

The Profile of Philip V in the Music of *Fauvel*



EMMA DILLON

Hé las! France, com ta beauté
Vet au jour d'ui en grant ruine
Par la mesnie fauveline,
Qui en tout mal met ses deliz.
Hurtée ont si la fleur de lis
Fauvel et Vainne Gloire ensemble
Qu'elle chancele, ce me semble.

(Långfors, vv. 1636-42)

Alas, France, how your beauty is wrought today in utter ruin by the family of Fauvel, who delight in all that is evil. Fauvel and Vaine Gloire together have so wounded the fleur-de-lis that she flounders, or so it seems to me.

On 9 January 1317 Philip of Poitiers was crowned Philip V, King of France. His coronation concluded a succession crisis in which his claims to authority had not gone unchallenged, even if his right to the throne was undisputed. It is widely accepted that BN fr. 146 was written to offer counsel to the new king.¹ However, it has not been made clear what role Philip has in the allegories of *Fauvel*. How far do Philip's actions, and the politics of his reign, become the subject of comment in the text? Events up to June 1316 are well represented in fr. 146.² Marigny, Philip IV, and Louis X are woven into the allegory and serve Philip as *exempla*. At the same time, they are the target of rebuke and complaint, allowing the compilers to voice grievances about the past. But how far can fr. 146 be read as a reaction to events and concerns current at the time of writing?

The dating of the manuscript is crucial to this debate. There is a consensus that work on the manuscript is likely to have started shortly after Philip's coronation, although we still do

I should like to thank Elizabeth Brown for generously sharing material, and advising on numerous points discussed here. The revisions and corrections to my original paper owe a great debt to her deep knowledge of the period. In addition, I am grateful to Margaret Bent, Cormac Newark, Nigel Palmer, and Andrew

Wathey for their help and encouragement in preparing this chapter.

¹ Ernest Sanders, 'Fauvel, Roman de', *New Grove*, vi, 430, and Roesner *et al.* 53.

² Roesner *et al.* 19-21 and 24-5.

not know precisely how long after.³ The rubric of the motet for Philip V, *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum*, is for 'Phelippe qui regne ores' who *now* reigns, and, as Edward Roesner points out, 'it seems unlikely . . . that a verse of this sort in a manuscript such as MS fr. 146 would have referred to Philippe as actually reigning until his formal coronation at Reims on 9th January 1317'.⁴ While it is still unclear whether the *dis* were part of the original conception, or added as work got under way, events as late as May 1317 are referred to in their texts, which suggests that work on fr. 146 continued for some months after Philip's accession.⁵ No documented evidence survives for a commission, or for the employment of scribes and artists. Nor do the rubrics within the text offer firm evidence about a date of composition. However, a book containing a work as complex as the *Roman* must have taken some time from conception to completion.⁶ Even if the physical act of copying was undertaken in a relatively short space of time, the sheer amount of music, the number of literary additions, and the careful planning and execution of illuminations suggest that fr. 146 was compiled over several months at least, and possibly even a year or more. Palaeographical evidence indicates that new ideas were being incorporated at a late stage, in some cases in the final phase of copying: late additions, replanning, and corrections occur throughout the book.⁷ Furthermore, those apparently involved in the creation of the book served in the king's chancery, and cannot have been working full time on fr. 146.

If work began around the time of Philip's accession, it must have continued some months into his reign. The book was the product of a political and royal circle, addressing itself to a royal audience: it is hard to imagine that its contents were not affected by contemporary events.⁸ We should therefore be sensitive to the possibility that the text of the *Roman* continued to reflect events very close to the time of its compilation.

In this study I examine the profile of Philip V in the *Roman de Fauvel*, taking into account the politics of the succession and the early part of his reign. I shall focus on the single motet in his honour, *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum*.⁹ The piece falls at a particular concentration of royal interest in the book, at the junction of Books I and II on fos. 10^v–11^r (Pls. III–IV). To the left of it lies the motet for Louis X, *Se cuers ioans/Rex beatus/Ave*, and to the right the image of Fauvel enthroned. In her discussion of these folios, Elizabeth Brown addresses the role of Philip as recipient of didactic messages, arguing that the two motets function as *exempla* for him.¹⁰ My analysis of *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum* fully supports this

were not decided until a late stage in copying, for example fos. 6 and 9. Morin, 'The Genesis of Manuscript B.N. fr. 146', gives extensive evidence of planning and reworking in fr. 146. See too Margaret Bent, above, Ch. 2, and her discussion of *Flores/Florens* and *Garris gallus/In nova*.

⁹ See below, Élisabeth Lalou, Ch. 14, and Andrew Wathey, Ch. 26.

¹⁰ The text is edited with a commentary in Dahnk 64–5. For the edition of the music, see Schrade, *Fauvel*, 29–31. My discussion of the motet refers to David Howlett's edition and translation of the text (see Appendix); the edition of the music that accompanies this study is my own, based on the copy in fr. 146. All bar numbers refer to this score.

¹¹ See above, Ch. 3.

³ See *ibid.* 1 and 48 for the most recent discussion of a possible date for fr. 146.

⁴ *Ibid.* 48–9.

⁵ See below, Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Ch. 11, for a discussion of the historical references in the *dis*. Joseph Morin has addressed the palaeographical evidence for the *dis* as a later addition in 'The Genesis of Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146, with Particular Emphasis on the *Roman de Fauvel*' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1992), and below, Ch. 15.

⁶ In contrast to the *Roman*, the *Chronique métrique*, *dis*, and Lescurel songs were undemanding for the copyist, and work could have been executed relatively quickly.

⁷ Roesner *et al.* 28–9 show that the contents of some folios

reading, and I share her premiss that the book's intention is to advise and teach Philip. However, I shall suggest that this admonition also embraces complaint aimed specifically at Philip, motivated by the changing political scene at the time of the book's creation.

The additions attributed to Chaillou de Pesstain attest to the uncertainty with which the new reign was greeted. The book can be read from both fictive and realistic perspectives, and it is necessary to make a distinction between fictive time and real historical time. The author manipulates dates and tenses to establish a sense of 'present' in the narrative. The rubric of the Philip motet is in the present tense ('qui regne ores'). In Book II the Virtues bear arms in the tournament with the date 1316 emblazoned on them. This confines the fictive 'present' to some point between Philip's coronation in January and 2 April 1317.¹¹ In the allegory, the narrator speaks in the present tense: 'Hé las! France, com ta beauté! Vet au jour d'ui en grant ruine' (Långfors, vv. 1636–8). He presents a negative view that is borne out by the narrative: Fauvel and his followers trample the 'douce jardin', and the fleur-de-lis is under threat (Långfors, vv. 1543–86). The author thus locates the allegory in the historical setting of Philip's accession. Moreover, he writes as if this were real present, but assuming he was writing some time around January, probably continuing beyond Easter, then this was past as soon as he started writing. It is possible that the fictive 'present' is coloured not only by events between January and Easter, but also by the author's knowledge of real events beyond it.¹² The text could thus be read simultaneously as a comment on the real present as it unfolded to the compilers of the manuscript.

This point can be extended. Time immediately after 1316 is fictionalized as 'future' in *Fauvel*, but corresponds with the author's real present. Narrative prophecy may thus be a vehicle for comment on his reality. The authority of the narrator as seer is assured, for his fictive foresight is guaranteed by his real experience. Again, the prospect is bleak. Far from expressing optimism, the final passages in the interpolations are despondent. The tournament ends in victory for Virtue: this seems at first to secure a virtuous future and an end to Fauvel. However, triumph is tempered by Fauvel's freedom: the horse leaves the jousting field dejected but unrestrained. The drama moves to its climax as the 'mesnie fauveline' arrive at the Fountain of Youth and receive the gift of eternal life, assuring eternity for the line of Fauvel (fo. 43^v; Långfors, vv. 1611–30). The author salvages some hope, praying that God will intervene and stamp out Fauvel for good. But the image of the fountain overshadows the last pages of the *Roman*, and the overwhelming feeling at the end is of foreboding rather than optimism.

How should these mixed messages be interpreted? Is the prophetic dismay at the end of *Fauvel* a reaction to real events, known to the author? Political events early in Philip's reign may offer a motive for these negative signals. Philip V inherited a monarchy in disarray. Philip IV's reign closed under the cloud of Enguerran de Marigny. Louis X, crowned in 1315, had been a weak and ineffective ruler, reluctant to assume the crown, and remained under the influence of his uncle, Charles de Valois, throughout his brief reign.¹³ Louis's death in June

¹¹ According to the French calendar, the new year began at Easter, which in 1317 fell on 3 Apr.

¹² Margaret Bent similarly shows how the past is fictionalized

as present in the Marigny motets. See above, Ch. 2.

¹³ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'Kings like Semi-Gods: The Case of Louis X of France', *Majestas* 1 (1993), 5–37.

1316 led to a crisis of succession unprecedented in the history of the Capetian monarchy.¹⁴ Even those who did not dispute Philip of Poitiers's claim to the throne (in the absence of male offspring) did not automatically accept that he should hold temporary power, awaiting the outcome of the pregnancy of Louis's widow, or that he should be regent if Clémence produced a son. The distribution of power and personal ambitions among the brothers and uncles of the dead king may be relevant for understanding the mixed messages at the end of the *Roman*.

Contention for authority in the realm during the months following Louis's death has been thoroughly documented.¹⁵ Philip's uncles, Charles de Valois and Louis d'Évreux, as senior members of the royal family, asserted their own claim to power after some momentary indecision.¹⁶ Along with Charles de la Marche, they were entrusted with the guardianship of Clémence.¹⁷ There was perhaps no more strategic place to be than close to the possible future heir of France, which 'gave these men clear authority for exercising immediate control over the kingdom, and gave them good reason for hoping to secure more clearly defined positions of power in the future'.¹⁸ None the less, in the month following Louis's death, Philip's actions were decisive. After a series of political and ritual manoeuvres, he consolidated control in July 1316, when he entered Paris and took up residence in the royal palace.¹⁹ He met with the Grand Conseil and rapidly secured their support. From then on, Philip 'comme roy se contenist' (Diverres, v. 7792). At the same time that he secured power, it was established that he would be Regent, should Clémence give birth to a son.

Philip's actions clearly stirred up resentment among the other members of the royal family. While the *Chronique métrique* gives a largely neutral account of events, it transmits some of the tension engendered by Philip. Describing the pseudo-royal entry to Paris in July, the author recounts how Philip, clearly fearing opposition, ordered all extraneous people out of the palace, and then locked the doors and windows (vv. 7793–806). The events of November can only have intensified the tensions between Philip and his uncles. There was a superficial reconciliation at least by January when Valois attended the coronation. Nevertheless, as Andrew Wathey points out, rivalry between him and his half-brother Louis persisted in the following months (see below, Ch. 26). Louis was given favours by Philip V that Valois, as elder uncle, might legitimately have expected. This point can be extended, for not only might there have been tension between the counts, but also between Valois and Philip himself. Furthermore, Philip's 'revival' of Marigny in June of that year (in which he gave the chamberlain a formal burial, and reinstated his exiled relatives) can only have antagonized the

¹⁴ See Andrew Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 187–92; Paul Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philippe le Long, roi de France (1316–1328)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1899–1911), I, 79–93; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X', *Traditio*, 32 (1978), 227–71 = *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremony* (Aldershot, 1991), no. VII.

¹⁵ Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, 189–90.

¹⁶ Brown, 'The Ceremonial of Royal Succession', 240–3, details the formation of an administrative council.

¹⁷ The author of the *Chronique métrique* also recorded the mandate (Diverres, vv. 7703–6).

¹⁸ Brown, 'The Ceremonial of Royal Succession', 235.

¹⁹ Brown, *ibid.*, 231, describes the second burial of Louis X by Philip of Poitiers 'as perhaps the most critical and dramatic of measures [taken by Philip] to secure the disputed regency, and ultimately, the crown of France.'

count, who, as Favier has demonstrated, was the main force behind Marigny's trial and execution in 1315.²⁰

This background is particularly important in the light of growing evidence of the involvement of Valois's clients in the creation of the manuscript.²¹ If fr. 146 was a product of a Valois circle, then an admonition to Philip is likely to have reflected some of the Count's concerns and anxieties. As Andrew Wathey points out, the anti-Marigny theme in fr. 146 is perhaps the most obvious signal that the book takes up Valois's preoccupations (see Ch. 26). In addition, it is likely that some of Valois's complaints found their way into the presentation of Philip himself.

I shall now turn to an analysis of the motet in Philip's honour. Elizabeth Brown's study of fos. 10^v–11^r suggests that a critical stance was taken in the book against Louis X, accounting for the negative messages in *Se cuers ioans/Rex beatus/Ave* and in Fauvel's nuptials and tournament.²² An anti-Louis campaign in the book would thus serve as an *exemplum* for Philip. As she argues, the motet for Philip, *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum*, functions within a scheme of commentary about Louis. This is achieved in two ways. First, working from the view that the motet was originally written for Louis X, she suggests that it contains messages critical of Louis, glossing themes present in the adjacent motet, *Se cuers ioans/Rex beatus/Ave*. Secondly, it teaches Philip the qualities of good kingship by juxtaposing him with Louis. The contrast between the themes of juvenile love in *Se cuers ioans/Rex Beatus/Ave* and kingly duty in *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum* reinforces this lesson.

A number of questions remain, however. Brown's reading follows the accepted view that *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum* was originally written for Louis X, and that the version in fr. 146 was changed to accommodate the accession of the new monarch.²³ Thus, *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum* refers specifically to Louis X, not Philip. But it remains possible that *Servant regem* was originally conceived with Philip V as its subject. Louis's status as dedicatee of the motet rests on a faulty dating of the sole surviving source to transmit the motet text as 'Ludowice': fr. 571. It was originally thought to have been copied c.1315, but Andrew Wathey has recently dated it c.1326/7.²⁴ The 'Ludowice' version of the motet thus need not necessarily pre-date the 'O Philippe' version; nor, however, is it clear that the 'Ludowice' version was invented specifically for fr. 571.²⁵ In short, no priority can be established for either version on the strength of its source. While this does not prove that Philip V was the original addressee of the motet, it must loosen the status of 'Ludowice' as

²⁰ See Jean Favier, *Un conseiller de Philippe le Bel: Enguerran de Marigny* (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes, 16; Paris, 1963), 191–204, for an account of Marigny's downfall, and Valois's part in it, and on the 'rehabilitation', 221–3. See also Paul Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philippe le Long* (Paris, 1931), 109, for an account of Marigny's burial in 1317.

²¹ See the studies by Jean Dunbabin, Jane Taylor, and Andrew Wathey in this volume, Chs. 10, 24, and 26.

²² The presence of an anti-Louis narrative in the charivari is touched on in Elizabeth Brown, 'Kings Like Semi-Gods', 27.

²³ Johannes Wolf first drew attention to the different names in the two sources of this motet in *Geschichte der*

Menschenabnennung von 1250–1460 (Leipzig, 1904), I, 47. Friedrich Ludwig proposed identifications respectively with Louis X and Philip V, presuming the manuscripts to be in that order, in his review of Wolf in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft*, 6 (1904–5), 603–4. This view has remained unchallenged (including by Roesner *et al.* 24).

²⁴ Andrew Wathey, 'The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England', *JAMS* 43 (1992), 1–29. I am grateful to Dr Wathey for offering further suggestions and comments on this question.

²⁵ See *ibid.*, 19–22 for discussion of the significance of 'Ludowice' in fr. 571.

the original dedicatee. This in turn has some bearing on understanding Philip's profile in the manuscript: if the motet was written for him, then it may contain messages that relate specifically to his reign.²⁶ This does not, however, exclude the possibility that the texts recall Louis, as a way of reminding Philip of his duties.

The texts of the motet are strongly didactic, preaching the qualities of good and bad kingship (see Appendix). They belong to a tradition of princely advice literature; in fact, the other context for this motet in fr. 571 is a compilation of just such texts.²⁷ The motet texts juxtapose virtuous attributes with their negative counterparts.²⁸ Indeed, the whole piece is constructed on the play of oppositions. The most basic of these is between the triplum, comprising biblical allusions and citations, and the motetus, in which such allusions are absent and whose tone is ceremonial. The voices of the motet underline the oppositions, distinguished in sound by their different texts and rates of rhythmic activity (the motetus slower-moving, the triplum with more rapid semibreve movement). It is also suggested visually by the physical arrangement of the motet on the page: the split between fos. 10^v and 11^r places the triplum on the left, the motetus on the right. Unusually for *Fauvel*, the tenor part of the motet is copied out twice, once beneath each of the upper voices. It is not so obvious on fo. 11^r, however, because it begins in the middle of a line and carries no text. But the dual statement none the less has the effect musically (and to a lesser extent visually) of creating two motets within one. It would be feasible to perform motetus with tenor as one motet, and triplum with tenor as another: each pair makes correct contrapuntal sense. More will be said about this division later.

The triplum text is made up of a series of statements and counter-statements based on two motifs, the wise/unwise and the young/childish: 'Rex sapiens dissipat impios | insipiens erigit inscios' (vv. 4-5; a wise king scatters the impious, an unwise one raises up the ignorant); 'Bona terra cuius rex nobilis | sed ve terra si sit puerilis' (vv. 15-16; good is the land whose king is noble but woe to the land if he be childish). The following lines play on *sapiens/insipiens*, and introduce youth as a positive attribute, to counterbalance 'puerilis': 'Melior est pauper et sapiens atque puer quam rex insipiens' (vv. 17-18; better poor and wise and a child, than a foolish king).

The opposition is underlined by a musical device. The motet employs a rhythmic motif of

²⁶ A third source for 'O Philippe' was the lost Trémouille codex. Heinrich Beseler's inventory of the surviving index in 'Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 8 (1917), 236-40, identified the incipit for a motet 'O Philippe' as the triplum of a motet for Philip VI. 'O Philippe francie/O bone daci/Solus tenor', with a note that it may refer to the motetus of *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum*. However, with the exception of one motet, all identifiable motets in the index list pieces by motetus. For this reason, Margaret Bent identifies the incipit as *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum* in its 'O Philippe' form, saying that 'O Philippe Francie quid/O bone daci/Solus tenor' would be another eligible candidate only if motetus and triplum have been reversed for this entry'. See her article 'A Note on the Dating of the Trémouille Manu-

script', in Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (eds.), *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer* (Musicological Studies, 54; Ottawa, 1990), 237-40. This may suggest that 'O Philippe' was in circulation outside fr. 146.

²⁷ These texts are also discussed in Wathey, 'The Marriage of Edward III', 28-39 and Jane Taylor, below, Ch. 24.

²⁸ This programme is common in this period and can be found in a text close to the Capetian princes: Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*. He was tutor to Philip IV, dedicating his text to him in 1280. For an account of this work, see Joseph R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, 1980), 7-9 and Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'Persona et Genus: The Image and Deeds of the Thirteenth-Century Capetians. 3. The Case of Philip the Fair', *Vivian*, 19 (1988), 239-46 at 242-5, 237.

five semibreves (motif A). This grouping represents one of the most innovative features of notation in the *Fauvel* music, and the motet is the earliest surviving example of this phenomenon of the *Ars nova*. To informed eyes and ears, this feature would have stood out as new and different. The composer exploits the novelty to draw attention to significant messages in the text, placing the central opposition of the *rex sapiens/insipiens* in the foreground. The statements occur in close succession (bb. 41 and 46); the relationship is further cemented by melodic repetition (see Ex. 9.1).

Ex. 9.1. Rhythmic motif A in *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum*. (a) Triplum, bb. 40-2; (b) Triplum, bb. 45-7



The motetus text focuses on the ceremonial, reminding the king of his coronation promises: two lines are based on the words of the coronation *ordo* ('ecclesie pacis tenens lorum | ac iudicans plebem equitate'; vv. 5-6).²⁹ A third promise, as Brown shows (see above, Ch. 3), refers to the king's pledge to undertake a crusade (v. 7).³⁰ The programme of opposition is contained in the music. The opening lines are set to a rhythmic motif (B) presented three times (motetus, bb. 1-22) and then again in retrograde (motetus, bb. 22-8) (see Ex. 9.2). The function of the motif at this point is not clear, although the intention could be to undermine the assertion of Philip's authority in the text that it sets: 'O Philippe prelustris francorum, rex insignis iuvenis etate'.

Rhythmic motif B becomes a central feature of the musical design. It recurs at moments of textual importance, coinciding with two points of intense musical activity. At bars 124-30 of the motetus it sets part of the word 'spondisti' (you have promised), thus drawing attention to the coronation and crusading promises. The whole word is further underlined in

²⁹ The lines from the coronation promises read 'Hec tria populo christiano et mihi subdito in christi pominio nomine. In primis ut ecclesie dei omnis populus christianus uetam pacem nostro arbitrio in omni tempore seruet . . . Tercium, ut in omnibus iudiciis equitatem et misericordiam precipiam ut michi et uobis indulgeat per suam misericordiam clemens et misericors deus'; quoted from E. S. Dewick, *The Coronation Book of Charles V of France (1316-1328)* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 26; London, 1899), col. 12. For a recent study of the French coronation *ordo*, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, *Franks, Burgundians, and Aquitanians: and the Royal Coronation Ceremony in France* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 82; Philadelphia, 1992).

David Howlett's version reads 'ecclesie pacis tenens locum'.

based on the reading in fr. 146. Fr. 571 has 'lorum' for 'locum', which is closer to the original text of the coronation *ordo*. While both readings make perfect sense, I prefer to follow 'lorum' here, and have emended the text that appears in the Appendix accordingly.

³⁰ Philip renewed his crusade oath in 1316, just after his return to Paris. I am grateful to Elizabeth Brown for sharing her contribution to this volume before publication. In the context of *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum*, the allusion in the motetus of *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum* must remind the listener of Louis X, who, as Brown shows, was reprimanded for failure to fulfil his promise. If this is indeed a double reference—to Louis' oath and to Philip's—its purpose may be to remind the new king to hasten to fulfil his promise, and not to delay as his brother did.

of Fauvel enthroned. The symbolism of right and left commonly denotes the opposition between good and evil, but it can work both ways.³⁴ Elsewhere in *Fauvel*, evil is equated with the left: Fauvel and Vaine Gloire enjoy a left-handed marriage.³⁵ But there is also evidence for the reverse organization. The page-split was exploited in demonological treatises from later periods: texts on the nature of God and Satan place attributes of God on the left-hand page, and those of Satan on the right.³⁶ On the equation of right with evil, some further points should be noted. The motetus occupies the first column to the right of the page-split; it is also at Fauvel's right hand. In the Credo, Christ sits at the right hand of the Father ('sedet ad dexteram Patris'); here, Philip (personified in the opening line of the motetus) sits at the right hand of the beast. The devilish associations of those who sit at Fauvel's right are made in one of the chant fragments (p.mus. 80), which reworks Ps. 108: 6 to read 'Constituē, domine, super Falvellum dolorem inferni, et diabolus stet a dextris eius'.³⁷

How does the choice of chant tenor work in the didactic scheme of the motet? I shall argue that the chant forms part of a liturgical scheme in the *Roman* that may in turn connect with apocalyptic themes in the poem. The chant is taken from the middle of a responsory for the third Sunday in Advent; the decision to quote from the middle, rather than the beginning, suggests that the composer intended to exploit a specific textual reference attached to the chant.³⁸ The text comes from Apoc. 19: 16: 'Rex regum, dominus dominantium' (King of kings, lord of lords), referring to the king of the Second Coming.³⁹ In one sense, this is an appropriate choice in a motet addressing itself to a newly crowned king: the accession of a new ruler was commonly fashioned as a Second Coming. However, the citation attaches the motet to a strong apocalyptic theme in the *Roman*. Gervès's poem depicts a world close to its end. In Book I, the narrator is witness to the signs of creation in reverse, as the world's order is turned topsy-turvy.⁴⁰ The theme is continued in Book II in Fortuna's prophecy. The four ages of man are a metaphor for the progression of the world towards apocalypse: it now approaches old age, sunk into a state of melancholy. The tenor text thus connects the motet with the sense of imminent crisis in the *Roman*. This dimension is further enhanced by the visual image of Fauvel on fo. 11^v, which, as Martin Kauffmann has suggested, parodies standard iconographic representations of Christ at the Last Judgement.⁴¹

Full understanding of the apocalyptic allusion of the chant is dependent on its liturgical significance. The choice of Advent connects the motet with a complex liturgical agenda in

³⁴ See Rodney Needham (ed.), *Right and Left: Essays on Dual Symbolic Classification* (Chicago and London, 1973). I should like to thank Daniel Penney for a helpful discussion of the significance of left and right in *Fauvel*.

³⁵ Discussed by Lucy Freeman Sandler, 'The Handclasp in the Arnulfini Wedding: A Manuscript Precedent', *Art Bulletin*, 66 (1984), 488–91.

³⁶ This was discussed by Stuart Clark, 'History and Theory: The Deconstruction of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe', lecture at All Souls College, Oxford, 25 Jan. 1995.

³⁷ The original form reads 'Constituē super eum peccatorem: et diabolus stet a dextris eius.'

³⁸ Another example of a motet whose tenor quotes from the

middle of a chant is *O amicus Precursoris*, the subject of a study by Margaret Bent and David Howlett, 'Subtiliter alternare: The Yorkford Motet *O amicus Precursoris*', in Peter M. Lefferts and Brian Seitz (eds.), *Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest Sanders* (New York, 1990) = *Current Musicology* 45–7 (1990), 43–84.

³⁹ Identified by Dahnik, 68.

⁴⁰ Långfors, vv. 311–26. Apocalyptic content in *Fauvel* is discussed in Jean-Claude Mühlthaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir: lire la satire médiévale* (Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge; Paris, 1994), 73–112. See also Nigel Palmer, below, Ch. 18.

⁴¹ See below, Ch. 13.

Fauvel. There is abundant liturgical allusion in the *Roman*, in the choice of motet tenors, references in the motet and conductus texts, and above all in the fifty-three fragments of chant or pseudo-chant concentrated in Book II.⁴² It is possible to discern liturgical patterns that articulate whole seasons. At the heart of the interpolations in Book II is a group of eight chants for the season of Nativity.⁴³ They are anticipated by liturgical allusions in the music of Book I, including the Advent tenor of *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum*. The purpose is not to articulate the temporal scheme of the literary text, for the reader is led to expect a Pentecost chant here: Fauvel issues an invitation to the joust the following day, which, he says, is the 'lendemain de Penthecouste'.⁴⁴ However, the connection of Nativity with a second liturgical cycle for Easter may suggest an alternative function. The literary interpolations in *Fauvel* borrow from several other texts, among them the *Tourneiment Anticrist* by Huon de Méry. Only a couple of lines of Huon's text find their way into *Fauvel*, and it serves rather as a structural frame for the *Fauvel* nuptials and tournament.⁴⁵ Margaret Bender demonstrates how Huon's original narrative shadows a Triduum structure: Maundy Thursday—Antichrist's banquet, a parody of the Last Supper; Good Friday—the battle of Virtue and Vice; and Holy Saturday—victory and the celestial banquet.⁴⁶ The nuptial sequence in *Fauvel* closely shadows these events: on the eve of his wedding Fauvel hosts a banquet, attended by Virtues and Vices; the following morning the two armies fight a tournament; the Virtues are victorious, but their triumph is muted, and whereas Méry's Virtues enjoy a celestial banquet, those in *Fauvel* simply retreat. The Easter structure in the *Tourneiment* is therefore automatically implied by the borrowings in *Fauvel*. It is made explicit, however, by means of liturgical chants. The outer days of the sequence are articulated by the correct liturgical chants. The tenor of the first major motet in the additions to Book II, *Aman novi/Heu Fortuna/Heu me*, mixes chants for Maundy Thursday and the Office of the Dead.⁴⁷ At the end of the tournament, Fauvel and his troops bathe in the waters of the Fountain of Youth (fo. 42^v; see below, Fig. 13.12). Slotted in beside the fountain is a chant for Holy Saturday, drawn from the litany for renewal of baptismal promises. However, the texts are fauvelized:

<i>Litany for Baptism</i>	<i>Fauvel</i>
Sit fons	Hic fons
sit fons vivus	hic devius
aqua regenerans	aqua degenerans
unda purificans ⁴⁸	unda damnificans

⁴² For a recent discussion of the chant fragments see Susan Rankin, 'The Divine Truth of Scripture: Chant in the *Roman de Fauvel*', *JAMS*, 47 (1994), 203–42. See also Ch. 19 below. I am grateful to Dr Rankin for sharing this material with me prior to publication, and in addition for offering suggestions about the chants discussed here.

⁴³ P.mus 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 109, and 110. For a description of these chants, see below, Ch. 19.

⁴⁴ Långfors, v. 188.

⁴⁵ Roesser et al. 9–10.

⁴⁶ *Le Tourneiment Anticrist by Huon de Méry*, ed. Margaret O. Bender (Romance Monographs, 17; University, Miss., 1976).

⁴⁷ Identified by Margaret Bent; see above, Ch. 2.

⁴⁸ Not all notated sources contain music for this text. Paris, BN lat. 926 is a Parisian source with music, and the chant in *Fauvel* matches almost exactly. For a description of this chant, see below, Ch. 19. On this image, see Martin Kauffmann's contribution to this volume, Ch. 13.

We are led to expect a Good Friday chant on the day of Fauvel's tournament, but hear instead chants for the Nativity, which thus usurp the place of Good Friday in a perverted Easter cycle.

Returning now to the theme of apocalypse in the tenor of *Servant regem*, I shall suggest how this connects with the liturgical scheme outlined above. The apocalypse theme reaches its peak in Fortuna's prophecy in Book II.⁴⁹ The signs around her indicate that the world is close to apocalypse, and with her gift of foresight, she predicts that Antichrist himself is imminent:

Et c'est bien raison vraiment,
Car, se l'Esriture ne ment,
Les signez perent que près estre
Devon du temps en quoi doit nestre
L'anemi de crestienté,
Celi par qui toute plenté
De mal doit ou monde venir
Sur le temps qui devra finir.
Fauvel . . .
Tu es d'Antecrist le courier,
Son mesagier et son fourrier.

(Långfors, vv. 3097–105, 3109–10)

And it is true to reason, for, if the scriptures do not lie, the signs reveal that soon is the time in which must be born the enemy of Christianity, he who so full of evil must come to the world at the time that it must cease. Fauvel . . . you are the courier of Antichrist, his messenger and servant.

The prediction concludes the original version of the *Roman de Fauvel*, but leaves an important opening for future versions of the text. This propels the narrative in fr. 146 forward, and it may be possible to interpret the later version as a fulfilment of the original prophecy. According to medieval traditions of Antichrist, he will be ante-Christ, a precursor to the second coming. He will also be anti-Christ, assuming the form of Christ, and enacting the major events in his life as a black parody. Like Christ, he will enjoy a Nativity. The text emphasizes that he 'doit nestre'. Nativity, positioned within the warped Easter cycle, could be interpreted as the birth of Antichrist in the text. At the centre of fo. 38^r is a chant from a Matins responsory for Nativity with the words 'Verbum caro factum est'.⁵⁰ The words of Fortuna's original prophecy now find fulfilment as Antichrist enters the text. Advent anticipates Nativity. If Nativity is the signal of Antichrist, then it is prophesied through music in Book I in Advent in the motet for Philip V. In the single illumination of Antichrist, on fo. 28^r, he is depicted as a crowned king on horseback. The warning to Philip V is clear.

This interpretation of *Servant regem* sets Philip in a controversial light, as the 'rex insipiens', pitted against the 'rex sapiens', John. The opposition recalls the succession crisis,

in which Philip overcame the claims of the royal uncles for control of the realm in the months before John's birth. While the idea of a child ruling the kingdom well is clearly insupportable, the motet seems to play upon this anomaly: better the child than the foolish king. The tenor refines the view of the 'rex insipiens' still further, and Philip's accession marks France's entry into the epoch of Antichrist. This fits in with the negative signals with which the *Roman* closes. The final folio is filled with the sighs of the *galli*, who fear the approaching fox in *Garrit gallus/In nova fert/Neuma*.⁵¹

What place do these messages have in a manuscript designed as a mirror of princes? The didactic intent of fr. 146 prevents them from being purely subversive. The book explores the boundaries of admonition. Admonition is the process of giving advice, but by definition, it is also warning and sometimes reproach. I suggest that *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regem* is truly admonitory, and that in offering advice, it enables its writer to voice complaint. Philip is presented in the negative to enforce the positive attributes of kingship to which he must aspire: through allegory and music he is made to occupy the role of the 'rex insipiens' that he may learn the ways of the 'rex sapiens'.

At the same time, the motet is a reminder of the succession crisis, in which Philip provoked unease among precisely the people who are likely to have been involved with the creation of fr. 146. For Charles de Valois, the presentation of Philip as an anti-model is a way of offering a stern warning, in keeping with the literary tradition of the mirror of princes, but within that project it articulates personal grievance. The many themes of loyalty and duty ultimately steer the criticisms towards a constructive end, that of giving advice. The senders too are personified in the book. One line in the motetus reminds Philip to heed the advice of upright counsellors: 'consilio utere proborum'. In the French *dit* for Philip, this message is more specific, telling him that he must listen to the 'elder' and 'mature' men on his council, an emphasis that would speak well for Valois:

Croy les anciens esprouvez,
Qui seront en ta court trouvez.
Des joeunes, des jolis, des cointes,
Ont les Roys esté acointes;
Pour ce, croy le conseil meür,
Se honneur veus avoir, n'eür.⁵²

Believe the tested old men, who will be found in thy court. With the young, the handsome, the fops, the kings have been too intimate: wherefore, believe mature counsel, if thou wishest to have honour, not luck.

Criticism is only one dimension in a vast programme of admonition. All messages, positive and negative, contribute to a single end, which is to influence the unknown future beyond the allegory. That future is an unwritten book, the writing of which lies in the hands of Philip.

⁴⁹ The prophecy is discussed in detail in Nigel Palmer's study, below, Ch. 18.

⁵⁰ P.mus 100, fo. 38^r.

⁵¹ 'Garrit Gallus fendo dolose, luger quippe Gallorum concio, que satrape traditur dolose' (triplum, vv. 1–3).

⁵² *Du Roy philippe qui ont Regne, Steetz-Rochedieu* 55, vv. 75–80.

APPENDIX

*Servant regem/O Philippe prelustris Francorum/Rex regum*TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS:³³*Triplum*

Servant regem misericordia
 et veritas necnon clemencia.
 Iudicii rex sedens solio
 malum tollit aspectu proprio.
 Rex sapiens dissipat impios 5
 insipiens erigit inscios.
 Impietas regis si tollatur
 iusticia thronus roboratur.
 Iudicium causam determinat
 iusticia falsum eliminat. 10
 Mendacia rex qui libens audit
 omnes servos impios exaudit.
 Clemencia regis laudabilis,
 severitas eius terribilis.
 bona terra cuius rex nobilis 15
 sed ve terre si sit puerilis.
 Melior est pauper et sapiens
 atque puer quam rex insipiens.
 Rex hodie est et cras moritur;
 iuste vivat et sancte igitur. 20

Mercy and truth and also clemency save a king. A king sitting on a throne of judgement takes away evil at the very sight of him. A wise king scatters the impious; an unwise one raises up the ignorant. If the impiety of a king be taken away the throne is strengthened by justice. Judgement settles a case, justice eliminates the false. A king who willingly hears lies heeds all impious servants. The clemency of a king is praiseworthy, his severity terrible. Good (is) the land whose king is noble but woe to the land if he be childish. Better poor and wise and a boy than a foolish king. Today he lives and tomorrow he dies. Therefore let him live justly and holily.

Motetus

O Philippe, prelustris Francorum
 rex, insignis iuvenis etate
 consilio utere proborum

³³ The edition and translation have kindly been provided by Dr David Howlett. I am grateful to Jonathan Bickerton for his expert help with the musical examples. In the score plicas have been represented as small arrows (up or down).

in proavi degens sanctitate
 ecclesie pacis tenens lorum 5
 ac iudicans plebem equitate.
 Aggredere gentem paganorum;
 spopondisti! Nunc accelera te
 ut conformis sis principum quorum
 nomina sunt laudis approbate! 10

O Philip, illustrious king of the French, outstanding at the age of a youth, use the counsel of upright men, living your life in the sanctity of your great-grandfather, holding the rein of peace of the church and judging the people in equity. Attack the race of pagans. You have promised. Now hasten, that you may be comparable to those rulers whose names are of commended praise.

Tenor

Rex regum, dominus dominancium.

King of kings, Lord of lords.