New Mexico Historical Review

Volume 40 | Number 1 Article 2

1-1-1965

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Spiess, Lincoln Bunce. "Church Music in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico." *New Mexico Historical Review* 40, 1 (1965). https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol40/iss1/2

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CHURCH MUSIC IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEW MEXICO

LINCOLN BUNCE SPIESS

EVEN IN RUINS, the impressive beauty of the seventeenth-century mission churches in New Mexico, is visible witness to the northward spread of the zeal of the Franciscan friars. Yet we have little tangible evidence of church music used in these same splendid buildings. Certainly plainchant must have been used because of its integral part in the liturgy of the Church. Moreover, when we remember that polyphonic choral music was in its golden age in both Spain and Mexico at the turn of the seventeenth century, it hardly seems credible that the New Mexican friars could have paralleled the architectural endeavors of their brethren in Old Mexico without also emulating their choral achievements. Musical instruments were used in European churches and in religious processions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[1] and we know that they were used in much the same way in the Spanish New World, including Mexico and New Mexico.

Throughout the centuries plainchant—or plainsong—has been a component of the liturgy and there is no doubt that it played its usual part in the missions of New Mexico from the start. By 1626-1629, when Fray Alonso de Benavides was serving as head of the Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul, Indian choirs were being used, as had been done in Mexico in the preceding century. In his writings Fray Alonso implies, and on occasion makes specific mention of the existence of such choirs, as well as of the singing of masses.[2] Although chant manuscripts on parchment do occur in European music into the eighteenth century, and it is possible for such manuscripts to have reached New Mexico, most of the avail-

able liturgical books must have been printed ones.[3] Graduals, antiphonals, missals and breviaries were obtainable from European printers from about 1485, and from Mexican printers from just after the mid-sixteenth century.[4] Printing of liturgical books in Mexico, however, came to an abrupt end between 1589 and 1604. About 1573, as a result of the completion of the monumental *Antwerp Polyglot* Bible, Christophe Plantin received a special privilege from Philip II for the printing of liturgical books for Spain and her dominions. Plantin himself does not seem to have abused this privilege, but for two centuries thereafter the Plantin firm, which was carried on by the Moretus family after Christophe Plantin's death in 1589, did provide large numbers of liturgical books for Spain and her empire. It may be that the virtual monopoly held by the Plantinian house had a restraining effect on Mexican liturgical printing.[5] As time went on the colonies were discouraged from producing commodities that competed with those of the homeland. Although the Plantinian publications were not from Spain itself, they did come from a Spanish-controlled country and were forwarded through the Hieronymites of San Lorenzo in Spain.

Did any of these Plantinian liturgical books reach the northern frontier of New Spain in the seventeenth century? The list of supplies brought to New Mexico in the wagon train when Father Benavides came as custos in 1626 includes the following item:[6]

Por once Misales de los nuevamente reformados, en cuadernos, a quince pesos cada uno	clxv pesos
For eleven Missals, recently revised, bound, at fifteen pesos each	165 pesos

Beginning about 1570, the title pages of liturgical books include the following phrase, or a variant of it: *ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilij Tridentini restitutum,* "restored in accordance with the decree of the Holy Council of Trent" [1545-1563]. Therefore, "Los nuevamente reformados" must refer to Tridentine revisions. It seems unlikely that these missals were of Mexican origin, be-

cause the only printed Mexican missal is dated 1561.[7] The missals taken to New Mexico in 1626 probably came from Europe, although it would be presumptive to make a definite statement that they were Plantinian, since Tridentine missals were also being published in Venice by Giunta and by Liechtenstein. It is true that the Plantin-Moretus firm was more of a specialist in *missalia,* as opposed to graduals and antiphonaries, in addition to holding a special privilege from the Spanish Crown. There were, of course, difficulties between the Netherlands and Spain during the last part of the sixteenth century, and after 1576, the year of "the Spanish Fury," the flow of liturgical books from Antwerp was interrupted. Between 1576 and 1625 the Plantinian press made only two shipments to Spain. These consisted of a consignment of breviaries in 1607, and, in 1615, a larger lot containing the following items: a) thirty-six missals in quarto, and b) two separate entries of one hundred missals each, in octavo.[8] Could the eleven missals on the Benavides supply list have been part of this 1615 shipment? At the moment it is not possible to decide this question, and the answer must await further exploration and documentation.[9] The accompanying plates from the 1612 Plantinian Missal (quarto) illustrate the kind of volume which could have been sent to Spain in 1615.

At the present time there are two Plantinian missals still in New Mexico. Both lack title pages, but they probably date from 1690 and 1726.[10] In addition, one of the few known inventories of the furnishings of a seventeenth-century New Mexican mission church mentions by name Plantinian missals at Socorro in 1672:[11]

> Más, dos misales plantinianos, nuevos,
> que valen en la tierra ochenta pesos 80 p.
> Also, two new Plantinian missals,
> worth eighty pesos in the land 80 p.

Since we know that Plantinian liturgical books were in New Mexico in the 1670's, it seems reasonable to suppose that they may have been there earlier.

Modern missals usually include primarily the music of the *Preface* for the more solemn feasts, the *Pater noster*, and the *Exultet* and *Blessings* for Holy Week, all sung by the priest-celebrant exclusively. The Plantinian missals do contain material for the choir as well, but apparently only the chants in which the priest would participate. Up to now we have more documentation for the missals used in New Mexico than for graduals and antiphonaries, where the choir chants proper are to be found.

As noted earlier, the province was settled at the apex of a golden age of choral polyphony in most of western Europe, in Spain, and in Mexico. The dominant Spanish composers of the mid-sixteenth century were Cristóbal Morales and Francisco Guerrero; Tomás Luis de Victoria, one of the greatest figures of sixteenth-century choral music, represented a later generation. The Mexican choral school is less known, probably because there are few modern editions of their works.[12] Perhaps the most important Mexican composer was Fernando Franco, whose work in Mexico dates from after 1575. Other significant representatives of the Mexican school were Juan de Lienas in the second half of the sixteenth century, and Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *ca.* 1610-1673.

The Mexican school developed out of the highly successful use of music in Christianizing the Indians during the first decades after the Conquest. By 1600 there was an extensive polyphonic literature which is still preserved in the archives of Mexico. The Franciscan missionaries sent to labor in New Mexico surely would not have turned their backs on a choral development which had been so successful in furthering the indoctrination of the Mexican Indians. Although the rigors of life on the northern frontier may not have been conducive to an immediate use of this method, we should expect such a development to have taken place at the earliest practical moment—perhaps by the 1620's—or at least the first steps in that direction. Although the destruction of the early archives of New Mexico in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 deprives us of detailed data on the use of choral music in New Mexico during the seventeenth century, enough information is available to make it clear that it was used. The same pattern emerged again

MISSALE ROMANVM,

Ex decreto Sacroſancti Concilij Tridentini reſtitutum,

Pii V. Pont. Max. iuſſu editum,

ET

Clementis VIII. auctoritate recognitum.

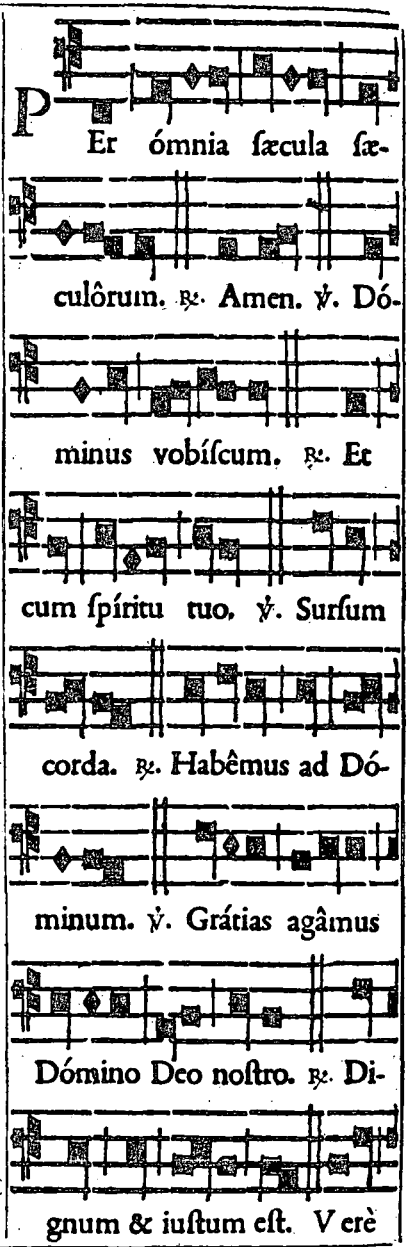
ANTVERPIÆ,
EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA,
Apud Viduam & Filios Io. Moreti.
M. DC. XII.

manſuêtus, ſedens ſuper áſinam, & pullum, fílium ſubiugâlis. Eúntes autem diſcípuli, fecérunt ſicut præcéperat illis Ieſus. Et adduxérunt áſinam, & pullum: & impoſuérunt ſuper eos veſtiménta ſua, & eum déſuper ſedêre fecérunt. Plúrima autem turba ſtrauérunt veſtiménta ſua in via. Alij autem cædébant ramos de arbóribus, & ſternébant in via. Turbæ autem quæ præcedébant, & quæ ſequebántur, clamábant, dicéntes. Hoſánna fílio Dauid: benedíctus qui venit in nómine Dómini.

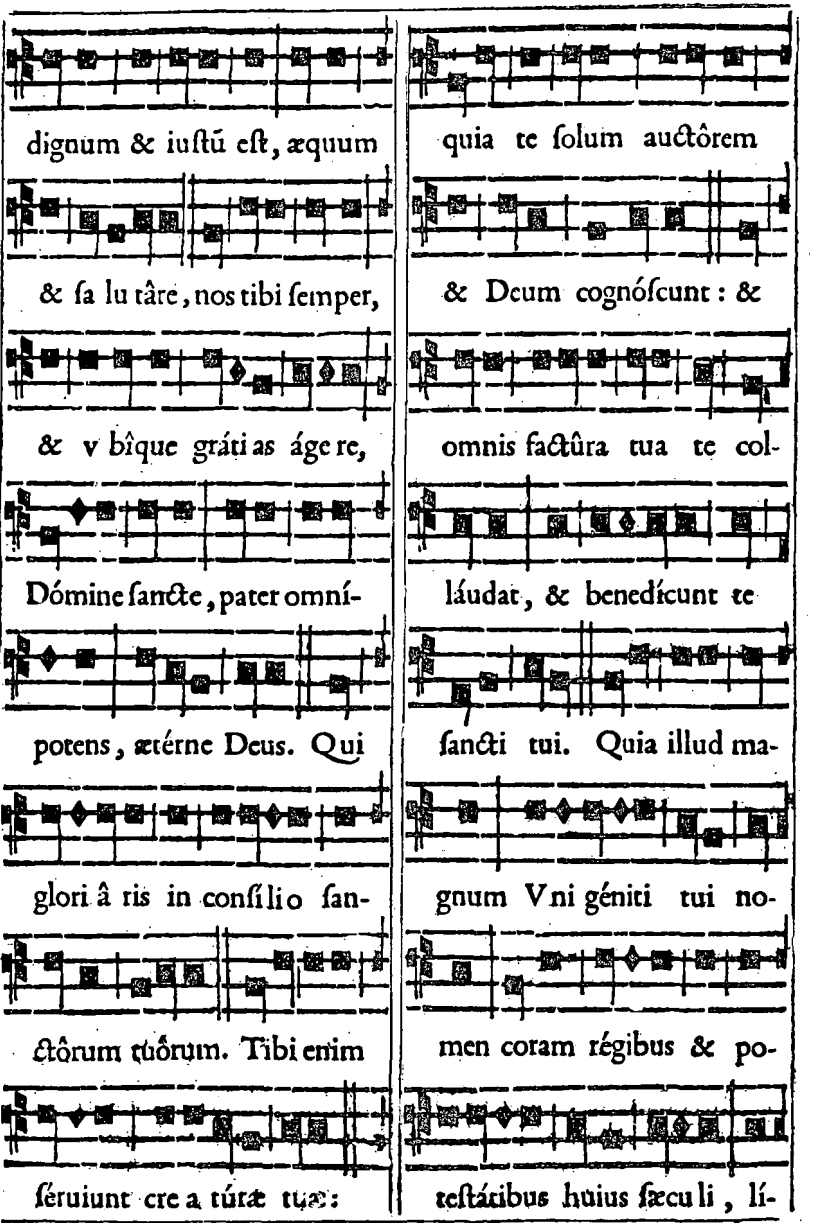
℣. Poſt hæc benedicuntur rami. Sacerdos ſtans in eodem cornu Epiſtolæ, dicit in tono Orationis ferialis. Dóminus vobíſcum. ℟. Et cum ſpíritu tuo.

Orêmus. Oratio.

AVge fidem in te ſperántium Deus, & ſúpplicum preces cleménter exáudi: véniat ſuper nos múltiplex miſericórdia tua: bene ✠ dicántur & hi pálmites palmârum, ſeu oliuârum: & ſicut in figúra Eccléſiæ multiplicáſti Noë egrediéntẽ de arca, & Moyſen exeúntem de Ægypto cum fílijs Iſraël: ita nos portántes palmas, & ramos oliuârum, bonis áctibus occurrâmus óbuiàm Chriſto: & per ipſum in gáudium introeâmus ætérnum. Qui tecum viuit & regnat in vnitâte Spíritus ſancti Deus.



dignum


dignum & iuſtũ eſt, æquum
& ſa lu târe, nos tibi ſemper,
& v bîque gráti as ágere,
Dómine ſancte, pater omní-
potens, ætérne Deus. Qui
glori â ris in conſílio ſan-
ctôrum tuôrum. Tibi enim
ſéruiunt cre a túræ tuæ:
quia te ſolum auctôrem
& Deum cognóſcunt: &
omnis factûra tua te col-
láudat, & benedícunt te
ſancti tui. Quia illud ma-
gnum Vni géniti tui no-
men coram régibus & po-
teſtátibus huius ſæcu li, lí-

in the latter part of the eighteenth century when Franciscan friars founded the California missions, and some of the music they used there is still to be found in California archives.

But how are we to fill in this New Mexican lacuna in the record of polyphonic church music? We can learn much from documents already familiar to the general historian, such as the *Memorials* of Fray Alonso de Benavides, the *Verdadera Relación* of Fray Esteban de Perea, and from various inventories and lists of supplies in Mexican and Spanish archives. The most serious lack at the moment is that of actual polyphonic music manuscripts, although the documentary evidence indicates that they did exist.

Unfortunately the documentary evidence has often been misinterpreted with regard to musical terms. For this reason the true nature of the music performed in the early mission churches of New Mexico has not been properly explained or understood. For example, the term *canto de órgano,* used by Benavides a number of times, actually means "polyphony."[13] Yet his translators have rendered it variously as "organ chant," "organ singing," or "singing with organ accompaniment." These readings not only give an inaccurate picture of the character of New Mexican church music in Benavides' time, but minimize the capabilities of the Indian choirs—to say nothing of the false impression about the existence and use of organs! The most important passage regarding polyphony in the 1630 *Memorial* occurs in Benavides' description of his reception of a Navajo-Apache chief at the church in the pueblo of Santa Clara. After a ceremonious exchange of arrows:

> Yo, por divertirle, mandé a los cantores que cantasen la Salve de canto de órgano, con toda la solemnidad, y con trompetas y chirimías, y así revestido en el altar canté la oración . . . .
>
> To entertain him I ordered the singers to sing the *Salve [Regina]* in polyphony, with all solemnity, and with trumpets and shawms, and so, vested, I sang the prayer at the altar . . . .[14]

Supply lists and inventories of the period include references to wind instruments, sometimes in "sets," and these were obviously intended for use in accompanying polyphonic singing, by doubling the parts in the normal European manner of the time. I shall

say more about this presently when I discuss instruments, but here I wish to emphasize the fact that the very existence of such sets of wind instruments is a further indication of polyphonic performance of church music in New Mexico, or at least an effort in that direction.

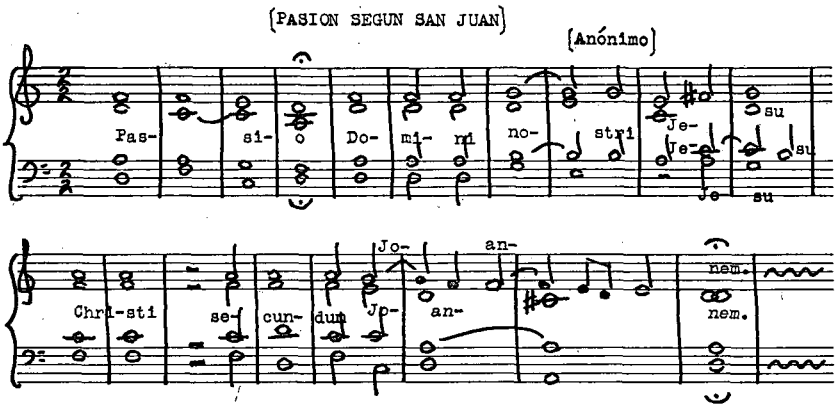
Choral polyphonic was still being done largely from manuscript copies of "part books."[15] Because of the loss of the pre-1680 archives, no New Mexican music of this kind has been found as yet, but the Benavides supply list contains a provocative item which may well refer to manuscript choral music:[16]

Por cinco libros antifonarios compuestos por fray Jerónimo Ciruelo de la Orden de San Francisco, en un cuerpo	xl [pesos]
For five antiphonary books composed [or compiled?] by fray Jerónimo Ciruelo of the Order of St. Francis, in one volume	40 [pesos]

The reference to "five antiphonary books" may be to five part books (see note 15). It is, however, puzzling that they should have been bound together in one volume, unless they were intended for use as a master copy from which the friars would copy into their own part books such pieces as they required. Whether Father Ciruelo was the actual composer, or simply the scribe, must remain for the moment an unanswered problem. "Compuesto" could mean either.

What was New Mexican polyphony like? The many examples of Mexican polyphony which have come down to us from this period are in a highly developed contrapuntal style, reminiscent of continental Spanish polyphony.[17] On the whole this style is more elaborate than would have been practicable for use in a new and still primitive province. It seems more likely that most of the music would have been written by local Franciscans who knew the capabilities of their charges. This was what happened a century and a half later in the California missions, and, as mentioned earlier, some of this music is still preserved in California archives.[18] A passage in Perea's *Relación* may point to at least one friar in New Mexico capable of writing such polyphony. Fray

Roque de Figueredo is mentioned as being "eminente en el canto eclesiástico, contrapunto y llano."[19] Now one might be mentioned as a fine singer of plainchant, or a fine performer on instruments, but it would be unusual to be described as "eminent in contrapuntal choral music" except in the sense of a composer of such music. If this passage does mean that Fray Roque was a composer, he could well have provided music for New Mexican churches after his arrival with Custos Perea in 1629. Moreover, since he came from Mexico, the possibility that there may be as yet undiscovered music by him in Mexican collections cannot be overlooked.[20]



(From El Codice del Carmen, p. 212; J. Bal y Gay, ed.)

Fray Alonso de Benavides' reception of the Navajo chief with instrumental music accompanying vocal music brings us to the third aspect of New Mexican music to be discussed here. Before Benavides' arrival we find little significant mention of musical instruments, unless we wish to include some children's flutes and "Paris trumpets," in addition to the military trumpets referred to in the Oñate documents.[21] Beginning with his time, the frequent mention of instruments, sometimes by name and sometimes in general terms, in various documents, including supply lists and other inventories, makes it clear that they were extensively used in the seventeenth-century mission churches of New Mexico.[22]

The basic wind group of the age was the double reed family: the oboe-bassoon group in modern terms, the shawm-bassoon group in seventeenth-century English terms, or in seventeenth-century Spanish terms, the *chirimía-bajón* group. The shawm is of oriental origin and one of the most ancient of instruments.[23] The Benavides supply list of 1626 includes a "set of shawms with their bassoon."[24] According to the contract made in 1631 when the regular mission-supply service to New Mexico was inaugurated, "a set of shawms with their bassoons" was to be provided for every five friars going to the province. The use of trumpets and trombones along with the nasal penetrating sound of the shawm-bassoon family was normal in Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century, so it is not surprising to find that each five friars were also to receive a "set of trumpets."[25] Although the trombone (*sacabuche*) is not specifically mentioned in any of the documents that have come to the writer's attention so far, that instrument was—and is—the bass member of the trumpet family and so might well have been included in a "terno de trompetas."

The evidence for the existence of organs in the province is not quite as clear as for that of other wind instruments. The Benavides *Memorials* of 1630 and 1634 do not mention them at all. It is more than likely that Fray Alonso would have mentioned this instrument by name had there been one in the province.[26] Although Father Perea says that Fray Roque de Figueredo was an organist, he does not indicate that he had an organ on which to play in New Mexico.[27] In 1929, F. V. Scholes published a translation of a document listing twenty-seven New Mexico missions with short descriptions of their churches and convents. The actual date and provenance of this list is problematical. The copy in question was made in Madrid in May 1664 at the request of Fray Antonio de Aristoi, procurator general of the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel of Mexico, probably for use in support of his negotiations to secure friars for service in the missions. He seems to have been successful, for he took a group of friars back to Mexico with him in 1665. The copy states that the information was taken from Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Sal-

merón's *Relation,* covering the years 1538-1626, but on the basis of much research and internal evidence in the document, Scholes now believes that it describes conditions in New Mexico as they were about 1641.[28] If this document is a reliable source, there were organs at seventeen missions by the 1640's. None is mentioned at Santa Fe, and this is confirmed by a 1639 report of the cabildo of Santa Fe to the Viceroy, which contains the following statement: ". . . they [the friars] say that an altar piece, an organ, and other things have been given [to the Santa Fe church], but they are not there."[29] In the 1672 inventory already mentioned,[30] we find that the Ácoma church boasted "an excellent large organ," and since Ácoma was one of the missions said to possess organs *ca.* 1641, this might be considered further partial confirmation of the accuracy of the undated document copied in 1664.

What were the organs in New Mexico like? The typical Spanish organ of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a one-keyboard instrument without pedal, the keyboard having a compass of from bass C to a-2, i.e. the second A above middle C. The pipes were usually enclosed in a cabinet, the doors of which were open during playing of the instrument, the cabinet acting as an aid in projecting the sound. Ordinarily there were a limited number of stops, or sets of pipes. So far no evidence has been found in seventeenth-century lists of supplies for New Mexico that such organs were sent there, nor have any remnants or fragments of them turned up. They could have been built in the province from wood and leather alone. In this case, all the instruments would probably have been destroyed at the time of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Since it would have been feasible to build the instruments "on the spot," it might have seemed unnecessarily

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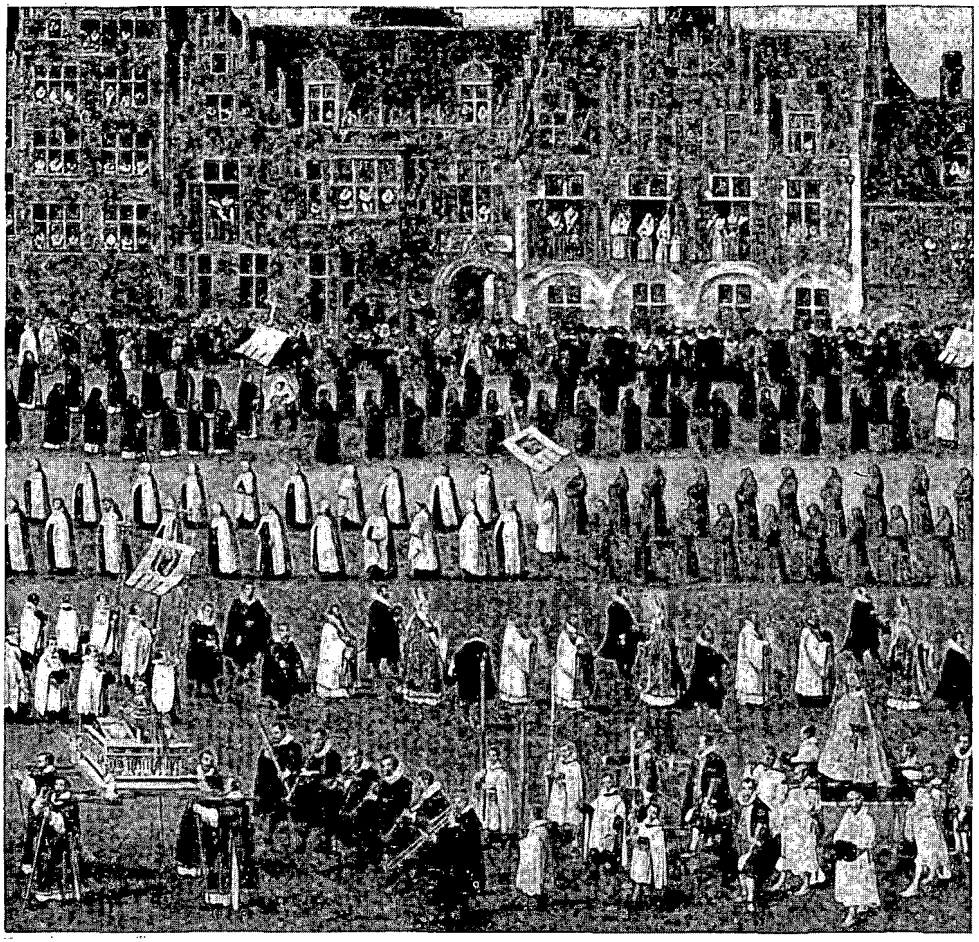
[Facing] DENIS VAN ALSLOOT. *Fiestas del Ommeganck o Papagayo, en Bruselas: Procesión de Ntra. Sra. du Sablon* (1616). Detail. Courtesy Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Musical instruments (between reliquary and image of the Virgin) from left to right: 1) Bassoon 2) Tenor shawm (chirimía) 3) Cornett (not the modern cornet, but a member of the woodwind family with a trumpet mouthpiece and fingerholes, usually slightly bent in shape, the tone being somewhat like the upper range of the bassoon) 4) Soprano shawm (chirimía) 5) Alto shawm (chirimía) 6) Trombone.



burdensome and expensive to ship them in "knocked-down" form the long and arduous distance from Mexico City, even though weight was not an insuperable problem, for heavy bells were sometimes carried in the wagons of the supply trains.

In any case, it is clear that church music did reach a surprising state of development in seventeenth-century New Mexico. The evidence we need most, however, is the actual music used, no matter how fragmentary. This is the current problem of research in this field. One might talk romantically of New Mexican "Dead Sea scrolls," but from the practical point of view it is more likely that any surviving remnants will be found in Mexican archives. When this project began a few years ago, even finding documentary evidence seemed unlikely. Now perhaps it may be possible to find actual music.

NOTES

1. From the musical point of view, the most famous painting showing such a procession is Gentile Bellini's *Procession of the Guild of St. John Evangelist in St. Mark's Square* (Venice, 1496). Although it is too small for study of detail, the most accessible reproduction of this is in D. Grout, *A History of Western Music* (New York, 1960), p. 262. There is a larger reproduction in *Istitutioni e monumenti dell' arte musicale italiana* (Milano, 1931), vol. 1.

2. See L. B. Spiess, "Benavides and Church Music in New Mexico in the Early 17th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 17 (1964), pp. 152-56, for bibliographical data concerning the Benavides *Memorials* of 1630 and 1634, and excerpts from the 1630 *Memorial* in Spanish with English translations.

3. In 1964, Washington University at St. Louis, Missouri, acquired a parchment antiphonary which clearly dates from the eighteenth century, since it contains a mass for Our Lady of Guadalupe authorized under Pope Bendict XIV (d. 1758). The notation is also characteristic of that in printed chant books of the eighteenth century.

4. The British Museum, which probably has the largest collection of liturgical books, has many such printed editions dating from the late fifteenth century on. See "Liturgies" (Latin Rite) in *British Museum: General Catalogue of Printed Books,* vols. 138-39. For a series of facsimile pages of printed liturgical books beginning with the 1480's, see *Das Musikwerk,* vol. 18 (Köln, A. Volk, 1960); also in an English edition, as *Anthology of Music,* vol. 18, available from Leeds Music Corp., New York. For Mexican liturgical books, see Lota Spell, "The First Music Books Printed in America," *Musical Quarterly,* vol. 15 (1929), pp. 50-54.

5. The last liturgical book printed in Mexico until the eighteenth century, except for the *Pasiones* by J. Navarro (1604), was an *Antiphonario* (Mexico, 1589). See J. García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI* (Nueva ed., México, 1954), p. 397.

6. Archivo General de Indias (cited hereinafter as AGI), Contaduría, leg. 726; translation in F. W. Hodge, G. P. Hammond, and A. Rey, *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634* (Albuquerque, 1945), p. 114.

7. For a facsimile of the title page of this 1561 missal, see L. S. Thompson, *Printing in Colonial Spanish America* (Hamden, Conn., 1962), p. 24. Although there is no reference to the Council of Trent, the use of a "new order" and "many new masses" is mentioned. A check of vols. 1 and 2 of J. T. Medina, *La Imprenta en México, 1539-1821* (8 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1907-12) failed to show any other missals printed in Mexico to 1630. A similar check of Medina, *La Imprenta en Lima, 1584-1824* (4 vols., Santiago, 1904-07) yielded the same result. Printing in other parts of the Spanish New World is all later than 1630.

8. *Archief* 222 (Journal for 1615), fol. 8*v*. For this information, as well as facsimiles and much additional assistance in Plantinian matters, the writer is deeply indebted to the gracious and continuing help of Dr. L. Voet, curator of the Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp. Dr. Voet is engaged in extensive research on the history of the firm and plans publication in 1965 of a study on the Plantinian House.

9. The author is preparing an article on printed liturgical books in New Mexico which will explore this matter further.

10. One of these has a license date of 1689 and is in the collection of the Cathedral of St. Francis in Santa Fe. In accordance with the pattern for other Plantinian missals, the probable date of publication would be either 1689 or 1690. Historically, therefore, this missal is of great importance for New Mexico because it could have come into the province at the time of the Reconquest by de Vargas. The second is a composite volume, probably dating from 1726. The main section lacks a title page; subsidiary

sections have title pages dated 1724 and 1725. This is now in charge of the Curator of Spanish Colonial Art, Museum of New Mexico.

11. Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico (cited hereinafter as BNM), MS 19/422, 1671-72 (Leg. 1, no. 34); translated by F. V. Scholes and E. B. Adams, "Inventories of Church Furnishings in Some of the New Mexico Missions, 1672," *Dargan Historical Essays* (Albuquerque, 1952), pp. 27-38.

12. At this writing the following music is in print: Jesús Bal y Gay, ed., *El Códice del Convento del Carmen (Tresor de la Música Polifónica en México,* vol. 1, Mexico, 1952); Stephen Barwick, ed., *Motets from Mexican Archives* (New York, *ca.* 1952) and *The Franco Codex of the Cathedral of Mexico* (Carbondale, Ill., 1964). The best introduction to the subject is Robert Murrell Stevenson, *Music in Mexico* (New York, 1952), unfortunately out of print. Two unpublished doctoral dissertations contain extensive music and represent major research in the field: Stephen Barwick, *Sacred Vocal Polyphony in Early Colonial Mexico* (2 vols., Harvard University, 1949) and Alice E. Ray, *The Double-Choir Music of Juan de Padilla* (2 vols., University of Southern California, 1953).

13. The term *canto de órgano* apparently came from the medieval term *organum* which, among other meanings, signified polyphony from the ninth to the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century the term *discantus* (discant or descant) displaced *organum* as the normal Latin term for polyphony, and along with this change a new and better-organized type of polyphony began to emerge. In Spain the older term does not seem to have disappeared with the stylistic change, and *órgano* or *canto de órgano* continued to be used in the sense of polyphonic or measured (mensural) music. Sixteenth-century treatises show that it included in its meaning both "measured music" and "polyphony." See Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales, 1555* (facsimile ed., Kassel, 1957), fols., 48*v* and 134*r*-135*v*. In the eighteenth century we find it used in this sense in theoretical works. See Gerónimo Romero de Ávila, *Arte de Canto-llano y organo ò promtuario musico* . . . (Madrid, 1761). Part IV of this work treats "de La Especulativa, y Práctica del Canto de Organo, segun el moderno estilo."

14. Fray Alonso de Benavides, *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630,* Tr. by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer; annotated by F. W. Hodge and C. F. Lummis (Chicago, 1916), pp. 73-74. Cf. note 2, *supra.*

15. A "part book" contains an individual vocal part for several "part songs" or for choral works such as motets. These part books were most commonly in sets of five: soprano (or discant), alto, tenor, and bass, with the book for the less frequent fifth part being simply "quintus" and usually in a baritone range. The original manuscripts of most choral music and

secular part music from this period are found in this form and must be transcribed into modern notation and the parts fitted together into a modern score. On occasion one of the part books may be missing or, on the other hand, only one part book of a set may be found. Either way the transcribing scholar has his problems, although even a single part book may be better than nothing at all!

16. AGI, Contaduría, leg. 726; translation in Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, p. 119.

17. The two major archives for this music are those of the cathedrals of Mexico City and Puebla. See also note 12, *supra.*

18. Some of this Californian music has been published by Owen da Silva, O.F.M., *Mission Music of California* (Los Angeles, 1941). The style is simple, quite harmonic, and within the capabilities of modest choirs.

19. "Eminent in ecclesiastical song, contrapuntal and plain." Fray Estevan de Perea, *Verdadera Relacion* (Sevilla, 1632); Lansing B. Bloom, "Fray Estevan de Perea's *Relacion,*" NMHR, vol. 8 (1933), pp. 211-35, includes a translation and a facsimile of the title page.

20. This possibility, as well as that of music by Fray Gerónimo Ciruelo, is currently under investigation by the writer. [It is unlikely that Ciruelo was ever in Mexico, since his name does not appear in Fray Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, *Bezerro general, menologico y chronologico de todos los religiosos que . . . ha avido en esta Sta. Prova. del Sto. Evango. desde su fundacion hasta el presente año de 1764,* MS in Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. Fray Roque de Figueredo was a native of Seville who professed in the Convento Grande at Mexico City on July 9, 1600. Figueroa, pp. 158, 247. EBA]

21. G. P. Hammond and A. Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1598-1628* (2 vols., Albuquerque, 1953), vol. 1, p. 222; *History of New Mexico by Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá,* Tr. by Gilberto Espinosa (Los Angeles, 1933), p. 136.

22. A publication honoring the distinguished musicologist Willi Apel on his seventieth birthday will include an article by the writer: "Instruments in the Missions of New Mexico, 1598-1680," to be published early in 1965.

23. The shawm appears in western European miniatures of the thirteenth century. See *La Música de Las Cantigas* (Madrid, 1922), transcribed by J. Ribera y Tarragó, plates 31, 33, 39. There were two basic shapes to the shawm: 1) with a bulbous "bell" somewhat similar to the modern English horn (tenor oboe); 2) with a flaring "bell" looking somewhat like a modern trumpet, although it was always played with the bell towards the ground. The latter is the one most commonly found in the

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The instrument was of wood and played with fingerholes.

24. "Un terno de chirimías con su bajón." AGI, Contaduría, Leg. 726; Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, p. 115, where *chirimías* is incorrectly rendered as "flageolets."

25. BNM, MS 19/403, 1631 (Leg. 1, no. 9). Translation in F. V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century," NMHR, vol. 5 (1930), p. 103. Here *chirimías* is incorrectly read as "clarions," a now obsolete member of the trumpet family.

26. There is a problematical reference to an organ at San Felipe pueblo in 1609. Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano* (4 vols., Mexico, 1870-71), vol. 4, p. 137. There is some doubt about the date. See F. V. Scholes and L. B. Bloom, "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598-1629," NMHR, vol. 19 (1944), p. 329; Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, pp. 259-60.

27. See note 19, *supra.*

28. AGI, Audiencia de México, leg. 306; translation in F. V. Scholes, "Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century," NMHR, vol. 4 (1929), pp. 46-51; E. B. Adams and A. Chávez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776* (Albuquerque, 1956), p. 190n.

29. C. W. Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and approaches thereto, to 1773* (3 vols., Washington, D.C., 1923-37), vol. 3, p. 72.

30. See note 11, *supra.*