THE MISSA PRO DEFUNCTIS AT THE CATEDRAL METROPOLITANA DE LA ASUNCIÓN DE LA SANTÍSIMA VIRGEN MARÍA A LOS CIELOS: FEATURING THE MISA DE DIFUNTOS (1760) BY IGNACIO JERUSALEM Y STELLA, MAESTRO DI CAPILLA (1707-1769).

by

Benjamin L. Geier

Submitted to the faculty of the
Jacobs School of Music in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree,
Doctor of Music
Indiana University
May 2020

Accepted by the faculty of the Indiana University Jacobs School of Music, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Music

Doctoral Committee

Giovanni Zanovello, Research Directo
Betsy Burleigh, Chai
Carolann Buf
Brian Horne

The *Missa pro Defunctis* at the Catedral Metropolitana de la Asunción de la Santísima Virgen María a los Cielos:
Featuring the *Misa de Difuntos (1760)*by Ignacio Jerusalem y Stella, Maestro di Capilla (1707-1769)

The *Misa de difuntos* (1760) by Ignacio Jerusalem y Stella is a choral-orchestral setting of the Requiem Mass which offers a unique glimpse into the fusion of the European Classical and Spanish cathedral traditions. The *Mass Ordinary* movements are influenced by Mid-Eighteenth compositional style and technique, offering clear and straightforward harmonic progressions with largely homophonic choral interjections. The *Mass Proper* provides a suitable contrast with strong dissonances and ample use of chromaticism to evoke the textual themes of the Requiem.

The Misa de difuntos (1760) was first discovered by me in Thomas Stanford's Catálogo de los acervos musicales de las catedrales metropolitanas de México y Puebla de la Bibioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia y ostras colecciones menores. Although it appeared as a simple entry in the catalog, its immense size of five hundred seventy-six pages and description of a chamber orchestra and chorus caught my attention. The music that constitutes the basis of my edition survives in a single manuscript, located in the Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México (ACCMM) in Mexico City. I have not been able to travel to Mexico City, but I was granted access to the microfilm which is held at the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH). Passages of the work required some philological emendation. Fortunately, Ignacio Jerusalem's score and accompanying part books are remarkably free of errors and are well preserved. The majority of editorial decisions I made were as a result of composer shorthand or misinterpretations on the part of the copyists.

It is my hope that this edition will further promote the music of Ignacio Jerusalem y Stella and the vast numbers of unknown works that exist in the Mexican cathedral archives.

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Chapter 1:

Ignacio Jerusalem Y Stella and his *Missa de Difuntos (1760)*: Historical Background

The Composer

Ignacio Jerusalem y Stella (also referred to as Gerusalemme) was born in Lecce, Italy on June 3rd, 1707. He came from a family of musicians: his father Matteo Martino (b 1666) and Ignacio's grandfather were both violinists originally hailing from Naples. Matteo held many titles throughout the course of his career. He was *musico di viola* in the service of Prince Enríquez of Squinzano, musico di scuola for the city of Campi, and chapel master at the church of the Gesù in Lecce. Ignacio's father-in-law, Vincenzo Stella, was chapel master of the Jesuit church in Lecce. Additionally, Ignacio's godparents were very influential in the Lecce musical scene. The Gerusalemme family had a stable and steady financial situation due to Matteo's connections with elites and Jesuits in Lecce.

The record of Jerusalem's early career is incomplete, but through recent scholarship, greater details have been uncovered. Given his family connections and musical pedigree, Ignacio was sent Naples to study music. The Conservatorio di Sant'Onofrio a Porta Capuana is suspected to be the institution where Jerusalem completed his musical training. Evidence for this is based on the connection between three instructors at the Conservatorio during Jerusalem's study there. Three instructors appear on the title page of Jerusalem's pedagogical work entitled, *Vezerro de lecciones*. ⁴ There is little

¹ Robert Stevenson, "Ignacio de Jerusalem (1707-1769): Italian Parvenu in Eighteenth-Century Mexico," *Inter-American Music Review* 1 (summer-fall 1997): 57-61. This article also provides the source for the information in the rest of the paragraph.

² Javier Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-1769): cronología biográfica y lista de obras = biographical timeline and list of works* (Madrid: Dairea Ediciones, 2019), 26-27.

³ Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-1769): cronología* biográfica, 26.

⁴ Faith Lanam, "Behind Closed Doors" (Paper, presented at the International Conference on Colonial Music: Music and Arts of Colonial New Spain, Florida International University, Miami, March 6th, 2020); Nicola Grillo (1711-1723), Francesco Feo (1723-1739), and Leonardo Leo (1739-1744) all served as *primo maestro* at the Conservatorio in and around the time Jerusalem would have been there. Feo, in particular, is represented 72 times in the *Vezerro de lecciones*, which might indicate a more prominent influence on Jerusalem.

documentation about Ignacio's career from the completion of his studies until his marriage in 1736 to

Antonia Sixto, a native Neapolitan. Their marriage was a fruitful, but strained one, resulting in the births
of no less than eight children, many of whom would become musicians and religious in New Spain.⁵

At this time in Jerusalem's life, it is believed he worked successfully in military circles (he played the horn), the theater, and possibly aristocratic circles, first in Naples, and later several Spanish cities.⁶
Soon after moving to the city of Cádiz, Don Josef Cardenas recruited him as director, composer, and musician in 1742.⁷ Don Cardenas and Jerusalem traveled to the Viceroyalty of New Spain, and Jerusalem began his new career at the Coliseo de México.⁸

Ignacio Jerusalem held a wide variety of positions in the years after his arrival in Mexico City. Although it is believed he had monumental success in positions ranging from the Coliseo, music schools, and aristocratic patrons, most of the documentation of his activities exists only in the cathedral chapter records (*Actas del Cabildo*). The musical community of Mexico City praised and lauded Ignacio Jerusalem for his skilled performances and dramatic compositions. Jerusalem utilized his considerable talents at composition and performance (horn and cello) to become an almost overnight success at the Coliseo. He sought further employment at the *Catedral Metropolitana de la Asunción de la Santísima Virgen María a los cielos* (the Mexico City Cathedral). The chapter hired him in 1746, first as a composer and violone player, then as interim chapel master in 1749.

⁵ Lanam, "Behind Closed Doors."

⁶ José Antonio Gutiérrez Álvarez and Javier Marín-López, "Ignacio Jerusalem en Ceuta (1737/38-1742): un músico ¿militar? napolitano en la costa norteafricana española," *Revista de* Musicología 42, no. 1 (2019): 396-412; based on his children's baptismal records and certain movements of the Regiment of Zamora it is believed he was traveling through Cataluña, Barcelona, Ceuta, and eventually was transferred to Cádiz.

⁷ Don Cardenas was an avid supporter of the theater and administrator of the Hospital General de los Indios de México, in Mexico City. Evidence suggests that he was attempting to bring new musicians to the Coliseo de México while in Cádiz.

⁸ The Hospital's financial stability was primarily connected to the success of the Coliseo, the main public theater in Mexico City.

⁹ Marín-López, Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-1769): cronología biográfica, 28.

¹⁰ Craig H. Russell, "Hidden Structures and Sonorous Symmetries: Ignacio De Jerusalem's Concerted Masses in Eighteenth-Century Mexico," in *Res Musicae: Essays in Honor of James W. Pruett*, eds. James W. Pruett, Paul R. Laird, and Craig H. Russell (Warren: Mich, 2001), 137.

¹¹ Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-1769): cronología biográfica*, 28.

After years of frustration with Domingo Dutra, the interim chapelmaster (ca. 1738-ca.1750), the cathedral opened the position and Jerusalem prematurely applied, even before the official announcement. Leventually, in April of 1750, the committee established a series of examinations to determine Jerusalem's competency. If Ignacio, the only applicant, completed tests covering all the duties entailed by the position in front of a panel of judges. The main purpose of these tests was to establish the composer's taste and experience with music for the Church. In his first attempt (*O Emmanuel Rex* and *A la milagrosa*), the jury was unimpressed by the progressive stylistic choices Jerusalem incorporated into his music. Progressive, at this time, referred to the *style galant* or *rococo*, a style which Jerusalem had adopted at this time, rather than the traditional Baroque counterpoint. The jury made additional requests of him, asking him to compose another piece (*Iste sanctus pro lege Dei sui*) hoping he would conform to the conservative standards the committee desired, and even suggesting that Jerusalem compose fugues and canons. Jerusalem continued to frustrate the jury by adding violins and continuo to a four-part vocal texture. At this point, the deadlocked jury reluctantly hired Ignacio Jerusalem as the chapel master or *maestro di capilla* of the Mexico City Cathedral on November 3rd, 1750, and he kept the position until his death in 1769.

Recent scholarship has revised the traditional view of this rather convoluted audition process suggesting that more than merely a matter of taste, Jerusalem's lack of political status, Spanish heritage, and sudden rise to stardom in Mexico City contributed to the ill-will he received from Church officials.¹⁸ Political and aesthetic tensions culminated with the appointment of Jerusalem as chapel master.

¹² Jesús A. Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race, and Status in New Spain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 100-101; evidence suggests that knowledge of proper musical composition had degraded under Dutra's leadership to the point that the canons of the cathedral had real doubts that anyone was capable of properly examining Ignacio Jerusalem.

¹³ Russell, "Hidden Structures," 137.

¹⁴ Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral*, 119-123.

¹⁵ See Drew Edward Davies' *The Italianized Frontier: Music at Durango Cathedral, Epañol (sic) Culture, and the Aesthetics of Devotion in Eighteenth-Century New Spain* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 2006) for more on how Jerusalem represents an idiomatic Neapolitan galant style.

¹⁶ Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral*, 119-123.

¹⁷ Stevenson, "Italian Parvenu," 57.

¹⁸ Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral*, 13.

Ramos-Kittrell argues that the cathedral's institutional culture would have excluded applicants based on their perceived social or racial status. ¹⁹ The *Catedral Metropolitana de la Asunción de la Santísima Virgen María a los cielos* had a long and proud heritage of great Spanish composers. Manuel de Sumaya (1678-1755) dominated the cathedral music scene during Jerusalem's tenure. Sumaya, still living at the time of Jerusalem's appointment, had left Mexico City for Oaxaca. Mexico City cathedral officials requested Sumaya's return during the years preceding Jerusalem's arrival to Vice Regal New Spain. ²⁰ However, council documents from Jerusalem's examination for the position clearly state that he "did not have experience as a church musician" and "he did not speak Spanish well," two facts which would justify hesitancy on the part of the committee. ²¹

Accounts from the audition process vary greatly, suggesting that socio-political factors may have played a part in Jerusalem's hiring. The jury commented that Jerusalem's operatic audition submissions lacked the desired qualities for religious music; however, non-jury witnesses gave positive assessments of the submissions.²² These stark contrasts in opinion raise questions about the possibility of non-musical factors contributing to the committee's hesitations.²³ One thing is clear: Jerusalem's contemporaries acknowledged his unique musical talent and skill.²⁴

Following his appointment, Ignacio Jerusalem showed clear administrative, political, and professional deficiencies. Jerusalem had earned a reputation as an ambivalent, lazy, and insolent employee amongst the canons. Furthermore, there are numerous accounts of disputes with musicians at the Cathedral. Francisco Selma, a Spaniard, earned a higher salary than Jerusalem and was favored by the canons; also "a *bajonero* named Cerezo, challenged and pulled out a shotgun" against Jerusalem.²⁵

Adding insult to injury, the council heard accounts of unrepentant vice and depravity from his wife,

¹⁹ Ramos-Kitrell, *Playing in the Cathedral*, 122-125.

²⁰ Russell, "Hidden Structures," 137.

²¹ Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-1769): cronología biográfica*, 28.

²² Ramos-Kitrell, *Playing in the Cathedral*, 121-122.

²³ Faith Lanam, "Behind Closed Doors." Dr. Lanam has also suggested that there may have been a specific prejudice against Italian musicians and their musical styles.

²⁴ Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-1769): cronología biográfica*, 29.

²⁵ Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-1769): cronología biográfica*, 30.

Antonia. The council's decision to grant her portion of Ignacio's salary directly gives us some insight into the veracity of these claims.²⁶ Evidence suggests that Jerusalem became the target of political gamesmanship.²⁷ His views on music making, poetry, and music composition were controversial in New Spain, but unjustifiably so.²⁸ This is more a sign of what Craig H. Russell has defined the Cathedral's "stodgy, anti-progressive, musical tastes" than of Jerusalem's composing abilities.²⁹

Ignacio Jerusalem's ambition may have contributed to his lack of leadership at the cathedral. While we do not have a complete picture of the musician's employment history, Jerusalem constantly held multiple positions in the city. This lack of focus on the cathedral could explain some of the failures of the cathedral music program under his leadership. Jerusalem's musicians openly disrespected and ridiculed him, and he allowed his subordinates unrestricted access to the musical archive, resulting in the theft of many scores and parts.³⁰ Members of the cathedral music staff may have presumed that Jerusalem's lack of leadership could lead to his subordinate musicians' disrespect, even though he had a great reputation as a performer and composer.³¹ The situation worsened over the next couple of years, to the point where cathedral canons considered hiring expensive Spanish musicians to regain control of their music program.³²

Despite the chaos surrounding the early years of his appointment, Jerusalem's compositional output flourished during his last decade. By 1760 the political situation had calmed, and he enjoyed a personal and professional Renaissance. Jerusalem composed many of his larger pieces during this time.

²⁶ Lanam, "Behind Closed Doors."

²⁷ Russell, "Hidden Structures," 137.

²⁸ Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral*, 103-106.

²⁹ Craig H. Russell, "The Mexican Cathedral Music of Ignacio de Jerusalem: Lost Treasures, Royal Roads, and New Worlds," *Revista de musicología* 16, no. 1 (1993): 102.

³⁰ Ramos-Kitrell, *Playing in the Cathedral*, 125-127; perhaps the partitura of the *Libera me* (1760) was one of the manuscripts stolen or misplaced, as it is missing from the *Legajos*.

³¹ Ramos-Kitrell, *Playing in the Cathedral*, 122-125; Ramos-Kitrell states that such concerns were not necessarily unfounded, and were later proved to be vindicated based on Jerusalem's management of the music department.

³² Ramos-Kitrell, *Playing in the Cathedral*, 123-124.

Although his concerted settings of *Matins and Responsories* are relatively well known, Jerusalem also composed excellent works in the genres of Villancico, Mass, and Requiem Mass.³³

Jerusalem's last years were marked by relative calm, but not without strain. Jerusalem never fully quelled the tensions within his own ranks. At the Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe 1768, several musicians left during Matins, in protest.³⁴ Although he was still employed by at least three institutions, he was unable to leave an inheritance to his sons, and the church council had to pay for his burial.³⁵

After Jerusalem's death in 1769, a wide range of factors gradually contributed to the end of the golden era of music at the cathedral.³⁶ The Maestro di Capilla position had been plagued with vacancies, both before and after Jerusalem's tenure. Given the prominence of the cathedral, this is almost unthinkable.³⁷ Throughout the eighteenth century, the Mexico City Cathedral faced both local financial hardships and political pressures from the Spanish Crown. The Spanish had depleted the vast resources that made Mexico City a flourishing economic center.³⁸ This greatly affected the cathedral income, procured through tithes and other endowments, and led to position and pay cuts for the musicians.³⁹ King Charles III desired a limited Church that was poor, humble, and devoted to a life of simple prayer.⁴⁰ Throughout Ignacio Jerusalem's tenure and until the end of the century, the number of European

³³ Russell, "Hidden Structures," 140.

³⁴ Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-1769): cronología biográfica*, 31.

³⁵ Literally, according to the record, "without leaving any valuables." See Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem* (1707-1769): cronología biográfica, 34.

³⁶ Teresa Bowers, "The Golden Age of Choral Music in the Cathedrals of Colonial Mexico," *The Choral Journal* 40, no. 9 (Apr., 2000): 12-13.

³⁷ Dianne Lehmann Goldman, "Ignacio Jerusalem's Sources at the Basílica de Guadalupe, Mexico City" (Paper, presented at the International Conference on Colonial Music: Music and Arts of Colonial New Spain, Florida International University, Miami, March 6th, 2020).

³⁸ Jesus A. Ramos-Kittrell, "Music, Liturgy, and Devotional Piety in New Spain: Baroque Religious Culture and the Re-evaluation of Religious Reform during the 18th Century," *Latin American Music Review* 31, no. 1 (Summer 2010): 84.

³⁹ Ramos-Kittrell, "Music, Liturgy, and Devotional Piety in New Spain," 89; The main method the Cathedral used to improve its financial situation was by dismissing musicians that were deemed unnecessary.

⁴⁰ Ramos-Kittrell, "Music, Liturgy, and Devotional Piety in New Spain," 95.

musicians migrating to Mexico City had been greatly reduced, and those that arrived received training in Opera, not liturgical music.⁴¹

The issue of legacy and reception is particularly challenging in the case of Ignacio Jerusalem. ⁴² It is necessary to separate his posthumous reputation into two categories: accounts immediately following his death to the Mid-Nineteenth century, and the record given to us from a variety of musicologists and music historians dating primarily from the Mid-Twentieth century. At a time when Jerusalem's name was more obscure than today, two publications began to shape a negative connotation around the composer's work. In *Historia de la música Mexicana* (1934), the author stated, "...although in our view he does not have the superiority that they (the cathedral) wanted to grant him." ⁴³ and in 1952, Stevenson wrote, "[he] provides but one especially conspicuous examples of a second-rate Italian who, graduating from the orchestra put at the Coliseo de México, carried into the cathedral the vapid inanities of Italian opera at its worst". ⁴⁴ As Drew Edward Davies and Javier Marín-López point out, "the situation began to change as soon as contact was made with the music". ⁴⁵

Despite the continuous scandals and frustrations, Jerusalem's contemporaries respected the musician and viewed him, and the corpus of work he created, with nostalgia in the decade following his death. Cathedral council documents give us a clear picture of the importance of his work when, in 1771, the cathedral cantor de la Rocha stated, a small piece or great piece composed by the aforementioned Jerusalem that was not admired by even the most intelligent people, who respected all his compositions for how they shined in *pathos* and harmony. Vriters, congregations, opera connoisseurs, and

⁴¹ Bowers, "The Golden Age," 13.

⁴² Javier Marín-López, "Ignacio Jerusalem and the Biographical Method: Issues and Challenges" (Paper, presented at the International Conference on Colonial Music: Music and Arts of Colonial New Spain, Florida International University, Miami, March 6th, 2020).

⁴³ Gabriel Saldívar Y Silva, *Historia de la música Mexicana. Épocas precortesiana y colonial* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1934), 114.

⁴⁴ Robert Stevenson, *Music in Mexico. A Historical Survey.* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952), 155.

⁴⁵ Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-1769): cronología biográfica*, 24.

⁴⁶ Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral*, 110-111, 123-127.

⁴⁷ Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-1769): cronología biográfica*, 29-30.

eventually the cathedral officials themselves praised him.⁴⁸ In Mexico City, the musical establishment touted him as "the musical miracle."⁴⁹ By the time of his death, Jerusalem's compositions had been disseminated throughout the region and beyond; remaining a part of the active repertory into the Nineteenth century.⁵⁰ His music reached as far south as Guatemala, as far north as California, and there is a extant piece of his music in Spain.⁵¹ Through his influence and position, Jerusalem revolutionized the musical scene in Vice Royal New Spain by updating liturgical repertories, through the education of countless pupils, and remaining a presence in the region over one hundred years after this death.⁵²

A Brief History of the Missa pro defunctis and its Musical Settings, 600-1750

The *Missa pro defunctis* (or Mass for the dead) is one of the most ancient and solemn traditions of the Christian Church. The celebration's origins go back more than nine centuries. Scholars uncovered early evidence of the rituals and practices of the Requiem in the ancient underground catacombs of early Christian communities.⁵³ There, the iconography depicts a different understanding of death and the afterlife. Unlike the more evocative themes of hellfire and damnation, the imagery and writings about these ancient rites are light-hearted and focus on the soul's ascension into heaven.⁵⁴

Prayer is and always has been an essential part of the Christian religion. The Requiem is an extension of the Christian community's prayer life, and its intended benefactors are the souls of the recently deceased, those souls who remain in Purgatory, and for the family members of the dead.⁵⁵ The early theologians from Tertullian (160-220) through Gregory the Great (c. 540-604) wrote about the

⁴⁸ Russell, "Hidden Structures," 143; see commentary on capitular acts.

⁴⁹ Craig H. Russell, "Newly Discovered Treasures from Colonial California: The Masses at the San Fernando Mission," *Inter-American music review* 13, no. 1 (1992): 7.

⁵⁰ Craig H. Russell. *From Serra to Sancho: Music and Pageantry in the California Missions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 337-396.

⁵¹ Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-1769): cronología biográfica*, 89; the cantata *Cielos que aquesto miráis – Llore yo*, is held at Cuenca Cathedral in Spain.

⁵² Russell, "Hidden Structures," 139; these reforms echoed throughout New Spain.

⁵³ Alec Robertson, Requiem: Music of Mourning and Consolation. (London: Cassell, 1967), 14.

⁵⁴ Robertson, *Requiem*, 15-16.

⁵⁵ The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 12., s.v. "purgatory," http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12575a.htm (accessed May 5, 2018).

practice frequently, and emphasized the importance of praying for the dead.⁵⁶ The Catholic Church instructs that the souls in Purgatory are not separated from the Church, and the ritual of praying for the dead is encouraged.⁵⁷

The Church began a solemn celebration (or Feast) in commemoration for all of the faithful departed called All Souls' Day in addition to celebrating the Requiem Mass around approximately 927. The title *All Souls'*, deserves some more in-depth explanation. The fathers of the church have detailed a set of general guidelines for those souls that can receive such prayers. A summary of the criteria would be (1) the soul must be unjudged (neither in Heaven, nor Hell), (2) a member of the Roman Catholic community, and (3) thought to have lived a morally good life without unrepentant sin. ⁵⁸ Catholics also pray the Requiem without any knowledge of whether any given soul would receive benefit from the prayers, ⁵⁹ and would only cease offering these prayers when the Church's authorities officially beatify the soul in question.

The Christian tradition links singing and praying very closely. *Qui bene cantat bis orat* (singing well, is praying twice) is a statement often misattributed to St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430), which succinctly captures the essence of the relationship. Early Christians were not able to worship publicly, due to widespread persecution, and it is believed their sung repertory would have been improvised based on the function of the ritual at hand.⁶⁰ The expression and organization of Christian worship stabilized by the Fourth century, as persecution waned.⁶¹ Even then, Christian services focused primarily on celebrations directly relating to Jesus Christ.⁶² The principal form of singing used in the early Christian

⁵⁶ Christian Washburn, "The Value of Offering Sacrifice for the Dead in the Thought of the Fathers of the Church," *Antiphon* 16, no. 3 (2012): 156.

⁵⁷ Charles Warren Fox, "The Polyphonic Requiem Before About 1615," *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society* no. 7 (1943): 6-7.

⁵⁸ Code of Canon Law, c. 1176, § 1-3, in Code of Canon Law: Latin-English Edition (Washington, DC: Canon Law Society of American, 1999), 1176.

⁵⁹ Washburn, "The Value of Offering Sacrifice," 158-167.

⁶⁰ David Hiley, Western Plainchant: Handbook (Oxford University Press, 1995), 484-487.

⁶¹ Hiley, Western Plainchant, 487.

⁶² Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University Press, 2017), 6.

Church is known as Plainchant. At this time, several parallel traditions of chant existed, each with their unique repertories; however, in the contemporary Catholic Church, all Gregorian Chant is generally interpreted following a modernized version of the rubrics and guidelines set forth by the monks of Solemnes.⁶³

Plainsong settings of the *Missa pro defunctis* were widely used despite the existence of many polyphonic settings. The *Missa pro defunctis* was most frequently performed as a *Plainsong Mass* throughout the Medieval and early Renaissance periods. When compared to other common plainsong settings of the Mass, the Requiem plainsong is simpler; having less melismatic textures and utilizing more syllabic melodies. Church conservativism likely discouraged composers from setting elaborate Requiem settings. It is possible this conservatism towards polyphony in the Requiem is the reason for the lack of any compositions until this late date.

In the Thirteenth century, composers began widely adopting the Mass Ordinary as a genre for the innovation of polyphony. This new direction was spurred on by the Christian Church's standardization of the Mass.⁶⁴ It was also during this time when the doctrines or Transubstantiation and Purgatory were codified. These doctrines focused the Church's principal celebration on Christ's redemption and prayer for the souls in Purgatory.⁶⁵

Beginning in the last quarter of the Fifteenth Century, composers experimented more frequently with the Requiem Mass cycle as a genre for innovation and exploration. The first mention of a polyphonic Requiem Mass is 1474.⁶⁶ As discussed previously, settings of the Mass Ordinary had been a regular genre for composers, but they showed hesitance to focus on the Requiem rite due to its solemn and

⁶³ For a detailed explanation of the history, interpretation, and controversy surrounding the modern chant restoration: Pierre Combe, and William Skinner, and Theodore Marier, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2013).

⁶⁴ Andrew Kirkman, *The cultural life of the early polyphonic mass: medieval context to modern revival* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 3-11, 167-176.

⁶⁵ Robertson, *Requiem: Music of Mourning*, 3-5; The celebration of the Requiem Mass is thought to aid souls existing in Purgatory. The faithful pray for the souls in Purgatory to quickly pass into Heaven.

⁶⁶ Robertson, Requiem: Music of Mourning, 25.

austere character. The Church reserved polyphonic music for the most festive and joyous occasions. The first polyphonic Requiem Masses by Johannes Ockeghem (1410/1425-1497), Antoine Brumel (1460-1512/13), and Pierre de la Rue (c. 1452-1518) notably establish the tradition with austere and reserved polyphonic textures.⁶⁷ However, until the mid-sixteenth century, Requiem Mass settings had no uniform pattern.⁶⁸ Ockeghem, for example, omits the *Dies Irae* because French churches had not standardized its use, while Brumel includes the sequence, set in alternatim.

The Requiem Mass gradually incorporated compositional styles from Catholic musicians of the Sixteenth century. Influenced by the Protestant Reformation (ca. 1517) and subsequent Council of Trent (1545-1563), a new and more complete Requiem cycle was fashionable; however, the music was of a more restrained writing style. Highly celebrated composers such as Cristóbal de Morales (c.1500-1553), Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (c. 1525-1594), and Tomás Luis de Victoria (c. 1548-1611) created polyphonic settings of the Requiem Mass.⁶⁹ These Masses did not directly reflect the texts of the Requiem, but rather, used examples of madrigalism rhetorically evoke dramatic moments, such as the text, *ne cadant in obscurum* (nor let them fall into darkness) where often composers will have the choral forces sing very low in their range, evoking the darkest tones of the ensemble.⁷⁰ Another striking example of madrigalism occurs in Victoria's Funeral Motet: *Versa est in luctum*, from his *Officium defunctorum ad matutinum (1605)*, where he employs an augmented-fifth chord during the text *in vocem flentium* (the voice of them that weep).⁷¹ The augmented-fifth chord was often used as a chromatic alternation which strengthens dissonances in the minor mode. This dissonance heightens the "weeping" of those in mourning in a sublime and tragic way.

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⁶⁷ Robert Chase, *Dies Irae: A Guide to Requiem Music* (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2003), 20-21, 25-26, 31-32; Robertson also provides detailed descriptions of each of their compositions, respectively.

⁶⁸ Stanley Brandes, "Sugar, Colonialism, and Death: On the Origins of Mexico's Day of the Dead," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39 no. 2 (1997): 270-299; The format of the Latin Requiem Mass was not formalized by the Catholic Church until after the Council of Trent (1545-63).

⁶⁹ Robertson, Requiem: Music of Mourning, 42-54.

⁷⁰ Robertson, *Requiem: Music of Mourning*, 52-54.

⁷¹ Robertson, Requiem: Music of Mourning, 52-54.

The Polyphonic Requiem Mass in the Baroque era developed further with the new compositional ideas of *stile moderno* and *stile concertato*. Complex fugal techniques, widespread use of instruments, and greater text repetition commonly existed in the Requiem. Composers maintained the restraint of the previous century, with the exception of the *Dies Irae*, in which they dramatized the text. The consistent thematic dichotomies of death vs. life, dark vs. light, and old vs. new in the Requiem text would now become increasingly evocative with instrument timbre, chromatic melodies, dissonant harmonies, and a variety of new ensemble textures, such as *Cori Spezzati*. Eventually the Mass, as a genre, ceased to excite the creative appetites of Baroque composers, who now gravitated toward large-scale motets, cantatas, operas, and sonatas. Composers contemporary with Ignacio Jerusalem, such as François-Joseph Gossec (1734-1829), also composed Requiem⁷⁴ more akin to a *choral symphony* rather than for liturgical practice.

The Musical, Ritual, and Liturgical Traditions for the Commemoration of the Dead in Colonial Mexico City, ca. 1521-1800

The blending of indigenous and European cultures in Mexico City has created a unique understanding and comfort with the concepts of death and the afterlife.⁷⁵ Funeral rites like the *Missa pro defunctis* act as an intriguing intersection of the two cultures. We know that Christian leaders promoted the blending of the two cultures to more quickly enculturate the indigenous peoples to the ways of the Europeans.⁷⁶ While the Spanish and Nahuas⁷⁷ were able to find some common ground, the complex transition was accomplished, in part, by the suppression of several Nahua practices the Christians found undesirable.

⁷² Robertson, *Requiem: Music of Mourning*, 56.

⁷³ Robertson, *Requiem: Music of Mourning*, 55-57; Robertson succinctly summarizes the complexities of *Stile moderno* and *Stile Antico* in the Requiem settings he analyzes.

⁷⁴ Chase, *Dies* Irae, 183, 188.

⁷⁵ Stanley Brandes, "Is There a Mexican View of Death?" *Ethos* 31 (2003): 127-144.

⁷⁶ Ramos-Kittrell, "Music, Liturgy, and Devotional Piety in New Spain," 79-85.

⁷⁷ Nahua is the preferred nomenclature of these indigenous peoples in recent scholarship; however, Aztecs is still sometimes used when referring to them within the context of the Aztec Empire.

Aztecs held sacrifices for many of their deities; their symbols and iconography celebrated their belief in a continuous cycle of life, death, and rebirth. The iconography of the Nahuas often included grass (life and renewal), a skull (death), and a necklace of hearts and hands: all of which symbolize a continuous cycle. Most tribal societies in the Aztec Empire believed that a constant stream of human sacrifices sustained the universe, and this became a form of their atonement. Scholars conclude that the pre-Columbian Aztecs lacked a fear of death and accepted it as a natural step in the journey of the soul. The majority of the indigenous tribes who inhabited central Mexico did not concern themselves with the afterlife. Many Nahuas saw no need to prepare for death.

After the Fall of Tenochtitlán, the Spanish Empire and the Roman Catholic Church quickly began converting all aspects of Nahua culture. The Spanish essentially completed this conversion by 1550.⁸²

Jesuit missionaries quickly realized that the indigenous population had a rich cultural background filled with dance, instrumental music, and singing.⁸³ This resulting scenario hastened many of the Nahuas' conversions to the Church; however, their religious beliefs were antithetical to the Catholic viewpoint, and they avoided participation in certain sacraments (Anointing of the Sick and Last Rites).⁸⁴ In response, the missionaries were able to fuse the ideas of death and Purgatory with the prevailing indigenous belief system.⁸⁵ The Jesuits essentially replaced the need for human sacrifices with the need

⁷⁸ Miguel León Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture: A Study of the Ancient Nahuatl Mind* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 111.

⁷⁹ Betty Ann Brown, "Vive Tu Recuerdo: Living Traditions in the Mexican Days of the Dead," *African Arts* 16, no. 2 (1983): 79-80.

⁸⁰ James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 255.

⁸¹ Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and Thought in Mexico*, trans. Lysander Kemp (New York: Grive, 1961), 45-54.

⁸² Ida Altman, "Spanish Society in Mexico City after the Conquest," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 71, no. 3 (Aug. 1991): 430-431.

⁸³ Ironically and tragically, the Inquisition would later suppress this very culture.

⁸⁴ Eugenio Maurer Avales, "The Tzeltal May-Christian Synthesis," in *South and Meso-American Native Spirituality: From the Cult of the Feather Serpent to the Theology of Liberation*, Ed. Gary Gossen and Miguel Leon-Portilla, (New York: Crossroad, 1993): 233.

⁸⁵ Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza De Vaca*, trans. Fanny R. Bandelier (Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1964), 23-25.

for indulgences, so that the life cycle for the Nahua believer would change from living-dying-paradise (how one *dies* determines paradise) to living-dying-*Purgatory*-paradise (how one *lives* determines paradise).⁸⁶

From the Late-Sixteenth century through most of the Eighteenth century, Nahua Christians residing in colonial Mexico City were described as pious and conservative believers devoted to penitential piety. 87 By 1692, a Nahuatl-Catholic community had fully flowered in Mexico City and played an active role in both the Church and the city. Nahua fully participated in liturgies as cantors, instrumentalists, reciters, and performed duties in minor orders (such as acolyte), in many cases gaining great prestige and displaying considerable talent.⁸⁸ Nahua societies, such as the Bona Mors (Good Death), were founded to care for the living, the dying, and the dead. Brian Larkin writes, "A fundamental precept of the Bona Mors organization was that by means of individual spiritual perfection and thus living the best life possible, one could anticipate death with complete confidence."89 In this mission statement of the Bona Mors, one can see the hybridization both Christian and Nahua: pre-Columbian concepts of living life to its fullest and the Christian ideals of service, sacrifice, and charity. Although the pre-conquest Nahua did not initially accept Catholic viewpoints on the afterlife, by the Eighteenth century, European-style confraternities had existed for centuries in Mexico City, and the general practice was almost indistinguishable from that of Rome. 90 Several common threads existed between both cultures: ceremony, liturgy, respect for the presence of God(s), festivities in honor of the deceased, and the preeminence of music in these cultural activities. 91

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⁸⁶ Susan Schroeder, "Jesuits, Nahuas, and the Good Death, Society in Mexico City, 1710-1767," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80, no. 1 (2000): 71.

⁸⁷ Brian Larkin, "Liturgy, Devotion, and Religious Reform in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City," *The Americas* 60, no. 4 (Apr., 2004): 498-99

⁸⁸ Schroeder, "Jesuits, Nahuas, and the Good Death," 55-56.

⁸⁹ Schroeder, "Jesuits, Nahuas, and the Good Death," 61-62.

⁹⁰ Schroeder, "Jesuits, Nahuas, and the Good Death," 45-46.

⁹¹ Schroeder, "Jesuits, Nahuas, and the Good Death," 48-49, 51-55, 57.

The Church attempted to reform the Nahua way of life for nearly two centuries, with varying degrees of success. The first trial of the Holy Inquisition in the New World was held on June 8th, 1536.⁹² The Holy Inquisition sought to control the indigenous population through prohibitions of their entertainment, dance, and cultural heritage.⁹³ Three Spanish prelates began a fierce campaign of liturgical reforms, targeting "overly superstitious" traditions that had developed as a result of the blending of Nahua and Spanish cultures.⁹⁴ Self-flagellation, indulgences, and the use of numerology and symbolism within funeral traditions were the reforms most fiercely targeted.⁹⁵

The Inquisition also initiated a swell of activity against indigenous peoples in Mexico City during and immediately following the tenure of Ignacio Jerusalem at the cathedral. Secular and religious authorities attempted to eradicate the widespread custom of street dancing in Mexico City during this time (1760-1810). Although the Church made numerous attempts to suppress these ancient traditions, many of these still exist prominently in modern day Mexican rituals such as the *Dia de los Muertos*.

The musical apparatus treated its musicians well, but was constructed (as was Vice Regal society) to favor those of "pure blood." Taking the guidelines set forth from the Basilíca of Guadalupe as a guide: musicians would be guaranteed fair payment, their employment was considered separate from the cathedral, they did have freedom to work elsewhere, they should have purity of blood (no native or African), they would be granted a house, clothing, and board. 99 Strict exclusion of employment opportunities based on ethnicity resulted in un-official networking channels. Sangonautlas (gigs) and volantes gave musicians of mixed blood the possibility of paid performance outside the controls of the

⁹² Javier Marín López, "A conflicted relationship: music, power and the Inquisition in vice-regal Mexico City," in *Music and Urban Society in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Geoffrey Baker and Tess Knighton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 43.

⁹³ López, "A conflicted relationship," 53-54.

⁹⁴ Larkin, "Liturgy, Devotion, and Religious Reform," 507-508.

⁹⁵ Larkin, "Liturgy, Devotion, and Religious Reform," 513-514.

⁹⁶ Larkin, "Liturgy, Devotion, and Religious Reform," 44-46.

⁹⁷ López, "A conflicted relationship," 46-54.

⁹⁸ Brandes, "Sugar, Colonialism, and Death," 279-282.

⁹⁹ Dianne Lehmann Goldman, "Ignacio Jerusalem's Sources at the Basílica de Guadalupe, Mexico City."

church structure. 100 Naturally, these channels frustrated church musicians who had essentially been granted first right of refusal for many of these opportunities. Council documents point to the cathedral's inability to halt these practices and the church's treasury suffered as a result. 101

Performing the Requiem Mass Today

There are four recommended performing options for a concerted *Polyphonic Requiem cycle* for today's music director: the traditional concert cycle setting, the Presentation (or Dry) Mass, the funeral rite: *Missa pro defunctis* with the deceased present, or within the Catholic liturgy *Commemoratio omnium fidelium defunctorum* (All Souls' Day).

It is important to note that Jerusalem likely intended *Misa de difuntos (1760)* for a specific person; performed inside of the *Missa pro defunctis* funeral rite.¹⁰² Evidence for this exists in the physical layout of the manuscript itself. While at the time of this writing the scores for the *Libera me* and *Kyrie* for the absolution rite are missing, the collection does include a title page¹⁰³ for the *Libera me* (see figure 1). Although this music was, presumably, bundled together and written in the same year, there is clear evidence to suggest that the composer and scribes viewed them as separate, but thematically related works.¹⁰⁴ This is also supported by the existence of instrumental ripienos in the brass part books (which do not occur in the *Misa de difuntos*).

Miriam Escudero, "Músicos migrantes del siglo XVIII: viages de ida y vuelta entre la Península, La Habana y Puebla de los Ángeles" (Paper, International Conference on Colonial Music: Music and Arts of Colonial New Spain, Florida International University, Miami, March 6th, 2020).

¹⁰¹ Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem* (1707-1769): cronología biográfica, 30.

¹⁰² However, in the Eighteenth century, composers also conceived Requiem Masses as non-liturgical pieces of music.

¹⁰³ This title page was found within the bajo continuo part book; not with the score as would be expected.

¹⁰⁴ There several motivic, harmonic, and rhythmic passages in the *Libera me* which stylistically tie it to the *Misa de difuntos*. In addition, Jerusalem's use of soloists; using only the Soprano, Alto, and Bass with tutti interjections (as in the Offertory: *Domine Jesu Christe*) also seems closely related to the composition techniques employed in the *Misa de difuntos*.

Complicating matters, Jerusalem frequently repurposed movements for other works or liturgies. But in this case, the composer and scribes were also very careful to give the part book (see figure 2) the accompanying inscription "despues ala Missa" (after the Mass). Also, each part book has blank pages separating the *Misa de difuntos* and the *Libera me*. The careful presentation of the Mass movements, in proper liturgical order, strongly supports the belief that the *Misa de difuntos* was a liturgical Requiem Mass setting. The Requiem settings of Verdi or Berlioz, by contrast, are dramatic compositions which capitalize on the rich thematic material the Requiem provides, but are not liturgically practical due to the enormity of ensemble forces and the duration of the work.



Figure 1. Title Page of Libera Me (1760), Located with Accompanimento Part Books

Drew Edward Davies, "The Compositions of Ignacio Jerusalem, the Work Concept, and Galant Music in Diaspora" (Paper, presented at the International Conference on Colonial Music: Music and Arts of Colonial New Spain, Florida International University, Miami, March 6th, 2020).



Figure 2. Title Page of Accompañimento Part Book

("accompañimento: Del Libera me Domine para despues ala Missa")

Any director attempting to plan a large solemn liturgy, such as a concerted *Missa pro defunctis*, must fully understand the complexities and problematic issues surrounding various versions of performance. Merely because one *can* perform a liturgical work in concert, doesn't mean one should. Modern audiences are now accustomed to attending concerts featuring a polyphonic Mass-Ordinary cycle, such as a Mozart's *Missa Brevis* or Schubert's *Mass in G Major*; however, just as conscientious artists must carefully address cultural appropriation, so too, music directors should be cautious of divorcing a music from its original social context. An increasing sensitivity amongst musicians and audiences has led to more performances of music in their original liturgical context.

A Presentation Mass is an adequate compromise for non-Catholics to more closely experience the celebration of the Requiem Mass in its liturgical context. In this scenario, the Mass is presented as a demonstration of the event, without the Sacraments, and therefore can make for a more ecumenical or

welcoming experience for all.¹⁰⁶ In conjunction with the local Pastor, directors can create detailed booklets to assist the audience and demystify the rather complicated experience. Directors can encourage all participants to focus on the educational benefits and promote the rich history of the Catholic Church in the Western World, rather than getting embroiled in controversy.

Requiem Masses performed in a Eucharistic celebration such as the *Missa pro defunctis* or All Souls' Day Mass must follow specific rubrics that are to be carefully studied, implemented, and rehearsed with all participants. First, there are two expressions of the Roman Rite of Mass: *novus ordo* (new ordinary form) and *forma extraordinaria* (extraordinary form). The rubrics outlined in this document will attempt to recreate the Requiem Mass rubrics that would have existed for Ignacio Jerusalem in Mexico City: the extraordinary form. The extraordinary form of the Mass is entirely in Latin, whereas the ordinary form is typically celebrated in the vernacular language of the region. An extraordinary form Requiem Mass with a full orchestra, chorus, and Schola (group of chanters) would require a specific celebration, called the High Mass. High Mass.

The style of worship of the extraordinary form is very ancient and focuses on many actions for the Priests, Deacons, altar servers, and musicians. The audience (or congregation), however, does not have many actions or participatory duties. For a secular audience, this will not cause any disagreement or

¹⁰⁶ Code of Canon Law, c. 912, c. 913, § 2, c. 914-918, c. 919, § 2-3, c. 920, § 1-2, c. 921, § 1-3, cc. 922-923, in Code of Canon Law: Latin-English Edition (Washington, DC: Canon Law Society of American, 1999), 912-923; A list of laws governing the topic, "Participation in the Most High Eucharist."

¹⁰⁷ A word of caution: directors should not assume that everyone understands these complicated rubrics. Extraordinary form liturgies are rarely performed, and many Catholics (including priests) do not have experience with them.

Summorum Pontificum of Pope Benedict XVI (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2010), 3-17; The novus ordo generally describes the current form of the Mass that has existed in the Roman Catholic Church since the 1969 edition of the Roman Missal as a result of the Second Vatican Council (1962-65). The "extraordinary" form (also EF or Tridentine) describes the editions of the Roman Missal published from 1570 to 1962 and exists as an acceptable expression of the Roman Rite of Mass.

¹⁰⁹ Music of the Requiem Mass is ultimately the focus of this document; servers, Deacons, and Priests have separate rubrics to follow.

¹¹⁰ In the Southwest United States, for example, where populations are often English-Spanish bilingual, Masses are commonly celebrated in two or more languages.

There are different classes of Masses in the extraordinary form, and certain Masses prohibit music, such as the Low Mass.

frustration; however, if performed as a religious service, the congregation (who would be expected to participate in the celebration) may have some negative connotations towards both the Latin language and the lack of participation opportunities. Any director with ambitions of preforming an ancient ceremony, such as an extraordinary form Requiem Mass, should create and distribute ample educational materials about the history, justification, and benefits of the endeavor.

Special Considerations

Since the Vatican II council, there has been confusion regarding the Catholic Church's positions on various topics. ¹¹³ Two that are critical for a performance of a Requiem Mass, such as the *Misa de difuntos*, are the doctrine of Purgatory and the use of Latin in Masses. At the time of this writing, the Church has two living Popes: Francis I and Benedict XVI emeritus. Both Popes have supported and reiterated the Doctrine of Purgatory. This is essential to the Requiem Mass for Catholics, because if there is no Purgatory, there is no religious function for a Requiem Mass. ¹¹⁴

The Church officially accepted celebrating the liturgy in a region's vernacular language after the Vatican II Council. This revolutionary change gave rise to an incredible impetus for the creation of new psalm settings, motets, service music, and hymns as composers began to fill the need for Masses in a wide variety of languages. The Vatican II Council clearly saw the need for vernacular pronunciation, especially in the United States of America, a country that the Church considers a "nation of nations."

¹¹² William Mahrt, *The Musical Shape of the Liturgy*, (Richmond: CMAA, 2012), 145-151.

Capistrano, CA: Una Voce Press, 1993), 9-22; Monsignor Gamber described the root causes of modern liturgical reform in the Catholic Church from a conservative point of view. Three additional resources I found very useful for contextualizing the Papal positions on liturgy and the Vatican II council are Elwyn Wienandt's *Opinions on Church music; Comments and Reports from Four-and-a-Half Centuries*, Robert Hayburn's *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music*, 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D., and James McKinnon's *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper*.

¹¹⁴ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 12., s.v. "purgatory," http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12575a.htm (accessed May 5, 2018).

¹¹⁵ Jan Michael Joncas, From Sacred Song to Ritual Music: Twentieth-Century Understandings of Roman Catholic Worship Music (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1997), 4-5, 20-23; The practice had already begun in American dioceses by the time of the council.

¹¹⁶ Joneas, From Sacred Song to Ritual Music, 113-115.

Still, the issue of language in the Mass is not an either/or proposition. It is now commonplace in American Parishes to celebrate Mass in English, Spanish, and Latin within a single Mass.

Chapter 2: The *Misa de Difuntos* by Ignacio Jerusalem 1760

Physical Description of Manuscript

The *Misa de difuntos (1760)* of Ignacio Jerusalem survives in the original set of manuscripts, which was inaccessible to me.¹ The original manuscripts were removed from the Cathedral in 1929, after the national government took control of some Church properties. The score and many other items, now deemed cultural artifacts, fall under the jurisdiction of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH). The microfilm of the *Misa de difuntos* is located in Legajo D10, D11, and D12 in the *Catédral de México* section of the archive. The work is massive, containing a total of 576 pages of music. The score (partitura) alone is 156 pages, and there are numerous part books for a chamber ensemble of violins, violas, flautas (flutes), *clarín* (trumpets), trompas (horn), bajo (bowed bass), a partially figured organ part, ("*para el bajo gral.*") and SATB choir (soloists and ripienists²).

The score and part books are remarkably free of errors and well preserved. The decay on the lower-right and left-hand corners of the score made certain sections unreadable. Thankfully, it was possible to locate the music in a part book or formulate conjectures from the predictable harmonies of the *stile galant*. Evidence suggests that Jerusalem considered his autograph scores his own (as opposed to the cathedral's). When the cathedral council began collecting Jerusalem's scores following his death, many of the scores were without part books. The current organization of the work is clear and easy to follow,

¹ I was unable to secure access to the original manuscripts, which are held in the Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México (ACCMM A0467) in Mexico City. I have not been able to travel to Mexico City, but I was granted access to the microfilm which is held at the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH). Physical description details were not included in Stanford's *Catálogo* nor the microfilm. Dr. Paul Borg and Juan Carlos Zamudio Rodriguez of the Latin American Music Center at Indiana University were both instrumental in procuring a copy of the microfilm for this project.

² Ripienists, in works of Jerusalem, describes choral ripienists.

³ Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-1769): cronología biográfica*, 31, 88, 90; while Jerusalem was reluctant to inventory his works, he did oversee an inventory of the archive for the cathedral council in 1769; however, upon the composer's death, the cathedral had to collect many of Jerusalem's scores from his heirs.

beginning with the composer's autograph score, and followed by clearly grouped choral and instrumental part books.

Title Page

There are three or four different hands on the title page alone. The clearer, more professional text in printed letters reads, "Misa de difuntos | A quatro Con Ripienos, | Violines, Flautas, Violas, Trompas, | Y Baxo. | Compuesta Por Don Ygnacio Jerusalem | Estella, Maestro de Capilla de esta Sancta | YGlesia [sic] Metropolitana De Mexico." One can easily discern the differing annotations which were made by others: quickly and casually adding "mi b. mol (Eb major)" for the key, "para los (illegible-tromba?)," an added "y" squeezed in before Estella, and "30 Con la Parta (partitura); all seem to be added after the initial attempt.4



Figure 3. Title Page, Misa de Difuntos, Located with Accompañimento Part Books

⁴ As of this writing, no current graphological study exists for manuscripts in the cathedral archive. See Dianne Lehmann Goldman, "Ignacio Jerusalem's Sources at the Basílica de Guadalupe, Mexico City." Evidence suggests that musicians and copyists from the cathedral and basilica may have routinely updated the repertoire. In some cases, even adding their own commentary, such as the inscription, "old and ugly music" on a title page of a collection of Villancicos. Church staff were known to repurpose old fashioned music to line the cases of timpani.

Part Books

Some evidence suggests that the *Misa de difuntos* was performed many times, even after the composer's death. The surviving part books have numerous annotations with a variety of styles and scripts that might indicate that, in addition to the original scribes, multiple people used this manuscript at different times. Three different scribes seem to have worked on the piece, though the chronology cannot be established through observation alone. While there may have been as many as three different scribes copying the part books, it is not clear if all three were copying at the same time. At least one set of part books is copied on lighter paper with considerably clearer writing (see figures 4 and 5).

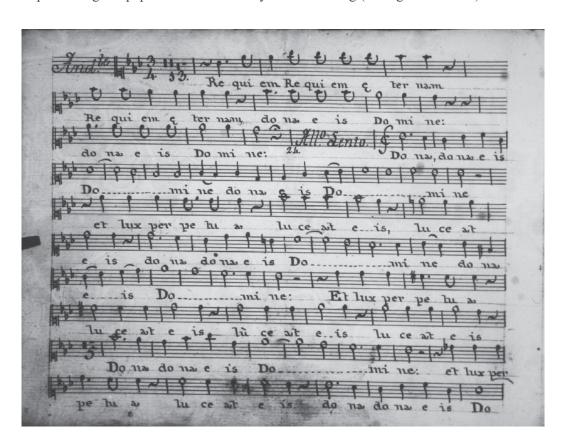


Figure 4. Introit, from Tiple segunda Part Book



Figure 5. Introit, from Tiple II Part Book

The part books themselves have seen much use. There is significant darkening on the bottom left and right corners of nearly every page of the manuscript, evidence of considerable handling. Two types of paper were used, the majority (including most of the title pages) is ten-lined music notation paper, but there is an additional set of vocal part books made from a different kind of paper, which use only eight lines. In some instances, confusion over the folios caused the eight-lined paper and the ten-lined paper to be misplaced. For example, in the tenor II choir part book (a), the Mass proper is ten-lined while the accompanying *Libera me* is eight-lined. The opposite is true in the tenor II choir part book (b). This fact calls into question the current organization of the part books.

The most mysterious find is the date 1835 (see figure 6) found on the title page of the principal Alto part book. A singular curiosity in this manuscript, in the archive at large, there are numerous

examples of updates and newly copied parts well into the Nineteenth century.⁵ Given the well-worn condition of the part books, the occurrences of numerous annotations by differing sources, and the 1835 date, it is plausible that the *Misa de difuntos* was a significant work in the repertory of the *Catedral Metropolitana de la Asunción de la Santísima Virgen María a los cielos*. It is my hypothethsis that the copyist was updating the Alto solo passages which exist in the part book (see figure 11).

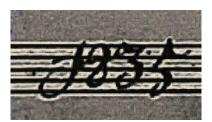


Figure 6. "1835" Annotation, Located on the Title Page of the Coro I: Alto 1° Part Book

Contents and Condition

Table 1: Contents and Condition of Misa de Difuntos (1760)

Section (D b 10)	Pages	Condition	Notes
Title page	1 p.	(see figure 3)	(see above)
Accompañimento	13 p.	Significant damage similar to title page	Bowed Bass
Acc. Continuo	17 p.	Improves further into the	Organ
(Para el Baxo Gral.)		manuscript	
Bajo	15 p.	Minor tears and rips on edges	Bass; same as
			Accompañimento
Partitura	156 p.	Good; degrades in the final 20 p.	Absolution rite score is
		towards the back cover	missing.
Section (D b 11)	Pages	Condition	Notes

⁵ Drew Edward Davies, "The Compositions of Ignacio Jerusalem, the Work Concept, and Galant Music in Diaspora." Dr. Davies has confirmed that Antonio Juanas, and other cathedral choirmasters who followed, continually updated Jerusalem's works and they served the cathedral repertory for most of the Nineteenth century.

	T	T	
1° tiple	17 p.	Very good	Solo book
1º alto	17 p.	Very good	Solo book
1º tenor	13 p.	· · · · · ·	دد دد
1º bajo	15 p.	· · · · · ·	ιι ιι
2° tiple (two copies)	15/15 p.	Good; darkening at bottom	Tacet during solo
		corners	
2º alto (two copies)	17/15 p.	ις τς	· · · · ·
2° tenor (two copies)	15/15 p.	Worsening; decay and damage	٠٠ ٠٠
2º bajo (two copies)	13/12 p.	Bad; Very good.	Replacement copy?
Violin 1° (three copies)	21/19/17 p.	Very good	At least two scribes
Section (D b 12)			
Violin 2° (three copies)	17/17/17 p.	· · · · · · ·	
Violin 2° (three copies) Section (D b 12)	17/17/17 p. Pages	" " Condition	Notes
	-		
Section (D b 12)	Pages	Condition	Notes
Section (D b 12) Viola 1 ^a	Pages 17 p.	Condition Very good.	Notes At least two scribes
Section (D b 12) Viola 1 ^a Viola 2 ^a	Pages 17 p. 19 p.	Condition Very good.	Notes At least two scribes " "
Section (D b 12) Viola 1 ^a Viola 2 ^a Flauta 1 ^a	Pages 17 p. 19 p. 1 p.	Condition Very good. " " Adequate for transcription	Notes At least two scribes " " Ingemisco obbligato
Section (D b 12) Viola 1 ^a Viola 2 ^a Flauta 1 ^a Flauta 2 ^a	Pages 17 p. 19 p. 1 p. 1 p.	Condition Very good. " " Adequate for transcription " "	Notes At least two scribes "" Ingemisco obbligato ""
Section (D b 12) Viola 1 ^a Viola 2 ^a Flauta 1 ^a Flauta 2 ^a	Pages 17 p. 19 p. 1 p. 1 p.	Condition Very good. " " Adequate for transcription " "	Notes At least two scribes "" Ingemisco obbligato "" "por e la fa" "con
Section (D b 12) Viola 1 ^a Viola 2 ^a Flauta 1 ^a Flauta 2 ^a Clarín 1 ^o	Pages 17 p. 19 p. 1 p. 1 p. 11 p.	Condition Very good. " " Adequate for transcription " " Very bad in parts (see below)	Notes At least two scribes "" Ingemisco obbligato "" "por e la fa" "con sordini"

^{*}From Stanford's index,⁶ the part actually reads "tromba" in both cases.

⁶ Stanford, *Catálogo de los acervos musicales*, 67.

Nomenclature in Misa de difuntos

Modern musicians may struggle to interpret the names of two instruments and one vocal part in the score due to unfamiliar nomenclature. The vocal part entitled *tiple* indicates the soprano part. The brass instruments at this time used terms such as *trompa*, *clarin*, and *tromba* interchangeably. In the *Misa de difuntos*, two *clarins* play in the Mass proper, while two *trompas/trombas* play during the absolution rite. The only occurrence of four brass parts performing simultaneously in the *Misa de difuntos* is a brief section in the absolution rite (indicated in the score and parts as *con. rip*). Jerusalem's poor Spanish may have contributed to the confusion between the title page of the work (see figure 3 "*trompa*"), the first page of the score (see figure 7 "*clarin*"), and the part books (see figure 8 "*tromba*"). Although *clarin* usually means trumpet, all three can indicate trumpet or horn.

⁷ Teresita Espinosa, "Selected Unpublished *Villancicos* of Padre Fray Antonio Soler with Reference to the Cultural History of Eighteenth-Century Spain," (DMA diss., University of Southern California, 1969), 184-193, accessed June 1, 2018, http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll18/id/377241.

⁸ Sherrill Bigelow Lee Blodget, "From Manuscript to Performance: A Critical Edition of Ignacio De Jerusalem's Los Maitines De Nuestra Senora De La Concepcion (1768)" (DMA diss., University of Arizona, 2008), 36, accessed May 24, 2018, http://hdl.handle.net/10150/194838; The *clarins* are usually written in the treble clef in works of Ignacio Jerusalem, but in the *Misa de difuntos*, these parts are written in alto clef. In addition, the indication in the *clarin* part books reads, "por elafa con sordini" and the part is written with no key signature. The *trompa* part books are written in alto clef in some instances and bass clef in others. The inscription in the *trompa* parts reads "por elafa" as well, and the part is written in the key of F, even when the key of the movement changes.



Figure 7. Misa de Difuntos, First Page of the Partitura

(The score indicates *clarin* in the left margin, but also indicates *trompas* in the upper annotation)

In figure 8, the title "Clarin 1^a" has been erased and replaced with "tromba 1^a". This is particularly problematic because "*trompa*" is indicated as one of the instruments in the title page (see figure 3) and *Clarin* is not. However, as shown in figure 7, both *clarin* and *trompa* are indicated.



Figure 8. Title Page of Tromba 1 a Part Book

In her dissertation, "Selected Unpublished *Villancicos* of Padre Fray Antonio Solar with Reference to the Cultural History of Eighteenth Century Spain," Teresita Espinosa details, at length, the

Contemporary descriptions of instruments such as the *trompa, trompeta, tromba, trombetta, and clarin.*Unfortunately, interpreting these part books requires more than simply identifying the correct instrument and selecting the appropriate modern counterpart. In this case, it would seem the scribes (and possibly performers) used these terms interchangeably. Given the confusion and wild inconsistencies of the brass part books, we do not know the intended instrument for either the original ensemble or any subsequent performances (other than the *trompa* indication on the title of the score and *clarin* in the autograph score). If the *Misa de difuntos* was in the standard Cathedral repertoire, perhaps the equipment situation in the brass section evolved; starting as *clarin* in 1760 and gradually shifting to *tromba* or *trompa*. As stated prior, this evolution could have occurred over the course of decades, based on personnel and equipment at the cathedral. Clues to an answer do exist in the range of the part writing. According to Espinosa, "it was the practice of the time to write for these instruments in their high registers." Jerusalem traditionally writes music intended for natural horn in bass clef, and historical performance practice informs us that these parts would have been performed an octave above written. In addition, parts intended for performance by baroque trumpets would have been written with no key signature and in treble clef. In

Brass personnel in Jerusalem's Misa de Difuntos

Significant nomenclature incongruences appear in the Brass part books. The condition and penmanship in these final part books is very poor (see figure 9). Thankfully, any illegible sections could be extrapolated from the conductor's score, other part books, and the harmonic context. The harmonic context provided many clues which allowed for a faithful transcription.

⁹ Teresita Espinosa, "Selected Unpublished *Villancicos*", 184-193.

¹⁰ Espinosa, 189-192; Dr. Espinosa explains that while these instruments were very similar, contemporaries considered them different enough to provide separate terminology. These terms were not intended to be interchangeable.

¹¹ Espinosa, 192.

¹² Blodget, "From Manuscript to Performance," 36.

¹³ Blodget, "From Manuscript to Performance," 36; Jerusalem wrote these *Clarin* and *Trompa* parts with no key signature and in *alto clef*.

The music is nearly indistinguishable between the *Clarin* and *Trompa/Tromba* part books, making the existence of four part books seem unnecessary; however; closer examination yields two instances where clues to the composer's intent exists (see table 2).



Figure 9. Clarín Seconda Part Book, Misa de Difuntos

Table 2: Nomenclature in the Brass Part Books

Part Book/Section	Labeling	Annotations
Clarín 1 ^a	Clarín Primo	
Requiem	Clarín Iº	"por elafa. Con Sordini"
Clarín 1ª	Clarín Primo	
Libera me (title page)	Tromba prima	
Libera me (part)	Trompa	

Kyrie (absolution rite)	Trompa I	"por elafa"	
Part Book/Section	Labeling	Annotations	
Clarín 2ª	Clarín Secondo		
Requiem	Clarín IIº	"por elafa. Con Sordini"	
Absolution Rite title page	Tromba seconda	onda	
Libera me	Trompa (cut off)	(II is obscured)	
Kyrie (absolution rite)	Trompa II	"por elafa"	
Trompa 1 ^a	Tromba 1ª	"In Eb" "Andante Con Sordinas"	
Confutatis	Trompas	"Trompas por elafa"	
Domine Deus	Trompas	"Trompas por [fafavt]" (illegible)	
Sanctus	N/A	"Con Trompas da elafa"	
Absolution Rite title page	Tromba 1 Ripiena		
Libera me	N/A	"In F"	
Kyrie (absolution rite)	Clarín	"Por elafa"	
Trompa 2 ^a	Tromba 2ª	"Clarín 2ª" is scratched out	
Requiem	Tromba 2ª	"In Eb" "Andante Con Sordinas"	
Confutatis	Trompas	"Trompas por elafa"	
Domine Deus	Trompas	"Trompas por [fafavt]" (illegible)	
Sanctus	N/A	"Con Trompas da elafa"	
Absolution Rite title page	Tromba 2 Ripiena		
Libera me	N/A	"In F"	
Kyrie (absolution rite)	Clarín	"Por elafa"	

The two designations given throughout the manuscript are "clarin/trompa por elafa" and "trompas por "fafavt." The script is admittedly very challenging to read, but it is my hypothesis that "elafa" and "fafavt" are from the medieval hexachordal system "E la fa" and "F fa ut," respectively. As Blodget discussed, we know that Jerusalem would often indicate instrumentation via key signature and clef. To combat the widespread confusion regarding instrument nomenclature, composers wisely created conventions such as using clef and key to clearly identify instrumentation.

The second issue regarding the brass is the assumption that the Clarín and Trompa parts can be combined into one. In her dissertation, Blodget reports that in Jerusalem's *Los Maitines de Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion*, "...the horns and trumpets never played in the same movements since the players were the same. The horns and trumpets in Vice Regal New Spain would have been more similar in timbre than modern horns and trumpets are, perhaps making the instruments more interchangeable." ¹⁶

In the *Libera Me* (see figure 1), Jerusalem includes "ripienos" in the list of instrumentation. In the *Misa de difuntos*, this would indicate choral ripienists, but measures 1-6 of the *Libera me* have six bars rest in the Tromba ripieno books, while the Tromba primo and Tromba seconda books have music. Other than the existence of four part books (which appear to be simple copies of one another), this is the first indication that at some point in the performance history of the *Misa de difuntos*, four players may have been used. Another possibility, is that the *Tromba* parts books replaced the significantly damaged *Clarin* part books. Without a serious graphological study, it is prudent to recommend that the *Misa de difuntos* follows the accepted, two brass personnel, tradition. Davies has suggested that any addition of instruments or instrumental ripienos in the music of Jerusalem is a posthumous intervention. ¹⁷ The *Misa*

¹⁴ See Gaston G. Allaire, *The Theory of Hexachords, Solmization and the Modal System; A Practical Application* (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), 42-43, 45-46; In the basic hexachord, the designation "E la mi" describes the syllable of the pitch in the hard and natural hexachords. However, the designation "E la fa" indicates either a transposed soft hexachord (in which case the Eb operates like a Bb) or the Eb "la fa" exists as a supersemitonal *fa supra la*. In either case, the indication means "Eb."

¹⁵ Blodget, "From Manuscript to Performance, 36.

¹⁶ Blodget, "From Manuscript to Performance, 36.

¹⁷ Drew Edward Davies, "The Compositions of Ignacio Jerusalem, the Work Concept, and Galant Music in Diaspora." In Jerusalem's concerted vocal works, the standard instrumentation is 2 violins, 2

de difuntos is a notable exception, in that flautas and violas are clearly indicated on the title page (see figure 3).

Table 3: Brass Personnel Indicated by Clef, Range, and Key Signature

Movement	Clarin 1 and 2 Part Books	Tromba 1 and 2 Part Books	Range
Introit	C Clef/No Key	C Clef/No Key	G3/Bb4
Kyrie		٠,	G3/Ab4
Dies irae	C Clef/No Key	C Clef/No Key	G3/Ab4
Rex tremenda	"	ι.	Eb3/Ab4
Quaerens me	Tacet	Tacet	
Ingemisco	Tacet	Tacet	
Preces me	Tacet	Tacet	
Confutatis	C Clef/No Key	C Clef/No Key	Bb3/Bb4
Lacrimosa		C Clef/No Key	Bb3/Ab4
Domine Jesu	Tacet	F Clef/F	F3/D4 (played 8va)
Sanctus	C Clef/No Key	C Clef/F	Bb3/G4
Benedictus	Tacet	Tacet	
Agnus Dei	C Clef/No Key	C Clef/F	Bb3/Ab4
Lux eterna	C Clef/No Key	C Clef/F	Bb3/Ab4
Libera me	F Clef/F	F Clef/F	F3/D4 (played 8va)
Kyrie	C Clef/F	C Clef/F	Bb3/Bb4

Numerous later musicians annotated these part books, which creates further confusion. It is impossible to determine the authorship, but it is clear the original copyists did not write these annotations.

horns, and continuo with a variety of vocalists. See also Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-1769): cronología biográfica*, 92-93.

Without knowing how long the *Misa de difuntos* existed in the cathedral repertoire, or studying the paper watermarks, it is difficult to render any further interpretation of the manuscript.

Conclusions and Recommendations for Brass Personnel

Based on the labeling, musical content, key signature, range, and clefs used, I suspect the following Brass personnel was used by Jerusalem: two baroque trumpets in Eb with a mute and two natural horns in Eb and F, with the trumpeters switching to horn in F for the *Libera me*. ¹⁸ For modern performance, an acceptable brass ensemble could consist of two modern trumpets (con sordino) and two French horns. ¹⁹ In these cases, where the original calls for an Eb3 or F3, the trumpet can perform that note transposed up an octave (indicated in the part with parentheses). The French horns can play all of the music in the brass parts of the *Misa de difuntos*. Directors can avoid ensemble balance issues or budgetary concerns with a minimum of two players, although having heard performances with choral ensembles ranging from 16-32 singers, the brass generally overwhelm the ensemble. ²⁰

In the accompanying conductor's score, the brass parts will always appear as "trompa" as indicated in the title page of the work (see figure 3). In addition, they will appear in concert pitch and in treble clef with the appropriate keys.

¹⁸ Reginald Morley-Pegge, *The Evolution of the Modern French Horn from 1750 to the Present Day*, (Proceedings of the Musical Association, 69th Sess., 1943), 34–55; This was a time of great invention and evolution horn technology, as the crooks system was largely complete by the mid-1750s and the technique of hand-stopping was discovered by 1760.

¹⁹ Laura Bloss and Brooks Toliver, "Natural Trumpet Music and the Modern Performer" (master's thesis, University of Akron, 2012), 59-64, accessed June 8, 2018, https://etd.ohiolink.edu/rws_etd/document/get/akron1350316386/inline; For more detailed recommendations regarding how to best render baroque compositions on modern brass instruments.

²⁰ To facilitate a wide variety of brass ensembles, parts for Trumpet in C, Trumpet in Bb, and Horn in F have been provided in the Appendix. To more efficiently make use of two trumpets and no horns, the Appendix section includes a trumpet part for the *Domine Jesu Christe*; the only movement the original *Clarin* would have been tacet, while the horns played. In addition, the horn parts (although originally ripieno only) will have the entire part included, with measures 1-6 of the *Libera me* appearing in parentheses.

Choral Forces in Misa de Difuntos

Referencing the title page (see figure 3), Jerusalem intended four vocal parts "con ripienos."

Although in Eighteenth century manuscripts, the solo/ripieno divisions can be vague, ²¹ the layout of the partbooks was clear: only the soloists have solo passages in their part books. There are four SATB part books, labeled Coro 1⁰, that include all of the vocal music for the entire performance, including short solo interjections (in tutti movements) and florid arias. There are two additional Coro 2⁰ part books per voice part. Therefore, the *Misa de difuntos* should be performed with a minimum vocal ensemble of twelve singers, three on a part, with a strong recommendation to increase these numbers to provide more flexibility in musicality and ensemble balance.²²

Inconsistencies and Peculiarities in Articulation, Accidentals, and Part Books

While there are no major issues with Ignacio Jerusalem's score and accompanying part books, minor inconsistencies are so frequent that they deserve a brief mention here. The hurried nature of the writing in the manuscript may explain numerous small errors in the composer's score and part books (see figure 7). In addition to this dissertation, I would like to point readers to Dr. Sherrill Bigelow Blodget's work, From *Manuscript to Performance: A Critical Edition of Ignacio de Jerusalem's Los Maitines de Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion (1768)*.²³ It appears that at least one of the copyists worked on both the *Misa de difuntos* and the *Los Maitines*. Both manuscripts have similar-looking paper, ink, and

²¹ Kurt Pahlen and Pfister Werner and Rosmarie König and Judith Schaefer and Thurston Dox and Reinhard G. Pauly, *The World of the Oratorio: Oratorio, Mass, Requiem, Te Deum, Stabat Mater and Large Cantatas* (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1990), 180.

²² Particularly in Jerusalem's dramatic settings of the Requiem Proper, the instrumental textures can easily overwhelm the choral textures.

²³ Blodget, "From Manuscript to Performance," 18-23; Dr. Blodget (in conjunction with Dr. Craig Russell) also has deciphered several anomalies in nomenclature and articulation which have been very helpful in the research of the *Misa de difuntos*. She expertly defines numerous curiosities which exist in an otherwise uncomplicated manuscript. These notational quirks seem to be consistent throughout both the *Los Maitines* and the *Misa de difuntos*.

dimensions. I found Blodget's work instrumental in deciphering many peculiarities found in the score and part books.

Dynamic Markings

The most significant discrepancy with regard to dynamics is the usage of *dolce* vs. *piano* in the part books. The score uses "pia" for *piano* and "for" *forte*. After documenting every single *dolce* and *piano* in all sets of part books, there is no discernible pattern, nor do the variations indicate one copy having primacy over another. On numerous occasions, dynamics were omitted. In each of these cases, these omissions happen so frequently and randomly that it would appear that the copyists did not generally indicate dynamics in the parts, and that these were added by someone else after the fact (perhaps the players themselves). In the edition I interpreted each occurrence of "dol." in the part books as *piano*. In the composer's score, Jerusalem uses "pia" for *piano* and never "dol." Perhaps, *dolce* was a local usage, owing something to the familiarity with Spanish that the copyists and musicians would have. Jerusalem, being Italian, favors *piano* rather than *dolce*. I have interpreted both markings to mean *piano*.

In addition to the inconsistencies with the *piano* marking, the marking for *forte* is also problematic. While there are fewer cases of omission, there are many instances where one part book disagrees with the other two violins park books (where almost all of the dynamic markings exist). In these cases, I decided to standardize according to the majority rule.

Slurs

The most frequent editorial issue after the dynamics is the slurring in the violins. I cross referenced the composer's score and all three violin part books to make an informed decision about the composer's intent. In most cases, the copyist did not execute properly: regularly omitting a slur in at least one of the copies. In almost all cases of slur omission, the conductor's score and other two part books did not omit the slur. In the viola and basso continuo part books, there are significantly fewer articulation markings.

Key Signatures and Accidentals

The state of accidentals is equally perplexing because of the inherently chromatic nature of the music, and because the composer would only indicate the key signature at measure one of each movement. In the *Misa de difuntos*, the copyists would typically add frequent accidentals in the chromatic passages. However, if taken at face value, the results could create odd shifts of tonal center, and in some cases bizarre augmented intervals, which would not have been appropriate for 1760 counterpoint.

Although Jerusalem improved musical notation in New Spain, the standards of modern music notation were not consistent at this time. The most common occurrences of this were the reiteration of the key signature at the beginning of each system and the cancelation of accidentals at the bar line.

Trills

Throughout the score and part books of the *Misa de difuntos*, trills appear on half and whole notes. Jerusalem's articulations are notoriously vague. Directors should prioritize the dramatic and musical context over the marking. In some instances, such as the violins in the *Dies irae*, interpreting the marking as an unmeasured tremolo has the effect of responding to the emotional nature of the text. Also in the *Ingemisco*, two flutes trilling for nine beats on a third, if rendered tastefully, could be a lovely effect (see Figure 10). However, as Dr. Blodget has also noted, some of these "trills" appear in unexpected places in the *clarin* and *trompa* parts.²⁴ In these instances, a messa di voce or subtle dynamic treatment of the phrasing would be preferable to an entire section of brass trilling against the complete texture of the tutti ensemble.

²⁴ Blodget, "From Manuscript to Performance," 40.



Figure 10. Partitura Page of Ingemisco, from Misa de Difuntos

Ornamentation

There is very little ornamentation in the *Misa de difuntos*, with the exception of the mysterious trill marking described above and in a lovely Alto passage in the *Libera me* (see figure 11). This example is included in both the conductor's score and choral score for the alto soloist as an option.

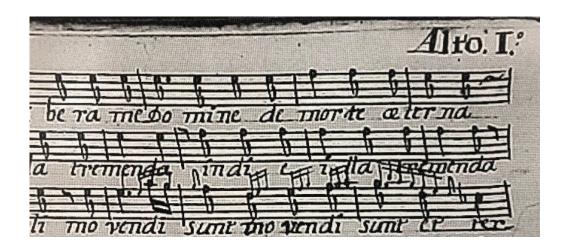


Figure 11. Examples of Written Ornamentation in Libera Me (1760), Alto 1º Part Book

Organ Part Book and Figured Bass Realization

The continuo "para el Bajo gral." Part book is yet another peculiarity in the *Misa de difuntos* manuscript. The first three movements have been painstakingly figured.²⁵ Given the highly chromatic sections in the *Requiem aeternam* and *Dies irae* movements, certain passages contain figures on every beat for ten to twelve measures (see Figure 12). Then at the beginning of the *Rex tremenda* [sic], the figures cease for the rest of the part book. Admittedly, the harmonies of the subsequent movements are less chromatic than the opening three, and so, the performer would continue in the expected manner.

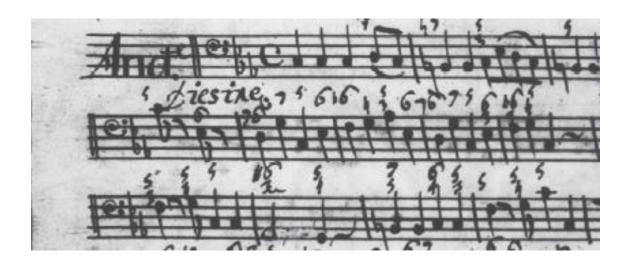


Figure 12. Realized Continuo Organ Part of Dies Irae, from Misa de Difuntos

Continuo Group

In the *Misa de difuntos*, there are only three extant part books: accompañimento (Cello), accompañimento continuo "para el bajo gral." (Organ), and baxo (bowed Bass; perhaps violone).²⁶

Text

There are very few textual errors in the score and part books of the work. There are minor misspellings of the Latin, in most cases a more phonetic version (such as eterna for aeterna and preses for

²⁵ There is consensus that the organ part realization is in Ignacio Jerusalem's hand.

²⁶ Marín-López, *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707-1769): cronología biográfica*, 93; "it should be assumed that a cello and keyboard (usually portative organ) are required for realization."

preces) appears. An interesting scribal error exists in the Offertory: *Domine Jesu Christe*, where the incipit given in each of the part books is "Libera." The opening text of the *Domine Jesu Christe* is *Domine Jesu Christe*, *Rex gloriae*, *libera animas*... Surprisingly, when one checks the part books against the composer's score, the word *Libera* is clearly where the title should be, followed by illegible writing. A curious find. Perhaps Jerusalem made a note about the *libera* section; the text following is challenging to read.

Jerusalem's Dramatic Requiem Proper

Jerusalem strikes a wide range of contrasting effects in the different sections of the Mass.

Jerusalem sets the Requiem Proper in a tortured, chromatic, and style more akin to the Romantic "operatic" settings of the Requiem text, while the Mass Ordinary is composed in a contrasting and straightforward manner: as masterful as any of Jerusalem's work. This is an effective use of variety, as it highlights the special nature of the Requiem Proper texts. Contemporaries of Jerusalem comment on his ability to evoke *pathos* in his compositions. The *Misa de difuntos* exemplifies this chiefly in the Requiem Proper, notably the *Introit* and initial movement of the *Dies Irae*.

Jerusalem proves his compositional mettle throughout the *Misa de difuntos*: that he is a master of Neapolitan *stile galant* composition as well as having an operatic sense of drama. One particularly remarkable moment in the Mass occurs in the final movement of the work, which is only twelve short measures. Jerusalem demonstrates a high level of rhetorical skill with his setting of the words, "Requiescant in pace" (rest in peace). The score of the Absolution rite is lost, but this excerpt from the Alto part book (see Figure 13) exhibits how Jerusalem evokes the breathless, mourning, and anguish of the survivor in the context of the Requiem Mass.



Figure 13. Example of Rhetorical Devices in *Kyrie "Despues ala Missa*," Alto 1º Part Book *Requie*,

_ _ _

Requies,

Requiescant in pace. Amen.

This use of *suspiratio*, although not the only occurrence in the work, is particularly evocative of true human experience at a Requiem Mass. The survivors are so grief-stricken that they struggle to utter even the final words of the Liturgy; to grant their loved ones eternal rest. It takes not one, not two, but finally, three times to finally mount enough strength to complete the phrase.

Summary Statement

Ignacio Jerusalem demonstrates a wide range of human emotions through his setting of the *Missa* pro defunctis. Clearly bringing an operatic sense of drama and variety to his composition, it inspires performers and audiences alike. However, one can see the initial critique of the cathedral council as valid: Jerusalem's music does not have the same compositional artifice or complexity that can be found in masters who preceded him, namely Antonio de Salazar (1650-1715) and Manuel de Zumaya (1678-1755). From their point of view, Jerusalem's music (while *en vogue* in European circles) was incompatible with the current (dated) repertories of the cathedral. It is no surprise that one of Ignacio Jerusalem's greatest contributions to Vice Regal music was the thorough stylistic revision of nearly the entire cathedral catalog of hymns, psalms, and service music for all major feasts: including new orchestral versets and concerted choral masterpieces such as the *Misa de difuntos*.²⁷ He was a complicated, flawed man; truly human.

²⁷ Drew Edward Davies, "The Compositions of Ignacio Jerusalem, the Work Concept, and Galant Music in Diaspora."

Despite his less than stellar personal and employment record, his music was foundational to the Catedral Metropolitana de la Asunción de la Santísima Virgen María a los Cielos and I believe as we discover more about his pedegogical impact with regional institutions, we may encounter a clearer scope of his legacy in Vice Regal New Spain.

Editorial Notes

General modern music notation practices

- 1. Uniform titles and part names have been added to the score and parts.
- 2. Measure number and key signatures have been added to the beginning of each system and applicable section break.
- 3. Accidentals cancel at each bar line and in many cases, cautionary accidentals have been added.
- 4. Modern clefs have been used in the place of soprano, alto (with the exception of the viola), and tenor clefs.
- 5. Regional and historical names for instruments and vocal parts have been replaced with their modern English equivalents.
- 6. Ensemble-wide markings such as *ritardando*, *accelerando*, *fermata*, *a tempo*, etc have been added to all parts.
- 7. Eccentricities of the composer's notational style have been corrected including: note position, stem and flag direction, clef positioning, accidental placement, formal devices (such as *Da Capo* and *Dal Segno*), etc.
- 8. A recommended metronome marking have been provided in parentheses due to the amount of *Andante* and *Allegro* tempo indications in the work.
- 9. In general, the choral part books have little or no dynamic indications. Dynamics have been added to reflect the ensemble dynamic throughout.
- 10. Score order has been changed to reflect modern practices; partitura has strings above chorus.

General instrumental and vocal

- 11. Great care has been taken in all matters of dynamic, articulation, accidental, expressive, and technical markings to achieve a consensus amongst the extant score and parts. In nearly every case, the score and a majority of parts overruled an errant marking.
- 12. Given the disparity and inconsistently of dynamic markings in the conductor's score and performing parts, when the appropriate dynamic marking occurs in one part book but not in others, the dynamic will be added to all parts in a minimalist font as to avoid a clutter of parentheticals.
- 13. Each occurrence of "dol" for *dolce* has been replaced with "p" for *piano*.
- 14. Trills have been indicated minimally with an "~" sign, to facilitate a variety of renderings.
- 15. Obsolete technical instructions, such as which crook to use, have been omitted.

- 16. All redundant solo indications have been removed throughout.
- 17. All passages of vocal music that were only extant in the Coro 1° part book have been considered solo passages. Tutti and solo passages have been clearly labeled throughout.
- 18. The Clarin 1/2 and Tromba 1/2 parts have been consolidated into one Trompa 1/2 part.

Continuo Group

19. The continuo organ part has been omitted from the full score. The organist and bowed bass instruments play the same part which have been rendered in the full score as the violoncello/continuo part. Clear copies of the figures of the first three movements have been provided in the instrumental parts appendix. It is recommended, however, that organists create their part by reading the choral score, also provided in an appendix in the document.

Text considerations

- 20. All score indications, such as volti, volti subito, and volti al Kyrie (v.s.) have been removed.
- 21. All cases of misspelled Latin have been corrected, except in title where [sic] appears.
- 22. Modern best practices for choral text underlay have been added throughout. While the choral part books were quite clean and clear, they typically only place a single syllable under the correct note.
- 23. In many cases eighth and sixteenth note flags have been barred to facilitate easier reading.
- 24. Additional solo and tutti indications have been added where necessary.

Editorial notes in detail

Introit

- m. 18 Alto Beat 1 Replace Half note with Quarter note
- m. 25 Vln 1. Replace single bar with double
- m. 25 tutti Replace Alle Moderato with Lento in all parts
- m. 30 Vln 1. disregard illegible marking [T or J] in part book B
- m. 44 Vln 1. Beat 3 disregard natural sign
- m. 52 Vln 2. Beat 3 missing accidental
- m. 72 Vln 2. Beat 1 missing accidental
- m.88 Vln 1. Gb added to avoid tonal shift (also matches Alto)
- m. 117 Vln 2 Beat 1 missing accidental
- m. 117 Sop. Db Beat 1 missing accidental in tiple 1°
- m. 118 Vln 2 Beat 1 missing accidental
- m. 119 Vln 2 Beat 1 missing accidental
- m. 126 Vln 1. Beat 1 missing accidental in part book C
- m. 127 Vln 1. Beat 3 missing Fermata in part book B
- m. 128 Vln 1. disregard andante in part book B; use largo
- m. 128 Vla 1&2 Beat 1 incorrect key signature
- m. 130 Vla 1&2 Beat 1 illegible accidental
- m. 140 Vln 1. Beat 1 incorrect accidental in part books A,B,C; in this case there is colla parte doubling with the Alto and then Alto part book is written with three flats, therefore Ab, not Anat
- m. 141 Vln 2 Beat 1 missing accidental
- m. 143 Vln 1. Beat 1 incorrect accidental in part book A; same issue as m. 140
- m. 144 Vln 1. Beat 3 incorrect accidental in part books A, C; same issue as m. 140
- m. 149 Vln 1. Beat 3 missing fermata in part book B
- m. 149 Bajo Continuo Beat 1 missing fermata

Kyrie

- m. 5 Vln. 1 Beat 3 missing appoggiatura in part book A
- m. 23 Vln. 1 Beat 1 incorrect note in part book A (Anat)
- m. 27 Vln 2 Beat 1 missing accidental in part books A,B,C
- m. 30 Vln 2 Beat 3 missing accidental in part books A,B
- m. 43 Vln 2 Beat 1 rhythmic error in part book C
- m. 51 Alto Beat 1 Added fermata
- m. 51 Tenor Beat 1 Added fermata
- m. 51 Bass Beat 1 Added fermata

Dies irae

- m. 28 Vln. 1 Beat 4 missing accidental (Ab) in part book A, C
- m. 54 Vln. 2 Beat 2 missing accidental (Anat) in part book A and partitura
- m. 55 Vla. 1/2 Beat 1 missing accidental (Anat) in part books and partitura
- m. 68 Bajo Continuo Beat 1 missing trill

m. 70 Vla. 1/2 Beat 3 incorrect pitch (Ab) matching colla parte with tenor in part books and partitura

Rex tremenda [sic] (several part books have a repeat sign at the end of the mvmt; not in partitura)

- m. 3 Vln. 1 Beat 1 incorrect pitch (d) in part book A
- m. 6 Tpt. 1/2 Beat 1 out of range (Eb) for Tpt.; play octave up
- m. 10 Tpt. 1/2 Beat 1 out of range (Eb) for Tpt.; play octave up
- m. 12 Vln. 2 Beat 3 incorrect rhythm (32nd) in part book B
- m. 15 Tpt. 1/2 Beat 3 out of range (Bb) for Tpt; play octave up
- m. 16 Tpt. 1/2 Beats 1 and 3 out of range (Bb) for Tpt; play octave up
- m. 17 Tpt. 1/2 Beat 1 out of range (Bb) for Tpt; play octave up
- m. 32 Tpt. 1/2 Beat 4 out of range (Bb) for Tpt; play octave up
- m. 37 Tpt. 1/2 Beat 3 out of range (Eb) for Tpt; play octave up
- m. 39 Vln. 1 Beat 4 editorial (Eb) recommended
- m. 39 Vln. 2 Beat 4 editorial (Eb) recommended
- m. 41 Vln. 1 Beat 1 incorrect pitch (g) in part book A
- m. 41 Vln. 2 Beat 3 incorrect pitch (d) in part book A
- m. 42 Clr. 1 Beat 1 incorrect pitch (f) in part book
- m. 43 Vln. 2 Beat 4 incorrect appoggiatura in part book A
- m. 44 Vln. 2 Beat 1 incorrect appoggiatura in part book A
- m. 44 Vla. 1 Beat 1 incorrect pitch (A) in part book
- m. 45 Vln. 2 Beat 3 incorrect rhythm (32nd) in part book B
- m. 49 Vln. 1 Beat 3 incorrect pitchs (A/F#) in part books A,B,C (correct in partitura and Vln. 2)
- m. 49 Vln. 2 Beat 2 missing accidental (Anat) in part books A,B,C, and partitura (does appear in Vln. 1)
- m. 53 Vln. 1 Beat 1 editorial (Db) recommended

Quaerens me

- m. 10 Vln. 1 Beat 1 missing accidental (Gb) in part books A,B,C and partitura
- m. 10 Alto Beat 1 missing accidental (Gb) in part books and partitura
- m. 14 Alto Beat 2 incorrect eighth rest in part book A
- m. 15 Bass Beat 2 incorrect accidental (Bnat) in part book A
- m. 22 Vln. 2 Beat 1 missing accidental (Anat) in partitura
- m. 22 Vla. 1/2 Beat 4 missing accidental (Anat) in part books and partitura (Anat clearly appears in Vln. 1
- on the partitura; other parts are obscured)
- m. 30 Vln. 1 Beat 4 incorrect rhythm (8ths) in part books A, C
- m. 38 Vln. 1 Beat 1 incorrect rhythm (8ths) in part books A, C
- m. 38 Vln. 1 Beat 1 incorrect rhythm (8ths) in part books A, C
- m. 41 Vln. 2 Beat 4 incorrect accidental (Enat) in part book A

Ingemisco

- m. 1 Vln. 1 Beat 1 incorrect key signature (Cm) in part book A
- m. 10 Fl. 1/2 extra bar line in part books
- m. 16 Vln. 2 Beat 4 missing accidental (Cnat) in part book A

- m. 26 Vln. 2 Beat 1 missing accidental (C#) in part books A,B,C, and partitura
- m. 26 Alto Beat 2 missing accidental (F#) in part book
- m. 49 tutti Beat 1 editorial ritardando added
- m. 50 Vln. 2 Beat 4 Fermata misplaced in part book A
- m. 59 Vln. 1 Beat 1 missing accidental on grace note (F#) in part books A,B,C, and partitura
- m. 64 Vla. 1/2 Beat 2 missing "3" for triplet in part books
- m. 67 Vla. 1/2 Beat 1 missing accidental (Eb) in part books and partitura
- m. 76 Vla. 1/2 Beat incorrect note (E#) in part books and partitura
- m. 79 Vln. 1 Beat 1 missing accidental (Enat) in part books A, C, and partitura
- m. 79 Vln. 1 Beat 3 incorrect rhythm (eighth rest) in part book A
- m. 79 Fl. 2 Beat 3-4 editorial pitch change (continuing parallel 3rds in Fls.)
- m. 98 Fl. 1 Beat 2 missing 3 for triplet in part book
- m. 98 Fl. 2 Beat 2 missing 3 for triplet in part book

Preces me

- m. 16 Vln. 2 Beat 1 missing accidental (Ab) in part books A,B,C, and partitura
- m. 42 Vln. 1 Beat 1 missing 3 over triplet in part books A,B,C, and partitura (colla parte with Alto)
- m. 24 Vla. 2 Beat 2 missing ties over the bar line in part book 2
- m. 25 Vla. 2 Beat 2 missing ties over the bar line in part book 2
- m. 32 Vla. 1 Beat 1 incorrect rhythm (dotted quarter) in part book

Confutatis

- m. 17 Vln. 2 Beat 3 incorrect pitch (G) in part book A
- m. 20 Vla. 1/2 Beat 3 missing accidental (Anat) in part books
- m. 21 Vln. 2 Beat 4 missing accidental (Anat) in part books and partitura
- m. 22 Bajo Continuo Beat 2 missing accidental (Anat) in part book and partitura
- m. 23 Vln. 1 Beat 2 missing accidental (Anat) in part books A,B,C, and partitura
- m. 23 Vln. 2 Beat 2 missing accidental (Anat) in part books A,B,C, and partitura
- m. 23 Alto Beat 2 missing accidental (Anat) in part book and partitura
- m. 24 Vln. 1 Beat 1 incorrect pitch (C) in part book A
- m. 24 Vln. 2 Beat 1 missing accidental (Ab) in part books A,B
- m. 27 Alto Beats 1,2 corrected inconsistent rhythm in part book
- m. 29 Vln. 1 Beat 1 incorrect rhythm (16ths) in part book A
- m. 32 Vln. 1 Beat 1 incorrect rhythm (8ths) in part books A,B,C
- m. 36 Vln. 1 Beat 1 incorrect rhythm (dotted) in part book B
- m. 37 Vla. 1/2 Beat 2 incorrect pitch (D) in part books and partitura
- m. 38 Clr. 1 Beat 1 missing dot in part book
- m. 48 tutti Beat 1,4 added editorial ritardando and short fermata
- m. 49 tutti corrected inconsistent key signatures (no key change in partitura)
- m. 54 Clr. 1/2 missing measure in part book
- m. 58 Vla 1/2 Beat 1 missing accidental (Anat) in part books and partitura
- m. 58 Bajo Continuo Beat 1 missing accidental (F#) in part book and partitura
- m. 59 Vla 1/2 Beat 1 missing accidental (Anat) in part books and partitura

m. 59 Bajo Continuo Beat 1 missing accidental (F#) in part book and partitura

Lacrimosa

- m. 1 tutti Andante in original; tempo mm. 130 to reflect tempo of Ingemisco
- m. 6 Vln. 2 Beat 1 missing accidental (Gb) in part books A,B,C, and partitura
- m. 13 Bajo Continuo measure missing in part book
- m. 17 tutti Beat 3 editorial ritandando added
- m. 18 tutti Beat 3 editorial tenuo added
- m. 19 tutti Andante tempo indications exist in Vln. 1/2 part books. Editorially added tempo change to all parts; added double bar to reflect tempo I of *Dies Irae*
- m. 28 Clr 1/2 omitted measure with fermata one measure early

Domine Jesu, Christe (incorrectly labeled as "Libera" in all part books and partitura)

- m. 1 Clr. 1/2 Clarin part originally written in bass clef; replaced with treble clef and transposed up an octave (see brass notes)
- m. 7 Vln. 1/2 Beat 2 missing 3 on triplet in part books A,B,C, and partitura
- m. 16 Vln. 1 Beat 3 incorrect pitch (G) in part book A
- m. 17 Vln. 1 Beat 4 incorrect rhythm (16ths) in part book A
- m. 17 Bass Beat 2 incorrect accidental (Eb) in part book I
- m. 56 tutti editorial decision to reprint "Quam olim" section rather than use Dal Segno as in original
- m. 33 Vln. 2 Beat 3 incorrect pitch (F) in part books A,B
- m. 50 Vln. 2 Beat 3 incorrect pitch (G) in part books B,C
- m. 51 Vln. 1 Beat 4 missing accidental (Bb) in part books A,B,C and partitura
- m. 54 Vln. 2 Beat 4 incorrect rhythm (dotted) in part books A,C
- m. 56 Sop. Beats 1,2,3 incorrect rhythm (dotted) in part book I
- m. 64 Replaced repeat sign with double bar; "Quam olim" section is rewritten out
- m. 72 Vln. 1 Beat 1 missing accidental (C#) in part books A,B,C, and partitura
- m. 79 Vla. 1/2 Beat 4 incorrect pitch (F) in part books A,B,C, and partitura

Sanctus

- m. 6 Vln. 1 Beat 3 incorrect rhythm (dotted) in part book C
- m. 6 Vln. 2 Beat 3 incorrect rhythm (dotted) in part book C)
- m. 10 Vln. 1 Beat 2 incorrect rhythm (eighth notes) in part book A,C
- m. 10 Vln. 1 Beat 3 removed incorrect appoggiatura
- m. 15 Vln. 4 scribal error (not enough sixteenth notes) in part book A
- m. 15 Bajo Continuo Beat 2 scribal error (extra dot) in part book
- m. 58 Vln. 1 Beat 4 added editorial accidental (Fnat)
- m. 58 Vln. 2 Beat 4 added editorial accidental (Fnat)
- m. 59 Vln. 1 Beat 2 missing accidental (Bnat) in part books A,B,C, and partitura
- m. 59 Vln. 2 Beat 2 missing accidental (Bnat) in part books A,B,C, and partitura
- m. 62 Vln. 2 Beat 3 missing accidental (Db) in part book A
- m. 62 Alto Beat 4 missing accidental (Bb) in part book and partitura

Agnus Dei

m. 10 Vln. 2 Beat 2 missing accidental (F#) in part books A,B,C

- m. 12 Vln. 2 Beat 1 incorrect accidental (#) in part books A,B,C and partitura
- m. 23-29 Bass illegible in part book; extrapolated in partitura and colla parte doubling in Vln. 1
- m. 32 Vln. 2 Beat 1 incorrect rhythm (dotted) in part book C
- m. 35 Alto Beat 1 missing dot in part book I
- m. 49 Vln. 2 Beat 1 incorrect rhythm (8ths) in part book A

Lux eterna [sic]

Misspellings of "aeterna" throughout

- m. 35 Vla 1/2 Beat 3 incorrect pitch (A) in part books and partitura
- m. 39 Bajo Continuo Beat 4 missing accidental (F#) in part book and partitura

Libera me (1760) "despues ala Missa" 28

General note: This piece has numerous key signature related problems. It has three flats, but is essentially written in f minor.

- m. 9 Vln. 2 Beat 1 incorrect accidental (Cb) in part books A,B,C
- m. 12 Vln. 1 Beat 1 added cautionary (Anat)
- m. 15 Vln. 1 Beat 1 added cautionary (Bnat)
- m. 17-22 Alto optional ossia for ornamentation example penciled into Alto part book
- m. 18 Vln. 1 Beat 1 added cautionary (Gb)
- m. 31 Vla 1/2 Beat 1 added cautionary (Anat)
- m. 34 Vln. 2 Beat 1 incorrect accidental (Bb) in part books A,B
- m. 37 Hn. 2 Beat 1 incorrect pitch (A) in part book
- m. 38 Vla. 1/2 Beat 2 added cautionary (Bnat)
- m. 40 Sop. Beat 1 incorrect accidental (Db) in part book I
- m. 51 Vln. 1 Beat 1 numerous accidental mistakes (solution found in Tiple part book; colla parte)
- m. 61 Vln. 1 Beat 1 changed Eb to Enat to avoid augmented interval
- m. 61 Vln. 2 Beat 1 changed Eb to Enat to avoid augmented interval
- m. 62 Sop. Beat 1 added cautionary (F#)
- m. 63 Bass unclear (solution found in Bajo Continuo part book)
- m. 64 Bass unclear (solution found in Bajo Continuo part book)
- m. 66 Bajo Continuo Beat 2 removed fermata
- m. 69 Vla. 1/2 Beat 1 added cautionary (Anat)
- m. 69 Bass unclear Beat 1 added cautionary (Anat)
- m. 70 Sop. Beat 1/2 added two accidentals (F#/Eb)
- m. 70 Vln. 1 Beat 1 changed Ab to Anat to avoid melodic tri-tone
- m. 70 Vla. 1/2 Beat 2 added cautionary (Anat)
- m. 70 Bass unclear 1/2 Beat 2 added cautionary (Anat)
- m. 75 Bajo Continuo Beat 1 added cautionary (Enat)
- m. 78 Vln. 2 Beat 1 added cautionary (Enat)
- m. 86 Vln. 1 Beat 1 added cautionary (Anat)
- m. 89 Vln. 1 Beat 1 added cautionary (Bnat)
- m. 90 Tn. Beat 2 incorrect pitch (D) in part book
- m. 105 Vln. 2 Beat 1 added cautionary (Db)
- m. 105 Sop. Beat 1 editorial pitch (Db) to match Vln. 2
- m. 108 Vln. 1 Beat 1 incorrect accidental (Dnat) in part book A

²⁸ There is no extant partitura for the *Libera me (1760)* and subsequent *Kyrie "despues ala Missa"*

*Kyrie "despues ala Missa"

- m. 3 Vla. 1/2 Beat 2 unplayable note (low G) transposed up an octave
- m. 9-10 Tn. several rhythmic mistakes; corrected to make the texture homophonic
- m. 10 Vln. 1 Beat 1 missing accidental (Anat)
- m. 11 Vln. 1 Beat 1 missing accidental (Anat)
- m. 13 Tn. Beat 1 missing accidental (A nat)
- m. 14 Tn. Beat 2 missing accidental (A nat)
- m. 14 Bass Beat 1 missing accidental (A nat)
- m. 14 Bajo Continuo 1 missing accidental (Anat)
- m. 16 Vln. 1 Beat 1 incorrect pitch (C)
- m. 16 Vln. 2 Beat 1 incorrect pitch (C)

Appendix A: Full Score of the *Misa de Difuntos (1760)*Introit

from Misa de Difuntos (1760)























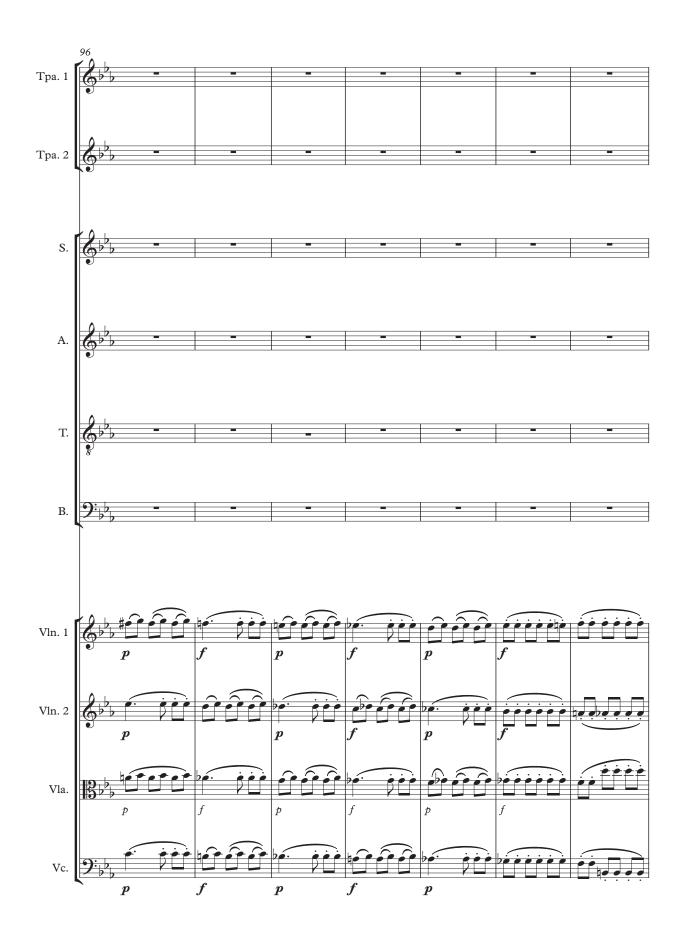


















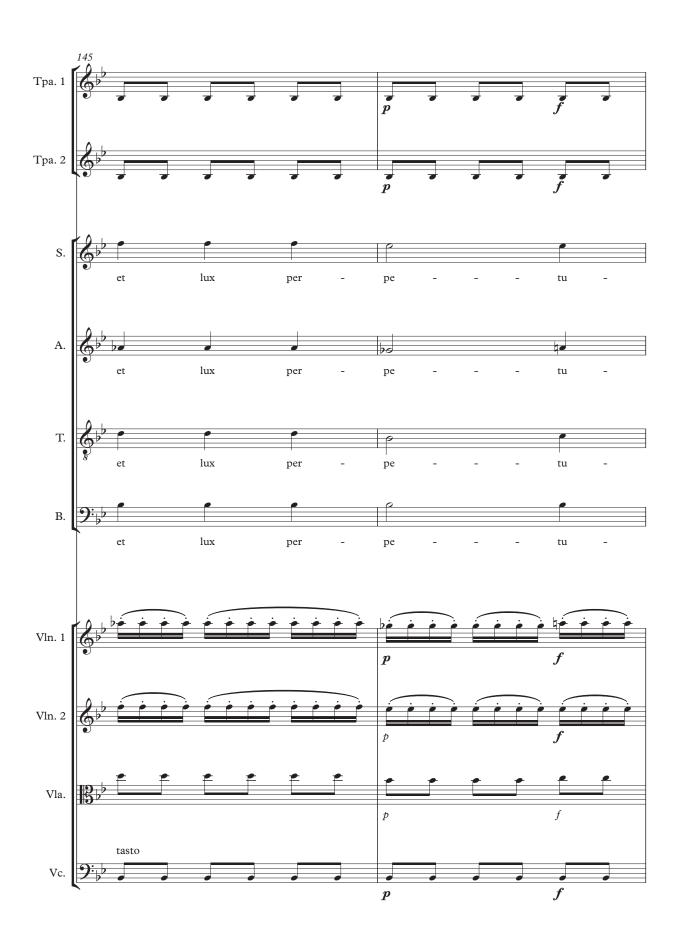














Kyrie



































Dies irae













































Rex tremenda [sic]





































Querens me [sic]







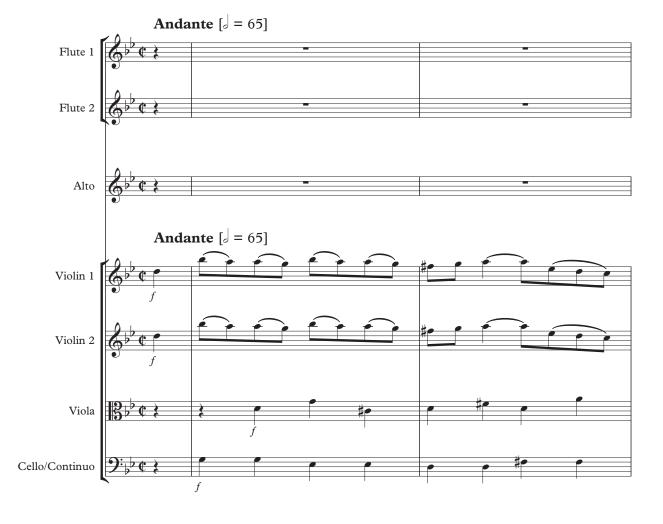








Ingemisco



































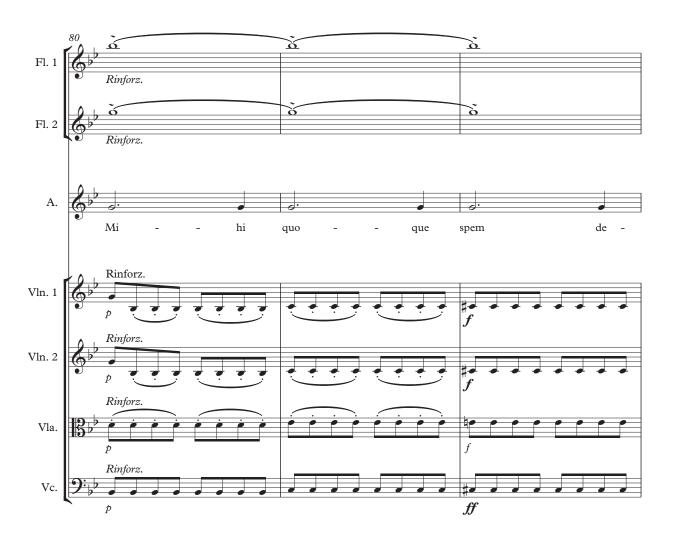




















Preces me













Confutatis

















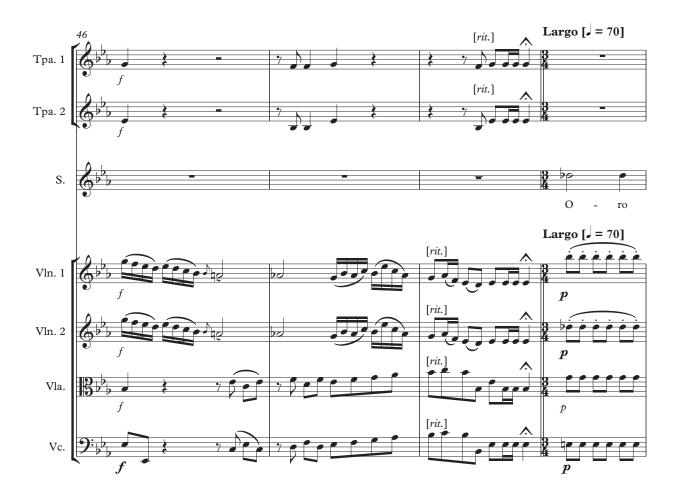
















Lacrimosa













Domine Jesu Christe

















































Sanctus









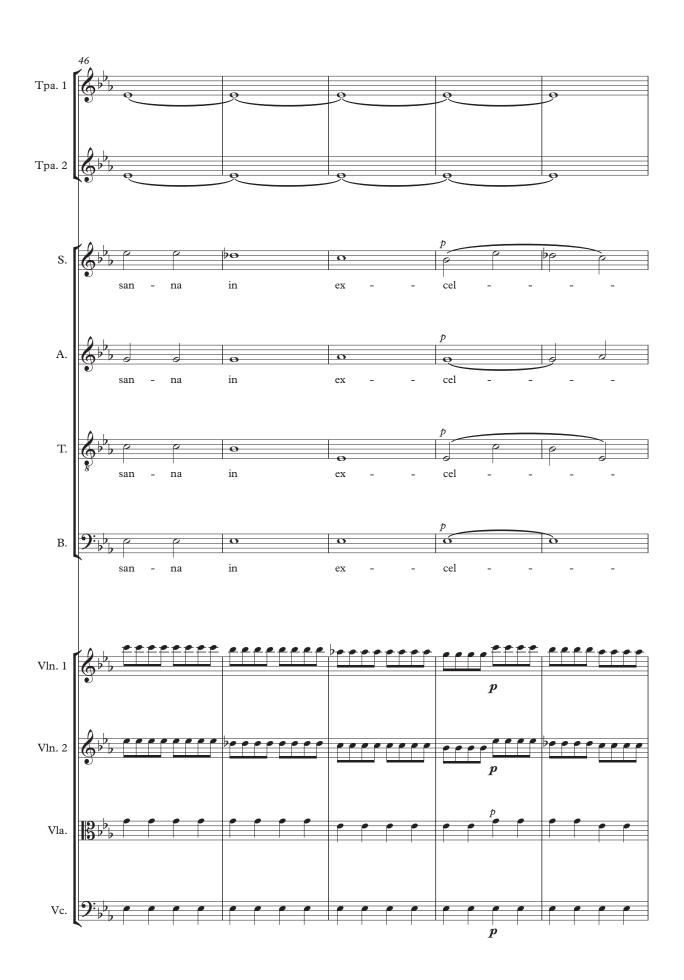
























Agnus Dei































Libera me







★[ornament option given in Alto part book]





























Kyrie













Appendix B: Choral Score of *Misa de Difuntos (1760)*Introit





















































Kyrie



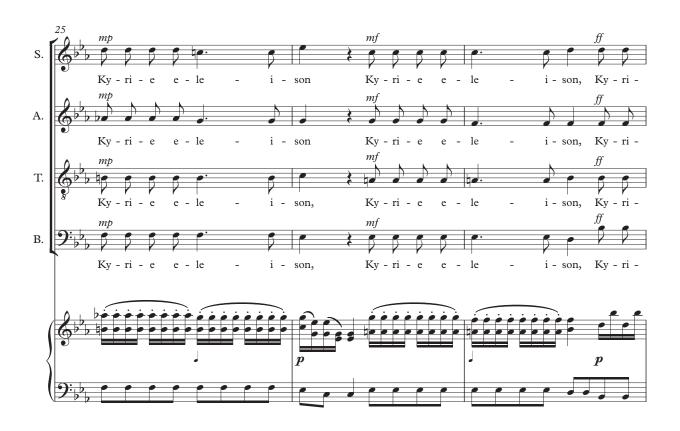












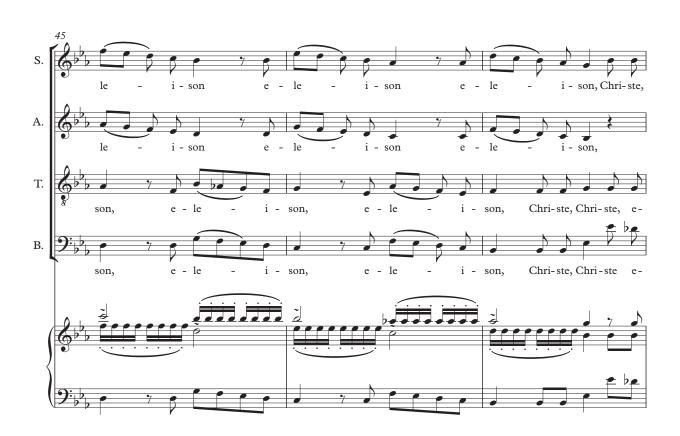














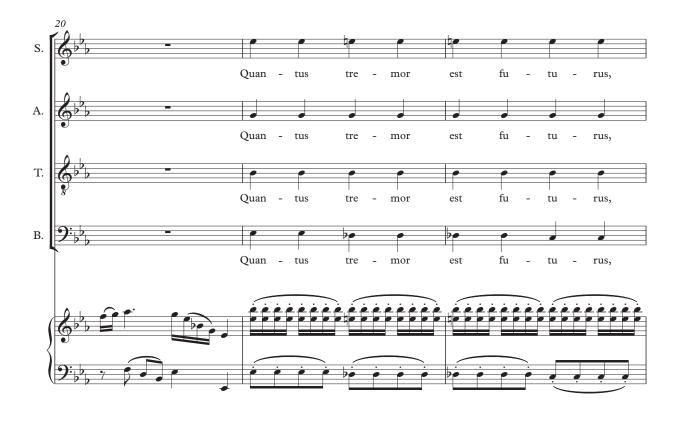


Dies irae



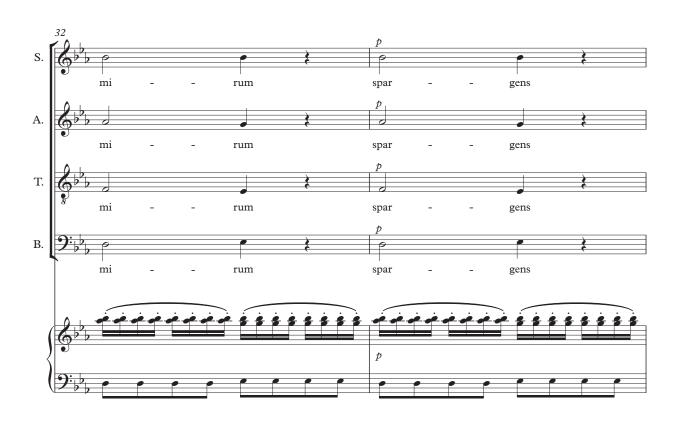
















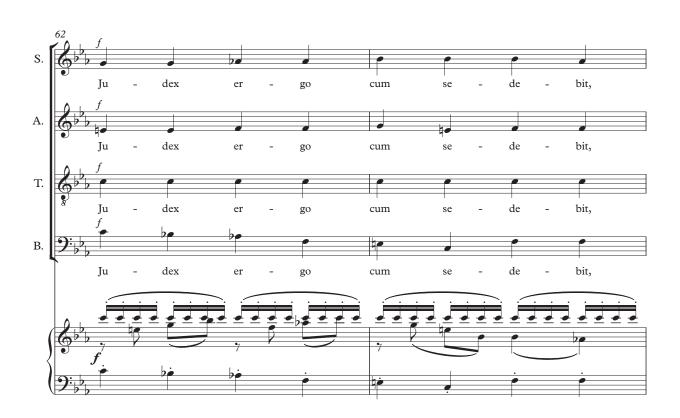


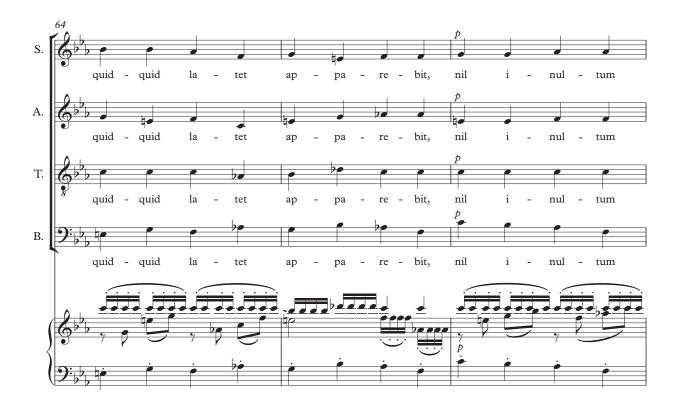




















Rex tremenda [sic]









Querens me [ic] 88 Soprano Quae-rens me, Alto Quae-rens Quae-rens Bass Re-de - mis Cru - cem pas-sus, Re-de - mis Cru - cem re - de -T. pas-sus, В. Cru - cem Re-de - mis las-sus: pas-sus, re - de -







Ingemisco















Preces me Allegretto [f = 90] Pre-ces me - ae Allegretto [f = 90]nae; Sed tu bo - nus fac be - ni - gne, Ne





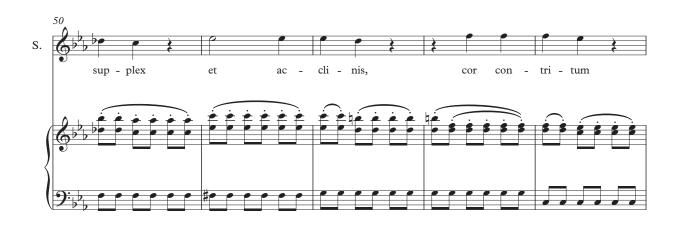
Confutatis













Lacrimosa













Domine Jesu Christe









































Sanctus



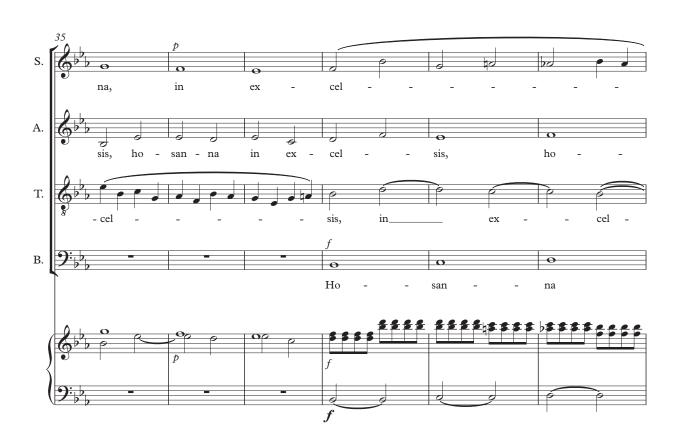




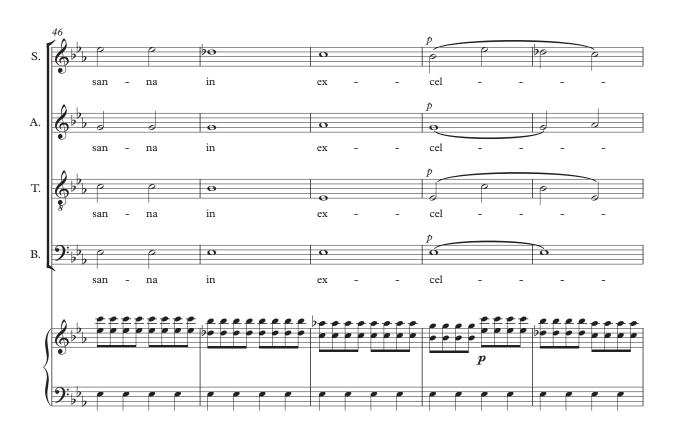


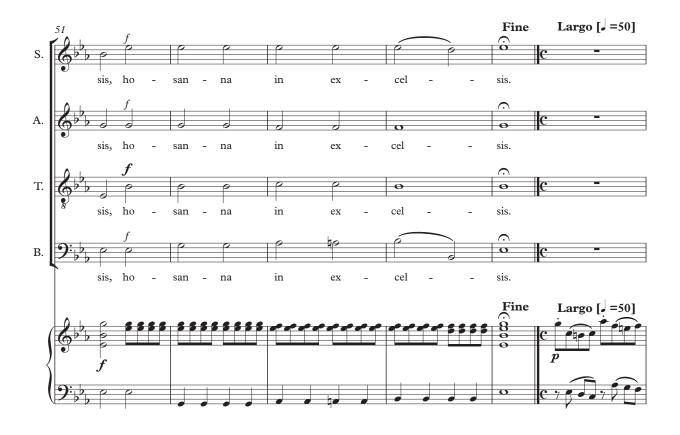


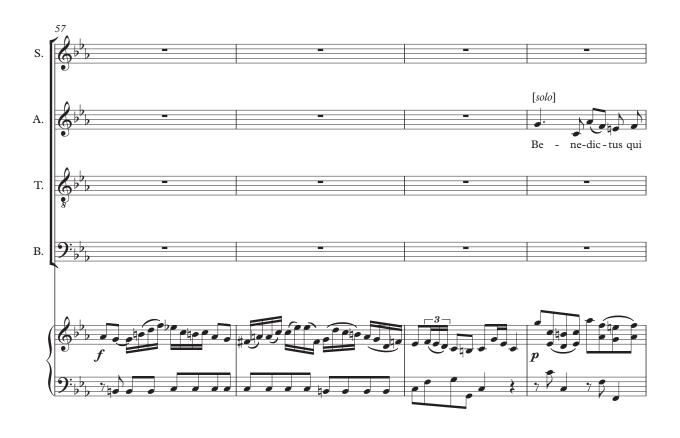




















Agnus Dei















Lux eterna [sic]

















Libera me





























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