

Musical Style and Performance in California Mission Life

Craig H. Russell
California Polytechnic State University

In life, first impressions can be misleading—a cursory glance or casual encounter often fails to reveal the depth of character that lies just below the surface. The same can be said regarding modern-day impressions of past music in the California missions between 1769 (the founding of the first mission at San Diego) and their secularization in 1834, dissolution, and gradual decline in the mid-1800s. If we were to judge the character of mission music and the culture that produced it, merely on the basis of a visual “impression” of note heads on music sheets, which at times can be scribbled on mere scrap paper, we could easily head down the wrong road. Tiny, unassuming snippets of paper can conceal musical events that actually were full of splendor and pageantry. Note shapes that at first appear identical, can—upon closer scrutiny—be seen to have slight variations that portray widely different stylistic trends, cultural backgrounds, nationalistic tendencies, and historic periods. “Old-looking” scribal writing can conceal extremely modern-sounding stylistic trends (within the context of the time). In short, it is well worth our trouble to examine California music sources and ask ourselves: what do the clues actually tell us, what does the page and documentation reveal? In addition to the standard musical “meanings” of pitch and rhythm, can we also ascertain the intended types of musical sonorities? What are the required musical resources? If we see a texted melody, is it for voices alone or with accompaniment? How large a performing ensemble is intended? And the list goes on.

These and other questions pertaining to California mission life can be addressed to a large extent by examining the verbal descriptions of musical styles dating from the mission period and linking those concepts to the actual manuscripts that still survive from the era. I propose first to explore the friars’ writings and the treatises that they possessed, consulted, and utilized throughout the course of their missionary work in California. During the mission period, there were four main music styles that dominated mission life: 1) *canto llano*, or “plainchant”; 2) *canto figurado*, designating homophonic melodies accompanied by semi-improvised chordal accompaniments); 3) *canto de órgano*, a label for polyphony; and 4) *estilo moderno*, or “modern music,” which resembled the most recent trends that were sweeping Europe and the urban centers of Latin America. After discussing these four styles, I will offer a few remarks concerning eyewitness accounts, for they reinforce the impression that these styles were not merely “understood” in a theoretical way, but indeed constituted part of actual life and music-making in California during the mission period.

***Canto llano* (plainchant)**

Of these four styles, none was more important or common than *canto llano*, i.e., unaccompanied monophony with rhythmic decisions being determined by the natural flow and accentuation of the text as opposed to a steady meter with regular groupings of

pulses stamping out measures of equal length.ⁱ It was the staple of daily religious singing, especially the singing of the Mass Proper (but not necessarily the Mass Ordinary).ⁱⁱ Various authors describe this style, including Francisco Marcos y Navas in his *Arte, ó compendio general del canto-llano, figurado y órgano, en método fácil*. He explains:

Q[uestion]: What is...plainchant [*canto llano*]?

...

A[nswer]: Plainchant is the simple and equal measuring out of figures and notes, which cannot be augmented or diminished in value. *Musica plana est notarum simplex, & uniformis prolation, qua nec augeri, nec minui possunt.* It is also called Gregorian Chant, since it was Gregory the Great who gave it form so that the Church would be able to sing.

Q: Why is one not able to augment or diminish the value of these said notes?

A: Because plainchant has no hierarchical metric structure—such as mode, *tempus*, and prolation—nor does it have variability in its note-shape values.ⁱⁱⁱ

In spite of Marcos y Navas's indication that *canto llano* is “Gregorian,” this designation turns out to be slightly misleading. If we compare the melodies and texts preserved in California sources with those associated with the “Gregorian” tradition (also known as “Roman rite”), we find numerous discrepancies and departures, as well as considerable overlap. For example, in his choirbooks, Esteban Tapís provides chants to be used during the Marian feasts, beginning with the Nativity and continuing up to the Purification, but we find a hodge-podge of melodies, some of which appear in the Roman rite whereas others differ substantially.^{iv} In Santa Inés Ms. 1 (p. 20), the Offertory that Tapís uses, “Felix namque,” bears almost no resemblance to the standard Roman-rite tune; the subsequent Communion, “Beata viscera Mariæ Virginis,” on the other hand, is clearly drawn from the Gregorian model (see fig. 1).^v

Similarly, Florençio Ibáñez intermixes melodies that are from the Gregorian tradition with other chants that are not.^{vi} On page 33 of his chant book Santa Clara Ms. 3, for example, the “Psallite” Communion for Easter that he writes out is not from the Roman rite. The ensuing piece on that same page, the Introit “Spiritus Dominus” for Pentecost, however, is cut from the same cloth as Gregorian melodies in “standard” chant books of the Roman rite (see fig. 2).

Fig. 1: “Felix namque” and “Beata viscera,” in Old Mission Santa Inés Ms. 1, p. 20. Ex. of *canto llano*. (Permission to include this image courtesy of the Old Mission Santa Inés; photo by the author.)



Fig. 2: “Psallite” and “Spiritus Dominus,” in Santa Clara Ms. 3, p. 33. Ex. of *canto llano*. (Permission to include this image courtesy of the Santa Clara University Archive; photo by the author.)



Clearly, the previous examples show that the friars were depending on a chant tradition that sometimes did not overlap with Gregorian models. We might ask, then, from what sources are these “unidentified” melodies drawn? A major clue in response to this question surfaces in the melodies found in Vicente Pérez Martínez’s *Prontuario del cantollano gregoriano . . . según práctica de la muy santa primada iglesia de Toledo* (Handbook of Gregorian plaincha . . . according to chant as practiced in the Most Holy Primate Church of Toledo).^{vii} At least one copy of this book was accessible to the mission friars, and a careful comparison of its contents with chant manuscripts in California shows a large number of very similar or even identical chant settings, some of which do not coincide or overlap with Roman rite.^{viii} As the *Prontuario*’s title page states, the book was published in Toledo, a city of prime importance in Spanish liturgical practice ever since the Middle Ages. The pope had granted Spain special dispensation to continue its use of “Old Spanish” or “Mozarabic chant,” rather than be subject solely to the universally authorized and accepted Roman rite.^{ix} Unfortunately, “Old Spanish” chant suffered a lapse in the continuity of its practice, and there is no real way to verify how close or far away the reforms of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros in the early 1500s are to the earlier medieval versions of this repertoire. Regardless, the “Old Hispanic” chant promulgated by Cisernos spread across the Iberian Peninsula and Hispano-American world and represented two passions close to the heart of any noble Spaniard: loyalty to the Church and loyalty to the Spanish Crown.^x Both of these passions joined together in a single iconic institution, the Primate Church of Toledo.

Significantly, Toledo cast its long shadow all the way to North America’s West Coast, for references to Toledo in California sources abound. For example, the choirbook believed to be in Father Junípero Serra’s possession has a “Missa Toledana, Quarto tono, punto alto” (Mass of Toledo in Mode 4, a step higher); Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta copies out a “Missa Toletana, St. Joan Baptista” (Mass of Toledo for Saint John the Baptist) on 3 May 1834; and Juan Bautista Sancho also wrote out a “Gloria Todedana [sic]” (Gloria of Toledo).^{xi} Significantly, the *Prontuario* that served as a model for several California mission chant melodies was published in Toledo, and its origin suggests that at least some—and maybe many—of the “mystery” pieces in the California manuscripts that do not match up with Roman rite are drawn from the Mozarabic tradition as disseminated from Toledo. Until a thorough scouring of the Toledo liturgy is undertaken and more “matches” encountered, this theory must remain partially conjectural. Nevertheless, the evidence is undeniable that Toledo and its chant traditions were known to the California friars and held a place of great importance in the musical activities in the California missions.

Within the world of *canto llano*, a third stream of repertoire must be added to those of the Gregorian and Toledo rites: Narciso Durán established a family of reusable chant melodies for the Mass Proper that recurred day after day, with only slight alterations to accommodate differing lengths of texts.^{xii} That is, he had a core Introit melody that was heard at the beginning of each day, regardless of the season. The same holds true for his immutable Alleluia and Communion tunes that resurfaced every day, regardless of the season, but with each tune undergoing modest adjustments so they would fit the new texts specific to that day.^{xiii} Durán struck upon this idea of

standardized core tunes by trying to help out his young choirboys in performing the necessary music for daily Mass. In most chant traditions, each new day brought entirely new melodies as well as texts, and Durán felt that these ever fluctuating challenges made it too difficult for his inexperienced choirboys to learn. Durán, then, decided to prune things down to a more manageable size. He explains this procedure in the preface to the choirbook that he wrote out in 1813 while serving at the Mission San José. He states:

Likewise, I need to point out that the Introits, Alleluias, and Communions are all in the same mode or key, which will probably annoy someone. . . . But these poor folks [the Native American choirboys] are out there having to perform all of the functions by themselves, and it is necessary to facilitate things for them so that they will sing well, and for this reason it occurred to me that putting everything in only one mode is easier for them. So the Introits are in Mode 1, conforming to or in imitation of the *Gaudeamus* (which is the one that I have heard celebrated): except the Introits for Ash Wednesday and Holy Week, for which I thought it more in keeping with the Spirit of the Church in the mysteries of these days to set them in Mode 4. The Alleluias and Communions of the year are in Mode 6 for the same reason—it seemed to me that they create an appropriate mood that is fitting for their place or presentation of the Mass. And just to make sure all of this doesn't annoy you, keep in mind the fact that until now nobody has gotten upset with the Orations, Epistles, Gospels, Prefaces, Lord's Prayer, etc., in spite of them always being sung in just one key.^{xiv}

Canto figurado* and *canto de órgano

At first glance, the notational conventions of *canto llano* and those of *canto figurado* and *canto de órgano* appear to be very similar, in that all use C clefs and F clefs exclusively (no treble G clefs), and note heads are either squares and diamonds as opposed to the oval note heads used today. Stems are infrequent. However, there are subtle visual differences in notating these three styles that imply radically different sonorities. For instance, *canto llano* has no bar lines, and the rhythm is shaped by the flow of the text declamation (see figs. 1 and 2). *Canto figurado* and *canto de órgano*, on the other hand, have bar lines, indicating a steady metric pulse and groupings of pulses that form themselves into regular, predictable measures (see figs. 3 and 4). In these latter two styles, the shape of the note head actually has a bearing on the length of each note's value, and this prescribed value overrides any rhythmic aspects of the spoken text. Both *canto figurado* and *canto de órgano* were performed with instrumental accompaniment, sometimes with reinforcement of the vocal lines and almost always with a semi-improvised chordal accompaniment to thicken and enrich the musical textures.^{xv}

Although *canto figurado* and *canto de órgano* are sometimes lumped together as if they were one and the same, most theorists and musicians of the time made a distinction between these related but separate styles. *Canto figurado* was the simpler of the two, a homophonic texture crafted of a single metric melody with implied harmonies. It admitted only simple duple and triple meters, and the available note shapes were few: the long (a square note with a tail descending from the right side); the breve (a squared

note head); a semibreve (a diamond-shaped note head); and a minim (a diamond-shaped note with a stem). Although rests were allowed—at least theoretically—in practice, they seldom occur and almost never within a phrase as an indicator of articulations or phrasing subtleties. Flats and sharps are utilized, but only rarely does one find an example of *canto figurado* with a key signature that has more than one flat or one sharp.

Canto de órgano consisted of polyphonic voices commingling simultaneously, with a much broader palette of musical possibilities than the homophonic *canto figurado* settings. Meters could be duple, triple, or quadruple; simple meters with duple subdivisions of the pulse predominate, but *canto de órgano* allowed triplet subdivisions as well, providing an assortment of compound meters that resemble our modern meters indicated by 6/8, 9/8, or 12/8 time. Virtuosic facility was wholly absent from *canto figurado*, unlike *canto de órgano*, where melodies could race along in smaller, rapid-fire subdivisions of the underlying pulse. Rests were more commonplace, and there was much more of an effort to indicate phrases and articulations. In addition, *canto de órgano* allowed a wider spectrum of available keys or tonalities than were available in *canto figurado*; the former has examples of key signatures with as many as six sharps or flats.

Some of the clearest explanations of both *canto figurado* and *canto de órgano* are found in Marcos y Navas's *Arte, ó compendio general*, a source that was ready-at-hand for many of the friars (as has been amply demonstrated and explored in the research of William John Summers).^{xvi} In describing *canto figurado*, Marcos y Navas observes:

Q[uestion]: How many note types does one find in *canto figurado*?

A[nswer]: Four.

Q: And what are they?

A: Long, breve, semibreve, and minim.

...

Q: How may time signatures or meters are there that are employed in *canto figurado*?

A: Just two: binary and ternary.^{xvii}

He goes on to explore a few fundamentals of Renaissance mensural notation, such as ligatures with a *plica*, or “tail,” in which both connected notes of the neume are interpreted as semibreves.^{xviii} He also clarifies a few other rhythmic ambiguities before putting forward an explanation of the basic symbols of *canto figurado*, including the semibreve rest, sharps, flats, natural signs, the addition of rhythmic value in dotted rhythms, and fermatas.

Later on in his treatise, Marcos y Navas goes on to distinguish *canto de órgano* from *canto figurado*. He delves into *canto de órgano* in Part Four of his treatise and explains:

Q: What is *canto de órgano*?

A: It is the combining of various and diverse figures that are lengthened or shortened in value, depending on the time signature.

Q: What is understood to be a figure in *canto de órgano*?

A: A representative note shape of the melodic line.

Q: How many of these “figures” or note shapes are there?

A: Seven, and they are: breve (double whole-note), semibreve (whole note), minim (half note), semiminim (quarter note), corchea (eighth note), semicorchea (sixteenth note), and fusa (thirty-second note).

...and some modern musicians use even one more—the semfusa (sixty-fourth note).

...

Q: How many meters are in use presently with respect to *canto de órgano*?

A: Six.

Q: What are they?

A: Cut time, common time, 2/4 time, 6/8 time, 3/8 time, and 3/4 time.^{xix}

Whereas only one rest appeared in the discussion of *canto figurado*, here Marcos y Navas presents the complete assortment of rests, so that for each available “note” value we can find a corresponding “pause” of the same value or length. He then presents the clefs of *canto de órgano* and delves into subtleties of performance, including aspects of articulation and ornamentation. Last, he takes the reader on a cursory journey through the eight modes and the various key signatures employed in *canto de órgano*.

Although Marcos y Navas does not explicitly mention instrumental accompaniment as an aspect of *canto figurado* and *canto de órgano*, other contemporary writers do explore this essential stylistic aspect. Writing in 1754, Archbishop Pedro Antonio de Barroeto y Ángel of Lima’s Cathedral indicates that *canto figurado* employed instrumental accompaniment and that it preserved the appropriate solemnity, reverence, and decorum needed for a worship service, as long as the musicians were careful to shy away from ostentatious virtuosity and showy displays—aspects that, from his perspective, were endemic to the secular music of his time.^{xx} For him, instrumental accompaniment was appropriate for sacred music, especially in the *canto figurado* style, but he cautions against descending into self-indulgent and vain excursions of showy virtuosity. We can assume that Barroeto y Ángel’s principles probably matched those held by the California friars.

But we can rightly ask, what sort of instruments were prevalent in the mission ensembles during *canto figurado* performance? Fortunately, the numerous inventories of mission possessions that were made during this period—as well as the plethora of invoices from the California missions to its mother house in Mexico City requesting instruments, strings, and other music supplies—reveal that nearly every mission had a full gamut of musical resources capable of playing full, orchestral sonorities.^{xxi} Furthermore, missions also possessed significant numbers of chordal instruments, such as guitars, bandolas, and harps. These plucked strings were essential elements of any mission orchestra. Given the abundance of these plucked strings in mission inventories, we can surmise that the friars and neophyte performers used them to improvise the

chordal foundation at mass or other liturgical functions for those works that were written out in *canto figurado* notation. This would be consistent with the chordal accompaniments we find in Spanish secular music as well. Louise Stein has shown that for secular and theatrical song, the “characteristic Spanish continuo ensemble included harps and guitars, the preferred accompaniment instruments in Spain since at least the middle of the sixteenth century.”^{xxii} Keyboards, on the contrary, are few and far between in the California missions and therefore did not constitute a prominent or representative aspect of music making at these cultural centers.^{xxiii}

For *canto de órgano*, mission choirbooks repeatedly indicate that instruments were involved in supporting the voices harmonically. Instrumentalists often had to supply short interludes from time to time, indicated in the choral scores by the annotations “música” or “toca.”^{xxiv} Also, some evidence suggests that instruments doubled the vocal lines, although how often and in what context is hard to establish with much certainty. It is clear, though, that mission performance of polyphony was generally done with concerted sonorities that combined voices with instruments in some sort of interwoven texture.

For examples of mission repertoire written in *canto figurado* and *canto de* notation, consult the facsimiles and transcriptions of the “Credo artanense” (figs. 3 and 4) and *Gozos al Señor San José* (fig. 5).

The “Credo artanense” was written out by Juan Bautista Sancho while he was still directing music activities at the Convent de Sant Francesc in Palma de Mallorca, as can be gathered by the dating of this manuscript at the bottom of the second page, “Día 21 de Maio, cerca las once de la n[o]che, acaba de escrivrlo” (The 21st day of May, at about 11:00 o’clock at night, I have just finished writing this out).^{xxv} The squared breves and diamond-shaped semibreves waft along in a lilting triple meter, except for the middle section, “Et incarnatus est,” that momentarily shifts to duple meter.^{xxvi} Father Narciso Durán wrote out the “Gozos al Señor San José” using *canto de órgano* notation.^{xxvii} All four voices are indicated on a single staff with each voice be assigned its own color of note heads: the soprano sings the hollow red notes; the alto sings the hollow black notes; the tenor sings the solid red notes; and the bass sings the solid black notes. In each stanza there is a line written as *canto figurado* (“Soy José el claro día”) that abandons the four-voice texture by reducing down to a single melodic line with implied chordal accompaniment.

Fig. 3: “Credo artanense” (recto side) in the hand of Juan Bautista Sancho, photo Aa-1 in WPA folder 52 at the Department of Music, UC Berkeley. Ex. of *canto figurado*. (Photo courtesy of the Department of Music, UC Berkeley.) A realized performance edition of figs. 3 and 4 is to be found as Appendix A at the end of this article.



Fig. 4: “Et resurrexit,” continuation of the “Credo artanense” (verso side) in the hand of Juan Bautista Sancho, photo Aa-2 in WPA folder 52 at the Department of Music, UC Berkeley. Ex. of *canto figurado*. (Photo courtesy of the Department of Music, UC Berkeley.)

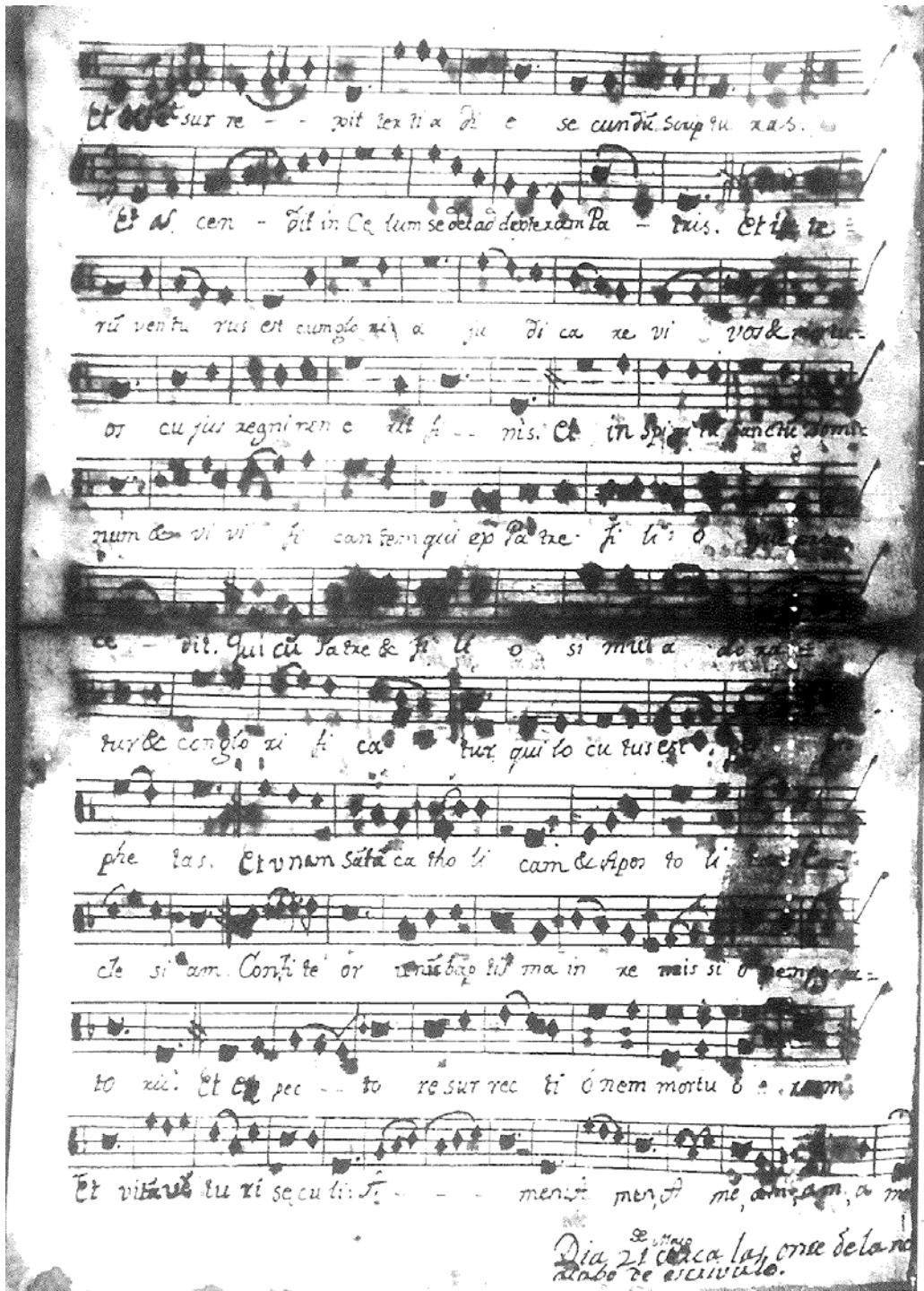


Fig. 5: *Gozos al Señor San José*, “Para dar luz inmortal,” Santa Clara Ms. 4, p. 63. Ex. of *canto de órgano*. (Permission to include this image courtesy of the Santa Clara University Archive; photo by the author.) A realized performance edition of this piece is to be found as Appendix B at the end of this article.



Estilo moderno or música moderna

In addition to the three textures already explored, a fourth needs to be added: *estilo moderno* or *música moderna*.^{xxviii} These terms referred to pieces in the high Baroque or early Classical styles that emanated from Europe and the urban centers of the Hispano-American world. The notation used the symbols that are familiar today, such as modern clef signs, and rounded note shapes (whole notes, half notes, quarter notes, and the like), as opposed to the rather blockish and angular shapes seen in the previous three styles. In addition to featuring difficult and sometimes flamboyant vocal writing, works in *estilo moderno* generally employed small instrumental ensembles featuring bowed strings and winds, or larger chamber orchestras with top-dominated sonorities (that is, there were more violins and high-pitched instruments than cellos and its low-sounding cousins the bassoon and double-bass). The instrumental figuration was almost as important as the vocal lines, and the technical mastery of both vocal and instrumental techniques was necessary. Ornamentation and florid passagework rose in importance. The rhythms become much more varied and complex than those found in *canto figurado* and *canto de órgano*. The exquisite masses of Ignacio de Jerusalem found at the San Fernando and Santa Barbara Missions exemplify the *estilo moderno* at its most demanding, and they share many features in common with composers such as Joseph Haydn and José de Nebra.^{xxix} There are stacks of pieces in the *estilo moderno* written out by Juan Bautista Sancho, and a strong case can be made that many of these were actually composed by him. Regardless of authorship, however, the presence of these *estilo moderno* works in California demonstrates that California was up-to-date with stylistic fads and trends that had swept Europe and urban centers of the New World only a few years before. Geographically, the missions were situated at the end of the trail in exceedingly remote areas, but even in these outer regions of the Spanish Empire, current musical trends made their way to these Pacific shores in very short order. For examples of mission works in the *estilo moderno*, consult the “Quoniam tu solus” from the *Polychoral Mass in D* at the San Fernando Mission (attributed to Ignacio de Jerusalem) and the “Sanctus” from the *Misa en sol* (attributed to Juan Bautista Sancho).^{xxx}

Eyewitness accounts

Before leaving the topic of mission music styles, one more aspect needs to be explored, i.e., that of eyewitness accounts. The presence of manuscripts in California with difficult technical passages does not necessarily prove that musicians in the California missions were technically proficient enough to accomplish the daunting tasks that the notation required. This is particularly relevant with respect to the challenges presented by *estilo moderno*, replete with its orchestral sonorities and sophisticated vocal writing. It is one thing to see or understand a challenge written down before us, and it is another thing altogether to meet that challenge with demonstrable success. Fortunately, there are many eyewitness accounts of mission music making, and overall they reinforce the notion that the missions explored the four styles explained in this present paper, and often at a very high level of proficiency. Although the examples are many, I will extract a few excerpts from the *Interrogatorio (Questionnaire)* of 1812-1814 in which the friars were required to assess the quality of various aspects of mission life, dividing the task

into 33 different questions.^{xxxii} The three most thorough accounts, issue forth from the San Antonio, Santa Cruz, and Santa Inés Missions. They read:

Mission San Antonio

“32 [sic = should be 33].

The neophytes have a lot of musical talent, and they play violins, cello, flutes, horn, drum, and other instruments that the Mission has given them. . . . The converts sing Spanish lyrics perfectly, and they easily learn every kind of singing that is taught to them, *canto llano* or plainchant as well as the metric singing of *canto figurado* [that is accompanied by instruments]. Also, they can successfully perform as a choir, or even manage the singing of a polyphonic mass with separate, independent melodic lines—as long as there are the necessary performance parts. In all this they are aided by a clear voice and good ear that they all have, both men and women alike.

Mission San Antonio de Padua,

February 26, 1814.

Juan Bautista Sancho

Fr. Pedro Cabot^{xxxiii}

Mission Santa Cruz

33. . . . The Missionaries have nudged them [the neophyte converts] over into the realm of sacred music, and with such a favorable outcome, that there is an individual who affirms that many cathedrals do not have such excellent church choirs and ensembles [as ours]. These chapel musicians have no strong affection for any particular instrument, but if asked to learn to play the flute or oboe, later they do so. If they dedicate themselves to the violin or the cello, they become quite distinguished at it, with the advantage that even though they play in time, they also can sing using *solfège* syllables.

Mission Santa Cruz, April 30, 1814.

Fr. Marcelino Marquines

Fr. Jayme Escude^{xxxiv}

Mission Santa Inés

29 [sic, should be 33]. . . . One hears devotional songs and concerted combinations of instruments. The cello, the contrabass, the violin (instruments made by the very same Neophytes—and the same goes for the drum as well), the recorder, the transverse flute, the horn, and the bandola, are those instruments with which they are familiar and that they use in Church functions. They are very talented in the field of music, and they easily learn by heart the sonatas that they happen to hear or that are taught to them.

Mission Santa Inés,
March 8, 1814.
Fr. Estevan Tapis
Fr. Fran.^{co} Xavier Uria^{xxxiv}

Other friars touch on similar themes but in more cursory statements. At the San Fernando Mission, friars Joaquin Pascual Nuez and Pedro Muñoz observe, “They are attracted to our instruments, and they use them—stringed ones as well as wind instruments.”^{xxxv} Luis Gil and Jose María de Zalvidea at the San Gabriel Mission state, as well, “In their Christian state, they have become acquainted with all of our instruments, both winds as well as strings. And some Neophytes demonstrate a real talent and love for them. . . .”^{xxxvi} At the San Juan Bautista Mission, Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta reports, “The neophytes are very attracted to instrumental music and to singing. They learn with facility whatever is taught to them. . . .”^{xxxvii} Continuing south to the San Luis Obispo Mission, Antonio Rodríguez and Luis Antonio Martínez observe, “once they [the indigenous Californians] have become Christianized, I have seen them learn to play the violin, cello, flute, guitar, and bandola. And they have the talent to learn as much as they are taught.”^{xxxviii} And at Mission San Miguel, friars Juan Cabot and Juan Martín report that the Native Californians “are very talented in learning music. They play any instrument with facility and perfection.”^{xxxix} A very similar account is authored by Ramon Olbes at the Santa Barbara Mission, in which he states, “The neophytes are very adept at singing and playing any kind of instrument, whether it be a wind or string instrument.”^{xl}

In conclusion, we see then that California mission music was not a singular style or sonority but, in fact, an assortment of four main textures and styles, each with its distinct notational properties and musical characteristics. Some were direct and straightforward, whereas others used instrumental and orchestral accompaniments that would have required a large group of trained musicians as well as ample rehearsal time. And in spite of the tensions and conflicts that occurred on more than one occasion between the friars and the indigenous residents of California, we see that the neophytes nevertheless adopted “Western” music practice with obvious skill and, in some cases, with downright enthusiasm. I would argue that the mission styles of *canto llano*, *canto figurado*, *canto de órgano*, and *estilo moderno* end up representing more than mere explanations of performance trends in this mission period. They are “symbolic” as much as they are “historic.” The variety and beauty of these styles provide a wonderful metaphor for what California was and for what it was to become in ensuing decades and continues to be, even today—a land rich with artistic possibilities, a land of informed awareness of a wider world, and a land with people of disparate backgrounds and ethnicities, working together in collaboration to accomplish shared, triumphant achievements.

Appendix A

Based primarily on WPA folder 52, with some ambiguities clarified in WPA folder 51 and WPA folder 65 (Sancho's *Misa en sol*).

Credo Artanense

Juan Bautista Sancho
Edited by and with an accompaniment
composed by Craig H. Russell

The musical score consists of four systems of music, each with a treble clef line and a basso continuo line below it. The music is in common time.

System 1: Measures 1-9. Treble clef line starts with a dotted half note followed by eighth notes. Basso continuo line has sustained notes and eighth-note patterns. Text: Pa-trem o-mni-po-tent-tem, fac-to-rem cae-li et ter-rae, vi-si-

System 2: Measures 10-18. Treble clef line starts with eighth notes. Basso continuo line has sustained notes and eighth-note patterns. Text: bi-li-um om-ni-um et in-vi-si-bi-li-um. Et in u-num

System 3: Measures 19-27. Treble clef line starts with eighth notes. Basso continuo line has sustained notes and eighth-note patterns. Text: Do-mi-num Je-sum Chri-stum, Fi-li-um De-i Fi-li-um De-i

System 4: Measures 28-36. Treble clef line starts with eighth notes. Basso continuo line has sustained notes and eighth-note patterns. Text: u-ni-ge-ni-tum. Et ex Pa-tre na-tum,

System 5: Measures 37-45. Treble clef line starts with eighth notes. Basso continuo line has sustained notes and eighth-note patterns. Text: an-te om-ni-a sae-cu-la. De-um de De-o, lu-men de lu-mi-ne,

46

De - um ve - rum de De - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum, non fac -

54

tum, con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri: per quem om - ni - a

63

fac - - - ta sunt. Qui prop - ter nos ho - mi - nes etprop-ter nos tram sa - lu -

73

tem de - scen - - - - dit de cae - lis.

82 ⑦ [Despacio]

Et in - car - na - tus est de Spi - ri - tu San - eto ex Ma - ri - a

90

90 Vir - gi - ne: Et ho - mo fa - etus est. Cru - ei - fi - xus e -

99

99 ti - am pro no - bis: sub Pon - ti - o Pi - la - to pas - sus et se -

108

(9)

108 pul - tus est. Et re - sur - re - - xit ter - ti - a di - e,

116

(10)

116 se - cun - dum Scrip - tu - ras. Et a - scen - - dit in cae - lum: se - det ad

125

(11)

125 dex - te - ram Pa - tris. Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est cum glo - ri - a

134

ju - di - ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu - os: eu - jus re - gni non e - rit

143

(12)

fi - nis. Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, Do - mi - num, et vi - vi - fi -

152

(13)

can - tem: que ex Pa - trie Fi - li - o - que pro - ce - dit. Qui cum

160

Pa - tre et Fi - li - o si - mul ad - o - ra - tur et con - glo - ri - fi -

169

(14)

ca - tur: qui lo - cu - tus est per Pro - phe - tas. Et u-nam sanctam ca -

179

179 tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li - cam Ec - ele - si - am. Con - fi-te - or

15

188

188 u - num ba - ptis - ma in re - mis - si - o - nem pec - ca - to - rum.

16

196 16

196 Et ex - spec - - - to re - sur - rec - ti - o - nem mor - tu -

If desired, have the cello drop out and have the chordal instruments play in the higher register.]

203 17

203 rum. Et vi - tam ven - tu - ri sae - eu - li. A - - -

17

212

212 men, A - men.

Appendix B

Edited by & with instrumental
parts composed by Craig H. Russell

Para dar luz immortal

Santa Clara Ms. 4, p. 63

* parallel 5ths & octaves

Voices

Pa - ra dar luz im-mor - tal sien-do'es po - so de Ma - r -

Continuo

6 3 6

9

S

a. Sois Jo - s el cla - ro d - a, en pu - re - za'an ge - li - cal.
[Rx]

19

1.A - ve sois An - gel tro - ca - do por vues tra'in - o - cen - te vi - da,
es - tan do vues tra'al-ma'u - ni - da al au - tor de lo cri - a - do

4 5

Para dar luz inmortal siendo Esposo de María
Sois José el claro día en pureza angelical.

To give immortal light, being the Husband of Mary
You are Joseph, the clear day in angelic purity.

Ave sois Ángel trocado por vuestra inocente vida
estando vuestra alma unida al autor de lo criado
siendo de Dios tan amado inmenso es vuestro caudal.
Sois José el claro día en pureza angelical.

You are transformed into an angel by your innocent life;
since your soul is united with the author of the Child,
being so beloved of God, your fortune is immense.
You are Joseph, the clear day in angelic purity.

Sois Arcángel ilustrado en los misterios de Dios
siendo el depósito vos, de los del Verbo encarnado
no es mucho si a vuestro lado teneis al Sol inmortal.
Sois José el claro día en pureza angelical.

You are an Archangel enlightened in the mysteries of God:
since you are the depository of the Word incarnate,
it is not much if at your side you have the immortal Sun.
You are Joseph, the clear day in angelic purity.

Sois trono pues a Dios Niño vuestros brazos recibieron
y en dulce abrazo se unieron con tiernísimo cariño
gozad José del armiño desta flor celestial.
Sois José el claro día en pureza angelical.

You are a throne, since your arms received the Christ Child
and they came together in sweet embrace with the tenderest affection;
enjoy, Joseph, the ermine of this celestial flower.
You are Joseph, the clear day in angelic purity.

Sois Dominación tan pura que el Rey de tierra y Cielo
sujeto estuvo en el suelo a vos siendo criatura
grande fue vuestra ventura gozadla siempre eterna.
Sois José el claro día en pureza angelical.

Such pure governance are you that the King of Heaven and Earth
when he was an infant on the floor was subject to you;
great was your fortune: enjoy it for ever and ever.
You are Joseph, the clear day in angelic purity.

Sois Principado dichoso pues en nuestro corazón
reynais sin contradicción con imperio amoroso
aquel sera venturoso que os sirviere leal.
Sois José el claro día en pureza angelical.

Your are a lucky Prince, since in our heart
you rule without contradiction in loving governance;
whoever serves you loyally will be fortunate.
You are Joseph, the clear day in angelic purity.

Sois Potestad pues el nombre solo de vuestra Persona
en el Ynfierno aprisiona al enemigo del hombre
no es mucho que al mundo asombre potestad general.
Sois José el claro día en pureza angelical.

You are powerful, as your name alone
imprisons in Hell the enemy of man:
it is not much that your general power should surprise the world.
You are Joseph, the clear day in angelic purity.

Sois Serafín abrazado en la llama del amor
pues el mas que el dolor desta vida os ha llevado
nuestro corazón elado haced incendio total.
Sois José el claro día en pureza angelical.

You are a Seraphim embraced in the flame of love
since that, more than the sorrow of this life, has carried you:
make of our frozen heart a burning fire.
You are Joseph, the clear day in angelic purity.

Pureza tan virginal dice en un ave maría.
Sois José el claro día en pureza angelical.

Such virginal purity, in an "Ave María," says:
You are Joseph, the clear day in angelic purity.

ⁱ For superb summaries of Spanish theorists who discuss *canto llano*, with copious footnotes that facilitate further research, consult Francisco José León Tello, *Estudios de Historia de la Teoría Musical* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas and Instituto Español de Musicología, 1962), especially the chapter “Teoría del canto llano” beginning on p. 403, and his *La teoría española de la música en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1974).

ⁱⁱ If one examines the extant manuscripts from the missions, one will find that the texts from the Mass Ordinary (that is, the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei) were generally set in richer textures that required instrumental accompaniment and metric interpretations. The texts for the Proper, on the other hand, were nearly always in plainchant.

ⁱⁱⁱ “P[regunta]. Qué es canto llano? / R[espuesta]. Canto-Llano es una simple é igual prolacion de figuras ó notas, las quales no se pueden aumentar ni disminuir. *Musica plana est notarum simplex, & uniformis prolatio, qua nec augeri, nec minui possunt.* Llámase tambien Canto Gregoriano, por haber sido San Gregorio el Magno quien le puso en forma, para que se pudiese cantar en la Iglesia. / P. ¿Por qué no se pueden aumentar, ni disminuir las dichas notas? / R. Porque el Canto-Llano no tiene modos, tiempos, prolaciones, ni variedad de figuras.” Francisco Marcos y Navas, *Arte, ó compendio general del canto-llano, figurado y órgano, en método fácil* (Madrid: Joseph Doblado, 1716), 1. There are multiple copies of this publication in California archives (such as the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library and the Department of Music at the University of California, Berkeley) that contain the *ex libris* of individual friars.

^{iv} Estevan Tapís was one of the most important music scribes in California. Some sources that are in his hand include: Ms. A320 in the Archival Center of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles at the San Fernando Mission; Choirbooks 1 and 2 at the San Juan Bautista Mission; and Manuscripts 1 and 2 at the Santa Inés Mission. For a more thorough explanation of these sources and of Tapís’s handiwork, consult appendix A in my recent book, *From Serra to Sancho: Music and Pageantry in the California Missions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

^v Old Mission Santa Inés Ms. 1, 20.

^{vi} Florencio Ibáñez, one of the most important musician-friars in the mission period, wrote out several important music sources, the two most important ones being: Ms. C-C-68:2 at The Bancroft Library; and Santa Clara Ms. 3 at the Orradre Library at Santa Clara University.

^{vii} Vicente Pérez Martínez, *Prontuario del cantollano gregoriano para celebrar uniformemente los divinos oficios todo el año . . . según practica de la muy Santa Primada Iglesia de Toledo*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Julian Pereyra, 1799, 1800).

^{viii} For a more thorough discussion of possible correspondences between California sources and the *Prontuario*, see my book *From Serra to Sancho*, esp. 29-31, and n29 on p. 61. In addition, considerable information regarding origins of chant melodies is found on the charts in appendix A of that same book.

^{ix} For a discussion of Mozarabic or “Old Hspanic” chant, consult: Kenneth Levy, in “The Iberian Peninsula and the Formation of Early Western Chant,” *Revista de Musicología* 16/1 (1993), 435-37; Don M. Randel, *An Index to the Chant of the Mozarabic Rite* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973); Randel, “El antiguo rito hispánico y la salmodía primitiva en Occidente,” *Revista de Musicología* 8 (1985): 229-38; Michel Huglo, “Recherches sur les tons psalmodiques de l’ancienne liturgie hispanique,” *Revista de Musicología*, vol. 16, no. 1 (1993): 477-90; Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, “El canto viejo-hispánico y el canto viejo-galiciano,” *Revista de Musicología* 16/1 (1993): 438-56; and Fernández de la Cuesta, *Desde los orígenes hasta el “ars nova,”* vol. 1 of *Historia de la música española* (esp. chap. 5, “Fuentes de la música hispano-visigótica”), series under the direction of Pablo López de Osaba (Madrid: Alianza, 1983). For a discussion of the papal permission for continued use of Mozarabic or “Old Hispanic” chant during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, consult Luis Robledo, “Questions of Performance Practice in Philip III’s Chapel,” *Early Music* 22/2 (May 1994): 200.

^x Cisneros’s *Missale mixtum secundum regulam beati Isidori, dictum Mozarabes* was released in 1500, and his *Breviarum Gothicum* was published in 1502. For discussion of these sources consult: Fernández de la Cuesta, “El canto viejo-hispánico,” 438; Fernández de la Cuesta, *Historia de la música española: Desde los orígenes* in the section titled “Los cantorales de Cisneros,” 114; and Robert J. Snow, *A New-World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service “Guatemala City, Cathedral Archive, Music MS 4,”* edited and with an introduction by Robert J. Snow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

^{xi} The Serra choirbook is catalogued as manuscript M.0162 at the Green Research Library at Stanford, with the “Missa Toletana” being found on fols. 15-16v. The Department of Music at the University of California at Berkeley owns an invaluable collection of photos catalogued as “WPA Folk Music Project. Items 45-87, Box 2 of 12. California Folk Music Project Records, ARCHIVES WPA CAL 1.” The photographs were made in 1937 as part of the Work Projects Administration (WPA) that later changed its name to the Works Progress Administration. For a detailed account of this collection’s history, including its rediscovery by John Koegel, consult the file “WPA Folders” in appendix A online of my book *From Serra to Sancho*. From here onward, I refer to this collection with the abbreviation “WPA.” This collection contains several works from the Toledo tradition, written in the hands of Juan Bautista Sancho and Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta. The “Gloria Todedana [sic]” is on page I-3 of folder 63; and the “Missa Toletana, St. Joan Baptista” is located on sheet 1 of folder 79. Although the Arroyo de la Cuesta selection appears to be chant without a discernible meter, the rhythmic features of

the Serra and Sancho selections place it squarely in the rhythmic or “metric” tradition of *canto de órgano* (a style that will be addressed shortly in this paper).

^{xii} Few friars had more of an impact on the musical style and performance of music in the missions than Narciso Durán. Narciso Durán was the scribe for several important mission music books, the most important being choirbook C-C-59 at The Bancroft Library; Santa Clara Ms. 4; and Document 1 at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library.

^{xiii} For a thorough discussion of Durán and his use of standardized chant melodies, consult *From Serra to Sancho*, esp. pp. 32-36.

^{xiv} “Igualmente advierto que todos los Introitos, Alleluyas, y Comunios son de un mismo tono lo que tal vez para fastidiar a alguno / . . . mas estos pobres estan expuestos á haber de hacer ellos solo las funciones, / y es menester facilitarles a que se impongan a cantar bien, y para esto me ha parecido que poniendoselas en un mismo tono les es mas facil. / Los Introitos pues son primer tono, conformes ó á imitacion del *Gaudeteamus*, que es el que he oido celebrar: a excepcion de los de Ceniza y Sema-/ na Santa, que me parecio mas conforme al Espiritu de la Iglesia en los misterios destos dias; echarlos de 4º tono. Los Alleluyas y Comu-/ nios del año son 6^{tos} por las mismas razones de haberme parecido que hacen sensacion conforme a estado o representacion de la / Misa. Y para que esto no fastidie, acordarse que hasta aora nadie se habra fastidiada de las Oraciones, Epistolas, Evangelios, Prefacios / Pater Noster &c. sin embargo de cantarse siempre de un mismo tono.” Bancroft choirbook C-C-59, fol. 2.

^{xv} For a more thorough discussion of *canto figurado* and *canto de órgano*, consult *From Serra to Sancho*, 39-49, and the numerous facsimiles of these styles located in appendix B of that same book.

^{xvi} William John Summers has discussed the music repertoire in the missions and its relationship to Marcos y Navas’s *Arte, ó compendio general* in several articles, three important ones being: (1) “The Spanish Origins of California Mission Music,” in *Transplanted European Music Cultures: Miscellanea Musicologica*, Adelaide, Australia: Studies in Musicology, vol. 12, Papers from the Third International Symposium of the International Musicological Society, Adelaide, 23-30 September 1979, 109-26; (2) “Orígenes hispanos de la música misional de California,” *Revista Musical Chilena*, nos. 149-50 (1980): 34-48; and (3) “Music of the California Missions: An Inventory and Discussion of Selected Printed Music Books Used in Hispanic California, 1769-1836,” *Soundings: Collections of the University Library* (University of California, Santa Barbara) 9/1 (June 1977): 13-29.

^{xvii} “Tratado Tercero. Teórica, y Práctica del Canto Figurado / P. Quántas son las figuras, ó notas que se hallan en el Canto Figurado? / R. Quatro. / P. Quáles son? / R. Longa, breve, semibreve, y mínima. / . . . / P. Quántos son los tiempos, ó compases que

se usan en este Canto? / R. Dos: binario, y ternario.” Marcos y Navas, *Arte, ó compendio general*, “Tratado Tercero. Teórica, y Práctica del Canto Figurado,” 266.

^{xviii} This type of note shape consisted of two squared note heads on different pitches with a tail or “plica” rising from the left edge of the two-note combo. This neume or note shape was classified as *cum opposita proprietate* (or a *c.o.p.* ligature) in which the two notes had the rhythmic value of two semibreves. For an explanation of this notes shape, consult Wili Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600*, 5th rev. ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), esp. 296-97 and 312-14.

^{xix} “Tratado Quarto. Teórica y Práctica del Canto de Organo. / Capitulo General / P. Qué es Canto de Organo? / R. Es un conjunto de varias y diversas figuras, que se aumentan, y disminuyen segun el tiempo. / P. Qué se entiende por figura en el Canto de Organo? / R. Una señal respresentativa del canto. / P. Quántas son estas figuras? / R. Siete: que son breve, semibreve, mínima, semínima, corchea, semicorchea, y fusa. . . . [Pictures of note shapes] . . . / Algunos modernos usan de otra mas, á quien llaman semifusa, la qual se figura así: [= and a picture of 64th notes]. . . . / [p. 356] P. Quántos son los tiempos que segun hoy se usan en el Canto de Organo? / R. Seis./ P. Quáles son? / R. Compasillo, compas mayor, dos por quattro, seis por ocho, tres por ocho, y tres por quattro.” Marcos y Navas, *Arte, ó compendio general*, “Tratado Quarto,” 355-56.

^{xx} Andrés Sas Orchassal discusses the writings of Archbishop Pedro Antonio de Barroeto y Ángel’s at some length in *La música en la Catedral de Lima durante el Virreinato*, vol. 1, *Primera Parte: Historia General*, Colección de Documentos para la Historia de la Música en el Perú (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and Casa de Cultura del Perú, 1971) and includes the appropriate quotations relevant to instrumental performance on pp. 41-42. Other writers of the era who discuss instrumental accompaniments in church but counsel against the use of flamboyant virtuosity include Padre Feijoo and his various followers. For a discussion of Feijoo, his views on “modern” music and the use of instruments, and the polemic surrounding his opinions, see Antonio Martín Moreno, *El Padre Feijoo y las ideologías musicales del XVIII en España* (Orense: Instituto de Estudios Orensanos «Padre Feijoo», 1976) and Martín Moreno’s *Siglo XVIII*, vol. 4 of *Historia de la música española*, series directed by Pablo López de Osaba (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1985).

^{xxi} For a list of music inventories and discussion of orchestral resources in the missions, consult my book *From Serra to Sancho*, 49-54, 351-56, and its online appendices, Appendix C-3 “*Interrogatorio (Questionnaire)* or “Preguntas y Respuestas” and C-4 “Music Inventory Requests for the Missons, 1805-1809.” Also see Summers, “The Spanish Origins of California Mission Music,” esp. pp. 116–17 and 125n29 and John Koegel, “Órganos, Violines, Cornetos, y Tambores: Musical Instruments in *Mission, Presidio, Pueblo and Rancho* in Spanish and Mexican California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas,” handout for the paper presented at the annual meeting of the Sonneck Society for American Music, Pacific Grove, California, February 1993.

^{xxii} Louise K. Stein, “Spain,” in *The Early Baroque Era from the Late 16th Century to the 1660s*, ed. by Curtis Price, Music and Society (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1994), 330.

^{xxiii} Only a handful of keyboard instruments are known to have been played during the mission period. In the early 1770s, the San Diego Mission had a spinet, but by 1776 it was already in a state of disrepair, making it unusable. Later, the San Francisco Solano Mission used a small clavichord that had been left by the Russians, where it doubled as both a musical instrument and as an altar. The Santa Barbara Mission, in the later years, had an actual organ with a keyboard, and three pianos were shipped from Baltimore to the West Coast by Captain Stephen Smith in the mid-1800s. For more information on keyboards during the mission period, see my book *From Serra to Sancho*, esp. 47-49.

^{xxiv} For a more thorough explanation of the instrumental interludes that are identified by the labels “música” or “toca,” see my book *From Serra to Sancho*, pp. 98-104.

^{xxv} William John Summers was the first to bring attention to the accomplishments of the musical friar Juan Bautista Sancho, who built an impressive music establishment at Mission San Antonio that was capable of performing choral and orchestral music that was technically demanding. For the most recent scholarship on Sancho, his life, and his musical output, consult the book by Antoni Pizà, William J. Summers, Craig H. Russell, and Antoni Gili Ferrer, *J. B. Sancho: Compositor pioner de Califòrnia*, edited and coordinated by Antoni Pizà (Palma de Mallorca, Spain: Universitat de les Illes Balears, Servei de Publicacions i Intercanvi Científic, 2007), and Chapter 5 of my book *From Serra to Sancho*. The “Credo artanense” in Sancho’s hand is found in a handful of photographs of WPA folder 52 at the Department of Music of the University of California at Berkeley. For discussion of this work consult my book *From Serra to Sancho*, 258-63.

^{xxvi} For further discussion of the shift from triple to duple meter at the “Incarnatus” section of the Credo, see my book *From Serra to Sancho*, 260-61, 323-24.

^{xxvii} Narciso Durán wrote out the “[Gozos] al Sr. Sn. José que se cantan los días 19 de Todos los meses. Compás de [3]” (Praises for San José that are sung on the 19th of every month, in Triple Meter), in choirbook C-C-59 of The Bancroft Library, p. 98. For discussion of this work and a transcription consult my book *From Serra to Sancho*, pp. 155-60. A recording of *Gozos al Señor San José*, “Para dar luz inmortal,” is found on Chanticleer’s recording *Mission Road*, compact disc and accompanying DVD, directed by Joseph Jennings (Claremont, Calif.: Warner Classics and Jazz and the Rhino Entertainment Company, 2008). CD and DVD number R2 512746. ISBN 0-8122 79910 12.

^{xxviii} For a more thorough discussion of *música moderna* as found in the California Missions, consult *From Serra to Sancho*, esp. 49-54, 263-75, 351-56 (dealing with Sancho's "modern" *Misa en sol*), and 359-78 (dealing with the "modern" masses of Francisco Javier García Fajer and Ignacio de Jerusalem).

^{xxix} Ignacio Jerusalem served as chapel master at the Mexico City Cathedral from 1750 until his death in 1769 and was largely responsible for popularizing the "new" *galant* or Classical style in the New World. For a discussion of Jerusalem's works in the California Missions, consult my articles: "Hidden Structures and Sonorous Symmetries: Ignacio de Jerusalem's Concerted Masses in 18-Century Mexico," in *Res musicae: Essays in Honor of James Pruett*, edited by Paul R. Laird & Craig H. Russell (New York: Harmonie Park Press, 2001), 135-59; as well as "The Splendor of Mexican Matins: Sonority & Architectural Structure in Jerusalem's *Matins for the Virgin of Guadalupe*," in *Colloquium: Music, Worship, Arts* (publ. by the Yale Institute of Sacred Music), vol. 4 (Autumn 2007), 31-44, available online as http://www.yale.edu/ism/colloq_journal/vol4/russell1.html. Also consult Chapter 7 of my book *From Serra to Sancho*.

^{xxx} For a recording of the "Quoniam tu solus" and the other movements of the *Polychoral Mass in D*, ascribed to Ignacio de Jerusalem, consult Chanticleer's *Mexican Baroque: Music From New Spain*, directed by Joseph Jennings (Hamburg: Teldec [now Warner], 1994). Recording number: Teldec 4509-93333-2. Sancho's *Misa en sol* appears on Chanticleer's compact disk *Mission Road*.

^{xxxi} The mission padres were asked to fill out a questionnaire by the Bishop of Sonora and the Father-President of the California Missions, José Señan, in the early years around 1812-14. There were a series of over thirty questions meant to evaluate the quality of life and success of the Padres at their various missions. The point of greatest interest with respect to the present study concerns question 33 (sometimes mislabeled as point 32), in which the friars were asked to discuss music activities at their home missions. This specific question was clearly intended to assess the liturgy and consider whether or not the Mass, the Hours, and devotional songs were being properly maintained at these California outposts. Fortunately, many of the friars viewed this question from a broader perspective and allowed their discussion to venture into other aspects of music in the mission communities—including observations surrounding Native American music and dance.

The original documents of the *Interrogatorio (Questionnaire) or "Preguntas y Respuestas"* are housed in the Archive of the Archdiocese of Monterey, but in recent years the documents have been unavailable for consultation. Fortunately, photocopies of half of those manuscripts were made and can be found at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library. For thorough treatment of these documents, consult Maynard Geiger's and Clement W. Meghan's *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by The Franciscan Missionaries 1813-1815*, Santa Barbara Bicentennial Historical Series, No. 1, Series Editor, Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Santa Barbara, California: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 1976). Also, I include most of the entries for

this questionnaire both in the original Spanish and its English translation as Appendix C-3 online as part of my book *From Serra to Sancho*.

xxxii “32 [sic = should be 33] / Tienen mucha inclinacion á la Musica, y tocan violines, violon, flautas, trompa, tambora, y otros instrumentos que la Mision les ha dado; . . . Las letrillas en castilla las cantan por perfeccion, y aprenden con facilidad todo canto, que se les enseña, asi llano, como figurado; y desempeñan un coro, una Misa á voces, mas que sean papeles obligados; á todo esto les ayuda las [sic] voz clara, y el buen ohido que tienen todos, asi Hombres como Mugeres. / Mision de S.ⁿ Antonio de Padua, y 26 Febrero de 1814. / Juan Bau.^{ta} Sancho / Fr. Pedro Cabot.” *Interrogatorio (Questionnaire), Preguntas y Respuestas*, 26 February, 1814, Mission San Antonio.

xxxiii “33. . . los Misioneros los han dedicado á la Musica de sus Templos, y con tan prospero suceso, q.^e hay sujeto, q.^e asegura, q.^e muchas Cathedrales no tienen tan excelentes capillas. Ellas no tienen afición á instrum.^{to} alguno; pero si se les manda, q.^e aprendan flauta, u oboe; luego lo hacen: si se les dedica al Violin, ó Violon, salen insignes, y con la ventaja, de que aun t^{po} tocan; y cantan p.^r solfa. / [Santa Cruz, 30 abril, 1814] / Fr. Marcelino Marquines / Fr. Jayme Escude.” *Interrogatorio (Questionnaire), Preguntas y Respuestas*, 30 April, 1814, Mission Santa Cruz.

xxxiv “29. [sic, should be 33] . . . y en su lugar se oyen canciones devotas, e instrumentos concertados. El violon, Baxo de violon, violin (instrumentos hechos por los mismos Neofitos, igualm.^e q.^e la Tambora); la flauta dulce travesera, la trompa, y la bandola, son los q.^e conocen y usan en las funciones de Yglesia. Son inclinados á la musica, y aprenden facilm.^e de memoria las sonatas q.^e oyen, ó se les enseñan. / Mision de S.^{ta} Ynes. / 8. de Marzo de 1814. / Fr. Estevan Tapis / Fr. Fran.^{co} Xavier Uria.” *Interrogatorio (Questionnaire), Preguntas y Respuestas*, 8 March, 1814, Mission Santa Inés.

xxxv “33^a. . . Son aficionados a nuestros instrumentos, y usan de ellos, asi de cuerda, como de viento. / Fr. Joaquin Pascual Nuez / Fr. Pedro Muñoz / Mision de S.ⁿ Fernando Rey / 3 de Febrero de 1814.” *Interrogatorio (Questionnaire), Preguntas y Respuestas*, 3 February, 1813, Mission San Fernando.

xxxvi “33. . . En la Christianidad han conocido todos los nuestros asi de viento como de cuerda; y algunos Neofitos manifiestan inclin.^{on} y afecto á ellos; / Mision de S. Gabriel Arcangel, / y Junio 28 1814. / Fr. Luis Gil / Fr. Jose M^a de Zalvidea.” *Interrogatorio (Questionnaire), Preguntas y Respuestas*, 28 June, 1814, Mission San Gabriel.

xxxvii “33^a. Son muy aficionados á la Musica y canto: aprenden con facilidad q.^{to} se les enseña / Mision de S.ⁿ Juan Baut^a y / 1 de mayo 1814. / Fr. Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta.” *Interrogatorio (Questionnaire), Preguntas y Respuestas*, 1 May, 1814, Mission San Juan Bautista.

^{xxxviii} “29 [sic = should be 33].... pero ya Cristianos, ê visto que aprenden â tocar el Violin, Violon, Flauta, Guitarra, y Bandola, y que tienen inclinacion â aprender quanto les enseñan. / Asi es / Fr. Antonio Rodriguez / Fr. Luis Anto Mrñz.” *Interrogatorio (Questionnaire), Preguntas y Respuestas*, 20 February, 1814, Mission San Luis Obispo.

^{xxxix} “32 [sic = should be 33]. Tienen mucha inclinacion a la musica. Tocan con facilidad, y perfeccion cualquiera instrumento; ... / en la Mision, / Día 15 de Abril de 1814. / Fr. Juan Martín / Fr. Juan Cabot.” .” *Interrogatorio (Questionnaire), Preguntas y Respuestas*, 15 April, 1814, Mission San Miguel.

^{xl} “33^a. Son muy inclinados a cantar y tañer qualquier instrumento asi de viento, como de cuerda, / Mission de S.^{ta} Barvara, / 31 de Diciembre de 1813. / Fr. Ramon Olbes.” *Interrogatorio (Questionnaire), Preguntas y Respuestas*, 31 December, 1813, Mission Santa Barbara.