

MARCUS ANTONIUS KAPPUS: A REEVALUATION

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Abstract

In the first part of my study I investigate the background in which Marcus Kappus had lived in his youth, before his departure for America. I consider that analysis of these early European formative years of a person who later had a visible role in his part of America can be a useful contribution to American studies. To this I add a brief summary of our present knowledge of Kappus' life in Sonora, and a survey of Slovene studies on him.

1.

Marcus Antonius Kappus was born on 18 April 1657 at Kamna Gorica, a moderately sized village situated some 20 km southeast of the Lake of Bled, the famous tourist centre in northwestern Slovenia, north of Ljubljana, the Slovene national capital. In German studies this village is referred to under the name Steinbüchel. This is an exact German translation of the Slovene name which signifies: Stone Village. The village is spread over a hilly ground on the western side of the Sava River valley, at the foot of the slopes in which ends a southeastern offshoot of the Julian Alps. The house in which Kappus was born still stands, and members of the Kappus family still live in this village. The family had owned since the late Middle Ages an iron works which was hardly more than of local significance. In Slovenia there existed in Kappus' time quite a number of similar iron works, based on the rather humble natural iron resources.

These were nevertheless important because neighbouring Italy had in the whole of its territory no iron ore. Iron was therefore, through the centuries imported to Italy from its Alpine hinterland. Austria was especially important because of its famous iron ore mine in the Erzberg Mountain in Northern Styria. Iron thus travelled to Italy from Slovenia - and Austria by way of Slovenia - in considerable quantities. It was carried across Slovenia along the poorly developed local roads, such as they were in that time, on the backs of horses. It was only in the late 18th century that iron from Scandinavia began to compete in Italy with the Austrian iron. In present day Slovenia, most of these small iron works have been abolished; a few, however, have developed in the last two centuries into large modern steel mills (Jesenice, Ravne, Štore), and are now an important part of the Slovene economy. Because of his early experience in iron mining

Marcus Antonius Kappus was considered later, in Sonora, by his colleagues to be an expert in metal ores.

2.

More complex than his economic background is the question of the nationality of Marcus Antonius Kappus. When we speak of the nationality of a person who had lived in the 18th century we must be aware of the fact that the sense of this word differs in time and space. The nationality of a person can be rooted in the language he speaks, or in the country where he lives. Very often the two backgrounds cover each other, quite frequently not. This two-sided aspect of this word can therefore be misunderstood, also misinterpreted for political reasons. A Frenchman is a French national both because of his language and the state in which he lives. On the other hand, a person may speak German, but he is an Austrian national, in the same way as an English speaking person can be an American national.

In the 17th and 18th centuries local patriotism was a wide spread trend which was marked in Habsburg Austria by affiliations to counties such as Carniola, Styria, Tyrol, and others. Carniola had, in the time of Marcus Antonius Kappus, a foremost representative of this patriotism in the work of Johann Weichard Valvasor (1641 – 1693) *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Krain*.¹ The work was published in 1689 in four large volumes in Nürnberg by Wolfgang Moritz Emdter Verlag, in that time one of the leading Protestant publishing houses in Germany. The same publishers had also printed, in 1676, the work of the leading Czech reformer Jan Amos Komensky *Orbis sensualium pictus*. Valvasor had apparently published his work in the distant Nürnberg, in spite of the restrictions of the Counterreformation, because Nürnberg was at that time a leading German cultural centre where the modern German literary language was just reaching its final standard forms, with which Valvasor in the distant Carniola was not adequately acquainted.

3.

Valvasor provided in his work *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Krain* a many-sided survey of the county Crain, its land and its people. He devoted much attention to its historical background, yet the work is primarily interesting as a representation of

¹ Valvasor's work was twice reedited in modern reprints. The first reprint was made in 1877 – 1879 in the town of Novo mesto by the printer and editor Janez Krajec; coeditors were Vincenc Novak and Josip Pfeifer. The second reprint was made in Ljubljana in 1970 – 1974 by the publishing house Mladinska knjiga, and in 1971 – 1973 in München (Germany) by the publishing house Rudolf Trofenik Verlag. The editor of this second reprint was Branko Reisp. – In my quotations from Valvasor I refer to this second (Ljubljana-München) edition.

Among the numerous research works on the life and work of Valvasor the two most important publications are the book-length monographs: 1./ P. von Radics: *Johann Weikhard Freiherr von Valvasor*. Laibach 1910. Published by Laibacher Sparkasse & Ig. V. Kleinmayr & Fed. Bamberg. – and: 2./ Branko Reisp. *Kranjski polihistor Janez Vajkard Valvasor*, Ljubljana 1983, publ. by Mladinska knjiga. – Cf. Also the study on Valvasor in *Slovenski biografski leksikon* by Branko Reisp in vol. IV. 345 – 354 (Ljubljana, 1982).

Valvasor's own time. In accordance with the new trends of his time he endeavoured to find rational interpretations for unusual phenomena, while at the same time he was ready to believe the wildest superstitions. Nevertheless Valvasor was for his scholarly achievements elected in 1687 member of the London Royal Society.² In his political affiliation Valvasor was primarily tied to his native county Crain. He disagreed with the predominant role of the language in the creation of the political community. Important for such a community are also common legal norms, and religious views and habits (*Die Ehre*, Vol. II, 85, 139). Valvasor called such a community a Landsmannschaft. He spoke both German and Slovene and in his published works he called both languages his own. He wrote only in German, yet in his library he had also Slovene books, including the works by Slovene Protestants which were prohibited by state authorities, among them the Slovene grammar by Adam Bohorič (Wittenberg, 1584). In his upper feudal society surroundings he spoke predominantly German, yet he had no difficulty to converse with Slovene speaking people.

In *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain* Valvasor frequently added to the German geographic name the corresponding Slovene form, and to the German words denoting individual kinds of animals or plants Slovene equivalents. His work is therefore a rich source for Slovene philologists. As for the language of the country he stated that it was Slovene, spoken by the common people, while members of the upper society were bilingual. The language of commerce, at the courts of justice, and in the correspondence was German (*Die Ehre*, vol. II, 271 f.). This corresponds exactly to the situation we find in connection with Valvasor or Kappus, if we take into consideration that Valvasor was a member of the upper feudal society, while Kappus came from the village. It is surprising that Valvasor in spite of his rich portrayal of contemporary Crain pays no attention to the problems of school and education.

Valvasor's work is a good example of local patriotism: it approached the common people with a benevolent attitude which knew its feudal limits. In the 16th century this limited local patriotism was discontinued by a short, yet important period of Protestantism which wished to reach with their published books – the first in Slovene language! – all people speaking Slovene regardless of their regional borders and social distinctions, so that everyone would be able to judge their teachings individually, and in this way to form freely his own religious conviction.³ Towards the end of the 18th century Slovene national self-assertion reemerged, this time under the influence of preromanticism and of the ideas of French Revolution. These were promoted in Slovenia by the creation of the Illyrian Provinces (1809-1814), a state created by Napoleon, with Ljubljana as its

² Branko Reisp: *Korespondenca Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja z Royal Society*, Ljubljana 1987, published by Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, Class II, Series: Epistolae Slovenorum illustrium, No. 8, Ljubljana 1987, 113 pp.

³ Cf.: Das slowenische Wort in den Drucken des 16. Jahrhunderts. Published in: *Geschichte, Kultur und Geisteswelt der Slowenen*, ed. by Rudolf Trofenik. Vol. I, München 1968, 152-268. See also Appendix with reproductions of the title pages of Slovene Protestant books, pp. Ap. 1-84. – Cf. also: Anton Slodnjak: *Über die nationalbildende Kraft der Reformation bei den Slowenen*, ib.p. 11-22. Balduin Saria: *Die slowenische Reformation und ihre Bedeutung für die kulturelle Entwicklung der Slowenen*, ib. 23-49. – France Kidrič: *Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva od začetkov do Zoisove smrti (Die Geschichte der slowenischen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zum Tode Zois)*, Ljubljana, 1929-1938, 22 ff., publ. by Slovenska Matica.

capital.⁴ The time of Metternich (1814-1848) saw a wish to restore the old order, taking recourse to political repression. It was ended with the revolution of 1848 in which people demanded for Austria the introduction of constitutional government. Slovenes demanded in 1848 the abolition of regional dissection of the land where they lived and the creation of Slovenia as a separate part of the Habsburg monarchy. These demands were rejected by circles supporting the dynasty. The revolution was finally crushed in Vienna by armies led by Felix Fürst zu Schwarzenberg.

The time from 1848 till 1918, the First World War, is in Austria the time of a steady, even if hesitant, and often obstructed, development of parliamentary democracy. This made possible an improved growth of Slovene national consciousness with all its manifestations in the political and cultural life. The first Slovene university, however, was founded in Ljubljana only after the catastrophe of the First World War.

4.

It has been necessary to speak at greater length about the political background into which Marcus Antonius Kappus was born in order to better understand his personality. We may safely say that Kappus was a Carniolan patriot in the sense of his time. He was also favourable to the Habsburg dynasty. With his family background, however, he was a Slovene.

It may seem strange that a person like Kappus can be considered ethnically a Slovene, while at the same time all preserved texts that he had written are in German (besides Latin and Spanish), among them are also two letters to his brother, and one to his aunt.⁵ It would certainly be absurd to think that the members of Kappus family spoke among themselves German, while at the same time they would consider themselves Slovenes.

Kappus had in his youth no possibility to learn Slovene in school. In his time the system of public schools in Slovenia was miserably underdeveloped. There were in the whole country of Crain only 16 primary schools and one school (Jesuitic) for a more advanced study. The teaching language in primary schools was German, in advanced schools Latin. Slovene was used in the initial stage of primary schools, to prepare pupils who knew no other language but Slovene, ready for instruction in German. The Slovene

⁴ Ivan Prijatelj: Slovenščina pod Napoleonom. K stoletnici »Ilirije oživiljene«. (Slovene Language under Napoleon. A contribution to the Centenary of the Poem »Illyria Revived«). *Veda* 1911, No. 1-6.

⁵ In my text, which here follows, I repeatedly refer to my studies (PARTS I-VI) which reprint individual letters by Kappus, to which I add my special studies on Kappus which deal with problems touched on by that letter. These studies were published in the Ljubljana philological review *Acta Neophilologica (AN)*: PART I, *AN* 19 (1986), 35-56 (a letter in German from Cucurpe, dated 1689, to his aunt Francisca Adlmann, abbess in Škofja Loka). – PART II, *AN* 20 (1987), 25-38 (a letter in Latin from Kappus' ship passing Canary Islands, dated 10 July, 1687, addressed to P. Michael dell Potae, a member of the Jesuit College in Ljubljana). – PART III, *AN* 31 (1988), 3-9 (a letter in German from Cucurpe, dated 20 January, 1691, to his brother Johann von Kappus). – PART IV, *AN* 22 (1989), 39-50 (a letter in German from Matape, dated 20 June 1699, to his brother Johann von Kappus). – Part V., *AN* 23 (1990), 27-37 (a letter in Latin, dated Cucurpe 20 January, 1691, to Joannes Gregorius Thalnitscher, a leading cultural figure in Ljubljana of his time). – PART VI., *AN* 30 (1997), 43-57 (a letter in Latin from Matape, dated 8 June 1701, to Philippus Alberth, a Vienna member of the Society of Jesus).

language was looked upon with suspicion as the Language of Slovene Protestants whose books were prohibited by Counterreformation. The published Slovene Catholic books were few, predominantly sermons. From that time, however, are preserved also several Slovene texts as manuscripts. They were only by chance rediscovered in the 20th century and printed in scholarly editions.

It is interesting to see the standard of German which Kappus uses in the correspondence with his relatives (see my studies Part I *AN* 19: 1986,) Part III *AN* 21: 1988), and Part IV (*AN* 22: 1989). It is obviously the standard of German that he could learn in the contemporary primary schools. In connections with his German we must remember that Kappus was later, as a member of the Society of Jesus, teacher of Latin at several advanced Jesuitic schools, also in Ljubljana. There is no trace in his letters that Kappus knew of the enormous progress German language had made in his own time towards the modern standard literary language. This development was completed in Germany in the middle of the 17th century, in Kappus' own time, due to the endeavours of such writers like Justus George Schottelius (1612-1676), a preminent philologist in the time before Jakob Grimm. Kappus' German is marked by sounds pronounced in Austrian dialects, by a careless usage of nominal and verbal endings, and by mistakes in the gender of nouns.

5.

It was actually in the lifetime of Marcus Antonius Kappus that the family Kappus grew in its social significance. On 15 October 1693 the Austrian emperor Leopold I awarded to Joannes Kappus, the brother of Marcus Antonius, the title of nobility. The title included also the descendants of Joannes, but it was not extended to Marcus Antonius. He was nevertheless proud of his family's promotion. The son of Joannes, Karl, a jurist with university education, was a member of the *Academia operosorum*, a learned society which was active in Ljubljana from 1693 till about 1725, following the example of similar academies in Italy. Towards the end of the 18th century the significance of the family Kappus increased because of their relationships with Sigismund Zois (1747-1819), a spiritual mentor of Slovene cultural revival at the close of the 18th century, whose mother was a member of that family; and with Anton Tomaž Linhart (1756-1795), an important early historiographer of Slovenia and a Slovene playwright, whose stepmother was also a Kappus.

It is not known with certainty where Marcus Antonius Kappus attended secondary school: possibly at Ljubljana or at Klagenfurt. On 27 October 1676 he was accepted as member in the Society of Jesus in Vienna. In Vienna he passed also the period of probation (*noviciate*) of one year. As a Jesuit he worked as a teacher of Latin at various Jesuit schools: in 1679/80 in the first year (*principia*) in Ljubljana, in 1680/81 in the second and third years (*grammatica, syntax*) in Leoben in Upper Styria, in 1681/82 in the fourth year, (*poesis*), again in Leoben, and in 1682/83 in the fifth (the highest) class (*rhetorice*) in Zagreb in Croatia. In 1683 he entered the study of theology in Graz which he continued in 1684 and 1685 in Milan. During the winter 1685/86 he was probably at home and in Graz. With an agreement of the central office of the Jesuitic Order in Rome,

he left in 1686 for Spain. In Cadiz he obtained relatively quickly permission from the office of the Council of Indies in Madrid to go to America. He left Cadiz on 30 June 1687 with the ship *Campechan de San Roman*. The Spanish officer who coordinated the registration of passengers describes Kappus as “alto, delgado, de pelo rubio, ojos azules” (tall, slender, with red hair and blue eyes). Kappus’ ship was part of a flotilla of 23 ships.⁶ With the same flotilla travelled altogether 21 missionaries, selected for work in Mexico and on the Philippine Islands. The flotilla passed the Canary Islands on 10 June, and reached, on 8 August, the island of Puerto Rico where they entered the harbour of Aguadilla. They passed Haiti and in stormy weather sailed the sea between Jamaica and Cuba. On 15 September they reached Veracruz. After a stay of three days they continued their overland journey by way of Puebla to Mexico City. It was probably during this overland journey through Mexico that Kappus was infected with malaria characterized by recurring fever (tertiana) which for several years reduced his ability, especially in autumn, to participate actively in land explorations.

In Mexico City Kappus was informed that he was determined for work in Sonora in northwestern Mexico. Around the new year 1688 he left Mexico City together with two Czech brothers, Maximilian Amarell and Adam Gilg. They went north along the so-called Camino real – The Royal Road and passed the towns of Guadalajara, Compostela, Tepic, Mazatlán, and Culiacán. The expression El Camino real does not mean that this was a road better than others: it was nothing but a trodden path for horses across the plain. The expression El Camino real had a legal meaning, signifying that a person travelling on it was under the Spanish royal protection: any crime committed against such a person was to be punished by persons commissioned with royal authority. In February they reached the Pacific coast. From there they went northwards along the coast, at the foot of Sierra Madre, by way of Fuerte to Los Alamos. At Oposura, on the River Yaqui, Father Manuel Gonzales, at that time leader of Jesuitic missions in Sonora (padre visitador), told them which places were chosen for their work. Kappus had to go to Cucurpe, an Indian settlement in the upper region of San Miguel River.

The village Cucurpe was a settlement of Opatá Indians, the central tribe of Indians in Sonora. The Opatá Indians were intellectually more advanced than other Indian tribes, their neighbours. They knew how to produce earthenware pottery and weave carpets. Kappus worked all his life among the Opatá Indians. This tribe survived with its last members into the beginning of the 20th century. Kappus’ neighbouring missionary downstream San Miguel River was Adam Gilg, a Czech by birth, originally from the surroundings of Olomouc. He came to America together with Kappus. Gilg’s mission was called Santa Maria del Populo. It was inhabited by Seri Indians, the most primitive Indian tribe in this region.⁷ Gilg is a culturally very interesting person, but his life and work have remained so far basically unexplored.⁸ – North of Kappus’ Indian reservation of Cucurpe worked Eusebius Franciscus Kino, in his time a parson of central importance

⁶ On Kappus’ transatlantic voyage, cf. my study Part II, AN 20 (1987).

⁷ Seri Indians were also known to John Steinbeck who speaks about them in his book *The Log from the Sea of Cortez* (1941), in which he writes about his fishing and rambling voyages along the shores of the Bay of California (known also under the name Sea of Cortez).

⁸ I have met in my studies on Kappus again and again with the name of Gilg. Cf. in this connection my studies on Kappus, Parts I (p. 39), II. (p. 307), Part III, (p. 6).

in Sonora, whose time and work has been investigated by the leading American and Mexican scholars working in this field. Quite a number of them have been interested also in Kappus because of his connections with Kino. Kino was born in 1645 at Segno near Trent, in South Tyrol, on the Italian and German linguistic border. In 1665 he joined the Jesuit Order in Bavaria, and continued his studies at several Tyrolian and Bavarian universities. In 1678 he was selected for work in Mexico. He went to Cadiz and, after a prolonged wait there, he finally arrived in Veracruz in April 1681. In 1683 he joined the expedition led by don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, governor of Sinaloa in mainland Mexico, to the peninsula Baja California where they established several missions which, however, were soon relinquished because of the hostilities of neighbouring Indians. In 1686 Kino was assigned work in Sonora where he founded in 1687, the mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Here he was among the Pima Indians who inhabited the north-western area of Sonora, the region between the Gila River, the Bay of California, and in the east as far as the San Pedro River. Because of their warlike qualities the Pima Indians were courageous defenders of Sonora against the raids of the Apache Indians from their hinterlands in present-day Arizona.

Kino's mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores was at that time the northernmost point of the Spanish colonial empire in America. The areas of Arizona and Southern California in the present-day United States were then unexplored wastelands. Kino was an exceptional personality as a missionary and explorer. In the period 1694-1711 he carried out some 40 expeditions in northern Sonora and southern Arizona. He was fearless in his contacts with Indians and he knew how to keep on friendly terms with them. He usually went on his expeditions alone or in the company of Indians, leading up to sixty horses loaded with the necessities. He slept in the open, a cow hide spread on the ground, with a cow hide for his cover and a saddle for his pillow. He introduced cattle breeding among his Indians. Due to him Sonora became famous for its enormous herds of cattle. He founded numerous missions in northern Sonora and in southern Arizona. He explored above all the lower course of the River Gila down to its junction with the Colorado river. Following the lower course of the Colorado River he reached the Bay of California. In 1697 he created a new mission, San Xavier del Bac, on the Santa Cruz River. This led, three years later, to the foundation of the town of Tucson in present-day Arizona. Because of his achievements Kino is known in the USA as a pioneer of Arizona and his bust stands in the Hall of Fame in Washington, D.C.⁹

Kappus is in America known above all as friend and coworker of Kino. Because of his affliction with malaria, however, he was limited in his activities. Nevertheless he participated in 1694 in one of the most famous expeditions of Father Kino. They went from their missions Cucurpe and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores straight westwards across the most forbidding desert terrain overgrown with cactuses, to find in this way the shortest possible route to the Bay of California along which cattle could be driven. The meat of his cattle could afterwards be used as food in Baja California where people often suffered from famine because of the sterile ground of the peninsula. There exist

⁹ On Kino, cf. my studies on Kappus, Chart I. (AN. 13, 1986, 37 f; and Part VI. (AN 30, 1997: on the publication of Kino's map of Sonora.) See also other parts of my study. The most important American study on Father Kino is: Herbert Eugene Bolton: *Rim of Christendom. A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer*, New York 1936, The MacMillan Company.

statements that Kappus had written a report on this expedition, but these statements seem to be wrong: no such report by Kappus is really known.¹⁰

Kappus worked as a missionary at Cucurpe from 1689 until about 1697. During the last years of his life in Cucurpe, in 1694, a new organization of Jesuitic mission was created for northern Sonora, the rectorate Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The aim of these rectorates was to create closer links between individual missions in order to make their work and defense more effective. Usually they bound together some seven missions. The rectorates were led by rectors whose function was limited to three years. Kappus was elected the first rector of this rectorate which he led from Cucurpe and which remained also in these years his mission. During his rectorate a dangerous revolt by the Pima Indians broke out in 1695 which threatened to destroy the whole system of missions in northern Sonora. Kappus as rector successfully coordinated the Spanish defense. The revolt was finally suppressed by Spanish soldiers who came to aid the missionaries from their distant presidios in the Sierra Madre mountains.¹¹

6.

Around 1696 or 1697 Kappus moved from Cucurpe to Matapé. The Opata Indian settlement Matape is situated in southern Sonora, between the rivers Sonora and Yaqui, in the source region of Rio Matapé. The church of Matapé was considered one of the most beautiful and spacious churches in Sonora. The present name of the place is Pesqueira. The mission Matapé is usually designated a collegium. We do not know, however, what the name collegium in this context signifies. It is not an institution of higher learning: Sonora was at that time not adequately developed for such an institute. Nevertheless Matape was sufficiently important that it had two priests, one working for the church and one for the college. From Matapé Kappus wrote a letter to his brother in Slovenia, dated 20 June 1699, in which he described his living conditions there.¹²

Even if Kappus was with his transfer to Matapé more removed from Kino, he remained in contact with him through letters and occasional visits. Kino was in that time interested especially in the problem of the northern end of the Gulf of California. In the years 1699 to 1703 he made several expeditions to the Colorado River, also in the company of Adam Gilg. In 1701 Kino made a famous map of Sonora, known under the title *Paso por Tierra a la California y sus Confinantes Nuevas Naciones y Nuevas Misiones de la Comp de Jesus en la America Septentrional*, which he dedicated to Kappus and sent it to him. Kappus forwarded this map to Philippus Alberth, a member of the society of Jesus, whom he had known since 1679, when they both worked as teachers at the Jesuit College in Ljubljana. Through Alberth's mediation the map appeared in press in 1707 in the almanac *Nova Litteraria Germaniae Aliorumque Europae Regnorum Anni*

¹⁰ On this expedition by Kappus and Kino to the Bay of California in 1696, cf. my study on Kappus, Part I. (AN. 18. 1986, 40-41) Most important research in this problem is by Ernest J. Burgus: *Kino and Manje. Explorers of Sonora and Arizona. Their Vision of the Future. A Study of their Expeditions and Plans*. Jesuit Historical Institute, St. Louis, Rome 1971.

¹¹ About the revolt of the Pima Indians, cf. my studies, Part I, AN 18: 1986, 41 f.

¹² Cf. my study, Part IV, AN 22 (1989).

MDCCVII Collecta which was published by the publishing house Christian Liebezeit in Hamburg and Leipzig. In this way Kappus acted as an important intermediary to disseminate in Europe the knowledge of Kino's prominent geographic discovery that the Bay of California ends in the estuary of Rio Colorado, and that Baja California is a peninsula, and not an island, as it was believed till then.¹³

At Matape Kappus established good contact with Juan Maria de Salvatierra, originally from Milan in Italy, through his mother a relative of the family Sforza, the rulers of Milan. In 1697 Salvatierra founded the Loreto mission, the first permanent Spanish settlement in Baja California. Rocky Baja California, however, did not yield sufficient food to its inhabitants, so they frequently suffered from famine. Plans were therefore made by Salvatierra, Kino and Kappus how herds of cattle could be sent by way of the harbour Guaymas from Sonora to Baja California. After Salvatierra, Loreto soon became the religious and administrative capital of Baja California. It was from Loreto that less than a hundred years later the Franciscan Junipero Serra, and the governor of Baja California Gaspar de Portolá, started in 1769 an expedition to Alta California, in the present day United States, during which they founded the missions of San Diego, Los Angeles (originally called Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciuncula), and Monterey. Soon afterwards, in 1776, the mission of San Francisco de Assis was founded by Juan Bautista de Anzá, who led another expedition of Spanish settlers, this time from New Mexico. In this way Salvatierra, aided by Kino and Kappus, had with the foundation of the mission Loreto in Baja California, prepared the ground for the Spanish expansion into the Alta California in the present day USA, and the creation of the towns of San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

7.

In 1704 Kappus was sent temporarily as a missionary to Arrivechi, a small settlement of Opata Indians east of Matapé, on the banks of the Sahuaripa river (a tributary of the Yaqui River), and deep under the slopes of the Sierra Madre. At Matapé he was succeeded by Adam Gilg as Rector of the College. In the following year, 1705, Kappus was back at Matapé, this time as Vice-Rector of the College. Nevertheless he soon returned from Matapé to Arrivechi where he remained until his death.¹⁴

This was a period in which many of his friends with whom he had worked together in Sonora passed away. This was the time of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) waged primarily between Habsburg Germany, France and Spain. Because of this war Kappus discontinued his contacts with home in Slovenia. So in Slovenia the conviction spread that Kappus had died in Sonora around the year 1692, killed by Indian arrows.

In this time Kino continued with his explorations in northern Sonora. With advancing age, which he tried to disregard, his powers, however, slowly declined. In November 1706 he made his last expedition to the Bay of California. Here he climbed, together

¹³ Cf. my study, Part VI, AN 30 (1997).

¹⁴ About Juan Maria de Salvatierra, cf. my study Part VI, AN 30 (1997), cf. 45.

with his companions, Cerro de Santa Clara, west of Sonoita, where they slept overnight on the top of the mountain from which they had a view over the whole upper end of the Gulf. On 15 March 1711 Kino died at Magdalena, not far from his mission Dolores.

In 1710 Adam Gilg is last mentioned. He had come to Mexico together with Kappus, and together they travelled from Veracruz to Mexico City, and from there to Sonora. Gilg was a close coworker of Kappus during the stay of Kappus in Cucurpe and at Matape. The date and the place of death of Adam Gilg are not known.

Juan Maria de Salvatierra went in 1703 from Loreto in Baja California to Mexico City where he worked from 1704-1706 as Padre Provincial, the highest ranking representative of the Society of Jesus in Mexico. Later he returned to Baja California and Sonora. He died at Guadalajara in 1717.

Kappus, too, with his lifelong experience as missionary in Sonora, was in the last years of his life entrusted with new responsibilities. From 1707 till 1708 he was Rector of the Rectorate San Francisco Borja in southern Sonora, and from 1715 till his death he was charged with the highest position of the Jesuit Order in Sonora, that of Padre Visitador. Kappus died on 30 November 1717, at the age of 64. The place and the circumstances of his death are not known.

8.

The time in Arrivechi, the last phase in Kappus' life, is the least explored period of his activity in Mexico. From this time, however, a number of letters written by him are preserved in Mexican archives. We may therefore hope that future researches will supply important additional information useful for our investigations.

From this time, however, an important text written by Kappus is preserved which has a very interesting background.¹⁵ This is a publication in verse form and printed in 1708 in Ciudad Mexico at Kappus' own expense. No copy of it is now known to be preserved, and so the only information we have about it comes from bibliographical surveys. It is best known through its reference in the bibliography by Augustin and Aloys de Backer and Carlos Sommervogel *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus* which appeared in press in several editions during the second half of the 19th century. On the basis of this bibliography José Toribio Medina, a Chilean diplomat and amateur bibliographer, prepared a much more carefully worked out Mexican bibliography which he published in eight volumes in the years 1908-1911 in Santiago de Chile under the title *La imprenta en Mexico 1539-1821*. Kappus' text can be found in it in vol. III. under No. 2174.

Medina informs us that after much searching in Europe and America he could locate one copy only of his work, preserved in Biblioteca Palafoxiana, in Puebla in Mexico.

Biblioteca Palafoxiana was founded in 1646. It had early served as a depository of books confiscated from Jesuit missions after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Mexico in 1768. It is possible that the copy with Kappus' verse also came at that time to this library. Biblioteca Palafoxiana takes its name after Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1600-

¹⁵ Cf.: Janez Stanonik: Marcus Antonius Kappus: The First Slovenia-Born Poet in America, *Acta Neophilologica* 28 (1995), 59-68.

1659), originally a Franciscan monk, and from 1639 to 1653 bishop of Puebla. He is known as protector of natives from Spanish cruelty, and for his demand that the natives may be converted to Christianity only by way of persuasion, and not through force. On the basis of Medina's report I have endeavoured to obtain Kappus publication from this library for further reexamination but found, unfortunately, that it is lost here, too. In the best case it is only misplaced.

From the bibliographic references we can get the following data: Kappus' text was published under the title: *IHS / Enthusiasmus / Sive / solemnes ludi poetici / metris pro dvrante anno 1708 Chronographicis / svb Pyromachia depicti*. The text consists of 276 verses printed on four leaves, folio size. The book is thus a large, yet thin, publication. The pages are richly decorated with a typically baroque, typographic ornamentation. Each verse is printed as a chronogram, that is, as a text in which characters that denote at the same time Roman numerals, are printed in larger size. The text was printed in 1708 in Ciudad Mexico by the publishing house Franciscus Rodriguez Lupercio at the expense of Kappus himself. With this publication Kappus expressed his own loyalty, and the loyalty of other members of the Jesuitic Order in Mexico, to the new king of Spain, Philip V, a member of the Bourbon dynasty. The text was published in connection with huge festivities prepared in Mexico City to celebrate, with fire-works, the new ruler.

Kappus' text has thus an important historical background which must be here briefly outlined.

The 16th and 17th centuries were marked in Europe by a series of wars between France, which was ruled from 1589 till 1798 by the Bourbon dynasty, and the countries ruled by Habsburgs. France was almost completely encircled by the Habsburg-held territories: from Holland, across Germany (Holy Roman Empire), to northern Italy, and Spain. During the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) France, ruled by Luis XIII and Luis XIV, and led by Richelieu and Mazarin, sided with Sweden and Protestant northern Germany against Habsburgs and their allies, above all Bavaria. In this war Habsburgs and their allies were defeated.

In Spain, the Habsburg dynasty had ruled since 1496. Its last representative was Carlos II, a sickly person suffering from inherited illnesses. He died childless in 1700, 35 years old. During the last year of his reign he proposed Philip of Anjou as his successor on the Spanish throne. Philip of Anjou was the grandson of Maria Teresa, a sister of Carlos II and wife of Louis XIV. This selection was approved by the nobility of Castille. It was opposed, however, by the pro-Habsburg party which was led by Charles, the son of emperor Leopold. Charles became later known as German emperor Karl VI (1711-1740) and as father of the empress Maria Theresa (1740-1780). The pro-Habsburg party found support in Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and Portugal.

In this way the War for Spanish Succession (1701-1714) began. In Spain the pro-Habsburg party was decisively defeated in the battle of Almanza (25 April 1707). In the rest of Europe, however, the war continued with wavering successes till 1714. In this war Bavaria was allied with France and at war with Austria and the Habsburgs. The war ended with the victory of France when England, with change of its government, turned from an original support of Habsburgs to an ally of France. With the peace of Utrecht (1713) the Bourbon Philip V was recognized ruler of Spain and of its colonies. Even if Mexico was far from European scenes of this conflict, nevertheless those whose sym-

pathies were with the wrong side had to reckon after the war with consequences. This proved true for the Jesuitic Order in Mexico. To understand this we must reconsider the earlier history of this Order in Mexico.

The first Jesuits came to Mexico as missionaries in 1572. Here they worked first in towns with a Spanish population. In 1591, however, the missionary work among Indians was assigned to them in the area west of the line Zacatecas – El Paso.

Initially only born Spaniards were allowed to work in Spanish colonies as missionaries. Spain, however, was not able to provide a large enough number of missionaries for its enormous and rapidly growing colonial empire. An agreement was therefore reached between the Holy See and the Habsburg government which opened the missionary work in Spanish colonies also to persons coming from “any of the provinces of the House of Austria”. In this way many members of the Society of Jesus who worked as missionaries in Mexico at the time of the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession had come to Mexico from parts of Europe under the Habsburg rule (including Kappus). It was therefore not easy for them to retract from their pro-Habsburg allegiance.

Kino, on the other hand, with his ties with Bavaria, acted in agreement with the new Bavarian alliance with France. He expressed therefore quite early his support for the new Bourbon ruler of Spain. In 1702 he proposed that Alta California – that is California in the present day United States – should be called *Novae Philipinae*, after the Bourbon Philip V. In 1704 he dedicated his autobiography *Favores celestiales* to Philip V., and suggested the name New Philippines for the land of Pima Indians. In 1708 he wrote another dedication for *Favores celestiales*, addressing it again to Philip V. and in 1710 he did the same for the concluding part of his work.¹⁶

The celebrations in 1708 in Mexico City, for which Kappus had written his verses, took place one year after the battle of Almanza (25 April 1707) in which the definitive victory of the Bourbon party in Spain was won. It is possible that quite a number of persons took part in these celebrations who were not fully convinced supporters of the Bourbons but who wished to adapt themselves to the new situation. Among them we may reckon also Marcus Antonius Kappus with his verses.

Marcus Antonius Kappus died in 1717, and so he was spared from seeing the subsequent events in Mexico and in Europe. With a royal cedulla, dated 27 February 1767, the Order was banned from all Spanish territories, including Mexico. In 1768 its members were forced to leave Sonora and Baja California under humiliating circumstances.¹⁷ In 1762 the Jesuitic Order was also expelled from France, and in 1773 the Order was finally dissolved by Pope Clement XIV. In 1814, however, one year after the Battle of Nations at Leipzig (16 – 19 October, 1813), and one year before the final defeat of Napoleon in the battle of Waterloo (18 June 1815), the Order was reestablished by Pope Pius VII.

¹⁶ Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, New York, The MacMillan Comp. 1936, 462.

¹⁷ *Ducrué's Account of the Expulsion of the Jesuits from Lower California (1767-1769)*. An annotated English translation of Benno Ducrué's *Relatio expulsiōnis*, ed. by Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., St. Louis and Rome, 1947.

The final part of this study tries to give a brief survey of studies on Kappus written by Slovene scholars. Thus it covers such a part of these studies to which scholars working in America do not have easy access. For that reason the present study intentionally bypasses the corresponding American researches.

In Slovenia there was a continued interest in the life and work of Kappus. It began with his contemporaries and continued almost without interruption till the Second World War. There was however, no scholarly literature available in that time in Slovenia which could make more advanced research in this field possible. The main interest of Slovene prewar researchers in Slovene emigration was centred in the personality of Frederick Baraga who went to the United States in 1830 and worked there as a missionary in the region of Lake Superior. After the Second World War the first visible researcher in the life and work of Marcus Antonius Kappus was Stanley Žele. He was an American Slovene working in the central offices of Slovene National Benefit Society (Slovenska narodna podporna jednota), a liberal organization of American Slovenes with headquarters in Chicago. Žele could use for his studies the rich resources of the Newberry Library in Chicago. He published his studies dealing also with the life and work of Kappus in the Chicago Slovene newspaper *Prosveta (Enlightenment)*, 1963, Nos. 12-73. Žele's studies keep the standard followed by the paper which published them.

In the years 1986 to 1997 I published a series of seven studies on Kappus and his work in the review *Acta Neophilologica*, an organ of Slovene philologists interested in the literatures of Western Europe and America. The review is published by Ljubljana University. A bibliographical survey of these studies is given above in notes 5 and 16. The studies were conceived as a series of contributions to Kappus' researches, and not as a definitive work. I was interested in Kappus owing to my professorship of American literature at Ljubljana University. As such I was given two one-school year scholarships which I also used to collect American publications connected with Kappus (school year 1959/60 Ford Foundation, 1984/85 Fulbright fellowship). Kappus interested me as a Slovene who was culturally active in America already in the colonial period. In one of my studies (Part VII) I dealt with Kappus as a poet of Latin poetry, while the rest of my studies published each one letter by Kappus available in Ljubljana and specific problems in Kappus' biography, connected with the contents of these letters. In spite of the limited scope of these researches, a total sum of their results makes possible a broad survey of his life and work, such as it is summarized in the present study.

I have been fortunate that in America my studies have met with friendly attention. In Arizona, Professor Bernard L. Fontana, from Arizona State University at Tucson, reported on individual studies in the review *SMRC* (abbreviation for: Southwestern Mission Research Center) scholarly organ of Arizona State Museum at the University of Arizona in Tucson. In California, the University of California at Berkeley displayed these studies among the yearly acquisitions of this university and registered them in their pamphlet on *Christmas Exhibitions*. In Sonora, the paper *Unisono*, "organo de información y análisis de la comunidad universitaria" at the University of Sonora at Hermosillo, published in No. 70, dated 20 March 1991, my survey of the present state

of Kappus research. It appeared in 1987 in the review *Slovenia*. The Spanish translation was made by Victor Tapia.

Among the historical surveys of Slovene literature produced by American Slovenes, which refer also to the work of Kappus, we must mention also two anthologies, one published in Cleveland in 1977 whose authors are Edward Giles Gobetz and Adele Donchenko, and the second anthology published in 1982 in Ljubljana, whose author is Jerneja Petrič.¹⁸

Most recently in 1998, Tomaž Nabergoj, a researcher in Slovene National Museum in Ljubljana, published in *Acta Neophilologica* one more letter sent in 1690 by Kappus to Kino. In it Kappus gives a numerical report on people and animals living in that year at Cucurpe.¹⁹

With my present research I intend to conclude my Kappus researches. My advanced age demands this. I wish to thank my American friends for their friendly attention to my work. I hope that future researches by other scholars will finally lead to a full monograph on Kappus and his work. Through such researches I see a possible expression of friendly cultural ties connecting Slovenia with the United States and with Mexico.

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¹⁸ Giles Edward Gobetz & Adele Donchenko: *Anthology of Slovenian American Literature*, Willoughby Miils (Ohio), 1977: publ. by Slovenian Research Center of America, Inc. (236 pp). – Jerneja Petrič: *Naši na tujih tleh* (i.e.: Our People in Foreign Countries), Ljubljana 1982, Cankarjeva založba in Slovenska izseljenska matica (524pp).

¹⁹ Tomaž Nabergoj: A letter of Marcus Antonius Kappus to Eusebius Franciscus Kino (Sonora in 1690), *Acta Neophilologica* 31 (1998): 65-80.