



New and Little Known Sources of Hispanic Music from California

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AT THE 1975 NATIONAL MEETING of the American Musicological Society in Los Angeles, California, I presented a paper on the transmission of plainsong to the missions of Alta California. Only once before had the music used throughout California by Spanish colonists during the period from 1769 to 1840 been discussed in a national musicological forum.¹ I noted that the surviving music was the most extensive and varied collection of liturgical and extra-liturgical plainsong and polyphonic music to survive from any of the Spanish colonies established within the borders of the continental United States.²

Several important and revealing studies have appeared since 1975 concerning this music.³ One of the

This paper was delivered in a shorter form at the Joint National Meeting of the College Music Society, the American Musicological Society, and the Society for Music Theory in Vancouver, B.C., November, 1985.

¹The first address presented on this subject at a National Meeting of the American Musicological Society was delivered by Theodor Göllner in 1969. His paper was published as "Two Polyphonic Passions from California's Mission Period," in *Anuario*, vi (Yearbook of the Institute for Inter-American Musical Research), (1970), 67-76.

²That study was subsequently published as "Music in the California Missions: An Inventory and Discussion of Selected Printed Music Books Used in Hispanic California, 1769-1836," *Soundings: The Collections of the University Library (Santa Barbara)*, ix (1977), 13-29.

³Margaret Long Crouch, with Karen Michaelson and William Summers, "An Annotated Bibliography and Commentary Concerning Mission Music of Alta California, 1769-1834 . . .," *Current Musicology*, 22 (1976), 88-99; William Summers, "The Organs of Hispanic California," *Music (A.G.O.-R.C.C.O.) Magazine*, x (1976), 50-51; "Orígenes hispanos de la música misional de California," *Revista Musical Chilena*, No. 149-150 (1980), 34-48; "Spanish Music in California, 1769-1840, A Reassessment," in *Report of the Twelfth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Berkeley, 1977* (Basel, 1981), 360-380; "California Mission Music," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), iii, 281-282. For

most valuable is George Harshbarger's 1985 University of Washington dissertation, which discusses an untitled, solemn-type Mass by Ignacio Jerusalem (*d* Mexico City, 1769). An incomplete set of vocal parts survives in the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library.⁴ His reconstruction of this Mass scored for double choir, soloists, and orchestra, from a concordant Mexico City cathedral source, notably enhances our knowledge of the important musical work done by Franciscan friars in California. (For an excerpt from this Mass see Example 1.) The performance of Jerusalem's Mass in Alta California shows the level that liturgical music reached in this region.⁵

In addition to this dissertation, a number of works recently published or now in progress have expanded and will continue to enhance access to this music. Notable among these was the publication by Robert Stevenson in 1982 of the first information in a music journal concerning Russian contact with the musical life of Spanish California.⁶ In 1986 the first extended

information on the music remaining from other regions settled by Spanish colonists see Gerard H. Béhague, "Hispanic-American Music," in *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* [hereafter NGA] (London, 1986), ii, 395-399; also Thomas E. Warner, "European Musical Activities in North America Before 1620," *Musical Quarterly*, lxx (1984), 77-95; and Warner's book, *Periodical Literature on American Music, 1620-1920: A Classified Bibliography with Annotations*, Bibliographies in American Music, No. 12 (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1988).

⁴Unpublished D.M.A. dissertation, University of Washington, i-vii, 1-239. In 1977 the parts in question were identified by Robert Stevenson as being a work by Ignacio Jerusalem.

⁵There were at least three churches in California with the resources and the personnel needed to perform this work: Missions San José, Santa Clara, and Santa Barbara. Though the absence of a pipe organ would not preclude performance by chorus and orchestra elsewhere, Santa Barbara was the only mission known to have had a pipe organ. See William Summers, "Spanish Music . . . A Reassessment," 371-379.

⁶"California Music 1806-1824: Russian Reportage," *Inter-American Music Review*, iv/2 (Spring-Summer, 1982), 59-64.

Example 1
Opening of the Credo, Mass in G, Ignacio Jerusalem*

[Credo] [Acrem omnipotentem]
allegro Moderato (♩. = 56)

The musical score is handwritten and consists of the following parts:

- Trompe I & II:** Two staves with rhythmic accompaniment.
- Violini I & II:** Two staves with melodic and harmonic accompaniment.
- Soprano I & II:** Two staves with vocal lines and lyrics: "Pa - - - - - trem fac - to - ren".
- Alto:** One staff with vocal line and lyrics: "Pa - - - - - trem fac - to - ren".
- Tenor:** One staff with vocal line and lyrics: "Pa - - - - - trem fac - to - ren".
- Soprano:** One staff with vocal line and lyrics: "Om - ni - po - - - - - ten - - - - - tem".
- Alto:** One staff with vocal line and lyrics: "Om - ni - po - - - - - ten - - - - - tem".
- Choir Tenor:** One staff with vocal line and lyrics: "Om - ni - po - - - - - ten - - - - - tem".
- Choir Bass:** One staff with vocal line and lyrics: "Om - ni - po - - - - - ten - - - - - tem".
- Accomp'to:** One staff with piano accompaniment.

*George Harshbarger, *The Mass in G by Ignacio Jerusalem and Its Place in the California Mission Music Repertory*, unpublished D.M.A. dissertation, University of Washington, 1985, 115-116.



Example 1 (continued)

b

coe-li et ter-re vi-si-

coe-li et ter-re vi-si-bi-li-um

coe-li et ter-re vi-si-bi-li-um

coe-li et ter-re vi-si-bi-li-um

fac-to-rem coe-li et ter-re

fac-to-rem coe-li et ter-re

fac-to-rem coe-li et ter-re

fac-to-rem coe-li et ter-re

encyclopedia entry on this music was published in the *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*.⁷ The polyphonic contents of the 47 surviving manuscripts and fragments which transmit mission music will be catalogued in *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*.⁸ Also, a portion of the North American volume in the series *Music in the Life of Man* will treat Hispanic music in the United States as both a historical and a living musical tradition.

While much has now been revealed about the music from this period in California history, a number of significant questions remain to be investigated. One of the most pressing concerns the Spanish origins of the polyphonic music brought to California by the Franciscan missionaries. In the past Theodor Göllner and I have speculated concerning this matter, and can trace the continental origins of some of this music. However, we now need exhaustive archival investigations in Mexico City (as well as in archives and libraries in a number of Spanish cities known to have sent missionaries) to determine more precisely the origins of this music.⁹ A second unexplored area, the one to be addressed in this paper, concerns five new or virtually unknown California music manuscripts, all of which remain undescribed in the musicological literature. The rest of this paper will be devoted to a discussion of these sources and their polyphonic contents.¹⁰

The pioneering study of California Mission Music, published in 1941 by the Franciscan Owen da Silva, contained an inventory of the manuscript sources known in the late 1930's.¹¹ Though this volume has in some ways become badly dated, da Silva had made a surprisingly complete search for

⁷See William Summers, "California Mission Music," *NGA*, vol. 1, 345-347.

⁸The manuscript sources are identified in Summers, "Spanish Music . . . A Reassessment," 377-378. They will appear as part of the Series AII, in *The International Inventory of Musical Sources*.

⁹Several indirect links connect the notation found both in manuscripts prepared in California and in Spanish printed music tutors. See note 17 below. The music books carried to California by the Franciscan missionaries received considerable use. See Summers, "Music In the California Missions: An Inventory . . .," 19-23.

¹⁰Listed in Table 1. They have also been identified in summary form in Summers, "Spanish Music . . . A Reassessment," 377-378.

¹¹*Mission Music of California: A Collection of Old California Mission Hymns and Masses*, Los Angeles, 1941, 123-128.

the surviving music manuscripts and had produced an accurate but not overly detailed inventory of their musical contents.

Those manuscripts and fragments which eluded him are listed in Table 1. The four now in the Santa Clara University Archive were first described by Beryl Hoskin in a 1961 San Jose State College master's thesis in library science.¹² Because this thesis was bibliographical in nature, little was said about the contents of the music manuscripts. Moreover, only a few copies of this thesis were printed, thus limiting its circulation. The last manuscript in Table 1 was for years in the Museum of Mission San Buenaventura, Ventura, California, and is now on deposit in the Los Angeles Archdiocesan Archive, Los Angeles, California. The music in this source was generously called to my attention by Sister Mary Dominic Ray, Director of the American Music Research Center, Dominican College, San Rafael, California.¹³ The contents of this volume have not received a published description, primarily because throughout many decades this manuscript had not been considered a music book.

I will now preface my remarks on the music in each manuscript (especially the polyphony) with some comments about the manuscripts themselves and what I have been able to determine concerning their history, production, and purposes. The first, from the Santa Clara University Archive, is similar in many respects to a number of the large choir books identified with other missions, especially those which appear to have had a well developed *capilla*.¹⁴ The presence of polyphonic music for the Feast of Saint Clare strongly suggests that it was produced for and used at Mission Santa Clara. However, there is some likelihood that it was compiled in a scriptorium founded by Narciso Durán (1776-1846) after his arrival at nearby Mission San José in 1806.¹⁵

¹²*A History of the Santa Clara Mission Library*, Oakland, 1961, 43-46. The date of 1700 for the first manuscript found on page 44 must be a misprint. The details concerning the colophon by Ibáñez in manuscript No. 2 can be found on pages 45-46.

¹³The first published notice of this appears in Summers, "Music of the California Missions . . .," 24.

¹⁴These are Missions Santa Barbara, Santa Clara, San José, and San Antonio de Padua. All four had not only large instrument collections at the time of secularization in 1833 but also music books which contained polyphony. See Summers, "Spanish Music . . . A Reassessment," 379.

¹⁵For biographical information on Narciso Durán see Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries In Hispanic California* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1969), 68-75. The works



Table 1
Music Manuscripts from the Santa Clara
University Library Archive and the
Los Angeles Archdiocesan Archive Library

Santa Clara University Library Archive:

Manuscript No. 1

170 pages; parchment; 47.5 × 34.5 cm; wood board binding, covered with leather, contemporary. The Archive has not assigned this manuscript a shelf number.

Manuscript No. 2

85 pages; paper; 21 × 29.5 cm; leather suede binding, contemporary. No shelf number assigned.

Manuscript No. 3

10 pages; paper; 22 × 33 cm; no binding. No shelf number assigned.

Manuscript No. 4

2 pages; paper; 21 × 29 cm; no binding. No shelf number assigned.

Los Angeles Archdiocesan Archive:

Manuscript No. 3

26 pages; paper, 14.5 × 20 cm; sheepskin binding, contemporary. No shelf number assigned to this manuscript.

For a compendious listing of the manuscript sources preserving the California mission repertory, see the article referred to above in footnote 3, "Spanish Music in California, 1769–1840, A Reassessment," in *Report of the Twelfth Congress of the International Musicological Society*, 377–378.

From the manuscript's large size it is clear that it was intended for use by a choir. The amount of parchment allocated for its production (*ca.* 170 pages) made it quite costly. It was designed to be a comprehensive, though not exhaustive, collection of liturgical music for the entire church year. Plainsong is

which appear in Durán's choirbook and in many others are tabulated in Summers, "Orígenes hispanos . . .," 44–46. Durán dated what appears to be his first choirbook in 1813. Not only is this a rare example of a dated manuscript with an extensive amount of polyphonic music but also its prologue contains an important essay on the teaching methods employed by Durán during his forty years as a missionary in California, 1806–1846. Because Durán's system for recording plainsong for a wide variety of feasts differed so widely from that in common use, its appearance in any other manuscript immediately identifies the

manuscript with him and his scriptorium at San José. This prologue is translated by da Silva in *Mission Music of California . . .*, 28–33.

provided for a variety but not for all of the liturgies for Advent, Christmas-Epiphany, Lent, and Paschal Time. Important Franciscan feasts are represented, as are a number of entries from the Sanctorale. The contents adhere to a plan found in other sources emanating from the Durán scriptorium.¹⁶ Plainsong is entered first—followed by the polyphonic music. The polyphony is of two types: (1) Mass Ordinary settings, including the choral responses *Amen*, *Et cum spiritu tuo*, and *Deo gratias*, music for the Divine Office, and (2) extraliturgical items (see Table 2). At least three scribes copied the music, and the mensural notation used in the polyphony is written in score format on a single five- or six-line staff. The individual voice parts are differentiated visually from each other on this single staff by the use of colored ink.¹⁷ For example, the highest voice is often entered in red void notes, while the remaining parts would be notated in black void, red full, and black full (void and full symbols carry no metrical implications in this type of mensural notation). (See items 1–5 in Table 3.) While care seems to have been exercised in the preparation of this manuscript (most visible in the orderliness of its contents), the scribes were not professionals. A number of corrections, alterations, and additions have been made in the form of erasures and paste-overs. These changes, and the many additional signs of acute wear and tear, confirm that this manuscript was long used for choir performance.

Because Narciso Durán dated the prologue to his first choirbook (which he finished in 1813), the Santa Clara choirbook was doubtless copied after 1813. When? A manuscript of this size must have been produced before 1833, the year when the northern missions were secularized by the Mexican government and their lands seized.¹⁸ Though two music manuscript fragments are known to have been produced after 1833—a copy of the *Misa de Cataluña* in the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library was compiled in 1841 by Pacifico Capena—

manuscript with him and his scriptorium at San José. This prologue is translated by da Silva in *Mission Music of California . . .*, 28–33.

¹⁶See da Silva, *Mission Music of California . . .*, 123–128, for his summary of the contents of the sources known to him.

¹⁷For a discussion of colored notation see Summers, "Orígenes hispanos . . .," 38–40.

¹⁸For a discussion of the trials associated with this act of the Mexican government see Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 68–70.



Table 2

**Summary Inventory of the Polyphonic Contents
of the Manuscripts Listed in Table 1**

Santa Clara University Library Archive:

Manuscript No. 1

- p. 15, Veni Sancte Spiritus, 2-3-part setting
- p. 17, Lauda Sion, 2-part setting
- De Santa Clara fiesta de esta Misión a Vísperas
- p. 21, Domine ad adiuvandum me, 4-voice setting
- p. 22, Dixit Dominus, 4-part
- p. 23, Laudate pueri, 4-part
- p. 24, Laetatus sum, 4-part
- p. 25, Nisi Dominus, 4-part
- p. 26, Lauda Jerusalem, 4-part
- p. 27, Concina plebs fidelium, 2-part setting
- p. 27, Magnificat, 4-part setting (tocata del fa)
- Tercia-Domina
- p. 29, Nunc Sancte nobis, 2-part setting
- p. 30, Legem pone mihi, 4-part
- p. 41, Misa de la Soledad, a duo, 6° tono, compas de 4, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei
- p. 45, Misa Viscaína, compas de 3, 6° tono, Kyrie, Gloria, only
- p. 50, Misa Solemne, 6° tono, compas de 4°, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo (added at the end), Sanctus, Agnus Dei
- p. 57, Misa de 5° tono, compas a 4°, a 4° voces
- p. 133, 4-part Mass, Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, Credo
- p. 137, Misa Viscaína, 4-part setting, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus

Manuscript No. 2

- p. 19, Stabat Mater, 2-part setting
- p. 34, Veni Sancte Spiritus, 3-part setting
- p. 48, Lauda Sion, one voice part survives

Manuscript No. 3

- p. 1, 4-part Mass, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, Concords with the Mass notated on Ms. No. 1 above, p. 137

Manuscript No. 4

- p. 53, In coelesti hierarcia . . . , 2-part setting, tono 2(do)
- p. 54, Ex Egipto vastitatis . . . , 2-part setting, exact same music as item above

Los Angeles Archdiocesan Archive:

Manuscript No. 3

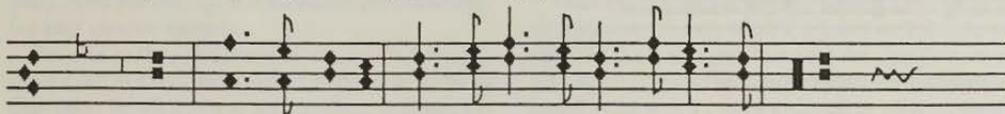
- p. 10, Sanguine(?) de Jesus . . . , 2-part hymn; Las madres . . . , 2-part hymn
- p. 16, Misa Viscaína, 2-part setting
- p. 57, Misa de 5° T°, compas a 4, a 4° voces, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei
- p. 61, Gosos de San José, Dulce esposo de Maria, 2-part setting
- p. 64, Para la Bendición, O Sacratísimo, 4-part setting, O Rey de corazones, 2-4-part setting
- p. 66, continuation of another hymn in honor of the Blessed Sacrament, . . . O que suave, 2-part
- p. 67, Trisagion 8, compas de 4°, Santo, Santo, Santo, 4-part setting
- p. 68, Quatro Salves, a 4° voces, compas de 4°, Salve Virgen pura, four 4-part settings
- p. 72, Sois(?) concebida virgen . . . , 2-part setting
- p. 84, Misa Solemnis de defuntos, a quatro voces, compas de 4°, Dona eis requiem, Dies irae, only
- p. 89, Lamentations of Jeremiah, 2-part, with 3-part responses
- p. 119, Dedicación de Yglecia, Absolve Domine(?), 4-part setting, incomplete
- p. 120, 4-part Mass, the same as found in Ms. No. 3, Kyrie (incomplete), Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei
- p. 120" a", 4-part Mass, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus. Concords with the Mass in Ms. No. 3
- p. 121, Eres toda hermosa, 4-part hymn in honor of the Virgin
- p. 122, Te Deum, 4-part setting
- p. 123, Misa a 4° T°, 4-part setting, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei
- p. 128, Toda hermosa eres Maria, 3-part hymn in honor of the Virgin
- p. 130, 4-part Mass, Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei
- p. 132, O sacratissimo cuerpo de Jesus, 4-part hymn in honor of the Blessed Sacrament



Table 3
Excerpts from Polyphonic Compositions Found
in the Manuscript Sources from Santa Clara
and Los Angeles

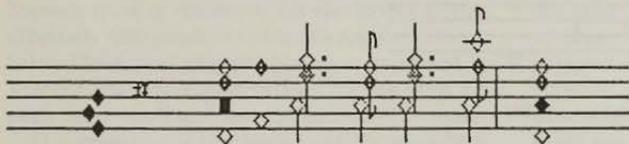
Santa Clara University Library Archive
 Manuscript No. 1:

Misa Solemne, 6° tono, compas de 4° (2-part setting), p. 50



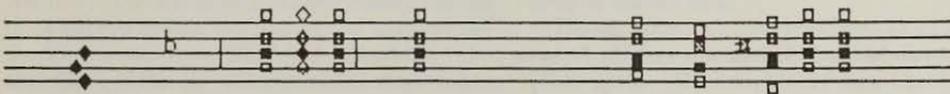
Ki - - - ri - - - e e - - - - - ley - - son Ki - ri - e e - leyson.....

Misa de 5° tono, compas a 4°, a 4° voces (4-part setting), p. 57



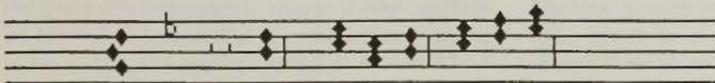
Ki - - - - - ri - - - - - e

Domine ad adjuvandum me, from Vespers for St. Clare, p. 21.



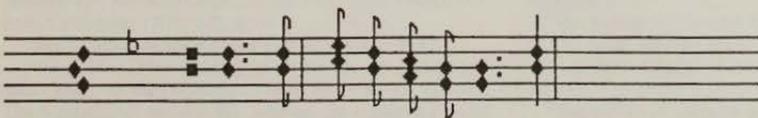
Domine ad adjuvandum me fes - - ti - - - na.....

Nunc Sancte nobis (2-part setting from Tierce for the Feast of St. Clare, p. 29)



Nunc sanc - te no - - bis.....

O que suave y dulce (2-part setting of the continuation of a Benediction hymn, p. 66.)



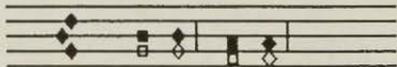
..... O que su-a - - - - - ve y dulce



Table 3 Continued

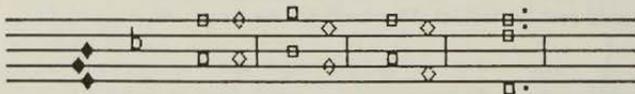
Santa Clara University Library Archive
Manuscript No. 2

Stabat mater, 2-part setting, p. 19



Sta - bat ma - ter

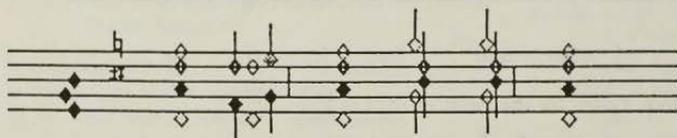
Veni Sancte Spiritus, 2-part setting, p. 34



Ve - ni Sancte Spir- i - - - tus

Santa Clara University Archive Library
Manuscript No. 3:

Kyrie, 4-part Mass, p. 1, concords with the Mass on p. 137 in Ms. No. 1



Ki - - ri - - - - e el - - ey - - - - son.



secularization and the disbanding of the Indian communities at the missions silenced the call for new music manuscripts after 1833.¹⁹ Also, the workforce necessary for the production of manuscripts of this size was no longer at hand. The missions reached their highest level of prosperity and amassed large libraries and musical instrument collections during the period from 1808 to 1833.²⁰ The need for music manuscripts would have peaked during these 25 years. This manuscript was therefore produced during that quarter century.

Turning to the polyphonic music, we find compositions for at least three different types of services (see Table 2). First, there are complete ordinary cycles appropriate for Sundays and feasts when polyphony was required. (There are also individual Mass movements, which may have functioned as substitutes for movements in the complete cycles.) Second, there is the music for the Divine Office. (The only feast represented in this source is that of Saint Clare, and the polyphony is restricted to Vespers and Tierce.) Polyphony for the Mass appears most often and is the largest body of music.

The remaining works carry texts for extra-liturgical services such as processions, novenas, Benediction, or the recitation of the *doctrina*. These compositions are often in the vernacular, being Spanish translations of well known Latin prayers such as the *Ave Maria*, *Salve Regina*, and *Pater noster*. Though these settings are usually shorter and simpler than the movements from the Mass ordinaries, their abundance in this and other surviving manuscripts suggests that they were an important and widely used form of polyphony. References to the singing of such texts as these can be found in accounts by numerous visitors to the missions.²¹ Also, some of the friars who responded to the royal *interrogatorio* of 1813–1815 (requesting information on, among other things, the musical activities of the native population of California) stated that Spanish hymns were sung daily at the missions.²² Though it is un-

likely that prayers were ever sung polyphonically by the whole population of any given mission, trained choirs doubtless sang polyphonic settings on important days. Logic would suggest that a mission choir preparing for a major feast day by learning a polyphonic Mass cycle would at the same time prepare polyphonic music for the processions, novenas, and/or formal recitations of the rosary which were to take place on that day as well.

Even though the polyphonic contents of this large and important choirbook are listed in Table 2, we should take a moment to assess the significance of this music. This is the first and most comprehensive manuscript which can be assigned to Mission Santa Clara. While many of the settings are indeed known in concordant versions from other manuscript sources, some unusual compositions do exist—most notably the music for the Office of St. Clare. What this choirbook proves is that Santa Clara had some of the most extensive resources for the cultivation of polyphonic music of any mission. And not surprisingly so: Missions Santa Clara and San José were close neighbors, and San José had been, from early in the mission period, an important musical center. We therefore now have ample primary evidence to corroborate what secondary sources (such as the inventory of 1836 and selected eyewitness accounts by visitors)²³ long ago attested concerning musical activity at Santa Clara.

The second manuscript in the Santa Clara University Archive is that notated by Florencio Ibáñez (1740–1818).²⁴ His colophon of June 12, 1812, appears at the end of this 85-page paper book. Ibáñez had served as a choirmaster in his early Spanish convent days, and also during his years as a missionary in Central Mexico.²⁵ Five large chant choirbooks formerly housed at Mission Santa Barbara document his skills as a manuscript illuminator and notator.²⁶ He began his California career with a two-year stay at Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad. The remainder of his life was spent at Mission San

¹⁹See da Silva, *Mission Music of California*..., 124.

²⁰See Summers, "Spanish Music . . . A Reassessment," 368–371; also Maynard Geiger, *As the Padres Saw Them* (Glendale, California: 1976), 167, n. 64.

²¹See da Silva, *Mission Music of California*..., 8–12.

²²See da Silva, *Mission Music of California*..., 6–7, and Maynard Geiger, *As the Padres Saw Them*, 36–37, 82–83, 133–137. The regularity of mission life followed the expected plan of mendicant monasticism. The day was divided into segments for

eating, praying, and working. The mission bell was often used to signal the passage of time and the transition from one activity to the next.

²³See Summers, "Spanish Music . . . A Reassessment," 379; and da Silva, *Mission Music of California* . . . , 6, 11, 30.

²⁴See Beryl Hoskin, *A History of the Santa Clara Library*, 44–45.

²⁵See Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 124–125.

²⁶*Ibid.*



Antonio de Padua. From 1811 until 1818 he was disabled by a lingering illness. He may have produced this volume shortly before becoming unable to carry out his priestly duties, in 1812.

There are three polyphonic compositions in this manuscript (see items 6–7 in Table 3)—two sequences and a hymn. Although these pieces seem never to have become part of the Durán corpus, the characteristic style, which involves ubiquitous parallel thirds and sixths, is consistent with other compositions in California sources.

Since this manuscript was produced before the dated Durán manuscript, questions arise concerning the origin of the colored notation used for polyphony throughout California. Even though this system has been attributed historically to Durán, I have argued elsewhere that the use of colors to differentiate voice parts on a single staff was known in Spain and other Spanish colonies before 1769.²⁷ To my knowledge, there are no other instances—apart from Ibáñez's manuscript—where the two forms of notation, modern and mensural, are used within a single piece in a California manuscript. Likewise, the use of a multi-staff score notated with both types of symbols is not known from any of the other California manuscripts (though a form of notation similar to this is found in one of the Spanish music tutors now housed at Mission Santa Barbara).²⁸ The implications of these notational idiosyncracies cannot be addressed at this time. However, Ibáñez does emerge as a musician who was aware of the interchangeability of the two notational systems in current use both in Spain and in the colonies. His volume for San Antonio de Padua mission is the sole practical source from California to demonstrate this awareness, and he may be the first to have used colored notation in California. Also, the three works in this manuscript are the only polyphonic music notated by Ibáñez known to survive.

Interestingly, the contents of this volume do not jibe with the music manuscript described in the 1842 inventory of Mission San Antonio de Padua which lists "one choirbook already old, with ten or eleven masses."²⁹ (As in other inventories and contemporary descriptions of choirbooks, the term

"masses" here refers to polyphonic settings of the Ordinary.) Why was the Ibáñez manuscript omitted? Since it contains primarily plainsong, it may not have been recorded in the 1842 inventory because it had already been removed from the mission, or was described in another lost portion of the inventory listing objects in the church sacristy or in the mission library. In any event it was not the only item omitted. This inventory does not list the music manuscripts of Juan Sancho, one of the most important musicians to reside at San Antonio de Padua.³⁰ Quite possibly Sancho's manuscripts were not inventoried because they were considered his personal property, and had not originated in the mission. But whatever else is missing from the 1842 inventory, it is now certain that Ibáñez's manuscript pre-dates Durán's choirbook, and is one of the first, if not the first, datable music book produced in California.

The third manuscript source from the Santa Clara University Archive may have been produced as an alternative copy of one of the masses in the Santa Clara Choirbook. (See Table 2, last entry under manuscript 1.) The ten paper pages which contain music lack markings which would indicate their date or provenance. The hands, both text and music, differ from those found in the version of this mass in the large choirbook, Manuscript No. 1. This second copy was perhaps written either for a large choir to read from, as a copy for a keyboardist, or for a group of instrumentalists to use. Although the manuscript itself provides no clue concerning its purpose, its physical condition suggests extensive use. Perhaps the most striking thing about this fragment is its very survival. The Spanish Franciscans were expelled from the northern missions in 1833. During the interim between the expulsion and the appearance of Mexican Franciscans, many of the goods and furnishings from a number of these missions were stolen or vandalized by the residents from the neighboring pueblos. Items like this manuscript fragment are virtually unknown from the northern missions (they do survive in substantial numbers in the south, notably at Santa Barbara and Mission Santa

²⁷Summers, "Orígenes hispanos . . .," 38ff.

²⁸Summers, "Music of the California Missions . . . An Inventory . . .," 19ff.

²⁹Given in Summers, "Spanish Music . . . A Reassessment . . .," 379.

³⁰The one exception for northern survival involves the manuscripts owned by Juan Sancho, some of which can be found in the Stanford University Library, though most of them have been missing since 1976. They are described in some detail in *ibid.*, 364–371, Figures 2–3, 5–6, 7–8. Also, the importance of these manuscripts as a direct link with the music from the Spanish mainland is discussed in "Orígenes hispanos . . .," 42ff.



Inez—probably because the southern missions were relinquished slowly to the clergy loyal to the fledgling Mexican regime).³¹

The fourth manuscript from Santa Clara University is a single leaf from a larger music manuscript. The number 53 appears on the recto of this paper leaf. The similarity of the hand which notated the polyphony on this leaf to one which made entries in the large choirbook suggests that this fragment may have been produced at Santa Clara. The plainsong carries texts in honor of Saint Dominic, and the polyphony which appears on both sides of the page (beginning at the bottom of the recto) is in modern notation. The setting is a poetic text, *In coelesti hierarcia*. (See Table 2.) No other polyphonic setting of this text is known in the mission repertory. The musical style is consistent with that found in many of the two-part settings of non-liturgical texts encountered in the large Santa Clara choirbook.

The fifth and final manuscript—the volume completed by Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta (1780–1840) in April, 1834—is the most important and only complete music manuscript from Arroyo de la Cuesta's hand.³² He came to California in 1808 and spent the majority of his life at Mission San Juan Bautista, leaving there in 1833. Arroyo de la Cuesta was the most important contributor to the preservation of Native Californian languages.³³ This music manuscript was completed while he was residing at Mission San Miguel Arcángel. He wrote the music in a partially blank bound paper book. The original scribe had begun, but not completed, entering the contents of the Roman Martyrology, imitating in pseudo facsimile a printed version produced in Spain in 1791. Arroyo de la Cuesta made his additions, including the musical contents, in the back of the volume by turning the book upside down and beginning from the rear. Typical of him (and fortunate for us), he not only notated the music, but also carefully indexed the contents and supplied the date when he completed his work.

Before turning to the polyphonic music we must

³¹ See Maynard Geiger, *Mission Santa Barbara: 1782–1965* (Santa Barbara, 1965), 110–111.

³² See Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries*, 19–24.

³³ *Ibid.*, 22. By virtue of his transcriptions of Mutsun melodies (manuscript now in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley) Arroyo de la Cuesta also did more than any other Franciscan to bequeath knowledge concerning California tribal music. See Robert Stevenson, "Written Sources," *Ethnomusicology*, xvii (1973), 6–14.

comment upon the significance of this book. First, this is the only music manuscript which can be identified with Mission San Miguel Arcángel, one of the important inland missions in northern California. Until the discovery of the musical contents of this manuscript, virtually nothing was known about the musical activities of this mission. Second, it had been assumed that Arroyo de la Cuesta was too infirm by 1833 to remain active as a priest; however, this book demonstrates that he was at least able to produce manuscripts for use in sacred services. Lastly, the condition of this book assures us that it was used for liturgical services at San Miguel Arcángel. By its very existence as a "re-cycled" book this manuscript testifies to the declining state of mission life in 1834. That Arroyo de la Cuesta had to reuse a half-used smallish paper book contrasts dramatically with the large-scale volumes discussed above. The rapid decline which overtook the missions at this time may also explain why no music for four parts was entered. Arroyo de la Cuesta tried his best to produce a notated surface large enough for a choir by writing across the opening of the two pages. However, even a choir of three or four would have had difficulty reading from this manuscript.

The musical contents are chiefly plainsong. The polyphony consists of two two-part hymns in Spanish, and a complete setting of the two-part *Misa Viscaína*.³⁴ (See Table 2.) The hymns are written in modern notation, using colored ink, in score format. It is worth pointing out that this book is the only source known to me in which colored ink in modern notation is used to differentiate the individual voice parts. On the other hand, the music for the *Viscaína* mass is notated in a type of notation which represents an intermediate stage between the simplified mensural notation seen earlier in the large choirbook from Santa Clara and the modern notation found in the hymns.³⁵

The appearance of the Mass in this unusual notation, identified in contemporary Spanish music tutors as that employed for *canto-llano figurado*, demonstrates that Arroyo de la Cuesta was not only thoroughly knowledgeable about the repertory and notation of the manuscripts from the Durán scriptorium, but also that he was aware of other current

³⁴ For a listing of other sources for the *Misa Viscaína*, see Summers, "Orígenes hispanos . . .," 44.

³⁵ Used for rhymed sequences sung in duple or triple meter, the note forms are in the shape of parallelograms.

trends in Spanish music, both in notation and in plainsong performance. Why, then, did he not adopt the more easily produced and simplified mensural notation used in the surviving manuscripts at Mission San Juan Bautista? Was he copying for Indian singers long familiar with the *Misa Viscaína* notated in the Durán obsolescent manner? Whatever the answer, this source remains a unique testament to the strength of both the musical and the notational traditions cultivated with such vigor by the Spanish Franciscans.

This brief discussion of neglected or little known Spanish music manuscripts in California moves us at least a step further toward a more coherent and complete understanding of how polyphonic music functioned in California before 1850. The five musical sources discussed here cast new light on the musical activities of the Franciscans who came to California. They demonstrate anew how important was sacred music within the fabric of mission life. The two larger and more extensive manuscripts represent considerable investments of materials and time, and provide both monophonic and polyphonic music for a very wide variety of services. Those notated by Arroyo de la Cuesta and Ibáñez represented no little sacrifice on the part of both men, who were infirm at the time of their completion.

Graphically, all five sources document an abiding Spanish reluctance to jettison time-honored notational systems in favor of new systems imported from Italy.

Although the polyphonic contents are so varied that it is impossible to generalize, almost every degree of solemnity in the Mass and in extraliturgical services could be attained by utilizing the music found in these manuscripts. Taken together they add substantially to the number of compositions which have survived from California, and present a small but significant number of unique works. To repeat what was said above, they add notably to our comprehension of the musical activities of two key Franciscan missionaries, and illuminate the musical activity at one mission whose musical past was previously unknown.

The task now confronting us remains both challenging and vast. We must assess the importance of California mission music within the greater picture of the Spanish colonial movement on the west coast of the United States. There is much still to be learned about the transmission of this music to the New World, and about its origins in the Spanish convents which trained the missionaries who labored in Alta California.