

# The Index of Toledo 44.2 and the CANTUS Database

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CANTUS is a database made up of indexes of the chants in sources of the Divine Office.<sup>1</sup> From its beginnings in 1987 it has been intended to aid scholars in identifying and distinguishing the liturgical traditions embodied in the surviving sources, thus carrying further the kinds of comparisons that were presented in the last two volumes of *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*.<sup>2</sup> The list of chants in each source is like the lists found in volumes one and two of *CAO*. But unlike *CAO*, the primary form in which this information is made available to scholars is not printed books but electronic files, enabling a steady increase in the number of sources surveyed in CANTUS to take place.

One major precursor of CANTUS was a doctoral dissertation completed in 1980 by Ronald T. Olexy at the Catholic University of America.<sup>3</sup> It included a list of the responsories and their verses in Toledo 44.2, an antiphoner dating from the very end of the 11th century or early in the 12th that is in the Chapter Library in Toledo.<sup>4</sup> Olexy's index was drawn up on a

computer and included a field for a thematic index that used a system for coding melodies developed by John Bryden and David Hughes.<sup>5</sup> Fascinated by the possibilities of what Olexy had achieved with his index, I began copying into a computer the index of antiphons from Frere's edition of the Sarum Antiphoner.<sup>6</sup> Not long after, in reviewing these two index files, the two graduate students who were to become the first CANTUS staff<sup>7</sup> developed a format for entries to the database that remains in use today, with minor revisions.<sup>8</sup> CANTUS began as a tool that could be used to gain access to the contents of individual sources. Yet it can also be used for comparing sources and in tracing the transmission of chant repertoires, and it is one example of this type of use that the following paragraphs will describe.

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offer advice concerning it. I am deeply indebted to him for his generosity.

<sup>5</sup>John R. Bryden and David G. Hughes, *An Index of Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969).

<sup>6</sup>The CANTUS index for the entire source, Cambridge, University Library, Mm.ii.9, is now available on the CANTUS Website. The much revised and expanded list of antiphons was published as *Frere's Index to the Antiphons of the Sarum Antiphoner*, ed. Lila Collamore and Joseph P. Metzinger (London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1990).

<sup>7</sup>Lila Collamore and Joseph P. Metzinger, working under the guidance of Dr. Olexy.

<sup>8</sup>For technical reasons it was unfortunately impossible to include Olexy's thematic index in the CANTUS version of his file. The file description, in which the format of individual records is explained, can be consulted on the CANTUS Website.

<sup>1</sup>It is available online at <http://publish.uwo.cantus/~cantus>.

<sup>2</sup>Hereinafter *CAO*; R. J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* (6 vols.; Rome: Herder, 1963–1979).

<sup>3</sup>Ronald T. Olexy, "The Responsories in the 11th Century Aquitanian Antiphonal Toledo, Bibl. Cap. 44.2" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1990).

<sup>4</sup>I first became acquainted with it through photographs that I was permitted to examine at the Abbey of Solesmes in August of 1971. During my repeated visits to Solesmes, Dom Jean Claire spoke with me often to learn what I was working on and to

The importance of Toledo 44.2 lies partly in the fact that although there is some question concerning its dating it is certainly among the earliest Office manuscripts to contain melodies written in transcribable form. Hence its testimony must be taken into account in any historical study of the music of the Divine Office. But its importance goes beyond that: as a document of the history of liturgy it bears witness to two major developments.

One is the process whereby the loosely-organized, sometimes overgrown collections of Office chants found in relatively early sources were pruned and shaped into the highly-organized series found in breviaries of the 13th century and later. The other is a historical event: an encounter between cultures that took place four hundred years before the voyage of exploration that brought Columbus to New World. I refer to the introduction of the Roman liturgy into the Iberian peninsula at the time of the Reconquest.

As it happens, a breviary for Braga has provided an important key to the understanding of Toledo 44.2. Braga was the leading ecclesiastical center in medieval Portugal. There is a manuscript breviary from there that dates from the end of the 14th century or the beginning of the 15th; it is in the Public Library of Braga, where it bears the call number 657. In 1980 a Portuguese scholar, Pedro Romano Rocha, published an analysis of it which he summarized in a report in the *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* in 1982.<sup>9</sup> In both works, Rocha identified distinctive elements that are also present in Toledo 44.2. Rather than refer repeatedly to the latter as "the Toledo manuscript," which might seem to imply a connection between its contents and the liturgical practice of the cathedral of Toledo, Rocha chose to speak of it as "l'antiphonaire aquitain," the Aquitanian antiphoner (AA for short). I must add immediately that although the antiphoner bears evidence of much use, the place at which it was used has not been identified.<sup>10</sup> Among the elements common to the Braga breviary and this antiphoner are many that descend more or less directly from the liturgical practice of Cluny, and some that bear

the stamp of one particular Cluniac house—Moissac, which was reformed by Cluny in 1047/48.

There is a reason that we might expect to find echoes of the liturgical practice of Moissac at Braga. It lies in what is known about the life of the man—Gerald of Braga—who is credited with introducing the Roman rite into that cathedral, substituting it for the Old Spanish (Mozarabic) practice. In the *vita* of this saint, we learn that Gerald was born in Aquitaine and while still very young was handed over to the monastery of Moissac by his parents. Distinguishing himself by his love of learning, he was put in charge of the monastery's library. Being skilled in music, he was called upon to teach both music and letters. He was also sent to various dependencies of Moissac to provide instruction concerning doctrine and religious practice. While on a visit of this type to Toulouse in perhaps 1086 he came to the attention of Bernard, the papal legate recently named Archbishop of Toledo, who recognized in Gerald the man to supervise the choir and educate the clergy in his cathedral of Toledo, a city that had recently passed from Moslem to Christian control, and in which the Old Spanish rite was just then being supplanted by the Gregorian.<sup>11</sup> After a relatively short but productive stay in Toledo, Gerald was invited by the clergy of Braga to become their bishop. He was an effective promoter of the interests of that church: he succeeded in having Braga recognized as a metropolitan in 1103, giving it preeminence over both Compostela and Toledo, and he enriched its treasury with various precious objects, including books, some of them presumably liturgical. In a paper presented at the conference "Monodia medieval" held in Lisbon and Évora in June of 2005 Michel Huglo referred to Toledo 44.2 as "l'antiphonaire de Géraud."<sup>12</sup> Yet the antiphoner is still in Toledo; Gerald must have had one or more copies of it made to take with him to Braga, copies that served as models for the much later Braga breviary.

<sup>11</sup> Relatively little appears to be known about the impact of this change in personal terms on the clergy who had previously performed liturgy and chant according to the Mozarabic rite. For a comparable situation in medieval England (one on a much smaller scale, but in which at least three men died), see David Hiley, "Thurston of Caen and Plainchant at Glastonbury: Musicological Reflections on the Norman Conquest," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 72 (1986), 57–90.

<sup>12</sup> The paper is soon to be published under the title "Le Processional portugais de Chicago," in *Revista portuguesa de Musicologia*.

<sup>9</sup> Pedro Romano Rocha, *L'Office divin au moyen âge dans l'Eglise de Braga* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1980) and "Les Sources languedociennes du Bréviaire de Braga," in *Liturgie et musique (IX–XIV<sup>e</sup> s.) Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 17 (Toulouse: Privat, 1982), 185–207.

<sup>10</sup> David Hiley points out that in *CAO* the manuscripts shown to be most similar to it are Spanish; see *Western Plainchant* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 596.

Among the elements to which Rocha has called attention in the various traditions—those of Cluny, Moissac, this antiphoner, and Braga—are similar selections of chants (antiphons and responsories), similar chant series for certain feasts, rubrics that are similar, and similar choices for verses of responsories. These examples are persuasive, and they invite speculation concerning the means by which the tradition of Aquitaine was conveyed to Iberia. What books did the clergy carry with them? What was their nature? One feature of the CANTUS index of the antiphoner is a list for each chant of those manuscripts surveyed in *CAO* in which it occurs. Often the chants in the antiphoner fall into groups that are defined by patterns of concordances: for example, on Holy Saturday a group of rather well-known verses for the litany is followed by a group for which there are no concordances.<sup>13</sup> It appears that among the common ancestors of the Braga breviary and the Aquitanian antiphoner there may have been libelli, small chant collections from which copyists selected material to enter into larger, more comprehensive books.

Among the chant series for which there are no concordances in *CAO* are several for the feasts of saints: Hilary of Poitiers, Geraldus of Aurillac, Saturninus of Toulouse, and Antoninus of Pamiers, who is out of place in the manuscript, having been added at the end of the sanctorale. In all of them, as in the manuscript generally, the antiphons are arranged according to the Roman cursus of the Divine Office: three are given for each of the three nocturns of Matins. The number of responsories varies; there are nine for Hilary and Antoninus, twelve for Geraldus, and eleven for Saturninus. For each of these saints there is obviously a clear connection with Aquitaine, but no one has identified another source in which these four offices appear together.

The fact that the feast of St. Antoninus is added at the end of the sanctorale, rather than being given in its normal position among the feasts of early September, suggests that this cycle of chants was absent

from the sources that were the principal models for the antiphoner. Its inclusion may reflect a decision made when the book was nearly finished to send it to a foundation other than that for which it was originally intended, possibly together with a gift of relics, to a place in which the cult of Antoninus was intended to have a prominent role. If that is the case, then the antiphoner may in a sense be twice an orphan, prepared at one foundation (most probably a monastery) for use at another—let's call it Cathedral A—thus with the cursus modified, and all of the purely local feasts suppressed, and then converted through the addition of this office for use at Cathedral B. The American historian C.J. Bishko has traced the propagation of the cult of St. Antoninus, which he identifies as "a southern French devotion," in 11th-century Spain.<sup>14</sup> Among the many centers of the cult in the early 11th century was the cathedral of Palencia (84 km. southwest of Burgos), which was founded and dedicated to St. Antoninus by Sancho el Mayor, king of Navarre from 1001 to 1035. An important gift of relics of the saint was received at Palencia from one of the Aquitanian centers of the cult early in the 11th century.<sup>15</sup> Further investigation of the connection between the antiphoner and the liturgical practice of Palencia will have to be deferred until a copy of the breviary printed for that cathedral in 1545 can be studied.

Let us return to the question of whether there are any features in the antiphoner that can be identified as having originated in Moissac rather than Cluny. Certainly, and first of all, the musical notation should be mentioned: in fact it is a great mystery why in Aquitaine, where the influence of Cluny is thought to have been so strong, the musical notation, formed of diastematically arranged points representing individual pitches, is so different from that of Cluny, which consists of the so-called "French" neumes. As for other evidence of the influence of Moissac, in his book Rocha several times compares series of chants from the two traditions; but even when the series are quite similar one finds differences that arise out

<sup>13</sup> See the book printed from an early version of the CANTUS index of Toledo 44.2, *An Aquitanian Antiphoner: Toledo, Biblioteca capitular, 44.2*, ed. Ronald T. Olexy et al. (Ottawa, Canada: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1992), 34. Its introduction covers some of the topics dealt with in the present article, but in more detail. Since the printing of that book a number of changes have been made in the index file. The current version of it is available on the CANTUS Website.

<sup>14</sup> Charles Julian Bishko, "Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny," *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980; originally published in Spanish in *Cuadernos de Historia de España* XLVII–XLVIII, Buenos Aires, 1968, XLIX–L, 1969), pp. 10–14.

<sup>15</sup> C. Daux, "La Barque légendaire de Saint Antonin," *Revue des questions historiques* 67 (1900), p. 406, fn. 1.

of the fact that any source prepared for Moissac itself must follow the monastic *cursus*, while the antiphoner conforms to the Roman *cursus* in the number of its antiphons. Another problem is that the oldest Moissac breviary Rocha uses for comparison dates from the second half of the 13th century, while the antiphoner, being earlier and inconsistent in the number of its responsories, seems to reflect the practice of a still earlier time in which there was some freedom in the selection of responsories, and perhaps also in their number.

It occurred to me that one way to get around the problems of *cursus* might be by examining the list of antiphons "in Evangelio" that are not in *CAO*—six in all. Microfilms of the two medieval breviaries of Moissac have thus far been unavailable to me; but there is a lavishly illuminated 15th-century Moissac breviary in the Morgan Library in New York. In June of 1991 I went there with my printouts and found that of the eight non-*CAO* antiphons on Sundays 4 through 21, at least five are in the Moissac breviary. This means that further comparisons of the whole antiphoner with the Moissac breviary are in order, and that we may need to reevaluate the relative roles of Cluny and Moissac in the liturgical reform of the Iberian peninsula at the time of the Reconquest. Indeed, there is no question that evidence preserved in liturgical manuscripts could play an important role in this reevaluation. Thus chant databases have a value that extends far beyond the narrow interests of chant scholars, musicologists, and historians of the liturgy; they provide access to kinds of information that have very broad implications.

This is not to understate the help they give us in identifying the chants that are most interesting. When I told Keith Falconer about the eight non-*CAO* Gospel antiphons, his response was swift and to the

point: "Have you transcribed them?" All of us who worked on CANTUS at Catholic University found ourselves tempted at times to drop everything, abandon the collective enterprise, and go to work on our own transcribing, analyzing, and evaluating something we had just discovered. We were always being pulled in this direction, and naturally I encouraged the student workers to let their work on CANTUS guide them to a choice of dissertation material.

It seemed "the best of all possible worlds"; through the work of indexing we were producing a tool that we hoped many other scholars would find useful. In giving it to them freely we hoped to have established a precedent—the absolutely free exchange of indexes—that would encourage others to give as well as to receive the results of this kind of effort. Work on the CANTUS database did not end with the preparation of the list of the chants in Toledo 44.2; as a matter of fact, it was one of the first sources we studied. Professor Terence Bailey of the University of Western Ontario became director of CANTUS in 1997, and now there are dozens of sources. A search for a well-known chant produces a list of concordances that extends for several pages. At least twenty-eight scholars in eight different countries have contributed to it, and there is evidence that hundreds of researchers have used it. A great deal has already been achieved through scholars' contributions to and use of CANTUS, but its full potential remains to be demonstrated in the years to come.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> This paper was first presented at the conference of the International Musicological Society in Madrid in 1992 and published under the title "Directions for Chant Research in the 1990s: The Impact of Chant Data Bases," *Revista de Musicologia*, XVI, n°. 2 (1993), 697–705. It appears here in moderately revised and updated form.