

Associa tecum in patria: A Newly Identified Organum Trope by Philip the Chancellor

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PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR, theologian, homilist, and administrator of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, has long been acknowledged as an important contributor to the repertory of thirteenth-century Latin poetry.¹ Many of his texts are set to music found in manuscripts containing works by Notre Dame composers. Philip is one of the few artists connected with the cathedral who penned a substantial number of still-extant works and also left a relatively detailed biography. He is, therefore, a figure of primary importance for our knowledge of the Notre Dame school.

It is rather surprising, then, that Philip's poems, together with their melodies, have not yet been published and studied as a complete corpus. To date, these compositions are included only haphazardly in modern editions, scattered among the anonymous contributions of his

¹ Studies dealing with Philip as a poet include *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, L, *Lateinische Hymnendichter des Mittelalters*, pt. 2, ed. Guido Maria Dreves (Leipzig, 1907), 528–32; Heinrich Husmann, "Ein Faszikel Notre-Dame-Kompositionen auf Texte des pariser Kanzlers Philipp in einer dominikaner Handschrift (Rom, Santa Sabina XIV L 3)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXIV (1967), 1–23; Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, I, *Catalogue raisonné der Quellen*, pt. 1, *Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation*, 2nd rev. ed., ed. Luther A. Dittmer (New York, 1964), 243–67; Ruth Steiner, "Some Monophonic Latin Songs Composed around 1200," *The Musical Quarterly*, LII (1966), 57–61; Josef Szövérfy, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung: Ein Handbuch*, II, *Die lateinischen Hymnen vom Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1965), 192–205; and Victor Saxer, "Les Hymnes magdaléniennes attribuées à Philippe le Chancelier sont-elles de lui?" *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Moyen âge—temps modernes*, LXXXVIII (1976), 157–97. Saxer, p. 157, n. 1, contains an extensive bibliography on Philip's life and works. Much of the early literature on Philip is plagued with an egregious error: the incorrect identification of Philip the Chancellor with Philippe de Grève, a canon of Paris and dean of Sens, who died about 1220. Henri Meylan first corrected the mistake in "Les 'Questions' de Philippe le Chancelier," *Ecole Nationale des Chartes: Positions des thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 1927* (Paris, 1927), pp. 89–94.

contemporaries.² Possible reasons for this neglect could center on the lack of a firmly established canon of Philip's works. Many surviving lyrics can, nonetheless, be attributed to him with a high degree of assurance,³ and almost all of this poetry appears to have been set to music. The extent of Philip's own musical contributions, however, is still in question.⁴ The large number of contrafacts and texts written to preexistent melismatic music within his oeuvre suggests that he was primarily a versifier. On the other hand, his work embraced nearly all

² My dissertation, "Philip the Chancellor's Poetry and Its Music" (in progress), will seek to remedy the situation. This study will include an edition of Philip's poems with music and an assessment of them in musical, literary, and historical contexts.

³ A list of Philip's texts is available in *Analecta hymnica*, L, 529-31. Most of these poems are printed in *ibid.*, XXI, *Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters*, pt. 2, ed. Guido Maria Dreves (Leipzig, 1895). Later research has added new works (see n. 5) and shown that some of Dreves's attributions are untenable. See Ruth Steiner, "Some Monophonic Latin Songs from the Tenth Fascicle of the Manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic Univ. of America, 1963), pp. 13-15. A more recent, if conservative, inventory of Philip's works is offered by Robert Falck, "Philippe the Chancellor," *The New Grove Dictionary*, XIV, 631.

⁴ Publications of some of Philip's texts with their music include Gordon Athol Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Helmstadt 1099* (1206), II, *Transcriptions*, Musicological Studies, 24/2 (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1976), which includes these motets: *Adesse festina* (58), *Agmina militie celestis* (532), *De Stephani roseo* (57), *Doce nos optime* (346), *Homo cum mandato dato* (3), *Homo quam sit pura* (231), *In salvatoris nomine* (452), *In veritate comperi* (451), *Vide propheciam* (2); and the conductus *Beata viscera . . . cuius* (K14). Ethel Thurston, *The Conductus Collections of MS Wolfenbüttel 1099*, 3 vols., *Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, 11-13 (Madison, 1980), contains *Bulla fulminante* (L5), *Veste nuptiali* (K81), *O Maria virginiei* (E15), *Minor natu filius* (K82), and *Beata viscera . . . cuius* (K14); Gordon Athol Anderson, ed., *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, VI, 1 pt *Conductus—Transmitted in Fascicule X of the Florence Manuscript*, *Collected Works*, 10/6 (Henryville, Pa., 1981), includes *Homo natus ad laborem tui* (K1), *Aristippe quamvis sero* (K3), *In hoc ortus occidente* (K5), *Fontis in rivolum* (K6), *Ad cor tuum revertere* (K10), *Vide qui fastu rumperis* (K11), *Sol oritur in sidere* (K13), *Beata viscera . . . cuius* (K14), *Dum medium silentium tenerent* (K15), *Quid ultra tibi facere* (K17), *Vanitas vanitatum* (K18), *Veritas veritatum* (K19), *Exurge dormis Domine* (K24), *Quomodo cantabimus* (K25), *Excute de pulvere* (K26), *Ve mundo a scandalis* (K27), *Quo me vertam nescio* (K28), *O labilis sortis humane status* (K30), *Quo vadis quo progredieris* (K31), *Homo qui semper moreris* (K32), *Bonum est confidere* (K37), *Si vis vera frui luce* (K40), *Venit Jhesus in propria* (K42), *Beata nobis gaudia reduxit* (K44), *Christus assistens pontifex* (K48), *Rex et sacerdos preluit* (K49), *Clavis clavo retunditur* (K51), *Quisquis (Si quis) cordis et oculi* (K52), *Homo vide que pro te patior* (K53), *Nitimur in vetitum* (K54), *Homo considera* (K56), *O mens cogita* (K57), *Crux de te volo conqueri* (K59), *Pater sancte dictus Lotharius* (K61), *Veritas equitas largitas* (K62), *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* (K75), *Associa tecum in patria* (K80), *Veste nuptiali* (K81), and *Minor natu filius* (K82). Also see Hans Tischler, *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, I (New Haven, 1982). For Philip's motets, see n. 7 below. The numbers of these same works in Tischler's publication are, respectively: 220(3), 25, 21(1), 272, 221(1), 36(3), 36(1), 265(1). The reference symbols for conductus are taken from Gordon Athol Anderson, "Notre

of the textual types that were set by Notre Dame composers. The rhythmic vitality of his poems and the skill with which they are joined to music indicate, at the very least, a poet of no minor musical sensibilities.

The best-represented genre in Philip's output is the monophonic conductus. Medieval sources assign to him some fifty-eight works of this type, which include representatives of the related forms of sequence or prosa, hymn, French chanson, and those few works for which music is presently unknown.⁵ Only nine polyphonic conductus

Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue raisonné," *Miscellanea musicologica: Adelaide Studies in Musicology*, VI (1972), 153-229; and VII (1975), 1-81. Numbers of motets refer to Friedrich Gennrich, *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten*, Summa musicae medii aevi, 2 (Darmstadt, 1957).

⁵ The attribution to Philip of at least thirty-seven of these fifty-eight poems is questionable. The possibly spurious works are: *Ad cor tuum revertere* (K10), *Angelus ad virginem* (O15), *Aristippe quamvis sero* (K3), *Ave dei genetrix et immaculata* (-), *Beata nobis gaudia reduxit* (K44), *Beata viscera . . . cuius* (K14), *Bonum est confidere* (K37), *Christus assistens pontifex* (K48), *Clavus clavo retunditur* (K51), *Dum medium silentium tenerent* (K15), *Excute de pulvere* (K26), *Exurge dormis domine* (K24), *Festa dies agitur* (N16), *Fontis in rivulum* (K6), *Homo natus ad laborem tui* (K1), *Homo qui semper moreris* (K32), *Homo vide que pro te patior* (K53), *In hoc ortus occidente* (K5), *Ma joie m'annour* (-), *O amor deus deitas* (L56), *O labilis sortis humane status* (K30), *Pange lingua* (Collaudemus) *Magdalene* (-), *Quid ultra tibi facere* (K17), *Quo me vertam nescio* (K28), *Quo vadis quo progredieris* (K31), *Quomodo cantabimus* (K25), *Rex et sacerdos prefuit* (K49), *Si vis vera frui luce* (K40), *Sol est in meridie* (N17), *Sol oritur in sidere* (K13), *Tempus est gratie* (N18), *Vanitas vanitatum* (K18), *Ve mundo a scandalis* (K27), *Veni sancte spiritus spes* (N19), *Venit Ihesus in propria* (K42), *Veritas veritatum* (K19), and *Vide qui fastu rumperis* (K11). The problems of attribution include conflicting ascriptions to other poets and faulty assignments to Philip in medieval sources. Robert Falck suggests that the manuscript Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 2777, a source that purportedly contains twenty-six texts by Philip (Anderson, "Catalogue raisonné," K nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11, 13-15, 17-19, 24-28, 30-32, 37, 40, 42, 44, 48, 49), may not possess actual poems by the chancellor. See Falck's discussion of this source in *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies, 33 (Henryville, Pa., 1981), pp. 115-19. Additions to Philip's repertory of monophonic conductus have been proposed or corroborated by modern scholars, most notably Anderson, on *Fons preclusus* (K72), in *Opera omnia*, VI, xcv, n. 4; Falck, on *Dogmatum falsas species* (K55), *O Maria O felix puerpera* (K58), and *Aurelianus civitas* (K60), in *Notre Dame Conductus*, p. 104; Norbert Fickermann, on *Christus assistens pontifex* (K48), in "Ein neues Bischofslied Philipps de Grève," *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters: Ebrenge für Karl Strecker zum 4. September 1931*, ed. W. Stach and H. Walther, Schriftenreihe zur historischen Vierteljahrschrift, 1 (Dresden, 1931), pp. 37-44; and Christopher Page, "Angelus ad virginem: A New Work by Philippe the Chancellor?" *Early Music*, XI (1983), 69-70. Anderson has also attempted to ascribe to Philip the hitherto unattributed texts of the polyphonic conductus *Dedus Syon uberrimas* (G8), *Dum sigillum summi patris* (J24), *O levis aurula* (J31), *O quotiens [vos] volui* (J1); and the motets *Nostrum est impletum* (216), *Mors que stimulo* (254), *Mors morsu nata* (255), *Mors a primi patris* (256), and *Manere vivere* (70). See his "Symbolism in Texts of Thirteenth-

are ascribed to Philip in medieval sources.⁶ But even these show evidence of his acquaintance with a wide spectrum of musical types, from simple, syllabic, strophic songs to through-composed works containing the bold melismas that characterize the masterpieces of the Notre Dame repertory. Extant motet texts ascribed to Philip number eight, although half of these attributions are questionable.⁷ Four of these eight are conductus motets (three voices, with the upper two sharing a single text), which may, in fact, represent some of the earliest attempts in the genre. Gordon Anderson and Hans Tischler have even proposed that the motet may be Philip's own invention.⁸

Of all Philip's poems with musical settings, the most intriguing are those in which he supplied texts for melismatic passages in organa and conductus. In these works, the chancellor created pieces that seem to prefigure the motet and to precede, or at least to parallel, this genre chronologically. These pieces are formed through the addition of words, either to the duplum of a sustained-tone section of organum, usually the respond, or to the tenor of the final cauda of a polyphonic conductus. Such textual tropes frequently offer a commentary or gloss upon the text of the organum or conductus. Extant sources of the Middle Ages preserve eighteen works of this type. For eleven of the

Century Music—A Postscript," *Studies in Music*, V (1971), 35; *Opera omnia*, V, ii, n. 2; xvi, n. 1; xxvii, n. 6; III, vii, n. 1; and *Latin Compositions*, II, v.

⁶ *Ave virgo virginum verbi* (F16, P44), *Centrum capit circulus* (J38), *Clavus pungens acumine* (J39, dubious), *Dic Christi veritas* (C3), *Gedeonis area* (F15), *Mundus a munditia* (F17), *O Maria virginei* (E14), and *Regis decus et regine* (J47). Two other pieces, *Luto carens et latere* (F1, M6) and *Miser homo cogita* (R3, a textual incipit only, its setting in three parts confirmed by a contemporary witness), have apparently been misattributed to Philip in Anderson, "Catalogue raisonné." In Anderson's later edition of *Luto carens* (*Opera omnia*, VIII, vi, 3, 52), no author for this text is mentioned, even though it is ascribed to Philip in London, British Library, Egerton 274 (see n. 17). The faulty assignment of *Miser homo* is due to a poor reading of a statement by the Franciscan chronicler Salimbene. This witness, on whose authority six texts are attributed to Philip, clearly says that both the text and the music of *Miser homo* are the work of the poet-composer Henry of Pisa: "Item illam cantilénam fecit [Henricus Pisanus], litteram cum triplici cantu, scilicet: *Miser homo cogita facta creatoris*." See the edition of Salimbene's chronicle by Oswald Holder-Egger, *Cronica fratris Salimbene de Adam: Ordinis minorum*, Monumenta germaniae historica, Scriptorum, 32 (Hanover, 1905–13), p. 182.

⁷ The motets attributed to Philip in medieval sources are: *Agmina militie celestis* / *Agmina* (532), *Doce nos optime* / *Docebit* (346), *Homo quam sit pura* / *Latus* (231), *Lacqueus conteritur* / *Lacqueus* (95); doubtful works: *In omni fratre tuo* / *Quoniam* (197), *In salvatoris nomine* / *In seculum* (452), *In veritate comperi* / *In seculum* (451), *Venditores laborum* / *Domino* (760).

⁸ See Gordon Athol Anderson, "Thirteenth-Century Conductus: Obiter dicta," *The Musical Quarterly*, LVIII (1972), 362; and Hans Tischler, "Pérotin and the Creation of the Motet," *The Music Review*, XLIV (1983), 4.

eighteen,⁹ the untroped and presumably earlier musical versions survive separately. For the remaining seven examples, no surviving melismatic originals are known,¹⁰ and it is, in fact, doubtful that such models ever existed for these particular pieces. The small size of the repertory, thus, suggests that the texting of melismatic organa and conductus caudae was a short-lived phenomenon, soon eclipsed by the more popular, yet closely related, genre of the motet.¹¹

Of those eleven pieces for which both texted and melismatic versions survive, Philip is given as the author of all four texts set to

⁹ These eleven poems include four organum and seven conductus tropes. The organum tropes consist of two pairs of texts: *Vide prophetie* and *Homo cum mandato dato*; *De Stephani roseo sanguine* and *Adesse festina* (Gennrich, *Bibliographie*, nos. 2 and 3; 57 and 58). These pairs text the dupla of Perotin's organa quadrupla *Viderunt omnes* and *Sederunt principes*, respectively. *Adesse festina*, moreover, is the only surviving trope that texts the music of the complete verse section of a melismatic organum. The two *Sederunt* tropes survive exceptionally in a version that contains all four of the original voices of the melismatic model. See the manuscript Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486, fols. 5–14, published in facsimile by Luther A. Dittmer, *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Madrid 20486*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, 1 (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1957). I suspect that the four-voice rendition was not the one envisioned by Philip but was rather a later, peripheral arrangement. See Rudolf Flotzinger, "De Stephani roseo sanguine": Vom Quadruplum zur einstimmigen Motette," *Die Musikforschung*, XXXVII (1984), 177–91. The seven conductus tropes are *Bulla fulminante* and its contrafact *Veste nuptiali* (source: *Dic Christi veritas*); *Minor natu filius* (source: *Austro terris influente*); *Anima iugi lacrima* (source: *Relegentur ab area*); and *Crucifigat omnes*, with its two contrafacts *Mundum renovavit* and *Curritur ad vocem* (source: *Quod promisit ab eterno*). Troped conductus caudae, like many of the examples of organum tropes, survive in their texted forms as monodies. The only exception is *Crucifigat omnes*, which uses both voices of its model and is found with an added triplum in three sources. See Ernest H. Sanders, "Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus," *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, II, Musicological Studies, 49/2 (Henryville, Pa., 1984), 505–30; and Thurston, *Conductus Collections*, I, 23, for more information on this interesting composition.

¹⁰ The troped organa found without melismatic models in Notre Dame sources are: *Beatis nos adhibe* / *Benedicamus Domino* and *Veni doctor previe* / *Veni sancte spiritus reple* (Gennrich, *Bibliographie*, nos. 761 and 359, respectively). The remaining examples occur in the polyphony of the Aquitanian and later, peripheral repertories: *Stirps Yesse florigeram* / *Benedicamus Domino*, *Humane prolis* / *Domino*, *Trino Domino* / *Domino*, *Amborum sacrum* / *Benedicamus Domino*, and *Vidit rex omnipotens* / *Viderunt omnes*. For manuscript sources and editions of all these pieces, see Tischler, *Earliest Motets*, I, nos. 1, 3–6, 10, and 26.

¹¹ The conflation of organum tropes and motets by modern scholars has frequently blurred the distinction between them. An organum trope is a texted section (i.e., a respond or verse) that is integral to an organum in sustained-note style. A motet, during the period discussed here, is a piece in which words have been added to a discant clausula that was composed upon an excised, metricized, melismatic segment of chant. See Ernest H. Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade in Verbindung mit Freunden, Schülern und weiteren Fachgelehrten*, ed. Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn, and Hans Oesch, I (Bern, 1973), 510, n. 46, and p. 527.

sections of Perotinian organa and three out of the seven works set to conductus caudae.¹² Nowhere are similar pieces ever assigned to other poets. Hence, it is possible that Philip alone cultivated the two types. Furthermore, Perotin is credited as composer of all of the organa and of two of the four conductus caudae that Philip texted.¹³ It may well be that the creation of these unusual compositions resulted exclusively from the combined work of these two individuals.¹⁴

Since so few organum tropes and texted conductus caudae are presently known to us, the discovery of a previously unrecognized trope for a well-known organum is a matter of some interest. This newly identified trope is *Associa tecum in patria*, which is transmitted among monophonic conductus in the tenth fascicle of the celebrated manuscript *F* (fol. 450^r).¹⁵ This is the only source that preserves both text and music of the trope. The poetry alone survives in Prague, Státní knihovna, Kap. N 8 (*Praba*), folio 37^v.¹⁶ Here, the poem is

¹² Philip is considered responsible for *Vide prophecie*, *Homo cum mandato*, *De Stephani*, *Adesse festina*, *Bulla fulminante*, *Veste nuptiali*, and *Minor natu filius* (see n. 9). Conductus tropes not specifically attributed to Philip are *Anima iugi lacrima* and *Crucifigat omnes*, yet these two texts are quite possibly also his. It is, on the other hand, improbable that *Mundum renovavit* and *Curritur ad vocem*, the two contrafacts of *Crucifigat*, were conceived as conductus tropes. Hence, they are probably not by Philip and are likely peripheral works. *Curritur* is found only in later, German sources, while *Mundum* is a *unicum* in *W*₁, fol. 79^f (old foliation), its text appearing in the margin next to *Crucifigat*. Both were probably written without reference to the melismatic source, as contrafacts of the widely disseminated *Crucifigat*. For information on these and other conductus, see the catalogs of Anderson, "Catalogue raisonné"; and Falck, *Notre Dame Conductus*, pp. 138–256.

¹³ *Viderunt omnes* and *Sederunt principes*, the sources for the text pairs *Vide prophecie*–*Homo cum mandato* and *De Stephani roseo*–*Adesse festina*, respectively, are attributed to Perotin by Anonymous IV. See Fritz Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymous 4*, I, Edition, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 4 (Wiesbaden, 1967), 46. The respective sources for *Bulla fulminante* (= *Veste nuptiali*) and *Anima iugi lacrima*, namely, *Dic Christi veritas* and *Relegentur ab area*, are ascribed to Perotin by modern scholars. See Falck, *Notre Dame Conductus*, pp. 45–56. Because they also possess troped caudae, the unattributed sources for the conductus tropes *Minor natu filius* and *Crucifigat omnes* (*Austro terris* and *Quod promisit ab eterno*, respectively) may also be Perotinian compositions.

¹⁴ Such an assertion does not necessarily suppose that they worked together. It has long been accepted, for example, that Philip is the author of the text of Perotin's monophonic conductus *Beata viscera . . . cuius*. However, Falck's suspicions regarding the Darmstadt source, which attributes *Beata viscera* to Philip (see n. 5), have raised doubts about this possible collaboration. Philip may simply have arranged Perotin's compositions sometime after they had appeared as untroped works.

¹⁵ *F* is published in facsimile by Luther A. Dittmer, ed., *Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteo 29,1*, 2 vols., Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, 10–11 (Brooklyn, N.Y., [1966–67]).

¹⁶ On *Praba*, see Anderson, "Obiter dicta," pp. 361–64.

ascribed, along with many others, to Philip. The reliability of this attribution is attested by the close concordance between *Praba* and *LoB*, which also assigns a group of texts to Philip.¹⁷ The melody of *Associa* is identical to the duplum of the respond section of the organum triplum *Sancte Germane* Ψ *O Sancte Germane* (O27),¹⁸ a composition found in all three of the major Notre Dame manuscripts (*F*, *W*₁, *W*₂) as well as in the gigantic motet codex now at Montpellier (*Mo*).¹⁹

This newly discovered relationship between trope and responsory allows us to assign a rhythm to *Associa* in its monophonic, texted form, a task that was previously impossible due to its survival only in *cum littera* notation. In addition, it provides new circumstances to support the assertion that Perotin composed the organum triplum *Sancte Germane*, a hypothesis advanced by Heinrich Husmann and Yvonne Rokseth.²⁰ Finally, the trope sheds light on the liturgical function of the three-voice organum and bolsters Husmann's theories regarding the position of this setting in *F*.

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In his description of *Praba*, Anderson already conjectured that *Associa* might have a melismatic model.²¹ He noticed that it follows the four poems that trope the two Perotinian organa quadrupla and precedes three texted conductus caudae: *Minor natu filius*, *Bulla*

¹⁷ Twelve of the twenty-three verses in *Praba* are also present in *LoB* (London, British Library, MS Egerton. 274). For information on this source, see *Analecta hymnica*, XX, *Lieder und Motteten des Mittelalters*, pt. 1, ed. Guido Maria Dreves (Leipzig, 1895), 16–19; and Ludwig, *Repertorium*, Vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 251–63. On the problems inherent in the attribution of the contents of *LoB* to Philip, see Steiner, *Tenth Fascicle*, pp. 12–14.

¹⁸ The explanation of the numbering system for Office (O) and Mass (M) organa is given in Ludwig, *Repertorium*, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 16. See also pp. xiii, 23.

¹⁹ *F*, fol. 34^r; *W*₁, fol. ix^r (original foliation); *W*₂, fol. 10^r; *Mo*, fol. 13^r. All are published in facsimile as follows: *F*, see n. 15; *W*₁, *An Old St. Andrews Music Book* (*Cod. Helmst.* 628), ed. James Houston Baxter, St. Andrews University Publications, 30 (London, 1931); *W*₂, *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 1099* (1206), ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, 2 (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1960); *Mo*, Yvonne Rokseth, *Polyphonies du XIII^e siècle: Le Manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1935–39), Vol. I.

²⁰ Heinrich Husmann, ed., *Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame-Organen: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Publikationen älterer Musik, 11 (Leipzig, 1940; repr. Hildesheim, 1967), pp. xx–xxii; and *idem*, “The Enlargement of the *Magnus liber organi* and the Paris Churches St. Germain l’Auxerrois and Ste. Geneviève-du-Mont,” this JOURNAL, XVI (1963), 194; Rokseth, *Polyphonies*, IV, 59.

²¹ Anderson, “Obiter dicta,” p. 364.

fulminante, and *Veste nuptiali*. Anderson also remarked that a similar grouping of these works is evident in *F*, where *Associa* also precedes both *Minor natu* and *Veste*. These observations led him to suspect that *Associa* might be a texted conductus cauda, since it bears the characteristic traits of the genre: syllabic declamation and irregular poetic lines, which were made to fit musical phrases of irregular length in the preexistent melismatic source. These features stand in striking contrast to the regular meters and lengthy melismas of the conductus proper that surround the collection of tropes in *F*. Anderson admitted, however, that a search through the conductus repertory had not revealed a source for the trope, and he presumed it lost.

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The melismatic, polyphonic source of the melody of *Associa* was all along to be found in Husmann's edition of three- and four-voice Notre Dame organa.²² The model for *Associa* in the responsory *Sancte Germane*, thus, explains the ordering of the trope both in *Praba* and within the special group of troped compositions at the end of the tenth fascicle of *F*, since works written on liturgical cantus firmi were usually arranged before freely composed pieces, such as conductus.²³

Example 1 presents *Associa* for the first time in the rhythmical transcription that follows the *sine littera* notation of the organum model.²⁴ I have added the tenor of the organum below the trope, since this is a possible (even desirable) mode of performance. Although it often happens that such tropes are found without their tenors,²⁵ the

²² Husmann, ed., *Organa*, pp. 98–99. The fact that all other melismatic sources for organum tropes are four-voice compositions lessened the probability that the source for *Associa* would be found among the pieces of the two-part *Magnus liber organi*.

²³ The final work in the tenth fascicle of *F*, *Sol eclipsim patitur* (a *planctus*, occasioned by the death of Ferdinand of Leon in 1188), appears to be a later addition. The illuminated initials, which are rarely forgotten, are omitted from this conductus, and the hands of the scribes of both text and music differ considerably from those before and after this piece. It is, therefore, possible that the trope section of the tenth fascicle of *F* is incomplete.

²⁴ Anderson's transcription of *Associa* in *Opera omnia*, VI, 114–15 (made without knowledge of the melismatic source), is, however, remarkably close to the intended rhythm of the piece.

²⁵ Tenor notes for the tropes of the *Sederunt* appear sporadically in the Madrid codex (see n. 9) and in the fragments of the same pieces preserved at Stary Sącz, Library of the Blessed Kinga, Order of St. Clare, MS 1 (*St S 1*), fols. 7^v–8^r and fol. “?” (*sic*). For this source, see Mirosław Perz, *Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500*, *Antiquitates musicae in Polonia*, 13 (Graz, 1973), pp. ix–xx, 5, 11. *St S 1* also contains fragments of the *Viderunt* tropes (see n. 9) with tenor.

harmonic direction of the melody and the presence of a discant section (a motet within the trope) only become apparent when the tenor is included. The melody of *Associa*, nonetheless, was apparently considered by the scribe of *F* to be self-sufficient, without need of the organum tenor.

Example 1

Associa tecum in patria, *F*, fol. 450^r (fascicle X, no. 80)

[Sa-] As- so-ci- a te-cum in pa-tri- a et sa-ti- a per-hen-
San-

-ni glo-ri- a. Vi-te bre-vis pe-ri-tu- ra pre-te-rit fi- gu- ra;

um-bra le- vis ut pi-ctu- ra in- te-rit li- tu- ra. Fi- des pla-na,

quod mun- da- na, cun-cta va- na; la- te pa- tet a- re-a pa- le-a,

nul- la gra- na; sors hu- ma- na tam- quam la- na, ter- i- tur a ti- ne-a.

Ex. 1, cont.

28

Le-se men-tis vul-ne-ra sa-na. Ut a-cu-ra sit se-cu-ra,

34

iu-go li-be-ra. Pro-cu-ra. Lu-ce-ant sic o-pe-ra,

39

nu-be-re-mo-ta, ter-sa cul-pe no-ta, sol-vat ut vo-ta

45

ti-bi mens de-vo-ta. Re-nes-lus-tra; cor il-lu-stra un-da gra-ti-

50

e fe-cun-da. La-va-car-nis cri-mi-na, a-ni-mam il-

55

fol. 450^v

-lu-mi-na, ho-lo-cau-stum a-ni-ma. Ca-ro vi-cti-ma mun-da;

Ex. 1, cont.

61
8 mens lu-ci-da, ca-ro sit can-di-da. San- - - cte,
-cte,

67
8 de-o pre-ca-re, de-um pre-ca-re, ut ho-di-e ros et
Ger-
(E-)

73
8 lux gra-ti-e, mun-dans in-stil-let, lu-cens scin-til-let,

79
8 E-li-gi! Da cum ag-nis e-li-gi, da cum gra-nis col-li-gi,
-ma- -ne
(-li-) (-gi)

85
8 da cum iu-stis di-li-gi, vi-a vi-te di-ri-gi, a-lis vir-

90
8 tu-tum e-ri-gi, E-li-gi!
[-ne].
(-gi).

Translation

Join us with you in the fatherland and fill us with everlasting glory. Brief life's shade, soon to die, passes away; the fleeting shadow is lost like erased writing. Common faith, because it is worldly, is entirely fruitless; the chaff lies spread about the threshing floor without the grain; human destiny is eaten away like wool by a moth.

Heal the wounds of an afflicted mind. Free us from the yoke, so that the mind may be delivered from care. Protect us. Let our works shine so that, with the cloud removed and the mark of sin cleansed, the devout mind may offer you prayers. Purify our innermost thoughts; illuminate the heart with the life-giving water of grace. Cleanse the sins of the flesh, enlighten the soul, kindle the sacrifice. Let the victim be unblemished in his flesh; let his mind be clear and his flesh radiant.

O holy one, especially dear to God, pray to God, so that today the cleansing dew may fall and the dazzling light of grace shine forth, O Eligius!

Grant that we be chosen with the lambs, grant that we be gathered with the grains, grant that we be selected with the just, guided on the way of life and borne up on the wings of the virtues, O Eligius!

The text of *Associa* contains abundant evidence that links it to the other organal tropes that precede it in *Praha*. High literary merit is apparent in all these poems. They eschew the worn clichés found in many sequences, conductus, and motets; and they employ evocative images.

Vocabulary, imagery, and rhetorical devices are often shared among these tropes. Compare, for instance, the text of *Associa*:

Late patet area
palea,
nulla grana,

The chaff lies
spread about the
threshing floor, with no grain
[amongst it,]

with that of the trope for the verse of the *Sederunt*, *Adesse festina*:²⁶

²⁶ The text of *Associa* can be found in *Analecta hymnica*, XXI, 194, and, with translation and critical commentary, in Anderson, *Opera omnia*, VI, cv (text and translation) and 153 (commentary). Anderson's translation occasionally admits errors (cf. my translation), especially in the rendering of *Eligi* (mm. 79–80 and 92–95 of Ex. 1) as "O chosen one" and *renes* (m. 47 of Ex. 1) as "reins." A more suitable rendering of the latter is "inmost thoughts." See Alexander Souter, comp., *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Oxford, 1949), p. 349, s.v. "rēn"). The text of *Adesse festina* is translated in Gordon Athol Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt 1099* (1206), I, *Critical Commentary, Translation of the Texts, and Historical Observations*, Musicological Studies, 24/1 (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1968), 229–30; but see also his comments in *Latin Compositions*, II, v–vi. The Latin text appears in *Analecta hymnica*, XLIX, *Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter*, ed. Clemens Blume (Leipzig, 1906), 251, and XXI, 35. The lines quoted from *Associa* and *Adesse festina* are paraphrases of Matthew, III:12, and Luke, III:17 (see Anderson, *Opera omnia*, VI, civ, n. 2).

Flagellatur area
 emundatur palea.
 Redidit pura
 grana tritura;
 ea fert ad horrea.

The chaff is beaten and
 cleaned on the threshing
 floor. He [Christ] has
 restored the pure,
 threshed grains and bears them to the
 storehouses.

Further parallels are evident in the ends of both poems, which feature emphatic, reiterated supplications to a saint and to Christ, respectively.

Associa:

Da cum agnis eligi,
 da cum granis colligi,
 da cum iustis diligi.

Grant that we be chosen with the
 lambs,
 grant that we be gathered with the
 grains,
 grant that we be selected with the just.

Addesse festina:

Sed tu cordi miseri
 da misericordiam. . . .
 Tue manus operi
 da misericordiam. . . .
 Ergo tuo militi
 fac misericordiam.

Nevertheless, grant mercy to the heart
 of a wretched one. . . .
 Grant mercy to your
 handiwork. . . .
 Therefore, grant mercy
 to your soldier.

These textual features in *Associa*, as well as the concordances of *Praba* with other sources containing Philip's works, support the ascriptions of this manuscript to the chancellor.

In addition, the music of the trope suggests a possible composer. No medieval attributions exist for the three-voice *Sancte Germane*, and yet Husmann has repeatedly asserted that this organum is likely the work of Perotin.²⁷ All of the other surviving tropes written upon melismatic organa are connected with Perotin's four-voice *Viderunt* and *Sederunt*.²⁸ In light of this fact, the kinship of *Associa* and *Sancte Germane* would seem to strengthen Husmann's attribution. The upper parts of *Sancte Germane*, and especially the duplum voice, frequently present recurring series of open and closed phrases. These voices are tightly organized by a few motives, which are often reiterated. Similar integrating devices can be seen in the organa tripla *Alleluia Posui adiutorium* and *Alleluia Nativitas*, both attributed to Perotin by Anonymous IV.²⁹ *Sancte Germane* and the Alleluias also exploit several

²⁷ Husmann, ed., *Organa*, pp. xx-xxii; and in *idem*, "Enlargement," p. 194.

²⁸ See n. 9.

²⁹ See n. 13.

rhythmic modes. These stylistic features contrast sharply with the use of voice exchange and the predominance of the first rhythmic mode, traits that are pronounced in the presumably earlier *Viderunt omnes* and *Sederunt principes*.³⁰

Other hints of Perotin's style include melodic gestures that evoke relationships with the *Sederunt*. A striking example is found in the second *punctum* of *Associa* (mm. 9–31). The motives in this section use neighboring tones to circle about and decorate the repeated *a* of the duplum. This is comparable to an excerpt from the *Sederunt* (Ex. 2).³¹ Indeed, Perotin seemed to favor such reiterative gestures, and similar passages may be found in his other works.³² Another melodic segment that suggests Perotin's authorship is the sequential phrase immediately before the clausula in measures 61–64 of Example 1. This passage is nearly identical to the opening theme of the duplum in the *Sederunt* (Ex. 3). These themes are further related by sharing an analogous structural function. Each serves as an introductory phrase, preceding

Example 2

Perotin, *Sederunt*, respond section, duplum, mm. 30–41



Example 3

Perotin, *Sederunt*, respond section, duplum, mm. 2–5



³⁰ Ernest Sanders argues that the above Alleluias are later compositions than the organa quadrupla. See his "Peripheral Polyphony of the 13th Century," this JOURNAL, XVII (1964), 266; and *idem*, "The Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," *Festschrift für Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1966*, ed. Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Kassel, 1967), pp. 241–49.

³¹ Measure numbers for the *Sederunt* are taken from the edition in Husmann, ed., *Organa*, pp. 29–38.

³² See the *Viderunt* (Husmann, ed., *Organa*, pp. 14–15, mm. 50–67, duplum and triplum) and *Salvatoris bodie* (Thurston, *Conductus Collections*, I, 51, no. 3, tenor and triplum).

a section more rigidly constructed, through the use of voice exchange in the *Sederunt* and discant in *Sancte Germane*.

The melismatic source of *Associa*, thus, exhibits careful organization in its melodic structure. The interaction of antecedent-consequent phrases, which are often combined with specific tenor tones, and the employment of characteristically Perotinian themes help to create a unified composition.

* * *

The text of an organum trope almost invariably assimilates the words of its liturgical cantus firmus. In almost all of the surviving examples, the vowels of the syllables sustained by the tenor are echoed in the trope through the use of assonance and rhyme. Such tropes frequently incorporate complete syllables or even whole words from the chant at major structural sections of the organum, where one word in the chant is completed and a new one begins. The same techniques often occur in conductus tropes and are reminiscent of pieces in the chant repertory, such as prosulae and texted sequentiae (melismas replacing the iubilus of the Alleluia, the texts of which often emphasize the final "a" of "Alleluia").³³

These same textual procedures clearly operate in the verses of *Associa*. All of the musical phrases in the first sixty-four measures of the trope conclude with the vowel *a* in the text. These endings correspond to the sustained "Sa" of "Sancte" in the liturgical tenor. This same assonance also appears frequently within phrases. At major cadential points, further allusions are made to the text of the chant. With the first movement of the tenor in measures 30–31, the poem uses the word "sana," which sounds like "Sancte." Finally, in measures 65–66, the trope directly echoes the liturgical chant as it completes its first word, "Sancte."

But, although the text of *Associa* incorporates the first tenor word, "Sancte," the rest of the poem makes no reference whatever to the syllables of "Germane." We must, therefore, posit that there is either an abrupt shift in the poet's technique or that Germanus was not the saint for whom the trope was intended. This latter possibility poses no liturgical problems, since the chant issues from the *Commune sanctorum*. *Sancte Germane*, with an appropriate change of name, served for any confessor bishop of sufficient rank to warrant the

³³ See Ruth Steiner, "Prosula," *The New Grove Dictionary*, XV, 310–12; and Richard L. Crocker, "Sequence (i), sec. 5: Sequence and Alleluia," *ibid.*, XVII, 148.

performance of organa in his liturgy.³⁴ Although it is conceivable that *Associa* may not refer to any saint in particular, there is, in fact, one whose name is unquestionably present in its text and who was venerated at the required rank in France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is Saint Eligius (Eloi). Not only do the vowels of his name correspond to those used in the trope (*e* is found in measures 67–78; *i* from 79–91), but he is invoked outright in measures 79–80 and 92–94 and, further, in a play on words, in measure 82.³⁵ That the text of *Associa* refers to Eligius and not to Germanus or to any other saint seems clear.

Husmann has already suggested that the organum triplum *Sancte Germane* might have been intended for Eligius,³⁶ and the existence of *Associa* now lends very strong support to his hypothesis. He noticed that the organum, as preserved in the second fascicle of *F*, could not belong to Germanus, since this would disrupt the strict liturgical ordering that dictates the organization of the fascicle.³⁷ The three-part *Sancte Germane* occurs in *F* after the responsory *Virgo V Sponsus* (O40), a piece for Saint Catherine, whose feast occurs on November 25; and it precedes both Perotin's *Alleluia Posui* (M51), which is also a confessor's chant from the Common, and the anonymous responsory *Ex eius tumba V Catervatim* (O25), intended for the feast of Saint Nicholas on December 6. It is interesting to note that *Sancte Germane* (O27) and the *Alleluia Posui* are also adjacent in *Mo*, the only other manuscript to contain them both.³⁸ Because of their liturgical positions, Husmann concluded that the *Sancte Germane* and the *Alleluia Posui* were a pair of organa tripla designated for the celebration of a bishop confessor whose feast day occurred between the end of

³⁴ Feasts of less than duplex rank were not granted organa according to Heinrich Husmann, "St. Germain und Notre-Dame," *Natalicia musicologica Knud Jeppesen septuagenario*, ed. Bjørn Hjelmberg and Søren Sørensen (Copenhagen, 1962), p. 34. However, recent evidence suggests that some nine-lesson, nonduplex feasts could employ such pieces. See Craig Wright, "The Origin and Enlargement of the *Magnus liber organi*: A Reassessment," paper read at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Boston, 1981.

³⁵ The use of *Eligi* as the vocative of *Eligius* is attested, for example, by the sequence for the feast of his thirteenth-century translation as celebrated in the Ste. Chapelle: *Eligi inclite*. See *Le Prosaire de la Sainte-Chapelle: Manuscrit du chapitre de Saint-Nicolas de Bari (vers 1250)*, Monumenta musicae sacrae, ed. René-Jean Hesbert (Macon, 1952), pl. 146. *Eligi* in measure 82 of *Associa* is the present passive infinitive of the verb *eligo* ("choose").

³⁶ Husmann, "St. Germain," p. 32.

³⁷ *F* is the only source of the triple organum to arrange the substantial contents of its second fascicle (three-voice organa) in liturgical order.

³⁸ The proximity of *Sancte Germane* and *Alleluia Posui* in *Mo* likewise links the former organum triplum to Perotin.

November and the beginning of December. He concluded that the saint who best fulfilled these requirements was Eligius, whose feast was celebrated on December 1.³⁹ As for the presence of the name of Germanus, Husmann assumed that the scribe of *F*, in transferring the piece from Germanus to Eligius, merely neglected to change the name of the saint, a common omission in liturgical manuscripts.⁴⁰

* * *

It is not astonishing that the devotion to Eligius should generate the composition of organa for his liturgy at Paris. He was a French saint of great importance during the Middle Ages, one whose feast was celebrated with high solemnity in the Paris area.⁴¹ Born at Châtelat, near Limoges, about 588, Eligius won renown as a goldsmith under the Merovingian kings Clothar II (d. 629) and Dagobert I (d. 639). In 641 he became bishop of Noyon, where he died about 660.⁴² His body was translated in 881 to the oratory of St. Benoît,

³⁹ The two-voice *Magnus liber* version of *Sancte Germane* (found only in *F*, fol. 82^v) is located in the Common section of the fascicle and therefore gives no indication of its application for specific feasts other than that of Saint Germanus. The duplum voice of this setting is not related musically to the organum triplum. The fact that this part of the *Magnus liber* in *F* is indeed a section devoted primarily to *Commune* pieces has been demonstrated by Norman Smith, "The Clausulae of the Notre Dame School: A Repertorial Study," 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1964), I, 208-15, in his liturgical designations of the organa for O26-O29 and O31; Wright, "The Origin and Enlargement of the *Magnus liber organi*"; and Husmann, "St. Germain," p. 31.

⁴⁰ Husmann, "St. Germain," p. 32.

⁴¹ Hosts of calendars in liturgical manuscripts attest the importance of Eligius. For example, a monastic calendar from the Parisian abbey of St. Denis: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 526 (dated 1234-36), shows that Eligius was celebrated with twelve lessons (and twelve responsories) in the royal monastery. Likewise, the mid-thirteenth-century calendar affixed to a necrology from Notre Dame of Paris: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 5185cc, accords nine lessons (and responsories) to Eligius's feast at Notre Dame. These two sources indicate the maximum number of lessons for a festival in the monastic and secular uses, respectively.

⁴² It is interesting to note that Philip also had ties to the city of Eligius. A charter of 1211 mentions him as archdeacon of Noyon, a post he held until his death. The first extant record of Philip as chancellor of Paris appears in June, 1218, in the will of his uncle Peter of Nemours, bishop of Paris. For more information on Philip's life, see Falck, "Philippe the Chancellor," pp. 630-31; Philippus Cancellarius Parisiensis, *Summa de bono*, 2 vols., ed. Nikolaus Wicki, *Corpus philosophorum medii aevi, opera philosophica mediae aetatis selecta*, 2 (Bern, 1985), pars prior, Introduction, pp. 11*-28*; Nikolaus Wicki, "Philip the Chancellor," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI (New York, 1967), 274-75; and Steiner, "Some Monophonic Latin Songs," p. 58. Philip's connections with Noyon would then seem to raise the possibility that he wrote the trope *Associa* for this city. Extant chant sources, however, suggest that the cathedral of Noyon did not employ the Common chants elsewhere associated with Eligius's feast. Rather, his stature was so great that he was accorded special Propers. See the chants

inside the city walls of Noyon. The cathedral of Notre Dame in Noyon itself received his remains in 1066. Blessed with Eligius's relics, the cathedral grew into an important pilgrimage center, and Eligius was revered as patron and protector of the whole area of the Noyonnais, a district extending from Flanders to the Limousine region of his birth.⁴³

The religious zeal of this saint was revealed even before he took up the crozier. As a layman, he founded religious houses in Solignac and Paris.⁴⁴ Eligius established the Parisian convent in 633, only a few hundred yards from the cathedral of Notre Dame, on lands granted to him by Dagobert I. The church of this convent was initially dedicated to Saint Martial, the patron of Eligius's homeland, but documents from the reign of Charles the Bald inform us that by 871 the abbey had changed its name to that of its founder, Saint Eligius, and that all rights of jurisdiction over it were transferred to the cathedral of Paris. These acts were confirmed in 878 by Louis the Stammerer.⁴⁵ In 1107, following a period of moral decline, the nuns who inhabited the abbey

for his feast that are preserved in the tenth-century antiphoner *Le Manuscrit du Mont-Renaud, X^e siècle: Graduel et antiphonaire de Noyon*, Paléographie musicale, 16, ed. Joseph Gajard (Solesmes, 1955), fol. 112^r; and the Mass chants from a sixteenth-century Noyon missal: *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Noviomensis noviter impressum* . . ., published by Pierre Attaignant (Paris, 1541), *Pars biemale*, fol. 2^r. The provenance of the Mont Renaud manuscript has been contested, with the best arguments opting for the Corbie-Noyon-Rheims area. See the introduction to Paléographie musicale, 16; G. M. Beyssac, "Le Graduel-Antiphonaire du Mont-Renaud," *Revue de musicologie*, XL (1957), 131-50; and René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, V (Rome, 1975), 353.

⁴³ The information on Saint Eligius has been drawn from the following sources: Alban Butler, *Butler's Lives of the Saints: Complete Edition*, ed. Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, IV (New York, 1956), 455-58; E. P. Colbert, "Noyon," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, X, 548; V. I. J. Flint, "Saint Eligius of Noyon," *ibid.*, V, 274; Abel LeFranc, *Histoire de la ville de Noyon et de ses institutions jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle*, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, sciences, philologiques, et historiques, 75 (Paris, 1887), p. 8; Charles Seymour, Jr., *Notre-Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century: A Study in the Early Development of Gothic Architecture* (New Haven, 1939), pp. 23-25, 38, 46; Whitney S. Stoddard, *Art and Architecture in Medieval France: Medieval Architecture, Sculpture, Stained Glass, Manuscripts, the Art of Church Treasures* (New York, 1972), pp. 121-22; and *Vies des saints et des bienheureux selon l'ordre du calendrier, avec l'historique des fêtes*, XII, ed. Benedictines of Paris (Paris, 1958), 31-48.

⁴⁴ The following history of the priory of Saint Eligius in Paris has been drawn from Jean LeBeuf, *Histoire de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris*, I (Paris, 1883), 306-13. Also see the later volume, part of the same publication: Fernand Bournon, *Rectifications et additions* (Paris, 1890), pp. 324-26. A bibliography of documentary and published sources on the priory can be found in L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topographique des abbayes et prieurés*, II (Macon, 1937), cols. 2205-206.

⁴⁵ LeBeuf, *Histoire*, p. 307; cf. Robert de Lasteyrie, *Cartulaire générale de Paris; ou, Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire et la topographie de Paris*, I (Paris, 1887), 70, 96.

were driven from the convent,⁴⁶ and it was handed over to the Benedictines of St. Maur-des-Fossés. The new proprietors formed the abbey into a priory and brought to it their use and calendar.⁴⁷ They held the church until it was returned to the bishop of Paris in 1530.

As a house under the jurisdiction of Notre Dame, the community at St. Eligius was required to assist in the processions of the cathedral during Rogation days and Ascension, and in the burial of its canons.⁴⁸ In turn, the cathedral chapter honored the priory with stational processions during the first week in Lent and, more importantly, on the feast of Eligius himself (December 1).⁴⁹ The musical contents of these services are specified in two fourteenth-century Parisian processioners: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 1799, folios 102^v–104^r and 18^v; and MS 4334, folios 99^v–101^r and 150^r.⁵⁰ The instructions for singing Mass on Eligius's feast are of singular importance. These processioners stipulate that the responsory (Gradual) *Ecce sacerdos* (M50) and the *Alleluia Posui adiutorium* (M51) could be sung in organum by the canons and vicars of Notre Dame, while the remainder of the Mass was to be celebrated by the abbot and monks of St. Eligius.⁵¹ Thus, the rubrics for the feast of Saint Eligius, as

⁴⁶ A letter of April 6, 1103, from Pope Pascal II relates the crisis at the abbey and urges the bishop of Paris, Folco I (reg. 1103–104) to investigate the situation (Lasteyrie, *Cartulaire générale*, p. 157).

⁴⁷ LeBeuf, *Histoire*, pp. 308–309; and Lasteyrie, *Cartulaire générale*, pp. 163–64. The newly installed monks, however, retained the feasts of saints particular to the old abbey (LeBeuf, *Histoire*, p. 309).

⁴⁸ LeBeuf, *Histoire*, p. 309.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Documents specifying payments that the priory of Saint Eligius meted out to the chapter of Notre Dame for the privilege of a procession are published in Benjamin Guérard, ed., *Collection des cartulaires de France*, IV–VII, *Cartulaire de l'église Notre Dame de Paris*, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, ser. 1, Histoire politique, 15/1–4 (Paris, 1850), V, 446; VI, 452.

⁵⁰ The references in these sources to the feast of Saint Eligius have been transcribed in part and discussed by Jacques Handschin, "Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame," *Acta musicologica*, IV (1932), 15–16.

⁵¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 15–16, n. 4: "Statim incipitur missa que cantatur ab abbate vel priore [dicti Sancti Eligii]. R. vero et All. cantatur vel organizatur a nobis [s. a canonicis vel vicariis b. Marie. Sequitur missa]. . . . R. *Ecce sacerdos*. . . . V. *Non est inventus*. . . . All. *Posui adiutorium*. . . ." The Gradual (M50) and the Alleluia (M51) mentioned here come from Leonin's *Magnus liber*: M50 appears in W₁, fol. 46^r; F, fol. 138^v; and W₂, fol. 82^v. M51 (à 2) is in W₁, fol. 46^r; F, fol. 139^r (with a second Alleluia); W₂, fol. 83^r; and as a very brief fragment in M_üA (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 4775 and fragments formerly in the private library of Johannes Wolf), Complex C, fol. 4^r. The Munich fragments have been published in facsimile and discussed by Luther A. Dittmer, "The Lost Fragments of a Notre Dame Manuscript in Johannes Wolf's Library," *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue et al. (New York, 1966), plates 7–17 and pp. 122–33. M51 survives only in F, fol. 36^r, and Mo, fol. 16^v.

observed in his church at Paris, not only call for organal performance of the customary responsorial chants of the Mass but specify the execution of such polyphony by the members of the Paris cathedral, an activity for which they, above all, possessed the knowledge and tradition.

The Brussels manuscripts also support previous challenges to Husmann's revolutionary theory that Perotin was not associated with Notre Dame.⁵² Reasoning from liturgical evidence, Husmann determined that the chant *Sancte Germane* and its organa were not performed at the Office on any of the feasts of Germanus in Notre Dame.⁵³ Rather, it appeared that they were used at the nearby collegiate church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois for the feast of its patron, Saint Germanus of Auxerre. St. Germain had become the royal parish church of King Philip Augustus about 1180, when he adopted the neighboring Louvre as his place of residence. Husmann, believing that Perotin was the author of the *Sancte Germane* organum triplum, concluded that there was no longer any reason to regard Perotin as a composer for the cathedral. Rather, Husmann conjectured, Perotin served Philip Augustus in a capacity akin to that of a court composer.

Since it is now clear that Perotin's *Sancte Germane* was used and, possibly, written expressly for the feast of Saint Eligius, Husmann's argument would be considerably weakened were it not for the fact that it has already been overturned completely by other evidence. Craig Wright has determined that Husmann's restrictions for the performance of *Sancte Germane* at Notre Dame are unfounded.⁵⁴ The O27 responsory does occur in the Office liturgy of the cathedral for a host of saints, including Eligius, Germanus of Paris, and Germanus of Auxerre. The two Brussels manuscripts also support this finding for the processional liturgy. They state that if the feast of Germanus of Auxerre occurs on a Sunday, the responsory *Sancte* [*Germane*] was sung in the return of the procession to Notre Dame from St. Germain l'Auxerrois.⁵⁵ Identical instructions serve the feast of Saint Eligius and his priory,⁵⁶ as well as the feast of Saint Germanus of Paris if his festival fell on the Sunday after the octave of Pentecost.⁵⁷ With the source and dedicatee of *Associa* now firmly established, the evidence

⁵² Husmann, "Enlargement," pp. 193-95; and *idem*, "St. Germain," pp. 35-36.

⁵³ There are two important Parisian saints with this name: Germanus, bishop of Paris: feast on May 28, translation on July 25; and Germanus of Auxerre: feast on July 31.

⁵⁴ Wright, "The Origin and Enlargement of the *Magnus liber organi*." See n. 34.

⁵⁵ MS 1799, fol. 119^r; MS 4334, fol. 116^r.

⁵⁶ MS 1179, fol. 112^v; MS 4334, fol. 109^v.

⁵⁷ MS 1179, fol. 110^r; MS 4334, fol. 107^r.

for the use of *Sancte Germane* at Notre Dame is more compelling than Husmann's arguments for its employment at St. Germain l'Auxerrois. We may conclude that the three-part *Sancte Germane* did at least double service at Notre Dame, either as a processional piece for the feasts of Eligius and Germanus of Auxerre (and sometimes Germanus of Paris) or as a responsory organum for Matins and Vespers on the feast of Eligius. The trope *Associa* might have been added for Eligius on either of these two occasions. Since nothing remains to hold Perotin to a supposed post at the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, he can now resume his more likely office as composer for the cathedral of Paris.

In light of the relationship between *Sancte Germane* and *Associa*, it may be appropriate to reverse Husmann's assumption that the organum was initially composed for Germanus and only later employed for Eligius, particularly since a historical circumstance may well link *Associa* with Eligius and yield an early terminus ad quem for its composition. In 1212 Notre Dame received an arm of Saint Eligius from the cathedral of Noyon. The translation of this relic also entailed the addition of a new feast to the Parisian calendar, the *Translatio Sancti Eligi* (June 25).⁵⁸ It is quite possible that it was this event that prompted Philip, soon to be chancellor of Paris, to write a poem—a trope in honor of the patron saint of his archdeaconry at Noyon, set to music, previously written, by the greatest church composer of the day and sung during the feast of Saint Eligius in the priory church dedicated to him at Paris. The association of the composition with Germanus, in this case, would stem from a later redaction of the work that found its way into the four Notre Dame sources, all of which postdate 1212. Also plausible is the notion that the organum triplum was, in fact, a Common piece from the beginning, not intended for any specific bishop confessor. In this case, the presence of the name "Germanus" would be nothing more than a tangible substitution for the neutral *N* (i.e., "insert name here"). Such insertions of names are seen frequently in liturgical books.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ I would like to thank Craig Wright for suggesting this date to me as the most likely impetus for the composition of the text of *Associa*. Although Rebecca Baltzer has cautioned me that no contemporaneous documentation survives for this gift, reference to this translation can be found in Paul Perdrizet, *Le Calendrier parisien à la fin du Moyen âge d'après le bréviaire et les livres d'heures*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 63 (Paris, 1933), p. 161; and Victor Leroquais, *Le Bréviaire de Philippe le Bon, Bréviaire parisien du XV^e siècle*, I (Paris, 1929), 61–62, 135, 218.

⁵⁹ Husmann, "Enlargement," pp. 193–94. The presence of the name "Germanus" in the organum duplum in the Common section of *F*, fascicle 3 (see n. 39), also seems to suggest that his name was one commonly employed to fill the lacuna.

Whatever future investigations may prove of the topics addressed in this study, the case of *Associa tecum in patria* is an eloquent example of the importance of Philip the Chancellor as a creator of new and unusual musico-poetic works, a man who valued and adapted the compositions of one of the greatest composers of all time. He rightly deserves a place alongside Leonin and Perotin as an outstanding figure in the history of the music of the Notre Dame school.⁶⁰

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