

PIOTR NAWROT

Musical Sources in the Moxos Missions

The purpose of this overview is to introduce the collection of music kept in the Missionary Archives of Moxos, San Ignacio de Moxos, Bolivia. However, since music in the previous centuries circulated among missions and cities, it will be necessary to also refer to other repositories of historic music in Bolivia; particularly, to the collection of music in Chiquitos kept in Concepcion (ancient Jesuit reduction in Paraguay), collection of the Bolivian National Archives and Library in Sucre and a few more existing in the country.

Cataloging the musical fonts kept in San Ignacio de Moxos was preceded by six actions which usually are applied in these situations: a) location of the manuscripts scattered around the department of Beni (24 towns in Moxos, some of which difficult to access, where the old music was located and continued being played); b) founding of the archives and recollecting the scattered music in San Ignacio (a process that lasted more than two decades and is not fully completed)¹; c) making of the inventory of documents; d) preservation of the papers; e) reproduction in digital format of each document; and f) initial study (overview) of the collection.

Piotr NAWROT SVD – ks. prof. dr. hab. profesor w Zakładzie Teologii Pastoralnej i Prawa Kanonicznego Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, pracownik naukowy w departamencie muzykologii w Ministerstwie Kultury w Boliwii, Dyrektor Archiwum Misyjnego Indian Moxo w San Igancio de Moxos (Boliwia) oraz Indian Guarayo w Urubicha (Boliwia), e-mail: piotrnb@gmail.com

¹ In Trinidad there are still loose music sheets coming from the missions. Personally, I have seen more than 20. However, the person who has them does not want to surrender them into the collection kept in San Ignacio de Moxos.

It is necessary to point out that in the Jesuit Archive in La Paz, in San Calixto College, there is also music from the same collection of Moxos. Also, in this case, they are approximately 30 to 40 pages.

The foundation of the Musical Archive of Moxos was a gradual action. For the local church, in particular for several missionaries and catechists in the area, for the prelates and for the office of the Pastoral Ministry to Indigenous communities, the existence of these manuscripts, as well as the practice of historic music by the *capilla musical* existing there, they were well known. The first musicologist who learned about this collection was Samuel Claro². His study covered only a part – maybe no more than 20 per cent – of what the same collection is today. In 1991, the Apostolic Vicariate in Beni called all the musicians in the area into a gathering organized in their venue (Trinidad), and asked them to bring along copies of music used for their religious meetings. It was then when they became aware of the magnitude of the historic music circulating in the area. The Jesuit missionary, Enrique Jordá, located the most important and voluminous collections – that of Nemesio Guaji and that of Primitivo Guaji – which, in a good part, managed to transfer this music to San Ignacio. The archive was founded on the 30th of July, 2003, when Piotr Nawrot convinced the musicians the *Coro Musical* of San Ignacio de Moxos to donate the manuscripts they kept, in order to protect them from further deterioration, to be preserved and studied. The archive was appropriately equipped by a donation by the Embassy of the United States. To complete this process, a few years later the Monsignor Julio María Elías, auxiliary bishop in Trinidad, sent Toño Puerta, Raquel Maldonado and some other assistants to pick up the manuscripts in the entire area and gather them in San Ignacio de Moxos.

The investigation, purchase of some materials necessary to clean the manuscripts and their preservation, were assisted financially by Canada and it was part of the *Hispanic Baroque Project: Complexity in the first Atlantic Culture*, financed by The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and The University of Western Ontario.

The material gathered in this archive is a proof of the music that circulated in the Eastern area in Bolivia, called Moxos, in the time space covering the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries at the area (approximately 1680) until the present date. The music itself is of sacred character, with very few samples of secular music and it was used to enrich the religious services of the inhabitants in the area.

Bolivia has the largest collection of historic music existing in South America and one of the largest in the world. However, systemic studies of this repertoire are only two decades and half old. Access to the musical archive in Bolivia is free, although complex, since only a few collections have complete and reliable catalogs. However, there are corpuses with incomplete or inexistent cataloging. Mostly foreign historians and musicologists have participated in cataloging

² S. Claro: *La Música en las Misiones Jesuitas de Moxos*. in: “Revista Musical Chilena” 23 (1969) pp. 7–32.

of this music, but with narrow results. There is no policy from the State, which supports the creation of an inventory, and the further cataloging of the musical documentation the country possess.

Awareness of what Bolivia has in the field of music from previous centuries has grown considerably in the last two decades through the creation of the Festival of Renaissance and Baroque American Music “Missions de Chiquitos”, which mission is to study and divulgate historic music from the archives in Bolivia and America. In 2016, its eleventh version, the festival lasted 10 days and organized almost 140 concerts presenting 1040 national and international musicians who played American music of the past centuries. This festival is one of the most important cultural events in its field there is in the continent and in the world.

Historic music in Bolivia: repositories; cataloging fonts

The repositories of historic music in Bolivia may be grouped in three mayor fields:

- Cathedral fonts (plain song, polyphony, instrumental music);
- Conventual fonts (plain song, polyphony, instrumental music, printed music, etc.);
- Missionary fonts (broad influence from indigenous people).

Historic music in Bolivia is so voluminous and assorted that the greatest part of the music from the West could be taught from what there is in the country.

I. Cataloging the musical founts in Bolivia

Among the first descriptions of historic music in Bolivia there are the studies of the pillars of American musicology, Robert Stevenson and Samuel Claro. Although Stevenson³ does not provide a catalog of the music from ABNB, reports its existence. Samuel Claro left the first description of the musical collection of Moxos with a list of works; list that cannot be considered a catalog but a demonstration of what the Moxos archives comprehend⁴. Claro himself also spoke about the collection of music kept in the Archive of the Monastery

³ R. Stevenson: *The Music of Peru* (Washington, D.C., Pan American Union: Lima, Pacific Press, S.A.) 1959.

R. Stevenson: *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press) 1968.

⁴ S. Claro: *La Música en las Misiones Jesuitas de Moxos* (Santiago de Chile: Instituto de Investigaciones Musicales. Facultad de Ciencias y Artes Musicales) 1969.

of Santa Clara in Cochabamba⁵. His cataloging work of the Santa Clara archives is mentioned in his *Anthology of the Colonial Music in South America*⁶.

Waldemar Axel Roldán was the first one to publish the preliminary study entitled *Catalog of manuscripts of colonial music in the National Library of Bolivia*⁷. His study has guided several researches. In the year 2013 a new catalog was published from the same collection of music of the Bolivian National Archive and Library, entitled “Catalog of Manuscripts of Old Music” and prepared by Ronaldo Beltrán Sáenz. This inventory cannot be deemed reliable either.

The first cataloging of the musical collection of Chiquitos was made in 1979 by German musicologist Burckhardt Jungcurt. His work was uncompleted. In 2005, the group of Argentine researchers left in Concepción, the *Catalog of the Musical Archive of Chiquitos. Preliminary Version*⁸. The collection of music from the missions in Chiquitos is the largest repository of music of the former Jesuit reductions in America⁹. With it, the collection of Moxos has nearly 100 concordances of musical works¹⁰.

*Melos Damas Vocibus. Códices Cantorales Platenses*¹¹ is a catalog of the 34 choir books from the cathedral in La Plata (today Sucre), which are kept in the Archdiocesan Archive – Library, Monsignor Miguel de los Santos Taborga, Sucre. This collection of plain songs is the largest there is in Bolivia having music from this field. However, in Tarixá there are 18 choirbooks of plain songs from the Franciscan translation and in other convents and libraries from the friars there are singular books from the same tradition.

⁵ S. Claro: *Catálogo de Manuscritos Musicales existentes en el Monasterio de Santa Clara, Cochabamba*. MS. Cochabamba 1966 (unprinted works).

⁶ S. Claro: *Antología de la Música Colonial en América del Sur* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile) 1974.

⁷ W.A. Roldán: *Catálogo de manuscritos de música colonial de la Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia* (Regional Project of Cultural Heritage and Development PNUD/UNESCO) 1986.

⁸ B. Illari, L. Waisman: *Catálogo del Archivo Musical de Chiquitos*. With the collaboration from Gerardo V. Huseby, Marisa Restiffo, and others. Preliminary Version (2005).

⁹ Although the manuscript in Moxos has more than 7200 music sheets, the Chiquitos manuscript, with its 3100 pages, approximately, is the largest, since the collection in Moxos has many repetitions of the same work.

¹⁰ A catalog of the collections of music in Chiquitos and in Moxos was also built by W. Axel Roldán.

W.A. Roldán: *Catálogo de los manuscritos de música colonial de los archivos de San Ignacio y Concepción (Moxos y Chiquitos), in Bolivia*; in: *Revista del Instituto de Investigación Musicológica “Carlos Vega”* (November, 1990) pp. 225–478.

¹¹ C. Seoane, A. Eichmann, J. Parrado, C. Soliz, E. Alarcón, S. Sánchez: *Melos Damas Vocibus. Códices Cantorales Platenses*, vol. 1 y 2 (La Paz, Proinsa Industrias Gráficas SRL) 2000.

The catalogue of music composed by the most celebrated composer and chapel master who lived in Sucre during the XIX century, Pedro Ximénez de Abrill Tirado (1786-1856) was published by Carlos Seoane¹². This catalog is no longer complete because since the date of its publishing (2010) several other works which are not listed in the Seoane's catalog were located and they are kept in other archives in Sucre (ABNB¹³, ABAS¹⁴, archive of the University of San Xavier, in private possession). Also, recently we traced other folios that complement his symphonies (he composed 40), masses, chamber music, etc. José Manuel Izquierdo Koning, PhD from the University of Cambridge, made a new study of Pedro Ximénez' music in Sucre and yielded valuable notes that complement Seoane's catalog. However, due to new findings and information acquired in Sucre, also the complementation made by Izquierdo Koning cannot be considered as final.

In the Yungas area, department of La Paz, some manuscripts were preserved from the former Franciscan missions. Copies of this music date back to the last decades in the XIX century and the first two in the XX century. Although they come from the Franciscan reductions, there is music there that is also known in the Jesuit missions in Moxos. It is a small collection of music, mostly of sacred type. Although the collection still does not have a catalog, three Bolivian historians have published the report of the history of this music, its context and its contents¹⁵.

The catalog of handwritten music in Moxos has its complement in three more works which were part of the same study project in the archive of Moxos, namely: *Catalog of missionaries in Moxos (1668–1768)* drafted by Javier Matienzo, *Catalog of copyists of handwritten music*, by Ana Luisa Arce, *Initial catalog of doctrinal books* by Victor Rondón and an article entitled *The mission in Moxos (1767-1842). Some data about education, arts and music* by Roberto Tomichá. All these works cast light and are valuable instruments to appropriately understand the history of music in the Moxo missions.

¹² C. Seoane: *Catálogo Analítico de las Obras de la Colección de Pedro Ximénez de Abril Tirado del Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia* (Sucre: Fundación Cultural del Banco Central de Bolivia, Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia) 2010.

¹³ Seoane did not manage to see several manuscripts with music by Pedro Ximénez that today are in the archive's basement.

¹⁴ Archdiocesan Archive-Library Monsignor Miguel de los Santos Taborga, Sucre.

¹⁵ E. Fernández G., H.C. Boero, M. E. Soux: *Hallazgo y Contextualización Preliminar de un Archivo Misional Mosestén* (La Paz: C & C Impresiones) 2009.

II. Description of the Archive of Moxos¹⁶

The music repertoire gathered in the Missionary Archive of Moxos has been built upon four pillars: 1) music of San Ignacio de Moxos; 2) music of Trinidad, which was taken to San Lorenzo and copied for several smaller groups who detached from that community; 3) *villancicos* that were brought to Moxos after the expulsion of the Jesuits, but not later than 1850 and their place of origin seems to be one of the Andean cathedrals in Bolivia or Peru; and 4) music that came to be part of the collection, in a period of time that extends from the last decades of the XIX century until the end of the XX century. All the documents together add to more than seven thousand folios which most voluminous section is made up by the works of the time of the reductions. The oldest copies may still be from the time of the presence of the Jesuits; but they would be very scarce.

The *corpus* of *villancicos*, although mostly copied at the time post-reductions, seems to have some original copies from the XVIII century (See: Mx 5824; Mx 5825; Mx 5826). In this same group, *Enfermo está el amor enamorado* stands out (Mx 5815) which may be the oldest folio in the entire collection of Moxos: The type of paper, the calligraphy, old notation which still did not write bars, the text in Spanish, and other details even more, leads us to believe that the copy was brought up to the missions from some Andean cathedral in the area. From 1850 a permanent and uninterrupted work of the copyists is perceived and the most intense period of their works can be dated between the years 1890 and 1930, approximately. The most recent copies are from the year 2005.

1. Physical condition of the manuscript

Up to the present date, the musical collection of the Missionary Archive of Moxos¹⁷ has approximately 7200 folios. It is complemented by another collection, namely, 137 books or manuscripts of individual use having text and music – usually one voice, sometimes with the violin part – accompanying several ritual, liturgical and para-liturgical meetings, mainly in the space of time after the expulsion (XIX and XX centuries) until the present. The physical condition of the musical collections varies considerably from folio to folio. A great part of the collection is legible and does not show great complications in its reading. However, there also are folios that are so delicate that any physical contact puts its integrity to risk. There is another group of folios that were fragmented or illegible due to the weather and tropical humidity or due to negligence of the musicians and keepers.

¹⁶ The next two paragraphs are the true citation taken from the introduction to the study entitled: P. Nawrot: *Misiones de Moxos: Catálogos* (Santa Cruz: Fondo Editorial APAC) 20011 vol. 1 p. 16.

¹⁷ The name of the institution is: Archivo Misional de Moxos. This archive, however, has several fonts. When referring to the musical font, it is commonly called Musical Archive of Moxos.

2. The historical surrounding of the collection

The Jesuit missionaries used the music as an instrument of evangelization of the indigenous people. There was no mission without music. In each mission there was 30 to 40 professional musicians who learned music with the *maestro de capilla* each mission had. The latter were always natives and never missionaries. It is not denied the missionaries supervised the progress of the music school and some of them had musical knowledge (Schmid, Messner, Knogler and others), but none of them became a *maestro de capilla*, or played with the indigenous musicians during religious ceremonies¹⁸. In some mission villages, choirs and orchestras were larger. According to lists of musicians in Moxos kept in the archive of San Calixto in La Paz, during the second half of the XIX century only choirs, without counting orchestras, had 40 and more singers, among whom there were also women¹⁹. Music learning began very early – at six or seven years of age – and those accepted for this duty exercised it along their entire lives. Musicians who sang in the church belonged to the highest social class in the reductions and were exempt of other duties. At the missions, they also manufactured the musical instruments – which in the context of the Bolivian jungle this knowledge never faded; at least, violins and cellos were manufactured in some missions until nowadays.

The music collections grew gradually and their extension corresponds to the successive stages of formation of the mission towns. The music they comprise is purely of a functional nature: liturgical or religious. This repertoire belong to the liturgies observed in the missions: masses, vespers, community prayers, via crucis, adoration of the Blessed Sacrament and to the crib, catechesis, processions, scenic presentations, such as opera or cantatas, etc. Where there were religious ceremonies, there were also choirs, orchestras, musical instruments, music, posts of the *maestro de capilla* and that of the copyist. Music of profane nature is barely peripheral, not only in Moxos and Chiquitos but also in other music collections from the missions.

The creation of this repertoire started with the first entry of the missionaries in the area with the purpose to convert the indigenous people and lasted, without interruption whatsoever up to the present date, with several growth stages and of decadence of musical practice in the missions, but this music was never abandoned or replaced by others. Its *corpus* is made up by: a) music of a catechesis nature; b) music brought from Europe; c) music brought from

¹⁸ The documents of the time make multiple references to the missionaries-musicians who lived in the reservations, such as: Rodrigo Gómez (1575–1659), Louis Berger (1589–1639), Anton Sepp (1655–1733), Leonardo Valdivia (1683–1752), Martin Schmid (1694–1772), Johannes Joseph Messner (1703–1769), Julián Knogler (1717–1772), Florián Paucke (1719–1779) and others.

¹⁹ In the classical time of the missions (presence of Jesuits) mixed musical ensembles were not allowed.

cathedrals, convents and churches in America; and d) music composed at the missions: by the indigenous people and the missionaries.

3. Appropriation and perseverance²⁰

It is evident that the local people considered this music as their own and appropriated this repertoire, which helped its conservation, and they kept it despite the fact that the missionaries no longer lived among the indigenous people, and the solemn liturgies were no more than memories from the past. The facts that the indigenous people liked the new music, that the new music could be adjusted according to their affections, that the texts in some native languages were applied to such music and in its execution, sometimes, some native instruments were used, had to facilitate the process of appropriation. However, what was essential was the fact that the indigenous people understood it and mastered as their own, and felt this music came from God and had the power to guide their minds and the hearts of humans towards their Creator.

The new musical style introduced by the Jesuits and their successors was successfully learned and comprehensively appropriated by the indigenous communities; this is why the expulsion of the Order did not suppose the end of the organization form of the missionary peoples nor the culture, which sprout there from the time of the first evangelization. Until at least the 60s in the last century, Beni's jungle, with old peoples of the Jesuits and new communities founded in the XIX and XX centuries in places spread out the tropical forests, persevered the institutions of the *coro musical*, of musicians and copyists. The native people who left the reductions (Trinidad, San Ignacio, Loreto, etc.), took the violins with them and some music sheets, and in future decades, they systematically added new copies with masses, *villancicos*, devotional songs, litanies and the rest of the musical forms, thus keeping all the traditional institutions alive.

The return to the jungle did not mean the return to the old ways of making music and leaving the missionary musical style; on the contrary, it can be said that they stayed culturally bilingual. In the new towns founded, without priests or brothers, they imposed the missionary ways to the organization of the new community, with sacristan duties, *maestro de capilla*, musicians, copyists, abbesses, officials, councils, liturgy, distribution of labor and even the way of dressing. It is this order and life style of the community life that they considered their own life style (not imposed from outside) and the most appropriate for the new societies; even today they continue teaching it to their

²⁰ This paragraph corresponds to the publication in P. Nawrot: *Misiones de Moxos: Catálogos* (Santa Cruz: Fondo Editorial APAC) 2011 vol. 1 p. 14.

children and grandchildren and the protect it zealously and strongly from the destructive influence of the globalized society.

III. Treasures of the collection: Zipoli's operas and by other composers

There are several texts written by the missionaries and visitors to the Jesuit reductions who witness that there were also scenic presentations at the missions, especially operas. Sánchez Labrador assured that at the Guarani missions there was a presentation of an Italian opera composed by Zipoli. He said:

In some indigenous people churches they played an Italian opera at night, one of those composed for them the brother Zipoli, one of the best musicians who lived in Rome and was transferred, already a Jesuit, to the province of Paraguay²¹.

Julián Knogler in his *Relato sobre el país y la nación de los Chiquitos* stated:

Besides these means of supporting the Christian morals among the Indians and to encourage them to perfect themselves, we have others, for example, theatrical representations in days of major festivities, which offer a building history, interpreted by school students, whom we specially prepare for these spectacles. A little while ago, the history of conversion of a pagan was premiered, Eustaquio, who later on was canonized. We witnessed how he came to embrace Catholicism together with his children Agapito and Tehospito and his entire house: he was asked to become a Christian by Jesus Christ himself whose image appeared to him among the horns of a deer while hunting. The episode that history of the church narrates seemed particularly appropriate for the indigenous people who spend their lives hunting in the bushes. We did not have to prepare the decoration because bushes surround the reservation; we only had to lumber an area in order to locate the audience. The dialog language and that of the text of the songs was that of Chiquitos. The people in our town asked many times to repeat the show and told the missionary: "Let us see Eustaquio again so that we understand better the love of Jesus Christ, our father, and we repent from our ungratefulness with which we pay the benefits we receive from him". They wept also in their way during the show, which is, not shedding tears but gasping and sighing because rarely do they cry full of tears. In another occasion, we represented the story of San Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indigenous people,

²¹ J.S. Labrador: *El Paraguay Católico*; in : Vicente Gesualdo, *Historia de la Música en la Argentina 1536–1851* (Buenos Aires: BETA S.R.L., 1961) vo. 1 p. 53.

another case of a soul yearning blessedness. This how was a real melodrama. God inspired us the idea to compose it and thanks to Him it bore good fruit²².

At the Musical Archive of Chiquitos there are testimonies from at least three missionary operas entitled: *San Ignacio* (with text in Spanish and attributed to Zipoli), *San Xavier* (text in Chiquitos language), *El Justo y el Pastor* (incomplete; text in Chiquitos language). The first of the three, *San Ignacio*, has also its pair at the collection of Moxos, which – as it is usual in the concordances of musical works in the archives in Bolivia – has something different in its arrangement. The opera is a short instrumental *overture*, 10 *da capo* arias with their pertinent recitatives and one epilogue. However, the more detailed analysis of the manuscripts allows us suggesting this opera went through different moments in its creation. Its original version ended on scene 6 (short version or Moxos version), which with the passing of time it was elongated adding the rest of the scenes (long version or Chiquitos version). The material added comes from another opera still, which was found in Moxos, with its text in Latin and entitled *San Lorenzo*. Apparently, at the missions in Chiquitos, they took the opera *San Lorenzo*, they made the necessary adaptations in order to change the text from Latin, into the new one, in Spanish and thus they built the extension of the work. This way, *San Lorenzo* would be the fourth opera in the missionary archives in Bolivia. All of them – simple but sweet – correspond to the vision that few of us have about missionary music, which always had to be spiritual, without vanity or excesses. Such opinion turned out erroneous when the cataloging of the musical collection in Moxos led us to find musical works that demanded true virtuosity from the singers for an appropriate rendition of a composition. Such is the case of *Quis me ad te sponse separavit*, which corresponds to one of the arias in the opera *Dalisa: Priva del caro bene (1730)* by the German composer *Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783)*. In the archive, the copy does not bear the name of the composer and the authorship of *Quis me...* was discovered by the young Bolivian singer Angélica Monje. The opera *Dalisa* would be the fifth opera located in the missionary archives.

1. Composers

The Archive of Moxos has 1157 titles of musical works. Most of them are anonymous. However, musicological research has managed to establish the origin of several of these compositions.

In the collection, there are 12 compositions by Domenico Zipoli (1688–1726)²³. Eight out of them bear the name of the composer; another four have their

²² J. Knogler: *Relato sobre el país y la nación de los Chiquitos en las Indias Occidentales o América del Sud y las misiones en su territorio, redactado para un amigo*; in: W. Hoffmann: *Las misiones jesuíticas entre los Chiquitanos* (Buenos Aires: Fundación para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura) 1979 pp. 180–181.

pairs at the Musical Archive in Chiquitos. Thus, it was the Chiquitos manuscript that helped us to establish that said four compositions were by Zipoli.

From the collection of six masses by Giovanni Battista Bassani (1657–1716), *Acroama Missale*, in the archive of Moxos three of them were found. However, comparing these copies to those of Chiquitos – where the entire collection of six masses was saved – the occasion of these masses (religious festivity), as well as their constitutive parts of the *Ordinarium Missae*, was different among the missions.

By celebrated *maestro de capilla* in La Plata, Juan de Araujo (1646–1712), there are two works carrying his name: *Misa Araujo*, also called *Misa Araujo de Cuaresma* and one litany. Curiously, these compositions are not listed in the music catalogs of the ABNB in Sucre, where almost the entire work of the composer is.

Also the music of the celebrated composer of Bohemia, Jan Josef Ignác Bretner (1689–1742) arrived at the missions. His two motets, *Gloria et honore* and *Cantemus Domino*, were copied not only in the missions in Chiquitos but also in Moxos, where the last copy dates back to 1911.

From what had to be the voluminous *corpus* of instrumental music in the Moxos collection – today very little remains – there is only instrumental work by Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741). We quote this work here, since it clarifies well the indigenous musicians' disposition to the music arriving from the outside missions. In the Musical Archive of Moxos the work bears the following gloss: *AMMoxos Signatura 1084*. Its title: *Principal Concerto*. The copies of violin 1 and violin 2 were made by the most celebrated copyist in Moxos, Manuel Jesús Espiritu Mahe Noco Guaji and bear the date of 28 of January of 1919, while that of the *basso continuo* is from later in time²⁴ and by another handwriting of the copyist. None of the two scribes included in their facsimile the name of the composer of the work. The composition has three movements, *Allegro*, *Andantino*, [*Allegro*] and it is for violin 1, violin 2, and *bc*. The recent study managed to establish that it is by Antonio Vivaldi, *Concerto No. 6 in C Major: Il Piacere*, Op. 8, for violin solo, violin 1, violin 2, viola and *basso continuo*. The original has three movements: *Allegro* (in C major), *Largo e cantabile* (in E minor) and *Allegro* (in C major). The missionary arrangement of this concert merged the violin solo and violin 1 parts together, and removed the viola part²⁵.

²³ There are 17 compositions by Zipoli which were found in the musical archives in Bolivia; 16 of which in the missionary archives in Chiquitos and in Moxos and 1 in Sucre.

²⁴ From the manuscript three of the four numbers could be deciphered: 19?5. Possibly correspond to 1935 since other copies by the same author (Temo Castro) date from 1933.

²⁵ One of the most notorious characteristics of the missionary music is the absence of viola. According to inventories of instruments provided at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits from

The bars, originally assigned to violin solo and viola, the viola part were passed on to violin 2. Another change the original went under was the removal of the second movement (in E minor), substituted by an *Andantino* from some other sonata, whose authorship, until the present date could not be established. Such changes in the music of the missions were fairly frequent.

Other attribution established by the catalog of the anonymous compositions in Moxos are works by Johann Valentin Rathgeber (1682–1750), by Bartolomé Massa (1721–1796), by Martin Schmid (1694–1772) and by some other composers still.

2. Curiosities: native languages, jerure, macheteros

Among the greatest curiosities in this collection are musical works bearing a clear influence from the indigenous culture. The easiest way to perceive this phenomena is through the use of sacred texts in local tongues. In some cases, it will be a simple translation from the liturgical texts into the vernacular language. In other cases, the texts were composed at the missions. Thus, the collection has 94 works (among devotional songs and *villancicos*) with texts in Trinitaria language, from which 22 were classified as compositions from the time of the presence of the Jesuit missionaries in the missions. Two other compositions intersperse Latin and Trinitaria languages. Six more in this field have their texts in native tongues, but the linguistic family in the texts could not be established.

Although the narrations about the musical life in the Jesuit reservations speak about the coexistence of the autochthonous music and the new music – missionary music – nothing could ever be demonstrated until the discovery of the collection of Moxos. The introduction of the new music in the missions did not necessary suppress the old musical practices or completely changed the function of music in the life of the society nor destroyed the manufacture and use of musical instrument from their own tradition. In fact, in many parts of Bolivia the coexistence of these two musical practices can be perceived until today. Even more, traditional music from the peoples exercised an influence on the music brought by the missionaries and perhaps it found new routes to be included in ecclesiastic festivities. Such is the case of the *jerure*.

In our article *Polyphonic music from the Musical Archive of Moxos. Deliberations*²⁶, we have stated the following:

the missions (1767/8) in the missions there was this instrument. However, in the collections of Chiquitos and Moxos there are no music sheets including viola in the orchestra formation.

²⁶ Piotr Nawrot, *Polyphonic music from the Musical Archive of Moxos. Deliberations*. (Unpublished)

The particularity of this sector within the collection of Moxos is that it has more than thirty autochthonous dances (*jerures* and *macheteros*) written on staff. Few times the music of the native people was reproduced in musical writing; therefore, the testimonies of this archive are of a very singular significance and importance.

First, let us occupy ourselves with clarifying what is related to the *jerure*. *Jerure* (also *herure*) is a dance, which took its name from the instrument of the Pre-Hispanic times which was used for its execution. The instrument, which is a kind of a pan flute, or small bassoon, is manufactured from the leaves of the *куси* palm tree, with its mouthpiece from *tarara* trees. From the times of the reservations, more instruments were introduced in their execution, such as violins and flutes, and their main function is to accompany the processions that walk around the square during the celebration days.

Regarding the *chiriperono*, also called **the machete wielders** or *tontochis*, the following we have been able to establish. Among the Pre-Hispanic dances of the Moxos indigenous, the *chiriperono* was the most distinctive of this ethnic society. In the Moxos tongue, the word *chirípueru* is used to call a sword made from *chonta*. *Ono*, in the same tongue, is used to make a subject plural. The dancers participating in its performance bear a palm machete in their right hands. This caused the same dance, with time, was called just as the dance of the machete wielders, or simple, the *macheteros*. Sometimes, the dance is also called by the onomatopoeic name of *tontochis*, since it is played on the beating of the bass drum (*ton-ton*), and a deaf and permanent *chis* may be heard coming from the seeds rattles (called *paichachi*) that the dancers place on their ankles and they sound to the beat of their steps. It is preserved and practiced in several towns in Beni, in almost a primitive way, even until the present date. Despite its martial nature and clear evocations to the old warrior dances at the time of the reductions, the dance acquires a religious nature and is played in all the principal festivities of the Liturgical Year, especially in Christmas, Easter, Corpus Christi, Holy Trinity, and the Feast of the Patron Saint of the town. Almost until the end of the XIX century, Edward D. Mathews wrote the following about this dance:

The divine service was overly coarse: the Jesuits [sic] had adapted evidently to the practices of the natives. Two Indians danced in front of the altar facing the church gates, with the neck ornamented by macaw feathers tied in a circle, from which a toucan chest feathers appendix came down to the neck and ended with the tiger tail. They had some kind of rattles [sic] on their ankles and a large wooden machete on their right hand. They were called [sic] by the name of "macheteros" and I believe they pretended to represent the soldiers of the church fighting their enemies and defeating them. During mass the inside of the church showed a beautiful sight strike with the bright colors of the "tipoyos" from the indigenous women, dresses looms of quimon which fell on them as gracious

*folds to their feet. They had bear arms from their shoulders, and long and lustrous hair in two braids, tied at their ends with lively colored ribbons called “ariches”. The picturesque in the dresses singularly contrasted with the dark and somber in the temple. The singing was strident and nasal; but they all seemed to be in good faith and kept due composure*²⁷.

Nearly 10 percent of the entire Musical Archive of Moxos is made up by works with texts in native tongues, particularly in Trinitaria language, but there are also Moxos and Canichana languages. Although in some cathedral collections music with text in native tongues can be found, in the urban centers such congruence would be a singularity within the repertoire and not – as it is in the missionary collections, – a usual practice. It is also remarkable that in some texts of the passions, lamentations, *villancicos* or devotional songs, there are verbs or allegories borrowed from the local culture. This is the case, for example, of the Christmas *villancico Señora Doña María, AMMoxos*, Signatura 436, where the newly born Son of Mary is called Viracocha. This same *villancico* included also some typical expression from the area, such as the diminutives *coquito*, *burrito*, which are no more than the clear influence of the place over the musical repertoire of the area.

3. The catalog itself

At the time of starting the cataloging the musical collection of Moxos, the archive had a good inventory provided by the local workers of the archive, Francisco Limaica (the guide), Bartolo Vela and Pedro Macavapi (collaborators).

However, there was no sequence of pages and fragments that made up this background. This is why an acknowledgement of the pages had to be made first and group them in which what belonged to the same composition. After several adjustments, the final writing of the catalog was made up by the following fields:

- Signature
- Composer
- Title
- Musical form
- Sections
- Liturgical Year
 - Festivity (Christmas; Holy Week; Saint Peter, etc.)
 - Liturgical Action (Mass; Eves, Complete, etc.)
- Language
- Time

²⁷ E.D. Mathews: *Up the Amazon and Madeira Rivers through Bolivia and Peru* (London) 1879 pp. 61–62. Also quoted on: G.R. Moreno: *Catálogo de Mojos y Chiquitos* (La Paz: Librería Editorial Juventud) 1973 pp. 386–404.

- Jesuit
- Post-Jesuit
- Undefined
- Musical characteristics
 - Tonality / Modality
 - Meter
- Composing parts
 - Voices
 - Instruments
- Concordance
 - With the Musical Archive in Chiquitos
 - With other musical collections
- Page description
 - Part (voice or instruments)
 - Number of pages
 - Format
 - Origin
 - Inventory number
 - Copy date
 - Copyist name

4. Copyists catalog

Perhaps one of the most original characteristics of the collection of music in Moxos is the information about the copyists, dates and places of copy. Using this information, a comprehensive study of copy authors was made. The author of this catalogue, Ana Luisa Arce, managed to establish at least five stages in the history of the copyists in Moxos; a history that goes through time from approximately 1767/8 until 2005. Some of the copies have not been able to be classified appropriately in any of these times because they lack the features that allow listing them among the five fields. We detected three kinds of copyists: a) professional copyists; b) copyists of devotion; c) copyist interpreter. This catalog is of great help in order to understand the music disposition and that of the indigenous communities throughout three centuries towards missionary music, its role and importance in the identity of the indigenous people of Moxos.

IV. Conclusions

Bolivia has preserved the richest, most voluminous and varied collections of music in America. In the last two decades and half, musicologists, musicians and historians have studied several of these musical collections. However, only the musical collection kept in the Missionary Archive in Moxos in San Ignacio de Moxos has, up to the present date, a reliable inventory and catalog. The music

collection of the missions in Chiquitos has a truthful inventory; however, the catalog of this collection only has a preliminary version despite having passed almost three decades since the beginning of this work. Other musical collections have incomplete inventory and catalogs and not very reliable. Still, several musical collections do not have any of the reference that could guide researchers.

The repertoire kept in the musical archives in Bolivia is broad and its size starts collections of plain songs, going through almost all successive musical styles known around the Western world up to the present date.

The musical collection in Moxos is the second most important to study historic music from the former Jesuit reductions and the most recent of missionary nature. What is truly unique about Moxos is the fact that it includes more than 100 compositions, vocal with instrumental accompaniment and more than 40 instrumental works with direct influence on the indigenous surroundings, due to the inclusion of texts in local tongues and rhythms, melodies and autochthonous instruments.

Historic music in Bolivia in the last two decades experienced a process of vigorous recovery and restoration. Although never entirely forgotten, it came back with new energy to the liturgies and concert halls in the local, national and international communities. In several towns, it is precisely this music that dominates the basic and compulsory repertoire in the musical education at local schools.

Bibliography

- Claro S.: *Antología de la Música Colonial en América del Sur* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile) 1974.
- Claro S.: *Catálogo de Manuscritos Musicales existentes en el Monasterio de Santa Clara, Cochabamba*, MS. Cochabamba 1966 (unprinted works).
- Claro S.: *La Música en las Misiones Jesuitas de Moxos* (Santiago de Chile: Instituto de Investigaciones Musicales. Facultad de Ciencias y Artes Musicales) 1969.
- Claro S.: *La Música en las Misiones Jesuitas de Moxos*. in: "Revista Musical Chilena" 23 (1969) pp. 7–32.
- Fernández G.E.: Boero H.C., Soux M.E.: *Hallazgo y Contextualización Preliminar de un Archivo Misional Mosestén* (La Paz: C & C Impresiones) 2009.
- Illari B., Waisman L.: *Catálogo del Archivo Musical de Chiquitos*. With the collaboration from Gerardo V. Huseby, Marisa Restiffo, and others. Preliminary Version (2005).
- Knogler J.: *Relato sobre el país y la nación de los Chiquitos en las Indias Occidentales o América del Sur y las misiones en su territorio, redactado para un amigo*. in: Hoffmann W.: *Las misiones jesuíticas entre los Chiquitanos* (Buenos Aires: Fundación para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura) 1979 pp. 180–181.
- Labrador J.S.: *El Paraguay Católico*. in: Gesualdo V.: *Historia de la Música en la Argentina 1536-1851* vo. 1 (Buenos Aires: BETA S.R.L.) 1961.
- Mathews E.D.: *Up the Amazon and Madeira Rivers through Bolivia and Peru* (London) 1879.

- Moreno G.R.: *Catálogo de Mojos y Chiquitos* (La Paz: Librería Editorial Juventud) 1973.
- Nawrot P.: *Misiones de Moxos: Catálogos* (Santa Cruz: Fondo Editorial APAC, 2011) vol. 1.
- Nawrot P.: *Polyphonic music from the Musical Archive of Moxos. Deliberations*. (unpublished)
- Roldán W.A.: *Catálogo de los manuscritos de música colonial de los archivos de San Ignacio y Concepcion (Moxos y Chiquitos) in Bolivia*. in: "Revista del Instituto de Investigación Musicológica Carlos Vega" (November, 1990) pp. 225–478.
- Roldán W.A.: *Catálogo de manuscritos de música colonial de la Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia* (Regional Project of Cultural Heritage and Development PNUD/UNESCO) 1986.
- Seoane C., Eichmann A., Parrado J., Soliz C., Alarcón E., Sánchez S.: *Melos Damus Vocibus. Códices Cantorales Platenses*, vol. 1 y 2 (La Paz, Proinsa Industrias Gráficas SRL) 2000.
- Seoane C.: *Catálogo Analítico de las Obras de la Colección de Pedro Ximénez de Abril Tirado del Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia* (Sucre: Fundación Cultural del Banco Central de Bolivia, Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia) 2010.
- Stevenson R.: *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press) 1968.
- Stevenson R.: *The Music of Peru* (Washington, D.C., Pan American Union: Lima, Pacific Press, S.A.) 1959.

STRESZCZENIE

Źródła muzyczne z misji Moxos

Boliwia zachowała najbogatsze, największe zbiory i najbardziej zróżnicowane kolekcje muzyki dawnej w Ameryce. W ostatnich dwóch dekadach, muzykolodzy, muzycy oraz historycy studiowali wiele z nich. Jednak, jedynie kolekcja muzyki znajdująca się w Misyjnym Archiwum Moxos w San Ignacio de Moxos, doczekała się do tego czasu, wnikliwego inwentarza i katalogu. Kolekcja muzyki z misji Indian Chiquitos posiada wyczerpujący inwentarz; niemniej jednak, katalog owych zbiorów istnieje jedynie w swej próbnej wersji, mimo że minęły trzy dekady od momentu, kiedy rozpoczęto prace nad nim. Inne kolekcje muzyki posiadają jedynie szczątkowe inwentarze i katalogi i nie można na nich polegać. Więcej, kilka kolekcji muzycznych nie dysponuje żadnymi pomocami, które pomogłyby studiującemu w jego badaniach naukowych nad owymi zbiorami muzyki dawnej. Repertuar strzeżony w archiwach muzycznych w Boliwii jest szeroki i rozciąga się od zbiorów muzyki chorałowej, przemierzając przez niemal każdy następujący po sobie styl muzyki minionych wieków, jaki się wykształcił w kulturze Zachodu, aż po dziś dzień. Kolekcja muzyczna z Moxos jest drugim, co do ważności źródłem do studiów nad historią muzyki z misji, choć został on zgromadzony jedynie niedawno temu. To, co najbardziej unikalne w tej kolekcji, to fakt, że jest w niej ponad 100 kompozycji, wokalnych z akompaniamentem instrumentalnym oraz ponad 40 utworów instrumentalnych, gdzie dostrzec można bezpośredni wpływ świata Indian, przez włączenie w owe utwory tekstów w językach lokalnych, jak również przez zastosowanie w ich interpretacji rytmów, melodii oraz instrumentów autochtonicznych.

Słowa kluczowe: Moxos, misje jezuickie w Boliwii, jezuicki barok, barok misyjny, boliwijski barok.

SUMMARY

Musical Sources in the Moxos Missions

Bolivia has preserved the richest, most voluminous and varied collections of music in America. In the last two decades and half, musicologists, musicians and historians have studied several of these musical collections. However, only the musical collection kept in the Missionary

Archive in Moxos in San Ignacio de Moxos has, up to the present date, a reliable inventory and catalog. The music collection of the missions in Chiquitos has a truthful inventory; however, the catalog of this collection only has a preliminary version despite having passed almost three decades since the beginning of this work. Other musical collections have incomplete inventory and catalogs and not very reliable. Still, several musical collections do not have any of the reference that could guide researchers.

The repertoire kept in the musical archives in Bolivia is broad and it starts with collections of plain songs, going through almost all successive musical styles known around the Western world up to the present date.

The musical collection in Moxos is the second most important to study historic music and the most recent of missionary nature. What is truly unique about Moxos is the fact that it includes more than 100 compositions, vocal with instrumental accompaniment and more than 40 instrumental works with direct influence on the indigenous surroundings, due to the inclusion of texts in local tongues and rhythms, melodies and autochthonous instruments.

Keywords: Moxos, Jesuit missions in Bolivia, Jesuit baroque, Mission baroque, Bolivian baroque.