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Madsen, Wanda Jean

**MEXICAN MISSION MUSIC: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON
OF TWO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CHANT BOOKS**

The University of Oklahoma

D.M.A. 1984

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

MEXICAN MISSION MUSIC: A DESCRIPTIVE
ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF TWO
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
CHANT BOOKS

A DOCUMENT
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE COLLEGE
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
DOCTOR OF MUSICAL ARTS

By
Wanda Jean Madsen
Norman, Oklahoma
1984

MEXICAN MISSION MUSIC: A DESCRIPTIVE
ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF TWO
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
CHANT BOOKS
A DOCUMENT
APPROVED FOR THE SCHOOL OF MUSIC

By

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To my family for their love and encouragement througout
this project.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the unknown and forgotten missionary priests who dedicated their lives to the establishment of the missions in New Spain.

GLORIA DEO

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INTRODUCTION

Origin of the Project

During the sixteenth century when Roman Catholic priests established mission churches for the Spanish crown, music was one of the tools used most effectively to convert the Indians to Christianity. The missionary priests taught the Indians to sing Spanish and Latin songs and to play European musical instruments. Diaries of priests who lived during that era contained references to the Indians' musical capabilities which were used during the services at the missions.

An interest in the history of Spanish missions in Texas and Mexico led the author to the observation that few references to existing manuscripts used at the missions could be found in the literature. The primary scholar who wrote of music used in Spanish missions was Fr. Owen da Silva who compiled a collection of miscellaneous songs used in Franciscan missions located in northern California during the nineteenth century. His work, "Mission Music in California", was completed in 1941. Unfortunately, it bears little relation to the primary missions in Mexico and Texas which were founded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

An active search for original manuscripts that had been used in the areas of Texas and Mexico led the author of this document to the Nettie Benson Latin-America Library at the University of Texas and the Roman Catholic Chancery in Austin, Texas. The writer also maintained a short residency in San Antonio, Texas, where the microfilm of mission records at the Old Spanish Missions Historical Research Library was examined. In addition, one of the most productive searches was at the Latin-American Library at Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana. The culmination of the search came with the discovery of a manuscript of a Graduale at Tulane University and the discovery of a manuscript of an Antiphonale at The University of Oklahoma in Norman, Oklahoma. The manuscripts are, in fact, volumes of chants which were sung at Roman Catholic services in Spanish mission churches.

After considerable study of the contents of the manuscripts, questions which began to be formed in the mind of the author of this document are as follows:

1. What are the manuscripts
2. What do the manuscripts contain
3. Who wrote the manuscripts
4. When were the manuscripts written
5. When were the manuscripts used
6. Who used the manuscripts
7. Are the manuscripts related to one another
8. Does the music in the manuscripts differ from

the music contained in the Antiphonalia and Gradualia used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries even though Pope Pius V unified the liturgy in 1571

9. Does the music in the manuscripts deviate from Antiphonalia and Gradualia used today?

Need and Purpose of the Study

A careful search through the literature reveals that scholars had a significant interest in mission music used in New Spain. New Spain consisted of Spanish colonial territory formed by present-day Mexico, the Caribbean Islands, Central America, Spanish West Indies, Philippines, the coast of Venezuela, Florida, and the present southwestern United States from 1535-1821.¹ During various periods between 1535-1821, boundaries of New Spain changed to include as far east as Charlestown, South Carolina and as far north as Taos, New Mexico and northern California. While the historical aspects of the missions were explored in great detail by many researchers, no music manuscripts were discovered in the missions established in the portions of New Spain which are now called Texas and Mexico, hence the subject of music was treated cursorily. The writer's discovery and description of the manuscripts of the Graduale and Antiphonale may help fill a void that exists in the history of the missions in New Spain.

¹Webster's New Geographical Dictionary, rev. ed. (1977), s.v. "New Spain."

As a result of the foregoing, the purpose of this study was to describe and identify the manuscripts and the chants they contain. An attempt was made to date the manuscripts, to establish where they were used, and to discover which Roman Catholic Order used them. In addition, an endeavor was made to ascertain whether the manuscripts were related. An effort was made to establish whether they deviated from the established edition of Roman Catholic Antiphonalia and Gradualia.

In order to identify the chants in the Antiphonale at The University of Oklahoma, a comparison was made between those contained in it and comparable chants contained in Antiphonale Sacrosantae Romanae Ecclesiae Pro Diurnis Horis, printed in 1949. Many of the chants contained in the manuscript are not included in the Roman Antiphonale. The differences between the Roman Antiphonale and the manuscript show that the manuscript was written by one of the Roman Catholic Orders which established missions in New Spain. A notation written on a "3x5" index card, which was found between the leaves of the manuscript, lists its origin as a mission church in the state of Oaxaca (wä·hä'kä), Mexico. Priests who were members of the Roman Catholic Order of Dominicans were an active missionary group in the southeastern part of New Spain. Oaxaca was the center of their missionary activities. Because the Dominicans were dominant in Oaxaca, a comparison was made between chants in the

Dominican Antiphonarium Sacri Ordinis Praedictorium Pro Diurnis Horis,² and comparable chants in the manuscript. The manuscript will be called Oaxacan Antiphonale throughout this document.

In order to identify the contents of the Graduale at Tulane University, a comparison was made between its chants and chants for comparable feast days contained in the Graduale Sacrosanctae Romanae, Ecclesiae De Tempore et De Sanctis, published in 1979. Chants in the manuscript, which will be called Tulane Graduale throughout this document, often deviate from chants in the Roman Graduale; therefore, further research was necessary. There is a mass for St. Hyacinth, a Dominican saint, included in the Tulane Graduale. This indicates Dominican provenance. A comparison was made between the Dominican Graduale Sacri Ordinis Praedictorium and the contents of the Tulane Graduale in order to ascertain the means by which the two Gradualia are related.

The calligraphies of the Oaxacan Antiphonale and the Tulane Graduale are so similar that it became evident it was necessary to determine whether the same scribe had written both manuscripts. A comparison was made between the calligraphy of the two manuscripts to determine their similarity by a professional graphologist, Pat Tull.

²Antiphonarium Pro Diurnis Horis, Edited by Fr. Martini Stanislai Gillet, (Romae: 1933).

In an effort to isolate the period during which the manuscripts were written and to ascertain any relationship between them, two studies were effected. The first was an examination of the paper content. The second was the discovery and dating regarding the watermarks found on the paper used in the Oaxacan Antiphonale and Tulane Graduale.

Previous Research

Previous studies regarding the music in Spanish mission churches in New Spain seem to fall into five categories: (1) historical description of the missions and the mission services, (2) chant books printed in Mexico in the sixteenth century, (3) music discovered in cathedrals in Mexico, (4) documents, including priests' diaries, found in Mexican archives, and (5) anthologies of music of the California missions. This present study is therefore unique because it deals with specific examples of music found in a Roman Catholic mission church in Mexico. Thus, no other document impinges on this study.

Representative of previous historical studies is Lota Spell's research on the history of the Aztec Indians and their music. Among her conclusions are the following:

1. Men and boys were trained to form choirs to sing for religious ceremonies
2. The Indians were also taught to play percussive instruments and flutes

³Lota Spell, "Music and Instruments of the Aztecs," MTNA Proceedings (1925).

3. Roman Catholic priests who were sent to the New World as missionaries were the first music teachers in North America.

4. Roman Catholic priests helped the Spanish in the conquest of the territory that is now the southwestern United States by establishing missions where they taught the Indians songs based on native tunes set to texts from the scriptures.⁴

A book representative of the history of music in New Spain is Music in Aztec and Inca Territory by Robert M. Stevenson. One of his most important conclusions is:

Indians showed such fondness for the music brought them by the missionaries, the first bishops of Mexico instructed missionaries within their diocese to teach music wherever they went as an indispensable aid in the process of conversion.⁵

Steven Barwich's doctoral dissertation is a work based on his discovery of choral collections which exist in the archives in the major cathedrals in Mexico.⁶ Some of the collections he discovered contain works of well-known European composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while other volumes include compositions written by native Indian composers for the choirs at the cathedrals in New Spain.

⁴Lota Spell, "Mexico is the Cradle of American Music," The Texas Outlook, March 1925, p. 7.

⁵Robert M. Stevenson, Music in Aztec and Inca Territory, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p.154.

⁶Steven Barwich, "Sacred Vocal Polyphony in Early Colonial Mexico" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1949).

Benedict Leutenegger, O.F.M., has contributed significantly to the field of knowledge concerning Spanish missions by being one of the primary translators of Spanish mission records. These documents were originally found in Querétaro and Zacatecas, Mexico. These records are now on microfilm at Old Spanish Missions Research Library at San José in San Antonio, Texas. The microfilm contains reports, including inventories of mission property, which the priests sent annually to mission headquarters in Mexico. Some of the inventories include musical instruments such as spinets, violins, guitars, and drums.⁷ Priests's diaries, which became part of mission records, contain significant references to specific songs which were sung at the missions. One song title which frequently appeared in the diaries was the Alabado, a praise song.⁸

A Sixteenth Century Mexican Chant Book: Pedro Ocharte's "Psalterium, An[t]iphonarium, Sanctorale cum Psalmis et Hymnis,"⁹ by Mary Elizabeth Duncan, is a comprehensive study of one of the chant books printed by Ocharte. Chant

⁷Benedict Leutenegger, Inventory of Espada Mission, (San Antonio: Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at San José, Unpublished), p. 25.

⁸Benedict Leutenegger, Guidelines for a Texas Mission: Instructions for the Missionary at Mission Concepción in San Antonio, (San Antonio: Spanish Missions Historical Research Library at San José Mission, 1979), p. 181.

⁹Mary E. Duncan, "A Sixteenth Century Mexican Chant Book: Pedro Ocharte's "Psalterium, An[t]iphonarium, Sanctorale cum Psalmis et Hymnis" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1975).

books printed by Ocharte and Espinosa were often commissioned by Roman Catholic Orders to be used in mission churches in Mexico in the sixteenth century.

Mission Music of California is an annotated anthology of music compiled by Fr. Owen da Silva, O.F.M. The anthology included hymns, an adaptation of Missa de Requie from a manuscript at Mission Santa Barbara, and an Aladabo which was transcribed from a recording of the singer, Fernandito, who was one of the last California mission singers. The California missions were established between 1769-1823 initially by the Jesuits and later were under the pastoral care of the Franciscans.

These and other studies above are primarily historical, except Fr. Silva's anthology, or they refer to music performed at the cathedrals in New Spain. The author of this document, on the other hand, concentrated on manuscripts used at the missions in Texas and Mexico. This document is based on specific works and descriptions of works which were uncovered and are representative of the music performed at the Mexican missions.

Definition of Terms

The following terms have specific definitions for the purpose of this study.

Liber Usalis - A volume which is the combination of the Graduale and Antiphonale in which the parts of the Office and the Mass are given in proper order of the day.

Graduale Romanum - A book which contains the parts of the mass that are sung by the choir.

Folio - A leaf within a book.

Antiphonale - A book containing the plainchants which were sung during canonical hours.

Properium de Tempore - Feasts of Jesus Christ and the Trinity.

Properium Sanctorum - Feasts for individual saints.

Commune Sanctorum - Feasts of saints grouped in classes, such as Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, etc.

Office - Hours during the day in which services are held in a Monastery or Church. The eight Office or Canonical Hours are as follows:

<u>Matutinum</u>	- Before sunrise
<u>Laudes</u>	- At sunrise
<u>Ad Primam</u>	- About 6:00 A.M.
<u>Tertiam</u>	- About 9:00 A.M.
<u>Ad Sextam</u>	- About noon
<u>Ad Nonam</u>	- About 3:00 P.M.
<u>Ad Vesperam</u>	- At sunset
<u>Completorium</u>	- Before retiring

Versicle - A little verse usually sung after a Psalm or before certain prayers.

Response - Words sung by the choir or congregation in response to a versicle, a greeting, or prayer of a priest.

Antiphon - A plainsong setting of a sacred text which is sung before and after a Psalm or canticle.

Gradual - A responsorial chant which is sung between the reading of the Gospel and Epistle in the Mass. It is the second item in the Proper.

Canticle - A biblical song based on scripture other than the Psalms.

Incipit - The first words of a liturgical text sung by the cantor before the choir begins to sing.

Dominican - The Roman Catholic Order founded by St. Dominic (1170-1221). It is called the Order of Preachers.

Franciscan - The Roman Catholic Order founded by St. Francis of Assisi in 1209 which proclaims the doctrine of poverty.

Hebdomadam - The officiating priest at Mass.

St. Catharine de Sienna - A patron saint of Italy and of the Dominican Order. She lived from 1380-1447.

St. Hyacinth - The patron saint of Poland and the Dominican Order. He lived from 1200-1257. He founded numerous convents and made many missionary journeys in Europe.

(~) - A symbol used in Medieval Latin to indicate an elision of the letters (m) or (n).

Oaxaca - A state in Mexico which was the center of Dominican missionary efforts in the sixteenth century. The Franciscan and Augustinians founded missions in the northern portion of the state.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF
THE MUSIC IN NEW SPAIN

The Toltec was the most powerful Indian tribe in Mexico during the eighth century. The Toltecs established large cities where they built vast temples in which they held elaborate ceremonies.¹ After 400 years of authority over most of Mexico, civil war erupted between the Toltecs and an Indian army formed by an alliance of Aztec and other Indian tribes from the city-states of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan, and Tlocoapan. The Toltecs were defeated by the army formed by the Indian alliance.

As a result of the defeat of the Toltecs, the Aztecs became the strongest tribe in Mexico. They gained control of the Valley of Mexico² where they built a powerful empire. It was this empire, ruled by Montezuma II, that the Spanish

¹The Lincoln Library of Essential Information, 1937 ed. s.v. "Mexico."

²The Valley of Mexico is a subdivision of the plateau of the Sierra Madre Occidental and the Sierra Madre Oriental Mountains. This vast oval basin, in central Mexico, is about 50 miles long. Mexico City, located in this valley, was the center of pre-Columbian Aztec civilization.

conquistador, Hernando Cortés conquered in 1521. Cortés discovered the Aztecs were an artistic people who loved beauty. They had a rich heritage of poetry, music, and dance. They were a talented people who played many musical instruments including drums, rattles, bells and many types of wind instruments.

Music Schools Established

Wherever Cortés traveled in the part of New Spain that is now called Mexico, he took professional musicians with him to entertain his troops.³ The Indians who lived in the areas where Cortés traveled heard the Spanish musicians playing and singing and were fascinated by the music. They began to imitate what they heard and learned to sing the Spanish songs. The Indians seemed to have a natural ability to learn music skills, thus, when Zumarraga became the first Catholic bishop of Mexico during the sixteenth century, he instructed the friars within his diocese⁴ "to teach music wherever they went as an indispensable aid in the process of conversion."⁵ Therefore, when the Flemish priest, Pedro de Gante, was sent to New Spain, his mission was to teach the Indians the Spanish and Latin languages as well as liturgical chant. He established a music school at Texcoco where he taught hundreds of students who later served

³Robert M. Stevenson, Music in Mexico (New York: Apollo Press, 1971). p. 51.

⁴A diocese is a territorial division of the Catholic Church. This division is well defined concerning the territory included. It is governed by a bishop who is given power to rule in his own name and not as a vicar or delegate of another.

⁵Stevenson, Music in Aztec, p. 154.

as choirmasters, organists and music teachers.⁶

Music proved to be such an effective method of evangelism for the Indians in Texcoco and Mexico City, many priests in other areas of Mexico began to teach the Indians musical skills. In Music in Mexico, Robert Stevenson states that according to Torquemada, who wrote Monarquia Indiana, published in 1615,

Nearly every town of 100 population or more contains singers who have learned how to sing the offices, the Mass, Vespers, and are proficient in polyphonic music. The smaller towns all have their supply of instruments, and even smaller ... hamlets have three or four Indians at least who sing every day in church.⁷

In Motolinia's History of the Indians of New Spain⁸ which contains accounts of missionary activity in Mexico in the sixteenth century, it is documented that the missionary priests taught the Indians to sing the Per Signum, Crucis, Salve, Ave Maria and the Credo. Motolinia also recorded that a young Indian, a flutist in Tehuacan, taught the other Indians in his village to play the flute in a short time. They learned to play so well and enjoyed it so much that the parish priest invited them to play for the Canonical Hours.

⁶Idem, Music in Mexico, p. 52.

⁷Ibid., p. 67.

⁸Fray Toribio de Motolinia, History of New Spain, trans. Elizabeth Andros Foster (Berkeley: The Cortes Society, 1950), p. 190.

They often played in ensembles for the Mass and the sound they produced was "said to resemble an organ."⁹

Native Choirmasters at Oaxaca Cathedral

The cities of Puebla, Oaxaca, and Mexico were noted for the excellent music that was performed in the cathedrals during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The position of choirmaster at the cathedrals was a highly respected and coveted position.

From 1618 through 1768, most of the choirmasters at the Oaxaca cathedral were native musicians. The position of choirmaster for the Oaxaca cathedral was advertised in the large cities of Mexico City and Puebla. Indian musicians, as well as Spanish musicians, competed for the choirmaster position, but the Indians were so well trained, they were selected.¹⁰

After a choirmaster had been selected, he was expected to compose music for the Masses, teach plainchant and polyphonic music to the choirboys, and play the organ for the services at the cathedral.

The Indians were also instructed in the art of manuscript writing. Many of them became copyists for priests and wrote manuscripts from the chant books the priests had brought

⁹Stevenson, Music in Aztec, p. 154.

¹⁰Lota Spell, "Baroque Music in Oaxaca Cathedral," Inter-American Music Review, L/2, Spring, 1979.

with them from Europe. In this manner, the churches and missions created their own libraries.¹¹

Sixteenth Century Printed Liturgical Books

Thirteen liturgical books were printed in Mexico City between 1556 and 1589.¹² Eleven of these books are extant.¹³ Ocharte and Espinosa were given the responsibility by Philip II of Spain to print new Gradualia.¹⁴ Ocharte printed virtually hundreds of these books which were used by the Indians who sang the Catholic liturgy in the small towns all over Mexico. Only one copy of the Graduale was required for each choir, which means that thousands of Indians had been trained to sing the Canonical Hours. Steven Barwich¹⁵ discovered over

¹¹ Stevenson, Music in Aztec, p. 171.

¹² Mary E. Duncan, "A Sixteenth-Century Mexican Chant Book: Pedro Ocharte's "Psalterium, An[t]iphonarium, Sanctoriale cum Psalmis et Hymnis" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1975).

¹³ (1) Ordinarium sacri ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini; Juan Pablos.1556. (2) Manuale Sacramentorum secundum usum ecclesiae Mexicanae. Juan Pablos.1560. (3) Misale Romanum Ordinarium. Antonio de Espinosa.1561. (4) Psalterium Chorale secundum consuetudinem sancti Dominici. Pedro Ocharte.1563. (5) Manuale Sacramentorum secundum usum alme Ecclesie Mexicanae. Pedro Ocharte.1568. (6) Graduale Dominicale. Antonio de Espinosa. Pre-1572. (7) Passionario Apuntado. Antonio de Espinosa.1572. (8) Antiphonario Dominical.1575. (9) Graduale Dominicale.1576. (10) Psalterium, An[t]iphonarium Sanctoriale. Pedro Ocharte.1584. (11) Antiphonarium de tempore. Pedro Ocharte.1589.

¹⁴ Stevenson, Music in Aztec, p. 187.

¹⁵ Steven Barwich. "Sacred Vocal Polyphony in Early Colonial Mexico" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1949).

one-hundred books of plainchant, eighteen books of polyphonic music and many other sacred compositions in the Puebla cathedral archives. He also found three books of polyphonic music and one-hundred volumes of plainchant in the archives of Guadalajara and seventy-five volumes of plainchant in the Oaxaca cathedral archives. The six volumes of choirbooks in the Newberry Library in Chicago, Illinois, contain sacred polyphony and were originally from the Covento de la Encarnacion in Mexico City.¹⁶ Thus, the discovery of liturgical music in the cathedral archives, the chronicles written by the historians concerning colonial Mexico, and the hundreds of liturgical books printed during the sixteenth century document the fact that music was an important element in the indoctrination of the Indians into the Roman Catholic faith.

Music for Mass and Canonical Hours

Roman Catholic liturgy, except the chants in the Proprium Sanctorum, has changed little since the thirteenth century, thus the liturgical traditions of the different Roman Catholic Orders in Mexico during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would have been those used in Europe during that time. The chants used were found in the Graduale, which contains the Asperges, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, Gloria Patri and the introits that were used in the Mass. The

¹⁶Eliyahu A. Schleifer, "New Light on the Mexican Choir-books at the Newberry Library," Notes, Vol. 30 #2, December, 1973.

Antiphonale is a collection of everything sung in the Divine Office (Canonical Hours).

The Mass contains ten musical items: five of these are found in the Ordinarium and are common to all Masses, and five are contained in the Proprium de Tempore and vary according to the church year. The Ordinarium is comprised of the Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Credo, and Agnus Dei. The Proprium consists of the Introit, Gradual, Tract, Offertory, and Communion.

The Divine Office consists of eight services which are held daily.¹⁷ The Psalms form the basis of all the Canonical Hours in the Divine Office. Nine Psalms are used in Matutinum, five for Vesperam, four for Laudes, and three in the other Canonical Hours. The Psalms are usually connected with an Antiphon, however, in the Lesser Hours and at Completorium, there is only one Antiphon preceding the entire group of Psalms and one Antiphon following the Psalms.¹⁸ Other chants, not based on the Psalms, were also sung at Canonical Hours. These chants are called canticles. The Magnificat, Anima Mea Dominum, Nunc Dimittis Servum, and the Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel are called the major canticles and are used at specific hours. The Magnificat is included in Vesperam, the Nunc Dimittis in Completorium, and Benedictus Dominus

¹⁷Willi Apel, Gregorian Chant (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), p. 13.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 20.

in Laudes. There are fourteen lesser canticles which are located between the third and fourth Psalms at Laudes. The canticles are preceded and followed by a specific antiphon.

Lessons, Chapters, and hymns are also included in the Canonical Hours; thus, the format for Vesperam and Completorium, two of the most often sung hours, is as follows:¹⁹

Ad Vesperam

Five Psalms (112, 116, 145, 146, 147)
 Five antiphons
 Chapter with hymn and versicle
Magnificat with its antiphon

Completorium

Antiphon (Misere Mihi)
 Psalm 4
 Psalm 30
 Psalm 90
 Psalm 133
Antiphon
Capitulum (Tu in nobis es)
Respond (In manus tuas Domine)
 Hymn (Tu lucis)
Versicle and Respond
 Canticle (Nunc Dimittis)
Antiphon (Salva Nos)
 Prayer (Visita quaesumus)
Benedicamus Domino

The Dominicans added the Salve Regina to Completorium and it became a solemn, impressive service. According to William R. Bonniwell,²⁰ many evil spirits persecuted Christians in the thirteenth century. The Church created a special group

¹⁹Ibid., p. 23.

²⁰William R. Bonniwell, O.P., A History of Dominican Liturgy, 1215-1945 (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1945), p. 149.

of priests to exorcise the spirits. When Blessed Jordan of Saxony (a province in Prussia) became the first provincial of the Province of Lombardy (in northern Italy) in 1221, he saw how many clerics suffered from evil spirits, thus, he decided to add the antiphon, Salve Regina, to Completorium. This practice spread throughout the entire Dominican Order.

Completorium began in the refectory, the dining room of a monastery, where the priests assembled and a reader said a blessing. The wine was blessed after a spiritual reading, then the friars formed a procession and silently went into the church for the rest of Completorium. The Salve Regina procession then took place. Bonniwell states:²¹

On every day of the year (except Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of Holy Week) two acolytes, wearing surplices and carrying candlesticks with lighted candles, took up their positions before the altar. At the opening note of the Salve, the entire community fell to their knees and remained kneeling until the words Salve had finished; then arising and joining in the singing, the friars left their places and formed in procession behind the two acolytes who led the way to the outer church or church of the laity. As each one passed under the large crucifix between the choir and outer church, he bowed his head and was sprinkled with holy water. The Misereatur was then recited. This was followed by saying the Ave Maria and the prayer Concede nos. Thus, the office of Compline became very important to the Dominicans and occupied a special place in their history.

The Properium Sanctorum

During the fourteenth century, the Bishops, according to canon law, had the right to introduce new feasts in

²¹Ibid., p.161.

their dioceses. Each Catholic Order had a calendar which included not only the feast days which were celebrated by most of the parish churches in Europe, but it also included feasts for special saints in each particular Roman Catholic Order. There were nearly as many calendars as there were dioceses.²² Thus, the Antiphonalia and Gradualia of the different Catholic Orders often differed in content. The Proprium de Sanctorum could contain feast days which were celebrated only by a specific Roman Catholic Order. Therefore, the Order which either copied the manuscripts or commissioned chant books to be printed, can be identified by the feast days included in the Proprium Sanctorum.

Background of Oaxacan Antiphonale and Tulane Graduale

Oaxaca, Mexico

The City of Oaxaca, the Spanish spelling of the Aztec name Huaxyacae, is the capitol of the State of Oaxaca, Mexico. It lies in a broad picturesque valley, 288 miles southeast of Mexico City and is 5085 feet above sea level. It was originally inhabited by the Mixteca and Zapoteca Indians. The Spanish arrived in Oaxaca in 1528 and established a bishopric (diocese of a bishop) in 1535.

"The limited manpower and economic resources available required that the various Orders, as they took up their

²²Ibid., p. 161.

ministries, be assigned specific geographical areas for which they had primary, if not exclusive responsibilities."²³ Dominican territory included the areas from Tehuantepec to San Salvador with Oaxaca becoming the center of the evangelistic efforts of the Dominicans. They built a cathedral in Renaissance style in Oaxaca in 1553 and the Convento of Santo Domingo a few years later. The Convento continues to be the "pride of the city and one of the archetypes of neo-Hispanic baroque art."²⁴ Although the Franciscans and Augustinians established missions in the northern part of the state of Oaxaca, the Dominicans established thirty-eight missions in Oaxaca during the sixteenth century.²⁵

San Lucas Camotlan

The Oaxacan Antiphonale and Tulane Graduale which are the basis of this document were originally used in Spanish mission churches. The Oaxacan Antiphonale was discovered in a mission which is over three-hundred years old in San Lucas Camotlan, in the district of Yautepec, Oaxaca, Mexico. The Oaxacan Antiphonale was donated to The University of Oklahoma

²³Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., "Religious Chroniclers and Historians: A Summary with Annotated Bibliography," Handbook of Middle American Indians, Vol. 13 Part II, 1973, p. 138.

²⁴New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967 ed. s.v. "Oaxaca."

²⁵Robert James Mullen, Dominican Architecture in Sixteenth Century Oaxaca (Tempe: Arizona State University Center of Latin American Studies, 1975), p. 67.

by Mr. and Mrs. Walter Miller.²⁶ Camotlan is located in a remote, mountainous area approximately sixty-five miles southeast of Mitla. The area is very remote and difficult to reach. Perhaps the remoteness of the area is one of the reasons that the Oaxacan Antiphonale was not discovered for so many years.

The mission church at San Lucas is still used for worship by the people of the parish. The building is over three-hundred years old. (Figure 3). It was built with materials that were readily accessible to the friars.

Banners and statues were used in mission churches as aids in evangelism and are still used today as symbolic representations of saints. Banners functioned in the same way as icons. They provide tangible models of worship. There is a statue, which the Indians call La Dolorosa, in the church at San Lucas. (Figure 4). According to Carmen Santos Cevallos, a native of Oaxaca, the statue in the San Lucas church differs from statues in the other churches in the area. Most of the rural churches have a statue called La Virgen de Soledad who wears a crown with points radiating from the top. La Virgen also has a large pearl on her forehead. The crown which La Dolorosa wears appears to be

²⁶Walter Miller (1910-1978) lived in Mitla, Oaxaca, Mexico, where he worked translating the New Testament into the Mixe dialect. During the time Mr. Miller and his family lived in Oaxaca, he collected native Mixtec folklore which he translated from Mixe into Spanish.

different from the one worn by other Mexican statues, such as Nuestra Senora del Roble or Nuestra Senora de Zapopan. The statue at San Lucas evidently has a special meaning to the people of the parish because it is unusual.

The Tulane Graduale

The Tulane Graduale, the second manuscript which is the basis of this document, was purchased by Tulane University from the Gates Collection in 1925. Mr. Gates purchased rare books and manuscripts all over Mexico, thus the church where the Tulane Graduale was originally used is unknown. The final folio of the Tulane Graduale contains an inscription in Zapotec²⁷ which was translated for this document by Joseph Whitecotton, Ph.D.²⁸ The translation, which appears in Appendix 4 dates the Tulane Graduale and provides the name of the scribe who wrote the manuscript. The inscription also identifies the Tulane Graduale as Dominican.

²⁷The Zapotecs were one of the middle American Indian groups who lived in southern and eastern Oaxaca.

²⁸Joseph W. Whitecotton is professor of anthropology at The University of Oklahoma. He is author of The Zapotecs: princes, priest and peasants, (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1977).

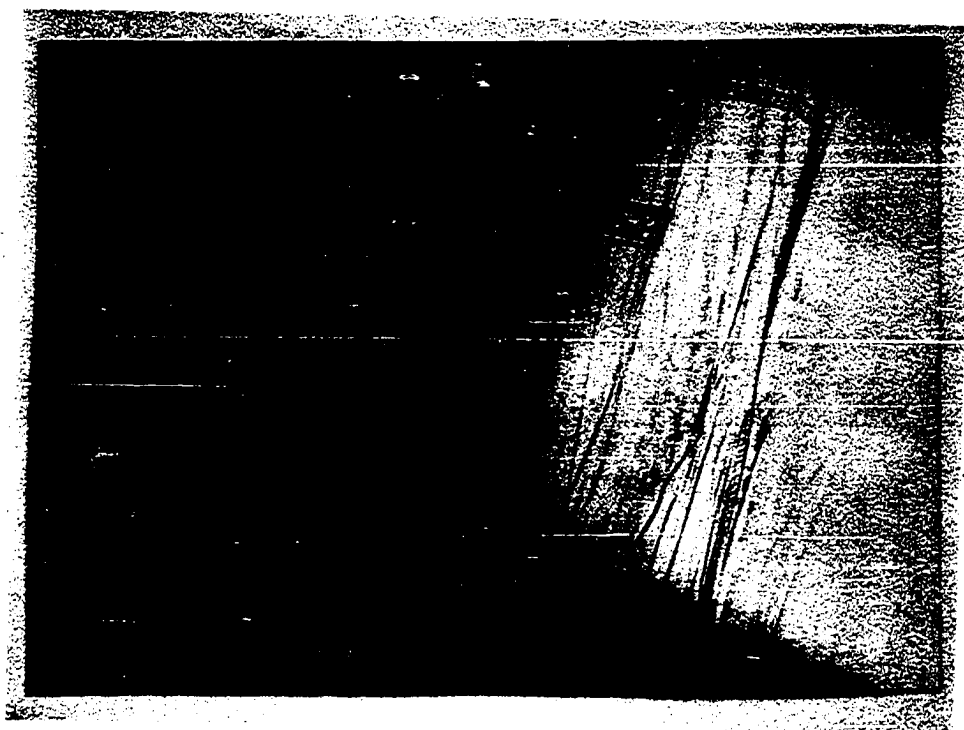


Figure 1. Folio of Oaxacan Manuscript.

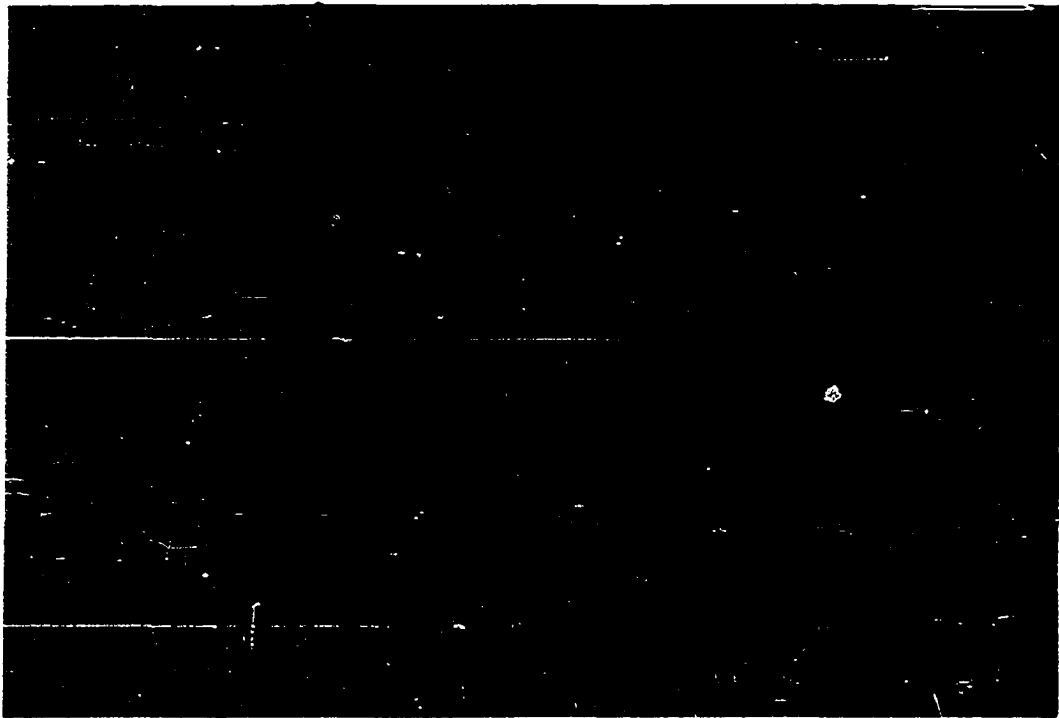


Figure 2. Folio of Tulane Graduale.



Figure 3. Mission at San Lucas Camotlan, Oaxaca, Mexico.



Figure 4. La Dolorosa.

CHAPTER II

THE OAXACAN ANTIPHONALE

The Oaxacan Antiphonale is divided into two large volumes which measure 32 x 21.5 centimeters. Each volume is bound between cyprus boards and is secured by leather strips. The text is printed in large Gothic letters. The first letters of the incipit phrases are elaborate and highly ornamented with leaves, flowers, and feathery designs.

All the music in the Oaxacan Antiphonale is notated on a five line staff, "a practice which is common in many Spanish imprints."¹ The chants are written on vellum which tends to be translucent. The paper allows the writing to bleed through since entries occur on both sides of the paper. This often makes the text difficult to read. The edges of many folia are soiled and are very worn which seems to indicate the volumes were used constantly.

The symbol (~), called a virgule, which is used throughout the Oaxacan Antiphonale, is used above a vowel.

¹Mary Elizabeth Duncan, "A Sixteenth-Century Mexican Chant Book: Pedro Ocharte's "Psalterium, An[t]iphonarum, Sanctorale cum Psalmis et Hymnis" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1975).

The virgule indicates the elision, which is the exclusion of the letters (n) or (m). This symbol is not to be confused with the tilde which has a different function. It was most commonly used over the consonance (n). The spellings used in the Latin text seem to indicate the Oaxacan Antiphonale to be a Renaissance or Medieval manuscript because the words are often spelled phonetically, a common practice in Pre-Classical Latin. For instance, the copyist of the manuscript often interchanges the final letter (t) for (d). In addition, other final letters of words are often missing and the letters (u) and (v) are often interchanged in the Oaxacan Antiphonale "which indicates Spanish influence."²

The Contents of the Oaxacan Antiphonale

Neither of the volumes of the Oaxacan Antiphonale contain a title page or a tabula. Each of these volumes contain many badly damaged folia, the lower portions of which are worn at the point where the cantor turned the pages.

The first volume begins with the antiphons and responses for Officium de Tempore, Dominica I Adventus and ends with Dominica iii [sic] septembre. The first complete antiphon is Ecce nomen domini venit which is intended to be sung on the first Sunday of Advent. The last antiphon in Volume I, Ingressus Paphael Angelus, is incomplete.

²Henry Bradley, interview held during Summer Institute of Linguistics, Norman, Oklahoma, June 1981.

The only numbered folia in Volume I are 151, 165, and 303. Folio 151 is found in the forty-first position and Folio 165 is in the fifty-fifth position. The sequence of folia is incomplete. Folia 303 is misnumbered since it falls in the three-hundred tenth position.

The second volume of the Oaxacan Antiphonale contains the antiphons, responses, versicles, and psalms for thirty-four of the feast days which are usually included in the Proprium Sanctorum. The volume begins with the final section of the Festo St. Nicolai. The first section of the feast is missing. The Proprium Sanctorum ends with the Festo Sancti Catharine Virginis et Martyris.³ This volume also contains the chants for Communi Unius vel Plurium Apostolorum, Communi Unius Martyris, In Coi Plurium Martyris, and In Communi Unius Virginis.

The second volume of the Oaxacan Antiphonale is divided into two main sections which are separated by a large drawing of a cross with the inscription "INRI" (Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum). The section following the drawing of the cross contains the incipit of the chants of psalms used for the Office of the Dead, Office Hours, one hymn (Iam lucis orto sidere), the Canticle of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Athanasian Creed.

³No attempt has been made to correct misspelled words.

The first numbered folio in Volume II of the Oaxacan Antiphonale has the number twenty-four. The first twenty-three folia are missing. The folia following the drawing of a cross are numbered to indicate a new section in the manuscript. The first folio in this section, which is the Psalterium, is numbered one.

In most manuscripts written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the verso (left-hand page of a book or piece of music) was not numbered; only the right-hand page was numbered. Only three folia are numbered in the first volume of the Oaxacan Antiphonale. The first two folia which are numbered, 151 and 165, are numbered on the front of the leaf. The reverse of the leaf is not numbered at all. The third folio which is numbered, 303, is numbered on the verso side of the leaf. The leaves in the second volume are numbered on both sides of the leaves. The question therefore constituting the status of page numbering is whether it was done by the scribe who wrote the manuscript or whether the leaves were numbered in a later era by another scribe.

Liturgical Index

A table of contents has been added to indicate the divisions of the Liturgical Year in the Oaxacan Antiphonale. (Table 1). In addition, the pagination used in Volume I of the manuscript, is added by the author of this document, using Folio 151 as the basis.

TABLE 1
LITURGICAL INDEX
OAXACAN ANTIPHONALE

Volume I	Folio
Dominica I adventus	113
Dominica II secunda: adventus	117
Dominica II adventus	122
Dominica III adventus	129
Dominica IV adventus	133
Nativitate: Domini ad vespervas	151
Epiphantie	165
Infra octavna ad vespervas	173
Dominica ad vespervas	175
In circumsione Domini ad vespervas	176
In ephiphania domin ad vespervas	189

Volume I	Folio
Ad memoriam Dominica ad vespervas	200
In octava epiphantie	201
Ad vespervas epiphania antiphona	202
Dominica ii post octava ephiphanii	212
Dominica iii	213
Dominica iiii	214
Dominica in septuagesima sabbato precedentia vespervas	216
Dominica in sexagesima sabbato precedd' ad vespervas	227
Dominica in quinquagesima sabbato precedenti ad ves.	235
Dominica ii quadagesima sabbato precedeni ad ves.	244
Dominica ii quadragesima sabbato precedentia ad ves.	263
Dominica iii quadragesima sabbato precedenn' ad ves.	279
Dominica iiii in quadragesima sabbato precedenn' ad ves.	294
Dominica in passione sabbato precedenti ad vespervas	310
Dominica in ramis palmarum sabbato precedenti ad ves.	323
Sabbato sancto ad vespervas	336
Ad completorum antiphona	339
Ad dominica in octava pascha sabbato preden'	342

Volume I	Folio
Poste aflat memore cruce	344
Ad memoria de cruce	346
Dominica in post octava pascha sabbato precedenti ad	352
Dominica ii post octava pascha	354
Ad dominica iii post octava pasche sabbato predenti	356
Dominica iiii post octava pasche sabbato	361
In virgili ascensionis ad vespervas	363
In festo pentecostes virginis ad vespervas	380
In festo sancti trinitatis ad vespervas	382
In festo corpus christi ad prima ves.	401
Dominica trinitatis sabbato preceden ad vespervas	411
Dominica ii post trinitas	415
Dominica iii post octatrinitatis	416
Dominica prima augujtus	417
Dominica i septimbris recedenti ad vespervas	421
Dominica septiembere sabbato precedenti ad vespervas	427

Volume II	Folio
S. Nicolai Episc. et Conf.	24
In festo sancte lucie virginis: et martiris	25
In festo sancti jomnis apostoli evangelista	41
In festo sancti acrientis virginis et martir	50
In festo sancti vincenti martiris	56
In conversione sancti pauli apostoli ad vespervas	72
In purificatione: beate marie ad vespervas	86
In festo sancte agatha: virginis et martieis	101
In festo sancti cathedra petri	110
In festo sancti anogeli custolis ad vespervas	112
In festo sancti thome io aquino	125
In anutiatione dominica	136
In festo sancti vincentij confessoris ad vespervas	151
Communi Unius Apostoli sen plurimorium unius Evanbelista in Paschali tempore	165
In sanctorum philippe et jacobe apostoloru	191
In festo sancti antonini confesscris ad vespervas	199
Inventione sancte crucis ad vespervas	211

Volume II	Folio
In festo sancte catharine de senis ad ṽs	221
In festo corone domine ad vesp̄as	236
In virgilia sancti juannis baptista	250
In vigilia apostolorom petri et apuli ad vesp̄as	262
In festo visitationis yn nativitate beate maria jn conceptione beate maria: yn Rosario ad vesp̄as	275
In festo beate maria magdalena ad vesp̄as	290
Sancti jacob̄e apostoli ad vesp̄as	303
In festo sancti petri ad vincula	308
In festo Beati Dominic patris nostri ad vesp̄as	313
In trāsfigurationes Domini ad vesp̄as	325
In festo sancte laurentij matyris ad vesp̄as	335
In vigilia assūptionis beate maria virginis ad ves.	345
In festo beati augustin ad vsperas	360
In festo bete maria yn Rosario ad vesp̄as	375
In exaltatione sancta crucis: ad vesp̄as	378
In festo sancti michaelis archangeli ad vesp̄as	388

Volume II	Folio
In festo juitate omium sanctorum	399
In festo sancti martini episcopi confessor ad vespervas	414
In festo sanct catharine virginis et martyris	428
In communi unius vel plurimor Apostolorum ad vespervas	442
In communi Unius Evangelistae	453
In communi unius martiris ad vespervas	461
In coi plurimorum martirum: ad vespervas	469
In Communi Unius Confessoris	476
In Communi Unius Virginis	486

Psalterium	Folio
Ad Completorium	1
Oficium Defunctorum Vespervas	19
Oficium Defunctorum Primo Nocturno a Lauds	41
Ad prima himis B. maria	59
Ad Primam	65

Psalterium	Folio
Ad Tertiam	71
Ad Nonam	98
Dominica ad vespervas	108
Feria secunda vespervas	127
Tertia in vespervis	140
Feria quarta in vespervis	150
Feria quinta in vespervas	162
Feria sexta in vespervis	167
Sabbato ad vespervas	204

Chants Not Included in Oaxacan Antiphonale

The chants which traditionally follow the last chant of Volume I of the Oaxacan Antiphonale and should precede the chants of the Proprium Sanctorum in Volume II should be the chants for Sabbato Ante Dominica I Octobris through the chants for Sabbato Ante Dominica V Novembris. The chants for Dominica II Post Octave Trinitatis Usque ad Adventum through Dominica XXII et Ultima Post Octava Trinitatis, as well as the chants for all the Festa Mobilia⁴ traditionally precede the chants contained in Volume II of the Oaxacan Antiphonale. None of the chants for the feasts mentioned above are included in the Oaxacan Antiphonale.

The Calligraphy

The Oaxacan Antiphonale is written in red and black ink. Most of the rubrics are written in red ink. The lines of the staff are inscribed in red ink, while the musical notation is in black ink; however, in one section of Volume II both the calligraphy and the musical staff and notation are written in black ink.

⁴Festa Mobilia are movable feasts. The Church calendar is determined by the luni-solar cycle. As the result, there are some feasts that occur earlier or later in the calendar. The dates of these feasts are set by their place in regard to the feast of Easter. The feast of Easter is always the first Sunday following the first full moon after the vernal equinox which is March 21. The movable feasts which are established in the Church year in relation to the date of Easter are: Ascension Day, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, and the feast of Corpus Christi. (The Catholic Encyclopedia, Thomas Nelson Publishers.)

The calligraphy used in the two volumes varies. It appears that three copyists were involved. The first volume appears to be completely in one hand, while Volume II was done by the other two scribes. In addition, there is one isolated spot in Volume II, on folio 440, where the notation is in black. At this point it appears to have been written by another copyist. One scribe wrote the entire section, folia 24 to 440 and from folio 459 to the end. Scribe number two provided a smaller effort by only writing the section from 440 to 459.⁵

There are misspelled and crossed-out words on folia 445, 454, and 455 in Volume II. The correct spelling has been written above the misspelled Latin words in another, more ornate style. The corrections appear to have been written at a significantly later time because the ink has not faded as has the original ink. On folio 461, the staff lines are again written in red. The style of writing again changes and resembles the calligraphy of the first section in Volume II.

Spanish Influences

Many Latin spellings of words in the Oaxacan Antiphonale seem to indicate that the copyists who wrote the manuscript were more familiar with Spanish than they were Latin.

⁵A comparison of the calligraphy in the Oaxacan Antiphonale and the Tulane Graduale was done by Pat Tull, a certified graphologist in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Her complete report appears in Appendix I.

There are many phrases or words that use both Latin and Spanish characteristics. The following are typical examples.

<u>hierusalem</u> (Jerusalem)	Vol. I	<u>Folio</u> 156
<u>omo</u> (homo)	Vol. I	<u>Folio</u> 184
<u>himber</u> (imber)	Vol. II	<u>Folio</u> 293
<u>Sancti Juannis Baptista</u>	Vol. II	<u>Folio</u> 250
<u>charita</u> (carita)	Vol. II	<u>Folio</u> 423
<u>Chaterine</u> (catharinae)	Vol. II	<u>Folio</u> 435

Notation

The musical notation employed throughout the Oaxacan Antiphonale uses neumes, a system of notation devised during the time of Pope Gregory I (590-604). Neumes primarily have melodic significance and do not indicate duration of sound.⁶

Most of the neumes used in the Oaxacan Antiphonale are punctum (■), but some climacus (■◆◆), virga (▼), praetripunctis (■◆◆◆), and a few scandicus flexa resupina (■◆◆◆) are also used. There are no liquescent neumes in the manuscript because most of the chants are antiphons. Li-quescent neumes are employed as an aid in pronunciation of words that contain two successive consonants or vowels and are usually in an alleluia or hosanna.⁷

⁶Willi Apel, Gregorian Chant, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), p. 99.

⁷Ibid., p. 7.

Illustrations

The text of the Oaxacan Antiphonale is written using Gothic letters in red and black ink. The first letter of many of the words in the incipit phrases of the antiphons is usually either highly ornamented or elaborately enhanced by drawings of flowers or leaves. The Oaxacan Antiphonale contains only two such drawings, one at the beginning of the antiphon, Rex pacificus magnificatus, which is sung at Christmas vespers. This antiphon is located on folio 151, the first numbered leaf in the manuscript. (Figure 5).

The second illustration is found at the beginning of the antiphon, Tecum principium, which is marked as the second vespers of Christmas. The folio where this antiphon is located is the second numbered folio in the first volume (165). (Figure 6).

The design used in both of these illustrations features birds' heads. The feathers of the birds form the first letter of the incipit phrase. The colors, black and red, are used to enhance the illustrations. The first illustration is framed with designs of crosses and leaves. The second illustration is framed in the same way, but in less elaborate style.

Donald Robertson's treatise concerning manuscript painting of the Mexican colonial period states:⁸

⁸Donald Robertson, Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period: Yale Historical Publication, History of Art 12, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 17.

Color is an important factor in the style of Mixtec manuscripts. Areas of color may be enlivened with patterns of black or large splotches of another tone of the same color, for instance, splotches of dark red on a light red area. Areas of white are achieved by omitting the color in some areas and allowing the white of the page to read as a color within frame lines. The underbelly and lower edges of animals are drawn so that they show a line of hair in a pattern ...

During July, 1982, Dr. Robertson, who assisted the author of this document in the study of the illustrations in the Oaxacan Antiphonale, made the following comments:⁹

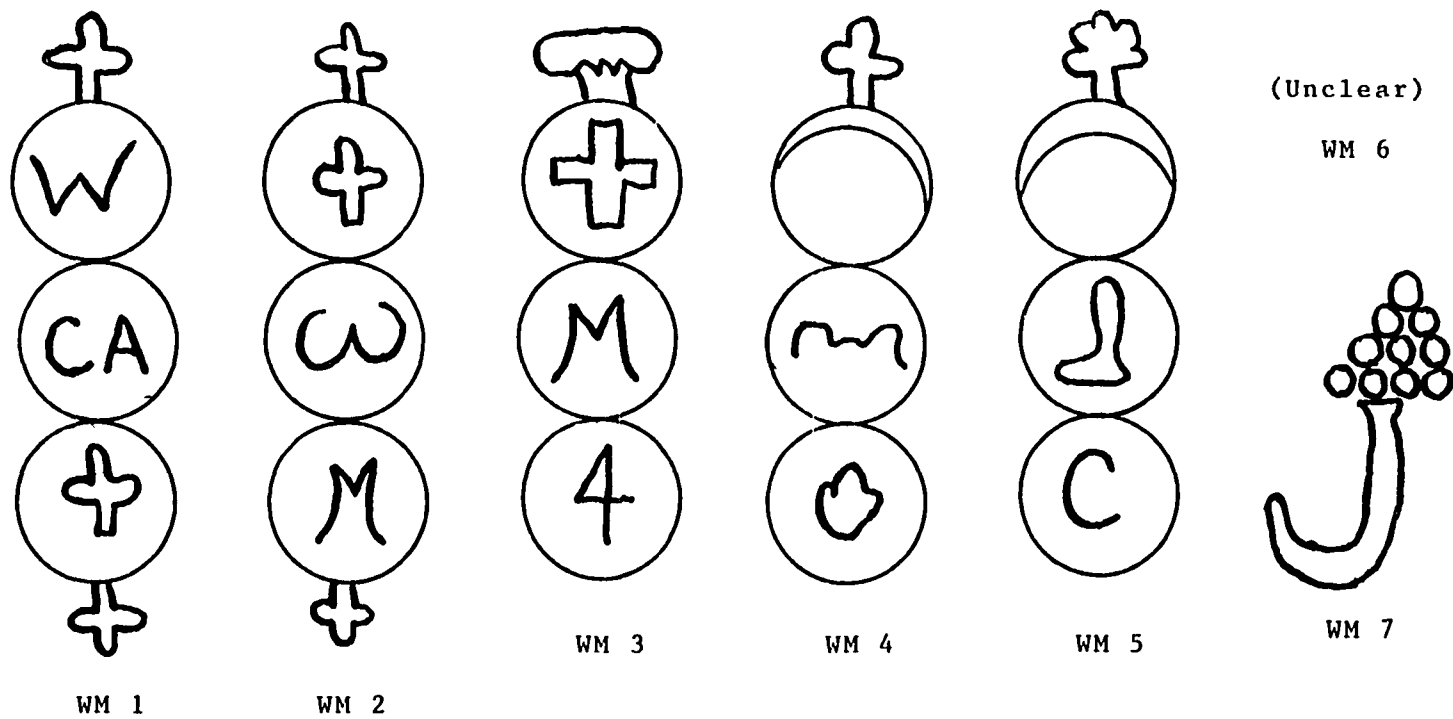
The drawings are not woodcuts; they are merely decorative, not fundamentally symbolic. The first illustration shows a bird with background and frame typical of woodcuts of the sixteenth century and even later. The second drawing is more complex and seems to show one if not two heads. Note what seems to be claws for a creature. The body has feathers which seem to blend into acanthus leaf forms which are typical Renaissance-Classical forms.

Paper and Watermarks

There are at least seven different watermarks, which are fairly easy to see, in the paper used in the Oaxacan Antiphonale. Most of the watermarks are comprised of three circles which are the size of a present-day nickel. They are placed adjacent to each other in a row. (Table 2). Numbering of the watermarks is based on their appearance in the Oaxacan Antiphonale.

⁹Dr. Donald Robertson examined copies of the illustrations which appear in the Oaxacan Antiphonale. His comments were included in a letter to the author of this document.

TABLE 2
WATERMARKS
 Oaxacan Antiphonale



The making of paper is an ancient craft which was begun by the Chinese as early as 123 B.C.¹⁰ The sheets of paper were made from disintegrated fiber formed by craftsmen pouring the fiber into molds.

The mold was the most important tool used in the art of handmade paper.¹¹ The first molds were simply a rectangular box without a top in which bamboo strips were placed close enough to form a floor. The bamboo strips were laced close together so the strips would hold the pulp, but with enough space left between the strips so the water would drain off after the mold was dipped in vats which contained a mixture of pulp and water. The strips of wood left impressions called "laid-lines" on the paper. Impressions left by the lacing materials were called "chain-lines."¹²

During the thirteenth century in Europe, designs made of wire were placed on top of laid and chain covers. When pulp was poured into molds, the metal designs left impressions called watermarks on the paper. After the fifteenth century, most European paper contained a watermark which was usually located in the center of the sheet. When the sheet was cut into quartos (fourths) or octaves (eighths), the

¹⁰Dard Hunter, Paper Making Through Eighteen Centuries, Burt Franklin Research and Source Work Series, no. 735, (New York: Burt Franklin Publications, 1930), p. 109.

¹¹Ibid., p. 185.

¹²Ibid., p. 187.

outer portions of the sheet did not have a watermark because the watermark was impressed in the center of the paper. Not every folia in a book or manuscript contains a watermark because of the way the sheets are cut.

Watermarks are comprised of many designs such as circles, crosses, crowns, numbers, letters, reptiles, birds, and mammals. Because few of the early craftsmen who made paper were literate, the symbols employed as watermarks were a source of delight to the artisans. Watermarks are often symbolic and mystical. The Trinity is characterized by three circles placed one above the other, while the Kingdom of Heaven is represented by a crescent placed inside one of the circles.¹³

Circles are among the oldest watermarks. They began to appear on paper made in Italy during the fourteenth century.¹⁴ They often appear in a single line, as tangents, or in pyramid form. In the sixteenth century, three circles reappear in a single line. Some found on paper used in this century are fairly easy to see, but some examples contain circles which overlap and form moon crescents that are shadowed. There are even some which contain three crescents.

¹³Harold Bayley, The Lost Language of Symbolism Vol. I, (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1912), p.29.

¹⁴C. M. Briquet, Les Filigranes Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier des leur Apparation vers 1282 Jusqu'en 1600. Ed. Allan Stevenson, (Amsterdam: The Paper Publication Society, Labarre Foundation, 1968), MCMLXVII, p. 3236.

Some of the circles contain a letter of the alphabet which represents the name of the papermaker.¹⁵

The first watermark to appear, (WM 1), in the Oaxacan Anitphonale, illustrated in Table 2 is located in Volume I on folio 112, which is the first folio in the manuscript. The design of the watermark is comprised of three circles. The second watermark, (WM 2), is also in Volume I, folia 118 and 242. It is also comprised of three circles and closely resembles WM 1. When the paper used for folio 112 is turned upside down, the letter "w" becomes the letter "m" and WM 1 and WM 2 become nearly identical. Watermark number three, (WM 3), is found on the second folio of Volume II. Paper with this watermark was used from the second folio of Volume II through folio 284. It differs from the watermarks in Volume I. The lower circle in watermark three contains the number "4" which is used to signify the Trinity. The fourth watermark, (WM 4), which is on folia 284 and 294 in Volume II, is difficult to see. It is partially hidden by the notation, thus the view of it is not clear. Three circles are visible; however, the symbols within the circles are shadowed. The fifth watermark, (WM 5), is also comprised of three circles, as were the previous four watermarks. It is located in the first section of the Psalterium following the

¹⁵Allan Stevenson, Observations on Paper as Evidence, (Lawrence: The University of Kansas Libraries, 1961), p. 24.

drawing of the cross which divides Volume II from the Psalterium.

The sixth watermark, (WM 6), is located in the antiphon, Solemnitas gloriosae virginis, on an unnumbered folio. This watermark is a series of alphabetical letters arranged horizontally across the page. The letters are obscured by the text of the antiphon. Even though the letters are difficult to read, the laid-lines in the paper are clearly visible. The letters may indicate the name of the papermaker.

There are four classes of grape watermarks in the following styles:

1. Large stemmed grapes
2. Fine stemmed grapes
3. Grapes with vines and leaves
4. Small, round grapes arranged in a cluster.

The seventh watermark, (WM 7), appears on several unnumbered folia which follow the antiphon for the Virgin Mary. These folia which contain no musical notation, contain only the text. WM 7, which is the last watermark to appear in the Oaxacan Antiphonale, is called bord de la feuille. It illustrates a cluster of grapes on a stem. This design was first used as a watermark in Cluny, France, in 1524. Examples of the bord de la feuille, are located in the archives at Saone-et-Loire, France. WM 7 belongs to the fourth classification of grape watermarks.

The study of the watermarks leads to the conclusion that there is a predominance of circles in a straight line. This is a significant aid in the dating of the Oaxacan Antiphonale to a time in the sixteenth century or later.

The Letter in the Binding

There are fragments of a letter written in Spanish sewed into the spine of Volume II of the Oaxacan Antiphonale beginning on folio 127. The letter is written in a spidery script and is difficult to read and translate. Only a portion of the letter was used in the binding. The letter refers to a military engagement. It is dated 1809. A translation of the letter is as follows:

... when I have just received an official letter from the Subdelegate of (not legible) dated the 31st of last October, whose content is ... (not legible) Governor Yucris of the Province...Antonio...on 20th of last October, the following month...the Commander of the... battalion of these Military Provinces...don Manuel de Soto...tells me that this date...Finding myself with highest order...the battalion of my command...replace over the weapons...was considerable of...senior members ...past two the...that arrived...all and to all...in... present...of this floor...that position for... to the Royal Service...proceed to...asks the above-mentioned chief...is of the reception of...at the end conducive... great day...October, 1809...Antonio of the... .

Paper was very expensive, thus it was saved and recycled whenever possible. Evidently, the Oaxacan Antiphonale was rebound in the early part of the nineteenth century and the letter was used to reinforce it. This indicates that the Oaxacan Antiphonale was written before the nineteenth century. The watermarks and calligraphy seem to indicate that the

Oaxacan Antiphonale is either a late sixteenth century or early seventeenth century manuscript. Father Ernest J. Burrus¹⁶ made the following observation concerning the manuscript. "Both the main texts and the rubrics seem to evidence a late sixteenth-century hand; the added lines would seem to indicate a slightly later hand."

Sequence of the Oaxacan Antiphonale

It appears the manuscript was rebound after 1809, perhaps those who rebound it did so in an illogical sequence. Were it logically arranged in a traditional format, the section which follows the drawing of the cross would actually precede the first part of Volume I since the Psalterium normally precedes the Officium De Tempore. The drawing of the cross also appears to indicate the beginning of a volume, not merely a division within a book of chants.

The variety of watermarks that appear in the paper used for the Oaxacan Antiphonale appear to indicate that the manuscript was written during different periods of time. When the calligraphy changes, the watermarks on the paper are often different. It appears that when the Oaxacan Antiphonale was rebound after the early part of the nineteenth century, several sections were added to the Psalterium.

¹⁶Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., personal correspondence with the author of this document, August 1981.

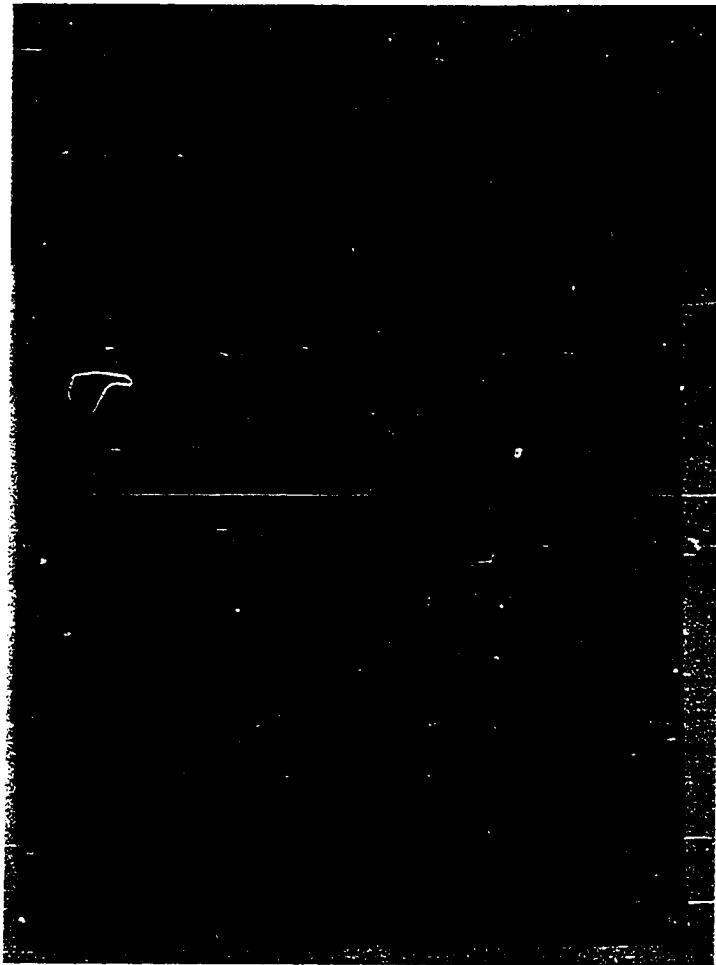


Figure 5 . Drawing on Folio 151. Vol. I. Antiphonale.

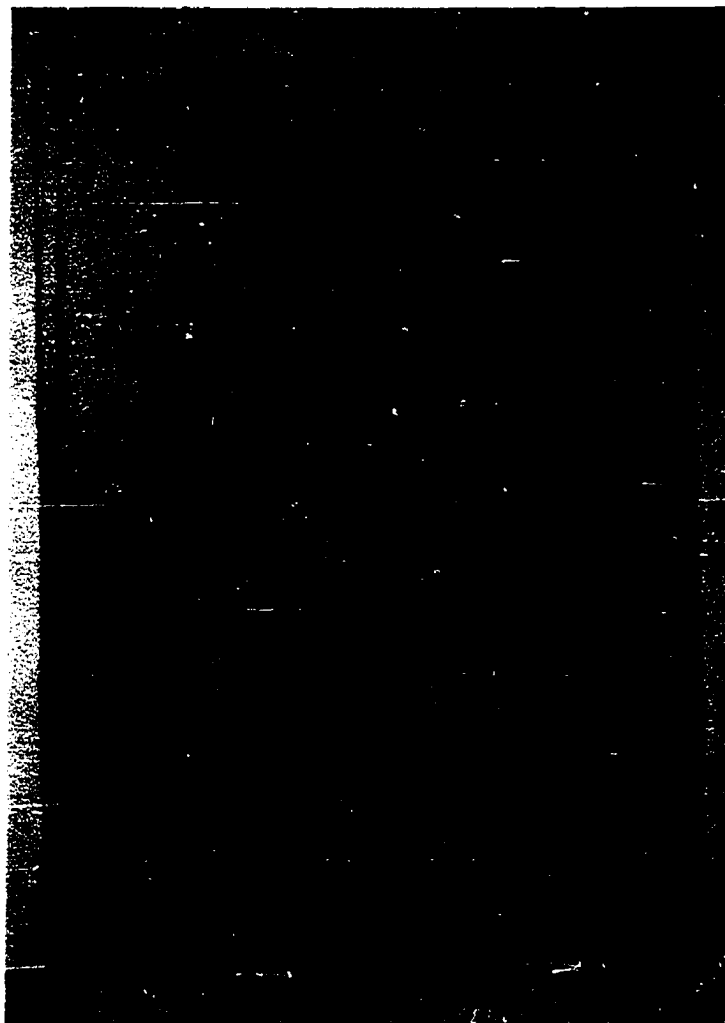


Figure 6. Drawing on Folio 165. Vol. I. Antiphonale.

CHAPTER III

THE CONTENTS OF THE OAXACAN ANTIPHONALE

The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the contents of both Volumes I and II of the Oaxacan Antiphonale. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section consists of a list of the Feast Days and the chants included in each feast. Feasts are the sequence of festivals to commemorate an event of religious importance or saints' days within the liturgical or church calendar. This information is the substance of Table 3. The table begins with the first feast in the Oaxacan Antiphonale and ends with a listing of the contents of the Psalterium. The folio number of each feast and chant, which is official music used in the liturgy, is included in the chant.

The second section of Chapter III consists of a list of the chants included in the manuscript. (Table 4). The chants have been categorized according to their function, i.e., antiphon, response, versicle, and psalm. Each chant is listed alphabetically according to the incipit phrase which is the first line of the text. The chants are divided into homogeneous groups for the purpose of clarification. The folio number of each chant is included in the table.

TABLE 3
TABLE OF CONTENTS
 OAXACAN ANTIPHONALE

Feast Day	Chant	Folia
VOLUME I		
<u>Sabbato Ante Dom. I Adventus</u>		
	Ecce nome domini venit	113
	Jucumdare Filia sion	115
	Netimeas maria iveuisti	116
	Ecce dominus veni	117
	Ecce dominus cum virtute	119
	Ecce dominus infortitudine veni	120
	Veni domine visitare	121
<u>Dominica II Adventus</u>		
	Ecce in nubibus	122
	Urbs fortitudinis nostre	123
	Qui venturus est veni	124

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
	Ante me nō est formatus	128
	Veniet dominus et nō tardabit	129
	Ierusalem gaude gaudio	130
	O sapientia que exore	131
	Non auferetur sceptrum de Iuda	133
	Canite tuba in sion	137
	Ecce veniet desideratus	139
	O adonai e dux domus israel	140
	O radix iesse qui stas	142
	O clavis david et sceptru	144
	O oriens splendor lucis	146
	O rex gentium et desiratus	147
	O emanuel rex et legifer	149
<u>Nativitate Domini</u>		
	Rex pacificus magnificatus	151
	Magnificatus est rex pacificus	152

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
	Scitote quia prope est	153
	Levate capita vestra ecce	154
	Completi sũt dies marie	155
	Jodea et hierusalem nolite	156
	Cum ortus fueru sol celo	159
	Quem vidistis pastores	161
	Genuit puerpera regem	163
<u>Epiphanie</u>		
	Tecum principiũ in die virtutis	165
	Redemptionam misit dominus	167
	Exortu est in tenebris lume	168
	Apud dominus misericordia	169
	De fructũ ventris tui	170
	Hodie christus natus est	171
<u>Octave of Ephiphany</u>		
	Gaudeamus omnes fidelis	173
	Erat jophet maria mater iesu	175

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
<u>In circumsione Domini</u>		
	Verbu caro facto est est	176
	Qui te terra est de terra	180
	O admirabile comercium	183
	Quado natus est ineffabiliter	185
	Magnu hereditatis misterium	187
<u>In ephiphani domine ad ves.</u>		
	In conlumbe specie spiritus	189
	Magi videntes stellam	192
	Ante luciferum genitus	194
	Ab oriente venerut magi	196
<u>Ad vespervas capito die</u>		
	Videtes stellam magi	198
<u>Ad memoriam</u>		200
	Puer jesus proficiebat	200
<u>In octave Epiphanie</u>		
	Baptizat milles regem servus	201
	Fumtes aquarum sancti	202

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
<u>Dominica post octava epiphaniæ sabbato precedentia ad ves.</u>		
	Deus qui sedes super thronu	204
	Pecca mea domini sicut	208
	Deficiente vino jussit jesus	211
<u>Dominica ii post octave epiphaniæ</u>		
	Domine si vis potes me	212
<u>Dominica iii</u>		
	Domine salva nos peramus imperi	213
<u>Dominica iiij</u>		
	Colligite primu zizania	214
<u>Dominica in septuagesima</u>		
	Ingitur perfecti sut celi	216
	Dixit pater familias operiris	221
	Cōvētione autem facta com	223
	Ite et vos in vineam meam	225
	Erūt primi novissimi et	

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
<u>Dominica in sexagesima</u>		
	Benedicens ergo deus	227
	Sem̃e cecidet in terrā	231
	Sem̃e cecidit in terram	232
	Quod autum cecidit in terā	233
<u>Dominica in quinquagesims</u>		
	Dum staret abraham ad illicem	235
	Inter faciente Jesu du	239
	Transente domino clamabat	240
	Thesaurizate vobis thesauros	241
	Domine non sum digus	242
	Tu autum cum oraveris	243
<u>Dominica in quadragesima</u>		
	Em̃edemus in melius que	244
	Ecce nunc tēpus acceptabile	249
	Iesus autē cum jejunasset	251
	Non in solo pane vivit homo	253

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
	Reliquit eum tētator et	254
	Vivo e---dicit	254
	Ad venerūt nobis dies	256
	Quod uni ex minimis me	257
	Scriptum est enim quia domus	258
	O mulier magna est fides	259
	Sicut juit jonas in vêtre	260
	Qui me fanum fecit ille	261
<u>Dominica ii quadragesima sabbato precedentia ad ves.</u>		
	Detti deus de rore celi	263
	Domine bona est nos hic esse	266
	Accedentes discipulium	267
	Non sum missus nifi adoves	269
	Dexit dominum mulieri	270
	Domine bonum est nos hic esse	273
	Qui me misit mecum est	274
	Qui major est vestrum erit	275

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
	Sedere autem mecum nō est	276
	Fili recordare quia recepisti	277
	Querentes eum tenere	278
<u>Dominica iiii in quadragesima</u>		
	Loquens joseph fratribus suis	279
	Dixit autem patre ad servos	284
	Si in digito dei eicio	285
	Dū fortis armatus custodit	286
	Extollens queda mulier vocem	287
	Iesus autem trafiens per	289
	Ubi duo vel tres cugregati	290
	Non lotis manibus māducare	291
	Omnes qui habebant infirmos	292
	Veri adoratores adorabunt	293
<u>Dominica iiii in quadragesima</u>		
	Audi israel precepta domini	294
	Observa jgitur et audi	296

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
	Nemo te cōtenavit mulier	298
	Accepit ergo Jesus panes	299
	De quinque panibus et	300
	Cum sublevasset oculos	301
	Solvete templum hoc dicit	304
	Unum opus feci et omnes	305
	Ille homo qui dicitur jesus	306
	Propheta magnus surrexit	308
	Domine se juisses hic	309
<u>Dominica in passione</u>		
	Multiplicati sunt qui	310
	Ego sum quit testimonium	313
	Ego demonium nō habeo	314
	Ego gloriam mean quero	315
	Tulerūt lapides judei	316
	Si quis sitit veniat ad me	317
	Vos ascendite ad diem	318

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
	Multa bona opera operatus	319
	Mittens hec mulier in corpus	320
	Principes sacerdotum consillum	321
<u>Dominica in ramis palmarum</u>		
	Circũdederũt me virimendaces	323
	Clarifica me pater apud	326
	Ossana filio davit benedictus	327
	Pueri hebreorum vestimeta	328
	Ceperũp ōnes turbe descēdentium	329
	Popestatem hābeo ponēdi	332
	Quotidie apud vos eram	332
	Tanto tempore vobiscum eram	334
	Christus factus est pro nobis	335
	Alleluya alleluya	337
	Alleluya	339
<u>Vespere autem sabbattique</u>		
	Angelus autem domini descendit	339

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
	Et respicientes viderunt	340
	Cum sasset sero die illa	342
<u>Poste a fiat memori cruce</u>		
	Cruce sancta subiit qui	344
	Crucifixus surrexit a mortuis	346
	Alleluia alleluia	347
	Quia vidisti me thoma	348
	Hec autem scripta sũt ut	349
	Cognoverũt dominu alleluya	350
	Pax vobis ego sum alleluia	351
<u>Dominica in post octava pascha</u>		
	Ego sum pastor ovim ego sum	352
<u>Dominica ii post octava pascha</u>		
	Iteru autem vitebo bos et	354
	Tristitia implevit cor	355
<u>Dominica iii post octava pascha</u>		
	Viderũt te aque deus viderũt	356
	Illuxerũt sũt	358

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
	Ego veritate dico vobis	359
<u>Dominica iiii in post octava pasche sabbato</u>		
	Ille me clarificabit quia	361
	Petite et accipietis ut	362
<u>In vigili ascensionis ad vespas</u>		
	Ascēdēs christus in altum	363
	Omnis pulchritudo domine	365
	Pater manifestavi nome tuum	369
	Veri galilei quod aspecites	370
	Cumque intuerentur in celum	371
	O rex glorie domine	372
	Rogabo patre meum et allum	374
	Eūtes in mūdū universum	375
	Cūm venerit paradetus quem	378
	Hec locutus sum vobis cum	379
<u>In festo pentecostes virginis ad vespas</u>		
	Veni sancte spiritus repletoorum	380
	Repletisūt omnes spiritu sancto	382

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
	Loquebātur variis s̃linguis apostoli	384
	Non vos reliqua orphanos	386
	Dum cōplerentur dies	387
	Spiritus domini replevit	388
	Hodie cōpleti sunt dies	389
<u>In festo sancte trinitatis ad vesp̃eras</u>		
	O beata et benedicta et	392
	Honor virtus et potesta	393
	Trinitati lux perenis	395
	Gratias tibi deus gratias	397
	Laus et perennis gloria deo	398
	Te deum patre ingenitum	399
<u>In festo corpus christi</u>		
	Sacerdos in eternu christus	401
	Homo quida fecit cenam	403
	Vennite comedite	404
	O quam suavis est domine	406
	Sapientia edificavit sibi	409

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
<u>Dominica trinitans sabbato</u>		
	Dominus qui eripuit me de ore	411
	Misit deus miseri cordiam	413
	Loquere domine quia audit	414
<u>Dominica ii post trinitas</u>		
	Cognoverũt omnes a dan	415
<u>Dominica iii post octa trinitans</u>		
	Prevaluit davit in philistheum	416
<u>Dominica prima auguytus ad vespas</u>		
	Gyrum celi circuivi	417
	Ego in altisimis habito	419
	Omni sapientia a domino deo	420
<u>Dominica i septiembris sabbato precedentia ves.</u>		
	Ante qua comedam suspiro	421
	Ecce nũ est auxilium mihi	424
	Cũ audisset job nũtioru	425
<u>Dominica septiembre sabbato precedenti ad ves.</u>		
	Omni tenpore benedic deum	428
	Inquire ut facias	429

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
Oaxacan Antiphonale Volume II		
<u>S. Nicolii Episc. et conf. (Incomplete)</u>		
	O christi pietas omni	24
<u>In festo sancte lucie virginis: et martiris</u>		
	Veniente sp̃so prudes virgo	25
	Rogavi dominum menum jesum	26
	In tua patienti apossedisti	30
	Orante sancta lucia aparuit	32
	Lucia virgo quid a me petis	33
	Tanto p̃tere fixit ean	34
	O thoma dydime qui	35
	Hec est virgo sapiēs et	37
<u>In festo sancti jomnis apostoli</u>		
	Valde homuradus et beatus	41
	Hic est discipolus ille qui	42
	Hic est discipolus meus sic	43
	In medio Eccledie aperuit	44
	Ambulabunt mecu in albis	45

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
	Ambulabunt mecu in albis	45
	Herodes iratus occidit	46
	Abimatu et infra occidit	47
	Innocētes pro christo infantes	48
<u>In festo sancti acnetis virginis et martir</u>		
	Beata agnes in medio	50
	Ingressa agnes turpitudinis	53
	Mecum enim habeo costudes	54
	Ecce quod cōcupivi jam	55
<u>In festo sancti vicentii martiris</u>		
	Iste est que prolege dei	56
	Cristi miles precio	58
	Sacram presentis diei	64
	Assumptus ex equuelo levita	67
	Intrepidus ita que candetis	68
	Beatus vincētius applicatus	70

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
<u>In conversione sancti: pauli apostoli</u>		
	Sancte paule apostole	72
	Magnus sanctus paulus vas	73
	Elegit domini virũ de plebe	77
	Saulus qui et paulus magnus	80
	Saule frater dominus	81
	Cum autem cõplacuit	83
<u>In purificatione: beata marie ad vespas</u>		
	O admirabile cõmetium creator	86
	Gaude maria virgo cũctas	89
	Cum inducerẽt puerum	95
	Simeon justus et timoratus	97
	Responsum accepit Simeõ	98
	Hodie beata virgo maria puerum	99
<u>In festo sancte agatha: virginis et martiris</u>		
	Veniente spõso prudẽs	101
	Beata agatha ingressa	102

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
	Agatha virgo sacra nobila	108
	Quis es tu qui venisti	109
<u>Sancti cathedra petri</u>		
	Tu es petrus ovium	110
<u>In festo sancti anogeli custodis</u>		
	In cuspectu gētium nolite	112
	De duc nos angel custos	115
	Circūdānos scuto vetitatis	118
	Omnes sunt administratori	120
	Angelis suis deus mādavit	121
	Laudemus dominum quem laudant	122
	Sancti angeli custodes	123
<u>In festo sancti thome io aquino</u>		
	Felix thomas toctor	123
	Sertus gestās cōtor	126
	Scadit doctor ciuis	130
	Adest dies letitie quo	132

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
	Autum sub terra tegitur	134
	Militatis doctor ecclessie	135
<u>In annuntiatione dominica</u>		
	Ave maria gratia plena	137
	Quo modo fiet isud	138
	Missu est gabriel angelus	144
	Ave maria gratia plena	145
	Hec est dies qua	146
<u>In festo sancti vincentii confessoris</u>		
	Diem nove laudes	151
	Qua tu or vectarotis agitur	153
	Festiva vox psalletium	160
<u>Comuni unius apostoli sen plurimorum unius evangelista</u>		
	Astote fortes in bello et	166
	Gandidi facti sunt	167
	In omne terram exivit	169
	Felie hieo sale venite	171

Feast Day	Chant	Folio
	Sancti tui domine florebut	173
	Săcti et iusti in domino	174
	In civita te gautio qui	175
	Dum in sannis vulpeas querit	179
	O petre martit inclyte	184
	Petrus novus in cola celos	186
	Turbecurrunt laguetium figna	187
	O martyr egre gie doctor	188
<u>In sanctorum philippe et jacobe apostolorū</u>		
	Tanto tempore vobis cū suum	191
	Domine ossten de nobis	193
	Domine osten de nobis patrem	195
	Philippe qui videt me	196
	Non turebetur cor vestrū	197
<u>In festo sancti antonini confessoris</u>		
	O virgo o doctor vigil	199
	Vir dei antoninus cum	200

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Non lotis manibus	I	291
Non sum missus	I	269
Non turbetur cor vestrũ	II	197
Non vos reliqua orphanos	I	386
Nos quivimus	Ps.	120, 126
O admirabile comercius	I	183
O admirabile cõmetium	II	86
O adonai et dux domus	I	140
O beata et benedicta	I	392
O beate jacobẽ õmium	II	303
O beatum põtificem qui	II	414
O beatum virum cujus	I	144

ANTIPHON

Incipit Phrase	Volume	Folio(a)
O clavis david et sceptrum	I	144
O corone miran da	II	244
O crux admirabilis	II	378
O crux benedita quia	II	387
O crux sp̃didior	II	217
O decus ecclesie glorio	II	248
O emanuel rex et egifer	I	149
O lume necclesie doctor	II	323
O lux et decus	II	306
O magnũ pietatis opus	II	385
O martine o pie	II	421
O martyr egregie doctor	II	188
Omnes qui habebant	I	292
Omnes sunt administratorii	II	120
Omnia	Ps.	167
Omnia quae cumque volvit	Ps.	172
Omnipotentis virgo catherina	II	230

ANTIPHON

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Omni sapientia a domino	I	420
O mulier magna	I	259
O oriens spedor lucis	I	146
Opera manuum	Ps.	32
O petre martir inclyte	II	182
O quam gloriosum est	II	399
O quam suavis est domine	I	406
Orante sancta lucia	II	32
O radix jesse qui	I	143
O rex gentium	I	148
O rex glorie domine	I	372
Ossana filio davit	I	327
Ossapientia que	I	131
O thoma didime quam	II	35
O virgo maxima gloria	II	232
O virgo o doctor	II	199
Passionem gloriose virginis	II	435
Pater eram pauperum	II	207

ANTIPHON

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Pater manifestavi nomē	I	369
Pauper in peculio dives	II	322
Pax vobis ego sum	I	332
Pecca mea domine	I	208
Petite et accipietis	I	362
Petrus et joannes ascēdebāt	II	271, 309
Petrus novus in cola	II	184
Philippe qui videt	II	196
Placebo domino in regione	Ps.	19
Portio mea Domine	Ps.	199, 202
Post mortem matris reversus	II	369
Post plurima supplicia martyr	II	437
Potestatem habeo ponēdi	I	332
Prevaluit dāvit in philistheum	I	416
Principes sacerdotum consilium	I	321
Pro eo quod non	II	254
Propheta magnum surrexit	I	308

ANTIPHON

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Pueri hebreorum vestimenta	I	328
Puer jesus proficiebat etate	I	200
Quãdo natus est	I	185
Quem dicũt homines	II	262
Quem vidistes pastores	I	161
Querentes eum tenere	I	278
Quia vidisti me thoma	I	348
Qui habitas in celis	Ps.	140
Qui major est vestrum	I	275
Qui me misit mecum	I	274
Qui me sanum fecit	I	261
Qui sequitur me non	II	466
Quis es tu qui venisti	II	109
Qui te terra est	I	180
Quod autem cecidit	I	233
Quod uni exminimis	I	257
Quonia in aeternu misericordi	Ps.	178

ANTIPHON

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Quoniam cofitemine	Ps.	172
Quotidie apud	I	332
Recumbēte jesu in domo	II	290
Redemptionem misit dominus	I	167
Reliquit eum tetatos et	I	254
Respleduit facies ejus	II	332
Responsum accepit simeō	II	98
Rex pacificus magnificatus	I	151
Rogabo patrē meum	I	374
Sacerdos in eternū christus	I	401
Sacram presentis diei	II	64
Sācti et iusti in domino	II	174
Salvator mūdi sava	II	409
Sancte paule apostole	II	72
Sancti angeli custodes	II	123
Sancti tui domine	II	173
Sapientia edificavit sibi	I	409

ANTIPHON

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Saule frater dominus	II	81
Saulus qui et paulus	II	80
Scadtit doctor ciuis	II	130
Scitote quia prope	I	153
Scriptum est enim	I	258
Sedere autem mecum	I	276
Semen cecidit in terrā	I	231, 232
Sicut fuit jonas	I	260
Si in digito dei ejicio	I	285
Simeon justus et timoratus	II	97
Similabo--	II	485
Si quis sitit	I	317
Sit nomen	Ps.	119
Solemnitas gloriosae Virgines	Ps.	Unnumbered
Solvete templum hoc dicit	I	304
Spine rubēt sāguine	II	245
Spiritus domini replevit	I	388

ANTIPHON

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Summũ regẽ gloria	II	236
Suscepit Deus israel	Ps.	202
Tanto pũtere fixit	II	34
Tanto tempore vobis cum	I	334
Tecum principium in die	I	165
Te deum patrẽ ingenitum	I	399
Te virginũ chorus	II	204
Thesaurizate vobis thesauros	I	241
Tota pulchra es amica	II	345
Transente domino clamabat	I	240
Trãsit pauper ad regni	II	319
Tristitia emplevit cor	I	355
Tua sunt he christe	II	456
Tu autem cum oraveris	I	243
Tu es pastor ovium	II	110, 308
Tulerut lapides Judei	I	316

ANTIPHON

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Turbe currunt laguētium	II	185
Ueri adoratores adorabunt	I	293
Ubi duo vel tres	I	290
Unum opus feci	I	305
Urbs fortitudinis	I	124
Valde homurādus et beatus	II	41
Veni domine	I	121
Veniente spōso prudēs	II	25, 486, 101
Veniet dominus et	I	129
Veni sancte spiritus repletorum	I	380
Veri adoratores adorabunt	I	293
Veri caeili quod	I	390
Vespere autem sabbatti	I	337
Vidētēs stellā	I	198
Vidi turbā magna qm̃	II	408
Virginis catherine hec dies	II	228

ANTIPHON

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Viro iniquo liberame	Ps.	195
Visitationem est hodie sancta	II	284
Visitationem virginis marie	II	280
Vivo ego dicit	I	254
Vos ascendite ad diem	I	318

RESPONSE

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Ante me nō est formatus	I	128
Argetum et aurum	II	310
Audi israel precepta	I	294
Beata agatha ingressa	II	102
Beata es virgo maria	II	349
Beatus lauretius exclamavit	II	336

RESPONSE		
Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Beatus martinus obitũ suum	II	417
Benedicens ergo deus	I	227
Circũdederũt me viri	I	323
Cõcede nobis domine	II	400
Cornelius centurio vir	II	205
Cristi miles preciosus	II	58
Cum staret abraham	I	235
De ducnos angele custos	II	115
Dettibi deus de rore	I	263
Deus' qui fedes	I	204
Dominus qui eripuit	I	411
Dum oraret jesus	II	327
Ecce dominus infortitudine	I	120
Ecce dominus veniet et omnes	I	118
Emedemus in emlius	I	244

RESPONSE		
Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Felix spina cujus	II	239
Flavit auster et	II	292
Gandidi facti sunt	II	167
Gaude maria virgo	II	88
Gloriosus dei amicus	II	462
Granũ excussum	II	315
Gyrum celi circuivi sola	I	417
Homo quidũ fecit	I	403
Honor virtus et	I	393
In conlumbe specie	I	189
Ingitur perfecti sũt	I	216
In omnẽ terram	II	169
In ternatus mulierum	II	251
Jodea et hierũsalem	I	156

RESPONSE		
Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Laverūt stolas suas	II	470
Loquens josep fratri	I	279
Magnus sanctus paulus	II	73
Multiplicati sunt qui	I	310
Non auferetur sceptrum	I	134
Omnipotens	II	50
Omnis pulchritudo domine	I	365
Omni tempore benedic	I	428
Per tuam crucem	II	379
Per tuam crucem salvanos	II	212
Quatuor vecta rotis	II	153
Qui ventrus est	I	124

RESPONSE		
Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Regnũ mundi et omnes	II	488
Repleti sũt omnes	I	382
Rogavi dominum meum	II	26
Sancte m christi confessor	II	477
Sertum gestas cõ	II	126
Stirps jesse virgam	II	277
Tanto tempore vobis	II	191
Te sactũ dominũ	II	390
Verbũ caro facto est	I	176
Viderũt te aque deus	I	356
Vir dei antoninus	II	200
Virgo flagellatur crucianda	II	429
Vitam catherine innocentis simam	II	223
Vollbat enim cõferẽtie	II	361
Vosestis lux mũdi	II	443

VERSICLE		
Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
A christo de celo	II	75
Adjunēt nos eorum	II	403
A sumo celo egressio	I	367
Audivi vocem	Ps.	37
Benedicta et venerabilis	II	351
Celi aperti sut	I	191
Cherubim quoquam	II	391
Cicrūdānos scuto verita	II	118
Cum elevasset	I	237
Cum orasset cornelius	II	268
Cum qm̃ elevasset	I	237
Curavit egotos vitam	II	225
De reliquo reposita	II	202
Desponet omnes	I	125
Dicebat autem excessum	II	329
Displicebat ei angebat	II	364

RESPONSE		
Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Domine osten de nobis	II	193
Domine qui me creasti	II	105
Ducut hirhedam	II	156
Ecce dominus cum	I	120
Ecce nō est auxilius	I	424
Ego in altissimis habito	I	419
Elevavique vocem cum	I	281
Et ego dispōno vobis	II	495
Et incurue	I	265
Et ipse erit	I	135
Et nōmen ejus	I	366
Exurge domine	I	311
Florin florum virēs	II	317
Flos in florum virēs	II	317
Fluminis impetus civita	II	294
Fuit homo missus	II	253

RESPONSE		
Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Gabriele arch̃aglū scimus	II	91
Hoc erit signū	I	229
Ideo que quod	II	141
Illuxerūt coruscationes	I	358
In cuspectū getium	II	112
In pr̃icipio o reat	I	178
Inquire ut facias	I	429
Inter hec manet	II	62
Isti sūt qui	II	472
Loquebātur variis līnguis	I	384
Mea nox obscurum	II	338
Miserere nostri jesu	II	381
Miserere nostri in sube	II	215
Misit deus misericordiam	I	413

RESPONSE

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Nequado dicat inimicus	I	312
Observe igitur et	I	296
O sancte sidies	II	478
O spinarũ immẽssa	II	242
Peccavimus cũ patribus	I	247
Pulchri ores sunt	I	135
Quoniam tribulatio proxima	I	324
Spõsus amat spõsam	II	431
Stat invictus	II	182
Sumo celo egre	I	367
Thomas mihi par est	I	395
Trinitati lux perennis	I	395

RESPONSE

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Ut credentibus timore	II	30
Venedicta et venerabilis	II	351
Vennite comedite panem	I	404
Verbum missum celi	II	294
Virgo deo genitrix	II	279
Viribus corporis	II	419

PSALM

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Ab omni	I	220
Ac demutrium	II	464
Ad imagine	I	228, 230, 231
Atque pro	II	61
Attrede domine	I	246, 248

PSALM		
Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Audivi voce	Ps.	40
Augustinus frates	II	120, 129, 130
Beatus	I	169
Beatus vir	Ps.	118, 150, 152
Beati immaculati	Ps.	19
Beati ones qui timent	Ps.	154
Benefac Domine bonis	Ps.	149
Cantat celi agnine	II	430, 432
Celos petivit	II	465
Clamavi	Ps.	196
Confitemini Domino	I	168
	Ps.	66, 69, 71 76, 100. 182
Convertere	Ps.	47
Convertere Domine	Ps.	51
Corneli mitte	II	266, 269
Cujus	II	63

<u>PSALM</u>		
Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Cum mercede virgine	II	316, 318
De profundis	Ps. 156, 159, 162	
Deus deorum	Ps.	50
Deus deum	I	268
Deus deus	I	232, 252, 300
Deus in no	I	315, 329, 336
Dilexi	Ps.	19
Dirige Domine	Ps.	46
Disso	II	420
Divino sit pia	II	155
Dixit	I	347
Dixit dominus	I	166
Doctorum	II	319, 316
Domine ne furore	Ps.	47
Domine probasti	Ps.	192
Ducūt hirhedam	II	156

PSALM

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Dum virgo	II	94
Dum virgo deus	II	90
Eco venit	I	384
Elegit dominus	II	77
Eras egre die	I	157, 158
Esto	I	266
Es todo tui	I	260
Et dabo tibi terra	I	296, 297, 298
Et dominus erit	I	157, 166
Et exultavit spiritus	Ps.	37
Et honor domine	II	391, 393
Et ideo non time	II	337, 339
Et ipse	I	136, 137
Et jn petra tan celi	II	478
Et meridianum	II	117, 120
Et omnis	Ps.	165

PSALM		
Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Et omni tempore	I	429, 430
Et post	II	91, 94
Et re	I	220
Et stoloria	I	265
Et super luc florem	II	278, 280
Et unum adoravit	I	236, 238
Et vita resurgen	II	214, 216, 381
Et virtus altissimi	II	140
Et voca	I	113
Exaltabo te, Deus	Ps.	40
Exaltabo te, Domine	Ps.	4
Exultavit spiritus	Ps.	149
Fragat odor dulces	II	430, 432
Gabrielle archageli	II	91
Hic dicet tibi	II	267, 270

PSALM		
Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
In datis	Ps.	117
In donu Domini	Ps.	140
In perenni	I	395, 396, 397
In quia alius	II	365, 380
In sanguine	II	471, 473
Intercede pro nobis	II	351, 352, 353
Iipse me erit	I	412, 414
Jube me domine	II	104, 107
Lauda	I	393
Laudate	I	154, 364, 397
Laudate hieru	I	156
Laudate pueri	Ps.	120
Lautea	I	368
Legepone	I	233, 253, 256, 269, 336, 225
Mea timore	II	117
Mej ut credente	II	28

PSALM		
Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Memeto	I	171
Miserere	Ps.	1
Misere mihi Domine	Ps.	11
Miserere nostri	II	381
Moyses et helias	II	329, 330
Multitudo fonitus	I	357, 359
Nequado	Ps.	52, 58
Nisi quia Dominus	Ps.	145
Non nobis, Domine	Ps.	130
Non qui vivimus	Ps.	126
Omnia quae cu	Ps.	172
Pax vobis	I	280, 283
Philipe qui videt	II	191, 194
Plenum gratis	I	177, 179, 180
Possi	II	447

PSALM

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Preparavit in heremo	II	252
Que vivens atque	II	224, 227
Quem vidi	II	489
Quia indica	II	418, 421
Quia tu sulus	I	206, 207
Qui et meruit thronum	II	74, 77
Qui jn patienti vestra	II	443, 446
Qui parata sut omni	I	402, 404, 405
Qui viam domino	II	252
Quoniam jpse	I	125, 126, 127
Quoru	II	157
Quoro virtute fides	II	155
Requie sicut spiritus	II	278, 279
Sed tu domine	I	324, 325
Seras	II	243
Servire	II	202, 213

PSALM

Incipit	Volume	Folio(a)
Sic triumphal mage	II	183
Spiritus sanctus	II	139
Superbora et	I	418, 420
Super flumina	Ps.	23
Suscepit Deus esra	Ps.	202
Te de	II	392
Te decet laus	II	391
Tu defer in genti	II	478
Ut ad eorum pervenire	II	402, 405
Verbu	II	295
Videt quam deus	I	219
Vires	II	243

CHAPTER IV

THE TULANE GRADUALE

The choir book housed in the Howard-Tilton Memorial Library at Tulane University was part of the Gates Collection which was purchased by Tulane University in 1925. (Figure 7). A description of that volume, as it was listed in the American Art Association Catalog before the sale of the manuscript is as follows:

Manuscript, Circa 1698. A well written manuscript choral book. Red and black with many large initials, five staves to a page, 110 leaves, small folio. Begins with Puer natus est nobis et filius datus. (Figure 8).

In order to identify the volume, the very nature of its contents suggests it evolved from earlier years. A search was begun to identify this "choral book." A comparison was made between the contents of the manuscript and the Liber Usualis, and the Graduale Romanum. The comparison resulted in the discovery that the manuscript is indeed a Graduale because it contains liturgical chants of the Mass, but contains no chants for the Canonical Hours. Because it is a Graduale, henceforth, the manuscript will be called the Tulane Graduale.

A Graduale was originally a book containing a collection of responsorial chants, referred to as responsorium

gradualia, because they were sung from the step (gradus) by the cantor.¹ These chants were part of the Proper of the Mass and were sung between the Epistle and Gospel lessons.

As the years passed, the gradual evolved to become a choir book containing the chants for the Mass, both the Proper and Ordinary, but the music for Canonical Hours was not included because these chants were and still are included in an Antiphonalia.² Generally speaking, a Graduale contains introitus, gradualia, versus alleluaticus,³ offertorium, and communio. Frequently, a sequentia⁴ or a tractus⁵ are inserted between the versus alleluaticus and the offertorium.

Calligraphy

There is an inscription in the Zapotec language on the final leaf of the Tulane Graduale. (Figure 9). The Zapotecs were Indians who lived in Oaxaca, Mexico, during the period when Roman Catholic priests established mission churches in Oaxaca.

¹Harvard Dictionary of Music, 11th ed., s.v. "Gradual."

²The New College Encyclopedia of Music, (1960), s.v. "The Graduale."

³A versus alleluaticus is an alleluia, an expression of joy and praise to God, which is followed by a brief sentence referring to the liturgical season.

⁴A sequentia is a type of trope, which is a textual addition to an authorized text in a chant.

⁵A tractus is a chant used in the Proper of the Mass instead of an alleluia.

The English translation of the Zapotec inscription was effected by Dr. Joseph Whitecotton. His interpretation of the text is as follows:

May 1, 1698, our people who descended from (associated with) our holy Mother Mary. Andres Garcia teacher and scribe (associated with) Santo Domingo wrote this.

The greatest significance of the Zapotec inscription not only leads to the conclusion that the date the manuscript was written was 1698, but it identifies the work to be consistent with the Dominican Order.

The calligraphy within the Tulane Graduale is consistent because the identity of the scribe has been determined from the Zapotec inscription which appears on the final leaf of the manuscript. The scribe who wrote this manuscript was more familiar with the use and spelling of the Latin language than was the scribe who penned the Oaxacan Antiphonale. Evidence of this is, the Latin spellings are consistent and there are few words misspelled or crossed-out. However, Spanish influence is illustrated in this manuscript, as it was in the Oaxacan Antiphonale, by the Spanish name Juanis Baptiste in place of the more traditional Joannis Baptiste.

A comparison between the Oaxacan Antiphonale and the Tulane Graduale revealed that they are similar. They were written during the same era. They both contain chants written on a five line staff. The clef signs are alike and are written in the same colors, red and black; the syllables in both are bar-lined; both contain many words that have

identical incorrect Latin spellings. Each of the volumes contain identical signs for responses and versicles; both contain chants for feast days of Dominican Saints; both show strong Spanish influence in the spelling of many words and phrases; both contain the same type of syllabication and unique abbreviations, and the calligraphy appears to be similar. The author of this document projected that these similarities suggest that the same scribe had written both manuscripts which would lead to the conclusion that they were used at the same mission.

In order to ascertain whether the characteristics in the Oaxacan Antiphonale and the Tulane Graduale are similar because the same scribe wrote both chant books or whether the characteristics were standard writing procedures of the era, Pat Tull, certified graphologist was consulted. Her report proved that the same scribe did not write both chant books. She also determined that at least three different people penned the Oaxacan Antiphonale. The complete report of the graphologist is included in Appendix I.

The folia which were used for calligraphic comparison are folio 1 from the Psalterium, folio 62 from the Psalterium, and folio 157 from the first volume of the Oaxacan Antiphonale. These folia were used in a comparison with folia contained in the Tulane Graduale. These folia comprise Figures 5, 10 and 11.

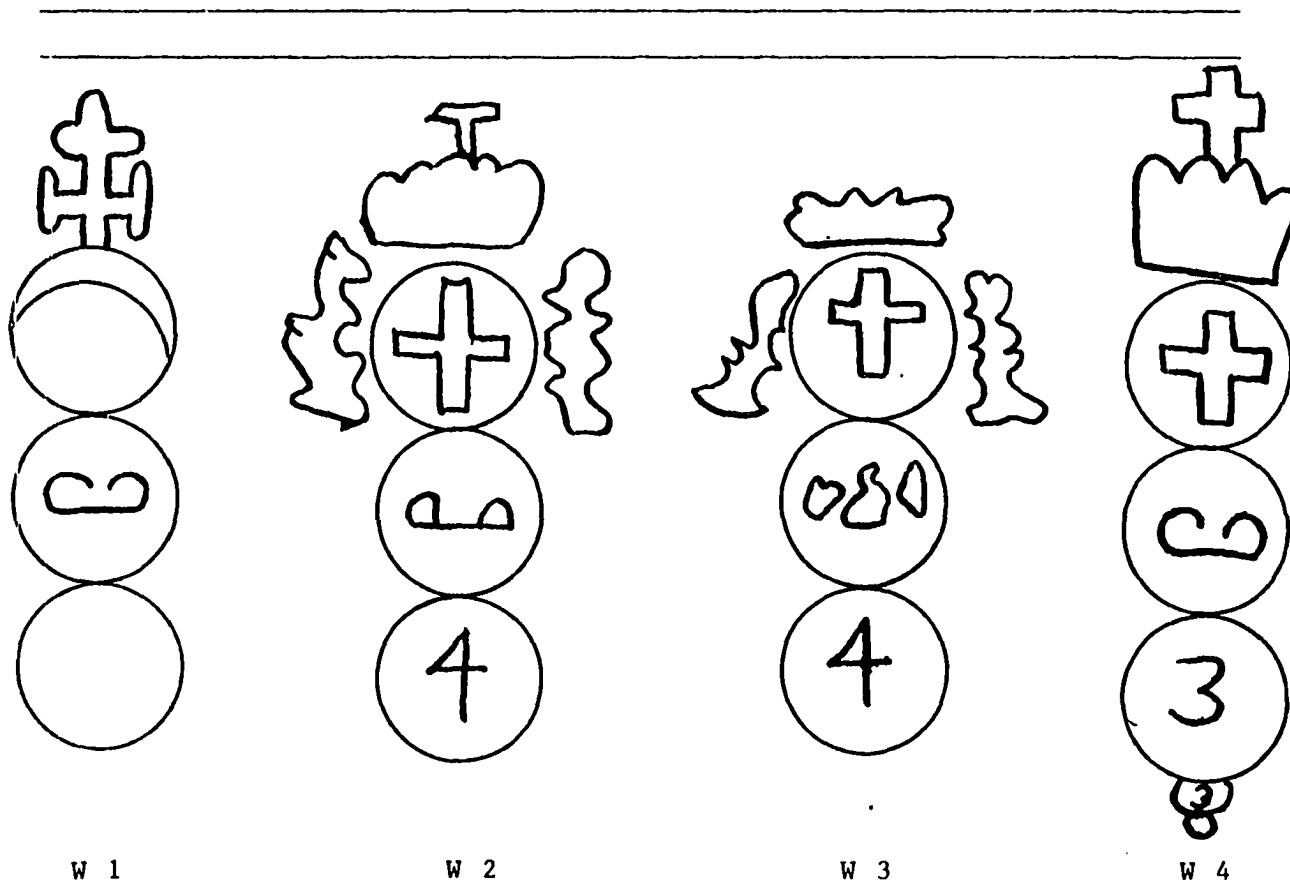
Illustrations

The first letter of the incipit phrase of the first chant in each Feast Day in the Tulane Graduale is highly ornamented with flowers, leaves, branches, and stems. There is only one illustration in the manuscript. Artistically drawn within the confines of the capital "D" of Dolorosa on folio 35R is a small rabbit and a cluster of grapes.

The Watermarks

There are four different watermarks in the confines of the paper used in the Tulane Graduale. Three of the designs have been identified, while the fourth has only been partially rendered. The basic design consists of a verticle line of three circles abutting one another. Of the three identifiable designs, the top circle of each contains a cross, while the lowest circle of each contains a number. The central circle in each case has an alpha (α) and omega (ω) ornament or an infinity symbol (∞). The designs above the top circles are variants of ecclestical crowns with crosses or the INRI (Iesus Nazareus Rex Iudaeorum). WM 2, WM 3 and WM 4 have been identified while WM 1 has only been partially rendered. The table following on page 141 contains illustrations of the types of watermarks noted above.

TABLE 5
WATERMARKS
Tulane Graduate



The Contents of the Tulane Graduale

The Tulane Graduale contains chants for twenty-six Feast Days. The first mass included in the manuscript is, In Noctentalis Domine (Mass of Christmas). In Comemoracione omniu fidelium defunctorum (Mass for the Faithful Departed) is the last mass included in the manuscript. The manuscript includes feasts for Saints Hyacintui, Romualdi, Juanis Baptiste, and Laurentii. The Feast of St. Laurentii, dated August 17 in the manuscript, is unique. A comparable feast is not included in either the Roman or Dominican Gradualia.

In an effort to clarify the contents of the Tulane Graduale, two tables have been devised. The first, Table 6, is a complete listing of the masses, the dates within the liturgical year when the masses are celebrated, and the folio⁶ on which the chants appear.

Table 7 contains a codification of the chants contained in the Tulane Graduale. The chants have been divided into homogeneous groups according to their function, i.e., Introitus, Gradualia, Versus Alleluiaticii, Sequentiae, Tractus et Cantica, Offertoria, Communiones, Psalmi, and Responsoria. The chants have been alphabetized according to their incipit phrases within each category. The folio number of each is given to serve as a guide to the location of the chants included in the manuscript.

⁶The pagination in the Tulane Graduale is on the right-hand page as was the custom in the seventeenth century when the manuscript was handwritten. Many chants begin on the left-hand page. In order to identify those instances, the page numbers will use an "L" for the left-hand page and an "R" for the right-hand page.

TABLE 6

FEAST DAYS INCLUDED IN
TULANE GRADUALE

Feast Day	Date	Folio-Side
In Noctenatalis Domini		1 R
In festo sanctorum Innocentes Martyres	Die 28 december	9 L
In festo sancti silvestri pape et confessoris	Die 31 diciembre	12 R
In festo purificationis beats marie virginis	Die 2 febuaria	16 L
In festo agathe sãcte virgines et martyris	Die 9 februaria	22 L
In festo sancti Romualdi abbatis	Die 7 februarii	22 R
Ferista post Dominica in passio~ cõpassionis		34 L
In Die Sanctiss. paschae Resurrectionis domino nostri		39 L
Feria quarta post pascha		46 L

Feast Day	Date	Folio-Side	
Feria v post pascha		49	L
Feria vi post pascha		52	R
Sabatho post pascha		56	L
Dominica octava pasche		59	L
In Die Pentecostes		62	L
Feria V post pentecostes		66	R
Feria sexta post penteco:		69	R
In Festo: Corporis Christi		72	R
In festo sancti Juānis baptiste		78	R
	Die 24 junij		
In vigilia Assumptionis beatissime virginis marie		81	R
In assumptione baeatissime		84	R
	Die 15		
In festo syacinthii confessor		87	L
In festo sancti Hyacinintui praedicaturum cōfesio		88	L
	Die 16 Augustii		

Feast Day	Date	Folio-Side
In octavas cti Laurentij martyris	Die 17 Augusti	91 R
In festo sancta rossarijs beatissime virginis Marie		95 L
In festo omnium sanctorũ	Die 1 novembris	98 L
In comemoratione omniũ fidelium defunctorũ	Die 2 novembris	103 L

TABLE 7
CHANTS ARRANGED BY CATEGORIES
TULANE GRADUALE

<u>INTROITUS</u>		
Incipit	Folio-Side	
Cibavit eos ex adipe frummeti	73	L
Deus du egrederis coram	66	R
De ventre matris mematriis meae	78	R
Eduxit Dominus populũ suũ	56	L
Exore infantiu deus	9	L
Gaudeamus omnes in domino	95	L
	84	R
	98	R
	22	L

INTROITUS

Incipit

Folio-Side

In ecclesijs altissimi aperuit

88 R

Puer natus est nobis

1 R

Probasti domine cor

92 L

Quasi modo geniti infantes

59 L

Repleatur os meum laude tua

69 R

Requiem eterna dona eis domine

103 L

Resurrexi et ad huc tecū

39 R

Sacerdotes tui domine

12 R

Salve sancta parēs enixa

82 L

Spiritus domini replevit orbe

62 R

Stabant iuxta cruce Jesu

34 L

Suscepimus deus misericordiam

16 L

INTROITUS

Incipit

Folio-Side

Venite benedicti patris mei

46 L

Victricem manū tuā domine

49 R

GRADUALIA

Incipit

Folio-Side

A Diuvabite ā deus vultu

23 R

Domine prevenisti eum in benedicti

29 L

Os iusti meditabitur

28 L

Requiem eterna dona eis domine

104 R

Suscepimus deus misericordia

17 L

Temete dominum omnes sancti

99 R

VERSUS ALLELUIATICI

Incipit	Folio-Side	
Adorabo ad tēplū sanctū	18	R
Amavit eum dominus	30	R
Angelus domini descendit	53	R
Attēdite popule meum	53	L
Caru mea vere est cibus	75	R
Christus resurgens mortuis iam	47	R
Confirma hoc deus quod operatus	63	L
Confitemini domino quoniā	50 46	L R
Dies sanctificantus illuxit	3	L
Diffusa est gratia in labiis	25	L
Erurgat Deus dissipentur	67	L
Exultate domino adiutori	60	L

VERSUS ALLELUIATICI

Incipit

Folio-Side

Gaude fili Hyacinthe

89 R

Hi sunt qui cū mulieribus

10 L

Hodie Mari virgo celos

86 L

In dies resurrectionis mee dicit

51 L

Inveni david seruum meum oleo

14 R

Inter natos mulierū nō surrexit

80 L

Judicabunt sancti natines

101 L

Laudate pueri dominum

57 R

Levita Laurentius bonū opus

93 L

Pascha nostrum immolatus

41 L

VERSUS ALLELUIATICI

Incipit	Folio-Side	
Solemnitas gloriose virginis Maris	96	R
Spiritus domini repleuit	67	R
Surrexit dominus de sepulchro	60	R
Te domini speravi non cōfūdār	70	R
Veni s̃acte spiritus reple tuo	71	L
Virga Iesse floruit virgo	83	L

SEQUENTIAE

Incipit	Folio-Side	
Letabūdus exultet fidelis chorus	4	L
Victime paschali laudes inmolēt	41	R

TRACTUS ET CANTICA

Incipit	Folio-Side	
Absolve domine animas	105	R
Beatus vir qui time dominũ	31	L
Gaude Maria virgo cunctas	19	R
Qui seminant in lachrymis	25	R
Stabat sãcta Maria celi	36	R

OFFERTORIA

Incipit	Folio-Side	
Angelus domini descẽdit de celo	61	L
Anima nostra sicut passer	11	L
Beata es virgo Maria	83	R
Benedicius qui venit	57	R
Confirma hoc deus quod operatus	64	R
Confessio et pulchritudo	93	R

OFFERTORIA

Incipit	Folio-Side	
Desiderium anime eius	32	L
De terra login qua vocavit	90	R
Dixit eos ominus	52	R
Domine Jesu christe rex glorie	107	L
Erit vobis hic dies memorialis	54	L
Felie regum in honore	26	R
Felix naque es sacra virgo	21	L
	87	L
	97	L
In die solēnitatis vestre dicit	51	R
Inveni david seruum meum oleo	14	R
Iustus ut palma florebit sicut	80	R
Lauda anima mea dominũ laudabo	71	R

OFFERTORIA

Incipit

Folio-Side

Meditabor in mādatis tuis

68 L

Mirabilis deus in sanctis suis

101 R

Portas celi apervit dominus

48 L

Recordare virgo mater

37 R

Sacerdotes Domini in cesum

76 R

Terra tremuit et quie

44 R

Tui sunt celi et tua est terra

7 R

PSALMI

Incipit	Folio--Side	
Audite insuli et attēdite	79	R
Confitemini domino et invocare	56	R
Domine dominus noster quā	9	L
Eructavit cor meū verbu	23	L
	85	R
Exaudi domine ivstitiā meam	92	L
Exultate ivsti in domino	99	L
Magnus dominum et laudabit	17	L
Memēto domine david	13	R
Noli emulaxi	28	R
Oculi domini super	89	L
Post partū virgo	82	R
Quā olim Abrahe	108	R
Te decet hymnus deus in yō	103	R

RESPONSORIA

Incipit

Folio-Side

Dolorosa et lacrymabilis virgo Maria

35 L

Oculi omnium inte aperant

74 L

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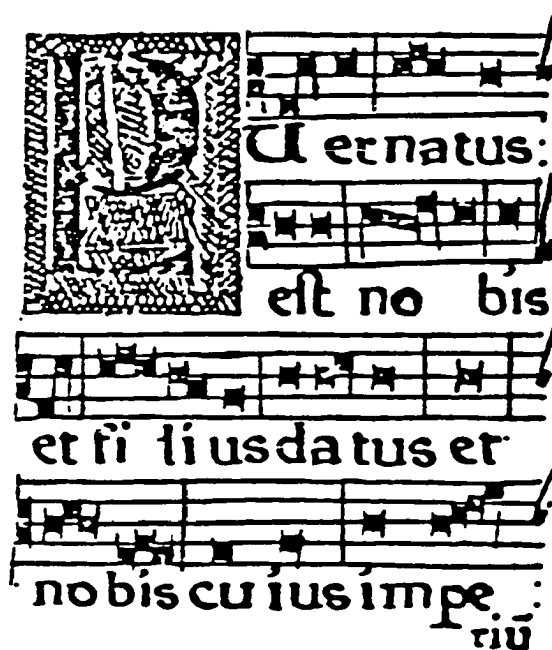
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Figure 7. Title Page of Catalog Describing Gates Collection.

Kindly read Conditions of Sale in forepart of Catalogue

904. MANUSCRIPT, Circa 1698. A well-written manuscript choral book. Red and black, with many large initials, five staves to the page, 110 leaves, small folio. Begins with Puer natus est nobis et filius datus.

IN NOCTE NATALIS
DOMINI ADMISSAMAYO
REM OFFICIUM



THE VOLUME IS COMPLETE, and all but the last few leaves in clean and perfect condition. Of these last leaves only some of the edges are a little ragged, but without loss except on the inside margin of the last leaf, and there not affecting the text. On the inside of the back cover is an inscription in the Zapotec language, dated "1 de Mayo años 1698."

VOLUMES OF THIS CHARACTER AND ESPECIALLY IN SUCH FINE CONDITION ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN, AND WRITING OF ANY KIND IN ZAPOTEC OF AN EARLY PERIOD HAS SURVIVED IN HARDLY HALF A DOZEN PIECES.

Figure 8. Description of Graduale in Gates Collection.

L de mayo. años 1698
 Coya loo. quichirijte niba
 ni. S. Ctamaría benicha
 hui Nani Andes Taxcia
 Ma Sdo quichi S. Ct
 domineg quicotab

Figure 9. Inscription in Zapotec Dialect.

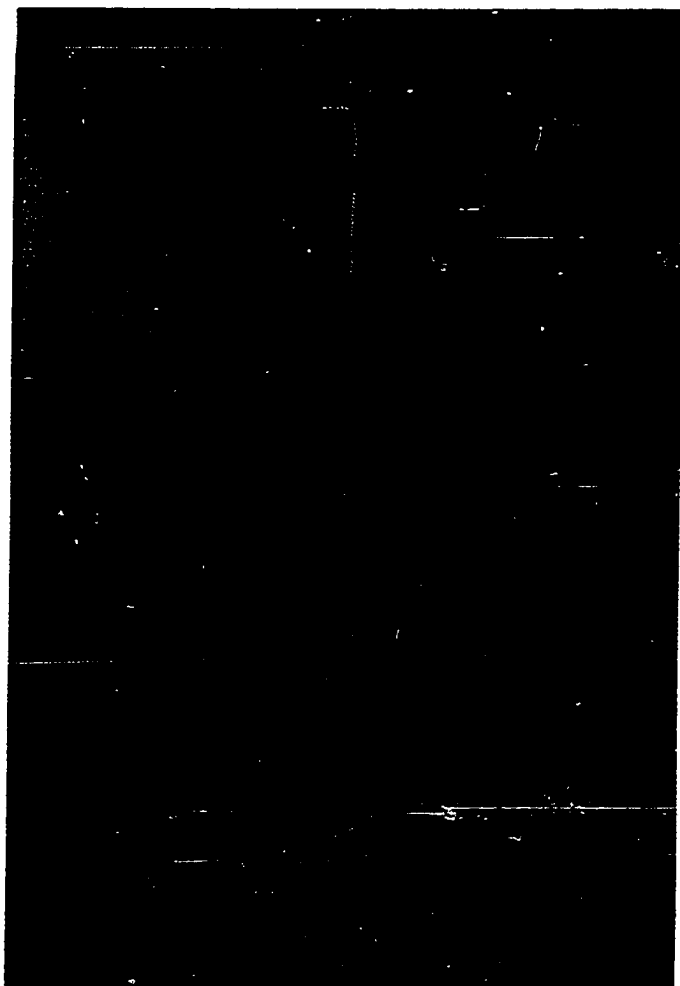


Figure 10. Psalterium. Folio 1.

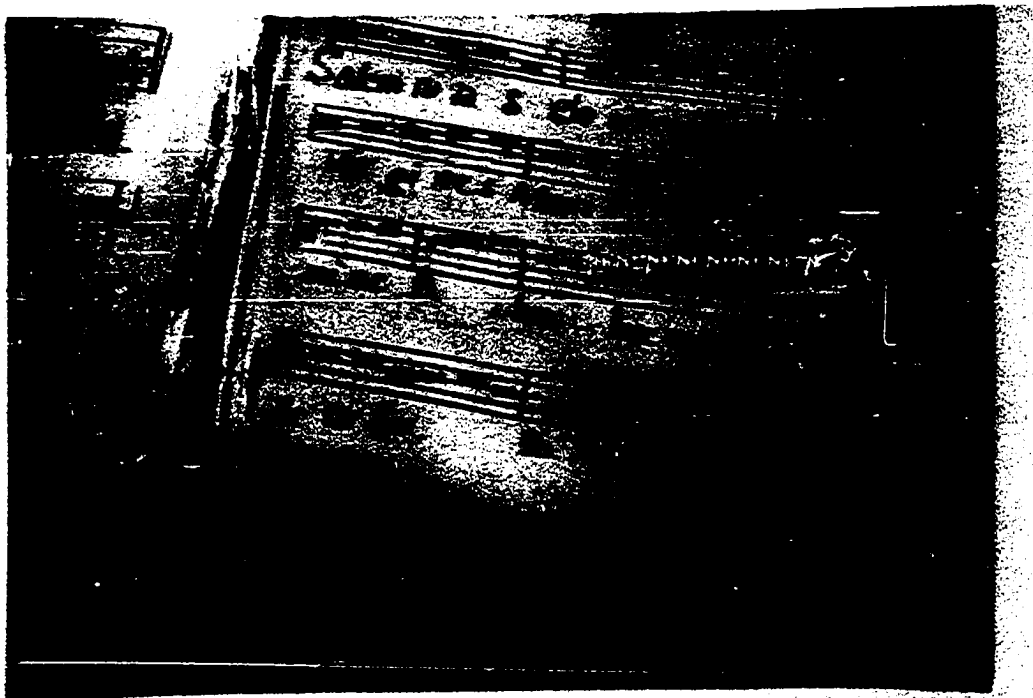


Figure 11. Psalterium. Folio 62.

CHAPTER V

UNIQUENESS OF THE OAXACAN ANTIPHONALE AND THE TULANE GRADUALE

The hymn, Iam lucis orto sidere, included in the Oaxacan Antiphonale is titled "ad prima himis B. Maria" in the manuscript. The hymn is located on folio fifty-nine in the Psalterium. Although it is not designated for use for any particular feast day, it must have been especially significant to the Roman Catholic Order that used the Oaxacan Antiphonale since it is unique in the manuscript.

The hymn text can be traced to the fifth century.¹ It is included in most of the Medieval Breviaries, including the Sacrum, York, Aberdeen, Mozaric of 1502, Roman and Parisian.² Bruno Stablein included thirty-five examples of Jam ortis (the spelling of Jam is spelled with the letter "J" in chant books other than the Oaxacan Antiphonale where it is spelled with an "I") in Hymnen I³ with the earliest of the

¹John Julian, Ed., A Dictionary of Hymnology, (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1907), p. 577.

²Ibid., p. 577.

³Bruno Stäblein, Monumenta Monodica Mediaevi Band I, Hymnen I, (Kassel und Basel: Barenreiter-Verlag, Publishers, 1956).

thirty-five examples included in Hymnen I a twelfth century setting from southern France.

Many thirteenth century chant books, including the Hymnar von Nevers, Antiphonar aus Fecamp, and Hymnar von Eisieldein, contain examples of Jam ortis. The Hymnar von Nevers contains fourteen settings of the hymn text, all of which were sung at the Canonical Hour, Primam. Settings of Jam ortis are also included in the Hymnar von Salisburg, Hymnar von Antwerpen, Mailander Hymnen, Hymnar von Worchester, and Klosterneuburger Hymnar.

The sixteenth century Antiphonarium de tempore, printed by Pedro Ocharte in Mexico, also contains settings of Jam lucis. The Psalterium, Antiphonarium, Sanctorale cum Psalmis & Hymnis, printed by Ocharte in 1584, contains five settings of the same hymn text.

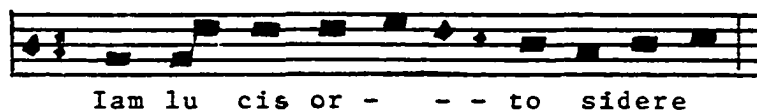
There are three different settings of Jam lucis included in the Dominican Antiphonarium. The first is sung on Dominica ad primam after the octave of Epiphany, the second is used on Dominica I Quadragesimae, and the third is sung during the Advent season.

The setting of the hymn text contained in the Oaxacan Antiphonale (Example 1) is different from any of the settings of the hymn text which are included in European or Mexican sources. However, the hymn melody is the same one used for four hymns which are included in the Dominican Antiphonarium. The first is the setting of the hymn text, Te lucis ante

terminum, which is sung at completorium for the Feast of Mary. (Example 2). There are two settings of the hymn included in the feast for St. Hyacinthi Confessor. (Examples 3,4). One setting of the hymn tune is included in the Festis B. Mariae Virginis. (Example 5).

Example 1. Iam lucis.

Oaxacan Antiphonale - Psalterium - folio 59.



Example 2. Te lucis ante terminum.

Festo et per Oct. Ssmi Rosarii B. Mariae V.

Ad Completorium. Dominican Antiphonarium - Page 125.



Example 3. In hoc Hyacinthi júbilo.

Festo S. Hyacinthi Conf. Ad I Vesperas.

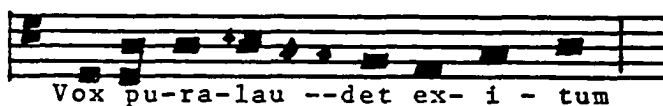
Dominican Antiphonarium. Page 907.



Example 4. Vox pura laudet exitum.

Festo S. Hyacinthi Conf. Ad Laudes.

Dominican Antiphonarium. Page 910.



Example 5. O gloriose Domine.

In Festis B. Mariae Virginis. Ad Laudes.

Dominican Antiphonarium. Page 8*.



The hymn text of Jam lucis is included in many European and Mexican chant books; however, the tune used in the Oaxacan Antiphonale for Jam lucis is different from other settings of the hymn text. The tune used for Jam lucis in the Oaxacan Antiphonale is identical to settings of other hymn texts which are included in the Dominican Antiphonarium, thus establishing the close affinity between the two works.

The Properium Sanctorum

The usual format for vesperam includes five psalms with their antiphons, a hymn, versicle, chapter, the Magnificat with its antiphon, and the Gloria Patri. Because most of the chants in the Oaxacan Antiphonale are for vesperam, a table has been devised in order to discover which feast days included in the manuscript follow the usual format for vesperam. The feast days and the number of antiphons, responses, versicles, and hymns included in each feast are found in Table 8. The dates of the feasts were not found in the Oaxacan Antiphonale; therefore, the dates included in Table 8 are those ascribed to comparable feasts which are included in the Roman Antiphonale.

TABLE 8
 FORMAT OF FEAST DAYS
 INCLUDED IN
 OAXACAN ANTIPHONALE

FEAST DAY	NUMBER OF ANTIPHONS	NUMBER OF RESPONSORIES	NUMBER OF VERSICLES	NUMBER OF HYMNS
<u>In festo St. Nicholi</u> Die 6 Decembris	Not complete in manuscript			
<u>In festo sancte Lucie</u> Die 13 Decembris	4	1	1	0
<u>In festo S. Thomae Apostoli</u> Die 21 Decembris	2	0	0	0
<u>In festo Sancti Jommis</u> Die 27 Decembris	4	0	0	0
<u>Sancti innontium</u> Die 21 Januarii	4	0	0	0
<u>Sancti Vincenti martiris</u> Die 22 Januarii	5	2	1	0
<u>In conversione Sancti Pauli</u> Die 25 Januarii	5	1	1	0

FEAST DAY	NUMBER OF ANTIPHONS	NUMBER OF RESPONSORIES	NUMBER OF VERSICLES	NUMBER OF HYMNS
<u>In purificationem beatae marie</u> Die 2 Februarii	5	0	0	0
<u>In festo sancte agathe</u> Die 5 Februarii	3	1	1	0
<u>Sancti cathedra petri</u> Die 18 Januarii	1	0	0	0
<u>In festo sancti anthonii</u> Die 2 Octobris	4	1	1	0
<u>In festo thome aquino</u> Die 7 Martii	5	1	1	0
<u>In annuntiatione Domini</u> Die 25 Martii	4	2	0	0
<u>In festo sancti Vincentii</u> Die 5 Aprilis	3	1	0	0
<u>Communi unius apostoli sen plurimorum-unius Evangelista</u>	9	2	2	0
<u>In sanctorum philippe et iacobi</u> Die 1 Maii	3	1	1	0

FEAST DAY	NUMBER OF ANTIPHONS	NUMBER OF RESPONSORIES	NUMBER OF VERSICLES	NUMBER OF HYMNS
<u>In festo sancti Antonini</u> Die 10 Maii	5	1	1	0
<u>In inventione sancte crucis</u>	2	1	1	0
<u>In festo sancte catharine</u> <u>de sensis</u> Die 30 Aprilis	6	1	1	0
<u>In festo corone Domine</u> Die 24 Aprilis	4	1	1	0
<u>In virgilia sancti juannis</u> <u>baptista</u> Die 24 Junii	5	1	1	0
<u>In vigilia apostolorum petri</u> <u>et pauli</u> Die 29 Junii	5	1	1	0
<u>In festo visitationis in</u> <u>nativitate beate maria in</u> <u>conceptione: beate maria;</u> <u>in Rosario</u>	7	1	1	0
<u>In festo beate maria magdalena</u> Die 22 Julii	5	1	1	0
<u>In festo jacobae apostoli</u> Die 25 Julii	2	0	0	0
<u>In festo sancti petri ad vincula</u> Die 1 Augusti	4	1	0	0

FEAST DAY	NUMBER OF ANTIPHONS	NUMBER OF RESPONSORIES	NUMBER OF VERSICLES	NUMBER OF HYMNS
<u>In festo beati dominici</u> <u>patris nostri</u>	5	1	1	0
<u>In transfigurationes Domini</u> Die 6 Augusti	4	1	1	0
<u>In festo sancte laurentii</u> <u>martyris</u> Die 10 Augusti	5	1	1	0
<u>In vigilia assumptiones beate</u> <u>maria virginis</u> Die 5 Augusti	5	1	1	0
<u>In festo beate maria in Rosario</u> Die 1 Octobris	1	0	0	0
<u>In exaltatione sancta crucis</u> Die 14 Septembris Die 3 Maii	5	1	0	0
<u>In festo sancti michaelis</u> <u>archangeli</u> Die 29 Septembris	5	1	1	0
<u>In festo juitate omium sanctorum</u> Die 1 Novembris	5	1	1	0
<u>In festo sancti martini episcopi</u> <u>confessor</u>	5	1	1	0
<u>In festo sancte catharine virginis</u> <u>et martyris</u> Die 25 Novembris	5	1	1	0

FEAST DAY	NUMBER OF ANTIPHONS	NUMBER OF RESPONSORIES	NUMBER OF VERSICLES	NUMBER OF HYMNS
<u>In communi unius vel plurimor apostolorum</u>	5	1	0	0
<u>In communi unius martyris</u>	3	1	1	0
<u>In cō plurimorum maririum</u>	8	3	2	0
<u>In Communi unius virginis</u>	1	0	0	0

The feast days which use the greatest number of antiphons are Communi unius apostoli sen plurimorum unius Evangelista and In festo visitationis in Nativitate beate maria in conceptione: beate maria in Rosario and In coi plurimorum martyrium. The Communi unius apostoli utilizes nine antiphons, while the latter two feasts contain eight antiphons each. Because these feast days celebrate several feasts simultaneously, the number of antiphons included in them does not show them to be more important than the other feast days. There are forty feasts included in the Proprium Sanctorum of the Oaxacan Antiphonale. The Feast of St. Nicholi is not complete, thus only thirty-nine feasts will be used in the comparison. Of the thirty-nine feasts that are complete in the Oaxacan Antiphonale, most utilize five antiphons. The exceptions are one feast which contains nine antiphons, one which contains eight, and the final one which contains seven. Thus, the number of antiphons employed ranges from one to nine. Because the feast days employing eight or nine antiphons are combinations of several feasts, they cannot be compared with other feast days. Seventeen of the feasts utilize five antiphons which is the usual number used in each feast. Only one feast day, the Festo de Sancte Catharine de Sensis, incorporates six antiphons. This suggests that this feast day was important to the Roman Catholic Order that wrote the Oaxacan Antiphonale. The number of feasts and the number of antiphons included in each are found in Table 9. Column one shows the number of feasts in the manuscript

that use the number of antiphons included in each feast.

TABLE 9

THIRTY-NINE FEAST DAYS INCLUDED
IN OAXACAN ANTIPHONALE

<u>Number of Feasts in Proprium Sanctorum</u>	<u>Number of Antiphons Included in Feast</u>
9	1
8	1
7	1
6	1
5	17
4	8
3	4
2	3
1	3

Festo de St. Catharine

The music of the chants included in the Oaxacan Antiphonale for the Feast of St. Catharine is different from the music for the Feast for St. Catharine in either the Roman or Dominican Antiphonalia. The only exception is the antiphon, O virgo maxima gloria. The tune is the same in both the Oaxacan Antiphonale and Dominican Antiphonarium. The tune in the Oaxacan Antiphonale is more florid.

A comparison between the antiphons, responsories, and versicles for the Feast of St. Catharine which are included in both the Oaxacan Antiphonale and the Dominican Antiphonarium

reveals that the texts of the chants are the same; only the tunes differ. (Table 10).

TABLE 10

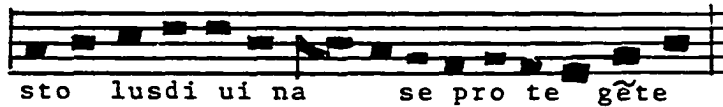
A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE FEAST OF
ST. CATHARINAE IN THE OAXACAN
AND DOMINICAN ANTIPHONALIA

<u>1933 Dominican Antiphonarium</u>	<u>Oaxacan Antiphonale</u>
Ad I Vesperas	
Ant. <u>Immortali laude</u>	Different tune
<u>Vitam Catharinae</u>	Different tune
<u>Curavit egiotos</u>	Different tune
Ps. <u>Quae vivens</u>	Different tune
<u>Curavit aegrotos</u>	Different tune
Ps. <u>Quae vivens</u>	Different tune
<u>Gloria Patri</u>	Different tune
Hymnus I	Not included
<u>Haec tuae Virgo</u>	Not included
<u>Ut digni efficiamur</u>	
Ant. <u>Virginis Catharinae haec</u>	Different tune
Not included	<u>In fecuēti olē idoliūm</u>

The Festo de Catharine included in the Oaxacan Antiphonale contains chants which were sung at Vesperam; however, the chant, Exultabuda celi, which was used for Vesperam in the manuscript is included in Laudes in the Dominican Antiphonarium. Also, the last antiphon, In fecuēti ole idoliūm, is not included in the Dominican Antiphonarium. It appears

to be an anomaly. The complete antiphon is cited in Example 6.

Example 6. In fecūeti ōle idolium
Oaxacan Antiphonale
 Volume II Folio 234



Examples 7 and 8 illustrate the differences between the antiphons in the Oaxacan Antiphonale and comparable chants in the Dominican Antiphonarium.

Example 7. Immortali laude catherina
 Oaxacan Antiphonale
 Volume II Folio 221

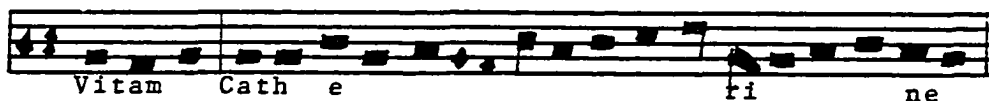


Example 8. Immortali laude Catharina
 Dominican Antiphonarium
 Folio 785

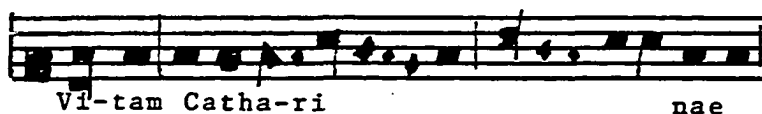


The response, Vitam Catharine, follows the antiphon Immortali laude which is quoted in Example 7. The settings of the response in both the Oaxacan Antiphonale and the Dominican Antiphonarium employ a melisma on the third syllable in Catharina, but are quite different in settings. This is illustrated in Examples 9 and 10.

Example 9. Vitam Catherine
Oaxacan Antiphonale
 Volume II Folio 223



Example 10. Vitam Catharinae
Dominican Antiphonarium
Folio 786



The antiphon, O Virgo maxima gloria praestans, included in the music for Vesperas II, is similar in the Oaxacan Antiphonale and Dominican Antiphonarium; however, after the first phrase, the chant deviates in the manuscript. The text in the Oaxacan Antiphonale is as follows:

O virgo gloria presta cujus sacra festaor que virtutis
 busaliis que donis augeat - Alleluya.

The text in the Dominican Antiphonarium differs from the text in the antiphon in the Oaxacan Antiphonale. This is illustrated in the following way:

O virgo maxima gloria praestans, cujus sacra stata
 orbis universus hodierna die celebrat: quam Angeli
 cum laudibus efferunt acceteri superni cives admir-
 antur: age apud Deum, quo mentes nostrae semper

divinis praeceptis obtemperant, nosque mutuis alisque
bonus augeat.

Although the antiphon in the Oaxacan Antiphonale is
much shorter than the antiphon included in the Dominican Anti-
phonarium, it appears to be complete.

Ave Maria

The antiphon, Ave Maria, is sung on Dominica IV Ad-
ventus and in the Festo of Annuntiatione B.M.V. (March 25)
and for Rosarii B.M.V. (October 10). The tune which is most
commonly used is quoted in Examples 11, 12, 13, and 14.

Example 11.

Ave Maria

Dominican Antiphonarium

Folia 327 & 746



Example 12.

Ave Maria

Roman Antiphonale

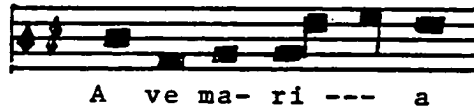
Folia 252, 139, 668, 872



Example 13.

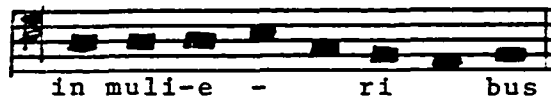
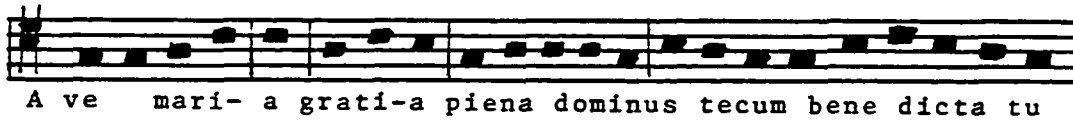
Ave MariaLiber UsualisFolia 1293, 1546

Example 14.

Ave MariaOaxacan AntiphonaleVolume II Folio 137

There are two different tunes used for the Ave Maria text in the Oaxacan Antiphonale. Both settings of the Ave Maria are included in Festo in Anutiatione. The second Ave Maria which is included in the Oaxacan Antiphonale does not appear in either the Roman or Dominican Antiphonaria; thus, this Ave Maria is unique. The second setting of the Ave Maria text is quoted in its entirety in the example that follows.

Example 15.

Ave MariaOaxacan AntiphonaleVolume II Folio 145Antiphons Included in the Oaxacan Antiphonale

The two volumes of the Oaxacan Antiphonale contain a total of 386 antiphons. Table 11 illustrates the relationship between the antiphons in the Oaxacan Antiphonale and comparable antiphons contained in the 1933 edition of the Dominican Antiphonarium and the 1949 edition of the Roman Antiphonale.

TABLE 11

COMPARISONS OF THE OAXACAN ANTIPHONALE
WITH THE ROMAN ANTIPHONALE OF 1949 AND
THE DOMINICAN ANTIPHONARIUM OF 1933

Identical Texts & Tunes		
<u>Sources</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Only in Oaxacan & Roman	1	½%
Only in Oaxacan & Dominican	100	26%
In Oaxacan, Dominican & Roman	54	14%
Identical Text - Different Tunes		
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Only in Oaxacan & Roman	7	2%
Only in Oaxacan & Dominican	54	14%
In Oaxacan, Dominican & Roman	131	34%
Unique Text & Tunes in Oaxacan		
Only in Oaxacan	39	10%

*Note the Dominican and Roman Antiphonaria were standardized by the sixteenth century. They are representative of traditional liturgy.

Antiphons Included Only In
the Oaxacan Antiphonale

There are many examples that confirm the uniqueness of the Oaxacan Antiphonale, such as the added antiphon, Hec est virgo sapies in the Feast of St. Vincentii, and the O Corone miran in the Feast of Corone Domine. Other examples of antiphons not included in either the Roman or Dominican Antiphonalia, but appear in the Oaxacan Antiphonale are the following: (1) Heli sabet zachacriam in the Feast of Juannis Baptista, (2) Magdalena in the Feast of Maria in Rosario, (3) Conceptio tua genitrix in the Feast of Maria in Rosario. The only feasts in Oaxacan Antiphonale which have identical texts and tunes, comparable to the feasts in the Dominican Antiphonarium, are the Festo de Epiphany and Dominica iii post octava pasche.

Feasts Unique In Oaxacan Antiphonale

There are several feasts that are unique to the Oaxacan Antiphonale when compared to the Roman and Dominican Antiphonalia. The most unusual is the Festo de Comuni Unius Sen Plurimorum Unis Evangelista which is included in Paschali Tempore and Festo Visitationis: In Nativitate Beate Maria Rosario. There are three responses and nine antiphons in Festo Comuni Unius included in the Oaxacan Antiphonale. One response, In omne terram ouivit, is included in the Dominican and Roman Antiphonalia set to a different melody. The other responses, Gandidi facti sunt and Dum sannis vulpeas are included

in neither the Roman or Dominican Antiphonalia. Eight of the antiphons included in the Festo de Comuni Unius in the Oaxacan Antiphonale appear in neither the Roman or Dominican Antiphonalia. The eight antiphons are the following:

Filie hiero sale venite
Sancti tui domine florebut
Sancti et iusti in domino
In civita te guadio qui
O petre martit inclyte
Petrus nouus in cola
Turbecurrunt laguettium figna
O martyr egre doctor.

The other feast in the Oaxacan Antiphonale which is unlike the setting of the same feast in either the Roman or Dominican Antiphonalia is Festo of Visitationis in nativitate beate in conceptione: beate maria in rosario. This is illustrated in Table 12.

TABLE 12

VISITATIONIS IN NATIVITATE BEATE IN CONCEPTIONE:
 BEATE MARIA IN ROSARIO

Oaxacan Antiphonale	Dominican Antiphonale	Roman Antiphonale
Hec est	Same	*
R. Stirps jesse virgam	Same	*
Beati me virginis	Same	*
Visitationem virginis	*	*
Visitationem est hodi	*	*
Conceptio gloriose virginis	*	*
Nativitas gloriose virginis	*	*

* = not included

Festo de St. Dominic

A comparison between the settings of Festo de St. Dominic in the Oaxacan Antiphonale and the Dominican Antiphonarium provides another example of the uniqueness of the Oaxacan Antiphonale. The two settings vary in content. The first antiphon, Gaude felix pares, utilizes the same text and tune in both the Dominican Antiphonarium and the Oaxacan Antiphonale. The other chants of the Festo de St. Dominic in the Oaxacan Antiphonale differ from the chants in the Dominican Antiphonarium except the penultimate chant Ad Vesperas. Transit pauper ad regni is identical in the Antiphonalia. The psalms, responses and Gloria all differ. There is also no hymn included in the feast in the Oaxacan Antiphonale, nor is there any music for Laudes included in the manuscript.

The last three antiphons in the Festo de St. Dominic in the Oaxacan Antiphonale present an interesting contrast to the chants for Vesperas II in the Dominican Antiphonarium. The settings of the first antiphon, Adest dies laetitiae, are identical. The next antiphon, Pauper in peculio, in the Oaxacan Antiphonale utilizes the text of the first antiphon of Laudes in the Dominican Antiphonarium, but the tune is different. The last antiphon, O lumen ecclesie doctor in the Oaxacan Antiphonale is the same antiphon used following the Salve Regina in Ad Processionem in Fine Completorii in the Dominican Antiphonarium.

A comparison of the settings of the Festo de St. Dominic in the Oaxacan and Dominican Antiphonalia comprises Table 13.

TABLE 13

COMPARISON BETWEEN SETTINGS OF
FESTO DE ST. DOMINIC IN OAXACAN
AND DOMINICAN ANTIPHONALIA

Dominican Antiphonale		Oaxacan Antiphonale	
<u>Ad I Vesperas</u>		<u>Ad Vesperas</u>	
<u>Ant.</u>	Gaude felix parens	<u>Ant.</u>	Gaude felix parēs
<u>Ps.</u>	Laudate pueri Dominum		*
	Gloria Patri		*
<u>R.</u>	Ospen miram	<u>R.</u>	Granu excussum
<u>Ps.</u>	Imple Pater	<u>Ps.</u>	Cum mercedi virgines
<u>V.</u>	Qui tot signis	<u>Ps.</u>	Doctorum fulges
	Gloria Patri		Gloria Patri
<u>Hymnus</u>	Gaude Mater Ecclesia	<u>Ps.</u>	Doctorum
<u>V.</u>	Ora Pro nobis		*
<u>R.</u>	Ut digni efficiamur		*
<u>Ant.</u>	Transit pauper ad regni	<u>Ant.</u>	Trāsīt pauper
<u>Ant.</u>	Magne Pater sancte		*
	<u>Ad Laudes</u>		<u>Laudes not included in manuscript</u>
<u>Ant.</u>	Pauper in peculio		
<u>Ant.</u>	Scala caelo promines		
<u>Ps.</u>	Deus meus		

TABLE 13 - Continued

Dominican Antiphonarium	Oaxacan Antiphonale
<u>Ant.</u> Linduae, manus studio	
<u>Ant.</u> Fulget in choro Virginum	
<u>Hymnus</u> Hymnum novae laetitiae	
<u>Ant.</u> Carnis viror mentis	
Gloria	
<u>Ad II Vesperas</u>	
<u>Ant.</u> Adest dies laetitiae	<u>Ant.</u> Adest dies
<u>Ps.</u> Dixit	<u>Ant.</u> Pauper in peculio
	<u>Ant.</u> O lumen ecclesie doctor
<u>Ant.</u> = <u>Antiphon</u>	
<u>Ps.</u> = <u>Psalmus</u>	
<u>R.</u> = <u>Responsoria</u>	
<u>✓.</u> = <u>Versicle</u>	
* = Not Included	

Alleluia

Another unique feature of the Oaxacan Antiphonale is the use of an added or extended alleluia during the Paschal Season. At Vesperam on Palm Sunday, two alleluiatici and a Laudate dominus have been added. None of these appear in the Dominican or the Roman Antiphonalia.

The alleluia for Dominica in octava pascha ad Completorium is more extended and melismatic than the alleluia included for octava pascha in the Dominican Antiphonarium. The alleluia sung at the Canonical Hour, Completorium on Im

memori cruce is also extended in the Oaxacan Antiphonale. It is identical to the alleluia sung at Ad Completorium on Dominica in octava pascha in the manuscript.

The Uniqueness of the Tulane Graduale

A comparison of the contents of the Tulane Graduale with the Graduale Sacrosanctae Romanae, Ecclesiae De Tempore et De Sanctis and the Graduale Sacri Ordinis Praedictorium reveals the Tulane Graduale differs from both the Roman and Dominican Gradualia. Table 14 was devised to illustrate the differences between the Gradualia by listing the percentages of Communiones, Gradualia, Introitus, Offertoria, Psalmi, Responsoria, Sequentae, Tractus, and Versus Alleluiatici contained in the Tulane Graduale and comparing them to comparable chants in both the Roman and Dominican Gradualia. The table also contains the percentage of chants contained in the manuscript that differ from chants in both the Roman and Dominican Gradualia. The percentage of chants that are contained in the Tulane Graduale, but are not included in the Roman or Dominican Gradualia are also listed.

TABLE 14

COMPARISONS OF THE TULANE GRADUALE
WITH THE ROMAN GRADUALE AND
THE DOMINICAN GRADUALE

Classification	Tulane Dominican & Roman Alike	Tulane Different	Included only in Tulane
Communiones	55%	41%	4%
Gradualia	67%	33%	0
Introitus	50%	50%	0
Offertoria	42%	58%	0
Psalmi	77%	15%	8%
Responsoria	100%	0	0
Sequentiae	50%	50%	0
Tractus	43%	43%	14%
Versus Alleluiatici	44%	52%	4%

From the Paschal Season to the Festo de Corporis Christi, the chants in the Tulane Graduale differ from the chants in the Dominican and Roman Gradualia. The texts of the chants in the Tulane Graduale are like the texts for comparable chants in the Roman and Dominican Gradualia, but the melodies differ. The greatest differences occur in the Festo Sancti Hyacinthii and Octava Cti. Laurentii Martris. The first noticeable difference is the date of Festo St. Hyacentii. In the Tulane Graduale it is dated Augustii 16, while the Octave of St. Laurenti is dated Augustii 17. Festo de St. Hyacinth is given the date Augustii 17 in the Dominican Graduale, while the Roman Graduale does not include any chants for either In Festo Sancti Hyacentii or the Octave of St. Laurenti. The feast celebrated on Augusti 16 in the Roman Graduale is the Festo de Stephani Hungariae. There is not a feast assigned to Augusti 17 in the Roman Graduale. Augusti 10 is designated as the Festo S. Laurentii, Diaconi et Martyris in the Roman Graduale.

A comparison of the chants for the Festo de St. Hyacentii contained in the Tulane Graduale and Dominican Graduale illustrates the differences between the two Gradualia. Table 15 clarifies the differences. The texts of the chants in the Gradualia are identical, but the tunes differ in each one.

TABLE 15

COMPARISON BETWEEN SETTINGS OF FESTO
DE ST. HYACENTII IN TULANE
AND DOMINICAN GRADUALIA

<u>Dominican Graduale</u>	<u>Tulane Graduale</u>
Die 17 Augusti S. Hyacinthi, Conf. Ord. Praed.	In festo sancti Hyacintii predicaturum cō officiū die 16 Augustii
<u>Officium</u>	
In ecclesies Altissimi	In ecclesiis altissimi
✓ Oculi Domini	<u>Ps.</u> Oculi domini
Gloria	Gloria
<u>Responsorium</u>	
Eruditus	
✓ In vita sua	
<u>Alleluia</u>	Alleluia
Gaude fili Hyacinthe	✕ Gaude fili Hyacinthe
<u>Offertorium</u>	<u>Offertorium</u>
De terra loninqua	De terra loninqua
<u>Communio</u>	<u>Cōmunio</u>
Dilectus meus candidus	Dilectus meus candidus

Other unique features in the Tulane Graduale are the following:

1. The added chant, Dig nobis Angelis, following the presa (pause) in the sequence for Easter.
2. The interjection of In Festo Syacynthii between the Offertorio and the Comunio in the Feast of the Assumption.

The sequence of the folia in the Tulane Graduale appears to be correct. The rubrics concerning the Festo de Syacynthii are written at the bottom of folio 87L. There are no chants for the feast nor is the chant, Felix naque es, interrupted by the rubrics for Festo de Syacynthii. There seems to be no reason for the rubrics.

Another difference between the Tulane Graduale and the Dominican Graduale is the setting of the Christmas offertory, Qui sunt celi. The manuscript employs a different tune for the offertory than does the offertory in the Dominican Graduale.

The greatest difference between the Tulane Graduale and the Roman and Dominican Gradualia is the melodic settings of the chants in the manuscript. The Tulane Graduale deviates from both the Roman and Dominican Gradualia.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Hernando Cortes was sent to claim the territory known as Mexico for the Spanish crown, in spite of the fact that it meant they went to war with the natives. Missionary priests were also sent to help establish Spanish dominion in Mexico (New Spain) and convert the American Indians to Christianity. Music was one of the primary vehicles used to help attract the native to Christianity. The priests established schools where they taught the Indians to sing plainchant and play various European instruments. The Indians soon became such skillful performers, they were able to provide music for Catholic services in cathedrals and missions in New Spain.

During the sixteenth century, many choir books were printed in Mexico by Espinosa and Ocharte. They were often endorsed by the various Roman Catholic Orders to be used in the mission churches. The Indians helped create libraries for the churches by copying European chant books which the priests brought with them.

Franciscan, Augustinian, and Dominican Roman Catholic Orders were assigned territory in New Spain, where they were

responsible for establishing missions. As part of their assignment, the different Orders had the responsibility to teach the natives Roman Catholic liturgy and the Latin language which helped the Indians in their performance of music in the Mass and Canonical Hours. The Dominicans were assigned the territory which happened to evolve into the state of Oaxaca, where they established thirty-eight mission churches. Other Roman Catholic Orders were assigned territory north of the state of Oaxaca where most of their missions were established.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the missionary colleges of Queretaro and Zacatecas sent priests to establish missions in the territory claimed by the Spanish crown, north of the Rio Grande River. These missionaries also taught the Indians to sing and play European musical instruments. The priests, who were sent to visit the missions and report their progress to the missionary colleges, commented that the Indians sang and played as well as any Spanish musicians they had heard anywhere.

Conclusions

A careful search through the literature reveals that researchers had a significant interest in mission music. The historical aspects of the missions were explored; however, all the reserachers failed in their efforts to locate music manuscripts used in Texas and Mexico. The writer's discovery of

the Oaxacan Antiphonale and Tulane Graduale may help fill a void that exists in the history of the missions in New Spain.

The study of the Oaxacan Antiphonale and Tulane Graduale indicates that they are both Dominican manuscripts for the following reasons:

1. The Zapotec inscription of the final folio of the Tulane Graduale is signed by Andres Garcia, who identifies himself as a servant of St. Dominic

2. The Oaxacan Antiphonale was originally from a mission at San Lucas Camotlan, Oaxaca, Mexico, the center of Dominican missionary activity

3. Twenty-six percent of the chants in the Oaxacan Antiphonale are included in the Dominican Antiphonarium but are not contained in the Roman Antiphonarium, thus, there is a close affinity between the Oaxacan and Dominican Antiphonalia

4. There is a prominence given to the Dominican Saints, Catharine of Senesis and Hyacintii, in the manuscripts

5. St. Dominic is referred to as "our father Dominic," a custom which was begun by the Dominicans in the sixteenth century.

The effort toward dating the Tulane Graduale is simplistic because the Zapotec inscription includes the date 1698. This coincides with the information included in the paragraph above.

The dating of the Oaxacan Antiphonale is more difficult. However, the Oaxacan Antiphonale appears to be a seventeenth century manuscript for the following reasons:

1. The mission at San Lucas Camotlan, where the manuscript was discovered, was built in the seventeenth century. This indicates that the parish priest who established the mission used the Antiphonale
2. The spellings of the Latin text denote the manuscript to be seventeenth century
3. The similarity of the watermarks suggests the Tulane Graduale and Oaxacan Antiphonale were written during the same era. The similarity of the watermarks is exemplified in the circles which contain crosses, letters, and the omega sign in the paper used for both manuscripts
4. The similarity of the watermarks suggests the same craftsman made the paper used in the manuscripts
5. The single line of circles suggests the paper was made in the sixteenth century or later
6. In addition, the results of analysis of the paper by Walter McCrone, of McCrone Research Institute in Chicago, verifies the deduction that the paper was made before the early nineteenth century.

It is safe to presume the Graduale was not rebound before it was rebound when purchased by Tulane; however, it is established that the Oaxacan Antiphonale was rebound in the nineteenth century by the discovery of the shreds of a postal letter, dated 1809, sewed into the binding of the

manuscript. Therefore, the manuscript was inscribed in the seventeenth century and rebound in the nineteenth century.

The Tulane Graduale and Oaxacan Antiphonale have marks of uniqueness in their content. Examples of this uniqueness are the following:

1. Only one hymn, Iam lucis orto sidere, is included in the Oaxacan Antiphonale

2. The hymn tune used for Iam lucis orto sidere is not used for the settings of the hymn in either the Dominican or Roman Antiphonale

3. The hymn tune used in the Oaxacan Antiphonale for Iam lucis is used for the setting of the antiphon, Te Lucis, in the Festo Ssmi. Rosarii B. Mariae, and for the antiphons, In hoc Hyacinthii and Vox pura laudet exitum in the Festo St. Hyacinthi. The same hymn tune is used for the antiphon, O gloriose Domine in Festis B. Mariae Virginis in the Dominican Antiphonarium

4. One of the three settings of Ave Maria in the Oaxacan Antiphonale is not comparable to settings of the Ave Maria that are included in either the Roman or Dominican Antiphonale

5. A comparison of the chants in the Oaxacan Antiphonale with chants in the Roman and Dominican Antiphonalia (Table 11) indicates that only 14% of the chants in the manuscript are consistently like the texts and tunes of comparable chants in the Dominican and Roman Antiphonalia

6. The comparison also reveals that there is a greater affinity between the chants in the Oaxacan and Dominican Antiphonalia (26% alike), than between the chants in the Oaxacan and Roman Antiphonalia

7. Although 34% of the texts are alike in the chants in the Oaxacan, Roman, and Dominican Antiphonalia, the tunes are different

8. Ten percent of the chants in the Oaxacan Antiphonale are not included in either the Dominican or Roman Antiphonalia; therefore, the Oaxacan Antiphonale is essentially a unique manuscript

9. There is a much higher agreement between the chants contained in the Tulane Graduale and comparable chants in the Dominican and Roman Gradualia (Table 14), than there is between the chants contained in the Oaxacan, Dominican, and Roman Antiphonalia

10. Although the texts of the chants are alike in all three Gradualia, 45% of the tunes in the Tulane Graduale differ from both the Dominican and Roman Gradualia

11. Only 3% of the chants contained in the Tulane Graduale are not included in either the Dominican or Roman Gradualia. This indicated the Tulane Graduale is more closely related to traditional liturgy than is the Oaxacan Antiphonale.

Therefore, because of the evidence included in the paragraphs above, the author postulates that the music of the missions became a reflection of the local parish and was

used in a pastoral function to help build a congregation. Local folk tunes, pagan festivals, and pietistic experiences, which were a result of the culture, were incorporated into traditional Catholic forms of worship in New Spain to attract converts to the Catholic faith.

Suggestions for Further Study

(1) It would be practical to affect a study to locate the chants which are unique in the Oaxacan Antiphonale and Tulane Graduale. (2) An attempt should be made to discover manuscripts from other Spanish missions in Mexico, Central America, Peru, Argentina, Venezuela, and Texas. (3) An effort should be made to establish a history of watermarks to aid in historical dating of other projects of this nature. (4) Research should be undertaken at the mission archives in Queretero and Zacatecas to ascertain whether music used at the Texas missions is included in the documents sent to the missionary headquarters by the priests who were active at the missions in Texas. (5) An attempt should be made to discover whether the Convento in Oaxacan contains Dominican chant books inscribed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (6) An attempt should be undertaken to locate the mission church where the scribe Andres Garcia resided.

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Mrs. Walter S. Miller. Mitla, Oaxaca, Mexico. August 1981.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Report of Pat Tull, Graphologist

PAT TULL

2324 N.W. 115TH STREET • OKLAHOMA CITY, OK 73120 • (405) 751-1299

February 2, 1983

Ms. Jean Madsen
1016 Madison
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

In the matter of:
Handwriting Identification

Dear Ms. Madsen,

On October 2, 1982, the following documents were received
in my office:

QUESTIONED:INSTRUMENT #1

A Manuscript of an Antiphonale Pro Horis. The original
of this document is in the Music Library of the University of
Oklahoma. (machine copy)

STANDARD:INSTRUMENT # 2

A Manuscript of a choral book circa 1698 belonging to the
Department of Middle American Research at Tulane University at
New Orleans, Louisiana. (machine copy)

On January 14, 1983, I traveled to the University of Oklahoma
to view the original of the Questioned Instrument and to take
photographs. The photographs have been enlarged and will be used
in demonstrating the conclusions stated herein.

These documents were used by this examiner for visual comp-
arison to determine whether these two handwritten manuscripts
were executed by one and the same person. In addition, the
document from the University of Oklahoma has one portion of the
manuscript with no musical staff, a second portion with a black
music staff, and a third portion with a red music staff. These
three sections will be compared to determine if they were all
penned by the same hand.

Ms. Jean Madsen
February 2, 1983
page 2

These writings were examined visually and under magnification with various optical measuring devices. Comparisons were made for uniformity and general appearance in letter formations, skill in penmanship, rhythm, symmetry, line quality and speed, pen pressure, degree of slant, alignment, spacing between letters and words, the size and proportion of small letters in relation to capitals, and the initial or beginning stroke of each letter as well as the terminal or ending stroke.

CONCLUSIONS

The two manuscripts were not written by the same person. Questioned Instrument #1 and Standard Instrument #2 were penned by different hands.

The author of the portion of the University of Oklahoma manuscript that had no musical staff was not the same that penned the other two portions.

The portions of the manuscript with either red or black staffs were both written by the same hand.

A third person wrote some portions of the manuscript but that portion does not have a different colored ink or the lack of a musical staff to make it stand out. (see photograph)

These findings will be fully demonstrated upon request.

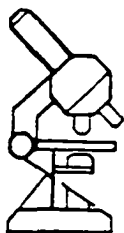
Respectfully submitted,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Pat Tull". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name and title.

Pat Tull
Document Examiner

APPENDIX 2

Report of Walter McCrone



MCCRONE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

2508 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60616 USA
TELEPHONE 312 842-7105

A NOT-FOR-PROFIT CORPORATION:
TEACHING
MICROSCOPY
CRYSTALLOGRAPHY
ULTRAMICROANALYSIS

26 August 1983

Ms. Jean Madsen
3908 N.W. Ninth
Oklahoma City, OK 73107

Dear Ms. Madsen:

I have taken a look at the two paper samples accompanying your letter of August 16. Both are obviously very old linen which is at least circumstantial evidence for an age exceeding at least 100 years. The absence of any wood fibers indicates, although it does not prove, that the paper was made before the middle of the 19th Century.

I'm sorry I can't be anymore definite than that. The appearance of the paper and the nature of the linen fibers certainly indicates an old paper but there is no way, by microscopy at least, to pin it down any closer than that. There are two possibilities that you could look into, one you have probably already considered would be the water marks since they may be known in terms of date. The other would be carbon dating and you obviously have plenty of material that could be used for that purpose. In fact, the samples that were sent to me would be adequate for that purpose. I'm returning them since I used probably less than 1% of each. The best place to have this done would be the University of Arizona who have a new carbon dating laboratory and who can do work of this type on very tiny samples. The error in their determination is quite large, at least + 100 years, but this would certainly be an improvement over what you now know.

There is no charge for this minor contribution.

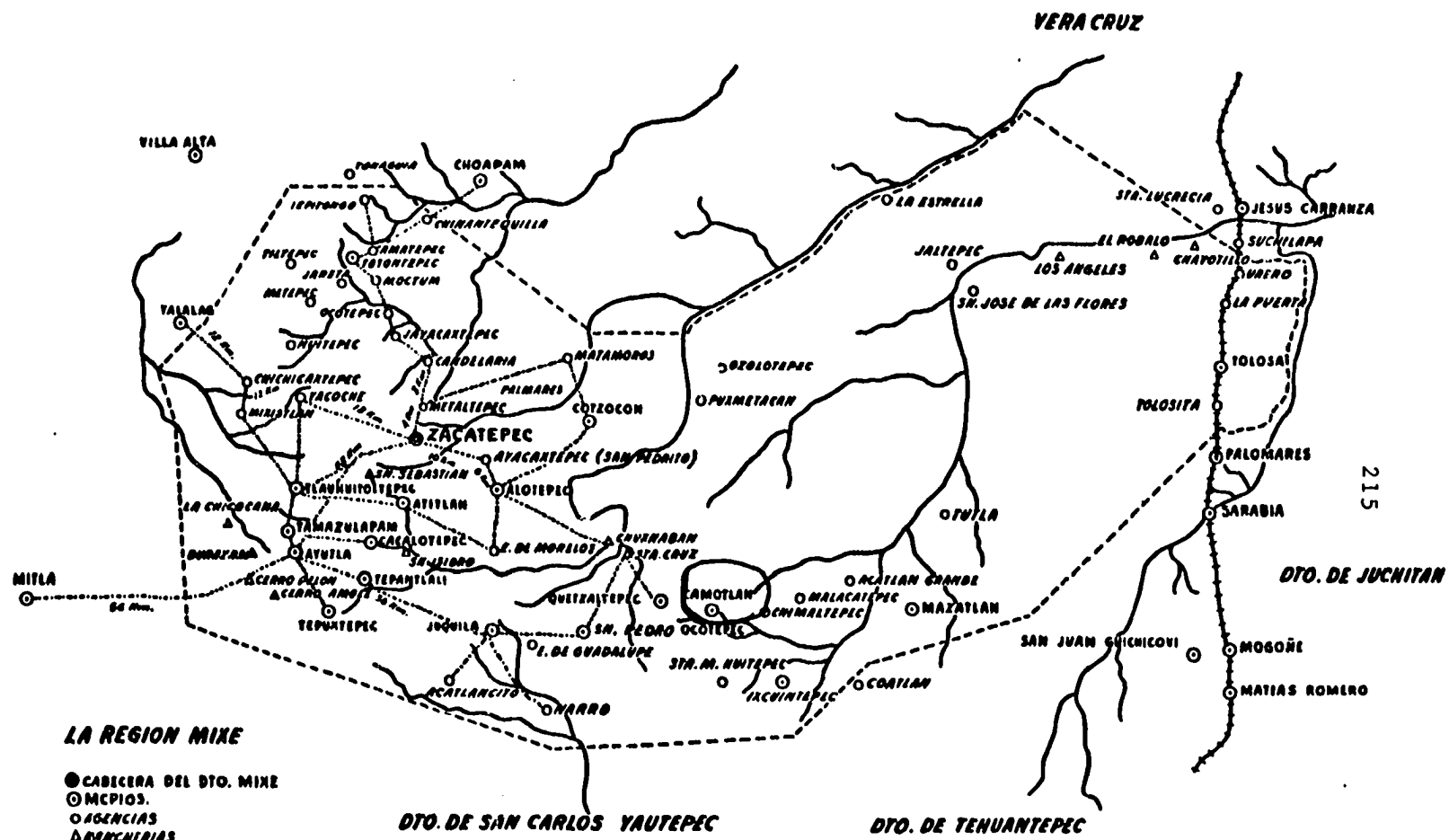
Yours sincerely,

Walter C. McCrone

Walter C. McCrone

WCM:gaf

APPENDIX 3
Map of Mexico Indicating
Location of San Lucas



APPENDIX 4

Translation of Zapotec in Inscription

Professor, The University of Oklahoma

1 de mayo anos 1698 coya loo quichi xij steni bene Sancta Maria beni
 were she descend our people person

ch.. naa Andres Garcia Maestro quichi Santo Dominez quicotab.
honorable mother *scribe* *thos wrote.*

May 1, 1698 our people who descend from (associate with) our holy Mother Mary. Andres Garcia ~~master~~ *teacher* and scribe of Santo Domingo wrote this.

APPENDIX 5

Text of Iam lucis

IAM LUCIS ORTO SIDERE

Iam lucis orto sidere,
Deum precemur supplices
Ut in diurnis actibus,
Nos servet a nocentibus.

Linguam refrenans temperet
Ne litis horror insonet:
Visum fovendo contegat,
Ne manitates hauriat.

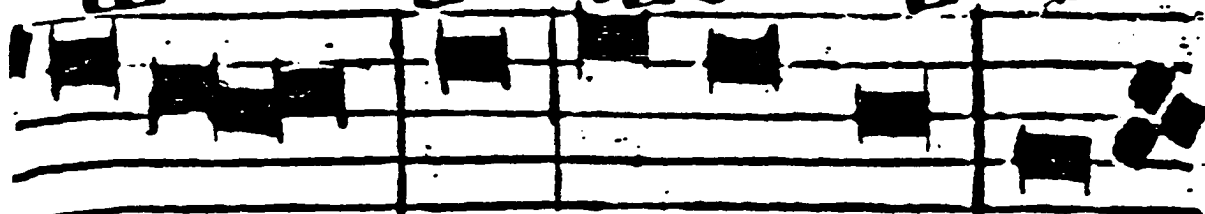
Sint pura cordis intima,
Absistat et vecordia;
Carnis terat superbiam
Potus cibique parcitas.

Ut cum dies abscesserit,
Noctemque sors reducerit,
Mudi per abstinentiam
Ipsi canamus gloriam.

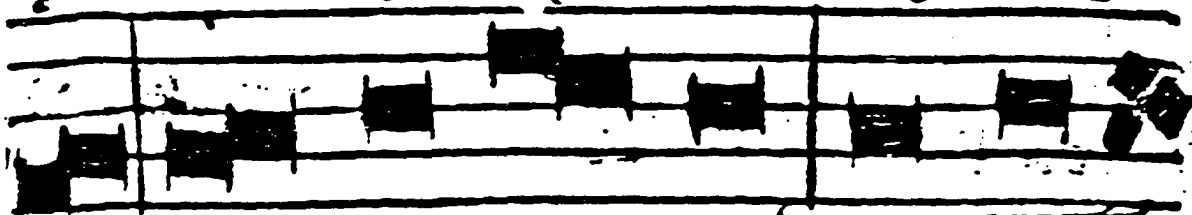
Deo Patri sit gloria,
Ejusque soli Filio
Cum Spiritu Paraclito,
Et nunc, et in perpetuum.
Aman.

APPENDIX 6
Festo de Sancte
Catharine de Sensis
Located Only In
Oaxacan Antiphonale
Volume II
Folio 221

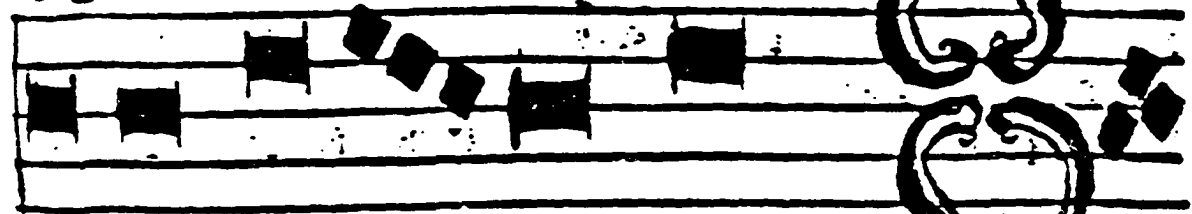
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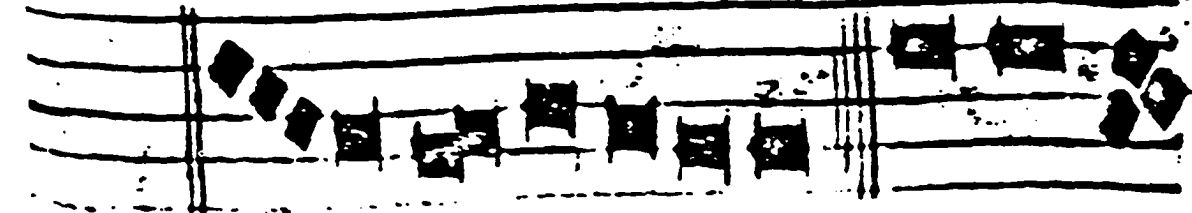


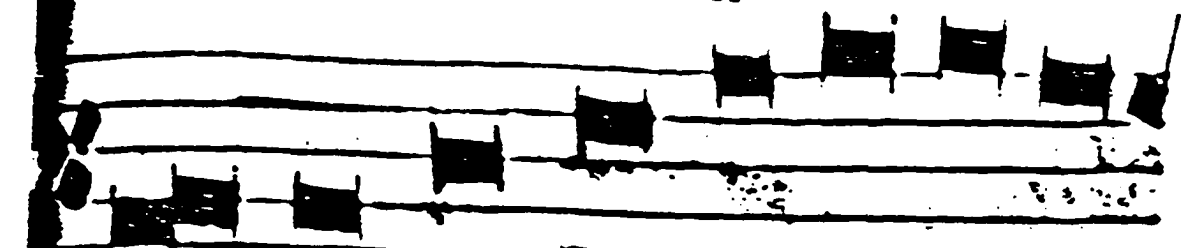
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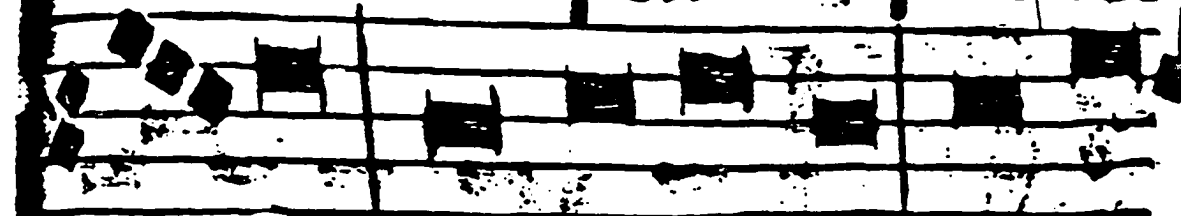
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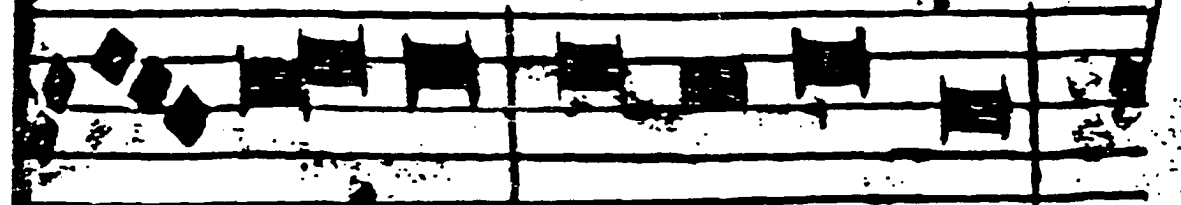




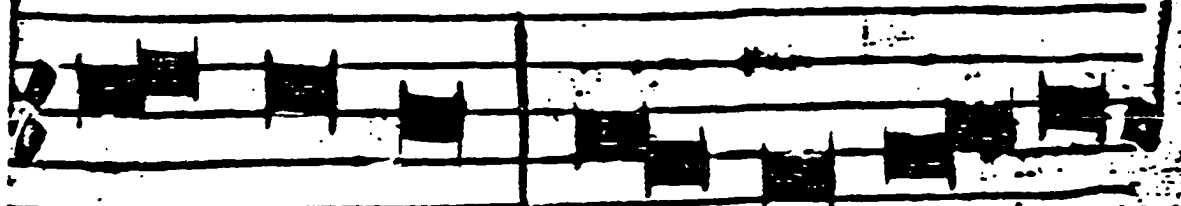
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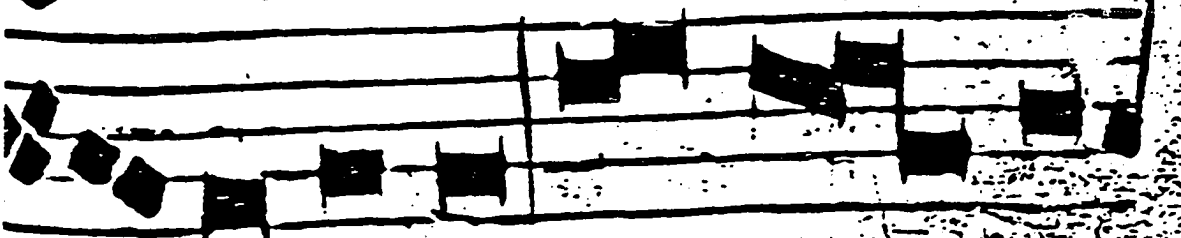
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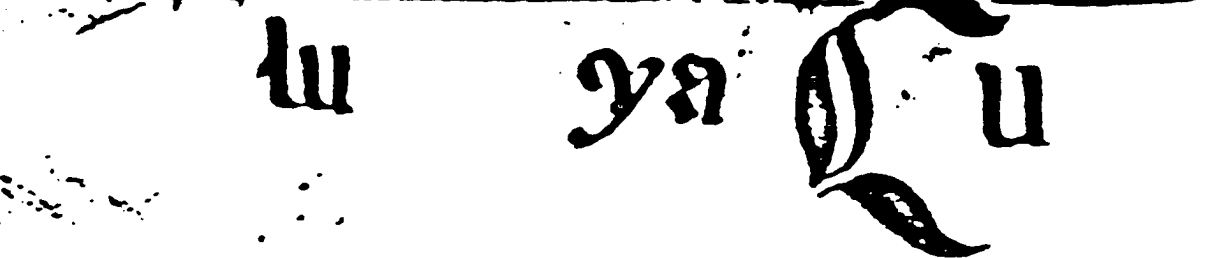
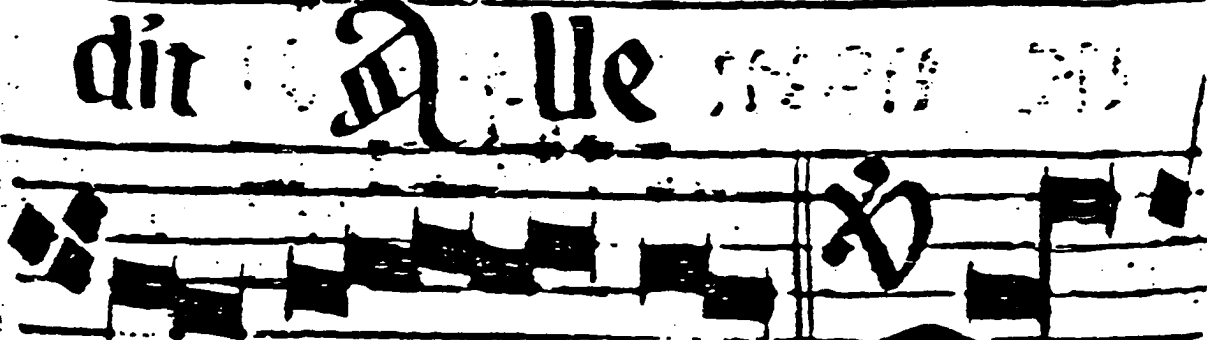
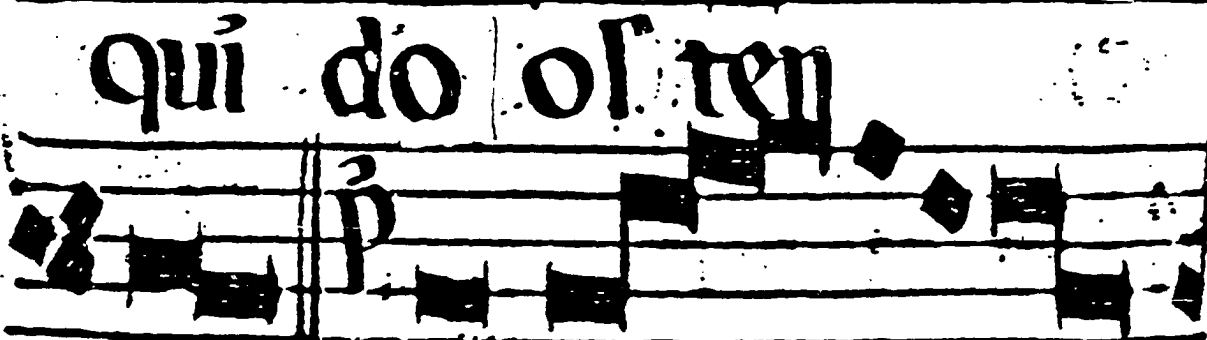
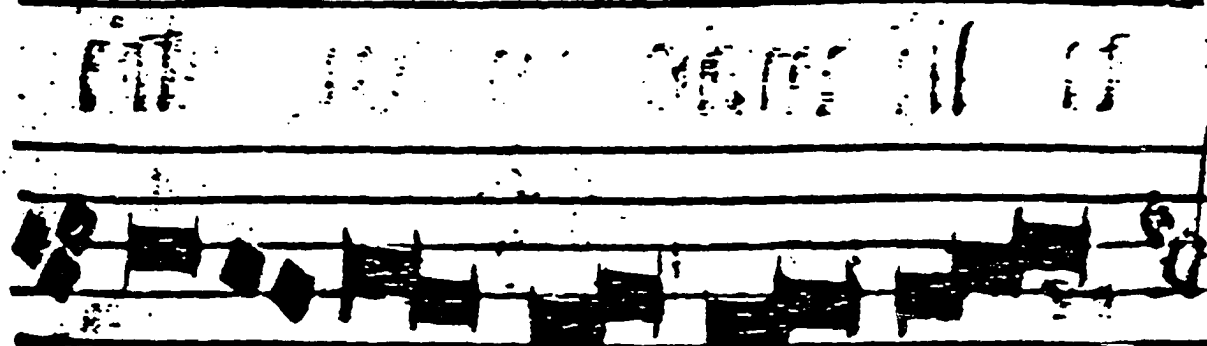
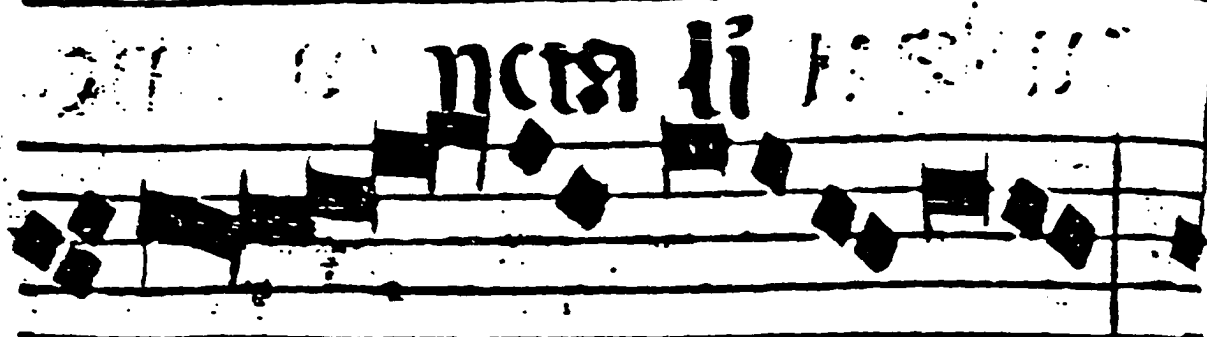
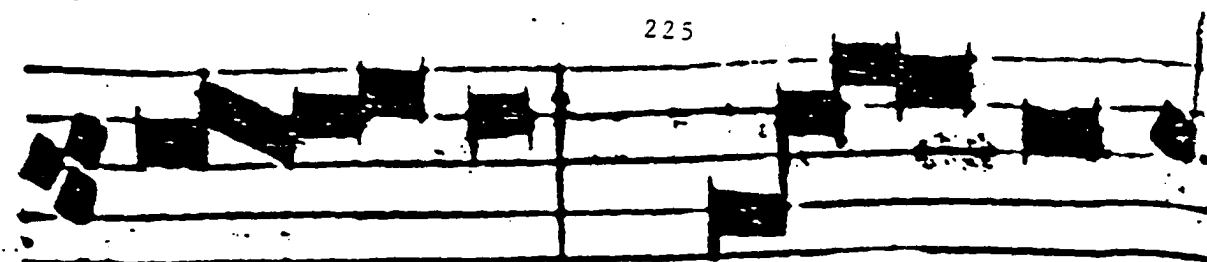
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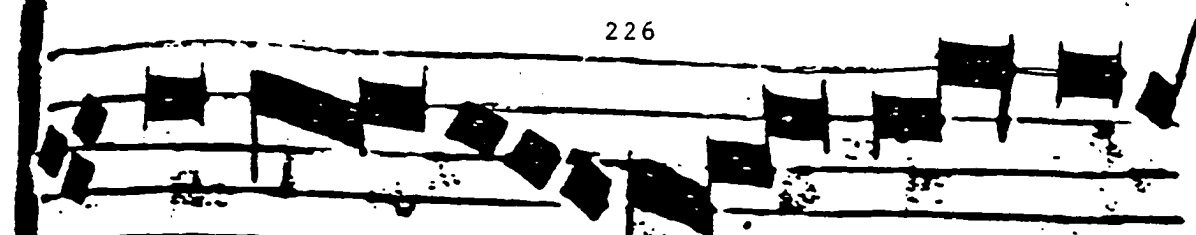
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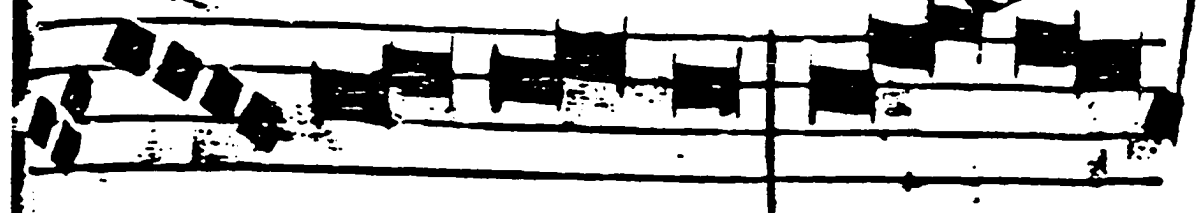
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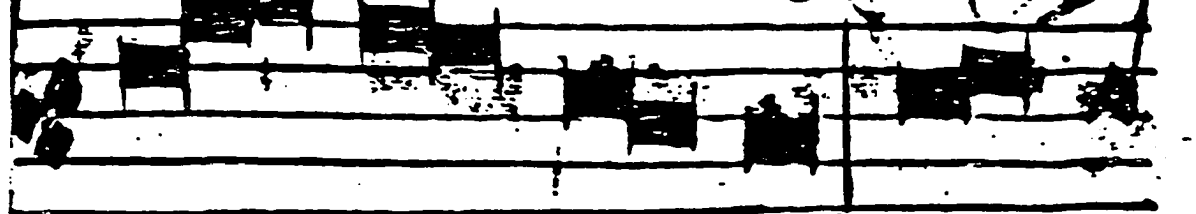




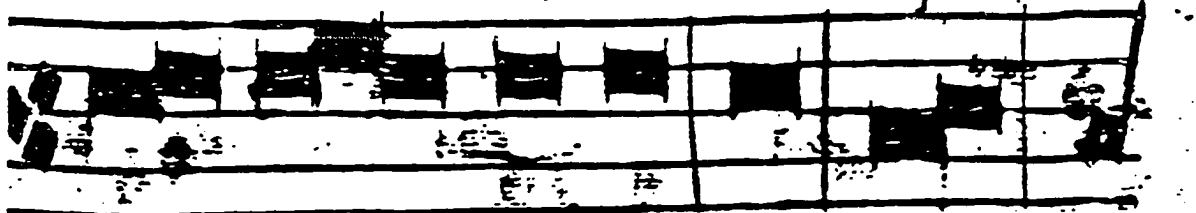
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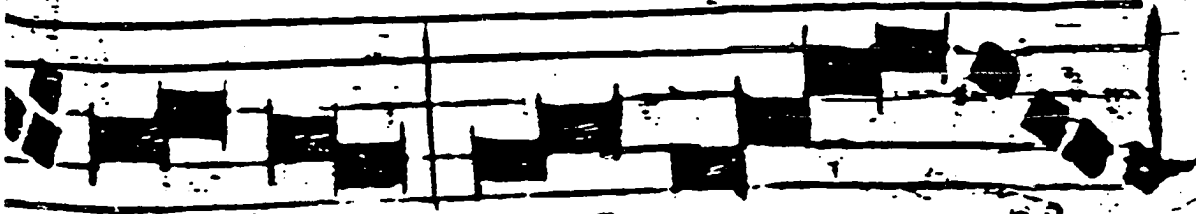
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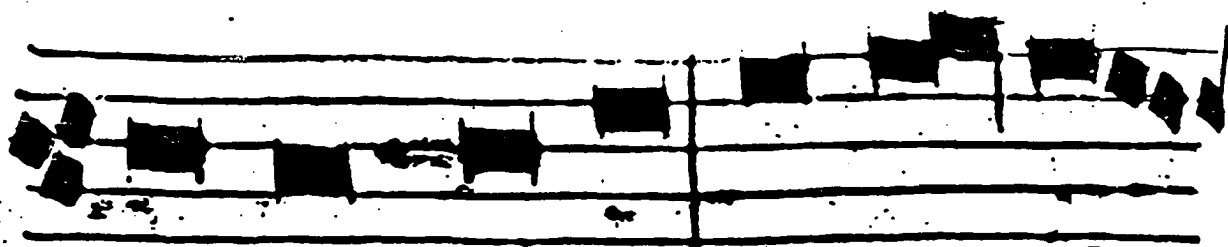
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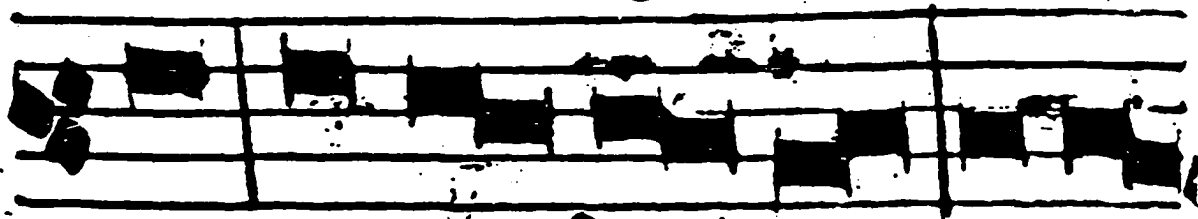
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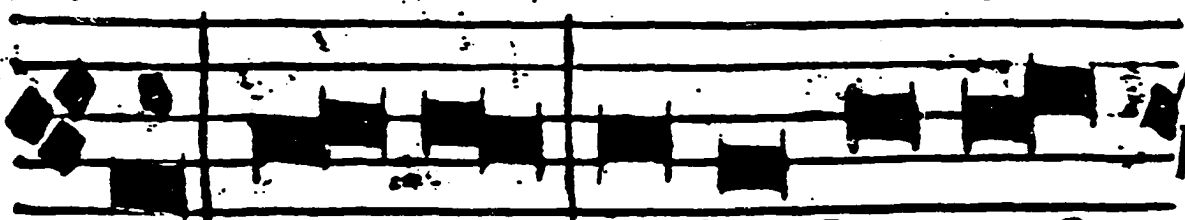
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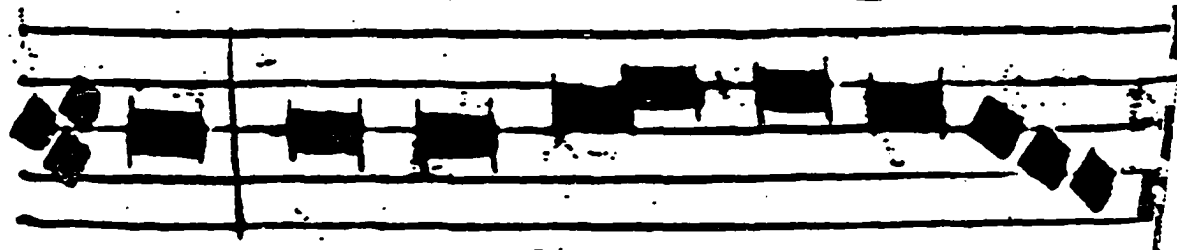
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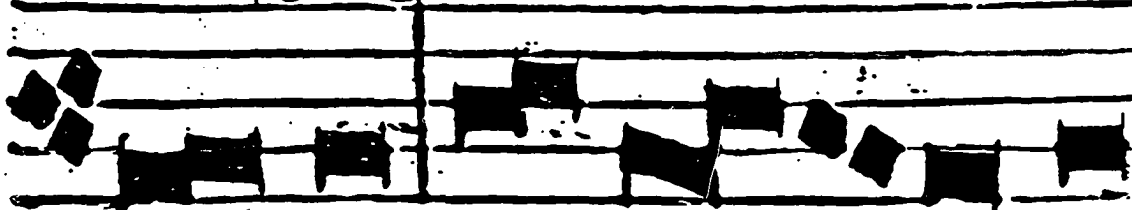
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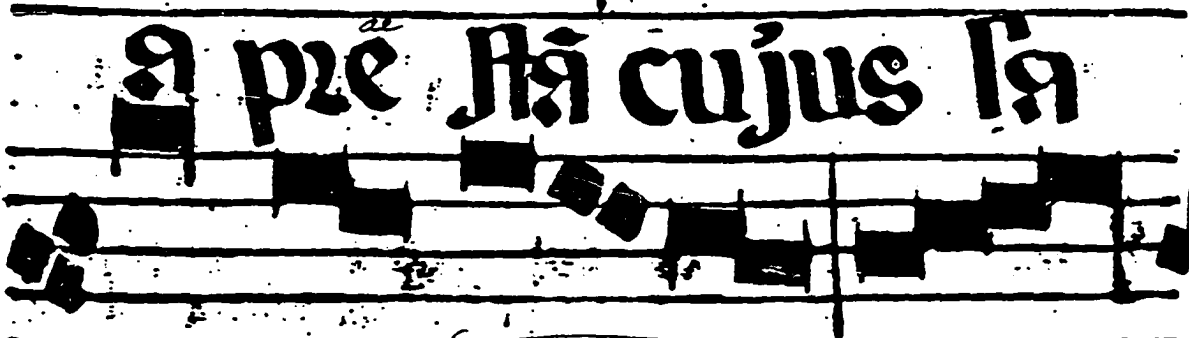
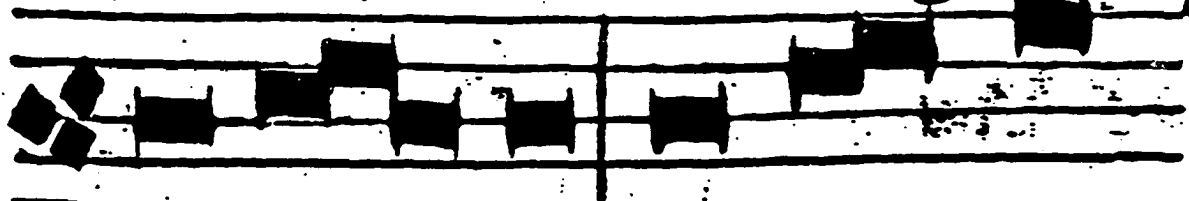
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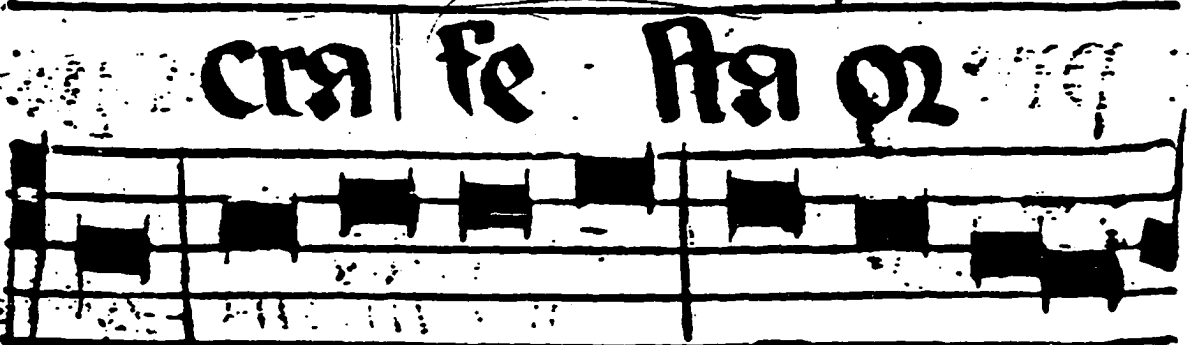




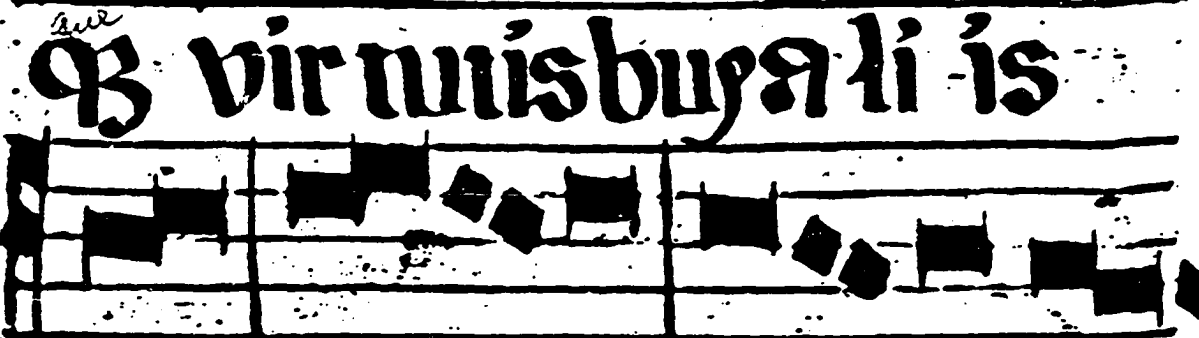
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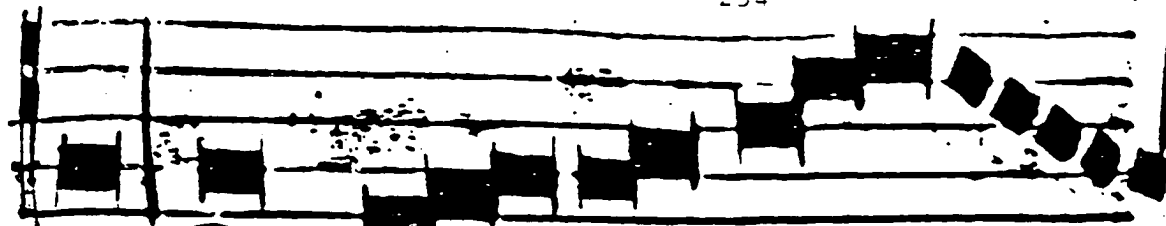


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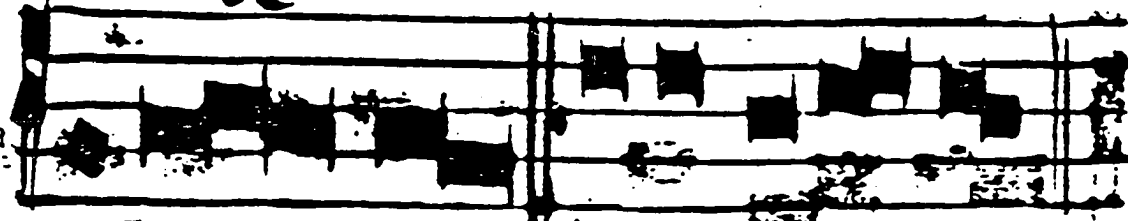


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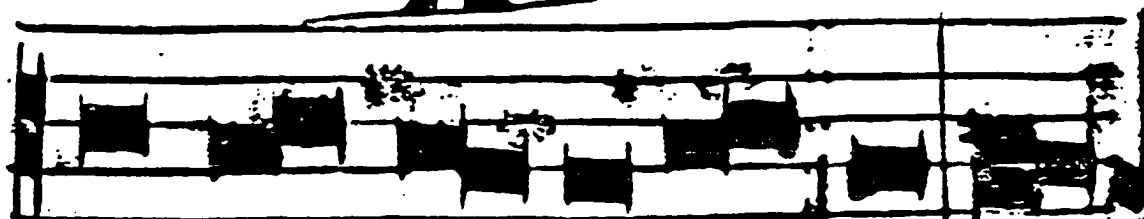
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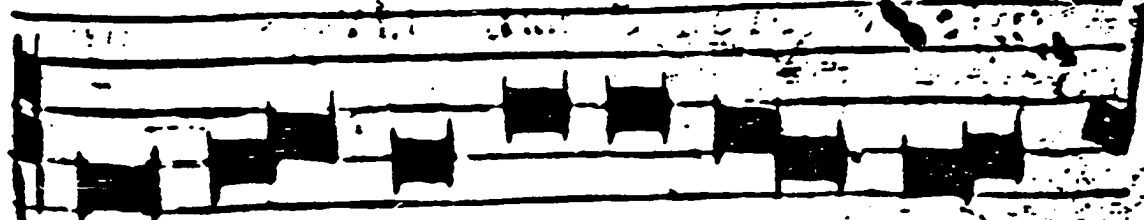
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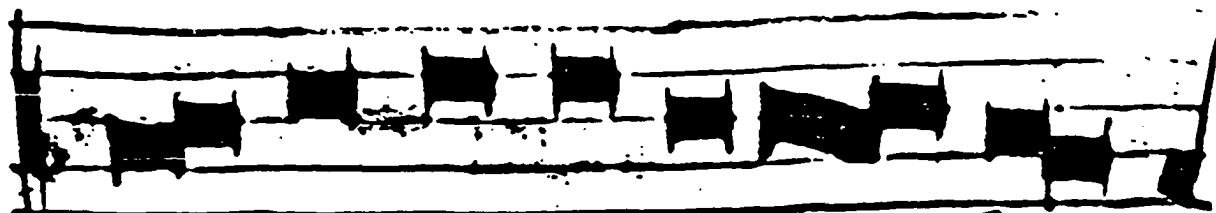
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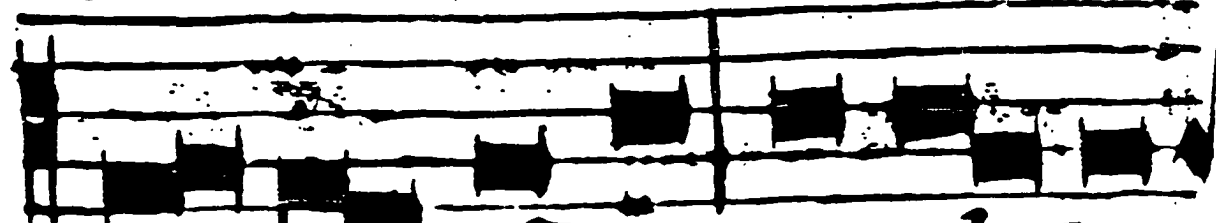
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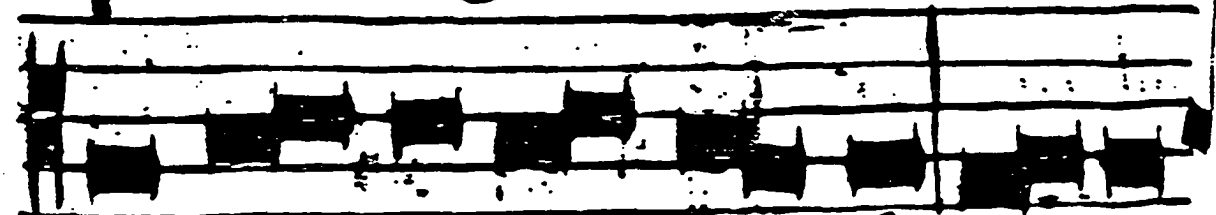
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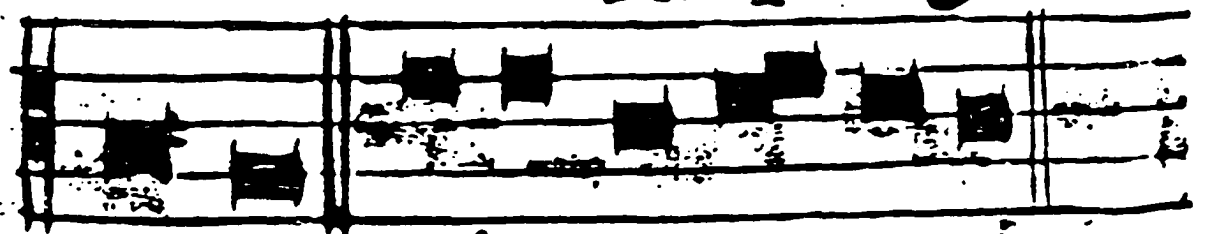
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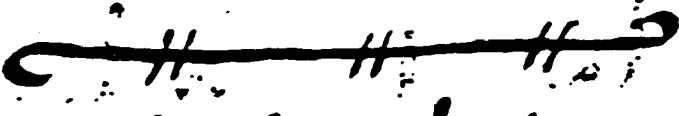


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psalmus antiphona*

APPENDIX 7

Biographical Sketch

Walter Scott Miller, Linguist

1910 - 1978

Sketch

In conducting such a study as this, a researcher is constantly aware of her indebtedness to other people. I am particularly grateful to the late Walter Scott Miller and his family who donated the manuscript of the Oaxacan Antiphonale to the University of Oklahoma. It remained unnoticed in the library archives until Jack Haley, Assistant Curator of the Western History Division of the Bizzell Memorial Library at the University of Oklahoma, brought it to the attention of the author of this document.

Walter Scott Miller was born October 29, 1910, in Altoona, Pennsylvania. He attended Practical Bible Training School and Baptist Bible Seminary in Binhampton, New York. He graduated from the seminary in 1944.

He became associated with the Institute of Linguistics after graduating from the seminary and was sent to San Lucas Camotlan in 1936. He learned the Mixe dialect from a young man named, Apolinar, a native of San Lucas. Mr. Miller frequently traveled to Camotlan to gather language material in order to translate the Gospel of Mark into the Mixe dialect. He collected folk tales from the natives. He later translated these stories into Spanish. They were published by the Instituto Nacional Indigenista in 1956.

Mr. Miller was given the Oaxacan Antiphonale because the parish priest and the people in the area of San Lucas Camotlan knew of his interest in their language, customs, history, and artifacts.

A literal translation of one of the folk tales included in Cuentos Mixes,¹ by Donna Rusk, Translator, was effected to reflect the tenor of the educational level of the people of San Lucas Camotlan.

DEERSKIN AND SQUIRREL TAIL AS A STORY OF THE CENSUS

As I told you before, Camotlan was very large. Now it has few people. Also there aren't many houses. But before, it was fairly large! I was already telling you what Alonso and Pacheco were like, true? Well, that was much before, but at that time there were many houses. Even until now there is a mark where they had their houses. When we go to pray, there is where we find the mark. The place is still there where they had their houses. Up that way to the east and to the north, more than an hour on the road, there are many marks. There are places where they leveled the ground to place their houses, Also, to the south behind the hills there is a mark. There is something like a hedge

¹Walter Miller, Cuentos Mixes, (Mexico: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1956, 161-62.

of stone, there are ditches where they carried water to irrigate their cornfields, I think. Those people were really hard-working, they know a lot.

Then, there were all occupations there. There was someone who knew carpentry. But that man was indeed a real carpenter--not like those of today. Those today do not know anything. There was someone who knew iron working, painting, and cutting rock. Well, there to the north, perhaps two hours away, there is something like a large plaza. There they worked with their own method. Those people did not transport the rock like now, they say. So they told me. Those people actually spoke to the rock. The rocks only are going to rise where they want. Only this way did those people gather the rock, they say. And so that was how they made that place. Rocks joined together are one on top of another. There that place is until now. Go and see it when you go there.

Well, at that time there was what is called a "central government," I think. It is there in Oaxaca or Mexico City. I don't remember that well. But I think it is called that. That is what wants to charge taxes and that they are going to assign fines. And so it is. For that reason it is called that.

Well, the central government sent an order. It is a letter that they sent. It is asking to see how many contributors Camotlan has. It is certain that it wants to charge taxes. For that reason, it is asking that.

Do you know what the authorities did? Well, that one was very smart. They obtained a squirrel tail and a deer skin. They sent those to a central government and sent an explanation, "as the hair is in these two, thus are we. A deer skin and a squirrel tail. Such are the tax-payers of Camotlan." The people there were very smart then. Who is going to count the hairs in a squirrel tail or a deer's skin? One cannot count that. Those poor government men aren't going to put up with that! How are they going to count that? Well, the situation just remained that way. Things just calmed down. The government no longer answered.

Yes, the people were very smart then. But afterwards those that are called friars came. They want to baptize the people. Many went into the mountains. There they looked for caves or dug holes. There these people entered. There they just died. Those people don't want to be baptized. There is where they become stupid, they say. So the ancient people told me. But before they were very smart. For that reason they sent the explanation, "A skin of deer and a squirrel tale - you are going to count the hairs. And thus are the people of Camotlan."