Jesuit Chroniclers and Historians of Colonial Spanish America: Sources for the Ethnomusicologist

Alfred E. Lemmon

How important a role did music play in early Jesuit institutions?[1] Answers vary. Because Ignatius of Loyola, who founded the Society of Jesus in 1540, dispensed with the daily chanting of the divine office in Choir,[2] some liturgists have concluded that neither he nor the early Jesuits were overly fond of music.[3] Nonetheless, music instruction did occupy a significant place in early Jesuit educational curricula—whether at Rome[4] or Madrid,[5] in India,[6] China,[7] the Philippines,[8] Brazil,[9] Mexico,[10] Colombia,[11] Chile,[12] Peru,[13] or Ecuador.[14] Robert Stevenson observed the successful employment of music by the Jesuits in their missions of Northwestern Mexico in his *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory*[15] and remarked on the Indians' ability long after 1767 to retain what musical knowledge the Jesuits had imparted (as more than one Argentinian and Bolivian document attests[16]).

[1] Miguel Querol Gavaldá, *Romances y letras a tres vozes (Siglo XVI)* (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1956), 10.

[2] William V. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1972), 44.

[3] C. J. McNaspy and Thomas D. Culley, "The Place of Art in the Old Society: A Preliminary Investigation," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, XL (1971), 213–245.

[4] Thomas D. Culley, *Jesuits and Music . . . A Study of the Musicians connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1970).

[5] *Relación de las fiestas que ha hecho el Colegio Imperial de la Compañía de Jesus de Madrid en la Canonización de San Ignacio de Loyola, y S. Francisco Xavier* (Madrid: 1622), 39r.

[6] McNaspy-Culley, "Preliminary," 241–244.

[7] Joseph Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of T. Pereira, S.J.* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1961), 185.

[8] Alfred E. Lemmon, "Pedro Murillo Velarde y la música filipina," *Heterofonía*, XIII (1980), 23–26.

[9] Serafim Leite, *Artes e ofícios dos Jesuitas no Brasil (1549–1760)* (Lisbon: Edições Brotéria, 1953) and "A Música nas primeiras Escolas do Brasil," *Brotéria*, XLIV (1947), 377–390.

[10] Lemmon, "Jesuits and Music in Mexico," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, XLVI (1977), 191–198.

[11] Lemmon, "Jesuits and Music in the 'Provincia del Nuevo Reino de Granada,'" *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, XLVIII (1979), 149–160.

[12] Walter Hanisch, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile (1593–1955)* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Francisco de Aguirre, 1974), 132–135.

[13] Víctor M. Barriga, "Los Músicos y Cantores de la Iglesia Mayor y la Compañía en 1611: Los Maestros de Capilla Nicolás de Tolentino y Juan Castelo—Acuerdos para tocar y cantar en diversos templos," *El Deber* (Arequipa), August 29, 1945, 3.

[14] Pedro de Mercado, *Historia de la Provincia del Nuevo Reino y Quito de la Compañía de Jesús* (Bogotá: 1957), III, 36–37.

[15] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 166–167.

[16] "Latin America, Music in," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, VIII, 479–483. Also consult: Alfred E. Lemmon, *Royal Music of the Moxos* (New Orleans: New Orleans Musica da Camera, 1987).

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Because he had already made a name in Italy, Domenico Zipoli (1688–1726) remains today the best known Jesuit missionary-musician in the New World. But his was no isolated talent among colonial Jesuit missionaries.[17] One of the more important early Jesuit missionaries in Mexico, Juan de Tovar (*ca.* 1543–*ca.* 1626) wrote a music treatise that was accepted for publication.[18] In alphabetical sequence, another 28 Jesuits with greater or lesser musical background served missions stretching from Baja California to Paraguay: Francisco Javier Alegre (1729–1788), Wolfgang Bayer (1722–1772), Luis Berger (1588–1639), Xavier Bischoff (1710–1768), Wenceslao Brayer, Melchor Cano, Francisco Javier Clavigero (1731–1787), Juan Bautista Colinucci (1569–1641), Pedro Comental (1595–1655), José Dadey (1574–1660), Martin Dobrizhoffer (1717–1791), Francisco Ellauri (1602–1665), Joseph Gumilla (*d* 1750), José de Hurtado (1578–1660), Jorge Krazer (1722–1793), Pedro Martínez (1533–1566), Juan Mesner (1703–1768), Pietro Nascimben (1703–1754), Francisco del Olmo (1709–1765), Florian Paucke (1719–1780), Ignacio Pfefferkorn (1644–1717), Martin Schmid (1694–1772), Anton Sepp (1655–1733), Nicolas Tamaral (1686–1734), Luis de Valdivia (1561–1642), Juan Vasseau (1584–1623), Francisco Javier Zephyris (1695–1769), and Bernardo Zurmillen.[19] At least a dozen German Jesuits enter the foregoing list. Indeed, Spaniards by no means dominate the catalog.[20]

The first permanent Jesuit missions in the Spanish Americas were established in Peru (1567) and Mexico (1572).[21] Next came missions in Río de la Plata (1585),[22] Quito (1586),[23] Cartagena de Indias (1589),[24] and Santiago de Chile (1593).[25] In all of these areas, music was the constant handmaiden of the Christian message.

Twentieth-century historian Rubén Vargas Ugarte has confirmed the importance of music as a Jesuit pedagogical tool in Peru. Music classes were usually held between 4:30 and 5:30 P.M. in Peruvian Jesuit schools. Litanies and catechism were sung.[26] Even the blind Peruvian Indians who belonged to the *Cofradía del Nombre de Jesús* excelled in villancicos, motets, the litany, and the *Salve Regina*. Many members of this *cofradía* had also mastered instruments, especially flutes and trumpets.[27] Juan Pérez de Bocanegra, well known for his *Ritual Formulario* of 1631, called upon Jesuit-trained Indians for artwork in the church at Andahuaylillas.[28] The mission of Juli supported not only an excellent choir, but also an orchestral ensemble that attracted the attention of the Conde de Lemos during his visit there in 1668.[29]

In his *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, 1590, José de Acosta (*ca.* 1539–1600) compared the musical and dance traditions of Mexican and Peruvian Indians. Writing in the late sixteenth century, he observed that in both viceroyalties a large number of dances perpetuated preconquest beliefs. He noted some dances showing Portuguese influence. Masked dances portraying the devil, and others that represented shepherds, laborers, fishermen, and hunters, were accompanied by drums and some form of wind instrument. In addition, various named dances were accompanied by songs cast in call-and-response format. Acosta also noted that native texts to music brought from Europe were not uncommon. But the choreography of Mexican dances was in his opinion without equal.[30] According to the *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* by Bernabé Cobo (1582–1657) each subdivision of the precon-

[17] Francisco Curt Lange, "O Caso Domenico Zipoli—Uma Retificação Histórica—A Sua Opera Omnia," *Barroco* (Belo Hurizonte), v (1973), 7–44.

[18] Ernest J. Burrus, "Two Lost Mexican Books of the Sixteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXVII (1957), 310–320.

[19] Lemmon, "Jesuits and Music and Dance in the Americas," *Encyclopedia of Jesuit History* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu). Those missionaries without birth and death dates are all from the Province of Peru.

[20] Bangert, *History*, 347–348.

[21] J. F. Broderick, "Jesuits," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 905.

[22] Hugo Storni, "Jesuitas Italianos en el Río de la Plata (Antigua Provincia del Paraguay, 1585–1768)," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, XLVIII (1979), 3.

[23] Mercado, *Historia*, III, 10.

[24] Daniel Restrepo, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia* (Bogotá: Imprenta del Corazón de Jesús, 1940), 13.

[25] Walter Hanisch, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile, (1593–1955)*, 1.

[26] *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en el Perú* (Burgos: 1963), 224.

[27] Francisco Mateos, ed., *Historia General de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Perú*, II (Madrid: Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, 1944), 35–37.

[28] Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Los Jesuitas del Perú y el Arte* (Lima: 1963), 75.

[29] Ibid., 114.

[30] The Hakluyt Society, First Series No. LXI, 444–447.

quest Inca empire had its own individual songs and dances. After the conquest, however, tribal groups performed not only their own songs and dances, but those of other tribes as well. He was able to count some forty dances in one small town.[31] The music for Inca ruling class dances differed from that heard at comonfolk dances.[32]

Guillermo Furlong-Cardiff of the Society of Jesus highlighted the relation of Jesuits and the arts in the Río de la Plata region.[33] No more knowledgeable witnesses than the German writers Martin Dobrizhoffer, Florian Paucke, and Anton Sepp testified to the musical accomplishments of the Indians under their charge. In magisterial detail, Dobrizhoffer described the entire life-cycle of the Abipones.[34] He noted that they were sufficiently skillful in the manual arts to reproduce any given item. Musical instruments were no exception.[35] He stressed the accuracy of their musical memory,[36] and outlined several native rituals in which music played an integral role. For one example: during early May, when certain stars were not visible, the Indians believed their ancestors to be near death. A *hechicera, maestra de ceremonias*, described by Dobrizhoffer, directed the May rituals. She jumped rapidly back and forth from her left foot to her right, remaining in place. Meanwhile terrifying music was sounded by trumpets and other military instruments.[37] For him, the music sung by women at funerals was doleful in the extreme. Two large drums sounded alternately while a *vieja hechicera*, who directed certain aspects of the funeral ceremonies, intoned a *canto fúnebre*.[38]

According to Florian Paucke, Indians at the missions served by him had mastered the violin, harp,[39] and organ.[40] Referring frequently to *meinen indianischer Virtuosen*,[41] he boasted that they could construct any musical instrument,[42] and he relished the *Tafelmusik* his students presented on certain feast days.[43]

Not all Jesuits arrived as well trained musically as they would have desired. Anton Sepp lamented not having taken fuller advantage of opportunities given him for musical study before he left Europe.[44] He mentions musical instruments purchased in Spain and, in particular, an organ acquired in the Netherlands for Buenos Aires.[45] However, he completely misapprehended Spanish Baroque notation for fast ternary music:

> Hasta el día de hoy los españoles —como lo he visto en Sevilla y Cádiz— no tiene ni corcheas ni fusas ni semifusas. Sus notas son todas blancas: las semibreves, las mínimas y las semimínimas que son parecidas a las notas cuadradas de la vieja música litúrgica; es una música antiquísima, como los libros viejos de los cuales los corregentes tienen cajones enteros en la provincia alemana, y que utilizaron para encuadernar nuevos autores.[46]

Dobrizhoffer, Paucke, and Sepp served in Paraguay. Their colleague in Chile, Bernardo Haverstadt (*ca.* 1708–1781), published a monumental study of the Araucanian language, *Chilidugu sive res* (Monasterii Westphaliae, 1777), that contains several hymn texts set to European melodies. The texts of hymns numbered 661 and 664 (*Duamtumn Vill pu che* and *Huera que che*) emphasize contrition, while number 673 (*Acui ta in Mapu*) was to be sung for the entry of Government and ecclesiastical authorities into Araucanian villages (see pp. 124–125 and 127 below).

The Colombian musicologist José Ignacio Perdomo Escobar[47] recorded the role of Jesuit José Dadey (1574–1660) in fomenting music in what is now modern-day Colombia.[48] Pedro de Mercado

[31] (Seville: Imp. de E. Rascó, 1893), IV, 230.

[32] Ibid., 231.

[33] *Los Jesuítas y la cultura rioplatense* (Montevideo: Urta y Curbelo, 1933) and *Músicos Argentinos durante la dominación hispánica* (Buenos Aires: Editorial "Huarpes," 1945).

[34] *Historia de los Abipones*, translation by Edmundo Wernicke, with bio-bibliographical essay by Guillermo Furlong-Cardiff (Resistencia, Chaco: Universidad Nacional del Nordeste, Facultad de Humanidades, 1967), 2 volumes.

[35] Ibid., I, 73.

[36] Ibid., I, 74.

[37] Ibid., I, 76.

[38] Ibid., I, 81, 280.

[39] Edited by Etta Becker-Donner and Gustav Otruba, *Zwettler-Codex 520 von P. Florian Poucke, S.J. Hin und her, hin süsse, und vergnügt, her bitter und betrübt*, II (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1966), 618–626.

[40] Ibid., II, 633.

[41] Ibid., II, 572.

[42] Ibid., II, 571.

[43] Ibid., II, 624.

[44] Edited by Werner Hoffmann, *Relación de Viaje a las misiones Jesuíticas*, I (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1971), 203.

[45] Ibid., I, 206.

[46] Ibid., I, 207–208.

[47] Robert Stevenson, "Monseñor José Ignacio Perdomo Escobar," *Inter-American Music Review*, III/1 (Fall, 1980), 117–118.

[48] *Historia de la Música en Colombia* (Bogotá: Editorial ABC, 1963), 24.

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CHILIDÚGU
SIVE
RES CHILENSES
VEL

Deſcriptio Status tum naturalis, tum civilis, cum moralis Regni populique Chilenſis, inſerta ſuis locis perfectæ ad Chilenſem Linguam Manuductioni,

DEO O.M.

MULTIS AC MIRIS MODIS
JUVANTE
opera, ſumptibus, periculisque
BERNARDI HAVESTADT
Agrippinenſis quondam Provinciæ Rheni Inferioris primum Horſtmariæ in Weſtphalia, deinde in Americæ Meridionalis RegnoChilenſi e Societate JESU Miſſionarii.

TOMUS I.

17 77.

Permiſſu Superiorum ac Rmi & Eximii D. Ordinarii Coloniensis Facultate ſpeciali.

Monaſterii Weſtphaliæ Typis Aſchendorfianis.

CHILIDÚGU
PARS TERTIA.
CATECHISMUS
IN
PROSA & VERSU.

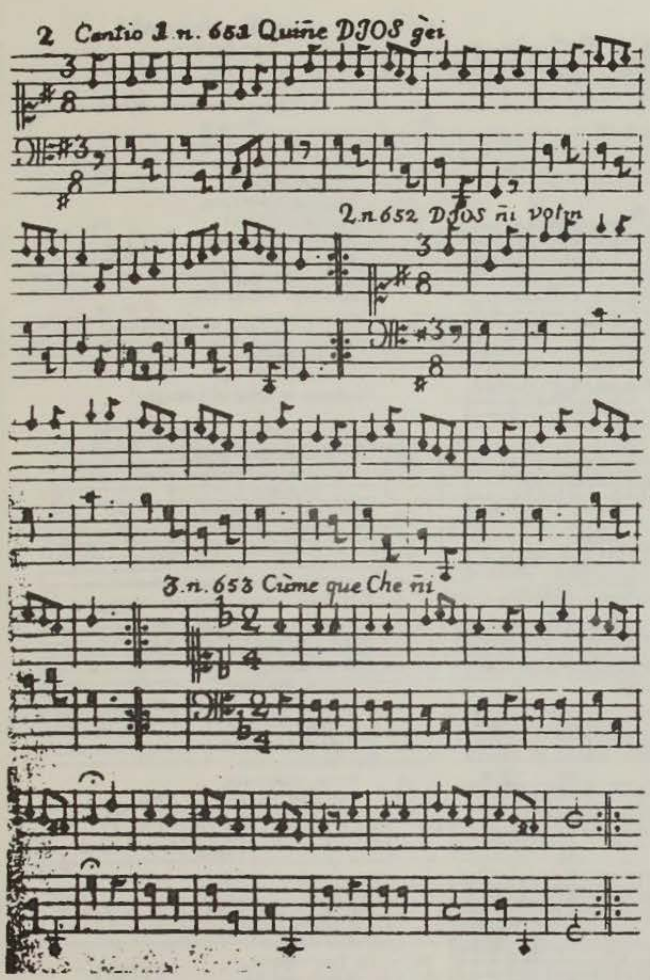
TOMUS II.

Monaſterii Weſtphaliæ Typis Aſchendorfianis.
1777.

1

CHILIDUGU
Pars ſexta:
Notæ Musicæ ad canendum in Clavichordio Cantiones Partis tertiæ à n. 650 usque ad n. 676.

S. TRINITAS unus DEUS M. n.
S. semper Virgo MARIA O. p. n.
S. Joseph Nutritius JESU O. p. n.
B. H. C. Modl. Hier. Strubel ſc.



651. (a) 2.
Quine Dios gei vill pepilvoe,
Vill mapu Toquiquelu cai:
Vill dgu ta vei quimvoe,
Vill mapu mo mlelu cai.

3.
Pillan, antù Dios gelai,
Talca, armco, cúyen no cai:
Dios ni elel, Dios ni vemel,
Vill che ni cùme mogeam tvei.

4.
Quinelu Dios, mai Dios Chao,
Dios ni votm Dios gei cai:
Dios gei cai Eſpiritu ſanto;
Huelu cúla Dios gelai.

652. (b) 5.
Dios ni Votm JESU Chriſto
Mupin Dios, mupin Che gei,
Virgen Maria ni pue mo
Chegetui inchin mo tvei.

6.
Ta Virgen ſanta Maria
San Joſeph egu pinombui,
Huelu Tva pelai ni anca;
Dios ni gracia mo conibui.

7.
JESU Chriſto Cruz meu lai
Ta ni anca, ni Chegen mai:
Ta ni pllù pepi lalai,
Ta ni Diosgen tvei no cai.

8.
Cùlan antú mo mogetulu
Pratulai Huenu mapu cam?
Avle mapu tva ramtupaialu
Vill pu Che ta ni huerilcan.

653. (c) 9.
Cúme que che ni anca lale,
Huenu mapu mo ni pllù prai:
Veimo vachi mapu able rume,
Moll antù mo tepeai.

10.
Huera que Che ni anca lale,
Ta ni pllù ktal mo pouai:
Cauchu rume veimo gúmale,
Vill antú mo ptegeai.

11.
Ta pu Che ni pllú egn
Cahuellu vemgelu laquelai:
Lale rume ta ni anca egn,
Afle mapu tva mogetuai.

(a) Canitur in Miſſa ad Credo. Sonus: Verbum ſupernum prodiens.
(b) Creator alme ſiderum: Ad Gloria.

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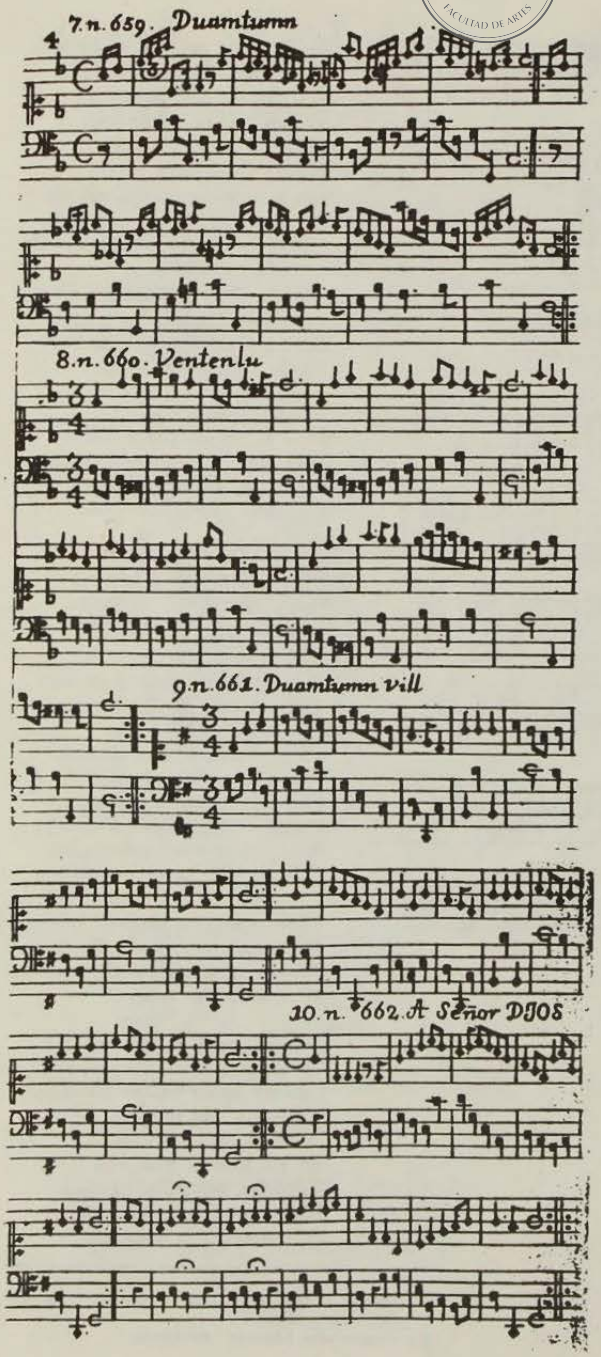

Varii Actus Charitatis.

Sonus Prussianus.

659. 1.

Sonus: Cur mundus militat.

1.

Duamtumn vill pu che
Dios ni cúmegen,
Dios ni aiùgen,
Ni venten vutagen,
Ni quine Diosgen!
Ni venten vutagen,
Dios ni aiùgen,
Dios ni cúmegen,
Duamtumn vill pu che.

Actus Contritionis.

Sonus: Joannes magna Lux Bohemiæ, Pragensis clara fax Ecclesiæ.

660. 1.

Ventenlu ta Dios ni cúmegen!

Ventenlu ta Dios ni Apogen!
Chumgelu mai inche
Vei vemgenobule,
Eapilan?
Deuma afcúduamquen,
Perdonaiaen piquen,
A ni Dios em!

Actus Charitatis & Contritionis.

Sonus militaris Austriacus: Eugeni &c.

661. 1.

Duamtumn Vill pu che
Dios ni cúmegen,
Dios ni temogen,
Ni venten Apogen,
Quine Diosgen!
Vill duamtubilu tvei,
Tva ta mn pibiel:
Veicu údequebin
Vill ta ni huerin
A ni Dios em!

Idem.

Sonus: O Anima par cado Spiritus.

662. 1.

A Senor Dios
Huenu vemvoe,
Ta Tue vemvoe,
Montulvoe!

Ta mi cùmegen,
Ta mi Vàtagen,
Ta mi Diosgen ni vla
Villchi dgu mo cacha
Iod aiñeimi!

2.

údequebin
Vill ta ni piuque mo,
Villchi huera dgu mo
Vill ta ni huerin:
Dios ema!
Chao ema!
Perdon nillaeiu:
Huerilcahuelaian
Une laian.

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11. n. 664. Huera que Che

12. n. 665. a. Ayùeimi

13. n. 665. b JESUS cad

Da capo.

Actus Contritionis & Attritionis.

Sonus Austriacus.

664. 1.

Huera que che ktal mo pouai;
Huenu mapu mo rume pralaiai;
Huelu ni huerin iod ńdequebin,
Huerilcalu ni Dios em ńllcńlcabin.

665.

Aiùeimi ta ſenor Dios :l:
Aldùn cùme geimi,
Aldùn aiùgeimi,
Aldùi mi Apogen,
Aldùi mi Temogen,
Ventengelu mi Quineluchi Diosgen.

Cantio R. P. Ludivici Baldivia de puero JESULO.

1.

JESUS pellebichi, pi ta ni duam,
JESUS pellebichi, deuma ni laam,
Chem mo cùpa peabun
Antù lumlumquelu;
Chem mo ta quintuabun
Cùyen purilelu;
Iod cùmei JEſus em ta ni pegeal:
JEſus pellebichi, pi ta ni duam,
JEſus pellebichi deuma ni laiam.

2.

Antù tipapeium
Inaquei ta pun;
Aflu ni alelpeium
Tipalu yepun;
JESUS quimpunlai,
Afnoalu ni alen.

3.

Caque che pebipe
Cùmei ta unelvoe,
Pillan quintubipe;
JEſus ta in Montulvoe
Vei duamtubin,
Iod ni alabam.

4.

Huagln pelongelu,
Ta raquivalnolu,
Doi Temogelu
Nutamtuvalnolu
JEſus mi alequen
In alelgeam.

Hualug ni cupaium
ùnm tepelquelu,
Raûńn ni tipaium
Cùme numuquelu;
Iod hualug, iod raûńn
Ta JEſus no cam?

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14.n.667. Aiùbige

15.n.668:

Mari mari

16.n.669. Santo Angel em

17.n.671. Cad Bùrenieve

Omni die dic Mariæ.

667. 1.
Aiùbige Dios ni Nuque
Villchi Chriſtianoche ;
Duamtubipe, quintubipe
Vill antù ta mi piuque.

2.
Venten cùme vachi Nuque
Inchin Bùreniemaeteu,
Huenu meu, Dios ni age meu
Ta in dugunmaeteu.

3.
Huerilcauyebulmi, mtmbige
Huerilcan mo tipaiam;
Dios meu, ta mi chao meu
Ca mita unotuam.

Quine duam ſan Cozę mo.

Sonus: Xaveri rumpe moras, ad Indias i.

668. 1.
Mari mari vill pieimu A ſan Joſeph!
Vill piuque mo mtmeimu : ſan Joſeph dugunmamoinca.

2.
Aldùn pepilqueimi,
Vill Dios mo dituqueimi :

3.
Dios ni Nuque ni Virgen Pinom
Pequelu in Huerilcaknon

4.
Cùme mogeam, cùme laiam
Vei mtn piquei ta in duam:

Ad ſanctum Angelum Cuſtodem.

Sonus: Defenſor noſter aſpice. ad Sanctus. ter.

669. 1.
Santo Angel em ni Quintunieteu!
Vill antù quintunmaiaen!
Vill ni mogen mo toquinmaiaen!
Ta ni pouam Dios ni mapu meu.

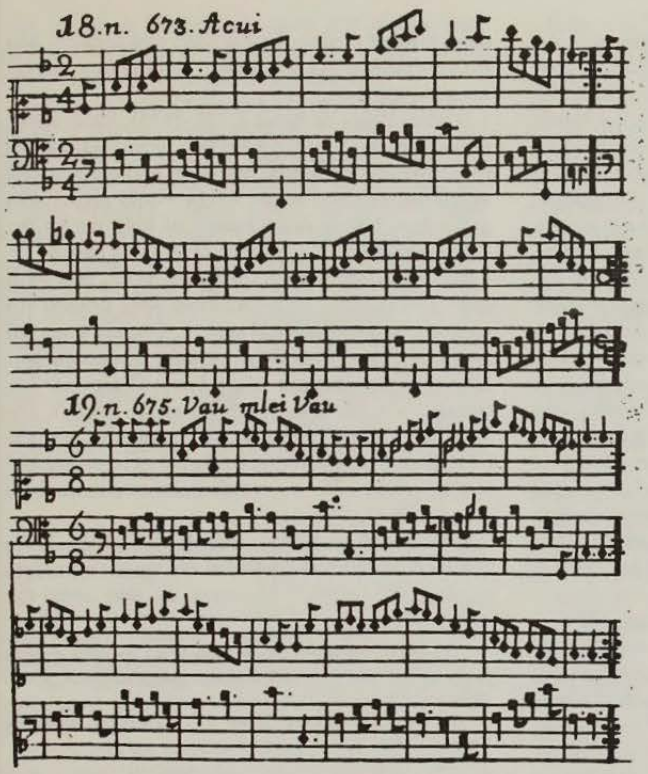
671.

Pie Jeſu Domine dona eis Requiem.

Ad memento def.

Sonus de S. Joanne Nepomuc.

1.
Cad Bùrenyeve ſenor JEſu Chriſto em!
Mu Cutanyeve inchin ta in Chao em!
Petu cutantulgei, petu hueralei
Ta in pulalu em!



Cantanda in Adventu Principis, Episcopi, R. P. Provincialis. &c.

673. 1.

Acui ta in Mapu mo
Vachi Reyno ni Apo (pu Patiru ni Apo)
Veimo tepequein,
Vill piuque mo piquein:
Viva, viva, viva
Ni Excellencia!
Ni Illustrissima!
Ni Reverencia!
Ni cupan mo túúúin
Doi mita pituin:
Viva, viva, viva
Ni Excellencia!
Ni Illustrissima!
Ni Reverencia!

2.

Cùme piuque niepei
Inchin ta in Chao tvei:
Veimo tepequein &c.

3.

Tva Camaricu em!
Cùme Chao cùme Apo em!
Aldùn tepequein,
Vill piuque mo piquein
Viva, viva, viva
Ni Excellencia!
Mi cupan mo tùûúin &c.

v.

Acui ta in ruca mo &c.

In Comitiis Generalibus seu
Hueupin.

675. 1.

Vau mlei, vau mlei pu Mapu Che,
Venten yavún Ulmen!
Mlei cai pu Huinca Che,
Quimgei ni Conagen:
Mlei senor Presidente,
Aldún vúta Apo no cam?
Pu Patiru mlei huente,
Anúlei ta ni duam.

2.

Veimo ado yavulumn
Ta in pu peni em!
Gele; cùme entumn
Vill ta mn duguquen:
Rey venten quintuquelu
Ta mn aldùn cùmelen,
Gecai aculquelu
Pùtùn, iquen, ptem.

3.

Vemgei vemgei deuma venteni,
Abi ta Hueupin;
Chumtn Rey ta venteni
Dios duamtubin!
Dios Rey ni Rey no cam ve?
Dios Re Apo mtn!
Gelai Rey, Dios elunobile
Gen, temn, mogequen.

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(1620–1701), in his *Historia de la Provincia del Nuevo Reino y Quito de la Compañía de Jesús*, contended that the best church musicians in the Quito region were the Indians of Caxicá, whom the Jesuits had introduced to European music.[49] Felipe Salvador Gilij (1721–1789) described native musical instruments[50] and such tribal dances as those of the Tamanacos, whose *bailes ordinarios* were accompanied by flute-music. In ordinary dances men, women, and children, each made a concentric circle.[51] In contrast, the dances performed for more solemn events created a "half-moon." Dressed the most elaborately of any in the half-moon, a member of the nobility served as leader of the latter type of dance. Gilij preferred the rhythmical aspect over the melodic.[52] According to him, the "more beautiful" merited the lengthiest descriptions.[53] Fellow writer Joseph Gumilla (*d* 1750) described dances for weddings[54] and funerals.[55] Among instruments that he commented on were a *tambor de guerra* audible for miles,[56] and clay trumpets used for funeral ceremonies.[57]

Missionary to Blacks Alonso de Sandoval (1576–1652), in his *De Instauranda Aethiopum Salute*, described the customs of Africans arriving in Cartagena de Indias. The *etiopes guineos* boasted a type of vihuela,[58] Blacks from *Zofala* (in Mozambique) marked their *musimos* or holidays with particularistic song and dance,[59] Blacks from *Abagamedi* divided into two antiphonal groups (one for men and another for women),[60] and *Negros Filipinos* sang genealogical songs.[61]

Jesuit missionary activity in the Province of New Spain began in Florida (1566–1572). Indians were there trained to sing the *doctrina* and litanies, and Pedro Martínez—a musician—was the first martyr of the mission.[62]

Andrés Pérez de Ribas (1576–1655), historian of missions in Northwestern Mexico, observed that before two *naciones* would engage in battle, the sound of a drum audible for one league would accompany a dance ending in drunkenness of both performer and spectator.[63] The Indians of Sinaloa carried effigies of God the Father, the Virgin Mary, and Jesus into their dances.[64] The Ahomes were praised for their exceptional musical ability.[65] Apart from his account of the *mitote del emperador Motezuma* performed by the students in the Jesuit *Colegio de San Gregorio* of Mexico City,[66] Pérez de Ribas's *Triunfos de Nuestra Santa Fe* (1645) contains approximately one hundred other references to music and dance,[67] and his less known *Crónica* an almost equal number.[68]

Like Pérez de Ribas, Joseph Och (1725–1773) commented upon the relation of dance to warfare among the Indians.[69] However, he also noted the

[49] Pedro de Mercado, *Historia*, I, 101.

[50] Translated and edited by Antonio Tovar, *Ensayo de historia americana*, II (Caracas: Fuentes para la historia colonial de Venezuela, 1965), 228–229.

[51] Ibid., II, 229–230.

[52] Ibid., II, 230–231.

[53] Ibid., II, 234.

[54] *El Orinoco Ilustrado* (Bogotá: Editorial ABC, 1955), 110–111.

[55] Ibid., 131–135, 138.

[56] Ibid., 296–298.

[57] Ibid., 131.

[58] (Bogotá: Biblioteca de la Presidencia de Colombia, 1956), 64.

[59] Ibid., 116.

[60] Ibid., 144.

[61] Ibid., 49.

[62] Juan Sánchez Baquero, *Fundación de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España, 1571–1580* (México: Editorial Patria, 1945), 167.

[63] *Triunfos de Nuestra Santa Fe*, I (México: Editorial LAYAC, 1944), 130.

[64] Ibid., I, 167.

[65] Ibid., I, 288; also consult I, 295–296.

[66] Stevenson, *Music*, 166 citing Pérez de Ribas, *Triunfos*, III, 326–327.

[67] I: 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 130, 155, 164, 167, 170, 171, 173, 176, 177, 181, 182, 183, 187, 202, 204, 224, 227, 231, 241, 244, 254, 263, 281, 283, 286, 288, 295, 296, 305, 306, 311, 339, 340, 341, 351, 352, 356, 367, 368, 373, 375. II: 24, 36, 84, 118, 122, 159, 161, 172, 177, 184, 191, 223, 224, 265, 267, 270. III: 19, 22, 29, 30, 43, 47, 51, 57, 80, 83, 115, 116, 121, 154, 156, 162, 215, 248, 261, 265, 278, 286, 294, 304, 309, 313, 318, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 330.

[68] *Crónica y historia religiosa de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de México en Nueva España* (México: Imprenta del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, 1896).

I: 30, 31, 34, 35, 50, 51, 102, 103, 110, 111, 124, 125, 128, 129, 136, 138, 139, 146, 147, 152, 180, 181, 182, 216, 217, 242, 243, 244, 245, 248, 249, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 265, 270, 297, 369, 370. II: 2, 3, 6, 7, 22, 23, 172, 173, 220, 221, 240, 241, 262, 263, 264, 265, 268, 269, 270, 271, 296, 297, 298, 299, 310, 311, 338, 339, 340, 341, 346, 347, 348, 349, 354, 355, 386, 387, 420, 424, 428, 429, 488, 489, 518, 519, 520, 528, 529, 562.

[69] Translated and edited by Theodore E. Treutlein, *The Travel Reports of Father Joseph Och, S.J.* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1965), 131.

role of music in ordinary daily life. Songs were recited after meals in a monotone, with each phrase being repeated twenty or thirty times.

Jesuits in Baja California left perhaps the richest trove of ethnomusicological data.[70] Between 1697 and 1767 Benno Ducrue,[71] Johann Jakob Baegert,[72] Sigismundo Taraval,[73] Francisco María Piccolo,[74] Miguel Venegas,[75] Ignacio María Napoli,[76] Miguel del Barco,[77] and Ignacio Tirsch[78] each recorded valuable information on the musical practices of the indigenes of Baja California. The German writer Jakob Baegert (1717–1772) mentioned that the *ambera didi* dance combined whispering and shouting, and that the *agenari* was characterized by gesticulation, jumping, and hopping.[79] Another missionary, Juan María de Salvatierra (1648–1717), counted some thirty distinct dances, and delighted the Indians by joining in one called the *nimbe*.[80]

Francisco Javier Alegre, a trained musician, wrote his *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia de Nueva España* at the request of the Provincial of the Mexican province. More than two-thirds of the work concerns the Indian customs and response to the missionaries' message.[81] He recounts the role of music in the missionary theater.[82] Later, as an exile in Italy, he wrote a theological treatise in which music figures prominently.[83] His advanced views on music reflect the liturgical and theological climate of Mexico,[84] not that of Italy.

In summary, this essay illustrates how many Jesuit writers provided valuable data for the history of music in Spanish America. Just as Alfred Métraux commented that "anthropology owes a debt of gratitude to the Jesuits,"[85] so do ethnomusicologists. While scholars such as Guillermo Furlong-Cardiff, Rubén Vargas Ugarte, and José Ignacio Perdomo Escobar, in their pioneering works, have signaled the importance of music in Jesuit establishments and, in particular, the value of Jesuit missionaries' writings, they have also issued a challenge to future scholars to index Jesuit writings, so that the wealth of information in them may be more widely utilized.

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[70] For an excellent summary see: Ernest J. Burrus, "Religious Chroniclers and Historians: A Summary with Annotated Bibliography," *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, XIII, 138–185.

[71] Burrus, *Ducrue's Account of the Expulsion of the Jesuits from Lower California 1767–1769* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1967).

[72] *Nachrichten von der amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien* (Mannheim: Churfürstl. Hof- und Academiebuchdruckerei, 1772).

[73] Translated and edited by Margarite Eyer Wilbur, *The Indian Uprisings in Lower California, 1734–1737* (Los Angeles: Quivira Society, 1931).

[74] Edited by Burrus, *Ynforme del estado de la nueva cristianidad de California* (Madrid: Porrua, 1962).

[75] *Noticias de la California y de su conquista temporal y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente sacada de la historia manuscrita formada en México, año de 1739* (México: Editorial LAYAC, 1944).

[76] James Robert Moriarty III and Benjamin F. Smith, *The Cora Indians of California* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970).

[77] Miguel León-Portilla, editor, *Historia Natural y Crónica de la Antigua California* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1973).

[78] Translation by Elsbeth Schulz-Bischof with narrative by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., *The Drawings of Ignacio Tirsch, S.J.* (Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1972).

[79] *Observations in Lower California*, tr. by M. M. Brandenburg and Carl L. Baumann (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), 89.

[80] Miguel Venegas, *Juan María de Salvatierra of the Company of Jesus, Missionary in the Province of New Spain* (Cleveland: A. H. Clark, 1929), Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, translator and editor, 66–67.

[81] Burrus, "Francisco Javier Alegre: Historian of the Province of New Spain," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, XXII (1953), 439–509.

[82] Edited by Ernest J. Burrus and Félix Zubillaga (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1956–1960).

I: viii, ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, 121, 130, 131, 164, 165, 197, 198, 220, 221, 222, 223, 274, 306, 307, 310, 397, 398, 407, 425, 426, 432, 433, 468, 469, 541, 550, 551, 552, 553. II: viii, ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, 1, 2, 19, 38, 40, 41, 46, 47, 51, 79, 80, 92, 93, 118, 119, 123, 128, 129, 134, 137, 151, 152, 160, 188, 189, 190, 258, 259, 294, 373, 434, 463, 464, 499, 530, 531, 532, 533, 546, 547, 560, 561, 562, 563, 565, 566. III: viii, ix, x, xi, xii, 23, 64, 129, 182, 183, 203, 240, 241, 242, 243, 251, 254, 255, 257, 261, 262, 321, 322, 329. IV: vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, 12, 13, 271, 273, 274, 314, 316.

[83] *Institutionum Theologicarum Libri XVIII* (Venice: Antonii Zattae et filiorum, 1787–1791).

[84] Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, "A Great Mexican Theologian: Francisco Javier Alegre (1727–1787)," *Mid-America*, XXV (1943), 139–151.

[85] "Jesuit Missions in South America," *Handbook of South American Indians*, V (1949), 645.