*, often associated with Afro-Peruvian music and characterized by a moderate tempo and dealt with romantic themes.

<sup>8</sup> Before the arrival of the Spaniards in 1532 wind instruments and drums were the major musical instruments played in the Peruvian highlands which, in some cases, were still used in performances up to the twentieth century. Romero reports how early chroniclers also mention the importance of Inca drums (*huancar*), flutes (*pinicullu*, *quenaquena*, and *antara* [panpipes]), and trumpets (*qqeupa*) (401). It is widely held that these instruments were added to the retinue of European musical equipment employed for religious presentations such as psalms, hymns, and songs of religious praise (*alabanzas* and *alabados*) (Béhague 4). Moreover, European compositions were sometimes even set to texts in indigenous languages or local dialects and thematically they often included indigenous mythological figures (Béhague 7).

<sup>9</sup> Indian musicians were not allowed to hold positions of leadership in the musical fields, however, and only a few mestizo musicians ever held significant positions during the colonial period. In Mexico and Peru, Indians of noble descent were often singled out for special educational opportunities, including musical training (Béhague 2-3). This was because, as Romero indicates, indigenous music was often so intellectually complex that Indian musicians and singers were often able to go beyond the simple European melodies to form highly sophisticated simultaneous musical layers of sound and present them as one piece (387). These musicians competed for important musical appointments with the best instrumentalists from throughout the New World and, in some cases, Spain, Italy or France.

<sup>10</sup> Although throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Lima enjoyed a rich history as the artistic capital of the New World, only entertainment such as bull fights or religious musical productions were guaranteed royal monetary support (Doering and Lohmann Villena 133-39).

<sup>11</sup> As the most important center of theatrical activity, Lima possessed a number of *corrales* (open-aired theatres) and *casas de comedias* (theatres) where well-known, traditional Spanish *comedias* and *autos sacramentales* were occasionally presented (Hesse, *Calderón's* 12). A number of musicians, dramatists and actors even migrated from Spain and attempted to develop Spanish theatre in Lima. Stein suggests that many of the theatrical performances given in the New World closely matched what was already in vogue in Madrid: "The repertory of *comedias* and *autos sacramentales* in the New World is identical with that in Madrid, and certain dramatists retained their popularity with American audiences well into the later 18<sup>th</sup> century" (*Iberian* 334). The success of many of the theatrical works in Lima helped to make the city the showcase for New World theatre.

<sup>12</sup> The first fully-sung opera in Spain was Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa* (1660) but, as Stevenson notes, the Italian style of opera did not "invade" Spain until around 1703. Five years later (1708), the first opera with music by an Italian composer was produced in Peru, thereby definitively displacing traditional Spanish court entertainment: "Fortunate in its survival as the earliest New World Opera, *La púrpura* on the other hand had the misfortune to be composed in the last years before Bourbon taste expelled purely Spanish drama sung throughout. [...] The Spanish school – short through its life – had already developed its own structural devices, patented its own emotion-producing formulas, and contrived its own unique balance between spectacle and action, group singing and solo song, heroic deed and buffoonery" (Stevenson, *Music* 135).

<sup>13</sup> We do know that Torrejón's June 26, 1701 memorial was well-received and even served as the impetus for royal financing for his *La púrpura de la rosa* of the same year. According to José de Buendía's 1701 *Parentación Real al Soberano Nombre e immortal memoria del Católico Rey de las Españas* the audience was enthusiastic: "[...] the crowd was so vast that is seemed useless to hope for silence during the music [...]. However, the delicious harmony of voices, organs, and other instruments so captivated the ear that all noise gave way to rapt attention. [...] The chapelmaster – Don Tomás de Torrejón – showing that same meticulousness and zeal with which he attends to every task assigned him, had with very special care composed new polychoral music for the Invitatory, the Lessons of Job in the three nocturns, and for certain psalms such as the Miserere [...] Having managed to gather all the best voices in the city, he united them in such a moving ensemble that everyone present was reduced to tears during the more affecting canticles" (qtd. in Stevenson, *Púrpura* 106-107).

<sup>14</sup> Torrejón's manuscript is catalogued under the call number C1469 at the Biblioteca Nacional in Lima.

<sup>15</sup> The other six muses are Clio, the muse of history; Euterpe, the muse of harmony or lyric poetry; Erato, the muse of Love and erotic poetry; Melpomene, the muse of tragedy and elegy; Polyhymnia, the muse of sacred heroic hymns and mimic art; and Thalia, the muse of comedy. In the analysis of the Torrejón's *loa*, the English usage of these figures (i.e., Calliope instead of Caliope, etc.) will be followed unless quoted directly from the text.

<sup>16</sup> All citations of Torrejón's 1701 *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa* are from the edition of Cardona, Cruickshank and Cunningham with verse numbers appearing in parenthesis. Spelling and accents conform to this edition except the following changes that I have made for ease of reading: "q" to "que;" "q.n" to "quien;" "q<sup>to</sup>" to "quinto;" "perfecc.<sup>om</sup>" to "perfección;" "nro" to "nuestro;" "porq" to "porque."



<sup>17</sup> Other than Adonis, a fourth character is never introduced nor specifically mentioned in the text.

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