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1952 The rhythmic tradition in the manuscripts
by André Mocquereau & Joseph Gajard
D. André MOCQUEREAU AND D. Joseph GAJARD

THE RHYTHMIC TRADITION
IN THE MANUSCRIPTS

MONOGRAPHS ON
GREGORIAN CHANT No. IV

APPROVED TRANSLATION
BY DOM Laurence BEVENOT
Monk of
AMPLEFORTH ABBEY

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The pages that follow are the translation of a paper prepared by Dom Joseph GaJard in collaboration with Dom André Mocquereau (Desclée: 1924). The work of translation has been undertaken by Dom Laurence Bévenot, monk of Ampleforth Abbey, with the aim of giving to English readers a plain account of the authors' case for establishing the rhythmic tradition in the plainsong manuscripts.

1951
THE RHYTHMIC TRADITION
IN THE MANUSCRIPTS

When pilgrims to Solesmes ask from what sources are derived the rhythmic signs that are printed in their editions of the chant, the monks have a way of leading the enquirers into their palaeographic study and of inviting them to examine the manuscripts together.

The following pages are an attempt to do for the reader what is done for those others. The process may seem somewhat dry-as-dust: we hope at least to clear away a few of the difficulties and misunderstandings.

Before launching directly into the subject of this paper, which is to produce evidence of a definite rhythmic tradition in the Middle Ages, it will be useful to begin with a few general remarks upon musical palaeography.

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Ancient manuscripts of liturgical chant can be divided into two kinds:

1) *diastematic* MSS i.e. those which express (in one way or another) the exact intervals between sounds;

2) *neumatic* MSS i.e. those consisting of special signs which, without determining the precise intervals, express the relative melodic direction of the sounds.

Musicians have long been accustomed to see all their pieces — whether in plainsong or figured music, sacred or secular, — set out upon staves of 4 or 5 lines, with special clefs so that the melodic line is precisely determined down to the smallest detail. The lines and spaces leave no doubt as to the kind of note that lodges there, nor as to the pitch of the sound for which it calls. A knowledge of the scales alone is necessary.

But formerly, it was not so straightforward. The staff with 4 or 5 lines was invented relatively recently. It took centuries of groping about to reach this stage of perfection. The staff was invented only about the X1th century and even so the idea was slow to spread: we find MSS of the XIIIth century which still show no sign of it.
A. Neumatic manuscripts. — For a long time the scribes could employ nothing but neumes, i.e., different arrangements of signs derived from the accents used in ancient times to mark the inflexions of speech. See the illustration of neumatic notation taken from a MS of the celebrated Abbey of St. Gall, the Antiphonary of the Bd. Hartker (Plate A in the Appendix). What strikes one at once is the absence of staves, of clefs, of notes; we see simply the text and, written above it, an odd-looking assortment of signs — nothing, seemingly, very promising. And yet these signs must now engage our attention; their interest should presently become absorbing.

Human speech has its own proper melody. But since its intervals are undefined, erratic and impulsive, and cannot fall into any defined scale, there is no possible way of representing it faithfully on paper. While orators might freely conceive and give utterance to the melody of word or phrase, the grammarians could do no more than indicate vaguely the intonation of separate words by using signs which expressed the raising or lowering of the syllables. For this purpose, two operative signs sufficed:

- the acute accent, for raising the voice: it was an up-stroke from left to right, \( \acute{ } \);
- the grave accent, for lowering the voice: it was again drawn from left to right, but downwards, \( \grave{ } \).

In cases where one and the same syllable might bear two inflexions of the voice, a combination of the two single accents was resorted to, thus:—

- the circumflex \( \acute{ } \) : for a high note and a low note;
- the anticircumflex \( \acute{ } \) : for a low note and a high note.

The original meaning of these grammatical accents was purely melodic. The grammarians associated with them no notion of duration or stress, but classed them solely in the order of pitch. The accent was not long; whether acute or grave it equalled one single beat of time, no more.

Space permits only the briefest mention of a third accidental sign, the apostrophe. Although this too has found its way into musical notation, its effect upon the formation of neums has been less considerable than that of the acute and grave accents.

Accents in relation to neums in music. — Most of the neums in the MSS of St. Gall are indeed combinations of grave accents and acute accents. The diagram in Plate B gives the names of the simple neums, with their approximate shape, their origin and their appearance in our modern editions of plainsong. It is clear that in the process of becoming neums or musical notes the accents were modified in shape only very slightly at first, except the grave accent in certain cases; but they were given other names which the new shape suggested. The acute accent became the neumatic acute; the grave accent, used by itself, turned into the punctum and took this as its name. When joined to the acute accent the grave accent more or less kept its form: the circumflex became the clivis \( \acute{ } \); and the anticircumflex the pes or podatus \( \grave{ } \).

In chant the combinations of accents are naturally more frequent than in speech; we expect therefore to find neums which are groups of 3, 4, 5 notes and more, e.g.

- Neums of 3 notes: Torculus \( \acute{ } \)
  - Porrectus \( \acute{ } \)
  - Scandicus \( \acute{ } \)
  - Climacus \( \acute{ } \)
  - etc.

This notation is also called chironomic since the accents only trace the up and down motions made by the writer’s hand.

Turning back to the illustration of the St. Gall MS the reader will now follow more easily at least the melodic outlines of the notation. The matter of the rhythm will arise presently. Notwithstanding its want of precision, we conclude that neumatic notation was primarily melodic.

Then, the reader may ask, how does one arrive at the rhythmic tradition? Before answering this, a word must be said of the second kind of ancient notation mentioned at the outset, the diastematic notation.

B. Diastematic notation. — Undoubtedly there was from the very beginning a serious shortcoming in the neumatic notation explained above: the raising and lowering of pitch was sufficiently well shown by it, but it failed to gauge the interval. Faced with these neums, the beginner could only understand them if his teacher was at hand to illustrate their working. By singing, and so by making the intervals heard, the teacher was obliged himself to make good what the notation lacked. On his part, the pupil repeated what he heard, and by dint of patience and industry he memorized all the Gregorian melodies. The neumatic accents provided hardly more than a means of prompting and refreshing his memory. In such circumstances long years of training were needed to master the Church’s repertory in its entirety.

Transcribers were therefore faced with a serious task. This was to improve the chironomic notation by making it clear and intelligible at a glance. In the act of writing the neums, the copyists got into a way (not
surprisingly) of arranging the notes on different levels according to the variation of the intervals. The first traces of this diastematic notation (διαστηματικα, intervals) can be seen even in the most ancient MSS with neums. In others the notes were spelled out with letters above the neums: the alphabetic notation.

The idea was pushed further. To dispel any uncertainty, at first a single horizontal line was traced, on either side on which the notes were arranged. Then, for greater precision still, a second line was added, then two more, and the musical staff was complete. Finally, the invention of clef-signs brought the system to perfection.

This progress went by stages; and each country had its usages; space forbids the telling of how these evolved. In any case that is not the subject of this paper. What is needed for following the argument is some general notion of what palaeography in music can teach us.

In order to fix the melody of each phrase in the Gregorian repertory — antiphonary, gradual, etc. — we have first to consult all the MSS, those which are neumatic as well as those which are diastematic. With the aim of securing the best possible critical version, the work at Solesmes is planned as follows.

All the MSS are transcribed on large comparative charts, having regard to their class, their school, their date. Naturally there are only two kinds of chart corresponding to the two classes of manuscript explained above: charts with plain neums for the neumatic MSS, and charts with staff for the diastematic MSS.

For example, (Plate C). Here is the transcription of the Alleluia V. Ostende nobis from the 1st Sunday of Advent. Of course it is only a fragment taken from the large charts; the folder shows only a selection from each family of MSS. As you see, each neum has its column which is numbered, so that by simply glancing down the charts, neum by neum, the reader can recognise which is the traditional version. In ordinary cases, at least, nothing can be simpler than to detect the authentic version, and then the modifications and corruptions that crept in with the lapse of time. It is certainly a stiff labour to transcribe the MSS. But at least the results do generously repay us for our pains. Thus are we able to reclaim the primitive version, St. Gregory's, with almost complete certainty: the version that Bp. Pius X in his Motu Proprio wished to be restored and to be sung in the Catholic Church.

But our task here is not to demonstrate the restoration of the melodies; what has been promised is some account of the rhythmic tradition. And so the reader must focus his attention upon the neumatic chart (Plate C). Our endeavour will be to explain all its secrets. Greater familiarity with the neums will be rewarding, since it is thanks to them that our melodies regain all the life and fulness of expression which was theirs in the great centuries of the Middle Ages.

THE RHYTHMIC TRADITION

What do these words mean? They mean the existence in the middle ages, at the golden age of the chant, of a traditional interpretation which fixed, down to the last detail, the expression to be given to the liturgical melodies.

This tradition was universal, being found in all the countries of the West. It was also primitive, having its origin with all probability in Rome and going back to the very time of St. Gregory.

This plain fact, once it is proved, dominates the entire field of Gregorian chant, viewing it in its proper perspective.

Is there an objective rhythm, or is there not? Alternatively, is a man free to interpret plainsong in his own way, according to his own personal taste?

Were the Gregorian melodies composed, like all other music, with a definite rhythmic movement requiring this or that form of expression? Or else are they a bald succession of sounds to which can be added the expression and colour that one chooses?

In other words does there exist a rhythm which is anterior to the melody and which somehow creates it, or is every executant at liberty to apply his own rhythm to it?

One thing is certain. Up till nearly the middle of the Xth century, Western Christendom was in unanimous agreement not only as regards the melodic line but also as regards the expression or rhythm. The individual was not left free to interpret the chant at will; all had to follow the interpretation handed down by tradition. This is proved by the fact that our most ancient manuscripts, those which are beyond doubt the best 1

1 "The melodies of the church, so-called Gregorian, will be restored in their integrity and purity according to the fidelity of the most ancient MSS". Bp. Pius X, Motu proprio 25 April 1904.
— those of the Xth century — abound in special signs and letters which prescribe the most subtle details of performance with a precision and consistency which can at times be staggering.

The meaning given here to the word "rhythm" is to be understood in its fullest and widest sense. We pass beyond the smallest rhythmic divisions, the succession of rises and falls which, while being in fact indispensable to the structure of the rhythm, are none the less only the rhythm in embryo, so to speak. Thanks to the transcribers of the middle ages we can proceed several stages further, we reach the rhythm in its state of perfection and maturity. We find garnered all the various nuances which afford life and soul to the chant, and bring out its meaning and power of expression.

Although the ancient writers could indicate these nuances merely by signs and marks of duration, these signs and marks are fully adequate for us to infer (in most cases with certainty, considering the principles of rhythm in general) the entire hierarchy of movement, from the shortest undulations to the most extended in phrase and period.

The demonstration proposed in these pages is threefold:

1) to establish scientifically the existence of this rhythmic tradition;
2) to let the reader convince himself of this;
3) to show that this tradition was universal and seemingly Roman in origin, as was the tradition of the melodies.

For the purposes of proof, the familiar Alleluia. Ἱ. Ostende has been selected. Obviously it is simply one example taken from a thousand; one might as well have taken any of the other pieces in the Gregorian repertory from the Ist Sunday in Advent to the last Sunday after Pentecost — each one has its special chart. Visitors to Solesmes may ask to consult these great charts at their leisure. The Alleluia. Ἱ. Ostende will amply suffice to prove the point.

* * *

The proof all rests upon one hard fact: i.e., the presence in the MSS mentioned already, of a whole set of valuable markings which do not appear any more in the later documents; and we submit that it is precisely in these markings what we call the rhythmic tradition can mainly be found. It will be apt for the reader immediately to observe this fact for himself; it will then be explained, and the logical conclusion drawn therefrom.

As stated above, we leave aside the MSS "with lines" and consider only those which are neumatic. We now sub-divide these purely neumatic MSS into two main classes:

MSS which we name rhythmic,
MSS which we name non-rhythmic,
a distinction which is of primary significance.

There are some who imagine they may deny this distinction: the reader is asked to scrutinise a specimen of each class, chosen from MSS of the school of St. Gall. (See in the Appendix).

PLATE A: Xth century. Rhythmic MS taken from the Antiphonary of the Bd. Hartik. This is one we know already.

PLATE D: XIIth century. Non-rhythmic MS from a Gradual of St. Gall.

These two MSS are both in pure neums, with no lines; both show the script proper to St. Gall although each scribe has his own style in forming the neums.

The difference between them is this: the XIIth century MS (PLATE D) has neums only, nothing more, and neums which have always the same form. The other one, the Xth century (PLATE A) has — besides the neums — added signs or letters; moreover, the same neum assumes different forms in different cases. All these things fix, in our opinion, the rhythm of the Gregorian melodies. Above the neums the reader must note the letters "σ", "ε", "θ", "ι", "μ", "ν", "ξ", etc.

Taking the matter in detail:

a) Clivis.

In the XIIth century, (PLATE D) the clivis has always the same shape: cf. 2nd line, on se of misericordiae; 4th line, on malicia, qui, inequaite; 4th line from the end, on eus, impleri, dominus; in the next line: gloriae, bonum est, etc.

Now in the Xth century MS (PLATE A) you have the same clivis, at the end of the 3rd line over the syllable "bus" of legibus; then the same clivis is seen topped with a small horizontal stroke: e.g. in the 4th line, "desina" "spiritus" (at the end of the line); 6th line "unigenitum" (two instances); 2nd and 3rd line from the bottom, etc.

The same clivis, this time with the small stroke added to the lower end of its second limb, at the end of the 3rd line over the syllable "bus" of legibus; then the same clivis again but with the letter e above it: e.g. in the 1st line "aequitas"; 2nd line "sanctequ"; the same clivis again but with the letter e above it: e.g. in the 1st line "aequitas"; at the start of the second line, "aquae, prolique";

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7th line, *Benedictus* es, *firmamento*; 3rd line from the end, "*beata*" "*gloriosa*", "*filius*", etc. — finally the same clivis, this time the letter θ above it Κ; 6th line, "*cum*" (two clivis) 11th line, "*in saecula*", (two clivis).

Thus, in this Xth century rhythmic notation, there are five different ways of treating the clivis:

\[ \begin{align*}
\Lambda & \sim \Lambda \\
\sim & \sim \sim \sim
\end{align*} \]

b) Podatus.

In the Xth century notation (Plate D) the podatus has always the same form: 1st line "*ego autem*" (three instances); 2nd line, "*speravi in misericiordia*"; 6th line "*ad annuntiandum*".

Now in the Xth century (Plate A) the podatus has sometimes a rounded base, \( \checkmark \) (pes rotundus): 1st line "*trinitatis*"; 7th line "*benedictus es Domine*... in *firmamento*"; again in the next line, etc., etc.

and sometimes the base is angular, \( \checkmark \) (pes quadratus). 5th line, "*Te *Deum* patrem*"; next line "*paracclutum*"; penultimate line, "*Trinilas, filius*"; last line, "*Trinilas, filius*", etc.

and sometimes the shape is sinusious, \( \checkmark \) (pes quassus): 5th line "*benedicamus*".

Thus we find three different forms of the podatus; or even six, since each of these is liable to be topped with a little stroke, as follows:

\[ \checkmark, \checkmark, \checkmark, \checkmark, \checkmark, \checkmark \]

c) Torculus.

In the XIth century notation (Plate D) the torculus has always the same form: 1st line, "*olivia*", "*in domo*"; 2nd line, "*expectabo*"; 3rd line, "*ante*"; 4th line, "*Justus*", etc., etc.

But in the Xth century (Plate A), the torculus has, at times, its ordinary form, \( \checkmark \) : 1st line, (at the end), "*gloria*"; 5th line, "*Te *Deum* Filium*"; at other times it has another with angles, easy to identify, \( \checkmark \) : for example, in the three last lines, at "*gloriosa*", "*feter*", "*sempetera*" (two instances); and again the torculus can have its first form but with a small stroke added, either on the top or at the end of the descending limb: \( \checkmark, \checkmark, \checkmark, \checkmark \).

All the other neums could be examined in this way; a few rare exceptional cases apart, the evidence all points to one single fact: whereas in the later manuscripts, (the one referred to above, XIIth century from St. Gall, is only one specimen) each neum has always the same form; by contrast in most of the earlier manuscripts (Xth and XIth centuries, e.g. Hartker MS) each neum has different forms in different cases, with signs or letters added; and it is no exaggeration to state that in some of the ancient MSS the letters and signs are there in swarms.

That is the hard fact. What lies behind it? A threefold problem is set:

1) What is the precise meaning of these letters, strokes and modifications of neums, in Hartker?

2) Are these signs or letters added in a haphazard way, according to the whim of the scribe?

3) Do they bear witness to a tradition which was universal?

The following answers may be given.

I. THE MEANING OF THE LETTERS AND SIGNS.

Admittedly it was a long time before anyone found the precise interpretation of these modifications in the form of a single neum; for example, the podatus which is sometimes round and sometimes square and sometimes sinuous. But Heaven was on the side of the seekers. A document of vital importance, of the same period as our best MSS, was preserved through the centuries to fall into our hands. This is the *Epistle of the Blessed Notker*.

Through Eckehard the Younger († 1036), chronicler of the Abbey of St. Gall, we learn that the letters were added to the MSS by Romanus, the cantor who came from Rome to this famous Abbey at the close of the VIIIth century, or beginning of the IXth, — and that the interpretation of each of these letters is set down in an Epistle of Notker written to one of his friends. Notker himself was likewise a monk of St. Gall, almost a contemporary of Romanus. Even supposing he did not hear the aged Roman master in person, he certainly received instruction from his immediate disciples; he sang from the neumatic MSS that his annotations had enriched; there can be no account more authentic than his of what was practised at the school of St. Gall. His witness is final.

Letters. — We are in possession of the Epistle of Notker; therein he explains in turn each of the letters of the alphabet, \( \checkmark, \checkmark, \checkmark, \checkmark \), etc. According to his instruction, some of the letters: \( \checkmark, \checkmark, \checkmark, \checkmark \), have a melodic meaning, and served to suggest the pitch for the cantor; they do not come under discussion here. Others have a bearing upon rhythm in the sense that they indicate the relative length of the notes. The two principal letters are \( \checkmark \) and \( \checkmark \).
THE RHYTHMIC TRADITION IN THE MANUSCRIPTS

The letter o (ut cito vel celeriter dicitur) calls for brevity, lightness, swiftness.

The letter tf (tenere vel teneo debere testatur) suggests a holding back, a slowing down, a drawing out of the note or group. These two letters are much the most important, both by their meaning and by their frequent occurrence; they are found in hundreds, in thousands, in the MSS of the school of St. Gall.

Signs. — Notker says nothing about the signs and the modifications of neums. But his silence does not necessitate our remaining ignorant. The problem presents itself with two things given, one of which is known to us, and the other unknown; by means of the first light may be thrown on the second.

That is what has been done at Solesmes. By a long and minute scanning of equivalences, collating a number of charts, the conviction was borne in upon us that, like the letters interpreted by Notker, the signs or modified forms of the neums may be classed into two groups; the first being melodic in meaning, warning the singer to widen or lessen the interval between the two notes; this group does not concern us here; on the other hand, and quite outnumbering the first, are the rhythmic ones which bear upon the duration to be given to notes or neums. On this latter point our conclusions have reached not merely probability but certainty. Thus a) the stroke or horizontal episma or the modifications of neums are contraries to the letter o (celeriter): they are never found as equivalent to it in the same column of neums; and again b) there is a special affinity between the horizontal episma, or the modifications of neums, and the letter tf (tenote).

The scribes use them freely and indifferently, the one for the other. A case of equivalence.

And so the St. Gall neums which are qualified with the horizontal episma, as also the neums with angular or thickened shapes, are long neums. This sets us on the way to discover all the hidden things in the neumatic system of indicating both melody and rhythm.

Our first question is cleared up. We now have knowledge that certain MSS, the most ancient and nearest to the origins, yield not only the melodic line, but also indications of movement and expression; these are called the rhythmic MSS in contrast with the others, non-rhythmic. Some of the neums are "light", others are "long", "stressed down", "heavy".

The second of our questions now suggests itself. Is this interpretation the private concern of this or that monk at St. Gall? Have these tempo-

marks been added as an after-thought by a copyist, in random fashion, following his own whim?

II. THE EXISTENCE OF A RHYTHMIC TRADITION.

Here again the answer is beyond doubt: these signs in the MSS of St. Gall are not the invention of the scribes; they reveal a precise and ancient tradition to which the scribes submitted and had to submit. For proof of this, the reader is invited simply to follow the table of neums for the Y, Ostende (PLATE C). We need consider at present only the first part of this chart, i.e. the first eight MSS grouped under the heading "School of St. Gall". On this chart we have reproduced rhythmic MSS only, arranging them in order of merit, starting with the best. Beyond question the three best are the first three: St. Gall 359 (early 10th century), previously published by Rev. Lambillotte S. J. as being the very antiphony of St. Gregory (but this must be disclaimed); Einsiedeln 121 (Xth-XIth century); and Bamberg lit. 6 (Xth century), excellent manuscripts these.

We must add that, as in every work of archaeological restoration, a critical study of the sources is indispensable. Each MS must be studied carefully and in detail, to see how much it is consistent with itself and deserves to be trusted; then it must be checked with the other documents. Now this scrutiny leads us to the conclusion that the rhythmic tradition, undisputed in the Xth century, by degrees became more and more dimmed, and was almost lost by the end of the XIth.

This too is odd. The date which marks the arrival of the staff (fixing melody accurately upon lines) also marks the disappearance of the rhythmic tradition. It comes to this: the invention of the staff, an undoubted blessing in certain ways, was at the same time the starting point of a definite decline. So far there is no known manuscript with staff-notation which affords any rhythmic signs. As to the MSS in neumatic notation of the XIth and XIIth centuries, these retain a few rare traces of the ancient tradition, but nothing of moment can be based upon them.

On the chart, the three last MSS of St. Gall (nos 376, 375, 340 especially) bear witness to the beginning of the decline. Certain inaccuracies in them will be pointed out.

These few errors apart, the unanimity of the MSS seen on the chart, neum by neum, must be admitted as something striking. A few may be studied closely.

N°662 — 2
a) The Poclatus.

As was said above, the rounded base \(\checkmark\) stands for shortness, and the angular form \(\check\) for length. See the poclatus no. 5: rounded in all cases, though St. Gall 359 adds a stroke to the upper note \(\check\) a detail to be discussed later on. Poclatus no. 7: rounded, without any exception. Two manuscripts add the letter \(\varepsilon\) coloriter, and this emphasizes its being light. Poclatus no. 43: rounded, short, in every case. On the other hand the poclatus no. 9 is angular, implying length, everywhere except St. Gall 375; but as we have remarked, this MS of the XIIth century is not very good. In no. 66 the pes quassus \(\check\) (very long) is seen in every case, except in the MS Bamberg lit. 8 which gives at this point a melodic variant.

b) Clivis.

The clivis no. 2 calls for special comment, and we shall return to it later. In no. 20 the clivis \(\eta\) (short) is seen in all cases; in the three best MSS it is even marked coloriter. The clivis no. 25 is short again. The exceptional case is the late St. Gall 340, which seems habitually to mark almost every clivis with the stroke suggesting length. No. 29, short form again, in all cases; coloriter in the three best. No. 49, same again. No. 37 and no. 53, same again except for St. Gall 340. No. 36: the clivis is sometimes separated from the porrectus following, \(\alpha\beta\), and sometimes they amalgamate, \(\alpha\beta\); but the clivis is always short, and even Einsiedeln marks it coloriter.

By contrast the clivis no. 12 is sometimes marked with the long stroke, \(\check\), and sometimes (as in Einsiedeln, Bamberg lit. 8) replaced by the presus, \(\check\), and this is long anyway. Here is one of the "equivalences". In no. 33 the clivis is made long in all cases, either by the stroke above, \(\check\), or by the letter \(\varepsilon\) which equals tenete, \(\check\). Einsiedeln 127 even combines both signs thus, \(\check\). In no case do we find \"coloriter\". In no. 50 and no. 51 the clivis is long in all cases 1.

c) Torculus.

No. 28, the torculus is short, \(\varphi\), in every case. But no. 47 gives the thickened angular form, \(\check\), for length. The exception is in 375, XIth century. No. 62, the torculus is light, but lengthened on its final note, for the end of a phrase, \(\alpha\). Since it is the end of a phrase, one might reasonably not mark this lengthening of the final; in fact some MSS leave it out, but several put it in.

\[1\] We shall return later to the case of clivis lacking any qualification, for the sake of clivis no. 2. See p. 25.

d) Climacus.

Examples are seen in nos. 42, 44, 48, and 52: \(\gamma\); short in every instance.

e) Subpunctus neutus.

These cases are not the least interesting ones. A subpunctus neutus is a simple neum followed by various descending notes. We begin with the podatus subpunctus which takes on various forms according to the rhythmic sense: If all the notes are short the podatus has its normal short form, followed by small dots, \(\check\); e. g. in no. 43 the podatus subpunctus is short everywhere.

If the first note only is long, this is marked by a long, detached punctum followed by a short climacus, \(\gamma\); e. g. in nos. 34, 35 and 36, where the podatus subpunctus is everywhere noted in the same way 1.

In several instances, Einsiedeln notably, the sign "coloriter" points to the lightness of the three final notes.

If on the other hand the two first notes are short and the two last are long, the neum changes shape: it is built up of a short torculus with an episma lengthening its third note, followed by a long punctum, \(\alpha\); see nos. 10, 46, 57, 64. The agreement in the MSS is indeed a reality. A similar phenomenon is found in the neum no. 58 with the first three notes short and the last two long, \(\check\). Again in no. 61, every note is short but the last two long. In no. 63, \(\check\). The exception is Einsiedeln: the scribe was perhaps nodding.

Is it unreasonable to submit that the neums, taken one by one, correspond in minute detail? Or that the scribes, far from adding their own personal expression marks to a previously given melody, were content to record faithfully an interpretation that was a tradition? Is there then no case for a traditional rhythm in the chant?

III. THE TRADITION WAS UNIVERSAL.

We must face an objection: it is one that critics have not failed to press: "Granted, the MSS of St. Gall do indeed agree with one another. But they belong all to one and the same school, and were copied one from another. It follows that they record the manner of singing at St. Gall; but St. Gall is only one particular centre, and to impose a local tradition on the universal church cannot be justified!"

\[1\] In the Vatican edition the neum for no. 34 is inexact; the reading should be B-C-B-G (Sic-D-Se-St-Sol).
THE RHYTHMIC TRADITION IN THE MANUSCRIPTS

We reply that this tradition, witnessed in the St. Gall MSS, is not one particular tradition, but the tradition which was universal. This is not difficult to establish. We might begin by pointing out a piece of sophistry in the above criticism. "School of St. Gall" is not another name for the "Abbey of St. Gall". The notation known as St. Gall was not confined to the abbey itself; it is found spread over all Switzerland, over a portion of Germany, in Austria and as far as North Italy — which is fair enough for your "local" tradition. Everywhere in these parts MSS are to be found which have preserved some visible witness to the rhythmic tradition; and on the chart printed here, Einsiedeln and Bamberg have already been ranked with the best MSS, and they are not St. Gall.

***

A. Four schools of manuscripts. — The case is even stronger. In our present state of knowledge we account for four schools of MSS of the same period, Xth century, independent of one another, which, through techniques of notation that are different, show exactly the same rhythmic expression, nemum by nemum, over the entire Gregorian Antiphonary. Whence it emerges that the rhythmic tradition recorded by the much-discussed Romanian signs of the "local" school of St. Gall is none other than the rhythmic tradition of all the churches of the Catholic word. We establish first the existence and independence of these schools. After that their agreement.

The reader must know the story of Peter and Romanus. In these days of criticism and hypercriticism some would speak of it as legend rather than history, if only because the first documentary evidence we possess dates from two centuries after the event. But whether fact or legend the question need not detain us; the matter is as follows: at Charlemagne's request, Pope Hadrian sent two Roman cantors, Peter and Romanus, to the Imperial Court in about the year 790, to teach the Roman tradition there. Falling ill on the way, Romanus was received at the Abbey of St. Gall, where he remained and founded the celebrated school of St. Gall. Peter, more robust, went as far as Metz and founded a second school, the School of Metz. Whether this be history or legend, one thing is certain: the two schools were flourishing in the Middle Ages. Moreover we possess

2 From the name "Romaus" has come, presumably, the phrase "romasian signs" constantly used with reference to the MSS of St. Gall.

still today excellent MSS of the same period, Xth century, from St. Gall and from Metz, which could not have been copied one from another, since their techniques of notation are absolutely different, and yet they testify to one single tradition. They therefore derive from one common source.

The discovery of the rhythmic notation of Metz occurred at the very moment, in 1906, when the criticism against the "local" character of the school of St. Gall was raised. Providence is thus leading us onward to the integral restoration of the liturgical melodies, the opposition of hostile minds notwithstanding.

Before going on to establish the remarkable agreement of these two schools it is right to add that the matter has been carried on further. Careful study of the MSS has revealed two more schools, still of the same period, Xth century, employing notations which are different again, but still in agreement at every point with the two schools of St. Gall and Metz! They are the schools of Chartres and of Nonantola.

B. Special features and mutual independence of these schools. — The reader must now see for himself from a specimen of each notation, that they are truly different. No need to be a qualified paleographer, a pair of eyes will do!

c) Varieties of writing. — PLATE A is a specimen of rhythmic notation of St. Gall; let the reader observe this afresh, and so gain a basis for comparison. PLATE E, now, is an example of rhythmic notation of Metz, taken from the MS 239 of the library of Laon, the best representative of that school. It is quite different. There are very few neums, and then they only remotely resemble those of St. Gall. Details will be gone into presently. A non-technical suggestion which might help in a general way would be to think of a flight of swallows when viewing a page of the Metz notation. The effect can be seen near the centre of the reproduction. More striking instances could have been selected from other pages.

Coming now to the notation of Chartres (PLATE F) we consider a page from the MS 47 of the library of Chartres. — There are no more swallows here. Instead, a succession of dots and dashes, horizontal and vertical, thicker, less attractive. Clearly it is no longer the notation of Metz.

Finally, (PLATE G), we reach a sample of the Notation of Nonantola, taken from the flyleaf of a MS in the library of Monza in Italy. No need to prove at length that this notation is unlike all the others, the difference

1 Palaeographia Musicale, vol. X.
2 Palaeographia Musicale, vol. XI.
is obvious. The notes are indicated by long strokes springing from the vowels in the text.

These four notations are thus all very different; they could not have been taken one from another by a process of copying. Now, in copying, the aim is to imitate with the utmost fidelity all the features of the master-copy. Such is the case especially when the scribe has at his command a technique which is frankly somewhat inadequate for expressing his mind.

b) Varieties in the technique of rhythmic notation. — There is another feature which allows us to assert with no fear of contradiction that the MSS of these four schools could not have been copied from one another: not only does the neum-notation, as such, differ, but the techniques for shewing a lengthening of neums are altogether unlike: the signs are not the same, neither are the letters.

Here we reach the kernel of the demonstration. The table of neums printed below will clarify the argument.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neums</th>
<th>Notation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clivis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Gall</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metz</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chartres</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On this chart there appear only the notations of St. Gall, Metz, and Chartres; the notation of Nonantola is set aside because its system is more complex and because the best MSS of this school do not contain the Acehiana. Y. Ostende on which the proof of the thesis is to be made.

Briefly the three schools differ in the following points of technique: the St. Gall method for lengthening a neum is to add, as has been seen, a horizontal stroke (or sometimes it is vertical) on the note affected, or else to add the letter c = tenete (as in the clivis) or again to modify the simple form of the neum (podatus, torculus). We confine our attention to these three most characteristic neums because they are "tied" in the notation of St. Gall, also for the sake of conciseness.

At Metz the method is totally different. When the neums are long, the scribe shows this by breaking up the constituent parts of them. Thus the short podatus is traced by a single pen-stroke; but the long podatus is broken up — we see a punctum followed by a virga, the constituent parts of a podatus. Similarly the clivis, when long, is done with two "swallows", the first above the second; the torculus has three. A further point: a lengthening is indeed sometimes showen by the letter c, as at St. Gall, but most commonly it is the letter a (angelsa).

The system at Chartres more or less combines those of St. Gall and Metz. We find dots (= short) and dashes (= long) as at St. Gall, and the breaking up of long neums as at Metz. But this breaking up is no longer done with "swallows" as in the Metz MSS, but with thick strokes. Moreover the rhythmic letters are almost entirely unknown.

C. The absolute agreement of these schools. — The neums studied in detail. — In spite of this difference of technique, it is clearly evident that the MSS have not been copied from one another. Wherever at St. Gall the short form is seen, the short form is likewise found at Metz and at Chartres; wherever, on the contrary, St. Gall gives the long form, the long form is what we find at Metz and Chartres in spite of the variety of notation. The symbol is different; the sense is identical. And this holds throughout the collection of liturgical melodies.

With this in mind we now resume our study of the Acehiana. Y. Ostende. Neums that have been seen to agree in the MSS of St. Gall will now be set side by side with those in the MSS of Laon (the school of Metz) and of Chartres.

a) Podatus.

The podatus no. 5 is short at St. Gall, ✓; it is a single pen stroke at Laon, ✓, and at Chartres, ✓. We noticed above that the St. Gall 359, (the best of that school), added a stroke at the tip of the second note, ✓; now at Laon this limb of the podatus is marked with ✓ = tenete!

The podatus no. 9, on the other hand, is long at St. Gall, the angular form ✓. At Laon it is ✓, and at Chartres it is broken up ✓. Similarly with the pes quassus no. 66.

b) Clivis.

The clivis in nos. 20 and 25, 29, 37, 49, 53, 56, at St. Gall are short, ✓, and bear quite often the sign colourer. They are written, at Laon ✓, and at Chartres a, with one stroke of the pen. But the clivis no. 12, which at St. Gall is long ✓, at Laon is broken up and even marked with
THE RHYTHMIC TRADITION IN THE MANUSCRIPTS

At Chartres the form is the short one \( \text{œ} \); but this matters little since this clivis forms a pressus with the preceding virga, and is therefore long by position.

The clivis no. 33 is long at St. Gall \( \mathcal{T} \), is broken up at Laon \( \mathcal{C} \), and also at Chartres \( \text{œ} \). And so with the clivis no. 50. At Laon it is broken up, but this time without any sign \( \text{œ} \). No matter: this letter is not indispensable. We repeat: the long form is shown by the breaking up of the neum; the sign \( \text{œ} \) merely duplicates the notification, and may be omitted without causing concern.

The clivis no. 51 which at St. Gall is long, and at Laon is broken up and marked with \( \text{œ} \), is set down as short at Chartres. This is an error proper to Chartres, and not a fault of the scribe, for it re-appears in all the verses adapted to this same melody. Over this detail Chartres broke away from the general tradition. Cases of this kind occur but they in no way invalidate the thesis we maintain.

It is an exception, that is all.

c) Torculus.

In no. 28 the torculus is short at St. Gall, \( \text{œ} \); it is tied and therefore short at Laon, \( \mathcal{J} \); and also at Chartres, \( \text{œ} \). The torculus no. 47 is long at St. Gall, \( \mathcal{T} \); it is broken up at Laon and at Chartres \( \text{œ} \), and marked with \( \text{œ} \) at Laon \( \mathcal{C} \).

d) The "subpunctis" neums.

The podatus subpunctis first. In no. 43 this neum is entirely short, as we saw, at St. Gall, \( \mathcal{T} \). At Chartres it consists of four dots, short,\( \mathcal{T} \); at Laon it is a short torculus followed by a short punctum, \( \mathcal{J} \). Complete agreement.

In nos. 34, 35, and 36 the podatus subpunctis has an initial note long, and three other notes short (except perhaps the last), at St. Gall, \( \mathcal{T} \). At Laon, \( \mathcal{J} \), and at Chartres, \( \text{œ} \), the first note is detached and marked as a long punctum, and at Laon twice out of the three times it is marked with \( \text{œ} \).

In nos. 10, 46, 57, and 64 the podatus subpunctis has two short notes followed by two long notes at St. Gall, \( \mathcal{J} \). At Laon and at Chartres it is precisely the same. Chartres puts two short dots followed by two dashes, \( \mathcal{J} \); and Laon has the two first notes which are short and separates the two last, the third note being marked with \( \text{œ} \), thus: \( \mathcal{J} \).

Before concluding we must counter a difficulty that has probably occurred to the reader’s mind: this will serve to give edge to our thought.

If so clear a tradition exists, how then account for the clivis in no. 2? (Plate C). This neum bears an episema in one single MS only. This seems to admit a discrepancy between the various MSS of St. Gall.

In reply, we begin by asserting that there is no contradiction. For a proper contradiction this clivis would need to be marked long in one MS, and short (celeriter) in the others. Now this is not the case. The clivis by itself, with no kind of added stroke or letter, \( \mathcal{J} \), (as seen in all MSS for no. 2, except in St. Gall 359), is neither long nor short, but indefinite. To give it precision the clivis needs some added sign or letter. The neums which suffer change in their very shape, — such as the podatus (\( \mathcal{J} \) or \( \mathcal{J} \)), the torculus (\( \text{œ} \) or \( \mathcal{J} \)), etc. — have none of this indefiniteness. Their shape marks them out as long or short. The clivis alone is neutral, and may be either one or the other.

This leads to the true reply. No-one should imagine that the mediaeval scribes, however careful they were to express the traditional rendering, laid out their scripts in the way that modern publishers bring out their books. Today, each visible sign is checked in detail, because we know that the work will be turned out in thousands of copies by the printers. The
THE RHYTHMIC TRADITION IN THE MANUSCRIPTS

aim now is to reach the highest standard. In the Middle Ages the scribes were not striving after a scientific or critical edition. Their script was made for actual use, and it contained the marks of expression which were thought necessary hic et nunc. Thus for example if some of the best MSS are divided in two equal parts, the first half will be found to contain many more signs than the second; the scribes evidently saw no need to continue adding signs where the formula was well known. It follows that we who live in the twentieth century, when we seek to fathom their mind, must not be content to study one single MS for a particular piece, nor even all the MSS for that piece. If a melody has been adapted to a certain number of different texts, all these texts must be examined in all the MSS.

This is precisely the case in the Alleluia. At Ostende. In the MSS this melody is fitted to thirteen verses:

1 Alleluia : Ostende (1st Sunday in Advent)
2 Confiteantur Domino (St. Peter's Chair)
3 Difusa est (St. Lucy)
4 Dominus dixit ad me (Midnight Mass)
5 Dominus in Sina (Ascension)
6 Dominus regnavit (3rd Sunday after Epiphany)
7 Haecc dies (Saturday in Albi)
8 In resurrectione tua (no longer in use in the Roman rite)
9 Lauza anima mea (Nuptial Mass)
10 Memora nostri (Common of Virgins)
11 Mitat sobis (SS. Simon and Jude)
12 Nimiis honorati sunt
13 Specie tua

If restoration is to be perfect, all of these thirteen verses must be studied in each of the MSS. This is not the place to perform this undertaking, but the reader may see on (PLATE I) at least a section from the great master charts that are drawn up by the monks at Solemes. The section here shows nothing but the clivis no. 2 followed by the quillsma group (3 and 4) copied from the big chart, and the clivis is set down as it appears for each of these 13 verses.

Now our best MS, St. Gall 359, marks the clivis with epismata eight times out of ten and never gives coloriter. Einsiedeln 327 has the episma three times out of eleven. And, on close examination, there are traces on the MS that the episma originally affected all, or most of these clivis, and that a later hand scratched it away. The reader will observe how all the other MSS, except the late St. Gall 375, do or do not show the episma. Not one of them marks the clivis with coloriter. Laon (of the school of Metz) gives notation for the Alleluia twice only: each time the long form is used, once with the sign a and once without. Chartres gives the notation in one instance only, and the opening neums have decayed with the parchment; for this MSS has greatly deteriorated. Another odd point: several MSS set out the chant for the Alleluia. At Diffusa in twoplace. Now Einsiedeln 327, St. Gall 339, and St. Gall 376 include the episma in one instance and omit it in the other.

What follows from all this? Surely, it follows that the clivis was reckoned as long. (Indeed it precedes a quillsma and in this case the neum is nearly always lengthened: there is hardly need for any further sign). But the lengthening must not have been very considerable, else all the MSS would have noted it so. It was rather one of those inflexions of cantando, something more of the mind, giving life and warmth to the melodies. Put differently, here is no heavy weighing down, but a nuance.

In fine the MSS do not contradict each other. Down to the smallest details which at first might surprise us, they bear one another out, fulfilling and illuminating. They are in short unbreakable witnesses to a true tradition or, better, to the RHYTHMIC TRADITION.

CONCLUSION

Summing up what we have observed as facts, we discover in the same Xth century of the Middle Ages four schools of MSS, different in their notation and differing in their technique for showing the interpretation

1 And let no-one maintain that this setting of Alleluia was sung differently for the different verses. First it is hard to see why they should. And there is evidence that this chant was always sung the same: for certain MSS (Bamberg lit. 6, Laon 239 and Chartres) set it down the first time only. In any case this was a habit: when a known melodic formula reappeared the scribe excised himself from copying it down. We must not overlook the paper shortage which was then even more acute than to-day.

2 In the Solemes editions a horizontal episma appears here, inviting the singer to give himself time to make the required inflexion.

3 When critics object to one of our printed rhythmic signs on the ground that it is not given in a particular MS, the answer is found in the remarks made above. The Solemes versions are made from many MSS, drawing from a rich and wide documentation. If they err it is rather by detail. They can hardly be expected to reproduce all the nuances of the MSS, especially for the Mass chants. The editors recollected... with discretion and with apologies.
of the melodies. It follows that these schools are independent of one another, the MSS not being copied one from another. Nevertheless these MSS — each with a system of writing proper to itself — reveal one identical interpretation, neum by neum, down to the most minute details covering the whole Gregorian repertory.

How is this unanimity explained? One explanation alone is possible: viz., the four schools have a common source of which they have religiously safeguarded the tradition.

Moreover, this common origin of the rhythmic tradition must be the same as the origin of the melodic tradition. It is obvious that if, on to a pre-existing melody a monk had foisted his own interpretation, this interpretation would have remained localised in his monastery or district. It would never have extended over the whole church. Everyone admits that the melodic tradition comes from Rome; it is therefore from Rome that the rhythmic tradition comes too. Thus by following the MSS of St. Gall, of Metz, of Chartres, of Nonantola, we are following the tradition which is of Rome.

Even more. For this Roman tradition to have remained the same everywhere, our line of argument demands that the interpretation given by the MSS with rhythmic signs must be the primitive interpretation, that of the composers themselves.

Here we reach the root of the matter. If we do recover the expression and rhythm required by the writer or writers, there is no doubt but we must adopt it. A right sense of things sees that plainsong, like all other music, must be performed as it was composed; this is taught in all the academies of classical music, and Bd. Pius Xth made known his mind on this point touching the Gregorian melodies. In any event this is a vital matter for plainsong, whatever one’s feelings may be. Even a superficial perusal of the MSS makes it plain that so long as the oneness of the rhythm (the oneness of interpretation) was maintained, the melodic line kept itself in its pristine purity with few or no variants. By contrast, as soon as the traditional interpretation was lost, melodic variants crept in and multiplied more and more. Thus it was the oneness of interpretation which saved and kept sacred for many centuries the oneness of the melody.

And this is only right. Which is of greater consequence in a musical work: the physical sequence of melodic notes, or the feeling, the mind, the living spirit which called it forth?

We are permitted to judge that the same causes produce the same effects. Already we are told of choirmasters who, able to make nothing of the long Gregorian phrases, do not hesitate to mutilate and cut them down. This was the way with the editors of a few centuries ago. If it comes to that, was it worth publishing a Vatican edition?

The tradition was universal. It was Roman. It was the primitive one. And yet that is not all. One last thought emerges from what we have been considering. Has the reader reflected upon the will-power required of our forefathers in the Middle Ages, to preserve this primitive tradition so astonishingly intact for so long? In our own day, in spite of all the care spent upon editing the music we have, it is not easy to get uniformity in singing our popular songs. Now in mediaeval times the rudimentary notation could fix neither the melodic line nor the precise sense of the rhythm. In spite of this, in spite of differences of character, of taste, of custom in the peoples of Christian Europe, the rhythmic tradition did not fail to endure entirely uniform in all places from the VIth century, the time of St. Gregory, to the XItth. And we must notice that they sang daily not only the Missa but the entire office, with antiphons and responsories. Our forefathers needed a virile and unflagging determination never to waver this way or that. And is not this an object lesson for us?

That determination of theirs explains itself. For in those times the liturgical chant was not regarded as a possession over which each individual had any rights; it was a hallowed object, part of the Church’s treasure. As prayer it was liturgical, social, Catholic, the Church’s own. The Church had its own song; better, the Church had its own interpretation; and no private person was entitled to put forward his own in place of it. Now if the Church has its own interpretation, and if it has so jealously guarded it from any tampering for so long, may we ourselves knowingly substitute our own for it?

A few examples could show how, from the single viewpoint of art, there is nothing to lose and much to gain by waiving our private tastes and accepting whole heartedly this age-long tradition whose existence in history the reader has now been able to check for himself. Heaven knows how greatly the familiar Gregorian melodies gain immediately in vitality, in warmth, in intensity of feeling. No more need be said about this.

Then again, it is not an affair of art alone. We repeat: it is a matter of prayer, and more exactly the prayer of the Church: liturgical, solemn, official, — prayer uttered in her name.

It is paramount to be sure that the Church knows her own mind on the point, she being the Spouse of Christ, enduring throughout the centuries,
above temporal changes and human frailties; the Church in fine interprets her song in her own way. Once this position is realised then all is plain. If we are anxious to be "Catholic", we must forswear what issues from ourselves, and adopt whatever comes from the Church.

In any case the unanimity with which the Roman interpretation of the liturgical chants was observed in the Middle Ages affords a most impressive tribute to the unity and catholicity of the Church. If we in like manner submit like little children to the schooling of the Church, what can we fear to lose?

Jesus Christus hort, et hodie, ipse et in saecula.

Dom André Mocquereau
and
Dom Joseph Gajard, O.S.B.

APPENDIX

PALAEOGRAPHIC SOURCES

QUOTED IN THE TEXT.
These Plates are taken from the slides shown at the lecture in Paris, December, 1922.

Since constant reference to the Alleluia. V. Ostende must be made, the reader will find its reproduction (Plate C) on a folder at the back.

Plate A: Specimen of rhythmic notation (St. Gall).
Antiphonary of B² Har ker, X Xth cent.

N° 902. — 3
RS

the lecture in Paris,
de must be made, the
r at the back.

RB

Plate A: Specimen of rhythmic notation (St. Gall).
Antiphonary of B^4 Har ker, X XIth cent.

N° 652 — 3
### GREGORIAN NEUMS
from mss of St. Gall.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Staff notation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Single notes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctum (square and diamond)</td>
<td>\ or \</td>
<td>![staff notation image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virga or Bivirga</td>
<td>\ or /</td>
<td>![staff notation image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostropha</td>
<td>,</td>
<td>![staff notation image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neums of two notes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pes or Podatus</td>
<td>\ or /</td>
<td>![staff notation image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clivis</td>
<td>,</td>
<td>![staff notation image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neums of three notes</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandicus (Scandere)</td>
<td>\ / / / /</td>
<td>![staff notation image]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salicus (Salire)</td>
<td>\ / / / /</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climacus (xalumac)</td>
<td>\ . \ . \ .</td>
<td>![staff notation image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torculus (wine-press)</td>
<td>\ - \</td>
<td>![staff notation image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porrectus (stretched?)</td>
<td>\ / \ / \ /</td>
<td>![staff notation image]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plate B: Important neums (St. Gall): their origins and features.
Plate D: Specimen of non-rhythmic notation (St. Gall).

Plate E: Specimen of notation (Metz).

Laon 239, Xth cent.

http://ccwatershed.org
Plate G: Specimen of notation (Nonantola).

Monza, Xth cent.
Plate I: Apparatus for the study of clavis no. 2 in Alleluia. Y. Ostende. (see Plate C).
### School of St. Gall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</table>

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Plate C: Collation of Mss (in neumatic notation) for *Alleluia*. Y. Ostende.