Apparatus of Capture:
Music and the Mimetic Construction of Social Reality in the Early Modern/Colonial Period

Daniel Villegas Vélez

Abstract

This paper supplements Gebauer and Wulf's analyses of mimesis as a mechanism for the construction of social reality. After situating archaic musical mimesis in the context of Homeric performance and its critique in Plato, I demonstrate how musical mimesis functions as an assemblage of inscription of social mores and values through two case studies. The first examines how this mimetic mechanism is actualised in the 1589 Medici *intermedi* as an allegorical apparatus of capture that enables the sovereign to control the space and time of the performance. The second examines how this apparatus is redeployed by seventeenth-century Jesuit missionaries in South America to coerce nomadic Indigenous peoples into settlements known as 'reducciones'. The paper advances an account of the darker role of musical mimesis in the dissymmetrical construction of social reality during the baroque: as a world-making tool of sovereign power and a world-destroying mechanism of epistemic genocide in colonised territories.

Keywords: mimesis, music, Plato, Jesuit reductions, Medici, performance, Baroque, indigenous, decoloniality.

In the introduction to *Mimesis: Culture, Art, Society*, Gunther Gebauer and Christoph Wulf acknowledge the difficulties of discussing music in their otherwise wide-ranging account of mimesis as a '*conditio humana*' (1995: 1).

That music – particularly instrumental music – seems an odd fit in dominant accounts of mimesis as representation or imitation in terms of originals and copies is itself a recurrent motif in the history of musical aesthetics. Conversely, mimesis rarely takes centre stage in contemporary discussions of musical aesthetics, where it is most often understood according to restricted accounts of the concept. According to most accounts, it was only when imitative doctrines of art began to fade in the nineteenth century that music came to be truly appreciated for its expressive and non-representative capacities, giving rise to the idea of 'absolute music' – in Walter Pater's famous formula, 'the perfect identification of matter and form' (1980 [1893]: 109) – as a paradigm of artistic autonomy that dominated musical aesthetics and historiography for much of the twentieth century (Neubauer 1986; Bonds 2014; Goehr 2020). Music, defined as an absolute, non-representative (and non-verbal) art form, was long considered the very antipode of mimesis.

This notion of musical autonomy has come under criticism from various perspectives: after historicising autonomy and the ideal of *Werktreue* (Goehr 2008), growing attention in musical semiotics has been devoted to identifying and categorising the various kinds of musical signs – called *topics* – that connect the musical work with 'extramusical' elements (Agawu 1991; Hatten 2004; Monelle 2006; Allanbrook 2014). More recently, and in sync with new directions in the humanities at large, music scholars have recast music's non-representational nature in terms of vibration, resonance, reverberation, noise, attunement, and other physical, non-discursive forms of communication commonly gathered under the term *affect* (Abbate 2004; Thompson and Biddle 2013; Eidsheim 2015; Grant 2020; Smith, Lochhead, Mendieta, and Smith 2021). At the same time, prominent scholars in affect theory have turned to sonorous concepts to articulate affect's presumed immediate efficacy (Shouse 2005; Bennett 2010; Gregg and Seighworth 2010: 1; Berlant 2011: 224). Meanwhile, critics of affect theory are wary of how this faith in sonorous efficacy tends to displace a more nuanced criticism of music's complex entwinements (Cimini and Moreno 2016; Thompson 2017).

Yet, as Roger M. Grant notes, if the auditory turn of affect theory, with its emphasis on immediacy over representation, sounds like a repetition of eighteenth-century theories that conceptualised music's effectivity in terms of 'affections' as part of a contested *Affektenlehre* (Grant 2020: 19–23), we

should do well to remember that 'affect' and 'affections' are themselves late iterations of an ancient concept in the mimetic lexicon: *pathos* (Lawtoo 2019). If this is so, then the turn to affect, rather than the conquering of new critical territory at the expense of representation, or a mere swing of the pendulum between these two poles, is one aspect of a larger mimetic turn – or re-turn – that is becoming audible in the post-literary scene. Broadly conceived, mimesis does not pose a choice between representation and immediacy, signification and efficacy, persuasion and contagion, but, rather, exposes these oppositions as resulting from the complexity of a being whose 'nature' is defined by permanent becoming, a being we have begun to call *homo mimeticus*.

As Gebauer and Wulf contend, incorporating music into the discussion of mimesis is important for a complex understanding of the mimetic condition. Indeed, centring music in the return of mimesis is crucial as we seek to shift representationalist and visualist notions of mimesis towards performative and auditory understandings of enactive practices that mobilise individual and collective pathos to shape and (re)organise communities according to real and imagined models. Music, I suggest, seems an odd fit in mimetic theories precisely because it challenges our restricted understandings of mimesis both as representation and affect; music pushes us to expand our theorisations to rigorously account for the extended mimetic dimensions of musical practice. With this displacement, music turns out to be a paradigmatic case for understanding mimetic phenomena in general, while mimesis emerges as an enduring force that resonates throughout the history of Western music.

The mimetic dimensions of musical performance are too varied to address in a single article. Here, I focus on some of the analytical possibilities of this expanded notion of mimesis as it pertains to musical practice. I analyse two case studies in which various mimetic dimensions come together in assemblages that employ musical performance to produce what Gebauer and Wulf call the 'mimetic construction of social reality' (1995: 221). The first draws on a set of *intermedi* for the comedy *La Pellegrina,* performed in the Ufizzi theatre as part of the week-long wedding celebration marking the 1589 union of Ferdinando de' Medici and Christine of Lorraine. The second examines the aesthetic politics of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Jesuit missions in Indigenous territories of South America. Through these two case studies, I argue that early musical spectacle was a recuperation of

the mimetic powers of musical performance deployed to inscribe the ethos and nomos of the polis.

I: Becoming Achilles: Music and Mimesis Before 'the Break'

Mimesis and music band together from the beginning. Pindar's 'Pythian 12' – a narrative of musical origins and one the earliest records of the word *mimēsis* (Halliwell 2009: 19)– tells how Athena crafted a melody for the aulos, the 'κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν νόμον,' (many-headed *nomos*) 'ὄφρα τὸν εὐρυάλας ἐκ καρπαλιμᾶν γενύων / χριμφθέντα σὺν ἔντεσι μιμήσαιτ᾽ ἐρικλάγκταν γόον' (so that she might imitate with instruments the echoing wail / that was forced from the gnashing jaws of Euryale) (*Pyth. 12*, 20–21; Pindar 1997: 393). The association of the double-reeded aulos with mimesis expresses the particular status this wind instrument held in ancient Greece. Its shrill timbre, which Aristophanes renders with the onomatopoeic formula 'μυμῦ μυμῦ μυμῦ' (mumu, mumu, mumu) (Ar. Eq. 10), is for Sean Alexander Gurd 'a meeting point of artful order and disruptive disorder' (99) that evokes the Erinyes' cry of 'μυγμός' in the *Eumenides* (Aesch. *Eum.* 117). The 'many-headed tune' also evokes the adjective 'ποικίλος' (variegated) (which in musical contexts, denotes melic complexity), which Socrates employs when he banishes the aulos from the Republic on account of it being the most 'πολυχορδότατον' (many-stringed) (399c–e).

Indeed, the multifarious and unruly aulos, which produces various pitches through variations in embouchure (hence the appellative 'many-stringed'), is the very paradigm of multiplicity imitated by all other 'pan-harmonic' instruments (Nagy 1996: 66; Steiner 2013: 183). The lexicon deployed by Plato in his critique of multiplicity is echoed in his analysis of political institutions throughout the *Republic*, constituting another episode in an ancient quarrel that continues to resonate in the post-literary scene (Villegas Vélez 2020; Lawtoo 2019; Corby 2015). The denigration of the aulos as irrational, as opposed to *logos*, as 'many-headed', even barbarian, is summed up in Socrates' remark: 'We certainly aren't doing anything new in preferring Apollo and his instruments to Marsyas and his' (399c). As opposed to the unruly, immeasurable multiplicity of the Phrygian satyr's aulos, the Apollonian lyre provides the Platonic paradigm for social

organisation: each string produces a single interval and the whole amounts to a harmonic totality.[1]

The expulsion of the aulos and the heterogeneous mimetic practices it figures affords yet another aspect of what Gebauer and Wulf, following Eric Havelock, term a 'break in the concept of mimesis' (Gebauer and Wulf 1995: 31). For Havelock, ancient Greek poetry depends on a complex experience of mimetic contagion that joins actors, musicians, and audience in a collective performance (Havelock 1963). In this sense, Homeric poetry is a repository of knowledge, a collective, embodied encyclopaedia. As Gebauer and Wulf put it, 'cultural knowledge is stored in behaviour, in customs, and in the many verbal acts that together compose a linguistic community: in a cultural memory' (1995: 47). Musical performance accomplishes such preservation through rhythmic and formulaic repetitions that articulate ideas and rhetorical figures with physical movements: singing and dancing enables the recollection of formulas as a sort of bodily grammatology. Recent cognitive approaches to musicking have arrived at similar conclusions. According to Arnie Cox's 'mimetic hypothesis', for example, musical learning occurs through imitation by 'imagining the sounds that we are listening to' (2016: §3), an approach that can be redoubled by emerging conversations between neuroscience and mimetic theory on mirror neurones (Lawtoo 2018).

For Havelock, the efficacy – the production, retention, and power – of oral-based poetry in ancient Greece depended on the poet's capacity to identify with the poetry. 'You threw yourself into the situation of Achilles', he argues of the spectatorial experience of listening to a performance of Homeric poetry,

> [y]ou identified with his grief or his anger. You yourself became Achilles and so did the reciter to whom you listened. Thirty years later you could automatically quote what Achilles had said or what the poet had said about him. (1963: 45)

Archaic mimesis consists not in copying or imitating the aspect, sound, or behaviour of something else, but rather in sympathetic behaviour, in the power to make the audience identify 'almost pathologically and certainly sympathetically' with the content of the poet's speech (45). Havelock also points out that extant uses of the word mimesis, including 'Pythian 12', suggest that mimesis involves a type of skill associated with music,

but more generally with a skilled practice, a *technē* – yet another aspect of mimesis which comes under Plato's attack. The – customarily male – poet enacted the words and deeds of heroes, not so much 'imitating' them, but re-enacting them in the present; by losing himself in the performance, the poet makes his audience participate in the rehearsal of the tradition. Insofar as each performance consists of permutations, each performative iteration must be considered an 'original' in its own right, while being nevertheless repeatable. As Gregory Nagy emphasises, re-enactment and imitation oscillate between imitating an archetypical model and 'the whole line of imitators who re-enact the way in which their ultimate model acted, each imitating each one's predecessor' (Nagy 1996: 56). The affective re-enactment of the poem eliminates the difference between poet and poem, as well as between performer and listener, joining all the community in a mimetic performance. Gebauer and Wulf describe this process in terms of contagion: 'a series of elementary mimetic processes by which listeners achieve a sameness with one another and which spreads epidemically' (47). This acoustic assemblage of rhythmically-organised, physiological, affective, linguistic, and sonorous performance aimed at the preservation of customs and laws – the mimesis of the ethos and nomos of the polis – is commonly called *mousikē*.

For Havelock, the Platonic emphasis on mimesis as distance and separation, specifically with regards to the difference between copy and original, results from the introduction of writing through which, as Gebauer and Wulf phrase it, the 'acoustical medium of communication is transformed into a visible object' (1995: 47). The visibility and object-like stability of writing enables Plato's critique of mimetic performance, providing him with a paradigm of univocity that contrasts with the fluid multifariousness of the myth as performed. Here, the experience of contagion, in which subject and object are confused in a mimetic epidemic, makes it impossible for participants to rationally evaluate mimetically-transmitted models and values. By casting mimesis in explicitly visual terms as an ontological struggle between true presentation and false appearance, Plato induces a historical break in which, I suggest, music and mimesis part theoretical ways, even as the effects that Plato criticised continued to underpin musical experience.

There is a problematic aspect in Havelock's account – particularly as appropriated within the 'orality/literacy paradigm' (Ong 2013; Goody

1990; McLuhan 1962) – in which writing is determined as a secondary technology: an exterior, 'dangerous supplement' arriving to infect the natural closure of the system that pretends to do without it (Derrida 1997: 151). However, Havelock's description of *mousikē*, understood as a form of externalisation of memory (Stiegler 1998), can also help overturn the distinction between orality and literacy. If we take Havelock's 'writing' (as opposed to 'oral') in a restricted sense, we can understand the performance of *mousikē* according to Derrida's notion of 'arche-writing' (1997: 9) – the condition of possibility for permanence and spatialisation – such that the multitude of practices and performative enactments of *mousikē* become what I call a performative assemblage of inscription (Villegas Vélez 2020). The contents of *mousikē* are not simply 'memorised' by the performer and then repeated. Rather, a heterogenous collation of material media, dances, temples, figures, instruments, modes, metrical feet, and so on, serves to preserve and transmit – in short, to re-compose – the customs, mores, and laws of the community, its ethos and norms. As performance, *mousikē* depends on the iterability of all inscriptions, the possibility of their being repeated and altered in repetition. In this interpretation, the affective elements that later aesthetics would fetishise in musical performance are the very means for accomplishing this process of externalisation and inscription on performing/listening bodies.

   The externalisation of cultural knowledge through customs and behaviour by means of rhythmically organised performance disappeared neither with Plato's banishment of the poets nor with the expansion of writing. Indeed, it continued to be employed around the world, and lay at the very centre of the Renaissance project of imitating ancient Greek music through modern means.

II: The Politico-Mythological Assemblage of the 1589 Intermedi

Let us turn now to my first case study: the set of the 1589 Medici *intermedi*. The *intermedi* are usually interpreted as belonging to a long tradition of mimetic social practices from medieval entrances to allegorical representations such as plays, masks, and eventually opera. As Roy Strong argues, these events aimed to legitimise rising claims to absolute power by enabling European rulers and their court 'to assimilate themselves momentarily to their heroic exemplars' (Strong 1984: 41).[2] As part of

these collective rituals, the *intermedi* are better understood not only as the intricate humanist revival of paganism or the unashamed glorification of princes (they are both), but more precisely as the development of sophisticated assemblages in which, to borrow Strong's phrase, 'power is conceived as art' (41). Through these mimetic performances, the social roles of individuals are defined, collective purpose is determined, and the customs and mores that enforce such roles within the community are preserved.

The *intermedi* serve political functions without delivering an explicitly political message. Indeed, unlike other cases of political appropriations of aesthetic means, the *intermedi* never represent the sovereign as such. For this reason, their close examination can supplement Gebauer and Wulf's analysis by focusing specifically on the early modern period when – as they argue in their reading of Louis Marin's (1988) famous analysis of the symbolic function of portraiture in the constitution of the king's absolute power – mimesis becomes 'the political art of disposing over symbolic power' (1995: 121).[3] In contrast to kingly representations, the *intermedi* consist of elaborate, nearly indecipherable allegories deployed through music, stage decorations, dance, and pantomime. Explanations of each *intermedio* – its classical sources, machinery, music, and choreography – were provided in *Descrizione dell'apparato* (Descriptions of the Machinery), a type of publication issued as a kind of programme for the event, later distributed across Europe as another spectacular display of Florentine power (Solerti 1969: 15–42).

Deploying various mimetic techniques – from the general postulate of the 'imitation of the ancients' and the development of new technologies for the production of spectacles, through the mobilisation of affect in a context of courtly *emulatio* (MacNeil 2003: 33–34; Meconi 1994) – these elaborate performative assemblages constitute a practice of 'identification' (Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy 1990). Hence, they dramatise a mimetological problem involving a relation between subjects and their models as well as the aesthetic and affective elements that mediate between them. Crucially, power conceived as art – or aesthetic politics – also means that 'art' is the mode of appearance of 'power'. Strictly speaking, aesthetic politics is not the use of artistic means (theatre, music, dance, poetry) for political purposes such as propaganda, much less waging wars and building alliances, but rather the mobilisation of *aisthesis* (perception) and *pathos* (affection) as

the *technai*, or mechanisms, of mimesis, through which political subjects (the ruler and his court) identify themselves as such.

According to James Saslow, the *intermedi* of 1589 represented the ontological (or, to use our terminology, onto-mimetological) mythology of macrocosmic and microcosmic correspondences by combining two series: the first, devoted to the Harmony of the Spheres, or *musica mundana*, drawn from the passage on the myth of Er in the *Republic*; the second, devoted to the musical organisation of the human body with all its susceptibility to musical influence, or *musica humana*, drawn from various classical sources. For Saslow, 'the political cosmos of individuals and social classes revolved around the monarch just as the heavenly bodies revolved around the earth' (1996: 33). This complex apparatus affirms Medici's power by allegorising the rulers as the centre of a social organisation that mirrors the heavenly one (planets circling harmoniously around the sovereign) and deploying ancient Greek mythology to bolster the symbolic and historical aspects of this allegorical device.

In the final *intermedio*, an elaborate machinery of seven moving clouds delivers Apollo, Bacchus, Harmony, Rhythm, the three Graces, the nine Muses, and *amorini*, culminating in a thirty-part madrigal and a dance involving over sixty performers. As Bastiano de Rossi writes in his *Descrizione dell'apparato*:

> [t]he poet makes these deities arrive onstage in the most happy, most beautiful view as he can, by which he wants to represent that which Plato writes in his book on the laws. That is, that Jove, having compassion for the human lineage, so fatigued and oppressed by worries, decided that Apollo, Bacchus, and the Muses would give them some relief, and he sent them to earth, carrying Harmony and Rhythm, so that, dancing and singing, cheered by such delights, humanity would be somewhat relieved after so much toil. (Rossi 1589: 61; reproduced in Solerti 1969: 34–5)[4]

This arrival fulfils a prophecy issued in *intermedio* four, where a Sorcerer announces the return of the 'Golden Age', another central element of Medici political mythology and the overriding metaphor of the 1589 *intermedi* (Saslow 1996: 35). With Plato as an intermediary, Jupiter responds to the invocation, sending music and harmony to relieve humanity from its toils. In 'O che nuovo miracolo', the ballet that closes the sixth *intermedio*, the gods announce that their divine gift – and by analogy, the marriage of

Ferdinando and Catherine – will make Earth resemble paradise, bringing about the return of the Golden Age: 'Tornerà d'auro il secolo / Tornerà il secol d'oro' (The century will be golden again, the golden age will be back) (Solerti 1969: 40).[5]

The reader familiar with Plato's *Laws* will remember that, in that dialogue, 'singing and dancing' lead neither to Apollonian elevation nor Dionysian intoxication, but instead belong to a general practice of 'correct education' (653a), aimed at disciplining children 'in respect of pleasures and pains, so as to hate what ought to be hated, right from the beginning up to the very end, and to love what ought to be loved' (653b–c). Within this affective orthopaedics, *mousikē* is not joyous liberation, but part of an affective dispositive that exploits the same mimetic 'plasticity' described in the *Republic*, where Socrates asks, 'haven't you observed that imitations (μιμήσεις), if they are practiced continually from youth onwards, become established as habits and nature, in body and sounds and in thought?' (395d). That *mousikē* remains associated with *paideia* in the *Laws* suggests that Plato intended not to banish this powerful mimetic dispositive from the political system outlined in the *Republic,* but rather to incorporate it into the 'practicable' political system set forth in the *Laws*.

III: Interpreting the Effectivity of the Intermedi:
Logos, Lexis, and the Assemblage of Inscription

Ever since Warburg's study of the *intermedi*, critics have debated whether audiences understood its allegorical claims and connected them with actual political events, as suggested by discrepancies between the official *Descrizione* and extant spectators' reports (Palisca 1989: 218).[6] Yet, as Nina Treadwell suggests, the political effects of the *intermedi* function not at the level of meaning, but rather, of affect (2008: 11). At stake is not so much what the performances *represent*, but what they *do* as mimetic spectacle, namely the affective deployment of mimetic technologies, including music, poetry, dance, machinery, and scenic decorations to inscribe the norms and ethos of the community. The *intermedi* operate by eliciting affect, specifically wonder (*meraviglia*) and joy (*allegrezza*), through which rulers command admiration and compliance as dispensers of gifts. Through this strategy of 'soft power' the entire city of Florence is resignified according to Medicean political mythology.

This mimetology relates political subjects to real or imagined models through performance that combines spectacle and affect to produce both their models and their means of identification. The distinction between *logos* and *lexis* introduced in book three of the *Republic* (392d) can help us analyse these spectacles in mimetological terms. Much of the anxiety around mimesis results from the fact that *lexis* – the manner or mode of presentation – is indifferent to whether the *logos* – what is said in myths about gods and modes of behaviour – is true or false. This varies with respect to the three types of *lexis*: in pure narration (ἁπλῆ διηγήσις), the difference between who tells the story and the story that is told is clear, and so the narrator can insinuate truth evaluations into the narration. Mimesis, (μιμήσις), on the other hand, eliminates the distance between narrator and story. This is why, in the *Republic,* both *logos* and *lexis* need to be regulated in different terms. Moreover, harmonic modes and rhythmic feet, both of which are aspects of *lexis*, have particular affective characteristics that make them suitable or unsuitable for use in the state, as each is associated with a specific ethos (courage, moderation, licentiousness). This 'ethical' association is, again, indifferent to *logos*, hence the norm – so important for Renaissance readers – that 'rhythm and harmonic mode follow the speech . . . and not speech them' (*Rep.* 400d) since, at the end, it is impossible to specify which mode corresponds to which ethos. It is this indifference of *lexis* to *logos* that allows rulers to use spectacle as a means to make particular political claims, whether 'true' or not.

Now, *logos* involves mimesis as much as *lexis* does: as correspondence in the case of *logos*, as the contagious affect of harmonic mode and rhythm in the case of *lexis* (Lawtoo 2019: 142; 2013: 57–9). Understanding how the *intermedi* – and political spectacle in general – operate involves distinguishing the various mimetologies at play at the level both of *logos* and *lexis*, and how these contribute to the production of intended aesthetic effects associated with each genre – catharsis, delight, wonder, and so on. That is, we must distinguish between the specific claims about rulers, alliances, and other events of everyday politics as they are expressed or allegorised in spectacle on the one hand, from the mechanics and *apparati* by which these claims are made present on stage on the other, and how these elements convey meaning to spectators or fail to do so.

This distinction is important: even if audiences do not understand – or have faith in – the political mythology of the return of the Golden Age, the micro- and macrocosmic correspondences, or the ancient belief of the power of music over mortals, they are nevertheless subject to the whole range of lexical effects that constitute the apparatus. *Lexis* is not simply a material mediation for an abstract *logos*. On the contrary, '*lexis* not only mediates *logos* but forms it and performs it' (Lawtoo 2019: 143). This suggests that *logos* and *lexis* are badly translated as content and form. It is also imprecise to say that *logos* is rational while *lexis* is affective, although it is true that it is easier to ignore the affective dimension of spectacle by focusing exclusively on *logos*. In this context, I propose to translate *logos* as *conceit*, via the Italian *concetto* – the term employed in the *descrizione* to refer to the plot, political, allegorical, and mythological symbolism devised by the person in charge of overseeing the production, in this case Giovanni de' Bardi. The conceit, then, involves both the manifest elements – gods, personifications, and their actions – and their latent or allegorical content: the philosophical as much as the immediately political meaning as intended or interpreted in the performances, whether this content is stated explicitly in the *descrizione* or not. *Lexis*, on the other hand, can be translated as *apparatus*, and includes everything from the performing spaces, the instruments and voice ranges with their particular associations, stock-character roles, harmonic modes, musical form, poetic feet, and rhythmic adaptations, as well as the *descrizione*, scores, and other printed paratexts taken as emblematic materials. Conceit and apparatus together form an *assemblage of inscription*, a heterogeneous collation of media, forms, and concepts that serves to inscribe the norms and customs, the true 'content' or substance of the community.

These mimetic effects operate with respect to space and time. With respect to space, they include the structure of the theatre, oriented in such a way that the sovereign is at the centre of the perspectival effect and at the same time removed from the scrutiny of others. They also include other buildings in the city and its streets, as the entries, celebrations, pageants, and games integrate them into the event. As Dorothée Marciak shows, the performance spaces created for the *intermedi* in the Medici palaces situate the prince in a privileged position. In these theatres – the paradigm of such spaces ever since – the prince is placed at the axis of the visual pyramid, the point where the perspectival illusion produced by the apparatus of machines

and decorations is most effective, so that the prince becomes the privileged spectator, the true addressee of the allegorical performance. This is why the prince is never represented in the *intermedi*: he embodies the creative power of representation itself. As Marciak argues, his sovereign power lies not only in the thaumaturgical effects of invisibility, but in his capacity to make things seen through vision, displaying 'the creative capacity that characterises power (*pouvoir*) as potency (*Puissance*). The capacity of the prince reveals itself as 'a power to make be, a capacity for creating the real' (Marciak 2005: 196). As a sovereign act, this 'power to make be' aims to limit the unbounded proliferation of perspectives, imposing the sovereign gaze as a single, unified narrative.

There is a similar operation with respect to time, as the spectacles reconfigure the temporality of the city, especially during carnival and courtly weddings, when the normal activities of the city are replaced by the rituals, celebrations, and ceremonies. The apparatus, in other words, has the capacity to incorporate or *capture* the city's infrastructure into the allegorical assemblage. The temporal perspectival effect is no less present than the visual one: discussing Machiavelli's innovation in writing musical interludes for his comedy *La Mandragola* (one of the earliest exemplars of the genre), Nino Pirrotta postulates that the main purpose of framing the realist comedy within 'unrealistic frames', in which pastoral characters directly address the audience through music, was to create 'the illusion of a temporal perspective' that eased the transition between the present time of the audience and the fictional time of the comedy (Pirrotta and Povoledo 1982: 128). Moreover, the *intermedi* helped compress dramatic time, so that the sixteen hours of daytime – the duration required by the Renascentist interpretation of the Aristotelian unity of time – could be represented in the three hours of the comedy without interruptions. Hence, the *intermedi* accomplish 'an artificial effect of temporal perspective, a compression of time akin to the artificial compression of space achieved by either linear or theatrical perspective' (Pirrotta and Povoledo 1982: 129). The sovereign's power to make be acts equally upon space as well as time; compressing time through musical performance amounts to producing a new temporality directed from the prince's privileged position. In the mimetic, sovereign construction of social reality, performed time supplants lived time.

The *intermedi* are helpful to examine the mimetic dimensions of this performative assemblage, in particular the logic of the allegorical apparatus

of capture, because of the excessive, baroque use of all available media, techniques, machinery, and philosophical and mythological traditions. These are paradigmatic cases of an aesthetic politics at play elsewhere, for example in the Jesuit missions deployed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Indigenous territories of South America, our second case study.

IV: Jesuit Reducciones *and the Colonial Exploitation of the Mimetic Condition*

Motivated by Bartolomé de las Casas's 1515 denunciation of Spain's brutal war on Indigenous peoples in America, the Catholic church developed a pervasive system of colonisation that, unlike the more violent (and ultimately ineffective) approach of the *conquistadores* and the forced labour of the *mita* and *encomienda* systems, sought to limit resistance across Central and South America by creating new forms of community where Indigenous peoples could be gradually incorporated into European religion and worldview (Dussel 1992: 92). One strategy developed by Jesuit missionaries involved persuading local peoples to abandon nomadic life. Offering protection from rival communities, particularly from Spanish and Portuguese slave traders, the Jesuits erected fortifications in the jungle where Indigenous peoples were 'led back to religion and civilised life' ('*ad vitam civilem et ad Ecclesiam reducti sunt*'), hence the popular name for these missions: *reducciones* (Herczog 2001: 13).[7] Jesuit reductions were deployed throughout South America beginning as early as 1549 with the first Jesuit arrival in Bahia, Brazil (Dussel 1992: 111). They spread throughout the continent: in the Orinoco plain-lands between today's Colombia and Venezuela (Bermúdez 1998); in Moxos and Chiquitos in the Upper Amazon territories shared by Peru and Bolivia, specifically around the mines of Potosí where Indigenous forced labour was concentrated; and the Rio de la Plata region between Paraguay, Brazil, and Argentina, with populations ranging from 500 to 10,000 inhabitants at different moments until the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 (Waisman 2011: 213).

Drawing on various primary and secondary sources from these territories across their long history, I provide here a synoptic overview which, if not systematic, should illustrate how musical performance, as an apparatus of capture, was deployed as a component of colonisation during the early

modern period to attain 'acoustic hegemony' that could shape Indigenous communities according to European patterns, customs, and laws (Toelle 2018).

As missionary reports describing life in Indigenous communities in South America began to reach Europe, intellectuals debated the merits and deficiencies of the system, often through analogies with Plato's *Republic,* most famously in Montesquieu's 1748 *Esprit des lois*. In 1793, José Manuel Peramás, a Catalan Jesuit who lived in the Paraná region between 1755 and 1767, published a systematic comparison between the Guarani administration and Plato, entitled *De administratione guaranitica comparate ad Republicam Platonis commentarius* which defended Jesuit institutions against their Enlightenment critics by identifying contemporary Indigenous peoples – in a denial of coevalness (Fabian 1983) – with Europe's own past.[8] Peramás's 'experimental utopia' (Cro 2012: 190), as its author explains, is organised as a 'summary of what Plato meant in his work' which then states 'what happened among the Guarani' (Peramás 1793: 2). After discussing collective ownership, wedding festivals, and education, Peramás focuses on music, noting that it 'softens and tempers that in us which is rough and hard due to black bile. Dancing also lessens the grave, laborious and soft appetites and lazy humours through which we are dragged into voluptuousness and luxuriousness' (46).[9] Peramás goes on to describe the many kinds of musical performance among the Guarani, whose natural talent for music he compares with that of birds (49). He discusses music more extensively in his *Vita* of the Jesuit Manuel Schmid, where he introduces his role as a music teacher among the Chiquitanos by quoting a telling statement by fellow Jesuit Manuel de Nobrega: 'give me an orchestra of well-trained musicians and I will make Christians out however many people in the Indies' (431).

Indeed, many writers from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries noted the importance of musical and theatrical performance in the reductions, specifically their function as instruments for indoctrination (Gasta 2013: 154–7; Herczog 2001: 15). In his 1609 *Comentarios Reales de los Incas,* mestizo historian Garcilaso de la Vega, known as El Inca, notes:

> They have the same ability for sciences, if they were taught to them, as is attested by the comedies that they have performed in various places. Indeed, some ingenious missionaries, of various orders but especially from

the Society of Jesus, have composed comedies for the Indians to perform and accustom them to the mysteries of our redemption, since they knew that the Indians performed plays in the time of the Inca Kings and they saw that they had ability and genius for anything they wanted to teach them. (Vega 1609: 55)

In one of the most famous accounts of the Jesuit reductions, *Il cristianesimo felice nelle missioni de' padri della Compagnia di Gesù nel Paraguai* (1732), Ludovico Antonio Muratori remarks on 'the natural inclination that these peoples have for harmony, of which some of these cunning Ministers of God took no little advantage from the beginning' (Muratori 1743: 59; my translation). Italian Jesuit Filippo Salvatore Gilii similarly describes the Indigenous peoples in the Orinoco reductions as 'a musical people' with 'an ear given naturally to harmony'. But, he adds, '[t]his is useful for no other purpose than the dignity of the Church and to accustom the savages to the reduction' (1965 (1782): 64).

Gilii's collaborator in the Orinoco, José Gumilla, also emphasised music as a useful mechanism for indoctrination in his *El Orinoco ilustrado, y defendido*:

> The fable of Orpheus, who antiquity imagined as attracting beasts with music, is thoroughly confirmed in the Missions with these men, who are harder than stone; since it is noteworthy how much they are enchanted and spellbound by music. They are musicians by their own genius, and as is evident in many parts of this *History*, they are very taken to playing flutes and many other instruments that they build themselves. And it has been experimented in the Missions we have founded how much they are attracted and domesticated by music, how much they appreciate it and how proud they are those whose children have been destined by the missionary for music school. Thus, one of the first tasks when founding a new town must be to find a music master from an older town, and set up a school for that purpose and for the decency of the Divine Cult. (Gumilla 1946 [1745]: 515)

Thus, Indigenous peoples are both harder than stone and natural musicians; gifted, like Orpheus, for musical performance and helpless against it, like the animals and stones he tames and animates with his enchanting song.

Orpheus, long a mythological figure for magical enchantment and 'civilisation', was in fact a recurrent trope in Jesuit writings on Indigenous people. Indeed, it forms a fundamental part of the Jesuit political theology

in which the American continent is identified with an Arcadian Golden Age, or an Eden preceding the fall of man, which the Jesuits administer as if it were '*la viña del Señor*' (the Lord's vineyard) until the end of times (Morales 2010: 227–8). With the same metaphor, Jesuit historian Joseph Cassani describes Francisco Ellauri, founder of the Tópaga reduction near Tunja in 1636, as '[b]etter than Orpheus who, out of a rugged mountain and out of Indian hearts, harder than the boulders, formed a City: as Tópaga could be called' (Cassani 1741: 525). In *Guaránica*, Peramás writes that 'if, like Orpheus, you tame them gradually, if you train them in useful works in soft and lenient ways . . . these people will thank you greatly as if you were God [*pater optimo*] and will render themselves onto you by their own volition' (147). In the section on music, Peramás refers to Jean Vaisseau – a Jesuit from Leuven, likely the first European to teach music in Paraguay (Herczog 2001: 33) – who 'crossed the ocean in order to tame the natives with his lyre in imitation of Orpheus' (49). These recurring deployments of the trope indicate that a central aspect of the 'bio-political colonial pastoralism' (Zavala-Pelayo 2016: 189) of Jesuit theological anthropology is constructing their Indigenous counterparts as made of a plastic matter – figured as stone – capable of being re-formed through the missionaries' determination.

V: Homo Mimeticus *and the Native 'Natural Genius' for Music*

As these testimonies suggest, and as Guillermo Wilde writes, music and sound were employed in the reductions as 'hegemonic mechanisms that reinforced regimes of temporality and corporeality' (Wilde 2005: 3), or as what I have above called an apparatus of capture.[10] Jesuits found in their subjects' disposition towards music an optimal means to dominate and re-form Indigenous souls as well as their bodies. But, if the category of 'music' can hardly account for the experiences of 'ritualised sound' of the natives, their mimetic condition served as a mechanism to be harnessed and exploited (Wilde 2005: 82). Anton Sepp, a Jesuit musician who arrived among the Guarani around 1692, described this 'natural genius' in explicit mimetic terms, in his amazed comparison of two organs found in a reduction, one made in Europe, the other by the Guarani. Sepp claims the two were 'so similar that initially I was confused, taking the one made by Indians as European'. 'Our Indians' (he continues),

are truly not very skilled for all that is invisible, that is, for that which is spiritual and abstract, but they are very well endowed for all the mechanical arts: they imitate like monkeys everything that they see, even if it requires patience and an unshakeable soul. What the Paraguayan takes up, he carries to its happy conclusion without requiring a master. All he needs is having a model always present. (Sepp 1973 (1709): 270)

Sepp's attitude towards the imitative capacities of his counterparts follows a familiar pattern whereby encounters with the other in colonial contexts are mediated through mimesis (Taussig 1993; Bhabha 1984).[11] Here, we see the double movement of attraction and repulsion towards mimetic practices that Lawtoo diagnoses as a '*pathos* of distance between dominant and subordinate subjects', in which mimetic tendencies such as 'enthusiasm' and 'hysteria' are projected onto racialised and gendered others, while denying their presence in the European subject who makes these projections (Lawtoo 2013: 98). In this case, this *pathos* enables the German priest to identify the productive capacities of Indigenous peoples as *homo mimeticus*, while simultaneously associating these behaviours with animality ('they imitate like monkeys') in a symptomatic effort to preserve his imagined superiority over people whose capacities rival his own as he deploys an arsenal of mimetic technologies that he fails to recognise as such.

In other words, for the Jesuits, the mimetic condition serves both as a mark of 'natural genius' and a means of distinguishing between 'truly creative' Europeans and 'merely imitative' Indigenous peoples that must be shaped into citizens of the City of God. Music, as understood by Italian humanists and missionaries, served to effectively mediate between these distinctions, mobilising the affective potential of the lexical apparatus to inscribe the *logos* of the Church and the Spanish empire on Indigenous bodies. If, as I argue above, the sovereign construction of social reality consists in supplementing lived time with performed time, the deployment of this assemblage in the reductions eliminates the distinction between lived and performed time altogether, producing a literally utopian (*ou-topos*, non-place) reality controlled by the missionaries.

The Jesuits exploited these mimetic capacities precisely in the way described by Plato: selecting talented but supple children to educate in music (Bermúdez 1998: 152; Nawrot 2000: 11); creating a new social class with diverse privileges (Baker 2008); and employing the allegorical

apparatus of capture to gradually erode local mythologies, religions, and social orders – identified by Jesuits as manifestations of idolatry and superstition – while replacing them with European customs and laws under the cover of a political theology of eschatological salvation (Wilde 2005: 92–3). This occurred at the level of both *logos* and *lexis*. As we learn from Peramás, the inhabitants of the reductions were in principle free to learn Spanish in addition to their native languages (he emphasises, quoting the Leyes de Indias, that this was done '*voluntariamente*' (by their own will) (45)). On the other hand, musical practice, which consisted almost exclusively of music for the celebration of Catholic rituals, was strictly regulated by the missionaries (Nawrot 2000: 13). Any expression of 'idolatry' – read: autochthonous religious practices – was expressly banned and punishable by lashings and jail (Peramas 1793: 20–1). In an effort to accommodate to native *logos*, these repertories were often translated to local languages (Nawrot 2000: 4; Gasta 2013: 165), in a colonial practice whereby local significations are initially combined with European ones only to be progressively replaced by the latter.

At the level of *lexis*, Jesuits controlled the timbral soundscapes of the reductions by banning Indigenous instruments (Zavala-Pelayo 2016: 183), or by employing them selectively, as with the wind ensembles known as '*ministriles*' (Wilde 2010: 107–8). As we saw, the mimetic repetition of musical formulas serves as a kind of embodied grammatology, in which a controlled musical orthopaedics serves to shape Indigenous bodies from childhood when, as Socrates notes, the iteration of mimesis makes second nature, 'in body and sounds and in thought' (*Rep.* 395d).

As with the Italian celebrations they emulate, the apparatus of Indigenous performance captured and reorganised the space and time of the reductions through elaborate perspectival technologies for the mimetic construction of social reality. In this case, spatiotemporal capture was generalised: as Leonardo Waisman argues, the very concept of the reduction depended on a distinction between city and *monte* (wilderness) coded in terms of civilisation and barbarism (Waisman 2011: 209); the space of the reduction was from the beginning an ordering of space, in which sound and music were employed to introduce order in the temporal dimensions of the city and to inscribe a sense of European time in Indigenous subjects (Waisman 2011: 214; Wilde 2005: 86–9). Indigenous musicians performed music during daily Catholic rituals and realised allegorical processions across the

towns for celebrations such as Corpus Christi (Waisman 2011: 223–5; Baker 2008; Nawrot 2000: 21–22). They also participated in 'secular' performances of theatre and opera – even if their conceit was always religious (Herczog 2001: 233–43). Famous examples include two operas found in the Chiquitos region of Bolivia, one written by Italian composer Domenico Zipoli, the other by an unnamed Indigenous composer (or composers), both narrating the life of Jesuit founders Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier (Gasta 2013: 176–220). The inhabitants of the reductions also performed plays and dances that re-enacted battles between angels and devils and, more tellingly, Christians and Muslims (Herczog 2001: 227; Bermúdez 1998: 161).

As in the *intermedi*, the conceit is less important than the lexical effects through which Jesuits sought to turn these peoples into the docile subjects of colonialism. Unfortunately for the Jesuits, mimetic performance never directly reproduces the *logos* it deploys, and human beings, however plastic, are not simply subject to imposed figurations. As an iteration, mimesis – and mimetic performance – always involves the alteration of what is repeated (Villegas Vélez 2020), an alteration in which Jesuit apologists such as Nawrot (2013) seek traces of hybridity or Indigenous agency. Indeed, the products of these communities – some of which persist today – can be taken as exemplars of a particular style of hybrid colonial baroque (Wilde 2005) that evidences 'cross-cultural collaboration' (Gasta 2013: 197). However, the mimetic perspective also highlights how they attest to an erasure of embodied cultural memory – an 'epistemicide', as Boaventura de Sousa Santos calls it – in which 'unequal exchanges among cultures have always implied the death of the knowledge of the subordinated culture, hence the death of the social groups that possessed it' (Sousa Santos 2017: 92).

From the ancient Greek practice of *mousikē* through its early modern recovery, music is a paradigmatic medium for the mimetic creation of reality through bodily and affective means. Yet, whereas in Greece and Renaissance Italy, among other places, these powers are conceived as creating communities, the Jesuit reductions expose the darker side of the aesthetic politics of the Renaissance (Mignolo 1998). The cunning Jesuits deployed mimetic assemblages and exploited the mimetic capacities of Indigenous subjects who they conceived as malleable and without other qualities than their powers of imitation. Indeed, in these reductions, the

mimetic construction of reality went hand-in-hand with epistemic genocide. This, too, is the violent power of mimesis.

Notes

1. A similar indictment occurs at *Laws* 2.669d–e. (Steiner 2013: 193; Csapo 2004). Marsyas, according to the better-known versions of the myth, picks up the aulos that Athena discards and uses it to challenge Apollo to a musical duel. In some versions, Apollo finally beats Marsyas by inverting his lyre, a feat that is possible given the harmonic 'perfection' of his instrument but impossible with the aulos (Maniates 2000).

2. In addition to Aby Warburg's (1932 [1895]) foundational study of the *intermedi*, the most important presentation of the celebrations is Saslow (1996). Treadwell (2008) offers a sustained interpretation of the *intermedi* with special attention to their sonorous dimensions. For a focus on the architectural aspects, see Marciak (2005). See also Fenlon (2002), Strong (1984), and Ghisi (1956).

3. For an application of Marin's work to the *intermedi*, see Marciak (2005). For musical performance in the court of Louis XIV, see Bloechl (2018).

4. Translation adapted from Treadwell (2008: 159) and Pirrotta and Povoledo (1982: 232).

5. I thank Carlo Lanfossi for his help with the Italian translations. Other translations are mine, unless noted.

6. These testimonies are preserved in official and semi-official documents, including one written by Bolognese ambassador Giuseppe Pavoni (1589). For an overview of these sources and their discrepancies, see Pirrotta and Povoledo (1982: 232–6), Walker (1963: xxxiv), and Saslow (1996: 37–9).

7. As Stelio Cro notes, the term *reducir* was employed during the *Reconquista* period in Spain to refer to the capture and confinement of defeated enemies such as Muslim leaders in a territory controlled by the Spanish (2012: 184n2).

8. The work is the introductory section to *De vita et moribus tredecim virorum paraguaycorum* (Faenza: Archii, 1793). For publication details, see Cro (2012). For a Spanish translation, see Cro (2018).

9. Although Peramás does not quote it, his source for the doctrine of the humors – foreign to Plato – is likely the *Musurgia universalis* (Kircher 1650), written by fellow Jesuit Athanasius Kircher in 1650, of which copies can be found all across South America (Wald 2006; Findlen 2004). Other sources often found in the reductions (cited by Bermúdez (1998, 164) make no mention of humoral theory.

10. Due to space limitations in this piece, I focus only on these hegemonic practices and not on the counter-hegemonic and 'hybrid sonic spaces' (Wilde 2005: 89–8).

By emphasising these aspects of Jesuit theological anthropology, I do not mean to suggest that indigenous peoples were in fact the passive subjects that the Jesuits took them to be.

11. Gilii echoes a similar perception with regards to music: 'Of all the things brought from Europe to those places, there was none that they liked more, none that they imitated better' (1965 (1782): 64).

References

Aeschylus (2015), *Oresteia: Agamemnon. Libation-Bearers. Eumenides*, ed. and trans. Alan H. Sommerstein, Loeb Classical Library 146, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Aristophanes (1998), *Acharnians. Knights*, ed. and trans. Jeffrey Henderson, Loeb Classical Library 178, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Abbate, Carolyn (2004), 'Music: Drastic or Gnostic?', *Critical Inquiry*, 30: 3, 505–36.

Agawu, V. Kofi (1991), *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Allanbrook, Wye Jamison (2014), *The Secular Commedia: Comic Mimesis in Late Eighteenth-Century Music*, Richard Taruskin and Mary Ann Smart (eds), Berkeley: University of California Press.

Baker, Geoffrey (2008), *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Bennett, Jane (2010), *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Berlant, Lauren Gail (2011), *Cruel Optimism*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Bermúdez, Egberto (1998), 'La música en las misiones Jesuitas en los Llanos orientales colombianos 1725–1810', *Ensayos: Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 5, 143–66.

Bhabha, Homi (1984), 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', *October*, 28, 125–33 < doi: 10.2307/778467 >.

Bloechl, Olivia (2018), *Opera and the Political Imaginary in Old Regime France*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bonds, Mark Evan (2014), *Absolute Music: The History of an Idea*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cassani, José (1741), *Historia de la provincia de la Compañia de Jesus del Nuevo Reyno de Granada en la America: descripcion, y relacion exacta de sus gloriosas missiones en el reyno, llanos, Meta, y rio Orinoco, almas, y terreno, que han conquistado sus missioneros para Dios*, Madrid: Impr. M. Fernandez.

Cimini, Amy and Jairo Moreno (2016), 'Inexhaustible Sound and Fiduciary Aurality', *boundary 2*, 43: 1, 5–41.

Corby, James (2015), 'The Contemporary Quarrel Between Performance and Literature? Reflections on Performance (and) Philosophy', *Performance Philosophy*, 1, 36–50 < doi: 10.21476/PP.2015.1112 >.

Cox, Arnie (2016), *Music and Embodied Cognition: Listening, Moving, Feeling, and Thinking*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Cro, Stelio (2012), 'El padre Peramás y su Guaranítica', in Patrizia Botta and Luigi Guarnieri Calo' Carducci (eds), *Actas del XVII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas: Rumbos del hispanismo en el umbral del Cincuentenario de la AIH (2010)* Rome: Bagatto Libri, pp. 184–96.

Cro, Stelio (2018), *Peramás y su obra: jesuitas y gauchos en el Rio de la Plata*, Beau-Bassin: Editorial Académica Española.

Csapo, Eric (2004), 'The Politics of the New Music', in Penelope Murray and Peter Wilson (eds), *Music and the Muses: The Culture of 'Mousike' in the Classical Athenian City*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 207–48.

Derrida, Jacques (1981 [1969]), *Dissemination*, trans. Barbara Johnson, Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Derrida, Jacques (1997 [1967]), *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Dussel, Enrique (1992), *Historia de la iglesia en América Latina: medio milenio de coloniaje y liberación*, Madrid: Mundo Negro-Esquila Misional.

Eidsheim, Nina Sun (2015), *Sensing Sound: Singing & Listening as Vibrational Practice*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Fabian, Johannes (1983), *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Fenlon, Iain (2002), *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Findlen, Paula (2004), 'A Jesuit's Books in the New World: Athanasius Kircher and His American Readers', in Paula Findlen (ed.), *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything*, New York: Routledge, pp. 329–64.

Gasta, Chad M. (2013), *Transatlantic Arias: Early Opera in Spain and the New World*, Madrid: Iberoamericana / Vervuert.

Gebauer, Gunter, and Christoph Wulf (1995 [1992]), *Mimesis: Culture, Art, Society* trans. Don Reneau, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gilii, Filippo Salvadore (1965 (1782)), *Ensayo de historia americana, vol. III*, Caracas: Fuentes para la Historia Colonial de Venezuela.

Goehr, Lydia (2008), *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Goehr, Lydia (2020), '"All Art Constantly Aspires to the Condition of Music" – Except the Art of Music: Reviewing the Contest of the Sister Arts', *The Insistence of Art*, New York: Fordham University Press, pp. 140–69.

Goody, Jack (1990), *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grant, Roger Mathew (2020), *Peculiar Attunements: How Affect Theory Turned Musical*, New York: Fordham University Press.

Gregg, Melissa, and Gregory J. Seighworth (2010), 'An Inventory of Shimmers', in Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seighworth (eds), *The Affect Theory Reader*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp. 1–25.

Gumilla, Joseph (1946 [1745]), *El Orinoco ilustrado*, Madrid: M. Aguilar.

Gurd, Sean Alexander (2016), *Dissonance: Auditory Aesthetics in Ancient Greece*, New York: Fordham University Press.

Halliwell, Stephen (2009), *The Aesthetics of Mimesis: Ancient Texts and Modern Problems*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hatten, Robert S. (2004), *Interpreting Musical Gestures, Topics, and Tropes: Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Havelock, Eric (1963), *Preface to Plato*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Herczog, Johann (2001), *Orfeo nelle Indie: i gesuiti e la musica in Paraguay (1609–1767)*, Lecce: Congedo.

Kircher, Athanasius (1650), *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni*, Rome: Haeredum Francisci Corbelletti/Typis Ludovici Grignani. Facsimile edition, Ulf Scharlau (ed.), Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1970.

Lacoue-Labarthe, Philippe, and Jean-Luc Nancy (1990), 'The Nazi Myth', *Critical Inquiry*, 16: 2, 291–312 < doi: 10.1086/448535 > .

Lawtoo, Nidesh (2013), *The Phantom of the Ego: Modernism and the Mimetic Unconscious*, East Lansing: Michigan University Press.

Lawtoo, Nidesh (2018), 'The Plasticity of Mimesis', *Modern Language Notes*, 132: 5, 1201–24 < doi: 10.1353/mln.2017.0092 > .

Lawtoo, Nidesh (2019), 'Violence and the Mimetic Unconscious (Part Two): The Contagious Hypothesis: Plato, Affect, Mirror Neurons', *Contagion: Journal of Violence, Mimesis, and Culture*, 26, 123–60 < doi: 10.14321/contagion.26.2019.0123 > .

Lochhead, Judith I., Eduardo Mendieta and Stephen Decatur Smith (eds) (2021), *Sound and Affect: Voice, Music, World*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

MacNeil, Anne (2003), *Music and Women of the Commedia dell'arte in the Late Sixteenth Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Marciak, Dorothée (2005), *La place du prince: perspective et pouvoir dans le thèâtre de cour des Mèdicis, Florence (1539–1600)*, Paris: Honoré Champion.

Marin, Louis (1988 [1981]), *Portrait of the King*, trans. Martha M. Houle, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

McLuhan, Marshall (1962), *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Meconi, Honey (1994), 'Does Imitatio Exist?', *The Journal of Musicology*, 12: 2, 152–78 < doi: 10.2307/763986 > .

Mignolo, Walter D. (1998), *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Monelle, Raymond (2006), *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Morales, Martín M. (2010), '¿*Guaraníes? No, Aqueos*: Una lectura de la obra de José Manuel Peramás: *De administratione Guaranica comparate ad Republicam Platonis commentarius* (1793)', in Perla Chinchilla (ed.), *Los Jesuítas formadores de ciudadanos: La educación dentro y fuera de sus colegios, siglos XVI-XXI*, México: Universidad Iberoamericana, pp. 205–43.

Muratori, Lodovico Antonio (1743), *Il cristianesimo felice nelle missioni de' padri della Compagnia di Gesù nel Paraguai*, Venice: Presso G. Pasquali.

Nagy, Gregory (1996), *Poetry as Performance: Homer and Beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nawrot, Piotr (2000), *Indígenas y cultura musical de las reducciones jesuíticas*, vol. 1: Guaraníes, Chiquitos, Moxos, Cochabamba: Editorial del Verbo Divino.

Nawrot, Piotr (2013), 'The Jesuit Reductions: Infusion of the Indian Element into Musical Practice', *Studia Missionalia*, 62, 141–62.

Neubauer, John (1986), *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Ong, Walter (2013), *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, London: Routledge.

Palisca, Claude V. (1989), *The Florentine Camerata: Documentary Studies and Translations*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Pater, Walter (1980 [1893]), *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry: The 1893 Text*, ed. Donald L. Hill, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Pavoni, Giuseppe (1589), *Diario descritto da Giuseppe Pauoni: delle feste celebrate nelle solennissime nozze delli serenissimi sposi, il sig. don Ferdinando Medici, & la sig. donna Christina di Loreno gran duchi di Toscana...*, Bologna: Giouanni Rossi.

Peramas, Jose Emanuel (1793), *De vita et moribus tredecim virorum paraguaycorum*, Faenza: Archii.

Pindar (1997), *Olympian Odes, Pythian Odes*, trans. William H. Race, Loeb Classical Library 56, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Pirrotta, Nino, and Elena Povoledo (1982 [1969]), *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, trans. Karen Eales, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Plato (1926), *Laws, Volume I: Books 1–6*, trans. Robert Gregg Bury, Loeb Classical Library 187, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Plato (1968), *The Republic of Plato*, trans. Allan Bloom, New York: Basic Books.

Plato (2013), *Republic, Volume I: Books 1–5*, ed. and trans. Christopher Emlyn-Jones and William Preddy, Loeb Classical Library 237, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Rossi, Bastiano de (1589), *Descrizione dell'apparato e degl' intermedi. Fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze. Nelle nozze de' serenissimi Don Ferdinando Medici, e Madama Cristina de Loreno, gran duchi di Toscana*, Firenze: A. Padouani.

Saslow, James M. (1996), *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi*, New Haven: Yale University press.

Shouse, Eric (2005), 'Feeling, Emotion, Affect', *M/C Journal*, 8: 6 < doi: 10.5204/mcj.2443 > .

Solerti, Angelo (1969), *Gli albori del melodramma*, vol. 1, Hildesheim: G. Olms.

Sousa Santos, Boaventura de (2017), *Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide*, London: Routledge.

Steiner, Deborah (2013), 'The Gorgons' Lament: Auletics, Poetics, And Chorality In Pindar's "Pythian 12"', *The American Journal of Philology*, 134: 2, 173–208.

Stiegler, Bernard (1998 [1994]), *Technics and Time, 1: The Fault of Epimetheus*, trans. Richard Beardsworth and George Collins, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Strong, Roy (1984), *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450–1650*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Taussig, Michael (1993), *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*, New York: Routledge.

Thompson, Marie (2017), 'Whiteness and the Ontological Turn in Sound Studies', *Parallax*, 23: 3, 266–82 < doi: 10.1080/13534645.2017.1339967 > .

Thompson, Marie and Ian D. Biddle (eds) (2013), *Sound, Music, Affect: Theorizing Sonic Experience*, New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Toelle, Jutta (2018), 'Mission Soundscapes: Demons, Jesuits, and Sounds in Antonio Ruiz de Montoya's Conquista Espiritual (1639)', in Daniela Hacke and Paul Musselwhite (eds), *Empire of the Senses*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 67–87.

Treadwell, Nina (2008), *Music and Wonder at the Medici Court: The 1589 Interludes for La Pellegrina*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Vega, Garcilaso de la (1609), *Primera parte de los Commentarios reales que tratan del origen de los Yncas, Reyes que fueron del Peru . . . , y de todo lo que fue aquel Imperio y su Republica, antes que los Españoles passaran a el / escritos por el Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega, natural del Cozco*, Lisbon: En la officina de Pedro Crasbeeck.

Villegas Vélez, Daniel (2020), 'Interruption—Intervention: On the Interval Between Literature and Music in Jean-Luc Nancy's "Myth Interrupted"', *Performance Philosophy*, 5: 2, 183–202 < doi: 10.21476/PP.2020.52277 > .

Waisman, Leonardo J. (2011), 'Urban Music in the Wilderness: Ideology and Power in the Jesuit reducciones 1607–1767', in Geoffrey Baker and Tess Knighton (eds), *Music and Urban Society in Colonial Latin America*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 208–29.

Wald, Melanie (2006), *Welterkenntnis aus Musik: Athanasius Kirchers 'Musurgia universalis' und die Universalwissenschaft im 17. Jahrhundert*, Kassel: Bärenreiter.

Walker, D. P. (ed.) (1963), *Musique des Intermèdes de 'La Pellegrina': Les fêtes de Florence (1589)*, Paris: CNRS.

Warburg, Aby (1932 [1895]), 'I costumi teatrali per gli intermezzi del 1589. I disegni di Bernardo Buontalenti e il libro di conti di Emilio de' Cavalieri', in Gertrud Bing (ed.), *Gesammelte Schriften*, Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, pp. 259–300.

Wilde, Guillermo (2005), 'Música, sonido y poder en el contexto misional paraguayo', *Revista del Instituto de Investigación Musicológica 'Carlos Vega'*, 19: 19, 79–102.

Wilde, Guillermo (2010), 'Entre la duplicidad y el mestizaje: prácticas sonoras en las misiones jesuíticas de Sudamérica', in Albert Recasens and Christian Spencer Espinosa (eds), *A tres bandas: mestizaje, sincretismo e hibridación en el espacio sonoro iberoamericano*, Madrid: SEACEX y AKAL Ediciones, pp. 103–14.

Zavala-Pelayo, Edgar (2016), 'Colonial Pastoralism in Latin America: New Spain's Biopolitical Religious Regime', *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 17: 2–3, 172–90 < doi: 10.1080/21567689.2016.1222941 > .