

FRAY JUAN BAUTISTA SANCHO

Tracing the Origins of California's First Composer and the Early Mission Style

PART I

By Craig H. Russell
California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo

As the storm clouds of revolutionary war were building on the East Coast of North America in the 1770s, another revolution was brewing in the west (albeit a more peaceful one)—for at the very moment when Jefferson, Madison, Washington and Adams were mapping out a plan for a newly conceived “United States of America,” the Franciscan friars Serra, Palou and Lasuén on the Pacific were simultaneously mapping out a plan to connect all of Alta California through a chain of missions that eventually would stretch from Mission San Diego in the south to Mission San Francisco Solano in the north. California was forever transformed—and there are few aspects where that radical transformation is more evident than in music.

At the focal point of the California mission music tradition stood Juan Bautista Sancho y Literes. Upon his arrival at Mission San Antonio de Padua in 1804, he established a magnificent choir and orchestra capable of mastering elaborate and complex compositions. More than any other individual, Sancho is responsible for bringing the “modern” sounds of Classicism to California’s shores. For no other friar do we have such an abundance of extant parts that were used by the neo-

phyte musicians in actual performance. Sancho also left behind stacks of separate sheets that provide invaluable clues as to the repertoire, styles, and sonorities of California mission music. They provide a specificity that is lacking in the generalized statements made by nineteenth-century visitors to the missions in their diaries and letters. Sancho’s habit of signing and dating manuscripts helps to establish the origins of certain works in the mission repertoire—and that information in turn sheds light on the cultural relationships between the missions and the mother country, Spain. His text writings reveal a real expertise and fascination with Native American music, a depth of knowledge made possible by his fluency in several indigenous languages. He composed, and rather well! His extant compositions—particularly the *Misa en sol*, now at Stanford—show as much or more sophistication and craftsmanship than anything coming out of Boston, New York or Philadelphia at the time. He was, in a sense, a sort of Colonial “Leonard Bernstein” or “Bela Bartok.”

Although Sancho’s role in California history is hard to overstate, it is only recently that he has begun to garner the attention that he deserves in the scholarly community. The pioneer of Califor-

nia music research, William John Summers, has authored a dozen groundbreaking articles on mission music emphasizing Sancho's contributions.¹

¹Some of the major contributions by William John Summers to the study of California mission music include: "America's Musical Past: Confronting the Beasts of Inertia and Ignorance," paper delivered at the 59th Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, November 4–7, 1993 in Montreal; "The *Misa Viscaina*: An 18th Century Musical Odyssey to Alta California," *California Mission Studies Association Newsletter*, vol. 15, no. 2 (1998): 1–7; "California Mission Music," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 3 (London: Macmillan, 1980), 622–23; "Distant Echoes of 1492: Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources of 18th-Century Polyphonic Music From California," paper delivered at the Nineteenth Annual Conference of the Sonneck Society, Asilomar [Pacific Grove], California, 12–16 February, 1993; "Eighteenth-Century Sacred Music for Soloists, Chorus and Orchestra in Spanish California: An Analysis of Recently Discovered Manuscript Sources," paper delivered at the International Conference of Latin-American Music of the Colonial and Early Independence Periods, Chicago, 25–26 June, 1993; "Fray Juan Bautista Sancho, Alta California's P reeminent Musician," Foundation for Iberian Music, Monograph Publication No. 1 (New York: Barry S. Brook Center for Music Research and Documentation Graduate Center of CUNY, in press); "Fray Juan Bautista Sancho: Alta California's P reeminent Musician," handout for a paper presented for the California Missions Studies Association, Tenth Annual Conference, Mission San Antonio de Padua, California, 12–14 February, 1993; "Letters to the Editor" in *Latin American Music Review*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1982): 130–35 (written in response to the article by Larry Warkentin, "The Rise and Fall of Indian Music in the California Missions" in vol. 2, no. 1 of *LAMR*); "The *Misa Viscaina*: An Eighteenth-Century Musical Odyssey to Alta California," in *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Memory of Robert J. Snow*, ed. by David Crawford and G. Grayson Wagstaff, Festschrift Series, No. 17 (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 127–41; "Music at the California Missions: Discussions of Selected Printed Music Books Used in Hispanic California, 1769–1836," *Soundings: The Collection of the University Library, Santa Barbara*, vol. 9 (June, 1977), 13–29; "New and Little Known Sources of Hispanic Music from California," *Inter-American Music Review*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Spring–Summer, 1991): 13–24; "Opera seria in Spanish California: an Introduction to a Newly-Identified Manuscript Source" in *Music in Performance and Society: Essays in Honor of Roland Jackson*, ed. by Malcolm Cole and John Koegel (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 269–90; "Opera Seria in Spanish California: an Introduction to a Newly-Identified Manuscript Source," paper delivered at Aston Magna Academy, Rutgers University, 1 July 1995; "Orígenes hispanos de la música misional de California," *Revista musical chilena*, nos. 149–150 (1980): 34–48; "Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources of Sacred Polyphonic Music from Spanish California," *Ars Musica Denver*, vol. 7, no. 1 (Fall, 1994): 13–30; "Recently

John Koegel has often led the way with his discoveries of "lost" or unknown sources and with some remarkable essays and monographs on the mission music in the Spanish and French New World.² Robert Stevenson, the foundation of

Recovered Manuscript Sources . . .," paper delivered at the international conference, *After Columbus: The Musical Journey*, San Luis Obispo, California, 21–23 May, 1992—a film of this lecture is available from the Music Department, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, CA, 93407; "Recently Recovered Mission Manuscript Sources . . .," paper delivered at the meeting of the International Musicological Society, Madrid, 1992; "Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources . . .," *Revista de musicología*, vol. 16, no. 5 (1993): 284–55; "Spanish Music in California 1769–1840: A Reassessment. Manuscript 912 in Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library," *Report of the Twelfth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Berkeley, 1977* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981); "The Spanish Origins of California Mission Music" in *Transplanted European Music Cultures: Miscellanea Musicologica*, Papers from the Third International Symposium of the International Musicological Society, Adelaide, 23–30 September, 1979, in *Studies in Musicology* (Adelaide, Australia), vol. 12: 109–26; "The Transmission of Plainsong to the Missions of Alta California: Manuscript 912 in Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library," paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Musicological Society, November 1975; and additionally there is the article jointly authored by Margaret Crouch, William John Summers, and Ms. Karen Lueck, "An Annotated Bibliography and Commentary Concerning Mission Music of Alta California from 1769 to 1834: In Honor of the American Bicentennial," *Current Musicology*, vol. 22 (1976): 88–99.

²For important contributions by John Koegel consult: "The Lummis Collection of Cylinder Recordings as a Source for Nineteenth-Century Hispanic Music in Southern California," paper delivered at the 15th Congress of the International Musicological Society, Madrid, 7 April 1992; "Mexican-American Music in Nineteenth-Century California: The Lummis Wax Cylinder Collection at the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles," *Revista de musicología*, vol. 16, no. 4 (1993): 280–95; "Órganos, Violines, Corinetos, y Tambores: Musical Instruments in Mission, Presidio, Pueblo and Rancho in Spanish and Mexican California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas," paper read at the annual meeting of the Sonneck Society for American Music, Pacific Grove, California, February 1993; "Spanish and French Mission Music in Colonial North America," *Journal of the Royal Music Association*, vol. 126 (2001): 1–53; "Spanish Mission Music from California: Past, Present, and Future Research," *American Music Research Journal (University of Colorado at Boulder)*, vol. 3 (1993): 78–111; "Sources of Hispanic Music of the Southwest (United States)," paper delivered at the 59th Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, November 4–7, 1993 in Montreal; "Village Musical Life along the Río Grande: Tomé, New Mexico since 1739," *Latin American Music Review*, vol. 18, no. 2 (1997): 173–251.

Latin American scholarship (including the American Southwest) has been a pillar of support, in spirit and deed.³ And the Mallorcan priest and researcher, Mosen Antoni Gili y Ferrer, has unearthed a wealth of biographical documents of the Sancho family in the parish archives of Sancho's hometown of Artà.⁴ To each I owe an enormous "thank you"—and a mere footnote is too small a gesture. In case after case, Bill and John have shared their best ideas and most recent discoveries, and for years they have served as a sounding board for my own hypotheses and research. In the case of Mosen Gili, he took me (a complete stranger) under his wing during my two research trips to Mallorca, hosted me as his personal house guest in Palma and Artà, and provided me with a

³ Robert Stevenson has been a constant source of information, advice, and support for me in the last twenty-five years. The following articles are essential for an understanding of California music. Those that are nominally about "Mexico" are nevertheless applicable to an understanding of the repertoire in question. See Robert M[urrell] Stevenson: "California Music 1806–1824: Russian Reportage," *Inter-American Music Review*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Spring–Summer, 1982): 59–64; "Ignacio de Jerusalén (1707–1769): Italian parvenu in eighteenth-century Mexico," *Inter-American Music Review*, vol. 16, no. 1 (Summer–Fall, 1997): 57–61; *Latin American Colonial Music Anthology* (Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1975); *Mexico City Cathedral Music, 1600–1750* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, [1964?]), rpnt of *The Americas*, vol. 21, no. 2 (October, 1964); *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968); *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952); "Music in Southern California: A Tale of Two Cities," *Inter-American Music Review*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Fall–Winter, 1988): 39–111; "La música en la Catedral de México: 1600–1750," *Revista musical chilena*, vol. 19, no. 92 (April–June, 1965): 11–31; and *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970).

⁴ Antoni Gili i Ferrer shared with me his unpublished information concerning Sancho's family tree; I owe him my deepest thanks. For two of his important publications that deal with Sancho, consult "Contribució a la historia musical de Mallorca (segles XIV–XVIII)," *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Liriana*, vol. 49 (1994): 97–104; and "Evangelitzadors Artanencs al Nou Món," *Acts of the Congrés International d'Estudis Històrics «Les Illes Balears i Amèrica»* Palma de Mallorca, Spain, January 1992, (Palma, 1992?), 135–40.

grand tour of Artà, showing me the sites and records that he had linked to Sancho and his life. Although the photographs of Mallorca in this article are mine, it was Mosen Gili who knew where to point me, and in effect "guided" my camera.

BIOGRAPHY OF JUAN BAUTISTA SANCHO I LITERES

Family History and Life in Artà

For centuries, the Sancho family flourished on their family ranch and fertile lands of "Sos Sanchos" adjacent to the charming Spanish village Artà in Mallorca. One gets a spectacular view of Sos Sanchos, gazing north from the castle-like church of Sant Salvador that is perched atop the high hill upon which Artà is built (see photo A). The stone parish church of Artà (the *Eglesia parroquial de Artà*) is a sturdy yet inviting building, tucked into the fold of the hill immediately below Sant Salvador (see photo B). One who enters the church today can see the baptismal font of 1672 where one hundred years later Juan Sancho was initiated into the faith. Looking down the hill to the southwest, the beautiful Convent Franciscà de Sant Antoni de Pàdua can be seen, and it was there, according to Mosen Gili, that Juan Bautista Sancho almost certainly received his grammar school education (see photo C).

The parish archive in Artà makes possible the reconstruction of Juan Sancho's family tree; Antoni Gili has traced his lineage back at least five generations (please consult Figure 1). The marriage records in the parish of Artà tell us that Juan's parents, Pere Josep Sanxo i Nicolau and Margarida Lliteres Llinas, were married in Artà on September 28, 1768 (see photo D).⁵ Four years after

⁵ Marriage registration of Pere Josep Sanxo i Nicolau & Margarida Lliteres Llinas: "Pera Joseph Sancho, fadri, Margalida Lliteras V^a, A 28 7^{bre} – 68 . . . [on the 28th of September, 1668 . . .]," *Església parroquial de Artà, Matrimonis, 1755–1837*, fol. 23, no. 20. Note: alternate spellings in some documents include *Pera* for *Pere*, *Margarita* for *Margalida* or *Margarida*, and *Sanxo* for *Sancho*.

Family Tree for Joan Baptista Sanxo i Lliteres, O.F.M.*

*Based on newly uncovered documentation by
Mosen Antoni Gili y Ferrer

their marriage, Margarida gave birth to a son, Joan Baptista Sancho i Lliteres who was baptized in the Artà parish church on December 1, 1772 (see photo E).⁶ Later in life, as Sancho moved from Mallorca to the wider Spanish world, he used the Castilian equivalent of his name, “Juan Bautista Sancho y Literes” and it is in this form that we recognize him in California documents. Sancho’s baptismal registration clarifies the contradictory and erroneous statements in the literature concerning Sancho’s birth date: Hubert H. Bancroft mistakenly places the date a month later on January 1, 1773, and Maynard Geiger muddies the issue further by stating Sancho was born in 1791—an impossibility for that would mean that Sancho would have been six years old when he took his vows as a Franciscan in 1797, and would have been a mere thirteen-year-old in 1804 upon his arrival in California as a missionary.⁷ In another publication, however, Geiger gives the correct date of December 1, 1772, as does Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt in his book on Mission San Antonio.⁸

⁶Baptismal registration of Joan Baptista Sancho: “Joan Baptista Sancho de Pera, A 1 10^{bre} – 72, baptisi un fill de Pera Sancho y Margarita Lliteras y conj^a lo n^o Joan Baptis/ta, nat dit dia a mitg dia, P^r Llorens Sancho Fadri y Joana Anna Lliteras D^a toti ett / Simo Sureda P^r Vú en Artà (Joan Baptista Sancho, son of Pera: on the 1st of December, 1772, I baptized a son of Pera Sancho and Margarita Lliteras whom they named Joan Baptista, born on this day at noon. Godparents: Llorens Sancho Fadri and Joana Anna Lliteras, etc. / [signed by] Simo Sureda, Padre Vu in the town of Artà.)” Eglesia parroquial de Artà, *Bautismos*, 1764–1796, fol. 48, no. 117.

⁷Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco: The History Co., 1884–1890), 2: 621, fn 17; Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., “Documents: Reply of Mission San Antonio to the Questionnaire of the Spanish Government in 1812 Concerning the Native Culture of the Indians,” *The Americas*, vol. 10, no. 2 (October, 1953): 211.

⁸Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California 1769–1848: A Biographical Dictionary* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1969), 223; Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Mission San Antonio de Padua: The Mission in the Sierras*, (Ramona, California: Ballena Press, 1972), 109. Of course, Antoni Gili has the correct information since it is his research that has uncovered the baptismal certificate in Artà. See Gili i Ferrer, “Evangelitzadors Artanencs,” 139.

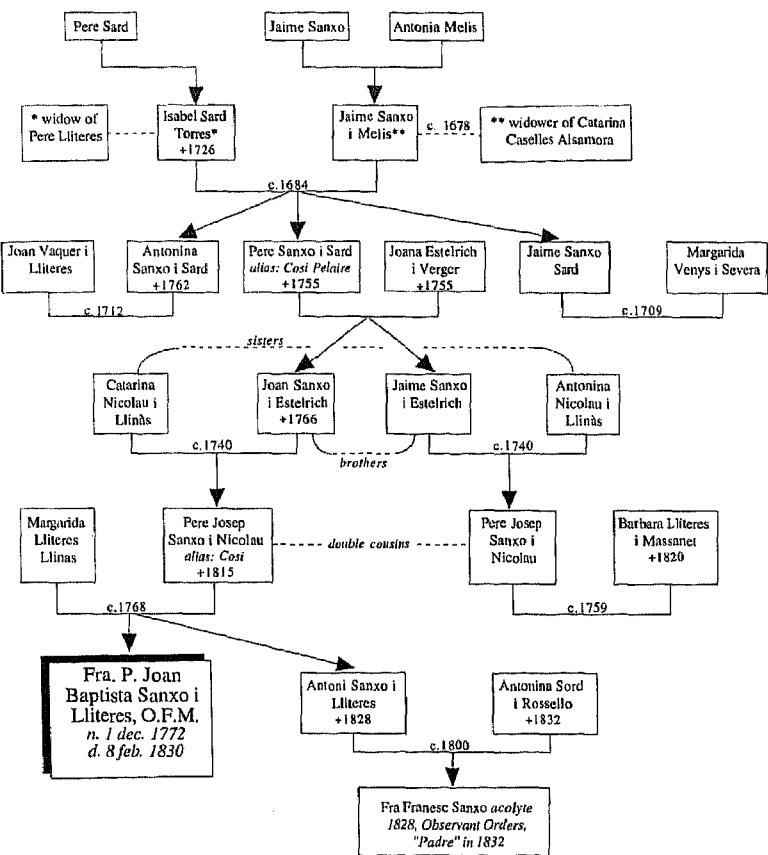
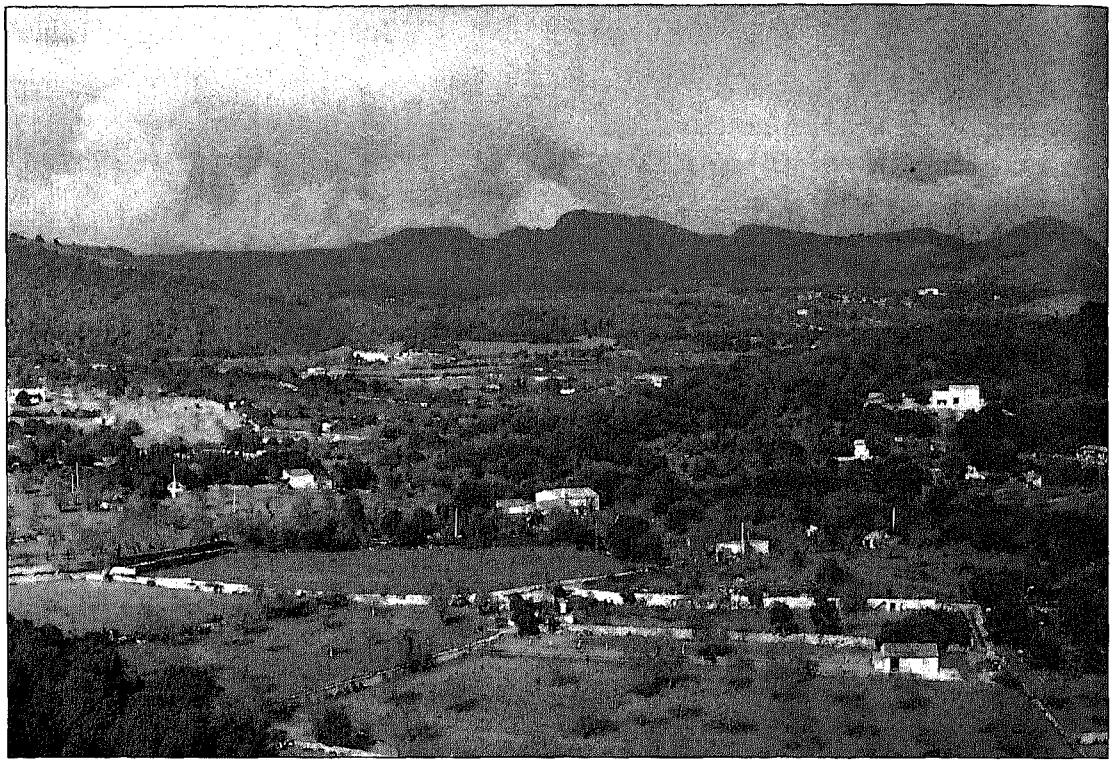


Figure 1: Family Tree for Joan Baptista Sanxo i Lliteres, O.F.M.

Just as the Bach family spanned several generations of accomplished musicians in northern Germany, so the Sancho family seems to have engendered many professional musicians in Mallorca, beginning in the Renaissance and continuing to the present day. One of the first names in this distinguished line is Esteve Sanxo, a prominent organist in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁹ In the early 1700s, a “Pere Sanxo” appears in records for the Royal Palace

⁹Gran Encyclopédia de Mallorca, vol. 16, ed. by Pere A. Serra Bauzá, Consell Insular de Mallorca i Banca March (Palma de Mallorca: Promomallorca, 1991), 14.



*Photo A (above): Sos Sanchos.
Photo B (left): Esglesia parroquial de Artà.
Photos by author.*





*Photo C: Convent Franciscà de Sant Antoni de Pàdua, Artà.
Photo by author.*

(Palau Reial) as a musician who was paid 10 *lliures*, both in 1736 and again in 1737, for serving in the Music Chapel of the Confraternity of Saint Cecilia in the Royal Palace.¹⁰ One might wonder if this “Pere Sanxo” is the same “Pere Sanxo i Sard” whom Mosen Gili identifies as the great-grandfather of our California missionary, Juan Bautista Sancho. The dates certainly match, for the employment dates at the Palau Reial of 1736 and 1737 would be reasonable for a person who was born sometime after 1684 (which is the year that Pere Sanxo i Sard’s parents were married), and who died in 1755.

Four other distinguished musicians with the last name “Sancho” surface in payment records in Palma during Juan Sancho’s lifetime. Antoni Sancho Sacrer was on the musician’s roster in 1776 and 1781.¹¹ Jaume Sancho Melis was born in Artà

(as was Juan Bautista Sancho) in 1743 and was arguably the most important musician in the entire kingdom in the last decade of the eighteenth century.¹² Acclaimed as a violinist, professor of music,

¹⁰“4-IV-1736, Pere Sanxo, receptor de la capella de la Confraría de Santa Cecilia, fundada en el Palau Reial, rep 10 lliures” and “1737, Pere Sanxo, receptor de la Música Vella, olim de la seu, rep 10 lliures.” Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca, Document C-1588. Cited in Gili i Ferrer, “Contribució a la història musical de Mallorca,” 103.

¹¹“Antoni Sancho Sacrer, firm de Orde y en presencia del P. Jaume Frontera, capellar de S^r Antoni 1776.” “Lo abax firmal [firmat?] Fr. Fran^{ch} Ferrer P^{dor} del S^r Syndich del R.I. Conv^t de S^r Fran^{ch} deu se com el dit S^r Syndich ha rebut de los sobreposats de ditas confrarias j mans De ses Pre^{dors} Antoni Sanxo y Juan Montaner

y Canellas, cent trenta nou lliuras de nou sous y 10 d^t q la mesa-
da de vail [?] del als 30 Abril 1781. 139 L 19 P. 10. Fr. Franch Ferrer.” Both citations found in the Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca (ARM), “Llibre de recibos del Sr. Sindich Sachristia y Musicos comensant 1737 fins 1781,” book C-1015, fol. 181v & fol. 190v.

¹²Gran Encyclopédia, 15 (gives the birth year as 1743). Joan Parets i Serra, et al, in their *Diccionari* give the birth year as 1742. See Joan Parets i Serra, Pere Esterlich i Massuti, i Biel Massot i Muntaner, *Diccionari de compositors mallorquins (segles XV-XIX)*, Centre de Recerca i Documentació Històrico-Musical de Mallorca (Palma de Mallorca: Conselleria d’Educació i Cultura, Govern Balear, Edicions Cort, 1987), 11.

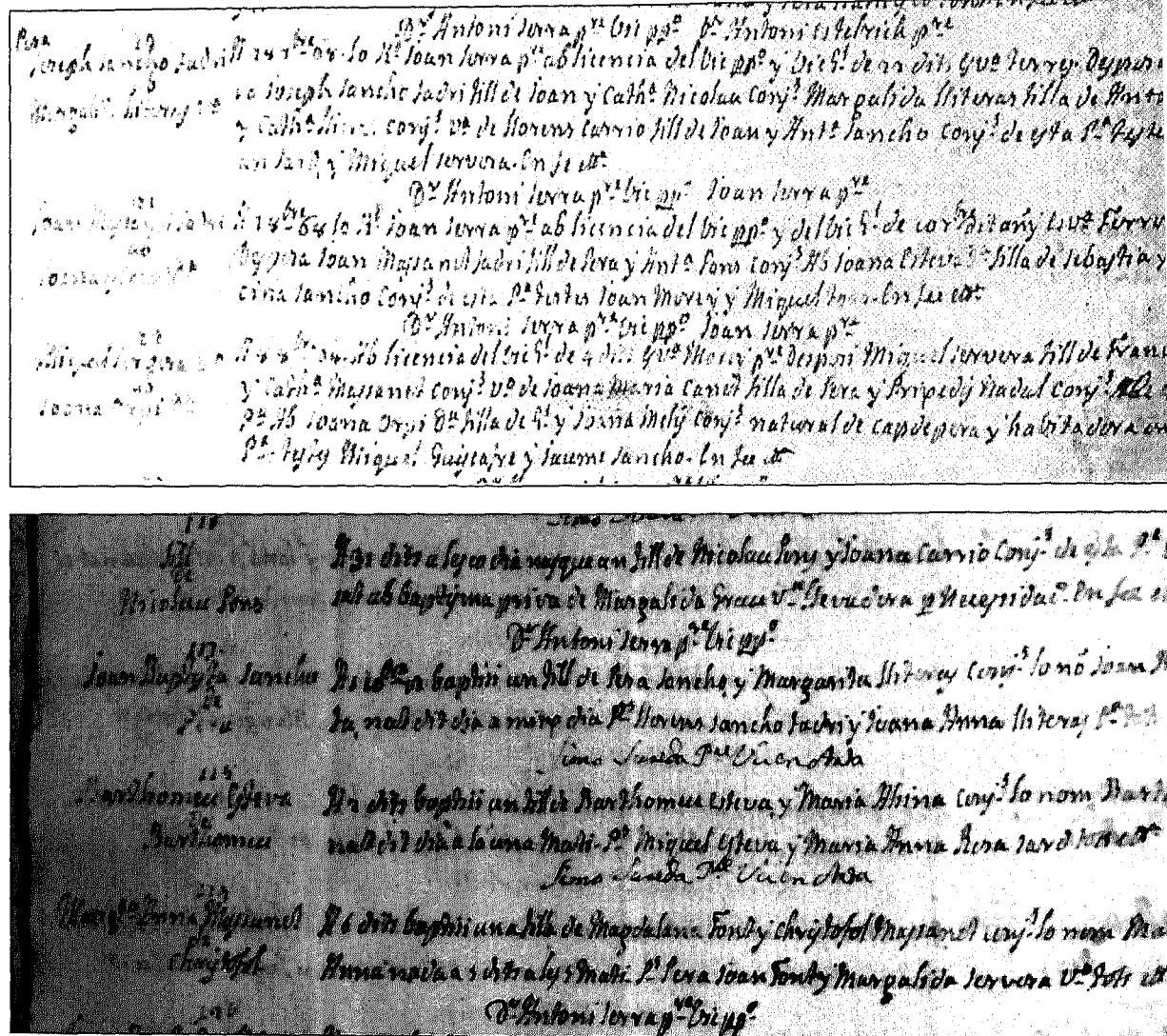


Photo D: Marriage Registration of Sancho's parents. Eglesia parroquial de Artà, Matrimonios, 1755–1837, fol. 23, no. 20.

Photo E: Baptismal Registration of Juan Sancho. Iglesia parroquial de Artà, Bautismos, 1764-1796, fol. 48, no. 117. Photos by author.

composer, and orchestra director, he rose to be appointed the Chapel Master for the See of Mallorca (substituting for Mestre Llorens), from 1793–1803—the very years when Juan Bautista Sancho was in the same city of Palma at the Con-

vent de Sant Francesc. Before ascending to the top post at the Cathedral, Jaume was a major musician in Palma as far back as 1768, where his name surfaces in conjunction with the Royal Chapel and with the Convent of San Francisco in Palma.¹³

Although the exact family relationship between Juan Bautista and Jaume is still not clear, it is unquestionable that they were at least cousins in an extended family from the same small hometown. Not only do they share the last name “Sancho,” but Jaume’s other last name, “Melis,” surfaces as one of the names used by Juan Bautista’s great-great-grandfather, Jaime Sanxo i Melis; and the first name “Jaime” (which is a variant of “Jaume”) is on almost every branch and twig of the family tree going back for generations.¹⁴

The successor to Jaume Sanxo at the Cathedral was yet another Sancho. Miquel Sancho i Vicens (1767–1840) held the highest post in the island, serving as interim Chapel Master for the Mallorca Cathedral in 1803 and early 1804; he was then awarded the post permanently in 1804, serving as “Master and Director of Music for the Music Chapel for the See of Mallorca” until his death in 1840.¹⁵ As with Jaume Sanxo before him, Miquel had established himself as a reputable musician (between 1793–1803) at the See of Mallorca before his ascent to the top post. The similarities between Miquel and Juan Bautista Sancho are striking: both were born in Artà within a few years

of each other (1767 and 1772, respectively), both served as accomplished musicians in Palma in the late 1790s, both rose to the top of the musical pinnacle in their respective musical worlds (albeit on opposite sides of the globe), and they both died at about the same time, Miquel surviving his younger cousin by ten years (dying in 1840). The family line of music stars continues with Miquel’s son, Joaquim Sancho i Canyellas (1798–1886). He was a professor of piano and an acclaimed composer, garnering the nickname of “the Mallorcan Haydn.”¹⁶ With the highly respected Antoni Sancho i Nebot, the Sancho musical tradition continues well into the twentieth century.¹⁷

Two patrimonies of Mallorca shaped Sancho’s early years—the musical and the monastic. Mallorca historically supplied many of the Spanish missionaries who left for both North and South America. Nearly one hundred years before Sancho’s birth, his countryman Friar Antoni Llinàs i Massanet established the Colegio Apostólico de Santa Cruz (Apostolic College of the Holy Cross) in Querétaro, Mexico, in 1683, with the purpose of Christianizing the Native Americans of the Sierra Gorda. This institution in turn became the *casa matriz* or “mother house” of its offspring, the Colegio Apostólico de San Fernando (Apostolic College of San Fernando) near Mexico City, which in turn became the governing body and *casa matriz* for the 21 missions in Alta California.¹⁸

¹³The following entries are found in the ARM, “Llibre de recibos del Sr. Sindich Sachristia y Musicos comensant 1737 fins 1781,” book C-1015: “Jaume Sancho, Resp^r de la Capella a R¹ errebut dels sobrepossatz de la purissima consep^o del R¹ Convent de S^t de S^t Franc^b, 1768,” fol. 163v; “Jo Jaume Sancho Resp^r de la Capella R¹ errebut dels sobrepasat de la purissima consep^o del R¹ Convent de S^t Franc^b deuit lluiras y sinc sous çò es 2 per la Musica & t de tres días 2L5&c per la Musica del Bon Pastor 6 Ll per la Musica del 3 Maig y 3 Ll per la Musica intro 8^m del P. P^r Antoni 2 Ll per la Musica dels 8 Criol^y 3 Ll per la Musica als 2 agost 1768 a conp^f fins als 21 p^{te} 1768 son ____ 18L5,” fol. 163v; and “Jaume Sancho, Resep^r de la Capella R¹, 1769,” fol. 166v.

¹⁴Geiger clarifies the relationship in Mallorca of the two names stating that “Jayme” is the same as “Jaume in the local dialect.” Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 128.

¹⁵“Miquel Sanxo Vicenç . . . Mestre i director de música (1804–40) de la capilla de la Seu de Mallorca.” *Gran Encyclopédia*, 15. This source gives Miquel’s birthplace as Palma, but Parets describes his birthplace as being Artà. “Miquel Sancho i Vicens . . . fou Mestre sustitut de Cipela de la Seu de Mallorca 1803–1804.” Parets, *Diccionari*, 110–111.

¹⁶*Gran Encyclopédia*, 14. Parets mentions the high esteem with which Joaquim was regarded, including his nickname, the “Haydn mallorquí.” Parets, *Diccionari*, 109.

¹⁷Parets, *Diccionari*, 110.

¹⁸Bartolomé Font Obrador delves into the founding and history of both the Colegio Apostólico de Santa Cruz and the Colegio Apostólico de San Fernando in his “La Sierra Gorda de Fray Junípero” in *América y Mallorca del predescubrimiento hasta el siglo XX. Miscelánea humanística. Tomo 1*, intro. by Prof. Dr. Bartolomé Escandell (Palma de Mallorca: Ajuntament de Palma, Edicions Miramar, 1991), 166. The work of Llinàs has been detailed by Bartolomé Escandell Bonet in *Baleares y América* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), 240–46, basing his research on that of Antoni Gili i Ferrer’s *Fray Antoni Llinàs: Misionero de misioneros* (Palma, 1990); another important work on Llinàs

The Colegio Apostólico de San Fernando was established on October 15, 1733, and soon after its inception, became the home of dozens of friars from Mallorca who—like the modern-day astronauts—were prepared to be launched into the farthest regions of the known world with very little to support them beyond a subsistence survival kit, a brave sense of adventure, and a conviction that their lives had purpose.

Understandably, the young Juan Sancho eagerly followed the path that had been blazed by Llinás, Serra, and the other Franciscans from his island home. Sancho was confirmed in the Christian faith on May 17, 1779 at age eight,¹⁹ and at age nineteen entered the novitiate at the Convent de Sant Francesc in Palma on February 9, 1791.²⁰ One year later, he professed his solemn vows.²¹

Until recently, the only primary source supplying this information has been the eloquent obituary written by Sancho's life-long friend, Pedro Cabot. In summarizing his friend's life, Cabot states,

he was the son of Pedro Sancho and his wife Margarita Lliteras, and was baptized in the Villa de Artá, Isle and Diocese of Mallorca, on December 1, 1772. He received the habit of our Fr. Saint Francis in the royal convent of the City of Palma,

is the article by Antoni Picazo and Bartolomeu Tous, "Fray Antonio Llinás y el primer Colegio de Propaganda Fide de América" in *América y Mallorca del predescubrimiento hasta el siglo XX*. For a thorough treatment of the Colegio Apostólico de San Fernando, consult the excellent article by Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., "The Internal Organization and Activities of San Fernando College, Mexico (1734–1858)," *The Americas*, vol. 6, no. 1 (July 1949): 3–31.

¹⁹Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 223. Gili, "Evangelitzadors," 139.

²⁰Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 223. Engelhardt, *San Antonio*, 109. Gili, "Evangelitzadors," 139. Bancroft, *California*, 2: 621, fn 17.

²¹Geiger claims the date of his solemn vows was February 10, 1792, but he gives no documentary record that states that day specifically. He is probably extrapolating forward one year (the customary probationary time) from the date February 9, 1791 when Sancho entered the novitiate (a date that is documented in several locations). Nevertheless, it is unclear whether the vows would have been on February 9 or 10. See Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 223.

on February 9, 1791, and on concluding the year of the novitiate, made the solemn profession in the said convent.

Cabot then continues to elaborate on Sancho's life during his formative years at the Convent de Sant Francesc:

On being ordained a priest, and having the faculties of a confessor and preacher, he exercised said ministries for some years in the Province. He would, on account of the lack of a Vicario de Coro, direct the chant by his strong and agreeable voice, and gave complete instruction in plain chant as well as in figured music.²²

Sancho's Diary and his Life in Palma

These cursory statements can now be filled in with greater detail with my recent discovery of Sancho's "diary" at The Bancroft Library in Berkeley.²³ When I was rummaging through the various hodge-podge of folders in the "mission miscellany" at The Bancroft Library under the call number C-C 73, I pulled out a minuscule pamphlet of only four sheets, the first of which is a printed folio of papal bulls in microscopic type,

²²Juan Bautista Sancho, Ministro de esta Mision de Sn. Antonio / de Padua; hijo de Pedro, y de Margarita Lliteras: fue bautizado / en la Villa de Artá, Ysla, y Obispado de Mallorca; el dia prime-/ro de Diciembre de 1772; Tomó el habito de N. P. S^o Fran^cco / en el Real Convento de la Ciudad de Palma, el dia 9, de Febrero / del 1791, y concluido el año del Noviciado hizo solemne profesion / en dicho Convento. Ordenado de Sacerdote; gran ordenanzas [?] de Confe/sor, y Predicador, exercito dichos Ministerios por algunos años en / la Provincia: supliendo en falta del Vicario del Coro, la direccion / del canto por su fuerte, y agradable voz, y dio instrucción completa,/ tanta en el canto llano, como figurada." Original text available in a photocopied facsimile *Deaths. Mission San Antonio 1819–1872. Vol. II* at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library. Burial record no. 3499, fols. 49–50. The passage in question is found on fol. 49. Translation by Engelhardt, *San Antonio*, 109.

²³The Bancroft Library, manuscript C-C 73:16, "Fragment from printed book of Papal Bulls, 1631 with mss. notes, 1772–1804." I wish to thank Jordi Puig-Suari (Professor of Aeronautical Engineering) for his generous assistance in translating the Catalán passages in Sancho's diary.

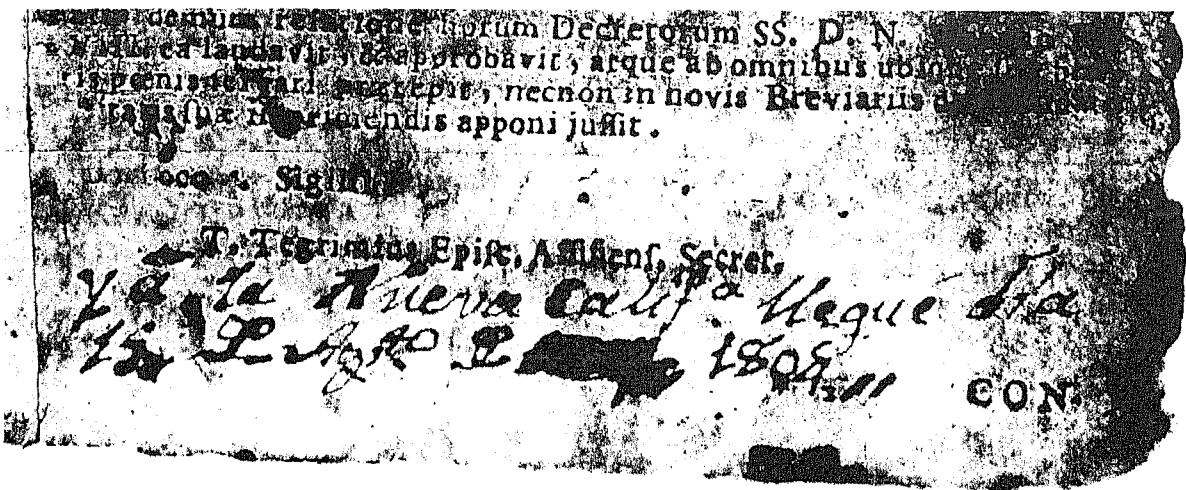


Photo F: "Already I have arrived in New California."
Entry in Juan Sancho's diary, fol. 1 bottom. Courtesy of
The Bancroft Library. University of California, Berkeley.

and it was under the somewhat misleading title "Fragment from printed book of Papal Bulls, 1631 with mss. notes, 1772–1804" that the Library has registered this curious but invaluable document.²⁴ The first sheet has a torn fragment ripped away from its upper edge, so the heading is not quite complete. Nevertheless, the title is more or less decipherable as "SUM[]A BULLÆ SS. D. N. UrbaniVIII . . . data Romæ die 25. Januarii anno 1631," hence the dating "1631" in the library's computerized card catalogue. The flip side of the sheet has yet another papal bull, "CONSTIT[]IO SS. D. N. INNOCENTI PAPÆ XII. . . ." What struck me, however, was the annotation scrawled at the bottom of that first page: "y a la Nueva Calif. llegue dia 15 de Agosto de 1804 (and I arrived in New California the 15th day of August, 1804)." (See photo F.) My pulse quickened; this looked suspiciously like Sancho's writing! What ecstatic joy to find handwriting on the remaining three folios, much of it in Sancho's dis-

tinctive script, and with the indisputable *ex libris* of our friar on fol. 3v: "Este Diurno es del simple uso del P. Fr. Juan Bautista Sancho Relig^{so} Obs. (This Diary is for the sole use of Fr. Friar Juan Bautista Sancho, Religious Observant)." (See photo G.) This confirmed my hope—the small booklet served as a sort of diary for Sancho, beginning with his novitiate in 1791 in the Franciscan order in Palma, and continuing up through the last entry of 1815 during his time at Mission San Antonio in California.²⁵

²⁴Some explanation of the manuscript's dates is called for, especially with respect to The Bancroft Library's catalogue description: "Fragment from printed book of Papal Bulls, 1631 with mss. notes, 1772–1804." All three years—1631, 1772, and 1804—are incorrect. The text for Urban VIII's papal bull was publicly disseminated in 1631, but this document is unmistakably a later reissue, as can be gathered by the flip side of the same sheet; there we find printed yet another papal bull by a different pope altogether, Pope Innocent XII, who served as pope from 1691–1700. The bottom of that papal bull has the identifying phrase: "Ex debito: Die 28 Augusti 1694." The booklet, therefore, cannot be any earlier than 1694. It seems likely that this small sheet was printed even later in the early or mid-1700s, given the fact that the first handwritten entry in this booklet is dated 1771.

The Bancroft Library catalogue asserts the earliest "manuscript note"

²⁴The diary is tiny, measuring 9.3 x 15.2 cm.

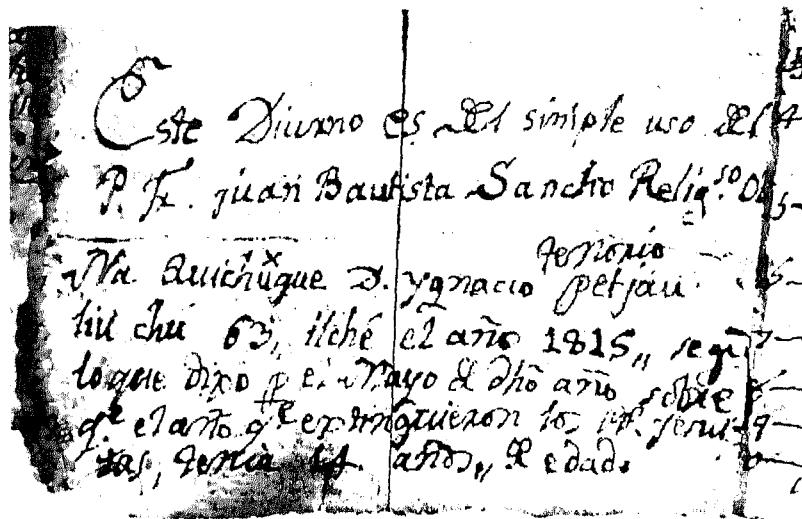


Photo G: "This diary is for the sole use of Juan Bautista Sancho." Entry in Juan Sancho diary, fol. 3v. Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

The pages have a smattering of different entries in several hands on many different topics (although most within the sacred realm). It is clear that the book was a hand-me-down, probably from someone in the Convent de Jesús or Convent de Sant Francesc in Palma, and that San-

cho was not the initial owner.²⁶ It is not so much a day-to-day accounting of mundane happenings, as it is a memory booklet where Sancho jotted down brief entries for those seminal events that he knew would change his life. Psychologically, it is a fascinating peek into the man's instincts and concerns. He knew when something critical was occurring, and he felt a com-

is from the year 1772—but that assumption is slightly off the mark. It is true that the year “1772” is clearly written on fol. 4v in Juan Sancho’s handwriting, immediately below a horizontal line that divides the page in half. But that is because he is telling us his *birthday*, not the date that he is making his entry: “Naci ~ 1 del diciembre [sic] sobre de 1772 (I was born on the first of December in the year 1772).” In truth, the earliest entry is at the top of this same page by one of the booklet’s previous owners. It states: “Die 31 Janer de 1771 feren lectors el P. Lector Mir el P. Simoner el P. Paleron, el P. Arbona, y Fr. Canals Diara. . . . (On the 31 of January, 1771, the lectors were Father Mir, Father Simoner, Father Palerón, Father Arbona, Friar Canals Diara, . . .).”

Similarly, the last entry is misstated in The Bancroft Library catalogue as being from 1804. In truth, at the bottom of fol. 3v there appears a brief passage dated 1815; it seems to be in a mixture of Castilian and Native languages. The hand closely resembles Sancho’s writing and very well might be his entry. The text reads: “Na Quichuque D. Ygnacio Tenorio Petjau liu chú 63 ilché el año 1815 seg’u lo que dixo p[or] el Mayo de dhô año sobre qe el año qe extinguieron los pp’ jesuitas, tenia 14 años de edad.”

²⁶The first sheet after the printed papal bulls has entries in a hand other than Juan Sancho’s. The bottom of fol. 2 reads as follows: “En el Convent de Jesús extra m[u]ro? Día 3 [?] de Maig, Lo Any 1776 . . . (In the Convent de Jesús, outside the walls, the 3 day of May in the year 1776,)” The entry continues to describe some sort of dinner with priests, novices, and brothers of the Franciscan order, 53 in all—and they had some herbs and bacon. Of course, this casual entry is helpful in identifying the provenance of this booklet as being from the Convent de Jesús. Given the early date of 1776 (when Sancho was only four years old) and the fact that this is the first “free” page after the bulls, we can safely assume that these early entries were made by the booklet’s first owner, and that the friar later passed it on to a successor (either Sancho or the other writer who makes entries in the volume). Beginning on folio 2v, there are entries in both Sancho’s hand and yet another friar whose graceful cursive writing is easily recognized—with its fluid penmanship and gentle slope to the angle of his letters.

Comparison of Handwriting in Various "Sancho" Sources

Letter	"Diary" C-C-73:16	"Last Rites" C-C-73:17	Stanford-Berkeley (Folder No. in WPA, at UCB)
M		<u>Mos</u>	<u>Misa</u> N° 69
M	<u>Me</u>	<u>Miserere</u>	<u>Misa</u> N° 64
A & a,r,i	<u>Astá</u>	<u>A Sacerdote</u>	<u>Amen</u> N° 70
F	<u>F.</u>	<u>Fili</u>	<u>F</u> N° 64
S	<u>Sancho</u>	<u>Sac</u>	<u>St</u> N° 70
D	<u>Divino Dia</u>	<u>Dios Díos</u>	<u>Domine Deus</u> N° 64
E	<u>Cste</u>	<u>Espíritu</u> <u>Ecc</u>	<u>Ett</u> N° 70
"de"	<u>R</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>Z</u> N° 69 <u>Z</u> N° 70
B	<u>Bautista</u>	<u>Bautiz-</u> <u>Bendición</u>	<u>Benedicimte.</u> N° 1 64

pulsion to commemorate it some way—in this case, by writing down a small “snap shot” of the life-altering event and providing the date. There can be gaps of a year or more between entries, but when he takes up the pen, there is a passionate immediacy to the event—we feel that we are there as he sees a new horizon in his life. Also, the linguistic transformation in the entries could hardly be more fascinating. Sancho begins in Mallorquín, a splinter dialect related to Catalán. As he prepares to leave his native island for Cádiz on the Iberian Peninsula, he then merges phrases and words of Catalán and Castilian (in much the same way that my friends in New Mexico would freely mix English and Spanish into a free-flowing “Spanglish”). With his arrival in the New World, almost all traces of Catalán are absent, since he has to communicate in the “standardized” common language of his Franciscan brethren who had come from all over the Spanish Empire. And if the last entry in the booklet is his, there is yet another mixing together of different languages, as Native American verbiage and Castilian are thrown together in a flavorful linguistic gumbo.

Ironically, Sancho’s *first* entries into his journal begin on the bottom half of the very *last* page, which is a strong indication that much of the pre-

vious space had been filled by the booklet’s previous two owners. (See photo H.) Each entry is brief, stating only the event and its date—and to this day, if one looks carefully at those entries in the manuscript (or even in a photo) one can perceive the different widths of the pen nibs and detect the different hues of ink. So Sancho begins on fol. 4v, and in the ensuing two inches of “blank” space squeezes in four other entries that take us from 1791 all the way to his arrival in Mexico in 1803. The page reads as follows:

"dia 27 de junio de 1792"

Nota.

Dia 9 de febrero del Añ 91 vax pen
drex lo habit yo Fr. Juan Bap^{ta} Sancho ~~de~~
y vax pendrer el Orde de Presbiterad. Dia
17 de dezembra de 1796 y vax dir la 1^a
Missa. Dia 27 del matez Mes.
Y dia 20 de juliol del Añ 1798 vax ser examina[t]o
de Cõfessor la 1^a vegade per el Bisba Bernat Aodat
y Crespi. Otra nota.
Me vaig pertir de Artá per el
collegi de S. Fernando dia 23 de Fabrer de 1803
el dia de Quaresma. y haviendo partido
el puerto de Cádiz dia 20 junio de 1803; llegue
al dicho colegio de S. Fernando dia 9 sept[em]bre
el mismo año.

Photo H: "Note" Entries in Juan Sancho's diary, fol. 4v. Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Note:

Day 9 of February of the year 1791, I took the [Franciscan] habit [as a novice], I, Friar Juan Bau-tista Sancho.

And I took the Order of Presbytery on the 17th day of December of 1796, and I said my first mass on the 27th of this same month.

And on the 20th of July of the year 1798 I was examined to become a Confessor for the first time by Bishop Bernat Aodat y Crespi.

Another Note:

I departed from Artà for the Colegio de San Fernando on the 23rd of February of 1803, the first day of Lent.

And having left the Port of Cádiz, on the 20th of June, 1803, I arrived at the said Colegio de San Fernando [near Mexico City] on the 9th of September of the same year.²⁷

Sancho's diary entries shift around a bit in location, as he utilizes any "free space" that had been left on previous folios. One cannot read from front to back in this booklet as if it were a novel and get a sequential chronology of events; instead, it is more like a roadmap that reads up-and-down and back-and-forth, where the desired information

²⁷"Nota. Dia 9 de febrero de lo Añ 91 vax pendrer lo habit yo Fr. Juan Bap^{ta} Sancho. y vax pendrer el Orde de Presbiterad Dia 17 de Dezembra de 1796 y vax dir la 1a 1^a Missa. Dia 27 del matez Mes. Y Dia 20 de juliol del Añ 1798 vax ser examina[t]o de Cõfessor la 1^a vegade per el Bisba Bernat Aodat y Crespi. Otra nota. Me vaig pertir de Artá per el Collegi de S. Fernando dia 23 de Fabrer [sic] de 1803, 1^a dia de Quaresma. Y haviendo partido del puerto de Cadiz dia 20 junio de 1803; llegue al dicho Colegio de Sⁿ Fernando dia 9 sept[em]bre del mismo año." Fol. 4v, about halfway down the sheet continuing to the end. Notice the gradual shift from Catalán to Castilian.

can be scrambled in its position. So, if we are to fill in more details of Sancho's life in Palma, we must turn to folio 3, where he itemizes a list of the Offices that he recited there in 1797. On the right he explains:

In the year 1797, in the Convent de Jesús, outside the cloister walls, [the friars] sang 29 Offices or Requiem Masses on the Day of the Dead, which is the 2nd day of November, and they were sung in succession.²⁸

Interestingly, we see part of the tally of the honored dead in a list of saints in the left column and each name is crossed off, presumably as his litany has been sung, much like the names on a grocery list are penciled off as each item is thrown into the shopping cart.²⁹ Immediately after this 1797 list of Offices and Requiems at the Convent de Jesús, he jots down two more brief entries, which take us from Palma back to his hometown of Artà.

And in Artà in the year 1801, a quantity[?] of 27 of them

And for the year 1802, 21 Offices.³⁰

Several details from the passages cited above shed light on Sancho's activities before he departed for the New World. We see him maintaining active priestly ties to his hometown in 1801 and 1802, officiating at church functions. The reference to the Convent de Jesús in 1797 is revelatory, as well, for until now there was no suggestion that Sancho and this convent were in any way related. In truth, Sancho was but another link in the chain that connected this Mallorcan convent

²⁸"Lo añy 1797 en el Con^t de Jesus *Extra Muros*, cantaren 29 Ofi-
cios o Misas Requiem Dia de los Mors q^e es Dia 2 No^{bre} et erat
succesive." Fol. 3, upper right quadrant.

²⁹The names that are notated and then crossed out are: "S^e Joanne
de Capistrano, S^e Jacobe de Alarchia, S^e Francisce Solane, S^e
Didace, S^e Paschalis, S^e Petre Regelale, S^e." Fol. 3, upper left
quadrant.

³⁰"Y en Artá en cātid[ad] (there is a smudge here), Lo añy 1801:
27. y lo añy 1802. 21 Ofici." Fol. 3, upper right quadrant,
immediately below the entry mentioned in footnote 28.

(that is situated just outside the ancient city wall of Palma) and the California missions.³¹ The main founders of modern California, Junípero Serra and Francisco Palou, both entered the Franciscan order at the Convent de Jesús, in 1730 and 1739 respectively.³² One of the first friars to Alta California, Francisco Dumetz, took his vows there in 1751, twenty years before Sancho's birth.³³ Two other friars from this early generation of Mallorcan emigrants to California were Buenaventura Sitjar (baptized "Antonio" Sitjar) and Luis Jayme (baptized as "Melchor" Jayme), who similarly joined the Franciscan Order at the Convent de Jesús in 1758 and 1760 respectively.³⁴ Antonio Jayme was the next in the chain of friars to join the Franciscan convent there (December 7, 1774), followed closely by Bartolomé Gili (June 4, 1776).³⁵ Jerónimo Boscana was born only three years after Sancho, and with his entrance into the Franciscan Order at the Convent de Jesús on August 4, 1792, his path surely crossed with Juan Sancho's often during the next decade. Boscana left Cádiz in the summer of 1803 for the Colegio de San Fernando in Mexico, only a few months after Sancho's identical journey. They spent their ensuing years in the missions of Alta California, the two dying within a year of each other. Both shared a fascination with the indigenous culture of the California Indians who populated their communities; Boscana authored the *Chinigchinich*, which delved into the customs and observances of the Acjachemen Nation who became the res-

³¹Geiger gives the full title of the convent as being Convento de Santa María de los Ángeles de Jesús (p. 175), and gives the geographic location of the Convent de Jesús as being outside the walls of Palma. See Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 126, 128, 175.

³²Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 175, 239.

³³For a summary of Buenaventura Sitjar's life, consult Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 245–47. Geiger discusses Francisco Dumetz's life on p. 66–68.

³⁴For a summary of Luis Jayme's life, consult Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 128–29.

³⁵For a summary of Antonio Jayme's life, consult Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 126–27. Bartolomé Gili's life is covered by Geiger on p. 106–8.

idents of Mission San Juan Capistrano, and Sancho (along with friar Pedro Cabot) authored an ethno-musicological essay on Native American music practices in the *Interrogatorio* of 1814. Sancho also devoted much attention to the translation of catechisms and other sacred texts into the local Indian dialects near Mission San Antonio.³⁶

Of course, the institution that most clearly shaped Sancho's life in Palma was the Convent de Sant Francesc where he became a novice and then took his vows as a Franciscan friar. Nearly every one of the Mallorcan padres who made it to California at one time or another graced the halls of this important monastery.³⁷ If one makes the brief five-minute walk from the Cathedral to the Convent, one squeezes through the narrow curving streets until the constricted space suddenly opens up into a small plaza, presenting a clear, unobstructed view of the convent. (See photo I.) Its stolid façade is simple with a single large circular window over the sanctuary entrance (a design greatly resembling the Franciscan convent Sant Antoni de Pàdua in Artà where Sancho earlier received his elementary-school education). The

interior captures both the tender and the magnificent with its exquisitely detailed ornamentation. The church organ on the left side of the nave predates Sancho's residency, and it is plausible (even likely) that Sancho directed his choir from this organ, seated at the bench we see there today. To the right of the sanctuary is the cloister with its slender columns and lush vegetation in the interior garden. (See photos J, K, and L.) His diary and obituary both mention the growth in his sacred aspirations, Sancho assuming the official roles of priest, preacher, confessor, and even music director.

Sancho's diary entries at the Convent de Sant Francesc are complemented by some extant music manuscripts in Sancho's handwriting, and by Pedro Cabot's moving memorial to his deceased friend Juan Sancho, where he relates: "He would, on account of the lack of a Vicario de Coro, direct the chant by his strong and agreeable voice, and [he] gave complete instruction in plain chant (*canto llano*) as well as in figured music (*canto figurado*)."³⁸ The passage is intriguing; we discover that there was no official choir director at the Convent de Sant Francesc, but it appears Sancho served as its de facto Chapel Master.³⁹ Surely, that

³⁶For a concise summary of Boscana's life, consult Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 29–32. For a modern edition of Boscana's treatise, see Friar Gerónimo Boscana, *Chinigchinich: A Natural Historical Account of the Origin, Customs, and Traditions of the Indians of the Missionary Establishment of St. Juan Capistrano, Alta-California*, [trans. by Alfred Robinson], (Oakland, California: Biobooks, 1947).

³⁷Some of the California padres who spent time in the Convent de Sant Francesc include: Juan Vicente Cabot, Pedro Cabot, Juan Crespi, Bartolomé Gili (who was to become the organist at the Convent de Sant Francesc), Luis Jayme (who studied for the priesthood at the Convent de Sant Francesc), Francisco Palou (who became a Franciscan at the Convent de Jesús but who then studied with Serra at the Convent de Sant Francesc), Miguel Pieras; Antonio Ripoll; Mariano Rubí, Juan Bautista Sancho, Junípero Serra (who joined the Franciscan order at the Convent de Jesús but later became a major figure at the Convent de Sant Francesc), Buenaventura Sitjar (who became a Franciscan at the Convent de Jesús, but who left for Cádiz and then the New World from the Convent de Sant Francesc). For the connections between the Convent de Sant Francesc and the above-mentioned friars, consult Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 32, 34, 51, 106, 128, 175, 196, 207, 210, 223, 239, 245.

³⁸Technically, Cabot does not place Sancho at the rank of "Maestro de Capilla," a position that would have required rigorous public examinations among different applicants, the winner of which would have obtained the post. Nevertheless, this passage clearly states that he had a leadership role that surpassed that of a mere "chantre" or head singer of plainsong. For a discussion of the requirements for obtaining the post of chapel master, consult: José Artero, "Oposiciones al Magisterio de Capilla en España durante el siglo XVIII," *Anuario musical*, vol. 2 (1947): 191–202; José Martín González, "Oposiciones al Magisterio de Capilla de la Catedral de Valladolid durante el siglo XIX," *Revista de musicología*, vol. 14, nos. 1–2 (1991): 511–34; Judith Ortega, "La Real Capilla de Carlos III: los músicos instrumentistas y la provisión de sus plazas," *Revista de musicología*, vol. 23, no. 2 (2000): 395–442; Immaculada Quintanal, "Enrique Villaverde: importancia de la capilla de música de la Catedral de Oviedo en el siglo XVIII," *Revista de musicología*, vol. 1, nos. 1–2 (1978): 124–90, esp. p. 136; and Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 29. Also, mention should be made of

*Photo 1: Façade of the Convent de Sant Francesc, Palma.
Photo by author.*

decade in the 1790s prepared him for his role as the director of music activities at Mission San Antonio; he had learned his craft through musical experience that was unmatched by the other California friars, with the possible exception of Fr. Florencio Ibáñez whose musical credentials are impeccable.³⁹ The level of music making in Palma during the Baroque and Classic eras similarly had been spectacular, as can be judged by such musicians as the phenomenal guitarist and composer Francisco Gueráu, his brother Gabriel Gueráu, and Antonio Lliteres, all of whom ascended to the

William Summers' outstanding and detailed discussions of Sancho's musical prowess. In one article ("Operasera in Spanish California," 282) he credits Sancho as being the Chapel Master at Sant Francesc during the years 1794–1797 and in another ("Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources," *Ars Musica Denver*, 14), he supplies a starting date of 1795 instead of 1794. That Sancho was at Sant Francesc in 1796 and 1797 can be gathered from several signed sheets by Sancho, but I have found no primary documentation for the earlier dates of 1794 or of 1795. Nevertheless, Summers' dating has to be either on the mark or extremely close, since we do know Sancho professed at the institution in 1792.

³⁹Ibáñez earned the post of Chapel Master at the Convento de Nuestra Señora de Jesús in Zaragoza, and later at the Franciscan Convent de Calatayud, both of which had music making of the first rank. With Ibáñez's move to Mexico, he became the Chapel Master at the Colegio de San Fernando—the very institution that served as the Mother House for all of the California missions and their missionaries. See Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 124–25, 223–25; Summers, "Fray Juan Bautista Sancho," Foundation Monograph Publication No. 1, fn 27; Summers, "New and Little Known Sources," *IAMR*, 21; Summers, "Orígenes hispanos," *Revista musical chilena*, fn 27, p. 46; Owen da Silva, O.F.M., *Mission Music of California: A Collection of Old California Mission Hymns and Masses* (Los Angeles: Warren F. Lewis, 1941), rptn in 1954, 22. Other friars such as Durán, Tapis, and Arroyo de la Cuesta were clearly musically inclined, but there is no evidence of comparable professional training in the musical arts.



most important posts at the Royal Chapel in Madrid.⁴⁰ One can only assume that the musi-

⁴⁰The spellings can vary: *Gueráu*, *Grau*, *Grao* and *Literes*, *Lliteres*, *Litteres*. The definitive study of Spanish music in the eighteenth century, including the works of Literes and the Gueráus, is Antonio Martín Moreno, *Siglo XVIII*, vol. 4 of *Historia de la música española*, series directed by Pablo López de Osaba (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1985). I discuss many aspects of the music of Literes and Francisco Gueráu in Santiago de Murcia's "Códice Saldívar N°4": *A Treasury of Secular Guitar Music From*



Photo K (right): Interior of the Convent de Sant Francesc, Palma.

Photo L (below): Cloister in the Convent de Sant Francesc, Palma. Photos by author.

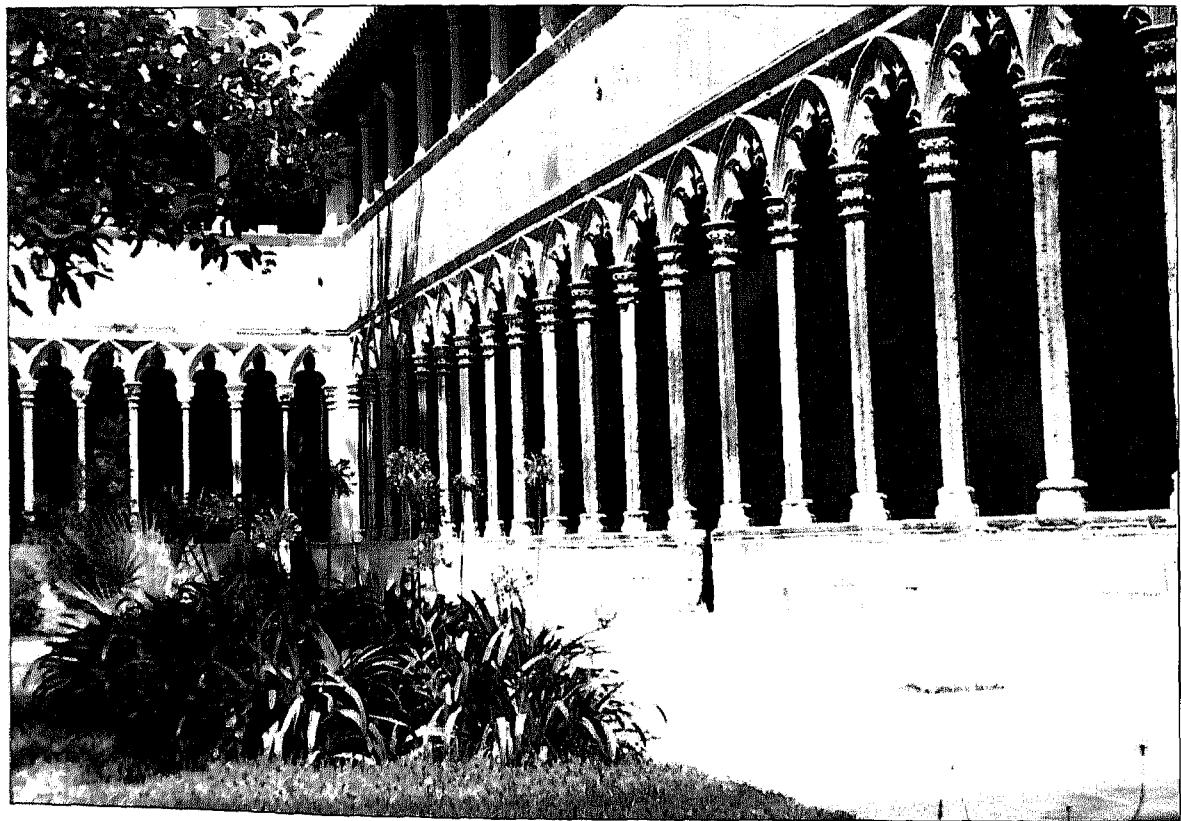
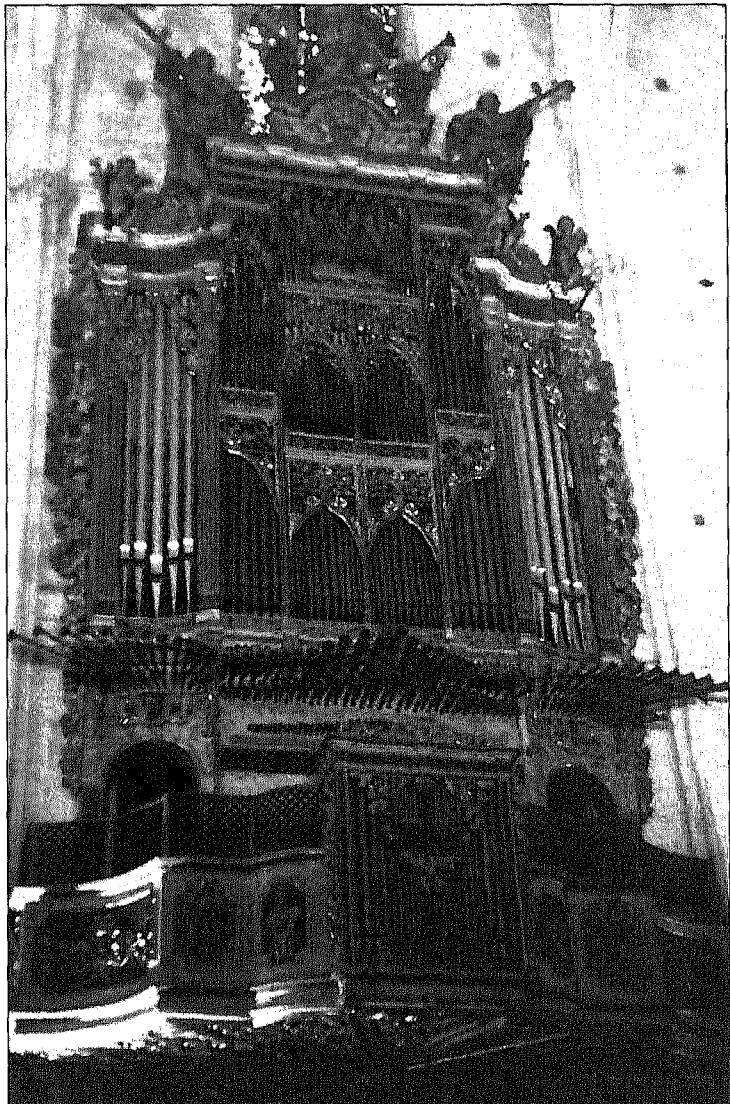


Photo 1: Organ in the Convent de Sant Francesc, Palma.
Photo by author.

cians at Sancho's disposal were professional-level. In fact, when one considers that Juan Bautista Sancho was in charge at the Convent de Sant Francesc during the same years that his cousin

Baroque Mexico, 2 vols., (Urbana and Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1995). A major study of Literes's life is that by Nicolás A. Solar Quintes, "Antonio Literes Carrión y sus hijos (Nuevos documentos para su biografía)," *Anuario musical*, vol. 5 (1950): 169–89. For specific material on Literes, also consult: Carmelo Caballero, "El manuscrito Gayangos-Barbieri," *Revista de musicología*, vol. 12, no. 1 (1989): 131–32; Nicolás Morales, "Real Capilla y festería en el siglo XVIII: Nuevas aportaciones para la historia de la institución musical palatina," *Revista de musicología*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1999): 175–208; Antonio Martín Moreno, "El compositor mallorquín Antonio Literes (1673–1747)," *Tesoro sacro musical*, vol. 643 (1978): 24–26; Antonio Martín Moreno, "Cantada sola de Reyes con vs. y obue *Ha del rístico* (1710) de Litteres," *Tesoro sacro musical*, vol. 643 (1978): 1–24; and Judith Ortega, "La Real Capilla de Carlos III: los músicos instrumentistas y la provisión de sus plazas," *Revista de musicología*, vol. 23, no. 2 (2000): 418. For studies of Francisco Gueráu or Gabriel Gueráu, consult: Gerardo Arriaga, "Francisco y Gabriel Gueráu, músicos mallorquines," *Revista de musicología*, vol. 7, no. 2 (July–December, 1984): 253–99; Louis Jambou, "Documentos relativos a los músicos de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII de las capillas reales y villa y arte de Madrid sacados de su Archivo de Protocolos," *Revista de musicología*, vol. 12, no. 2 (1989): esp. pp. 488–89; Jamis Stevenson, "A Transcription of *Poema Harmónico* by Francisco Gueráu for Baroque Guitar," M.A. thesis, San Jose State University, 1974; Brian Jeffery, introduction to and translation of Francisco Gueráu's *Poema harmónico*, 1694 (London: Tecla Editions, 1977); and M. June Yakeley, "New Sources of Spanish Music for the Five Course Guitar," *Revista de musicología*, vol. 19, nos. 1–2 (1996): esp. pp. 279–81. Several archives containing important works by Francisco Gueráu include the New York Hispanic Society, the Biblioteca del Montestir inMontserrat, the Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo El Escorial, the Biblioteca de Cataluña in Barcelona, and the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.



Jaume Sancho Melis was directing the music activities for the See of Mallorca (and when Miquel Sancho i Vicens was rapidly ascending toward the top in his musical career), one could imagine a comparable situation if Leonard Bernstein, Aaron Copland, and Samuel Barber were all related by family ties and were all together in the same city directing the activities at Lincoln Center, Juilliard, and the Manhattan School of Music. Not too shabby. Sancho copied many manuscripts

*Sancho's Music Manuscripts
at the Convent de Sant Francesc*

in the 1790s while in Palma and carried them in his travels all the way to Mission San Antonio in California. The University of California at Berkeley has photographs of many of these papers (the original documents now lost) that were signed and dated by Sancho while he was at the Convent de Sant Francesc. Several pages from Sancho's collection are also found today at Stanford University, Mission San Fernando and Mission Santa Bárbara. This music repertoire and their attendant clues to the sacred practice at the convent will be addressed shortly.

Sometime during Sancho's years in Palma, he made a brief chart in his "diary" of the various times that a Matins service should begin, depending on the season of the year. In mid-winter he states that Matins should begin at 2:30 A.M., but as the days get longer, that starting time gradually shifts later and later until eventually arriving at the late-start of 3:45 A.M. during the months of June and July.⁴¹ He subsequently advises against the changing around of the Hours of the Divine Office as a sin in worship, and supplies a few instructions to guide the choir through the liturgy.⁴² The bottom half of folio 3 also has rather detailed instructions regarding the proper order of liturgy, all written in Sancho's hand.⁴³

⁴¹"En El Sabado de los S^{ts}. Par[a] rezar los Maytines. (There is a hole in the page that leaves off letters in the middle words.) Continuing: "En Enero y Diciembre; à las 2 y med[ia]. (The page is trimmed here and therefore the last letters are missing.) "En Febrero y 9^{me}; à las 2 y 3 q^{uarte} [sic]. En Marzo y Octub^{re}; à las 3. En Abril y 7^{me}; à las 3 y quarto. En Mayo y Agosto; a las 3 y media. En junio y julio; à las 3 y 3 quartas." Fol. 2v, middle of sheet.

⁴²"Invertir el orden de las Horas Cano^{as} sin [?] causa; solo es pecado venial." "Nota: qñido en el Coro se dexâ ô se [pa?]rra alguna cosa, ha de rezar despues del *fidelium animae misericor*: &c. ahora iii y despues *Pater noster*, &c." fol. 2v, bottom third of sheet.

⁴³Nota: / Per guañar la indul/zenc^{ia} de Porciuncula bas: / [te r]ezar el P[ater] N[oster] y A[tifona] / [y Glo]ria tres vegades y / [p]regar per la concordia / de los Príncipes Christia[nos] / extirpacio de las heré/gites &c. y dèu precehit [sic] / la comunità, y se adver/tex q^e la comunio baste q^e / se prega, en qual-sevol / part, no es precis, com / alguns pensan que se / hage de

Sadly, the music holdings at the Convent de Sant Francesc were destroyed or lost in Spain's tragic Civil War in the early twentieth century.⁴⁴ We would be unable to ascertain even the vaguest impression of the music repertoire there during the last decades of the eighteenth century while Sancho and Cabot were in attendance were it not for a few curious and serendipitous twists of fate. As luck would have it, Juan Sancho brought with him to the New World a huge stack of manuscripts (many of which are dated and bear his signature, and many others are unmistakably in his hand). The odyssey of these sources and the bizarre circumstances surrounding their disappearance and rediscovery is worth retelling. In 1888, Fr. Angelo Casanova of Mission San Carlos Borromeo gave a stack of mission manuscripts to Jane Lathrop Stanford as a token of appreciation. The mission had fallen into a pile of rubble through years of neglect, and her exceedingly

prenda en / las Iglesias Franciscanas / y es probable q^e si ni ha al/guns qui no poden pren/da la communio y poden / fer les demes diligencias / se los pot comutar la / cō/muniò p el et Confesion / en altre obra piadosa / y axi guañar la indu[z]lenzia] / y lo mismo cō aquellas / personas q^e por su poca / edad no comulgan to/davia. Ferraris xv jubi/leum, ant. 2." Fol. 3, bottom half. This long exposition of liturgy in some ways is in keeping with the religious tenor of the other entries, even those not made by Sancho. The top half of folio 3v—done in the same hand as the scribal work on fol. 2—has a detailed attempt to calculate the age of the universe based on theological references in the Bible. "La sentencia de Ch^{re} ano de la Cre/acion del mundo cinco mil dos cientos / treynta y tres, fue intimada p pilatos. / Dia 25 de Março. Desde el Dia q^e / Fonch criat Adan, Fins à la Eucar/nacio del Di[vi]ño verbo, passáren 5199 / y añadint los 9 Messos, que estigué en / el Ventre Virginal de Maria, y 33 q^e / visque, fan los sinc mil docents / trenta y 3, y los tres mesos &c. ut / Mistica ciudad de Dios 2 p^a lib. / 6 cap 21."

⁴⁴During a research trip to Mallorca in November 1999, I went to the Convent de Sant Francesc and to the Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca. The Director of the ARM, Sr. Ricard Urgell Hernández, graciously granted me access to all extant documents. He informed me that all of the music holdings and many of the documents lamentably were destroyed during the Spanish Civil War in the early twentieth century.

generous financial donation enabled them to completely rebuild and restore it to its former splendor. Among those papers were at least 40 works in Sancho's hand that Fr. Owen da Silva saw and catalogued in his 1941 study *Mission Music of California*.⁴⁵ Sadly, they have not been seen since (with the exception of the *Misa en sol* and the Serra choirbook).⁴⁶ Bill Summers first noted their absence in 1977, but the clever detective work of our colleague John Koegel (at Cal State Fullerton) has uncovered photographic copies of the Stanford treasures at UC Berkeley.⁴⁷ It seems that

⁴⁵da Silva, *Mission Music of California*.

⁴⁶The *Misa en sol* is presently found at the Cecil H. Green Library at Stanford University, filed under the author "Juan Sancho" and the citation "Mass in G (Mission Music), ca. 1795," M0573 in Special Collections. The Green Library at Stanford has one other extant source mentioned by da Silva, although not in the context of the Sancho collection. It is the oversized and elegant choirbook brought to California by Father Junípero Serra, under the citation "Mission Music: Choirbook, 1770–1784," San Carlo sBorromeo Basilica (Carmel, California), M.0612 in Special Collections. Mention should be made of photographic copies (of poor quality) of both sources that are available at the Music Department of the University of California, Berkeley as part of the collection made for the Works Project Administration in 1937 and catalogued under the citation, "California Folk Music Project Records, ARCHIVES WPA CAL 1; vols. 1–12" (henceforth abbreviated as "WPA collection"). The photos of California mission music are stored in box 2. Folder 65 contains the Sancho *Misa en sol* and folder 47 contains the Serra choirbook. For consultation of these sources, prior notice should be sent to the Music Library since they normally store the WPA collection at the Northern Research Library Facility in Richmond.

⁴⁷See the previous footnote for a complete citation of the California Folk Music Project that took place as part of the WPA. Except for the two sources already cited (Sancho's *Misa en sol* and Serra's choirbook), the materials at Stanford described by da Silva have not been seen since he authored his book *Mission Music of California* in 1941. Bill Summers first discovered they were missing in 1977, and subsequent trips to Stanford by Summers, Koegel, John Warren, and me have failed to resurrect the missing items. In 1990, however, John Koegel discovered that there were photographic copies of these resources made as part of the California Folk Music Project operated by the Works Project Administration in the 1930s. He informed me of his exciting discovery in a letter dated January 1, 1991. Koegel also notified Bill Summers who has summarized the history of these manuscripts and the details of Koegel's work and contributions. For a discussion of Koegel's discovery of these photos, consult the following articles by Summers: "Fray

photographers working for the Works Project Administration in the 1930s had been hired to photograph every shred of folk music they could find. When they came across the Sancho manuscripts their cameras clicked away because they were thinking—incorrectly—that this was folk music. What a wonderful error, for now those photographs (in their deteriorating condition) have saved for us most of Sancho's "lost works."⁴⁸

Juan Bautista Sancho, "Foundation Monograph Publication No. 1, p. 6; "Opera seria in Spanish California," 270; "Orígenes hispanos," *Revista musical chilena*, 43; "Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources," *Ars Musica Denver*, fn 9, p. 14; "Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources," *Revista de musicología*, 284–46, esp. fn 13; "The Spanish Origins of California Mission Music," *Transplanted European*, 116. Also, Summers provides an invaluable description and catalogue of the contents in this collection in the aforementioned works; he provides the cursory list as presented by da Silva and then immediately supplies a much more detailed breakdown of the individual works found in the various folders.

⁴⁸In 1937, Sidney Robertson wrote an explanatory letter explaining the WPA photography project. The letter is preserved in folder 46 of the WPA collection along with many pages of handwritten annotations relating to the photography sessions. Ms. Robertson's letter merits reproduction in its entirety here, since it describes the conditions surrounding this repertoire's "discovery" by Carleton Sprague Smith in 1937, the subsequent photographing of these treasures, and the assignment of identifying letters to each of the photos—a system that I will utilize in the remainder of this publication. The cover to folder 46 has a statement explaining that the trip to the Stanford Museum by Dr. Smith and Sidney Robertson took place in the summer of 1937. She wrote:

"The thirty manuscripts which are described collectively as the Stanford Mission Music are to be found in the Stanford University Museum at Palo Alto. In the summer of 1937 Dr. Carleton Sprague Smith, head of the Music Division of the New York Public Library, "discovered" this deposit. Later, Sidney Robertson, who by accident accompanied Dr. Smith on his visit of inquiry to the Museum, obtained permission on Dr. Smith's behalf from the Curator, Pedro de Lemos, for micro copying of this set of manuscripts. This was done on 35 mm. film belonging to Dr. Smith by Mr. Rothwell, a member of the Stanford University Department of History. Three sets of prints were made by the California Folk Music Project of the Work Projects Administration: one for Dr. Smith, one for the Department of Music at Stanford University, and a third, by courtesy of Dr. Smith and Stanford University, for the Archive of California Folk Music, to be deposited in the Bancroft Library at the University of California. The paper on which all

Many of them bear dates of 1786 and 1787 (such as the *Missa de los Angeles*, the *Lamentations*, and the *Te Deum*).⁴⁹ In addition, John Koegel (whom I affectionately refer to as “the Colombo of Musicology” due to his uncanny knack at uncovering clues of monumental importance in solving musical mysteries of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) discovered yet another gold mine of previously unknown Sancho sources at Mission San Fernando in greater Los Angeles.⁵⁰ From

three sets of prints were made was very kindly contributed by
the Stanford University Department of Music.

“Due to an accident between Mrs. Robertson’s arrangement of the manuscripts for copying and the actual photography, the pages of the manuscripts were photographed out of order, so that pages which belong to a single manuscript were in many cases widely separated on the film. The figures which run from 1 to 230-odd on the prints refer to the location of the page on the film. In addition, each manuscript has been given a letter to identify it (running from A through Z to Ad) and the page number of each sheet within its own manuscript is set beside this letter. Therefore, if through any accident the prints are thrown out of sequence, the letters and their circled page numbers will suffice as a key to their rearrangement; the figures which run from 1 to 230-odd will not, and should be ignored.

“The three sets of prints and the original pages at Stanford are now arranged in this order, which was established by working with the originals, where it was possible to take into consideration some evidence, such as quality and size of paper, which is not perceptible in photographs. The many hours of checking and rechecking prints against the originals which was necessary to establish this arrangement were much facilitated and enlivened by the courtesy of Francisco de Lemos, Assistant to the Curator of the Stanford Museum.

“Manuscripts A and Ad are on vellum; the rest are on paper of varying sizes and qualities. Red ink is in no case used in any considerable degree; it is used sparingly for decorations on two manuscripts. There is no use of colored inks to differentiate the voices written in score in this group of manuscripts.

[Signature] — Sidney Robertson”

⁴⁹These works are found in the following folders of the WPA collection at Berkeley: *Missa de los Angeles*, folder 69; *Lamentations*, folder 61; *Te Deum*, folder 72.

⁵⁰Once again, John Koegel discovered a huge stack of uncatalogued mission music, this time at the Archival Center of the Los Angeles Diocese at Mission San Fernando in 1991. He generously shared his discovery with William Summers and with me; we both have published studies on these manuscripts. For a thorough catalogue of the contents in this collection, consult Summers’ “*Opera seria in Spanish California*,” Table 14.1, pp.

these important collections at UC Berkeley and Mission San Fernando, along with isolated items at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, we can piece together dozens of pieces that Sancho and his fellow friars were performing at the Convent de San Francesc in Palma, and we can even unlock a few more secrets concerning Sancho’s life before he set off to be a missionary in the California outback.

Within the Works Progress Administration photographic collection (from here on abbreviated to WPA Collection), the folders that contain pieces written in Sancho’s handwriting include:

Folder 50. “Ecos a Duo./ del uso de Fr. Juan Bau-tista Sancho. / Reg[ligio]so Observā[n]te. / 1797 (A Duet of Echoes, for the sole use of

271–76. For a discussion of the works for choir and orchestra—which I have shown to be the work of Ignacio de Jerusalem and Francisco Javier García Fajer, consult my articles: “Hidden Structures and Sonorous Symmetries: Ignacio de Jerusalem’s Concerted Masses in 18th-Century Mexico” in *Res musicæ: Essays in Honor of James Prueett* (New York: Harmonie Park Press, 2001), 135–59; “The Mexican Cathedral Music of Ignacio de Jerusalem: Lost Treasures, Royal Roads, and New Worlds,” *Actas del XV Congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología* (Madrid, April 1992), published in the *Revista de musicología*, vol. 16, no. 1 (1993): 99–134; “New Jewels in Old Boxes: Retrieving the Lost Musical Heritages of Colonial Mexico,” *Arts Musicae Denver*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Spring 1995), 13–38; and “Newly-Discovered Treasures from Colonial California: The Masses at the San Fernando Mission,” *Inter-American Music Review*, vol. 13, no. 1 (Fall–Winter 1992): 5–10. I have established that the *Mass in F* at Mission San Fernando is actually Ignacio de Jerusalem’s *Missa a 4 in F* (Legajo D.b.14 in the Mexico City Cathedral). I have encountered a concordant of the *Mass in D* at Mission San Fernando; it corresponds with García Fajer’s *Missa del Espanoleto* (Legajo D.c.9 in the Mexico City Cathedral). For a thorough treatment of García Fajer and his music, consult Juan José Carreras López, *La música en las catedrales durante el siglo XVIII, Francisco J. García «El Espanoleto», 1730–1809* (Zaragoza: Diputación Provincial Institución «Fernando el Católico», 1981). In addition, there is a study and score of Jerusalem’s *Polychoral Mass in G* that exists in an incomplete set of parts in the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, by George A. Harshbarger, “The Mass in G by Ignacio de Jerusalem and Its Place in the California Mission Music Repertory,” D.M.A. diss., University of Washington, 1985. This *Polychoral Mass in G* exists in at least two concordant versions: Legajo D.b.15 in Mexico City and Legajo 70 in the Puebla Cathedral.

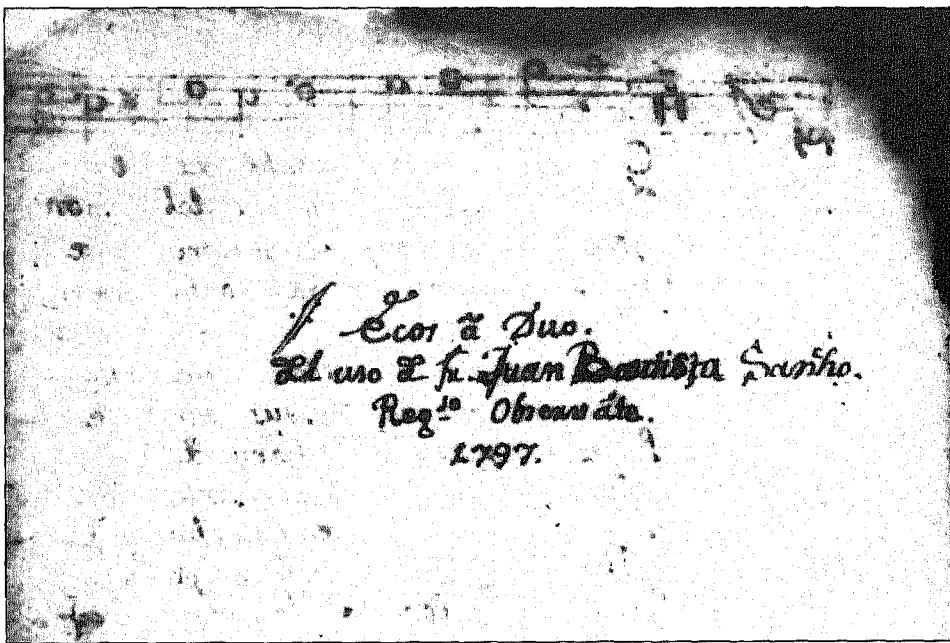


Photo M: Ecos a duo, WPA 50. Courtesy of the Department of Music.
University of California, Berkeley.

Friar Juan Bautista Sancho, Religious Observant, 1797)." Modern notation. (See photo M.)

Folder 52. "Credo Artanense (Credo from Artà)." Obviously, this selection is related to Sancho's birthplace of Artà. The bottom of sheet Aa2 has the annotation, "Día 21 de Maio cerca las once de la n[oc]he acabo de escrivirlo (The 21st of May, at about eleven o'clock at night, I have just finished writing this)." Mensural black notation, i.e., *canto figurado*. (See photos N and O.)

Folder 56. "Gozos y antiphona San Joseph (Poem and antiphon in honor of Saint Joseph)." Text: "Pues soy sancto sin igual (Well, I am a saint without equal)." Has as its title page: "Gozos y añ[tifon]a Joseph &c. / del Patriarca San Joseph:/ Del uso de Fr. Juan Bautista/ Sancho Re[li]g[i]oso Obs[er]v[an]te/ Año 1796." Modern notation.

Folder 58. "Invitatorium, Admirabile nomen Jessu, tono 6 (Invitatory in mode 6, "Admirable name of Jesus)." Has as title page, "Este pliego es del uso de Fr. Juan/ Sancho (This sheet is for the sole use of Friar Juan Sancho)." Bottom of sheet Y-3 has "Jesus, Maria, y Joseph. 1796. Esto es del uso de Fr. Juan Sácho (Jesus, Mary and Joseph, 1796. This is for the sole use of Friar Juan Sancho)." Mensural black notation, i.e., *canto figurado*.

Folder 61. "Lamentatio a duo (Lamentation duet)," and the "Entierro a duo tono 2do (Burial duet in mode 2)." Modern notation.

Folder 64. "Kyrie a2" "Gloria a2" and "Credo a2" in "tono 5to." Modern notation.

Folder 66. "Credo Italiano, a duo con el coro (1796) (Italian Credo, alternating duet sections with choral ones, 1796)." The "duo" sections in this folder are in modern notation. The "coro"



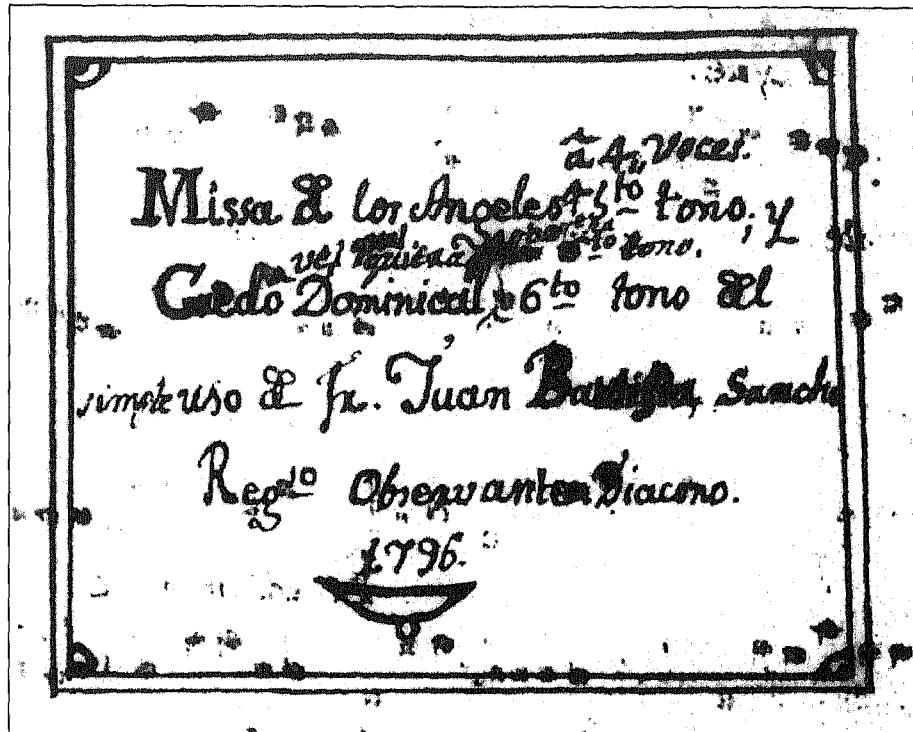
Photo N: "Credo Artanense" WPA 52.

Photo O: "a las once de la noche . . ." WPA 52. Both photos courtesy of the Department of Music. University of California, Berkeley.

sections are to be performed in metric homophony, i.e., *canto figurado*. "Kyris [sic] t[on]o 2º," "Gloria," "Sanctus," "Agnus Dei," plus "¡O que suave y dulce estais (Oh how smooth and sweet you are!)" on sheets J-7 and J-8. There also is a "Stabat mater" on sheet J-8 plus some fragmentary parts for "Para dar luz (In order to give light)" and "Ave sois eva trocada (Bird, you are Eve transformed)" on sheet J-8.

Folder 69. "Missa de los Angeles à 4 voces, 5to tono; y/ Credo Dominical 6to tono del/ simple uso de Fr. Juan Bautista Sancho/ Religioso Observante i Diacono./ 1796. (Mass of the Angels for 4 voices, in mode 5, and the Credo for Sundays in mode 6, for the sole use of Friar Juan Bautista Sancho, Religious Observant and Deacon, 1796)." Modern notation. (See photo P.)

Photo P: Missa de los Angeles,
WPA 69. Courtesy of
the Department of Music.
University of California, Berkeley.



Folder 70. "Misa de 5to tono à 4 voces del P[adre]. / Fr. Juan Bau[tis]ta Sancho (Mass in mode 5 for 4 voices by Fr. Friar Juan Bautista Sancho)." This is the *acompañamiento* part (only the Gloria and the Credo movements) that is missing from Folder 65, the *Misa en sol*. Modern notation.

Folder 72. "Missa de Requiem, a 3 voces, 1796." Has title page: "Missa de Requiem à 3 voces/ et Laboravi à 3./ Es del uso de Fray Juan Bau[tis]ta/ Sancho Diaconos y Religioso/ Observante./ Año 1796."

Several new snippets of information appear in these ascriptions. We find that Sancho was made a Deacon before his ordination to the priesthood in 1796, given the reference in folder 69 "...del simple uso de Fr. Juan Bautista Sancho, Religioso Observante i Diacono, 1796 (...for the sole use of Friar Juan Bautista Sancho, Religious Observant

and Deacon, 1796)" and a similar reference in Folder 72 where Sancho is identified as "Diaconos [sic] y Religioso Observante." Sancho scribbles down the Credo from his hometown of Artà in folder 52 (the "Credo Artanense"). Even the folders in this collection in others' handwriting have explicit ties to Mallorca and his life at the Convent de Sant Francesc. A passing reference is made to the "Credo Artanense" on sheet A-4 in folder 65: "Credo 5to tono, a 4 voces, alternando con el Credo Artanense (Credo in the 5th tone for 4 voices, alternating with phrases from the Credo Artanense)." In many folders, the Catalán words "regulat" (regular), "segona" (second), "veu" (voice), "tible" (soprano), and "baix" (bass) occur repeatedly, an indication that Sancho had collected these folios while still in Mallorca as opposed to drawing on sources in either Mexico or Cali-

fornia where Castilian would have been the norm.⁵¹

There are two other friars mentioned by name in these folders in the WPA collection, and at least one of them—and maybe both—can be identified as Franciscans active in Palma during Sancho's tenure there. Folder 77 contains a setting of the *Te Deum* that alternates polyphonic phrases in metric, 4-part polyphony with phrases of plainchant. Although the composer of the setting is uncertain, we can ascertain from the title page that this particular possession belonged at one time to Friar Jayme Pou and then later was handed down to Juan Sancho: it states “Te Deum à 4 del uso de Fr. Jayme Pou. / pasó al uso del Pe Fr. juan Bau[tis]ta/ Sancho (*Te Deum* in 4 parts for the sole use of Friar Jaume Pou. It passed into the possession of Fr. Friar Juan Bautista Sancho).”⁵² (See photo Q.) While scouring the records in the Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca for any clues regarding Sancho's life, I came across an interment record for a “Jayme Ignaci Pou” from November 21, 1797.⁵³ Not only is Pou at the Convent de Sant Francesc during the years of Sancho's stay, but his death in 1797 also allows for the possibility that the *Te Deum* music

manuscript could pass from the ownership of Pou to Sancho in that same year. There is even a peripheral connection as well to Artà, Sancho's tiny hometown, since one of the officiating abbots in this burial registry was Fray Jaume Ginard who previously had been guardian at the Convent de Artà.⁵⁴ In short, the “Jayme Pou” identified on the *Te Deum* manuscript very well might be the “Jayme Ignaci Pou” of the Convent de Sant Francesc.

The other name to surface in this stack of music manuscripts is the “Vic.Torres,” in folder 64 containing Sancho's “Misa de 5to tono (Mass in Mode 5).”⁵⁵ The top of the soprano part, sheet L-3, has the instruction “Tono 5° interpolando, digo, ó alternando con los Kyries à 4, voces del PVic.Torres (Mass in mode 5, interpolating—that is to say—alternating with the Kyries for 4 voices, by Fr.Vic Torres).” In spite of a painstaking search to locate a reference to “Victor Torres,” I have nothing that is definitive. Another possibility presents itself, however, that is quite likely. I suspect that “Vic” is not an abbreviation of “Victor” but is instead a variant of the rather common Catalán last name of “Vich.” The name “Vic Torres” then is the double *apellido* where “Vic” was the father's last name and “Torres” was drawn from the mother's side. There are three abbots with the last name “Vich” in the same burial registry as Jaume Pou (Juan Ramon Vich, Antoni Vich, and Bartomeu [sic]Vich) any of whom could possibly be our “Fray Vic Torres.”⁵⁶ And yet another possibility arises.

⁵¹For instance, the “Credo à duo” in folder 51 is written for a “baix” and a “tible,” the Catalán words for a bass voice and a soprano. In addition, the soprano part has on its first page the title and instruction “Tible, Credo à duo 5. tono, alternando con el Credo Regulat.” In Folder 61 we find the terms “Primera *reiu lamentacio a duo*” on sheet R-1, and “Segona *reiu Lamentacio a duo*,” on sheet R-3. Folder 73 is also probably of Catalán or Mallorcan origin, given its peculiar spelling of soprano as “tipble.”

⁵²William Summers suggests that this work is *by* Pou based on the title page, but I think this conclusion is yet to be finalized. The phrasing actually states that it is for Pou's *use* (but that does not equate with being composed by him necessarily). See Summers, “Recently Recovered Mission Manuscript Sources,” handout for IMS, Madrid, 1992, p. 13.

⁵³The burial record reads “Dia 21 9bre de 1797 muri es torn del Morcat Jaume Ignaci Pou fill de Sebastia y de Marg^a Farregut, de 6 mesos.” The column by this entry has the identifying label “Pou / Jaume / Pigota / empeltado.” The entry is found in the Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca (ARM), “Llibre de enterros de Albats comensant dia 14. Janer de lo any 1783. Finit als 13 Juliol 1808,” Book C-1019, fol. 67.

⁵⁴The connection to Fray Jaume Ginard is made evident by the title page in this burial registry (book C-1019) that begins: “Llibre de enterros de Albats començant el dia 14. Janer de 1783 . . . y sacerdistá el R. P. Fr. Jaume Ginard Pred^r Jub^r y Ex-Guardia de los Convents de Artá y de Llummajor. Finit als 13 Juliol 1808.”

⁵⁵Actually, the title of this mass does not appear in this folder, but since the vocal lines here in folder 64 match the continuo lines supplied in folder 70, we can determine the title from the latter. Folder 70 has the titled page that states: “Misa de 5to tono de 4 voces del P. Fr. Juan Bau^ta Sancho (Mass in mode 5 for 4 voices by Father Friar Juan Bautista Sancho).”

⁵⁶Juan Ramon Vich (fol. 7), Antoni Vich (fol. 7), and Bartomeu Vich (fol. 91) found in ARM, “Llibre de enterros de Albats,” Book C-1019.



Photo Q: Te Deum, WPA 77. Courtesy of the Department of Music, University of California, Berkeley.

"Vic." could be an abbreviation for "Vicario" or "vicar." There was a religious cleric, Bonaventura Torres, who was an active Franciscan during Sancho's years at the Convent de Sant Francesc: if he were musician and a vicar, this individual could be yet another candidate for the mysterious gentleman mentioned in Sancho's manuscript.⁵⁷

All told then, these manuscripts in the WPA (and those at Mission San Fernando for that matter) have all the indications of being from the same time era and location—i.e., from Mallorca in the late 1790s. The use of Catalán terminology, the mention of Mallorcan friars, the signing of scores in 1796 and 1797, and the preponderance of folders in Juan Sancho's hand, all serve as clues to suggest these folders comprise the musical practice from the Convent de Sant Francesc and other Mallorcan convents, and furthermore, they accurately encapsulate a core musical repertoire brought to the California coast by one of the most musically accomplished mission padres—Juan Bautista Sancho.

⁵⁷Bonaventura Torres appears on fol. 79 of the burial registry, ARM, "Libre de enteros de Albats," Book C-1019.

Sancho's Departure for the New World

As we have seen, the first two years of the nineteenth century show Sancho to have been in his hometown Artà; his diary entries tell us of his priestly duties, and the "Altre Nota" at the bottom of folio 4v, captures the moment when he said his goodbyes to his family and friends: "I departed from Artà for the Colegio de San Fernando on the 23rd of February of 1803, the first day of Lent." Continuing with his diary, we find Sancho writing another short citation, "And having left the Port of Cádiz, on the 20th of June, 1803, I arrived at the Colegio de San Fernando [near Mexico City] on the 9th of September of the same year." Sancho's traveling companion and life-long friend, Pedro Cabot, provides further details of their journey. He recounts that the two of them left Cádiz on the 20th of June "on the *San Miguel* alias *Sagrada Familia* and arrived in Vera Cruz, Mexico, in August and finally arrived at San Fernando College, September 9."⁵⁸ The voyage to the port city of Vera Cruz and then the overland trek to Mexico City took Sancho a little over seven

⁵⁸Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 34–35.

weeks. Just as modern-day passports require a photo, so did passports from that era supply a verbal description of the traveler's features. Sancho's snapshot depicts him as being "tall, swarthy, with dark hair, gray eyes, a large, thick nose, thick beard, and bushy eyebrows."⁵⁹ He must have been an imposing figure. The two young men, Sancho and Cabot, enrolled in the Colegio de San Fernando—a Franciscan training institution for the flocks of missionaries who were destined to journey out to the most far-flung regions of the Spanish realm.⁶⁰ And the most remote and isolated territory for young missionaries at that time was the newly founded chain of missions in California.

These diary entries aid enormously in cutting through the forest of misinformation that has plagued Sancho biographies. There has been considerable confusion regarding Sancho's journey from Spain to California. Bancroft and Engelhardt both state correctly the year of Sancho's departure to be 1803.⁶¹ But nearly everyone else has followed Geiger's momentary misstep when he erroneously stated the year was 1802.⁶² The dif-

ference of a year is substantial, for it means our previous impression that Sancho and Cabot had an extended residency of nearly two years at the Mexican apostolic college must be revised downward to a few months; they had barely unpacked before they were off on the road again pursuing the dream of ministering in the frontier missions of the Spanish Empire.⁶³

Geiger states that Sancho had volunteered for service in Alta California by December 22, 1803, which would be in agreement with his and Bancroft's claim that Sancho left the Colegio de San Fernando for the California missions the following February, 1804, arriving in Monterey on August 4, 1804.⁶⁴ Geiger gives another helpful tidbit concerning Sancho's and Cabot's trip, observing that the two had made it to Guadalajara, leaving the city on April 23 as they contin-

⁵⁹Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 224. Also briefly discussed in Richard E. Ahlborn, "The Mission San Antonio Prayer and Song Board" a paper delivered at the California Mission Studies Association Conference, Mission San Antonio de Padua, February 1993, publ. in *Southern California Quarterly*, vol. 74 (Spring, 1992), and rptn (Northridge, California: Padre Press, 1993), 13.

⁶⁰As Bill Summers and other prominent scholars have observed, the entire flock of Spanish friars in California received training and last-minute support from the *casa matriz* of the Colegio de San Fernando. Summers reminds us that the major musicians in California spent considerable time at this college: Estevan Tapis, (3 years at San Fernando); Pedro Arroyo de la Cuesta (4 years); José Viader (1 year), Ignacio Ibáñez (4 years). See Summers, "Orígenes hispanos," 46–47.

⁶¹Bancroft states that Sancho embarked from Cádiz on June 20, 1803, arriving at the Colegio de San Fernando in September; his lengthy footnote for Sancho's biography does not break itself down into individual statements and attributions, so it is very hard to discern his source of information. See Bancroft, *California*, 2: 621, fn 17. Also, see Engelhardt, *San Antonio*, 109.

⁶²Geiger provides a departure date from Cádiz as "June 20, 1802 on the "San Miguel" or "Sagrada Familia" and an arrival in Vera Cruz, Mexico in August. See Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*,

224. That Geiger knew the correct date of 1803 is clear from his description of the same voyage on pp. 34–35, so we can suppose the mistake on p. 224 is merely a typo, but one that has lived on scholarly research. Using Geiger as their main source, Gili, Summers, Ahlborn—and I as well—have repeated the incorrect departure year as being 1802. See Gili, "Evangélicos," 139; and Summers, "Fray Juan Bautista Sancho," Foundation Monograph Publication No. 1, p. 5; Summers, "Recently Recovered Mission Manuscript Sources," handout for IMS, Madrid, 1992, p. 11; Summers, "Orígenes hispanos," fn 27, p. 46; Summers, "Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources," *Ars Musica Denver*, fn 19, p. 224; Ahlborn, "The Mission San Antonio Prayer and Song Board," 13; Craig H. Russell, handout for the invited lecture "Joan Sanxo: el genioso milagro musical en las misiones de California," Simposium de Documentalistas Musicales, los 27 y 28 de noviembre, 1999 (Artà, Mallorca); Russell, handout for "Joan Sanxo—Tracing the Origins of California's First Composer and the Early Mission Style," Annual Meeting of the College Music Society (Santa Fe, New Mexico, 16 November, 2001).

⁶³Again, the authors mentioned above in footnote 62 who had followed Geiger's typographical error (myself included) have developed their theories believing Sancho was in the metropolitan center of Mexico City for an extended period.

⁶⁴Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 224; and Bancroft, *California*, 2: 621, fn 17. Nearly all subsequent authors have used the dates supplied by Geiger and Bancroft, with the exception of da Silva's volume, which provides the erroneous year of 1803 rather than 1804 for Sancho's arrival in California. Da Silva, *Mission Music*, 23.

ued their journey northward.⁶⁵ But once again, there is a small but irritating discrepancy between the biographers' date for Sancho's arrival in California (August 4) and Sancho's diary that triumphantly proclaims "and I arrived in New California the day of August 15, 1804." Unfortunately, neither Bancroft nor Geiger indicate in a clear way where their information for Sancho's arrival date was obtained.

Sancho's Life in Alta California

After their arrival at Monterey in early August 1804, Cabot and Sancho then made the inland journey into the folds of the Coastal Range all the way to the breath-taking Mission San Antonio de Padua that Fr. Junípero Serra had established in 1771—making it the third of the missions to be founded.⁶⁶ They joined their elder Mallorcan colleague, Buenaventura Sitjar, where they helped to build a prosperous, complete community that was enormously successful by any measure.⁶⁷ Before

⁶⁵Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 35.

⁶⁶Among the small party in attendance were Fathers Junípero Serra, Miguel Pieras, and Buenaventura Sitjar (who lived until 1808, so he was present at San Antonio while Sancho and Cabot were in their initial years there). Not all authors are in agreement as to the founding date. Most have correct details, such as Monsignor Francis Weber and Paul C. Johnson who state it was established on July 14, 1771. See Francis J. Weber, *Readings in California Catholic History* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1967), 10; and Paul C. Johnson, ed., *The California Missions: A Pictorial History*, historical and architectural consultant, Harry Downie, photography by Philip Spencer (Menlo Park, California: Sunset Publishing, 1964), 101. Engelhardt claims it was founded a year earlier, stating that the first mass in honor of Saint Anthony was celebrated on July 14, 1770. See Engelhardt, *San Antonio*, 3–4, 103 ff. George Wharton James agrees with Weber, giving the founding year as 1771, but he states the day was July 17 as opposed to July 14. See George Wharton James, *The Old Franciscan Missions of California*, new ed. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1925), 104–5.

⁶⁷The definitive studies of life at Mission San Antonio are those authored by Robert L. Hoover, whose Mission San Antonio Archeological Field School has met every summer since the mid-1970s. The handouts from those summer research findings provide copious detail of the construction projects, their nature, and when they were completed. For some of Hoover's important work, consult: "California Mission Economic Development," handout for the Mission San Archeological Field School" (San

long, Sancho and Cabot oversaw the construction of an elaborate irrigation system, smithy shops, a tannery, textile production, a mill, a shoe factory, a carpentry shop with extensive storage for lumber production, and—perhaps most important—housing accommodations for approximately 2,000 residents who were attracted to this lifestyle.⁶⁸ The chapel that had been built in the

Luis Obispo, CA: author, 1982); "Message from the Director," no. 23 (August 1999) for the Mission San Antonio Archeological Field School" (San Luis Obispo, CA: author, 1999); "Mission San Antonio de Padua Indian Barracks Chronology," handout for the Mission San Antonio Archeological Field School" (San Luis Obispo, CA: author, 1976); "Mission San Antonio Research Design," handout for the Mission San Antonio Archeological Field School" (San Luis Obispo, CA: author, post-1983); Review of Robert H. Jackson & Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indian*, in *Ethnohistory*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Spring, 1996): 352–54; "Some Models for Spanish Colonial Archaeology in California," *Historical Archeology*, vol. 26, no. 1 (1992): 37–44; and "A Window on the Past: Mission San Antonio de Padua," *The Way of St. Francis* (publ. in Oakland, CA), vol. 7, no. 3 (May–June, 2001), 15–22. For a comprehensive study of Mission San Antonio, consult Engelhardt, *San Antonio*. Summers provides a brief but good summary of life at Mission San Antonio in his article, "Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources," *Revista de musicología*, 284–86. Da Silva and Bancroft assign much of the credit for San Antonio's prosperity to Sancho's efforts and guidance. See da Silva, *Mission Music*, 23 and Bancroft, *California*, 2: 621, fn 17, and Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, (San Francisco: San Francisco History Company Publishers, 1888), 203. Geiger offers the opinion that San Antonio was particularly lucky to have together the three Mallorcans Buenaventura Sitjar, Pedro Cabot, and Juan Bautista Sancho. See Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 224.

⁶⁸Among other accomplishments during Sancho's and Cabot's years at San Antonio, Engelhardt (in *San Antonio*) lists the following construction projects: 1805, new houses of adobe and tile roofs for the Native American family dwellings, water ditch begun; 1806, water power mill, more adobe homes built; 1808, structure to store lumber, ditch for irrigation dug, tannery with four tanks, half of the garden enclosed; 1809, 25 new houses for the neophytes, water ditch that was begun in 1805 is now completed; 1810, 31 new houses built, horse power mill constructed for grinding wheat, foundation for new church is laid; 1811, adobe walls for new church are 8 yards high, construction of community kitchen; 1812, church almost completed, new tannery, hut for seed storage in garden is finished; 1813 new church is finished, old church destroyed to build quarters for Cabot

late 1700s was no longer sufficient for the mission's burgeoning needs, so they began the construction of a new church. The native peoples of the area poured the foundation in 1810, built the walls in 1811, made considerable progress in 1812, and eventually finished the new church in 1813: to this day it is one of the most appealing and enchantingly beautiful buildings from the mission era in California.⁶⁹ (See photos R, S, and T of Mission San Antonio.) Agricultural progress was impressive. In 1824, for instance, the mission could boast an inventory that included: 6,000 head of cattle, 1,070 horses, 34 mules, 2 burros, 9,000 sheep, 28 goats "de pelo," and 77 pigs. Its storerooms were overflowing with the abundance of crops: 1,355 *fanegas* of wheat, 90 of corn, 44 of beans, 308 of barley, and 52 of chick-peas and other vegetables.⁷⁰ The irrigation system from the end of the eighteenth century was an engineering marvel, for as Francis Weber describes it, "installation of the intricate series of aqueducts in the next decade (1790s) increased the material fortunes of the mission considerably, so that by 1830 the entire valley was one giant vineyard stretching as far as the eye could

& Sancho; 1814, their quarters completed, granary built and a henry; 1815, huge structure finished that contained shops such as a weaving room, carding and spinning room, shoe shop, smithy shop for iron implements, leather working, carpentry, and a stable; etc. Similar construction projects continue throughout Sancho's lifetime.

⁷¹Engelhardt gives a detailed accounting of construction of the new church in *San Antonio*, 26–30. Also consult Gili, "Evangelitzadors," 139.

⁷²Every year each mission had to send in a report, giving its inventory of livestock and crops in storage. The accounting for the missions in 1824 is available in facsimile in Arthur Danning Spearman, S.J., *The Five Franciscan Churches of Mission Santa Clara, 1777–1825* (Palo Alto, California: The National Press, 1963), 52bis. The measuring unit of the *fanega* was equivalent to either 22.5 or 55.5 liters, depending on the locale. It is unclear which value should be applied in California during this period. See *Diccionario moderno español-inglés*, English-Spanish Larousse, ed. by Ramón García-Pelayo y Gross and Micheline Durand (Paris: Ediciones Larousse, 1979), 430; and also María Moliner, *Diccionario de uso del español*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1979), 1281.

see."⁷¹ Its population almost immediately rose to that of a small village, for within ten years of its inception there were already over a thousand residents living on site, "the largest number of neophytes contained at any one of the mission chain" in those early years.⁷² Its population fluctuated some but generally hovered slightly over 1,000 residents.⁷³ Robert Hoover has graphed out the statistics for "California Mission Economic Development" and demonstrates convincingly that the missions were remarkably successful with respect to agricultural and economic growth, particularly between 1805–1823, the very years when Sancho and Cabot were most deeply involved in managing the daily affairs of Mission San Antonio.⁷⁴ In short, the ingenuity, toil, and sweat of the Native Californians and the padres produced a sort of Golden Age that compares favorably with the economic expansion in the British Colonies. The image of quaint but lazy indigenous peoples and *californios* living in a pastoral paradise—devoid of ambition, culture, and

⁷¹Weber, *Readings*, 10. Weber then gives the sobering account of the mission's destruction, observing, "the downfall of the mission was swift and by 1843 the whole compound was a mass of ruins."

⁷²Weber, *Readings*, 10.

⁷³In 1805 there were 1,296 neophytes at the mission. By 1817 there was a slight drop to 985 residents. In 1830 the padres record 650. After secularization, the population continued to drop. In 1834, the population sank to 567, and by 1839 there the numbers plummet to a paltry 270 registered inhabitants at the mission. See James, *The Old Franciscan Missions*, 106–7; Hoover, "A Window on the Past," and Summers, "Recently Recovered Manuscript Sources," *Ars Musica Denver*, 14. The figures for 1817 are in The Bancroft Library, ms. C-C 69, Mariano Payeras, "Noticias de las misiones," A Report to the Superiors of the Colegio de San Fernando de México of the Missions of California, H. H. Bancroft Collection 35073. For a discussion of Figueroa and the confiscation of Mission San Antonio during secularization, consult Engelhardt, *San Antonio*, 57–60.

⁷⁴Hoover, handout "California Mission Economic Development." Hoover further delves into the engineering feats of the residents (with the construction of reservoirs and aqueducts) and the planting of orchards and crops so that San Antonio enjoyed a "constant food surplus" in his outstanding article "A Window on the Past," esp. 18–19.

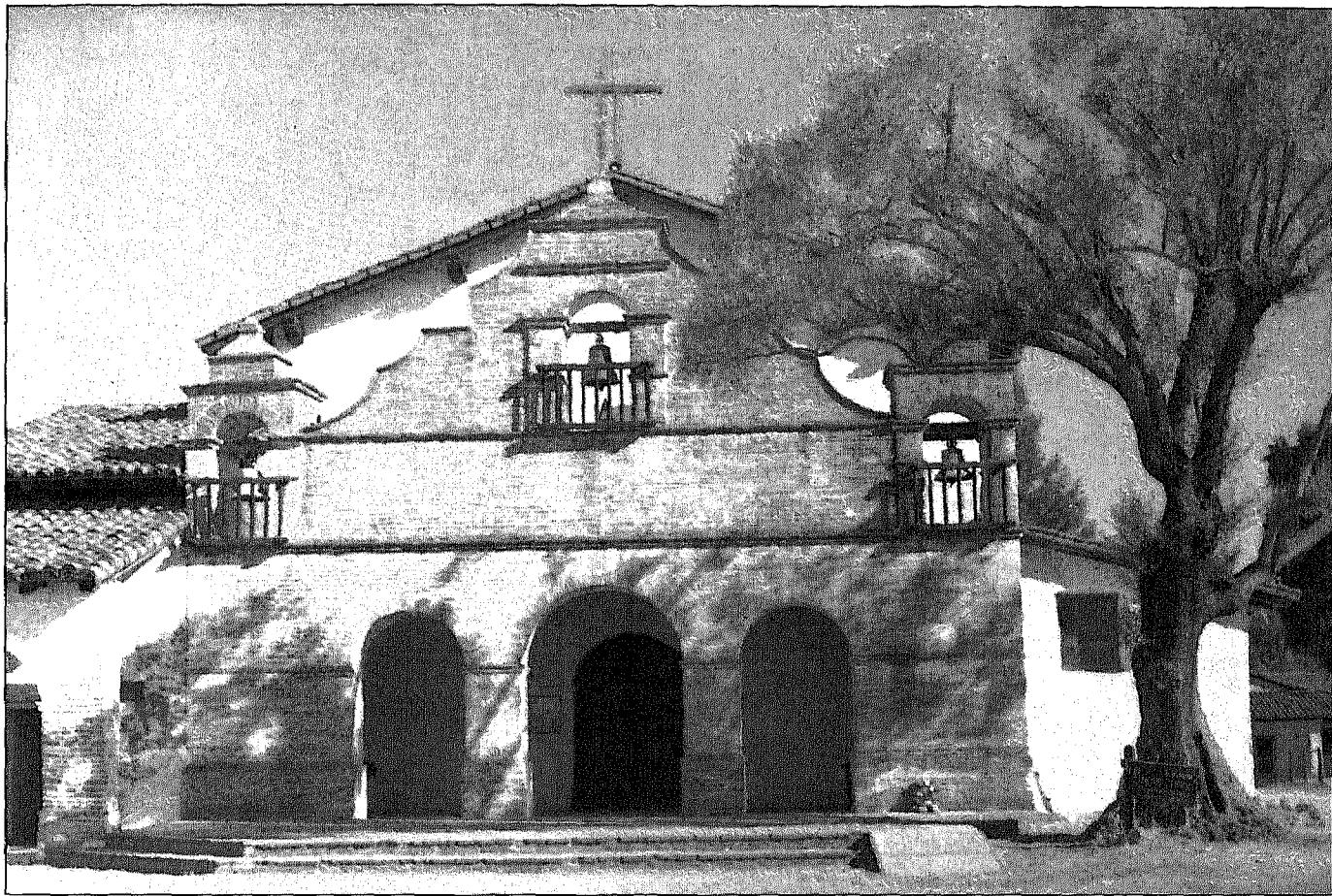


Photo R: Façade of Mission San Antonio.
Photo by author.

any “work ethic”—is the result of fictitious mythology rather than the historical record.⁷⁵

⁷⁵This oft-repeated view of an idyllic Eden populated by lackadaisical inhabitants began back in the nineteenth-century with writers such as Alexander Forbes and Captain Frederick William Beechey. The most influential historian with this view was Hubert Howe Bancroft. It would be hard to overstate the value of his copious and tireless scholarship, but nevertheless, his views on early California and its culture reflect the attitudes of his era, complete with its stereotypes and prejudices regarding Mexico and Native Americans. In a representative and unsympathetic statement, Bancroft summarizes that the early *californios* “were not a strong community in any sense, either morally, physically, or politically; hence it was that as the savages faded before the superior Mexicans, so faded the Mexicans before the superior Americans.” Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 293.

Mission San Antonio, then, was not a mere chapel plopped into an idyllic setting: it was, rather, a bustling and vibrant village with all of the attendant agricultural, industrial, cultural, spiritual and social activities that one would expect of a small town. And Juan Sancho was at the center of all those activities. All recorded accounts describe Sancho as a tireless worker who was always found working physically on some project. In Sancho’s obituary, his close friend Pedro Cabot recalls Sancho with these words:

Fr. Sancho was animated by a good spirit and healthy intentions in his deliberations. He worked a lot, in the spiritual realm as well as the

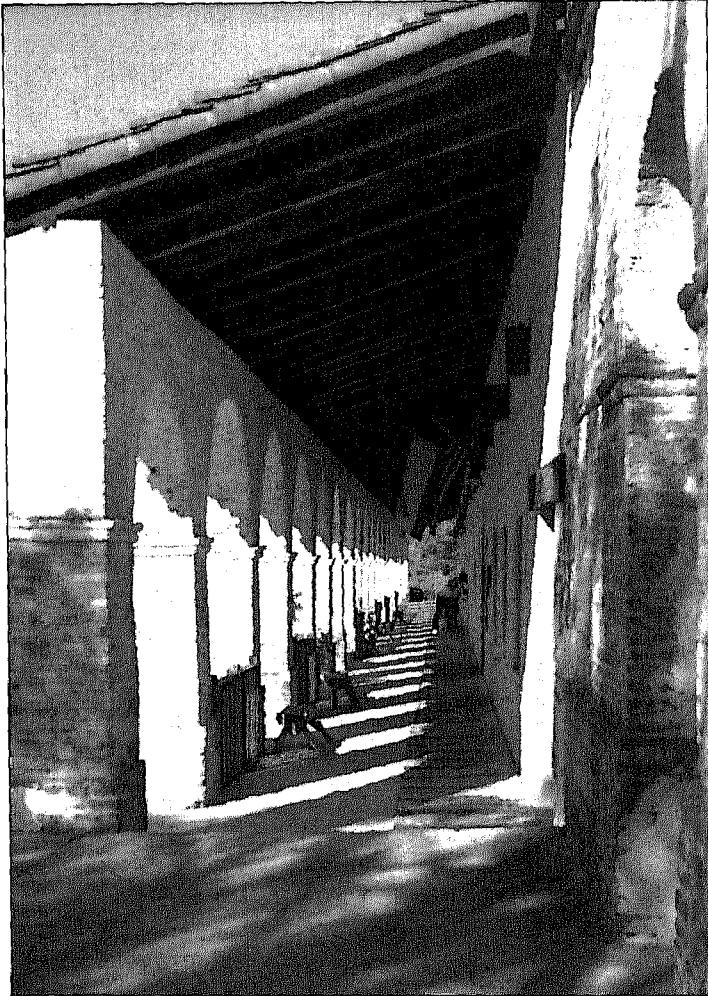


Photo S: Colonnade at Mission San Antonio.
Photo by author.

manual labor, all the while reprimanding vices and animating all to virtue.

The supposed “rest” that he took on those days when the weather was poor and he could not go outside, consisted of him composing catechism instructions, and he was greatly aided in this task by the good knowledge he had of the local Native American languages. In this occupation (of translating catechisms), very often he would lose track of time and miss lunch or dinner altogether! If he observed that I was lending him a hand, it seemed to him that he was not doing anything at all, since he was not doing everything by himself.

As an example, I will tell of a time ten years before his death, a time when God was stretching out his life. He was still recuperating and without any strength after a grave illness. Seeing that he was returning so soon to his strenuous, hard-working lifestyle, I said to him, “Padre, it is not time yet; leave this work alone and wait until you have more strength.” He responded with his typical simplicity and inborn candor, “If I have food to eat, I should work.” This is proof that he was a declared enemy of laziness.⁷⁶

earthly. His constancy was particularly noteworthy. This good Father and exemplary model to missionaries knew how to combine both occupations (of the spiritual and temporal)—for he would be seen working away in the manufacturing craft-shops and in the fields, enduring the greatest heat and most extreme cold with stoic suffering—but without forgetting to minister to the sick who needed to be cured of their pains, by administering the Holy Sacraments with complete punctuality to those who were close to death and in dire need, and without leaving those nearby in need for lack of expert religious advice. He would accomplish this without ceasing his

⁷⁶“Animado, el P. Sancho del espíritu bueno, y una sana intención / en sus deliberaciones; trabajo mucho tanto en lo espiritual, como en lo temporal, y lo particular la constancia, con que este buen Religioso y / exemplo de Misioneros, sabía unir ambas ocupaciones; se le veía en / los trabajos de fábricas y campo aguantando los mayores calores, y ex-/tremados fríos con todo sufrimiento, sin olvidar enfermos, como de-/bian curarse sus dolencias, administrándoles con toda puntualidad los / S^{ms} Sacramentos sin que los que estaban cerca carecieran de pláticas ex periáceas [?] sin dejar de trabajar de manos, reprehendiendo a los que no querían hacerlo.”

*Photo T: Altar at Mission San Antonio.
Photo by author.*

Several separate documents corroborate Cabot's assessment of his dear friend and colleague. Fr. Sarría in 1817 lauded the friar:

In its [San Antonio's] spiritual development he [Sancho] is justly considered as one of the best among the missionaries because of his constancy, zeal, application, activity, and industry in the development of buildings together with his knowledge of the language of the mission.⁷⁷

Three years later in 1820, he receives high praise yet again, this time from Fr. Payeras: "His merit corresponds with his great application and efficacy in every branch of the

-diendo vicios,/ y animado à todos a la virtud. El descanso que romaba [tomaba?] de dia quando / por mal tiempo no podia salir de casa era componer catecismos, ayu-/ dandole el suficiente conosimiento que poseya del idioma / des [sic] estos naturales; en cuiá ocupacion muchas veces se le pasava la / hora de comer ó cenar. Si observaba, que yo le daba la mano, le parecia / que el nada hacía, porque no lo hacia solo todo: en recuerdo dice, que / 10 años antes de morir, tiempo en que Dios le alarga la vida, despues / de un[a] grave enfermedad, convaleciente aun y sin fuerza, viendo la que tan pronto volvia a su vida laboriosa, le dije: Padre, no es tiempo,/ deje eso, aguarde tener mas fueras: me respondio con su acostum-/brada sencillez è innata naturalidad: Si tengo de comer, debo trabajar,/ prueba de que era enemigo declarado de toda ociosidad." *Difuntos que se asientan, en esta Mision de Sn Antonio de Padua de esta Nueva California,* manuscript book of burial records at San Antonio de Padua, available in facsimile at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, *Deaths, Mission San Antonio 1819-1872. Vol. II, entry 3499 on fols. 49-50.*

⁷⁷Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 224.



ministry, and his aptitude is for a complete missionary and for one or the other offices in the Order."⁷⁸

As was the case with many Spanish missionaries, Sancho's relations with the Native Californians with whom he lived and worked were complex. Physical beatings were one of the less attractive aspects of mission life, and Bancroft preserves a story which assigns Sancho a central role in administering corporal punishment to a neophyte:

⁷⁸Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 224.

When the mission San Antonio was in charge of fathers Juan Cabot [*sic*, it was Pedro Cabot] and Juan B. Sancho, the latter directed agricultural operations, and also attended to the music, the mission having a good orchestra. He always kept near his person a handsome Indian boy named Josafat, who was charged to give timely warning of the venomous ants abounding in that region. Nevertheless, the padre was often bitten, and then Josafat received a whipping at the hands of the mestizo, Antonio Rosas. . . . These facts were obtained from Josafat himself in 1847, when he was still living in San Antonio at an advanced age.⁷⁹

While Bancroft's well-known negative evaluation of the missions may have contributed to his telling of the story, the account does confirm several aspects of Sancho's life that have been documented elsewhere: he had developed a major music institution while at Mission San Antonio, and he was in charge of agricultural production at the mission. The environmental context of the story is not clear, but it is consistent with an outdoor setting. If so, it would place the padre physically alongside his fellow workers in the field and further confirm Cabot's assessment that Sancho was a worker, not a loafer.

Sancho's Last Rites Translation

Cabot's obituary also points to a much different fashion in which Sancho related to the San Antonio neophytes. Cabot recalls that his fellow missionary never forgot "to minister to the sick who needed to be cured of their pains . . . administering the Holy Sacraments (or Last Rites) with complete punctuality to those who were close to death and in dire need" and that he spent days of inclement weather translating catechisms and other texts into Native idioms. Another document has recently come to light, confirming Sancho's interest in both of those areas (delivery of

⁷⁹Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 203.

Last Rites and translation). While going through a box of "Mission Miscellany" at The Bancroft Library, I came across a translation into a Native American language of the Anointing of the Sick or Extreme Unction.⁸⁰ This folder contains a single paper sheet that is folded in such a way that it makes two folios or four pages—like a folded Hallmark greeting card.⁸¹ Every page has a hand-drawn border and meticulous lettering that demonstrates this was done with great care and a sense of respect: the lettering is exquisite and laser-perfect. This is no "rush job." Presently, it is catalogued with the rather cryptic description: "Protesta de la fe p^a el S^{to} Viatico, text in Indian dialect, H. H. Bancroft Collection." The *Santo Viático* (or in Latin, *Viaticum*) means "Food for the Journey" which is the administering of Communion before death.⁸² The *Protesta de la Fé* is the Confession of Faith (or *Confiteor Deo*) that occurs early in this ritual. The text begins with the Father (the *Sacerdote*, abbreviated as "Sac.") asking if the infirm soul believes in the Lord; and subsequently there is the abbreviation "Rx" for the response, followed by the text "*A episnoúmixu*" which most likely is the confirmation, "I believe." The priest then asks if the sick person believes in Jesus Christ, and there is the appropriate response, "*A episnoúmixu*." "Do you believe in the Holy Spirit?" "*A episnoúmixu*." And so the expected articles of faith are presented—such as belief in the Trinity, the Resurrection, the Catholic Church, and so forth—with Latin phrases intercalated with the Indian prose at periodic intervals. At the bottom

⁸⁰The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, C-C 73: 17.

⁸¹Each page in this document measures 15.8 x 21.5 cm.

⁸²For a complete explanation of the Last Rites in both Latin and English, consult the websites: "Extreme Unction," <<http://www.kensmen.com/catholic/unction.html>>; and Patrick Morissroe, "Communion of the Sick," trans. By Michael T. Barrett, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. R, ([New York?]: Robert Appleton Co., 1908), online edition by K. Knight, 2003, <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04174a.htm>>. Both sites visited May 8, 2004.

of the first page, the priest is told to kiss the cross on the chalice and proclaim, “We adore thee, O Christ, and we bless thee, for by thy cross thou hast redeemed the world,” after which he is to turn to the suffering soul and continue with communion.⁸³ Near the bottom of the second page we find the expected Agnus Dei followed by the “*Domine non sum dignus* (Lord, I am not worthy)” which in turn leads to the “*Accipe frater* (Receive brother or sister the Viaticum of Our Lord Jesus Christ)” and “*Domine Sancte, omnipotens &c.* (O Holy Lord, Father Almighty), both of which begin on page 3.

Although this elegant copy of the Last Rites bears no ascription, I can now identify this as the handiwork of Juan Sancho, based on similarities in handwriting with manuscripts known to have been copied by Sancho. If one examines the handwriting in Sancho’s music manuscripts in the Works Project Administration Collection at Berkeley and Sancho’s diary in The Bancroft Library, and compares the calligraphy with the letters in this translation of the Last Rites, one cannot help but see the similarities (see Figure 2).⁸⁴ The “printed” capital *M* is squared off at the bottom posts and the top peaks with small horizontal lines to give the letter precise definition. The cursive capital letter *M* has a looped downstroke at the beginning that makes a “fish-hook,” and Sancho draws a horizontal line that makes a sort of level platform at the top of the letter’s peaks. The capital letter *A* has a similar downstroke to

⁸³Consult the web site “The Exaltation of the Cross,” Women for Faith and Family accessed May 8, 2004 <<http://www.wff.org/ExaltCross.html>>, for an explanation of this section. The text in C-C 73: 17, pp. 1–2, states: “Ahora déle á besar la cruz del Copón, diciendo : *Adoramus te Christe, et benedicimus tibi &c.*, = tomando el SS^{mo} / en las manos, buelva al enfermo, y diga el Sacerdote . . .”

⁸⁴The writing conventions described in this paragraph can also be confirmed by the entries recorded by Juan Sancho in the burial records at San Antonio de Padua, available in facsimile at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library. *Deaths. Mission San Antonio 1819–1872, Vol. II.*

the capital letter *M*, before ascending on the main angled upstroke of the letter. The left upstroke is severely slanted, and the downstroke returns at such an acute angle that it does not even reach a vertical direction. There is a minuscule “foot” towards the right to close off the letter before raising the pen. The top beam of the capital *F* has a distinctive and fluid “swoop” that aesthetically matches the graceful curve of the letter’s downstroke. The capital *S* has an incisive, straight stroke that begins the letter, and another one that closes it off. The capital letter *D* has a prolonged anticipatory beginning that arches across the design, with a slight French curve before the crisp angle that sends the concluding pen stroke up at a 45% angle. The capital *E* often has a small “swoosh” that initiates the letter, followed by a pen stroke that sketches out the coils of a spring—so the protrusion of the letter’s midpoint (the small, middle “shelf” of the letter) is a small loop rather than a small line. The script for the common word *de* conjoins symmetrically the upward stem of the *d* with the left stroke of the *e*, creating an appealing flourish that almost resembles a clasp or a three-leaf clover. The capital letter *B* begins with a slanted downstroke that bends only at the last instant. Once the pen’s nib has been lifted, a second stroke begins the two bumps that protrude to the right; the top one is smaller and more elliptical, while the lower one is much more rotund—yet it fails to close with the letter’s base. Instead, before the pen is lifted from the sheet, the scribe has paused momentarily so that the ink is broader at the last curved edge of the letter. We could continue letter by letter, but the same conclusion would be reinforced. This is not merely a case where the manuscripts share general writing conventions from the same era; rather, this is the same handwriting of the same scribe—Juan Sancho.

The concluding part of this article will appear in the next issue of the *Boletín*.

CRAIG H. RUSSELL is a Professor of Music at the California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees at the University of New Mexico and his Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Dr. Russell is actively involved in teaching and was awarded the 1994–95 California State University Trustees' Outstanding Professor Award—CSU's highest honor. His excellence in research has also been recognized by the number of major grants he has received from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Spain's Ministry of Culture and the

California Council for the Humanities, to name a few. Dr. Russell's publication record includes over 60 scholarly articles and his large two-volume book Santiago de Murcia's 'Códice Saldívar № 4': A Treasury of Secular Guitar Music from Baroque Mexico. He is also a composer whose works cover a wide range of interests and have been performed in venues such as Carnegie Hall and the Kennedy Center. Of note are his "Concierto Romántico" (for guitar and orchestra), "Rhapsody for Horn", *¡Al Zócalo!* (a quartet), and "It's a Man's World—Or is it?" (a musical comedy).