

## Is it polyphony?\*

MANUEL PEDRO FERREIRA

More than a century ago, Guido Maria Dreves published in the *Analecta Hymnica* the text of a long hagiographic Latin song found in the codex Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, latin 909, fols. 202r-205r, entitled VERSVS dE SANCTO MARCIALE LXX.<sup>T</sup>II.<sup>o</sup> (*septuaginta duo*). In his commentary, Dreves remarked that these seventy-two *versus* (in which the initial letters of each three-line stanza form the acrostic MARCIALIS APOSTOLVS XRISTI) had been set to music, a setting for two voices.<sup>1</sup>

In 1949, Paul Hooreman published in the *Revue Belge de Musicologie* a fine, detailed, comprehensive study, with corrected text and accompanying musical transcription, of these *versus*.<sup>2</sup> Hooreman denied them any polyphonic character and regarded the two musical lines as variants of the same composition. He did not attempt to justify his stance, except to say that it would be surprising if the monks had been learned in double counterpoint.<sup>3</sup> He also remarked that there are analogous cases of alternative musical notations, but the examples given are in

\* This paper is a revised and expanded version of the draft read in London at the 1997 Congress of the International Musicological Society.

<sup>1</sup> *Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi*, Clemens Blume and Guido Maria Dreves (eds.) (Leipzig, 1886-1911), vol. 19, 1895: *Hymni inediti*, Guido Maria Dreves (ed.), n.º 367, pp. 206-08 [208]: 'Zweistimmig mit roten und schwarzen Neumen'.

<sup>2</sup> Paul HOOREMAN, «Saint-Martial de Limoges au temps de l'abbé Odolric (1025-1040). Essai sur une pièce oubliée du répertoire limousin», *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, III, 1949, pp. 5-36.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, p. 12: '... ce serait attribuer aux moines de l'abbé Odolric de surprenantes connaissances en contrepoint double. En effet ... les deux parties mélodiques sont simplement variantes d'un même chant.'

fact not comparable.<sup>4</sup> Since Hooreman, however, every scholar who has written about Paris 909 has assumed the monophonic character of the *versus*, and consequently this source has always been excluded from modern discussions of Aquitanian polyphony.

I would like to suggest here that Hooreman may have been wrong, and that it is worthwhile raising once more the question: 'Is it polyphony?'

As may be seen in figure 1, the musical notation is clearly written above each line of poetic text, in contrasting colours (which could not be reproduced here). One line is written in black ink, the other now looks orange (presumably faded red). The spacing of the neumes in each line is neatly diastematic, but no dry-point line or letter-clef can be found. The performance of the melodies depends therefore, to some extent, on prior knowledge or prior musical decision. The relationship between the two lines is also apparently dependent on prior knowledge or decision, since the position on the page of the coloured line seems generally to be conditioned more by the available space than by musical considerations. As Hooreman remarked, 'les deux notations paraissent comme décalées l'une par rapport à l'autre; elles n'épousent pas la même portée imaginaire. La notation rouge s'inscrit au travers de la noire comme une sorte de palimpseste'.<sup>5</sup>

Altogether there are nine musical phrases (one of them in two variants) in both lines of notation, not counting the final *Amen*. We will call them A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I and D', according to their order of

<sup>4</sup> *Id., ibid.*: 'On se trouve ici devant un cas de duplication dont il existe des analogues en d'autres manuscrits. Citons, par exemple, l'antienne *Monasterium istud* du Codex 121 d'Einsiedeln avec deux rangées de neumes sangalliens ..., certains versets des offertoires *Ascendit Deus* et *Protege Domine* dans le Codex H.159 de Montpellier ... avec double notation alphabétique pour les mêmes neumes; dans le manuscrit de Munich C.I. 2599 ... l'antienne *Laudate Dominum de caelis* avec double notation neumatique en rouge et en noir; de même, dans le *Codex Calixtinus* de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle, la voix centrale du célèbre *Congaudeant catholici* est notée à l'encre rouge ... par toutes ces pièces les érudits disputent s'il s'agit de variantes ou d'une *vox organalis*.' Among the examples quoted, those in Einsiedeln 121 and Montpellier H 159 are of a very different kind: the former has two neumatic versions of the same melody, the latter two alternative transpositions. The Einsiedeln antiphon is included by Lincoln B. Spiess in his listing of early polyphonic sources, «An Introduction to the Pre-St Martial Practical Sources of Early Polyphony», *Speculum*, vol. 22, 1947, pp. 16-17. *Laudate Dominum* is a clear example of *organum* in the music treatise by Johannes Cotto. There is no scholarly consensus on the status of the third voice of *Congaudeant catholici* in the Codex Calixtinus (whether originally present or added later), except that it is always regarded as part of a polyphonic complex.

<sup>5</sup> *Id., ibid.*

202.

VERSUS DESCO MARCEALE <sup>Ta</sup> LX. XII.

**M**agna uirum resonantia domini piteonia tpi

Marcialem lyricae reboent concorditer odie

Gallia tota sonet citharis & rhythmicis plauidat

Aplaudant sistris sacra tympana cumbala aena

Musica flabra mouet modos fidibusque canoris

Laudis apostolicae iubilo resonando choreis

Roma rauenna boent claris reboando camentis

Ierusalem nablis canat organa uoce sonora

Discipulo regis cui constat apostolis ipse

Concrepet urbs regis magni quae est uisio pacis

Ierusalem quam restaurare deus uenit ipse

Figure 1

appearance. One of them is consistently higher on the page than some others (figure 2a): phrase H at vv. 22-24, 49-51 (over phrases D, E, F) and 29 (over phrase A). On closer inspection, the three phrases G, H and I tend to share a higher register than A, D, E and F; Hooreman, who assumed 'D-sol/re' as the starting pitch of the *versus*, justifiably transcribed them at the upper fifth (if 'A-re' is assumed, a transposition at the upper fourth is preferable). Phrase D' (at vv. 64-66) is also placed slightly higher than A, B and C, but this may or not be significant. When the two notations have the same phrase, there seems to be a graphic effort to suggest a unison in lines 9, 18, 27 and 72, although it might also occur elsewhere (figure 2b).

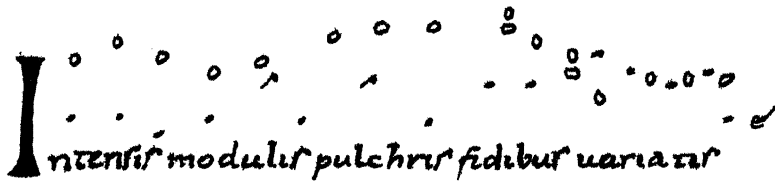


Figure 2a

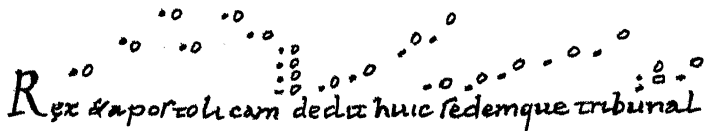


Figure 2b

Taking into account the early date of the copying, notational ambiguity or indifference in vertical positioning is only to be expected. In fact, what makes these Aquitanian *versus* especially interesting is that we know who composed them, who copied them into Paris 909, and also the date, the place and purpose of composition and copying.

The author and copyist was the monk Ademar de Chabannes; the *versus* were composed and copied between November 18, 1028 and August 3, 1029 at the abbey of Saint-Martial de Limoges; they were part of Ademar's project to enhance the new apostolic cult of the abbey's patron.<sup>6</sup> In fact, they were written together with a troped Mass, an untroped Mass Proper, alleluias, *sequentiae*, a tract, processional antiphons and a complete Office which were to be used in the new apostolic liturgy. But when the claim that St. Martial had been an apostle was denounced as apocryphal, the project backfired, Ademar had to flee and the new liturgy was never allowed to stand.<sup>7</sup>

The story of this backlash has been authoritatively re-examined by Richard Landes in a recent book and thoroughly studied, from a musicological point of view, by James Grier.<sup>8</sup> No need here to go over it again. The important thing is that Hooreman, like Chailley after him, supposed that Ademar had initially been successful, and that therefore the *versus* had been performed at least twice.<sup>9</sup> Hooreman was of the opinion

<sup>6</sup> St. Martial is first mentioned in Gregory of Tours' *Historia francorum* (c. 576) where he is identified as one of the seven bishops sent from Rome to Gaul in the middle of the third century. According to a later legend, established around the year 1000 at Limoges, Martial was St Peter's younger cousin who, after hearing Jesus, had followed the apostles, becoming one of his seventy-two disciples and an apostle himself. He served at the Last Supper and witnessed the Passion and the Ascension of the Lord. He was present at Pentecost and at the martyrdom of St. Stephen, after which he followed St. Peter to Antioch and to Rome to preach and finally was sent to Gaul as a missionary with Austriclinian and Alpinian as his companions. St. Martial was commemorated at Limoges as a bishop and a confessor until 1028-29, when part of the local clergy, led by Ademar de Chabannes, attempted to raise his liturgical status to the apostolic level.

<sup>7</sup> Richard LANDES, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History. Ademar de Chabannes, 989-1034*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1995.

<sup>8</sup> R. LANDES, *op. cit.*; James GRIER, *The Critical Editing of Music. History, Method, and Practice*, Cambridge University Press, 1996. James Grier is preparing a complete edition of Ademar's works for the Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout, Brepols), and has written a number of articles relating to this editorial work; to those published prior to 1996, quoted in his book, one should add «Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy for the Feast of St Martial», *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, vol. 6, 1997, pp. 97-118, where a summary inventory of MS Paris, lat. 909 can be found.

<sup>9</sup> P. HOOREMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Jacques CHAILLEY, *L'école musicale de Saint Martial de Limoges jusqu'à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1960.

that the orange-coloured melodic line was musically absurd on account of its insistent repetition of the final cadence at phrase I; he tried nevertheless to justify it by proposing that it was a simplified version of the black melodic line and that it was intended for the second performance, a year after the première.<sup>10</sup> But if there was never a second liturgical performance, why would Ademar have written an absurd melodic form in colour over a more complex one? The answer might be: because the black and coloured melodies belong together as polyphony.

The St-Martial *versus* were an important element in furthering the saint's public standing and perhaps also the degree of solemnity of his liturgy. Hooreman rightly remarked that 'cette pièce n'appartient évidemment pas au corpus des chants liturgiques, mais le sujet qu'elle traite et sa place [dans le manuscrit] parmi les séquences interdisent d'y voir un simple travail de lettré ... la versification et la notation musicale ... laissent au contraire deviner une oeuvre de circonstance, écrite en vue d'une destination particulière'. He proposed, with good reason, that these *versus* were intended for the vigils, as a musical addition to the twelfth lesson.<sup>11</sup> That polyphony was especially fitting to the saint's new standing is possibly stated by Ademar himself, when he writes in line eight of the *versus*, *Hierusalem Nablis canat organa voce sonora*. The literary context is rhetorical and classicizing, but *canat organa* is something that plausibly relates to polyphonic singing in contemporary musical practice (Ademar being himself an accomplished musician), not to classical models, and can therefore be thought of as applying to the vocal commemoration of Saint-Martial, possibly to the *versus* themselves.<sup>12</sup>

For a musicologist working with early medieval sources, to have so much historical information concerning a composition as we have for the Saint-Martial *versus* is almost unheard of. Ironically, this same infor-

<sup>10</sup> P. HOOREMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 29.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.*, pp. 15, 23-25. These *versus* could also have been intended as trope elements, to be inserted *ad libitum* in the lessons (at Matins) or readings (at Mass). A non-liturgical context of performance could have been provided by the diocesan synod held at Limoges between July 31 and August 2, 1029 to promote the new apostolic liturgy of St. Martial.

<sup>12</sup> On the meanings and implications of the word *organa*, see Fritz RECKOW, «Organum», in Hans H. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1975; Gunilla IVERSEN, «The Mirror of Music: Symbol and Reality in the Text of *Clangat Hodie*», *Revista de Musicologia*, vol. 16, n° 2, 1993, pp. 771-89 [786]; and Peter WILLIAMS, «The meaning of *organum*: some case studies», *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, vol. 10, 2001, pp. 103-20.

mation easily becomes embarrassing from a musicological point of view, and may explain why so many scholars have preferred to regard the *versus de Sancto Marziale* as monody.

These *versus* are approximately contemporary with Guido d'Arezzo's *Micrologus*. Guido's treatise explains polyphonic practice substantially along traditional lines, *organum* at the fourth with parallel and oblique movement and lower organal voice limited by 'boundary tones', with octave doubling. Other treatises, written between the mid-9th century and the mid-11th century, explain similar procedures for the *organum* at the fourth and acknowledge parallel *organum* at the fifth and at the octave.<sup>13</sup>

If the *versus de Sancto Marziale* are regarded as a two-voice setting, it will be found that the musical phrases sometimes retain what seem to be boundary tones (figure 3). It will also be found that this is just residual: the overall style largely corresponds not to traditional *organum* theory, but to the teaching of treatises believed to have been written in the second half of the eleventh century and the twelfth century: the so-called new organum teaching, which recognizes the free mixture of concordant intervals between two voices. The music, if regarded as polyphonic, seems to be ahead of its time. Sarah Fuller warns us nevertheless that 'the absence of firm data on date or provenance of the sources makes it impossible to estimate just when or where the new organum and its theory emerged or became dominant'.<sup>14</sup>

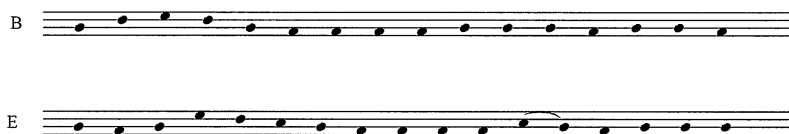


Figure 3

<sup>13</sup> Joseph Smits van WAESBERGHE (ed.), *Guidonis Aretini: Micrologus* [Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, 4], Rome, American Institute of Musicology, 1955; Sarah FULLER, «Early Polyphony», in *The New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 2: *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, Second Edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 485-556.

<sup>14</sup> Sarah FULLER, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

But even if we assume that the new organum theory emerged only two generations after Ademar de Chabannes, this only poses a problem if we forget that practice generally precedes theory. Furthermore, none of the authors which expounded traditional *organum* theory in the eleventh century seems to have had any connection with Aquitaine; nor do any of the 'new organum' treatises betray familiarity with the style of Aquitanian polyphony around 1100, which is clearly more varied and daring than the teaching that reached us in writing. As Wulf Arlt remarked, 'the whole question of the way in which theory and practice interacted in the period from the tenth to the twelfth century needs to be re-examined'.<sup>15</sup> The practical, tentative emergence of the new organum out of old improvisational habits in south-western France could therefore date already from the early eleventh century.

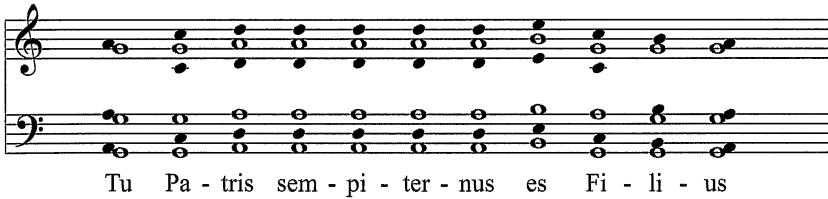
Another possible source of contention is the dissonant character of the *versus* when the black and colour melodies are sounded together. Since the distance between the voices is not consistently or exactly indicated, the particulars of the resulting polyphonic style can only be tentatively and schematically described; it is clear none the less that frequent harsh dissonances of the second or seventh (or their octave doublings, if different registers are assumed) cannot be avoided in whatever reconstruction is attempted. Again, this would be a problem only if we forget that early polyphony, conceived in temporal segments rather than as a succession of separate moments, is often very dissonant. Milanese polyphonic practice, which starts and ends with seconds, is a case in point; but examples from elsewhere, including Aquitaine, could be adduced (see figure 4a-c).<sup>16</sup> Moreover, we should take into account that late eleventh-century Aquitanian polyphonic style probably grew from previous, perhaps less consonant experiments. There is also the possibility that the melodies as written are guidelines for performance and not a strict transcription in a modern sense: adjustments could be required in the

<sup>15</sup> Wulf ARLT, «Stylistic Layers in Eleventh-Century Polyphony», in Susan Rankin & David Hiley (eds.), *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993, pp. 101-41 [140-41].

<sup>16</sup> Leo TREITLER, «The Polyphony of Saint-Martial», *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XVII, 1964, pp. 29-42 [39], reprinted in *The Garland Library of the History of Western Music*, Ellen Rosand (ed.), New York, Garland, 1985, vol. 2, pp. 351-64 [361]; Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, «Early Cistercian Polyphony: A Newly-Discovered Source», *Lusitania Sacra*, 2ª série, vols. 13-14, 2001-2002, pp. 267-313.

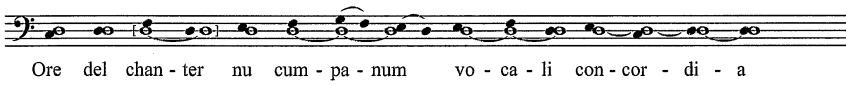


context of the intended performance, and some dissonances cancelled or attenuated in the process.<sup>17</sup>



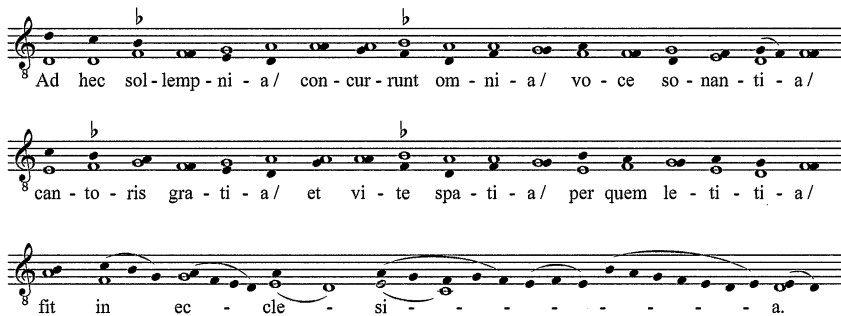
Rome, B. Vat. lat. 9496

Figure 4a



Cambridge, Un. Lib. Ff. i. 17

Figure 4b



Paris, BN, lat. 1139, ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-37

Figure 4c

<sup>17</sup> Leo TREITLER, «Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music», *Speculum*, 56, 1981, pp. 471-91; Marcel PÈRÈS, «L'interprétation des polyphonies vocales du XII<sup>e</sup> s. et les limites de la paléographie et de la sémiologie», *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, XXXI (1988), pp. 169-78; James GRIER, «Les pratiques des copistes des *versaria* aquitains du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle», in Christian Meyer (ed.), *Polyphonies de tradition orale: histoire et traditions vivantes*, Paris: Créaphis, 1994, pp. 31-58; Olivier CULLIN, «La polyphonie au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: entre théorie et pratique», *Revue de Musicologie*, 81, 1995, pp. 25-36.

Another question concerns layout. Reading polyphony into the manuscript may be thought of as an anachronism: our musical expectations about two superimposed melodies lead us to suppose that they form a score of a kind, but an eleventh-century monk would not necessarily have the same reaction. It can be plausibly assumed that score notation supplanted successive notation as the usual way of transcribing polyphony in Aquitaine only during the twelfth century.<sup>18</sup> However, voice superimposition as a way to notate *organum* has ninth-century theoretical precedents and is already used in the earliest stages of transmission of the Aquitanian *versus*.<sup>19</sup> In the context of Ademar's long composition, with its intricate musical form and variable line-length, the adoption of successive notation to record *organum* would be clearly inadequate, and a tentative, rough score notation, the most practical solution, even if its meaning still depended on extra-notational clues. We know that Aquitanian notation took a century to develop into a fully diastematic variety; codex Paris 909 is in fact one of its earliest witnesses.<sup>20</sup> By the same token, a clearly spaced score notation, which existed by the end the eleventh-century, supposes a tentative, embryonic stage. We could be dealing here with the very beginning of this process.<sup>21</sup>

Finally, one could object that the musical form of these *versus* finds no parallel in the context of later Aquitanian polyphony, and that its originality would be better understood if two separate melodic strands are assumed. It is, in fact, important to explore every possible connection of these *versus* with medieval monodic traditions.

<sup>18</sup> S. FULLER, «Aquitainian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries», Ph.D. dissertation, (University of California at Berkeley), 1969, p. 131: '[...] around 1100 [...] diastematic score notation had been developed but was not widely known even within the Aquitanian sphere. Successive notation was still the conventional means of recording the polyphonic *versus*'.

<sup>19</sup> James GRIER, «The Stemma of the Aquitanian *Versaria*», *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 41, 1988, pp. 250-88 [276 and n. 28].

<sup>20</sup> Cf. J. GRIER, «Roger de Chabannes (d. 1025), Cantor of St Martial, Limoges», *Early Music History*, vol. 14, 1995, pp. 53-119 [116]: 'With Pa 1121 and 909, Aquitanian notation first exhibits accurate visual information regarding intervals, but the melodies contained in those codices still cannot be sung without prior knowledge.'

<sup>21</sup> J. GRIER, «Les pratiques...», cit., p. 38: 'La mise en musique d'oeuvres polyphoniques de forme non strophique exige une partition; c'est ce qui semble avoir stimulé son développement'.

The musical form of the black melody (ABC ABC ... DEF DEF ... GHI etc.; see detailed scheme below) shows a striking similarity to the French lyric *lai*. Even if the oldest surviving examples of the genre only date from the late twelfth-century, scholars agree that its origins must be far earlier, and have pointed out striking parallels with the Latin sequence and the early *planctus*. In the lyric *lai*, music tends to be different from strophe to strophe; inside each strophe, there is often some kind of musical repetition. Different phrases may also use common melodic cells or contours, as happens in Ademar's *versus* with phrases A and D, or B and E. The form otherwise shows a remarkable freedom during the thirteenth-century, e.g. the *lai* of Jhesus Christ: ABC ABC DEF DEF GHEF GHEF HIEF HIEF ABC. Precedents have been sought in Celtic traditions and in Latin religious song; one can plausibly suppose that the eleventh-century was a period of formal experimentation, and that the musical conception of Ademar's *versus* was part of these experiments, or was already influenced by them.<sup>22</sup>

The practice of *organum* is not, however, to be excluded from this context. The alternation of monody and polyphony arrived at through the superimposition of independent monodic strands, later found in the *lais* of Guillaume de Machaut, could conceivably be rooted in these early experiments as well.

Moreover, one should be aware both of the larger musical context and of the symbolic structure of the poem. Below is the complete text, with an annotated translation:<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Bruno STÄBLEIN, «Die Schwanenklage: zum Problem Lai-Planctus-Sequenz», *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer*, Regensburg, 1962, pp. 491-502; Jean MAILLARD, «Lai, Leich», in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellung: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, Bern-Munich, 1973, pp. 323-45; David FALLOWS, «Lai», in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980, vol. 6, pp. 364-76; Nancy PHILLIPS & Michel HUGLO, «The versus *Rex caeli* – another look at the so-called archaic sequence», *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society*, vol. 5, 1982, pp. 36-43; Christopher PAGE, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages. Instrumental practice and songs in France, 1100-1300*, London, J. M. Dent, 1987, pp. 92-107; Hans TISCHLER, «The Lyric Lai before Machaut», in *Music from the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century*, New York-London, 1988, pp. 56-63; Ann BUCKLEY, «The lyric lai: musicological, philological and cultural questions», in *Proceedings of the First British-Swedish Conference on Musicology: Medieval Studies, 11-15 May 1988*, Stockholm, 1992, pp. 189-234.

<sup>23</sup> Transcription based on microfilm. Original spelling retained, except *i* and *u* (given the respective *i/j* or *u/v* phonetic equivalent) and abbreviations (e.g. &=et, Xp=Chr). Punctuation, letters inside angular brackets < > and capitals (inside the verses) added. Translation prepared in collaboration by Dr. Rip Cohen, whose generosity I wish to acknowledge here. I am also grateful to Dr. William Levitan and Dr. Noel Lenski for their useful comments and suggestions.

*fol.202r*VERSUS DE *SANCTO* MARCIALE *SEPTUAGINTA DUO*

**M**agna virum resonent Domini praeconia *Christi*  
 Marcialem liricae reboent concorditer odæ,  
 Gallia tota sonet citharis *et* rithmice plaudat,

**A**plaudant sistris sacra timpana, cimbala aena,  
 Musica flabra movete modos fidibusque canoris  
 Laudis apostolicae jubilo resonando choreis [6]

**R**oma, Ravenna boent claris reboando camenis,  
 Hierusalem, Nablis canat organa voce sonora,  
 Discipulo regis, cui constat apostolus ipse.

**C**oncrepet urbs regis magni, quae est visio pacis,  
 Hierusalem, quam restaurare Deus venit ipse,  
 In qua discipulum rex Marcialem sibi legit, 202v [12]

**I**n qua lavit eum Petrus baptisate princeps,  
 Carne propinquus ei, Benjamin stirpe creato,  
 Marcello Helisabeth genitoribus undique claris,

**A**d sublimia apostolici quem culminis, inquam>,  
 Culmine apostolico vexit soliumque thronumque  
 Rex *et* apostolicam dedit huic sedemque tribunal, [18]

**L**egaleque dedit sceptrum, jus officiumque,  
 Inter bisenos proceres propiosque clientes  
 Nec non septuaginta duo, quae est aurea libra.

**I**ntensis modulis pulchris fidibus variatis  
 Calliope, Talia, Clio, Melpomene musae, 203r  
 Euterpe soror Uraniaque canant modulando; [24]

SEVENTY-TWO VERSES ON SAINT MARTIAL

Let great proclamations reverberate for a Man of Christ our Lord,  
 Let lyric hymns sound harmoniously for Martial,  
 Let all Gaul resound with harps and clap rhythmically,

Let holy drums, bronze cymbals beat to the sistra,  
 Wind-music, start the melody, and, with singing strings  
 In a jubilee of apostolic praise in choruses [6]

Let Rome, Ravenna echo, resounding with clear-sounding muses,<sup>24</sup>  
 Let Jerusalem, Nablus sing their parts with sonorous voice  
 For the disciple of the King,<sup>25</sup> whose Apostle he is.

Let the city of the great King, which is the vision of peace, ring out,  
 Jerusalem, which God Himself is coming to restore,  
 In which the King chose Martial for Himself as a disciple, [12]

In which Prince Peter<sup>26</sup> washed him in baptism,  
 Near to him in flesh, sprung from the stock of Benjamin,  
 Marcellus and Elisabeth his parents being illustrious on every side,

Whom the King carried to the heights of the apostolic peak, I say,  
 And on the peak of the apostles the King gave him both a chair and a throne,  
 And an apostolic seat of judgement, [18]

And gave him a legal scepter, law and duty,  
 Among twelve lofty and close attendants,  
 Indeed seventy two, which is a golden balance.

Let the muses Calliope, Thalia, Clio and Melpomene,  
 Euterpe their sister and Urania  
 Sing, pulsating lovely varied strings in steady measures; [24]

<sup>24</sup> Muses, in the metonymic sense of songs. Cf. MACROBIUS, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, trans. William H. Stahl, New York, Columbia University Press, 1990, p. 194: 'The Etruscan also recognize that the Muses are the song of the universe, for their name for them is *Camenae*, a form of *Canenae*, derived from the verb *canere*.'

<sup>25</sup> Jesus Christ.

<sup>26</sup> Saint Peter, first bishop of Rome (42-67 A.D.).

**S**ic Erato cum Terpsicore, Polimnia dulcis,  
Tibicinumque chorus, cantorum turma resultent  
Marcialem Domini patriarcham discipulumque.

**A**ltisonae caeli turmae, clamate potenter,  
Viribus angelicae totis cantate cohortes,  
Quomodo sumpsit apostolicum jus, promite fibris, [30]

**P**lausibus armonicis verum super astra polorum  
Dicemus cantu modulos per climata cosmi,  
Rex legit sibi discipulum fecitque beatum.

**O**mnibus in terris memorandum luce venusta [203v]  
Fecit eum decies septem geminisque colonis,  
Bisseni quoniam pauci rarique coloni; [36]

**S**ic quoque paschali caena famulum sibi fecit,  
Tartara post foribus clausis quem pneumatate sanxit  
Tradendo claves solvendi cuncta, ligandi.

**T**antis relliquiis piscis mellisque refertum  
Mox evangelium per mundum spargere misit,  
Aethera quem librans propria dextra benedixit. [42]

**O**mnigenis linguis scitum paraclitus ipsum  
Exhibuit testem, non vincendum neque victum,  
Nam testatus ubique fuit magnalia *Christi*, [204r]

**L**umen apostolicum deinceps quem flamen abire  
Destinat ad Gallos, partemque suam dedit esse  
Alpibus a Juliis usque ad montes Pirineos. [48]

So let Erato with Terpsichore, sweet Polymnia  
 And a chorus of pipers, a host of singers reverberate:  
 ‘Martial, patriarch and disciple of the Lord!’

High sounding hosts of the sky, call out loudly,  
 Angelic cohorts, sing to all men,  
 How he assumed the apostolic law – make the gut strings tell it, [30]

And with the harmonic dances of the heavens beyond the stars<sup>27</sup>  
 Let us sing measures in song through the regions of the cosmos:  
 ‘The King has chosen for Himself a disciple and made him blessed!’.

In all the lands He made him memorable with a graceful aura  
 Among the ten times seven and two envoys,  
 Since twelve envoys were really too few. [36]

And at the Last Supper He also made him a servant for Himself,  
 And after the gates of Hell were closed, He sanctified him with His spirit<sup>28</sup>  
 By handing over the keys of tying and untying all things.

Then He made the Gospel, full of so many relics  
 Of fish and honey, spread throughout the world,  
 Which He blessed, holding the aether in His right hand. [42]

It was this man that the Holy Spirit showed as a witness,  
 Learned in all tongues, not vanquished nor to be,  
 For wherever he was he bore witness to the mighty works of Christ,

Then an apostolic light whom the priest  
 Destined to go away and come to the Gauls, and He gave him  
 His share from the Julian Alps all the way to the Pyrenees.<sup>29</sup> [48]

<sup>27</sup> A more literal translation – ‘And with the harmonic rhythms of the [celestial] poles above the [circle of fixed] stars’ – poses problems of astronomical interpretation, if taken too literally. The Latin ‘polus’, especially in the plural, is used in its transferred sense easily as ‘the skies’ or ‘the heavens’ (I owe this observation to Dr. William Levitan).

<sup>28</sup> This reading supposes that ‘Tartara’ is a mistake for ‘Tartari’.

<sup>29</sup> From the eastern Alps (now Italy and Slovenia) to the southwestern border of today’s France.

**U**nde simul venit Siriam cum principe Petro,  
Cui comes indisjunctus erat, quo nempe rogante  
Semina spargebat fidei linguis populisque.

**S**ed post Romulidas adeunt, tum pontificali  
Sede Petrum Marcialis apostolus ad Lateranos  
Cum Lino, Cleto senioribus intrhonzavi[t]. [54]

**C**hristus item Petrusque jubent propriam sibi sorte,  
Sorte datam partem properet gentemque ferocem [504v]  
Gallorum trahat ad vitam rapiatque baratro.

**R**ite subit Gallos gemino seniore sequente  
Alpiniano, Austricliniano . . . . . utroque,  
Lemovicaque duo testes in sede locarunt [60]

**I**nsignem Domini missum clarumque clientem,  
Marcialem praeceptoremque suumque magistrum,  
Qui regem Stephanum Gallos gentesque Aquitanas

**S**ubdiderat *Christo*, cujus hic apostolus, hic est  
Discipulus, praesul, virgo martirque propheta,  
Virgo profecto fuit, martirque propheta refulsit. [66]

**T**u, Siria, tu, Grecia, Hierusalem quoque Roma, [205r]  
Gallia, Aquitanaque plaga, Tholosa, Lemovix,  
Burdegala, Arvernus, Turonum, Biturica nec non,

**I**nstanter laudate Deum, qui magnificavit  
Marcialem, caeli terraeque per omnia plaudant  
*Christo*, cujus apostolus est per eon sine fine. 72  
Amen.



And as soon as he came from there to Syria with Prince Peter  
Whose inseparable companion he was, surely, since at his request  
He would sprinkle the seeds of faith on peoples and their languages.

But after he came to the Romans, in the pontifical  
Seat at the Lateran, Martial the apostle,  
With Linus and Cletus his elders,<sup>30</sup> enthroned Peter. [54]

Christ and Peter bid him ready for himself the portion  
Given him by lot and to drag to life and save  
From the abyss the savage race of the Gauls.

Rightly he goes to Gaul with Alpinian and Austriclinian  
Following, both older, . . . . . one and the other,  
And these two witnesses placed in the seat of Limoges [60]

This famous illustrious man sent by God, radiant attendant  
Martial, their preceptor and teacher, who  
King Stephanus<sup>31</sup> and the Gauls and the Aquitanian folk

Subdued for Christ,<sup>32</sup> whose apostle he is: this is His  
Disciple, bishop, virgin martyr prophet –  
Surely he was a virgin, and he shone like a martyr and prophet. [66]

You, Syria, you, Greece, Jerusalem and Rome,  
Gaul, and the Aquitanian region, Toulouse, Limoges,  
Bordeaux, the Auvergne, Tours, and also Bourges,

With all your might praise God, who magnified  
Martial, and let the heavens and the earth applaud  
Christ, whose apostle he is forever without end. [72]

Amen.

<sup>30</sup> S. Linus and S. Cletus of Athens, popes between 67-78 and 78-91 A. D., respectively.  
<sup>31</sup> This a legendary figure, Duke Stephen, ruler of all Aquitaine. According to the apostolic tale, he orders the death of one of Martial's first disciples, Valeria, only to follow her footsteps soon after, becoming, under Martial's guidance, a model ruler, a pilgrim and supporter of the church.  
<sup>32</sup> Subdued, through Martial's apostolic zeal, to the will of the deity.

Paul Hooreman pointed out that the number of lines, seventy-two, is highly symbolic: it is the number of disciples sent by Jesus to precede him in his journey to Jerusalem: *designavit Dominus et alios septuaginta duos* (Lucas 10, 1).<sup>33</sup> A personal connection between Jesus and Saint Martial – needed to affirm his apostolic dignity – is implied. The text mentions the name of Jesus Christ at lines 1, 45, 55, 64 and 72. He is the Alpha and the Omega: it is fitting that he is named first and last. Line 45 ends the major golden section of the poem ( $72=45+27$ ); 55 marks its last fourth; 64, its last eighth. A division that relates the whole and its major part according to the proportion 4:3 corresponds to the Pythagorean consonance of a perfect fourth; the remaining part, divided into two halves, relates to each of its two sections according to the ratio 2:1, which stands for the octave. It was an article of faith that God had created the world according to rational proportion; musical harmonies were seen as a powerful reminder. The division in extreme and mean ratio, the so-called golden section, has one and the same proportion between the whole and major part and between the latter and the minor; it is a self-generating proportion, and therefore a symbol of divine omnipotence and unity.<sup>34</sup>

This geometrical symbolism, which has very ancient roots,<sup>35</sup> seems to have a musical counterpart. As remarked above, basically there are only nine musical phrases: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I. Up to the middle of the composition, each tristich has three different phrases written in black, and the same phrase written three times in colour; thus black ABC is paralleled by coloured AAA; but the orange insistence ends there, while the black line repeats its three phrases four times: ABC/AAA, ABC/BBB, ABC/CCC, ABC/DDD; DEF/EEE, DEF/FFF, etc. The black notation unfolds its nine phrases up to the exact mid-point of the poem, the end of line 36, which the text does not highlight; the orange one exhausts its own phrases when it reaches the minor golden division, at the end of line 27 ( $72=27+45$ ).

<sup>33</sup> *Biblia Sacra, iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. Bonifatio Fischer et al., Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1984, p. 1627. Seventy-two is also the equivalent of  $3 \times 24$ , which may evoke the twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse, with their stringed instruments, praising the Lamb of God.

<sup>34</sup> Jacques THOMAS, *La divine proportion et l'art de la géométrie. Études de Symbolique chrétienne*, Paris, Archè-Édit, 1993.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Roger HERZ-FISCHLER, *A Mathematical History of Division in Extreme and Mean Ratio*, Waterloo, Ontario, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1987; David R. HOWLETT, *The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style*, Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1995.

At these points, both melodies revert to the opening. The orange one starts once more at line 55 (third mention of Christ). There is a change in the repetition scheme of the black tune which allows it to begin its third cycle at verse 64 (fourth mention of Christ), after only 27 lines: the ABC unit is heard four times, as before, but DEF is repeated only three times, followed by GHI GHC. At this point Hooreman, troubled by the formal inconsistency brought about by the last phrase, proposed to replace it by a variant of phrase I; but since phrase C is also found at this point in the orange melody, the apparent inconsistency makes sense: melodic coincidence would have created a powerful closure effect, unheard since line 27 (black and coloured phrases coincide also at lines 9 – the first eighth of the poem – and 18 – the fourth – and at the approximate middle points of these sections, at lines 5 and 14, where, however, three-unit groups do not end and a unison may or not be implied). The formal scheme of the melodies, taken together, thus complements and reinforces the geometrical symbolism of the poem:

BC.A	<b>A</b>	AA.B	†α	vv. 1-9
C.AB	B	B.CC		
ABC.D	C.	DDD.E	1/8 *	vv. 10-18
F.DE	E	E.FF		
DEF.DEF.GH	F.	GGG.HHH.II	1/4	vv. 19-27
	I.		27*:45	
GHI.GHI.GHI.		<b>AAA.BBB.CCC.</b>	1/2	vv. 28-36
<b>A</b> BC.ABC.ABC.		DDD.EEE.FFF.		vv. 37-45
ABC.DEF.DEF.		GGG.HHH.III.	† 45:27	vv. 46-54
DEF.GHI.GH		<b>AAA.BBB.CC</b>	† 1/4 *	vv. 55-63
	C.			
<b>A</b> BC.ABC.DE		D'D'D'.EEE.FF	† 1/8	vv. 64-72
	F.		†Ω	

† = mention of Christ

\* = coincides with the end of a syntactical unit

This formal arrangement is independent of our interpretation of the music as double monody or two-voice polyphony; its powerful aesthetic effect will, however, be lost if only one melody is sung, and lessened if an alternatim performance of both melodies, one phrase responding to the other, is preferred. A polyphonic rendition, even if atypical, seems most appropriate to make the formal scheme manifest.

It should be pointed out in passing that the literary text, written in classical hexameters with an acrostic, is no more typical than the music is. In contrast with his contemporaries, Ademar de Chabannes is known to have made a conscious effort to revert to a classicizing style in his poetry and also sometimes in his prose.<sup>36</sup> If we acknowledge Ademar's personal signature as a writer, why then shouldn't we be willing to recognize some originality in his music? The coherence and complementarity of formal procedures in the text and its double music notation speaks in favour of an integrated, two-voice performance.

It seems therefore that the polyphonic hypothesis fits the presentation of the manuscript, the historical evidence and the melodic style; implies acceptable, even if rugged harmonic results; it brings forth a most convincing form; and is consonant with the known idiosyncrasy of the author.

This hypothesis, if accepted, is full of consequences: it would allow us to date the beginning of the new organum practice in the early eleventh century, and it would put Saint-Martial de Limoges again in the centre of the early development of southern French polyphony.

A monodic hypothesis is not inconceivable, though. The orange and the black melodic lines could have been sung in alternation.<sup>37</sup> But this is also true of the entire corpus of Aquitanian polyphony. Who tells us that this is polyphony after all? By such a logic, it could also be that every two-voice Aquitanian setting was sung in alternation by two singers or the two sides of the choir. Wouldn't refusal to accept the polyphonic character of the Saint-Martial *versus*, in a sense, undermine our musicological discourse about Aquitanian polyphony?

<sup>36</sup> Franz BRUNHÖLZ, *Histoire de la littérature latine du Moyen Age, II*, Louvain, Brepols, 1996, pp. 244-45; R. LANDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-8. Aquitanian verse tropes, however, often use the quantitative dactylic hexameter: cf. Paul EVANS, *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970, pp. 62-64.

<sup>37</sup> P. HOOREMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 29, proposed an antiphonal rendition of the colour line: 'elle permet l'alternance antiphonique de deux chanteurs ou de deux groupes choraux dont l'un chante le premier vers, l'autre le second, tous deux ensemble le troisième'.

Once we are intellectually prepared to envisage these *versus* as possibly belonging to the realm of polyphonic music, it still does not mean that we are musically convinced by the hypothesis advanced here. Does it work? After painstaking attempts at musical reconstruction, I concluded that if one assumes a *vox organalis* (orange line) starting either in unison or a fourth below the *vox principalis* (dark line) – a plausible assumption for someone familiar with primitive *organum* – the musical results are quite acceptable. To test the result, provisional transcriptions were prepared for the ‘Vozes Alfonsinas’ early music ensemble. A tentative performing version of the first half of the composition was given in concert in 1997 at the Sagres fortress in southern Portugal, and an excerpt of a private recording presented to a select audience at the Congress of the International Musicological Society held in London that same year (a few verses are given in figure 5).

v.13 In qua la - vit e - um Pe - trus bap - tis - ma - te prin - ceps,

v.14 Car - ne pro - pin - quus e - i, Ben - ja - mim stir - pe cre - a - to,

v.15 Mar - ce - llo He - li - sa - beth ge - ni - to - ri - bus un - di - que cla - ris.

v.16 Ad su - bli - mi - a a pos - - - - to - li - ci quem cul - mi - nis, in - quam,

v.17 Cul - mi - ne a - pos - to - li - - - co ve - xit so - li - um - que thronum - que

Figure 5

This was, of course, an experiment, one which did not have any claim to represent Ademar's intentions. The rhythmic solutions adopted were, in fact, somewhat strained, and the choice of a different starting pitch for the coloured line from verse 14 onwards, entirely arbitrary (a later, more neutral transcription can be seen in figure 6). However, the reception of scholars with a life-long devotion to medieval music to the modern British première of some of Ademar's *versus* was surprisingly warm. I had the impression that some people in the audience would not have accepted my arguments if these had not been confirmed by the verisimilitude of the music, by its evocation of a familiar, eleventh-century sound-world. Still, I was not completely tranquil myself.

v.13 In qua la - vit e - um Pe - trus bap - tis - ma - te prin - cept,

v.14 Car - ne pro - pin - quus e - i, Ben - ja - mim stir - pe cre - a - to,

v.15 Mar - ce - llo He - li - sa - beth ge - ni - to - ri - bus un - di - que cla - ris.

v.16 Ad - su - bli - mi - a a pos - to - li - ci quem cul - mi - nis, in - quam,

v.17 Cul - mi - ne a - pos - to - li - - co ve - xit so - li - um - que thro - num - que

v.18 Rex et a - pos - to - li - cam de - dit hu - ic se - dem - que tri - bu - nal,

v.19 Le - ga - le - que de - dit scep - trum, ius of - fi - ci - um - que

v.20 In - ter bis - se - nos pro - ce - res pro - pi - os - que cli - en - tes

v.21 Nec non sep - tu - a - gin - ta du - o quae est au - re - a li - bra.

Figure 6

In fact, I suspected that I could have passed by some relevant evidence in favour of the monodic hypothesis. I later had the opportunity to look at one of the manuscripts that Ademar himself contributed to, the early eleventh-century troper-proser Paris, B. N. lat. 1121. On folio 175, over a Paschal invitatory antiphon and the respective psalm, *Venite exultemus Domino*, one finds two superimposed notations, a dark one and an orange one, exactly as seen in Paris lat. 909. However, the coloured notation, which being slightly different from the dark one, seems to have been entered by another hand, systematically uses the *custos* and the *equaliter* sign, contrary to the orange melody in the *versus*, which means that melodic identity is not taken for granted. The space constraints do not favor unambiguous diastematic writing, but the melodic stability of the tones allows their transcription (figure 7).

Ve - ni - te e - xul - te - mus do - mi - no iu - bi - le - mus de - o sa - lu - ta - ri nos tro

Pre - oc - cu - pe - mus fa - ci - em ei - us in con - fes - si - o - ne et in psal - mis iu - bi - le - mus ei

Quo - ni - am ip - si - us est ma - re et ip - se fe - cit il - lud et a - ri - dam

fun - da - ve - runt ma - nus ei - us Ve - ni - te a - do - re - mus et pro - ci - da - mus

an - te de - um plo - re - mus co - ram do - mi - no qui fe - cit nos qui - a ip - se est

do - mi - nus de - us nos - ter nos au - tem po - pu - lus ei - us et o - ves pas - cu - e ei - us

Paris, BN, lat. 1121, fol. 175 <sup>r-v</sup>

Figure 7

The melody in black corresponds to the fifth invitatory tone in the Aquitaine-derived antiphoner Toledo 44.2, while the coloured one is a version of its ninth tone, used for the first three Sundays after Easter (an identity confirmed by the Braga tradition; the incipit is also found in a Breviary from the Toulouse/Albi area written c. 1300, Paris, B.N. n.a. lat. 2511).<sup>38</sup> It follows that the two notations record monodic, alternative melodic entities. The appearance, date and provenance of this source, personally known to Ademar de Chabannes, allows us to assume that he could have superimposed two lines of notation in Paris lat. 909 without implying that they were meant to sound together as polyphony.

Yet, these are formulaic, traditional tones which can be selected or substituted and sung at different liturgical moments with the same psalm; they do not belong together, nor were they written for a specific occasion by a single scribe to complement, with striking originality, an original literary structure. The context is not comparable at all. A monodic interpretation of Ademar's *versus* furthermore leaves a few questions unanswered:

- 1) Assuming that Ademar's song was meant for a particular liturgical moment, what plausible kind of performance practice would require double notation over the same text? Antiphonal psalmody and parallelistic sequences do not provide valid models. To sing each verse twice makes no literary or liturgical sense, and textless singing of the coloured line makes no musical sense either. Moreover, if the *versus* were intended, as Hooreman proposed, for the longest and physically more demanding hour of the Office, Matins, it is hard to imagine that someone would want their performance to take fifty minutes instead of twenty-five (my calculations, based on experiment); but here I concede that a medieval monk might be brave enough to stand a double bill.
- 2) If the double notation is seen as recording alternative musical forms for at least two different liturgical occasions, which would they be? Although

<sup>38</sup> Ruth STEINER, «The Twenty-Two Invitatory Tones of the Manuscript Toledo, Biblioteca Capitulare, 44.2», in *id.*, *Studies in Gregorian Chant*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1999, chapter V; Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, «Braga's Invitatory Tones», in *Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the 9th Meeting, Esztergom & Visegrád, 1998*, Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2001, pp. 127-50. The Breviary Paris, BN n. a. lat. 2511 has incipits for the Braga tones 1 [=Toledo 9], 2 [=Tol. M3], 5 [=Tol. 17], 10 [=Tol. 3] and 12 [Tol. M1]; three other tones are called for (Toledo 4 amongst them).



it is possible that these *versus* were meant for a specific liturgical occasion, it is already hard to identify an appropriate one, let alone two.

3) If this is a non-liturgical composition, performed outside the context of Mass or Office, what need would an alternative melodic form fulfil? Melodic alternatives other than variants implied by distance in time or space usually respond to specific contexts with different demands; otherwise, one melody would suffice.

On the other hand, a two-voice performance is compatible with documented musical practices, and can be imagined either at a single liturgical occasion, or at an informal, non-liturgical context. All in all, the polyphonic hypothesis seems to me the one that best fits the evidence about Ademar's *versus*.

None the less, it must be said that it does not necessarily imply vocal polyphony. I initially felt that I should remain silent about this idea, for I was already taking enough risks defending Dreves' *zweistimmige* interpretation, and could not yet test it in musical practice. But having tested it, I am now ready to pursue this line of thought in writing.

In fact, the orange notation in Paris lat. 909 sometimes suggests instrumental performance, such as plucked strings. First hint: at the end of musical phrases A and C (and once, D), over the penultimate syllable of the text, the orange notation often has two notes (punctum+oriscus) against a single one in black, even when the two notations share the same phrase. The human voice can easily sustain a long, penultimate note, but a psalterium, a lyre or a harp cannot: a second note must be sounded. Second hint: the black line sometimes uses liquescent neumes with syllables ending in 'l' (sometimes also 'r' and 'm'), while the orange line almost ignores them. Indications of liquescence are useful for the singer, but useless for the instrumental performer. Could the orange line have been conceived of, then, as an instrumental line?

There is some evidence for plucked string accompaniment of tropes and sequences between the ninth and the eleventh centuries.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Michel HUGLO, «Les instruments de musique chez Hucbald», in Guy Cambier (ed.), *Hommages à André Boutemy*, Bruxelles, 1976, pp. 178-96; *id.*, «L'organum a Landévennec au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle», *Études celtiques*, vol. 23, 1986, pp. 87-92; *id.*, «Deux séquences de musique instrumentale», *Revue de musicologie*, vol. 76, 1990, pp. 77-82.

Hooreman's supposition that Ademar's *versus* were among the precursors of the hagiographical songs performed by jongleurs after the twelfth lesson of Matins fits the possibility that they were meant for accompanied voice perfectly.<sup>40</sup> The Christological symbolism of stringed instruments like the psalterium or the harp would make them particularly appropriate to praise Saint-Martial as an apostle.<sup>41</sup>

Given that plucked string instruments at the time were usually high-pitched relative to the adult male voice, it may be that the effect sought here consisted of instrumental organum at the upper octave. This would smoothen some dissonances and highlight parallel melodic movements, while inverting intervals.<sup>42</sup> Although the conceptual starting-point could still be the unison or the fourth below the *vox principalis*, the accompanying line would sound respectively an octave or a fifth above (a similar discrepancy between conceptual framework and sound-result is found later in *faburden*, and is still seen today in some instrumental writing). Did Ademar ever intend to present these *versus* accompanying himself, as a one-man show? We have no scientific way to test this possibility; once more, to convince ourselves, we can only imagine and experiment.

<sup>40</sup> P. HOOREMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26, 29: 'depuis le X<sup>me</sup> siècle, l'usage s'était établi, en certaines églises, de redire, après la douzième leçon, pour l'édification des fidèles, la vie du saint en langue vulgaire et en vers ... Ces vies de saints étaient l'équivalent clérical des chansons de geste ... Les interprètes de ces biographies lyriques n'étaient pas des clers, – il eût paru inconvenant de les voir chanter en langue profane, – mais des jongleurs ... Plusieurs vestiges permettent de supposer qu'antérieurement aux chansons romanes il existait des chants latins sur les mêmes sujets. La Cantilène de sainte Eulalie est le décalque d'une séquence latine ... ; l'auteur de la Chanson de sainte Foy se loue d'en avoir trouvé la matière dans un *libre latin* ... Les *Versus*, eux, représentent un second état de l'amplification pieuse; leur texte est fondé sur la *Vita proluxior*; il en condense et agrémente les données biographiques; il se rapproche ainsi des *Gesta sanctorum* et des Chansons romanes ... cette forme AAA, BBB etc., est précisément celle des strophes monorimes assonancées des Chansons romanes des saints.' The formal connection between Ademar's *versus* and the *lai* reinforces the plausibility of instrumental accompaniment: cf. Valeria Bertolucci PIZZORUSSO, «L'arpa d'Isotta: Variazioni testuali e figurative», in J. Claude Faucon et al. (eds.), *Miscellanea Mediaevalia, Tome I: Mélanges offerts à Philippe Ménard*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 1998, pp. 101-19.

<sup>41</sup> Hermann ABERT, *Die Musikanschauung des Mittelalters und ihre Grundlagen*, Tutzing, Hans Schneider, 1964, pp. 210-23; Martin van SCHAİK, *The Harp in the Middle Ages: The Symbolism of a Musical Instrument*, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1992, pp. 16-51.

<sup>42</sup> The version of the *versus* presented in London adopted octave transposition whenever the *vox organalis* was put at the lower fourth (as in figure 5), but for lack of an adequate instrument, I had to trust it to a singer and use rhythmic solutions appropriate to the voice.