

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

POETRY, POLITICS, AND POLYPHONY: PHILIP THE
CHANCELLOR'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE MUSIC
OF THE NOTRE DAME SCHOOL
VOLUME ONE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
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BY

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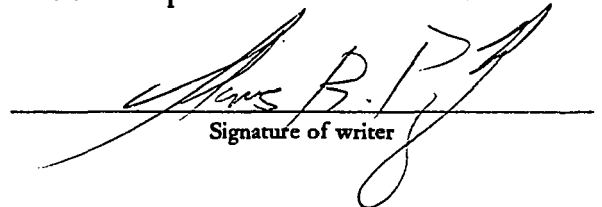
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NOTE:

INTRODUCTION

PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR AND HIS SIGNIFICANCE FOR NOTRE DAME MUSIC

The music and poetry that flourished in and around the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris during the second half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth centuries embody nearly a century of intense artistic expression and innovation that stretched from approximately 1160 to around 1250. Notre Dame nurtured some of the first recognized composers of major stature, and they in turn realized some remarkable achievements. They devised the earliest inclusive corpus of polyphonic liturgical music for the celebration of the Mass and Office, invented the first system of musical notation that specified rhythmic values as well as pitches, and developed major new musical and poetic genres that significantly influenced the practices of later generations.

A primary impediment for the assessment of the achievements of this so-called Notre Dame school, however, is the lack of sufficient information that would enable us to plot its historical development in any detail. One reason for this dearth of knowledge is that the bulk of Notre Dame music remains anonymous. The names of only two composers, Leonin and Perotin, have surfaced; and though recent research has been

able to clarify somewhat the identities of these two individuals,¹ many of their specific musical contributions still remain obscure.² Instead, scholars have been forced to rely on other means to delineate the history of the musical accomplishments associated with Notre Dame. They have turned to what can be gleaned from the manuscripts that transmit the compositions,³ sought out observable changes in musical style,⁴ and

¹For a newly considered candidate for the identity of Leonin, see Craig Wright, "Leoninus, Poet and Musician," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 39 (1986): 1-36; and idem, Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 281-288. Wright also makes a persuasive case for reconsidering Petrus Succentor (d. 1238) as the otherwise elusive Perotin; see his Music and Ceremony, pp. 288-294. Earlier attempts to shed light on Leonin's and Perotin's existence include: Günther Birkner, "Notre-Dame Cantoren und Succentoren vom Ende des 10. bis zum Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts," In Memoriam Jacques Handschin, ed. Higinio Anglès et al. (Strasbourg: P.H. Heitz, 1962): 107-126; Yvonne Rokseth, Polyphonies du XIII^e siècle: Le Manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier, 4 vols. (Paris: Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1935-1939), 4:49-53; Hans Tischler, "The Early Cantors of Notre Dame," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 19 (1966): 85-87; and idem, "Perotinus Revisited," Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese, ed. Jan LaRue et al. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1966; repr. ed., New York: Pendragon Press, 1978), pp. 803-817.

²Perotin, for instance, is credited with only seven specific works by Anonymous IV. But this theorist also offers some tantalizing hints that imply the composer could be responsible for many more. See Fritz Reckow, ed., Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, nos. 4-5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967), 1:46. On the problems in determining Leonin's precise contribution to the Magnus Liber, see Edward H. Roesner, "The Problem of Chronology in the Transmission of Organum Duplum," in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources, and Texts, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981): 365-399; as well as the hypotheses of Wright in Music and Ceremony, pp. 267-272.

³Most notably Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 25 (1972): 1-18; Robert Falck, The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory, Musicological Studies, no. 33 (Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute for Mediaeval Music, 1981); and in the current codicological work of Mark Everist. See the latter's Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution,

delved into the liturgical customs and administrative records of the Paris cathedral.⁵ Despite the importance of such studies, however, knowledge of the activities of the few identifiable figures associated with Notre Dame compositions can strengthen our awareness of the important contribution this school made to the advancement of music and poetry.

The names of Leonin and Perotin have justifiably become synonymous with the important developments that made Notre Dame a famous and influential musical center in the High Middle Ages. Side by side with these two luminaries, though, stands Philip the Chancellor (d. 1236), a third, only somewhat lesser light who is often passed over in even the

Outstanding Dissertations in Music From British Universities, ed. John Caldwell (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), especially Chapters 1-5; the Introduction to his French 13th-Century Polyphony in the British Library: A Facsimile Edition of the Manuscripts Additional 30091 and Egerton 2615 (folios 79-94v) (London: The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1988); and "From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W1," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 43 (1990): 1-43.

⁴This approach particularly characterizes Hans Tischler's The Style and Evolution of the Earliest Motets (to circa 1270), 3 vols. in 4, Musicological Studies, no. 40 (Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1985); and Baltzer's "Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-Voice Notre Dame Clausula," 2 vols. in 3 (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1974).

⁵Of such studies, see especially Jacques Handschin, "Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame," Acta musicologica, 4 (1932): 5-17, 49-55; Heinrich Husmann, "St. Germain und Notre-Dame," Natalicia musicologica Knud Jeppesen septuagenario collegis oblata, Bjørn Hjelmberg and Søren Sørensen, eds. (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1962), pp. 31-36; idem, "The Enlargement of the Magnus liber organi and the Paris Churches St. Germain l'Auxerrois and Ste. Geneviève-du-Mont," The Journal of the American Musicological Society, 16 (1963): 176-203; idem, "The Origin and Destination of the Magnus liber organi," The Musical Quarterly, 49 (1963): 311-330; and Wright, Music and Ceremony.

most thorough discussions of Notre Dame music.⁶ Actually, Philip is as integral to the history of Notre Dame music as Leonin and Perotin. Not only was he a theologian, a prolific homilist, and church administrator, he also counted as one of the outstanding lyric poets of his age, and his verses prove to be extremely important for delineating the history of Notre Dame music. Like the two composers, Philip enriched the established forms of the monophonic and polyphonic conductus, the sequence, and hymn, and was one of the first cultivators—if not indeed the co-creator—of the newer genres of organum prosulas, texted conductus caudae, and motets.

Philip has an added distinction: not only did he pass down a large body of songs, but his relatively extensive biography has also survived. Compared with the usual anonymity of early medieval composers and poets, the fertile record of the Chancellor's life and accomplishments is most welcome. Few names associated with Notre Dame music offer as much information or as intimate a connection with the cathedral of Paris as his. Even in the wake of the most recent research, Leonin cannot approach him in this respect, and the identity of Perotin still remains somewhat enigmatic.⁷ Of these three

⁶Even Jeremy Yudkin in his Music in Medieval Europe, (Prentice Hall History of Music Series, ed., H. Wiley Hitchcock [Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1989]), one of the most recent general textbooks on medieval music, and written by a specialist in the field of Notre Dame studies, includes only a passing reference to Philip on p. 377.

⁷If, as Wright supposes (Music and Ceremony, pp. 288-294), Perotin truly is identical with Petrus Succentor, he would be the only other known musician or poet who can be associated quite as closely as Philip with the cathedral of Paris. According to this same author ("Leoninus," pp. 31-32; and Music and Ceremony, pp. 281-288), Leonin became a canon of Notre Dame by the year 1192, but also possessed a earlier prebend at the nearby collegiate church of Saint Benoît (from a document of 1179).

individuals, then, it is to the Chancellor that we must turn in order to best increase our knowledge of the Notre Dame repertory. With the publication in 1985 of the first complete edition of Philip's theological treatise, the Summa de Bono, the bulk of the material pertinent to his biography has finally been collected in an accurate and thoroughly documented fashion.⁸ Still, the results of this important study remain largely outside of the purview of most musicologists. Philip's biography, therefore, deserves a new presentation in this study, with a spotlight on his poetic output. This is especially important since even the most recent literature continues to relate inaccurate or misleading facts on Philip's life and works.⁹

The necessary complementary study of Philip's poetic works and the music that adorns them has yet to be undertaken.¹⁰ Although recent

In the final years of his life (1187 to around 1201) he became a canon at the abbey of Saint Victor. Other poets associated with Notre Dame compositions are Walter of Châtillon and Peter of Blois, whose connections with Paris were limited to periods of study at the city's schools.

⁸Nikolaus Wicki, ed., Philippi Cancellarii Parisiensis Summa de Bono, 2 vols., Corpus philosophorum medii aevi: Opera philosophica mediae aetatis selecta, no. 2 (Bern: Francke, 1985), 1:*11-*28.

⁹One of the more irrepressible errors is the continued confusion of Philip the Chancellor with Philip de Grève, a canon of Paris and dean of Sens who died around 1220. For a detailed account of this case of mistaken identity, see below, Chapter 1.

¹⁰Major studies that have treated Philip's poems and their music include Analecta hymnica medii aevi, vol. 50, Lateinische Hymnendichter des Mittelalters, part 2, ed. Guido Maria Dreves (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1907), pp. 528-532; Peter Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," Studi medievali, ser. 3, 28 (1987): 563-592; Robert Falck, "Zwei Lieder Philipps der Kanzler und ihre Vorbilder," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 24 (1967): 81-98. idem, The Notre Dame Conductus, pp. 110-119; Norbert Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied Philipps de Grève," Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters: Ehrengabe für Karl Strecker zum 4. September, 1931, W. Stach and H.

scholarly publications have treated his theological and homiletic contributions, his lyrics and their melodies are not yet collected and published as a whole. His poetic canon likewise needs clarification. Many attributions to him remain questionable, and some of the more dubious items are continually touted as representative examples of his work.¹¹ Conversely, recent research has contributed a notable tally of

Walther, eds., Schriftenreihe zur historischen Vierteljahrschrift, no. 1 (Dresden: Baensch, 1931), pp. 37-44; Rudolf Flotzinger, "'De Stephani roseo sanguine': Vom Quadruplum zur einstimmigen Motette," Die Musikforschung, 37 (1984): 177-191; 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, 24 (1967): 1-23; Friedrich Ludwig, Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili, vol. 1, Catalogue raisonné der Quellen, part 1, Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation, 2nd rev. ed., ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies, no. 7 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964), pp. 243-267; Thomas B. Payne, "Associa tecum in patria: A Newly Identified Organum Trope by Philip the Chancellor," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 39 (1986): 233-254; Ruth Steiner, "Some Monophonic Latin Songs from the Tenth Fascicle of the Manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1," (Ph.D. dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1963), pp. 10-28; idem, "Some Monophonic Songs Composed around 1200," The Musical Quarterly 52 (1966): 57-61; Josef Szöverffy, Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung, 2 vols. (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1964-1965), 2:192-202; Victor Saxer, "Les Hymnes magdaleniennes attribuées à Philippe le Chancelier: sont elles de lui?" Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome: Moyen âge, temps moderne, 88 (1976): 157-197. In addition, Saxer, "Les Hymnes," p. 157, note 1, contains an extensive further bibliography on Philip's life and works.

¹¹For instance, Peter Dronke in his The Medieval Lyric, 2nd. ed. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 55-56, cites as one of Philip's works the conductus Dic Christi veritas, the attribution of which to Philip stems only from two fifteenth-century German sources (on one of these, see Norbert Fickermann, "Philipp de Grève, der Dichter des 'Dic Christi veritas,'" Neophilologus 13 [1927-1928], p. 71). He also discusses Deduc Syon uberrimas, which is indeed a likely work for Philip's authorship, but possesses no medieval attribution to the Chancellor. The questionable nature of these two works is never raised.

new possible ascriptions;¹² and musical, poetic, historical, and biographical factors, as well as the important information conveyed by the manuscripts that transmit his verses, can do much to offer new items hitherto unsuspected.

This dissertation, therefore, seeks to shed new light on the history of the Notre Dame school by focusing on the lyrics of Philip the Chancellor. By studying Philip's poetic techniques, subjects, and style, correlating these results with the musical settings of his texts, and placing our findings in the framework of his biography and the studies of other scholars, we are able to better understand how and when significant technical and stylistic innovations occurred in Notre Dame music. Philip, for instance, collaborated extensively with the composer Perotin, who devised the first pieces in four vocal parts, created the musical genre of the discant clausula, and edited the polyphonic liturgical music used at the cathedral.¹³ But whereas we know little for certain of Perotin's true identity and the extent of his compositional activity, a great deal of information survives about

¹²Most notably by Gordon A. Anderson in his edition Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia, to comprise 12 vols., Collected Works, no. 10 (Brooklyn, New York and Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979-), passim; idem, "Symbolism in Texts of Thirteenth-Century Music—A Postscript," Studies in Music, 5 (1971): 37; idem, The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Helmstedt 1099 (1206), 2 vols., Musicological Studies, 24 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1972), 2:v; Christopher Page, "Angelus ad virginem: A New Work by Philippe the Chancellor?" Early Music, 11 (1983): 69-70; as well as Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," passim.

¹³On Perotin's accomplishments, see Ernest H. Sanders, "The Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," Festschrift für Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1966, Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, eds. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), p. 249.

Philip. His life, career, and writings are much easier to establish, and the large corpus of Latin poetry ascribed to him (well over 100 examples when modern attributions are considered) includes some of the most significant musical compositions of the Notre Dame period.¹⁴ A study devoted to his works will not only contribute to a general knowledge of the music and verse associated with the cathedral of Paris, but it would also restore to Philip his status as an equal of Leonin and Perotin, an eminent figure in the history of Notre Dame music.

The repertory examined for this dissertation comprises forty-four of Philip's poems, fourteen of them attributed to him here for the first time.¹⁵ It includes the datable examples of his monophonic and polyphonic conductus (8 trustworthy works) and explores his entire contribution to the species of polyphonic prosulas and motets (10 and 26 poems, respectively). Several examples of these latter genres are also furnished with dates. This specific cross section of Philip's poetic corpus was chosen for investigation here because it contains pieces that are especially revealing of historical trends within Notre Dame music. Philip wrote more conductus that refer to specific historical events than any other known contributor to the Notre Dame repertory, and thus he can provide a more decisive chronology for the development of this genre within the Notre Dame school.¹⁶ His ten organum and conductus

¹⁴A catalogue of Philip's works has been supplied as Appendix 1, which includes attributions from medieval sources and modern literature, probable new works allocated to him for the first time in this dissertation, and tentative ascriptions.

¹⁵All these texts have been newly edited and translated, and their music transcribed to form Volumes 4 and 5 of this dissertation.

¹⁶Philip's datable poems have been listed separately as Appendix 2.

prosulas likewise document a short-lived and chronologically circumscribed practice of adding texts to existing polyphonic liturgical music. And most importantly, Philip extended his techniques of troping polyphony to create the motet, a genre that surpassed virtually all the other musical species associated with Notre Dame music to become the most significant compositional innovation of the thirteenth century. This dissertation thus offers new perspectives on the historical development of Notre Dame music and a more thorough assessment of Philip the Chancellor's essential, albeit neglected, contribution to it.

Philip's Non-Poetic Works and their Relationship to his Poetry

For one who lived in the Middle Ages, Philip the Chancellor is the essence of the Renaissance man.¹⁷ In addition to his administrative duties as chancellor of the cathedral chapter of Notre Dame and his substantial body of poetry, Philip was also renowned as a theologian and homilist. His theological tract, the Summa de Bono, was both groundbreaking and influential. The first scholastic treatise to be organized around the various aspects of the Good, and noted for its early use of Aristotle as well as Arabic and Jewish authorities, it went on to inspire such important authors as Alexander of Hales, Jean de La Rochelle, Vincent of Beauvais, Albertus Magnus, and others who quoted extensively from it. Traces of Philip's doctrine have also surfaced in

¹⁷On this seemingly paradoxical notion, see Wright, "Leoninus," p. 4; and idem, Music and Ceremony, p. 274.

the works of such noted thinkers as Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas.¹⁸ Philip's Summa, now complete in an excellent edition,¹⁹ has also proven valuable for the consideration of his poetic works, particularly for illuminating the use of Biblical and Patristic authorities and elucidating the vocabulary, symbols, ideas, and arguments found in his lyrics.²⁰

Undoubtedly, Philip's sermons form his most extensive body of writings. A recent catalog yields as many as 723 entries under his name.²¹ Frequent preaching was evidently one of the Chancellor's primary duties,²² and we possess homilies that he delivered not only at

¹⁸On this and the previous points, see Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:*41, *45; Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," p. 24; and the references that appear at the specified places in both these works.

¹⁹Prior to Wicki's publication of the Summa de Bono only select portions of Philip's work had appeared in print. These include Leo W. Keeler, Ex Summa Philippi Cancellarii: Quaestiones de Anima, *Opuscula et Textus: Series Scholastica*, no. 20 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1937); Victorius a Ceva, ed., De Fide: Ex Summa Philippi Cancellarii (d. 1236) (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1961); and several quaestiones on personal discretion and incarnation offered in Walter H. Principe, Philip the Chancellor's Theology of the Hypostatic Union, *Studies and Texts*, no. 32: The Theology of the Hypostatic Union in the Early Thirteenth Century, part 4 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1975): 151-188.

²⁰See, for example, the Notes to the Text for the newly attributed motet Mens fidem seminat, presented in volume 5.

²¹Johannes Baptist Schneyer, Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit 1150-1350, to comprise 11 vols., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters*, no. 43 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969-), pp. 818-868.

²²On the importance of preaching to theologians, see John W. Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 1:12-15.

important festivals in and around Notre Dame, but also many that were produced for special events in other settings.²³ One notable example is the sermon he preached to the papal curia in Rome as the result of a controversy in the election of the bishop of Paris in 1227-1228.²⁴

Closely related to Philip's homilies are his so-called Distinctiones super Psalterium, a compendium of materials designed to aid preachers in the composition of sermons. As its title implies, this work is organized upon the plan of several explications upon each of the 150 Psalms. It is notable that Philip's Distinctiones were especially popular and were twice printed, in 1523 at Paris by Josse Bade and in 1600 at Brescia by Marchetti.²⁵ Although no modern edition of Philip's sermons has either appeared or been announced, several of his homilies

²³See Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:*23.

²⁴Discussed by Wicki, "Philipp der Kanzler und die pariser Bischofswahl von 1227/1228," Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie, 5 (1958): 318-326.

²⁵Philippi de Grève: Cancellarii Parisiensis in Psalterium Davidicum CCCXXX Sermones (Paris: Josse Bade, 1523; Brescia: Marchetti, 1600). This print is probably the source for the confusion between Philip the Chancellor and Philip de Grève.

have been published,²⁶ and in some cases these can supply valuable information relevant to his poems.²⁷

A few of Philip's prose works seem to have disappeared. Among these, cited by a scholar in 1835, are a commentary on the Lamentations of Jeremiah and a Libellus de modo exhortandi et faciendi de illis qui in agone et articulo mortis, a book that apparently concerns the sacrament of extreme unction.²⁸ Surprisingly, little mention of these particular works appears outside of this reference. Another, however, has been discussed more thoroughly and is particularly relevant to the Notre Dame repertory. This is Philip's narratio, perhaps still waiting to be discovered, on the loss and miraculous recovery of the Holy Nail of Saint Denis, a relic from the Crucifixion that was especially prized

²⁶For instance, Marie-Magdalène Davy, Les Sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230-1231, Etudes de philosophie médiévale, no. 15 (Paris: J. Vrin, 1931), pp. 153-177 (3 datable sermons); P. Victorin Doucet, "A travers le manuscrit 434 de Douai," Antonianum, 27 (1952): 553-557; Jean LeClerq, "Sermon de Philippe le Chancelier sur S. Bernard," Cîteaux, 16 (1965): 205-213; Barthélemy Haureau, Notices et extraites des quelques manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale, 6 vols. (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1890-1893), 6:239-242; Damien Vorreux, "Un sermon de Philippe le Chancelier en faveur des Frères Mineurs de Vauvert (Paris): 1 septembre 1228," Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 68 (1975): 13-22; and Wicki, "Bischofswahl," pp. 323-326.

²⁷See, for example, Schneyer, Die Sittenkritik in der Predigten Philipps der Kanzler, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, no. 39, part 5 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963): 26-29; and the Notes to the Text of the conductus Aurelianus civitas in Volume 4 of the present work.

²⁸P.C.F. Danou, "Philippe de Grève, Chancelier de l'Eglise de Paris," Histoire littéraire de la France, 18 (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1835): 189.

by the royal abbey.²⁹ Although various attempts to locate this work (presumably a prose account of the incident) have been unsuccessful,³⁰ at least two anonymous conductus whose texts pertain to the relic have survived in Notre Dame and related manuscripts.³¹ It is likely that these pieces are also Philip's works.

The Poetry and its Music

Philip's poetry and its attendant music present some of the finest examples of Latin song from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. His use of verse forms is highly diverse, employing a wide variety of meters and rhyme schemes. The subjects he treats range from pious appeals to God, Christ, the Virgin, and saints, to caustic denunciations of popes, priests, clergy, and kings. Several "occasional" pieces also survive, the dates of which can be determined from their references to historical events.³² An examination of Philip's contribution to the datable repertory can suggest specific

²⁹The existence of this narratio is related in the chronicle of Aubry des Trois-Fontaines (Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium, ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum, 23 [Hannover: Hahn, 1874], p. 931).

³⁰Among the attempts: Pierre Aubry, "Comment fut perdu et retrouvé le saint clou de Saint-Denys (1233)," Revue Mabillon, 2 (1906): 185-192, 286-300; 3 (1907): 43-50, 147-182; idem, "Un Chant historique latin du XIII^e siècle: le saint Clou de Saint-Denys (1233)," Le Mercure Musical, 1 (1905): 423-434; and Michel Félibien, Histoire de l'abbaye royale de St. Denis en France (Paris: F. Leonard, 1706), p. 232.

³¹These are the monophonic Clavus clavo retunditur and the two-part Clavus pungens acumine. See the discussion of these two specific pieces below in Chapter 2.

³²See the list of these particular works in Appendix 2 and their treatment in Chapter 2, below.

evidence for the chronological development not only of his own pieces, but of those in the general Notre Dame corpus.

Certain poetic themes and genres tend to prevail in Philip's oeuvre. Especially notable are the many poems addressed to a personified mankind (Homo), pointing out the error of its ways and appealing to its repentant nature in an attempt to secure its salvation.³³ Also numerous are his altercationes (Streitgedichte or dialogue poems),³⁴ a favorite medieval form related to the vernacular jeu parti. In these pieces, instead of the typical debate between two named poets that appears so often in troubadour and trouvère poetry, Philip pits allegorical or symbolic figures in a disputation that commonly concerns questions of salvation. In general the Chancellor's lyrics are exceptional achievements that often employ surprisingly dark language, blunt, pointed, and sometimes shocking expressions, piquant symbolism, and vivid imagery that frequently issue from classical, scriptural, patristic, and scholastic authorities.³⁵ The worn clichés that so predominate in other sequences, conductus, and motets are relatively absent in his poetic corpus. If nothing else, Philip's poems

³³On these pieces, and for a general treatment of Philip's poetic style, see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," especially pp. 569-582.

³⁴For a concise assessment of this genre, see Frederick J. E. Raby, A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages, 2nd edition, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 2:282-308.

³⁵See, for instance, his use of Exodus, 26:1-14 and the commentaries on these passages by Bede in Philip's text to the polyphonic conductus Regis decus et regine, published in Anderson, Opera omnia, vol. 5, Two-part Conductus, Unica in the Four Central Sources, p. xl. Dronke ("Lyrical Compositions," p. 583) has raised doubts about the validity of the attribution of this work to Philip that I find unconvincing. See below, Chapter 4, for some connections of Regis decus with other poems of his.

are inventive and a fitting complement to the often excellent music that accompanies them.

Attributions

Approximately fifteen different contemporaneous sources assign eighty-three distinct poetic texts to Philip the Chancellor. These sources comprise not only liturgical manuscripts, poetic anthologies, collections of songs, and addenda to empty folios, but also passing references in works by other writers, including a historical chronicle and a laudatory dit dedicated to Philip himself.³⁶ With such an abundant repertory, one that outstrips the canon of all the other known

³⁶A virtually complete list of the sources that attribute poetry to Philip may be found in Saxer, "Les Hymnes," pp. 170-171. To this inventory should be added the chronicle of Salimbene (a major subject of Saxer's discussion, but curiously not in his source list, see *ibid.*, p. 159, note 1), published as Chronica fratris Salimbene de Adam ordinis minorum, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, vol. 32, parts 1-3 (Hannover: Hahn, 1905-1913); and in a more recent edition as Salimbene de Adam: Cronica, ed. Ferdinando Bernini, 2 vols., Scrittori d'Italia, nos. 187-188 (Bari: Guiseppe Laterza, 1942). The work is translated by Joseph L. Baird, Giuseppe Baglivi, and John Robert Kane, as The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, no. 40 (Binghamton, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1986). Another source, virtually unknown in the general literature on Philip, is Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Manuscript W88. This fourteenth-century Franco-Flemish Book of Hours of the use of Cambrai contains three sequences ascribed to Philip: His well known Ave gloriosa virginum regina (f. 189), and two otherwise anonymous poems: Que est ista que ascendit transiens deserta (f. 181) and Thronus tuus Christe Jesu (f. 193v). The second of these has been published in Analecta hymnica medii aevi, vol. 9, Sequentiae ineditae: Liturgische Prosen des Mittelalters, part 2, ed. Guido Maria Dreves (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1890): 58-60, no. 72. Both have been included in Appendix 7. Like Salimbene's chronicle, Henri d'Andeli's Dit du Chancelier Philippe mentioned above has also been published twice. See Paul Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," Romania, 1 (1872): 210-215; and A. Heron, Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli (Paris: A. Claudin, 1881), pp. 31-41.

Latin poets associated with Notre Dame music,³⁷ it is not surprising that at one time or another the authenticity of as many as forty-four of these works has been questioned by modern scholars.³⁸ On occasion the medieval sources themselves can be blamed for contributing to the problems of authorship, for nine of Philip's attributed pieces possess conflicting ascriptions to other poets.³⁹ Naturally, the question of authenticity is an important consideration for the pieces discussed in this dissertation.

³⁷Besides Philip, there are presently three known Latin poets roughly contemporaneous with him that have songs which appear in Notre Dame and related manuscripts. The most renowned of the three, Alain de Lille (Alanus ab Insulis), has been connected with only one work preserved with music, the monophonic conductus Exceptivam actionem. Better represented are Walter of Châtillon and Peter of Blois with a possible ten and thirteen musical works, respectively. (Conductus and motets with texts attributed to other poets have been supplied in Appendix 3.) Interestingly enough, several of the texts attributed to Philip and Walter have attributions that conflict with each other. Walter's poems have been edited in two volumes: Karl Strecker, ed., Die Lieder Walters von Châtillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer (Berlin: Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925); and idem, ed., Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Châtillon (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1929). Further works of his have been suggested (many of them apparently spuriously, see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 563-564) by André Wilmart in "Poèmes de Gautier de Châtillon dans un manuscrit de Charleville," Revue Bénédictine, 49 (1937): 121-169, 322-365. The most recent assessment of the lyrics of Peter of Blois is by Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II," Medieval Studies, 38 (1976): 185-235; reprinted with revisions in idem, The Medieval Poet and his World, Storia e Letteratura: Raccolta di Studi e Testi, no. 164 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1984), pp. 281-339.

³⁸Most particularly by Falck in Notre Dame Conductus, pp. 115-119, who questions the twenty-six texts ascribed to Philip in the manuscript Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 2777 (Da). At the present time, however, Falck's claims have been disputed and the bulk of the poetry in Da restored to Philip's canon (see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 574-58; and Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 294). As a result, only fourteen works with medieval attributions remain questionable in their assignment to Philip.

³⁹Conflicting attributions have been signalled in the list of Philip's works in Appendix 1.

Besides the eighty-three texts sanctioned by medieval authors, modern scholars have assigned some forty-six other poems to the Chancellor's pen.⁴⁰ The likelihood of many of these attributions still needs to be considered in the light of the most recent evidence. Musical considerations, rarely employed by literary scholars and hymnologists, can weigh heavily in assessing the legitimacy of the attributions of some of the poems considered here. Several convincing new additions (as many as 22) can also be included in Philip's canon when supporting factors such as musical evidence, historical and textual criteria, and the grouping of works in the manuscripts are appraised.⁴¹

Another question that is well worth raising, but which admits no clear answer, is the possibility that Philip may have been a composer. Though his musical ability was noted by the poet Henri d'Andeli in the Dit du Chancelier Philippe,⁴² and though his creativity embraced nearly all of the musical genres associated with the Notre Dame school, his frequent use of previously composed music, whether from the repertory of trouvère songs or from Notre Dame discant, suggests that he was much more habitually a lyricist. Nonetheless, the skill with which Philip

⁴⁰See Appendix 1 for these texts as well. Several have been enumerated in Payne, "Associa," pp. 235-236, note 5. The entire corpus of Latin "rondeaux" in the eleventh fascicle of the manuscript F, ascribed to Philip by Dreves (Analecta hymnica, 50: 529-531), however, has not been included among his works because such a bold claim is almost certainly unjustified. On this question, see Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," pp. 13-15.

⁴¹See the entries in Appendix 1 under the heading "Other Possible Attributions."

⁴²See lines 45-49 of the poem in Paul Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli," p. 211; and Heron, Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli, pp. 32-33. The same passage is also cited with a translation in Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 297.

fashioned new texts to older songs, prosulas to organa and conductus caudae, and motets to discant clausulae indicates that he possessed more than a modicum of musical knowledge.

Musical Genres and Forms

Philip's attributable lyrics (which conceivably could number as many as 169 different texts) fall into five major musical and poetic genres.⁴³ The most numerous constitute a genre known collectively as monophonic conductus. This category includes a total of eighty-six probable works. Of these, fifty-nine are medieval attributions, whereas twenty-one are ascriptions of greater or lesser probability that have been suggested by modern scholars. To this total I would consider six other examples as likely additions, with a further eight offered tentatively with much greater reservation. For the sake of convenience, the few examples of the comparable monophonic liturgical forms of the sequence⁴⁴ and hymn,⁴⁵ the French chanson,⁴⁶ and those few works of his for which only texts survive⁴⁷ have been included within this division. Similar in design if not in number to the monophonic conductus are the

⁴³See Appendix 1 for the following remarks and enumerations. This list relays as many attributions as possible: those of medieval sources (83 texts), the suggestions of modern scholars (46), my own recommendations (22), as well as tentative proposals (18) and even related but doubtful works (15, 2 conductus and 13 motets). The above number of 169 texts includes all but the doubtful ascriptions.

⁴⁴These consist of ten attributions: seven medieval and three modern.

⁴⁵Three attributions: one medieval, two modern.

⁴⁶Two medieval attributions.

⁴⁷Thirteen attributions: five medieval, eight modern.

examples of its polyphonic counterpart that have been associated with Philip.⁴⁸ And last and least numerous, but extremely important, are the three Notre Dame genres which originated from the addition of texts to previously composed melismatic music. These comprise motets,⁴⁹ and prosulas to sustained-tone organa organa⁵⁰ and conductus caudae,⁵¹.

Of these five groups, the monophonic and polyphonic conductus share the strongest ties to the past. Settings of Latin rhythmic poetry to music in one or more parts existed for centuries before the Notre Dame era. Philip's contributions to these two species are representative of all the various styles cultivated by his contemporaries. The music set to his conductus texts ranges from simple, syllabic, strophic songs, to lengthy, elaborate, through-composed compositions, some of which feature extensive melismatic caudae that exhibit the intricate rhythmic and configural techniques so closely associated with the Notre Dame school. Many of these pieces, both great and small, are indeed masterpieces.

The monophonic conductus, Philip's largest body of music and poetry, exhibit several interesting features in particular that are not as pronounced in the other genres. Textual concordances for this corpus—works transmitted without their accompanying music—far exceed

⁴⁸Twenty-nine of these are viable attributions: eight medieval, thirteen modern, three my own new additions, and five tentative prospects.

⁴⁹Thirty-four ascriptions: eight medieval, ten modern, eleven my own, and five tentative.

⁵⁰Seven attributions: five medieval, and two very unlikely modern suggestions.

⁵¹Five attributions: three medieval, two my own.

those in the other genres, thus demonstrating the premium that was placed on the literary aspects of these pieces.⁵² The majority of contrafacts (34 out of 57 likely works), which typically trace their origins to troubadour or trouvère songs, also appear in this group,⁵³ as well as most of the datable pieces (7 out of a probable 11).⁵⁴

Moreover, probably as a result of their quantity, the monophonic conductus present the highest percentage of dubious or challenged ascriptions and conflicting attributions to other artists (11 out of 59 medieval assignments).

Some of Philip's monophonic conductus were either conceived as sequences, or because of their formal structure and suitability for the liturgy eventually found their way into liturgical manuscripts. It is not surprising that these two genres should overlap, given the fact that the technique of using double versicles that so readily distinguishes the sequence is also common in the conductus repertory.⁵⁵ Moreover, a series of hymns of disputed authenticity, written in commemoration of

⁵²See Falck, The Notre Dame Conductus, p. 120, for this point.

⁵³For contrafacts of the pieces in Philip's poetic corpus, see the enumeration in Appendix 4, which includes all his possible poems, no matter how dubious.

⁵⁴For Philip's datable poems, see Appendix 2. Of the fifteen works presented therein, three pieces (the monophonic Mors que mordes omnia and Alabastrum frangitur, and the three-part De rupta rupecula) are at best tentative attributions and are hence not regarded as his work in this study. The remaining dubious ascription is supplied by Dum medium silentium tenerent, a text that is most probably the work of Walter of Châtillon (see Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions," p. 579).

⁵⁵For an assessment of the possible impact of the sequence on Notre Dame music, see Margot Fassler, "The Role of the Parisian Sequence in the Evolution of Notre-Dame Polyphony," Speculum, 62 (1987): 345-374.

Saint Mary Magdalene, may show Philip's activity in the sphere of Office music.⁵⁶

Although one of the Chancellor's contemporaries relates that he was a skilled vernacular poet,⁵⁷ only two French lyrics attributed to Philip have survived. Peter Dronke has demonstrated that one of them is almost certainly a mistaken ascription; whereas the second, the more likely attribution Li cuers se vait, is a paraphrase of one of his most widely disseminated Latin poems, Quisquis (or Si quis) cordis et oculi.⁵⁸

An astonishingly small number of Philip's works have no surviving music. Composer or not, it is therefore clear that Philip was intimately connected with the most innovative musical activities of the Notre Dame era. No other identifiable Latin poet of the period can profess such a complete and extensive association with music.⁵⁹ A consideration of Philip the Chancellor's verse without an account of its musical features would thus be highly misrepresentative.

⁵⁶On these works and their suspect nature, see Saxer, "Les Hymnes."

⁵⁷Henri d'Andeli in the Dit du Chancelier Philippe, lines 142-145. See Paul Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli," pp. 212-213, and Heron, Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli, p. 36, for the text.

⁵⁸The spurious work is the chanson J'ai un cuer mout lait ma ioie m'annour, whose author, Thibaut d'Amiens, identifies himself within the text (see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 584). Dronke also suspects that Li cuers se vait might be the work of another poet and merely attributed to Philip by virtue of his authorship of the Latin archetype. For the sources that transmit these and other conductus, see the catalogs of Anderson, "Notre Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné," Miscellanea musicologica, Adelaide Studies in Musicology, 6 (1972): 152-229; 7 (1973): 1-81; and Falck, Notre Dame Conductus, pp. 138-256.

⁵⁹A list of other known poets associated with Notre Dame compositions comprises Appendix 3.

Certainly the most intriguing and progressive of Philip's musical and poetic endeavors was his cultivation of organum prosulas, motets, and texts to conductus caudae. In most of these pieces the Chancellor, reversing the more commonly understood procedure for fashioning a song, supplied poetic texts to the voices of previously composed melismatic music, either to the duplum of a section of sustained tone organum, to a discant clausula, or to the tenor of the final cauda of a melismatic conductus.⁶⁰ Although this practice quite clearly recalls the older technique of writing prosulas to melismatic sections of plainchant,⁶¹ and is even analogous to the procedure of contrafacture, Philip's works are exceptional because they are the first to set texts to the newly composed voices of a polyphonic model, thus securing unequivocal rhythmic realizations of syllabic melodies at a time when no such notational system existed for them.⁶²

One of the most interesting poetic techniques present in these three types of compositions, and especially prominent in the organum prosulas, is the constant reference of the poetry to the text of its

⁶⁰See Payne, "Associa," pp. 236-239 for more information on these fascinating works. They are examined in detail below in Chapter 4.

⁶¹See Steiner, "Prosula," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 15:310-312.

⁶²Mensural values for syllabic notation did not exist until well after the advent of the motet. Sanders speculates that some clausulae were therefore viewed as melismatic counterparts to early motets. See his "The Medieval Motet," Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade, Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn and Hans Oesch, eds., 1 (Berne: Francke Verlag, 1973): 509. This view has been challenged very recently by Norman Smith, who argues convincingly for the independence of the conception of such clausula. See his "The Earliest Motets: Music and Words," Journal of the Royal Musical Association, 114 (1989): 143-145.

melismatic model. This means that not only do the poems tend to "gloss" and occasionally echo the text of their source, but the rhyme scheme of the prosula also tends to be governed by the sustained syllable of the melisma. This rhyme will then prevail until another syllable is encountered.⁶³ Such a restrictive technique demands a poet of no mean skill, and Philip rose to this occasion admirably. More than any other genre in Philip's canon, these poems cannot be considered adequately without constant reference to their music.⁶⁴ Their verse forms have often been misrepresented by scholars of medieval poetry, for the pre-conceived melodies that furnish the material for the prosulas and motets often admit no regular division of the added text into isosyllabic patterns of lines and strophes. To compound the problem of defining the poetic structure of these troping pieces, repeated motives within a musical phrase are frequently mirrored in the prosula text through the use of internal rhyme. Only with the music close at hand can one convincingly surmise the formal intentions of the poet.

Organum prosulas and texts set to conductus caudae constitute a very small repertory. In fact, modern scholars frequently subsume them under the genres of motets and conductus.⁶⁵ Even the scribes of the

⁶³On these techniques in Philip's prosulas, see Payne, "Associa," p. 247; and below, Chapter 4.

⁶⁴The neglect of the musical connections of Philip's organum and conductus prosulas has led Dronke ("Lyrical Compositions," p. 583) to disclaim (I believe wrongly) the attribution to Philip of three of the five organum prosulas ascribed to him in the manuscript Praha, and to adopt the other two. For more on the likelihood that all these works are Philip's, see below, Chapters 2 and 4.

⁶⁵See, for example, the relevant works in Appendix 1 and how they are presented in Anderson, "Catalogue Raisonné." Tischler likewise includes examples of troped organa and prosulas in his The Earliest

manuscripts that transmit these works sometime seem at a loss to know where to order them.⁶⁶ What remains especially striking though, is that for the twelve discrete pieces in these genres (7 conductus and 5 organum prosulas), all the texts to organa and three of the cauda poems are attributed to Philip in medieval sources.⁶⁷ Equally significant is the fact that the three sustained-tone organa that Philip so carefully troped are compositions by the great Notre Dame composer Perotin: the celebrated four-part Viderunt omnes and Sederunt principes, and the three-voice Sancte Germane, the last of which has been regarded as his work for decades by modern scholars.⁶⁸ Similarly, an examination of the four caudae that support the seven conductus prosulas reveals that at least two of them have also been attributed recently to Perotin, based

Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition, 3 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), vol. 1, nos. 1-7, 10, 26, and 94-97.

⁶⁶Several such prosulas, as well as troped organa and motets are interspersed with conductus in F on ff. 230v-232, 235-237v, 250-252, and 433v-434. Interestingly enough, however, the final pieces in the tenth fascicle of this manuscript, which otherwise contains only monophonic conductus, exhibit one organum and two conductus prosulas as an uninterrupted series. A similar group occurs in the exact middle of the eighth fascicle of W2, disrupting the otherwise careful alphabetical organization of this gathering. These examples appear to indicate that in some cases the scribes considered these pieces to be different from more typical motets and conductus and made a conscious effort to isolate them. For more details on this practice, see below, Chapter 4.

⁶⁷See Payne, "Associa," pp. 237-238. Two of the seven conductus prosulas, the related contrafacts Murdum renovavit and Curritur ad vocem, have essentially been rejected both as texts by Philip and as probable works fashioned through the textings of conductus caudae. They have therefore been left out of this dissertation. These two pieces occur only in peripheral sources and in the immediate vicinity of their model, the immensely popular conductus prosula Crucifigat omnes. They consequently probably originated as an imitation of Crucifigat rather than a textings of a conductus cauda.

⁶⁸See Payne, "Associa," p. 239, note 20. Some additional reasons for supporting this attribution appear in ibid., pp. 245-248.

on stylistic grounds bolstered by the ordering of these works in the manuscripts that contain them.⁶⁹ From this evidence, it is appropriate to venture that the remaining compositions in these genres may additionally be products of Philip's and Perotin's cooperation, and that they alone are responsible for the cultivation of these unusual pieces.⁷⁰

Although Philip could have conceivably arranged these works of Perotin long after they were composed, some evidence does suggest that the two were more active collaborators, for the text of Perotin's only known monophonic conductus, Beata viscera Marie virginis cuius ad ubera, is ascribed to Philip in one source. Although this attribution has earlier been questioned and only recently restored to Philip's canon,⁷¹ what is otherwise known of the relationship between the most important composer and lyricist of Notre Dame is extremely significant, for pieces ascribed to either one of them are also fair candidates for attribution to the other. Datable and stylistic features of both the music and poetry of Philip's works can therefore shed more light on Perotin's still shadowy existence.⁷²

Although Philip's conductus point to the past, and his prosulas to organa and caudae prove to be a notable experiment with limited results,

⁶⁹Falck, Notre Dame Conductus, pp. 46-56.

⁷⁰For more on these particular questions, see Payne, "Associa," pp. 237-238.

⁷¹The ascription is dismissed by Falck in Notre Dame Conductus, pp. 115-119; although, as shown above, Falck's suspicions have been overturned.

⁷²Wright has already led the way in Music and Ceremony, pp. 294-295, 297-299.

his motets definitely signal the wave of the future in thirteenth-century musical practice. Several factors indicate that Philip's undertakings in this genre are some of the earliest examples of this new species. Philip himself is certainly one of the first known poets to author motet texts; and he remains the only convincingly identified lyricist connected with the Latin form.⁷³ Not the least of the many features that suggest his early involvement with the motet is his active preoccupation with the prosulas to Perotin's compositions. These works, which one may convincingly label motet "prototypes," represent a stage prior to the development of the motet proper: the moment at which the texting of discant clausulae alone asserted itself as the dominant procedure in the creation of new songs grounded in liturgical chant.

⁷³See Appendix 3 and Table 51 for other identified poets with ascribed motets. The only known poet that has been assigned a motet who is definitely earlier than Philip is the troubadour Marcabru (d. 1147-48). The work ascribed to him in Tischler, Style and Evolution, 2:90: L'altrier cuidai aber druda, curiously enough, is a contrafact of Agmina milicie celestis omnia, one of Philip's most widely distributed and frequently attributed works. This ascription to Marcabru, moreover, is extremely dubious and appears only in Tischler's publication. All other motets with authors contemporaneous with Philip are vernacular pieces. One may, therefore, confidently assert that they postdate the majority of Philip's Latin texts. (On the advent of the French motet after the appearance of the Latin form, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 530-531.) The only apparent threat to Philip's exclusivity is the attribution of the motet In veritate comperi to the Paris bishop William of Auvergne (reg. 1228-1249), who is otherwise unknown as a poet. William has been credited with the authorship of this poem solely on the evidence of a fragmentary manuscript from Munich, reported by Wilhelm Meyer in "Der Ludus de Antichristo und über die lateinischen Rhythmen," Sitzungsberichten der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-philologische Klasse vol. 1 (1882); reprinted in his Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1905; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970), 1:328-329. But this fragment can no longer be found, and Dronke ("Lyrical Compositions," p. 568) has recently questioned its very existence. In veritate is also ascribed to Philip, and there is a much greater probability that he is the author of this piece.

The corroborative testimony of short-lived, archaic, or experimental musical and textual techniques and styles in many Philip motets also points to a probable early origin for the great majority of his works.⁷⁴ These procedures imply at the least that Philip was a pioneer, possibly even the inventor of the motet, and thus his place in music history is assured, for the motet was to last in various permutations for centuries as a significant musical art form.

* * *

Philip's poetry was by no means unappreciated in his own age. Sources containing his lyrics, with and without music, are found transmitted throughout Europe. In France, England, Spain, Germany, Italy, and as far afield as Poland and Czechoslovakia, Philip's poetry continued to impress the intellectual milieux of future generations.⁷⁵ So lasting, in fact, was the impression made by his lyrics, that this "father" of the Ars Antiqua may even be deemed the "grandfather" of the Ars Nova. As many as nineteen of the twenty-nine Notre Dame songs included in the musical manuscript of the Roman de Fauvel can be attributed to him. Some of these songs have even been recast with new music.⁷⁶

⁷⁴For some techniques that characterize the very earliest motets, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 509-517.

⁷⁵The sources for Philip's works can be consulted in Anderson, "Catalogue Raisonné," and Tischler, Earliest Motets, vol. 3.

⁷⁶The possible Philip works are, in the order of their appearance in Fauv: Mundus a mundicia, Quare fremuerunt gentes (tentative), Heu quod progreditur, Ad solitum vomitum (tentative), Vanitas vanitatum, Clavus pungens acumine, Christus assistens pontiphex, Quo me vertam nescio, Quasi non misterium (strophes V and VI of Quid ultra tibi facere, which occurs as the quadruplum of the triple motet "Quasi / Trabunt / Ve qui / Displicebat), Rex et sacerdos preefuit, Et exaltavi plebis, O nacio que

Philip's contributions to poetry and music are therefore crucial for delineating the history of Notre Dame style. His output is prolific, his identity and life can be documented with relative precision, and his endeavors extend to all the musical genres associated with this eminent school. Unfortunately, musicologists have continued to neglect him, despite his importance and the weight he may bring to bear on our perceptions of Notre Dame music. This third member of the Notre Dame "triumvirate" certainly merits a place alongside Leonin and Perotin as a newly acknowledged advocate for one of the most innovative eras of music history.

viciis (tentative), O labilis sortis humane status, Inter membra singula, Veritas equitas largitas, Vade retro Sathanas (strophe IVa of Aristippe quamvis sero), Fauvel cogita (parody of O mens cogita), Falvelle qui iam moreris (parody of Homo qui semper moreris), and Quomodo cantabimus (occurs in the double motet Quomodo / Thalamus / Tenor; Thalamus is Strophe II of Quomodo). The other Notre Dame works transmitted by this manuscript comprise: In mari miserie, O varium fortune lubricum, Virtus moritur vivit vicium, Floret fex favellea, (parody of Redit etas area), In precio precium, Omni pene curie (attributed to Water of Châtillon), Nulli beneficium, Vehemens indignatio, Veritas (or Cecitas) arpie, and Scrutator alme cordium.

CHAPTER 1

THE LIFE OF PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR

Prior to the fourteenth century, medieval sacred music survives chiefly as the work of nameless composers. Only rarely have music historians been able to learn anything of the actual people who created, performed, and preserved this art. Even on those occasions when references to composers and poets in the church do arise, information on their lives or works tends to remain hidden. As a result, most of the knowledge of this music has depended on what can be gathered from the pieces themselves and their sources, from modern perceptions of change in musical style, or from details furnished by other avenues of history. Such elements are undeniably useful, but the additional material provided by the positive identification of an active participant can help focus our understanding of music history even more closely, adding names, places, and dates to the evidence supplied by the compositions.

The breadth of this anonymity extends even to the Notre Dame school of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Of the composers associated with this school, only the names of its premier musicians Leonin and Perotin and a few of their compositions are revealed by the theorist now known as Anonymous IV.¹ Recent research

¹Fritz Reckow, ed., Der Musiktraktat. For references to Leonin, see 1:22, 46; for Perotin, see 1:32, 46, 50, 82.

has added some details about their activities,² but this information still pales in comparison to what is known about Philip the Chancellor.³ None of the names associated with Notre Dame music has left as substantial a biography as Philip, and only Perotin—whose identity still remains questionable—seems quite as intimately connected with the cathedral of Paris.⁴ Philip's biography, as well as the number and scope of the lyric poems he authored, therefore establish him as a prime source of knowledge for the history and development of Notre Dame music.

Philip is no stranger to history. His high position within the administrative body of the cathedral chapter at Paris, his large corpus of written works, and particularly his involvement in the struggle for independence by the nascent University of Paris have long been recognized. Nonetheless, it is only very recently that the information

²For Leonin, see Wright, "Leoninus," pp. 1-36; and *idem*, Music and Ceremony, pp. 281-288. For a positive reassessment of Petrus Succentor (d. 1238) as a candidate for the identity of Perotin, see *ibid.*, pp. 288-294, 297-299.

³Only seven pieces are attributed to Perotin by Anonymous IV (see Reckow, ed., Der Musiktraktat, pp. 46, 82), and the contents of Leonin's original Magnus liber organi, though probably substantial, are still not precisely determined, nor is it always possible to identify the extent of his specific involvement in the music that presently survives in these compositions. On the latter point, see Roesner, "The Problem of Chronology," pp. 365-399. For attempts at canonizing Leonin's original Magnus liber, see Husmann, "The Origin and Destination," pp. 311-330. Husmann's findings have recently been challenged by Wright (Music and Ceremony, pp. 243-267).

⁴If Wright's identification of Perotin with Petrus Succentor (Music and Ceremony, pp. 288-294) is correct, then both Perotin and Philip would have been near contemporaries, and both high in the echelons of the cathedral chapter. On the involvement of the poets Walter of Châtillon and Peter of Blois with Notre Dame music and their connections with Paris, see above in the Introduction to this dissertation; and Robert Falck, "Walter of Châtillon," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 20:190.

pertinent to his biography has been collected and documented in a thorough fashion.⁵ The most recent and comprehensive effort is that of Nikolaus Wicki, the editor of the first complete edition of Philip's theological treatise, the Summa de Bono.⁶ This chapter, though greatly expanded and written with a focus towards Philip's poetic activity, therefore relies heavily on Wicki's previous labors, even to the level of its organization. My debt to his meticulous scholarship will be apparent throughout this study.

The Confusion of Identities

One of the chief problems in Philip the Chancellor's biography is his long-time confusion with a completely different person named Philip de Grève. Although the two Philips have been recognized as separate individuals for well over half a century, the Chancellor often continues to crop up in the literature in the guise of de Grève. The merging of these two different people seems to stem originally from a misattribution to "Philip de Grève, Chancellor of Paris" in the edition of Philip the Chancellor's Distinctiones super Psalterium first published in Paris in 1523.⁷ Subsequent historians apparently accepted

⁵For some earlier biographical studies on Philip, see Principe, Philip the Chancellor's Theology, p. 17, note 1; to which should be added Charles-Victor Langlois, "Le chancelier Phillippe," Revue politique et littéraire: Revue bleu, ser. 5, vol. 8 (1907): 609-612 and 646-650 (one of the best short sketches of Philip's life); Ruth Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," pp. 17-23; and Robert Falck, "Philippe the Chancellor," The New Grove Dictionary, 14:630-631.

⁶Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono. The biographical section occupies 1:11*-28*

⁷Philippi de Grève, Cancellarii Parisiensis in Psalterium Davidicum CCCXXX Sermones.

the authority of this printed source,⁸ and their continual reference to him as de Grève became established.

Doubts about the identity of these two men had already surfaced in some of the earliest articles written on Philip the Chancellor.⁹ These suspicions were finally confirmed and the reality of the two personalities exposed in the writings of Henri Meylan, the initial editor of Philip's theological Summa.¹⁰ Documentary evidence first mentions Philip de Grève as a canon of Paris in 1181.¹¹ By 1194 or 1195 he had not only received a license to teach, but had also been accepted into the guild of Parisian masters. This induction earned him the title of magister,¹² and there are indications that he may have taught canon

⁸Among them, Danou, "Philippe de Grève," pp. 184-191; Barthélmey Haureau, "Philippe de Grève," Nouvelle biographie générale, 46 vols in 23. (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1852-1866; reprint ed., Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1963-1969), vol. 39, cols. 991-992; idem, "Philippe de Grève, Chancelier de l'Eglise et de l'Université de Paris," Journal des Savants, (1894), pp. 427-440; and Parthenius Mignes, "Philiosophiegeschichtliche Bemerkungen über Philipp von Grève," Philosophisches Jahrbuch, 27 (1914): 21-32.

⁹See Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:11*; Paul Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," p. 192, note 7; Charles-Victor Langlois, "Le chancelier Phillippe," p. 650.

¹⁰He published these results in a brief summary of the thesis he submitted to the Ecole des Chartes in 1927: "Les 'Questions' de Philippe le Chancelier," in Ecole Nationale des Chartes: Positions des thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 1927 (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1927) pp. 89-94.

¹¹The following information on the life of Philip de Grève stems from Meylan, "Les 'Questions,'" p. 89; Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:13*; and Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," p. 18. I am unable, however, to verify the 1194-1195 date from Wicki's citation.

¹²On the inception into the society of masters at Paris, see Alan E. Bernstein, "Magisterium and License: Corporate Autonomy against Papal Authority in the Medieval University of Paris," Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 9 (1978): 293-296; and Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, 3 vols., 2nd rev. ed., H. M.

or civil law at Paris around 1200.¹³ In 1220 he was named dean of Sens and died soon afterwards, possibly as late as 1222. He appears to have left no writings.

Meylan proved his hypothesis about Philip the Chancellor and Philip de Grève by investigating the obituaries of the two men preserved in medieval documents and church records. These disclose widely divergent death dates and discrepancies among the names of their respective family members.¹⁴ In addition, Meylan notes that the contemporaneous sources of Philip the Chancellor's works, as well as the memorials and other early documents that mention him, always identify him as chancellor (cancellarius), and never with the surname de Grève.¹⁵ In this way he was able to separate the two intertwined personalities once and for all. Unfortunately, possibly due to the inaccessibility of

Powicke and A. S. Emden, eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 1:283-286 and 292-293.

¹³See below, note 00.

¹⁴Meylan, "Les 'Questions,'" p. 89. The day of Philip de Grève's death is given as September 13. See Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:12*, and Auguste E.L.M. Molinier, Obituaires de la province de Sens: Tome I (Diocèses de Sens et Paris), Recueil des historiens de la France: Obituaires, no. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), p. 11. For the obituaries of Philip de Grève's parents, see Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:12*; Benjamin Guérard, ed., Cartulaire de l'Eglise Notre Dame de Paris, 4 vols., Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France: Collection des Cartulaires de France, no. 4 (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1850), 4:63, no. 135; and Molinier, Obituaires, 1:129.

¹⁵Meylan, "Les 'Questions,'" p. 89; Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:12*. For extracts from some of the memorials, see Rudolf Peiper, "Zur Geschichte der mittellateinischen Dichtung," Archiv für Literaturgeschichte, 7 (1878): 409-411.

Meylan's discoveries, the distinction has emerged slowly at best, and even today scholars continue to confuse the two Philips.¹⁶

Birth, Education, and Family

The date of Philip the Chancellor's birth and all knowledge of his early life remain a mystery. Scholars have placed his birth anywhere from 1160 to 1185. Peter Dronke argues that the actual year should tend towards the earlier of these two boundaries, for he doubts that Philip could have composed his highly crafted lyric that celebrates the investiture of Pope Innocent III in 1198 (Pater sancte dictus Lotarius) at the age of only thirteen.¹⁷ An even more powerful argument for situating Philip's birth in the 1160's is furnished by his Venit Jhesus

¹⁶For instance, Philip the Chancellor is still wrongly identified as de Grève by Michel Huglo in "La Musique religieuse au temps de Philippe Auguste," La France de Philippe Auguste: Le temps des mutations, ed. Robert Henri Bautier, Colloques Internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, no. 602 (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1982), p. 1006; and by Stephen C. Ferruolo in The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100-1215, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), pp. 110-111. Hans Tischler, in his The Style and Evolution of the Earliest Motets (to circa 1270), 3 vols., Musicological Studies, no. 40, (Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1985), 1:26, correctly distinguishes the two Philips, but mistakenly asserts that the chancellor's great-uncle, Walter the chamberlain (on whom see below), is the father of Philip de Grève. Finally, Craig Wright has turned the tables somewhat, and has claimed that a likely reference to Philip de Grève in the Captatio benevolentie, an appendix to the Karolinus of Egidius Parisiensis, treats of Philip the Chancellor (see Wright, "Leoninus," p. 22; and idem, Music and Ceremony, p. 286 with a revised translation). The probability that Philip the Chancellor is not the man invoked here comes from a marginal gloss in a contemporaneous hand in one of the major sources of the Karolinus that identifies this Philip as "de Grevia." On this passage of Egidius, see also Marvin L. Colker, "The Karolinus of Egidius Parisiensis," Traditio, 29 (1973): 318; and Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:12*-13*.

¹⁷"Lyrical Compositions," p. 581.

in propria, a conductus that treats the fall of Jerusalem and which can probably be situated on or about the year 1187. The evidence of this text would appear to make Philip a skilled poet at the precocious age of two had he been born as late as 1185.¹⁸ About Philip's birthplace, though, we are better informed, for the medieval chronicler Aubry des Trois-Fontaines relates that he was born in Paris.¹⁹ Surviving documents from the Cathedral of Notre Dame further disclose that Philip's father possessed a house on the Left Bank,²⁰ and Craig Wright has speculated that the Chancellor may well have spent his early life in these environs.²¹

No definite records of Philip's education survive, though there is little doubt that he studied at Paris.²² It is also quite likely that he may have taught theology there, since he is the author of a

¹⁸For more on these two poems, see below, Chapter 2.

¹⁹Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 913: ". . . factus est cancellarius Parisiensis Philippus, optimus theologus, de ipsa civitate oriundus. . . ." See also Analecta hymnica, 50:528; and Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, Ein Jahrtausend lateinischer Hymnendichtung: eine Blütenlese aus den Analecta hymnica mit literarhistorischen Erläuterungen, 2 vols. (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1909), 2:299.

²⁰Guérard, Cartulaire, 4:170, no. 294; Molinier, Obituaires, p. 189.

²¹Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 295.

²²Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:16*. The year of 1206, often given as the date when Philip became a magister, is possible, but unsubstantiated by any hard evidence. It appears without qualification in Falck, "Philippe the Chancellor." According to Principe, Philip the Chancellor's Theology, p. 17, note 2, the first occurrence of this date comes from Palémon Glorieux, Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle, 2 vols., Etudes de philosophie médiévale, nos. 17-18 (Paris: J. Vrin, 1933-34), 1:282; and Daniel A. Callus, "Philip the Chancellor and the De anima ascribed to Robert Grosseteste," Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Journal of the Warburg Institute, 1 (1941-1943): 105.

theological summa and is frequently designated in the documents as magister. Moreover, it was the prevailing custom at that time for the bishop to fill the office of chancellor from the circle of Parisian theological masters.²³ As a master, Philip would have been required to have his own students.²⁴ Wicki also contends that passages from Philip's Summa de Bono and his numerous sermons suggest not only that he held a degree in theology, but that he was possibly also lettered in canon law.²⁵

Philip was illegitimate by birth, the son of a Paris archdeacon of the same name; his mother's identity, however, unknown.²⁶ This does not necessarily imply that he suffered because of his status, for illegitimate sons were often reared as rightful heirs in all but name.²⁷ Furthermore, bastards were commonly accepted into the family upon the

²³See Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:22*; Rashdall, The Universities, 1:332-333; and Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 4 vols., Heinrich Denifle and Emile Chartrain, eds., (Paris: Delalaine, 1189-1897), 1:xii.

²⁴Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:22*; Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:79, no. 30.

²⁵Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:16*. The numerous times Philip was called to serve as an ecclesiastical judge delegate (see below) also imply some sort of expertise in canon law. See Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:7.

²⁶Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:12*; Noël Valois, Guillaume d'Auvergne, Evêque de Paris (1228-1249): sa vie et ses ouvrages (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1880), p. 34, note 2; Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied," pp. 42-43. For the effects of Philip the Chancellor's birth on his ecclesiastical career, see below.

²⁷For a study on the particular problems faced by the illegitimate sons of clergymen, see Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Ex fornicatione nati: Studies on the Position of Priests' Sons from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, new series, 2 (1979): 1-50.

death of their fathers, and surviving relatives frequently assumed the responsibility for their continued support.²⁸

Some interesting details survive concerning the life and career of the future chancellor's father, for he evidently encountered some problems in obtaining the important office he was to hold within the church. Wicki notes that he is first mentioned as a canon of Paris in a bull of Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) from July 20, 1169.²⁹ At this time he was nominated by the royal court for a prebend—presumably the position of archdeacon—despite protests from the cathedral's canons and the papal legate Peter, cardinal priest of Saint Chrysogonus, who appealed the decision.³⁰ Thanks to the intervention of his uncle Stephen, then bishop of Meaux (1161-1171) and later archbishop of Bourges (1171-1173), the pope supported the appointment in spite of the legate's appeal and confirmed it through the above-mentioned bull. Six or seven years later, in 1175 or 1176, prompted by further pressure from

²⁸Jacques Heers, Family Clans in the Middle Ages (Le Clan Familial au Moyen Age), transl. Barry Herbert, Europe in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies, no. 4 (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 1977), p. 71.

²⁹See Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:15*. The bull is published in Receuil des historiens des Gaules et de la France: Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores, 24 vols., (Paris: Aux dépens des libraires . . ., 1738-1904; reprint ed. of earlier volumes: Paris: Victor Palme, 1869-1880), 15:878, no. 253. See also Emile Louis Richemond, Recherches généalogiques sur la famille des Seigneurs de Nemours, 2 vols., (Fontainebleau: M. Bourges, 1907-08), 1:33-34.

³⁰The king had the power to influence the election of chapter officers in "regalian" churches (institutions in which he held the rights to the temporal properties of vacant benefices) such as Paris and Noyon. See John W. Baldwin, The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 13, 49-50, 65-67, and 177-183.

royal circles, the pope wrote to the legate, whose appeal was still pending, and asked him to drop the charges.³¹ In a surprising reversal (perhaps as a trick to deceive the cardinal), Alexander III now changed his position and forcefully condemned the bishop of Paris, Maurice of Sully (1160-1196), for acting against his wishes; yet he still made no move to revoke the archdeacon's appointment. Apparently Peter acquiesced, for nothing more survives concerning this dispute, and the archdeacon retained his title. Philip's father presumably died on October 18.³² Wicki shows that he last appears in an act by Maurice of Sully dated 1184, thus placing his death in this or the following year, when the name of a new archdeacon appears.³³

Like his father, Philip the Chancellor himself owed his accomplishments in no small measure to his family's ties to the royal court and to the church, for many of his relatives were intimate with the king and, thanks to royal intervention, had married into a prominent aristocratic clan from Nemours (see the family tree supplied as Figure 1).³⁴ His grandmother, Petronilla,³⁵ was the sister both of Walter

³¹This bull is also published in Receuil des historiens, 15:952, no. 384. See also Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 1:34-35.

³²Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:16*; Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 1:36. The obituary appears in Guérard, Cartulaire, 4:170, no. 23; and Molinier, Obituaires, p. 189.

³³Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:16*. Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 1:35, note 2, says that Philip the archdeacon witnessed a document from 1190, but the actual date is 1180; see Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis. 1:49-50, no. 50.

³⁴This family is the subject of Richemond, Recherches généalogiques. Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," p. 646, gives a short summary of Philip's prominent relatives. In the following cases of conflicting dates for the deaths of Philip's family members, I rely principally on Richemond and the obituaries of Notre Dame, published in Guérard,

senior (d. Oct. 23 or 25, 1205)³⁶—chamberlain to the French kings Louis VII (1137–1179) and Philip Augustus (1179–1223)—and Stephen (d. Jan 12 or 20, 1173), the archbishop of Bourges who was so instrumental in furthering the career of Philip's father.³⁷ The sons of the chamberlain, Philip the Chancellor's uncles, perpetuated the family's eminence. Walter junior (d. Aug. 9 or Oct. 26, ca. 1219), succeeded to the office of chamberlain upon his father's death in 1205,³⁸ while three of his six brothers (another Philip, Ursio, and John) were knights or soldiers (milites).³⁹ The remaining three brothers and one of their

Cartulaire, 4:3–212; and Molinier, Obituaires, pp. 91–240.

³⁵On Petronilla's husband Thibout, possibly surnamed Le Riche, see Baldwin, The Government of Philip Augustus, p. 482, notes 15 and 16.

³⁶Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:12* and 14*; Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, pp. 884, 888, 913; Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 1:76; Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied," p. 43. For information on some of the acts of Walter senior, see Baldwin, The Government of Philip Augustus, pp. 34, 35, 40, 55, 103, 104; and Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton: Historiens de Philippe-Auguste, 2 vols., ed. H.-François Delaborde, (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882, 1885), 1:64, 257.

³⁷Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:12*; Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 884; Guérard, Cartulaire, 4:13, no. 23; Molinier, Obituaires, p. 99; Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 1:79, 89, 98–99; Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied," p. 43.

³⁸Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 884; Guérard, Cartulaire, 4:174, no. 302; Molinier, Obituaires, p. 192; Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 1:77; 2:61–62; and Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied," p. 43. Due to the absence of the year in the Paris obituaries, Molinier and Guérard disagree as to whether this Walter or his father is intended. Most scholars believe that it is the son. On Walter the Younger's life, see Baldwin, The Government of Philip Augustus, pp. 34, 56–57, 107–108; and Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, 1:257, 264–265, 271–273, 283–285, 315, 317; and 2:120, 270, 304.

³⁹Ursio also figured in the office of Philip Augustus' chamberlain, but by 1214 appears increasingly in the retinue of his son, Prince Louis. For information on these three brothers, see Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 884; Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 1:76,

nephews found high offices in the church: Peter (d. September, 1218 or Dec. 14, 1219), originally treasurer of Tours, became bishop of Paris in 1208;⁴⁰ another Stephen (d. Sept. 1, 1222), bishop of Noyon in 1188;⁴¹ William (d. Aug. 19, 1221), bishop of Meaux in 1214; and Ursio's son, yet another Philip (d. Apr. 8, 1237), was elected dean of Paris (1227-1228) and afterwards bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne (1228-1237).⁴² Earlier posts held by William show that he also relied on the same connections for advancement as his illegitimate nephew.⁴³ Before succeeding to the see of Meaux, William is first found as chancellor of Noyon in 1201, and then as cantor of Paris from 1208-1214.⁴⁴ The later years of Philip's

157; and Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied," p. 43; and Baldwin, The Government of Philip Augustus, pp. 35, 107-108.

⁴⁰Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, pp. 884, 888, 922; Guérard, Cartulaire, 4:199, no. 348; Molinier, Obituaires, p. 208; Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 1:76, 140, 137-138; Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied," p. 43; and Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, 1:165, 225, 232-233, 315.

⁴¹Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:16*; Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, pp. 884, 922; Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 1:76, 103, 113; and Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied," p. 43. On his deeds in office and the royal influence in his election, see Baldwin, The Government of Philip Augustus, pp. 68, 83-85, 105; and Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, 1:124-125, 257, 319.

⁴²Guérard, Cartulaire, 4:45. For more on this Philip, and his cousin the chancellor's efforts to unsuccessfully win for him the bishopric of Paris, see below.

⁴³Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:16*; Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 296. See also Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, 1:257.

⁴⁴Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:16*; Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, pp. 884, 922; Guérard, Cartulaire, 4:133, no. 277; Molinier, Obituaires, p. 168; Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 1:77, 145, 149; and Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied," p. 43; Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 296.

life, from the times when actual documentation survives, show that he followed roughly the same paths as this once-removed uncle.

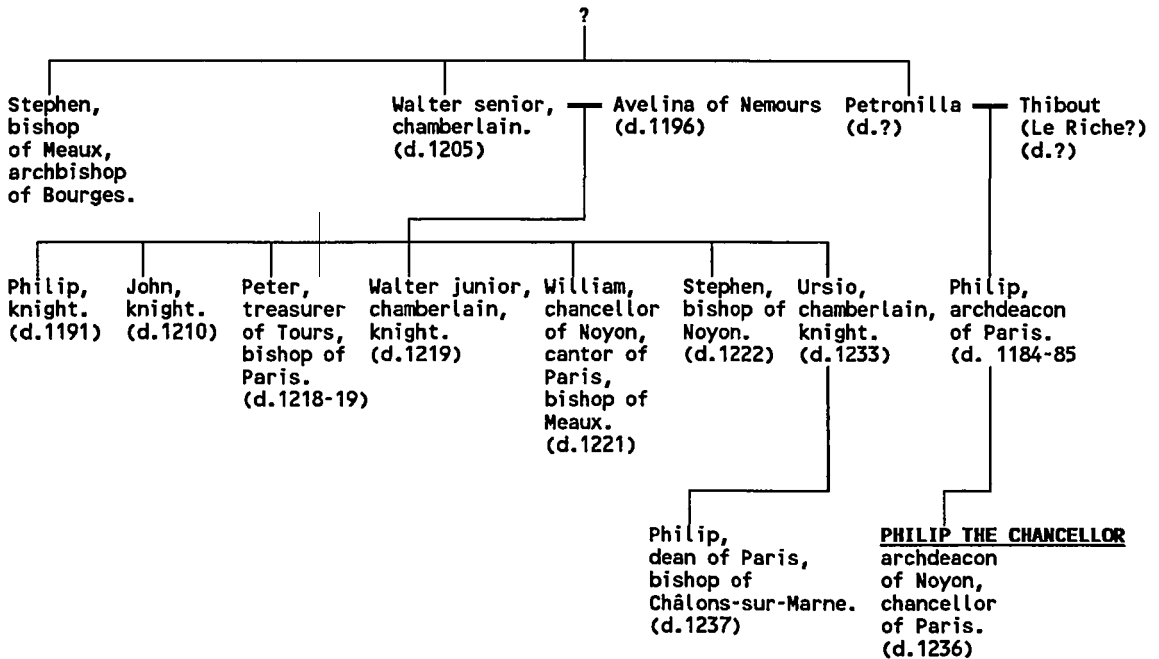


Figure 1. The Family of Philip the Chancellor. (Based on Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied," p. 43)

The Years Before the Chancellorship: Archdeacon of Noyon

The earliest known document to mention Philip specifically is a charter of June 1211 that he witnessed as archdeacon of Noyon.⁴⁵ Wicki tries to close the gap in our knowledge of Philip's biography by speculating that he may have acceded to the Noyon office as early as 1202. In this year the previous holder Hugh of Moreuil resigned, and the lack of any other names connected with the title until 1211 suggests

⁴⁵Meylan, "Les 'Questions,'" p. 90; Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:16*. On the significance of these "signatures," see Wright, "Leoninus," p. 10; and idem, Music and Ceremony, pp. 283-284.

that Philip had already assumed the post.⁴⁶ The apparent absence of activity in the archdeaconry for this nine-year period is less surprising when we realize that according to the surviving records Philip spent little time at Noyon.⁴⁷ In fact, he continued to hold this position and to render its duties for the remainder of his life, even after he was named chancellor of Notre Dame.⁴⁸ He is responsible for only one act originating from the Noyon cathedral: the ratification of a sale to the abbey of Ourscamp in 1213.⁴⁹

Further traces of Philip's execution of the office of archdeacon show, however, that he was not idle. The record reveals a person especially conscientious in the enactment of his assignments and in the assertion of his ecclesiastical authority, even though such actions occasionally caused him annoyance and embarrassment. In 1216, a conflict arose with the the abbey of Prémontré, the mother house of the

⁴⁶Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:16*. If the date of 1202 is correct for Philip's accession to the archdeaconry of Noyon, it may also be possible that this appointment may be connected to his authorship of the conductus Pater sancte dictus Lotarius, written to extoll the newly-elected Pope Innocent III in 1198. For more information on this work and its connection to Philip and Innocent, see below, Chapter 2.

⁴⁷One possible reason for the lack of records for Philip in Noyon could be that he was studying at Paris during this time. The pursuit of learning was a common justification during this period for absence from the seat of one's benefice. Sometimes, though, this led to abuse, with the result that in 1219 Pope Honorius III (1217-1227) allowed a vacancy of no more than five years from a benefice for the purpose of study. See Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:119; and Achille Luchaire, Social France at the Time of Philip Augustus, trans. Edward Benjamin Krehbiel (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1912), pp. 107-109.

⁴⁸See the documents cited immediately below, and also the ones given in connection with the discussion of the plurality of benefices, which specify Philip as archdeacon even after he had already become chancellor.

⁴⁹Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:16*.

Premonstratensian order, concerning the exemptions that were to be granted to its canons.⁵⁰ The settlement of this proceeding, which dragged on into the next year, was eventually handed over to the pope, who called Philip to Rome along with Robert of Vermelle, a canon of Saint Géry of Cambrai, where they both acted as proctors (legal deputies) representing the opposition of the bishops of the province of Rheims.⁵¹ Several years later, around 1219, another dispute forced Philip to send a complaint to Rome that certain citizens of the commune of Saint Quentin,⁵² a parish of the diocese of Noyon, had scorned his summons to appear before a tribunal that he headed because it had been convened outside the borders of the town.⁵³ Also in his capacity as archdeacon, Philip was actively employed by the pope as a judge delegate, an arbitrator chosen by his ecclesiastical superiors for the

⁵⁰Meylan, "Les 'Questions,'" pp. 90; Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:17*; Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," p. 646; Davy, Les Sermons universitaires, p. 125; Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," p. 18. On such exemptions, which allowed immunity from episcopal authority to the members of a house serving under a rule, see Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:70-71.

⁵¹Confirmation of this trip is provided by a later letter of Pope Honorius III from May 11, 1217, requesting payment for the proctors. This is available in César Auguste Horoy, ed., Honorii III Romani Pontificis, Opera omnia, 5 vols. in 6, Medii aevi bibliotheca patristica . . . , nos. 1-5 (Paris: Imprimerie de la Bibliothèque ecclésiastique, 1879-1882), vol. 2, part 2, cols. 408-409, no. 323. See also Petrus Pressutti, Regesta Honorii Papae III, 2 vols. (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1895), 1:100, no. 573.

⁵²A commune is a sworn association of townsmen, formed to expedite matters of self-government. See Baldwin, The Government of Philip Augustus, p. 60.

⁵³Meylan, "Les 'Questions,'" p. 90; Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:17*; Davy, Les Sermons Universitaires, p. 125; Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," p. 18.

settlement of litigations within the church.⁵⁴ The Vatican registers show the archdeacon of Noyon exercising this role in 1207, 1216, 1217, and 1230.⁵⁵

Perhaps the most colorful event associated with Philip as archdeacon is an event that occurred late in his life in 1233.⁵⁶ The incident is related through two letters of Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) to the king and to the bishop of Noyon, respectively.⁵⁷ Philip was charged to install a new abbot at the monastery of Saint Prix in Saint Quentin. Apparently certain members of this house were less than pleased with the new choice and had conspired with a lord in the region to oppose the appointment. When Philip arrived, he was attacked by Gilles of Fontsonnes, the senechal of Vermandois, who "with his sacrilegious hands tried to strangle him in the choir of the church, and twice assailing him, having torn his clothes to pieces, treated him so

⁵⁴The naming of a person as a judge delegate not only presupposed some expertise in canon law, but also was a witness to a reputation of moral rectitude and impartiality. See Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:7.

⁵⁵See Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:17* for a brief list of these activities. For Wicki's references in his footnote 2, read volume 1 rather than 2 for Potthast (Augustus Potthast, Regesta pontificum romanorum, 2 vols., [Berlin: Rudolphus de Decker, 1874]).

⁵⁶Meylan, "Les 'Questions,'" pp. 90; Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:17*-18; Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," p. 648; Davy, Les Sermons Universitaires, p. 125; Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," p. 18.

⁵⁷Thesuaros incomparabiles (February 27, 1233) and Tamquam sponsa (February 28, 1233), published in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:148-149, no. 96; and pp. 149-150, no. 97. See also Lucien H.L. Auvray, ed., Les Registres de Grégoire IX, 4 vols., (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1896-1919), 1: cols. 652-654, no. 1150; and cols. 654-655, no. 1152.

badly that [the archdeacon] is loath to decribe it more fully."⁵⁸

Gilles then dared to set up his own candidate as abbot. Pope Gregory responded forcefully in demanding justice from the king. He likewise excommunicated Gilles, the bogus abbot, and four of the complicit monks, whom he commanded to appear in Rome for judgement and the exactment of penance. Philip in this instance not only emerged victorious, but was acclaimed by the pope in his letter to Saint Louis as "a precious stone in your crown," a man "whose renown is everywhere apparent, even in distant lands."⁵⁹

Thus, in spite of his absence from Noyon itself during most of his tenure of the archdeaconry, Philip was continually busy in the service of his bishop and his pope. Such efforts would serve him well when he later sought office in Paris.

The Chancellor of Notre Dame

Philip possibly first saw a chance to settle in the city of his birth when his uncle Peter was chosen as bishop of the city's diocese. Philip's poem Christus assistens pontiphex, written to celebrate the bishop's election in 1208, is filled with allusions to Peter's largesse, extolling him as "a pillar of the priesthood come from Nemours . . . who

⁵⁸Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:149: ". . . prefocare in choro ecclesie manu sacrilega est conatus, in quem bis irruens, scissis vestibus, sic male tractavit eundem, quod tedet plenius exarare. . . ."

⁵⁹Ibid.: ". . . tue corone lapidem pretiosum. . . cujus laus etiam apud exteros late patet. . . ."

restores wealth to the poor."⁶⁰ It is not hard to imagine that through this encomium the illegitimate nephew hoped to curry favor with his uncle, particularly since another relative, Peter's brother William, had that same year succeeded to the office of cantor in Paris.⁶¹

One cannot say whether this lyric and its music had any immediate influence on the new bishop, but nine years later, in 1217, Peter helped Philip relocate his appointment from Noyon to Paris. In the early months of this year, during the prevailing conflict with the Premonstratensian canons,⁶² Philip, armed with letters attesting to his excellent character from his uncle and others, took advantage of his obligatory trip to Rome to obtain a dispensation pro defectu natalium from Pope Honorius III.⁶³ This document freed him from the onus of his bastardy and allowed him to change his diocese from Noyon to Paris, to be invested with holy orders and to assume any post for which he was qualified.

To understand why Philip needed a dispensation for promotion within the church requires a brief excursus into the historical requirements for holy orders. Between the end of the fourth century—the time when the rule for clerical celibacy became fixed—and the twelfth century, canon law became especially strict in forbidding the sons of

⁶⁰"procedit de Nemosio / columpna sacerdocii / . . . census reddat dispari." (lines 33-34 and 38). On this poem and its relation to the bishop's election, see Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied" and below, Chapter 2.

⁶¹On William, see above.

⁶²See above.

⁶³Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:17*; Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," p. 646.

clergy members to progress into the higher orders of subdeacon, deacon, priest, and bishop. This was provoked not only by the illicit status of children born to clerics, but also by fears that these positions and their attendant benefices might eventually be awarded hereditarily.⁶⁴ By the eleventh century, the Councils of Bourges (1031) and Poitiers (1078) had extended the stipulation of legitimacy to include all aspirants, not merely clergymen's sons.⁶⁵

Later legislation requiring legitimacy for induction into holy orders reached its zenith between the pontificates of Alexander III (1159-1181) and Gregory IX (1227-1241). At this time the laws for determining legitimacy became increasingly complex, and seriously threatened the influx of candidates to the priesthood.⁶⁶ The result was an increase in papal dispensations to bastards seeking holy orders and a

⁶⁴See Schimmelpfennig, "Ex fornicatione," pp. 4-28, for a history of canonical legislation on the rights of priests' sons up to the thirteenth century. Many of the following points are also indebted to H.A. Ayrinhac, Legislation on the Sacraments in the New Code of Canon Law, (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1928), pp. 358-361; and John A. Abbo and Jerome D. Hannan, The Sacred Canons: A Concise Presentation of the Current Disciplinary Norms of the Church, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1960), 2:119-121.

⁶⁵Schimmelpfennig, "Ex fornicatione," p. 26.

⁶⁶The requirement of legitimate birth for acquiring orders received no appreciable modifications after its appearance in the decretals sanctioned by Gregory IX in 1234. (Edited in Corpus iuris canonici: Editio Lipsiensis secunda post Aemilii Ludivici Richteri . . ., ed., Emil Albert Friedberg, 2 vols. [Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1879-1881], vol. 2: Decretalium collectiones, "Decretales Gregorii Papae IX," col. 135, lib. i, tit. xvii, cap. i.) It persisted in the revision of the Code of Canon Law in 1917. See Codex iuris canonici Pii X Pontificis Maximi iussu digestus Benedicti Papae XV auctoritate promulgatus ([Rome]: Typus Polyglottus Vaticanus, 1964), p. 392, canon 984, par. 1. The prohibition has disappeared only recently in the newest modification of the Codex in 1983. See The Code of Canon Law: A Text and Commentary, James A. Coriden, Thomas J. Green and Donald E. Heintschel, eds. (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), p. 810, canon 1137.

modification of their status under canon law.⁶⁷ Illegitimacy was now considered to be a relatively minor offense, an irregularity ex defectu, which laid no charge to the moral character of the person affected. It was no longer deemed a willful failing ex delicto. Even so, candidates still required direct dispensation from the Pope and proof that they led a life commendable to the church.⁶⁸ This last condition occupies a major portion of the text of Philip's own dispensation, given below:

[January 2, 1217]. . . To the beloved son Philip, archdeacon of Noyon.

The nature of human frailty, prone to many defects, begets no one so completely smoothed by the file of perfection who would dare to judge himself untouched by every blemish of corruption if he wished to consider his origin. For what man born of woman may presume to boast of the cleanliness of his birth, when one of the most celebrated of the prophets maintains that he himself was conceived in iniquity and born in sin? And because of his birth this chosen vessel reckons even himself among the sons of wrath.⁶⁹ For surely God has shrouded everything in imperfection, that all flesh may dare not to boast of themselves, but rather that "he who may boast, should boast of the Lord,"⁷⁰ whose grace so comes before and follows after the elect that he lavishes virtues and rewards upon them, not considering how excellent are the parents anyone may have, but rather how much one may excell in the fullness of his own habits and merits.

Therefore, even though various decrees pertaining to this parental transgression have been proclaimed against those born out of wedlock, the mercy of the Apostolic See has nonetheless been wont sometimes to remove the impediment of such laws from those whom it observes are excellent and with grace forthcoming have been purged of the vices of their parents through their own virtues. Not unworthily does it adopt them as legitimate into the Lord's inheritance by repressing the imperfection of their birth

⁶⁷Schimmelpfennig, "Ex fornicatione," pp. 26-28.

⁶⁸Schimmelpfennig, "Ex fornicatione," p. 24. By the late thirteenth century, Boniface VIII (1294-1303) allowed bishops to dispense a bastard to accept minor orders below the rank of subdeacon (acolytes, porters, readers, etc.). See ibid., pp. 28-29.

⁶⁹This is possibly a reference to Job, see 14:5, 15:14, and 25:4. See also Psalm 50:7, and Ephesians, 2:3.

⁷⁰1 Corinthians, 1:31; see also Jeremiah, 9:23.

and, through the tokens of their virtues, legitimizes those who are the more distinguished because of their merits. For the Evangelist included Phares and Zara, born of Thamar, in the royal genealogy;⁷¹ and the Lord affirmed the kingdom of Solomon, the son born from her who was Uriah's wife.⁷²

Consequently, since many bishops and other prelates—worthy in proper faith and furnishing laudable testimony for you of your life and learning—beg a humble request from us (inasmuch as the defect of your birth opposes your promotion because you were born to Philip, the archdeacon of Paris of blessed memory), we deign to remove this impediment through the grace of dispensation, since by the tally of your many merits you have redressed such a defect. We, as is worthy, wishing that your own merits may help you, rather than an unfavorable fault harm you, confer upon you through the dispensing power of the present documents, that in spiritual matters the aforesaid impediment may not obstruct you; but, since this is no longer an obstacle, that you may freely depart, to be promoted to holy orders and assumed to ecclesiastical dignities. . . . Dated at the Lateran, on the fourth Nones of January, in the first year of our pontificate.⁷³

In light of this document, it is difficult to explain how Philip could have managed to occupy the office of archdeacon of Noyon prior to his dispensation in 1217 by Honorius. At least by the later thirteenth century, the laws governing dispensation for multiple prebends dictated that every candidate acquire a further dispensation for each additional benefice.⁷⁴ Although Philip may indeed have requested such an act

⁷¹The widow Thamar bore these two sons to Judah, her father in law, see Genesis, 38:13-30. For Phares and Zara, see Genesis, 46:12; 1 Paralipomenon, 2:4; and Matthew, 1:3.

⁷²Bathsheba, lover of David. On Bathsheba, David, and Solomon, see 2 Kings [2 Samuel], 12:24; 3 Kings, 1:28-30; and 1 Paralipomenon, 3:5. On Uriah, see 2 Kings [2 Samuel], 11:3.

⁷³Translated from the text given in Horoy, ed., Honorii III, vol. 2, part 2, cols. 152-153, no. 120; and included below in Appendix 5, document 1. See also Pressutti, Regesta Honorii, vol. 1, col. 38, no. 208.

⁷⁴Schimmelpfennig, "Ex fornicatione," p. 29.

before 1217,⁷⁵ no witness to it has surfaced in the registers of Innocent III.⁷⁶ Likewise, Honorius' 1217 letter makes no mention of any precedent, and appears to be the first such favor granted to him.⁷⁷ Perhaps Philip was allowed to become archdeacon of Noyon while still under defect because it was an office that did not involve the pastoral care of souls. Bastardy did not usually remove, invalidate, or hamper the execution of a prebend, as long as its privileges or duties were not otherwise circumscribed by the rules of ordination.⁷⁸ But when Philip was called to Paris, where he stood to be promoted within the chapter, there was a more pressing need to erase any possible hindrance to his career.

Several weeks after he had granted Philip's request, the pope also wrote to Bishop Peter of Nemours, confirming his decision and illuminating the role that the prelate's exertions had played in the dispensation:

[February 15, 1217] To the Bishop of Paris.

Through your letters you have humbly requested that you be permitted to call our dear son Philip archdeacon of Noyon to the church of Paris, notwithstanding the fact that he is the issue of Philip of blessed memory, the archdeacon of Paris. Therefore, at the humble request of many bishops and other prelates furnishing

⁷⁵It is interesting to note here that by the fourteenth century the papal registers indicate that the first year of a pontificate was usually the one when the most dispensations for illegitimacy were awarded. See Schimmelpfennig, "Ex fornicatione," p. 37. Philip's 1217 dispensation conforms to this later custom.

⁷⁶On the possible significance of Philip's illegitimacy as a motivation for his poem Pater sancte dictus Lotarius to Innocent III, see below, Chapter 2.

⁷⁷Secondary dispensations tended to be very short, and are rarely recorded (Schimmelpfennig, "Ex fornicatione," p. 34).

⁷⁸Abbo and Hannan, The Sacred Canons, 2:120.

laudable testimony for him of his life and learning, given that we have granted a dispensation concerning such a defect to the same archdeacon [of Noyon] through the benevolence of the Apostolic See, we concede to you through the authority of the present documents that since the aforementioned defect poses no obstacle, you may freely summon him to your church, if you consider that his calling will be profitable to the same. Dated at the Lateran, on the 15th Kalends of March, in the first year of our pontificate.⁷⁹

It is thus nearly certain that Peter requested this favor for the explicit purpose of naming his nephew to the chancellorship at Notre Dame. Philip's dispensation of January 2 precedes by only five days the vacancy of this office by Chancellor Stephen of Rheims,⁸⁰ who resigned in order to succeed to the post of dean following the death of the previous tenant, Hugh Clement.⁸¹ The bishop's specific request for the pope's permission to call Philip to Paris also supports the notion that he was being groomed for the chancellorship, since after 1207 the chancellor was required to maintain residence in the city.⁸² Wicki has

⁷⁹Translated from the text in Horoy, ed., Honorii III, vol. 2, part 2, cols. 276, no. 223; and in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, vol. 1, p. xii. It is included in Appendix 5, document 2. See also Pressutti, Regesta Honorii, 1:62, no. 348.

⁸⁰Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:17*, inexplicably gives the date of the dispensation as February 2. If this can be substantiated, it would suggest even more strongly that Philip received his promotion as a result of the vacancy in the Paris chapter.

⁸¹Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:18*; Guérard, Cartulaire, 4:5, no. 10; Molinier, Obituaires, p. 85.

⁸²The document with this stipulation is published in Guérard, Cartulaire, 1:344, no. 34. See also Pierre Feret, La Faculté de théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres . . . moyen âge, 4 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1894-1904), 1:232, note 1; Astrik L. Gabriel, "The Conflict between the Chancellor and the University of Masters and Students at Paris during the Middle Ages," in Die Auseinandersetzungen an der pariser Universität im XIII. Jahrhundert, ed. Albert Zimmermann, Miscellanea Mediaevalia, no. 10 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1976), p. 110; and Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:xi. In addition to his residency requirement, the new chancellor had to be ordained into higher orders within a year. See Luchaire, Social France, p. 124.

found no indication of anyone else serving as chancellor at Notre Dame between Steven's departure and the first time Philip is specifically named in this post in Peter's will of June 1218.⁸³ It is thus probable that he was in the office by the early months of 1217, rather than 1218, the usual date given in the literature for his accession.⁸⁴

As chancellor of Notre Dame in the early thirteenth century, Philip figured last among the top eight dignitaries within the administrative body of the cathedral chapter, ranking below the dean, the cantor, the three archdeacons, the succentor, and the penitentiary.⁸⁵ He was chosen by the bishop and acted as his representative within the chapter—his "eyes and ears," as it were.⁸⁶ The executive duties of the cathedral chancellor were comparable to those of his counterpart at the royal court.⁸⁷ He was the custodian of the official seal of the chapter and wrote, stamped, and executed the

⁸³Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:18*. The testament of Peter of Nemours is published in Gallia christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa, qua series et historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum et abbatum franciae vicinarumque ditionum ab origine ecclesiarum ad nostra tempora deducitur . . ., 16 vols. (Paris: Victor Palme, 1715-1899), vol. 7, "Instrumenta," cols. 89-91.

⁸⁴Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," p. 646 also considers this a distinct possibility.

⁸⁵Thus Wright, "Leoninus," p. 10; and Music and Ceremony, p. 284. Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:18*, omits the last two posts and places the office of chancellor just below the archdeacons.

⁸⁶From Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 295.

⁸⁷On the duties of the chancellor of Notre Dame, see Wicki, ed. Summa de Bono, 1:18*; Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 19; Gabriel, "The Conflict," p. 108; Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," p. 19; Hastings Rashdall, The Universities, 1:280-281; Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:xi; and 80-81, no. 21; and Guerard, Cartulaire, 1:civ-cv; and 355-357, no. 50.

acts passed by this body. Additional duties included the responsibility for serving during the liturgy of the daily Office,⁸⁸ and the correction, preservation, and upkeep of the non-musical books housed in the chapter library.⁸⁹

His most significant charge, however, lay in the administration of education. Originally the head of the cathedral school, the chancellor of Notre Dame in Philip's time had progressed to supervisor of the schools that operated within the jurisdiction of the cathedral on the Ile-de-la-Cité, and he conferred the teaching license (licentia docendi) on the masters who taught within this district. As a result of these obligations, the office was usually awarded to a man of great knowledge and distinguished intellectual ability,⁹⁰ qualities that Philip undeniably exhibited.

Growth of the University of Paris to 1217

By the time Philip became chancellor, the schools of Paris were the dominant force in European education. Until the middle of the twelfth century, the chancellor had actually counted teaching in the cathedral school among his duties; but with the growth of independent schools, staffed by the many masters who migrated to the city to teach

⁸⁸For this specific responsibility, see especially Wright, Music and Ceremony, pp. 19, 298; and Luchaire, Social France, p. 124. According to both these authors, the chancellor was accountable for the readings as the cantor was for the chants. It thus fell to him to complete any readings that were omitted in the course of a particular office.

⁸⁹Volumes containing music were entrusted to the care of the cantor. See Rashdall, The Universities, 1:280.

⁹⁰Gabriel, "The Conflict," pp. 109-110.

for pay, this obligation dwindled and he instead assumed the responsibility of judging the fitness of teachers who sought the license.⁹¹ He also had the additional duty of exacting discipline upon the scholarly community, and reserved the right to revoke the proffered license, to excommunicate and imprison offending scholars, and was the official to whom the university appealed in conflicts with the provost, the head of the city's police force.⁹²

Near the close of the first decade of the thirteenth century, the masters at Paris had increased to such a large number that they were emboldened to seek some measure of autonomy from the cathedral chapter. Initial results of their efforts for recognition as a distinct corporation—the original meaning of the term "university"—appear in the years 1208-1209, when the pope granted them privileges for making

⁹¹Rashdall, The Universities, 1:277-282; Gaines Post, "Alexander III, the 'Licentia Docendi,' and the Rise of the Universities," Anniversary Essays in Medieval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins, Charles H. Taylor and John L. La Monte, eds. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929), p. 256; Bernstein, "Magisterium and License," p. 399; and Gordon Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Institutional and Intellectual History, New Dimensions in History: Essays in Comparative History (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968), pp. 20-21. See also Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:xii; and Gabriel, "The Conflict," p. 115. For amusing insights on the examinations given to candidates for the license, see Charles Homer Haskins, "The University of Paris in the Sermons of the Thirteenth Century," American Historical Review 10 (1904): 1-27; reprinted with revisions in his Studies in Medieval Culture, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), pp. 51-54.

⁹²Rashdall, The Universities, 1:304-305; Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities, p. 21; and Gabriel, "The Conflict," p. 109.

statutes regarding their dress, the observance of order in lectures and disputations, and rules on their attendance at masters' funerals.⁹³

Several years later, in 1212-1213, a conflict arose between the chancellor and the masters, and this antagonism did not fully cease for another twelve years. Further rules of conduct were formed as the result of a pronouncement in a suit between the masters and the chancellor Jean of Chandelle.⁹⁴ These statutes are not extant, but from the applicable bulls we may gather that Jean had attempted to empower himself further than the bounds of decency would allow, requiring not only a fee for the license, but also an oath of allegiance to himself from the future masters.⁹⁵ Further charges against the chancellor stemmed from the fact that he had imprisoned applicants for the license who had refused to submit to either of these conditions.⁹⁶

⁹³Feret, La Faculté, 1:xxvi-xvii; Luchaire, Social France, p. 87; Rashdall, The Universities, 1:299-302; Ferruolo, The Origins, p. 295; Gaines Post, "Parisian Masters as a Corporation, 1200-1246," Speculum, 9 (1934): 426; and Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities, p. 24. The privileges themselves are published in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:67-68, no. 8. The specific statutes adopted by the university no longer survive.

⁹⁴On this conflict, see Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:19*; Feret, La Faculté, 1:xxvii; Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:xiii; Luchaire, Social France, pp. 89-92; Rashdall, The Universities, 1:308-309; Post, Alexander III, p. 270; Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:122-123; Gabriel, "The Conflict," p. 111; Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities, pp. 21-25; and Bernstein, "Magisterium and License," pp. 297-299.

⁹⁵The extortion of a fee from the teaching candidate was forbidden by the Third Lateran Council in 1179. See Luchaire, Social France, p. 65; Post, "Alexander III," p. 263-264; Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:124; and Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities, pp. 20-21.

⁹⁶The document relaying these allegations can be found in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:73-74, no. 14.

Acting upon the demands of the pope, the bishop of Paris Peter of Nemours reported in a letter of August 1213 that the chapter had selected a tribunal of six judges⁹⁷ who had fashioned directives forbidding the charging of fees to the licentiate, the extortion of oaths by the chancellor, and the imprisonment of scholars except for serious offenses.⁹⁸ They also regulated the endowment of the license through certain stipulations to the present chancellor. Although he could still award the license according to his own discretion,⁹⁹ he was unable to refuse it if the candidate was approved either by a majority of masters in the higher faculties of theology, canon or civil law, and medicine, or by the greater part of a panel of six masters selected from the Faculty of Arts.¹⁰⁰ Further strictures forbade the chancellor from holding prisoners without bail and prohibited him from exacting fines from scholars.

The next significant stride for the burgeoning university, lay in the promulgation of the so-called "Statutes of Robert of Courçon:" a series of rules for academic conduct imposed and confirmed in 1215 by

⁹⁷Petrus Succentor (possibly Perotin?) was among the three who represented the chancellor, see Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:75, no. 16.

⁹⁸Ibid., pp. 75-76, no. 16.

⁹⁹According to Bernstein ("Magisterium and License," p. 298), this liberty was added not so much to placate the chancellor, but to allow the pope himself to recommend individuals for the license without without pressure from the masters.

¹⁰⁰It must be emphasized that this directive applied only to the chancellor then in office. By 1215 (see the following discussion of the Courçon statutes) the chancellor was no longer bound to grant the license. See Rashdall, The Universities, 1:308, note 4; and Bernstein, "Magisterium and License," p. 299.

the papal legate of that name.¹⁰¹ It is perhaps with this document that a true "university" of masters and students—a legally defined organization or guild—is definitely recognized for the first time.¹⁰² In these statutes, many of the rules contained in the earlier decisions are again encountered: the policies for the masters' dress and behavior; the prohibition of the chancellor from extracting oaths, fees, or any other promises from a licentiate, who was to be examined according to prescribed forms; and the right of the masters to exercise their own disciplinary jurisdiction over their scholars. Other regulations in this charter include stipulations for the minimum ages for matriculation and the commencement of lectures by new masters,¹⁰³ the use and prohibition of certain texts in the curriculum, as well as the particularly important privilege of the teachers to make pledges and constitutions among themselves or with others. This final provision, however, allowed masters only to negotiate the prices of lodgings, the customs of dress, burials, lectures and disputations, and to seek justice should a scholar be murdered, mutilated, or atrociously injured.

¹⁰¹Published in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:78-79. The statutes have been translated in Lynn Thorndike, University Records and Life in the Middle Ages, The Records of Civilization—Sources and Studies, no. 38 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), pp. 27-30.

¹⁰²See Post, "Parisian Masters," p. 444. On the Courçon statutes and their significance, see Feret, La Faculté, 1:xxviii-xxxii; Luchaire, Social France, p. 69-70, 92-95; Rashdall, The Universities, 1:309; Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:xiii-xiv; Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:131; Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities, p. 26; Bernstein, "Magisterium and License," p. 299; and Ferruolo, The Origins, p. 306.

¹⁰³Masters of arts had to be at least 21 years of age and have studied for six years; masters of theology could only be as young as 35, with eight years of study to their credit.

The statutes close with the threat of excommunication upon anyone who sought to disrupt the regulations. This last clause was to be of primary significance during the next several years.

University Strife 1218-1225

Such was the state of affairs when Philip took over the chancellorship at Paris. But the struggle of the masters for autonomy was far from finished. The beginning of Philip's tenure saw further bids by the university for independence from the cathedral chapter, as well as renewed support for the schools from the papacy, whose bulls again provide the major sources of information about the conflicts.

By the early months of 1218, there were signs of a renewed eruption between the combatants. Both sides maintained that their opponents had ignored strictures of the 1215 statutes.¹⁰⁴ The masters claimed that the bishop and chancellor continued to exercise their proscribed powers, while the chapter in turn accused the university of attempting to make further oaths and statutes for self-government outside the provisions of the edict and without their permission. Charges were fabricated in order to silence the masters. Some were excommunicated for not reporting disciplinary infractions among their students, other

¹⁰⁴The following events are related in two bulls published in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:87-88, no. 30; and pp. 88-89, no. 31. See also, ibid., p. xiv; Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:19*-20*; Luchaire, Social France, pp. 95-103; Rashdall, The Universities, 1:310-312; Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities, pp. 29-30; Barthélmey Hauréau, "Quelques lettres d'Honorius III extraites des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale," Notices et extraites des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale, vol. 21, part 2 (1868): 183-185; Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," p. 646; Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," p. 19; Post, "Parisian Masters," pp. 436-437; Danou, "Philippe de Grève," p. 185; and Gabriel, "The Conflict," p. 142.

teachers were suspended from their chairs, and students were imprisoned in spite of the decrees of 1212-1213.¹⁰⁵ Before he left to go on crusade in June of 1218, the bishop of Paris Peter of Nemours went so far as to excommunicate the entire scholarly community, claiming as his precedent an edict by his predecessor Odo of Sully that forbade conspiracies against the chapter.

The university was enraged and appealed to the pope. In order to try their case at Rome, they began to raise money to pay for a proctor (nuntius), a legal representative.¹⁰⁶ In response to this undertaking, Philip himself, in the absence of the crusading bishop, extended the ban of excommunication on February 24, 1219, the First Sunday of Lent, to include those individuals who were involved with the hiring of the proctors. He thereby sought to keep them from trying the case, since excommunicants were forbidden to sue.¹⁰⁷ The masters countered by suspending lectures throughout the schools.

But in spite of Philip's efforts, the masters' proctor had already embarked for Rome. The pope responded favorably to his appeal, and delegated judges to seek disciplinary action against the Chancellor. He also revoked the excommunication inveighed against the university and its representatives, and forbade the exactment of future penalties of this kind without his express permission. This had the combined effect of reinstating lectures in Paris and allowing the masters to try their

¹⁰⁵Post, "Parisian Masters," p. 436.

¹⁰⁶On the significance and duties of such proctors, see Post, "Parisian Masters," pp. 430-433.

¹⁰⁷Post, "Parisian Masters," p. 437.

case freely. Finally, in an attempt to bring the confrontation to a head, the pontiff ordered Philip and the proctors of the university to come to Rome in person upon a specified date to scrutinize the charges.¹⁰⁸

By now Philip had lost a measure of support with the death of his uncle the bishop during the crusade in the East, and he therefore appealed to several prominent ecclesiastics for letters of commendation to bolster him in his suit with the pope.¹⁰⁹ He then journeyed to Rome as commanded, and arrived at the stipulated time. However, the proctors of the university were unable to attend. Due possibly to a lack of funds or some other obstacle—for which Philip might even be culpable—they still had not arrived when the case came to trial. Their absence failed to resolve anything in the dispute, which remained in litigation¹¹⁰ and Honorius III was forced to acquit Philip in the following letter:

[November 30, 1219] To the dean and chapter of Paris.

Since certain grievous concerns have come to our ears concerning the beloved son Philip your chancellor, we summoned him to our presence about these matters. Because when he afterwards appeared before us, no plaintiff came forward against him: wishing to honor you, whom we know to be devoted to us and the Apostolic See in this and other affairs, . . . we deem it fitting to return the said chancellor to you with our blessing. Dated at Viterbo, on the second Kalends of December, in the fourth year of our pontificate.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:90.

¹⁰⁹Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:20*.

¹¹⁰Post, "Parisian Masters," p. 437.

¹¹¹Translated from the text in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:93, no. 33; also available in Horoy, ed., Honorii III, 3:358; and Hauréau, "Quelques lettres d'Honorius III," p. 185 (both incorrectly dated December 4). It is included in Appendix 5, document

The saga of this struggle recommenced in 1221, when the new bishop, William of Seignelay (1220-1223),¹¹² adopted a more aggressive posture and sued the university.¹¹³ He accused the masters of going beyond their rights as specified in the 1215 statutes, of levying taxes on the prices of lodgings against a previous royal ordinance, and of misusing the powers of their recently made seal, which was supposedly valid only for matters pertaining to the hiring of proctors. He also claimed that the university had violated other regulations, encroaching upon his and the chancellor's jurisdiction by electing judges who heard and tried cases only in the interests of the scholars and masters. To add weight to his charges, the bishop threatened to dissolve the schools in Paris himself if nothing were done to pressure the university to desist from their alleged offenses.¹¹⁴

In response, the pope delegated judges to handle the matter, but they were so overwhelmed by the multiplication of suits and countersuits

3. See also Potthast, Regesta pontificum, 1:540, no. 6173; and Pressuti, Regesta Honorii, 1:379, no. 2279.

¹¹²William was chosen after a heated debate over the previous election of dean Walter Cornut to the bishopric, in which Philip himself figured as the chief opponent to this candidate backed by the king. The pope, possibly as a result of Philip's arguments, overturned Walter's election and named William instead. See Luchaire, Social France, p. 153; Baldwin, The Government of Philip Augustus, pp. 121, 307; and Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, pp. 329-330.

¹¹³For the following events from 1221-1225, see Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, p. xiv-xv; Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:20*-21*; Rashdall, The Universities, 1:310-313, and 317; Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities, pp. 29-30; Hauréau, "Quelques lettres d'Honorius III," pp. 185-187; Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," p. 646; Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," pp. 19-20; Post, "Parisian Masters," p. 437-438; Danou, "Philippe de Grève," p. 185; and Gabriel, "The Conflict," p. 142.

¹¹⁴The bishop's complaints are related in a letter of Pope Honorius, published in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:98-99, no. 41.

by both parties that the final decision was long delayed. The university, unwilling to wait for the ruling of the delegates, and perhaps hoping to benefit from the pope's previous support, sent their proctors directly to Rome. Philip, along with the bishop's proctor and an official from the chapter, undertook another journey in order to appear against them. But the trial was again postponed, this time because the bishop failed to arrive. He had originally intended to have his own proctor represent him, but then changed his mind and revoked his mandate on the grounds that he wished to appear in person to prosecute the case himself.¹¹⁵

It is easy to see how the foregoing events would have prompted Philip to write his caustic lyric Bulla fulminante.¹¹⁶ The Chancellor now had been forced to make two expensive trips to Rome, both without consequence. This, as well as the fact that his authority was being challenged by what he believed to be an upstart organization in the Paris schools, led him to complain in this lyric of the excessive greed and misguided intentions of the Roman curia:

Bulla fulminante
 sub iudice tonante,
 reo appellante
 sententia gravante,
 veritas suppressitur,
 distrahitur, et venditur,
 iustitia prostante.
 Itur et recurritur
 ad curiam, nec ante
 quid consequitur

With a bull striking like lightning
 wielded by a thundering judge,
 summoning the defendant
 in oppressing terms,
 truth is suppressed, torn limb
 from limb, and sold for profit,
 while justice prostitutes herself.
 You have to run back and forth
 to the curia, before you
 achieve anything more than

¹¹⁵See Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:20*; and Post, "Parisian Masters," p. 437-438.

¹¹⁶On the dating of this lyric, see Paul Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le chancelier Philippe," pp. 195-196, 198-199; and below, chapter 2.

quam exuitur quadrante. being stripped of your purse.
(Bulla fulminante, lines 1-11)

Honorius III now appointed new judges to retry the case. On May 31, 1222, he issued a bull in an attempt to secure some form of truce while the judgement was still pending. This document in effect compromised both parties.¹¹⁷ The official seal that the university had formed for validating their resolutions was now limited merely to authorizing the proctors' mandates, and was ordered to be destroyed;¹¹⁸ whereas the students (scolares) were forbidden as a body to elect officials who might avenge their own grievances.¹¹⁹

The bishop and chancellor also fared poorly. Philip was ordered to demolish immediately a prison he had constructed and was forbidden to jail anyone ever again. The right to impose incarceration was instead granted to the bishop, and only in extreme cases that absolutely required such a measure. Additionally, any recent sentences of excommunication against the university were relaxed, further measures of this type were forbidden, and no fines were to be imposed upon the excommunicants. The teaching license, though still bestowed by the chancellor, was now permitted only to properly qualified candidates who were presented by their own instructors and confirmed by a committee of masters chosen by their colleagues. Furthermore, those properly licensed by any official to teach outside the chancellor's district on

¹¹⁷Published in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:102-104, no. 45.

¹¹⁸On the history and significance of the university's common seal, see Post, "Parisian Masters," pp. 438-443.

¹¹⁹On this last point, see Rashdall, The Universities, 1:315.

the Ile-de-la-Cité were now allowed to exercise their duties without fear of reprisal.

The Pope's final decision upon these matters does not survive. We may assume that it was similar to the resolutions imposed pending the judgement, and perhaps included other terms of compromise. There is, however, a subsequent incident that the lost verdict may have motivated. In 1225, the papal legate Romano, cardinal priest of Saint Angelo, destroyed the university's seal at the urging of the chapter. Whether this was the same seal condemned earlier by the pope or a new one has not been determined. In any event, the action caused a near riot. The legate was attacked by a mob of scholars and masters, and only the arrival of armed men under the king's command prevented him from suffering severe harm.¹²⁰

Other Conflicts in the Schools

Several years later, in 1227, there arose another challenge to Philip's steadily diminishing authority as chancellor. This time it involved the growth of new schools on the Left Bank of the Seine and the Chancellor's attempts to force the masters to teach in specifically prescribed areas. In this instance Philip again overstepped the authority provided him by earlier university statutes.¹²¹

¹²⁰See Rashdall, The Universities, 1:317; and Feret, La Faculté, 1:xxxii-xxxiii.

¹²¹For other literature on the events in this subsequent section, see Rashdall, The Universities, 1:277, 340-341; Bernstein, "Magisterium and License," p. 299; Luchaire, Social France, p. 101; Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," pp. 646-647; Feret, La Faculté, 1:xxxii-xxxiv and xl; Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:xv; Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," p. 20; Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:72-74; and

Licenses from the Abbot of Ste. Geneviève

By the end of the twelfth century, the only teaching license in Paris was the one awarded by the cathedral chancellor. This privilege allowed masters to convene classes on the Ile-de-la-Cité in schools that tended to be clustered around the cathedral. Near the beginning of the next century, however, the masters—especially those of the Faculty of Arts—started to move away from the island, possibly because of overcrowding, and set up schools in the territories near the southern or Left Bank of the river, close to the abbey of Ste. Geneviève-du-Mont, a district that the king had only recently enclosed within the city walls.

This move effectively put the teachers outside the chancellor's jurisdiction, since the abbey and its lands were immune from the bishop's episcopal authority, and by 1222 at the latest we know that they were receiving licenses from the abbot of Ste. Geneviève.¹²² The existence of this alternative method for acquiring a teaching license was a great boon to the early university in its struggles for autonomy from the cathedral chapter and from the chancellor, for in the event of a disagreement or other problem, the would-be teacher had a measure of appeal with the abbot of Ste. Geneviève. This new outlet kept the

Gabriel, "The Conflict," pp. 138-139.

¹²²This is contested by Ferruolo, The Origins, p. 321, note 14; but the bull of 1222 mentioned above (Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:103, no. 45) specifically states that the abbot was conferring some sort of license: ". . . nec episcopus et officialis ac cancellarius memorati licentiatos ab . . . abbate Sancte Genovefe [my emphasis] quin ubi consueverint libere incipere valeant interim molestabunt." There is also evidence that in the first half of the twelfth century the abbot of Sainte Geneviève had bestowed the license on teachers working on the Left Bank. See Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1: 74.

chancellor of Notre Dame from becoming powerful enough to stifle the growing university in its initial attempts at independence.

During the struggles of 1218-1225, we know that Philip had attempted to restrain the exodus of masters from the island to the Left Bank. Among the provisions imposed by Honorius III in the bull of 1222 was a clause forbidding the chancellor, bishop, or other chapter official from harassing the licentiates certified by the abbot of Ste. Geneviève.¹²³ This posed a new dilemma for Philip, since by the year 1227 the number of masters in the higher faculties of theology and canon law who were migrating to the Left Bank had dramatically increased. In an attempt to stem this tide, Philip tried to bind these masters to his jurisdiction on the Ile by requiring from them an oath to teach only "between the two bridges." In doing so, Philip was flaunting the law, for the Notre Dame chancellor had been specifically prohibited from wresting oaths from licentiates as early as 1212-1213.

In response, the abbot of Ste. Geneviève petitioned the new pope, Gregory IX (1227-1241), to deny Philip this exercise of forbidden authority. The pope complied, and charged two judges delegate to certify that Philip obeyed the order.¹²⁴ Despite this further restriction, however, the state of education on the island seems not to have declined. The teaching license of the Notre Dame chancellor still

¹²³See note immediately above.

¹²⁴Gregory's injunction is given in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:111, no. 55.

carried the highest reputation and authority in the city, and the Ile appears not to have suffered from any subsequent dearth of scholars.¹²⁵

The Great Dispersion, 1229-1231

If Philip was unceasing and occasionally even malicious in his efforts to retain his control over the university, the next major event to affect the schools shows that he could retain a sense of justice and a measure of support for the masters and students. This time the threat to the scholars came not from the chancellor, but from a conflict in which the royal court, the bishop, the provost of police, and the townspeople of Paris were all thrown against them.¹²⁶

In 1229, during the Carnival season before Lent, several students who were enjoying their holiday in the the Bourg of Saint Marcel outside the walls of Paris became involved in a dispute with a tavern owner over the reckoning of their bill. After exchanging blows with them, the owner called upon his neighbors for support. They beat the students and forced them to flee; but the very next day the scholars returned, armed and in greater numbers, to avenge the previous day's indignities. The

¹²⁵Rashdall, The Universities, 1:341; Gabriel, "The Conflict," p. 140.

¹²⁶For some contemporaneous descriptions of the events surrounding the Great Dispersion, see Matthew Paris, Chronica majora, 7 vols., ed. Henry Richards Luard, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, no. 57 (London: Her Majesty's Stationer's Office, 1876; reprint ed., Kraus Reprint Co., 1964), 3:166-169; and Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 923. See also in this regard Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:21*-22*; Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:xv; Rashdall, The Universities, 1:334-340; Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities, pp. 31-33; Bernstein, "Magisterium and License," pp. 299-300; Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," p. 647; Feret, La Faculté, 1:xxxiv-xxxviii; Davy, Les Sermons universitaires, pp. 125-126; and Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," pp. 20-21.

resulting brawl spread onto the streets and eventually assumed riotous proportions. The current bishop of Paris, William of Auvergne (1228-1249), was alerted by the prior of Saint Marcel and appealed to the royal regent, Queen Blanche of Castile, who commanded the provost of Paris to put an end to the turmoil. The provost, who with his mercenary guard constituted the police force of the town, besieged the students, and in the resulting tumult several of them were killed.

The masters were, of course, furious. Students at the time were immune to discipline from the secular arm of the law, and the teachers would not tolerate this disregard of their liberties.¹²⁷ They responded accordingly by suspending their lectures, but the bishop and the regent were allied with the townspeople, and nothing was done to break the stalemate. In a decree of March 27, 1229, the masters countered by threatening to dissolve the university for six years or longer if nothing were done to amend the situation by Easter.¹²⁸ When this motion was also ignored, they met as promised on April 16, Easter Monday, and soon afterwards deserted Paris, taking their students with them. This exodus was instrumental in hastening the rise of such universities as Oxford and Cambridge, and it also worked to the benefit of some of the

¹²⁷This privilege of immunity was given to the students by King Philip Augustus (1179-1223) in 1200, following a similar riot in Paris. See Rashdall, The Universities, 1:294-298. The text of this royal privilege is published in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:59, no. 1. It is translated in Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, ser. 1, vol. 2, The Mediaeval Student, no. 3 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, n.d.), pp. 4-7.

¹²⁸Published in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:118, no. 62.

lesser cathedral schools, such as those in Angers, Orléans, Toulouse, and Rheims.

For once Philip sided with the exiled scholars, even though he had suffered vehement attacks from the university and had lost much of his authority as a result. Realizing that the loss of the studium at Paris posed a serious threat to the prestige and economy of the city (not to mention his own power), he vigorously supported attempts to restore it. He allied himself with the pope against the bishop, the papal legate, and Queen Blanche, all of whom felt that the students deserved some form of punishment.

The masters, realizing they had played their hand well, continued to boycott Paris. They remained away from 1229-1231 and spent much of this time procuring a host of privileges from the pope that were to be conditions for their return.¹²⁹ Philip, too, was active on this front and journeyed to Orléans in 1230 to deliver a sermon to the exiled scholars there, inviting them to return to Paris and promising that the pope was seeking measures of redress for their benefit.¹³⁰ The pontiff, meanwhile, convoked a meeting of the interested parties in Rome on the Feast of the Assumption, August 15, 1230.¹³¹ Philip was present, along with the bishop, the proctors from the university, and the noted theologian William of Auxerre, an emissary from the crown. From this

¹²⁹Rashdall, The Universities, 1:337.

¹³⁰For further information on Philip's sermon at Orléans, and its possible relationship with the conductus Aurelianis civitas, see below, Chapter 2.

¹³¹Gregory's directive is published in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:133-134, no. 75.

gathering resulted a document that has been rightly labelled the "Magna Carta" of the University, the bull Parens scientiarum.¹³²

In sum, Parens scientiarum is a digest of most of the other privileges that the university had accrued over the past few decades. In its precepts for the scholars and masters, the bull reaffirms the rights won by the masters in 1208-1209 to make constitutions regarding dress, attendance at their colleagues' funerals, and the method and hours for lectures and disputations. It also reiterates the constraint on the chancellor's conferral of the teaching license for profit or for oath, and the strictures on his exercise of scholarly discipline from the bulls of 1212-1213. Directives for the use of certain textbooks, the suitability of scholars for the license, and the power exercised by masters over their students are lifted from Courçon's Statutes of 1215. And from the decrees of 1222, the chancellor is again forbidden to possess a prison and denied the power to incarcerate scholars.

New provisions in the bull gave the masters the right to strike by suspending lectures, and called upon the king to redress by punishment or by fine anyone who sought to harm the university. On top of all his other restrictions, the chancellor now had to swear to be impartial and confidential in his examinations of licentiates and was required to consult the masters on the suitability of every applicant. Although by now he had lost nearly all of his powers of criminal jurisdiction, Philip still retained the right to award or deny the license if he saw

¹³²Published in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:136-139, no. 79; and in Auvray, ed., Les Registres, 1: cols. 385-388, no. 607. This bull is translated in Thorndike, University Records, pp. 35-38.

fit, to deprive unsuitable scholars of privileges, and to excommunicate individuals for outrageous transgressions.¹³³

The promulgation of Parens scientiarum on April 13, 1231, achieved the desired result. Many of the masters soon returned to the city, well before the end of the threatened interval of six years. Though he had lost much of his power and influence over the studium during the previous decade, Philip had helped prevent the permanent departure of the university from Paris by siding with the pope and the affronted scholars. The agreement reached by Gregory's proclamation ostensibly ended the feuds with the chapter, and peace reigned between the schools and the chancellor during the rest of Philip's tenure.¹³⁴

Philip and the Mendicant Orders

One unforeseen result of the Great Dispersion of Paris was the rise in the numbers, power, and influence of Franciscan and Dominican friars within the university at Paris. Since Philip's attitudes towards these new preaching orders have often been misrepresented, it will be useful to clarify his actual position.

The arrival of Dominican, and later Franciscan brothers in Paris began in the early years of Philip's chancellorship. The Dominicans founded a house in the city in 1217, and the Franciscans soon followed, setting themselves up by 1220 and acquiring their first permanent

¹³³Rashdall, The Universities, 1:338-339.

¹³⁴Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:22*.

convent by the end of the decade.¹³⁵ Learning was a paramount concern among the Dominicans as part of their efforts to combat heresy through preaching, and this devotion to education was eventually embraced—although to a lesser extent—by the followers of Saint Francis. Though both orders seem to have profited initially from the university's facilities, they soon created their own independent conventual schools for the teaching of their members.¹³⁶ On occasion they even allowed outsiders the opportunity for study within these establishments.¹³⁷ In the absence of the masters from Paris during the Great Dispersion of 1229-1231, the Dominicans and Franciscans were in a position to enhance their standing in the educational milieu of the city. They were not bound by the oaths of the league of masters and hence remained in Paris during the exile. During this time the Dominicans even opened one of their schools to secular students.¹³⁸

Much of the earlier literature on Philip the Chancellor has accused him of particular harshness towards the new orders, especially the Dominicans. However, thanks especially to the work of Robert E. Lerner, the indications of enmity on Philip's part have been exposed as exaggerated, and little evidence of a serious conflict between the

¹³⁵On the advent of the preaching orders in Paris, see Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:26*; Rashdall, The Universities, 1:347-348; Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities, pp. 34-38; Bernstein, "Magisterium and License," p. 301; and Robert E. Lerner, "Weltklerus und religiöse Bewegung im 13. Jahrhundert: Das Beispiel Philipps des Kanzlers," Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 51 (1969): 94.

¹³⁶Rashdall, The Universities, 1:371.

¹³⁷Ibid.

¹³⁸Rashdall, The Universities, 1:372-373.

university and the mendicants appears tenable until the middle of the thirteenth century, well after Philip's death.¹³⁹ The charge first expressed by P.C.F. Danou and reiterated by Ruth Steiner,¹⁴⁰ that in 1224 Philip sought to restrain the teaching of the Dominicans only to the members of their own order was dismissed as early as 1894 by Barthélmey Haureau.¹⁴¹ Another supposed sign of Philip's hostility to the mendicants comes from a passage in one of his sermons, where he complains of the number of preachers and doctors in Paris, likening them to cocks who would rather battle among themselves than try to wake sleepers to the word of God.¹⁴² But Lerner has shown that the significance of this text has been overstated, for it remains the sole condemnation of the preaching orders in all of Philip's surviving sermons.¹⁴³

In fact, several positive indications demonstrate that Philip held the preaching orders in high esteem. Lerner has gone to great pains to

¹³⁹Lerner, "Weltklerus," pp. 94-108. The studies of a number of scholars appearing prior to Lerner's article have suggested much the same. See Rashdall, The Universities, 1:375-376; Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," pp. 647-648; Efrem Bettoni, "Filippo il Cancelliere," Pier Lombardo 4 (1960): 125; and Husmann, "Ein Faszikel," pp. 1-23.

¹⁴⁰Danou, "Philippe de Grève," p. 186; Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," p. 20.

¹⁴¹"Philippe de Grève" (Journal des Savants), p. 433.

¹⁴²The excerpt is quoted in Hauréau, "Quelques lettres d'Honorius III," p. 193; and, with a translation, in Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," p. 26.

¹⁴³"Weltklerus," pp. 98-99. As numerous examples of Philip's conductus and motet texts testify, virtually no one could claim complete freedom from the Chancellor's censure. For another reproach against mendicants (probably Dominicans) that surfaces in one of his motets, see the discussion of the text of In omni fratre tuo below, Chapter 7.

extract all references to the mendicants from Philip's sermons, and has found the resulting testimony overwhelmingly favorable.¹⁴⁴

Additionally, the assertion that the Chancellor was wary of the encroachment of the new orders within the university must be tempered by the realization that the first Dominicans and Franciscans who obtained university chairs were inducted during the Great Dispersion, a time when Philip was vigorously supporting the efforts of the secular masters to return to Paris. Even though most of the mendicant teachers had received licenses before becoming friars, Philip made no move during his chancellorship to deprive them of their privileges.¹⁴⁵

The first mendicant doctor at Paris was Roland of Cremona, who taught in the Dominican conventual school that was thrown open to secular students during the Great Dispersion in 1229.¹⁴⁶ His master, John of Saint Gilles, originally licensed as a secular teacher, made quite a dramatic conversion to the order. During a sermon on voluntary poverty, which he preached to the secular clergy in 1231, he descended from the pulpit and donned the Dominican habit, afterwards returning to

¹⁴⁴Lerner, "Weltklerus," pp. 99-103.

¹⁴⁵The following discussion of the earliest mendicant doctors at Paris has been drawn largely from Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, pp. 26*-27*; Rashdall, The Universities, 1:373-374; Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities, pp. 36-38; Lerner, "Weltklerus," pp. 96-97; and Husmann, "Ein Faszikel," p. 21.

¹⁴⁶Lerner ("Weltklerus," p. 96) overstates his case somewhat in claiming that it was Philip who licensed Roland. The friar instead received his authorization to teach from bishop William of Auvergne, apparently in an effort on the bishop's part to insure that the teaching of theology in Paris should not cease during the strike. Given Philip's clear support of the masters in their cause, it is not surprising that he should exercise his right to refuse a license to Roland. See Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities, pp. 36-37; and Bernstein, "Magisterium and License," p. 301.

finish his speech. Later that same year, the noted theologian Alexander of Hales became the first doctor to enter a Franciscan house, where he continued to lecture as a licensed teacher. Within the next two decades, the population of friars steadily and dramatically increased. By 1250, their growing numbers and staunch papal support were recognized as a clear threat when they began to jeopardize the secular masters' rights to the license.¹⁴⁷

In spite of their expanding dominion over the University of Paris, Philip's esteem for the preaching orders seems not to have wavered. He evidently thought enough of them to charge either a Dominican or a Franciscan with the duty of visiting his archdeaconry at Noyon, a request that was approved by Pope Gregory IX on March 7, 1233.¹⁴⁸ To judge from the language of the bull, Philip's unusual petition had probably met with some objections from the secular officials at Noyon. Yet he still considered it worth the effort to ask Rome for the favor, which would be surprising if he bore any contempt for the mendicants.

The Chancellor, it seems, held Saint Francis and the members of his order in especially high regard.¹⁴⁹ One lyric with music praising

¹⁴⁷The resulting conflicts between the two factions are detailed in Rashdall, The Universities, 1:376-397; Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities, pp. 38-47; and Bernstein, "Magisterium and License," pp. 301-307.

¹⁴⁸See Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:27*; Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," p. 648; and A. Callebaut "Les Provinciaux de la province de France au XIII^e siècle," Archivum franciscanum historicum 10 (1917): 307. Gregory's response to Philip's request is published in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:151, no. 98.

¹⁴⁹It is even possible that Philip may have donned the Franciscan habit shortly before his death, although no concrete evidence survives to support this conjecture. See below, for details on Philip's death.

this saint is attributed to him in a fourteenth-century source,¹⁵⁰ and two similar poems may also be his, one glorifying Francis, the other celebrating Saint Anthony of Padua.¹⁵¹ The Dominicans also profited from his conductus and motets, as Heinrich Husmann reveals in his study of a collection of Philip's pieces in a manuscript now at the convent of Santa Sabina in Rome.¹⁵² But the Franciscans received his ultimate compliment, for Philip, apparently at his own request, was buried in a church or chapel belonging to the Friars Minor, probably in Paris.¹⁵³

According to Lerner, the unwarranted reputation of Philip the Chancellor as a fierce enemy of the preaching orders, and especially of the Dominicans, is most probably due to later, sometimes untrustworthy chroniclers of this order who wrote after the middle of the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁴ By this time the conflicts between the secular ministry and the friars had taken on a more serious cast, differing on matters concerned not only with the University of Paris, but also with the intrusion of mendicant ideals into the domain of the secular clergy.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰See P. Ferdinand and F. Delorme, "Un prose inédite sur S. François," La France Franciscaine, 10 (1927): 201-203; and G. Abate, "Due sequenze franciscane," Miscellanea franciscana, 30 (1930): 82-88.

¹⁵¹These are the conductus In paupertatis predio and Aque vive dat fluenta, respectively; see below, Appendix 1.

¹⁵²Husmann, "Ein Faszikel."

¹⁵³On Philip's burial, see below.

¹⁵⁴Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:27*; Lerner, "Weltklerus," pp. 96-98; Husmann "Ein Faszikel," pp. 19-20. Also see below, for the probable origin of this myth in Philip's unwarranted castigation by the Dominican chronicler Thomas of Cantimpré.

¹⁵⁵This was already foreshadowed in the mid-1230's with the attempts by William of Auvergne to reform the common practice of accumulating ecclesiastical benefices in Paris, a conflict in which Philip played a

Philip's prior actions on both these fronts were misconstrued and he was made a scapegoat for the mendicant cause. Unfortunately, this opinion has only recently been laid to rest, and when combined with his struggles against the university, has unjustly colored the perception of the Chancellor's character.

Activities within the Church

Besides his sometimes tempestuous and clearly pivotal involvement with the formation of the university and the pursuit of education in Paris, other duties occupied Philip during his term as chancellor. He continued to serve as occasional judge delegate to the papal court at Rome, but this enterprise yields little biographical information.¹⁵⁶ More consequential was his activity as a preacher. Philip's most extensive literary output is contained in his extant sermons, which number in the hundreds.¹⁵⁷ To judge from this surviving corpus, frequent preaching was one of the Chancellor's primary obligations as a theologian,¹⁵⁸ and some of his homilies can even be dated through their

central role (see below).

¹⁵⁶See Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:24*-25* for a brief discussion of some of his cases as a judge.

¹⁵⁷A provisional catalog of Philip's sermons, totaling 723, has been offered by Schneyer in his Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones, part 4 (Autoren L-P): 818-868. See also his "Philipp der Kanzler, ein hervorragender Prediger des Mittelalters," Münchener theologische Zeitschrift, 8 (1957): 174-179.

¹⁵⁸See Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:12-15, and 108-110 for some remarks on the importance of preaching for theologians, as well as for questions of episcopal authorization of preachers and the remuneration for their services.

association with specific events and places, times and feasts.¹⁵⁹ As we will see, Philip's sermons can sometimes provide valuable textual evidence that can corroborate new additions and substantiate existing attributions to his poetic canon.¹⁶⁰

One of the more unsavory responsibilities that fell to Philip—although he certainly did not consider it so—was his defense of orthodox Catholic faith in the wake of the growing outbreak of heresies that prompted the foundation of the Papal Inquisition in 1233.¹⁶¹ In one of his published sermons Philip denounces a baker of Rheims named Echard, who was condemned and burned for his Waldensian sympathies in 1230 or 1231.¹⁶² His crimes had included sanctioning preaching by laypersons, the possession of vernacular translations of Scripture and a fiercely literal interpretation of the holy writings, which led to a rejection of the significance and worth of certain powers exercised by the priesthood, such as confession, absolution and the celebration of Mass. Although it is not certain if Philip was actually present at Echard's trial, persistent references to the heretical baker in at least

¹⁵⁹For some of these, see Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:23*; Davy, Les Sermons universitaires, pp. 125-126; and Haskins, "The Heresy of Echard the Baker of Rheims," in his Studies in Medieval Culture, pp. 248-249.

¹⁶⁰See, for example, the discussion below of the conductus Aurelianus civitas in Chapter 2.

¹⁶¹On the growing concern with heresy and the question of the execution of heretics during this period, see Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:320-323.

¹⁶²See Haureau, "Un concile et un hérétique inconnu," Journal des Savants, (1889) pp. 505-507; Haskins, "The Heresy," pp. 245-255; and Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," pp. 649-650.

two of his sermons pronounced soon after the heretic's execution indicate this as a distinct possibility.¹⁶³

More certain evidence of the Chancellor's active involvement in the punishment of heretics is confirmed by the medieval chronicler Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, who mentions that Philip was present at the burning of several heretics in 1235 at Châlons-sur-Marne, where his cousin of the same name was then bishop.¹⁶⁴ In this instance Philip probably presided over the trial,¹⁶⁵ in which the prosecutor was the first inquisitor general, the Dominican friar Robert le Bougre.¹⁶⁶ Aubry is not particularly informative about the proceeding, merely mentioning that among those burned at this autodafé was a barber named Arnolinus, "completely devoted to the Devil and foul beyond measure, who deceived many people in the city."¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³See Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," p. 649.

¹⁶⁴Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 937. See also Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:25*; and Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," p. 649. For more on Philip of Nemours, earlier the dean of the Paris cathedral chapter, see below, under the discussion of the Paris bishop's election in 1227-1228.

¹⁶⁵Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:25*.

¹⁶⁶See Haskins, "Robert le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France," American Historical Review, 7 (1902): 437-457; reprinted with revisions in his Studies in Medieval Culture. See p. 219.

¹⁶⁷Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 937: "Anno 1235 . . . In civitate Cathalaunensi, presente fratre Roberto et Cancellario Parisiensi magistro Philippo, combusti fuerunt heretici. Horum unus Arnolinus tonsor, totus demoni deditus et ultra modum fetidus, multos in civitate decipiebat."

Problems and Conflicts within the Church

In spite of his dutiful acceptance and execution of certain ecclesiastical responsibilities, Philip occasionally found himself at odds with his colleagues and superiors, just as he had in his conflicts with the scholarly community at Paris. Two events in particular stand out in his later life, one connected to the election of the bishop of Paris in 1227-1228; the other, during his final years, concerned with the accumulation of benefices in the wake of mendicant influence on the secular clergy. Although Philip eventually conceded to authority in the first of these instances, he refused to submit in the latter, even, it seems, under threat of eternal damnation.

The Election of the Bishop of Paris, 1227-1228

On October 19, 1227, the current bishop of Paris, Bartholomew of Chartres, died. The cathedral chapter, acting in accordance with its usual constitutions, set out to elect a new bishop.¹⁶⁸ Three procedures were open to them: election by arbitration (per compromissum), by acclamation (per inspirationem), and by ballot (per scrutinium).¹⁶⁹ Initially the chapter tried the first method, but the judges (compromissarii) who were charged to select the new bishop could not reach an agreement. Interestingly, Philip himself at this time was

¹⁶⁸The following discussion of the Parisian bishop's election from 1227-1228 has been drawn from Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:26*; idem, "Bischofswahl," pp. 318-326; Doucet, "A travers," pp. 551-553; Valois, Guillaume d'Auvergne, pp. 8-13; and Hauréau, "Quelques lettres de Grégoire IX," pp. 204-209.

¹⁶⁹The rules at this time for the election of the bishop of Paris are given in Guérard, Cartulaire, 3:379-382, no. 37.

briefly considered as a candidate.¹⁷⁰ The chapter then attempted election by acclamation, and a host of voices rose to proclaim the cantor Nicholas to fill the office. This particular electoral method, however, demanded the complete consensus of the chapter, and if there were any dissenters, the affair had to be settled by ballot.¹⁷¹

Curiously, the dean did not endeavor to verify the unanimity of the acclamation, but instead proceeded hastily to Notre Dame with the cantor to invest him with the see.

Not all in the chapter, however, were of the same mind. Although a clear majority had indeed decided in favor of Nicholas, a few protesters, among them a deacon named Willam of Auvergne, challenged the validity of the election. This was enough to nullify the vote, and William appealed to Pope Gregory IX to settle the matter. The situation was further complicated by Nicholas' abdication the very next day. Even though William's petition was still pending, the chapter proceeded with a second election, deeming that the renunciation of the post by the cantor had in effect wiped the slate clean, leaving them free to take their own course. A new candidate was chosen, but at some cost. Of the total electoral body of 45, 22 refused to participate, probably because of William's protest, and actually launched their own entreaty to Rome.

¹⁷⁰Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:26*, note 2; and idem, "Bischofswahl," p. 323, note 18.

¹⁷¹See Valois, Guillaume d'Auvergne, p. 8; and Guérard, Cartulaire, 3:380 and 381.

The remaining members, with two dissenting votes, then chose Dean Philip of Nemours, Philip the Chancellor's cousin, as the new bishop.¹⁷²

But the dean's election was also considered spurious by some members of the chapter. Philip the Chancellor reacted to this conflict by delivering a sermon at Paris in which he argued the validity of the claims of both cantor and dean.¹⁷³ He concluded that since the cantor had abdicated, the dean was now lawfully bishop, and his office should be confirmed by papal provision, which was the only way to end the matter peaceably.¹⁷⁴ By now the appeals had reached the pope, who ordered representatives from both sides to come to Rome, and set the matter before Jean Halgrin of Abbeville, cardinal priest of Santa Sabina, as judge delegate. With William as opponent, Philip the Chancellor made the fourth of his five known journeys to Rome to defend the validity of his cousin's investiture as bishop. There, in the presence of the pope and the Roman curia, he pronounced another sermon, similar to the earlier one at Paris,¹⁷⁵ where he accused William and his supporters of protesting the cantor's election after the fact, praised

¹⁷²On Philip of Nemours, see above; as well as Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, pp. 922, 942; Guérard, Cartulaire, 4:45, no. 100; Molinier, Obituaires, p. 117; Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 2:24, 28; and Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied," p. 43.

¹⁷³Published in Wicki, "Bischofswahl," pp. 323-326.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., p. 322. On the papal provisions, which allowed the pontiff in certain instances to designate the recipients of ecclesiastical offices, see Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:118.

¹⁷⁵Published in part in Doucet, "A travers," pp. 553-557.

his cousin as a man lacking in years but not in qualifications, and implored the pope to endorse the chapter's decision.¹⁷⁶

But Gregory IX did not yield to the Chancellor's petition, and in the bull Vacante nuper ecclesiam of April 10, 1228, confirmed a new man to the post.¹⁷⁷ Philip, as he had promised in his Roman sermon, accepted the pontiff's judgement,¹⁷⁸ but he must have been inwardly outraged that the person eventually designated was none other than William of Auvergne, particularly since William was only a deacon at the time and had to be ordained a priest before becoming bishop.¹⁷⁹ As for the dean, he was soon appeased by becoming bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne later that same year.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶Ibid., p. 557.

¹⁷⁷Published in Auvray, ed., Les Registres, 1: cols. 109-111, no. 191; and in Haureau, "Quelques lettres de Grégoire IX," pp. 206-208. See also Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 922.

¹⁷⁸Wicki, "Bischofswahl," p. 323; Doucet, "A travers," p. 557: "Igitur ille qui 'sedet in cathedra sapiens princeps inter tres' (2 Kings [2 Samuel], 23:8) videat quid super iis sit agendum. Ad hoc enim denuntiandum veni, non ad litigandum, quia sicut dicitur in Proverbiis (20:3), 'honor est homini qui separat se a contentionibus.'"

¹⁷⁹Haureau, "Quelques lettres de Grégoire IX," p. 206. William's ordination as priest and consecration as bishop took place in Rome. This led to a skirmish with the metropolitan chapter of Sens, which customarily received a gratuity from the new appointee upon his investiture by their archbishop. Not wishing to relinquish this benefit, they sued William for the sum; but he refused to pay it. The matter was settled by a letter of Gregory from January 3, 1234, that dismissed their claim. See ibid., p. 209, where Gregory's letter is also printed.

¹⁸⁰Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 922.

The Controversy over the Plurality of Benefices

In light of Philip's steadfast opposition to William of Auvergne during both the election controversy and the Great Dispersion, and given William's rather suspect promotion over Philip's higher ranking cousin to the episcopal see at Paris, it is not surprising that these two again found themselves at odds when the new bishop strove to reform the Paris clergy by forbidding the accumulation of ecclesiastical benefices. In a manner similar to his stance during the Great Dispersion, Philip again refused to be moved, and this time maintained his position in the face of almost complete disagreement with his colleagues.¹⁸¹

The problems inherent in the possession of several ecclesiastical benefices, a morally questionable practice whereby the clergy enjoyed multiple and occasionally conflicting sources of income, had been recognized long before Philip's era. Church councils of the eleventh and twelfth centuries hotly debated the topic, but a strong policy against pluralism was slow in forming. This was probably due to the frequent practice among popes, bishops, and kings of using the conferral of benefices as a means to reward clerics who either showed special intellectual promise, devoted loyal service to the church and crown, or

¹⁸¹For the previous literature on Philip's role in the controversy over the plurality of benefices, see Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:27*; Valois, Guillaume d'Auvergne, pp. 28-36; Feret, La Faculté, 1:211-212 and 234-235; Haureau, "Philippe de Grève" (Journal des Savants), p. 433-437; Danou, "Philippe de Grève," pp. 187-188; Paul Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," pp. 194-195; Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," p. 649; Davy, Les Sermons universitaires, p. 126; Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," p. 22; Husmann "Ein Faszikel," p. 20; and Lerner, "Weltklerus," pp. 97-98.

who aided one side or the other in the constant political machinations between the church and state.¹⁸²

By the second decade of the the thirteenth century, only a few years prior to the time of Philip's combined tenure of office at Paris and Noyon, primary directives against the possession of plural benefices had been formed. In synods held at Paris (1213) and at Rouen (1214), a distinction had arisen between benefices that bore the pastoral duty of the care of souls—and hence should not be accumulated—and those that did not.¹⁸³ Another important issue that surfaced after the meetings of these councils concerned the dilemma of residency for a cleric enjoying several prebends whose various responsibilities required his continual or frequent presence, but who could not possibly satisfy such requirements.¹⁸⁴ Innocent III adopted both these measures against the hoarding of prebends in the Fourth Lateran Ecumenical Council of 1215, but still reserved the right to endow multiple benefices through

¹⁸²Valois, Guillaume d'Auvergne, p. 28; Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:23 and 117-119; idem, The Government of Philip Augustus, pp. 13, 48-50, 65-66, and 176-183.

¹⁸³Valois, Guillaume d'Auvergne, p. 28; Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:119.

¹⁸⁴Valois, Guillaume d'Auvergne, pp. 28-29; Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:120. The problem of absenteeism was compounded by the clergy's frequent need to leave their posts temporarily to study in the universities, since the possession of a teaching license was nearly essential in order to qualify for important ecclesiastical offices at this time. See Luchaire, Social France, p. 63. In 1219, Honorius III consented to absences of no more than five years for the purpose of acquiring further education. See Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:119; and Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:91, no. 32.

dispensation to men whose learning argued for such an award.¹⁸⁵ We have seen that Philip, simultaneously chancellor of Paris and archdeacon of Noyon, fulfilled all these conditions. His erudition was signalled as justification for his dispensation by Honorius III in 1217, and the major responsibilities of residency and care of souls accrued to his post as chancellor. The position of archdeacon in Noyon had neither of these latter two strictures.¹⁸⁶ Further arguments for the legality of his status come from the 1233 bull of Gregory IX mentioned above in connection with the mendicants, which explicitly states that the Philip the Chancellor held the archdeaconry in accordance with canon law.¹⁸⁷

But William of Auvergne remained ferociously opposed to pluralism and several times made staunch efforts to rid his church of the practice. He authored a treatise condemning the accumulation of prebends, thereby taking issue with the Lateran decrees and the increased flow of dispensations from the Holy See that allowed exceptions to the conciliar directives.¹⁸⁸ He also convoked at least two meetings at Paris in 1235 and 1238 to debate the problem, and it is

¹⁸⁵Valois, Guillaume d'Auvergne, pp. 29-30; Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants, 1:118-119.

¹⁸⁶See above.

¹⁸⁷"Dilecto filio . . . cancellario Parisiensi . . . eidem in theologia facultate regenti . . . in archidiaconatu Noviomensi, quem canonice optinet [my emphasis] From Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:151, no. 98.

¹⁸⁸Valois, Guillaume d'Auvergne, pp. 30-33. William's De collatione beneficiorum is available in Guilielmi Alverni Episcopus Parisiensis . . . Opera omnia, 2 vols. (Paris: André Pralard, 1674; reprint ed., Frankfurt-am-Main: Minerva, 1963), 2 ("Supplementum"): 248-260.

during the earlier of these gatherings that Philip made his presence and opinions known.¹⁸⁹

The only evidence that now survives of these disputes stems from a single, and sometimes rather suspect chronicler, the Dominican Thomas of Cantimpré. The story appears in his Bonum universale de apibus, a treatise written between 1256 and 1263 to glorify the deeds and precepts of the early Dominicans,¹⁹⁰ which literally bristles with exempla, or moral anecdotes.¹⁹¹ According to Thomas, Bishop William convened a "very long and solemn disputation" in the year 1235, in which nearly all the masters of theology concurred that one could not maintain two benefices when one of them exceeded the sum of fifteen Parisian pounds without compromising the safety of his immortal soul. But Philip the Chancellor and a certain Master Arnold disagreed with this verdict.¹⁹² Their arguments were apparently so successful that they prevented the

¹⁸⁹William had apparently campaigned against pluralism earlier in 1228, soon after he had been elected to the bishopric of Paris (see William of Auvergne: De Trinitate, An Edition of the Latin Text with an Introduction, Studies and Texts, no. 34 [Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1976], p. 2; and Gallia Christiana, 7: col. 95), but there appears to be no surviving record of a major meeting at this time. On the possible confusion of this date with the disputes of 1235 and 1238, see below, note 00.

¹⁹⁰On the dating of the Bonum universale, see Lerner, "Weltklerus," p. 98.

¹⁹¹Thomas' work is available in a number of editions, all of them rather old. The one used here is Thomae Cantipratani . . . ordinis S. Dominici . . . miraculorum et exemplorum memorabilium sui temporis libri duo . . . apum . . . boni . . . universalis, ed. George Colvener (Douai: Balthazar Beller, 1597).

¹⁹²Thomas of Cantimpré, Bonum universale, book 1, chapter 19, paragraph 5 (p. 58). For the text, see Appendix 5, document 4A. Arnold later became bishop of Amiens.

assembly from taking any real action on the subject of pluralism,¹⁹³ and the bishop did not realize his desired reform until two years after Philip's death, when the subsequent convention of 1238 unanimously endorsed the policy, forcefully advocated by a number of mendicant brothers.¹⁹⁴

The Death of Philip the Chancellor

Philip's obstinacy in retaining both of his benefices during the 1235 meeting at Paris left a deep, unfavorable impression on Thomas of Cantimpré, furnishing him with ammunition for a scurrilous attack on the Chancellor elsewhere in the Bonum universale. Writing around the middle of the thirteenth century, in the midst of the heated conflict between

¹⁹³Thomas does not specifically state what the objections of the two dissenters were, but passages in some of Philip's sermons indicate that, while he may have condoned the legal possession of several benefices, he objected vigorously to their abuse. See Haureau, "Philippe de Grève" (Journal des Savants), p. 436; and Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," p. 649.

¹⁹⁴Haureau, "Philippe de Grève" (Journal des Savants), p. 436; and Langlois, "Le chancelier Philippe," p. 649. The veracity of Thomas' account of the 1235 meeting has been questioned by several scholars, beginning with Paul Meyer in his "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," p. 195. But Meyer did not differentiate the two gatherings, and thus mistakenly believed that the events of 1235 had happened in 1238. He consequently discounted Thomas' report on the grounds that Philip would have been dead by this later date. However, Thomas distinctly says within his account of the 1238 dispute that Philip and Arnold had originally objected to the reform of benefices at a similar meeting convened three years earlier ("Fuerat autem habita disputatio longa valde et multo solemnior ante annos tres." Bonum universale de apibus, Book 1, ch. 19, par. 5; see Appendix 5, document 4A). The correct reading of this text was earlier pointed out by Valois (Guillaume d'Auvergne, p. 35, note 1). Additional confusion has reigned over the dates of the two meetings stemming from a possible mix-up with an earlier endeavour by William on the subject of benefices (see above, note 00) and also from apparent misprints in Feret, La Faculté, 1:211 (read 1238 for 1228); and Davy Les sermons universitaires, p. 126 (read 1235 for 1233); and ibid., note 3 (read 1238 for 1228).

the secular clergy and the mendicant orders within the University of Paris, it is no wonder that Thomas should ascribe the ultimate blame for the struggle to Philip, since the Chancellor represented the highest authority in the Parisian educational system of the previous generation.¹⁹⁵

Besides his report of the meeting of 1235, Thomas devotes two further stories to Philip, one of which purports to relate the event that caused the Chancellor's death, the other—a veritable ghost story—tells of his eternal damnation for the sins of greed and lust. Admittedly, the rather preposterous nature of these particular exempla causes one to question seriously their historical accuracy. But they have been included here in translation not only for their curious events, but also because of the likelihood that with Thomas of Cantimpré lies the origin of the long-standing view of Philip the Chancellor as an enemy of the preaching orders, an impression that is now rejected as groundless.¹⁹⁶

The chronologically earlier of the two passages involving Philip actually occurs later in the Bonum universale, at the end of a chapter that relates how various adversaries of the Dominicans met an evil end:

Now I shall tell of Master Philip the Chancellor of Paris, whom I referred to above in his own particular place. This man barked at the Dominican brothers on almost every public occasion and in almost every sermon at Paris. And, indeed, when he had cruelly preached against them fifteen days before his death, on the following Sunday in Paris and in the presence of the university, Brother Henry of Cologne, a most reserved and discreet

¹⁹⁵Wicki, ed Summa de Bono, 1:27*; Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," pp. 195-197; Husmann, "Ein Faszikel," pp. 19-21; Lerner, "Weltklerus," pp. 97-98.

¹⁹⁶See above.

preacher of the same order,¹⁹⁷ after reviewing each and every point that the said Chancellor had proclaimed against the brothers, most brilliantly and exhaustively rejected everything he had said by reference to divine scripture. Humiliated by this rebuttal, the Chancellor abruptly shuddered, instantly stricken within by a heart attack; and, sickened unto death, died in such a manner as you have already heard above in the preceding pages.¹⁹⁸

The second excerpt follows immediately upon Thomas' earlier report of the benefice disputations at Paris. More than any other incident attributed to Philip, this account greatly influenced the perception of the Chancellor by later medieval writers and was often recounted intact in moral treatises, sermons, and collections of exempla:¹⁹⁹

But let us hear what befell this same Chancellor. When he was suffering at the point of death, the aforesaid Bishop William of Paris visited him and with paternal concern asked him whether he might cede to the general opinion concerning the plurality of benefices and resign all his prebends but one into the hands of the church, with the condition between them that should he recover, the bishop would make good his losses from his own pocket. But the Chancellor refused, saying that he wished to find out for himself whether it was damnable to hold several benefices. And in this state he consequently died.

But a few days later, when the said bishop wished to pray after Matins, he saw between himself and the light something like the shade of a man, but extremely loathsome. Therefore, raising his hand and crossing himself, he commanded the spirit to say whether it came on behalf of God. To which the apparition responded:

"I am cut off from God, but even so am his wondrous creation."

¹⁹⁷On this Henry of Cologne, also known as Henry Theutonicus, see the information collected in Heribert Christian Scheeben, Beiträge zur Geschichte Jordans von Sachsen, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland, no. 35 (Vechta: Albertus Magnus Verlag, 1938): 166-168. Husmann's identification of this man with another Henry of Cologne, who had died by the year 1229, is not correct ("Ein Faszikel," p. 20.

¹⁹⁸Bonum universale, book 2, chapter 10, paragraph 36 (pp. 151-152). The text can be found below in Appendix 5, document 4C.

¹⁹⁹Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," p. 195; Valois, Guillaume d'Auvergne, p. 38; Husmann, "Ein Faszikel," p. 19; and Callus, "Philip the Chancellor and the De anima," p. 106.

"Who are you?" asked the bishop.

"I am the Chancellor," he answered, "he who was previously so very ill."

The bishop uttered a deep groan and said, "And why are you so plagued with grief?"

"I am most unfortunate," he responded, "in fact nothing could be worse, for I am condemned to eternal torment."

"Alas, my dearest brother," inquired the bishop, "what is the cause of your damnation?"

Said he: "There are three reasons whereby I am condemned to eternal death. One is that I spinelessly retained the profits of my annual revenue from the poor. The second is that, against the consensus of many men, I defended, as though it were licit, my own opinion concerning the holding of plural benefices, and thereby committed myself to the peril of mortal sin. The third and most grievous offense of all is that, to the mortification of many, I dallied for a long time in the abominable sins of the flesh." And then he added, "Has the world come to an end?"

"I wonder," the bishop replied, "that you, once the most learned of men, should ask this, when you see me still alive, and know that it is necessary that all of us who are living have yet to die before the world is ended by the coming judgment."

And he said: "You need not wonder, 'for there is neither learning, work, nor sanity for anyone who comes to Hell.'"²⁰⁰ And saying this the specter vanished from the eyes of the wondering man. Then this same bishop (though not under his own name, as if he had seen these things himself) related this story in a sermon of his to all the clergy.²⁰¹

As if not to be outdone by Bishop William (and also perhaps to lend further credulity to his story), Thomas immediately follows this tale with a nearly identical account of an apparition that appeared personally to him.

But if Philip occasionally inspired hatred in his contemporaries, there were others who loved him dearly. A completely different description of his final moments survives in a laudatory dit, or moral

²⁰⁰Ecclesiastes, 9:10.

²⁰¹Bonum universale, book 1, chapter 19, paragraph 6 (pp. 58-60). For the text, see Appendix 5, document 4B.

poem, by a certain Norman trouvère named Henri d'Andeli.²⁰² Although efforts to identify this poet have not been decisive,²⁰³ Henri seems to have had close ties to Philip the Chancellor. From his frequent references to his learning and wisdom, it appears that he may have studied under him at Paris. Other passages suggest that they were friends, or that Henri was possibly in Philip's service during the final years of his life.²⁰⁴ In contrast to the bilious attacks of Thomas of Cantimpré, Henri d'Andeli's Dit du Chancelier Philippe offers nothing but praise:

Mortal man could not recount
 his good habits, nor his demeanor:
 Of all the clerics he was the model.
 He was the fountain of knowledge,
 he was the flower of companionship,
 he was greater than Alexander.
 He always wished to be the lesser
 in a gathering—by Saint Giles!—
 so that he worked according to the Evangelist,
 who says, as he well knew:
 "Let the greater be as the lesser."²⁰⁵
 So he did good deeds
 of which his heart received the recompense.

He did no evil at any price;
 For he had such a generous heart,
 that all good was lodged therein.

²⁰²This work has been twice edited, by Paul Meyer in "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," pp. 210-215; and by Heron in Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli, pp. 31-41.

²⁰³See Heron's endeavors in Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli, pp. vii-xxvii. Wright (Music and Ceremony, p. 297) relates that he was a canon of the cathedral of Rouen, but this is most probably a different individual. Another possible candidate is provided by a Henricus de Andeliaco who was a clericus of this same church (see Heron, ibid.) I wish to express my appreciation to Ms. Nancy Lorimer for her clarification of the information on Henri's identity.

²⁰⁴Heron, Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli, pp. xxii-xxiii.

²⁰⁵Luke, 9:48.

This the clergy can well attest
 and swear by God the son of Mary,
 that now the fountain is dried up
 from which all those who wished to aquire
 knowledge were acustomed to drink.

And once again I can tell you
 truly that now the fountain from
 which one could drink all goodness is dry.
 Nothing was lacking for the Chancellor;
 he was the most liberal of clerics:
 in the seven arts he was bountiful.
 God, what pain and what catastrophe!
 He was more valiant and wiser
 than any in all of Christendom.
 All that appertained to him
 has fallen in great disorder.
 From the Chancellor came all good;
 In the world his peer does not remain.

(Le Dit du Chancelier Philippe, lines 72-
 105)²⁰⁶

Like Thomas, Henri also offers a scene on Philip's deathbed, where he depicts Philip's actual passing and presents what he claims are his last words. Here Philip appears as a martyr, a man pained by the throes of illness, who meekly solicits God for deliverance.²⁰⁷ This excerpt is all the more interesting for its prevalent musical motifs, which suggest that Philip's skill with song extended beyond the mere fashioning of lyrics:

'Lord, I have been your jongleur
 for a long time, both winter and summer.
 All the strings will be broken
 from my vielle tonight,
 and my songs shall fail completely.
 But, if it pleases you, now help me.
 Lord, render me the reward;
 pardon me from my sins.
 Always have I served you by singing;
 give me that which I have deserved.

²⁰⁶For this and the other passages quoted or cited from Henri's Dit, see Appendix 5, document 5.

²⁰⁷See Le Dit du Chancelier Philippe, lines 22-40.

I ask for neither gold nor silver,
 but only that you receive me with your people
 who are in eternal joy.
 Sweet Lord, grant that I might render
 such truth in my song
 that I may not fall into strife;
 teach me the right way,
 Good Sir God, that I may see you.'

Then the Chancellor stopped himself.
 He spoke no further, the need had passed.
 I do not say that he died;
 I should rather say that, through his merit,
 he adorned the heights of heaven.
 His death was a great loss to the whole clergy.

(Le Dit du Chancelier Philippe, lines 45-67)

Scholars have tended to discount the information contained in the Dit du Chancelier Philippe.²⁰⁸ Certainly it is doubtful that Philip's last words would have issued forth as rhymed octosyllabic couplets; but even within the bounds of poetic license it is clear that Henri's dit presents at least a more credible scenario than the exemplum of Thomas of Cantimpré. Though Henri does not specifically claim that he was present at Philip's deathbed, he assures us that eyewitnesses can vouch for the sincerity of his account.²⁰⁹ Near the end of his poem he further cautions future scribes, readers and performers:

Because it is truthful,
 call this not a fabliau;
 nor inscribe it on wax tablets,
 rather write it upon parchment.
 Through the woods, the fields, and on the roads
 through towns, castles, and cities,

²⁰⁸Ludwig, Repertorium, vol. 1, part 1, p. 246; Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 297.

²⁰⁹Lines 41-44 at least offer the possibility that Henri was present: "I know this well, let everyone understand me, / that he spoke again one other speech / to which the cleric [who was present] can well attest / that he truthfully said these words." For the French text, see Appendix 5, Document 5A.

see that you recite it well.

(Le Dit du Chancelier Philippe, lines 254-260)

With his less disparaging view of the end of Philip's life, Henri may also provide the best attainable testimony for the date of his death. Two other sources besides the Dit give obituaries for the Chancellor, and though all three indicate a date close to Christmas, none of them agrees on the specific day. The earliest terminus among the three accounts stems from the necrology of the cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris, the so-called "Black Book:"

The tenth Kalends of January [December 23, no year given] On the same day, from the church of Saint Mary, died Philip the Chancellor, who gave to us fifty Parisian pounds to be invested. The chapter has conceded that his anniversary is to be celebrated each year.²¹⁰

The next occurs in the Chronica of Aubry des Trois-Fontaines:

In the year 1237 [sic]: On Christmas Day, Philip the Chancellor of Paris died, well regarded as a theologian and the best philosopher.²¹¹

Finally, there are the somewhat cryptic comments of Henri d'Andeli:

He that wants to know the period of his death,
1000, 200 and 36
join together, and thus all
will know the truth of his death
on the day after Christmas.

(Le Dit du Chancelier Philippe, lines 246-250)

²¹⁰Guérard, Cartulaire, 4:202; and Molinier Obituaires, p. 210: "X KAL. JANUARIII Eodem die, de domo Sancte Marie, obiit Philippus cancellarius. Qui dedit nobis quinquaginta libras Parisiensium, ad emendum redditus; cuius anniversarium capitulum fieri concessit singulis annis."

²¹¹Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 940: "Anno 1237. In die nativitatis Domini [December 25] obiit cancellarius Parisiensis Philippus, satis adprobatus theologus et philosophus optimus"

Of these three, the one that appears to be the most authoritative is actually the least relevant. The Notre Dame obit is really more of a business transaction than a historical record of the Chancellor's passing.²¹² Its primary purpose is to record the funds that Philip bequeathed to the chapter for a yearly celebration of a Requiem mass in his memory. As a result, it offers only the day for the requested celebration, not the year in which he died.²¹³ The endowment of these anniversaria was a chief means for the departed to assure that their souls would have the best chance for salvation.²¹⁴ Further reasons to challenge the importance of the chapter obituary emerge when one compares surviving records for other persons in the necrologies from various cathedrals. As with Philip's entry, the results often conflict with other accounts by a few days. Even when confined to the few individuals in Philip's family circle, discrepancies abound in the dates entered for many of their anniversaria.²¹⁵

The second obit, the one furnished by Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, is not as erroneous as it may first appear, for the chronicler actually intended Christmas Day of 1236, not 1237. The reason for the different year is that the dating in Aubry's history conforms to a different, but

²¹²Paul Meyer has also questioned the accuracy of the Notre Dame necrology. See "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," p. 193.

²¹³In fact, since Philip died so near to Christmas, December 23 may have been the only "free day" during this busy season when his commemoration could be observed.

²¹⁴On the anniversarium, see Luchaire, Social France, pp. 107, 111-114.

²¹⁵See the differing dates given above, for the deaths of some of Philip's family members.

not unusual manner of reckoning the beginning of the new year at Christmas.²¹⁶ It thus differs from Henri's narrative only by a day. This slight discrepancy between annalist and poet is actually quite easily understandable when one considers the details that Henri furnishes on the time of Philip's death. Shortly before Philip's exit speech, the dying Chancellor asks a companion or servant the time; and he answers that it is close to midnight on Christmas Day.²¹⁷ Even if we must reject the assertion that Philip himself spoke these very words, the discernable evidence suggests that he most probably died shortly after the turning of the day on December 26, 1236. Since Henri d'Andeli reveals a close association in his poem between himself and Philip the Chancellor, and allowing good reasons for the variant testimony of the obituaries of the cathedral chapter, the date he furnishes is probably the most reliable, rather than the more generally accepted Notre Dame obituary.

In his record of Philip's death, Aubry des Trois-Fontaines offers two further details that effectively close this account of the Chancellor's life.²¹⁸ He first declares that Philip was buried in the

²¹⁶See Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," p. 193; and Feret, La Faculté, 1:234.

²¹⁷Le Dit du Chancelier Philippe, lines 22-35.

²¹⁸Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 940. For the earlier literature on Philip's burial, see also Wicki, ed. Summa de Bono, 1:28*; Danou, "Philippe de Grève," p. 188; A. Callebaut "Les Provinciaux," pp. 307-308; Peiper, "Zur Geschichte der mittellateinischen Dichtung," pp. 409-410; Davy, Les sermons universitaires, p. 127; and Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," p. 22.

house of the Franciscans.²¹⁹ This was probably in a convent church on property formerly owned by the abbey of Saint Germain-des-Prés in Paris that was given to them in 1234 by Saint Louis and confirmed by Gregory IX in 1236.²²⁰ Aubry then transmits the epitaph that he claims was inscribed over the Chancellor's tomb:²²¹ three rhymed elegaic couplets that are probably more conventional than indicative of any true personal shortcomings:

Census, divitie-viventi quid valuere?
 Si caream requie nil possunt illa valere.
 Me modo terra tegit; teget et te. Te precor, ora
 ut mihi sit requies, sit et hec tibi mortis in hora.
 Qui me novisti, nunc hic scis membra recundi.
 Dicere cuique potes: "Sic transit gloria mundi."²²²

²¹⁹It was apparently quite common for clerics, nobles, and royalty to request burial in an abbey or convent. On occasion they even donned the habit before death. Philip, therefore, might have become a friar just before his demise, although no other indication survives that he actually entered any order. Significantly, one of the first acts rectified by the common seal of the university of masters at Paris in 1221 was a request for the burial of its members in the Dominican convent church. See Luchaire, Social France, pp. 71, 186, 221.

²²⁰Rashdall, The Universities, 1:348, note 1.

²²¹Wicki has uncovered another epitaph assigned to Philip in MS B V 24 of the Universitätsbibliothek in Basel. See Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:28*; and Gustav Meyer and Max Burckhardt, eds., Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel: Beschreibenes Verzeichnis, Abteilung B: Theologische Pergamenthandschriften, 1:511-512. But this is less authoritative since it also appears with slight variants ascribed to a "master Nicholas of Paris," in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 14883, f. 164; and elsewhere to an "Adam" in Zurich, Stadtbibliothek, MS C 58/275, f. 74. See Haureau, Notices et extraites, vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 104-105; and Johann Jakob Werner, Über Zwei Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek in Zurich: Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, (Aarau: H.R. Sauerlander and Co., 1904), p. 110, no. 267 (also published as Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 1905).

²²²Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 940; translated after Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," p. 22.

(Wealth, riches—what value have they for the living? If I lack peace they are good for nothing. The earth now covers me; and will cover you. I beg you, pray that I may find rest; may you also at the hour of death. You who knew me, know now that my limbs are buried here. You can say to everyone: "Thus passes the glory of the world.")

The various events that make up the life of Philip the Chancellor, culled from such diverse sources as cathedral cartularies, episcopal letters, papal bulls, Old French dits, and even his own Latin poems, testify amply to the wide range of pursuits he himself exercised in his various offices of administrator, teacher, theologian, homilist, judge, poet, and possibly composer.²²³ Within this milieu of learning, church, and politics stand his lyric poems and their music. The various subjects, forms, and styles of these works likewise present an apt counterpoint to the widespread activities of this man, who along with the more elusive Leonin and Perotin helped forge some of the most significant musical achievements of the High Middle Ages.

²²³For a similar appraisal of the role and environment of a typical medieval composer, see Wright, "Leoninus," pp. 2-5.

CHAPTER 2

THE DATABLE POEMS OF PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR:

TEXTS AND EVENTS

The manuscripts associated with the music of the Notre Dame school contain thirty-five compositions whose texts can be dated through their references to contemporaneous historical events.¹ This repertory, which consists almost exclusively of conductus, comprises close to one out of every eleven of the 390 Notre Dame pieces in this genre cataloged by Robert Falck.² A comparison of the texts and music of these datable pieces can offer firm evidence for evaluating stylistic development during the Notre Dame era, and it is therefore surprising that these works have not been the source of more numerous comparative studies.

Scholars have rarely concentrated on the entire datable repertory, but rather have turned their attention to particular pieces. The work of Paul Meyer in 1872 provided a beginning with his dating of Philip's famous conductus prosula Bulla fulminante.³ But the first substantial inquiry was that of Léopold Delisle, who identified 20 poems referring to various persons and events. He included these texts and their

¹See Table 1 below. The same works are delineated in greater detail and with additional bibliographical information in Appendix 6.

²The Notre Dame Conductus, pp. 138-256.

³"Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," pp. 190-215.

historical assignments in an appendix to his description of the Florence manuscript (F) which formed part of an address to the Société de l'Histoire de France in 1885.⁴ Delisle's survey still remains the point of departure for all future investigations of the datable works.

Expansion and further discussion of the datable corpus within the central Notre Dame sources has continued up to the present day, particularly with the contributions of Guido Maria Dreves, Pierre Aubry, Friedrich Ludwig, Karl Strecker, Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, Norbert Fickermann, Denis Stevens, Leo Schrade, and Ernest Sanders.⁵ At the same time, scholars have also acknowledged the repertory in the closely related Saint Victor codex (StV). As early as 1898, Wilhelm Meyer, in a few pages from his seminal article "Der Ursprung des Motett's,"⁶ added

⁴"Discours de M. Léopold Delisle," Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France 23 (1885): 82-139; and especially 100-139.

⁵Analecta hymnica medii aevi, vol. 21, Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters, pt. 2, ed. Guido Maria Dreves (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1895), p. 173; Pierre Aubry, "Un Chant historique," pp. 423-434.; Friedrich Ludwig, Repertorium, vol. 1, part 1, p. 41; Karl Strecker, "Walter von Châtillon, der Dichter der Lieder von St. Omer," Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, 61 (1924): 216; and idem, ed., Moralisch-satirische Gedichte, pp. 33-37; Carmina Burana, 2 vols., Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, eds., (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1930-) vol. 2, part 1, p. 99; Norbert Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied," pp. 37-44; Leo Schrade, "Political Compositions in French Music of the 12th and 13th Centuries: The Coronation of French Kings," Annales Musicologiques, 1 (1953): 9-63; Denis Stevens, "Music in Honor of St. Thomas of Canterbury," The Musical Quarterly, 56 (1970): 338-340; and 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, 2 vols., Musicological Studies, no. 39 (Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute for Mediaeval Music, 1985), 2:505-530.

⁶Nachrichten von der königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse, n.s., (1898), part 2, 138-140; reprinted with additional notes in his Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik, 3 vols., (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1905; reprint ed. Hildesheim, Georg Olms, 1970), 2:332-

two works culled from this manuscript; and dates for all of the two-part conductus in this source were proposed by Yvonne Rokseth in 1933, but then rejected by Falck in 1970.⁷ Most recently, the datable Notre Dame conductus have served as an additional buttress for the theories advanced by Falck in 1981, when he demonstrated the significance of concordant groups of conductus within the complexes of the central Notre Dame sources;⁸ and the latest addendum to the datable corpus of conductus and prosulas was offered in my article of 1986.⁹

Of the thirty-five pieces within the datable Notre Dame repertory, certainly seven, probably nine, and possibly as many as eleven lyrics can be attributed to Philip the Chancellor (see Table 1).¹⁰ With this total, he outstrips any of the other known poets associated with Notre Dame music. None of the poems of Alain de Lille or Peter of Blois can

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⁷Yvonne Rokseth, "Le Contrepoint double vers 1248," in Mélanges de musicologie offert à M. Lionel de la Laurencia, Publications de la Société Française de musicologie, ser. 2, nos. 3-4 (1932-33), (Paris: E. Droz, 1933), pp. 5-13; Robert Falck, "New Light on the Polyphonic Conductus Repertory in the St. Victor Manuscript," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 23 (1970): 315-326.

⁸Notre Dame Conductus, see especially pp. 4-5, 9.

⁹Payne, "Associa," pp. 233-254.

¹⁰These are indicated in Table 1. See Appendix 6 for a more detailed list of the same works. The two planctus included in both these enumerations that mourn the death of King Philip Augustus in 1223 (Alabastrum franqitur and O mors que mordes omnia) are extremely tentative prospects for attribution to Philip, based solely on the position of these two works among others by Philip in F. The same applies for the text of De rupta Rupecula. They have therefore not been considered here.

be dated specifically, and Walter of Châtillon has only two texts whose time of composition is fixed with any precision.¹¹

With approximately one third of the total datable repertory ascribable to Philip, his contribution to this category is significant and warrants close individual inspection. The subsequent chapter, with the other datable works serving to round out the picture and put Philip's accomplishments in perspective, will focus on the stylistic and formal diversity of the datable repertory and its implications for the chronology of the Notre Dame school. The intent of this chapter is to examine Philip's own datable works, in order to present the historical circumstances behind the composition of their texts, and to evaluate the assignments of dates to poems and attributions to the Chancellor. Arguments will also appear the ascription of two new works to his canon.¹²

We do not possess information precise enough to situate exactly Philip's two earliest datable poems. It is consequently difficult to estimate when he may have started to write the poetry for which he was so celebrated. Even though the earliest possible occasions for the composition of these two lyrics are easily established, the circumstances of their texts and the events they treat are vague enough to allow for dating at a later time.

¹¹These are the coronation conductus Ver pacis aperit (1179) and the long prosimetrum In domino confido, which includes the Notre Dame lyric Dum medium silentium tenerent of 1174 (See Appendices 3 and 6). On the dating of the latter poem, see Strecker, ed., Moralisch-satirische Gedichte, pp. 33-37; Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," p. 11; Falck, Notre Dame Conductus, p. 198; and Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 579.

¹²These are Crucifigat omnes and Aurelianus civitas. See below.

TABLE 1

DATABLE NOTRE DAME CONDUCTUS

Poems by Philip the Chancellor are signalled by asterisks: *-indicates a secure attribution from a medieval source; *?-a questionable or tentative attribution; and *!-a probable new attribution.

	<u>Text Incipit</u>	<u>Date</u>
	In Rama sonat gemitus	1164-1170
	Novus miles sequitur	1173 or 1215
	Dum medium silentium tenerent	1174
	Ver pacis aperit	1179
	Omnis in lacrimas	1181
	Eclipsim patitur	1186
	Anglia planctus itera	1186 or 1189
*	Venit Jhesus in propria	1187?
	Sol eclipsim patitur	1188 or 1252
	In occasu syderis	1189
	Redit etas aurea	1189
	Pange melos lacrimosum	1190?
	Divina providentia	1190-1192
	Turmas arment Christicolos	1192 or 1193
	Sede Syon in pulvere	1192-1197
	Eclipsim passus tociens	1197
	Iherusalem Iherusalem	1198
*	Pater sancte dictus Lotarius	1198?
*	Christus assistens pontiphex	1208
	Anni favor iubilei	1208
	Regi regum omnium	1209
	O felix Bituria	1209
*	Rex et sacerdos prefuit	1209-1212
*	Associa tecum in patria	1212? (organum prosula)
*!	Crucifigat omnes	1219-1220 (conductus prosula)
*	Bulla fulminante	1222-1223 (conductus prosula)
*?	Alabastrum frangitur	1223 (tentative attribution)
*?	O mors que mordet omnia	1223 (tentative attribution)
*	Beata nobis gaudia	1223
*?	De rupta Rupecula	1224 (tentative attribution)
	Gaude felix Francia	1226 or 1244 (<u>StV</u>)
*?	Clavus clavo retunditur	1233
*?	Clavus pungens acumine	1233
*!	Aurelianus civitas	1236
	Scysma mendacis Grecie	1244? (<u>StV</u>)

Venit Jhesus in propria

The poem with the earliest possible date within Philip's corpus is the crusade lyric Venit Jhesus in propria, which focuses on the fall of Jerusalem.¹³ Initially seized by Christian armies during the First Crusade in 1099, the city was recaptured by Moslem forces under the command of the Kurdish sultan and general Saladin on October 2, 1187. This defeat fueled the fire for both the Third and Fourth Crusades (1189-1193 and 1201-1204), yet neither of these efforts succeeded in wresting the city from its conquerors. Islamic factions held Jerusalem until 1229, when the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II reclaimed the city by treaty and entered it with an occupying force on March 17. This second Christian seizure lasted until 1244, when Jerusalem was again won back by the Saracens, not to be lost again for centuries.

Philip's Venit Jhesus is customarily ascribed to the year 1187. Though it may indeed have been provoked by the capture of Jerusalem at this time, there is simply not enough text to confirm this, and it is possible that the calls to the later Crusades could also have prompted its composition. Venit Jhesus survives merely as a single strophe of thirteen lines and probably originally had additional stanzas which might have made clearer the particular instance for its composition.¹⁴ However, although the text of Venit Jhesus lacks details that would secure its time of origin, one may still venture from stylistic features

¹³The following account is indebted chiefly to Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades, 3 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1955), 1:285-288; 2:465; 3:186-195 and 225.

¹⁴See Goswin Spreckelmeyer, Das Kreuzzugslied des lateinischen Mittelalters, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, no. 21 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1974), p. 265.

that it issues from an earlier period, possibly from the end of the twelfth or at the latest from the very beginning of the thirteenth century.

Although no contrafact exists for Venit Jhesus, the piece is striking in its resemblance to trouvère songs in its use of the AAB "bar" or cantio form, its lack of melismatic sections (caudae), and its generally syllabic setting, whose music is enlivened by only a few two- or three-note groups. As will be shown in the subsequent chapter on the musical style of the datable conductus, correspondences such as these between Notre Dame works and secular vernacular pieces are confined exclusively to datable conductus that were written before the turn of the century. Therefore, even though it may be impossible to limit the writing of Venit Jhesus to a particular year, there is nothing amiss or contradictory in supposing that it probably does spring from the events of 1187 and thus may indeed be the earliest specimen of Philip's datable poetry.

Pater sancte dictus Lotarius

The obstacles for the precise dating of Philip's next "occasional" lyric lie not in its lack of textual references, but rather in our inability to establish what may have specifically prompted its composition. The subject of his conductus Pater sancte dictus Lotarius is a model of clarity. The poem praises Pope Innocent III (d. 1216), born Lothario de' Conti di Segni, who was invested on February 22, 1198. Most scholars who mention this piece logically assume that it is a

panegyric celebrating the pontiff's investiture.¹⁵ This is quite probable, since Philip cites Innocent's original name at the opening, and suggests through the use of the word nunc ("now") in line 3 that his title is fairly recent:¹⁶

Pater sancte, dictus Lotarius,	Holy father, once known as
quia lotus baptismi gratia,	Lothario,
appellaris nunc "Innocentius,"	because you have been cleansed
nomen habens ab "innocentia."	by the grace of baptism,
Divinitus vocaris "tertius."	you are now called "Innocent,"
Ternarii signant misteria,	deriving your name from
Trinitatis quod sis vicarius.	"innocence."
	By God's will, you are also
	"the third."
	Three signifies divine
	mysteries.
	Because you are the minister
	of the Trinity.
	(<u>Pater sancte</u> , lines 1-7)

The body of this poem then continues to extol the pope. The two subsequent strophes develop the conceit of Innocent as the third pontiff with this name by using an inventive display of number symbolism derived both from the Bible and classical authors and by comparing him with all three members of the Holy Trinity.¹⁷

Though there can be no doubt that the poem does indeed commend Innocent III, in the final strophe Philip reveals an ulterior motive for its composition, which may offer additional clues to possible dates for its creation:

A potente, peto presidium,	From you, powerful one, I crave
	assistance,

¹⁵Among others, Falck, Notre Dame Conductus, p. 231; idem, "Zwei Lieder," p. 92; and Wicki ed., Summa de Bono, 1:24*.

¹⁶See Falck, "Zwei Lieder," p. 92.

¹⁷See the Notes to the Text of this piece, transcribed in Volume 4 of this study, for more details.

ut infirmum firmet potentia;	that your power may heal a sick man;
a prudente, verum consilium,	from you learned one, I require just counsel,
illuminet cecum prudentia;	that your prudence may open a blind man's eyes;
a benigno, pium remedium,	from you, kindly one, I seek blessed relief,
indulgeat misericordia	that your pity may forgive
cordis, oris, operis vicium.	the sin of thought, word, and deed.

(Pater sancte, lines 22-28)

The Chancellor is apparently requesting absolution for some past transgression.

Unfortunately, there is no ready indication, either in Philip's biography or in Innocent's surviving correspondence, to suggest exactly what the poet wants forgiven. If, as most scholars suspect, this poem did indeed originate soon after Innocent's election, we may be forever unable to ascertain what occasioned its writing. Aside from the appearance of his datable poems, virtually nothing is known about the chancellor's life before he became archdeacon of Noyon, an office he may have assumed as early as 1202.¹⁸ Even so, some facts from his later years can offer some possibilities for the creation of Pater sancte, even if they are only conjectural.

We know that Philip was the illegitimate son of a Paris archdeacon. At the time such a stigma was a barrier to an ecclesiastical career; it forbade the conferral of holy orders, although it did not necessarily require the removal or denial of a benefice.¹⁹ This impediment to Philip's career, however, was eliminated when he received a dispensation in 1217 from Innocent's successor, Honorius III

¹⁸Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:16*. See also above, Chapter 1.

¹⁹For a more detailed discussion on Philip's dispensation and the laws forbidding illegitimacy in holy orders, see above, Chapter 1.

(1216-1227). The indulgence removed the obstacle to his ambition and allowed him to seek office in Paris.²⁰ Given this chain of events, one may suppose that Pater sancte could have been written with a similar request in mind. It is therefore possible that Philip might have importuned the new pope around 1198 in an effort to secure a post, perhaps even the archdeaconry of Noyon. A second alternative allows a slightly later date for the composition of this song as an unheeded plea to Innocent for a dispensation that was only later granted by Honorius.²¹ In either case, though, the viciium of Strophe IV would ultimately apply not necessarily to Philip, but to his father.

Though we may never know the true reason behind his crafting of this lyric, the point remains that Philip wished more from it than merely to glorify the new pontiff, and hence the accepted date is at least opened to question. Yet arguments for an origin close to 1198 and a tentative involvement with the conferral upon Philip of the Noyon archdeaconry remain powerful, because this piece is a contrafact of a trouvère song.²² As noted above in connection with Venit Jhesus in propria, all other datable conductus in this style were composed prior

²⁰Translated and discussed above, Chapter 1. See also Wicki ed., Summa de Bono, 1:17*; and Potthast, Regesta pontificum, 1:38, no. 208; and Pressutti, Regesta Honorii, 1:62, no. 348, for a summary.

²¹Hans Spanke, in Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik, *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 3 ser., no. 18 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1936), p. 155, has also drawn attention to the pleas in strophe IV, and has suggested an alternative date of 1217 for the piece.

²²Gace Brulé's Douce dame grez et grasses vous rent. See the references under the Latin work in Anderson, "Catalogue Raisonné," p. 199, no. K61.

to the year 1200. The earliest date for this poem is therefore the most reasonable.

Christus assistens pontiphex

Philip's third dated poem, Christus assistens pontiphex, takes us into the first decade of the thirteenth century. Here for the first time the occasion that prompted his work leaves little question as to the year of its composition. The circumstances that produced this particular lyric were first deciphered in 1931 in a masterly article by Norbert Fickermann.²³ By means of careful reading and the proposal of a convincing emendation to the text, this scholar argued that Christus assistens was not a poem to Christ, as Dreves had entitled it in the version published in the series Analecta hymnica,²⁴ but instead celebrated the election of a bishop of Paris. Thanks to his ingenuity, Fickermann was even able to identify the specific individual for whom Philip penned his conductus.

In working from the multi-strophic version of this poem preserved in the musical manuscript of the Roman de Fauvel (Fauv),²⁵ Fickermann noticed that its third verse omitted the crucial word that would have identified the new bishop's place of origin. Fortunately, since the lacuna occurred at the end of a poetic line, he was able not only determine the number of its missing syllables but also their poetic

²³"Ein neues Bischofslied," pp. 39-42.

²⁴Analecta hymnica, 50:535, no. 368.

²⁵The concordant transmissions of the text in F and Da offer only the first of the poem's four strophes.

rhyme. By consulting the names of the several bishops of Paris who were installed around the turn of the century, Fickermann supplied the omission and discovered that Philip's poem was written to commemorate his uncle Peter of Nemours, who was probably invested with his office shortly after the death of his predecessor Odo of Sully on July 13, 1208:

Intrans urbem scolarium,
 sic pauper sanctuarium
 muneribus prevenit,
 quod Sortes, Plato, Tullius
 tota clamat Parisius:
 "Benedictus qui venit!"
 Ne sit clausa sub modio
 lucerna sanctuarii.
 Processit de [Nemosio]
 columpna sacerdocii

Entering the city of scholars,
 this pauper so prepares the
 sanctuary with his gifts, that
 Socrates, Plato, Cicero,
 all Paris exclaims:
 "Blessed is he who comes!"
 Let not this sanctuary lamp
 be hidden under a bushel.
 The pillar of the priesthood
 has come from Nemours.

(Christus assistens, lines 25-34)

Fickermann also quite plausibly speculated that Christus assistens was intended as a request for aid on the part of the future chancellor.²⁶ Such an interpretation is strengthened throughout the poem with the citation of scriptural passages on the virtues of aiding the poor. The poet could well have intended these as veiled allusions to his own entreaties:

Christus, assistens pontifex,²⁷
 formam scripsit pontificum.
 Quibus prefecit unicum:
 ut pauperum sit opifex.

 . . . census reddat dispari:
 que Cesaris sunt, Cesari

Christ, acting as pontiff,
 drew up a decree for bishops.
 He charged them with only one
 thing:
 that they should aid the
 needy.

 He restores wealth to the
 poor:
 he renders unto Caesar what is
 Caesar's,

²⁶Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied," p. 43.

²⁷See Hebrews, 9:11.

et que sunt Dei, Deo.²⁸

and to God what is God's.
(Christus assistens, lines 1-4, 38-40)

Philip's debt to his relatives for advancement to all of his known ecclesiastical posts has already been demonstrated in the previous chapter. It is also apparent that he began to experience difficulties in the Paris chancellorship from the moment his uncle Peter embarked upon the Crusade where he was soon to meet his death.²⁹ It therefore seems quite reasonable to concur with Fickermann that the 1208 Christus assistens is probably a request for a special favor, a later example of a type of poem Philip first essayed sometime around 1198 with Pater sancte dictus Lotarius, his appeal to Innocent III. Not only is the musical style of Christus assistens closer to more masterful Notre Dame compositions with its extended melismatic punctuation and occasional traces of the rhythmic notation then common in polyphony, but the poet has now learned to couch his requests in subtler, less obsequious language. Here Philip combines both his acclaim for the new bishop and his petition for himself into a sophisticated biblical metaphor, rather than relying on the bald solicitation that appears in the presumably earlier Pater sancte.

Rex et sacerdos prefuit

Several years later, Innocent III resurfaces in Philip's next datable poem, Rex et sacerdos prefuit. But here the all-powerful vicarius Christi encountered in the earlier Pater sancte dictus Lotarius

²⁸See Matthew, 22:21. Also note the reference to Zacchaeus in lines 8-10 of this poem from Luke, 19:1-10.

²⁹On Peter of Nemours death, see Chapter 1, and below.

is recast in a quite different role, a Samuel deceived by his Saul. The events which occasioned this poem are well-known, even if the text is difficult to pin down to a precise year.³⁰

After the death of Emperor Henry VI in 1197, the leadership of the Holy Roman Empire was vigorously contested between the candidates of two warring factions, the pro-papal Guelfs and the pro-imperial Ghibellines. The latter party chose Philip of Swabia for the successor to the throne, whereas the Guelfs favored his rival Otto of Brunswick. Because of the contention, Innocent III was called upon to decide between the two candidates, and after three years of deliberation during which civil war threatened the empire, he selected Otto with the stipulation that as emperor he would renounce any claims on former imperial lands then held by the pope. Though Innocent's decision continued to be contested, Philip of Swabia's murder in 1208 and the eventual acceptance of Otto IV by both factions finally allowed the pontiff to crown him in Rome on October 4, 1209.

But almost immediately afterwards, Otto treacherously reneged upon his promises by invading papal domains in Sicily.³¹ In a fury Innocent deposed and excommunicated Otto, and turned for a replacement to the previous emperor's son, the young king of Sicily Frederick of Hohenstaufen. Frederick had earlier stood to inherit the empire, but had initially been rejected as a candidate on account of his youth. The

³⁰The following account has been drawn from The Cambridge Medieval History, 8 vols., planned by J.B. Berry, ed. H.M. Gwatkin, et al., (New York: Macmillan, 1924-36), 6:44-79.

³¹At this time the Kingdom of Sicily, ruled by Frederick of Hohenstaufen, was a papal fief with its ruler a vassal to the pope.

young king, however, rose well to the occasion and by 1212 as emperor-elect claimed the support of most of the German princes. These alliances were sealed when Otto was routed at Bouvines in 1214 with the help of French forces under the command of King Philip Augustus. When the excommunicate emperor died on May 19, 1218, all opposition finally vanished, and after much further delay Frederick was crowned in Rome by Pope Honorius III on November 22, 1220.

Because Rex et sacerdos prefuit alludes to such a wide spectrum of events, the poem is difficult to ascribe to a particular year, and the sweeping date of 1209-1212 that is usually advanced for its time of composition is appropriately cautious. Perhaps, however, a date closer to 1210 can be proposed as a further constraint, for as Ruth Steiner has shown, the language of this poem is strikingly recalled in passages of Innocent's correspondence of this year relating to the incident.³² In addition, a hitherto unnoticed reference in the poem to Frederick as the future king David, yet to be anointed, also seems to indicate that a time fairly early within the conflict is most appropriate.

Frederick is almost certainly invoked under the cloud of biblical allegory in Lines 13-14 of this poem: "Ut Saulem eliminat / David, fiet inunctio." ("There will be an anointing, so that David may banish Saul.")³³ Such a reference to Otto (Saul) and to Frederick (David) is especially apt here. Saul had committed a sin which cost him his rule by usurping the duties of a priest in offering a sacrifice.³⁴ This is

³²"Tenth Fascicle," p. 149.

³³See 1 Kings [1 Samuel], 16:12-13.

³⁴See 1 Kings [1 Samuel], 13:8-14.

easily comparable to Otto, who wrongly used the "sword" entrusted him by Innocent to further his power within the pope's domains:³⁵

Exclamat Innocentius:	Innocent exclaims:
"Ledor quem feci baculo.	"I am wounded by the scepter that I made.
Conversus in me gladius,	The sword, with whose belt I once was
cuius cingebar capulo.	girded, is turned upon me.
Vas est collisum figulo.	The vessel is smashed by the potter.
Fortior ille vasculo,	He is stronger than the little pot,
franget ergo fragilius."	and therefore breaks the frailer object.

(Rex et sacerdos, lines 15-21)

Similarly, Frederick, who was only sixteen years old at the time of this conflict, can easily be compared to the biblical David, who was the youngest in his father's house when anointed as the future king by Samuel.³⁶ If the motif of Samuel's choice of David can be equated exactly with Innocent's offering of the crown to Frederick, the date of Rex et sacerdos may be narrowed to a period between Otto's coronation of October 4, 1209 and September of 1211, when Frederick received the bid for the Empire from Innocent.³⁷

Philip has couched these events in a vivid lyric that uses a style akin to many of his dialogue poems, although in this case there is

³⁵See also Rex et sacerdos lines 1-4: "Rex et sacerdos prefuit / Christus utroque gladio. / Regnum in ipso floruit / coniunctum sacerdotio." ("As king and priest, Christ ruled with both swords. Under him flourished a temporal kingdom joined with the priesthood.") For more on the metaphor of the two swords, stimulated by the passage in Luke, 22:38 and symbolising the division between ecclesiastical and royal power, see the Notes to the Text of this poem in the edition presented in Volume 4 of this study.

³⁶See Psalm 151 and 1 Kings [1 Samuel], 16:6-11.

³⁷See the Cambridge Medieval History, 6:75.

no actual verbal exchange between the protagonists.³⁸ Also, as in his Christus assistens, Biblical allusions figure strongly in illuminating the political situation; and, not surprisingly, Philip champions both the position of the church and of the French king who was to overthrow Otto at Bouvines three to five years later. Such a perspective is quite different from the poet's later datable "moral-satirical" works. Yet even in allowing for its pro-papal slant, one can still see in Rex et sacerdos the seeds of the scathing criticism of a later poem such as Bulla fulminante in Philip's castigation of Otto's dishonorable conduct:

Otho, quid ad te pertinet?	Otto, what does this have to do with you?
Que te rapit presumptio?	What audacity seduces you?
Cessa! iam casus imminet.	Cease! already your fall is imminent.
Iam vicina subversio, que reprobum exterminet.	The ruin that will destroy the traitor is now close at hand.

(Rex et sacerdos prefuit, lines 8-12)

Associa tecum in patria

Philip's next "occasional" piece, Associa tecum in patria, is the earliest datable example of a "prosula," a work that furnishes a text written to fit the music of a pre-existent melismatic model.³⁹ In this instance the composition is the respond section of the three-part organum Sancte Germane; but as the text of the prosula clearly indicates, the poem and its organum source as well were originally dedicated to the celebration of Saint Eligius. Reasons for placing this

³⁸See for comparative purposes Philip's (undated) monophonic conductus Homo natus ad laborem tui status, a work that opens the tenth fascicle of the manuscript F.

³⁹See below, Chapter 4, for a section devoted exclusively to these fascinating works.

poem in the year 1212, commemorating the translation of a relic of Saint Eligius from Noyon to Paris, have appeared elsewhere in more detail;⁴⁰ but the ascription of this piece to Philip has been challenged on the basis of its poetic style in a recent study by Peter Dronke, and it will be worthwhile to evaluate his reservations concerning the Chancellor's authorship.

Dronke rejects the attributions of only three of the five organum prosulas that are attributed to Philip in Praha, specifically Associa tecum in patria and the two poems written to the duplum of Perotin's entire organum quadruplum Sederunt principes, De Stephani roseo and Adesse festina. In his view these texts are less than masterful: ". . . short rhyming verses [that] tend to become mere jangling of sounds, with the meaning largely sacrificed to the music. . . ." He also dismisses the corroboration supplied by the striking textual affinities that exist between Associa and Philip's lai O mens cogita (whose attribution he accepts) and raises the possibility that the organum prosula may have been written at Noyon by a lesser poet in imitation of O mens.⁴¹ Finally, he warns that Saint Eligius is never mentioned in any other known work by Philip, and that this must further weaken the Praha ascription.⁴²

To answer the last of these three points first: though it may be true that no other poem celebrating Eligius is known to have issued from

⁴⁰See Payne, "Associa," p. 253; and Wright, Music and Ceremony, pp. 298-299.

⁴¹The correspondences between the two are enumerated below in Chapter 4.

⁴²Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 583.

Philip's pen, this argument ex silentio does little to discredit his authorship of Associa. Rather, the fact that Philip enjoyed a benefice in Noyon, the city beyond all others especially devoted to Eligius, is actually a great stroke in favor of the Praha attribution, for it demonstrates a further incentive for Philip to write his prosula beyond the celebration of the translation. Secondly, the available evidence suggests that Associa in all likelihood is an exclusively Parisian product: the organum is today regarded as an authentic composition by Perotin, there was a documented occasion for its use in services for a church devoted to Eligius in Paris, and—to respond to Dronke's hypothesis for its composition elsewhere—since the chant in the organum triplum was derived from the Common of Confessor Bishops, it would not have served in Noyon for the celebration of Eligius' feast, due to his stature as patron of this city. The idea that the prosula was intended for any place other than Paris is exceedingly dubious.⁴³

Lastly, Dronke's remarks also tend to diminish the accomplishments, both poetic and musical, of Philip's organum prosulas by not allowing for the exceptional constraints on their texts. Their apparently meager array of rhymes is occasioned not by poetic defect, but by their custom of strictly echoing the sustained syllables of the organum's liturgical text. Whoever their author may be, he exploited this limitation spectacularly. Rather than condemn these works solely on textual grounds, one must consider the great success they achieve within their musical settings, where the rhythms of both word and

⁴³See Payne, "Associa," pp. 249-252; and note 42 for evidence in support of the above points.

melody, combined with the assonance between the two separate texts of prosula and chant, unite in a truly harmonious fashion. Furthermore, the number of similarly fashioned compositions to organal polyphony is extremely small—they include just five poems⁴⁴—and it certainly seems beyond mere coincidence that all are not only ascribed solely to Philip, but that their music too can also be attributed with great assurance to Perotin. It is therefore unlikely that these five, highly exceptional pieces should be the work of more than one poet or composer. Little reason exists, then, to question the manuscript attributions to Philip of these uncommon works, given the demonstrable textual affinities among Associa, O mens cogita, and the prosulas to Sederunt principes,⁴⁵ as well as the fact that Dronke does concede to him the two poems written to Perotin's Viderunt: Vide prohecie and Homo cum mandato.⁴⁶

Crucifigat omnes

Given that Philip is the most likely author of all the known Notre Dame prosulas written to the melismas of liturgical organa, a new poetic candidate for his authorship arises in the next datable work, the crusade song Crucifigat omnes. As was the case before with Associa tecum in patria, the attribution of this poem to him is fitting not only because of the distinctive means used to fashion the composition, but

⁴⁴For lists, see ibid., pp. 237-238, notes 9 and 12.

⁴⁵See ibid., " pp. 244-245.

⁴⁶Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 580, 590. Charles E. Brewer, in a communication published in the Journal of the American Musicological Society, 40 (1987): 154-155, offers some additional positive evidence for Philip's authorship of the Praha lyrics with observations on the provenance of other materials contained in this manuscript.

also because Philip had a special interest in the historical circumstances that occasioned the work.

Like the organum prosulas just considered above, Crucifigat again presents one of those singular works where a text has been fitted to a melisma from a polyphonic Notre Dame composition. In this case, however, the model is not the upper part of an organum, but rather the final cauda of a polyphonic conductus, one that originally closed the two-part Quod promisit ab eterno. As a prosula to a conductus melisma, Crucifigat shares the stage with only six other works.⁴⁷ Out of this total of seven, three are already securely attributed to Philip in medieval sources, while two others are contrafacts of Crucifigat and can hence be discounted as later reworkings. They are transmitted only in peripheral sources and were presumably composed without a direct knowledge of the origin of their model.⁴⁸ As with his prosulas to organa, Philip thus appears to have been dedicated to crafting new pieces from Notre Dame conductus melismas. One does not exaggerate the evidence in any way by assuming that he is probably also the author of the two remaining texts, Crucifigat and Anima iuge lacrimas.⁴⁹

If the technique that produced Crucifigat were not testimony enough to argue for Philip as its probable author, the recent redating of this prosula by Ernest Sanders furnishes additional clues that can

⁴⁷See Payne, "Associa," p. 237, note 9.

⁴⁸The prosulas by Philip are the datable Bulla fulminante, its contrafact Veste nuptiali, and Minor natu filius. The two contrafacts of Crucifigat are Mundum renovavit and Curritur ad vocem. See ibid., p. 238, note 12.

⁴⁹I have already suggested this in ibid. See the further discussions of these works below in Chapter 4.

connect him even closer to the poem. Philip could have had a vested interest in the events that occasioned the writing of its text.

Though for decades Crucifigat has been interpreted as a response to the 1187 capture of Jerusalem that prompted the Third Crusade of 1189-1193,⁵⁰ Sanders suggests an alternative theory that it instead treats circumstances associated with the Fifth Crusade (1217-1221). Through a careful reading of its text and motivated by the doubt that any poem written to a *conductus cauda* could be so early, he offers more viable limits for the composition of the poem, either in the Summer or early Fall of 1219, or during the Spring and Summer of 1220.⁵¹

Not only does Sanders' new assignment help to clarify some rather arcane references in the poetry, but he also remarks that the new chronology conveniently places Crucifigat temporally close to the only other dated *conductus prosula*, Philip's Bulla fulminante of 1222-1223. The new date for Crucifigat is therefore even more preferable, because of the affinities of these pieces to the technique of *texting clausulae* to make motets, a practice Sanders believes with great assurance was not cultivated before the end of the first decade of the thirteenth century.⁵²

With this new, later date for Crucifigat omnes, the possibilities for Philip's authorship of its text are further enhanced with the knowledge that the expedition to the Fifth Crusade counted two members of his family in the campaign: his uncles Walter the Younger,

⁵⁰See Carmina burana, vol. 2, part 1, p. 99.

⁵¹Sanders, "Style and Technique," pp. 513-518.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 517.

chamberlain to the king of France, and the bishop of Paris, Peter of Nemours.⁵³ It was not unusual for family members to accompany one another on crusade, nor for them to come from ecclesiastical or courtly circles.⁵⁴ Peter and Walter, who probably arrived in the Holy Land sometime in the Fall of 1218,⁵⁵ formed part of the retinue of the infamous papal legate Cardinal Pelagius, at whose feet has been laid much of the blame for the failure of the enterprise.⁵⁶ The Fifth Crusade, whose ostensible purpose was to deliver Jerusalem from the hands of the Saracens, soon became side-tracked with a plan to capture all of Islamic Egypt. The eventual collapse of the entire undertaking was unfortunate and unnecessary. Shortly before the crusaders seized the strategically important city of Damietta at the mouth of the Nile—only to lose it soon afterwards—Jerusalem and some of its surrounding lands had been offered in treaty to the Christians, a gift that they had refused at the insistence of Pelagius.⁵⁷

Philip's uncle Walter was captured in a skirmish prior to the Damietta conquest, but was eventually freed.⁵⁸ However, neither he nor

⁵³For more information on these two relatives, see above, Chapter 1.

⁵⁴James M. Powell, Anatomy of a Crusade: 1213-1221, The Middle Ages (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), pp. 80-83.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 117.

⁵⁶Runciman, Crusades, 3:154-155.

⁵⁷Ibid., vol, 3, pp. 161-162.

⁵⁸See Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 908; and Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 1:67-70.

his brother Peter apparently ever returned to France;⁵⁹ and with the death of the bishop Philip lost one of his chief advocates. Events in the chancellor's life that follow the crusade show that he now began to suffer greater difficulties in the execution of his authority, particularly over the university in Paris. It may be more than coincidental that only in the datable poems following his uncle's death do we begin to see the flowering of Philip's characteristic poetic traits of caustic, cutting language and his overarching condemnation of injustice.

Even though there are apparently no specific references to Philip's relatives within the text of Crucifiqat, the collective circumstances of the poem, both in its origin as a prosula to a Notre Dame conductus melisma and in the fact that the Chancellor was indirectly involved in the crusade with the participation of his family members, makes the likelihood of his authorship even more compelling and probable. Even if Philip himself had never pledged to take up the cross, he had earlier proclaimed his desire for the liberation of the Holy Land, and specifically the city of Jerusalem in his earliest datable poem, Venit Jhesus in propria. There should be few misgivings in crediting him with the text of Crucifiqat omnes.

⁵⁹Powell, Anatomy of a Crusade, p. 221, says that Walter returned home, but this is contradicted by Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 1:69-70, and ibid., "Pièces justificatives," pp. xxix-xxx, no. 9. Walter's obituary is given as October 26, 1219, in Guérard, ed., Cartulaire, 4:174; but see also Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 1:70. On Peter, see Powell, Anatomy of a Crusade, p. 237; obituary: December 14, 1219, in Guérard, Cartulaire, 4:199; but see Richemond, Recherches généalogiques, 1:137-138 for an earlier possible death date of September 1218.

Bulla fulminante

With Philip's next datable work, the renowned Bulla fulminante, we come to the last of the three datable prosulas. In this poem, written to fit the tenor part of the final cauda from the three-voice conductus Dic Christi veritas,⁶⁰ we can see for the first time in the datable corpus Philip's characteristic poetic techniques in full force as he delivers a brutal invective on the administration of the papal curia under Honorius III. Rome, says the chancellor, is a place where money buys power and position, and where learning and talent account for nothing:

Si queris prebendas,
frustra vitam pretendas.

Mores non commendas
ne iudicem offendas.
Frustra tuis litteris

inniteris; moraberis
per plurimas kalendas.
Tandem expectaveris

a ceteris ferendas,
paris ponderis
precio nisi contendas.

If it is prebends you are seeking,
the experience you offer is
worthless.

Do not recount your good conduct
lest you vex the judge.
In vain will you support yourself
with

your learning; for you will be
kept waiting for months on end.
Eventually, you will end up waiting
for

rewards farmed out to others,
unless you solicit them
with a bribe of equal value.

(Bulla fulminante, lines 23-33)

He also offers some vivid comparisons between the Rome of Antiquity and of his own time, showing that nothing has changed, that greed is as infectious and damaging as ever:

Iupiter dum orat
Danem, frustra laborat.
sed eam deflorat
auro dum se colorat.
Auro nil potencius,
nil gratius; nec Tullius

As long as Jupiter begs for
Danae's favors, he labors in vain;
but he deflowers her easily
once he turns himself to gold.
Nothing is more powerful than gold,
nothing is more dear; even Cicero

⁶⁰The text of the source conductus is also attributed to Philip. See below, Appendix 1.

facundius perorat.	never argued more eloquently.
Sed hos urit acrius,	But gold consumes more ardently
quos amplius honorat.	those it honors most.
Nichil iustius	Nothing is more fitting than when
calidum Crassus dum vorat.	Crassus gulps his molten drink.

(Bulla fulminante, lines 34-44)

Bulla fulminante was the first piece in the Notre Dame repertory to be furnished with a date, and there is little reason to question it. According to Paul Meyer,⁶¹ the crux of its placement centers on the phrase in lines 8-9 ("Itur et recurritur / ad curiam"), which he takes to refer to two specific journeys made by the chancellor to Rome. As noted above in Chapter 1, both of these trips were occasioned by Philip's assertion of authority over the University of Paris during the years 1219-1222.

The first voyage was initially provoked by Bishop Peter of Nemours' excommunication of several Parisian masters who had attempted to set up statutes for independent government within the university. This would have occurred sometime before June 24, 1218, when the bishop departed for the Fifth Crusade.⁶² On February 24 of the following year, Philip in his uncle's absence extended this sentence to include those masters and students who had attempted to aid the excommunicants, despite several appeals on their part to the pope.⁶³ His actions

⁶¹"Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," pp. 195-196, 198-199.

⁶²"Eodem anno [1218], in festo beati Johannis [June 24], Petrus Parisiensis episcopus et frater ejus Galterus camerarius . . . iter arripuerunt sancte peregrinationis in obsequium sancte Crucis." From the Chronica of William the Breton, published in Oeuvres de Rigord, 1:315.

⁶³The pope's responses are contained in "Dilecti filii magistri" March 30, 1219. See Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:87-88, no. 30; Pressutti, Regesta Honorii, 1:440, no. 6027; and "Si doctorum et discipulorum," May 11, 1219. See Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:88-90, no. 31; Pressutti, Regesta Honorii, 1:340, no.

resulted in a university-wide strike, and as a consequence Philip was commanded to journey to Rome to face judgement on the matter. However, the Chancellor's accusers failed to appear during the specified time, and he was acquitted with a full pardon.⁶⁴

Philip's second trip was occasioned for the same reasons and suffered the same outcome. In 1221 certain masters and students repeated their assertion of independence from the cathedral chapter. They appealed to the pope anew, who set the matter before several judges delegate (among them archbishop of Canterbury Stephen Langton). Philip now had to travel to Rome again; but as before, the absence of one of the contending parties resulted in another mistrial. On top of this, Philip was additionally dismayed by the provisional decision that went into effect pending the outcome of the trial. The resulting "bullula fulminans" deprived him of much of the authority he had wielded as chancellor, including the demolition of his prison for university offenders and the repeal of his excommunications.⁶⁵

The harsh language of Bulla fulminante is startling when we realize that it was thanks to Honorius that Philip was granted a

2058; and Potthast, Regesta pontificum, 1: no. 6061.

⁶⁴"Cum ad aures nostros," Nov. 30, 1219; translated above, Chapter 1. See Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:93, no. 33; Pressutti, Regesta Honorii, 1: no. 2279; and Potthast, Regesta pontificum, 1: no. 6173, dated Dec. 4.

⁶⁵"Inimico homine," May 31, 1222. See Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:102-104, no. 45; Pressutti, Regesta Honorii, 2:75-76, no. 4012; and Potthast, Regesta pontificum, 1: no. 6847. For further literature on the topics discussed above, see Chapter 1; Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:19*-21*; Steiner, Tenth Fascicle, pp. 19-20; Rashdall, The Universities, 1:309-312; and Haureau, "Quelques lettres d'Honorius III," pp. 162-201, who also publishes several of the documents mentioned above, on pp. 185-189.

dispensation pro defectu natalium (due to his illegitimacy) to change his diocese to Paris, allow him to enter holy orders, and hold whatever post he was deemed worthy of occupying in Paris.⁶⁶ It was this decree that paved the way for his succession to the chancellorship. One must realize, though, that it is not the pope himself he specifically condemns, but his lackeys, the pape ianitores:

Pape ianitores
Cerbero surdiores.
In spe vana plores,

nam etiam si fores
Orpheus, quem audiit
Pluto deus tartareus.
Non ideo perores,
malleus argenteus
ni feriat ad fores
ubi Proteus
variat mille colores.

The Pope's gatekeepers
are deafer than Cerberus.
You will only mourn an empty
prospect,
even if you were Orpheus,
to whom Pluto, the god of the
underworld, hearkened.
Don't even try to beg,
unless the silver knocker
raps upon those doors
where Proteus changes his
shape a thousand times.

(Bulla fulminante, lines 12-22)

Clearly Philip felt that the machinations of the university dissidents were a deliberate attempt to undermine his authority. Likewise his two worthless journeys to Rome would have done little to assure him of the curia's competence. It is therefore not surprising that he should choose to vent his spleen in such a manner following his disappointments in Rome.

Beata nobis gaudia reduxit

In a wholly different vein, Philip's next poem with a date, Beata nobis gaudia reduxit, stands as his only ascribed coronation song.

⁶⁶On these events and their significance for Philip, see above, Chapter 1, which features a translation of the letter. For the Latin text of Philip's dispensation, see Appendix 5, Document 1; César Auguste Horoy, ed., Honorii III Opera Omnia, vol. 2, part 2, p. 158; and cf. Pressutti, Regesta Honorii, 1:38, no. 208.

Written to celebrate the crowning of King Louis VIII on August 6, 1223, this piece has been extensively analysed in Leo Schrade's excellent study of political conductus. There is little to add to his discussion of the text, except to note that he mistakenly construed the phrase in line 10 (" . . . Tu Dei digitus") as an address to the new king.⁶⁷ As Anderson has observed,⁶⁸ this can be explained more aptly as an invocation to God, and stands as an additional citation from the Pentecost Vespers hymn Veni creator spiritus, whose textual incipit is quoted in the final line of the poem.⁶⁹ Otherwise, the circumstances of the poem are clear, as are its references to the liturgy of the coronation unearthed by Schrade.⁷⁰

The Holy Nail of Saint Denis

One decade after the crowning of Louis VIII, a pair of datable lyrics appears that have been ascribed to Philip by modern scholars. The claim for his authorship of these two poems stems from the testimony of a medieval chronicler who gives evidence of a lost prose work by the Chancellor. This missing opus bears a close relationship to two

⁶⁷"Political Compositions," p. 29.

⁶⁸Opera omnia, 6:lx.

⁶⁹From Strophe, III, lines 1-2: "Tu septiformis munere, / digitus paternae dexteræ." See Antiphonale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae pro diurnis horis, (Paris: Desclée and Co., 1949), p. 501; and the conductus Veni creator spiritus / spiritus recreator, strophe I, line 5: "Tu rex, tu digitus". This conductus poem has also been attributed to Philip, see Appendix 1.

⁷⁰"Political Compositions," p. 28-30. One must question, however, the musical quotations of the coronation liturgy Schrade offers in this or any of the other conductus he discusses.

conductus texts that are now preserved in one of the major Notre Dame manuscripts now housed in Florence (E), and not surprisingly scholars have assumed that Philip could also be the author of these two pieces.

The description of Philip's lost work stems from the Chronica of Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, which relates that in 1233 Philip "wrote a wonderful account of the miracles and other pertinent matters concerning the loss and marvelous recovery of the Holy Nail of Saint Denis."⁷¹ This nail was a relic from the Crucifixion and especially prized by the royal abbey. It was lost on February 27, 1233, the Second Sunday of Lent, and retrieved on April 1, Good Friday of the same year. According to an extant account of the incident,⁷² it fell from its reliquary during a crowded procession of the abbey's treasures that had been given to commemorate the feast of the Dedication of the Church at Saint Denis (February 24).⁷³ Rescued by a poor woman who thought it might be made of precious metal, it was eventually taken to the Cistercian abbey of Val-Notre-Dame, where its authenticity was confirmed and the relic restored to its owners.

Proceeding from the observations of Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, several scholars have hastened to credit Philip the Chancellor with the two Notre Dame conductus that appear to allude to this event: the

⁷¹"Anno 1233 . . . De sancto clavo apud Sanctum Dyonisium perduto et iterum reinvento mirabiliter et de miraculis et contingentibus circa hanc inventionem gestis scripsit optimam narrationem Magister Philippus Cancellarius Parisiensis." Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 931.

⁷²This has been published in Pierre Aubry, "Comment fut perdu." See also idem., "Un Chant historique," pp. 423-434.

⁷³This feast also coincided with that of Saint Matthias as reported in the accounts of the incident. See Aubry, "Comment fut perdu," pp. 290-291; and idem., "Un Chant historique," p. 425.

monophonic Clavus clavo retunditur, and the two-part Clavus pungens acumine.⁷⁴ Though claims have surfaced that the two pieces themselves may be the optima narratio mentioned by Aubry des Trois-Fontaines,⁷⁵ it is much more likely that the chronicler was referring to a prose narrative. At least one other report of the loss and recovery of the Nail does survive in this form. In this case, however, it appears to be the work of a monk of Saint Denis.⁷⁶

But even if Philip's own narratio seems to be irrecoverable, it remains plausible, given his involvement with the event, that he could have been inspired or even commissioned by the brothers of Saint Denis to compose the words for these two compositions.⁷⁷ However, a consensus is still needed, not only for Philip's authorship of the poems, but as to whether both actually do address the loss of the nail. The following discussion is therefore offered as an attempt to settle the question, and judges these works positively on both counts.

There is ample evidence to suggest that both of the Nail lyrics were occasioned by the loss at Saint Denis, and that they emanate from the same poet. In turning to these two works, there is little doubt that Clavus clavo refers specifically to the event of 1233. The author

⁷⁴Analecta hymnica, 50:531; Steiner, "Some Monophonic Songs," p. 59 (with some reservations); Anderson, Opera Omnia, 6:lxviii-lxix, note 7; Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 586. For sources, concordances, and an edition of these two works, see their presentation in the second volume of this study.

⁷⁵Ludwig, Repertorium, vol. 1, part 1, p. 266.

⁷⁶"Comment fut perdu," pp. 287-288. Aubry also gives reasons here for dismissing the prospect of Philip's authorship for this particular report of the miracles.

⁷⁷Anderson has also suggested this. See Opera omnia, 6:lxix.

of this work regards the mishap as retribution for the laxity of the faithful, who in his mind have forgotten how to recognize the significance of the Resurrection and the suffering of Christ during his Passion. The first and last strophes of the poem make this clear, and likewise clarify the connection of the work with the happenings at Saint Denis:

Clavus clavo retunditur,
dum peccatorum meritis,
Christi clavus amittitur.
Amisum frustra queritis
cum planctibus ypocritis,
si pro culparum debitis,
mens, quasi clavis insitis,
dolore non compungitur.

The Nail is blunted by a nail,
when, through the fault of sinners,
Christ's Nail is lost.
In vain you seek what is lost
with insincere sorrow,
if, thanks to your sins,
your mind is not pierced with
grief, as though by driven nails.

.

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Quid est, quod diu latuit;
et latentem exhibuit
Christus die Paraceves?
Sic: in die qua doluit,
te condolere monuit.
Amisum dum restituit,
gaudio fletum miscuit,
ut sic dolorem releves.

What is this that lay concealed so
long;
the secret that Christ revealed
upon Good Friday?
'Tis this: that on the day he
suffered,
he reminded you to grieve with him.
When he restored what was lost,
he mingled tears with joy,
that, thereby, you might assuage
your pain.

(Clavus clavo retunditur, lines 1-8, 17-24)

Clavus pungens, on the other hand, contains only a single, veiled reference to the loss of the Nail, but the same conceit as before is again apparent:

Clavi quid est amissio,
nisi quod Christi Passio
excidit a memoria?

What means this loss of the Nail,
save that Christ's Passion
has been forgotten?

(Clavus pungens acumine, lines 25-27)

The appearance of the reference to a loss (amissio) in Clavus pungens, a poem whose main subject is the symbolism of the nails of the Crucifixion

and which develops a theme similar to that found in Clavus clavo retunditur, makes it difficult to conclude that Clavus pungens refers to anything but the incident of 1233.

In addition to the probable common impetus for their composition, the poems are also strikingly similar in their structure, language, and objective. Both share identical designs. Both poems happen to begin with the same words in their first two lines, they have the same number of syllables and accent patterns per line, they share the same number of lines per strophe, and the number of their strophes also agrees.⁷⁸ The identity between the two poems extends as well to their grammar and rhetoric. In terms of their actual substance, they do indeed differ, but remain sufficiently comparable to suggest both that they treat the indicated event, and that Philip is their author.

The two texts also have similar underlying arguments, not unlike those found in sermons of the time. Both lyrics seek ultimately to explain the symbolism of the loss of the nail, and conclude with passages that ask the same exact question: "quid est" ("What does it mean?"). Likewise, there are affinities between the intent of the two poems. After castigating the sins of the entire body of the faithful in Strophe I, Clavus clavo turns in its second stanza to a reproach of the church and royalty. The loss of the Nail, says the poet, has invalidated the earlier glory shared by the two powers:

⁷⁸Clavus pungens, however, has additional pairs of stanzas in the manner of a sequence for its first two strophes. These two additional versicles are preserved only in the transmission of this piece in the musical manuscript of the Roman de Fauvel (Fauv). It would hence not be surprising to unearth similar strophic pairs for Clavus clavo, since the scribe of F was occasionally lax in providing such additional material, for more on this hypothesis, see the discussion below.

Clavus, figens tentorium
Gallicane militie,
tam regalis ecclesie,
quam regni firmans solium,

mistici dampni spetie,
signans prioris glorie,

prioris excellentie,
dissolvendum fastigium.

The Nail, holding fast the tent
of the French soldiery,
fortifying the throne of
both the royal church and the
kingdom,
in the guise of this mystic loss,
expresses the summit of an earlier
glory,
of a prior preeminence,
that now must be annulled.

(Clavus clavo, lines 9-16)

Clavus pungens, on the other hand, directs its final verses specifically to the members of the clergy, chastizing them for their extravagant behavior and equating them with Christ's crucifiers. Strophes IIb and III in particular develop an extended conceit by playing on the affinity between the Latin words for nail (clavus) and key (clavis):

Clavi quid est amissio,
nisi quod Christi Passio
excidit a memoria?

Clavis quid est confixio,
que clavo fit contrario,

nisi culpe malicia,
aut boni simulacio
claudicans in iusticia?

Vobis loquor, pastoribus,
vobis, qui claves geritis,
vobis, qui vite luxibus

claves Christi reicitis.
Vos lupi facti gregibus.

Membra Christi configitis.
Et abutentes clavibus,
claves in clavos vertitis.

What means this loss of the Nail,
save that Christ's Passion
has been forgotten?

What means this fashioning of the
key,
which is formed from the nail, its
opposite,

unless the evil of sin,
or the pretence of good is
limping about in justice?

I speak to you, sheperds,
to you who bear the keys,
to you, who in the debauchery of
your life

cast away Christ's keys.
You have become wolves among the
flock.

You have nailed Christ's limbs.
And, abusing the keys,
you turn them back into nails.

(Clavus pungens, lines 25-40)

It therefore appears that the only great difference between the intent of the two poems lies merely in the audience to which they were directed.

So far, the above arguments suggest nothing more than the probability that the two Nail poems are modeled upon each other. However, a bit of external data quite strongly proposes that both lyrics share the same author. Although it is true that Philip's own prose account of the Nail incident appears to have been lost, another rendering of the history does survive, probably relayed by a monk from Saint Denis itself. In a striking passage near the end of this narrative, while the author is relating the return of the Nail to the church at Saint Denis, he too ventures a symbolic interpretation of the loss, one that not only echoes the language of both lyrics, but which also ascribes this explication to a single and a separate authority:

For as a certain wise man said [my emphasis], a stable firmness or firm stability is represented in the crown of the Kingdom and in the dignity of the Holy Church by the Holy Nail. Therefore, what means this loss of the Holy Nail, this deplorable separation of both [these powers] from each other, other than—may the mercy of the Almighty avert it!—a foretold defect and infirmity of the Kingdom and the Church? On the other hand, what, therefore, does the miraculous recovery of the same Nail mean, this consolidated conjunction of both [powers], unless it symbolizes the dignity of firmness and the firmness of dignity?⁷⁹

If the structural, linguistic, and rhetorical concordances alone were not enough to suggest the single authorship of both these poems, the

⁷⁹Pierre Aubry, "Comment fut perdu," pp. 176-177: "Sicut enim per quendam sapientem dictum est, per coronam regni et Ecclesie sancte dignitas, per sacrum clavum utriusque stabilis firmitas sive firma stabilitas designatur. Quid est ergo sacri clavi amissio et amborum ab invicem deflenda separatio, nisi regni et Ecclesie presignata—quod avertat Omnipotentis misericordia—defectus et infirmitas? Quid autem e contrario eiusdem clavi miraculosa recuperatio et amborum consolidata coniunctio, nisi regni et Ecclesie firmitas dignitatem et dignitatis firmitatem prefiguratur?" Aubry (p. 177) has also signalled the correspondence of this passage with that of the language of Clavus clavo. He does not, however, argue for its echoes in Clavus pungens as well.

remarks of the monk of Saint Denis appear to resolve the question very neatly.

But is this poet Philip the Chancellor? Pierre Aubry, who edited the account written by the monk of Saint Denis, felt sure that at least Clavus clavo was Philip's work,⁸⁰ and later scholars have tended to accept this designation, though not without occasional reservations. It is only very recently, in a forthcoming book by Anne Robertson, that a contrasting possibility has been advanced,⁸¹ which shows the importance of considering as many options and as much evidence as possible before attempting to attribute new works to known authors.

Specifically, Robertson maintains that there is good evidence associated directly with Saint Denis itself that deserves equal consideration in the discussion of the Nail lyrics. She alerts us to the fact that accomplished musicians were present at Saint Denis around the time of the Nail incident. One of these was William, a cantor of the abbey, who was celebrated for his vocal talents. Another is the anonymous poet and musician identified only as a monk of Saint Denis (li moine de Saint Denis), who wrote three love complaints in French, all of which are preserved with monophonic melodies in French chansonniers. Significantly, one of these pieces also surfaces as a 2-part motet in a

⁸⁰See his "Comment fut perdu," pp. 177, 181-182; and idem, "Un chant historique," p. 432.

⁸¹Anne Walters Robertson, The Service Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 1991). For the following remarks, see especially her Chapter Five. I am extremely grateful to Professor Robertson for allowing me the opportunity to read an early version of the applicable sections of her manuscript.

manuscript of Notre Dame music and in the gigantic Montpellier motet codex.⁸²

Even more pertinent to the question of the Nail poems is Robertson's disclosure of a liturgical feast of the highest rank at Saint Denis that was created specifically to celebrate the finding of the Nail. She has even identified a new text that was concocted for the festival, the responsory Clavus refulgens.⁸³ Though only the opening words of this piece survive, she argues convincingly that it was probably a contrafact of the Easter chant, Christus resurgens. She concludes her discussion of the Holy Nail lyrics by stating that with the knowledge of this new feast and of the activity of identified musicians, Cantor William and the Monk of Saint Denis can now join Philip as possible candidates for the authorship of the Nail lyrics.

In her book Robertson also challenges the likelihood of Philip's involvement with the two poems in question. Though she concedes that the Chancellor was in fact no stranger to Saint Denis, since he delivered at least four sermons at the monastery, she also points out that Philip owed his allegiance to Notre Dame, which for a long time had competed with Saint Denis over the authenticity of identical Passion

⁸²The Monk's three works comprise D'amour me doit souvenir, the doubtfully attributed Amours m'a asise rente, and the motet En non dieu, c'est la rage. En non dieu appears in Mo, W2, and Douce 308. For additional information on these lyrics, see Appendix 3; Robert White Linker, A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics, Romance Monographs, no. 31 (University, Mississippi: Romance Monographs, Inc., 1979), p. 207; and Hendrik van der Werf, Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century (Rochester, New York: publ. by the author, 1989), p. 45.

⁸³For Robertson's discussion of this feast and for references to the following remarks, see her Service Books, Chapter Two.

relics preserved by both churches. If the Nail poems were indeed his work, it would seem surprising that Philip should wish to advance the status of the rival abbey over that of the cathedral.

Although, like Robertson, I cannot offer any incontrovertible evidence that Philip is—or is not—responsible for the Nail pieces, I would maintain that when the bulk of the testimony is compared, an affirmative claim for his authorship remains quite strong. First, despite the records of Cantor William's musical skills and the vernacular love songs of the Monk of Saint Denis, no testimony remains for any newly composed Latin poetry that presents the same biting, homiletic tone as the conductus texts, nor do any such conductus preserved in Notre Dame sources or elsewhere point to Saint Denis as their place of origin.⁸⁴ Similarly, the creation of the new feast of the Finding of the Holy Nail resulted in the creation of a new chant through contrafacture, rather than free composition.

In addition, since it is probable that both the Nail poems are by the same author, the likelihood is also high that they share the same composer or at least were set by musicians from the same environment as the poet. Of the two musical settings, the polyphonic Clavus pungens in particular is an extremely elegant piece, containing extended patches of melismatic writing that feature voice exchange, canon, and shifting rhythmic modes.⁸⁵ Such a style points quite plainly to Notre Dame, and to a composer, who if not Perotin himself at least was expert with the

⁸⁴Robertson has informed me, however, that Saint Denis service books do preserve several sequences replete with theological allusions.

⁸⁵See the formal analysis of this work in the Observations section of its edition in Volume 4 of this study.

same techniques that the master himself consistently exploited. That these works probably originated at Notre Dame, and not Saint Denis relies on recent studies of music and liturgy which show that the polyphony associated with the Paris cathedral may indeed have traveled far and wide, but within Paris during Philip's lifetime it seems that such works, styles, and skills were particular to the cathedral.⁸⁶ Such a scenario allows the Holy Nail conductus to be executed at Saint Denis by Notre Dame musicians, at Notre Dame by its own performers as part of an undocumented paraliturgical commemoration of the Nail, or as a completely non-liturgical item of private devotion.

Robertson's attempts to distance Philip from Saint Denis are not as powerful as the various signs that link him to the abbey in general and specifically to the circumstances of the Nail incident. Already noted is the testimony from the chronicler Aubry that Philip saw fit to write some sort of account of the Nail story. This observation alone puts him squarely in touch with the event. Also, it seems particularly significant that the four sermons which Philip delivered at Saint Denis happen to occur on the feast of the Dedication of the Church. This happens to be the very feast commemorated by the procession that led to the loss of the Nail.⁸⁷ It therefore may not be too imprudent to offer the conjecture that Philip's connection with the Nail incident was so strong that the abbey extended him a yearly invitation to preach on the feast that was most closely associated with the Nail and its loss. This

⁸⁶On this point, see Payne, "Associa," pp. 251-252; and Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 257.

⁸⁷Robertson in Chapter Five of Servive Books notes this point, but does not reveal the concurrence of the sermons with the nail's loss.

supposition is bolstered somewhat by the startling coincidence that only four such Saint Denis sermons survive for Philip, the exact number he could have delivered between the loss in 1233 and his death in 1236. Perhaps the Nail poems and their music could be the result of a similar invitation.

As a further rejoinder, one may also question Robertson's assertion that Philip would not have wished to glorify Saint Denis at the expense of his relationship to the cathedral. Though a rivalry between the abbey and Notre Dame over each other's relics may have divided the two institutions, Philip's loyalties to the Paris cathedral were by no means unshakable at this time. Incidents from his biography near the time of the Nail's loss show not only that he had suffered a drastic deprivation of authority as chancellor, but also that he was nursing a feud with the current bishop of Paris, the noted theologian William of Auvergne (reg. 1228-1249). William had been elected to the Paris see by the pope on questionable grounds in opposition to the claims of Philip's cousin, the dean of the cathedral chapter. The animosity between this bishop and the Chancellor was to become even more embittered during the final two years of Philip's life.⁸⁸

A few additional observations may help to add further support to the claim of Philip's authorship of these texts: First, outside of the fact that they treat the loss of the Nail, there is no reference to Saint Denis himself, or to the abbey dedicated to him, in either of the two poems. Had they been written by a brother from the abbey, one might expect at least some mention of the institution or its patron.

⁸⁸On these events, see above, Chapter 1.

Secondly, as demonstrated above, the text of the second strophe of Clavus clavo is directed towards a criticism of the ecclesiastical and royal hierarchies. This perspective is typical of many poems by Philip the Chancellor, but not as likely for the establishment at Saint Denis, who favored highly their patronage from the crown.⁸⁹

As a third consideration, evidence that suggests Philip may have written these two poems surfaces in their placement in a major Notre Dame manuscript source (See Table 2). The uniquely preserved Clavus clavo directly precedes a series of Philip's poems in the tenth fascicle of F from folios 437v to 442;⁹⁰ while fascicle 6 of the same manuscript sandwiches Clavus pungens between his conductus Centrum capit circulus,⁹¹ and Luget Rachel iterum, which Peter Dronke has offered as one of Philip's works.⁹²

Finally, to turn a second time to the remarks of the author of the extant Nail incident, a few more details can surface that can argue for Philip's claims to these works. In the quotation presented above from the Saint Denis monk that concerned the symbolism of the Nail and which echoed the sentiments and language of the conductus texts, the chronicler identified his source for the observations only by the

⁸⁹See Robertson, Service Books, for more on the relationship between the court and monastery.

⁹⁰See Falck, Notre Dame Conductus, p. 104. Philip's works comprise numbers 52-54, 56-57, 59, and 61-62. For evidence on the possibility of attribution of the three unattributed poems (numbers 55, 58, and 60) see below, under the discussion of the last datable work, Aurelianus civitas.

⁹¹This work is attested by the medieval chronicler Salimbene, see his Chronica, pp. 182-183.

⁹²"Lyrical Compositions," p. 592.

TABLE 2

THE HOLY NAIL POEMS IN THE MANUSCRIPT F

Number = sequence of the piece within the fascicle.

CAPITALS = medieval attribution to Philip the Chancellor.

Underscoring = attributions by modern scholars.

A. The Placement of Clavus clavo in Fascicle Ten (81 works):

- * 51. Clavus clavo retunditur
- 52. QUISQUIS CORDIS ET OCULI
- 53. HOMO VIDE QUE PRO TE
- 54. NITIMUR IN VETITUM
- 55. Doqmatum falsas species
- 56. HOMO CONSIDERA
- 57. O MENS COGITA
- 58. O Maria O felix puerpura
- 59. CRUX DE TE VOLO CONQUERE
- 60. Aurelianis civitas
- 61. PATER SANCTE DICTUS LOTARIUS
- 62. VERITAS EQUITAS LARGITAS

B. The Placement of Clavus pungens in Fascicle Six (130 works).

- 110. Caput in caudam vertitur
- 111. CENTRUM CAPIT CIRCULUS
- * 112. Clavus pungens acumine
- 113. Luget Rachel iterum

epithet of sapiens, a "wise man" ("Sicut enim per quendam sapiens dictum est"). Such a designation implies a learned authority, and the monk also confers this title on Ovid and Isaiah elsewhere in his account. Though not alone, Philip the Chancellor would certainly have deserved this label, since he was well known as a theologian, and was considered sufficient in wisdom to award the license to teach in the schools around the cathedral of Notre Dame.⁹³ Still more interesting is the fact that the monk does not identify his authority, however cryptically, as a

⁹³See Pierre Aubry, "Comment fut perdu," p. 177, who comes to the same conclusion from this evidence.

brother of Saint Denis. Had the Nail poems actually originated at the abbey, it would appear to be in the interest of our chronicler and the glory of his abbey to alert us to this fact, just as he does of his own authorship of the account and the wish of his abbot to have him relate the events.⁹⁴

Last of all, a consideration of the language used in this same quotation shows it to be typical of techniques very closely identified with Philip's poetic style. Two phrases in particular are striking in their use of word play: his characterization of the effect of the Nail on the kingdom and the Church as "a stable firmness or a firm stability" ("stabilis firmitas sive firma stabilitas"), and also as "the dignity of firmness and the firmness of dignity" (firmitatis dignitatem et dignitatis firmitatem). This same type of poetic conceit, a play on words known as annominatio, is signalled by Peter Dronke as one of the most conspicuous features of Philip's surviving lyrics. A close counterpart to the passage noted by the monk—and there is no shortage of further related examples in the Chancellor's works—appears in the opening lines of Philip's conductus Dic Christi veritas, the composition whose final cauda furnishes the musical material for the datable prosula Bulla fulminante:

Dic Christi veritas.	Speak, Truth of Christ.
Dic rara caritas.	Speak, rare charity.
Dic cara raritas.	Speak, dear rarity.
Ubi nunc habitas?	Where now do you dwell?

(Dic Christi veritas, lines 1-4)

Dronke finds the use of such punning so rampant in the Chancellor's corpus that he even goes so far as to say that Philip seems addicted to

⁹⁴Pierre Aubry, "Comment fut perdu," p. 287.

this mannerism.⁹⁵ It may even be possible that in the surviving paraphrase by the chronicler monk of Saint Denis, there lurks some vestige of the conjectural missing double versicles of Clavus clavo retunditur omitted by the scribe of F.

With the total weight of all the above evidence: the witnesses of the medieval chronicles, the musical settings, the similar forms and themes of the two lyrics, and the state of their preservation in the one manuscript that contains them both, one may strongly suggest that not only were both of these poems occasioned by the loss and recovery of the Holy Nail of Saint Denis, but that they were very probably also written by Philip the Chancellor.

Aurelianis civitas

As was the case with the crusade song Crucifigat omnes discussed above, the latest work in this examination of datable Notre Dame texts, the conductus Aurelianis civitas, is another piece that has not yet been ascribed to Philip. Likewise, in a situation comparable to the Holy Nail lyrics, no contemporaneous source lists him as the author of this poem; but nonetheless the location of Aurelianis in its unique source, the events it relates, and the perspective and language of its poet again suggest that an attribution to the Chancellor is highly appropriate. Furthermore, if such an assignment is indeed correct,

⁹⁵See Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions," pp. 570-573, which abounds with profuse illustrations of Philip's use of this practice.

Aurelianus might well be one of the last poems Philip ever wrote, since it treats of an incident so near the end of his life.⁹⁶

Like the Nail poem Clavus clavo retunditur, Aurelianus civitas is transmitted among the clustered series of lyrics attributed to Philip in the tenth fascicle of F (see Table 2, above). It appears near the end of the twelve conductus in this group, preceded by the Chancellor's famous dialogue between the Virgin and the Cross, Crux de te volo conqueri, and is followed both by the datable Pater sancte dictus Lotarius and his extended lai Veritas equitas, a condemnation of clerical corruption. Although Falck has previously called attention to the significance of this chain of Philip's works in F, he never directly argues for the further ascription of the three poems not otherwise granted to the Chancellor within this collection.⁹⁷ And since Dronke—independently of these reasons—has recently assigned the biting Dogmatum falsas species to Philip on stylistic grounds,⁹⁸ the case for the attribution of Aurelianus is now even stronger.

The historical events that Aurelianus civitas treats also suggest a connection with the Chancellor, since like his noted prosula Bulla fulminante they deal with incidents provoked by the growth of the University of Paris during Philip's tenure. The first three strophes of Aurelianus denounce in no uncertain terms the tragedy of a post-Easter

⁹⁶For another work that also has a tentative claim to this status, see the discussion of the provisional dating of Philip's motet against the Dominican friars, In omni fratre tuo, below in Chapter 7.

⁹⁷These are Dogmatum falsas species, O Maria O felix puerpura, and Aurelianus civitas, in F, fascicle 10, numbers 55, 58, and 60, respectively. See Falck, Notre Dame Conductus, pp. 104-105.

⁹⁸"Lyrical Compositions," p. 592.

riot in the year 1236 between the citizenry and clergy of Orléans. According to the chroniclers of the event, this conflict caused the death of close to one hundred scholars, nobles, and young men who were either murdered outright by the citizenry of the town, or were drowned in the river Loire.⁹⁹ As a result of the carnage, the bishop of Orléans, Philip Berruier, placed the city under interdict and excommunicated the evildoers; whereas some of the relatives of the murdered nobles took matters into their own hands, entered the city, and slew many of the townsfolk.¹⁰⁰ The crisis, however, apparently did not last long and was ultimately settled through the intervention of the king to the satisfaction of both parties.¹⁰¹

Strophes I to III of Aurelianus are thick with reproach for the bloodshed. The poet personifies the city and directly addresses Orléans itself. He claims above all that its earlier dignity is now ruined: it no longer merits the renown of the Holy Cross, whose relics then rested

⁹⁹See Louis Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, Vie de Saint Louis, roi de France, 6 vols., ed. Julien Philippe de Gaulle (Paris: J. Renouard and Co., 1847-51), 2:288, who follows a lost manuscript source that gives the date as "fifteen days after Easter, around April 13;" and Matthew Paris, Chronica majora, 3:370-371, who relates that the riot occurred around the feast of Pentecost.

¹⁰⁰This detail comes from Matthew Paris, Chronica, p. 371.

¹⁰¹Le Nain de Tillemont, Vie de Saint Louis, p. 288

in the Orléans cathedral treasury.¹⁰² Instead, its reward should be the actual torment that the Cross embodies:

Plange, civitas sanguinum, indigna Crucis titulo; pro gravitate criminum,	Mourn, bloody city, unfit for the Cross's title; because of the rankness of your crimes,
digna Crucis patibulo. Nomen perdis Sancte Crucis.	you are worthy only for crucifixion. You squander the good name of the Holy Cross.
Digna crucis pene trucis capitali piaculo.	You deserve a cross of harsh punishment for your mortal offense.

(Aurelianis civitas, lines 15-21)

But the fourth and last strophe of the poem takes a completely different turn, as the poet shifts suddenly from the massacre of the students at Orléans to the more benevolent scholarly environment of Paris.¹⁰³ There is good reason for such an aside, for Paris too had suffered riots and murder in several conflicts between the town and University. The most famous of these happened while Philip was chancellor and occasioned the so-called "Great Dispersion" of 1229-1231.¹⁰⁴

As related in further detail above in Chapter 1, during the Carnival period preceding Lent in 1229, several students of the

¹⁰²A portion of the Holy Cross had been given to the celebrated Orléans bishop Theodulf (ca. 760-ca. 821) by the emperor Charlemagne (reg. 768-814). The presence of this relic, to which the town cathedral was dedicated, moved many to visit Orléans as a stop upon the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela. For more on the Orléans relic and its history, see Jacques Debal, ed., Histoire d'Orléans et de son terroir, 3 vols., Collection: Histoires de Villes de France (Roanne: Editions Horvath, 1983), 1:298.

¹⁰³This shift of perspective, along with the poet's obvious esteem for Paris, makes it quite unlikely that Aurelianis hails from Orléans, as Falck claims in Notre Dame Conductus, p. 5, Table 1.

¹⁰⁴For a discussion in greater detail of the Great Dispersion and Philip's particular role in the conflict, see above, Chapter 1.

University of Paris were slain by the provost of police following riots between them and the townsfolk. The rest of the scholarly community was furious, and demanded the punishment of the murderers. After a suspension of lectures received no attention, the masters dissolved their schools and moved with their students to other towns to continue their teaching. It was this walkout that helped establish other budding universities, among them Oxford and the cathedral school at Orléans. And it is particularly interesting that in his account of the Orléans massacre, Le Nain de Tillemont cites sources which specify that the students killed during the riot were the same ones that had journeyed there during the dispersion from Paris.¹⁰⁵ Although, in contrast to the event at Orléans, Pope Gregory IX had the townspeople involved in the Paris riot punished by the crown, the exile from the capital continued until 1231. In due course, however, the masters did return, but they were now armed with even greater power than before. One principal outcome of the strike was the promulgation of the famed bull Parens scientiarum, a document often referred to as the "Magna Carta" of the University.¹⁰⁶ This bull affirmed and extended the previous privileges of the students and masters and put even further restraints upon Philip's authority as chancellor.

A particularly significant event in light of Aurelianus civitas is that the Great Dispersion of Paris prompted an event that brought Philip

¹⁰⁵vie de Saint Louis, p. 288

¹⁰⁶Rendered on April 13, 1231; published in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:136-139, no. 79; see also Potthast, Regesta pontificium, 1: no. 8707; and Auvray, Les Registres, 1: cols. 385-388, no. 607.

directly to Orléans, and thus provides a further incentive for crediting him with the text of the poem. During the disbandment, the chancellor himself journeyed to Orléans, and there on April 6, 1230, the Vigil of Easter, delivered a sermon to the exiled students in which he exhorted them to return to Paris.¹⁰⁷ An inquiry into this sermon and the language of certain passages it contains can submit additional details that may argue for Philip's authorship of Aurelianis civitas.

Starting with a nondescript text from the book of Ruth, Philip, by means of an observation taken from Aristotle's De animalibus, quickly sidesteps to the main purpose of his sermon. He begins by comparing the students of Paris to bees that have been driven from their original hive. In turning back to the Bible he then likens their new home at Orléans to the Egyptian nurse who saved and nourished the infant Moses, but who was no substitute for his real mother. Continuing with his bee metaphor, Philip concludes his appeal by enjoining the students to return to Paris, because the beekeeper (the Pope) is making every effort to quell the disturbance that drove them away in the first place.

Although six years had passed between Philip's sermon in Orléans and the riots of 1236 that occasioned Aurelianis civitas, some of the phrases in the text of the conductus seem almost to echo passages from his homily of 1230, even though the intentions of the sermon are quite different from those of the lyric. Especially noteworthy are the following excerpts from the sermon, which comprise part of Philip's

¹⁰⁷This has been published in Davy, Les Sermons universitaires, pp. 167-177; and discussed in Steiner, Tenth Fascicle, p. 22.

development of the bee motif. (In the succeeding quotations specific phrases have been underscored and numbered for easy comparison):

Sed aspersum est origanum super loca ipsorum (1) et inimicus homo, (2) quicumque ille sit, superseminavit zizania, ut legitur, et ideo fugerunt et floriferas regiones lustraverunt, ut quietem invenirent. Suspirantes nihilominus ad loca dimissa, quia spes est quod bonus et prudens paterfamilias, scilicet summus Pontifex, purget amaritudinem origani, ut ad loca propria revertantur. (3) Felix locus et felix civitas quae filios dispersos pie collegit. Pie dico, scilicet ut eos nutriet et postmodum matri restitueret.¹⁰⁸

(But the wild marjoram has been scattered over [the bees'] dwellings and (1) an evil man, (2) whoever he may be, has, as it is written, sown over the tares; and hence they have flown away and traversed the flower-bearing regions in search of peace. Even so, they long for their abandoned dwellings, for there is hope that the good and prudent master of the estate, i.e. the Pope, will purge the bitterness of the wild marjoram, so that they may return to their proper dwellings. (3) It is a happy place and a happy city that has dutifully gathered the scattered sons. I say dutifully, of course, that it may nurse them and afterwards return them to their mother.)

And in another passage, based on the book of Ruth, he draws on a similar metaphor:

Haec pulchra generatio [the congregation of scholars at Paris] erat quidem in Bethleem, id est Parisiis, quae est domus panis, et mirum est quod de domo panis, urgente necessitate famis, (4) exire compulsa est. Non famis scilicet panis corporalis, nec cujuscumque panis spiritualis, . . . sed panis spiritualis qui est justitia.¹⁰⁹

(This beautiful family [of scholars] was hence in Bethleem, i.e. Paris, which is the house of bread. And it is strange that (4) they were compelled to leave the house of bread by the pressing need of hunger. Not, that is to say, the hunger for corporeal bread, nor just any type of spiritual bread, . . . but that spiritual bread which is justice.)

¹⁰⁸Davy, Sermons universitaires, p. 169.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 171.

When the underlined and numbered portions of the sermon are compared to their corresponding phrases in Strophe IV of Aurelianis, one can see the analogies in their language, even though the poet has now necessarily changed his perspective (though not his underlying intent), and has made Paris the felix locus et civitas:

cf. (3) above	<u>Urbs beata Parisius,</u>
cf. (1)	in qua si peccet <u>impius,</u> ultione redimitur,
cf. (2)	<u>quicquid inique gesserit.</u>
cf. (3)	Studio <u>locus proprius,</u> civis clero propicius.
cf. (4)	Ad quem <u>redire cogitur</u> quisquis ab ea fugerit.
	(<u>Aurelianis civitas</u> , lines 22-29)

(O (3) happy city of Paris, where, if (1) an evil man should sin, he is compensated with vengeance, (2) however unjustly he has behaved. You are (3) a place proper for study, with a citizenry favorable to the clergy. Whoever flees from you (4) is soon compelled to return.)

Admittedly, the comparisons of these passages are not exact, but one should not necessarily expect them to be so. There is not only a distance of over half a decade between the sermon and the song, but the discrepancies in the design of a prose homily and a rhymed, accentual, rhythmic poem also suggests that exact correspondences need not prevail. The hypothesis ventured here is not so much that the poem was explicitly modeled on the sermon; but rather that when Philip wrote Aurelianis civitas, his homily in Orléans could well have triggered expressions that found their way into the language of the conductus. When either the sermon or lyric is read with the other in mind, the echoes, though slight, appear to be more than coincidental.

The conductus Aurelianis civitas thus provides evidence of Philip's authorship not only through its location in the tenth fascicle

of F, but in the historical circumstances it treats. When the masters deserted Paris and its schools in 1229, it was Philip who went to Orléans to seek their return; and his stance throughout the disturbance saw him virtually alone in Paris, allied with the pope against the designs of the bishop and the royal court.¹¹⁰ Likewise, when the riots of 1236 erupted in Orléans, who other than Philip would be most likely to solicit again the return of the exiles, if only in a poem? If we add to these factors the pugnacious tone and style of Aurelianus, its placement in the manuscript F amidst his other works, and its otherwise inexplicable echoes with his Orléans sermon, the combination of all these elements argues forcefully for the ascription of this text to Philip the Chancellor. And this lyric, written probably in the Spring or early Summer of 1236, only a few months before his death around Christmas of the same year, may well qualify as one of the last of his poetic works.

¹¹⁰On Philip's allegiances during the Great Dispersion, see above, Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 3

POETIC FORM AND MUSICAL STYLE IN THE DATABLE NOTRE DAME CONDUCTUS

As informative as Philip's datable texts are for the light they shed on his life, the events that surrounded him, and the various reasons that coaxed him into writing some of his lyrics, the poetics and music of his eight datable conductus, when bolstered with the evidence of the twenty-four other "occasional" pieces, can also provide evidence of stylistic change in Notre Dame music.¹ Surprisingly, the opportunity for using these datable conductus as a measure of chronological trends in Parisian musical style from ca. 1164-1244 has not been exploited as fully as it might. The literature on the datable corpus that was cited above at the beginning of the previous chapter has contributed little to an overall assessment of the musical development of the Notre Dame school. Deslisle's contribution merely enumerated texts, and most of the later studies have not attempted to consider the entire repertory, for such was not their purpose. In 1985, however, Ernest Sanders offered a preliminary inquiry into the polyphonic datable corpus, which

¹The investigation into the style of Philip's three datable prosulas to organa and conductus caudae, Associa tecum in patria (1212), Crucifigat omnes (1219-1220), and Bulla fulminante (1222-1223), has been deferred to a separate chapter devoted exclusively to his compositions that resulted from the textings of melismatic polyphony. See below, Chapter 4.

for the first time treated it as part of a larger musical-historical continuum and provided observations on some of the observable changes in style between earlier and later pieces.² Nonetheless, even the findings of this important article are limited by the narrow confines of the study. As Sanders himself admits:

The examination of available evidence presented here produces suggested perspectives, even though it yields relatively spotty results, in part because it restricts itself to polyphonic compositions, and, specifically, to melismatic passages.³

Spotty or not, his results are rewarding, for they serve to illustrate certain patterns of musical development within the Notre Dame conductus repertory. Sanders notes that melismatic sections in conductus do not appear in the datable repertory until the late 1180's. They first surface as components of the monophonic Anghia planctus itera and the two-part Eclipsim patitur, two works that mourn the passing of either Geoffery, Duke of Brittany (d. 1186), or his father King Henry II of England (d. 1189). After 1189, caudae are a staple in the polyphonic datable repertory; the only exception to this rule is the strictly syllabic texture of the three-part Crucifigat omnes, which is a special case, since it was initially conceived as a prosula to a conductus cauda.⁴

A progressive complexity in the design of melismas in many polyphonic conductus is also discernible, thanks to Sanders' research.

²"Style and Technique," pp. 505-530.

³Ibid., p. 505.

⁴Ibid., p. 505. Two datable monophonic conductus, however, still avoid the use of melismas after 1189. They are Philip's Pater sancte dictus Lotarius (1198), and the newly attributed Aurelianus civitas (1236).

Soon after their first appearance in Eclipsim patitur, such caudae introduce some increasingly complicated formal schemes. Usually these involve repeated or related musical phrases, which either occur within a single voice, or are divided and imitated among the various parts. Similarly, as the years advance one can distinguish a greater sophistication in the rhythmic phrase patterning of these sections. The homophonic designs of earlier works give way to an increased attention to overlapping dovetailed gestures, where one voice will rest while another continues independently or begins a new phrase.⁵

Sanders offers some observations on counterpoint and rhythm in the datable polyphonic repertory as well. For the former, he notices a general decline in the use of the fourth as a structural harmonic interval, signalled especially by its dwindling presence at cadential points.⁶ For the latter, he demonstrates that the iambic divisions of the perfect long that are customarily associated with the second and third rhythmic modes first appear unequivocally in the concluding melisma of the three-part O felix Bituria, a work that has been placed in the year 1209.⁷ The general incorporation of such rhythms into Notre Dame polyphony, hence, probably did not precede this date by many years. Finally, in addition to his remarks on musical style, Sanders proposes a new date for the well-known conductus Crucifigat omnes; and in his

⁵Ibid., p. 508-510.

⁶Ibid., p. 512.

⁷Ibid., pp. 510-512. However, the circumstances of this particular cauda suggest the possibility that it could be an even later addition to the conductus. On this question, see below.

appended list of 30 datable pieces,⁸ he rejects two that, to his mind, were dated erroneously.⁹

Since Sanders confines his remarks almost exclusively to polyphonic works, and even then chiefly to their melismatic caudae, there thus exists no comparable estimate of the historical development of the monophonic datable repertory, nor of many features in the polyphonic works that lie outside their use of melismatic embellishment. Because monophonic compositions comprise a majority of the delineated corpus of datable conductus (20 out of the total 32), and because melismatic sections are by no means universal, even in the polyphonic repertory, the need for a more inclusive inquiry into these important works is obvious.

There should be no hesitation in using the thirty-two datable conductus to inform the study of Notre Dame style. Except for the textual circumstances that enable us to situate these compositions in time, they exhibit no other exclusive traits; the same forms and styles they present are evident throughout the Notre Dame conductus repertory. There is, however, a noticeable gap that complicates the historical picture. This is apparent in the unfortunate absence of any datable conductus from the years 1199 to 1207. This period is particularly

⁸Ibid., pp. 521-522. Although Sanders does incorporate two prosulas in his list (Crucifigat omnes and Bulla fulminante), he did not include Walter of Châtillon's Dum medium silentium tenerent (ca. 1174), the frequently overlooked anonymous Sede Syon in pulvere, (1192-1197), nor the two offered by Wilhelm Meyer from the Saint Victor manuscript, Gaude felix Francia and Scysma mendacis Grecie. For the dating of the two works in StV, see Meyer's "Der Ursprung des Motett's," pp. 332-337.

⁹These are Nulli beneficium and Nemo sane spreverit. For Sanders' claims for their lack of reference to datable events, see "Style and Technique," p. 521.

crucial for the evolution of Notre Dame music, since it appears quite probable that during the years around 1200 the highly crafted melismatic musical style associated most closely with the liturgical works of Perotin had its genesis and initial development.¹⁰ By the time of Philip's monophonic Christus assistens in 1208 and the intricate polyphony of the two-part Anni favor iubilei from this same year, the same techniques that Perotin exploits in his masterful organa quadrupla Viderunt omnes and Sederunt principes (probably from ca. 1198 and 1199, respectively) seem already fully integrated with the style of the conductus.

Nonetheless, the availability of specific compositions with known dates of creation constitutes an opportunity for inquiry into the evolution of Notre Dame musical style that can no longer be ignored. The observations submitted in this chapter—which proposes to evaluate for the first time all the datable conductus, both the monophonic and polyphonic pieces, and their poetic as well as their musical structures—are thus intended to aid in a consideration of the general development of Notre Dame style. Since the complete datable conductus repertory will be analysed here, the objective is not only to illuminate the specific contributions of Philip's works to the genre, but also to form a more comprehensive view of stylistic currents that run within Notre Dame music.

¹⁰This view is supported by the dates that are often given for the composition of Perotin's quadruple organa, Viderunt omnes (1198) and Sederunt principes (1199). See, for example, Sanders, "The Question," pp. 241-249, especially 243-244. Perotin's organa, their prosulas, and the dates that have been suggested for these compositions are examined in greater detail below, Chapter 4.

Formal Structures in the Texts of the Datable Repertory

The different types of designs in the lyrics of the datable conductus can be classified into four varieties which describe the large-scale poetic form, or strophic organization, of their texts. Each of these arrangements is identifiable primarily through the relationship that the conductus poem displays with its accompanying music. Likewise, each scheme occurs not only within the confines of the datable repertory, but is common throughout the rest of the Notre Dame conductus repertory. The four types comprise: 1) regular strophic forms, where the same recurring block of music is repeated to accompany a series of identically formulated text stanzas; 2) through-composed strophic designs, where several textual stanzas arranged in the same poetic pattern are answered with music that does not mirror their matching forms; 3) strictly through-composed pieces that differ on both textual and musical levels, and possess no repetition of larger formal units; and 4) works that recall a structural feature especially reminiscent of the liturgical sequence, in which the strophes are disposed into a series of pairs and where each double-stanza unit is differentiated by a contrasting musical setting.

Strophic Designs

Of all these four schemes, the most common is the regular strophic form (see Table 3).¹¹ The datable repertory offers twelve conductus of

¹¹In this and the following tables, the pertinent works are arranged chronologically, and Philip's are marked with an asterisk. There is, however, no additional sign beyond the asterisk to indicate the surety of the ascription. For more specific details on such matters, consult Appendix 2 below and Chapter 2 above. A poem encompassing a possible

this type, over one-third of the known corpus.¹² Included among these works are four pieces that survive only as single strophes, but which quite probably were originally multi-stanzaic works.¹³ Four of the

TABLE 3
UNIFORM STROPHIC STRUCTURES
(identical poetic stanzas and music)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Voices</u>	<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Number of Strophes</u>	<u>Lines per strophe</u>
1164	à1	In Rama sonat	1	8
1174	à1	Dum medium silentium	8	8
1173	à3	Novus miles	3	10
1179	à2	Ver pacis aperit	5	8
1186	à2	Eclipsim patitur	4	8
*1187	à1	Venit Jhesus in propria	1	13
1189	à2	In occasu sideris	3	15
1190	à2	Pange melos lacrimosum	4	8
1197	à1	Eclipsim passus	1	12
*1198	à1	Pater sancte dictus	4	7
*1208	à1	Christus assistens	4	10
*1223	à1	Beata nobis gaudia	1	12

twelve are by Philip and both of Walter of Châtillon's two datable works are also included here.¹⁴

time period of several years has the inclusive dates separated by a hyphen; whereas two possible dates for a given piece are distinguished by a slash.

¹²The two datable conductus prosulas, Crucifigat omnes and Bulla fulminante, are also organized into uniform strophes.

¹³These pieces comprise In Rama sonat gemitus, Venit Jhesus in propria, Eclipsim passus tociens, and Beata nobis gaudia reduxit. Three others are also single-strophe pieces, but are lengthier and do not appear to have been conceived on the strophic model. They are Turmas arment christicolas (1192 or 1193) and Gaude felix Francia (1226 or 1244), whose verse scheme is palindromic.

¹⁴ Dum medium silentium tenerent and Ver pacis aperit.

It should not be surprising that regular strophic conductus constitute the most numerous of the large-scale poetic designs in the datable repertory. This particular scheme for organizing Latin poetry appears prominently in the West as early as the fourth century in the poems attributed to St. Ambrose (reg. 370-397), the bishop of Milan who is credited with first popularizing the Latin hymn and securing its entry into the liturgy of the Western church. The great age and continued popularity of the strophic form is also attested by its predominance not only in medieval Latin lyric, but in the vernacular songs of the troubadours and trouvères. By the late twelfth century, during the activity of the earliest composers and poets associated with Notre Dame, the strophic model was a means of arranging poetry and song that already possessed a long history, a widespread esteem, and the stamp of liturgical approbation.

Other than their shared strophic arrangements, there appears little else to tie these twelve datable works to each other. Polyphonic and monophonic compositions are nearly equally represented (5 and 7 works, respectively) and as Table 3 demonstrates there is no distinct preference for either a specific number of lines per stanza or a particular number of strophes per song. The chronological boundaries of datable strophic conductus are also quite extensive. The examples in Table 3 stretch from the earliest known datable piece, In Rama sonat gemitus from the 1160's, to Philip's coronation song, Beata nobis gaudia, of 1223. Hence, ideally, any attempt to evaluate a strophic Notre Dame conductus for the purpose of determining its time of composition should rely on additional stylistic attributes.

Nonetheless, even though the presence of regular strophic works in the Notre Dame repertory extends over at least a half century, it appears significant that a clear majority of its datable examples (10 out of 12) were written prior to the turn of the century. In the wake of the significant musical developments that occurred around the year 1200, an advancement that has been closely connected to the figure of Perotin,¹⁵ it is not unreasonable to conjecture that by the early decades of the thirteenth century a uniformly strophic musical setting of a conductus poem may have been viewed as a piece of restrained, if not conservative compositional workmanship.

Through Composed Poetic Schemes

The previous hypothesis can even be substantiated somewhat by considering the datable poems whose individual strophes are poetically identical, but which feature a separate musical setting for each succeeding stanza. In contrast to the chronological implications of the strophic design which reuses its music, the presence of through composed datable settings of strophic poetry seem to indicate a slightly later phenomenon in Notre Dame music. The first appearance of such a work in the repertory does not occur until after 1185, and the remaining five examples all issue from the thirteenth century (see Table 4).

The same scenario also holds true, but to an even greater extent, for the datable conductus with poetically non-identical strophes—ones that feature not only through composed music, but texts as well. In

¹⁵See, for example, Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," p. 510.

TABLE 4

THROUGH-COMPOSED STROPHIC FORMS
(identical verse schemes with contrasting music)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Voices</u>	<u>Strophic Structure</u>
1186/89	Anglia planctus itera	à1	(2 strophes of 9 lines)
1208	Anni favor iubilei	à2	(3 strophes of 7 lines)
*1209-12	Rex et sacerdos prefuit	à1	(3 strophes of 7 lines)
1223	Alabastrum frangitur	à1	(3 strophes of 12 lines)
1223	O mors que mordes omnia	à1	(3 strophes of 10 lines)
*1233	Clavus clavo retunditur	à1	(3 strophes of 8 lines)

these compositions there is no longer any hint of organization through repetition on the strophic level. Such wholly through composed works do not surface until a decade after the earliest through composed conductus with regular strophic texts, and therefore appear to represent an even later departure from the practice (see Table 5).

TABLE 5

THROUGH COMPOSED POETIC AND MUSICAL DESIGNS

1198	Jherusalem Jherusalem	à1	5 strophes of 12,14,12,6,4 lines
1209	Regi regum omnium	à2	3 strophes of 8 lines
*1236	Aurelianis civitas	à1	4 strophes of 6,8,7,8 lines
1244	Scysma mendacis Grece	à2	3 strophes of 9,17,18 lines

Although it is readily apparent that conductus set to strophic poetry were cultivated throughout the Notre Dame era, the above tabulations suggest that it was only in the decade just prior to the turn of the century that the artists associated with the Paris cathedral began customarily to fashion their music—and occasionally their poetry as well—outside the constraints of the strophic forms that most closely

characterize earlier medieval Latin lyric poetry and the vernacular works of the troubadours and trouvères.

Strophic Pairing: "Sequence" Forms

The last major formal type of poetic design in the datable conductus repertory, which like the strophic specimens also relied on an earlier esthetic, involves the organization of textual strophes into a series of musically identical pairs. This procedure has an especially obvious precedent in the double versicles of the sequence, a form of great antiquity that was especially prized at Paris.¹⁶ One of the most famous Notre Dame poet-composers, the cantor Adam who more typically bears the name of the abbey of Saint Victor where he spent his final days, is credited as one of the major influences on the regularization and cultivation of the poetic and musical form of the sequence.¹⁷

The evolution of the sequence into the form now associated with Adam of Paris and Saint Victor owes much to the same influences that shaped the lyric poetry of the conductus.¹⁸ Although the sequence had

¹⁶For an assessment of the Parisian sequence and its possible contribution to the music of the Notre Dame era, see Fassler, "The Role of the Parisian Sequence," pp. 345-379.

¹⁷On Adam of Saint Victor and his development of the so-called "Victorine" sequence, see Fassler, "Who Was Adam of St. Victor? The Evidence of the Sequence Manuscripts," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 37 (1984): 233-269; idem, "The Role of the Parisian Sequence," pp. 345-374; Wright, Music and Ceremony, pp. 274-278; and Raby, A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927). pp. 348-375.

¹⁸The major points in the following brief outline of the historical development of the sequence are indebted chiefly to Spanke, "Beziehungen," pp. 76-77, 80-84.

originated in the ninth century as a genre that typically featured texts either in prose or in classically influenced quantitative verse, it began by the eleventh century to emulate the styles of the new rhymed, rhythmical poetry. In the course of the next hundred years, some of the significant later developments that were to effect sequence texts included the casting of its paired versicles into stanzas that are often quite similar in length and form to conductus strophes, and ultimately encompassed the fashioning of all the versicle pairs to match each other in structure and length.

Similarly, although most Notre Dame conductus are quite distinct from the typical Victorine sequence in their frequent use of embellished textures, melismatic caudae, and often longer and more varied verse schemes, it is clear that the allure of the paired strophic structure exemplified by the sequence was not ignored by the composers of conductus in Paris. Hans Spanke has explored in detail the appearance of "sequence" designs in Notre Dame conductus and related Latin lyrics. He lists a total of twenty-six texts found in Notre Dame musical manuscripts that present examples of musically paired strophes.¹⁹ At least one other work, the Holy Nail lyric Clavus pungens acumine from 1233, whose text was possibly written by Philip the Chancellor, can be added to this list.²⁰ Quite remarkable is the presence of so many of Philip's attributed lyrics in Spanke's enumerations. Poems ascribed in

¹⁹"Beziehungen," pp. 85-88.

²⁰This poem was probably overlooked because of its unusual presentation in its sources. In both F and Fauv, each of the three strophic pairs of this conductus begins a new system of staves and is likewise headed by an illuminated initial. See the description in the edition of this piece in Volume 4 of this study.

medieval sources to the Chancellor account for just over half (14) of the twenty-seven Notre Dame examples.²¹ This suggests that Philip the Chancellor could very well have played a role in the formulation of the conductus into sequence-like forms that may correspond roughly to Adam's earlier cultivation of the liturgical model.

Of the twenty-seven "sequence-form" conductus in the Notre Dame corpus, at least seven occur within the datable repertory (see Table 6). Included in this list as a possible eighth case is the planctus Sol eclipsim patitur (1188 or 1252), whose four preserved strophes frequently display some striking parallelisms which suggest that it may exhibit a freer, more varied form of strophic pairing. This less regular practice has been associated primarily with the pre-Notre-Dame repertory of versus from Aquitania in Southern France, and therefore would be highly fitting for this composition, which appears to emanate from Spain.²² Besides these seven pieces, Spanke offers a further three datable works (not considered here) that he believes may also have been

²¹This total of twenty-seven includes Clavus pungens. Spanke ("Beziehungen," pp. 85-86) also lists the doubtful attribution O amor Deus deitas among Philip's works, but this piece is not transmitted in the Notre Dame sources, and hence is disregarded in this numbering. For some details on this latter piece, see below, Appendix 1.

²²See Spanke, "Beziehungen," pp. 81-84. Sol eclipsim mourns a "Fernandus Hispanie," and has been assigned to two different individuals: Ferdinand II, king of León (d. 1188) and Ferdinand III, the Saint, king of León and Castile (d. 1252). The former candidate is the one for whom the piece is usually credited in the literature. The only mention of Ferdinand III that I know of stems from Janthia Yearley, "A Bibliography of Planctus in Latin, Provençal, French, German, English, Italian, Catalan and Galician-Portuguese from the Time of Bede to the Early 15th Century," Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 4 (1981): 12-52. I believe there is good reason to argue for the later date, because of indications that Sol eclipsim was added to F after the bulk of its contents had already been entered, see Payne, "Associa," p. 240, note 23.

fashioned in sequence form, but whose sources do not transmit the conjectured additional strophes.²³

As Table 6 demonstrates, the datable examples of conductus poetry in sequence form illustrate two different types of verse structure. Each pair of strophes may either be distinct from the others in its verse scheme, or, alternately, every one of the doubled stanzas may match each other in the length, number, and accentual patterns of their lines. In other words, the texts alone of the second category are indistinguishable from strophic conductus, and the disposition of such a work into sequence form is evident only through the presence of music that offers a different setting for every other stanza. This latter scheme is generally known as the strophic sequence, to borrow Spanke's term.²⁴

²³See Spanke, "Beziehungen," p. 87. It should be noted that he actually suggests two further pieces as possible examples of sequence form in addition to the three mentioned here. The first of these, Sol eclipsim patitur, has been included for the reasons given immediately above; whereas an additional source (the fragmentary manuscript Ch) for the text of the second work, De rupta rupecula (1224), has confirmed Spanke's earlier supposition that this conductus might possess double versicles. The remaining three conductus that could represent lost examples of sequence forms comprise Philip's Rex et sacerdos prefuit (1209-1212), and the two planctus on the death of King Philip Augustus of France in 1223, Alabastrum franqitur and O mors que mordes omnia. On the possibilities for Philip's authorship of all these pieces, see below, Appendix 1. In the meantime, two additional strophes for Rex et sacerdos have indeed surfaced in the manuscript Fauv. See Spanke, "Zu den musikalischen Einlagen im Fauvelroman," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 37 (1936): 212-213. However, their disposition in Fauv does not confirm that this poem was actually performed with doubled strophes, and the two stanzas may actually be later spurious additions, not originally composed by Philip. For more on this question, see the edition of Rex et sacerdos in Volume 4 of this study.

²⁴"Beziehungen," pp. 76-77.

TABLE 6

DATABLE CONDUCTUS WITH MUSICALLY PAIRED STROPHES

A. SEQUENCE FORMS (series of poetically non-identical paired strophes)

1181	Omnis in lacrimas	à1 (3 double, 1 single)
1188/1252	Sol eclypsism patitur	à1 (2 double, varied)
1190-92	Divina providentia	à1 (3 double)
1209	O felix Bituria	à3 (2 double, 1 single)

B. STROPHIC SEQUENCES (paired, poetically identical strophes)

1189	Redit etas aurea	à2 (2 double)
1192-1197	Sede Syon in pulvere	à1 (3 double)
1224	De rupta Rupecula	à3 (2 double, 1 single)
*1233	Clavus pungens acumine	à2 (2 double, 1 single)

The enumeration of these two classes in Table 6 shows that just as with the through composed strophic forms discussed above, both types of "sequence-style" pieces are absent from the earliest layer of datable Notre Dame compositions. Conductus with paired strophes do not arrive until 1181, as much as fifteen years after the earliest datable compositions. In terms of the division between the two categories of sequence forms, strophic sequences in particular appear to be a later development that persisted longer in practice. The first datable instance of a such a work (Redit etas aurea of 1189) postdates the earliest member of the less regular, "non-strophic" type by eight years (Omnis in lacrimas from 1181). Likewise, the 1209 O felix Bituria is the only example of a "non-strophic" sequence that can be dated after the turn of the century. This apparently later appearance in the conductus repertory of the strophic sequence, where all stanzas are

essentially equal in form, therefore relates to the evolution of the liturgical sequence as an increasingly uniform poetic structure.

As the above observations have shown, O felix Bituria (1209) constitutes the one major obstacle towards an attempt to show a clear preference for strophic sequence forms over the less regular type in the latter half of the datable repertory. Nevertheless, even though O felix clearly varies the verse structure of its strophes, it features some musical and poetic anomalies which argue strongly for its consideration as a special case. Its first stanzaic pair (Strophes Ia and Ib) consists exclusively of seven-syllable verses, and divides into two half-strophes of eight lines each. Were it a strophic sequence, one would expect that the rest of the text would show the same structure. This is not the case, however, for an examination of the rest of the poem reveals the presence of lines composed of six syllables. In Strophe IIa, this shorter line alternates consistently with the longer one, creating four couplets of seven-plus-six syllables:

IIa.	Per hunc mors conteritur,	(7)
	premitur natura,	(6)
	dum lux cecis redditur,	(7)
	dum lucent obscura,	(6)
	dum actus regreditur,	(7)
	perdit sua iura,	(6)
	quod Deus prosequitur	(7)
	melior natura.	(6)

(O felix Bituria, lines 17-24)

But in a most curious manner, the second half of the unit (IIb) does not mirror this scheme, despite the fact that it is intended for the same music as the first. It opens with a couplet of thirteen syllables like

IIa, but then in its third line returns to the isosyllabic, seven-syllable scheme of Ia and Ib for the remainder of the stanza:²⁵

IIb. Penas hic sustenuit, (7)
 ne penas incurret; (6)

sibi mortem intulit, (7)
 mortem ut effugeret; (7)
 eum mundum abstulit, (7)
 ut in mundo viveret; (7)
 mundus carnem domuit, (7)
 ne carnem subcumberet. (7)

(O felix Bituria, lines 25-32)

As a further complication of the scheme, the final strophe, which presents a single stanza without a matched pair (an occurrence that is common for final strophes of Notre Dame conductus in "sequence" form), not only once again presents the same series of couplets that were seen above in Strophe IIa, but extends the eight-line design of the previous members to form a strophe of twelve verses:

III. Mundus hic a crimine (7)
 vixit et in mundo, (6)

hones a limine (7)
 salutavit, mundo (6)

corde vixit munere, (7)
 mundus in profundo (6)

non submersus remige (7)
 Christo fuit; fundo (6)

tibi preces, inclite, (7)
 pro me funde Christo, (6)

²⁵As should be expected, the music for this stanzaic pair allows for the execution of both types of verse. The setting, overlaid in the sources to the text of Strophe IIa, features a consistent rhythmic extension of the penultimate syllable exactly in those phrases that correspond to the lines in IIa and IIb with the changing syllable count. It would thus have been a simple matter in performance to split the single notes and divide the pitches of the ligatures to accommodate the extra syllables for these lines.

ut sub recto tramite (7)
 cursu curram isto. (6)
 (O felix Bituria, lines 33-44)

Yet despite these inconsistencies, Spanke, surprisingly enough, reckons O felix among the strophic sequences in his listing of conductus in sequence form.²⁶ He based his claim chiefly on the fact that since each half of Strophe II was intended for performance to the same block of music, there was apparently no reason to regard the lines of six and seven syllables as different entities. One should rather assume that the poet and composer considered them to be equivalent. As for the extended twelve line structure of the deviating Strophe III, Spanke dismissed it as a mere "metrical elongation."

Although Spanke's classification of O felix Bituria in the category of strophic sequences would actually support the assertions made in this chapter of a historical preference for strophic sequences after the "watershed" year of 1200, I believe one should emphasize the differences of this composition, rather than artificially forcing O felix (which displays a scheme that no other sequence-style conductus demonstrates) into a category for the sake of convenient classification. As a final indication of the atypical style of this piece, its musical setting provides some telling novelties as well.

O felix is not only curious in its verse scheme, but the way that its composer has fitted the text to music also calls for some comment. It is far and away the most typical practice in the Notre Dame school to set a conductus text to musical phrases that clearly delineate the lines

²⁶For these and the following statements, see Spanke, "Beziehungen," p. 88.

of the poem. Rather than cloaking the verse structure, the music of a conductus tends to expose the design of its lyrics by rendering each poetic line with an individual musical phrase. This same esthetic is also at work in pieces where the music precedes the text, such as the organum and conductus prosula repertory, and—to a slightly lesser extent—the motet corpus. Here the strategy is reversed, however, and the poet instead strives to give order to the music by defining various musical phrases with rhyming verses.

In the third strophic unit of O felix Bituria, however, this distinctive custom is ignored. Thanks to the frequent enjambment of several of its lines—itself a notably uncommon occurrence in Notre Dame conductus poetry—the composer does not set this strophe linearly, but rather seeks to bring out the discrete syntactical units of the stanza through his placement of rests or strokes of division.²⁷ The overall design of this section of the piece is shown as follows, where the ellipses (...) denote the divisions implied by the music. Their absence at the end of a poetic line in the subsequent quotation means that the musical setting contains no breaks of any kind at this point. It should also be emphasized that the only appearance of a melisma within this strophe is very brief and occurs at its very end, on the first syllable of isto:

²⁷Ernest Sanders has also pointed to this rather curious feature in Strophe III of O felix Bituria. See his "Conductus and Modal Rhythm," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 38 (1985): 464-465. For a convenient example in the conductus prosula repertory, where musical phrases and text rhymes are preserved despite the heavy use of enjambment, see the edition of Crucifigat omnes, a text newly attributed to Philip, in Volume 4 of this study.

III. Mundus hic a crimine ...
 vixit et in mundo, ...
 honores a limine ...
 salutavit, ... mundo
 corde vixit ... munere,
 mundus ... in profundo ...
 non submersus ... remige
 Christo fuit; ... fundo
 tibi preces, inclite, ...
 pro me funde Christo, ...
 ut sub recto tramite ...
 cursu curram i...sto.

(O felix Bituria, lines 33-44)

Since O felix Bituria was clearly written at a time when the regularity of the strophic sequence had already gained a foothold in the conductus repertory, and if the rest of the datable evidence can be trusted (as I believe it can) in documenting an increased preference for the strophic sequence in the decades around the year 1200 and its exclusive use thereafter, then this conductus can stand quite comfortably as a lone example of a unique, possibly even experimental musical-poetic composition.

The above examination of the large-scale textual and musical designs in the datable conductus thus shows some interesting and rather paradoxical trends between the different types of strophic conductus (uniform and through composed) and those compositions that feature paired versicles. As the Notre Dame repertory proceeds, a decline is noticeable in dated pieces that feature regular strophic organization on both poetic and musical levels. Only two of the twelve datable conductus in this form were written after the turn of the century. Contrastingly, works with strophic texts set to through composed music increase after 1200, with the first datable example of this type appearing in a conductus dated either in 1186 or 1189. The most recent

practice of all, however, appears in text settings that are through composed both musically and poetically, where the design of their lyrics as well as their music is free from the successive repetition associated with the strophic conductus. These "thoroughly composed" pieces surface at least by 1198 with the example of the planctus Jherusalem Jherusalem and remain to include the very latest of the datable conductus, Scysma mendacis Grece from 1244. On the other hand, an opposite trend is visible in the texts of those datable conductus that employ the doubled strophic pairing typically associated with the liturgical sequence. In these works, which first occur in the datable repertory by 1181, the greatest variety in poetic scheme occurs in earlier dated compositions, while the stricter regularity of the strophic sequence apparently originated later (by 1189) and prevailed longer (until 1233).

* * *

On a slightly smaller scale, the construction and organization of the individual lines of verse within the poetic strophe are likewise suggestive of historical trends in Notre Dame conductus composition. The poetic line schemes in the datable repertory exhibit three major types. These comprise complete pieces or single strophes that either contain 1) isosyllabic patterns, with the same number of syllables per line appearing throughout; 2) a series of distichs, in which lines with two different formations alternate regularly; or 3) less uniform schemes with lines of two, three, or four different lengths.

Isosyllabic Verse Structures

Among the isosyllabic forms that occur in the datable conductus, the most common example with the greatest chronological sweep is the eight-syllable line with a consistent proparoxytonic (antepenultimate) accent (8pp).²⁸ By the time of the Notre Dame school, the 8pp line had the double fortune of being both very old and extremely distinguished.²⁹ It was essentially a rhymed, rhythmical version of the quantitative iambic dimeter, the very meter that Saint Ambrose had used exclusively for introducing his famous hymns to the Western church, and it proved to be especially popular in the north of France, where it attracted the attention of both the Notre Dame poets for their conductus and the trouvères for their chansons.

As a result of its wide acceptance, the use of 8pp lines in datable conductus provides no overt chronological trends, except for its persistence throughout the datable corpus. The exclusive use of such lines throughout an entire poem occurs in eleven texts within the datable conductus repertory. Three are strophic "sequences," four others are single stanzas, and the rest are regularly strophic. There

²⁸A proparoxytonic accent (abbreviated here as pp) occurs on the antepenultimate syllable of a poetic line; a paroxytonic accent (p) on the penultimate. This nomenclature, which identifies a poem by the number of syllables per line and by the placement of the accent at its end, is preferred to the earlier citation of Latin poetic schemes by quantitative meters: trochaic tetrameter, iambic dimeter, etc., since it is the final accent containing the rhyme that is the most invariable within such lyrics. For further explanation of this system, see Dag Norberg, Introduction à l'étude de la versification médiévale, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, no. 5 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1958), pp. 5-6.

²⁹For this and the following remarks, see Spanke, "Beziehungen," pp. 22, 33.

is likewise no consensus among them as to a favored length of lines per strophe or a number of strophes per poem. The chronological boundaries of the 8pp pieces are similarly extensive. They range from the earliest datable conductus, In Rama sonat gemitus, to the two Holy Nail lyrics, possibly by Philip the Chancellor (See Table 7).³⁰ In addition to these works, 8pp lines also appear as the sole component of several specific strophes in three other poems, all of which are assumed to date from before 1200.³¹

TABLE 7

8PP LINES THROUGHOUT EVERY STROPHE

<u>Date</u>	<u>Voices</u>	<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Number of Strophes</u>	<u>Lines per strophe</u>
1164-70	â1	In Rama sonat	1	8
1170	â1	Dum medium	8	8
1186/89	â1	Anglia planctus	2	9
*1187	â1	Venit Jhesus	1	13
1192-97	â1	Sede Syon	3 double	6
1197	â1	Eclipsim passus	1	12
*1209-12	â1	Rex et sacerdos	3	7
1223	â1	O mors que mordes	3	10
*1223	â1	Beata nobis	1	12
*1233	â1	Clavus clavo	2 doub. 1 single	8
*1233	â2	Clavus pungens	2 doub. 1 single	8

Like the use of 8pp lines, isosyllabic strophes with proparoxytonic lines of seven syllables (7pp) are likewise chronologically

³⁰Three other of his datable poems, Venit Jhesus, Rex et sacerdos, and Beata nobis are also included in this group.

³¹The exclusively 8pp strophes appear in the three monophonic conductus Sol eclipsim patitur (1188/1252, the earlier date is the one generally accepted), strophes Ib, IIa, IIb; Divina providentia (1190-92), strophe I; and Jherusalem Jherusalem (1198), strophes I, II, IV, and V.

diverse, although not as numerous in their number of examples.³²

Somewhat more informative for suggesting chronological tendencies is the role played by poems with such lines composed solely of six syllables (6pp).³³ This particular scheme easily recalls the design of alexandrine verse, a pattern associated especially with Old French epic poetry, consisting of a twelve-syllable line with a marked caesura after the sixth syllable. This design was possibly modeled initially on the lesser asclepiad, a quantitative meter fashionable with Classical lyric poets. During the course of the twelfth century, most notably in some of the hymns of Peter Abelard, the caesura became increasingly emphasized by rhyme, which divided the line in half and led to the more common 6pp form found in the Notre Dame conductus repertory.

Two datable works composed solely of 6pp verses appear in the conductus repertory. They are the coronation song Ver pacis aperit from 1179 and the planctus Eclipsim patitur of 1186, which varies a constant 6pp scheme only once in its refrain.³⁴ Besides Ver pacis and Eclipsim patitur, 6pp lines are also prevalent in the first and second strophic

³²Poems composed exclusively of 7pp lines include Alabastrum frangitur (1223), a monophonic lament with three twelve-line strophes; and De rupta rupecula à3 (1224), a strophic sequence with two double and one single stanzas, all again of twelve lines. Considerably earlier are the examples of 7pp lines in individual isosyllabic strophes. These comprise the nine-line Strophe III of the monophonic Divina providentia (1190-1192); and the eight-line opening stanzas of the polyphonic Regi regum omnium and O felix Bituria, both probably from 1209. There is no instance of any datable conductus with strophes formed solely from 7p or 8p lines.

³³The following history of the six-syllable line and its ancestry derives from Spanke, "Beziehungen," pp. 36-37; and Norberg, Introduction, pp. 99-100.

³⁴The refrain shows the pattern: 6pp + 4p + 6pp, or possibly 6pp + 10pp.

pairs of the 1181 monophonic lament Omnis in lacrimas.³⁵ From this evidence, the use of 6pp lines exclusively in a Notre Dame conductus poem suggests the possibility that such works may issue from the three decades before the year 1200. This interpretation has been strengthened by the research of Janet Knapp, who has specifically investigated six polyphonic conductus with an exclusive, or nearly so, 6pp verse scheme.³⁶ She has found that these compositions exhibit a closely related musical style and a notational consistency that aids considerably in the interpretation of their rhythm. Besides the six works examined by Knapp, a further perusal of the Notre Dame conductus repertory reveals only five other examples that rely exclusively on 6pp lines for either their entire verse scheme or for the complete content of specific strophes.³⁷ Only three of these pieces (Fontis in rivulum, Iam vetus littera, and Beate virginis) diverge significantly from the simpler styles of Knapp's "early layer" compositions by presenting both

³⁵The schemes are Strophe I: 2(6pp + 4pp + 6pp) + 2(8pp) + 4(6pp); Strophe II: 4(6pp) + 4pp + 6(7pp). The only other poem with any 6pp lines is the last of the datable conductus, the 1244 Scysma mendacis Grecie, which displays an exceptionally irregular verse scheme composed of lines with six different numbers of syllables. The complexity of this structure is unmatched by any of the other datable conductus.

³⁶See her "Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre Dame Conductus," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 32 (1979), especially pp. 386-397. The six 6pp conductus that Knapp scrutinizes comprise Fulget Nicholaus, Celum non animum, Procurans odium, Si mundus viveret, Heu quo progreditur, and Ver pacis aperit.

³⁷These are the two-part Iam vetus littera and Beate virginis, the monophonic Veris principium (from the eleventh fascicle of F), Beata viscera Marie virginis cuius (a composition by Philip the Chancellor and Perotin), and the first two strophes of Fontis in rivulum, whose text is also assigned to Philip. Not reckoned as separate pieces in this numbering are the two contrafacts of Procurans odium, Purgator criminum and Philip's Suspirat spiritus.

a richly ornamented setting of the text and extensive melismatic interludes throughout the course of each work. These observations imply that the bulk of the 6pp conductus repertory—those pieces that correspond stylistically to the datable Ver pacis aperit (1179) and Eclipsim patitur (1186)—were also likely composed before 1190, and that the use of an isosyllabic 6pp verse structure did not make great inroads in the development of the more complex, melismatically suffused works associated with the datable thirteenth century repertory.

Closely related to the 6pp verse, both in its structure and in its isolated use in the conductus repertory, is the line of ten syllables with a regular antepenultimate accent (10pp). This specific design, which may rely on the quantitative dactylic tetrameter catalectic is well represented in vernacular literature, both in Provençal and Old French, and was especially favored for the chanson de geste.³⁸ The 10pp line as used in Notre Dame conductus nearly always features a caesura after the fourth syllable, which suggests that it may be easily and conveniently viewed as a 6pp line with a four-syllable unit added to its beginning.³⁹ And indeed the use and treatment of 10pp lines in Notre Dame conductus additionally suggest a close connection to the six-syllable variety.

Isosyllabic texts of 10pp lines occur only six times in the conductus from the major Notre Dame sources. It should therefore be

³⁸See Frank M. Chambers, An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1985), pp. 1-5. On the possible derivation of the 10pp from quantitative meter, see Norberg, Introduction, p. 153.

³⁹See also Knapp, "Musical Declamation," p. 397, for this claim.

counted as a stroke of extremely good fortune that one example can be dated: Philip the Chancellor's encomium to Innocent III, Pater sancte dictus Lotarius, a poem that was probably written close to the time of the Pope's investiture in 1198.⁴⁰ Of the other five examples, the two-part O varium fortune lubricum and Philip's monophonic Homo vide que pro te patior share with Pater sancte and the majority of the isosyllabic 6pp works a fairly simple style, with heavy ornamentation of the melodic line and sections devoted to melismatic caudae both notably absent. The same trends persist in Fidelium sonet vox sobria and Leto leta concio hac die,⁴¹ two monophonic Latin rondelli from the eleventh fascicle of F. The only exception to these five works is Christi miles Christo quo militat, a composition for two voices that features a noticeably uncomplicated text setting, but which brandishes extensive caudae at the beginning and end of each of the five 10pp couplets that make up its strophes. The consistency in style, however, of the other, plainer decasyllabic conductus suggests that these five poems may hail from around the same time as Pater sancte (1198). With the additional evidence of a demonstrable connection between the form and style of works with proparoxytonic lines of ten and six syllables, it is also tempting to suggest a time of composition one or two decades earlier than Pater sancte for most of the 10pp works. Similarly, except for the advanced Christi miles, the sparse number of such conductus and their

⁴⁰On the possibility of a different date for this poem, see above, Chapter 2.

⁴¹Leto leta is the only work that can be disposed into isosyllabic 10pp verses that does not observe the customary division of the line into 4-plus-6 syllables. Rather, the poem consistently enunciates units of 7 and 3.

prevailing stylistic simplicity argues for a period of cultivation that halted shortly after the turn of the century.

Other Line Forms

Strophes composed of regular chains of distichs are rare in the datable repertory, and by themselves do not provide ready means for an arrangement into chronologically earlier or later practices. Any claims for such tendencies must be bolstered with additional datable works that use a less rigorous series of the same two-line units. Two different and representative types of such strictly alternating patterns do, however, appear in the datable repertory. Like the relationship between the alexandrine and 6pp designs signalled above, both first formed a series of longer lines with fixed caesuras that were eventually split into two unequal units through the increasing demarcation of the caesura (as well as the end of the line) through rhyme. One of the two schemes consists of fifteen syllables divided into 8p + 7pp; the other presents thirteen arrayed as 7pp + 6p.

The former of the two is unquestionably the older. Its precursors include a very ancient quantitative meter, the trochaic septenarius or trochaic tetrameter catalectic. This measure has been traced in Latin poetry as far back as the marching songs of the soldiers who served under Julius Caesar. It continued to flourish in early church hymns in a rhythmical rendering, and is perhaps best known as the scheme of the famous Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis of Venantius Fortunatus

(ca. 540-ca. 600).⁴² Interestingly enough, the one datable example that faithfully follows this fifteen-syllable scheme, Pange melos lacrimosum of 1190,⁴³ evokes the precedent of the older hymn in its opening words.

The obstacles in using the 8p + 7pp line for assessing the chronology of Notre Dame conductus seem clear. Spanke cites two other such works that use both the same form and rhyme scheme as Pange melos. They comprise Fraude ceca desolato and Hec est dies triumphalis, both of which are heavily melismatic works that probably issue from the 1200's. He also reveals the additional employment of the fifteen syllable distich in conductus from before the turn of the century in Alain de Lille's Exceptivam actionem and in a poem without a surviving melody by Walter of Châtillon.⁴⁴ Other, less regular occurrences of this pattern within the datable repertory add little additional support. They show that individual stanzas using the elements of the 8pp + 7p model range all the way from the twelfth-century Omnis in lacrimas (1181) to portions of Aurelianis civitas (1236), a poem that was written in the year of Philip the Chancellor's death.⁴⁵

The second instance of reiterated two-line chains in the datable conductus repertory appears not only to be a much more recent discovery

⁴²On this verse form and its history, see Spanke, "Beziehungen," pp. 26-27; Norberg, Introduction, pp. 113-114; and William Beare, Latin Verse and European Song: A Study in Accent and Rhythm (London: Methuen and Co., 1957), pp. 15-19, 138-140, 181-182, and 262.

⁴³The scheme is 4(8p + 7pp) per strophe.

⁴⁴Spanke, "Beziehungen," p. 27-28.

⁴⁵The stanzas consist of: Omnis in lacrimas (1181), Strophe III: 5(7pp) + 3(8p) + 7pp; Requi regum omnium (1209), Strophe II: 4(7pp) + 2(8p + 7pp) and Strophe III: 2(8p + 8p + 7pp + 7pp); and Aurelianis civitas (1236) Strophe II: 2(8p + 7pp) + 3(8p) + 7pp.

than the fifteen-syllable design of Pange melos lacrimosum, but also is more instructive chronologically. This distich of 7pp + 6p syllables is generally known as the "goliardic measure," so called from its frequent use in Latin poems that concern secular and profane themes.⁴⁶ Unlike many of the other schemes that surface in the datable repertory, the goliardic verse has no clear antecedents in classical quantitative meter. Although several examples of this line have been traced back as early as the fourth century, it was not until the middle of the twelfth that the goliardic measure truly blossomed and became one of the most popular of all the verse forms of its time. It is especially closely associated with Philip's predecessor, Walter of Châtillon, and several of his poems in this arrangement are preserved with music in Notre Dame manuscripts.⁴⁷

Even though Spanke has signalled two motets that he believes use an opening series of lines related to the goliardic distich,⁴⁸ the

⁴⁶On the goliardic measure, see Spanke, "Beziehungen," pp. 40-45; Norberg, Introduction, pp. 151-152, 187-188; and Raby, Secular Latin Poetry, 2:196, 248.

⁴⁷For some examples, see Spanke, "Beziehungen," p. 42. Included is the datable Redit etas aurea (1189).

⁴⁸See Spanke "Beziehungen," p. 45. The two motets are Alpha bovi et leoni (presented in Volume 5 of this study, but without a claim for Philip's authorship of its text) and Crescens incredulitas. Both of these works have clausula concordances, and it is therefore arguable whether they represent a conscious decision on the part of their poet to use the goliardic measure, or whether the lyricists of these works were merely setting musical phrases in the clausulae that happened to correspond roughly to a rhythmical rendering of the 7pp + 6p line. The significance of both these works for the chronological trends of the distich in question, however, is not altogether convincing. The opening eight lines of both Alpha bovi and Crescens, do not present the characteristic form of the Latin goliardic measure treated in these pages, but rather illustrate two variant versions of the couplet (already acknowledged by Spanke, "Beziehungen," p. 41) of 4(8p + 6p),

evidence of the datable conductus repertory argues strongly for the most concentrated use of this poetic design before 1200. Only a single datable work, O felix Bituria (1209), gives evidence of the implementation of the thirteen-syllable unit in the conductus repertory after the turn of the century, and the many anomalous textual and musical features of this piece that have been delineated above suggest that it is an unusual specimen, and that its evidence should be treated with great care.⁴⁹ All the other examples of goliardic measure in the datable conductus repertory, whether composed of a strict series of lines or a more varied configuration of its two components, point to the 1170's and 1180's. A possible waning in the influence of the line may even be apparent in the last decade of the twelfth century, when the seven- and six-syllable components of this poetic scheme are eventually mixed with other types of verse, and only then in specific, individual strophes (See Table 8).

A final convention with possible chronological significance emerges from those datable poems with lines formed from three different numbers of syllables. This is somewhat rare, though, and is in most cases confined to select stanzas (See Table 9). The one exception to this rule is the long, convoluted text to the through-composed monophonic lament Turmas arment christicolas from 1192 or 1193, which is not separated into strophes. Datable conductus composed with lines of more than three different lengths are even more infrequent. The unique

and 4(7pp + 5pp), respectively. Both continue with considerable variation from this scheme in their following lines.

⁴⁹See above.

TABLE 8

POEMS WITH GROUPS OF 7PP AND 6P LINES

A. REGULAR DISTICHS

1188/1252 Sol eclypsim	à1 Strophe Ia:	2(7pp + 6p)
1209 O felix Bituria	à3 Strophe IIa:	4(7pp + 6p)
	Strophe III:	6(7pp + 6p)

B. NON-DISTICHAL PATTERNS

1170 Novus miles sequitur	à3	2(7pp + 6p) + 2(7pp + 7pp + 6p)
1189 In occasu syderis	à2	2(7pp + 6p) + 3(7pp) + 4(7pp + 6p)
1189 Redit etas area	à2	3(7pp + 6p) + 2(7pp) + 6p

C. COMBINED WITH OTHER TYPES OF LINES

1190-92 Divina providentia	à1	Strophe II: 6(8pp) + 2(7pp + 6p)
1198 Jherusalem Jherusalem	à1	Strophe III: 2(7pp + 6p) + 8(8pp)

example with four components is the through-composed conductus Scysma mendacis (1244), a piece from the Saint Victor manuscript which is the most recent of the datable works, and, like the palindromic structure of

TABLE 9

STROPHES WITH LINE LENGTHS OF 3 ELEMENTS

1181	Omnis in lacrimas	à1	Str. I: 2(6pp + 4pp + 6pp) + 2(8pp) + 4(6pp)
			Str. II: 4(6pp) + 4pp + 6(7pp)
1190-92	Divina providentia	à1	Str. II: 6(8pp) + 2(7pp + 6p)
1192/93	Turmas arment	à1)	Highly varied (8pp, 7p, 6p)
1198	Jherusalem Jherusalem	à1	Str. III: 2(7pp + 6p) + 8(8pp); 5 Strophes.

its associate, Gaude felix Francia (1226/1244), probably presents an atypical case.⁵⁰ Far from being silent, then, the structures of the poetic texts in the datable repertory provide some significant means for inquiry into conductus style. Not only do the various strophic designs

⁵⁰For other unusual features of the poetry in this piece, see above.

of the works furnish perspectives for clarifying the development of the genre, but even the use of certain poetic schemes in the individual verses of these specific pieces can offer additional information for outlining progressive and conservative trends within the Notre Dame school. As these compositions admirably demonstrate, investigations of their texts as well as their music are essential for any attempt to better comprehend the contributions of Notre Dame artists to music history.

The Music of the Datable Repertory

The evidence provided by the poems in the datable repertory is obviously helpful for expanding our understanding of the evolution of Notre Dame conductus, but even more indicative of stylistic development in the datable repertory is the testimony provided by its music. The recent study by Ernest Sanders that was quoted at the beginning of this chapter provides a valuable initial foray into this topic.⁵¹ By defining areas of musical growth chiefly from the melismatic writing in polyphonic datable compositions, Sanders' efforts were a notable beginning, but a study of the changes in musical style throughout the entire datable Notre Dame corpus still remains to be accomplished. Sanders' results (as he himself admitted) were especially limited by the fact that he did not incorporate monophonic pieces into his evaluations. Their inclusion is indispensable for a balanced overview, since one-part compositions comprise a majority of the datable conductus. Therefore, in an effort to expand Sanders' findings and to reinforce his evaluation

⁵¹Sanders, "Style and Technique."

of chronological trends, the next part of this chapter surveys the entire datable corpus, both monophonic and polyphonic, for evidence of stylistic development, and concludes with some observations on how these findings may apply to the pieces attributed to Philip.

In the interest of clarity and for ease of presentation, it is common to classify conductus by the number of their vocal parts and by the presence or absence of extended melismatic sections known as *caudae*. The same such means of organization are employed by the major sources that transmit the Notre Dame repertory, and they will serve here as well.⁵² The thirty-two known examples of datable conductus divide unequally into nineteen monophonic and thirteen polyphonic pieces. Ten members of the latter group are set in two voices; the remaining three are in three parts. The compositions in these two divisions may be arranged even further into works that exhibit either syllabic or melismatic textures (see Table 10). Although it is true that many of the so-called syllabic pieces are quite often embellished by short groups of neumes or by slight musical extensions on certain syllables, works that are truly melismatic (in the sense that the term is used here) differ noticeably from the others, and the contrast is readily apparent from even a quick glance at the manuscripts. Melismatic conductus frequently intersperse or interrupt the presentation of their poetic texts with segments known as caudae. In some cases these

⁵²See, for example, Falck's discussion of the presentation of three-part conductus in the sixth fascicle of F in The Notre Dame Conductus, pp. 10-12.

TABLE 10

DATABLE CONDUCTUS ORGANIZED BY
NUMBER OF VOICES AND PRESENCE OF MELISMAS

A. MONOPHONIC WORKS

1164-1170	In Rama sonat gemitus	syllabic
1174	Dum medium silentium tenerent	syllabic
1181	Omnis in lacrimas	syllabic
1186/1189	Anglia planctus itera	melismatic
*1187	Venit Jhesus in propria	syllabic
1188/1252	Sol eclipsim patitur	melismatic
1190-1192	Divina providentia	melismatic
1192/1193	Turmas arment Christicolas	melismatic
1192-1197	Sede Syon in pulvere	melismatic
1197	Eclipsim passus tociens	melismatic
1198	Iherusalem Iherusalem	melismatic
*1198	Pater sancte dictus Lotarius	syllabic
*1208	Christus assistens pontiphex	melismatic
*1209-1212	Rex et sacerdos prefuit	melismatic
1223	Alabastrum frangitur	melismatic
1223	O mors que mordes omnia	melismatic
*1223	Beata nobis gaudia	melismatic
*1233	Clavus clavo retunditur	melismatic
*1236	Aurelianis civitas	syllabic

B. POLYPHONIC WORKS

1173	Novus miles sequitur	à3	syllabic
1179	Ver pacis aperit	à2	syllabic
1186	Eclipsim patitur	à2	melismatic
1189	In occasu syderis	à2	syllabic
1189	Redit etas aurea	à2	melismatic
1190	Pange melos lacrimosum	à2	melismatic
1208	Anni favor iubilei	à2	melismatic
1209	Regi regum omnium	à2	melismatic
1209	O felix Bituria	à3	melismatic
1224	De rupta Rupecula	à3	melismatic
1226/1244	Gaude felix Francia	à2	melismatic
*1233	Clavus pungens acumine	à2	melismatic
1244	Scysma mendacis Grecie	à2	melismatic

introductions, interludes, and "codas" are so extensive that they seem to be modest compositions by themselves. In fact, in a number of instances, certain caudae have been separated from their original

framework and have been grafted onto or into other works.⁵³ On at least five different occasions, with the addition of newly written words to their originally "textless" music, certain caudae have indeed produced discrete pieces on their own.⁵⁴

Alongside the classifications presented in Table 10, some principal musical forms among the datable pieces may be distinguished as well. Some of these works use melodic repetition for the opening lines of their texts, some employ less systematic or more varied types of reiteration, whereas others are completely through-composed. What remains important for the succeeding evaluations, and which is crucial in any attempt to use the datable corpus as a barometer for a general assessment of Notre Dame style, is that no ostensible basis exists for linking together the datable textual content of these works to their poetic structure, number of voices, musical style, form, or texture. The techniques of the datable works are therefore representative of the Notre Dame conductus repertory as a whole. With this in mind, the following investigation into the style of the datable conductus repertory, aided and abetted by Sanders' previous research, seeks to discover how the thirty-two examples in this repertory may inform us

⁵³For an examination of these interesting specimens, see Manfred Bukofzer, "Interrelations Between Conductus and Clausula," Annales musicologiques, 1 (1953): 65-103; and Falck, "New Light," pp. 315-326.

⁵⁴These five works, identified here as "conductus prosulas," are treated in detail below in Chapter 4. All such pieces derived from the addition of text to conductus caudae, it can be argued, are probably the work of Philip the Chancellor, and two of these, Bulla fulminante and Crucifigat omnes, may be dated as well. For a consideration of the datable circumstances of these two texts, see above, Chapter 2.

about the general development of Parisian conductus during the nearly eighty years they span.

Datable Monophonic Conductus

Since so much of the general inquiry into Notre Dame music has focused on polyphony, the position of the monophonic pieces in the repertoire has tended to be obscured. This has also been the case in much of the earlier research on the datable repertory, possibly because monophonic works lack so many of the clues that polyphony so handily provides for charting historical development. Increasing complexity in phrase structure among the voices in cauda sections, clear evidence for rhythmic interpretation, and changes in the choice of harmonic sonorities are all wanting in the monophonic pieces. Moreover, the stylistic overview of the one-part conductus shows that they are generally more conservative and exhibit less obvious development after the turn of the century than do contemporaneous polyphonic works.

Trouvère-Style "Cantio" Forms

Within the datable monophonic corpus, however, a distinctive early convention does appear in several syllabic works that embody a common form that is associated especially with the vernacular songs of the troubadours and trouvères.⁵⁵ Such pieces are characterized by the complete absence of melismatic sections, a generally syllabic or at most lightly neumatic setting of text to music, and a structure that presents

⁵⁵These are In Rama sonat gemitus (1164-70), Dum medium silentium tenerent (1174), Omnis in lacrimas (1181); and two works by Philip, Venit Jhesus (1187) and Pater sancte (1198).

an immediate repetition of the phrases for the opening two or three poetic lines. The bi-partite AA/B formal design that is evident in these works has long been recognized as a familiar element of medieval vernacular song. As early as the first decade of the fourteenth-century, the renowned poet Dante Alighieri alluded to the practice in his De vulgari eloquentia, an unfinished treatise on vernacular poetry and song that often features excerpts from the texts of troubadour and trouvère chansons as illustrative material. In a chapter dealing with the composition of the stanzas of a song (cantio), Dante relates the most common formal elements that are found in such works:

We say, therefore, that every stanza is composed in order to receive a specific melody; but there are different ways of doing this. For there are some [stanzas] that proceed all the way through to the end by means of a through composed melody [oda continuata]-that is without a repetition of any phrase and without diesis. And we define diesis as a progression [within a single song] that turns from one melody to another, which when we speak in the vernacular, we call a volta. . . . On the other hand, there are certain [stanzas] that admit diesis; and there can be no diesis according to the way it is defined here, unless a melody undergoes repetition either before, after, or on either side of the diesis. If the repetition is made before the diesis, we say that the stanza has pedes (feet); and it is proper that it should have two, although now and then three appear, albeit rarely. If the repetition occurs after the diesis, then we say that the stanza has versus (verses). If there is no repetition before [the diesis], we say that the stanza has a frons (front); if there is none afterwards, we say that it has a sirma or a cauda (tail).⁵⁶

⁵⁶"Dicimus ergo quod omnis stantia ad quandam odam recipiendam armonizata est; sed in modis diversificari videntur. Quia quedam sunt sub oda continuata usque ad ultimum progressive-hoc est sine iteratione modulationis cuiusdam et sine diesi. Et diesim dicimus deductionem vergentem de una oda in aliam (hanc voltam vocamus, cum vulgus alloquimur.) . . . Quedam vero sunt diesim patientes; et diesis esse non potest, secundum quod eam appellamus, nisi reiteratio unius ode fiat, vel ante diesim, vel post, vel undique. Si ante diesim repetitio fiat, statiam dicimus habere pedes; et duos habere decet, licet quandoque tres fiant, rarissime tamen. Si repetitio fiat post diesim, tunc dicimus stantiam habere versus. Si ante non fiat repetitio, stantiam dicimus habere frontem. Si post non fiat, dicimus habere sirma, sive caudam."

Dante's observations may be paraphrased a little more readily by using the alphabetical designations common to musical analysis: if the form of a song can be represented by AAB, it is composed of two pedes and a cauda;⁵⁷ if by ABB, it features a frons and two versus. Should a work divide in the manner AABB, then it has both two pedes and two versus. If, however, the piece is through composed, it has none of these four elements.

The scheme of the pedes-plus-cauda (AAB) plan described by Dante and designated here as the cantio form, is one of the most common designs in the entire body of medieval song. According to Spanke, the cantio form is first observable in the songs of the earliest troubadours, and it became so fashionable that it soon spread to the Latin lyric. This same form so dominated the conductus written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that it has been estimated that half the surviving corpus, both within and without the Notre Dame repertory, uses this formal pattern.⁵⁸

The influence of the medieval vernacular chanson on the datable Notre Dame conductus is therefore especially evident in the five syllabic works that present cantio forms (see Table 11). Their formal

Dante Alighieri, De vulgari eloquentia, Book 2, Chapter 10.

⁵⁷This particular formal term should not be confused with the melismatic sections of the same name found in the conductus. When used to define the B section of a cantio form, it will be underscored.

⁵⁸See Spanke, "Beziehungen," pp. 142-147, for an account of the development and acceptance of the cantio form. For some observations on the effect this form may have had on the structure and form of its poetry, see Patrick S. Diehl, The Medieval European Religious Lyric: An Ars Poetica, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), p. 93.

TABLE 11

ONE-PART DATABLE CONDUCTUS IN TROUVÈRE-STYLE CANTIO FORM

1164-70	In Rama sonat	1 strophe
1174	Dum medium	strophic (8); <u>versus</u> : cdcd'; refrain: ec'
*1187	Venit Jhesus	1 strophe
1181	Omnis in lacrimas	sequence (3 double, 1 single); three-line <u>pes</u>
*1198	Pater sancte	strophic (4); <u>versus</u> : cc'db'; contrafact.

structures are remarkably uniform. Nearly every one of the specimens within this body of pieces confines their opening section (the two pedes) to the first four poetic lines. Here the musical phrases of the third and fourth lines echo the first and second, respectively, which produces the pattern a-b a-b, or on a larger scale AA. Likewise, the length of the succeeding cauda (the B section of the cantio form) in all but two of these works happens to correspond exactly with the two pedes in their number of lines, but it also may be more independent in its length and structure, as in the nine-line cauda segment of Philip's Venit Jhesus in propria (1187), or the three of his Pater sancte dictus Lotarius. In addition, refrains may even appear, as in Walter of Châtillon's Dum medium silentium tenerent (1174). In two different instances in the datable repertory, however, the cauda section exhibits a repetition scheme of its own that signals the presence of Dante's versus. A representative case of the use of both pedes and versus in a conductus can be seen in Philip's Pater sancte (1198), offered as Example 1, which is actually a contrafact of the trouvère chanson Douce

dame gres et grace vous rent by Gace Brulé.⁵⁹ In this piece the customary pair of two-line pedes (AB AB) is followed by two versus of one line each (CC'), the first member of which closes on the final pitch of the mode (g), the second on its upper third (b). This "unclosed" segment is then completed by the final phrase (D), which sets the last line of text and rounds off the composition by cadencing once again on the final.

Besides their use of contrafacture, these cantio pieces exhibit additional affinities with the trouvère corpus in their employment of poetic form. Most are either strophic, or in two cases consist of single strophes that appear to be the only surviving member of an originally multi-strophic unit.⁶⁰ The only exception to this characteristic is the 1181 Omnis in lacrimas, a sequence form whose first stanzaic pair also diverges from the more usual four-line coupling of pedes in the other datable conductus by admitting a three-line repetition (see Example 2).⁶¹

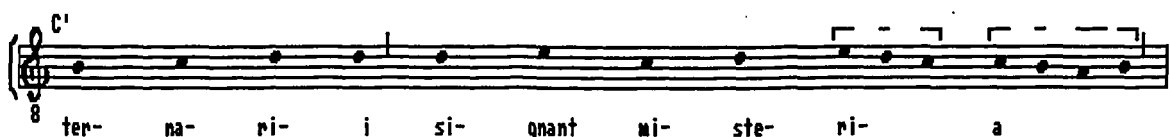
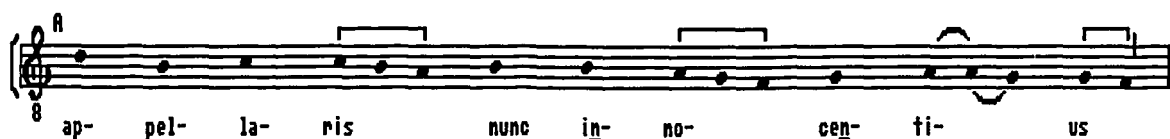
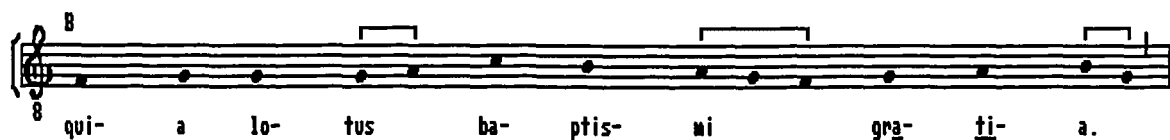
In considering the historical significance of these compositions, it seems consequential that all of these trouvère-style conductus predate the thirteenth century. They range from the earliest datable work, In Rama sonat gemitus (1164-1170), to Philip's Pater sancte from

⁵⁹The only other instance of a secular contrafact among the pieces of the datable repertory appears in the two-part Walter of Châtillon's Ver pacis aperit, whose tenor is identical with Blondel de Nesles' Ma joie me semont.

⁶⁰The relevant mono-strophic works comprise In Rama sonat gemitus (1164-1170) and Philip's Venit Jhesus (1187).

⁶¹A similar design appears at the beginning of the three-part, melismatic De rupta rupecula (1224). See Example 10, below.

Example 1. Pater sancte dictus Lotarius, (1198), F, f. 440.



Example 2. Omnis in lacrimas (1181), Strophe I, lines 1-6, E, f.
415v.

A. 8 O-
mnis in la-cri-mas

B. 8 u-ber-ri-mas

C. 8 sol-va-tur o-cu-lus.

A. 8 Fun-dant-que pa-ri-a

B. 8 sus-pe-ri-a

C. 8 cle-rus et po-pu-lus.

around 1198. Though there are indeed later monophonic compositions that use the opening repetition typical of trouvère chansons, these tend to differ from the ones considered here, in that they contain melismatic caudae, or are prosulas-texts written to conductus caudae that have been dissociated from their original setting.⁶² Hence, that part of the datable repertory that most closely resembles the vernacular songs of the troubadours and trouvères seems, significantly, to embrace a very early layer of compositions. This assertion that is strengthened by the predominance of strophic forms among the relevant examples, as well as

⁶²Such pieces are Beata nobis gaudia (1223) and the prosula Bulla fulminante (1219-1220). What is especially interesting, however, is the fact that quite often the formal designs of the melismatic conductus caudae imitate the AAB forms of the cantio.

the presence of the single datable example of an isosyllabic 10pp lyric in Pater sancte dictus Lotarius. Philip's first two datable works are additionally counted among the pieces in this stratum; and the cantio form is also well represented—both inside and outside the datable corpus—in the surviving music to many of the texts of his older contemporary, Walter of Châtillon.⁶³

Unfortunately, no other formal designs in the music of the datable monophonic conductus appear to be as chronologically decisive as the trouvère-style cantio form, nor are they easily classified. Other incidents of phrase repetition do exist, but such cases either accommodate only a very few examples, or else they are chronologically diverse and therefore not readily indicative of stylistic trends.⁶⁴ Similarly, those compositions which are through-composed on the strophic level, and those with occasional or unsystematic repetition of phrases, appear in the datable repertory soon after the trouvère forms, and coexist with them. The earliest such through-composed strophes occur in the second and third versicles of Omnis in lacrimas, the 1181 conductus

⁶³Walter's works with music that use a trouvère-style cantio form comprise the datable Dum medium silentium tenerent (1192-97), Licet eger cum egrotis, and the polyphonic works Omni pene curie, Ver pacis aperit (1179), along with the questionably attributed Vite perditte. For information on these specific pieces, consult Appendix 3 and the catalogs of Anderson, "Catalogue raisonné," and Falck, in Notre Dame Conductus, pp. 138-256.

⁶⁴Consider, for instance, those datable works that feature an identity between the first two lines of a strophe: Divina providentia (1190-1192), Strophe III; Jherusalem Jherusalem (1198), Strophe IV; Alabastrum franqitur (1223), Strophe III; and Aurelianis civitas (1236), Strophe I; or, alternately, the single example of repetition between only the first and third lines of a strophe in Clavus clavo retunditur (1233), Strophe I (possibly by Philip).

in sequence form, whose initial strophic pair, as shown above, boasts a cantio structure with a pes of three lines.⁶⁵

Melismatic Sections

Somewhat more enlightening for the chronology of the datable monophonic conductus is the noticeable change in style that takes place between the earliest syllabic works and those later ones that contain melismatic sections. The rise of such caudae in the monophonic repertory coincides almost exactly with their appearance in the polyphonic conductus.⁶⁶ Melismas are absent from the five earliest pieces in the datable corpus and first surface as a component of the one-part repertory in the lament Anqlia planctus itera from either 1186 or 1189. Already in this initial achievement, short melismas not only introduce each strophe, but occur throughout this richly ornate composition. Their employment in Strophe II is particularly attractive and indicates that a high degree of fluency has been achieved in this ornate style. In Anqlia planctus, the presence of caudae not only imparts a complexity to this piece that is certainly missing in the trouvère-style works profiled above, but they also serve in this instance as a notable means of delineating the structure of its text (see Example 3). In this example, the discrete placement of short melismas or florid neumes at the beginning of lines 1, 4-6, and 7-9 arrange this stanza into three tercets, which reinforces the interlocking formations of the strophe's rhyme scheme (aba bbc bbc), its

⁶⁵See Example 2 above.

⁶⁶See Sanders, "Style and Technique," p. 505.

Example 3. Anglia planctus itera (1186/89), Strophe II, F, f. 421v.

8 1. Pa- ni- si- us sol pa- ti- tur

8 2. e- cly- psin in bri- tan- ni- a

8 3. ge- ne- ra- li- ter cer- ni- tur.

8 4. 0 di- es mun- do no- xi- a.

8 5. 0 di- es lu- ctus nun- ti- a.

8 6. so lem in- vol- vens la- te- bris.

8 7. 0 di- es no- ctis fi- li- a.

8 8. 0 di- es ca-rens ve- ni- a.

8 9. 0 di- es ple- na te- ne- bris.

syntax, and the anaphora in lines 4, 5, and 7-9 (the exclamation "O dies"). By 1189 and thereafter, caudae are the rule in monophonic conductus. The sole datable exceptions occur only in Philip's trouvère contrafact Pater sancte (1198), in his conductus prosulas, and in the very latest one-part piece, Aurelianis civitas (from 1236 and probably also his work) whose sparse syllabic texture makes one wonder whether it might be a prosula as well.

Several of the caudae among the datable monophonic conductus exhibit polished musical forms and elegant melodic organization. Like their polyphonic counterparts, they too seem to have shared at least partially in the new formative esthetics that are so readily visible in the works of Perotin.⁶⁷ Some of the more ambitious specimens have been included in the following examples. For instance in Example 4, which features two caudae from 1190-1192 and 1223 respectively, a pair of related phrases carves out a melismatic couplet. The two ordines in each part of this example begin with closely related gestures, but finish with cadences that are strongly contrasted through their use of open and closed endings. Other specimens present short repeated motives arrayed as a series of melodic sequences (see Example 5).

Perhaps the lengthiest and most ambitious of all the datable monophonic caudae is the one that ends the 1198 lament Iherusalem Iherusalem (see Example 6). The design of this elegant melisma seems even to resemble a "textless" cantio form in its AA'BB'C structure, except that the correspondence here between the opening sequential

⁶⁷For more of these sentiments, see Sanders, "The Question," pp. 248-249.

gestures is upset somewhat by the strokes that divide the two phrases into uneven components.

Example 4.

- a. Divina providentia (1190-92), Strophe III, final cauda, F, f. 420v.
 b. Beata nobis gaudia (1223), opening cauda, F, f. 433v.

a. condimen- -tum.

b. Be- [Be-](ata)

- Example 5. Three opening caudae: a. Sede syon, (1192-97) F, f. 419v. b. Eclipsim passus (1197), F, f. 429. c. Christus assistens, (1208) F, f. 435v.

a. Se- [Se-](de)

b. E- [E-](clipsin)

c. Chri- [Chri-](stus)

Such melismas as those presented in Examples 4-6, however, are the exception rather than the rule. More typically, the bulk of the caudae that appear throughout the monophonic datable corpus are neither as lengthy, as complex, nor as adventurous as most of their polyphonic

equivalents. Interestingly, several of them present a recurring motive, which is especially frequent at cadential points. The close identity of

Example 6. Iherusalem Iherusalem (1198), Strophe V, final cauda, F, f. 435.

The image displays four staves of musical notation in 8/8 time, representing the final cauda of Strophe V from 'Iherusalem Iherusalem'. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature '8'. The notation consists of a single melodic line with various rhythmic values and rests. The first staff is labeled '(ope-' and the fourth staff is labeled '-ra.'.

this gesture among the various pieces that use it and the broad chronological spectrum it embraces seem almost to recall the reiterative features of centonate chant. (Compare the boxed phrases in Example 7.)⁶⁸

Given the current developments in polyphony, the lack of strong modal rhythmic profiles in the notation of many of the monophonic caudae is also surprising. Only a very few melismas within the datable

⁶⁸This example features the following excerpts:

- a. Sol eclypsim patitur (1188/1252), Strophe II, opening cauda, F, f. 451;
- b. Divina providentia (1190-92), Strophe I, opening cauda, F, f. 420.
- c. Turmas arment christicolas (1192/93), opening cauda, F, f. 431v.
- d. Sede Syon (1192-97), opening cauda, F, f. 419v.
- e. Eclypsim passus tociens (1197), final cauda, F, f. 429.
- f. Iherusalem Iherusalem (1198), Strophe III, opening cauda, F, f. 434v.
- g. Clavus clavo (1233), Strophe II, opening cauda, F, f. 437.

Example 7. Examples of related cadential phrases from the caudae of seven monophonic conductus.

repertory actually appear capable of a sure rhythmic rendering. The majority of these tend either to be very short, comprising only two or three measures, or else they restrict their rhythmic indications only to the opening phrases. Three of the five brief specimens given in Example 8 begin with chains of ligatures that presumably indicate the rhythmic values associated with either the first rhythmic mode or the alternate, trochaic version of the third. Shortly after these melismas begin, though, the phrases quickly disintegrate into less obvious readings.⁶⁹

⁶⁹The cauda excerpts in this example comprise:

- a. Sede Syon in pulvere (1192-97), Strophe I, opening cauda, F, f. 419v.
- b. Iherusalem Iherusalem (1198), Strophe II, opening cauda, F, f. 434v.
- c. Rex et sacerdos preluit (1209-12), Strophe I, opening cauda, F, f. 435v.

Example 8. Five specimens of monophonic conductus caudae that exhibit occasional instances of modal rhythmic patterning.

Example 8 consists of five musical staves, each representing a different specimen of a monophonic conductus cauda. Each staff is written in a single melodic line with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The staves are labeled a through e. Staff a is labeled 'Se-' at the beginning and '[Se-]de' at the end, with a bracketed section in the middle marked 'Rhythms?' and an arrow pointing to the right. Staff b is labeled '0' at the beginning and '[0]' at the end. Staff c is labeled 'Rex' at the beginning and '[Rex]' at the end, with a bracketed section in the middle marked '?' and an arrow pointing to the right. Staff d is labeled 'De' at the beginning and 'te' at the end. Staff e is labeled 'Plan-' at the beginning and 'ge' at the end, with a bracketed section in the middle marked '?' and an arrow pointing to the right. The musical notation includes various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs.

However, a few such caudae are even more exceptional. In three instances from the datable monophonic repertory, melismas appear that are more profuse in their indication of modal rhythms and which also exhibit a scheme of antecedent and consequent phrase pairing that commonly surfaces in the caudae of the polyphonic corpus (see Example 9).⁷⁰ It is well worth noticing, that not only do all the caudae in

-
- d. O mors que mordes omnia (1223), Strophe II, opening cauda, E, f. 448v.
 e. O mors que mordes omnia (1223), Strophe III, opening cauda, E, f. 448v.

⁷⁰This example consists of:

- a. Christus assistens pontiphex (1208), opening cauda, E, f. 435v;

Example 9. Three caudae with extensive modal rhythmic patterning.

a. Chri- (-stus)

b. 0- (-tho)

c. Be- (-ata)

Example 9 hail from well after 1200, but all their texts are by Philip the Chancellor. They consequently present the likely prospect that their music may have been written—or at least strongly influenced—by the hand of Perotin.

Even though the excerpts presented in Example 9 offer evidence of an occasional foray into melismatic writing (and any similar ones could argue for dating around the same time), they remain anomalous. Caudae in later monophonic conductus in most instances tend to maintain the archaic traits of earlier specimens. All of the observations of musical style offered here imply that the monophonic conductus repertory is essentially a more conservative and conventional genre when compared to the polyphonic. Some notable support for this view is presented by the recent trend in the musicological literature that sees the one-part conductus as an essentially non-metrical species that participated

-
- b. Rex et sacerdos preluit, (1209-12), Strophe II, opening cauda, F, f. 436; and
 c. Beata nobis gaudia (1223), opening cauda, F, f. 433v.

little, if at all, in the development of rhythm that is so closely linked to the Notre Dame school.⁷¹ This view is supported by the above assertions that only a few of their caudae—the sections which should be the most indicative of modal rhythm—seem to embrace the new developments in notation and formal construction that so distinguish the polyphonic repertory. Although it is easy to distinguish an early chronological layer from before the year 1200 that appears to depend closely on forms and styles used in the songs of the trouvères, the musical procedures that surface in the bulk of the monophonic datable Notre Dame conductus seem restrained and somewhat static when compared to the new developments taking place in the polyphonic repertory.

Datable Polyphonic Conductus

The polyphonic conductus have rightly been appraised as some of the most impressive witnesses to the new forms, styles, and procedures of the Notre Dame school. Those in the datable repertory can offer weighty evidence for charting the stylistic course of the conductus in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In contrast to the monophonic corpus, the clearer indications of rhythm and phrase structure in polyphony, as well as its accessory features of counterpoint and harmony, make possible more significant observations about chronological development in the Notre Dame conductus.

⁷¹See, for example, Fassler, "The Role of the Parisian Sequence." p. 369; and John Stevens, Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), especially Chapter 15, pp. 492-504. Sanders presents analogous arguments for the interpretation of the cum littera sections of polyphonic conductus in his "Conductus and Modal Rhythm," pp. 439-469.

Polyphonic Cantio Forms

In terms of large-scale musical forms that appear in this segment of the datable conductus repertory, there is an interesting point of contact between the monophonic and polyphonic repertories in the presence of the AAB cantio form in six of the datable multi-part conductus (See Table 12).

TABLE 12

POLYPHONIC DATABLE CONDUCTUS IN CANTIO FORM

1179	Ver pacis aperit	â2	no melismas; strophic (5); contrafact.
1189	Redit etas aurea	â2	melismas; strophic sequence (2 double)
1190	Pange melos	â2	melismas; strophic; <u>versus</u> : cc'c''a'
1209	Regi regum omnium	â2	melismas; Strophe I of 3; <u>versus</u> : cc'de
1209	O felix Bituria	â3	melismas; sequence (2 doub. 1 single)
1224	De rupta rupecula	â3	melismas; strophic sequence (2 doub. 1 single); three-line <u>pedes</u>

As this table shows, the datable polyphonic examples of this form are typically distinct from the monophonic, both in their incorporation of sometimes lengthy melismatic caudae and their preference for sequence structures or through composed strophic forms in comparison to the regular strophic organization of the one-part cantiones.⁷² There is a quite notable exception, though, to both these features in the earliest member of the polyphonic cantio group, Ver pacis aperit. This two-part, five-strophe conductus, the text of which was written by Walter of Châtillon to celebrate the coronation of King Philip Augustus in 1179,

⁷²In the monophonic repertory, the only datable instance of caudae in a cantio form is in the late Beata nobis gaudia (1223).

is actually a *trouvère* contrafact.⁷³ It features no melismas and, except for its added duplum, exhibits no appreciable differences from its monophonic counterparts.⁷⁴ Though this is only a single example, Ver pacis may well be indicative of a style current in the earliest layer of the polyphonic conductus. Like the monophonic pieces that most closely resemble this type of *trouvère* song form, it could indicate that other syllabic cantio schemes in the polyphonic Notre Dame conductus repertory may also stem from the two or three decades that preceded the turn of the century.

It may also be significant that cantio forms occur only once in the datable polyphonic pieces from after the first decade of the thirteenth century. This tendency leads quite naturally to the supposition that with the concentration on other features that prevail in later polyphonic conductus (most notably the development of increasingly complicated melismatic writing) through-composed musical settings became the norm, as did similar departures from regular periodic strophic structures in the production of conductus texts. The only exception to these observations is the example of the three-part strophic sequence De rupta Rupecula from 1224, which differs from the other pieces in having a three-line pes (A-B-C A-B-C), and is especially

⁷³Blondel de Nesle's Ma ioie me semont. See Anderson, "Catalogue raisonné," p. 184, no. J32

⁷⁴Another specimen, the planctus Pange melos lacrimosum, probably from 1190, is also quite close to the style of the *trouvère*-influenced cantio. It does, however, sport a brief final cauda.

unusual in restating all of its parts nearly exactly upon repetition (see Example 10).⁷⁵

Stylistic Layers

The datable polyphonic conductus, like their one-part counterparts, also show changes in the relationship between the setting of text to music throughout the years. This feature may aid in pinpointing differences in style and serve as signposts for the chronological evaluation of other Notre Dame conductus. As with the datable monophonic repertory, the earliest layer of the polyphonic corpus is characterized by a prevalent syllabic declamation and an absence of caudae. This style is generally consistent with the works in the datable repertory that indicate trouvère influence, except in these instances the cantio form need not appear. Strict syllabic style is present in three of the first four earliest works, which also display a regular strophic organization in their texts: Novus miles sequitur (1173), Ver pacis aperit (1179, in cantio form), and In occasu syderis (1189). Thereafter, all of the examples contain melismas, exactly parallel to their appearance in the monophonic pieces.

A more elaborate type of setting, which indicates the presence of a different stylistic approach towards composition, surfaces in Eclipsim patitur from 1186, the earliest datable polyphonic conductus that also features melismatic caudae. This work is especially distinguished from the earlier specimens in the multi-part datable repertory through the

⁷⁵Another datable instance of a three-line pes is found in the earlier monophonic Omnis in lacrimas (1181). See above, Example 2.

Example 10. De rupta Rupecula (1224), Strophe I, lines 1-6, F, f. 245.

De ru- pta ru- pe- cu- la gra- ta flu- unt

po- cu- la cin- re pro- pi- nant ni- sa.

ad cin- re- um ven- ti- cem ni- sa ba- chi ca- li-

cem ru- pe mit- tit ex- ci- sa.

style of its cum littera sections—the divisions of the piece that present the poetic text of the conductus. These portions tend towards a more highly ornate text setting than what is present in polyphonic examples from previous years. An especially noticeable trait in this piece is the way in which its two vocal parts frequently match varying aggregates of ligated pitches that are often so conflicting that they leave some doubt as to their proper alignment and rhythm, if any is indeed intended (see Example 11).

Example 11. Eclipsim patitur (1186), lines 1-4, F, f. 322v.

The image displays a musical score for the conductus 'Eclipsim patitur'. It consists of four systems of music, each with two staves (treble and bass clefs) and Latin lyrics underneath. The lyrics are: E- cly- psim pa- ti- tur splen- dor mi- li- ti- e so- lis ex- tin- gui- tur na- di- us ho- di- e. The notation is highly ornate, with many ligatures and complex rhythmic markings, illustrating the 'cum littera' style mentioned in the text.

Stylistically, the ratio of pitches to words and notational customs evident in Example 11 are rather striking in their resemblance

to works associated with both the Aquitanian polyphonic repertory and the multi-part compositions that are now preserved in the so-called Codex Calixtinus. If Eclipsim patitur is in fact representative of a polyphonic style that was current in the 1180's, it may serve to indicate a second source of influence beyond the indebtedness of the Notre Dame composers to the forms and styles popularized in the vernacular song of the troubadours and trouvères. Through the identification of the composer Albert of Paris (d. 1177) with a cantor of Notre Dame, Craig Wright and others have demonstrated that the Aquitanian, Compostellan, and Notre Dame schools may not be as isolated as has been hitherto suspected.⁷⁶ The few records of twelfth-century polyphonic composition from the area of Paris before the emergence of the Notre Dame school show that the practices that emerge in the Southern French and Spanish sources also made inroads to the North.⁷⁷ Since Eclipsim patitur postdates the repertory of the Codex Calixtinus by several decades it could well illustrate another type of polyphonic conductus style popular at the time of Leonin: a concatenation of two self-reliant, ornately textured musical lines that contrasts strongly to the balance and homogeneity of musical materials under the hand of Perotin and his contemporaries.

Such "Perotinian" consistency in a musical setting appears for the first time only three years after Eclipsim patitur in Redit etas aurea (1189), the coronation conductus for King Richard the Lion-Hearted. This piece is typical of the classic Notre Dame conductus style and

⁷⁶Wright, Music and Ceremony, pp. 278-281.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 336.

exhibits traits that were to persist throughout the remainder of the period. In addition to the two lengthy, elegant caudae that end each strophe, there is now a greater autonomy between the texted and melismatic sections in Redit etas than was apparent three years earlier in Eclipsim patitur. The cum littera sections in Redit etas are now less ornate and recall the earliest, syllabic pieces. But even when a higher degree of embellishment does surface, as in the second strophe of this work, there appears to be a more conspicuous effort to balance the motion of each voice with the other, so that the problems of pitch alignment and rhythmic execution practically vanish (see Example 12).

Example 12. Redit etas aurea (1189), Strophe II, lines 19-22, F, f. 319.

The image displays a musical score for three systems of vocal staves. Each system consists of two staves (treble and bass clefs) with a common time signature of 8/8. The lyrics are written below the staves, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The lyrics are: "Pi- us po- tens hu- mi- lis di- ves", "et ma- tu- rus e- ta- te sed", and "do- ci- lis. et re- rum se- cu- rus". The music features a mix of quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, with some notes beamed together. There are also rests and fermatas throughout the piece.

Pi- us po- tens hu- mi- lis di- ves

et ma- tu- rus e- ta- te sed

do- ci- lis. et re- rum se- cu- rus

Melismatic Caudae

Except for the above observations on form and texture, it is in the development of melismatic caudae that the ongoing changes in polyphonic conductus style are best realized. Ernest Sanders devotes a sizable portion of his study of the datable polyphonic conductus to the examination of this specific feature, and his points are both well made and well founded. In addition to noting the presence of melismas in all polyphonic conductus composed after 1189, he observed that the phrase structure of such sections becomes more developed during the thirteenth century.⁷⁸ We may add here that the formal design of such caudae, in terms of the interrelation and correspondence of musical phrases to one another also shows signs of progress. Even in the earliest instance of polyphonic cauda segments in Eclipsim patitur from 1186 (see Example 13), there are shared motives among the parts, some correspondence through the use of melodic sequence among the phrases, and a rhythmic consistency to them; but the melodies themselves show little in the way of strict formal correlation.

By 1189, in the caudae of Redit etas aurea, there is still no significant rhythmic interplay among the phrases, but the music now betrays a seemingly new formal awareness in its reliance on clearly articulated repetitive structures in each of the two voices. In Example 14, which presents the first of the two caudae in Redit etas, the Tenor states three phrases totalling eight measures that are repeated with only a slight change in the last member in order to produce an open and closed pair of cadences (ABC-ABC'). Meanwhile the Duplum, which is

⁷⁸Sanders, "Style and Technique," pp. 505, 508-509.

Example 13. Eclipsim patitur (1186), final cauda, F, f. 323.

(parce-)

-re.

consistently disposed into four four-measure groups, presents a design with the form DE-DF that closely mirrors the Tenor's structure.

Example 14. Redit etas aurea (1189), Strophe I, final cauda, F, f. 319.

(fugan-)

-tur.

By the end of the first decade of the thirteenth century, formal designs in such caudae as the ones that appear in Redit etas aurea were

further enriched by the dovetailing of phrases among the voices. This manner of achieving an unbroken rhythmic texture within a melismatic section by interlacing the initial attacks and closing cadences of its melodies served additionally to forge some of the most attractive and elegant caudae in the datable repertory. One of the most splendid examples, which exhibits a sophisticated formal structure as well as instances of rhythmic continuity, appears in a melisma from the two-part Anni favor iubilei, probably from 1208 (see Example 15).

This cauda divides into two major parts, consisting respectively of eleven and thirteen measures. The first of these two sections displays a Tenor with the form $AB^1B^2B^1B^3$ (B^2 and B^3 are consequent "answers" to the preceding melodies of B^1). The Duplum, however, shows a slightly contrasting structure (CDE^1E^2), and is further complicated by a short rhythmic overlap with the phrases of the Tenor beginning in the sixth measure of this section. The second portion of the melisma features a Tenor that echoes phrases from the first section (AB^4B^5). In this instance the B phrases generally progress in longs, but still show the same melodic contour as their counterparts in the first section, while the Duplum is basically free. However, through an exchange of motives between the two voices, a fleeting snatch of canonic imitation is produced between the Tenor and Duplum beginning in the fifth measure of this segment. The final two bars of this cauda—essentially a coda—feature a repeat of the Duplum phrase E^1 from section one, now transposed down a fifth in the Tenor (E^3).

In the following decades the caudae that appear in datable examples of polyphonic conductus continue to explore structural

Example 15. Anni favor iubilei (1208), Strophe II, final cauda, E, f. 348.

Section 1

(emuncatori-)

Section 2

[-um]

and melodic features similar to those detailed above, in some cases with an even greater emphasis on motivic interrelationships among the voices, voice exchange, and occasionally canon (see Example 16).⁷⁹

In Example 16a, for instance, the musical material in all the parts is so highly integrated that the opening bar of this cauda

⁷⁹The example consists of the following items:

- a. O felix Bituria (1209), Strophe II, opening cauda, F, f. 209v.
- b. Gaude felix Francia (1226/1244), final cauda, StV, f. 262.
- c. Clavus pungens acumine (1233), Strophe II, opening cauda, E, f. 358v.
- d. Scysma mendacis Grecie (1244), Strophe I, closing cauda, StV, f. 262v.

Example 16. Four examples of progressive caudae from 1209-1244.

a.

Per

b.

(miseracio)

etc.

Example 16-Continued

c.

0

This system consists of two staves of music in a minor key. The upper staff features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the lower staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with similar rhythmic patterns. A finger number '0' is written below the first note of the lower staff.

This system continues the musical piece with two staves. The notation includes various note values and rests, maintaining the melodic and harmonic flow established in the previous system.

This system continues the musical piece with two staves. The notation includes various note values and rests, maintaining the melodic and harmonic flow established in the previous system.

d.

(tua-)

This system continues the musical piece with two staves. The notation includes various note values and rests, maintaining the melodic and harmonic flow established in the previous system. The text "(tua-)" is written below the first note of the lower staff.

This system continues the musical piece with two staves. The notation includes various note values and rests, maintaining the melodic and harmonic flow established in the previous system.

-tur.

This system concludes the musical piece with two staves. The notation includes various note values and rests, maintaining the melodic and harmonic flow established in the previous system. The text "-tur." is written below the final note of the lower staff.

contains nearly the entire melodic substance of its remaining ten measures. On the other hand, the distribution of rests is here so carefully staggered that nowhere do all three parts cadence together, and two of the voices are allowed to converge at only one point. Likewise, in Example 16c, the intricate second-mode rhythms of the first seven measures are complicated even further by an extensive canon at the unison, four measures in length and separated only by the distance of a single perfect Long. Examples 16b and 16d are not nearly as complex as the other two, but do show a reliance on clearly articulated formal structures, transposed and sequentially related motives, and in the latter case, rhythmic continuity through the use of dovetailed phrases.

Rhythm and Harmony

Sanders notes an additional trait in the later works from the thirteenth century, discernible for the first time around 1210, in the exploration of the new iambic rhythmic patterns that were eventually to complete the system of six rhythmic modes.⁸⁰ Although he correctly states that the earliest datable cauda with such rhythms appears in the final melisma of O felix Bituria from 1209, this final melisma exhibits some unusual circumstances, since it also happens to be found as a freely composed Benedicamus Domino setting from the Saint Victor codex. The presence of this cauda in such a guise raises the question as to when this portion of the piece was composed and whether or not it originally served as part of the conductus, which otherwise is

⁸⁰Sanders, "Style and Technique," p. 510-512

completely trochaic in its rhythms.⁸¹ But even if the earliest appearance of the iambic rhythms of the third and second modes is difficult to determine for certain, they were certainly in use by the 1220's as Table 13 shows.⁸² Such evidence can not only help to determine the history of the rhythmic modes in the conductus repertory,

TABLE 13

POLYPHONIC MELISMAS FEATURING EXPLICIT IAMBIC RHYTHMS

1209	O felix Bituria	à3 final cauda (modes 2,3; added later?)
1224	De rupta	à3 final cauda (mode 2)
1226/44	Gaude felix	à2 final cauda (modes 2,3)
1233	Clavus pungens	à2 opening cauda, Strophe II (modes 2,6)

but also may illuminate the development of rhythmic style in the discant clausulae and the early medieval motet.⁸³

⁸¹On the transmission of this cauda, see Falck, "New Light," pp. 321-324, who argues for the priority of the Benedicamus. A possible impetus for appending this melisma to the conductus at a time after its initial composition might be traced to the canonization of St. William of Bourges and the institution at Notre Dame of a liturgical feast in his honor. According to Wright (Music and Ceremony, pp. 79 and 81) and Baltzer ("Performance Practice, The Notre-Dame Calendar, and the Earliest Latin Liturgical Motets," Das musikgeschichtliche Ereignis "Notre Dame," Wulf Arlt and Fritz Reckow, eds., Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, no. 39 [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, to appear]), this feast was established in 1218, nine years after the martyr's death, but not added to the Parisian liturgy until more than a decade afterwards. The later addition of a cauda in the new iambic rhythmic modes and based on a freely composed Benedicamus Domino would certainly have served to embellish the conductus and tie it even closer to the liturgy.

⁸²In this table, caudae with a strict succession of mode III ligatures have not been included, since a possibility remains for reading their rhythms trochaically.

⁸³On the significance of iambic rhythms for the history of the motet and clausula, see especially Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 529-531.

Changes in the choice of harmonic intervals appear here as a final feature with possible chronological significance in the datable polyphonic repertory. Sanders has observed that the use of the unsupported fourth falls out of favor early on as a cadential interval.⁸⁴ Though he offers no specific data, my own survey of the counterpoint in the datable repertory does indeed confirm a general decline in its appearance. Unsupported fourths at the ends of phrases appear very rarely in the datable repertory, and, interestingly, are much more common in the three-part pieces.⁸⁵ Fourth at the beginnings of phrases, however, are found throughout the repertory, and show little evidence of abatement as time progresses. On the other hand, the apparent increase in their appearance, as detailed in Table 14, is most likely occasioned by the greater length of the thirteenth-century works:

The above discussion of musical and textual traits in the datable conductus repertory has confirmed previous suggestions of a notable change in musical style during the decades surrounding the turn of the thirteenth century, and has built upon Sanders' earlier findings to propose some additional elements that may be significant for weighing the chronological development of Notre Dame conductus style. First, the evidence of the datable repertory indicates that through composed schemes in both poetry and music become more common by the early decades

⁸⁴"Style and Technique," p. 512.

⁸⁵They are found in the final cadence of Novus miles sequitur (1173); three times each in O felix Bituria (1209), at the ends of lines 7, 17, and 34; and in De rupta Rupecula (1224), lines 1, 4, and 28. Among the two-part works, there is only a single appearance in Clavus pungens (1233), line 17, which ends with a melismatic chain of four fourths.

TABLE 14

UNSUPPORTED FOURTHS AT THE BEGINNINGS OF CONDUCTUS PHRASES

A. In Three-Part Pieces

- 1173 Novus miles once in Triplum.
 1209 O felix once in Triplum.
 1224 De rupta twice in Duplum (2nd is exact repeat of 1st).

B. In Two-Part Pieces

- 1179 Ver pacis twice.
 1186 Eclipsim patitur twice.
 1190 Pange melos twice (W1), once (F).
 1208 Anni favor 4 times.
 1209 Regi regum 5 times.
 *1233 Clavus pungens 6 times (one is conjectural).
 1244 Scysma mendacis 3 times.

of the thirteenth century. Rather surprisingly, however, the opposite trend is seen in the several conductus that feature strophes disposed into paired versicles (the so-called "sequence" forms). Here a tendency towards strophically organized texts mirrors the same sort of progression that can be seen in the history of the sequence repertory itself. Second, the analysis of individual poetic line schemes in the datable repertory suggests that verses composed of proparoxytonic lines of six and ten syllables, as well as the thirteen-syllable distich known as the "goliardic measure," did not survive long after the year 1200. Third and most notably, this investigation of datable musical style proposes that the presence in conductus of cantio forms modeled on the chansons of the vernacular repertories appears largely in the twelfth century and that the use of secular songs as models or patterns for Notre Dame conductus declines after 1200.

Datable Evidence and the Works of Philip the Chancellor

Having considered the chronological perspectives that have been suggested by the complete corpus of works comprising the datable repertory, this chapter closes with some observations on poetic structure and musical style that will serve as guides for future evaluations of the stylistic evolution of conductus by Philip the Chancellor. In terms of the content of his datable poetic texts, the findings of Chapter 2 have demonstrated a change in tone and subject matter when his earliest texts are compared to his later ones. In his first verifiable poem from around 1187 up through the conductus prosula Crucifigat omnes written between 1219 and 1220, there is little of the bitter criticism of either the church hierarchy or of mankind, the very themes that are so closely associated with his style. Instead we possess lauds to French saints (Associa tecum in patria, 1212), encomia to popes and bishops (Pater sancte dictus Lotarius, 1198, and Christus assistens pontiphex, 1208), and a declaration of support for their undertakings, whether it be to depose an emperor (Rex et sacerdos prefuit, 1209-1212), or to take up the cross for the liberation of the Holy Land (Venit Jhesus in propria, 1187, and Crucifigat omnes, 1219-1220). From the evidence of Philip's dated poems, it is only in the latter part of his career (after the death of his uncle, bishop of Paris Peter of Nemours, in 1218 or 1219) and in the face of the mounting assaults that threatened the authority of his position as chancellor of Notre Dame and the University of Paris, that the poet begins to emerge as we best know him today.

Observations of the poetic forms used in the conductus set to Philip's poetry show the following characteristics: six pieces out of the eleven datable works attributable to him are strophic compositions (this includes two works with only one strophe, and two examples from the conductus prosula repertory),⁸⁶ while two others with a similarly wide chronological sweep are poetically strophic, but offer different music for each stanza (Rex et sacerdos, 1209-12, and Clavus clavo retunditur, 1233). His one possible datable work with paired stanzas (Clavus pungens, 1233) is a late piece that shows the same identity among all the stanzas that defines the strophic sequence, and his last conductus with a date (Aurelianus civitas, 1236) exhibits non-identical, through-composed strophes and the spare syllabic style reminiscent of his organum and conductus prosulas.

The musical practices that surface in Philip's numerous datable conductus are a useful source for positing historical changes in his poetic creations. Thanks to his frequent showing in the datable repertory, the compositions that are assigned to his texts illustrate many of the important developments in Notre Dame musical style that have been outlined in the above pages. His reliance on the cantio form can be illuminated by observing that his one datable trouvère contrafact is an early piece, probably from just before the turn of the century (Pater sancte, 1198), and that the oldest work ascribed to him bears a striking resemblance to trouvère song and may also be a yet undiscovered contrafact (Venit Jhesus, 1187). This would seem to suggest that his

⁸⁶Venit Jhesus (1187), Pater sancte (1198), Christus assistens (1208), Crucifigat omnes (1219-20), Bulla fulminante (1222-23), and Beata nobis gaudia (1223).

other pieces which originated through the retexting of troubadour and trouvère lyrics may also belong to the early part of his poetic career. As shown above, the entire datable repertory seems to confirm this—in fact, Philip's Pater sancte from approximately 1198 is the final datable example of such contrafacture.⁸⁷

The presence of refrains in two datable pieces (Walter of Châtillon's Dum medium silentium tenerent, 1174; and the anonymous Eclipsim patitur, 1186) likewise seems to be an early predilection. This could point to a twelfth-century origin for those poems by Philip that possess this feature. One particularly noteworthy example of its use in his poetic corpus appears in the undated monophonic conductus Beata viscera Marie virginis cuius, which besides its refrain exhibits other archaic characteristics by possessing both cantio form and an isosyllabic 6pp verse scheme. That the music of this piece is attributed to Perotin by Anonymous IV indicates quite strongly that Beata viscera may stem from an association between the poet and composer that significantly precedes both Philip's induction into the office of Chancellor of Notre Dame in 1217, as well as the creation of Perotin's organa quadrupla around the turn of the century.

The preceding assessment of the datable Notre Dame repertory has sought evidence of stylistic conventions and chronological development within a series of thirty-two conductus that can be specifically placed in time because of references in their poetic texts to identifiable events from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Despite

⁸⁷Contrafacts from vernacular works in the datable conductus repertory comprise Walter of Châtillon's Ver pacis aperit (1179) and Philip's Pater sancte (1198).

the fact that the significance of these works for a more comprehensive historical view of Notre Dame style has been virtually overlooked for nearly a century, a close analysis of their features supplies information that is especially helpful for delineating the evolution of musical techniques within the Notre Dame school. The conspicuous presence of Philip the Chancellor among these compositions adds further testimony to his importance for the history of Notre Dame music, for he again proves to be most instructive of all the known poets and composers associated with the music of Notre Dame. With the testimony of the datable pieces, not only his own achievements, but those of the entire conductus repertory can now be seen in a wider context, and the possibilities for additional insight into the chronological advancement of the Notre Dame school now show even greater promise.

CHAPTER 4

PROSULAS TO SUSTAINED-TONE ORGANA AND CONDUCTUS CAUDAE

In addition to the more familiar Notre Dame genres of conductus and motet, Philip the Chancellor cultivated two other species of musical poetry in the form of "prosulas" (textual additions) set to melismatic music from sections of sustained-tone liturgical organa and to final caudae from polyphonic conductus.¹ These two small, but well-defined bodies of works exhibit close generic relationships to both the motet and the conductus, and it is perhaps for this reason that scholars have only recently begun to regard these pieces as separate entities within the Notre Dame musical corpus.² The subsequent examination in this

¹In this study, the use of the word "prosula" in connection with Notre Dame organa and conductus refers specifically to the addition of texts to previously composed melismatic polyphony. The word "trope" denotes here the addition of both words and music. See Steiner, "Some Melismas for Office Responsories," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 26 (1973): 111; and idem, "The Prosulae of the Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale f. lat. 1118," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 22 (1969): 367, for this usage. My earlier work (Payne, "Associa") did not make such a distinction and used the term "trope" for both practices. At other time periods and in other repertoires the use of these particular terms can be much more specific. See Paul Evans, The Early Trope Repertory of St. Martial de Limoges, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 9-15, for an inquiry into the meanings that the words "trope" and "prosula" may convey and for the most rigid application of their definitions.

²Earlier studies tend to group organum prosulas together with motets and cauda prosulas with conductus. For recent exceptions to this practice and a clarification of the genres, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 510, note 46, and p. 527; Norman E. Smith, "From Clausula to Motet," Musica Disciplina, 34 (1980): 65, note 13; and Payne, "Associa,"

chapter of these newly acknowledged genres and the delineation of Philip's role in their creation and brief cultivation shows that his organum and conductus prosulas are not only worthy of consideration as two additional species of Notre Dame composition, but that they are some of the most intriguing, elegant, and historically informative works of the Notre Dame era.

Defining the Notre Dame Prosula Repertory

Compared to the more numerous examples of organa, conductus, and motets, the number of surviving specimens of texted organa and conductus caudae is quite small. Extant medieval sources provide fifteen musical settings of liturgical chant in sustained-tone organal style which feature a poetic text in their upper voices in addition to the words of the chant in the tenor (see Table 15).

Seven of these double-texted organal compositions appear in the complex of manuscripts associated with the Aquitanian school of polyphony in Southern France, and thus precede the rise of the Notre Dame school. A further seven pieces surface in the Parisian Notre Dame codices F and W2, and a later, Eastern European source (Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, 457) provides one further example. An especially noteworthy characteristic appears in several of these works, for five of the Notre Dame compositions are true prosulas; that is, they offer a separate and presumably earlier melismatic version of the music, which in each case stems from a three- or four-part organal setting of the chant. For the other two Notre Dame examples (Beatis nos adhibe and

TABLE 15

TEXTED SUSTAINED-TONE ORGANAL COMPOSITIONS

A. AQUITAINIAN REPERTORY

<u>Text incipit</u>	<u>Melismatic Model</u>
Stirps Yesse florigeram	none
Humane prolis	none
Trino Domino	none
Organa leticie	none
Cedit tempus hyemale (?)	none
Hec est dies sacrata (?)	none
Amborum sacrum spiramen	none

B. NOTRE DAME REPERTORY

<u>Text incipit</u>	<u>Melismatic Model</u>
Vide prophecie	Viderunt [omnes] (respond, à4)
Homo cum mandato dato	[Viderunt] omnes (respond, à4)
De Stephani roseo	Sederunt principes (respond, à4)
Adesse festina	Sederunt principes (verse, à4)
Associa tecum in patria	Sancte Germane [Eligi] (respond, à3)
Veni doctor previe	none
Beatis nos adhibe	none

C. LATER, PERIPHERAL WORK

<u>Text incipit</u>	<u>Melismatic Model</u>
Vidit rex omnipotens	none

Veni doctor previe), the peripheral Vidit rex omnipotens, and all of the Aquitanian works, no such melismatic prototype is known, nor is it likely that they ever possessed such concordances.³

³For support of this claim, see below. The organum prosulas are presented in Volume 4 of this study. For recent editions of the works with no sine littera models, see Tischler, The Earliest Motets, 1: nos. 1 (Stirps Yesse), 3-4 (Humane prolis-Trino Domino), 5 (Amborum sacrum), 6 (Vidit rex); Barbara Barclay, "Organa leticie," Musica Disciplina, 32 (1978): 16-18; Sarah Fuller, "Aquitainian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 3 vols., (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1969), 3:201-206 (on the possible Cedit tempus and Hec est dies; see also 2:472, for the problems in interpreting these two pieces); and Anderson, Opera omnia, 1:9-12 (Beatis), 12-16 (Veni doctor). Two other examples of possible troped organa survive without

Similarly, several cases exist where the music of a polyphonic conductus cauda reappears with an added syllabic text. The particular works with this characteristic are presented below in Table 16. Five of these compositions, grouped under Section A of the table, appear in either F or W2; their parallel melismatic caudae are indicated in the adjacent column. In addition to these five works, the two peripherally transmitted contrafacts of Crucifigat omnes in Section B seem at first glance to be highly qualified candidates for inclusion among such conductus prosulas, since they share with Crucifigat the same music derived from a conductus cauda. In this case, however, they may be omitted from consideration as conductus prosulas, for the circumstances of their survival suggest it is unlikely they were directly conceived as texts to a conductus melisma.⁴ Since both of them possess only a tenuous connection to the Notre Dame environment, and since they also appear in their respective sources in close proximity to Crucifigat,⁵ they most likely came into existence through the substitution of new lyrics to this widely disseminated conductus prosula, rather than from a

their music. See Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1: nos. 2 and 7.

⁴See Payne, "Associa," p. 238, note 12.

⁵Mundum renovavit is unique to the Scottish manuscript W1, and is written in the margin next to a transmission of Crucifigat. Its text is religious and concerns the sanctity of the Virgin Mary. Curritur ad vocem appears only in two German sources, CB and Stutt. In CB, it occurs directly after a presentation of Crucifigat; in Stutt, only the second strophe is presented, and the work is intermingled with a transmission of Strophe I of Crucifigat and the host conductus, Quod promisit ab eterno. The criticism of pecuniary greed in Curritur relates arguments that are similar to the ones that surface in Philip the Chancellor's conductus prosula Bulla fulminante, but the lack of a central Notre Dame source for this piece raises serious objections to its inclusion in the main Notre Dame prosula corpus.

new, independent textung of the closing cauda of the source conductus Quod promisit ab eterno.⁶

TABLE 16

TEXTS WRITTEN TO CONDUCTUS CAUDAE

A. NOTRE DAME COMPOSITIONS

<u>Text Incipit</u>	<u>Melismatic model (final cauda)</u>
Minor natu filius	Austro terris influente (â2)
Crucifigat omnes	Quod promisit ab eterno (â2)
Bulla fulminante	Dic Christi veritas (â3)
Veste nuptiali	Dic Christi veritas (â3)
Anima iuge lacrimas	Relegentur ab area (â3)

B. PERIPHERAL CONTRAFACTS OF CRUCIFIGAT OMNES

Mundum renovavit	Curritur ad vocem
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C. QUOTATION FROM ANOTHER CONDUCTUS

Columbe simplicitas (derived from <u>Veris ad imperia</u>)

Finally, the example in Section C of this table may also be barred from the conductus prosula repertory. Janet Knapp has shown that the final cauda of the conductus Columbe simplicitas features a section of music near its close that also appears in texted form in the syllabic conductus Veris ad imperia.⁷ (The relevant portions from both pieces are presented for comparison in Example 17.) Here, however, the line of

⁶A further pair of contrafacted prosulas surfaces with the examples of Bulla fulminante and Veste nuptiali, both of which share the music of the final cauda from the three-part Notre Dame conductus Dic Christi veritas. In this case, however, both of these texts as well as that of the model are attributed to Philip the Chancellor. Their connection to the main Notre Dame repertory is therefore much more obvious.

⁷See her "Musical Declamation," pp. 385-386 for the first indication of this relationship.

Example 17.

a. *Veris ad imperia*, lines 5-7, F, ff. 228v-229.

b. *Columbe simplicitas*, excerpt from final cauda, F, f. 329.

a.

... que-ru-la me-lo-di-a gra-ti-a pre-vi-a cor-da mar-

b.

(agni-)

cen-ti-a me-di-a vi-ta ven-nat flos in-tra nos.

(-na)

transmission is opposite from what ordinarily occurs in the conductus prosula repertory, and it is the syllabic conductus that has priority.⁸ The music of the last several lines of Veris was first stripped of its text and afterwards inserted within Columbe,⁹ a practice that resembles a method that some scholars have invoked to explain certain unusual clausulae in the St. Victor and Florence codices.¹⁰ As a result, out of

⁸In her paper "Which Came First, the Chicken or the Egg: Some Reflections on the Relationship between Conductus and Trope," presented at the conference Music in the 12th and 13th Centuries at The Ohio State University in May of 1985, and forthcoming in Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson, Lewis Lockwood and Edward Roesner, eds. (n.p.: American Musicological Society, 1990), pp. 16-25, Knapp argues for the priority of Veris ad imperia, based on the fact that only part of its music is quoted, and that this excerpt likewise serves for only a portion of the Columbe cauda. In all other instances in the conductus prosula repertory, a complete final melisma produces an intact prosula. She hypothesizes that in this case the composer of Columbe simplicitas was prompted to include the final phrases of Veris because of the assonance between the texts of the two pieces. The cauda from Columbe decorates the final word agmina of the poem, while in the segment quoted from Veris there is a profusion of words likewise ending with the vowels -ia ("melodia gratia previa corda marcentia media vita vernat flos intra nos"). Knapp concludes in her paper that this is the only demonstrable instance where it appears that the texted version of the music preceded the melisma. Compare her earlier remarks in "Musical Declamation," p. 386, note 17, where she offered a different view.

⁹This is not the only instance where Columbe simplicitas shares its music with other Notre Dame compositions. In F this same conductus concludes with an added Benedicamus Domino versicle that appropriates a clausula on the tenor Domine from the gradual Sederunt principes. This same clausula also serves for the music of the motet Qui servare puberem. In addition, Veris ad imperia's opening lines can be found in the three-part conductus Legis in volumine, and its complete tenor melody appears in the Provençal canso A l'entrada de tens clar, which further suggests the priority of the texted over the melismatic concordances. On the relationships of these various pieces, see Bukofzer, "Interrelations," pp. 69-70 and 77-78.

¹⁰On this question, which presently seems to be resolved in favor of the priority of the clausulae, see Rokseth, Polyphonies, 4:70; William G. Waite, The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony, Yale Studies in the History of Music, no. 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), pp. 100-101; Tischler, "New Historical Aspects of the Parisian Organa," Speculum, 25 (1950): 28-29; Anderson, "Clausulae or Transcribed Motets

the twenty-three examples presented in Tables 15 and 16, only ten specific works (five organum and five conductus prosulas) originated specifically in the texting of pre-existent melismatic polyphony, and all of these hail from the central Notre Dame tradition.

Because they present both melismatic and syllabic versions of their music, the five applicable Notre Dame organum prosulas and the like number of conductus examples provide an opportunity for individual scrutiny that is indispensable for the history of Notre Dame music. The significance of this small parcel of ten compositions lies mainly in their connection to the most progressive and long-lived of all the musical genres that issued from the Notre Dame school; for the techniques that spawned these ten organum and conductus prosulas mirror exactly the methods that produced the earliest motets. Just as the motet originated from the addition of verses to two-, three-, or four-part discant clausulae, these particular organum and conductus prosulas arose through the contribution of a newly fashioned poetic text to previously composed melismatic music. Although such a practice hearkens back to older techniques of adding words to melismatic sections of plainchant, the Notre Dame organum and conductus prosulas, along with the early motet, constitute the first demonstrable instances of setting

in the Florence Manuscript?" Acta Musicologica, 42 (1970): 109-128; Sanders, "The Medieval Motet, p. 507-508; and Jurg Stenzel, Die vierzig Clausulae der Handschrift Paris, B.N. lat. 15139 (Saint Victor Clausulae), Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, ser. 2, no. 22, (Berne: Paul Haupt, 1970), pp. 113-119. For a recent contrasting view that is also highly controversial, see Wulf Frobenius, "Zum genetischen Verhältnis zwischen Notre-Dame-Klauseln und ihren Motetten," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 44 (1987): 1-39.

a text to a newly composed, rhythmically notated voice from a polyphonic melismatic model.

But given the obvious relationship of the Notre Dame prosula repertory to the motet, as well as the appearance of most of the works in a conductus-like guise within the sources,¹¹ is it correct to assume that the organum and conductus prosulas as they are here defined actually represent a distinct genre? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to determine whether the prosulas received any special consideration during the time they were composed, preserved, and disseminated which would indicate that they constitute a specific musical-poetic class.

The Notre Dame Prosulas as an Independent Genre

It is not surprising to find that modern studies of Notre Dame music have often classified the prosula repertory with the more clearly defined categories of conductus and motet,¹² for the medieval theorists who describe thirteenth-century musical practices are completely mute on the subject of these particular pieces. Although in their writings organum has its distinctive subclasses of organum purum, copula, and

¹¹Most of the prosulas are preserved monophonically in their sources, rendering them indistinguishable from monophonic conductus.

¹²For instance, all the organum prosulas (except Associa tecum, which was unknown at the time), as well as the conductus prosula Anima iuge lacrimas, are included in both of the recent complete editions of Notre Dame conductus and motets (Anderson, Opera Omnia and Tischler, Earliest Motets).

discant,¹³ and conductus are described both in terms of the number of their voices (simplex, duplex, triplex, quadruplex) and their musical texture (cum or sine caudis),¹⁴ the prosula repertory and its relationship to the motet apparently never attracted the attention of these teachers and taxonomists. It would thus appear from the absence of theoretical testimony that texts to organa and conductus melismas were not regarded as an individual category of composition in the thirteenth century.

At first glance, the manuscript sources that preserve such pieces—both those with and without melismatic models—seem to confirm this view. The chief Notre Dame musical codices generally group their contents by genre and by number of parts, but they provide neither a separate fascicle nor gathering devoted exclusively to either organum or conductus prosulas. Instead, these works are routinely clustered with motets or conductus. The contents of the most carefully organized, best preserved, and most extensive collection of Notre Dame music, the Parisian manuscript F, are an ideal example of how this design was executed (see Table 17). This manuscript begins with compositions in various styles for four voices, follows with organa and clausulae in three and then two parts, proceeds with a similar scheme first for

¹³For these categories, see the influential treatise of Johannes de Garlandia, which was to form the basis for all later theoretical works that discussed Notre Dame polyphony, including Franco of Cologne. The work is published in Erich Reimer, ed., Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, nos. 10-11 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972) 1:74, 88.

¹⁴These divisions appear most prominently in the important treatise of the so-called Anonymus IV. See Reckow, ed., Musiktraktat, 1:46, 60, and especially 82.

conductus and then for motets, and closes with two separate fascicles devoted to two different types of monophonic conductus. As Table 17 reveals, several prosulas and some of the troped organal works without melismatic models are scattered in F among fascicles six, eight, and ten.¹⁵

TABLE 17

CONTENTS OF THE NOTRE DAME MANUSCRIPT F

FASCICLE 1:	Organa, a clausula, and conductus à4; clausulae à3.
FASCICLE 2:	Organa and clausulae à3.
FASCICLE 3:	Office organa à2; 8 clausulae à2.
FASCICLE 4:	Mass organa à2.
FASCICLE 5:	Clausulae à2.
FASCICLE 6:	Conductus à3 (including 2 motets, a TROPED ORGANUM and 2 CONDUCTUS PROSULAS).
FASCICLE 7:	Conductus à2.
FASCICLE 8:	Conductus motets à3 (including a TROPED ORGANUM).
FASCICLE 9:	Motets à2 (including 3 double motets).
FASCICLE 10:	Conductus à1 (including 1 ORGANUM PROSULA and 3 CONDUCTUS PROSULAS).
FASCICLE 11:	Latin <u>rondelli</u> à1.

The coupling of organum and conductus prosulas with both motets and conductus is thus characteristic of even this most painstakingly organized Notre Dame source. From the initial evidence of the fascicle arrangement in F, it seems that the compilers of thirteenth-century musical manuscripts do not recognize these prosulas as separate categories. Similarly, the scribe of F shows little regularity in

¹⁵The applicable works comprise three from fascicle 6: the troped organum Beatis nos adhibe (f. 250), and the two conductus prosulas Crucifigat omnes (f. 231) and Bulla fulminante (f. 204, text only, following the presentation of its source conductus Dic Christi veritas); one from fascicle 8: the troped organum Veni doctor previe; and four from fascicle 10: the organum prosula Associa tecum in patria (f. 450), and the conductus prosulas Anima iuge lacrimas (f. 433v), Veste nuptiali, and Minor natu filius (both on f. 450v).

grouping these works, standing as they do midway between the styles of of two genres, with either motets or conductus.¹⁶ Similar organizational dilemmas sometimes arise in the other major manuscripts of Notre Dame polyphony. The problem even surfaces in the ordering of some of the earliest motets. Sometimes these too are located in conductus fascicles, and occasionally scribes have even altered them so that some doubt remains as to their generic classification. Such changes to motets may involve stripping away their tenors, including upper parts that are harmonically discordant with the tenor chant, aping the textures of conductus with the addition of caudae, or even combining several of these methods.¹⁷

However, despite the apparent lack of any consistent groupings of organum and conductus prosulas in the major sources, some bits of evidence remain to suggest that scribes of Notre Dame music sometimes recognized these pieces as distinct entities. Although texted melismas apparently never merited a fascicle of their own, several clusters of

¹⁶Particularly curious is the placement of the two troped organa Beatis nos adhibe and Veni doctor previe. The former appears in fascicle 6 among three-part conductus, while the latter occupies fascicle 8, otherwise devoted exclusively to conductus motets. Apparently the location of Veni doctor was dictated by the presence of a rather extended texted discant section over the cantus firmus melisma on the word amoris, which relates it closer to the motet genre. Beatis possesses no such similar passages. On this feature in Veni doctor, see below; and for the placement of these organa in F, see Sanders, "Medieval Motet," p. 510, note 46.

¹⁷Especially significant in this regard is the example of the six motets preserved in W1 (Qui servare puberem, Deo confitemini, Laudes referat, Gaudeat devotio, Latex silice, and Serena virginum). On the idiosyncracies of these specific works and the problems involved with their interpretation and placement in the sources, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 514-517.

works in gatherings otherwise devoted to conductus or motets argue for their treatment as a separate species.

A demonstration of such an approach appears in the final pieces from the tenth fascicle of F,¹⁸ where it is clear that the scribe perceived the related properties of the works he entered here (See Table 18). In this instance, three of the six organum and conductus prosulas that presently survive in F are inscribed together near the end of this collection of monophonic music.¹⁹ The final work in the fascicle, the conductus Sol eclipsim patitur, does little to upset this plan, for it is clearly a later addition.²⁰ Furthermore, the set of eleven blank leaves that concludes this fascicle encourages the appealing speculation that the scribe may have originally intended to include other prosulas along with the group that he was actually able to enter.²¹

A further clustering of prosulas surfaces within the eighth fascicle of the Parisian codex W2. Here the four poems written to the organa quadrupla Viderunt omnes and Sederunt principes appear in an unbroken sequence that both emphasizes the affiliations of these pieces and contrasts them to the surrounding compositions.²² Except for the presence of these four organum prosulas and a single monophonic

¹⁸Specifically, the works found on ff. 450-451.

¹⁹The exceptions are Bulla fulminante, Crucifigat omnes, and Anima iuge lacrimas.

²⁰The appearance of the music and text in this work differs strikingly from those of the preceding pieces, and the decorative initial that should head this composition is missing in a manner that is otherwise inexplicable.

²¹See Payne, "Associa," p. 240, note 22.

²²The four prosulas occur on ff. 167-173.

TABLE 18

THE FINAL FIVE PIECES IN F, FASCICLE 10

<u>Number in fascicle</u>	<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Genre</u>	
79.	Stella maris lux	Conductus	
80.	ASSOCIA TECUM	Organum prosula	} <u>GROUP OF PROSULAS</u>
81.	VESTE NUPTIALI	Conductus prosula	
82.	MINOR NATU FILIUS	Conductus prosula	
83.	Sol eclipsim	Conductus (later addition)	
11 blank leaves. End of fascicle.			

conductus, the eighth fascicle of W2 is otherwise given over completely to motets. This section of the manuscript contains two double motets and eighty two-part works in three alphabetically arranged series plus an appendix.²³ Although the anomalous conductus in this fascicle, the well-known Beata viscera by Perotin and Philip the Chancellor, appears in correct sequence in the second alphabetical grouping,²⁴ the four organum prosulas briefly disrupt this same series following a double motet on the Tenor Mors and the two-part Manere vivere (see Table 19).²⁵

²³See Ludwig, Repertorium, vol. 1, part 1, p. 181, for the organization of this fascicle.

²⁴It occurs on f. 156v, between the motets Ave Maria fons leticie and Deum querite.

²⁵The placement of the prosulas just after these particular motets has caused Anderson to posit the quite probable attribution to Philip of both Manere vivere (a contrafact of the W1 motet Serena virginum) and all three texts of the Mors complex (a triple motet written to a four-part clausula very likely by Perotin). See his Latin Compositions, 2:v; and idem, "Thirteenth-Century Conductus: Obiter dicta," The Musical Quarterly, 58 (1972): 362.

TABLE 19

ORGANUM PROSULAS IN THE EIGHTH FASCICLE OF W2

<u>Number in fascicle</u>	<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Genre</u>	
38.	Mors morsu/Mors que	Double motet	
39.	Manere vivere	Motet	
40.	VIDE PROPHECIE	Organum prosula	} GROUP OF PROSULAS
41.	HOMO CUM MANDATO	Organum prosula	
42.	DE STEPHANI ROSEO	Organum prosula	
43.	ADESSE FESTINA	Organum prosula	
44.	Mulierum natus	Motet	

The placement of the four prosulas here, among motets and outside the alphabetical design that governs the rest of the fascicle, indicates quite clearly that the scribe of W2 considered these particular works to be different from the surrounding compositions. Rather than burying the prosulas among the other motets by splitting them up and arranging them in alphabetical sequence, he inserted them as a separate group in the middle of the fascicle—an aberration that even the most cursory inspector of the manuscript could not ignore.²⁶

Finally, the most convincing witness for the consideration of organum and conductus prosulas as a distinct musical genre surfaces, surprisingly, in a source that transmits only their texts. The manuscript Praha, which contains lyrics attributed to Philip the Chancellor, is not only an invaluable record of Notre Dame poetry, but also represents one of its most carefully organized sources. This

²⁶These works appear at almost the exact midpoint in the fascicle, both in their numbering scheme (nos. 39-42 of a total of 82 works) and their beginning folio (167). The entire fascicle occupies ff. 145-192, whose midpoint is f. 168.

collection of twenty-three lyrics begins with the five prosulas to polyphonic sustained-tone organa, follows them with three conductus prosulas, and then continues with a series of conductus proper. Even the arrangement of Philip's conductus is subjected here to meticulous categorization. It contains, consecutively, four admonitory pieces, four sequences or lais, a miscellany of short strophic works, and closes with two adjoining motets.²⁷ It is thus apparent that the scribe who incorporated the prosulas among Philip's works in Praha either realized that they constituted a specific musical category, or followed an exemplar that was similarly organized. He even bows to an additional custom for sorting Notre Dame pieces within the prosula segment of this manuscript by first supplying those works that were constructed on Gregorian cantus firmi and following them afterwards with pieces derived from the freely composed conductus caudae.²⁸ A similar type of classification along these lines can also be seen above in Table 18 with the three prosulas that close fascicle ten of F.²⁹

It therefore seems that in certain situations the scribes and compilers of the manuscripts that contain the musical and poetic repertory of the Notre Dame school did indeed distinguish works formed from previously existing polyphonic melismas as a separate, definable species. Yet the question lingers why no contemporaneous descriptions of these genres remain to support this assertion. The lack of such

²⁷See Anderson, "Obiter dicta," p. 364.

²⁸This is most obvious in the typical arrangement of the central Notre Dame sources F, W1, and W2, which begin with organa and follow with conductus.

²⁹See above; and Payne, "Associa," p. 240.

testimony can perhaps be explained most readily by noticing that the surviving Notre Dame prosula repertory is extremely small. Only ten such works remain among scores of organa and hundreds of clausulae, conductus, and motets. Despite its close ties to other genres, the practice of troping integral sections of sustained-tone organa and of texting caudae stripped from their parent conductus was apparently a technique that soon died out, leaving its practices to the emerging motet.³⁰ Since they are such a small corpus of works, and also since they rely so closely on techniques that were to be superceded and supplanted by the motet, it should not be surprising that no witness to the existence of the prosulas emerges from the theoretical treatises. The texting of organum and conductus melismas, it seems, died out before the two genres were widely recognized as a specific musical class. But even though poets, musicians, and theorists seem to have abandoned them, they remain invaluable, not only on their own merits, but also for their pointed use of the same procedures that stimulated the creation of the earliest Notre Dame motets, a genre that apparently owed its origin to these unusual works.

The Role of Philip the Chancellor and Perotin

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find another musical category so closely and so uniquely associated with a single individual as the organum and conductus prosulas are with Philip the Chancellor. Of the ten poems that make up this body of pieces, a total of eight are ascribed to him by reliable medieval sources (see Table 20). The

³⁰See Payne, "Associa," p. 237.

remaining two conductus prosulas, Crucifigat omnes and Anima iuge lacrimas, survive anonymously and, given Philip's substantial involvement with the rest of the corpus, are therefore prime suspects for ascription to him.³¹ This speculation is bolstered by the above assertions that the practice of texting sustained-tone organa and conductus caudae lasted but a short time and produced a modest repertory that could easily be the work of a single poet.

TABLE 20

ORGANUM AND CONDUCTUS PROSULAS ATTRIBUTED TO PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR

A. ORGANUM PROSULAS (5 pieces out of 5):

<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Source of Attribution</u>
1. Vide prophecie	Praha
2. Homo cum mandato dato	Praha
3. De stephani roseo sanguine	Praha
4. Adesse festina	Praha
5. Associa tecum in patria	Praha

B. CONDUCTUS PROSULAS (3 pieces out of 5):

<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Source of Attribution</u>
6. Bulla fulminante	Praha, LoB
7. Veste nuptiali	Praha
8. Minor natu filius	Praha, LoB

To fortify this argument, it should be noted that dates have been proposed for one of the organum prosulas and for two of the cauda texts, and all three fall within Philip's lifetime.³² Furthermore, the

³¹I previously suggested this in Payne, "Associa," p. 238, note 12.

³²The three datable prosulas comprise the organum prosula Associa tecum in patria (1212), and the two conductus prosulas Crucifigat omnes (1219-20) and Bulla fulminante (1222-1223). For the events that

circumstances that prompted the creation of Crucifigat omnes (1219-1220), the earliest of the two datable conductus prosulas, have been connected above in Chapter 2 with events that involved members of Philip's family, and therefore offer extra incentives for crediting him with this poem.³³ Finally, as will become apparent below, the poetic style and content of the texts of Crucifigat and Anima iuge contain relationships to his other works that argue strongly for the inclusion of these two pieces in his canon.

Since we can recognize Philip as the sole lyricist for the Notre Dame prosula repertory, it is also striking to observe that the music appropriated for these pieces also appears to stem from a single composer, Perotin.³⁴ The melismatic models for the five organum prosulas comprise Perotin's two massive organa quadrupla Viderunt omnes and Sederunt principes, as well as the no less impressive three-part Sancte Germane, which modern scholars have also accepted as his work.³⁵ In fact, with Philip's involvement in the casting of prosulas to two of Perotin's other works, the presence of a poetic text to the music of Sancte Germane actually helps to support this modern ascription. Since

occasioned these particular works and the bibliography pertinent to this aspect of the prosulas, see above, Chapter 2.

³³Specifically, the text of this prosula mentions the Fifth Crusade, which counted two of Philip's uncles among the forces sent to the Holy Land. See above, Chapter 2.

³⁴See my earlier observations along these lines in Payne, "Associa," p. 238.

³⁵See Rockseth, Polyphonies, 4:56-62; Heinrich Husmann, ed., Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame-Organa: Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Publikationen älterer Musik, no. 11 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1940; repr. ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), pp. xx-xxii; and idem, "Enlargement," p. 194. See also Payne, "Associa," p. 245.

four of the organum prosulas are already associated with compositions known to be by Perotin, the chances are measurably strengthened that the organal source of the fifth text Associa tecum in patria should be his as well. In addition, the close connection of the three-part Sancte Germane with Perotin's Alleluia Posui adiutorium, both which are paired in an appropriate liturgical manner in the two sources that contain both these compositions, lends even further credence to the possibility that he may have composed the three-part responsory.³⁶

The four caudae that serve as the foundation for the five conductus prosulas also reveal ties to Perotin, although in this case no medieval attributions remain to connect the composer as solidly with these works as with the organa. Two of the four source caudae used for the five conductus prosulas are in three parts; the remaining two survive as two-voice works. Both of the three-part melismas (the final caudae to the conductus Dic Christi veritas and Relegentur ab area) belong to a corpus of pieces that is one of the most central and widely transmitted of all three-part Notre Dame conductus.³⁷ In addition, this same layer of conductus exhibits stylistic affinities with several of Perotin's other compositions, most notably notably his above-mentioned

³⁶Both the Sancte Germane and the Alleluia Posui, which set chants belonging to the feast of Saint Eligius, are adjacent in F (ff. 34v-37v) and in the Montpellier motet codex (Mo: ff. 13-20), where they follow Perotin's Alleluia Nativitas. Other applicable sources contain only the Sancte Germane (W1: f. IX and W2: f. 10.). F, likewise, is the only source that shows an obvious attempt at organizing its substantial collection of organa tripla along liturgical lines. See Payne, "Associa," p. 248; and Husmann, "St. Germain und Notre-Dame," p. 32.

³⁷See Falck, The Notre Dame Conductus, p. 47.

organa quadrupla.³⁸ The correspondences are so marked in these cases that it has been ventured more than once that Perotin may be responsible for the conductus in this stratum,³⁹ and the conspicuous presence of his compositions among the sources for the organum prosulas also suggests this possibility.⁴⁰

Similarly, the melismatic sources for the conductus prosulas that stem from two-part compositions (the final caudae of Austro terris influente and Quod promisit ab eterno) are also recognized as widely disseminated, principal members of the Notre Dame repertory.⁴¹ No major claims have yet surfaced for Perotin's authorship of these two pieces; but again, given the substantial number of his compositions among the organum prosulas, they at least deserve consideration for inclusion within his canon.⁴²

The links that have been posed above for text and music, poet and composer in the prosula repertory are significant for the light they shed on the workings of the Notre Dame school, for it shows that Philip and Perotin were active collaborators. In addition, their cooperation produced the monophonic conductus Beata viscera, a song in which the

³⁸Falck, Notre Dame Conductus, pp. 47-56.

³⁹Ethel Thurston, The Conductus Collections of the MS Wolfenbüttel 1099 (1206), 3 vols., Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, nos. 11-13 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1980), 1:16; and Falck, Notre Dame Conductus, p. 56.

⁴⁰See Payne, "Associa," p. 238, note 13.

⁴¹Falck, Notre Dame Conductus, p. 100.

⁴²See Payne, "Associa," p. 238, note 13.

words certainly preceded the music.⁴³ This evidence shows that the association of poet and composer was not confined merely to the trope repertory, for Perotin and Philip also collaborated on conductus. Nor were Philip's texts always written to Perotin's preexistent compositions. As the example of Beata viscera demonstrates, on at least one occasion it was the composer who set the Chancellor's texts.

Philip the Chancellor's Organum Prosulas

Although the Notre Dame prosula repertory as cultivated by Philip the Chancellor definitely exhibits a new awareness of the affinities between rhythmical music and poetry, it certainly did not spring full-grown from barren ground; the addition of texts to melismatic music was a time-honored tradition in medieval chant. Similarly, the method of fashioning polyphonic, sustained-tone settings of cantus firmi that feature a poetic text accompanying the tenor also derives from earlier practices. As in the creation of any new musical genre, the construction of an organum or conductus prosula relied heavily on earlier procedures, but in this case refined them by merging the older components with the newer metrical trends of Notre Dame music. Of the two types of Notre Dame prosulas, those written to organa are most clearly rooted in these older techniques, and they consequently will be examined first.

⁴³Although such a collaboration has been questioned by the assertion that Beata viscera may not be Philip's work (see Falck, Notre Dame Conductus, pp. 116-119), Peter Dronke's positive reattribution of this piece to Philip has again made this a viable alternative. See Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 578-579; Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 294; and Payne, "Associa," p. 238, note 14.

General Characteristics

In every poem that Philip joined to a sustained-tone organum, certain techniques and stylistic elements are always perceptible. These help to isolate and delineate his corpus of organum prosulas by showcasing their similarities with and departures from other, related procedures, such as the writing of prosulas to chant melismas and conductus caudae, and the textung of discant clausulae to make motets.

First of all, the melismatic source that Philip texted always comprises a complete section of organum as defined by Notre Dame practice. Just as the entire soloist's portion of a responsorial chant was cast as polyphony in a Notre Dame organum, so do Philip's extant prosulas encompass the complete intonation of either the opening respond section or (in one surviving instance) the verse of a Gradual or Responsory.⁴⁴ This procedure is quite distinct from the motet, which nearly always uses for its tenor a much smaller fragment from a liturgical chant—a melisma cast into a rhythmic ostinato. It likewise contrasts with the method of forming a conductus prosula, the melismatic source of which always consists of a final conductus cauda that has also been wrested from its original position. The fact that the conductus prosulas and motets both depart from the liturgical and compositional integrity of the organum prosulas by disassociating a section of

⁴⁴See above, Table 15. The organum prosulas Vide prophecie and Homo cum mandato dato versify only the respond section of Perotin's Viderunt omnes. They each set, respectively, the music to the first two words of the cantus firmus. Associa tecum in patria likewise supplies the music only for the respond of the Sancte Germane organum. The two Sederunt prosulas, on the other hand, furnish texts for both the respond (De Stephani roseo) and, exceptionally, for the verse (Adesse festina) of the organum.

polyphonic music from its initial context suggests that such pieces are indeed later manifestations.⁴⁵ As will become apparent in the last section of this chapter, such a proposed chronology accords perfectly with the evidence that scholars have already assembled for dating some of the prosulas and their melismatic models.

Secondly, although he did preserve the liturgical integrity of his melismatic source, Philip only considered the duplum voice of the three- or four-part model in fashioning his organum prosulas. He never set his texts to the pitches of the triplum or quadruplum voices, nor can his prosulas be fitted to these uppermost parts without frequent and sometimes substantial revisions of the original musical material.⁴⁶ This can be readily confirmed by examining the voices in these Perotinian pieces, which often contrast highly with each other in their rhythm and phrasing.

Thirdly, the style of Philip's organum prosulas is predominantly, if not exclusively, syllabic. This practice contrasts especially with the earlier repertory of Aquitanian troped organa, and therefore

⁴⁵See Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 527; and *idem*, "The Question," p. 244.

⁴⁶A unique, fragmentary transmission of the two prosulas to the *Sederunt* that contains all four parts of the melismatic model survives in the Madrid codex (*Ma*: ff. 5-13v). For a comparative edition of this piece, illustrating its differences with its melismatic model, see Anderson, *Latin Compositions*, 2:126-139. Rebecca Baltzer has also signalled the possibility of a lost four-part version of *Vide prophecie* from a catalogue of manuscripts in the possession of Pope Boniface VIII compiled in 1311. See her "Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners: Lost and Found," *The Journal of Musicology*, 5 [1987], pp. 387-389. What remains surprising is the lack of similar transmissions of the organum prosulas in the central sources with all their original voices. Such a deficiency suggests that the organum prosulas were not originally conceived to incorporate all the parts of their melismatic models.

suggests that the latter works were not derived from melismatic sources. Every note of the melody in a Notre Dame organum prosula nearly always corresponds to a separate syllable in the added text.

In addition, the poetic style of Philip's organum prosulas always exhibits a persistent assonance with the cantus firmus. This feature strengthens, and in turn is strengthened by the sustained chant syllables echoing in the tenor part. The same procedure also occurs in many prosulas to chant melismas, in troped organa, and occasionally in motets, but is not as pronounced in the conductus prosula repertory.⁴⁷

Finally and most importantly, alongside this aural connection lies a rhythmic one: the clear concurrence of the modal rhythms of the organum with the accentual patterns in the added text. This procedure is additionally significant because it secured a fairly unequivocal realization for the rhythms of syllabic melodies at a time when no other notational system existed that could express them. It may therefore be meaningful that no examples of prosulas survive for a Leoninian organum duplum or for a monophonic conductus, both of which pose especially difficult problems with rhythmic interpretation. Only melismas whose rhythms are unequivocal were given textual tropes in the Notre Dame repertory. Such a preference supports the claims that organa dupla and monophonic conductus are more freely measured than polyphonic conductus caudae and organa tripla and quadrupla.

The rhythmic bonds that are observable between the text of an organum prosula and its original melismatic source are so close

⁴⁷The style of the organum and conductus prosula texts is examined in detail below.

throughout all these works that there seems to be little reason to doubt that they were indeed constructed to be sung to the original rhythms of the melismatic music. On the other hand, in those rare instances when textual accents in the prosula seem to clash with the pulses of the music, or where rhythmic uncertainty occurs in the ligatures of the original sine littera notation, there exists a reason and a method for either emending these rhythms, or for choosing the best solution from among the assorted possibilities.⁴⁸

Such correspondences between the texts of the prosulas and their cantus firmi, and between the accentuation of their poetry and the musical rhythm of their melismatic sources, challenge the recent claims of Rudolf Flotzinger that Philip's organum prosulas were conceived and performed without the participation of either the tenor or the rhythmic configuration of their melismatic counterparts.⁴⁹ His objections to such an origin and execution are the result of a painstaking discussion of small variants among the sources of the single organum prosula De Stephani roseo sanguine. In stressing these often minor differences (most of which can be dismissed as likely scribal errors) he tends to slight the more manifold parallels of the prosulas with their models signalled above, including their frequent use of extended or thickened note heads that correspond vividly with longer rhythmic values in the organum. Flotzinger also focuses an inordinate amount of his discussion on Graz 756, a late fourteenth-century source for De Stephani that

⁴⁸For an example of such emendations, see the edition of Adesse festina in Volume 4, measures 48-65, and the appropriate commentary.

⁴⁹"De Stephani," pp. 177-191.

originated in Seckau, rather than on the thirteenth-century Parisian manuscript W2. Nor does he acknowledge the attributions of the manuscript Praha, which argue for Philip's role in the creation of not only De Stephani roseo sanguine, but also of all the other Notre Dame organum prosulas with melismatic sources. Both of these tendencies distract from the fact that Philip's prosulas originated in the same environment and at roughly the same time as their organal models. The temporal, geographical, and stylistic distance between Perotin's organa and Philip's prosulas is small indeed, and this strongly implies that the rhythmic characteristics of the melismatic pieces would have informed the prosulas.

As far as the presence of the tenor is concerned, the format adopted in the edition of Philip's organum prosulas in Volume 4 of this study presents only the texted duplum and the supporting cantus firmus. The decision to include these particular parts and no others proceeds from the fact that the prosulas most frequently survive in a monophonic format, although occasional transmissions with the tenor do appear in a few sources.⁵⁰ However, the habitual scribal omission of the critical tenor part, which clearly played a major role in the composition of the prosula text, may be due more to the particular nature of these organal cantus firmi. Lacking the rhythmical patterning and sectional character of motet tenors, they are basically identical to the corresponding sections of the original chant. Performers thus might easily have supplied the tenor pitches, either by memory or through comparison with

⁵⁰See Payne, "Associa," p. 237, note 9; and p. 240.

the settings of the melismatic version of the original organum.⁵¹

Although the two-part framework adopted by the edition thus suggests what I believe is the most likely original form of the organum prosulas, this should not be taken as a reason to completely ignore the other possibilities for performance: either as a monophonic song or by presenting all the original parts of the organum, with the triplum and the quadruplum (if present) rearranged to conform with the rhythms of the texted voice. The variety of transmissions among the sources suggests that all these possibilities were exercised.⁵²

Relationships with Other Repertories

Of the basic techniques described above that inform the composition of Philip's organum prosulas, all but the presence of a definable rhythmic component are well documented and commonly practiced in several related musical repertories, especially prosulas to chant, and tropes to organa (texted sustained-tone compositions that do not possess melismatic models). Like Philip's poems to organa, prosulas in the chant repertory also consist of words that have been added to melismas.⁵³ This technique of tethering text to music, whether the

⁵¹See Ludwig, Repertorium, vol. 1, part 1, p. 188.

⁵²For editions of the Viderunt and Sederunt prosulas, arranged to accommodate all the upper voices of the original (though omitting, for the most part, the tenor), see Anderson, ed., Opera omnia, 1:16-36.

⁵³The following discussion of prosula technique relies primarily upon the following literature, which in itself provides a good introduction to this fascinating practice of troping chant: Richard Crocker, "The Troping Hypothesis," The Musical Quarterly, 52 (1966): 183-203; idem, "The Sequence," Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift für Leo Schrade, vol. 1, eds., Ernst Lichtenhahn, Hans Oesch and M. Hass (Berne: Francke Verlag, 1973), pp. 272-276; Paul

melodies were an established part of the chant or were tropes themselves, was a primary method of heightening the solemnity of the Gregorian repertory and for securing closer connections of specific chants with various liturgical feasts. Although the flowering of the prosula repertory occurred during the tenth and eleventh centuries, they were still actively preserved and cultivated during the High Middle Ages and thus could have easily influenced Philip in the writing of his own prosulas.⁵⁴

Besides the process of adding texts to melismas, chant prosulas share several other stylistic traits with Philip's works. Both are marked by an extremely spare syllabic texture. Neumes of two or more

Evans, The Early Trope Repertory, pp. 9-15; idem, "Some Reflections on the Origin of the Trope," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 14 (1961): 119-130; Thomas Forrest Kelly, "Melodic Elaborations in Responsory Melimas," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 27 (1974): 461-474; idem, "New Music from Old: The Structuring of Responsory Prosas," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 30 (1977): 366-390; Josef Smits van Waesberghe, "Zur ursprünglichen Vortragsweise der Prosulen, Sequenzen, und Organa," Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft: Bericht über den siebenten internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Köln 1958, Gerald Abraham, et al., eds. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), pp. 251-254; Bruno Stäblein, "Tropus," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed., Friedrich Blume, 17 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949-1986), 13: cols. 797-826; idem, "Die Unterlegung von Texten unter Melismen," International Musicological Society: Report of the Eighth Congress, New York, 1961, 2 vols., ed. Jan LaRue (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961-1962), 1:12-29; Steiner, "The Prosulae," pp. 367-390; idem, "Some Melismas," pp. 108-131; and idem, "The Responsories and Prosa for Saint Stephen's Day at Salisbury," The Musical Quarterly, 56 (1970): 162-182.

⁵⁴See Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:131-132; and the large number of such works preserved in the thirteenth-century Circumcision Office from Beauvais (LoA, ff. 1-68v), edited with commentary by Wulf Arlt in his Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung, 2 vols. (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1970), vol. 2 (Editionsband). Particularly illustrative are the examples of prosulas and troped Kyries on pp. 10-11, 29-31, 49, 110, 123-124, and 150-152 of this volume, which present both melismatic and texted forms of the music in close proximity.

Example 18. Two prosulae and their source melismas.

a.

Dex- te- ra de- i cum pa- tre sem- pi- ter- na si- ne tem- po-

...dex-

ne ter- ris ho- di- e ap- pa-rens de san- cta vir- gi- ne san-

cte sem- per hanc ser- va ple- bem be- ne- di- cens san- cta

dex- te- ra tu- a do- mi- ne.
te- ra tu- a do- mi- ne.

b.

Sol iu- sti- ci- e fe- cun- dans cor- pus ma- ri- e sen-

...e-

su fi- de fru- ctu- vi- te ple- ne- ro- re ce- li- tus.
-ius

notes hardly ever intrude, and melismas are extremely rare. Likewise, the exploitation of assonance in these chants also corresponds to the practice of prosulating Notre Dame organa. Just as the poetry of Philip's organum prosulas customarily echo the syllables sustained by its accompanying tenor, so do chant prosulas tend to use words that mimic the vowels of the chant text they replace.⁵⁵ This practice can be seen in Example 18.⁵⁶

Another related technique found in Philip's organum prosulas—the integration of syllables and sometimes entire words from the chant—also appears as a common practice within the chant prosula repertory. The fact that this procedure surfaces as a major stylistic element in one of the earliest surviving prosulas, the ninth-century Psalle modulamina (given as Example 19), indicates that such a technique was an essential component in the crafting of the genre in the first stages of its development.⁵⁷

⁵⁵Kelly, "New Music from Old," p. 370. A similar relationship obtains in the repertory of Benedicamus Domino melodies. These are often composed by re-texting melismas from other chants, and frequently use the techniques of assonance and the echoing of vowels to fit the new words to the original melody. For this practice and its implications, see Anne Walters Robertson, "Benedicamus Domino: The Unwritten Tradition," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 41 (1988): 29-30, 52-53.

⁵⁶This example consists of:

- a. Offertory prosula Dextera Dei cum patre and source melisma dextera tua, LoA, f. 53v.
- b. Responsory prosula Sol iusticie and source melisma eius, LoA, f. 62.

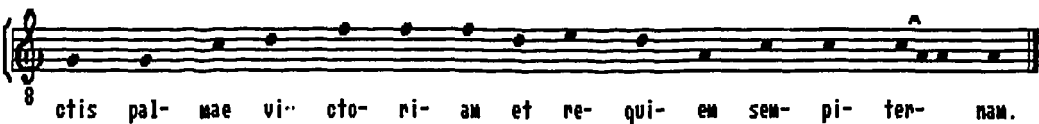
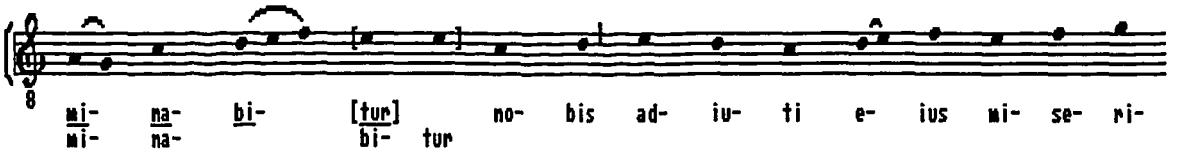
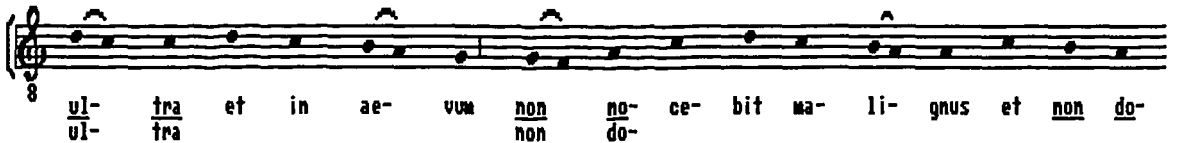
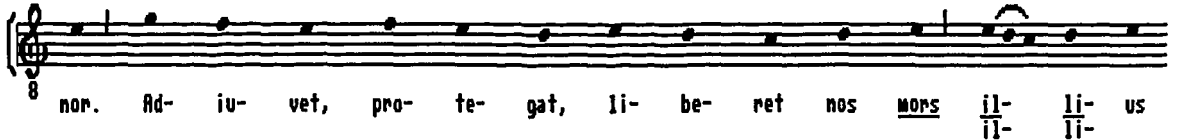
⁵⁷On this prosula, see Smits van Waesberghe, "Zur ursprünglichen Vortragsweise," pp. 251-252; Stablein, "Tropus," cols 807-808; idem, "Die Unterlegung," pp. 20-21; Crocker, "The Troping Hypothesis," pp. 198-199; idem, "The Sequence," p. 272; and Peter Dronke, "Types of Poetic Art in Tropes," Liturgische Tropen: Referate zweier Colloquien des Corpus Troporum in München (1983) und Canterbury (1984), Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschungen, no. 36 (Munich:

Example 19. Prosula Psalle modulamina, and source Alleluia Christus resurgens, after Smits Van Waesberghe, "Zur ursprünglichen Vortragsweise," p. 252.

The image shows a musical score for a Latin liturgical piece. It consists of ten staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes. The text is in Latin and includes the following phrases:

Psal- le mo- du- la- mi- na lau- dis ca- no- ra dul- ci- a haec
 Al- le
 Do- mi- no coe- tus fi- de- lis. Qui re- ple- tur sem- per sa-
 -ia-
 cris da- pi- bus est glo- ri- a; Et al- ti- to- nan- ti
 vo- ce con- da iu- bi- la cum Chri- sto sem- per.
 V. Chri- stus e- ri- pu- it nos in- fer- nis clau- stris, re- sur- gens
 Chri- stus re- sur-
 au- re- am co- ro- nam su- is tri- bu- it. Ex non- tu- is non-
 -oens ex non-
 tem ab- stu- lit con- te- nens an- ti- quum ca- put ser- pen- tis.
 -tu- is
 iam si- ne fi- ne re- gna- bit. Non iam in ae- ter- num mo- ri-
 iam non mo- ri-
 tur. Mors et se- cu- la sem- per in ma- nu e- ius sunt o- mi-
 tur mors

Example 19—Continued.



However, there are several notable differences between Philip's organum prosulas and the the ones in the chant corpus. The most obvious of these is the strict association of his organum prosulas with polyphony (specifically the newly composed parts over the cantus firmus), while other prosulas owe their origin to the textung of the monophonic chant itself.⁵⁸ Even in the cases where a polyphonic rendition of a prosula survives, the text almost always stems from an original monody.⁵⁹

Further stylistic divergences between organum and chant prosulas include the structure of the texts themselves. As the derivation of their name implies, prosulas most frequently consist of "heightened" prose, where mono-syllabic assonance is the major element to define the verse, rather than meter, accent, or bi-syllabic rhyme.⁶⁰ When, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, prosulas do admit rhythmic or rhyming texts, the appearance of these features tends either to be fleeting, or such regular poetry is often not traceable to a melisma with the same

Arbeo Gesellschaft, 1985), pp. 3-7.

⁵⁸On this point, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 509.

⁵⁹For some examples of polyphonic settings of prosulas, see Gordon Athol Anderson, "A Troped Offertorium-Conductus of the Thirteenth Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 24 (1971): 96-100; David G. Hughes, "Liturgical Polyphony at Beauvais in the Thirteenth Century," Speculum, 34 (1959): 184-200; idem, "The Sources of Christus manens," Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese, ed. Jan LaRue et al. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1966; reprint ed., New York: Pendragon Press, 1978), pp. 423-434; Arlt, Ein Festoffizium, 1:242-248; and Marie Louise Göllner, "Musical Settings of the Trope Ab hac familia," Liturgische Tropen: Referate zweier Colloquien des Corpus Troporum in München (1983) und Canterbury (1984), Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschungen, no. 36 (Munich: Arbeo Gesellschaft, 1985), pp. 89-106.

⁶⁰See Crocker, "The Repertory of Tropes at Saint Martial de Limoges," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 11 (1958): 161-164; and idem, "The Sequence," pp. 282-283.

form.⁶¹ The general absence of conspicuous accentual patterns in prosulas was certainly due to the constraints involved in attaching a text to series of non-mensural pitches that were often disposed into phrases of different lengths. It was undoubtedly difficult to apply rhythmic poetry to pre-composed plainchant, and it must have been similarly challenging to coax even the most rudimentary attempts at verse from melismas that customarily lack clear parallelism among shorter motives and phrases.⁶²

But even though musical and textual rhythmic patterns were apparently not a weighty factor in the composition of many chant prosula texts, these pieces quite frequently complement the music in their own special fashion. Particularly striking is their custom of setting separate words or short phrases of text to correspond with the individual ligatures of the original notation.⁶³ This often extends to the association of larger gestures within the melismas (musical phrases) with major syntactic groups (clauses or sentences) in the attached text (See Example 20).⁶⁴

⁶¹For these points see Steiner, "The Prosulae," pp. 387-388; and Kelly, "New Music from Old," pp. 387-388.

⁶²On occasion, though, prosula authors circumvented this problem by repeating phrases from the parent melisma, creating multiple versicle structures reminiscent of the sequence that were not present in the music of the original melisma. See Kelly, "New Music from Old," pp. 370-373.

⁶³For this technique, see Steiner, "The Prosulae," p. 384, and Kelly "New Music from Old," p. 370.

⁶⁴The example consists off the following items:

- a. Responsory prosula Spiritus sanctus faucis and source melisma ascendere, after Kelly, "New Music from Old," pp. 369-370.
- b. Responsory prosula Corde pio votis and source melisma honore after Kelly, "New Music from Old," p. 370.

Example 20. Two Responsory prosulae, after Kelly, "New Music from Old,"
pp. 369-370.

a.

8 Spi-ri-tus san-ctus fau-cis gra-ti-a Ru-do-e ni dul-cis
...a-

8 in-fan-ci-a stu-det ad ce-le-sti-a a-scen-de-re.
-scen-de-re.

b.

8 Cor-de -pi-o vo-tis et or-ga-no psal-lat con-ci-o ca-
...ho-no-

8 no-ra Chri-sto Que lau-dum pre-co-ni-o ce-le-stis cu-

8 ri-e sem-per gau-det mul-ti-tu-do ho-no-ra-ra-re.
-ra-re.

Despite these minor differences in content and style, however, it is obvious that many of the basic techniques that Philip implemented in his organum prosulas first surfaced in texts to chant melismas. The fact that such pieces were still being copied, performed, and composed during his lifetime shows that the older tradition of the prosula could easily have convinced him of the feasibility and desirability of adding texts to Perotin's organa.

In addition to the prosula, there is a second type of work that claims an obvious connection to Philip's arrangements of Perotin's organa. Beginning in the late eleventh century, examples first appear of polyphonic, sustained-tone chant settings that feature poetic texts in their upper voices.⁶⁵ These particular troped organa resemble Philip's works visually, audibly, and conceptually even more than the chant prosulas do, but they lack an important technical aspect. Unlike Philip's pieces and the texted melismas of the chant prosula, these troped organa do not originate in the addition of words to a melismatic model. They do, however, contribute further ammunition to the stylistic and technical arsenal that Philip was to exploit in his own organum prosulas.

Two main bodies of troped organa appear between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. The earlier of the two first surfaces in seven compositions from the polyphonic repertory that was practiced and preserved in the Aquitaine, the music of the so-called Saint Martial school. The other, an assuredly later corpus, consists of two pieces

⁶⁵For the dating of the manuscripts that contain the Aquitanian troped organa, see Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:35-77; and *idem*, "The Myth of St. Martial Polyphony," *Musica Disciplina*, 33 (1979): 5-26.

that now survive in Notre Dame and Parisian sources (Beatis nos adhibe and Veni doctor previe) and the peripherally transmitted Vidit rex omnipotens (see Table 21).⁶⁶ Each of these two groups contains features that correspond to practices found in Philip the Chancellor's organum prosulas.

TABLE 21

TROPED ORGANA (WITHOUT MELISMATIC CONCORDANCES)

A. EARLIER, AQUITANIAN REPERTORY

Stirps Yesse florigeram	Humane prolis
Trino Domino	Organa leticie
Cedit tempus hyemale (?)	Hec est dies sacrata (?)
Amborum sacrum spiramen	

B. NOTRE DAME AND LATER REPERTORIES

Veni doctor previe	Beatis nos adhibe
Vidit rex omnipotens	

The most notable characteristics present both in Philip's works and in the corpus of troped organa are the setting of an integral section of chant (in these cases a Benedicamus Domino versicle, a respond section, or a verse from a responsorial chant);⁶⁷ the use of two

⁶⁶One cannot claim, however, that Beatis nos adhibe and Veni doctor previe are necessarily works of the Notre Dame school. They may very well be examples of peripheral works included in F. Much of the recent research on these pieces favors the prospect that these particular troped organa are not from the Notre Dame environment. See Hughes, "Liturgical Polyphony," pp. 192; and Arlt, Ein Festoffizium, 1:249-258.

⁶⁷Stirps Yesse, Amborum sacrum, and Beatis nos adhibe set a complete Benedicamus Domino versicle. Humane prolis and Trino Domino are parts of the same piece, with both texts separately troping a single presentation of the word Domino. The Benedicamus section in this work is also polyphonized, but does not possess a trope text in the upper voice. Organa leticie is a modern reconstruction of a very unusual Benedicamus trope. Not only does the cantus firmus of this piece also

different, simultaneously performed texts as the sustained-tone cantus firmus and the poetic prosula sound together; and also the frequent interplay of assonance between the two sets of words. In addition, the two "Notre Dame" pieces (Beatis nos adhibe and Veni doctor previe) feature a prevalent syllabic declamation of the prosula text, as well as occasional sections in "discant" with the tenor of Veni doctor. This latter trait is analogous to the clausula portions of the melismatic organa that serve as the sources of Philip's prosulas (See Example 21).⁶⁸

Major differences with the Chancellor's works, though, can be discerned in this related corpus of troped organa. Because of their lack of melismatic concordances, these particular Aquitanian and Notre Dame compositions also fail to reveal the consistent rhythmic focus that is so obvious in Philip's works. This is especially apparent in the earlier Aquitanian corpus, where rhythmically imprecise notations tend to predominate, and where available concordant transmissions of these

possess a trope on the word Domino, but in its present reconstruction the polyphony is preceded by a monophonic "introductory" section. See Barclay, "Organa leticie," for this interesting work. Cedit tempus hiemale and Hec est dies sacrata, the two works with question marks in Table 21 above, are pieces that exhibit qualities that may indicate they are troped organa, but the difficulties of interpreting the sources still leave room for doubt on this question. (See Fuller, Aquitanian Polphony, 2:472.) Veni doctor previe, meanwhile, tropes the complete solo section of the verse from the Pentecost Alleluia, Veni sancte spiritus. See Arlt, Ein Festöffizium, 1:249, for the properties of this work. The remaining Vidit rex omnipotens is a 2-part troped setting of the respond of the Christmas Gradual Viderunt omnes. It bears no relationship to Perotin's organum quadruplum.

⁶⁸In addition to the following example, another, shorter "discant" passage appears in the musical setting of lines 15-16 ("spes et dator premii / et veri consilii"). See Anderson, Opera omnia, 1:13, measures 29-36.

Example 21. Veni doctor previe, lines 40-51, discant section on Amoris melisma, F, f. 392.

A- mo- nis vin- cu- lo et pa- cis os- cu-
a- mo-

lo a- strin- ge se- du- lo cle- rum cum
lo a- strin- ge se- du- lo cle- rum cum

po- pu- lo. ut tan- dem que- ru- lo trans- a-
po- pu- lo. ut tan- dem que- ru- lo trans- a-

cto se- cu- lo sit in pro- pa- tu- lo
cto se- cu- lo sit in pro- pa- tu- lo

Example 21—Continued.

quod men- tis o- cu- lo cer- nunt in spe- cu-

lo et ne mu- nus- cu- lo tor- pe- scat

e- mu- lo vis a- mo- -ris

-ris

richly melismatic works display such a multitude of variants that the idea of an original performance in fixed durations seems highly improbable (See Example 22).⁶⁹

In the two Notre Dame examples, the text declamation is much more syllabic and rhythmic transcription therefore more feasible. But the same problems surface here as in the interpretation of cum littera sections in conductus, where various defensible measured interpretations have been proposed for individual pieces.⁷⁰ Even further connections with the conductus are apparent in the verse structures of Beatis nos adhibe and Veni doctor previe. The schemes of these two pieces are almost unfailingly isosyllabic, and display a regularity that Philip's prosulas never approach.⁷¹ This makes it even more improbable that they were derived from a melismatic original. Furthermore, occasional short melismatic extensions that easily recall the caudae of conductus

⁶⁹Version a. of this example comes from Pn lat. 1139, f. 60v; version b. from Pn lat. 3549, f. 166v. See Barbara Barclay, "The Medieval Repertoire of Untroped Polyphonic Benedicamus Domino Settings," 2 vols., (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), 2:5-11, 12-14, for a recent attempt at a rhythmical transcription of the two redactions of this work.

⁷⁰For two recent, differing views serving to highlight this problem, see Tischler, "Gordon Anderson's Conductus Edition and the Rhythm of Conductus," Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981): In Memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen, 2 vols., (Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute for Mediaeval Music, 1985), 2:561-573; and Sanders, "Conductus and Modal Rhythm," pp. 439-469.

⁷¹Except for its final line, which is an extra-poetic tag echoing the text of the cantus firmus (Domino), Beatis nos adhibe presents a poetic scheme composed only of 7pp lines. Veni doctor previe is slightly more varied, with a few lines (17, 37, 51) outside of its prevailing 7pp poetic scheme. Again, these usually amount to quotations from the cantus firmus text. The poetry of the "discant" section in this piece over the cantus firmus melisma on the word amoris is disposed into 6pp lines (see Example 21). For the texts of these works, see Anderson, Opera Omnia, 1:viii-x.

Example 22. Two versions of Stirps Iesse florigeram, lines 1-6.

a.

b.

Stirps Iesse florigeram germini-

[Be-]

na- vit vir- gu- lam et in flo- re

spi- ri- tus qui e- scit pa- ra-

-ne-

cli- -tus fru- ctum pro- fert

pitches? (← →)

Example 22-Continued.

vir- gu- la per quem vi- vunt se- cu-

-di-

This system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "vir- gu- la per quem vi- vunt se- cu-". The middle staff is a piano accompaniment line. The bottom staff is a bass line. The lyrics are positioned below the vocal staff, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes.

la

-ca- -MUS

This system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "la". The middle staff is a piano accompaniment line. The bottom staff is a bass line. The lyrics are positioned below the vocal staff, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes.

sometimes occur at major sectional divisions in these two troped organa (See Example 23).⁷²

Example 23. Beatis nos adhibe, final cauda, F, f. 251v.

Philip's organum prosulas, in adding texts to previously composed melismatic music and by combining poetry with an organal cantus firmus, thus belong to an ongoing tradition and implement a prevailing set of stylistic norms. But although the techniques involved in fashioning the related genres of the prosula and troped organa are discernible in his own pieces, Philip's organum prosulas still present a new approach as some of the first examples that demonstrably integrate the modal rhythms of multi-part Notre Dame organa with the fashionable accentual poetry of

⁷²Besides the following example, shorter cauda-like gestures (often only a few measures in length) tend to close or open major sections in both Beatis and Veni doctor. See the complete editions of both these pieces in Anderson, Opera Omnia, 1:9-16.

the conductus. These novel compositions, which also relate closely to the practice of troping discant clausulae found in the earliest Notre Dame motets, not only deserve their own place in the Notre Dame canon of genres, but also prompt a closer investigation into some of the more specific features of the works that make up this small but significant repertory.

Poetic and Musical Traits

Of all Philip's poetic endeavors, his organum prosulas are perhaps his most inventive. In composing these texts to pre-existent melismatic music, the Chancellor not only restricted himself to the pitches and rhythms of the model he texted, but to the tenor text as well. The liturgical words of the cantus firmus contributed a further set of constraints, for the added verses never fail to incorporate the sounds of the sustained vowels of the cantus firmus. Nevertheless, despite these impediments to poetic design, Philip's prosulas to Perotin's organa display an artfulness rarely encountered elsewhere in Notre Dame lyric verse. He seems in these works to delight even more than usual in his notable penchant for word play (annominatio).⁷³ Assonance and rhyme run rampant in these texts, with sounds echoing not only between the prosula and the chant, but among the individual lines of the poems themselves. The following excerpts are some of the more extreme cases, but the basic methods they demonstrate are rarely absent in these vibrant poems:

⁷³On this poetic characteristic, see especially Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 570-573.

Tenor syllableProsula Text

[vide]-RUNT

Luto sputum,
 sputo lutum,
 et unitum et linitum,
 cui sanat oculum.
 Statum datum,
 post grabatum.
 Post triduum
 vivere mortuum
viderunt.

(Vide prophecie, lines 47-55)

[adiu]-VA [me]

Lapidea,
 me iacula,
 me ferrea,
 premunt ergastula.
 me vincula,
 me troclea.
 Craticula
 me cremat ignea.
 Me framea,
 sudes, et spicula;
 me fellea
 debriant pocula.
 Me laniant
 dentes et ungula.
 Patibula
 me cruciant
 singula mea.

(Adesse festina, lines 38-54)

In glossing the cantus firmus, the texts of Philip's organum prosulas often evoke vivid images while evading many of the clichés that are common in so many other pieces of the Notre Dame conductus and motet repertories. These poems employ a rich vocabulary, a distinction that is even more difficult to attain due to the restrictive assonance imposed by the chant. They are also a fitting complement to the music they decorate. Poetic and musical structures are often parallel, and the syntax, rhyme, and assonance of the prosulas quite consistently reflect the design of themes, phrases, and motives in the original organum.

Because of the triple strictures of correspondence to the pitches, rhythms, and text of the model organum, the poetry that Philip added to these works differs notably from his conductus. Although like the conductus each musical phrase in the prosulas is routinely joined to a line of rhyming verse, a prevailing isosyllabism is noticeably absent throughout these prosulas. The added words had to accommodate a pre-existent melody and rhythm, with one syllable to each note, and with the accentual patterns of the text conforming to the rhythmic durations in the music. This deviation from the more regular poetic structures of the time is the most notable clue that Philip's prosulas are indeed settings of earlier melismas and not pre-composed texts that were later supplied with music.⁷⁴

Yet even though the forms of Philip's organum prosula texts may be more irregular than most lyric poetry, they are clearly rhythmic verse. This lyricism is undeniably facilitated by the style of Perotin's music. Much of the success of these pieces stems from the composer's skill, and it is no wonder that as a poet Philip should have been drawn to these works. One of Perotin's most pronounced attributes in his organa and other compositions is his highly structured melodic style. Phrases are often repeated or compiled to create larger formal designs, either through open and closed or antecedent-consequent pairings, successive variation, or as members of a polyphonic complex that indulges in voice

⁷⁴Such an irregularity of line length aided the discovery of the most recently recognized of these prosulas, Associa tecum in patria (see Payne, "Associa," pp. 238-240). Other, as yet unproven pieces with similar characteristics appear in the conductus Frater iam prospicias, Turmas arment chisticolas, and Philip's O mens coqita and the newly attributed Aurelianus civitas.

exchange.⁷⁵ Such melodic reiteration tends also to be mirrored in the texts that Philip added to these organa, and helps to impose a sense of order and measure on the otherwise asymmetrical verse. This process is at work in the excerpt supplied as Example 24, where the various repeated motivic units of this section are defined by specific two-syllable rhymes, all of which display the common element of the sustained tenor vowel e.

But as much as the music aids in shaping the poetry, the style of the added verses in turn helps to define the compositional structure of the organum, from its overall formal design down to the contour of the individual melodic lines. Philip accomplished this structural delineation chiefly through the use of rhyme and assonance with the vowels of the chant. As a rule, each musical phrase is coupled with a line of poetry that mimics in its end rhyme the vowel sound of the sustained syllable of the tenor:

Tenor syllable

SA-[ncte]

Prosula Text

Associa tecum in patria
 et satia perhenni gloria.
 vite brevis peritura
 preterit figura;
 umbra levis ut pictura
 interit litura.
 Fides plana,
 quod mundana,
 cuncta vana;
 late patet area
 palea.
 Nulla grana
 sors humana
 tamquam lana
 teritur a tineā.

(Associa tecum in patria, lines 1-15)

⁷⁵Cf. Payne, Associa, pp. 245-246.

Example 24. *De Stephani roseo*, lines 4-19, W2, f. 169.

nu- bem scri- ptu- re pa- tent fi- gu- re le- gis ob- scu- re
 (Se-)

in- ra- di- at pa- gi- ne lux gra- ci- e e- rant fu- tu- re

si- gna pres- su- re quod a- bel iu- re fra- cto na- tu- re

fra- tris o- bit a- ci- e cul- pa non est sub ca- li- gi- ne

cla- mat san- guis fu- sus ho- di- e non ce- la- tur quod non- stra- tur

nul- li du- bi- e cul- pe tur- pi- tu- di- ne
 (-derunt)

Complete syllables or even entire words from the chant also frequently appear in the prosula, especially when there is a change of syllable or movement to another tone in the chant:

<u>Tenor syllable</u>	<u>Prosula Text</u>
AD-	<u>Adesse festina,</u> monas michi trina.
-IU-	<u>Adiutum</u> tu redde me tutum.
-VA	Tu me destitutum <u>iuva.</u>
DO-	<u>Dona stipendia</u> iam emerito,
-MI-	des pro merito <u>mi.</u> <u>Misericors Deus,</u> parce sceleri.
-NE	<u>Ne statuas ei</u> hoc pro crimine. (<u>Adesse festina</u> , lines 1-2, 26-27, 36-37, 81-82, 88-91, 94-95)
[ELI-] GI	<u>Eliqi!</u> Da cum agnis <u>eligi</u> , da cum granis colligi, da cum iustis diligi, via vite dirigi, alis virtutum erigi, <u>Eliqi!</u> (<u>Associa tecum in patria</u> , lines 42-48)

Besides emphasizing the structure of the tenor, the poetry of an organum prosula also helps to define the major divisions of the composition itself. In his organa, Perotin customarily treats each of the sustained tenor pitches as an independent section, introducing distinctive musical material for every pedal point, which may be further developed through voice exchange, repetition, or variation. Frequently

Example 25. *Homo cum mandato dato*, lines 21-28, W2, f. 168v.

Note: In the original sources, there are no articulation signs

lu- tum com- ma- du- it spu- ti con- u- bi- o

(0-)

spu- tum non vi- lu- it lu- ti con- sor- ti- o

neu- trum ab- sor- bu- it i- sta com- nix- ti- o

sal- vat quas mi- scu- it na- tu- ras u- ni- o (-mnes)

such segments are marked in the sources with double vertical bars.⁷⁶

Philip routinely respects these formal partitions in the shaping of his prosula texts. Major breaks in thought, analogous to the division of his other poems into strophes, paragraphs, or other "sense-units," commonly occur at places where principal changes also arise in the musical material. Furthermore, it is apparent that the lines of verse not only articulate individual musical phrases, but, in the case of more

⁷⁶Although in other contexts they may also signify extended rests, the double strokes extending through the entire system in most of the central sources of the organa quadrupla clearly denote the division of these pieces into distinct compositional sections.

extended or complex melodies, they often underscore inner melodic structures by breaking down longer phrases into smaller motivic units and underscoring these shorter segments with interlinear rhyme.⁷⁷ This practice is seen in Example 25, which presents Philip's breakdown of one of the longer gestures from Perotin's Viderunt omnes.

From this examination of the musico-poetic techniques used in the Chancellor's organum prosulas, it is evident that all aspects of text and music are highly interrelated in these pieces. It is obvious from the above examples that Philip possessed a keen musical ear, one that could both comprehend and exploit the numerous prospects for adding poems to pieces that still today are rightfully judged among the crowning achievements of medieval polyphony. That Philip could do this—and do it so well—shows that he was well acquainted with the intricacies of some of the most complex music of his time.

Textual Subjects: Content and Treatment

The organum prosulas of Philip the Chancellor depart significantly from all his other poetic genres in the exclusively sacred nature of their texts. Although at times his habitual criticism of mankind may also emerge, the basic tone throughout his organum prosulas is religious, homiletic, and exegetical. Each poem is carefully fashioned to suit ideally the chant and feast it elaborates. In the two Viderunt omnes prosulas, Vide prophecie and Homo cum mandato dato, which together set the respond of the Gradual used for the feasts of Christmas and

⁷⁷This technique also appears frequently in chant prosulas, see Steiner, "The Prosulae," p. 389.

Circumcision, the main subjects of the text are the mysteries surrounding the birth of Christ as prefigured in the prophecies of the Old Testament, and the significance of his promise of spiritual rebirth through the miracles described in the Gospels.⁷⁸ Likewise, in his prosulas to the Sederunt and Sancte Germane, set to a Gradual and Responsory for the respective feasts of Saints Stephen and Eligius, the specific saint is invoked as a necessary intercessor for salvation, with frequent appeals by the speaker for deliverance and aid.⁷⁹ In both these particular works, the most emphatic supplications appear at the end of both prosulas, reinforcing the climactic tone of the music through the insistent, repetitive supplications in the text:⁸⁰

Sed tu cordi miseri
da misericordi[am].

.
Tue manus operi
da misericordi[am].

.
Ergo tuo militi
fac misericordiam.

Nevertheless, grant mercy to
the heart of a wretched man.

.
Grant mercy to
Your handiwork.

.
Therefore, grant mercy
to your soldier.

(Adesse festina, lines 126-127, 134-135,
142-143)

Eligi!
Da cum agnis eligi,

da cum granis colligi,

da cum iustis diligi,

via vite dirigi,

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,

⁷⁸See Anderson, "Symbolism in Texts of Thirteenth-Century Music," Studies in Music, 4 (1970): 21-33, for a magisterial presentation of the images, symbols, and contemporaneous thought that these texts reveal.

⁷⁹In Adesse festina, the prosula to the verse of Perotin's Sederunt, the speaker in the poem is possibly Saint Stephen himself, requesting aid from Christ.

⁸⁰See the use of the same examples in Payne, Associa, p. 245.

alis virtutum erigi,

Eligi!

and borne up by the wings of the
virtues,

O Eligius!

(Associa tecum in patria, lines 42-48)

Even the stylistically comparable *conductus prosulas* never concentrate so directly on a single theme as these poems to organa.

Philip's experience as a preacher and theologian is also revealed in his texts to organa. As in his other poems, he rarely lets slip an opportunity to instruct or to illustrate through exempla drawn from the Bible or the Church fathers. Nonetheless, appearing as they do within the context of the organa, which are themselves musical "glosses" to Gregorian chants, the Scriptural, Patristic, and Scholastic commentary in the texts of the organum *prosulas* appear especially relevant. For instance, in the Viderunt prosula Homo cum mandato, when the poet assures undeserving mankind that redemption is secured through the birth of Christ (though cautioning that the taint of original sin still remains), he draws on passages from Genesis and from the record of one of Christ's miracles in the Gospel of John:⁸¹

Non est assumptio
dei consumptio
carnis in coniugio
verbi. Manet vicio
tua reformatio,
talis ut formatio,
quando primo nupsit limo
spiritus conubio.
Luto sit unito
sputo ceco lito,

reparata visio,
tua reparacio.
Lutum commaduit
sputi conubio;
sputum non viluit

The reception of God
through union with the Word
does not destroy the flesh.
Your transformation
still retains its sin,
just as in your creation,
when the spirit first was wed
by its union with clay.
Let your renewal be as when
vision was restored to the blind
man,
when clay, mixed with spittle,
was smeared on his eyes.
The clay was softened
through its union with the spittle;
but its fusion with the clay

⁸¹Genesis, 2:7; John, 9:1-41.

luti consortio.
Neutrum absorbit
ista conmixtio.

did not render the spittle useless.
Such a mingling consumed
neither of the two.

(Homo cum mandato, lines 9-26)

Similarly, when the persona in Adesse festina implores Christ for deliverance, Philip paraphrases some of Saint Stephen's words from Acts, thus connecting the prosula even more tangibly to the feast for which it was created:

. . . Intendens in caelum, vidit gloriam Dei et Iesum stantem a dextris Dei. Et ait: "Ecce video caelos apertos et Filium hominis a dextris stantem Dei." . . . Positis autem genibus, clamavit voce magna: "Domine ne statuas illis hoc peccatum."

(. . . Looking up steadfastly into heaven, [Stephen] saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God. And he said: "Behold, I see the heavens opened and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." . . . And falling on his knees, he cried in a loud voice, saying: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.")

(Acts, 7:55; 7:59)

Ihesu, per te,
video quod ianue
sunt aperte.

.
Misericors Deus,
parce sceleri.
Nescit homo reus
scelus fieri.
Ne statuas ei
hoc pro crimine.

Jesus, through you I see
that the doors
have been opened.

.
Merciful God,
pardon the sinner.
The accused man is
ignorant of his crime.
Hold not this
offense against him.

(Adesse festina, lines 66-68; 90-95)

Certain expressions in these texts seem to be especially dear to Philip. They appear not only within his organum prosulas, but surface in some of his other poems as well. One image he especially preferred derives from a passage in the third chapters of Matthew and Luke: "His winnowing fork is in his hand, and he will clear his threshing floor and gather his wheat into the granary, but the chaff he will burn with

unquenchable fire."⁸² This metaphor, which connects the elect with the wheat and the damned with the chaff, is developed in two of the organum prosulas:⁸³

Messis matura
crucis pressura.
Flagellatur area,
emundatur palea.
Reddidit pura
grana tritura.
Ea fert ad horrea,
fracto domo lutea.

The crop is ripe for the
Cross's press.
The chaff is beaten and
cleaned on the threshing floor.
Christ has restored the pure
threshed grains.
He bears them to the granaries,
having broken the filthy hull.
(Adesse festina, lines 55-62)

Fides plana,
quod mundana,
cuncta vana;
late patet area
palea.
Nulla grana
sors humana
tamquam lana,
teritur a tinea.
.
Da cum agnis eligi,
da cum granis colligi,

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.
.
Grant that we be chosen with the
lambs,
grant that we be gathered with the
grains,
(Associa tecum in patria, lines 7-15; 43-
44)

But it also appears within three anonymous conductus texts that exhibit other affiliations with Philip's works. Given these textual correspondences as well, it is even more likely that they are by the Chancellor:⁸⁴

⁸²Matthew, 3:12. Cf. Luke, 3:17.

⁸³For the juxtaposition of these same two passages, see Payne, "Associa," pp. 244-245.

⁸⁴Of these three, Relegentur is the source for the prosula Anima iuge lacrimas (See below for the probable attribution of this prosula to Philip). Since the texts of both the prosula Bulla fulminante and its model conductus Dic Christi veritas are attributed to Philip, a possibility thus also exists for his authorship of Relegentur. The two

Relegentur ab area,
 fidelis conscientie
 lutum, later, et palea,
 servitutis Egyptie
 pressuris mancipati.

The clay, brick, and chaff
 of a faithful conscience
 are gathered from the threshing
 floor,
 delivered from the subjugation
 of Egyptian slavery.

(Relegentur ab area, lines 1- 5)

In mandatorum area,
 flagello penitentie,
 spicam carnis excutiens,
 granum nudatum palea,
 vestitum stola glorie,
 Christi transfert ad horrea,
 fructum vite suscipiens.

Upon the threshing floor of the
 Commandments,
 scourging the prickly tuft of the
 flesh
 with the flail of penitence,
 [Saint Bernard of Clairvaux] bears
 the grain stripped of its
 chaff
 and vested with the robe of glory
 to Christ's granaries,
 accepting the fruit of life.

(Terit Bernardus terrea, lines 5-11)

Fac sequi proficua.
 Mentis lapsas erige.
 Da cum agnis eligi,
 da cum granis colligi.

Make us follow the beneficial.
 Raise up minds that have lapsed.
 Grant that we be chosen with the
 lambs,
 grant that we be gathered with the
 grains.

(In paupertatis predio, lines 14-17)

Another vivid image from the prosula Associa tecum in patria compares the fleeting impermanence of life to the erasure of written words.

Vite brevis peritura
 preterit figura;
 umbra levis ut pictura
 interit litura.

Brief life's shade, soon to
 die, passes away;
 the fleeting shadow
 is lost like erased writing.

(Associa trecum in patria, lines 3-9)

other examples, Terit Bernardus and In paupertatis predio, are found together with a third poem, Aque vive dat fluenta, all of which appear together in fascicle 10 of F as a group of poems treating the accomplishments of the contemporaneous saints Bernard of Clairvaux, Francis, and Anthony of Padua. The cluster of these three poems follows immediately after the main group of Philip's works in F, fascicle 10 (nos. 52-64 on ff. 437v-442v).

This motif also occurs with nearly identical language in Philip's monophonic lai O mens cogita.⁸⁵

O mens, cogita,
quod preterit
mundi figura.
Fugit subita.
Sic interit
quasi pictura.
.
Tabescit
et deperit
tamquam litura.
Vanescit
cum fugerit,
non reditura.

O mind, recollect
that the image of the world
will pass.
It flees suddenly.
Thus like writing
it fades.
.
It wears away
and perishes
like an erasure.
It vanishes
when it has fled,
never to return.

(O mens cogita, lines 1-6; 19-24)

Perhaps the most enigmatic of all the Scriptural allusions in the organum prosulas occurs in the lengthy Adesse festina, where Philip, drawing on passages from the book of Exodus, depicts the path to salvation in the materials used for the fashioning of the Tabernacle that housed the Ark of the Covenant:⁸⁶

Ut de sago sim cortina,
penitus elimina
sordes mentis officina,
ut de pelle cilicina,
fiam rubens ovina,
tandem iacinctina.

In order that I may become a curtain
from out of a covering, clear away
in your workshop
the uncleanness of my mind from
deep within,
so that from out a pelt of
goats' hair,
I may become a red sheepskin,
and then a blue one.

(Adesse festina, lines 20-25)

⁸⁵Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 583, discounts these correspondences. See my objections above, Chapter 2.

⁸⁶See Exodus, 26:1-14.

Significantly, the allegorical interpretation that he employs in this excerpt also forms the principal framework for one of his own conductus texts, the two-part Regis decus et regine:⁸⁷

Regis decus et regine,	They are the adornment of king and queen,
saga, pelles, et cortine	these coverings, skins, and curtains
viole, rose, lilia.	of blue, red, and white.
Saga signant confitentes,	The coverings signify those that confess,
pelles rubre patientes,	the red skins those who suffer,
cortine continentia.	and the curtains connote moderation.
Lectum ornat color florum,	The color of these ornaments adorns
mentem pascit odor morum.	the chosen one.
Triplex in tribus gratia:	The fragrance of their good
confidentes in livore,	character refreshes the mind.
patientes in rubore,	In these three is a triple grace:
in candore munditia.	in blue is trust;
	in red, suffering;
	in white, cleanliness.
Mandatorum denarius	The number of the curtains
cortinarum pluralitas;	denotes the Ten Commandments;
virtutum quarternarius	and the variety of colors,
est colorum diversitas,	signifies the Four Virtues,
Cum iacincto prudentie,	with the blue of Prudence,
bissi retorte castitas;	the Chastity of fine twined white
	linen,
cum purpura iusticie,	the purple of Justice,
cocci bincti caritas.	and the Charity of double-dyed
	scarlet.

(Regis decus, lines 1-20)

Without this source the meaning of the passage in Adesse festina is at best difficult to discern, but with it the intention is clear: as the colors and materials of the tabernacle's curtains and coverings change as they near the sanctum sanctorum where the Ark is held, so the sinner

⁸⁷Anderson has already noted these parallels in his corrected translation of this passage from Adesse festina. See his Latin Compositions, 2:vi. On the theological authorities Philip employs in these two poems, see Opera Omnia, 5:xl-xli.

passes through various levels of devotion in his own climb towards redemption.

In significant ways, then, the texts of Philip the Chancellor's organum prosulas complement the role that the music itself plays as a gloss to a Gregorian chant. Not only do the internal rhythms, phrases, and syntax of the added words coincide with those of the melismatic source, but the outward religious and liturgical contexts of the organa are both maintained and emphasized by the poetry of their prosulas.

The Conductus Prosulas: Poetic and Musical Elements

The practice of textual troping, when applied to the caudae of polyphonic conductus, corresponds to several features that are also found in the organum prosulas. The basic process of adding a text to a rhythmically charged, formally coherent, melismatic conductus melody differs little from its liturgical counterpart. Again, each note in the cauda nearly always has its own specific syllable in the corresponding prosula text, and each musical phrase supports its own poetic line. The poetic and musical structures of a conductus prosula likewise tend to complement each other: major cadence points in the cauda are defined by units of thought and sense in the prosula, and the verse is generally irregular in terms of the numbers of syllables among the lines. Also comparable is the choice of the vocal part that Philip texted. Just as his organum prosulas consistently favor the lowest of the newly composed voices in an organum, the majority of Philip's conductus prosulas versify only the tenor, the bottommost element of the polyphonic

conductus complex and the voice part that is the most consistently transmitted and disseminated.⁸⁸

The musical designs in these texted conductus melismas also resemble the conventions of Perotin's prosula-bearing organa. In fact, it has been suggested several times that the composer's multi-part organa are more comparable in style to caudae in the freely composed polyphonic conductus than to the chant settings of Leonin.⁸⁹ In the conductus prosulas we again encounter meticulously shaped phrases that are related through exact or varied repetition, as well as clear antecedent-consequent gestures. Voice exchange is sometimes present, and the dovetailing of the phrases among the various parts often aids in propelling forward the momentum of the cauda. The final melisma of the three-part conductus Dic Christi veritas, the original text of which is ascribed to Philip as well as that of its prosulas, conveniently illustrates all of these stylistic features (See Example 26).

⁸⁸Bulla, Veste, and Minor natu appear in all their musical sources as monophonic pieces, and are so presented in the edition. Crucifigat omnes is uncommon in that its apparent earliest manifestation is as a three-part work, employing the music from both voices of the two-part cauda with an added triplum. A different triplum for this work also survives in a manuscript now at Cambridge. See the edition in Sanders, "Style and Technique," 2:522-530. Since the musical phrases in both voices of are completely parallel, the unusual use in Crucifigat of both the tenor and duplum parts from the model cauda causes none of the problems of alignment associated with this same practice in the organum prosulas. Anima iuge lacrimas, on the other hand, implements only the tenor part from the melismatic model, but complicates this with a polyphonic design employing two added textual strophes set to newly composed music. On this particular work and its idiosyncracies, see below.

⁸⁹Sanders, "Style and Technique," pp. 506-509; idem, "The Medieval Motet," p. 522.

Example 26. Dic Christi veritas, lines 11-12 and final cauda, W1, f. 73v (66v).

8
vel in do- mo ro- mu- le- a cum bul- la ful- mi- na-

Example 26—Continued

The first system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. There are several rests throughout the system.

The second system of musical notation continues the piece with three staves. It maintains the same complex rhythmic style as the first system, with frequent beaming and rests.

The third system of musical notation concludes the piece with three staves. The notation is consistent with the previous systems. At the end of the system, there is a fermata over the final note of the top staff and the text "-te." below the bottom staff.

Although the prosulas to conductus certainly never reach the lengths of those to organa, their brevity as well as their frequent use of strophic structures often stress even more thoroughly the formal

Example 27. Bulla fulminante, strophe I, LoB, f. 38v.

^A
 Bul- la ful- mi- nan- te sub iu- di- ce to- nan- te.
^{A'}
 re- o ap- pel- lan- te sen- ten- ti a gra- van- te.
^B
 ve- ri- tas sup- pr- mi- tur. dis- tra- hi- tur et ven- di- tur. iu-
 sti- ti- a pro- stan- te i- tur et re- cur- ri- tur ad
 cu- ri- am nec an- te quid con- se- qui- tur quam ex-
 u- i- tur- qua- dran- -te.

designs apparent in the caudae. Some of these source melismas exhibit relationships not only with the organum prosulas, but also share structures common to many conductus and vernacular chansons. Thanks, for instance, to the careful design of the tenor in the final melisma of Dic Christi, Philip's prosulas to this melody (the renowned Bulla fulminante and its contrafact Veste nuptiali) recall the cantio form

(AAB) of a vast quantity of conductus and trouvère songs (See Example 27).⁹⁰

Similarly, in the three-part conductus prosula Crucifigat omnes, the reiteration of a small body of musical phrases in all the voices approaches the repetition typical of the Latin and vernacular lai (See Example 28).⁹¹

Even the tenor of the final melisma of the two-part Quod promisit ab eterno (otherwise through composed), ends with a series of paired melodies, which the added prosula, Minor natu filius, mirrors with the expected series of corresponding poetic rhymes (See Example 29).⁹²

Given these features, it is no surprise that Philip should be drawn to text these melismas during the apparently brief period in which the conductus prosula was cultivated. The lengths of the various caudae are substantial enough to form works that can stand apart from their original framework as independent compositions, their structures are often clear and concise, and their melodies are attractive and frequently analogous to other fashionable musical forms. Of all the ingredients necessary for a song, these chosen caudae lacked only a set of lyrics.

Yet, despite the many similarities that Philip's conductus prosulas share with his texts to Perotin's organa, certain

⁹⁰On the significance of the cantio structure in medieval song, see above, Chapter 3.

⁹¹For an analysis of entire piece, see Sanders, "Style and Technique," p. 517.

⁹²The caudae used for Minor natu and Anima iuge exhibit less formal repetition than the other examples in the conductus prosula repertory.

Example 28. Crucifigat omnes, lines 12-17, F, f. 232.

a- na- ni- as in- cur- va- tur. cor- nu da- vit

fla- gel- la- tur mun- dus. ab in- iu- stis ab- di-

ca- tur per quem iu- ste iu- di- ca- tur mun- dus.

Example 29. *Minor natu filius*, lines 19-27, *F*, f. 451.

8 sa- gi- na- tus ce- di- tur vi- tu- lus.

8 di- gi- tis in- se- ri- tur a- nu- lus.

8 do- let fra- ter e- nu- lus af- fli- gi- tur ex o- di- o

8 su- us quod fra- ter- cu- lus re- ci- pi- tur cum gau- di- o

8 pa- tris.

characteristics set the two genres apart from one another. Fundamental differences between the two sets of prosulas arise not only in the type of melismas their poems set, but in the way they assimilate features from the model into the added text. As the following pages will show, the conductus prosulas are not as closely tied to the properties of their sources as the organum examples, and therefore they present a more independently conceived type of composition.

Unlike the organum prosulas, which apply their texts to the entire solo respond or verse section of an organum, the prosulas derived from conductus take their music only from the final cauda of the model—in effect slicing the closing section from the larger piece and serving it up as a work unto itself. An obvious likeness to this practice occurs directly within the corpus of Notre Dame polyphony in the discant

clausula, the melismatic prototype of the early motet, where a similar process is perceptible. As in the conductus prosulas, clausulae and motets apply their techniques of musical and poetic glossing only to melismatic segments of a more complete piece—in this case a liturgical chant—divorcing it from its original context as part of a complete liturgical melody. The only immediate analogy to such a practice before this time arises in the derivation of the versicles Benedicamus Domino and Ite missa est in the chant repertory, where melismatic excerpts from larger chants were provided with new text underlay and made to function as autonomous creations.⁹³

Further indications of such self-sufficiency in the conductus prosula repertory can be seen in their implementation of strophic poetic designs, where each stanza is sung to the musical block furnished by the final cauda.⁹⁴ Only one of the five prosulas, Minor natu filius, gives no evidence of any sort of strophic organization.⁹⁵ In contrast, among the source compositions, only Philip's Dic Christi veritas is regularly strophic. The other three models do admit several stanzas of text, but are musically through composed. This means that, except for Dic

⁹³See Robertson, "Benedicamus Domino," pp. 10-58; and idem, The Service Books, Chapter 3.

⁹⁴Only in one instance does an organum prosula admit the strophic form typically associated with the conductus. At the end of his Adesse festina, Philip twice repeats the music composed over the final sustained syllable of [misericordi]-am, creating a three-fold strophic invocation to Christ, obvious in its allusion to the Trinity. (See measures 299-317 in the edition given in Volume 4 of this study.) None of the sources for the Sederunt organum sanctions such a repetition.

⁹⁵The monostrophic transmission of Minor natu seems complete in its two sources (F and Praha). For the peculiarities of the three non-identical strophes of Anima iuge lacrimas, see below.

Christi, a performance of the original conductus would render the final untexted cauda only once at the end of the composition. Thus, only Minor natu and Veste nuptiali mimic the design of their sources: the former has a mono-stanzaic form that mirrors the through-composed Austro terris influente, the latter displays a tri-strophic structure that corresponds with the three stanzas of Dic Christi.⁹⁶ The presence of such a formal discrepancy between conductus source and prosula in three out of the five specimens indicates that the singing of a conductus prosula is not likely to have occurred within a performance of its parent composition,⁹⁷ and that the poet of a conductus cauda melody did not regard the strophic patterning of the model as a major influence upon the plan of the prosula. Instead of reproducing the formal schemes of their models, the conductus prosulas tend towards contrasting arrangements.

In terms of the correspondence of texts, the preponderance of assonance and rhyme so noticeable in the organum prosulas is also not as prevalent in the conductus prosula repertory. The strongest verbal correlations between source and prosula appear in only two pieces, Bulla

⁹⁶Bulla fulminante, a contrafact of Veste nuptiali, does not share in this distinction, since its has four strophes.

⁹⁷Although in the two Germanic sources of Bulla fulminante (CB and Stutt), the strophes of the prosula are indeed arranged between those of Dic Christi, (see Bukofzer, "Interrelations," p. 89) at least one of Bulla's four stanzas has to be omitted to accomplish this union. Additionally, the order of the prosula's strophes in these sources differs from that of the central sources (I, III, II in Carm. Bur.; I, III in Stutt). Such a performance therefore seems to be a slightly later, peripheral arrangement of these originally separate works. Although F also presents Bulla's text along with its model on f. 204, here the prosula is complete (Strophes I-IV), undivided, and occurs only after the presentation of the entire text of Dic Christi.

fulminante and Minor natu filius. As the underscored portions of the following quotations demonstrate, these two works not only continue the rhymes in the final line of the parent conductus, but also appropriate its actual words:

BULLA FULMINANTE:

End of source: Vel in domo romulea
 cum bulla fulminante?
 (Dic Christi, lines 11-12)

Beginning of Prosula: Bulla fulminante
 sub iudice tonante,
 reo appellante
 sententiam gravante. . . .
 (Bulla fulminante, lines 1-4)

MINOR NATU FILIUS:

End of source: Patris redit in amplexus
 minor natu filius.
 (Austro terris, lines 20-21)

Beginning of Prosula: Minor natu filius
 est gentilis populus,
 cecus et incredulus
 (Minor natu, lines 1-3)

Such literal quotation never occurs in any of the other examples, which bear only minimal traces of assonance to the sustained syllables of the source melisma:⁹⁸

CRUCIFIGAT OMNES:

End of source: . . . nubes ferens adiumentum
 lucis et umbraculi.
 (Quod promisit, lines 11-12)

Beginning of Prosula: Crucifigat omnes,
 Domini crux altera,
 nova Christi vulnera!
 (Crucifigat, lines 1-3)

⁹⁸Janet Knapp, in "Which Came First," has previously called attention to the assonance of Anima iuge and Crucifigat.

It therefore seems that audibly as well as formally, the conductus prosulas demonstrate a greater independence from the framework of their original melismas than their organal counterparts. Unlike the organum prosulas, which attempt to retain as many features as possible from the polyphonic source, texts to conductus caudae consistently preserve only the pitches and rhythms of their archetypes.

Textual Subjects and Treatment

Divergences between cauda and prosula also surface in their choice of poetic subjects. These poems show little of the reliance on the textual content of the model that was so prevalent in the organum prosulas. Whereas the prosulas to organa are consistently sacred in tone and embrace the topics implicit in the liturgical chants that serve as their tenors, the conductus prosulas only occasionally seize upon the themes of the works that inspired them.

Only two of the five conductus prosulas relate significantly to the arguments of their models. Interestingly, they are also the same ones that present direct textual quotations from their sources. Both Minor natu filius and Bulla fulminante continue the message anticipated by their parent compositions, accentuating this correspondence by drawing their opening verses from the source conductus. In the first strophe of Dic Christi veritas, the speaker (the poet is Philip himself) calls directly upon Christ's truth to reveal itself. The apparent absence of justice in the world causes him to question with obvious irony where such truth may lie:

Aut in valle visionis,

Are you in the valley of vision
(Jerusalem),

aut in throno Pharaonis,	or on the Pharaoh's throne,
aut in alto cum Nerone,	on high with Nero,
aut in antro cum Theone?	or in the cave with Theon? ⁹⁹
Vel in fiscella scirpea	Or maybe in the basket of rushes
cum Moyse plorante,	with the weeping Moses,
vel in domo Romulea	or even in the house of Romulus
	(Rome)
cum bulla fulminante?	with the bull that strikes like
	lightning?

(Dic Christi, lines 1-12)

The final item on the list of possible places—the papal palace in Rome—leads directly into a stinging criticism of the curia's corrupt bureaucracy in the prosula Bulla fulminante, where truth and justice receive especially brutal treatment:¹⁰⁰

Bulla fulminante	With a bull striking like lightning
sub iudice tonante,	wielded by a thundering judge,
reo appellante	summoning the defendant
sententia gravante,	with oppressing words,
veritas supprimitur,	truth is suppressed,
distrahitur, et venditur,	torn limb from limb, and sold for
	profit,
iustitia prostante.	while justice prostitutes herself.
Itur et recurritur	You have to run back and forth
ad curiam, nec ante	to the curia, before you
quid consequitur	achieve anything more
quam exiitur quadrante.	than being stripped of your purse.

(Bulla fulminante, lines 1-11)

Similarly, with the conductus Austro terris influente, which examines the effects of the diffusion of the Holy Spirit over the earth, Philip siezes upon the rather oblique reference to the parable of the Prodigal

⁹⁹Emendations have been proposed for the name Theon in the text of Dic Christi. See Thurston, The Conductus Collections, 1:17; and Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 582, note 42. I have chosen to follow the identification suggested by Anderson in Opera Omnia, 1:xxv, which retains the reading of nearly all the sources. For the variant readings of this passage, see Anderson, Opera Omnia, 1:163.

¹⁰⁰On the events in Philip's life that probably caused such an attack, see Chapters 1 and 2.

Son that closes this source and uses his prosula Minor natu filius to reveal the significance of the image point by point:¹⁰¹

. . . Ab erroris via flexus	Turned from the straying path,
patris redit in amplexus	the younger son by birth
minor natu filius.	returns to his father's embrace.

(Austro terris, lines 19-21)

Minor natu filius	The younger son by birth
est gentilis populus,	is the Gentile race,
cecus et incredulus,	blind and skeptical,
qui recesserat,	the Prodigal Son,
qui dissipaverat,	who had fled,
prodigus,	who had squandered
partem quam funiculus	the share that the bond
nature dederat.	of nature had bestowed (i.e., his
	inheritance).

(Minor natu, lines 1-8)

None of the other three conductus prosulas approach such clear correspondences with the material of their sources.¹⁰²

Also, the conductus prosulas only occasionally reveal the same exegetical and homiletic thrusts characteristic of their organal counterparts. The most immediate of such relationships only occurs in Minor natu filius and Veste nuptiali. Minor natu, as described above, not only relates in detail the story of the Prodigal Son from the Gospel

¹⁰¹The reference to the Prodigal Son in Austro terris is preceded by other images symbolic of the coming of Christ: "Serpens divus exturbatur / ad vagitum pueri, / per quem pauper liberatur, / potens datur carceri." (The dread serpent [the Devil] is driven away by the cry of the child [Christ], through whom the poor man is freed and the powerful is incarcerated.) For the complete text and its translation, see Anderson, Opera omnia, 3:ii.

¹⁰²For example, Veste nuptiali treats of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (see below), and bears little connection to the search for Christ's truth that occupies the text of the model, Dic Christi veritas. Likewise, the respective sources for Anima iuqe (Relegentur ab area) and Crucifigat (Quod promisit ab eterno) treat subjects related to the birth of Christ and the sending of the Word to mankind. For these texts, see Anderson, Opera Omnia, 1:xxx; and 3:vi.

of Luke,¹⁰³ but also provides the common medieval explication of the parable. In this poem, Philip follows the customary interpretation of contemporaneous biblical commentaries in suggesting that the father symbolizes God's forgiveness in welcoming the Gentiles (the younger son) to the fold, while the elder of the two brothers, resentful of the acceptance, signifies the envy of the Jewish race:¹⁰⁴

Dolet frater emulus.
Affligitur ex odio,
suus quod fraterculus
recipitur cum gaudio
patris.

The rival brother grieves.
He is overcome by hate,
because his little brother
is received with the delight
of the father.

(Minor natu filius, lines 23-27)

A similar gloss on a Gospel parable appears in Veste nuptiali, where Philip uses the story of the Wise and Foolish Virgins from Matthew¹⁰⁵ to warn that those who seek salvation should be ready for the Last Judgement:

Vas sine liquore
vox est sine stentore.
Sed que cum lampadibus
ardentibus in manibus
in operum candore,

foribus patentibus
intrans absque clamore,
cibus talibus
refici mente, non ore.

A lamp without oil
is a voice with no force.
But those with lamps
burning in their hands
through the brilliance of their
works,
enter the opened doors
[of heaven] without alarm,
to be refreshed by such foods
that are not of the mouth, but of
the mind.

(Veste nuptiali, lines 25-33)

¹⁰³Luke, 15:11-32.

¹⁰⁴See Anderson's explication of this text in "Symbolism—A Postscript," pp. 37-39, along with relevant quotations from Patristic authorities that likely influenced Philip in its writing.

¹⁰⁵Matthew, 25:1-13.

With these two works—and only these—the conductus prosulas come closest to the didactic intent of the organal texts in their use of Scriptural exegesis and the admonitory tone of the sermon.

The remaining three conductus prosulas, though not connected with scriptural interpretation or liturgical concerns, do reflect themes common to other conductus texts, particularly some of Philip's own essays in the genre. This is meaningful, for two of these three, Crucifigat omnes and Anima iuge lacrimas, are not specifically attributed to him. With such correspondences, allied with the fact that all eight of the other organum and conductus prosulas are ascribed to the Chancellor, his authorship of these last two remaining works becomes more defensible. Besides the criticism of the clergy in Bulla fulminante, which he employs in a host of other lyrics,¹⁰⁶ another Crusade poem along the lines of his earlier Venit Jhesus in propria (probably written around 1187) emerges in the prosula Crucifigat omnes from 1219–1220.¹⁰⁷ Significantly, this piece also chides the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II for not acting upon the Pope's demands:

Quisquis es signatus
fidei karactere,
fidem factis assere.
.
. . . Vide, ne de fide
reproberis frivola.

Whoever you are that have been
inscribed with the mark of faith,
maintain the faith with deeds.
.
. . . Take care, lest you are
condemned for your sorry faith.

¹⁰⁶Most notably in his conductus Veritas equitas, Mundus a mundicia, Aristippe quamvis sero, Fontis in rivulum, Ve mundo a scandalis, Quo me vertam nescio (also attributed to Peter of Blois), and the motet In veritate comperi.

¹⁰⁷On the recent redating of Crucifigat in the years 1219–1220, see Sanders, "Style and Technique," pp. 513–517. Above, in Chapter 2, I suggest further incentives for Philip's authorship of this poem, since the expedition to the Fifth Crusade counted two of his relatives among the invading party.

Suda, martir, in agone,
spe mercedis et corone.

Sweat, martyr, in the contest,
with the hope of reward and crown.
(Crucifigat omnes, lines 35-37; 43-46)

A similar lack of obedience to the Pope caused Philip to inveigh against Frederick's predecessor, Otto IV, some ten years earlier in his conductus Rex et sacerdos prefuit (1209-1212):¹⁰⁸

Otho, quid ad te pertinet?

Otto, what does this have to do with
you?

Que te rapit presumptio?
Cessa! iam casus imminet.

What audacity seduces you?
Cease! already your fall is
imminent.

Iam vicina subversio,
que reprobum exterminet.
Ut Saülem eliminat
David, fiet inunctio.

The ruin that will destroy the
traitor is close at hand.
There will be an anointing,
so that David may banish Saul.

(Rex et sacerdos, lines 8-14)

Another favorite conceit of Philip is demonstrated in Anima iuge lacrimas, where the Chancellor resorts to one of his most treasured forms, the altercatio or poetic debate.¹⁰⁹ Here, as in his similarly structured poems Homo natus ad laborem tui status and Quo vadis quo progredieris, the Soul chides the Flesh for hastening its own ruin, with not a little sarcasm:

Caro, spiritui
quid subderis?
Quid, tenui
flatu suspenderis?
Ad solita revertere;
via trita curritur libere.
Stes legi divitum.
Vetitum licitum.
putes ad libitum,

What, Flesh, are you
subject to a spirit?
Are you checked
by this thin vapor?
Return to your accustomed haunts;
run freely on the beaten path.
Persist in the law of the rich.
Willfully consider
the forbidden as licit,

¹⁰⁸On the dates and events in Rex et sacerdos, see above, Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁹Other examples of this poetic species among Philip's works include Homo natus ad laborem tui status and Quo vadis quo progredieris (both between the Body and Soul), Quisquis cordis et oculi (between the Heart and Eye), Inter membra singula (between the Belly and the rest of the Body's members), and Vitia virtutibus (between the Virtues and Vices).

Devia
 curans, non de patria,
 nature debita
 culture.

caring for the perversions
 owed to the nature of
 flattery,
 and not of heaven.

(Anima iuge lacrimas, lines 12-24)

Therefore, although the conductus prosulas demonstrate the same technical procedures as their organal counterparts in the addition of words to melismatic music, a contrasting formal, aural, and thematic independence from their models is undeniably evident. Despite the differences between the two related genres, however, much evidence still remains to argue for the attribution of all ten texts of these works to Philip the Chancellor. Although, in contrast to the organum prosulas, the treatment of a texted conductus cauda frequently departs notably from its melismatic sources, the style and language of these five texts still relate considerably to the Chancellor's other poems.

Anima iuge lacrimas: Relationships with the Early Motet

Another quite significant facet of the conductus prosulas is the parallel between these pieces and the early motet. The bonds are so close in one instance that it is worthwhile to consider the possibility of a mutual influence of these genres upon each other. Although correspondences between the motet and conductus prosula have already arisen through the above observation that both species use as their structural underpinning a melismatic portion derived from a more complete piece of music, the characteristics of one particular prosula, Anima iuge lacrimas, supply even further indications of a partnership with the early motet.

Anima iuge strays far beyond the standard features of the conductus prosula. It features the requisite syllabic text fitted to a conductus melisma (the final cauda of the three-part Relegentur ab area), but it surpasses the other works of this type by setting two additional, differently structured strophes of text to music not otherwise derived from the melismatic source.¹¹⁰ This additional trait is further complicated by the transmission of this singular work in two widely differing formats in the three sources that preserve it. In the manuscripts F and StS1,¹¹¹ it appears, as do most of the other prosulas, in a format similar to that of a monophonic conductus, with its three strophes copied out successively. However, an alternate design is proposed by the third source, the La Clayette manuscript (Cl).¹¹² Here, in a codex whose musical portion is otherwise devoted exclusively to motets, Anima iuge appears in a disposition that suggests its strophes are to be combined polyphonically, rendering a composition consisting of three simultaneously sounding texts. As both Leo Schrade and Manfred Bukofzer have independently demonstrated, the various voices do concord extremely well, thanks to the assistance provided by the mensural

¹¹⁰Although the music for these additional strophes does not rely completely on the cauda, Leo Schrade notes some interesting correspondences among the melodies of these additional stanzas, the duplum voice of the appropriated cauda, and music from other parts of Relegentur. See his "Unknown Motets in a Recovered Thirteenth-Century Manuscript, "Speculum, 30 (1955): 408-409.

¹¹¹Anima iuge occurs in F on f. 433v and in StS1 on f. 3v.

¹¹²The music of this codex is edited in Anderson, Motets of the MS La Clayette: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. f. fr. 13521, Corpus mensurabilis musicae, no. 68 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975).

notation of Cl.¹¹³ This results in a work (See Example 30 for the opening) that is indistinguishable from a number of otherwise unrelated motets possessing a freely composed, fully texted tenor.¹¹⁴

Due to the hybrid nature of this unique piece, which derives from a conductus cauda, yet imitates the texture, style, and form of the motet, it is clear that an aesthetic quite different from that of the other prosulas is in effect here. With the presence of these correspondences to the motet, it is reasonable to suppose that some of its features might well have informed the composition of Anima iuge. In this piece, the polyphonic complex of separately texted voices with varying phrase lengths quite successfully reproduces the same type of audible structure noticeable in the works that surround it in Cl. Only the melismatic configuration and unwavering rhythmic ostinato of the typical motet tenor are missing.¹¹⁵ With these features, Anima iuge can be viewed as a singular experiment, a lone endeavor, as it were, to merge the features of the conductus prosula with the techniques and sounds of the motet.

It is not surprising that this particular cauda should have been chosen for such a role. Unlike all the other examples in the repertory,

¹¹³Leo Schrade, "Unknown Motets," pp. 404-412; Manfred Bukofzer, "The Unidentified Tenors in the Manuscript La Clayette," Annales musicologiques, 4 (1956): 257-258. Both scholars made this discovery at approximately the same time.

¹¹⁴For these similar works, see Friedrich Gennrich, Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten, Summa musicae medii aevi, no. 2 (Darmstadt: publ. by the author, 1958), nos. 1183-1219b.

¹¹⁵All the other pieces in Cl conform to the typical delineation of the motet genre, with a melismatic tenor segment disposed in some sort of rhythmic pattern.

Example 30. *Anima iuge lacrimas*, opening, mm. 1-12, *F*, *ff.* 433v-434.

Lis hec ra- ti- o tu- o
 Ca- ro spi- ri- tu i quid sub- de-
 R- ni- ma iu- ae

iu- di- ci- o fi- nem sub- e- at.
 nis? quid te- nu- i fla- tu sus- pen- de-
 la- cri- mas dif- flu- e.

co- hi- be- at. car- nis im- pe- tus
 nis? ad so- li- ta re- ven- te- re.
 di- lu- e sau- ci- e

the tenor voice of the appropriated melisma consists largely of perfect and duplex Longs. Its imposing rhythmic stride is only occasionally broken by shorter values.¹¹⁶ Such a design, compounded with a penchant for phrases disposed in units of four or eight Longs, evokes the style of the fifth-mode tenors in early Notre Dame motets. The opening measures in particular recall one of the most favored of clausula and motet tenor patterns (See Example 31).¹¹⁷

Example 31.

- a. Anima iuge lacrimas, Tenor melody, mm. 1-6, F, f. 433v.
 b. Tenor from clausula Nostrum, mm. 1-8, F, f. 157v, second setting.

The image shows two musical staves, labeled 'a.' and 'b.', representing tenor melodies. Both staves are in G-clef and have a common time signature of 8 measures. Staff 'a.' is for the piece 'Anima iuge lacrimas' and shows a melody starting with a half note followed by quarter notes. Staff 'b.' is for the clausula 'Nostrum' and shows a similar rhythmic pattern with some longer note values. The lyrics 'A- ni- ma . . .' and 'No- -strum' are written below the notes.

Above this underpinning, the two added voices unfold with more varied rhythms. Their diversity is especially elegant: Long-Breve patterns in the Duplum and Triplum are judiciously mingled with phrases

¹¹⁶The rhythms used by the tenor melody of Anima iuge, both as a cauda voice and as a prosula, appear variously represented in the sources. All the cauda versions agree on the trochaic division of the Long (LB), except for W1, which presents a transmuted version in a diminished "first rhythmic mode" (the first five pitches of the tenor are LBL,L,L). C1 offers a presumably updated version of the "fifth mode" version, where the Long is divided iambically into two B's with the first altered. The edition in Volume 4 of this study presents a hypothetical "earliest" rendering, disposing the tenor in "Mode V" and dividing the Long trochaically. For the C1 reading of Anima iuge, see Anderson, The Motets of the MS La Clayette, p. 5.

¹¹⁷On this comparable tenor pattern and its possible chronological significance, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 504-505.

or motives composed of perfect and duplex Longs, as though all the different parts were intentionally designed to complement the melodic shape and the sounding texts of the others (See Example 32).

The phrase structure of the whole piece is likewise sophisticated, and particularly akin to the motet in alternating between sections that interweave the variously shaped phrases among each other, and those that punctuate internal cadences with simultaneous rests in all the parts. The disposition of the phrases in Anima iuge lacrimas can be seen in graphic form in Figure 2.

Measure:	1	4	8	12	16	23
Triplum:	8.....4...4...4...4...8.....8.....6.....4... +					
Duplum:	3..7.....8.....6.....8.....14.....4... +					
Tenor:	4...4...4...4...4...4...8.....6.....8.....4... +					
Measure:	25		33	35	40	
Triplum:	12.....4...4...10.....					
Duplum:	4...12.....4...10..... = 80 Longs					
Tenor:	4...8.....4...4...10.....					

Figure 2. Phrase structure of Anima iuge lacrimas (in Longs).

But particularly interesting in light of the combination of the parts, the diversity of their rhythmic activity, and the contrast in their phrase structure, is the related program of the three texts of Anima iuge. As already stated, this piece is an altercation, a quarrel between the Soul and the Flesh. Each of these two personae occupies a specific vocal part that symbolically represents its character. The first strophe contains the complaint of the Flesh, which in medieval theology typically represented a lower, corrupt order, since it was initially composed of earth and embodied the sinful nature of man. This

Example 32. Anima iuge lacrimas, mm. 13-23, F, ff. 433v-434.

iu- sti iu- di- cis me- tus.
vi- a tri- ta cur- ri- tur li- be- re.
son- des con- sci- en- ti- e.

ex- pi- e- tur a- ni- ma
stes le- gi di- vi- tum. ve- ti- tum li- ci-
fac ti- bi tu- tum lu- te- um

car- nis vi- cti- ma.
tum. pu- tes ad li- bi- tum.
vas ex- u- e lu- tum.

particular entity is given the original tenor part from the source cauda, the lowest voice in a polyphonic setting when the voices were written in score. Analogously, the Soul, which inhabits Strophe II, appears in the various sources either in the duplum (as in F and StS1) or triplum voice (C1), a place suggestive of its superiority over the Flesh's coarser nature, as well as its closer proximity to God.¹¹⁸ The last strophe contains an appeal to Reason by an apparent third party. Not surprisingly, as in Philip's comparable works, this plea favors the argument of the Soul:¹¹⁹

Lis hec, ratio,	Reason, let this quarrel
tuo iuditio	come to an end
finem subeat.	through your judgement.
Cohibeat	Let the dread of a
carnis impetus	fair judge halt the
iusti iudicis metus.	charges of the flesh.
Expietur anima,	Let the soul, the victim
carnis victima.	of the flesh, be appeased.
	(<u>Anima iuge</u> , lines 28-35)

The relationships between the texts of Anima iuge are therefore extremely suitable for the polyphonic performance of this composition. Its use of various, simultaneously performed sets of lyrics along the lines of the double and triple motet is justified completely by the substance of the poetry. Just as the various characters in this work argue among themselves, so does the music contribute to the sense of

¹¹⁸Philip's other poems which concern the nature of the Body and Soul make these conceptions clear. See, for instance, Homo cum mandato dato, lines 10-16; Homo natus ad laborem tui status, lines 11-20; Quo vadis quo progredieris, lines 22-28; Homo qui semper moreris, lines 33-36; and Bonum est confidere, lines 20-25.

¹¹⁹See Homo natus ad laborem tui status, lines 4-10, where the Body is similarly chastised.

confrontation by presenting the texts concurrently. A more illustrative way of setting a medieval altercatio can scarcely be imagined.

The succession of strophes is particularly ingenious in the transmission of Anima iuge in the La Clayette manuscript (C1). Unlike the logical presentation of the three stanzas in F in the sequence of a charge (I), a response (II), and a judgement (III), the disposition in C1 reverses the order of Strophes II and III. With such an ordering, only the simultaneous performance of all three texts together obviates the irrational succession of strophes in this source. Not only does this emphasize that the three parts of Anima iuge are indeed intended to be combined polyphonically (for otherwise the scheme of the text would make little sense), but the fact that in C1 the conciliatory strophe addressed to Reason actually falls between those of the clashing Body and Soul demonstrates that its role in the conflict was not lost on the scribe. In this instance the placement of the third stanza between the other two functions as an actual physical mediator that literally separates the two warring factions from each other.

The foregoing observations show decisively that Anima iuge lacrimas shares many stylistic features with the motet. Although it is not certain whether the path of influence is from prosula to motet or vice versa, what remains is the likely prospect that this unusual example of a conductus prosula closely parallels motet practice and quite conceivably arose as the result of an aesthetic quite similar to its more prevalent counterpart. By going beyond the techniques shared by the conductus prosula and motet—the texting of previously composed melismatic music and the use of a melismatic segment from a more

complete composition as a foundation for the new work—to incorporating the textures, phrase structures and polytextuality typically associated only with the motet, Anima iuge, in effect, completely synthesizes the practices of both genres.

Observations on Chronology

The organum and conductus prosula repertory is especially significant for the chronological information it can propose. Such diverse details as the styles and techniques used in the prosulas and the music of their models, the textual contents of the poems, the comprehensiveness of the troping process, the small size and short-lived nature of the repertory, and the role of Philip the Chancellor in its invention and development can be collated with the dates that have been furnished for three of these pieces and for two of their melismatic sources. With these findings, some suggestions for a potential chronology and period of cultivation can be offered for the prosulas themselves, their melismatic sources, and their relationships with the comparable genre of the motet.

The earliest information to bear upon the prosula repertory posits possible dates for the composition of Perotian's organa quadrupla Viderunt omnes and Sederunt principes, the sources of Philip's four organum prosulas Vide prophecie, Homo cum mandato, De Stephani rosec, and Adesse festina. The evidence for these dates stems from two episcopal mandates from the years 1198 and 1199. Although these documents are not as specific as one might wish, they figure often in the literature on the two quadrupla, and have generally been accepted as

probable, if not likely testimony for determining the period when these major musical monuments could have been written.

Both of the decrees were the result of attempts by the bishop of Paris, Odo of Sully (reg. 1196-1208), to reform the Parisian liturgy during the week immediately after Christmas, the so-called Feast of Fools. Odo drew up his first directive in 1198 as a response to an order from the papal legate Pierre de Capuano.¹²⁰ Specifically, the bishop states that the customary revelry accorded to the Feast of Circumcision on January 1 had become excessive, and seriously threatened the sanctity of the day.¹²¹ In addition to quoting the legate's mandate, Odo prescribes some of his own particular regulations for the celebration of the Offices and Mass at Circumcision, which curtail some of the intemperance of the Feast of Fools and provide greater solemnity and propriety. These include the stipulation of liturgical acts (such as the ringing of bells), the wearing of certain vestments, the rank of the celebrants, the conduct of clerics, and even the addition of specific chants with rubrics for their performance. Most interesting for the present purposes are his remarks about the celebration of Mass:

¹²⁰Odo's document, which contains the text of the legate's charges, has been published in Benjamin Guérard, ed., Cartulaire, 1:72-75, no. 76; and discussed in detail by Jacques Handschin, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 5-7 (with copious quotations); Rokseth, Polyphonies, 4:42-43; and Wright, Music and Ceremony, 237-241 (with a facsimile of the decree and translations of the relevant portions).

¹²¹"Nos igitur, intellecto et cognito quod prescripta sollempnitas Dominice circumcissionis minus regulariter ageretur, volentes in statum canonicum revocare quod in scandalum ecclesie temere noscitur pullulasse, . . . ordinavimus." Guérard, Cartulaire, 1:74.

Mass, likewise, along with the other hours, shall be celebrated in an orderly manner by some of the aforementioned [officials].¹²² With this added: that the Epistle will be sung with farces [i.e., tropes] by two in silk copes and, nonetheless, shall be read aloud afterwards by a subdeacon. The Responsory [i.e., the Gradual] and the Alleluia shall be sung in three-, four-, or two-part organum [my emphasis] in silk copes, and in the Mass there will be four [singers] coming forth.¹²³

This passage is significant, not only in demanding organal polyphony for the customary responsorial Mass chants preserved in the sources of Notre Dame music, but also because the feast of Circumcision took its Gradual (Viderunt omnes) from the Christmas ceremony. Perotin's quadruplum setting of this chant, therefore, could have been composed as a result of this edict, or may have been transferred from its presumably original position at Christmas to serve for Circumcision. There are thus firm reasons to speculate that the composition of Perotin's Viderunt could have occurred on or slightly before the year 1198.¹²⁴

¹²²The bishop states beforehand that only he himself, the dean, or the episcopal chaplain are allowed to celebrate the Offices, thus preventing anyone from presiding over the liturgy who did not have the right to administer the sacraments.

¹²³"Missa similiter cum ceteris horis ordinate celebrabitur ab aliquo predictorum; hoc addito quod epistola cum farsia dicetur a duobus in capis sericis, et postmodum a subdiacono nichilominus perlegetur. Responsorium et Alleluia in triplo, vel quadruplo, vel organo, in capis sericis, cantabuntur, et erunt in missa iiii^or procedentes." Guérard, Cartulaire, 1:74. On the possible interpretation of the problematic final clause, see Handschin, "Zur Geschichte," p. 7; and the most recent suggestion by Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 101, note 7.

¹²⁴For acceptance of this rarely challenged assumption, see, for example, Handschin, "Zur Geschichte," p. 10; Sanders, "The Question," p. 244; Fritz Reckow, "Das Organum," Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift für Leo Schrade, vol. 1, eds., Ernst Lichtenhahn, Hans Oesch, and M. Hass (Berne: Francke Verlag, 1973), p. 480, note 112; and Wright, Music and Ceremony, pp. 243, 289, 293.

The second document conveys the same particular information as the previous example, though it is quite different in nature. In 1199 Odo drafted another decree, this time for the reformation of the feast of Saint Stephen on December 26.¹²⁵ In this directive he refers back to his earlier injunctions for Circumcision, stating that Stephen's feast has been plagued by similar irregularities, and that he desires to lead it back to a respectable status and enumerate it among the great solemnities of the church year.¹²⁶ "Wishing, therefore," he writes, "that out of the above statutes, something suitable for the attendants of the Church of Paris may arise—not only spiritually but temporally—as a sign of devotion and reverence towards Saint Stephen," he authorizes the following payments:

- To each canon of Paris or cleric serving at the main altar who is present at Matins on the feast of the Birth of Saint Stephen—6 Parisian denarii.
- To each cleric of the choir who is not a canon—4 denarii.
- To each choirboy—2 denarii.

¹²⁵Published in Gallia Christiana, vol. 7, "Instrumenta," cols. 78-79; excerpts in Handschin, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 7-8. The same information presented by this document is reiterated in a decree by bishop Peter of Nemours (Philip's uncle) in 1208. See Guérard, Cartulaire, 1:358-359, no. 52; and Gallia Christiana, vol. 7, "Instrumenta," cols. 87-88.

¹²⁶"Ad haec cum festivitas beati protomartyris Stephani, ejusdem fere subiacebat dissolutionis & temeritatis incommodo, nec ita solemniter sicut decebat & martyris merita requirebant, in ecclesia Parisiensi consueverat celebrari, . . . festivitatem ipsam ad statum reducere regularem, eamque magnis ecclesiae solemnitatibus annumerare decrevimus, statuentes ut in ipso festo tantum celebritatis agatur, quantum in caeteris festis annualibus fieri consuevit." Gallia Christiana, vol. 7, "Instrumenta," col. 78.

To each cleric in the Mass who shall sing the Responory [Gradual or Alleluia in organum [duplum], triplum, or quadruplum [my emphasis]—6 denarii.¹²⁷

With the evidence of this document, Odo not only provides a possible impetus for the composition of Perotin's Sederunt (the four-part organum setting of the Gradual in question), but also indicates that the performers of such organa were accorded payments that were commensurate with the wages of the priests and clerics who celebrated the entire office of the day.¹²⁸

Admittedly, the above episcopal documents do not prove explicitly that Perotin's two quadrupla either existed at the time or were prompted by Odo's proclamations.¹²⁹ They do, however, conveniently sanction the performance of these works, and it certainly seems beyond mere coincidence that the only two surviving organa quadrupla happen to correspond exactly with specific chants that the bishop authorized for

¹²⁷"Volentes igitur ut ex praedictis institutionibus ejusdem ecclesiae servitoribus, non solum spirituale commodum, sed etiam temporale proveniat in signum devotionis, & ob ipsius protomartyris reverentiam, singulis canonicis Parisiensibus, vel clericis majori altari servientibus, qui in natale S. Stephani matutinis interfuerunt sex denarios Paris. singulos vero clericis chori non canonicis quatuor denarios, singulis autem pueris chori duos denarios, singulis tamen clericis qui in missa responsum vel alleluya in organo [,] triplo seu quadruplo decantabunt, sex denarios benigne conferimus." Gallia Christiana, vol. 7, "Instrumenta," col. 78.

¹²⁸Later on in the same bequest, Odo also provides similar payments to non-canon clerics and choirboys for serving on the feast of Circumcision. Curiously and unfortunately, there is no mention here of payments for the performance of organa. Perhaps the missing information was already sanctioned by a document that no longer survives. It is remarkable, for instance, that there are also no payments recorded here for the canons serving at the altar at Circumcision. For the unlikely supposition that organa figured in the New Year's feast only in 1198, see Handschin, "Zur Geschichte," p. 7.

¹²⁹See the warnings of Mark Everist, Polyphonic Music, pp. 1-6.

four-part execution. Furthermore, it has been proposed with some conviction that Perotin's four-part setting of the Viderunt may have existed at the time of the 1198 document, while the Sederunt was likely occasioned specifically by the reform of Stephen's feast in 1199.¹³⁰ It is interesting, for instance, that in 1198 Odo authorizes organa in four parts for Circumcision when only two such compositions now exist. This suggests that by 1198 Perotin's Viderunt might well have been in use as a setting of the Christmas Gradual, and that in drafting his decree Odo envisioned the likelihood of its additional use on the feast of Circumcision. On the other hand, it is not as easy to accept that the Sederunt was written before 1199, prior to the reforms that both allowed the performance of the quadruplum and, as Odo says, raised the celebration of Saint Stephen's feast to a level equal to the most solemn festivals of the church year.¹³¹ Finally, an examination of the musical style of the datable polyphonic conductus can help support the dates offered for the two quadrupla. Although no examples of such conductus survive for the decades immediately surrounding the year 1200, the extant specimens show that the rhythmic, melodic, and contrapuntal styles presented in Perotin's organa quadrupla are noticeably absent in

¹³⁰On this and the following points, see Rudolf Ficker, ed., Perotinus: Organum Quadruplum Sederunt principes, (Vienna and Leipzig: Universal Editions, 1930) pp. 25-26; Handschin, "Zur Geschichte," p. 8; Tischler, "Perotinus Revisited," p. 811; Sanders, "The Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," p. 244; and Wright, Music and Ceremony, 289, 293.

¹³¹Given Wright's findings that the death of Leonin occurred after the turn of the thirteenth century, it is also possible that the organum duplum settings of the Gradual and Alleluia for the feast of Saint Stephen ascribed to this composer may also be a result of Odo's proclamation. On Leonin's chronology, see Wright, Music and Ceremony, pp. 281-288; and idem, "Leoninus," pp. 31-32.

conductus before ca. 1190, yet were fully operative by the end of the first decade of the thirteenth century.¹³² There are thus good reasons to suppose that the episcopal documents can indeed function as trustworthy witnesses, and to conclude that the Viderunt was presumably written shortly before 1198, while the Sederunt may be a direct product of the reforms of 1199.

The later chronological boundary for the organum prosulas occurs with the example of the datable Associa tecum in patria, a poem in honor of Saint Eligius, which despite its subject is set to music extracted from the Perotinian organum triplum Sancte Germane.¹³³ The likely impetus for the composition of this particular text has been traced to the gift of an arm of Eligius from Noyon to Paris in 1212.¹³⁴ Also plausible are the recent claims that the Sancte Germane organum itself might have been intended from the start to serve for Eligius and that both the organum and its prosula may be a consequence of the 1212 transfer of relics.¹³⁵ Although it is certain that the melismatic form of the organum necessarily preceded its texted version, if only by a brief interval, further support for at least fixing the composition of

¹³²See above, Chapter 3; and Sanders, "Style and Technique," pp. 505-508.

¹³³For an explanation of this apparently peculiar situation, see Payne, "Associa," pp. 247-249. In addition to the evidence presented herein, the manuscript Praha in its marginal note to this poem "de sancto Eligio" provides a further piece of information confirming that Eligius is indeed the subject of this prosula. (See the facsimile of this folio in Anderson, "Obiter Dicta," p. 363.) I did not notice the identification until well after the publication of my article.

¹³⁴See Payne, "Associa," p. 253. This possibility was suggested to me by Craig Wright.

¹³⁵See Wright, Music and Ceremony, pp. 298-299.

the Sancte Germane after the Viderunt and Sederunt surfaces in an observation of its musical style.¹³⁶ When compared to the quadrupla, Sancte Germane reveals techniques that appear to be later practices, particularly in its frequent use of the iambic patterns of the second and third rhythmic modes, and the virtual absence of voice exchange, a technique that is particularly associated with the polyphonic conductus. The Viderunt and Sederunt, on the other hand, never venture beyond the first and alternate (trochaic) third modes, and much of their immense size results from repetition caused by the interchange of musical material among the various upper parts. There is, therefore, no reason to dismiss the prospect that both the prosula Associa and its melismatic source may have arisen in the year 1212 at nearly exactly the same time and under identical circumstances.

The proposed dates for the Viderunt (shortly before 1198), the Sederunt, (1199), and the Sancte Germane (on or shortly before 1212) thus suggest that the creation of the organa that served as melismatic sources for Philip's texts occurred in the years from roughly 1198 to 1212. The prosulas to these pieces may also be provisionally dated

¹³⁶On the following points, see Heinrich Hussmann, Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame-Organa, pp. xx-xxii; Sanders, "The Question," pp. 243-245; idem, "Peripheral Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 17 (1964), note 83; idem, "Style and Technique," p. 510; and Payne, "Associa," pp. 245-247. For an alternate, and less defensible view of the chronological succession of the Perotinian organa, cf. Hans Tischler, "New Historical Aspects," pp. 22-31; along with Sanders' replies to his claims in "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode in the 13th Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 15 (1962): 280, note 150; Tischler, "The Dates of Perotin," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 16 (1963): 240-241; and idem, "Perotinus Revisited," pp. 810-817.

within this interval.¹³⁷ Although there is no specific evidence to argue that Associa is indeed the latest of the organum prosulas, it certainly seems more likely that the elaborate feasts of Christmas and Saint Stephen should be the first ones to have their organa texted, while the composition of Associa, just like its model, would occur later. As a further qualification, the prosulas to the Sederunt, De Stephani roseo and Adesse festina, may well have been the first of Philip's ventures in the genre. Unlike his other examples, these two poems set the music of the entire organum (both the respond and the verse), forming a composition that easily outstrips the length of any other Notre Dame prosula, motet, or conductus. It is easy to imagine that the Sederunt poems comprise an initial experiment in troping a complete organum, a process that was abandoned in the other, presumably later examples, where only the respond was texted.¹³⁸

Somewhat more revealing are the chronological implications of the conductus prosulas, particularly because they may help to illuminate the particularly hazy question of the date of the motet's origin. The connections between the texted caudae and the motet have surfaced repeatedly in the above pages, especially with regard to the unusual procedure in both genres of using what was initially a segment from a more extended composition as the source for the added text. In the case of the motet, this fragment comprises a discant clausula built on a

¹³⁷Anderson, for instance, proposes dating the quadruplum prosulas around 1205 (Latin Compositions, 1:222).

¹³⁸However, see Steiner, "The Prosulae," p. 375, who remarks that the extent of prosulation within a chant is not indicative of its chronology.

melisma taken from a liturgical chant; in the conductus prosula, it is a cauda removed from its place at the end of the composition. This emancipation of the melismatic model from its original context is further mirrored in the verses of the conductus prosulas, which frequently lack the strict assonance, quotation, and close topical references to the texts of their sources.¹³⁹ Such independence never appears in the more conservatively fashioned organum prosulas. Although the latter pieces implement the same practice as the conductus prosulas in texting music derived from melismatic Notre Dame polyphony, they betray an all-encompassing adherence to their organal sources, not only in setting integral sections of organa, but in the strict assonance and thematic fidelity of their verses with the words of the cantus firmus.

It is therefore especially encouraging to find that the dates provided by two examples of the conductus prosulas fully support the assumption that they originated after the texts set to organa. With Crucifigat omnes, dated in the years 1219-1220, and Bulla fulminante, which hails from 1222-1223, the logical inference is that the conductus prosulas do indeed constitute a later phenomenon, just as their technical traits seem to indicate. In addition to suggesting that the main period of cultivation for these works occurred in the years around 1220, the variety of techniques exhibited by the conductus prosulas can allow some speculations regarding the order of the composition of their own assorted texts.

¹³⁹Kelly, "New Music from Old," pp. 387-388, also notes that such characteristics are prevalent in the final stages of the chant prosula repertory in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

A particularly conservative example of a conductus prosula appears in Minor natu filius. Although not dated, Minor natu treats a sacred, biblically derived theme (the Prodigal Son), features assonance and quotation from its model along with an adherence to the theme of the text of its source, and differs from all the other conductus prosulas in its avoidance of any type of strophic organization. The confluence of all of these features suggests that Minor natu differs little in conception from the organum prosulas and could well be the first extant text written to a conductus melisma. At the other extreme lies the singular Anima iuge lacrimas, whose vivid resemblances to the motet leaves little doubt that it is the final surviving essay among the prosulas.

The placement of the third and last of the undated conductus prosulas is somewhat more troublesome. Veste nuptiali could convincingly be situated either before or after its dated contrafact Bulla fulminante. Bulla exhibits strong claims for precedence in its clear topical relationship to the text of its model (Dic Christ veritas), its quotation of the closing line from Strophe I of the conductus, and the clear rhyme in its first strophe with the sustained syllable of the cauda. Veste does not exhibit many of these particular features. It features only a trace of assonance with the ending syllables of Strophe III of Dic Christi. On the other hand, its three strophes do equal the number of stanzas in its model, and it does share elements with the decidedly early Minor natu filius, both in glossing a biblical passage and taking its subject (the Wise and Foolish Virgins) from a New Testament parable. Even further support for the earlier

position of Veste arises from the observation that when the two datable conductus prosulas are compared, the earlier Crucifigat shows decidedly less emphasis on assonance than the later Bulla fulminante, indicating that this quality alone is not a reliable guide to possible age.

The preceding observations on the chronological implications of the prosula repertory, derived from the information supplied by the datable examples as well as the styles and techniques evident in the less specifically established pieces, offer the proposed sequence of composition for the ten melismatically based organum and conductus prosulas that is presented in Table 22.

Such an ordering proposes the ensuing scenario for the invention and cultivation of the organum and conductus prosulas: Shortly before

TABLE 22

 PROVISIONAL CHRONOLOGY FOR THE NOTRE DAME PROSULA REPERTORY

A. ORGANUM PROSULAS

<u>De Stephani, Adesse festina</u>	shortly after 1199
<u>Vide prophecie, Homo cum mandato</u>	ca. 1200
<u>Associa tecum in patria</u>	1212

B. CONDUCTUS PROSULAS

<u>Minor natu filius</u>	ca. 1215
?[<u>Veste nuptiali</u>]	ca. 1215 or ca. 1225
<u>Crucifigat omnes</u>	1219-1220
<u>Bulla fulminante</u>	1222-1223
?[<u>Veste nuptiali</u>]	ca. 1225 or ca. 1215
<u>Anima iuge lacrimas</u>	ca. 1225-ca. 1230

the turn of the century, Philip, undoubtedly impressed by the novel sounds of the monumental organa quadrupla of his musical collaborator and future colleague Perotin, set the first known poems to existing

melismatic polyphony. Such a process created songs that faithfully preserve the sound, structure, sense, and function of the music they embellish, while disclosing for the first time the potential of using the newly fashioned modal rhythms in a syllabic texture. The chancellor's final undertaking in this genre resulted in a tribute in the year 1212 to Eligius, the patron saint of his Noyon archdeaconry. At some point between this date and the beginning of the next decade it appears that Philip shifted his attention to the troping of conductus caudae, again employing works closely associated with Perotin's style, and possibly also composed by this master. Although these poems to conductus initially retained the exegetical focus of his organum prosulas, they soon ventured onto more worldly terrain by upbraiding kings, clergymen, and mankind's sinful state. In the more independently conceived cauda prosulas, created from melismatic counterpoint that first saw light as an segment of a larger musical work, a clear parallel is evident with the newly emergent genre of the discant clausula and its own form of prosula, the motet. Such relationships indicate that at the time of the cultivation of the conductus prosulas, all the conditions necessary for the formation of the motet were present. It therefore seems tenable to assert that the motet probably arose around the same time as the conductus prosula—at some point around 1212—and that Philip, in troping organa and conductus caudae, also had a hand in the introduction of this newest Notre Dame genre.¹⁴⁰ By the time of the

¹⁴⁰Such a position concurs closely with Sanders' view of the chronology of the origin of the motet. See his "The Question," pp. 243-245; *idem*, "Peripheral Polyphony," note 83; and *idem*, "Style and Technique," p. 510. For additional considerations of the chronology of the motet, where many of the above points are again raised, see Chapter

latest conductus prosula Anima iuge lacrimas, executed sometime after the datable Bulla fulminante of 1222-1223 and probably well before Philip's death in 1236, the motet had claimed pride of place and imposed its own style on its now moribund relative.

And so, the Notre Dame organum and conductus prosula repertory, only recently recognized as a separate species, appears at first glance to be a trifling collection of ten eccentric pieces that flourished for only a few decades and died largely unrecognized by later authorities. Nonetheless, the works in this corpus are critical to an understanding of thirteenth-century musical development. They constitute the earliest certifiable examples of texts added to preexistent polyphonic music, and thus provide a model and prototype for the motet. They disclose significant outlines for charting the chronological evolution of the Notre Dame school through the small number of their works and the dates provided for three of their pieces. And, most interestingly, their conception and development can be traced exclusively to the activity of Philip the Chancellor.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

POETRY, POLITICS, AND POLYPHONY: PHILIP THE
CHANCELLOR'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE MUSIC
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VOLUME TWO

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CHAPTER 5

PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR'S MOTETS I DEFINING A CORPUS OF HIS WORKS

If Philip's *conductus* represent the continuation of older trends in the development of lyric poetry set to music, and his *prosulas* to *organa* and *conductus* document a short-lived, experimental species, the Chancellor's motets signal the wave of the future in Notre Dame music with the cultivation of a new genre that was soon to eclipse all others and become the most lasting new musical contribution of the era. In its classic form, the thirteenth-century motet was a most novel conception, a polyphony of both tones and words: a multi-voice composition, often equipped with several texts, each declaiming over a melismatic chant segment taken from its original Gregorian framework and disposed in a rhythmic *ostinato*. The singularity of this species was so infectious that it soon supplanted *organa* and *conductus* in Parisian circles; and in its basic design of a *cantus firmus* underlying a work with a separate text or texts, the motet endured for over two centuries as one of the principal musical classes of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance.

The early history of this new creation is still dimly understood, but a look into Philip's activity as an author of poetry for the motet can be especially revealing for the information it can supply on the creation of the form. Not only is Philip one of the few individuals

specifically associated with the earliest stages of motet development, but his works are probably the oldest examples whose authorship is known.¹ In the absence of other precise evidence that would help to date the rise of this unusual species of polyphony,² the Chancellor's motets emerge as an important means for further understanding this pivotal development in Notre Dame music.

First, however, it is essential to determine which of the hundreds of motets that arose during the late Notre Dame and early Ars Antiqua periods (ca. 1210-1250)³ were written by Philip. The present chapter confronts this question by submitting a corpus of twenty-six texts that can be convincingly assigned to him with varying degrees of probability. The resulting compilation does not presume to exhaust the possibilities of Philip's commitment to this newly emerging genre, but instead offers a slate of pieces that appears particularly strong for his authorship. In nearly every case the claims for attribution of these works to him can be bolstered by the existence of relationships that go beyond the exclusive examination of textual correspondences with his other poems.⁴

¹For a list of other thirteenth-century motet authors and their works, see Appendix 3. Except for Philip's pieces and the example by Adam de la Basée from later in the century (ca. 1280), all the other surviving compositions are in the vernacular and their authors can be shown to postdate the Chancellor.

²There are, for instance, no generally accepted dated examples of the motet comparable to those of the organa quadrupla, conductus and Philip's prosulas. See, however, the discussion of Ypocrite / Velut stelle, below and in Chapter 7 for some speculations on the possible motivation behind the composition of In omni fratre tuo.

³The latest enumeration of motets by van der Werf, Integrated Directory, boasts well over a thousand entries.

⁴For five newly attributed motets that offer only textual evidence as candidates for Philip's works, see below.

The following investigation of Philip's motet corpus considers the repertory from several points of view: the evaluation of assignments from both medieval sources and from modern studies, the assessment of the likely contribution of Philip to works attributed with conviction to the composer Perotin, and the possibility of contrafacture by the poet of his own motets.

Attributions in Medieval Sources

Among thirteenth-century poets, Philip is second to none in the number of motets attributed to him in medieval sources.⁵ Four different documents—two collections of his poetic works, a historical chronicle, and an elegy written in his honor—specifically name him as the author of eight different motet texts. The most plentiful supply comes from the Egerton manuscript in the British Library (LoB) with six pieces, followed by the collection in Prague (Praha) with two. The Dit du Chancelier Philippe of Henri d'Andeli and the Chronica of the Franciscan friar Salimbene de Adam each supply one work.⁶ Table 23 enumerates

⁵Adam de la Halle comes closest to Philip, with five motets ascribed to him in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 25566 (Ha), a source containing his works compiled under his personal supervision. A further six motets have been attributed to him because they quote from his other known lyrics. For the specific pieces, see Appendix 3; and Nigel Wilkins, ed., The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, no. 44 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1967), pp. xii-xiii, 60-82.

⁶For information on LoB, see Ludwig, Repertorium, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 251-263. On Praha, see Anderson, "Obiter dicta," pp. 361-364. On Henri's Dit, see above, Chapter 1. For editions of this poem, consult Paul Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," pp. 210-215 (as well as the introductory material on pp. 190-210); and Heron, Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli, pp. 31-41. For Salimbene's remarks on Philip and his poetic works, see his Chronica, pp. 181-183, and 442-444; and Ludwig, Repertorium, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 247-251. For a translation of the

these attributions, provides their sources, and furnishes the number of each motet from the catalog of Friedrich Gennrich.⁷

TABLE 23

MOTETS ASCRIBED TO PHILIP IN MEDIEVAL SOURCES

<u>Motet incipit</u>	<u>Source(s) of Attribution</u>	<u>Number</u>
Agmina milicie celestis	<u>LoB</u> , <u>Praha</u> , <u>Henri</u>	532
Laqueus conteritur	<u>LoB</u>	95
Doce nos optime	<u>Praha</u>	346
In salvatoris nomine	<u>LoB</u>	452
Homo quam sit pura	<u>Salimbene</u>	231
In omni fratre tuo	<u>LoB</u>	197
In veritate comperi	<u>LoB</u>	451
Venditores labiorum	<u>LoB</u>	760

The textual subjects of these eight works break down evenly into two major thematic groups. Four of the poems are sacred. In Agmina milicie the martyr Catherine of Alexandria is welcomed into heaven by a contingent of her fellow saints; Laqueus conteritur honors the Holy Innocents massacred by King Herod; Doce nos optime invokes Christ in the form of the Holy Spirit to help deliver the sinner through good works into eternal life; and In salvatoris nomine celebrates Jesus and his mother Mary. The other four poems are critical in nature, railing either against mankind in general, or the clergy in particular. In Homo quam sit pura, Christ, speaking directly in the first person, rebukes humanity for the tortures he suffered during his Passion. Man is here portrayed as scornful of the sacrifices that Jesus underwent to assure

Chronica, see Baird, Baglivi and Kane, The Chronicle, pp. 172, 450-452.

⁷Bibliographie.

salvation for sinners. In omni fratre tuo castigates false brothers, and is probably directed specifically to mendicant friars,⁸ chastising them for their duplicitous nature and comparing them to Romulus, to the brothers of Joseph, and to Judas, all of whom were traitorous relations (or reasonable counterparts) from Classical history and the Old and New Testaments. In veritate comperi similarly chides the secular clergy for their pride, greed, and hypocrisy. The eighth and final piece, Venditores labiorum, castigates corrupt canon lawyers—the "sellers of lips"—who are concerned more with their legal fees than the merits of their cases, and who distort church doctrine for their own gain and renown.

Although the style, content, and treatment of six of these motet texts bear enough relationships with Philip's known lyrical corpus to support the attributions found in the medieval sources, two of these poems exhibit traits that seriously challenge the soundness of the ascriptions.

In his recent study devoted to Philip's poetry, Peter Dronke has cast some doubt upon the Praha attribution of Doce nos optime. Although he exaggerates slightly when he claims that this lyric "consists of a virtually meaningless string of rhymes,"⁹ Doce nos optime does appear rather routine in comparison with Philip's other poems. It essentially comprises a list of attributes addressed to Christ as the Holy Spirit,

⁸For support of this assertion, see the Notes to the Text of this piece, lines 1-3 and 19, in the edition in Volume 4 of this study.

⁹"The Lyrical Compositions," p. 583

followed by a series of petitions that are briefly interrupted by two telescoped biblical allusions on the active and contemplative lives:¹⁰

Doce nos, optime
vite fons, salus anime.
Mundo nos adime,
rex unigenite,
vitis vite,
dux et lux semite.
Paraclete,
doctor inclite,
vena divite
cor imbue.
Os instrue.
Opus restitue.
Manus strenue.
Vitam distribue,
sint ut assidue
due manus Lye,
mens Marie, sint mutue.
Plebi tue
perpetue vite spem tribue
que nos docebit.

Teach us, O source of the
best life, soul's salvation.
Deliver us from the world,
O only-begotten king,
vine of life,
leader and light of the path.
O Holy Spirit,
illustrious teacher,
fill the heart
with a rich pulse.
Inform our speech.
Revive our work.
Let our hands be nimble.
Arrange our life,
so that our two hands
may be busy for Leah, and the
mind may do the same for Mary.
Grant to your people
the hope of the eternal life
that shall teach us.

(Doce nos optime, complete)

Such a poem is quite similar to many lyrics in praise of the Virgin Mary which also consist primarily or exclusively of strings of epithets and petitions.¹¹ Doce nos optime is, therefore, a strictly conventional work, a string of formulae common to a multitude of Latin poems and unlike other works in Philip's known poetic corpus. Dronke's

¹⁰Jacob's first wife Leah, of Genesis, 29:16-30, is here united with the Mary of Luke, 10:38-42. Each is, respectively, a symbol of active and contemplative life. It is interesting that the poet in this case seeks to bring these figures together, choosing one from the Old, the other from the New Testament. It is much more typical for their respective sisters Rachel and Martha (see Genesis and Luke, ibid.) to be used in such a pairing.

¹¹Several works of this type will be encountered below. For a brief introduction to this kind of poetry, tracing its roots to the sequences associated with the Victorine school in the generation prior to Philip's poetic activity, see Raby, Christian Latin Poetry, pp. 363-375.

reservations about the work and its inclusion in Praha are therefore well-founded.

A likely explanation for the appearance of this particular text among Philip's works may lie in its confusion with another, similar motet that offers far better testimony that Philip is its author. This piece is Doce nos hodie, a prayer to Christ to send the Holy Spirit to aid mankind by banishing vice and cultivating virtue.¹² The chief stylistic clue arguing for Philip's authorship of Doce nos hodie is the appearance of an extended figure based on one of his favorite biblical passages, the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. Also typical of Philip's style are the intent of the poem and the function of the biblical allusion not only as a prayer for Christ's aid, but more importantly as an admonishment to sinners:¹³

Tue gregi pascue	Give the spirit of fear
da spiritum timoris,	to your grazing flock,
ut te diligat	that it may cherish you
et eligat	and choose
ardue	the paths
vie semitas,	of the rigorous way,
ne foris	lest it be locked out
sit ut virgo fatua	like a foolish virgin
vacua liquoris	bearing lamps extinguished
et extincta vasa gerens,	and empty of oil, seeking
frustra querens	in vain an entrance when the
aditum iam clausa ianua.	doors are already closed.

(Doce nos hodie, lines 14-25)

¹²Gennrich, Bibliographie, no. 345.

¹³See the other, similar uses of this figure from Matthew, 25:1-13, in Philip's conductus prosula Veste nuptiali, his conductus Ad cor tuum revertere, lines 28-36; Nitimur in vetitum, lines 31-32; Quid ultra tibi facere, lines 45-46; and in the anonymous motet Ad veniam perveniam (a tentative possibility for one of his works, see below and in Appendix 1).

Given the typical procedures for organizing motets in thirteenth-century collections, it comes as no surprise that the scribe of Praha, or that of its exemplar, might have confused the doubtful Doce nos optime with the more likely Philip piece Doce nos hodie. Both begin with nearly identical incipits, and they likewise share the same liturgical tenor derived from the Pentecost chant Alleluia ¶ Paraclitus spiritus (M26).¹⁴ If these two works both occurred in the same format, either as conductus motets or à2 in a Parisian musical source such as F or W2, they would undoubtedly have appeared in close proximity or even next to each other, since such manuscripts tend to present the contents of their motet fascicles arranged either alphabetically according to the text of the motetus or in a liturgical series conforming to the feast of the tenor.¹⁵ It would thus be an easy mistake for a scribe to confuse one with the other. The presence of Doce nos optime among Philip's texts in Praha can therefore be explained as the result of mere confusion with the more probable Doce nos hodie, which in no way

¹⁴An additional motet that further clouds the picture is Doceas (or Doce nos) hac die (Gennrich, Bibliographie, no. 344). This piece immediately precedes Doce nos optime in W2 (on f. 158) and directly follows Doce nos hodie in F (on f. 400). Its text, however, is not much different in content and style from that of Doce nos optime, and therefore does not appear to be a suitable candidate for a poem by Philip.

¹⁵The motets of W2, for instance, are generally arranged alphabetically, while the pieces in F, fascicle eight (conductus motets), are in a liturgical series. Neither of these two schemes, however, seems to apply to the two-part motets in F, fascicle 9. The reason that these two specific Docebit motets do not appear together in either of these manuscripts is because they do not share the same format in both sources. In F, Doce nos optime is a conductus motet; in W2 it is à2, while the situation is reversed for Doce nos hodie.

invalidates the attributions to Philip of the rest of the contents of this manuscript.

Another case in which one might argue for an apparently faulty assignment of a motet to Philip arises with In salvatoris nomine, one of the six motets transmitted in the Egerton manuscript LoB.¹⁶ Here, it is not only the quality of the text, but the unusual appearance of the motet within this source that raises the question of its ascription to Philip.

Like many thirteenth-century motets, In salvatoris stands not alone but as part of a larger complex, in this case associated with the motetus In veritate comperi. In veritate is also attributed to Philip in LoB¹⁷ and bears characteristics that argue forcefully for its acceptance as a genuine work.¹⁸ It is a vehement attack against corrupt members of the secular clergy, decrying their feigned sanctity and warning them of the retribution they will face during the Last Judgment:¹⁹

Tristes perypocritas!
Simulata sanctitas,
ut Tamar in bivio
turpi marcens ocio,
totum orbem inficit.

You miserable, thorough hypocrites!
Like Tamar at the crossroads,
sinking into shameful boldness,
[your] contrived holiness
infects the whole world.

¹⁶Number 26 in the listing of this manuscripts contents given in Ludwig, Repertorium, vol. 1, part 1, p. 261; and found on f. 52v.

¹⁷Number 25, on f. 50.

¹⁸On the earlier and undoubtedly mistaken attribution of this text to Philip's nemesis, the Paris bishop William of Auvergne, see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 568.

¹⁹For more of Philip's anticlerical poetry, see, for instance, his lais Veritas equitas largitas and Fontis in rivulum; his conductus prosula Bulla fulminante; and his conductus Mundus a mundicia, Aristippe quamvis sero, Ve mundo a scandalis, and Veritas veritatum.

Nec deficit, sed proficit,
 data libertati.
 Castitatem polluit;
 caritatem respuit,
 studens parcatati.
 Sedet in insidiis
 hominum pre filiis,
 pauperem ut rapiat
 et, linguarum gladiis,
 iustum ut interficiat.
 Non est qui bonum faciat
 istorum
 quorum consciencia
 spelunca latronum.
 Hanc vide, videns omnia,
 Deus ultionum.

Nor does it weaken, but flourishes
 when given the liberty.
 It desecrates chastity;
 and, eager for frugality,
 it spits out charity.
 It sits in ambush
 for the sons of man,
 so that it may waylay the poor
 and murder the just with
 the swords of its tongues.
 No one among them
 whose conscience is
 a den of thieves
 can do any good.
 O God of vengeance, seeing all,
 look down upon this [pretense].

(In veritate comperi, lines 19-39)

The coupling of In salvatoris nomine with a poem so evocative of Philip's style as In veritate comperi may appear at first glance to support the ascription of In salvatoris in LoB, but certain elements of the piece cast doubt on his authorship.

In the first place, although In salvatoris is never transmitted without In veritate, the reverse is not true. The text In veritate appears alone as a three-part conductus motet in three sources: in F,²⁰ in a series of fragments in Châlons-sur-Marne (Ch),²¹ and in a similarly defective source now housed in Trinity College in Cambridge (CTr).²² It also survives in a two-part rendering both in W2 and in the Las Huelgas

²⁰On f. 398v.

²¹The motet occurs on f. 7v. On this source, see Jacques Chailley, "Fragments d'un nouveau manuscrit d'Ars Antiqua à Châlons-sur-Marne," In memoriam Jacques Handschin, ed. Higinis Angles, et al. (Strassbourg: P.H. Heitz, 1962), pp. 140-150.

²²On f. 230. For literature and an inventory, see Gilbert Reaney, Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, Répertoire internationale des Sources musicales, vol. B IV 1 (Munich: G. Henle, 1966): 482-485.

codex (Hu).²³ Although each of the three-voice conductus motet versions varies their triplum parts,²⁴ the appearance of In veritate without In salvatoris in these five sources suggests that the latter text was not initially conceived along with the former, and that In salvatoris most probably represents a later addition to an originally single-texted work.

This claim is supported by the history of the transmission of In salvatoris, which is conspicuously absent from the earliest motet sources. It occurs only in later manuscripts, each of which except for LoB is mensurally notated.²⁵ In every case it is somehow linked with the motetus part In veritate. In Ba and Mo it appears as the triplum of a Latin double motet;²⁶ and in the La Clayette manuscript (Cl) it is presented as the quadruplum of a bilingual triple motet, with a French love song, Ce fut en tres douz tens de mai, as the new triplum.²⁷

The transmission in LoB, however, is singular. Here In veritate and In salvatoris are two adjacent but apparently separate motets for

²³W2, f. 149; Hu, f. 126.

²⁴There are, however, some notable correlations between these various triplum adaptations. See the remarks in the source list and in the enumeration of the variants for In veritate in its edition in Volume 4. Such variation may be explicable as an attempt to soften the sometimes jarring dissonances that appear in the F version (probably the earliest of the three).

²⁵LoB is partially and inconsistently mensurally notated. In most instances, the mensural values are alterations by later scribes of the original square notation. See Ludwig, Repertorium, vol. 1, part 1, p. 260.

²⁶Ba, f. 25; Mo, f. 94v.

²⁷On f. 398v. Ce fut en tres is number 452a in Gennrich, Bibliographie.

two voices.²⁸ They are each followed by identical, individually notated tenors, neither of which is long enough for its respective piece,²⁹ and both of which bear the incorrect label In seculum.³⁰ Given this faulty designation of the tenor and the evidence of the other sources, it is doubtful that the presentation of In salvatoris in LoB as an apparent two-voice motet, discrete from In veritate, represents an accurate redaction of the scribe's exemplar. Rather, it appears that the copyist of the Egerton manuscript has interpreted his source incorrectly and mistakenly separated what was originally a double motet into two different pieces on the same tenor.

A further curiosity arises in the verse structure of the two poems. Unlike the majority of independently texted motet voices, In veritate and In salvatoris mirror each other exactly in the syllable count of their lines, the coincidence of their musical phrases, and—with only one exception—the accentual stresses that conclude the lines of

²⁸Beginning on ff. 50 and 52v, respectively.

²⁹Both works have a single 48 pitch color (melodic statment) for their tenor, which in its entirety would be 2.75 colores long, since the final presentation leaves off the last twelve notes.

³⁰The more typical designation of this tenor is Veritatem (from M37), a cantus firmus that gave rise to a host of organa, clausulae, and motets (see the inventory in Van der Werf, Integrated Directory, pp. 68-69). Although the identification with In seculum is clearly faulty, the question still remains how closely this extensive melody may be related to the shorter Veritatem tenors of the Parisian organa, clausulae, and liturgical books. On this question, see Heinrich Husmann, "The Origin," p. 327. It may be significant that W2 and Ba label their tenors with the motetus incipit In veritate, and that this piece, along with O Maria maris stella (Gennrich, Bibliographie, no. 448) is one of the earliest uses of the long version of the melody. It may very well have happened that it was the use of this tenor in Philip's motet that supplied the Veritatem label.

verse.³¹ With little difficulty, the words or the music of either of these parts could be exchanged for the other. The two poems thus appear to be more closely related than they actually are, and In salvatoris could easily have been mistaken by a scribe for an additional strophe or a contrafact of In veritate.³²

It seems clear, then, that the triplum In salvatoris is a later accretion to the motetus In veritate. If the former poem were indeed Philip's, one would expect verses equal or superior in caliber to those of the latter, as well as some sort of indication that the same poet is responsible for both poems. This, however, is not the case. The tone of In salvatoris bears no topical relationship to that of its contemptuous companion. In place of the stinging anticlerical sentiment of In veritate, In salvatoris offers a humble prayer to Christ and the Virgin. There is no quotation or reference of any kind between the two texts; nor does In salvatoris ever trope its tenor, a device employed twice in In veritate.³³ There is consequently no demonstrable thematic or stylistic connection between the two poems beyond the identical versification of their texts.

In salvatoris, moreover, does not appear to be as well crafted as In veritate. Although the poem does have merit, the lack of a sustained

³¹The uniquely accented line is number 22. See the edition of the texts in Volume 4 of this dissertation, and the remarks on them in the Observations on these pieces.

³²A similar misunderstanding may have caused Walter of Châtillon's Dum medium silentium tenerunt legis apices to be included among Philip's works in Da. See Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 579; and Fickermann, "Bischofslied," p. 37, note 2.

³³The troping occurs in lines 1 and 4 of the text as presented in its edition in Volume 4.

argument undermines its design. Most evocative are the lines in the middle, an extended meditation on the mysteries of the Nativity that borrows its opening phrases from a biblical text used in a Vespers antiphon and an Introit during the Christmas season:³⁴

Dum silerent et tenerent
 cuncta medium
 in terris silentium,
 mellifluus sermo tuus,
 pater, a regalibus
 mundo venit sedibus
 O quale misterium!
 Nupsit cum carne deitas,
 et fecit humanitas
 deitati pallium.
 Velatur divinitas
 carnis fragilis velo.
 Iam nova progenies
 delabitur et mittitur
 a supremo celo.
 Speciosa facies,
 sed attrita species
 passionis zelo.
 Qui pugillo continet
 celum, terram sustinet,
 expers omnis criminum,
 mittitur, et clauditur
 in sinu matris virginis.

While everything upon the earth
 was quiet and wrapped
 in the midst of silence,
 your speech, father, like flowing
 honey, came to the world
 from your royal throne.
 O what a mystery!
 The deity wed the flesh,
 and humanity fashioned a
 cloak for the deity.
 Divinity is enveloped
 by a veil of fragile flesh.
 Now a new child
 comes from above, sent
 from highest heaven.
 His face is handsome,
 but his body is bruised
 by his zeal for the Passion.
 He who with his fist subdues
 the heavens and controls the earth,
 innocent of every sin,
 is sent and lies enclosed
 in the womb of his virgin
 mother.

(In salvatoris nomine, lines 11-33)

But within the context of the complete poem, this passage loses its force when it interrupts the outer sections that seek the Virgin's aid as intercessor. One has the idea of two very different threads of thought being juxtaposed here, without sufficient regard given to the argument of the poem as a whole:

³⁴This borrowing also corresponds with the opening verses of two Notre Dame conductus texts that can be connected both with Walter of Châtillon and Philip. For details on the two poems and the liturgical chants, see the Notes on the Text of In salvatoris in Volume 4 of this study.

In Salvatoris
 nomine, qui sanguine
 mundo mundum abluit,
 exactoris exuit
 nos voragine,
 eius pie genetrici Marie
 studeamus psallere.
 Ergo, virgo virginum,
 culpis pone terminum,
 et nos tibi fac placere.

.
 O lilium, presidium
 reorum,
 ora natum proprium,
 ut, tollens reatum,
 nos revocet et collocet
 in parte sanctorum.

In the name of the Savior,
 who cleansed the world
 with his pure blood
 and dragged us from the
 pit of the executioner,
 let us strive to sing
 to his blessed mother Mary.
 Therefore, virgin of virgins,
 put an end to our guilt,
 and make us please you.

.
 O lily, defender
 of the accused,
 pray to your son,
 that, dismissing the charge,
 he may call us back and place
 us in the realm of the saints.

(In salvatoris nomine, lines 1-10, 34-39)

In view of the obvious confusion of the LoB scribe in entering this poem in his collection of Philip's works, as well as the arguments put forward above for the lesser quality of its text, it is plain that the ascription to Philip of the text of In salvatoris is filled with problems. Its inclusion in LoB most likely resulted from the identity of its poetic structure with In veritate comperi and the reliance on a later source that preserved these two texts in the form of a double motet.³⁵ These coincidences might well have prompted the late thirteenth-century compiler of LoB to add this dubious work to the

³⁵It is possible that the presentation of these two parts as separate motets by the scribe of LoB may be due to a misconception of the layout of double motets in the "choirbook" format common among later mensural manuscripts such as Mo and Ba. Such a disposition, where the triplum occupies the verso of a folio, the motetus the subsequent recto, and the tenor is underlaid to both parts spanning the page break, may have additionally provoked the splitting of the two upper voices into separate pieces when they were copied to a different format, such as the "linear" one employed in LoB. For an indication that LoB is both a later source from the second half of the thirteenth century and was copied in an area peripheral to Paris, see Everist, French 13th-Century Polyphony, p. 50, note 46; who cites Alison Stones, Book Illumination in Provincial France: Artists and Patrons in Cambrai and Tournai, 1260-1285, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming).

manuscript, not realizing that he was introducing a later accretion to one of Philip's genuine poems.

From the foregoing observations, it appears that the motets Doce nos optime and In salvatoris nomine, two of the eight works given to Philip in medieval sources, are likely to have mistaken attributions. Each of these apparent errors is easily explicable as the result of a minor, momentary confusion on the part of the scribes of Praha and LoB, respectively. Furthermore, it seems likely that one may argue for the inclusion of the similarly titled Doce nos hodie in Philip's canon of motets as the result of an apparent confusion with the doubtfully attributed text Doce nos optime.

Motets Attributed by Modern Scholars

Besides the attributions in the medieval sources, several scholars, most notably Gordon Anderson and Peter Dronke, have recently claimed that there are numerous other motets that warrant addition to Philip's corpus. Their efforts have enrolled eight distinct pieces that comprise ten new poems (see Table 24).³⁶ These works either have conspicuous stylistic ties with his known texts, or are affiliated with his other works in such a manner as to justify their attribution to the Chancellor.

Four of these motets, Homo quo vigeas, Latex silice, Nostrum est impletum, and Ypocrite pseudopontifices are works whose texts have been attributed to Philip largely on the basis of their poetic style. These

³⁶The numbers of the motets in the following table are those from Genrich, Bibliographie.

TABLE 24

MODERN ATTRIBUTIONS OF MOTETS TO PHILIP

<u>Incipit</u>	<u>Number</u>
1. Homo quo vigeas vide	313
2. Latex silice	228
3. Nostrum est impletum gaudium	216
4. Ypocrite pseudopontifices	316
5. Manere vivere	70
6. Mors a primi patris (quadruplum)	256
7. Mors que stimulo (triplum)	254
8. Mors morsu nata (motetus)	255
9. O quam necessarium	759
10. Stupeat natura	232

pieces display similarities to his other lyrics in their choice of words and language, modes of expression, and specific images. Four other poems, Manere vivere and at least two of the three texts to the four-part clausula Mors, imply his authorship not only through their style, but also in the manner of their presentation in a particular musical source. The remaining lyrics, O quam necessarium and Stupeat natura, are included because of their affinities with two of Philip's medieval attributions. In the former case the text appears together with another of his poems as a triplum of a double motet, and the close thematic correspondences between the two lyrics suggests that they could have originated at the same time and have been the product of a single poet. The latter piece, in contrast, is an accomplished contrafact of one of Philip's texts. Since neither Dronke nor Anderson give many examples of Philip's poetic style in their discussions of these specific works, a brief foray into some of the techniques exploited in these pieces will be instructive, not only for the purposes of evaluating the possibility

of their ascription to Philip, but also for the assistance they will provide later on in suggesting other likely compositions to his motet canon.

Whereas Dronke submits Homo quo vigeas as a likely Philip motet without any specific comments,³⁷ his remarks on Philip's other pieces reveal what led him to make this assertion. This work relates quite closely to a host of the Chancellor's other lyrics where mankind is addressed directly and which then continue with a succession of imperative, interrogative, or in this case subjunctive constructions.³⁸ The aim of the poetic persona in such works is to chastise humanity for its sinfulness; and although Homo quo vigeas is not as acerbic as many of its related examples, it still finds much in human nature that needs improvement:

Homo, quo vigeas vide:
 Dei fidei adhereas,
 in spe gaudeas, et in fide
 intus ardeas, foris luceas.

.
 Noxias delitias
 detesteris.
 Opera considera.
 Que si non feceris,
 damnaberis.
 Hac in via milita gratie,
 et premia cogita patrie,
 et sic tuum cor in perpetuum
 gaudebit

Man, see how you should prosper:
 keep close to your faith in God,
 rejoice in hope, and burn within
 and shine without in faith.

.
 Renounce
 hateful pleasures.
 Examine carefully your works.
 For if you do them not,
 you will be damned.
 Wage war when on this path to grace,
 consider the rewards of heaven,
 and thus your heart will
 forever rejoice.

(Homo quo vigeas, lines 1-4, 16-24)

Both Anderson and Dronke concur in the likelihood of Philip's authorship for the ingenious conductus motet Nostrum est impletum

³⁷"Lyrical Compositions," p. 592.

³⁸Ibid., p. 569.

gaudium.³⁹ Anderson underscores a striking resemblance between a poetic image concerning the parable of the Prodigal Son in this piece and a similarly phrased motif in Philip's organum prosula Vide prophecie:

Amplexatur parvulum;	The father embraces his son.
dat osculum, dat anulum	He gives him a kiss,
pater, et vitulum.	a ring, and a calf.
	(<u>Nostrum est impletum</u> , lines 10-12)

Restitutum	The father rejoices in
pater parvulum	the son restored to him
ceso gaudet vitulo.	with a slaughtered calf.
Cum osculo, dat anulum.	With a kiss, he gives him a ring.
	(<u>Vide prophecie</u> , line 43-46)

This symbol is one that Philip invoked often, and nearly every occurrence of it in the Notre Dame repertory is connected with his work.⁴⁰ Also evocative of his style is the extended word play in the middle of the poem, a delirious tangle of sound and paradox:

. . . Sit annum	Let Easter Sunday
pascha letum.	be delightful.
Leto letum est deletum;	Death has been destroyed by death,
exulat exilium	and exile is exiled
post triduum.	after the Triduum. ⁴¹
	(<u>Nostrum est impletum</u> , lines 3-7)

But perhaps the most assured of Anderson's stylistically bolstered attributions is the unusual Latex silice, a strophic motet that probably also existed as a three-part conductus.⁴² Although it too partakes of

³⁹Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions, p. 592; Anderson, "Symbolism in Texts--A Postscript," pp. 36-37; and idem, "Obiter dicta," p. 362.

⁴⁰Besides the allusion in Vide prophecie, see Philip's conductus prosula Veste nuptiali, his conductus Excudere de pulvere, lines 9-10; the anonymous conductus Veri solis radius, lines 11-12 (possibly by Philip? See Appendix 1), and the unascribed troped organum Beatis nos adhibe, lines 27-32.

⁴¹This is a specific term for the three days that precede Easter Sunday.

⁴²Attributed to Philip in Anderson, ed., Opera omnia, 1:iv.

images and expressions that occur in Philip's organum prosulas,⁴³ its close correspondences with Homo quam sit pura, another strophic motet and a work granted to Philip by the chronicler Salimbene, virtually ensure that only Philip could have written this piece.

Both Homo quam and Latex are meditations on the Passion; each of them also shares a tri-strophic structure and the same Latus tenor from the Easter Alleluia V Pascha nostrum. Although in Homo quam the speaker is an angry Christ, the anonymous persona of Latex is just as harsh when he cautions sinners never to forget the meaning of Jesus' suffering and the promise fulfilled by his resurrection. Certain expressions echoed between the two poems amount nearly to paraphrase, particularly the repeated injunctions and list of Passion tortures in Homo quam:

Ego pro te natus,
pro te inmoratus,
parvus involutus,
pauper destitutus.
Pro te baptizatus,
pro te sum temptatus.
Exprobatus et ligatus,
traditus, consputus,
virgis flagellatus,
clavis perforatus,
spinis coronatus,
latus lanceatus.

For you was I born
a child in swaddling clothes;
For you I remained
a forsaken pauper.
For you I was baptized;
For you I endured temptation.
I was reproached and bound fast,
delivered up, spat upon,
beaten with sticks,
pierced by nails,
crowned with thorns, and
had my side pierced with a lance.

(Homo quam sit pura, lines 23-34)

two of which resurface in a comparable fashion in Latex:

Quia pro te natus,
pro te perforatus
manus, pedes, latus.
Pro te se despexit.
Pro te resurrexit.

Because he was born for you,
for you his hands, feet,
and side were pierced.
For you he condemned himself.
For you he rose again.

(Latex silice, lines 23-27)

⁴³See the enumerations in the Notes to the Text in the edition of this piece in Volume 4 of this study.

and the striking image of Christ embracing his executioners at the end of Homo quam that also closes Latex silice:⁴⁴

Veni. Iam extendi

.
.

zelo conplectendi
manus, immolatus.

I came. And just when I stretched
out

.
.

my hands with the zeal of embracing
[you], I was sacrificed.

(Homo quam sit pura, lines 50-54)

Hunc amplectere
qui tibi brachia
tendit, immolatus.

Embrace this man who stretches out
his arms to you, the one who was
sacrificed.

(Latex silice, lines 46-48)

Slightly different factors caused Anderson to argue for Philip's hand in the texts of Manere vivere and the three poems added to the four-part Mors clausula.⁴⁵ As mentioned in Chapter 4, Manere and two of the Mors texts immediately precede the monophonic versions of Philip's four prosulas to Perotin's organa quadrupla in the middle of the eighth fascicle of W2. Anderson notes that all these poems not only show an affinity of style in their use of troping techniques, an extended range of vocabulary, "taut constructions," a lack of clichés, and complementary ideas; but that this complex completely upsets the alphabetical ordering of the fascicle, suggesting that all these texts could share the same author. Although Jacques Handschin had earlier

⁴⁴From a comparison of the music and text with the preceding stanzas of this motet, it appears that lines 51 and 52 are omitted in the unique manuscript (Sab) that transmits Strophe III. There is, however, no noticeable break in the thought of the poem, nor any other sign of a defect in the source at this point. On Sab, see Husmann, "Ein Faszikel," pp. 1-23; with a facsimile of the passage in question presented in the plate between pp. 8 and 9.

⁴⁵See his Latin Compositions, 2:v; and idem, "Obiter dicta," p. 362.

argued for Philip as the poet of Manere vivere,⁴⁶ Anderson was at first slightly hesitant to declare him responsible for these poems, declaring that "style criticism of Mediaeval sacred Latin poetry in relation to the texts of 13th-century music has barely begun, and at this stage, such an assumption would be far too bold."⁴⁷ His later discovery, however, of the organum prosulas in Praha confirmed his earlier suspicions and allowed him to state unreservedly that Manere vivere and the Mors texts were works by the Chancellor.⁴⁸

Manere vivere is a particularly fine poem, and its prevalent word play, ceaseless assonance with the sustained tenor syllable, and extensive quotation of the text of the chant (that in this case goes well beyond the mere citation of the tenor word) easily evoke the style of Philip's organum prosulas.⁴⁹ There are also numerous relationships with his other poems, particularly Homo quam sit pura, with the poetic conceit of Christ railing at mankind in the first person, a list of Passion tortures, and a strikingly similar passage on the aftermath of the Crucifixion:

Condolent nature:
lapidum scissure,
lucis sol obscure.

The elements grieved along with me,
with the splitting of the rocks and
the sun with its light blotted out.
(Manere vivere, lines 32-34)

⁴⁶"Zur Geschichte," p. 11.

⁴⁷Latin Compositions, 1:209.

⁴⁸Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:v; idem, "Obiter dicta," p. 361.

⁴⁹Manere not only quotes portions of text from the rest of the chant, but extends even beyond this to include other passages from the Gospel source (John) that supplied the chant's words. For specific examples, see the Notes to the Text of this piece in the edition provided in Volume 4 of this study.

Stupens hec tormenta,
 condolet natura:
 veli fit scissura,
 solis lux obscura,
 patent monumenta
 dum sum immolatus.

Nature grieved along with me,
 astonished by these torments:
 the temple veil was split,
 the light of the sun blotted out,
 and tombs gaped forth
 when I was sacrificed.

(Homo quam sit pura, lines 13-18)

But in attempting to claim all three of the Mors poems for Philip, Anderson may have admitted an outsider.⁵⁰ In its fullest form this complex appears as a triple motet with a separate text troping each of the three upper voices of an exceptional four-part clausula⁵¹ But the transmission of this work in W2—the one whose sequence of contents specifically argues for Philip's authorship—relays only the motetus and triplum parts.⁵² These two are indeed very elegant texts. Through an arresting metaphor of the sun (Christ) drying up the poison of sin,⁵³ the motetus, Mors morsu nata venenato, relates how death came to power from the transgression of Adam and Eve, yet was conquered by the Resurrection. The triplum, Mors que stimulo, operates on a more personal level, as the speaker bemoans death's inevitability, and in a passage replete with Philip's characteristic censure, recounts how even the rich and mighty are not spared its indignity:

Dum insignito
 dives titulo

Though the affluent man may
 prosper in this world through his

⁵⁰Latin Compositions, 2:v; and idem, "Obiter dicta," p. 364. See also idem, "Texts and Music in 13th-Century Song," Miscellanea musicologica: Adelaide Studies in Musicology, 10 (1979): 8-10.

⁵¹Preserved in W1, f. VIv (4v); F, f. 7; W2 f. 5; and Ma, f. 21. In every source this piece immediately follows Perotin's two organa quadrupla Viderunt omnes and Sederunt principes.

⁵²From ff. 164v-165v.

⁵³See lines 75-81 of the text as presented in the edition in Volume 4 of this study.

floret seculo,	notable status,
vite finito	when his course of life
hoc curriculo,	has been run and abandoned,
inanito, demolito	when his feeble body
hoc corpusculo,	has been destroyed,
dissoluto	when the clay of his fragile
teste fragilis luto,	vessel has been dissolved,
parvulo	you shut him up
claudis angulo,	in a cramped niche,
brevi tumulo.	in a shallow grave.

(Mors que stimulo, lines 44-55)

Prompted by the artful qualities of these two poems, the state of their survival in W2, and the four-part disposition of the original melismatic source of these works, Anderson logically assumed that the original texted version of this clausula was a triple motet, and claimed that the separately preserved quadruplum poem, Mors a primi patris, must also be one of Philip's works.⁵⁴ On the other hand, the evidence of the sources that preserve the complex and a careful look into the style and content of Mors a primi patris suggest that this is not likely.

The transmission of Mors as a double motet in W2 concurs with its presentation in a majority of its earliest sources. F and Ba present just this version,⁵⁵ while a two-part transmission of motetus and tenor in the Madrid manuscript (Ma)⁵⁶ is easily excused as a probable reduction from this norm, supported by the similar abridgement of the

⁵⁴Latin Compositions, 2:v.

⁵⁵F, f. 400; Ba, f. 37v. A further source, the lost manuscript Bes, which presents the incipit of the motetus only in its surviving table of contents, probably also conformed to this design. On this source, see Ludwig, Repertorium, vol. 1, part 2, Handschriften in Mensuralnotation, 2nd rev. ed., [ed. Luther Dittmer], Musicological Studies, no. 26 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1978), pp. 505-513. For the Mors motet in this manuscript, see ibid., p. 508, under no. 10.

⁵⁶On f. 104v.

bulk of pieces in this source.⁵⁷ The only codices offering the triple motet form that reproduces the entire four-part Mors clausula are the later, mensurally notated Mo and Cl.⁵⁸ This fact alone is sufficient to suggest that the quadruplum text does not belong to the earliest version of this motet.⁵⁹

Interestingly enough, the style of Mors a primi patris also supports this interpretation. Unlike the motetus and triplum, which are independent in theme, this quadruplum essentially reinforces the ideas of the motetus, without significantly complementing or enlarging upon them. Nor is its design quite as sophisticated as the others: constructions tend towards chains of grammatically loose ablative absolute clauses; and the prevailing assonance with the sustained tenor vowel, though prominent, is not as exhaustive.⁶⁰ The crowning flaw, however, is saved for the end, where the poem degenerates into banality:

Ob hoc, proprio
Dei filio,
psallat, tam pio,
nostra concio.

Therefore, let our
congregation sing
to God's own son,
so holy.

(Mors a primi patris, lines 26-29)

⁵⁷On the reduction of the pieces in Ma, see Ludwig, Repertorium, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 137-138.

⁵⁸Mo, f. 57v; Cl, f. 372v.

⁵⁹Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 522-524; and Frobenius, "Zum genetischen Verhältnis," p. 23, have also asserted that the double motet preceded the triple form.

⁶⁰See the differences between the quadruplum and the other voices in the profusion of assonance at the ends of lines of text (determined by the musical phrases) in the edition of this piece in Volume 4.

Such a cliché appears with nearly identical expressions in a host of other medieval Latin lyrics, but is completely foreign to Philip's work.⁶¹ Also missing here is an anticipated final nod to the tenor text through quotation, a technique Philip employs in nearly all of his motets, and which figures prominently at or immediately before the close of the other two Mors texts.⁶² It therefore seems entirely reasonable that the motetus and triplum of this ambitious complex are by Philip, given the state of their preservation in W2 and the excellence of their poetry. The evidence of the surviving sources and the style of the text of Mors a primi patris, on the other hand, seriously challenge Anderson's ascription to him of the quadruplum.

The surety of the attributions for the final three poems, Ypocrite pseudopontifices, O quam necessarium, and Stupeat natura, are more tentative than the others. The triplum text Ypocrite, which of the three best illustrates Philip's style, is not only perhaps the most stinging of all the anti-clerical attacks in the Notre Dame repertory, but through its connection with a closely associated motetus provides an additional poem that he may well have authored.

In a lengthy footnote near the close of his article on Philip's lyrics,⁶³ Peter Dronke argues for the Chancellor's hand in Ypocrite by

⁶¹For a small handful of the many poems that merely begin with the expression "psallat concio," along with the closely related "psallat chorus," and "psallat coetus," see Max Lütolf, ed., Analecta hymnica medii aevi: Register, 2 vols. in 3, (Berne and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1978), vol. 1, s.v. "Psallat."

⁶²References to the tenor word Mors do occur in the 29-line quadruplum in lines 1, 5, 9, 11, and 25. See the edition of this text in Volume 4.

⁶³Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 586-587, note 56.

citing numerous parallels in this poem with expressions found in a variety of his other works. Dronke states that it was the blending in Ypocrite of idioms that otherwise appear as isolated elements in Philip's poems that effectively convinced him of his authorship. However, in the discussion that followed the presentation of the paper at the 1985 Notre Dame conference in Wolfenbüttel, Fritz Reckow advanced some reasons for considering the possibility that Ypocrite alluded to specific events that occurred after Philip's death.

Although Dronke does not enumerate Reckow's arguments in his discussion of the poem, it is still possible that Philip's conflicts with William of Auvergne over the Paris bishop's election of 1227-1228 and the question of plural benefices during the 1230's may have inspired the vicious Ypocrite.⁶⁴ William's suspect behavior during the election controversy that eventually won him the see of Paris is entirely consistent with this diatribe against "hypocrites, bogus bishops, harsh butchers of the church;"⁶⁵ and his equally staunch attempt to control clerical income could easily have provoked the expression: "they scrutinize every single purse and hiding place before their eyes."⁶⁶ I therefore would agree with Dronke in judging this poem a genuine work by Philip. Nevertheless, as he himself acknowledges, if Reckow's claims should eventually persuade us to assign this text to someone else, it

⁶⁴See above, Chapter 1.

⁶⁵"Ypocrite pseudopontifices / ecclesie duri carnifices" (lines 1-2).

⁶⁶"Ad oculos loculos singulos / angulos ruminant" (lines 12-13).

remains clear that the poet was well-versed in Philip's style and modeled Ypocrite closely after his lyrics.⁶⁷

Yet style alone is not the only factor that recommends the attribution of Ypocrite pseudopontifices to Philip the Chancellor. Its intimate connection with another text that also bears strong claims for his authorship adds further plausibility to Dronke's ascription. Like the aforementioned complex of In veritate comperi and In salvatoris nomine, Ypocrite pseudopontifices belongs to a larger musical and textual network that in this instance is one of the most labyrinthine in the entire Notre Dame repertory. The triplum Ypocrite survives in three sources associated with two different motets. Two of its three settings occur in Ma and Ba with the Marian panegyric O quam sancta quam benigna as the motetus.⁶⁸ O quam sancta was an especially popular work and exists independently of Ypocrite in a variety of transmissions: with the text alone,⁶⁹ as a conductus motet,⁷⁰ as a two-part work,⁷¹ as a double motet with a French triplum that contrafacts Ypocrite,⁷² and as

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ma, f. 132; Ba, f. 47.

⁶⁹In Pn fr. 2193, f. 12; and Nov, f. 384v. The transmission of the motet in the lost manuscript Bes provides only the motetus incipit in the surviving table of contents.

⁷⁰In Ch, f. 6.

⁷¹In LoC, f. 3v; ArsB, f. 117; and Hu, f. 94v.

⁷²Mo, f. 63v. The triplum is El mois d'avril (Gennrich, Bibliographie, no. 318).

an early triple form in C1⁷³ that adds a quadruplum voice to the disposition found in Mo.⁷⁴

But despite the clear popularity of O quam sancta, it is the third concordance for Ypocrite that seems to provide the earliest use of the text. It appears as one of the rare triple motets in the manuscript F,⁷⁵ the oldest major source of Notre Dame motets, with the unique motetus poem Velut stelle firmamenti, a work that complements the subject matter of Ypocrite most fittingly. Although the text of Ypocrite is a scurrilous attack, Velut stelle offers nothing but praise for the clergy.⁷⁶ This coupling of a motetus and triplum that represent two disputing viewpoints is another example of an altercatio, or debate piece, one of Philip's favorite poetic designs. The resulting structure is quite similar to the newly attributed conductus prosula, Anima iuge lacrimas, also probably by Philip. The various voices of Anima iuge represent the opposed parties of the Soul, the Body, and Reason, and the connections of this piece to the style of the polytextual motet have been described in Chapter 4. The presence of Ypocrite / Velut stelle in such a form and in such an early source suggests both that the F transmission of Ypocrite was the first to materialize, and that this

⁷³On f. 381v.

⁷⁴O Maria mater pia (Gennrich, Bibliographie, no. 317a).

⁷⁵On f. 411v. The two other double motets in F are Stirps Iesse progreditur / Virga cultus (Gennrich, Bibliographie, nos. 647-648) on ff. 409v-410; and the Mors work on ff. 400v-401v.

⁷⁶On this work, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 524.

triplum was written especially to complement the uniquely preserved motetus.⁷⁷

Significantly, Velut stelle also appears to be one of Philip's poems. Not only does the motetus contain references to two of his most favored Biblical symbols, the Wise and Foolish Virgins and the Gospel image of the wheat and chaff,⁷⁸ but it bears some further correspondences to other texts that are either certainly by him, or are reasonable attributions. Compare, for instance, the following excerpts from Velut stelle with the concurring passages from Laqueus conteritur and Homo quo vigeas:

Agni mitis eligunt vestigia,	They choose the footprints of
ad amena dirigunt	the gentle Lamb,
	and with glory steer the flock
	to
gregem vite pascua cum gloria.	the delightful fields of life.
	(<u>Velut stelle</u> , lines 57-59)

⁷⁷The music of the motetus survives as the duplum to a presumably earlier clausula, so that it is probable that Velut stelle preceded Ypocrite in composition, if only by a few hours. Although the primacy of the motetus' contrafact O quam sancta has much to recommend it as an earlier text, this is not certain (for instance, though O quam occurs as a conductus motet in Ch, it is absent from F) and the coupling of Ypocrite and O quam sancta in Ma and Ba need not obviate the possibility that the triplum was originally composed for use with Velut stelle and only later was combined with the more popular O quam sancta.

⁷⁸For Philip's use of the imagery associated with the Wise and Foolish Virgins, see the remarks given above on the possibility of his authorship of Doce nos optime. For his prevalent use of the wheat and chaff imagery derived from Matthew, 3:12 and Luke, 3:17, see Philip's organum prosulas Adesse festina, lines 55-62 and Associa tecum in patria, lines 10-12 and 44; his conductus In hoc ortus accidente, line 45; Fontis in rivulum, lines 69-71; Veritas veritatum, lines 64-66; O labilis sortis, line 48; Bonum est confidere, lines 32-33 and 36-39; the anonymous conductus In paupertatis predio, line 17 and Relegentur ab area, line 1; the motet Et exaltavi plebis humilem, lines 29-32 (all possibly by Philip); and the anonymous Sede Syon in pulvere, lines 23-24.

<p>et agni sequitur, quocumque vertitur, in gloria vestigia,</p>	<p>and [the chorus of Innocents] follows in glory the footprints of the Lamb, wherever he goes, (<u>Laqueus conteritur</u>, lines 26-28)</p>
--	--

<p>Extirpantes tineam, spinas, lolium, inserentes liliium cordibus fidelium.</p>	<p>They root out the worms, thorns, and weeds and plant the lily in the hearts of the faithful. (<u>Velut stelle</u>, lines 46-49)</p>
--	--

<p>Oris vomere de cordibus fidelium evellas lolium. Liliium insere rose.</p>	<p>Uproot the weeds from the hearts of the faithful with the ploughshare of your speech. Plant the lily along with the rose. (<u>Homo quo vigeas</u>, lines 8-11)</p>
--	---

It therefore seems that although some doubt may remain for Philip's authorship of Ypocrite, the closely related motetus text Velut stelle offers some further significant ties to Philip's known motet corpus. Since the available evidence seems to indicate that these two lyrics were conceived as a unit; and since in both cases the poet shows a broad range of expressions, images, and techniques associated particularly with Philip's style, Dronke's attribution of Ypocrite to the Chancellor may be accepted with only minimal reservations, and Velut stelle may also be submitted as one of his motet texts.

Another tentatively attributed poem with circumstances comparable to that of Ypocrite is the triplum text O quam necessarium. Here, however, the connection of this poem with Philip is much easier to demonstrate, since the attendant motetus is his own Venditores laborum, an ascription secured by the Egerton manuscript LoB.⁷⁹ Like Ypocrite / Velut stelle, the double motet O quam necessarium / Venditores illustrates another altercatio. The motetus upbraids those greedy canon

⁷⁹Number 28, on f. 56v.

lawyers who ruin the reputation of their office and tarnish the sacred decrees they are sworn to uphold:

Venditores laborum
fleant advocati,
qui plus student premiorum

dande quantitati
quam cause qualitati.

.....

Parcunt veritati.
Stantes causis pro reorum,

ius pervertunt decretorum,
sanctas leges antiquorum.

[Honest] lawyers should deplore
those who merely sell their lips,
who are more concerned with the
amount
of the payment they will be given
than with the caliber of their case.

.....
Standing in cases on behalf of
the accused, they neglect the truth
and
distort the laws of the decretals,
the sacred edicts of old.

(Venditores laborum, lines 1-5, 12-14)

while the triplum, responding directly to the charges and concluding with an echo of the opening line of the motetus, defends their practices:

Publice proficitis.
Vestrum tamquam militis
nomen honoratur.

Hic est quod salarium
vestrum honorarium
a lege vocatur.

Qui causas dirimerent?
Qui legem exponerent
nisi vos? Statuta
iura prorsus fierent
sine vobis muta.

Si capitis, facitis
hoc iuris licencia,
non igitur sequitur
quod vendatis labia.

You contribute to the public good.
Your name is honored like
that of the soldier.

This is why your salary
from the law is called
an honorarium.

Who would take the cases?
Who would explain the law
if not for you? Established
rulings would be utterly
silenced without you.

Though you exploit and invent
matters through legal license,
it does not therefore follow
that you are selling your lips.

(O quam necessarium, lines 7-21)

As with Ypocrite and Velut stelle, the affinity of the two texts once again suggests their near simultaneous composition and the possibility that they may share the same author.

Because of the close relationship between triplum and motetus in this complex, some doubt remains as to the validity of the LoB ascription of Venditores to Philip. In the commentary on the double

motet in his 1908 study of the Bamberg manuscript (Ba), Pierre Aubry questioned the medieval assignment of the motetus text to Philip because of the allusion in the triplum to the honorarium, the fee paid to advocates for arguing cases.⁸⁰ He proposed that both the poems resulted from a decision tracable to a church council convened at Lyons in 1274 that fixed a maximum quantity to the sum of a lawyer's salary. The motet would thus postdate Philip's death by nearly four decades. Quite recently, however, Mark Everist has suggested that this recommendation should be discarded.⁸¹ He finds nothing in either text of this motet that requires the precedence of the Lyons council, and considers Aubry's emphasis on the honorarium to be overstated. He does, on the other hand, affirm the connections between the two poems, and states that the double-texted form of this piece is probably the original. With the impediment of Aubry's late date removed, not only is the LoB attribution of Venditores strengthened, but it is also possible that the triplum O quam necessarium may be Philip's text.⁸²

But even with the rash of circumstances connecting O quam necessarium to Philip, the known penchant of the Chancellor for debate poems, and Philip's likely familiarity with the intricacies of canon law,⁸³ Everist's silence on the question of the authorship of this triplum is wholly justified. The stylistic evidence is insufficient to

⁸⁰Cent motets du xiii^e siècle, 3 vols. (Paris: A. Rouart, Lerolle; Paul Geunther, 1908; repr. ed., New York: Broude Brothers, 1964), 3:110.

⁸¹French 13th-Century Polyphony, pp. 19-20, 25-26.

⁸²Everist never specifically claims this final point.

⁸³On this claim, see above, Chapter 1.

support an indisputable claim for Philip's hand in its text: expressions common to his lyrics are wanting, the logic behind its praise of the advocates is weak and sophistic, and the force of the language itself appears much more delicate than the rancor exhibited by the motetus. Although the prospect does remain that O quam necessarium could be another motet text by Philip, this assertion must remain tentative.⁸⁴

A similar predicament emerges in the last of the modern ascriptions. On the basis of its poetic excellence, Anderson has suggested that Stupeat natura, a contrafact of Philip's Homo quam sit pura, may share the same author as its model.⁸⁵ Like Homo quam, Stupeat exists in a strophic redaction and was probably acknowledged and performed as a one-part conductus.⁸⁶ In its fullest presentation in a Bodleian text manuscript (OxAdd),⁸⁷ this piece has five strophes, but Anderson noted that the final two are clearly later additions.⁸⁸ Both of these spurious stanzas consist almost exclusively of commonplace,

⁸⁴A scenario that would fit the above conditions and still allow for the close chronological composition of the two texts would posit that the triplum and duplum are the result of a two-party execution of the altercatio in a manner often employed by trouvères in the composition of jeux partis. In this case, Philip would be responsible for the motetus, while a somewhat lesser light responded to his claims with the composition of the triplum.

⁸⁵Latin Compositions, 2:viii, note 3.

⁸⁶Stupeat is transmitted monophonically in MüB, f. IIa v; and Tort, f. 140.

⁸⁷On f. 129. Concerning this source, see André Wilmart, "Le Florilège mixte de Thomas Bekynton," Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 4 (1958): 77-78.

⁸⁸Latin Compositions, 2:viii, note 3.

formulaic strings of Marian attributes that terminate in a petition for the Virgin's intercession. Strophe IV is especially monotonous:

Thronus deitatis
 est fons castitatis,
 lilium ortorum,
 flos virginitatis,
 splendor claritatis,
 lux iocunditatis
 rosa angelorum,
 dux humilitatis,
 forma perfectorum,
 causa sanitatis,
 spes et venia reorum,
 portus pietatis,
 domus caritatis,
 mater bonitatis.
 Memor miserorum,
 dans solamen gratis
 cunctis desolatis
 metu peccatorum.

This throne of divinity
 is the source of chastity,
 the lily of the gardens,
 the flower of virginity,
 the radiance of brightness,
 the light of happiness,
 the rose of the angels,
 the duchess of humility,
 the beauty of perfect things,
 the cause of health,
 the hope and pardon of sinners,
 the harbor of piety,
 the house of charity,
 the mother of goodness.
 Remember your unfortunate ones,
 granting solace for free
 to all the desolate
 through fear of sins.

(Stupeat natura, lines 56-72)

A further suspect element in the final two strophes of Stupeat natura is the apparent reference to the city of Florence in the closing lines of Strophe V:⁸⁹

Et tu, Florentine,
 da laudes regine
 danti. Verba mittis,
 ut sis sine fine
 flos expers ruine
 in regno virtutis.

And you, Florentine,
 grant praises to your generous
 queen. Send forth the words,
 so that you may forever be
 a flower free from destruction
 in the kingdom of virtue.

(Stupeat natura, lines 85-90)

Such an address is inconsistent with the likely Parisian origin of the rest of the motet and strengthens Anderson's hypothesis that these stanzas are indeed later appendages. With the dismissal of Strophes IV and V of Stupeat, the remaining text corresponds exactly in number with

⁸⁹This petition may also pertain to a man by the name of Florentinus. Less likely is Anderson's assertion (Latin Compositions, 2:viii, note 3) that the city itself is apostrophized, due to the use of the diminutive form of the name in the second declension, vocative case.

the three strophes of its model, and also approaches it much more nearly in quality.

The first three original strophes of Stupeat natura also pertain to the Virgin, and offer traits that at least invite the possibility of Philip's involvement in this poem. Here, the emphasis is neither on Mary's allegorical attributes nor her ability to aid sinners, but rather on the mystery and paradox of her role as Christ's mother. The constant theme throughout the text is the breach of natural order that took place when the Virgin bore her child.⁹⁰ The second strophe, prefaced by the introductory appeals of the first, is absorbed with a logical conundrum that would have appealed easily to Philip: not only does Christ's mother remain a virgin, but her son is both her lover and father:

Ordine mutato,
gaudet virgo nato,
nata genitorem
utero beato,
verbo fecundato
celitus illato.
Gignit contra morem,
servans, illibato
corpore, pudorem.
Singulari dato,
sponsa parit amatorem,
thalamo serato.
Perdit, usitato
cursu violato,
ratio vigorem;
nam, intemerato
flore conservato,
flos producit florem.

With the standard order recast,
a virgin rejoices in a son,
having born her father
from her blessed womb,
made fertile by a word
furnished from heaven above.
She gives birth counter to custom,
preserving her virtue,
her body untouched.
Through this unique gift,
the bride begets her lover
with her chamber still secure.
Reason, its usual course
violated, surrenders
its command;
for, preserving her
maidenhood intact,
the flower produces a blossom.

(Stupeat natura, lines 19-36)

Finally, in an attempt to fathom the mystery, the third strophe offers three Old Testament motifs as auguries for the Virgin birth.

⁹⁰Also highlighted in the anonymous Notre Dame conductus De nature fracto iure and Nove geniture.

Although these symbols and their treatment are by no means exclusive to Philip, the burning bush of Exodus and Gideon's fleece do appear in his other works,⁹¹ while the figure of Ezechiel's door is reminiscent of an inversion of his recurring figure of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins:⁹²

Nulli reseratur
porta que monstratur,
inquirenti vere.

The door that is revealed
to one who is truly searching
is unbolted to no one.

(Stupeat natura, lines 19-36)

Virgo clamat foris
in tenebris meroris.

Outside, the maiden cries aloud
in the shadows of mourning.

.
Ei clausa ianua,
nam fatua cum vacua
stat lampade splendoris.

.
The doors are closed to her,
for she is foolish and stands
with a lamp bereft of light.

(Veste nuptiali, lines 12-13, 16-18)

Virgines introitum
sero querunt fatue.
clauduntur post perditum
equum sero ianue.

The foolish virgins seek
too late the entrance.
Too late the doors are closed
after the horse is lost.

(Nitimur in vetitum, lines 31-34)

Despite these correspondences, however, Stupeat's strongest tie to Philip is as a contrafact of Homo quam sit pura. Anderson's proposal of his authorship for this contrafact must thus remain uncertain.

Even with the apparently faulty ascription of Mors a primi patris and the tentative nature of the attributions of Stupeat natura, O quam

⁹¹The burning bush hails from Exodus, 3:2-4. for other uses of this passage in Philip's works, see his probable motet Latex silice, lines 1-6; his organum prosula Vide prophecie, lines 8-15; as well as the motets Ex semine rosa / Ex semine Abrahe, line 11; (both possibly his work) in the edition in Volume 4. For Gideon's fleece, see Judges, 6:36-40, and Philip's organum prosula Vide prophecie, line 11; his conductus Sol oritur in sydere, line 2; Gedeonis area, lines 1-2; and his sequence Ave gloriosa virginum regina, line 63.

⁹²The "inversion" occurs because Ezechiel's door (Mary's virginity) remains shut to all but Christ, while the door entered by the Wise Virgins is open to all the qualified faithful.

necessarium, and Ypocrite pseudopontifices, the remaining six modern assignments of motet texts to Philip, along with the addendum Velut stelle, are notable additions to his canon. An especially weighty element of these pieces is the affirmation of a connection that has surfaced repeatedly in earlier chapters, and that has basically remained unnoticed by those interested in unearthing Philip's contribution to the motet repertory. With the exception of only the double motet O quam necessarium / Venditores laborum (which has no clausula) and the tenuous Stupeat natura,⁹³ every one of the above pieces assigned to Philip by Dronke and Anderson is set to music that recent scholarship has credited to the composer Perotin (see Table 25).⁹⁴

Significantly, each of the above attributions to Philip was made independently of the association known to have existed between him and Perotin.⁹⁵ Although the evidence admittedly remains much more tenuous for Philip's motets than for his conductus and prosulas, it seems from this reckoning that the poet and the composer could also have

⁹³However, see Handschin, "Zur Geschichte," p. 11, who remarked on the "Perotinian" style of the Latus clausula underlying Stupeat and Homo quam sit pura.

⁹⁴In this table, the attributions stem from Heinrich Husmann, ed., Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame-Organa, p. xxii; Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," pp. 284-285; and idem, "The Question," pp. 246-247. For Rebecca A. Baltzer's confirmation of Sanders' claims see her "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:266-268, 454-455. For the Mors clausula, see Sanders, "The Question," p. 246; and Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:v. The numbering of the clausulae here and in the following tables (Smith no.) is that employed in the listings of Norman E. Smith, "The Clausulae of the Notre Dame School: A Repertorial Study," 3 vols. ((unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1964). The catalog occupies 1:93-350.

⁹⁵Anderson comes closest to making the connection in Latin Compositions, 2:v.

TABLE 25

MOTETS NEWLY ASCRIBED TO PHILIP WITH CLAUSULAE
ATTRIBUTED TO PEROTIN

<u>Motet incipit</u>	<u>Clausula (Smith no.)</u>	<u>Attributed by</u>
Homo quo vigeas	Et gaudebit 1 and 3v	Hussman.
Latex silice	Latus 5	Sanders, Baltzer
Manere vivere	Manere 3-6	Sanders, Baltzer
Mors morsu/Mors que	Mors 4v	Ludwig, et al.
Nostrum est impletum	Nostrum 3v	Hussman
Ypocrite/Velut stelle	Et gaudebit 2	Sanders

collaborated in this newest genre of Notre Dame polyphony.⁹⁶ Such a possibility opens up an additional avenue for seeking texts by Philip among the motets made from other clausulae attributed to Perotin.

Motets with Music Attributed to Perotin:

Further Prospects for Philip's Contribution
to the Motet Repertory

In addition to the pieces intabulated above in Table 25, eight more clausulae with attendant motets whose musical style has suggested Perotin's authorship can be identified. One of these compositions is sanctioned by the authority of the theorist Anonymous IV, the principal source for our knowledge of Perotin's existence and works,⁹⁷ while the

⁹⁶Among the motets attributed to Philip in medieval sources, the music of Agmina milicie celestis omnia has also been suggested as a possible work of Perotin by Sanders, "The Question," p. 247; and by Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 299.

⁹⁷For these works, see See Reckow, Der Musiktraktat, 1:46.

TABLE 26

ADDITIONAL CLAUSULAE ATTRIBUTED TO PEROTIN
AND THEIR ACCOMPANYING MOTETS

A. Clausulae with motets possibly by Philip.

<u>Clausula</u> (Smith no.)	<u>Attributed by</u>	<u>Motet incipit</u>
Et exaltavi 3v-2, Ex semine 2 and 3v	Husmann Anonymous IV	Et exaltavi plebis Ex semine abrahae divino (motetus) Ex semine rosa prodit (triplum)
Regnat 2-3 In odorem 3v Et gaudebit 5	Sanders Ludwig, et al. Sanders	Flos de spina rumpitur Mens fidem seminat Non orphanum te deseram

B. Clausulae with motets probably not by Philip.

<u>Clausula</u> (Smith no.)	<u>Attributed by</u>	<u>Motet incipit</u>
Domino 3v (BD VI)	Husmann	Alpha bovi et leoni Larga manu seminatum
Latus 2 and 3v	Husmann	Ave maria fons leticie Radix venie
Et illuminare 3v	Husmann	Et illumina eximia

others derive from the opinions of modern scholars.⁹⁸ These eight works furnish eleven texts, whose connection to Perotin argues for their consideration also as candidates for Philip's motet corpus. Of these eleven pieces, six offer stylistic and technical evidence that suggests

⁹⁸In addition to the literature on the modern attributions given for the works above in Table 25, see also Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 505, 518; *idem*, "The Question," p. 245; and Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 37.

the likelihood of Philip's authorship. The relevant information is summarized in Table 26.⁹⁹

Possible Works

The grounds for including the six motets listed under section A in Table 26 are the same as those used for evaluating the suitability of the modern attributions to Philip. Although these texts do not always overflow with his customary practices or use of images, quite frequently a technique or expression peculiar to his style will surface. The most suggestive factor behind their incorporation remains the high quality of their poetry. Each of these pieces continues the trends set in motion by his authentic works: didactic invective balances sacred contemplation, the masterful use of symbolism functions for the purpose of illustration rather than a display of empty erudition, and clichés are scrupulously avoided.

Perhaps the most convincing example of Philip's style within these six motets occurs in Et exaltavi plebis humilem. Here the echoes are so numerous that it is surprising this piece has not already figured in lists of possible additions to his repertory. In this poem, Christ himself delivers a criticism of mankind's sinfulness:¹⁰⁰

Et exaltavi	I have both ennobled
plebis humilem	the modest and
venerabilem,	honorable of my people,

⁹⁹Lack of space prohibits the inclusion of the numbers from Genrich's Bibliographie in the body of the table. They are, reading from the top to the bottom of the rightmost column, nos. 517, 483, 484, 437, 495, 322, 762, 763, 230, 229, and 101.

¹⁰⁰On Philip's frequent use of this unusual conceit, see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 569-570, 573.

et superbum inclinavi
despicabilem.
Fastus mentis germinat
turpitudinem.
Fastus ventum seminat
et metit turbinem.
Ergo labiles,
umbre similes,
fragiles, et vanas
fugas divitias,
instabiles et prophanas.
Qui cum interieris
eris olla cineris
et cibus vermium,
vas es sordium,
sepulchrum sceleris.

and have degraded the proud
and contemptible.
Arrogance spawns
corruption in the mind.
It sows the wind
and reaps the whirlwind.
Therefore, shun
transient, fickle,
and irreverent
riches, frail and empty
as a cloud.
You, who when you die
will be an urn of ashes
and food for the worms,
are a vessel of filth,
a tomb of sin.

(Et exaltavi plebis, lines 1-19)

and the Gospel image of the wheat and chaff is also prominent at the close:¹⁰¹

Ne timeas, quin gaudeas
in die flebili.
si pertranseas has paleas,
adherens humili
grano, cunctis utili,
quod exaltavi.

You should not dread, but rather
delight
in the Day of Judgement,
if you bypass these chaffs
and cling to the modest
grain that is useful to all,
which I have glorified.

(Et exaltavi plebis, lines 27-32)

Further support for attribution surfaces in the transmission of this piece immediately after Philip's renowned Agmina milicie in the first group of pieces in the seventh fascicle of W?, a collection of twelve Latin conductus motets that are arranged neither liturgically nor alphabetically.¹⁰² Similarly, the placement of this work among the conductus motets in the eighth fascicle of F, in a group of three that

¹⁰¹For the use of this figure in Philip's poetry, see above in the remarks on the possible attribution of the motet Ypocrite pseudopontifices.

¹⁰²Agmina even has the honor of opening this fascicle on f. 123, with Et exaltavi beginning on f. 124. The twelve pieces in this section of W2 also include the probable attributions Homo quo vigeas (no. 6 on f. 127) and Doce nos hodie (no. 12 on f. 132v).

disturbs the liturgical ordering of the rest of the fascicle, also suggests the ascription of Et exaltavi to Philip. Here in F, Et exaltavi is again clustered with Agmina milicie.¹⁰³

The Ascension motet Non orphanum te deseram contains another example of Christ speaking in the first person. Here, however, the tone is not one of criticism but of reassurance as Jesus consoles his apostles (and hence all mankind) that his apotheosis does not imply his absence from their hearts and minds:

<p>Non orphanum te deseram, sed efferam sicut libanum. Sicut clibanum ponam te virtutis, sicut timphanum et organum leticie et salutis.</p>	<p>I shall not abandon you as an orphan, but will disperse you like frankincense. I shall make you like a furnace of virtue, like a drum and an organ of happiness and salvation.</p>
---	---

(Non orphanum te deseram, lines 1-8)

The language and imagery of this specific passage recall the expressions used in Philip's Marian sequence Ave gloriosa virginum regina:

<p>Tu libanus candoris, tu clibanus ardoris.</p>	<p>You are the frankincense of sincerity, the furnace of passion.</p>
--	---

(Ave gloriosa virginum, lines 67-68)

and the wordplay in the poem's central section toys with the sound and sense of the word veniam in a manner also characteristic of his style:¹⁰⁴

<p>Cum iero, <u>veniam</u>; sub<u>veniam</u></p>	<p>When I go, I shall return, and shall deliver you</p>
--	---

¹⁰³Et exaltavi (from M51), Ecclesie vox (M53), and Agmina (M65 or O40) interrupt the series after Hodie Marie concurrant (M34); and are followed by O Maria maris stella plena graciae and Philip's In veritate comperi (both M37).

¹⁰⁴On Philip's prevalent use of such annominatio, see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 570-571, 573.

per gratiam.
Tribuam veniam,
celestium
civium gloriam.

through grace.
I shall show mercy,
the glory of those
who dwell in heaven.

(Non orphanum te deseram, lines 15-20)

In theme and substance, this piece seems to function as a response to the entreaties of the possible attribution Doce nos hodie.¹⁰⁵

Perhaps the finest poetry of all the six lyrics in this group unfolds in the lengthy Assumption motet Flos de spina rumpitur. Especially exquisite is the extended metaphor of its opening lines, where the Virgin in the guise of a withering flower is rejuvenated by the reunion with her son ("the flower of life"):

Flos de spina rumpitur.
Spina caret flos et aret,
sed non moritur.
Vite florem per amorem
flos complectitur,
cuius ex solatio
sic reficitur
in rigore proprio
quod non patitur.

A flower is snapped off its stem.
It yearns for its stem and wilts,
but dies not.
The [wilted] flower embraces
the flower of life with affection,
and is so revived
to its former rigor
through its consolation
that it suffers not.

(Flos de spina rumpitur, lines 1-9)

As the poem continues, it evokes the same spirit found in Agmina milicie, Philip's motet for Saint Catherine, in its relation of the Virgin's actual assumption into heaven:

Virgo de Iudea
sursum tollitur.
Testea fit aurea;
corporea sanctitur.
Laurea redimitur
mater beata
glorificata.
Per cuncta mundi climata,
civium consortium
celestium
laude, resolvitur.

The virgin from Judea
is borne aloft.
The earthly woman becomes golden;
the corporeal lady is sanctified.
The celebrated
blessed mother
is crowned in laurel.
To all the corners of the
world she is diffused
by the praise of her comrades,
the inhabitants of heaven.

¹⁰⁵Within the liturgical year, however, the chant of Non orphanum would precede that of Doce nos.

Oritur fidelibus
dies iubilei.

A day of jubilation
breaks for the faithful.
(Flos de spina rumpitur, lines 10-22)

Agmina milicie
celestis omnia
martiris victorie
occurrunt obvia.
Virginis eximie
laudant preconia.
.
Virgo regia,
regis filia,
Christum regem hodie
in celi regia
revelata facie
videt in gloria.
Christi hostie
patent ostia.
.
Caro caret carie;
mens immundicia.

All the legions
of the heavenly host
rush to meet
the martyr's victory.
They proclaim the praise
of the excellent virgin.
.
The regal virgin,
daughter of the king,
shall today see
Christ the king
with his face revealed
in glory.
The gates open to
Christ's sacrifice.
.
Her body is free from decay;
her mind from impurity.

(Agmina milicie, lines 1-6, 11-18, 29-30)

But what is especially conspicuous is the absence of formula so often seen in other Marian poetry. Rather than a routine chain of attributes, Flos de spina rumpitur offers an accomplished homage to the Virgin that specifically addresses the feast of its tenor chant.¹⁰⁶ Although the particular connections to Philip's style are less explicit than in other pieces, the excellence of its design and its allusions to his other works strengthen the likelihood of his execution of this motet.

¹⁰⁶On the relationships between feasts, chants, and motets, see Baltzer, "Aspects of Trope in the Earliest Motets for the Assumption of the Virgin," paper presented at the conference Music in the 12th and 13th Centuries at Columbus, Ohio in May, 1985; and forthcoming in Festschrift for Ernest Sanders, Brian Seirup and Peter M. Lefferts, eds. (New York: Trustees of Columbia University, 1991), pp. 7-42. Baltzer notes that in the Paris Assumption liturgy the more specific the reference of the chant text to the subject of the feast, the more likely an accompanying motet will also bear an explicit connection with the liturgical themes of the day.

Ex semine Abrahe divino and Ex semine rosa prodit spina comprise another set of Marian lyrics remarkable for their high caliber and absence of cliché. These two texts trope a three-part Ex semine clausula that issues from Perotin's organum triplum Alleluia Y Nativitas, a setting of a chant for the feast of the Virgin's Nativity. The two poems form a short, double-texted work that is rather exceptional, since the music of both the triplum and motetus voices concurs with their counterparts in the melismatic organum version.¹⁰⁷ The surviving sources also indicate that the motetus appears to be the earlier of the two texts set to this clausula. Both F and W2 transmit only a two-voice redaction, and there are some slight hints that Ex semine Abrahe may have existed at one time in a now lost Notre Dame conductus motet arrangement that likewise reproduced all three parts of the organum source.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, even though the triplum text does

¹⁰⁷Other three- and four-part clausulae that retain all their voices in Latin motet arrangements are noted by Sanders in "The Medieval Motet," pp. 521-523. Except for the double motet Stirps Iesse progreditur / Virga cultus (Gennrich, Bibliographie, nos. 647-648) all these pieces are included in this chapter, as well as the motets à 2 that were derived from three-part clausulae (Alpha bovi et leoni and its contrafact Larga manu seminatum and Mens fidem seminat). As will be shown later, not all of these works are necessarily by Philip the Chancellor.

¹⁰⁸In the earliest central sources F (f. 403v) and W2, (f. 146v) Ex semine Abrahe appears only in a two-part version; but a peripheral conductus motet arrangement incorporating all three parts of the clausula survives as Worcester Fragment no. 81 (Worcester, Chapter Library, 68, fragment XVIII, f. 1v); and also appears in a French contrafact version in W2 on f. 136 (Se j'ai amé, Gennrich, Bibliographie, no. 485). This suggests that a three-part, single-texted Latin form of Ex semine Abrahe might have been known to Notre Dame musicians. On this question, see Ludwig, Repertorium, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 113-114; and Sanders "The Medieval Motet," p. 523.

not occur until the appearance of the mensural codices Ba, Mo, and Hu,¹⁰⁹ the close, complementary nature of the two poems and their exact duplication of the music in the organum argue for the composition of the triplum poem close upon the heels of the motetus.¹¹⁰

Despite their brevity, however, both texts are quite penetrating meditations on the significance of Mary's birth as a figurative precursor for the nativity of Christ. In the opening of the motetus, a long, sustained sentence dwells on the incongruity of Christ's birth in humble surroundings even though he boasts God for his father and royal lineage on his mother's side:

Ex semine
Abrahe, divino
moderamine,
igne, pio numine,
producis, Domine,
hominis salutem
paupertate nuda,
virginis nativitate
de tribu Iuda.

From Abraham's
seed, by divine
intervention, in
fire and with godly strength,
you brought forth, O Lord,
mankind's salvation
in abject poverty,
through the birth of a virgin
from the tribe of Judah.

(Ex semine Abrahe divino, lines 1-9)

The triplum in turn also offers an opening paradox in its fusion of a host of symbols: Mary's purity (the rose) is juxtaposed with the sin brought upon mankind through Adam and Eve's transgression (the thorn); Christ's consubstantial unity with his father is compared to the olive tree yielding its own fruit; and the Virgin and her son (the morning

¹⁰⁹The double motet version is found in Ba, f. 15v; Mo, f. 100v; and in Hu, f. 117v, with the usual order of presentation of the triplum and duplum parts reversed in this source.

¹¹⁰Unlike the similar circumstances of the Mors quadruplum, which was shown above to be a probable later accretion, the Ex semine triplum text complements the motetus without merely aping it; and demonstrates a quality of style, technique, and expression similar to that found in the motetus, if not surpassing it.

star and the sun, respectively) are likened to the dawning of a new day that breaks the clouds of night (sin):

Ex semine	From the seed of a thorn
rosa prodit spine.	a rose springs up.
Fructus oleae	The olive's fruit
oleastro legitur.	is plucked from the olive tree.
Virgo propagine	A virgin is born
nascitur Iudee.	from the descendants of Judah.
Stelle matutine	The ray of the morning star
radius exoritur,	peeks forth, and through the
nubis caligine	star's beam the sun breaks free
radio sol stelle.	from the gloom of the clouds.

(Ex semine rosa prodit, lines 1-10)

More notable than the absence of Marian idioms in these texts is the almost complete lack of emphasis on The Virgin herself. Even though the tenor chant issues from one of her most prominent feasts, the two poems concentrate more on God's role in the new covenant.

As in Flos de spina rumpitur, there are few linguistic echoes between the Ex semine motets and Philip's known works. The common biblical metaphor of the rock flowing with honey that emerges near the end of the triplum Ex semine rosa¹¹¹ does occur in both his organum prosula Vide prophecie and the modern ascription Latex silice,¹¹² but in general it is mainly the excellence of the texts, with their evocative symbols, sustained arguments, and their resistance to the conventions of most Marian lyrics that suggest the likelihood of his involvement in these pieces. No less consequential is the fact that the Ex semine motets are indisputably the work of Perotin, and with the exception of the comparable organum prosulas, comprise the only motets written to any

¹¹¹Line 11. See Exodus, 17:6; Deuteronomy, 32:13; Psalms, 81:16.

¹¹²Vide prophecie, lines 8-9 (related images); and Latex silice, line 2.

of the pieces specifically attributed to the composer by Anonymous IV. In view of Philip's known fascination with troping Perotin's organa,¹¹³ the probability also increases for his authorship of the texts to these irrefutable Perotinian clausulae.

The final motet containing evidence of Philip's authorship among the clausulae ascribed by modern scholars to Perotin is the skillful Mens fidem semināt, an extended didactic reflection on the properties of the three theological virtues Faith, Hope, and Charity. The poem itself demonstrates an aim that owes much to the scholastic summa and the sermon, both of which Philip fostered. Through a sustained analogy with planting and sowing reminiscent of passages from Homo quo vigeas, the poet demonstrates the development of and relationships among the three virtues, with the objective of teaching mankind to cultivate them in a similar fashion:

Mens fidem semināt.
 Fides spem germinat.
 Caritas exterminat
 metum, et eliminat,
 mentem et illuminat.
 Germen fit de semine.
 Florem germen propinat.
 Fructum flos propaginat.
 Virtus fit de ordine.

 Arbor fias
 ut bonum parias
 fructum in odorem.

The mind sows faith.
 Faith sprouts hope.
 Charity expels fear,
 turns it out of doors,
 and enlightens the mind.
 A bud is formed from the seed.
 This bud produces a flower.
 The flower generates a fruit.
 This is how one cultivates virtue.

 Become a tree, so that
 you may yield good fruit
 with an odor [of sweetness].

(Mens fidem semināt, lines 1-9, 35-37)

¹¹³See above, Chapter 4.

And in the section just before the end, a series of warnings reminiscent of the chains of critical admonitions that appear frequently in Philip's other works, the poet advises how to implement the virtue of Charity:¹¹⁴

Hanc sitias.	Thirst for it.
Vanas scias	Come to recognize meaningless
linguas, prophetias,	speeches, false prophecies, and
rerum copias.	the lavishness of possessions.
Hanc tu capias;	Cherish it,
hanc tu sapias;	savor it, and
vias devias	through it
per hanc fugias.	flee the crooked paths.

(Mens fidem seminat, lines 27-34)

But the probability of Philip's authorship of this motet is strengthened even further through the affinities it shares with one of his non-poetic works. In his theological treatise, the Summa de Bono,¹¹⁵ the Chancellor also offers an extensive treatment of Faith, Hope, and Charity that is reminiscent of the text of this motet. One of the most outstanding points is his view on the hierarchy, generation, and implementation of the three virtues:

Ad primam objectionem respondeo quod, licet fides sit generalis quantum ad cognitionem, non tamen generalis est secundum quod virtus nec genus secundum quod genus habet sub se species; sed secundum quod genus dicitur a generando potest dici genus, quia fides generat spem et spes caritas et caritas generat rationem secundum quam reducit omnem veritatem in finem ipsius caritatis, scilicet in bonum. De hac generatione dicitur ibi: 'Abraham genuit Isaac, [Isaac Iacob, id est fides spem, spes caritatem.]'¹¹⁶

(To the first objection I respond that though faith may be general [i.e., that it may be multiplied through species like a genus] with regard to cognition, it is not, however, general because it

¹¹⁴Also compare the following quotation with Et exaltavi plebis, lines 10-19.

¹¹⁵See the recent edition of this work: Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono.

¹¹⁶Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 2:593, lines 44-49. Compare also ibid., p. 659, lines 317-318; and Matthew, 1:2.

is a virtue, nor is it general because a genus has species below it; but it can be called a genus because 'genus' is derived from 'generating,' since faith generates hope, hope charity, and charity generates reason because it reduces every truth into the end of charity itself, that is into Good. Concerning this generation it is said [in the Gloss]: 'Abraham bore Isaac [and Isaac bore Jacob; that is, faith bore hope and hope charity.]')

This response clearly expresses the same opinions found in the opening and final lines of Mens fidem quoted above: Faith offers the seed from which Hope buds and Charity flowers, and the end result is the fruition of Good.¹¹⁷

Another relationship between these two texts appears in the equation of Faith, the source for the other virtues, with the properties of a root. In his Summa, Philip notes that just as the roots of a tree provide for its sustenance, so does faith nourish the soul through Good:

Humilitas autem dicitur radix secundum proprietatem, quia radix est pars arboris que terre inheret; sic et humilitas considerata infirmitate sua se sub deo infra se collocat. Fides etiam posset dici radix, quia, sicut dicit Aristoteles, radix est tenens locum oris in animalibus, similiter per fidem ingreditur bonum et animam primo.¹¹⁸

(Humility is called a root because of its property, for a root is the part of a tree that adheres to the earth; and thus humility, with its considerate weakness, places itself under God and slights itself. Faith also may be called a root, for, as Aristotle says, a root serves the function of the mouth in animals, likewise it is through faith that Good first enters the soul.)

In Mens fidem, faith is also equated with the figure of a root, with the same properties of stability and sustenance as those enumerated in the

Summa:

Fides spei spes est ei
radix et initium,
que sola major omnium:

The faith of hope is hope in a
root and origin, which by itself
is greater than anything else:

¹¹⁷"Arbor fias / ut bonum parias / fructum in odorem" (lines 35-37).

¹¹⁸Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 2:702, lines 149-153.

extrema ligans medium,	the end securing the middle,
que vitium declinat,	which shuns vice, eludes
occium vitat, nos invitat	idleness, and summons us
curſus ad stadium,	to the racecourse,
vite bravium.	to the prize of life.
Mentem ditat.	It enriches the mind.

(Mens fidem seminat, lines 10-18)

Lastly, both the Summa and the motet provide comparable roles for Charity. It is the means by which the shadows of sin are eradicated so that the light of God's grace may illuminate the soul:

Respondeo. Proprie caritas destruit peccatum et adnichilat, sed proprie peccatum caritatem vel gratiam destruere non potest, sed interponit se inter nos et inter Deum, ne radiet super animam, sicut lux non destruitur, ut quidam volunt.¹¹⁹

(I respond. Charity fittingly destroys and annihilates sin, but sin may not fittingly destroy charity or grace; instead [sin] places itself between us and God, so that He may not, as certain people maintain, shine upon the soul like a light that is not destroyed.)

Caritas est bonum	Charity is the good
mentem quod iustificat	that absolves the mind
per gratiam,	through grace,
vere lucis donum	the gift of true light
quod tenebras purificat.	that purges the shadows.

(Mens fidem seminat, lines 22-26)

The significant links between Mens fidem and the Summa de Bono add substantially to the claim for Philip's authorship of the motet.

Although it may be true that the particular sentiments voiced in the Summa de Bono are not necessarily unique to the Chancellor,¹²⁰ the employment of such similar metaphors in both works for describing the properties and efficacy of the theological virtues provides a strong

¹¹⁹Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 2:743, lines 202-204.

¹²⁰Yet it is well worth noting that in the commentary on the passages quoted above from Philip's Summa, Wicki has not enumerated any correlations with Philip's contemporaries, a feature he takes pains to exploit elsewhere in his edition.

basis for ascription to Philip of this motet text. Mens fidem seminat may therefore be accepted as his work with few reservations.

Unlikely Works

Five other motets with music associated with the style of Perotin survive; but in terms of a connection with Philip these pieces are not as convincing as the six just described. Three of these five: Radix venie, its contrafact Ave Maria fons leticie, and the strophic Et illumina eximia mater are conventional Marian pieces. Radix venie is a classic example of this type of poem, composed exclusively of the now familiar chains of appellations, which conclude with a prayer for the Virgin's aid:

Radix venie,	Root of mercy,
vena gratie,	conduit of grace,
vie dux et portus,	pilot and harbor of life,
porta patrie,	door to heaven,
veri solis ortus,	dawning of the true sun,
thronus glorie,	throne of glory,
summi regis cella,	chamber of the highest king,
.
lignum vite ferens	blossoming tree
arbor florida,	bearing the timber of life,
pigras move mentes,	bestir our listless minds
corda languida.	and our shiftless hearts.

(Radix venie, lines 1-7, 19-22)

Et illumina eximia, on the other hand, consists chiefly of petitions:

Et illumina,	[Arise] and enlighten us,
eximia	excellent
mater, plena gratie,	mother, full of grace,
potens et pia.	powerful and holy.
Subveni pie.	Dutifully assist us.
Per te patet via	Through you lies the path
celi regie.	to the court of heaven.
O virgo regia,	O regal virgin,
egregia regia	illustrious palace of
regis glorie,	the king of glory,

victorie
confer subsidia.

gather together your troops
for the conquest.

(Et illumina eximia, lines 1-12)

while Ave maria fons leticie returns the favor to the Virgin by seeking her praise from those she assists:

Ave, Maria,
fons leticie,
virgo pura, pia,
vas mundicie.
Te voce varia
laudet sobrie
gens leta, sobria.
Gaudens varie,
promat ecclesia
laudes marie.
Sonet in maria
vox ecclesie.

Hail, Mary,
source of happiness,
pure, blessed virgin,
vessel of cleanliness.
Let your earnest, happy people
solemnly praise you
with manifold voices.
Let the church,
rejoicing variously,
utter praises to Mary.
Let the voice of the church
resound upon the seas.

(Ave Maria fons leticie, lines 1-12)

As mentioned previously, the commonplace technique of such lyrics and the conventional nature of many of their appellations do not offer sufficient evidence to argue forcefully for Philip's hand in their composition. Although he is known to have written verses that resemble these models and which contain similar formulaic chains, his own pieces tend at once to be more extensive, innovative, and reflective in their use of Marian imagery. In Philip's lyrics the attributes present metaphors found rarely in other, similar poems, and which function more as a springboard for further commentary on their nature and meaning, rather than as a mere catalog of symbols and properties.¹²¹ Although it remains possible that Philip may have conceived these or any other

¹²¹See, for instance, the veritable stockpile of epithets in Philip's sequence Ave gloriosa virginum regina, text and translation in Anderson, Opera omnia, 6:ic-ci; and the use of didactic "glossing" of Marian attributes in his polyphonic lai/conductus O Maria virginei flos honoris, text and translation in ibid., 1:lIII-liv.

comparable Marian lyrics, their widely practiced conventions offer few specific indications for his authorship.

In addition to its unexceptional content, there are further characteristics in the Marian motet Et illumina eximia that argue against Philip's authorship. Although this motet bears some notable relationships with other works attributable to him in its derivation from a three- or four-part Perotinian clausula¹²² and its rare strophic form,¹²³ some demonstrable rhythmic discrepancies between the clausula and the motet also challenge an ascription to Philip.

The two principal modern editions of the three-part Et illuminare clausula, the source for the two-voiced Et illumina eximia, are unanimous in presenting the music in the iambic form of the third rhythmic mode.¹²⁴ Although a third-mode transcription conforms to the apparent intent of both the motet and the uniquely preserved clausula in E, the frequent dissonances that result from such a rendering prompt the question whether this is the best solution (See Example 33). If, however, the clausula is transcribed trochaically so that the final notes of binary ligatures fall on the first unit of a perfection, the resulting counterpoint is much more consonant and the interpretation far preferable to the iambic version (See Example 34).¹²⁵

¹²²Such as Homo quo vigeas, Nostrum est impletum, the Ex semine and Mors motets, Et exaltavi plebis, and Mens fidem seminat.

¹²³Such as Homo quam sit pura, Latex silice, and Stupeat natura.

¹²⁴Husmann, Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame-Organa, pp. 135-136; and Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:183-185.

¹²⁵In the edition of Et illumina eximia mater in Volume 5 of this study, the clausula has been included in a comparative trochaic transcription.

Example 33. Et illuminare no. 3v, measures 10-20, 33-37 in an iambic transcription, F, f. 45v.

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, the middle is the right-hand piano accompaniment, and the bottom is the left-hand piano accompaniment. The music is in a minor key and iambic meter. The vocal line begins with the lyrics "(Et illumina-)" and features a melodic line with various note values and rests. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines.

(Et illumina-)

The second system of the musical score continues the piece. It maintains the same three-staff structure. The vocal line continues with the melodic phrase, and the piano accompaniment provides harmonic support. The notation includes various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs.

The third system of the musical score concludes the piece. It features the same three-staff structure. The vocal line ends with the lyrics "(-re.)". The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support throughout the system.

(-re.)

Example 34. *Et illuminare*, no. 3v, measures 10-20, 33-37, in a trochaic transcription, *E*, f. 45v.

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, the middle is the right-hand piano accompaniment, and the bottom is the left-hand piano accompaniment. The music is in a trochaic meter with a key signature of one flat. The lyrics "(Et illumina-)" are written below the first staff.

The second system of the musical score continues the composition with three staves. The notation and instrumentation remain consistent with the first system.

The third system of the musical score concludes the excerpt with three staves. The lyrics "(-re.)" are written at the end of the system.

What appears to have happened here is that the motet, and to a certain extent the clausula, stem from a later redaction of the music in which the presumably original trochaic rhythms have been transformed into iambic ones.¹²⁶ This type of modal transmutation is not a unique phenomenon among clausulae or motets,¹²⁷ and one can only lament the absence of concordant versions of Et illuminare that would help to test the theory that the trochaic version was the original one.

As a result of these discrepancies, it seems quite likely that the motet Et illumina eximia, which indisputably presents the iambic rhythms of the "transmuted" version of the music, was written at a period of time or in a place somewhat removed from the composition of its melismatic model.¹²⁸ If Philip knew the work and wrote the motet to

¹²⁶In several places, most notably measures 6 and 36, the clausula's ligature patterns seem to indicate that the F version was copied with an aim towards iambic performance.

¹²⁷In chapter 4 of her dissertation ("Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:169-225), Baltzer enumerates and discusses the Notre Dame corpus of modally transmuted two-voice clausulae. Although she notices a tendency for the majority of such clausulae to be changed from iambic (second or third) to trochaic (first or alternate third) modes, the closest correspondent to the particular tenor pattern employed by the Et illuminare clausula in question (her no. 8) is one of the four patterns (nos. 5-8) that indicate the priority of the trochaic version of the music (see ibid., 1:196-213, 223-224). For some examples of modal change in the motet repertory (in this case involving augmentation and diminution of the rhythmic values) see In Bethlehem Herodes iratus (Gennrich, Bibliographie, no. 98; published in two transcriptions in Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:98-100 and 252-255) and the well known In seculum hoquet and its attendant motets (Gennrich, Bibliographie, nos. 211-212), where the same type of change in rhythmic values applies. For Baltzer's observations on modal transmutation in the In Bethlehem complex, see "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:181-187.

¹²⁸See Anderson's (Latin Compositions, 1:384) and Chailley's ("Fragments d'un nouveau manuscrit," pp. 141, 144) remarks that the expression "Nosque dextere / filias nomina" (Et illumina eximia, lines 24-25) may indicate that this text could have been composed in or for a convent.

complement it, it seems more probable that his text would conform to the earlier, trochaic rendition.

Of all the doubtful pieces, the final two works in this group of Perotinian motets present the most inventive texts. Nevertheless, despite their resourcefulness, they do not display the same concerns that govern other works by Philip, and it is therefore again improbable he wrote them. Both of these pieces are contrafacts of the same clausula, the Domino segment of a masterful three-part Benedicamus set to the chant derived from the Clementiam melisma¹²⁹ and preserved in W1, F, and W2.¹³⁰

Certainly the earlier of the Domino motets is the two-part Alpha bovi et leoni, transmitted in F and in the Spanish sources Ma and Hu.¹³¹ This is an extremely interesting and perplexing work, which consists entirely of a long list of items that the poet wishes to be blessed. What appears incongruous is the breadth and scope of the revered objects, which extend from God in his guise of the Alpha and Omega, to Old Testament kings and prophets, and even to common flora and fauna and fantastic beasts:

¹²⁹BD VI in Smith's catalog ("The Clausulae of the Notre Dame School," 1:348).

¹³⁰W1, f. XIII (8); F, f. 42v; W2, f. 29.

¹³¹F, f. 407; Ma, f. 131v; Hu, f. 84v. The version in Hu is a conductus motet, but differs so much from the other sources (the rhythmic structure of the phrases has been changed slightly, and the tenor completely rearranged) that it is doubtful this conductus motet rendering was known to Notre Dame musicians. Its triplum, in any case, does not correspond at all with the clausula version. For a transcription of this redaction, see Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:255-256.

Alpha, bovi et leoni
 aquile volanti;
 ovi, vermi, et drachoni
 anguem conculstanti;
 Ysaac, Yseph, Sansoni
 portas asportanti;
 Davit vero, Salomoni
 pacem restauranti;
 masculo agniculo,
 virge matris flosculo,
 giganti gemineo;
 O, O, O, O, O, O,
 igni nimphe, grano,
 tramiti plano;
 O, O, O, O, O,
 unico et trino
benedicamus Domino.

The Alpha, the ox and lion
 with the flying eagle;
 the sheep, the worm, and the
 dragon trampling the serpent;
 Isaac and Joseph, Samson
 carrying off the gates;
 even David, and Solomon
 restoring the peace;
 the little male lamb,
 the blossom on the mother's staff,
 the twin-like giant;
 Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh,
 even the fire, the grain,
 and the straight path;
 Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh, the Omega,
 the single and triple Lord
 let us bless.

(Alpha bovi et leoni, complete)

The logic behind this collection of apparently eclectic elements is that every single one of these objects is a reference, either explicit, figurative, or allegorical, to Christ.¹³² Also significant is the symbolic clustering of the items into groups of three, a conceit that begins in lines 1-2 with the Evangelical symbols of the ox, lion, and eagle, and which is broken only once with the twosome of David and Solomon in line 7.¹³³

But despite the wealth and imagination of this poem's symbolism, the mere listing of objects with no additional attempt to clarify or explain their significance is not characteristic of Philip's verse. The use of similar chains of symbols and attributes has already cast doubt on a number of other possible Philip motets, from the medieval

¹³²Anderson's translation of this text and its accompanying commentary (Latin Compositions, 1:300-301) do not realize the connections of all the elements specifically to Christ. For an extensive elaboration of the symbols and their meaning in this motet, see the Notes to the Text in the edition of this piece in Volume 5 of this study.

¹³³Lines 7-8 read "Davit vero, Salomoni / pacem restauranti."

ascription of Doce nos optime to the numerous formulaic Marian lyrics.¹³⁴ Such traits therefore also render questionable the possibility of arguing for the assignment of Alpha bovi to the Chancellor, notwithstanding its arresting text.

Similar reservations also prevent the attribution to Philip of Larga manu seminatum, a contrafact of Alpha bovi. This particular poem, uniquely preserved in W2¹³⁵ and apparently prompted by the image in line 13 of Alpha bovi ("igni nimphe, grano"), presents a deliberation on a passage from the Gospel of John: "Amen, amen I say to you, unless the grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, itself remaineth alone. But if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."¹³⁶ Like the list of items in its model, Larga manu also presents an allegory of Christ, in this case by developing a biblical metaphor associated with his death and resurrection: just as the grain of wheat must "die" in order to produce a crop, Christ also must die in order to save sinners.

A small dilemma affecting the interpretation of Larga manu arises in its corrupt text. A comparison of this motet with both its contrafact and its clausula indicates that two phrases of the music and text of the duplum have been inadvertently omitted, so that the meaning of its final sentence is incoherent:¹³⁷

¹³⁴See above.

¹³⁵On f. 182v.

¹³⁶John, 12:24-25.

¹³⁷Anderson has supplied a conjectural completion in Latin Compositions, 2:191. See his remarks in ibid., p. ix. It is even possible, though extremely difficult to prove, that Larga manu may be a continuation or second strophe of Alpha bovi, and that the expression "sed ex uno reliquum" may signal that the rest of the text is to follow

O, O, O, O, O,
 glorificum

 sed ex uno reliquum

Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh,
 glorified

 but from one the rest

(Larga manu seminatum, lines 15-19)

Nevertheless, despite these lacunae, several factors suggest that, like its contrafact, this poem is not by Philip. One especially notable sign is the close relationship of the grain image used in this motet with one of Philip's most beloved Biblical metaphors, the allegory of the wheat and chaff drawn from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. Nearly every occurrence of this image in the poetry associated with the Notre Dame repertory stems from one of his works.¹³⁸ If Philip had indeed composed Larga manu, it is curious that no hint of this motif appears in a poem written on such a closely related topic.¹³⁹

Another component arguing against his authorship of this poem is the fact that after line 10, the grain metaphor does not develop any further, but dwindles into a list of qualities similar to the series of epithets found in the many Marian motets encountered in these pages, and analogous to the chain of Christological figures that appears in Alpha bovi:

the pattern of Alpha bovi. This, however, is extremely conjectural.

¹³⁸For the use of this figure in Philip's poetry, see above in the remarks on the possible attribution of the motet Ypocrite pseudopontifices.

¹³⁹Also strange, given Philip's habits, is the fact that Christ is not the speaker in this motet, even though he utters the sentence in the Gospel text upon which the work is based. This additionally suggests that he did not write Larga manu. Contrast the quite different treatment of a similar set of circumstances in the more likely Philip piece Manere vivere, where Christ's words from the Gospel are expanded into a motet with Jesus as the protagonist.

Sic ad vitam reducitur
iustum et deificum,
O, O, O, O, O, O,
tropicum, celicum
granum et triticum.
O, O, O, O, O,
glorificum.

In this way is the just
and deified,
Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh,
the symbolic, the heavenly
grain and wheat restored to life.
Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh,
glorified.

(Larqa manu seminatum, lines 10-16)

In view of these features, it remains highly questionable whether Philip would have devised a text such as Larqa manu. Nevertheless, the faulty transmission of this motet in its unique source still allows the remote possibility that a complete version of this lyric may provide more clues to substantiate his authorship.

Latin Contrafacts of Philip's Motets

A Source for Other Possible Works?

The above arguments for assessing the extent of Philip the Chancellor's share in the medieval motet have considered the soundness of both the medieval and modern attributions, and have also utilized a new strategy for tracking down other possible texts by examining motets associated with the style of Perotin, a composer whose music Philip is known to have favored and furnished with a number of other poems. There remains, however, an additional store of works that can provide some possible, if tentative, contributions to his motet canon.¹⁴⁰ These consist of the five remaining Latin contrafacts to three of the texts

¹⁴⁰The major obstacle for most of the subsequent pieces is their appearance late in the eighth fascicle of W2 and the high percentage of unique sources for these works.

attributed to Philip by modern scholars.¹⁴¹ The need to consider these pieces comes from the fact that surely at least once, and possibly as many as three times, Philip wrote new words to existing texts he had composed.¹⁴² A likelihood therefore arises that he may also have refashioned the poetry of his own motets. The relevant works under consideration are presented in Table 27, which includes the contrafact, the corresponding motet already attributed above to Philip, and the number of the contrafact from Gennrich's Bibliographie.

We may quickly dispense with the two dubious works under section B of the above table by noting that both the well-travelled O quam sancta¹⁴³ and the uniquely preserved Virgo virginum¹⁴⁴ once again consist of the same progressions of Marian formulae encountered so often in Notre Dame motets. The remaining three pieces, however, provide two that are notably similar in content, expression, and use of imagery to

¹⁴¹The contrafact pairs Stupeat natura - Homo quam sit pura, Alpha bovi - Larga manu, and Ave Maria fons leticie - Radix venie have already been encountered above. All the other instances of contrafacture are French. The lack of known French pieces attributed to Philip does not allow room for speculation on his possible contribution to the vernacular motet and chanson repertory. For the single example of a French lyric attributed to him, see the following note. For specific details on the contrafacts and their sources, see the information given for each work in Volumes 4 and 5.

¹⁴²The certain works are the conductus prosula pair Bulla fulminante and Veste nuptiali. As noted above, Philip may also be responsible for the contrafact Stupeat natura, a retexting of his Homo quam sit pura. The third case involves the only known French poem attributed to the Chancellor, Le cuer se vait de l'oil plaignant, which paraphrases his Latin altercatio / conductus Quisquis cordis et oculi. However, Dronke ("Lyrical Compositions," pp. 582) raises the possibility that the French text may have been ascribed to Philip merely by virtue of his authorship of the Latin version.

¹⁴³See above, in the remarks on the lyric Ypocrite pseudopontifices.

¹⁴⁴Transmitted only in W2, on f. 187v.

TABLE 27

LATEIN CONTRAFACTS OF MOTETS ATTRIBUTED TO PHILIP

A. Contrafacts possibly by Philip.

<u>Contrafact</u>	<u>Philip Attribution</u>	<u>Number</u>
Memor tui creatoris	Velut stelle firmamente	320
Mors vite vivificacio	Mors morsu nata venenato	257
Serena virginum	Velut stelle firmamenti	69

B. Contrafacts probably not by Philip.

<u>Contrafact</u>	<u>Philip Attribution</u>	<u>Number</u>
O quam sancta	Velut stelle firmamenti	317
Virgo virginum regina	Velut stelle firmamenti	321

Philip's other lyrics; while the last, Serena virginum, offers a Marian motet text that transcends the usual confines of the genre. This suggests at the very least that the possibility of Philip's authorship for this piece is stronger than for the more conventional lyrics addressed to the Virgin.

Memor tui creatoris, a W2 unicum and another member of the host of motets associated with the clausula Et gaudebit no. 2,¹⁴⁵ would be quite comfortable among Philip's other works. Like his Homo quam sit pura and the probable Homo quo vigeas, it presents another exhortation to mankind to fear God and practice good works as a surety of heaven's reward. Like Mens fidem seminat and Homo quo vigeas, it uses agricultural

¹⁴⁵The motet occurs on f. 188v of W2. Et gaudebit no. 2 provides 7 motets (including extraneous tripla and quadrupla; see Smith, "The Clausulae of the Notre Dame School," 1:282). They comprise nos. 315-321 in Genrich's Bibliographie.

metaphors to foster the cultivation of virtue as a secure road to salvation. And as in a majority of his poems, it does not fail to offer strong warnings and stern advice on the necessity of avoiding sinful practices:

Memor tui creatoris,
 eius vivas in timore.
 Intus te formes et foris,
 deleas pio culpās
 lacrimarum liquore,
 fervens amore,
 ut gracie de rore
 mens fidelis floreat,
 et ex fide prodeat
 fructus operis.
 Veteris te pudeat
 vite, nova placeat.
 labilem rotam erroris,
 providus, caveas
 sequi, ne pereas.

Remembering your creator,
 may you live in fear of him.
 Reform yourself within and without,
 and, burning with love,
 dutifully wash away your sins
 with the liquid of your tears,
 so that your faithful mind may
 flourish from the dew of grace,
 and may produce from faith
 the fruits of your works.
 Let it disavow your old life
 and favor you with a new one.
 Be watchful, and take care not
 to follow the slippery wheel
 of error, lest you perish.

(Memor tui creatoris, lines 1-15)

Mors vite vivificatio, a contrafact of the possible Philip poem Mors morsu nata venenato and another unique W2 motet,¹⁴⁶ also bears some stylistic affinities to the Chancellor's established lyrical corpus; it is saturated with the paradox and word play characteristic of many poems by Philip.¹⁴⁷ As with its model, this work also treats the subject of Death in connection with Adam's fall and Christ's Resurrection,¹⁴⁸ but here its sharp sting has been dulled, the fear and horror typically

¹⁴⁶Transmitted on f, 164.

¹⁴⁷On these techniques, see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 570-571, 573.

¹⁴⁸See above.

associated with the Crucifixion have been reversed, and its very nature has been turned topsy-turvy:¹⁴⁹

Mors-vite vivificacio;
Mors-nostre mortig
 et mortificacio,
 consolatio,
 et reparacio
 primo parentis noxio.
 O Mors, anxio
 plena gaudio,
 tu es nostra liberacio.

Death—the quickening of life;
 Death—both the demise,
 the alleviation
 of our own death,
 and compensation for the
 first offense of our forefathers.
 O Death, filled with
 dreadful joy,
 you are our deliverance.

(Mors vite vivificacio, lines 1-9)

An alliterative flourish then follows: "O, proprio / non pepercit propicio / pater filio,"¹⁵⁰ and the poem concludes with an enumeration of Passion tortures similar to those already encountered in Homo quam sit pura, Latex silice, and Manere vivere¹⁵¹ that once again demonstrates that "if you ponder them well, these many torments are teachings:"¹⁵²

crucis afflictio,
 clavorum fixio,
 lateris apercio,
 sputa, exprobatio
 —O, O, O—
 redempcio,
 —O, O—
 pia sunt, O Mors.

the torment of the cross,
 the driving of the nails,
 the puncturing of his side,
 the spitting, the reproach,
 —Oh, Oh, Oh—
 these venerable acts
 —Oh, Oh—
 are our redemption, O Death.

(Mors vite vivificacio, lines 15-22)

¹⁴⁹Notice the similar inversion of biblical events in Strophe I of the conductus prosula Crucifigat omnes, lines 7-17, whose text is probably by Philip.

¹⁵⁰"Oh, the father graciously spared not his own son" (lines 10-12).

¹⁵¹See Homo quam sit pura, lines 5-7; Latex, lines 24-25; and Manere vivere, lines 24-31.

¹⁵²"Tot pene, si bene / ponderes, sunt doctrine" (Manere vivere, lines 30-31).

The third and last of the possible Philip contrafacts is Serena virginum, an alternate text to Manere vivere. This generic hybrid,¹⁵³ which survives as a four-part conductus motet in F,¹⁵⁴ a three-part conductus in Wl,¹⁵⁵ in two- and three-voice motet arrangements in Ma and LoA, respectively,¹⁵⁶ and as a monophonic work in Graz 409,¹⁵⁷ constitutes the sole Marian motet built on the formulaic model of attributes-plus-petitions encountered in this chapter that can be assigned convincingly to Philip. If analogous works, such as Radix venie, Et illumina eximia, Ave Maria fons leticie, O quam sancta, and Virgo virginum regina rely on the unbridled use of clichés, with little or no attempt at developing their images, Serena demonstrates how the use of such formulae may be turned to advantage in the hands of a skilled poet.

Although Serena includes many of the most common Marian attributes in the course of its text, the poet is often not content merely to list her qualities and beg for mercy, but frequently seeks to contemplate the significance of the images and offer explanations, interpretations, or further glosses on particular items. Thus, Mary is not merely "Gideon's fleece," but the "fleece that was moistened, that clothed in our flesh

¹⁵³For an assessment of the abundant literature that attempts to unravel the problems of genre and the number of voices appropriate for the performance of the differing versions of Serena virginum, see Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:266-268, 454-455; and the discussion of this piece in Chapter 6.

¹⁵⁴On f. 235, transmitted in a conductus facsicle.

¹⁵⁵On f. XIII (9).

¹⁵⁶Ma, f. 119v; LoA, ff. 74v and 92.

¹⁵⁷On f. 72.

him who shouldered our burden."¹⁵⁸ Nor is she merely designated "star of the sea," but rather the "peerless star of the sea, the star whose ray overwhelmed the cloud that Eve's sin had previously imprinted. No charity nor chastity merited this, merely the sincere humility of the handmaiden."¹⁵⁹ Of all the conventional Marian motets that demonstrate connections to Philip's or Perotin's corpus, this is undeniably the best.

Other than its poetic merit and its relationship to Manere vivere, the remaining evidence suggesting that Serena virginum may be a work by Philip the Chancellor is again rather slight, and any ascription of this piece to him must remain tentative. A few phrases do, however, evoke his style, particularly the image of the nursing mother as a source of sustenance, which immediately becomes a warning for sinners:¹⁶⁰

. . . O mamille,	O breasts,
quarum vene fluunt plene	whose full vessels pour forth
mundo lac et mella.	milk and honey for the world.
Gens misella, tollite	O wretched people, refuse the
vas fellitum; vas mellitum	cup of vinegar and drink
bibite.	instead from the cup of honey.
Ecce lac infantium.	Behold the milk of children.
Ecce manna mundo pium.	Behold the world's blessed manna.

(Serena virginum, lines 21,2-28)

¹⁵⁸"vellus quod rigavit, / qui nostrum portavit / saccum nostra carnem / vestiens" (Serena virginum, lines 9-12).

¹⁵⁹"Stella maris singularis, / stella cuius radius / nubem pressit quam impressit / Eve culpa prius. / Istud nulla caritas / meruit aut castitas, / sed simplex humilitas / ancille" (Serena virginum, lines 14-21). Compare the similar image in the text of Ex semine rosa prodit, lines 7-10.

¹⁶⁰Compare the similar use of a biblical image turned into a warning in the discussion of the possible attribution Doce nos hodie, above.

and the association of the Virgin with the unguents of the Beloved from the Song of Songs¹⁶¹ likewise recalls Christ's words in Manere vivere:

Ecce pie flos Marie
virginis, seminis
Abrahe strips inclita,
balsamus mellita,
calamus condita,
nardus, mirra trita.

Behold the flower of the holy virgin
Mary, the celebrated progeny
of Abraham's seed,
the honey-sweetened balsam,
savory calamus reed,
nard oil, crushed myrrh.

(Serena virginum, lines 29-34)

Odor mirre trite,
balsamo condite,
fragrat. Huc venite.
Mirram invenite.
Sentite. Oblite
tui. De te quere.

The odor of crushed myrrh,
is fragrant when seasoned with
balsam. Come hither.
Seek the myrrh.
Comprehend it. Forget about
yourself. Examine yourself.

(Manere vivere, lines 7-12)

* * *

The corpus of Philip's motets delineated above has evaluated thirty-six motet texts ascribable to him from attributions in medieval manuscripts and literary works, assignments by modern scholars, works written to clausuale ascribed to the composer Perotin, and Latin contrafacts of all these pieces. Of this total, ten have been discarded or judged especially dubious because of their lack of characteristic stylistic, technical, or musical affinities with his known corpus. This leaves a remainder of twenty-six texts that are more likely to be his work, with six of these assignments more tentative than the others. The results are summarized in Table 28.

Although the specific pieces compiled in this inventory may not represent every conceivable motet that Philip may have written, they embody a group of works that appears particularly convincing in their potential for his authorship. This is because several types of evidence

¹⁶¹See Song of Songs, 1:11, 5:5; and Ecclesiasticus, 24:20-21.

TABLE 28

MOTETS BY PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR (26 Accepted Texts)

A. ACCEPTED MEDIEVAL ATTRIBUTIONS (6 Texts):

Agmina milicie celestis omnia	In veritate comperi
Homo quam sit pura	Lacqueus conteritur
In omni fratre tuo	Venditores labiorum

B. ACCEPTED MODERN ATTRIBUTIONS (9 Texts):

Homo quo vigeas vide (attributed Dronke)
 Latex silice (attributed Anderson)
 Manere vivere (attributed Anderson, Handschin)
 Mors morsu nata venenato (attributed Anderson)
 Mors que stimulo (attributed Anderson)
 Nostrum est impletum (attributed Anderson, Dronke)
 O quam necessarium (tentative, attribution suggested by Everist)
 Stupeat natura (tentative, attributed Anderson)
 Ypocrite pseudopontifices (tentative, attributed Dronke)

C. PROBABLE NEW ATTRIBUTIONS (11 texts):

Doce nos hodie (confused with Doce nos optime?)

Motets Derived from Perotinian Clausulae (10 Texts)

Et exaltavi plebis humilem	Mens fidem seminat
Ex semine abrahe divino	Mors vite vivificatio (<u>tentative</u>)
Ex semine rosa prodit	Non orphanum te deseram
Flos de spina rumpitur	Serena virginum (<u>tentative</u>)
Memor tui creatoris (<u>tentative</u>)	Velut stelle firmamenti

D. DOUBTFUL ATTRIBUTIONS AND DUBIOUS RELATED MOTETS (10 Texts)

Doubtful Attributions from Medieval Sources (2 Texts)

Doce nos optime	In salvatoris nomine
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Doubtful Modern Attribution (1 Text)

Mors a primi patris (attributed Anderson)

Doubtful Motets Derived from Perotinian Clausulae (7 texts)

Alpha bovi et leoni	O quam sancta quam benigna
Ave maria fons leticie	Radix venie
Et illumina eximia mater	Virgo virginum regina
Larga manu seminatum	

together have been considered in weighing the suitability for the inclusion of each piece.¹⁶² The evaluation of poetic style has been combined with the testimony of the sources, and the relationships and characteristics of the various musical compositions that embellish these texts has played a sizable role in measuring the likelihood of a possible ascription. Additional motet texts that will no doubt surface may also suggest Philip for their author, and the repertory enumerated here, constricted as it may be, furnishes a solid base for evaluating such poems and for appraising the Chancellor's role in the formation and continued cultivation of the motet. As the subsequent chapters on the musical and historical properties of these compositions will show, his endeavors in this newly emerging genre produced some of the most singular, innovative, and historically informative works of the Notre Dame era.

¹⁶²Some other possible motets, not enumerated in this chapter, that may be assigned to Philip solely on the basis of their textual style include the strophic Celi semita (Gennrich, Bibliographie, no. 307b), the W1 motet Qui servare puberem (no. 59), the critical O nacio que vitiis (no. 337) and Ad solitum vomitum (no. 439, and the Wise and Foolish Virgins lyric Ad veniam perveniam (no. 635).

CHAPTER 6

PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR'S MOTETS II REPERTORIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The motet texts of Philip the Chancellor are linked with a body of music that displays most of the major stylistic developments associated with the thirteenth-century Latin form of this genre. These works run the gamut from simple, conductus-like structures to more intricate, multi-texted works that feature overlapping phrases and rhythmically diverse parts. Nevertheless, despite the wealth and breadth of styles in Philip's motet corpus, most of the pieces with his lyrics point to an origin in the earliest layers of the repertory, at a time when the new species was just emerging. This connection to the beginnings of the genre can be demonstrated by comparing features in works that use Philip's texts with characteristics of other, related examples of anonymous thirteenth-century motets.

Motet Subgroups and "Original" Versions

The Notre Dame motet is anything but a stable, fixed, unalterable form of composition. Thirteenth-century motets exhibit a volatility rarely displayed by any other type of written musical work. The quantity of parts, the number and language of texts, the presence and designation of a Gregorian tenor, and even the basic rhythmic design of

a given work are all variable. Because of this variety, it is occasionally difficult to determine which of the sometimes myriad surviving versions of a given piece is the earliest, and therefore closest to the "original." This question is important for assessing Philip's works, because certain adaptations of his motets may transmit features that do not correspond to the piece as he conceived it or knew it, and thereby can cloud judgement of the original stylistic features of a particular work.

In preparing the body of Philip's motets both for transcription in the latter volumes of this study and for analysis in this and the following two chapters, an initial decision had to be made regarding which particular version of a given piece to isolate as the first extant rendition. In all cases, the rendering that appeared to be the earliest chronologically was the one chosen, since it seems quite unlikely that a given motet with a text by Philip would be consciously rearranged at a later time in a more conservative or retrospective style. In most instances the accepted date and provenance of a given source provided the primary gauges for determining the chosen version of a particular motet. In other words, adaptations that correspond with earlier, Parisian sources were generally preferred over later, "peripheral" ones.¹

Another means of choosing one particular version of a motet over another was based on the scholarly consensus of the chronological succession of motet types. Historians of Notre Dame music tend to agree

¹For the most recent assessments of the date and provenance of the principal Notre Dame manuscript sources, see Everist, Polyphonic Music, especially chapters 2-4.

that a conductus motet version (a three- or four-voice texture with the upper parts bearing a single text) historically precedes, or at least parallels, the motet for two voices, which in turn antedates the double or triple motet—a more complicated form with two or three separately texted lines above the Gregorian tenor.² Although this sequence of styles has previously been asserted as a mere rule of thumb, the recently published investigation of the early motet repertory by Hans Tischler has corroborated the validity of such chronological change in motet style.³

A third decision that affected the presentation and interpretation of a few of the motets considered here was to exclude any version of a double motet that contains a French text in tandem with one of Philip's Latin works. In each instance where this criterion applied, a source that presents exclusively Latin texts was preferred. The choice was prompted both by historical considerations and by the state of Philip's extant corpus of motet texts. Although it is nearly certain that the development of the French motet occurred after the cultivation of the Latin form but before Philip's death in 1236,⁴ there are no surviving vernacular motet texts attributed to him, and the absence of any love lyrics from among his Latin poems similarly hinders the assignment of any secular French motets to the Chancellor. Since it is therefore presently impossible to determine whether Philip contributed to the

²See Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 522-523.

³Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:90-91, 100.

⁴For this scenario, see Sanders, "The Question," p. 248; *idem*, "The Medieval Motet," p. 530; and Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:307.

vernacular motet corpus, only renditions with Latin texts are chosen for consideration here, though it is quite likely that Philip knew French motets and even possible that he may have written some of the devotional examples.

Despite the above conditions for the inclusion of particular versions of motets, not every case is clear-cut. Although in the majority of circumstances the reliance on the earliest central source (usually the mid-thirteenth-century Parisian manuscript F) also provides the "oldest" representation of a given motet, sometimes the age and path of a given transmission are not so apparent.⁵ In most of these instances the problem of which arrangement to include was eluded by incorporating two versions of a work in the volumes of transcriptions, or by offering the example of a particular motet that contains the greatest number of vocal parts so that different renditions may be adduced. Some of the more problematic specimens include:

1) In veritate comperi—Presented twice. Here chronological and historical considerations prompted the primary choice of the conductus motet version preserved in F.⁶ An alternate double motet rendering, however, also appears in the opera dubia section of Volume 5, which features the dubiously ascribed triplum text In salvatoris nomine. The inclusion of the double motet was deemed necessary because both texts are attributed to Philip in LoB.⁷

⁵On the date of F and other sources of Notre Dame music, see Baltzer, "Illuminated Miniatures," pp. 1-18; and Everist, Polyphonic Music, chapters 2-4, pp. 37-136.

⁶Folio 398v.

⁷Folios 50 and 52v.

2) Venditores laborum—Presented twice in a two-voice version from LoC, and in a double motet arrangement from Ba with the newly attributed triplum text O quam necessarium.⁸ Only the motetus part is specifically assigned to Philip in LoB, but the close correlations between the two poems, as well as the probability that the double motet version is the principal one, prompted the incorporation of both arrangements.

3) Ex semine Abrahe divino—Presented twice. Like In veritate comperi, this newly ascribed text is offered both as a conductus motet and as a double motet with the triplum text Ex semine rosa prodit spina. The conductus motet version does not survive in any central source, but does appear inserted in an organum among the Worcester Fragments⁹ and in W2 as a French contrafact (Se j'ai amé),¹⁰ both of which demonstrate a strong possibility that a Parisian Latin conductus motet arrangement may now be lost. The double motet appears by virtue of the claims expressed in the previous chapter for Philip's authorship of both triplum and motetus texts.¹¹

4) Doce nos hodie—Here the typical chronological source and style directives are reversed. W2 offers a conductus motet, while the presumably earlier manuscript F provides a two-part rendering. The conductus motet version alone is presented in the edition as the

⁸Found on ff. 4 and 100 of the respective sources.

⁹No. 81; appearing in Fragment xviii, on f. 1v. See Luther A. Dittmer, ed., The Worcester Fragments: A Catalogue Raisonné and Transcription, Musicological Studies and Documents, no. 2 ([Rome:] American Institute of Musicology, 1957).

¹⁰On f. 136.

¹¹See above, Chapter 5.

hypothetical "first" version,¹² from which the F version may also be assessed by consulting only the tenor and motetus.

5) Mors que stimulo / Mors morsu nata—In this case the original form of this motet was most probably that of the double-texted work as preserved in F, W2, and Ba.¹³ However, the triple motet arrangement of Mo and Cl,¹⁴ which contains the quadruplum text Mors a primi patris dubiously attributed to Philip by Anderson,¹⁵ appears in Volume 4 in an attempt to present concomitantly the presumably original double motet version, the later triple motet with added quadruplum text, and the complete music of the four-part source clausula that spawned both adaptations.

6) Latex silice and Serena virginum—These two pieces are particularly problematic. They constitute the only known examples of four-voice conductus motets in the Notre Dame repertory.¹⁶ Both also show strong connections to the three-part conductus repertory by their appearance in fascicle 6 of F and their inclusion in W1 without their tenors. Likewise, numerous arguments both for and against the performance of these pieces in four parts prompt questions about the

¹²However, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 522, note 75.

¹³See above, Chapter 5, Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 524; and Frobenius, "Zum genetischen Verhältnis," p. 23.

¹⁴Beginning on ff. 57v and 372v in the respective manuscripts.

¹⁵On the unlikely possibility of this attribution, see above, Chapter 5.

¹⁶The surviving four-part renditions of Philip's organum prosulas De Stephani roseo and Adesse festina are, strictly speaking, not motets.

TABLE 29

PHILIP'S MOTETS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO TYPE

CONDUCTUS MOTETS (â3, unless otherwise noted).

Medieval Attributions
 Agmina militie celestis
 Homo quam sit pura
 In veritate comperi

Modern Attributions
 Homo quo vigeas
 Latex silice (â4)
 Nostrum est impletum

Probable (New) Attributions
 Doce nos hodie
 Et exaltavi plebis
 Ex semine Abrahe
 Flos de spina rumpitur
 Serena virginum (â4)

Doubtful Attributions
 Radix venie
 Doce nos optime

TWO-PART MOTETS

Medieval Attributions
 In omni fratre
 Lacqueus conteritur

Modern Attributions
 Manere vivere
 Stupeat natura

Probable (New) Attributions
 Mens fidem seminat
 Non orphanum te deseram
 Memor tui creatoris
 Mors vite vivificacio

Doubtful Attributions
 Alpha bovi et leoni
 Ave maria fon leticie
 Et illumina eximia mater
 Larga manu seminatum
 O quam sancta quam benigna
 Virgo virginum regina

DOUBLE AND TRIPLE MOTETS.

Medieval Attributions
 O quam neccessarium (modern attribution) / Venditores labiorum

Modern Attributions
 Mors que stimulo / Mors morsu nata
 Ypocrite pseudopontifices / Velut stelle firmamenti

Probable (New) Attributions
 Ex semine rosa / Ex semine Abrahe

Doubtful Attributions (brackets indicate accepted attributions appearing above)
 In salvatoris / [In veritate comperi]
 Mors a primi patris / [Mors que stimulo / Mors morsu]

validity of such a presentation in the edition.¹⁷ In this case all the parts are given in order to reflect accurately the state of their transmission in F and to allow the possibility of considering other performance alternatives.

With the above problematic examples borne in mind and including the multiple versions of certain pieces, an intabulation of Philip's motets (both sure and dubious) according to the number of their parts and texts suggests some preliminary historical observations (See Table 29, which divides the variously attributed motet texts into the categories delineated above in Chapter 5). Of the texts that can convincingly be assigned to Philip, the majority are conductus motets (11 accepted works), with two-part pieces (8) and double- and triple-texted motets (4) each furnishing fewer examples, respectively. Based on the accepted historical progression of motet categories from the conductus motet, through examples in two parts, and finally to the double and triple motet repertory, Philip's delineated corpus shows a higher percentage of works in the earliest layer, which gradually tapers off as the specific styles become more advanced. Even this rather cursory scan of his motets argues for the major share of his activity in the oldest divisions of the Notre Dame motet repertory.

Philip's Motets and Source Clausulae

A characteristic of Notre Dame motets that is often submitted as a mark of early origin is the existence of a melismatic counterpart to a

¹⁷On these two pieces, their notable relationships to the conductus, and an attempt to resolve some of the problems posed here, see below.

given motet in the form of a discant clausula. Generally it is assumed that in the case of identity between a clausula and motet, the melismatic version precedes the texted one. Although this hypothesis has been questioned from time to time,¹⁸ it still seems clear that even if in some instances a given clausula may succeed its motet version, the idea of adding a syllabic text to a melismatically notated clausula still provided the initial impetus behind the creation of the motet,¹⁹ and that the presence of a clausula rendering of a motet signifies an early stage in the motet's evolution, before it had acquired the features of a completely independent species.²⁰

When Philip's motet corpus is examined from the point of view of its relationship with the surviving clausula repertory (see Tables 30 and 31), the clear predominance of pieces with such melismatic concordances (20 accepted attributions) over those with none (6) is readily apparent. Even if the newly attributed motets (11 texts) are excluded, because their inclusion to Philip's repertory is motivated primarily by the presence of a clausula, the number of accepted texts with melismatic sources (9) still prevails over those that lack them (6).

¹⁸See Rokseth, *Polyphonies*, 4:70; Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony*, pp. 100-101; Tischler, "New Historical Aspects," pp. 28-29; Anderson, "Clausulae or Transcribed Motets," pp. 109-128; Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 507-508; Stenzel, *Die vierzig Clausulae*, pp. 113-119; Frobenius, "Zum genetischen Verhältnis;" and Smith, "The Earliest Motets: Music and Words," pp. 141-163.

¹⁹Even Frobenius, the strongest critic of the dependence of clausulae on motets, admits this is probably the case. See his "Zum genetischen Verhältnis," pp. 25-26.

²⁰Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 506-509.

TABLE 30

PHILIP'S MOTETS WITH CLAUSULA CONCORDANCES

-
- A. MEDIEVAL ATTRIBUTIONS (2 texts)
 Agmina milicie celestis
 Homo quam sit pura
- B. MODERN ATTRIBUTIONS (7 texts)
 Homo quo vigeas vide
 Latex silice
 Manere vivere
 Mors que stimulo / Mors morsu nata
 Nostrum est impletum gaudium
 Stupeat natura
- C. PROBABLE (NEW) ATTRIBUTIONS (11 texts)
 Doce nos hodie
 Et exaltavi plebis humilem
 Ex semine rosa prodit / Ex semine Abrahe divino
 Flos de spina rumpitur
 Memor tui creatoris
 Mens fidem seminat
 Mors vite vivificacio
 Non orphanum te deseram
 Serena virginum
 Velut stelle firmamenti
- D. DOUBTFUL ATTRIBUTIONS (8 texts)
 Alpha bovi et leoni
 Ave maria fons leticie
 Et illumina eximia mater
 Larga manu seminatum
 Mors a primi patris
 O quam sancta quam benigna
 Radix venie
 Virgo virginum regina
-

A particularly vexing situation, though, is the relatively high percentage of motets assigned to Philip in medieval sources that do not possess clausulae. Even if the two doubtful medieval ascriptions, Doce nos optime and In salvatoris nomine, are excluded from consideration, this still leaves four of the six remaining texts with no evidence of

any connection to a clausula. Although the possibility does exist that melismatic sources for some of the affected pieces may have been lost, there are other circumstances that may account for the lack of surviving clausulae in Philip's contemporaneously ascribed motets.

TABLE 31

 PHILIP'S MOTETS WITHOUT CLAUSULAE CONCORDANCES

- A. MEDIEVAL ATTRIBUTIONS (4 texts)
 In omni fratre tuo
 In veritate comperi
 Lacqueus conteritur
 Venditores labiorum
- B. MODERN ATTRIBUTIONS (2 texts)
 Ypocrite pseudopontifices
 O quam necessarium
- C. PROBABLE (NEW) ATTRIBUTIONS: none.
- D. DOUBTFUL ATTRIBUTIONS (2 texts)
 Doce nos optime (medieval attribution)
 In salvatoris nomine (medieval attribution)
-

Of the four medieval sources that name Philip as the author of motets, the two manuscripts LoB and Praha originated well outside of Paris and are significantly later than the period of Philip's activity.²¹ Factors such as the availability of exemplars from which to copy, the stylishness of a particular piece, and the scribes' own knowledge of Philip's motet canon could well have affected the choice of the particular works in these manuscripts. In view of the later dates of these two sources it is interesting to note that the majority of

²¹On the date and provenance of LoB, see Everist, French Thirteenth-Century Polypyhony, p. 50, note 46. For information on Praha, see Anderson, "Obiter dicta," pp. 361-364; and Brewer, "Communication," pp. 154-155.

their motets display features associated primarily with later developments in the genre, such as the the ornate "French" styles of In omni fratre tuo and Laqueus conteritur, and the connection of Venditores laborum and In veritate comperi with the double motet. The fact that both LoB and Praha transmit only one piece with a clausula, the renowned Aqmina milicie, may indicate that the scribes of both sources only incorporated motets that were the best known or most up-to-date of Philip's works.²²

Salimbene and Henri d'Andeli, the other two witnesses to Philip's involvement with motets, are noteworthy in that each transmits only a single piece and presents the attribution in a context that has nothing to do with an enumeration of his poetic corpus. Hence, their evidence cannot be taken as a comprehensive delineation of Philip's contribution to the body of Notre Dame motets. Salimbene cites Philip's Homo quam sit pura only because his music teacher, Henry of Pisa, happened to write a new melody to the Chancellor's text;²³ and Henri d'Andeli

²²However, the clausula source of Aqmina appears only in the problematic source StV, on f. 292. The clausulae in this manuscript have repeatedly been challenged as original models for their respective motets, and the possibility still exists that at least some of them may be converted motets. On this problem see above, p. 00, note 00. Also problematic is the question whether the Aqmina melisma originally hails from the end of the verse of the O40 Responsory Virgo flagellatur ¶ Sponsus amat, (see Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 299, note 136) or whether it is derived from the M65 Alleluia ¶ Corpus beate virginis, which is set in organum in StV, f. 286v. This composition is not known in the central sources of the Magnus liber. As a non-soloistic portion of the chant, the melisma in O40 would not normally have been set in polyphony. This point further suggests that Philip's Aqmina may have been a motet first and a clausula second.

²³"Iste frater Henricus Pisanus. . . meus custos fuit in Senensi custodia et meus magister in cantu tempore Gregorii pape noni [i.e. 1227-1241]. . . . Multas cantilénas fecit frater Henricus et multas sequentias. . . .Item cantum fecit in illa littera magistri Phylippi

mentions Agmina milicie in a plea on Philip's behalf to Saint Catherine, whose martyrdom is the subject of the motet.²⁴

Despite the scanty number of ascriptions to Philip from these two figures, it may be significant that the pieces they specify are the only two medieval motet attributions to Philip that do possess clausulae. This coincidence may be a result of the closer chronological proximity of these authors to Philip's motet repertory. Henri's Dit was occasioned by Philip's death in 1236, and Salimbene's association with Henry of Pisa lasted from 1227 to 1247.²⁵ These two observers are thus nearer to Philip chronologically and therefore would be more likely to enumerate his earlier contributions to the motet repertory than LoB or Praha. The lack of clausulae connections in the motets ascribed to Philip in the two manuscript collections of his poetry can thus be justified as a result of the younger age and non-Parisian provenance of these particular manuscripts, rather than a contradiction of Philip's role in the textung of melismatic music. Instead, the indisputable presence of Philip in the organum and conductus prosula repertory, as well as the numerous newly attributed motets with Perotinian clausula concordances, provide the necessary link between him and the technique of textung melismatic music that is so closely coupled with early motet composition.

cancellarii Perisiensis, scilicet: Homo quam sit pura / michi de te cura. From Salimbene, Chronica, pp. 181-182. For a translation of the cited passage, see Everist, Polyphonic Music, pp. 349-350.

²⁴For the text and translation of the relevant passage, see below.

²⁵On this latter point, see Everist, Polyphonic Music, p. 31.

Motets in Conductus Fascicles

Two of Philip's works, the modern attribution Latex silice and the more tentatively ascribed Serena virginum, present an intriguing set of problems in terms of their generic classification.²⁶ The various transmissions of the two works indicate that they can be regarded as both motets and conductus. The hybrid nature of these pieces thus supports their consideration as very early motet examples, since they rely heavily on features associated with an earlier cultivated genre, the conductus. This mixture of qualities suggests that the motet had not yet acquired its independence as an exclusive class of musical composition by the time these works were composed.

The dual nature of both Serena and Latex is starkly emphasized by their transmission as four-part pieces in the sixth fascicle of F, a set of gatherings otherwise devoted strictly to conductus à 3.²⁷ Both present their three uppermost parts in a score arrangement with the tenors separately notated. This layout is essentially the same as that of the motets in fascicles 8 and 9 of the same manuscript. Both works also possess clausula concordances and demonstrate a variety of possible performance situations through their survival in other sources. Latex appears à 3 without a tenor in W1²⁸ and monophonically in neumes in the manuscript Stutt.²⁹ Serena boasts a bewildering number of musical

²⁶On these two pieces, and their generic peculiarities in particular, see Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:261-271 and 445-455; and Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 515-516.

²⁷The two motets occur on ff. 235 and 230v, respectively.

²⁸Folio 81 (74).

²⁹Folio 32v.

presentations: from a one-part conductus in neumes in Graz 409,³⁰ to a two-voice version in Ma for triplum and motetus,³¹ two three-part motet transmissions in LoA without the F quadruplum (one wanting a text),³² and a three-voice conductus in W1.³³

Serena's curiosities extend even to its melismatic sources. The Manere clausula that furnishes the music for this piece constitutes an extended composition built upon a five-fold presentation of a thirty-six-note tenor melody disposed in the fifth rhythmic mode. Parallel transmissions of the clausula's music, however, indicate that it was not always treated as a fixed entity. In both W1 and F,³⁴ the music appears split into four different clausulae, each bearing a separate textual incipit for the first four tenor colores. The presentations are not identical, since the F clausula rearranges its sections so that the order of the music for the second and third tenor statements is reversed when compared to the W1 clausula and the various versions of Serena.

An additional, contrafact transmission demonstrates that the piece could be dismantled even further. The W2 Magnus Liber preserves a clausula on the text Illi from the M50 Gradual Ecce sacerdos ¶ Non est inventus whose music corresponds only to the first tenor color of the Manere source.³⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, that Friedrich

³⁰Folio 72.

³¹Folio 119v.

³²Folio 92 (with text), 74v (without).

³³Folio XIII (9).

³⁴Folios 50 (44) and 151, respectively.

³⁵The clausula in question begins on f. 83.

Ludwig, Norman Smith, and Rudolf Flotzinger³⁶ have all catalogued this motet source as four separate compositions, even though numerous related musical phrases within the piece—especially those that appear at the beginning and end of most of the tenor colores—argue for its conception as a single unit (see Example 35).

The existence of two-part clausula concordances for Latex and Serena are strong grounds for regarding both texts originally as motets instead of conductus. Although Ernest Sanders has argued that the four-part motet version of Latex silice represents an unsuccessful attempt to fit the Latus melisma to a previously composed conductus for three parts, this view has largely been overturned.³⁷ Despite the convincing case that these works began life as clausulae and motets, however, both offer characteristics that clearly point to their accessory roles as two- or three-part conductus.

The primary clues arise at the ends of both pieces. The F motet version and the tenorless conductus renditions in W1 and Ma of Serena virginum all end with a two-measure cadence that closes on c (see Example 36). Not only does the text of this ending qualify this

³⁶See Ludwig, Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili, vol. 2, Catalogue raisonné der Quellen: Ein vollständiges musikalisches Anfangs-verzeichnis . . ., ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies, no. 17 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, n.d.), pp. 13-14; Smith, "The Clausulae," pp. 241-242; and Rudolf Flotzinger, Der Discantussatz im Magnus liber und seiner Nachfolge: mit Beiträgen der sogenannten Notre-Dame-Handschriften, Wiener musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge, no. 8 (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau, 1969), pp. 45-46.

³⁷See Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:453-454; and below, pp.

Example 35. *Serena virginum*, mm. 1-2, 23-26, 47-50, 71-74, 119-120; *F*,
ff. 235-237v.

1 23 26

Se-re-na ve-sti-ens Ne-sci-
 Ma-ne-re.

I [b]? II [b]?

47 71 74

ens an-cil-le. O ma-mil-le vir-gi-
 [b]? III [b]?

119 120

nis. Se-mi-nis (benedica)-mus
 IV [b]? [b]?

Example 36. *Serena virginum*, mm. 117-122, F, f. 237v.

The image shows a musical score for four parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Organ. The lyrics are: be-ne-di-ca-MUS do-mi-no. The organ part has a cadential flourish at the end, marked with a bracket and a 'b' in a box.

otherwise strictly Marian motet as a Benedicamus trope, but the final phrase necessitates the addition of a foreign pitch—an extra c—to the end of the tenor in F. The music of this two-measure termination stems originally from the cadential flourish at the end of the clausula as preserved in W1, a rather startling inclusion, because motets much more typically dispense with such passages.³⁸ It does not appear, for instance, in the motet Manere vivere (Philip's two-part contrafact version of this piece); and the inessential nature of this final phrase is confirmed by the F version of the Manere discant setting, which presents an entirely different closing embellishment.³⁹

But what remains especially curious about the similar versions of Serena's final cadence in F, Ma, and W1 is that they all modify the original clausula ending to close on a c-g sonority, rather than the a-e fifth of the W1 clausula. This conflict between the two different

³⁸See Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 511-512.

³⁹The various manuscript versions of the Manere setting can be consulted in Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," vol. 2, part 1, pp. 304-313.

cadence patterns of Serena is also highlighted in the pair of transmissions in LoA. These two versions present a completely different treatment of the end of the piece. When compared to the F rendition, both appear to "compress" the vertical alignment of pitches so that the upper parts and tenor cadence together. They likewise modify (or retain?) the final sonority of the motetus and triplum so that it agrees with the a-e of the clausula version, thus obviating the need for the added c pitch in the tenor of F (see Example 37).

Example 37. Serena virginum, closing phrases: a. LoA, f. 76v.
b. LoA, f. 93v.

a.

[be- ne- di- ca- MUS do- mi- no.]

b.

be- ne- di- ca- MUS do- mi- no.

[b]

From this muddle of variants, it appears that there are two distinct, nearly contemporaneous adaptations of Serena virginum, one that cadences on c and a second that ends on a. The former version is associated primarily with the conductus arrangements of W1 and Ma, while

the latter occurs only in the two motet renditions preserved in LoA. F, however, offers a conflation of the two, retaining the c cadences of the conductus, and adding a final pitch to the tenor so that the piece may be performed as a motet.

Similarly, Latex silice also offers an unusual close that likewise suggests it led a double life as a conductus and a motet. Not only is it one of the rare motets to possess a strophic text, but it concludes with an equally exceptional melismatic cauda, eleven measures in length. This addendum is not present in the clausula versions of this motet and raises a dilemma with regard to the performance of the tenor of the motet, since the chant terminates just before the cauda takes over. Assuming for the moment that the F version is suitable for performance as a motet with the cauda, if the final tenor pitch is sustained underneath the melisma, the result of these concluding measures is not unlike a small section from one of Perotin's organa quadrupla (see Example 38).

But even though it seems appropriate to regard Serena and Latex as examples that operate both as motets and conductus, does any evidence exist to sanction their performance in the hybrid, conflated, four-part versions presented in F? Much ink has been spilled over this question, with the primary objections to performance ⁴ centering on the admittedly high level of dissonance that results when all the parts are combined.⁴⁰ However, in the writings of Rebecca Baltzer,⁴¹ and more

⁴⁰For this objection, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 515-516.

⁴¹"Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:454-455.

Example 38. *Latex silice*, final cauda, mm. 32-43, F, f. 231.

The image displays a musical score for a four-part setting. It is divided into two systems, each with four staves. The top system includes a vocal line with the lyrics "la-" and "(-tus)". The bottom system includes a vocal line with the ending "-tus.". The music is written in F major and features complex counterpoint with various dissonances.

recently in a paper by Darwin F. Scott,⁴² the case has been successfully argued for admitting the F transmissions as authentic performance versions. Scott in particular assesses the question of dissonance especially carefully, and declares that the apparently irregular discords in these works can be justified by comparison with other examples of four-part Notre Dame counterpoint and through contemporaneous theoretical injunctions on the regulation of

⁴²"Dissonance in the Earliest Three- and Four-voice Monotextual Motets of the Notre Dame Era—A Reexamination," paper presented at the Fifty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Austin Texas, 1989.

dissonance—where it may appear, and the reasons for its occurrence. It thus seems safe to infer that Serena and Latex may serve not only as conductus and motets in up to three parts, but that the four-voice renditions in F present a viable option for performing these pieces in an arrangement that mixes the characteristics of both genres.

Latex and Serena possess an additionally significant element that ties them to the earliest layer of Notre Dame motets: they are two of the only six motets that are preserved in W1.⁴³ The recent dating of the copying of W1 to the 1230's has led most scholars to consider these six works as being some of the earliest examples of the Notre Dame motet.⁴⁴ This view has persisted, despite the probability that W1 was originated far away from Notre Dame in Scotland,⁴⁵ and the fact that the manuscript does not seem to recognize the motet as a distinct species, since all six of the works of this type are presented without their tenors as though they were two- or three-part conductus. Of these six pieces, Serena occurs early on in the codex, properly situated after two three-part Benedicamus Domino organa, and followed by three conductus à 3 which close this manuscript's second fascicle. Latex and the other four motets (Qui servare puberem, Deo confitemini, Laudes referat, and

⁴³On the W1 motets, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 515-517.

⁴⁴For the dating of W1, see Julian Brown, Sonia Patterson, and David Hiley, "Further Observations on W1," Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society 4 (1981): 53-80; whose conclusions have been codified further by Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews," pp. 1-32. The general outlines of the history of this manuscript presented by Roesner, "The Origins of W1," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 29 (1976): 337-380, have largely been rejected.

⁴⁵For the provenance of W1, see Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews," pp. 2-3.

Gaudeat devotio) all occur among conductus, with the three lattermost compositions grouped together in fascicle 9, an appearance that matches their arrangement in F.⁴⁶

The strict presentation of all the W1 motets as conductus in this Scottish source, coupled with the early date of the manuscript, has led some scholars to view the additional four examples in a light similar to that of Latex and Serena. Both Ernest Sanders and Hans Tischler have suggested that Qui servare, Deo, Laudes, and Gaudeat are also conductus hybrids.⁴⁷ They assert that their original motet guise is a two-part complex based on a discant clausula, and that when these four works were included in W1 and (except for Gaudeat) in Ma, not only did they lose their tenors, but new upper parts were composed. Proof of this hypothesis is assumed from the occasional dissonant passages that appear between the triplum and tenor of Deo confitemini, such as those presented in Example 39.

However, as shown above, the use of such harmonic considerations to negate the possibility of performing the four pieces as three-part conductus motets is unconvincing, since the discords of Deo confitemini can be accommodated by the same criteria that lead to the acceptance of the four-part versions of Latex and Serena. Furthermore, unlike the transmissions of the two Philip motets in the conductus fascicles of F, the three-part versions of Qui servare, Deo, Laudes, and Gaudeat are

⁴⁶Deo, Laudes, and Gaudeat occupy ff. 107-108 (98-99) in W1 and 383-384 in F. Qui servare begins on ff. 115 (106) and 381v of the respective sources.

⁴⁷Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 515-517; Tischler, "English Traits in the Early Thirteenth Century Motet," The Musical Quarterly, 30 (1944): 471; and idem, Style and Evolution, 1:85.

Example 39. Deo confitemini, mm. 1-6 (lines 1-3), F, f. 383.

The image shows a musical score for 'Deo confitemini' in three systems. Each system consists of three staves: a vocal line (soprano), a tenor line, and a bass line. The music is in a medieval style with square neumes on a four-line staff. The lyrics are written below the tenor line. The first system covers measures 1-6 and includes the lyrics 'De- o con- fi- te- mi- ni qui su- a cle- men- ti- a'. The second system covers measures 7-12 and includes the lyrics 'car- nem su- o nu- mi- ni'. Above the vocal line, there are three 'NB' markings, each positioned above a specific note in the vocal line. The first 'NB' is above the 'fi' in the first system, the second is above the 'ni' in the first system, and the third is above the 'ni' in the second system. The second system also has an 'NB' marking above the 'ni' in the second system.

explicitly sanctioned by their presentation in fascicle 8 of the same manuscript amidst other conductus motets. These features indicate that it may be worthwhile to view these four pieces slightly differently from Latex and Serena. They do not present the same blend of properties that render the classification of Latex and Serena so problematic.

Deo confitemini, Laudes referat, and Gaudeat devotio in particular demonstrate no specific connections with the conductus, but certain shared traits do link these pieces together in other ways. All three draw their tenors from melismas found in Easter Mass chants. Deo confitemini and Laudes referat harmonize the melismas Domino and Quoniam, respectively, from the Gradual Hec dies γ Confitemini Domino (M13); while Gaudeat devotio sets the Nostrum excerpt from the Alleluia γ Pascha nostrum (M14). The liturgical affinities among the three

pieces indicate that they were likely considered to be related compositions. This is especially evident in Deo and Laudes, both of which appear contiguously in nearly all their sources. They are not even separated by a change of system and an illuminated initial in W1. Because the clausula models for both these works are also adjacent in the only two sources that preserve them,⁴⁸ it is less realistic to view Deo confitemini and Laudes referat as two distinct pieces, but rather to suppose that they are in fact one extended composition. The associations among the three Easter motets thus suggests that the combined appearance of Deo confitemini, Laudes referat, and Gaudeat devotio in W1 may be due more to the fact that they are related closely to one another and stem from one of the highest feasts of the Christian liturgy, than because they demonstrate any hybrid relationship to the conductus.

Unlike Latex and Serena, the other four W1 motets possess no features to connect them with the conductus beyond the mere omission of their tenors. Qui servare puberem, however, does exhibit a few rare traits that at least point in the direction of the conductus. Its tri-strophic text exhibits a modest connection to the genre, but Qui servare also has the additional oddity of melismatic concordances not only with a clausula, but also with the Benedicamus Domino cauda that concludes the conductus Columbe simplicitas.⁴⁹ In this case however, the quotation seems to have been prompted by the tenor text of the motet's

⁴⁸The clausulae appear on ff. 108v in F and 71v in W2.

⁴⁹This particular section of the cauda is transmitted only in F, on f. 329. All other versions of this piece omit the Benedicamus conclusion.

clausula (Domine from M3); and it should be recalled that Columbe also appropriates similarly rearranged passages from the syllabic conductus Veris ad imperia.⁵⁰ The appearance of Qui servare in Columbe simplicitas thus seems to be little more than an eccentricity, and not indicative of any true conflation of motet and conductus genres.

From the consideration of the W1 motets and the claims made for their fusion of elements from both the conductus and the motet, the most convincing view is to regard Latex silice and Serena virginum as true examples of Parisian motet-conductus hybrids, works that were performed in and around Paris in both guises, and whose dual natures were emphasized by the scribe of F through their placement as motets in the conductus fascicles of this manuscript. Qui servare puberem is also connected (though only slightly) to the conductus repertory through its concordance with a cauda section of another work, but does not embody a true mixture of genres as in Latex and Serena. The three Easter compositions Deo confitemini, Laudes referat, and Gaudeat devotio on the other hand probably owe little if any credit to the conductus. What these observations emphasize is the unusual character of Serena and Latex, which are not only the two most curious pieces in the W1 and F motet corpus, but are also likely texts by Philip the Chancellor. In this area as in others, his contributions to the motet repertory demonstrate the extent of his involvement in the early stages of this species, and an experimental slant to his choice of music that yielded some of the more curious motets of the Notre Dame school.

⁵⁰See above, Chapter 4; as well as Janet Knapp, "Musical Declamation," pp. 385-386.

Latin Motets with Strophic Texts

Closely related to the question of the mixing of motet and conductus genres is the appearance of multi-strophic structures in a very few Notre Dame motets. The presence of this feature in a motet is an additional means for asserting early origin, since strophic motet texts are exceptional and, like the mixture of generic traits in Latex silice and Serena virginum, demonstrate the reliance of a new genre in its beginning stages on characteristics associated with an older, more established species.⁵¹

Only six known Latin motets set strophic texts (See Table 32).⁵² Of this total, half have poems attributed to Philip and all of these contain three stanzas.⁵³ Philip's authorship of Homo quam sit pura is endorsed by Salimbene, and Anderson has convincingly argued for the inclusion of Latex silice and more tentatively suggested Philip as the author of Stupeat natura, a contrafact of Homo quam sit pura.⁵⁴ The unassuming Marian poem Et illumina eximia mater, however, bears musical and textual curiosities that prevent a conclusive assignment to Philip

⁵¹On this point, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 514.

⁵²See Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:vii; and Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 514. There may be an additional candidate in the headless French contrafact of the musically identical strophic motets Scandit solium and Celi semita, whose incipit is given as Dieus nos a done in van der Werf, Integrated Directory, p. 47; and in Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:81. This vernacular strophic work may also be found in Friedrich Gennrich, Bibliographie, no. 307a.

⁵³The fourth and fifth strophes of Stupeat natura are most probably peripheral, later additions to an initial three-stanza structure. See above, Chapter 5; and Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:viii.

⁵⁴For the respective attributions, see Anderson, Opera omnia, 1:iv; and idem, Latin Compositions, 2:viii.

despite its strophic text and its use of a three-part "Perotinian" clausula as its melismatic source.⁵⁵ The excellent texts of the two remaining pieces, Celi semita and Qui servare puberem, may indeed be submitted as tentative ascriptions to Philip, but besides the high quality of their poetry and their multi-strophic structure, there is little else to tie them specifically to the Chancellor. For lack of such additional evidence, they have been eliminated from consideration for the purposes of this study.

TABLE 32

STROPHIC LATIN MOTETS

A. MOTETS BY PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR

Medieval Attributions

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------|
| 1. Homo quam sit pura | 3 strophes |
|-----------------------|------------|

Modern Attributions

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 2. Latex silice | 3 strophes |
| 3. Stupeat natura | 3 authentic strophes |

B. OTHER WORKS

Doubtful Attributions

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------|
| 4. Et illumina eximia | 2 strophes |
|-----------------------|------------|

Works with Tentative Possibilities for Philip's Authorship

- | | |
|------------------------|------------|
| 5. Celi semita | 4 strophes |
| 6. Qui servare puberem | 3 strophes |

The high incidence of Philip's pieces in the strophic motet repertory is yet another indication of his close connection with the earliest layers and most unusual features of the new Notre Dame genre.

⁵⁵See above, Chapter 5.

In fact, the use of multiple strophes in a motet, which introduces a repetitive structure not normally associated with Notre Dame discant, is foreshadowed in the presumably earlier corpus of his organum prosulas. In the final section of Adesse festina, the prosula to the verse of Perotin's Sederunt principes, the Chancellor modifies the otherwise through-composed form of his melismatic model by twice repeating the music of the last nineteen measures of the work with two additional stanzas of text (see Example 40). The connection of such an unusual procedure with Philip, both in this prosula and in fifty percent of the Latin strophic motets, may even go so far as to suggest that his pieces were the first motets to accommodate extra strophes. What remains certain is that the vogue for multi-stanza motets did not last long outside his sphere of influence as the motet became less dependent on designs associated with the conductus.

Motets from Multi-Part Clausulae

Another unusual and apparently short-lived phenomenon, likewise affiliated with some of the first Notre Dame motets and featuring a notable proportion of Philip's works, is the motet with melismatic concordances in three- or four-part clausulae.⁵⁶ Perhaps the most curious, and arguably the earliest examples of such pieces, arise in a

⁵⁶For a discussion of the earliest examples of these works, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 522-524.

Example 40. *Adesse festina*, mm. 299-317; W2, ff. 172v-173.

a. tu de- i- ta- ti car- nem u- ni- sti tu pro me
 b. tu pro me- mo- ri non hor- ru- i- sti red- di fa-
 c. tu mor te mor- ti mor- tem de- di- sti tar- ta- ni

-am

pa- ti sus- ti- nu- i- sti ne- mo tan- ta fi- e- ri po-
 vo- ni quid va- let i- sti ni- chil po- test mu- ne- ri tan-
 for- ti ma- nu fre- gi- sti iu- re su- i me- ri- ti ne-

test pro- me- re- ni sed tu cor- di mi- se- ni da mi- se- ni-
 to par cen- se- ni tu- e ma- nus o- pe- ni da mi- se- ni-
 mo po- test ni- ti er- go tu- o mi- li- ti fac mi- se- ni-

cor- di- - - - -am.
 cor- di- - - - -am.
 cor- di- - - - -am.

-am.]

small group of five conductus motets (see Table 33).⁵⁷ The especially significant feature of these works is that they not only possess three-part clausula concordances, but that they integrally preserve all three

TABLE 33
INTEGRAL CONDUCTUS MOTETS

(The music for all these works is attributed to Perotin)

MOTET (Gennrich no.s)	ORGANUM TRIPLUM SOURCE (Smith clausula no.s)
A. WORKS BY PHILIP	
<u>Modern Attributions</u>	
1. Nostrum est impletum (216)	Alleluia Pascha nostrum (Nostrum 3v)
<u>Probable New Attributions</u>	
2. Et exaltavi plebis (517)	independent clausula (Et exaltavi 3v-2)
3. Ex semine Abrahe (483)	Alleluia Nativitas (Ex semine 3v)
B. OTHER PIECES	
4. Radix venie (229)	Alleluia Pascha nostrum (Latus 3v)
5. Se j'ai amé n'en doi (485)	Alleluia Nativitas (Ex semine 3v)

voices of their clausulae in a conductus motet format. All but one (Et exaltavi) of these works derive from an organum triplum.⁵⁸

⁵⁷The conductus motet version of Ex semine Abrahe does not presently survive in a central source, but a peripheral transmission in the Worcester Fragments and the presence of a French contrafact of the work (see immediately below) in W2, suggest the high probability that a Latin version was known to Philip and Perotin. See above.

⁵⁸In the following tables, the catalog numbers for particular compositions refer to Gennrich, Bibliographie, and Smith, "Clausulae."

Besides the unique instance of the French contrafact Se j'ai amé among these works, it is notable that all of the Latin examples except for the formulaic Marian text Radix venie are works that can be ascribed to Philip. It therefore seems that, as with the few examples of strophic motets, the appropriation of integral three-part clausulae to serve as conductus motets was little cultivated, and that such motets owe their origin largely to Philip the Chancellor.

It is especially easy to see why two of the clausulae were chosen to serve as the basis for conductus motets. Both the Nostrum and Ex semine discant sections are perfectly parallel in the phrase structure of their upper parts. The addition of a single text to both the duplum and triplum of these pieces does little to change the essential sound or structure of the melismatic model. Apart from infrequent melodic variants, and an adjustment to the final phrase of Ex semine that allows both a closing on the final tenor g as well as the usual elimination of the clausula's cadential flourish,⁵⁹ the modifications prompted by the addition of the motet texts extend only to the occasional omission, addition, or vertical realignment of a few pitches in the triplum to bring it in line with the rhythm of the motetus.

The conductus motet version of the Latus clausula, Radix venie, is realized in a similar manner. The brief, overlapping series of phrases at its beginning required only a slight shift in the horizontal disposition of the clausula triplum to secure the synchronization necessary for the simultaneous declamation of the text in both upper

⁵⁹For both versions, consult Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 511-512.

Example 41. *Radix venie*, mm. 1-8: a. Integral conductus motet, F, f. 385. b. Three-part source clausula, F, f. 24.

a.

NB:

Ra- dix ve- ni- e. ve- na gra- ti- e.

La-

b.

NB:

La-

vi- e dux et por- tus. por- ta pa- tri- e.

parts (see Example 41). With the three-voice Et exaltavi clausula, however, the more continuous phrasing of the music in its second half, combined with the apparent wish of the motet redactor to avoid several unusual though acceptable dissonances, prompted a far greater amount of revision in the triplum, as Example 42 illustrates.

This alteration of tripla in the clausula sources of the integral conductus motets is clearly reminiscent of the four-part Ma versions of Philip's organum prosulas De Stephani roseo and Adesse festina. In this source, the upper three parts of the organum have been rearranged where needed in a manner exactly like the applicable conductus motets, so that the text of the prosula may be declaimed simultaneously in all parts. In a previous chapter it was suggested that the four-voice arrangement of the prosulas in Ma represents a later, or at least a secondary version of the work.⁶⁰ The lack of a surviving central source for the four-part redaction of the prosulas and their more numerous concordances as monophonic pieces argue for their original conception as reduced works that could be sung with or without their tenors. However, the presence of the integral conductus motets suggests that the transformation of the Sederunt prosulas back into four-part pieces probably occurred during Philip's (and Perotin's) lifetime, perhaps at the same time that the integral conductus motets were conceived. The actual sequence of events cannot be determined precisely, and either the prosulas or the conductus motets could have taken their cue from the other. What remains significant is the marked presence of both Philip and Perotin among these unusual works.

⁶⁰See above, Chapter 4.

Example 42. *Et exaltavi plebis*, mm. 55-62: a. Integral conductus motet, *F*, f. 396. b. Three-part source clausula, *F*, f. 46.

a.

ti-me-as quin gau-de-as in di-e fle-bi-li si per-

b.

tran-se-as has pa-le-as. ad-he-rens hu-mi-li

tran-se-as has pa-le-as. ad-he-rens hu-mi-li

The concordances with integral three and four-part clausulae also extend to several double motets and a single triple-texted work (see Table 34). In these pieces, though, the need to alter the rhythm of one part to conform to another is effectively obviated by the use of different texts in the motetus, triplum, and quadruplum. The act of furnishing two or more various yet concurrently declaimed poems for a single piece has been characterized as "a rigorously logical concept of marvellous daring" by Ernest Sanders,⁶¹ and an equivalent practice cannot be found at any time prior to this period. Certainly a resemblance to this technique can be seen in examples of troped organa and prosulas to polyphony from both the Aquitanian and Notre Dame repertories, but here the drawn-out syllables of the tenor in these polyphonic tropes and prosulas do not produce the same aural effect as two or three texts with roughly equivalent declamation patterns. Likewise, the typical accord between the words of a trope or prosula and its tenor does not emphasize the greater individuality of the parts that appear in the double and triple motets.

Given the advanced nature of the concept that spawned the creation of motets with two or more separate texts, it is probable that they represent a later development than the conductus motet and two-part examples. This is substantiated somewhat by the greater prominence of French works in the examples derived from three- and four-part clausulae. The less conspicuous participation of Philip in this group of works also seems significant. However, the reliance of these pieces

⁶¹"The Medieval Motet," p. 522.

TABLE 34
INTEGRAL DOUBLE AND TRIPLE MOTETS

MOTET (Gennrich no.s)	CLAUSULA (Smith no.s)	REMARKS
1. Ex semine rosa/ Ex semine Abrahe (484/483)	Ex semine (3v)	Music by Perotin, both texts probably by Philip.
2. Encontre le tens/ Mens fidem seminat (496/495)	In odorem (3v-2)	Music by Perotin; motetus by Philip.
3. Encontre le tens/ Quant feuillent (496/497)		Neither French text by Philip.
4. Mors a primi/ Mors que stimulo/ Mors morsu nata (256/254/255)	Mors (4v)	Music by Perotin; only triplum and motetus by Philip.
5. Stirps Iesse/ Virga cultus (647/648)	Flos filius (3v-3)	Neither music nor any texts attributed.
6. Quant revient/ L'autrier jouer (650/651)		
7. Castrum pudicie/ Virgo viget (653/654)		

on multi-voice clausulae still implies that they may represent some of the earliest attempts at fashioning double- and triple-texted works.⁶²

⁶²Two clausula and motet complexes have been omitted from consideration here because they present some problematic features. These works demonstrate no apparent relationship to Philip. They comprise a Tamquam clausula (transmitted in F on f. 10v) ruled for three parts but with only two entered. The other concordances of this piece suggest this may also be an integral motet clausula relationship. For a discussion of the work and its attendant problems, see Baltzer,

Owing to the presence of contrafacts, the seven different textual combinations of double and triple motets that appropriate all the voices of their three- and four-part melismatic concordances comprise just four distinct clausulae (see Table 34 above). For only one of these pieces, the double motet Ex semine rosa prodit / Ex semine Abrahe, can we reasonably claim Philip as the author of all its texts, and its likely origin as an integral conductus motet may even advance it as the first attempt at a multi-texted work. Two other pieces (Mors que stimulo and Mors morsu nata) bear Philip's imprint, but the quadruplum text of the Mors complex and the secular French triplum transmitted with his motetus Mens fidem seminat in Cl and Ba are not defensible as his work. These pieces therefore probably originated as a double motet and a singly texted Latin work, respectively, and recovered their uppermost parts back from the clausulae after they had initially spent some time as motets in a "reduced" state.⁶³

The remaining clausula complex, Flos filius eius, is the exceptional member of the group, with its three different double motet combinations. However, its first mode tenor pattern and the flamboyant ornaments that punctuate its upper parts suggest that it may stem from a later stage of clausula and motet composition. Its additional use of

adjoining two-part works in F on f. 157v. For information on this oddity and its motets, see Anderson, Latin Compositions, 1:329-330; Smith, "The Earliest Motets," p. 145, note 21; and Dittmer, "Ludwigs Nachträge zum zweiten Band des Repertoriums," Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981): In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen, 2 vols., Musicological Studies, no. 49, (Institute of Medieval Music: Henryville, Pennsylvania, 1984), 1:91-94.

⁶³For the arguments pertaining to the attribution of these texts, see above, Chapter 5.

TABLE 35

MOTETS "REDUCED" FROM CLAUSULA à3 AND à4

MOTET (Gennrich no.s)	CLAUSULA (Smith no.s)	REMARKS
1. Homo quo vigeas (313)	Et gaudebit (3v)	Music by Perotin, text by Philip; conductus motet.
2. Amors vois querant (314)		Text not attributed.
3. Mens fidem seminat (495)	In odorem (3v-2)	Music by Perotin, text by Philip.
4. Mors que stimulo/ Mors morsu (254/255)	Mors (4v)	Music by Perotin, texts by Philip. Double motet.
5. Mors vite vivificacio (257)		text by Philip (tentative).
6. Alpha bovi et leoni (762)	Domino (BD VI 3v)	Music by Perotin, no texts by Philip.
7. Larga manu seminatam (763)		
8. Hier matin a l'enjournee toute m'ambleure (764)		
9. Hui matin a l'ajournee toute m'ambleure (765)		Text of 765 by Gautier de Coincy.
10. Ave maria fons leticie (230)	Latus (3v)	Music by Perotin, text not attributed.
11. Et illumina eximia (101)	Et illuminare (3v)	Music by Perotin, texts not attributed.
12. Entre Robin et Marot (104)		
13. Et illumina je vous salu (105)		
14. Crescens incredulitas (414)	Virgo (3v-2)	Music not attributed, no texts by Philip.
15. Pour conforter mon corage (415)		French text by Ernoul la Vielle.

two different refrains, which occur in other guises in a motet, two trouvère songs, and a rondeau, have prompted a recent claim that this particular work may have originated as a French motet that only afterwards was transformed into a clausula.⁶⁴ Such refrain citations further support the notion of a later date for this piece, because of the likelihood (in this case at least) that the French version of the motet preceded the Latin. In any event, the motets associated with the Flos filius clausula bear no demonstrable relationship to Philip or Perotin and the end result is that only the Perotinian Ex semine and Mors works show a trace of Philip's activity in fashioning multi-texted works from triple and quadruple clausulae.

An apparently intermediate stage in the use of three- or four-part clausulae for motets occurs with a generous number of "reduced" pieces that dispense with either the triplum, quadruplum, or both voices from the melismatic source (see Table 35). Two of these works, the Mors double motet and the two-part Mens fidem seminat—both with texts by Philip—have already been described above. Besides these examples only two others, the conductus motet Homo quo vigeas⁶⁵ and the tentatively

⁶⁴Frobenius, "Zum genetischen Verhältnis," p. 19.

⁶⁵There are some circumstances connected with this particular work that suggest the original clausula version may not have been in three parts, as is the probable case with all the other pieces included here. Although the clausula concordance for Homo quo vigeas (the M24 Et gaudebit nos. 1 and 3v in the enumeration of Smith, "Clausulae") exists in both three- and two-part versions, the triplum of the conductus motet arrangement does not correspond completely with the same part of the à3 clausula, although both share some identical phrases, especially at their openings. Likewise, there are so many variants between the tripla of the W1 and F versions of the conductus motet, that it seems most probable that they constitute two different tripla added to an initial two-part framework. On these problems, see Ludwig, Repertorium, vol. 1, part 1, p. 64; Luther Dittmer, "Eine zerlegte dreistimmige Klausel,"

ascribed contrafact Mors vite vivificacio, are in any way attributable to Philip. Still, the entire body of clausula sources for these "reduced" motets continues to show a heavy concentration of Perotinian works, with only one complex, the three-part Virgo clausula and its motets, related to neither poet nor composer.

The observations drawn from the motets with three- and four-part clausula concordances substantiate the notion that Philip contributed fundamentally to a corpus of motets which demonstrate features associated with early compositions in this genre. Within the proposed chronological and stylistic layers of this group, Philip's major contribution lies with the earliest stages. Three of the five integral conductus motet texts have been proposed as his work, whereas his involvement in the reduced pieces extends only to four of the fifteen works. His participation in the integral double and triple motet repertory is more negligible still, with only one work out of the seven surviving examples. Despite Perotin's strong presence in this group of pieces, with the music for nine of the eleven three- and four-part clausulae sources of motets attributed to him, the poetic impetus that led to the creation of motets from multi-part clausula sources seems only to have begun with Philip in the creation of the integral conductus motets. The continued implementation of Perotin's triple and quadruple clausulae for fashioning two-part, double-, and triple-texted works, on

Speculum musicae artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann zum 60. Geburtstag am 16. Dezember, 1968, Hans Becke and Reinhard Gerlach, eds. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1970), pp. 93-101; and Anderson, Latin Compositions, 1:36-37.

the other hand, appears to have outlasted the Chancellor, or to have been taken over by other poets.

The above examination of the external relationships of Philip's motets with the rest of Notre Dame motet repertory demonstrates that a significant number of his pieces in all likelihood originated during the initial period of the genre's development. It is now appropriate to turn in the following pages to the internal musical and textual practices evident in his motets. Although many of the features explored in the next chapter provide additional testimony of Philip's connection with the early stages of the motet, the primary purpose is to evaluate his works as a specific group. The results that emerge from the following examination of the musical and poetic practices, styles, and techniques provide material for appraising the extent of Philip's involvement in the evolution of the motet up to his death in 1236, and will also allow us to propose some methods for assessing the chronological sequence of his works in this genre, an issue that will occupy a fourth and final chapter on Philip's motets.

CHAPTER 7

PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR'S MOTETS III

MUSICAL STYLE

The generally accepted view that the medieval motet arose as a textual trope to the newly-composed upper part or parts of a discant clausula highlights the interaction of the two separate but closely related forces—music and text—that worked together to create the new genre. The musical side can be seen in the design and cultivation of the discant clausula, a species of rhythmically measured polyphony written upon a melismatic Gregorian chant fragment, whose durations were expressed in the ligature notation common to Notre Dame organa and conductus caudae. The textual facet appears in the application of a poem to the upper part or parts of such clausulae. This process was inherited from the practice of writing prosulas to Gregorian chant melismas and, as demonstrated above in Chapter 4, was first explored in connection with newly composed polyphony in Philip's and Perotin's own prosulas to organum. With conclusive evidence of the collaboration between the poet and composer in writing both the monophonic conductus Beata viscera and the organum prosulas, and with the significant number of clausulae ascribed by modern scholars to Perotin which also possess motets convincingly assigned to Philip, it seems clear that Perotin was also a contributor to the development of the early motet. Even though

Anonymous IV does not link Perotin specifically with any motets,¹ the composer's demonstrable participation with Philip (a poet that we likewise cannot credit with the composition of any specific music) suggests that this evidence is not conclusive. Hence, the following study of the musical style of the motets with Philip's texts also encompasses a study of style in the discant clausula that reached its full flower under Perotin's influence.

Troping Techniques in Philip's Motets

The technique of troping the plainchant tenor, a procedure that Philip exploited prominently in his chronologically earlier repertory of organum prosulas, also occurs frequently in his motets. Troping in a motet text essentially involves the same elements as in the organum prosulas: 1) the citation of the tenor text by integrating words and syllables from the chant into the poetry of the motet, 2) assonance or rhyme—primarily at phrase endings—with the syllables of the tenor, 3) the occasional appearance of words or phrases taken from elsewhere in the chant, and 4) a liturgical or thematic relevance to the feast from which the chant is derived. Differences emerge between Philip's prosulas and motets, however, because the latter are not always as comprehensive as the former in their inclusion of troping components. Certain features may prevail over others, and in some cases in Philip's corpus there is no ready indication of any attempt at troping.

As in most of the other relationships already explored in connection with Philip's motets, the presence of quotations from the

¹See Reckow, ed., Musiktraktat, p. 46.

tenor text is a property associated primarily with the earliest layers of the Latin motet. Hans Tischler's exhaustive research has confirmed that tenor troping declines throughout the progressive historical stages of the thirteenth-century motet.² It appears quite frequently in the conductus motet repertory, but dwindles in the two-part and double motet corpus, being especially scarce in those works that have no concordances with discant clausulae. French motets in particular seem to have dispensed with such troping at the outset. When the technique does occur in vernacular works, it is not unusual to see it treated in an almost whimsical manner, as if to poke fun at a now old-fashioned convention.³ Yet French motets were eventually to appropriate their own analogy to troping through the use of refrains—quotations of short musico-poetic tags that appear in a variety of contexts, within chansons, rondeaux, romans, and even other motets.⁴

Given the retrospective tendencies of textual troping in motets along with Philip the Chancellor's connections to early practices within the genre detailed above in Chapter 6, it comes as no surprise to find that the technique of textual troping is quite common in Philip's motet

²Style and Evolution, pp. 188-190.

³See Sanders, "Medieval Motet," pp. 531-532; and Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:205.

⁴On the refrain and its connection with the medieval motet, see Frobenius, "Zum genetischen Verhältnis," pp. 1-39; Everist, Polyphonic Music, Chapter 6, especially pp. 239-246; and idem, "The Refrain Cento: Myth or Motet," Journal of the Royal Musical Association, 114 (1989): 164-188. The most recent and reliable catalog of the occurrences of refrains in their many guises is provided in Nico H.J. van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et Refrains du XII^e siècle au début du XIV^e, Bibliothèque Française et Romaine, Série D: Initiation, textes et documents, no. 3 (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1969).

poems, and in a few cases approaches the density of allusion seen in his organum prosulas. As Table 36 demonstrates, twenty-one of the twenty-six motet texts with accepted attributions to Philip demonstrate some form of troping.⁵ References to the text of the tenor word or its parent chant can occur at any place throughout a given motet: at its beginning, middle, end, or in some combination of the three. By far the most abundant type of citation in Philip's texts occurs in all three places, with twelve examples revealing this most thorough form of troping. Tischler has shown that this all-inclusive type of tenor quotation is an especially early technique.⁶ Nearly every one of these works (11 out of 12 texts) is further distinguished by prevailing assonance with the sustained syllables of the tenor text, a common feature among the total of Philip's troping motets, and one which occurs in fifteen of the twenty-one applicable poems. This, too, is a trait found primarily in the earliest layers of motets. Also noteworthy (and somewhat more exclusive to the works in Philip's corpus that feature comprehensive troping) is the citation of text from the chant that extends beyond the tenor words. Half of the twelve motet texts that

⁵Of the ten "doubtful attributions" (discarded medieval and modern attributions, and texts set to Perotinian clausulae without convincing ascriptions to Philip and therefore not included in Table 36), six show some form of troping or assonance: 1) Et illumina eximia and 2) Mors a primi patris, with references to the chant and/or tenor at beginning, middle, end, and assonant with the tenor syllables throughout; 3) Doce nos optime, also assonant, with quotations at the beginning and end; 4) Alpha bovi et leoni, assonant with a chant reference at the end; 5) O quam sancta et benigna, with only a closing chant quotation; and 6) Radix venie, which exhibits no troping of the tenor text, but which does feature heavy assonance and rhyme with the syllables of its Latus tenor. The doubtful non-troping works comprise Ave Maria fons leticie, In salvatoris nomine, Larga manu seminatum, and Virgo virginum regina.

⁶Style and Evolution, 1:190.

TABLE 36

TROPING TECHNIQUES IN PHILIP'S MOTETS
(only accepted attributions included)

(* denotes assonance or rhyme with tenor)
(+ denotes quotation of chant beyond tenor text)

Troping at Beginning, Middle, and End (12 texts).

*Laqueus conteritur	**Doce nos hodie
+ In omni fratre tuo	**Ex semine / Ex semine
**Homo quo vigeas	*Mors que / Mors morsu
*Latex silice	*Mors vite vivificacio
**Manere vivere	*Non orphanum te deseram

Troping at Beginning and End only (2 texts).

**Nostrum est impletum	Et exaltavi plebis
------------------------	--------------------

Troping at Beginning only (2 texts).

*Agmina milicie celestis	In veritate comperi
--------------------------	---------------------

Troping at End only (2 texts).

*Homo quam sit pura	Mens fidem seminat
---------------------	--------------------

Troping at Beginning and Middle only—none.

Troping at Middle only (1 text).

Memor tui creatoris

Troping at Middle and End (1 text).

+ Flos de spina rumpitur

Assonance only (1 text).

*Stupeat natura (Strophe I)

exhibit extensive troping implement this additional feature, while it otherwise appears in only two of the nine remaining pieces. Hence, on a somewhat lesser scale, the great majority of Philip's motets continue to

gloss their Gregorian tenors in ways seen in his earlier organum prosulas.

If the troping techniques in the organum prosulas appear more thorough, if not in fact more heavy-handed, this may be due primarily to the brevity of the tenor text in the typical motet. The usual one- or two-word incipit that identifies the structural melisma of a motet is not nearly as ripe for poetic exploitation as the more prolix chant texts of the organum prosulas. Even when a motet strays outside the tenor text for its citations, it is most common for the poet to appropriate only an additional word or two from the parent chant. A notable exception, however, is Philip's Manere vivere, which lifts several phrases from John, 21:22-23, the biblical source for the Gradual Exiit sermo ¶ Sed sic eum (M5), from which the motet's one-word tenor Manere is drawn. As the following excerpts demonstrate (quoted words are underlined), this relatively heavy use of phrases from the chant, its close liturgical connection with the feast of its cantus firmus, and the incessant assonance of the poem with its tenor, liken this motet in sound and substance quite closely to the style of the organum prosulas:⁷

<u>Manere</u> , vivere	You should remain, live,
debes, et florere	and flourish
in me, qui sum vere	in me, who am truly
vite vitis. . . .	the vine of life.
.
De Iohanne mirere.	Look at John.
<u>Eum volo sic manere</u> .	I wish him to remain.
<u>Quid ad te? Me sequere!</u>	What is that to you? Follow me!

⁷This similarity in style may provide further reasons beyond the identity of poet and composer for the placement of Manere vivere next to Philip's organum quadruplum prosulas in W2. On their preservation in this source see above, Chapter 4.

.
 meum spiritalem
volo talem manere.

.
 I want such a spiritual
 one as he [John] to remain my own.
 (Manere vivere, lines 1-4,2; 13-15; 50-51)

One other piece that displays an unusually dense amount of troping is Philip's motet for the feast of the Holy Innocents (December 28), Laqueus conteritur. Here, however, the abundance of textual quotation is quite easily explained through the uncommonly extended chant text of its tenor: Laqueus contritus est et liberati sumus.⁸ Nevertheless, despite the appropriation of such a large portion from this Gradual, its use of assonance and rhyme is not nearly as strict as in Manere vivere; nor, unlike the organum prosulas, does the appearance of a new tenor word or syllable necessarily signal a immediate echo in the duplum of this piece. The troping schema of Laqueus is reproduced below, with the parallel columns approximating the alignment of the tenor and motetus texts:

MOTETUS TEXT:

Laqueus
conteritur venancium
 dum queritur rex omnium,
 Ihesus, nasci dignatus.
 Frustra rete iacitur,
 quod previdet pennatus.
 Argenteus rumpitur
 funis dum persequitur
 Herodes rex iratus.
 Quorum pes avellitur
 a laqueo reatus,
 vita recurrit aurea.
 Puer nobis est natus,
 a quo donati laurea
 sunt pueri bymatus
 quorum sanguis funditur,
 anima diffunditur.
 In gaudium ploratus

TENOR TEXT:

Laque-
 us

 con-
 tri-
 tus est

 et nos li-
 bera-

⁸The chant text derives from the M7 Gradual Anima nostra ¶ Laqueus.

Rachel, in solacium,	
vertitur. Beatus	
chorus innocencium,	
una vox letancium,	
efficitur, oblatus	ti
deo sacrificium,	
ad gaudia translatus,	su-
<u>et</u> agni sequitur,	mus
quocumque vertitur,	
in gloria vestigia,	
cuius gratia	
<u>liberati sumus.</u> ⁹	

(Laqueus conteritur / Laqueus, complete.)

Because of the lack of sweeping assonance in this piece and the poet's apparent disinterest in synchronizing the textual duplications in the motetus and tenor, Laqueus appears to represent a later example of Philip's troping techniques: thorough, but not as comprehensive or as synchronized as the practices of the organum prosulas or of pieces like Manere vivere. This observation is supported by the transmission of Laqueus only in later sources,¹⁰ its lack of a discant clausula, and its "busy," French-like musical texture, which may indicate it once possessed a now lost vernacular counterpart.

Although the example of Laqueus suggests that troping sometimes made inroads into Philip's later motets, its strong showing throughout

⁹Motetus: The snare of the fowlers is broken when one seeks Jesus, the king of all, who deigned to be born. The net is cast to no avail, because the bird [the soul] foresees it. The silver cord [of life] is snapped when angry King Herod exacts his vengeance. Golden life returns to us, whose foot is torn from the snare of sin. To us a child is born, who has wreathed in laurel the two-year-old boys whose blood is spilled, whose soul is released. Rachel's weeping is changed into joy, into comfort. A blessed chorus of innocents, rejoicing with one voice, is fashioned, offered as a sacrifice to God, transported to delights, and follows in glory the footprints of the Lamb, wherever he goes, by whose grace we have been set free. Tenor: The snare has been broken and we have been set free.

¹⁰It survives only in LoB, f. 43, and Mo, f. 347.

his corpus of motet poetry strengthens his association with the earlier segments of the repertory. Likewise, those motets of his that do not exhibit textual quotation or extensive assonance with the tenor are relatively few and for the most part demonstrate other features that support the hypothesis of a later origin for these works.

Only five of the accepted motets attributed to Philip in this study lack identifiable references to their tenors. In addition to the motet-conductus Serena virginum, the other four non-troping texts coexist as two double motets, O quam necessarium / Venditores laborum and Ypocrite pseudopontifices / Velut stelle firmamenti. Their bitextual framework is enough to suggest that these two works most likely belong to a later stage of Philip's activity as a motet poet, an assertion that is bolstered by the fact that clausula sources survive for only one of these texts, the duplum voice Velut stelle.¹¹ Also intriguing is the similar relationship between the two text pairs. Both are reminiscent of the poetic debate (the altercatio or jeu parti), with each respective triplum and duplum taking the opposite side of a controversy.¹² It is notable that in his other two accepted double motets, the Mors and Ex semine works, both triplum and duplum trope the tenor, yet do not present the opposing viewpoints that surfaces in the two debate pieces. Thus, except for the admittedly curious Serena, those motets that do not involve the participation of the Tenor in their texts are works that argue for their consideration as later pieces.

¹¹The concordance is Et gaudebit no. 2 (from the enumeration in Smith, "The Clausulae," preserved in F, f. 161v, and StV, f. 289v.

¹²For elements of the altercatio in other Philip works, see above, Chapter 4.

As far as Serena virginum itself is concerned, this poem certainly belongs to a very early stage of the motet repertory, but it digresses from its tenor chant in several significant ways which may account for its lack of troping. Besides its generic relationships to the conductus described above in Chapter 6, Serena stands as a Marian contrafact of Manere vivere, a motet that contains some of the most profuse troping in Philip's entire corpus. It thus has no textual relationship whatsoever to the tenor chant, and given the dense troping of Manere, the poet of Serena (who may also have been Philip) probably saw no need to have the text of Serena participate with the tenor. It may be significant, for instance, that of the four doubtful texts considered for this chapter that do not trope, all are contrafacts of works that do exhibit some form of troping.¹³ The absence of troping in Serena virginum may even be tied to its Marian subject matter. This could well be a foreshadowing of later tendencies, since motets dedicated to the Virgin were to increase in popularity just as troping itself was to decline.¹⁴ It may therefore be significant that four of the Marian motets considered here but not attributed to Philip (Ave Maria fons leticie, In salvatoris nomine, Virgo virginum regina, and the merely assonant Radix venie) also tend to shy away from troping.¹⁵

¹³They are Ave Maria fons leticie, Larga manu seminatum, Virgo virginum regina, and In salvatoris nomine, the last of which is not strictly speaking a contrafact, but an unusual triplum voice that apes exactly the structure of its attendant motetus, In veritate comperi; see above, Chapter 5.

¹⁴Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:191.

¹⁵On this point see Baltzer's forthcoming study "Performance Practice," in which she speculates that Marian motets on non-Marian tenors may have been performed during processions at Notre Dame, as part

TABLE 37

 PHILIP'S MOTETS WITH LITURGICALLY APPROPRIATE TEXTS

 (18 TEXTS, 15 ACCEPTED, 3 DUBIOUS)
 (All exhibit some form of troping)

 INCIPIT

 FEAST (DATE)

Accepted Medieval Attributions

Agmina milicie	Catherine of Alexandria (25 Nov.)
Homo quam sit pura	Easter
Lacqueus conteritur	Holy Innocents (28 Dec.)

Modern Attributions

Latex silice	Easter
Manere vivere	John the Apostle (27 Dec.)
Nostrum est impletum	Easter
Mors que stimulo/Mors morsu nata	Easter Wednesday

Probable (New) Attributions

Doce nos hodie	Pentecost
Flos de spina rumpitur	Assumption (August 15)
Mens fidem seminat	Andrew (30 Nov.)
Mors vite vivificatio	Easter Wednesday
Non orphanum te deseram	Ascension
Ex semine abrahe / Ex semine rosa	Easter

Doubtful Attributions

Alpha bovi et leoni	Benedicamus Domino (various)
Doce nos optime	Pentecost
Mors a primi patris	Easter Wednesday

A final aspect tied to the idea of troping is the treatment in a motet text (regardless of its use of quotation, assonance, or rhyme with the tenor) of the liturgical themes of the chant from which it comes.

of a commemoration of the Virgin that normally concluded this ritual. If her hypothesis is accepted, the extra-liturgical function of such a performance would explain the lack of troping elements in motets dedicated to Mary.

Within the entire repertory of thirty-six texts (both sure and dubious) associated with Philip in this study, the corpus splits evenly down the middle with regard to the liturgical suitability of the motet for the feast of its tenor (See Tables 37 and 38). Slightly more than half (15) of Philip's twenty-six accepted attributions are liturgical; and only three of the ten texts in the doubtful complex are so suitable.

A particularly noteworthy aspect of the group of eighteen non-liturgical texts is the fact that almost half of the works (8) are Marian, with only two of these eight pieces actually attributable to Philip.¹⁶ This reinforces the observation made above that the Marian poems among this early set of motets tend to avoid the use of troping elements. Of the remaining examples, except for the exegetical focus of the questionable attribution Larga manu seminatum, whose corrupted text may have originally harbored some now lost tropic or liturgical references,¹⁷ all of the other poems are acceptable as Philip's work, and are concerned not so much with sacred events as with the evil and good of people here on earth. There is therefore less motivation for these pieces to stress the liturgical debt owed by a motet to its tenor. Four of the poems are critical admonitions to the clergy,¹⁸ while two are voices from two different double motets written as panegyrics; these

¹⁶They are the tentative Stupeat natura and Serena virginum. The doubtful pieces comprise Ave maria fons leticie, Et illumina eximia mater, In salvatoris nomine (addresses both Mary and Christ), O quam sancta quam benigna, Radix venie, and Virgo virginum regina.

¹⁷There are apparent lacunae in several of its lines, see the edition of this work in Volume 5.

¹⁸In omni fratre tuo, In veritate comperi, Venditores laborum, Ypocrite pseudopontifices.

TABLE 38

PHILIP'S MOTETS WITH NON-LITURGICAL TEXTS

(18 TEXTS, 11 ACCEPTED, 7 DUBIOUS)
 (+ indicates some form of troping used in text)

Accepted Medieval Attributions

- + In omni fratre tuo
- + In veritate comperi
Venditores labiorum

Modern Attributions

- + Homo quo vigeas vide
- + Stupeat natura (assonant only)
O quam necessarium
Ypocrite pseudopontifices

Probable (New) Attributions

- Velut stelle
- + Et exaltavi plebis humilem
- + Memor tui creatoris
Serena virginum

Doubtful Attributions

- Ave maria fons leticie
- + Et illumina eximia mater
In salvatoris nomine
- ? Larga manu seminatam (corrupt text)
- + O quam sancta quam benigna
- + Radix venie (assonant only)
Virgo virginum regina

serve as rejoinders to two of the admonitions just mentioned.¹⁹ The last three pieces are exhortations to mankind to live a good life free from sin.²⁰

¹⁹O quam necessarium and Velut stelle firmamenti.

²⁰Homo quo vigeas vide, Et exaltavi plebis humilem, and Memor tui creatoris.

Although every "liturgical" motet in Philip's corpus exhibits some form of reference to its tenor text, the opposite is not true. The eighteen non-liturgical texts divide equally in terms of the appearance and absence of troping. Of the non-liturgical pieces that do trope, six are attributable to Philip; of the ones that do not, five are probably his (see above, Table 38).

Leaving aside the question of whether the use of troping and the liturgical fitness of a particular motet text argue for the possibility of its use within the Christian rite, the above observations show that by the time of Philip's death, the motet had already begun to forsake its liturgical upbringing. Such independence never appears in the organum prosulas, but does prevail in the French repertory and is generally assumed to be a later development in the Latin corpus. Especially notable in this regard is the apparent lack of both troping and liturgical suitability for eight of the eleven Marian motets in the corpus under consideration. Within this repertory, motets that neither trope nor exhibit any liturgical affinities are either double motets or Marian works. It thus appears that perhaps the first motets without demonstrable textual ties to their parent chant were those that used poems addressed to the Virgin.²¹ The majority of Philip's motets, however, continue in the style of the organum prosulas by exploiting the alliance between the motet and its tenor source. Pieces that depart from this plan are normally later in origin.

²¹See Baltzer, "Performance Practice," and her ideas presented above in note 00.

The Tenors of Philip's Motets: Rhythm and Repetition

The rhythmic and structural treatment of the chant melisma that customarily forms the tenor of a motet or clausula is certainly one of the more novel compositional elements in Notre Dame discant. It also provides particularly helpful criteria for the assessment of musical development. In Rebecca Baltzer's comprehensive study of two-part Notre Dame clausula style,²² tenor rhythm and pattern supply not only the means of organizing her work, but also furnish some of the principal ammunition for her observations on stylistic and chronological evolution. Similarly, Ernest Sanders relies heavily on the behavior of the tenors in Notre Dame organum and discant to illuminate the early history of the motet, as well as to suggest a convincing chronology for the works of Perotin.²³ The treatment of the tenor in Philip's motets can likewise offer testimony for placing some of his works in a historical context, and for demonstrating what composers had accomplished by the time of his death in 1236.

Tenor Rhythmic Patterns

Nearly all of Philip's motets dispose their tenors in the patterns of the fifth rhythmic mode that are associated primarily with clausulae written during Perotin's supposed involvement with the repertory (See Table 39). Baltzer has observed that the available chronological evidence suggests that the bulk of two-part clausulae with fifth-mode

²²"Notation, Rhythm, and Style."

²³See his "The Medieval Motet," pp. 497-505, 512-514, and 529-530; and idem, "The Question," pp. 241-244.

TABLE 39

PHILIP'S MOTETS WITH FIFTH MODE TENORS

TENOR PATTERN	MOTET
<u>Medieval Attributions</u>	
1,1 3	Venditores labiorum
3 1,1	Agmina milicie celestis
3 3	Homo quam sit pura
3 3	In veritate comperi
<u>Modern Attributions</u>	
1,1 3	Homo quo vigeas
1,1 3	O quam necessarium
1,1 3	Ypocrite pseudopontifices
1 3 ; 1 3	Mors que stimulo / Mors morsu (pattern change)
3 1,1	Nostrum est impletum
3 3	Latex silice (includes unpatterned section)
3 3	Manere vivere
3 3	Stupeat natura
<u>Probable (New) Attributions</u>	
1,1 3	Flos de spina
1,1 3	Memor tui creatoris
1,1 3	Velut stelle
1 3 , 1 3	Mors vite vivificacio (pattern change)
3 1,1	Ex semine Abrahe / Ex semine rosa
3 1,1	Non orphanum te deseram
3 3 ; 3 1,1	Doce nos hodie (pattern change)
3 3	Et exaltavi plebis
3 3	Mens fidem seminat
3 3	Serena virginum
<u>Doubtful Attributions</u>	
1,1 3	Et illumina eximia
1,1 3	Virgo virginum regina virga
1,1 3	O quam sancta quam benigna
1 3 ; 1 3	Mors a primi patris (pattern change)
3 1,1	Ave maria fons leticie
3 1,1	Radix venie
3 3	Alpha bovi et leoni
3 3	In salvatoris nomine
3 3	Larga manu seminatum

tenors stems from the first decade of the thirteenth century. Many of these clausulae are also linked with the earliest historical layers of the motet, appearing primarily in conductus motets, Latin motets à 2 in early sources, and the W1 pieces.²⁴ It thus seems significant for the assessment of Philip's works that all but three texts of the repertory under consideration here are set to fifth-mode tenors. The most abundant of the patterns used in his motets was also perhaps the first to emerge: 3|3|, a succession of three ligated pitches articulated by a single rest stroke (represented here as |).²⁵ This configuration occurs in eight of the nineteen fifth-mode musical families under discussion, furnishing twelve motet texts, all but three of which are attributable to Philip. Next in frequency is the classic "Perotinian" pattern 1,1|3| (two single notes, a rest, and a ligated group of three pitches plus a rest) and its inverse 3|1,1|. Both of these patterns occur in five different musical items, which include ten and seven motet texts, respectively. Five of the total seventeen poems are probably not by Philip.

The least common fifth-mode tenor arrangement among Philip's motets is the pattern 1|3| and its accompanying variant 1|3||. These two formations appear in Philip's corpus only in conjunction with the texts written to the four-part Mors clausula. Although the tenor layout occurs only once among the compositions surveyed for this chapter, several other clausulae and motets, some on Mors, some on other

²⁴"Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:307.

²⁵On the development of tenor patterns, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 504-505; and Tischler, "New Historical Aspects," p. 22.

melismas, use this rhythmic pattern. Baltzer and Sanders have shown that the interrelationships among these works even go so far as to suggest that the Mors clausula (almost certainly a creation of Perotin) exercised a considerable influence on subsequent discant practices.²⁶

The four-part Perotinian Mors clausula is all the more conspicuous for its use of two different rhythmic patterns applied to the two successive melodic statements (colores) of its tenor melody. This feature appears in only one other composition in Philip's corpus, the clausula-related conductus motet Doce nos hodie. Doce nos is unique in this respect, because it is the only conductus motet to evince such a change of pattern in a subsequent color.²⁷ This suggests it may perhaps be more reasonable to view the conductus motet arrangement (which appears only in W2) of this specific work as a later adaptation of the two-part version from F.²⁸ The technique of pattern change otherwise occurs only in about 12 percent of the earlier clausula-based and newly-composed Latin repertory, but more than doubles its frequency of appearance in the later two-part, French motet corpus.²⁹

Other rhythmic modes are scarce in the tenors of Philip's motets. Patterns where the Long is divided iambically in the manner of the second and third rhythmic modes surface in only two works, In omni fratre tuo and the dubiously ascribed Doce nos optime (not to be

²⁶Sanders, "The Question," p. 246; and Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:299-304.

²⁷See Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:148.

²⁸See the remarks on the different versions of Doce nos hodie above in Chapter 6.

²⁹Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:148.

confused with Doce nos hodie appearing above). Both of these pieces almost certainly belong to a later stylistic layer than the fifth-mode-tenor works. Gordon Anderson and Rebecca Baltzer confirm that clausulae with second mode tenors are primarily connected with the two-part French motet, and probably arose under its influence. Few motets are associated with such clausulae and they were rarely reworked and are often transmitted in unique sources. All of these features suggest that iambic tenors belong to the latest stages of Notre Dame development.³⁰ Thus, discounting the spurious Doce nos optime, whose iambic tenor pattern (1|2|3|) is duplicated by only one other motet complex,³¹ the single accepted work by Philip that demonstrates the later evolutionary trends of pervasive iambic rhythm in its tenor is his In omni fratre tuo.

In omni fratre exhibits a further curiosity with the momentary lapse of its Mode II 3|3| tenor pattern. Shortly before the close of the work, there appears a three-measure phrase with five of the tenor pitches presented as perfect longs (see Example 43). Interestingly enough, a similar break in rhythmic pattern occurs near the beginning of Philip's motet-conductus Latex silice, a disturbance that probably helped to fuel Ernest Sanders' speculation that Latex was originally a conductus to which a tenor was subsequently added.³² However, such

³⁰See Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:100-101; who quotes Anderson, "Clausulae or Transcribed Motets," p. 126.

³¹It appears in De gravi semineo and its concordant double motet Bien me doi / Com li plus (see Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:128 and 132). For the sources of these motets, see Gennrich, Bibliographie, nos. 557-559.

³²"The Medieval Motet," p. 515.

Example 43. In omni fratre tuo, mm. 53-59; LoB, ff. 56r-v.

o-mni-bus lu-ci-di-us nul-lum es-se gra-vi-us pe-ri-cu-lum quam in fal-sis fra-tri-bus

interruptions of the tenor pattern occur not infrequently in other discant works, both clausulae and motets.³³ This supports the observations raised above in Chapter 6 that the clausula and motet versions of Latex silice preceded its use as a conductus. The appearance of breaks in tenor patterns in both an early work such as Latex and a presumably later one such as In omni implies that the method was routine throughout the motet's history.

The tenor of Laqueus conteritur, the only motet by Philip whose cantus firmus is not disposed in any ostensible modal rhythmic pattern, consists entirely of a chain of ungrouped ternary longs similar to the short passages that intervene in Latex and In omni fratre. Unlike motets with fifth-mode tenors, the composer of Laqueus made no attempt to arrange the pitches into any rhythmic framework. Longs are not

³³On this phenomenon in the clausula repertory see Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:431-477. For its appearance in motets, refer to Table 11 in Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:132-142.

organized by ligatures and rests into bundles of two's or three's, but merely stride along evenly, with the few strokes of articulation in the cantus firmus serving merely to indicate a change of syllable, or to signal rests that tend to coincide with a phrase ending in the motetus.

Yet Laqueus is striking, for despite the numerous features that suggest its younger age, the rhythmic organization of its tenor implies that it belongs with some of the earliest discant compositions in the Notre Dame repertory. Baltzer describes clausulae with ungrouped ternary-long tenors as a very old, pre-Perotinian style of musical composition. She adds that such works tend to be quite perfunctory (a multitude are found among the so-called "abbreviation" clausulae in the fourth and fifth series of pieces in fascicle 5 of F). Many lack as well the classic features of rhythmic balance, phrase design, and melodic unity associated with Perotin's works. They are also inclined to use only the first and sixth rhythmic modes in their upper parts, and they engendered very few motets (ten pieces from nearly three hundred clausulae).³⁴

Consequently, Laqueus does seem to look to the past in a few ways, not only through the rhythmic organization of its chant, but also because of its long tenor text and the heavy amount of troping exhibited by the motetus.³⁵ But several factors insist on its later origin. Most notably, Laqueus has no clausula source, and its survival only in the later manuscript LOB and the second appendix to the seventh fascicle of Mo suggests that it probably never possessed one. Its duplum, moreover,

³⁴Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:356-357.

³⁵Discussed above in the previous section.

is highly ornamented in the French style, which suggests that if there were any previous model for this work, it probably consisted of a lost vernacular contrafact. Further departures from the older discant repertory emerge in this motet because of the disposition of its tenor. Though long and heavily texted (Laqueus contritus est et liberati sumus), it does not concur with any of the other works that relate to it, earlier or otherwise. A uniquely preserved organum on the host chant of this motet survives in F on folio 103v,³⁶ but the sections in the organum that correspond to the Laqueus conteritur motet tenor intersperse several organal passages amid the discant. There also exists one other clausula on the contritus melisma, along with a single motet complex on the tenor liberati, but there is nothing to indicate that the particular tenor arrangement of Philip's motet ever appeared elsewhere in a similar guise.³⁷ It therefore seems that aside from the rhythmic structure of its tenor and the extensive troping of its motetus text, no other stylistic element prevails to argue for the early origin of this piece, except perhaps for Philip's authorship.

A look into the general motet repertory, however, indicates that works with tenors composed of ungrouped single longs can also be associated with later repertories. The data on tenor patterns collected by Tischler³⁸ indicate that of the forty-eight motets that feature

³⁶The M7 Gradual Anima nostra ♪ Laqueus for the feast of the Holy Innocents (December 28).

³⁷For the various polyphonic versions (organa, clausulae and motets) of the M7 Gradual, see van der Werf, Integrated Directory, p. 22.

³⁸These are provided in Tables 10 and 11 of his Style and Evolution, 1:118-142.

ternary-long tenors throughout or within major sections, twenty include some sort of Latin version, while seven of these twenty also bear French contrafacts. The remaining twenty-eight are known only in French renderings. As Tischler himself observes,³⁹ the use of such tenors in the clausula repertory is strikingly different from that in the motet corpus. The former, which tends toward trochaic (first mode) dupla, offers an easy method for inserting substitute sections into organa written in the fashion of Leonin, while the latter (now also commonly featuring iambic upper parts) provides a simple, uncomplicated motet tenor arrangement. Thus, despite its apparently old-fashioned tenor pattern—or lack of it—Laqueus conteritur is indeed most probably one of Philip's later motets, and possibly even a contrafact of a lost French original.

The types of rhythmical tenor designs found in the musical settings of Philip's motets show that a majority of works use regularly grouped, fifth-mode tenor patterns, a stylistic feature that was probably set in motion in the early decades of the thirteenth century, and which is associated closely with the achievements of Perotin. Such configurations of cantus firmi appear in the first era of independent clausula cultivation and in the earliest historical layers of Notre Dame motets. They thus offer further incentives to connect Philip with the earliest stirrings of the motet. Similarly, those few pieces with Philip's texts that depart significantly from this type of tenor manipulation, whether it be to employ iambic rhythms or a layout in equal perfect longs, can be connected with similar practices in the

³⁹Style and Evolution, 1:146.

larger corpus of thirteenth-century motets. Many of these deviations from the prevailing Perotinian patterns are associated with more recent practices, and thereby argue for a later chronological origin for such works as In omni fratre tuo and Laqueus conteritur.

Tenor Repetition (Color)

Another significant stylistic facet of the medieval motet tenor is the number and treatment of the melodic statements (colores) it uses within the course of a piece. Such multiple presentations may also include 1) the introduction of a new rhythmic tenor pattern in a subsequent color, 2) a shifting of melodic and rhythmic content if the numerical elements of color and pattern do not coincide, and 3) slight variations between colores in a single motet, especially with regard to the opening and final series of pitches set to the syllables of the tenor's text. Generally, the implementation of several tenor statements in Notre Dame discant is regarded as a later trend in both clausula and motet composition, indicative of a novel conception of the Gregorian tenor as a malleable artistic and structural element rather than a static liturgical scaffolding.⁴⁰ It seems significant in terms of Notre Dame chronology that "multi-color" tenors are not found in the organa quadrupla, and are also generally absent from the more functional "substitute" clausulae.⁴¹ Nevertheless, as Tischer has observed, though repetition of color is a definable later practice in the body of organa

⁴⁰On this point, see Norman E. Smith, "Tenor Repetition in the Notre Dame Organa," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 19 (1966): 351.

⁴¹Compare the comments in Sanders, "The Question," pp. 243-244.

and clausulae, it already appears in the motet repertory during its very earliest stages.⁴²

It is hence not surprising that very few of Philip's motets display a single tenor cursus (see Table 40). One-color tenors appear in only eight different motet texts associated with five different musical compositions. Two of these poems, both contrafacts of each other, are doubtful attributions. Yet, despite Tischler's caution for reading too much chronological information into the presence or absence of multiple tenor colores, most of these works also exhibit other

TABLE 40

PHILIP'S MOTETS WITH A SINGLE TENOR STATEMENT

<u>Medieval Attributions</u>	
Homo quam sit pura	(strophic)
Laqueus conteritur	(long tenor)
<u>Modern Attributions</u>	
Ex semine Abrahe / Ex semine rosa	(three-part source)
Latex silice	(strophic)
Stupeat natura	(strophic)
<u>Probable (New) Attributions:</u> None	
<u>Doubtful Attributions</u>	
Ave maria fons	(three-part source)
Radix venie	(three-part source)

factors associated with early style,⁴³ and therefore probably date from the early part of Philip's career as a motet poet.

⁴²See Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:132-142, Table 11; and 147, Table 12.

⁴³See the discussion immediately below.

Among these motets with one tenor statement, an especially curious situation arises in the three strophic texts of Philip's Latex silice, Homo quam sit pura, and its contrafact Stupeat natura. Notably, the strophic structure of these pieces actually subverts the scheme of their single-cursus clausula models. A full performance of the works with all their stanzas would essentially present a motet with a tenor in a three-fold repeating structure. The resulting design makes one wonder whether Philip chose to write strophic pieces for such clausulae expressly because of their single-statement tenors.⁴⁴

Besides the three strophic motets, four other single-color motet texts (Ex semine Abrahe, Ex semine rosa, and the doubtful Radix venie and Ave maria fons leticie) derive from three-part clausulae, another clue for their probable early origin.⁴⁵ The Ex Semine texts and Radix venie are furthermore integral conductus or double motets, while the Ave Maria fons may be a slightly later "reduced" contrafact of Radix.⁴⁶ The single remaining piece is the previously discussed Laqueus

⁴⁴Two of the other three known strophic motets not specifically connected with Philip, Celi semita and Et illumina eximia, have multiple tenor colores. Qui servare puberem, on the other hand, a quite tentative attribution to Philip based only on the quality of its text, does possess a single tenor statement.

⁴⁵It may even be conjectured, given the correspondences of strophic motets with single-color tenors, that the two text pairs Ex semine Abrahe - Ex semine rosa and Radix venie - Ave maria fons leticie could originally have been conceived as bi-strophic motets, and were only later separated into individual compositions.

⁴⁶Ave Maria fons does not occur in F (as Radix does), but appears in W2, f. 156, Ma, f. 105, and Mo, f. 101v. Most interesting is the Mo disposition of these two texts, where both appear in the same composition as a double motet. The fact that it is Ave Maria fons that yields up its original music in Mo to Radix and there bears newly composed triplum music also seems to indicate that it is the later of the two.

conteritur, almost certainly a later work, but whose lengthy tenor, composed of 104 notes disposed in simple ternary longs, certainly accounts for the absence of more colores in this motet. With the exception of Laqueus, then, the rest of Philip's motets with single tenor statements do correlate with features that stress ancient lineage.

The above eight texts are clearly a minority, however, for all the remaining works associated either with Philip or Perotin exhibit at least two, and can include as many as five presentations of the tenor (see Table 41). The ratio of multiple to single tenor presentations in the repertory examined here even corresponds roughly to the motet corpus at large.⁴⁷ The twenty-eight texts of this group comprise seventeen of the twenty-two total musical families in Philip's motet corpus, including eight poems that he most probably did not author.

Aside from the obvious added element of complexity and the degree of liturgical independence from the chant engendered by the presence of a multi-statement tenor in a motet, a large proportion of the cantus firmi appearing in Philip's motets (both those that have single and multiple color presentations) employ chant melismas that display the common feature of internal repetition.⁴⁸ Only five of the seventeen tenors in the motet repertory under discussion have through-composed colores. They comprise 1) In seculum, 2) Laqueus contritus est et

⁴⁷See Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:147, Table 14, which indicates that out of a total of 401 motets, only 100 have single statement tenors.

⁴⁸On this point, see also Smith, "Tenor Repetition," pp. 345-346.

TABLE 41

PHILIP'S MOTETS WITH MULTIPLE TENOR STATEMENTS

NO. OF COLORES	MOTET
<u>Medieval Attributions</u>	
2	Venditores labiorum
2.75	In veritate comperi
3	Agmina milicie celestis
5	In omni fratre tuo
<u>Modern Attributions</u>	
2	Homo quo vigeas
2	Mors que stimulo / Mors morsu nata
2	Nostrum est impletum
2	O quam necessarium
2	Ypocrite pseudopontifices
5	Manere vivere
<u>Probable (New) Attributions</u>	
2	Doce nos hodie
2	Et exaltavi plebis
2	Flos de spina rumpitur
2	Memor tui creatoris
2	Mens fidem seminat
2	Mors vite vivificacio
2	Non orphanum te deseram
2	Velut stelle firmamenti
5	Serena virginum
<u>Doubtful Attributions</u>	
2	Alpha bovi et leoni
2	Doce nos optime
2	Et illumina eximia mater
2	Larga manu seminatum
2	Mors a primi patris
2	O quam sancta quam benigna
2	Virgo virginum regina
2.75	In salvatoris nomine

liberati sumus, 3) Domino (the melody derived from the Eius melisma),⁴⁹
 4) Et gaudebit, and 5) Et illuminare. This leaves twelve chant melismas
 with some form of internal recapitulation (Agmina, Veritatem, Latus,
Manere, Mors, Nostrum, Docebit, Et exaltavi, Ex semine, Regnat, In
odorem, and the Domino tenor obtained from the Clementiam melisma).⁵⁰

The most typical repetitive design within a single tenor color in Philip's and Perotin's motets is an AA'B structure, such as the scheme demonstrated in Example 44 by the In odorem melisma from the Alleluia y Dilexit Andream (M45).

Example 44. In odorem (M45) melisma; F, f. 399v.

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The first staff is labeled 'A' and 'A'' and contains the notes 'In o- do-'. The second staff is labeled 'B' and contains a melisma marked with '[REM]'.

Barring the "through composed" melismas, the only four exceptions to this standard are the stricter AAB forms of the Latus melisma used for the two doubtful texts Radix venie and Ave Maria fons leticie,⁵¹ the

⁴⁹For the use of melismas from other chants to supply melodies for the Benedicamus, see Robertson, "Benedicamus," pp. 11-32. See p. 21 of this article under no. 10, for a version of the Eius melody.

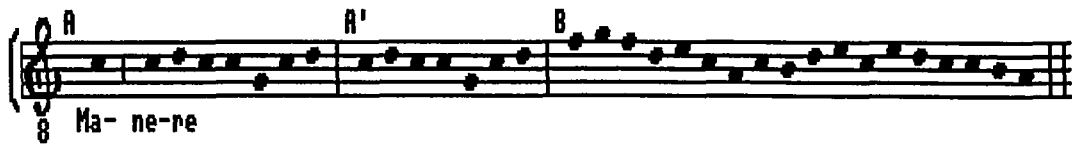
⁵⁰For the tune, see Robertson, "Benedicamus," p. 21 under no. 9.

⁵¹Latex silice, Homo quam sit pura, and its contrafact Stupeat natura use a slightly divergent form of the melisma with the more typical AA'B structure.

Mors tenor, the Regnat melisma of the motet Flos de spina rumpitur, and the AA' form of Nostrum used in Nostrum est impletum.

There are various ways that internal repetition figures in the particular tenors that brandish it. The repeated segment may consist only of a few notes, as in the seven pitches at the beginning of the M5 Manere (see Example 45).

Example 45. Manere (M5) melisma; W2, f. 166v.



Or it may form a more extended phrase, such as the "A" sections of Docebit, Et exaltavi, Regnat, In odorem, and the M18 Mors tenor which is presented in Example 46.

Example 46. Mors (M18) melisma, Mo, f. 58.

Sanders has even postulated that the eventual implementation of multiple statements of a complete tenor melisma within clausulae and motets may

have been prompted by the internal reiteration of melodic segments within tenor melodies such as these.⁵²

An especially conspicuous practice arises when the variations between the A and A' section result from the omission of the opening group of notes. These tones typically set the syllabic portion of the tenor text, as in Et exaltavi, In odorem, and Agmina (M65 or O40), the last of which is given Example 47.

Example 47. Agmina (M65 or O40) melisma, LoA, f. 91.



On the other end of the spectrum, a second common variation between the A and A' sections of a tenor results when a slightly

Example 48. Domino (BD VI) melisma derived from Clementiam, F, f.407v.

different ending is applied to the second repeated phrase, such as those seen in Nostrum, Docebit, and the Domino melisma presented in Example 48 (the Clementiam melody of the Alpha bovi motet complex).

⁵²"The Medieval Motet," p. 512.

An additional notable feature of internal repetition is the opportunity for change in the rhythmic orientation of the reiterated phrases due to the imposition of a rhythmic scheme (talea) that does not coincide numerically with the pitch pattern.⁵³ Of the fifteen patterns given to the twelve tenors with internally repetitive colores,⁵⁴ only four different motet families present the melody of the restated internal phrase with an exact or nearly exact rhythmic congruence as well. This can be seen in 1) Philip's Agmina milicie,⁵⁵ 2) all the motets written to the Mors clausula, 3) the newly attributed Doce nos hodie, and 4) the doubtful complex containing Radix venie and Ave Maria fons leticie. In the remaining eleven examples an overlap of pitch to rhythm occurs. The manner of either avoiding or exploiting this relationship can be seen clearly in the two versions of the Docebit tenor underlaid to the motets Doce nos hodie and Doce nos optime (see Example 49).

When one turns to the various types of melodic alteration encountered among multiple tenor colores, it appears that the same aforementioned variants which arise within the repeating sections of a single statement seem also to have influenced composers when they chose

⁵³Sanders "The Medieval Motet," p. 512.

⁵⁴The discrepancy in the above numbers results from the fact that there are three motet families that use two different rhythmic versions of the Latus melisma: the Homo quam sit pura and Latex silice groups with one pattern, and the Radix venie complex with the other. The other extra work occurs with the two different appearances of the Docebit melisma in the motets Doce nos optime and Doce nos hodie.

⁵⁵The three colores in this piece, however, complicate this practice by featuring a realignment among the different tenor statements of the pitch material against the rhythmic pattern, while still preserving the identity of the internal repetitions within the color.

Example 49. Two versions of the Tenor Docebit (M26): a. Doce nos hodie, F, f. 400. b. Doce nos optime, F, f. 389v.

to restate a tenor's color. Within Philip's motet corpus, only six motet families with two or more colores repeat a tenor melody with both pitch and rhythm corresponding exactly to the first statement. These are 1) Homo quo vigeas, 2) Velut stelle and its numerous contrafacts, 3) the Manere complex containing Manere vivere and Serena virginum, 4) Flos de spina, 5) Non orphanum, and 6) the doubtful Doce nos optime, whose second color differs only in the addition of an ineffectual series of rest strokes among the ligatures of the rhythmic pattern.

In the works with tenor statements that do differ from their initial presentations, most of the procedures for varying the melody are the same ones that also occur within a repeating segment of a single tenor color. Quite noticeable is the beginning of a new color without the pitches of the opening syllabic portions of the text, as appears in Philip's motets upon the tenors Agmina, Et illumina, and Et exaltavi, which is presented in Example 50.

Example 50. Et exaltavi (M51) melisma; F, f. 396.

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The first staff, labeled 'A', is a single line of music with a treble clef and a common time signature. It contains a melisma on the word 'ta-' of 'Et ex-al-ta-'. The second staff, labeled 'B', is also a single line of music with a treble clef and a common time signature. It contains a melisma on '-vi.'.

Here what is repeated is essentially the strictly melismatic portion of the tenor, rather than the entire color.⁵⁶

Another technique suggested already by the structure of the chant melismas themselves is the relocation of the pitch and rhythmic content in a successive color. This procedure appears in Agmina milicie, Nostrum est impletum and the doubtful Et illumina eximia. Tischler sees the use of such pitch-rhythmic overlap occurring rarely in the earlier segment of the repertory, blossoming in the newly-composed Latin repertory, and falling out of use in the French pieces.⁵⁷ This may indicate that Agmina milicie and Et illumina eximia are later pieces.⁵⁸ The conductus motet Nostrum est impletum, however, which is concordant with all the voices of a three-part clausula, seems most probably an earlier work.

⁵⁶See Smith, "Tenor Repetition," p. 344-345.

⁵⁷Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:148.

⁵⁸Et illumina suggests this already with its iambic rhythms, a feature that it seems not to owe to its three-part source clausula (on this point, see above, Chapter 5. Other arguments for the younger age of Agmina are presented below, Chapter 8.

In comparison with the above cases, other variants among colores seem less significant. The most frequent is the addition of a few cadential pitches to the final statement of the cantus firmus. This happens in three different tenors of motets by Philip, in a manner analogous to the pairing of ouvert and clos phrases in a contemporaneous secular chanson or Perotinian discant section.⁵⁹ With the Clementiam melody used for the Domino tenor of Alpha bovi et leoni and Larga manu, and with the Domino (or Eius) melisma of Venditores labiorum / O quam necessarium, the extra pitches comprise two and four notes, respectively. In both these instances the concluding cadential pitch is not changed by the addition, and the practice appears to correspond to the frequent technique of withholding from all but the last statement the final notes set to the closing syllable in the multiple colores of a Notre Dame discant passage.⁶⁰ But the composer (probably Perotin) of the more curious Et exaltavi plebis, the second color of which includes at the end five notes not found in the first, may have wanted to stress the difference, since the first color ends on a c pitch, while the second concludes on g (see Example 51). The "additive" feature of these suppressed final tenor pitches is even reflected in the newly-composed upper parts of Et exaltavi, where after a lengthy, nearly breathless passage thirty-two Longs in length (sixteen 6/8 measures), the five appended chant notes are set to a short, four-measure phrase that is set

⁵⁹For this practice, see Smith, "Tenor Repetition," p. 345, who explains it as a possible result of the composers' judgement in effecting a transition from one color to the next.

⁶⁰See Smith, "Tenor Repetition," passim.

Example 51. Final pitches of the two colores in the tenor of Et exaltavi plebis, E, f. 396: a. color 1. b. color 2.

off from the preceding section almost like a brief coda (see Example 52).

Example 52. Et exaltavi plebis, mm. 63-66; E, f. 396.

But a particularly unusual treatment of the tenor arises in the case of the Ex Semine clausula from Perotin's organum Alleluia y Nativitas. Though technically consisting of a single color, since the bulk of the chant melisma appears only once, this piece does contain an odd internal repeated section. The restatement comprises the fourth through fifteenth notes of the motet's cantus firmus, a reiterated passage found in this and other Ex semine tenors, but apparently not in

the original chant version of this melisma.⁶¹ Interestingly, the repeated section does not contain the opening notes, but begins with the fourth pitch, similar to other repetitive tenors that omit their syllabically set opening tones (see Example 53).

Example 53. Ex semine (M38) melisma, F, f. 404.

The repetition of this segment in turn causes a rhythmic transfer of the pitch material of the type seen in a few of the above motets. As a result of the curiosities of Perotin's apparent "discretionary" repetition in the Ex semine tenor, Sanders suggests that it is one of the first discant tenors to foreshadow the use not only of multiple colores, but also of the pitch-rhythmic overlap so closely associated with innovative Notre Dame discant techniques.⁶²

Repetition of a motet tenor can therefore offer evidence for placing Philip's motets within a historical framework. The use of single presentations of a tenor color in the music for eight of Philip's motet poems strongly suggests at first glance an early origin for such

⁶¹Compare Baltzers transcription of Ex Semine no. 1, in "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 2:821; see also Smith, "Tenor Repetition," pp. 346-347.

⁶²"The Medieval Motet," p. 512-513

compositions. The chronological implications for this technique are additionally strengthened by the appearance of strophic texts and three-part clausula sources (other practices with ties to older compositions) for all but one of these works (Laqueus conteritur). On the other hand, those pieces in Philip's corpus that do show repetition of a tenor melody indicate that it is handled in a variety of ways, many of which are often suggested by features that stem from the treatment of recurring phrases within the chants themselves.

The Interaction of Musical Phrases

A musical technique heavily exploited in Notre Dame motets, which owes much of its impact to the rhythmic organization of the tenor, involves the alignment of phrases between the newly composed upper parts and the repeated rhythmic patterns of the Gregorian tenor. The coincidence (parallelism) or independence (dovetailing) of cadences between the two sets of parts is a major stylistic feature in Notre Dame clausulae and motets that is often explored for structural effects. The corpus of Philip's motets examined here, both sure and dubious works, presents examples of both types. Certain pieces feature a prevalent parallelism or simultaneity among phrases. Others attempt to preserve the continuous flow of the music to a greater or lesser degree by using overlapping cadences.

Strict adherence within a piece to either of these two techniques, however, never emerges in the repertory in question. In every instance where one of Philip's works presents a prevailing synchronous phrase structure between the different voices, some attempt at variety always

surfaces. This most often consists of bridging the tenor's rests by occasionally extending or linking together phrases in the upper parts. Nonetheless, the procedure of spanning the pauses of the tenor does little to disturb the overall parallel nature of the two sets of voices—when the upper part or parts finally come to a rest, they conform again to the tenor. Likewise, in works that truly intertwine the tenor and upper voices (where one part begins a phrase or a rhythmic pattern while the other rests) there is always some instance of coincidence between the two elements within the piece.

In terms of the chronological implications of these techniques, Tischler notes that both coincidence and overlap are found in the earliest layers of the motet repertory. But he also admits that pieces favoring phrases disposed in units of two measures or their multiples (symptoms he associates with more archaic works) tend to decline in later repertories with the onset of faster tenors that include breves and contain odd numbers of perfections in their rhythmic patterns. Also, he finds that the later, newly composed, two-part repertory and the corpus of double motets demonstrate a particular inclination to evoke a continuous texture without simultaneous rests among their parts.⁶³ This sequence of events also seems to obtain for the clausula repertory, which originates with the parallel, four-square phrases in the discant sections of the Leoninian organum repertory, and culminates in the more sophisticated, overlapping, numerically determined constructions of the triple- and quadruple-voice clausulae.⁶⁴ It

⁶³Style and Evolution, 1:155-156

⁶⁴Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 498, 504-505, and 517-521.

therefore seems that the investigation of phrase treatment in Philip's motets can not only highlight the variety of techniques explored in these works, but may also provide some evidence that informs their chronology, if this information can be combined with other stylistic features.

Parallel Phrase Structures

The simplest, and therefore probably the earliest type of phrase structure to appear in Notre Dame discant derives from a coincident articulation of cadences, punctuated by concurrent rests in both the tenor and upper voices. But even in Philip's corpus, which has been shown to contain a majority of very early works, motets with parallel phrases are not as numerous as those that dovetail. Those pieces that essentially present coincident cadences comprise only nine of the twenty-two musical families in his repertory and include thirteen out of the thirty-six motet texts—two of which, both Marian poems, are doubtful attributions (See Table 42). These factors, combined with other observations of musical style and repertorial relationships, suggest that the technique of concurrent phrasing is a fairly conservative one in his motets, and in most cases can be associated with an early strand of his pieces.

All of these works, however, use at least one instance of prolonged or combined phrases to bridge the rests in the tenor, without actually confounding the basic parallel scheme of the piece. An example that demonstrates the strictest procedures of all the "parallel" motets is the neatly four-square Homo quam sit pura. Only one four-measure

TABLE 42

PHILIP'S MOTETS WITH PARALLEL PHRASES

A. MOTETS WITH SPARSE BRIDGING OF TENOR RESTS

Medieval Attributions

Agmina milicie celestis	(3 tenor <u>colores</u>)
Homo quam sit pura	(1 tenor <u>color</u>)
Laqueus conteritur	(1 tenor <u>color</u>)

Modern Attributions

Latex silice	(1 tenor <u>color</u>)
O quam necessarium	(2 tenor <u>colores</u>)
Stupeat natura	(1 tenor <u>color</u>)

Probable (New) Attributions

Ex semine Abrahe	(1 tenor <u>color</u>).
Ex semine rosa prodit	(1 tenor <u>color</u>).

Doubtful Attributions

Ave maria fons leticie	(1 tenor <u>color</u>)
Radix venie	(1 tenor <u>color</u>)

B. MOTETS WITH FREQUENT BRIDGING OF TENOR RESTS:

Medieval Attributions

In omni fratre tuo	(5 tenor <u>colores</u>)
Venditores labiorum	(2 tenor <u>colores</u>)

Modern Attributions

Nostrum est impletum	(2 tenor <u>colores</u>)
----------------------	---------------------------

phrase (see Example 54) enlivens the otherwise rigorous two-measure units through its bridging of a tenor rest near the middle of the composition.

The simple design of Homo quam is actually analogous to the majority of Philip's works with parallel cadences, for seven of the total of nine such musical compositions (comprising ten poems accepted for his authorship from thirteen applicable motet texts) tend also to be rather spare in their use of bridging. Quite striking as well is the

Example 54. Homo quam sit pura, mm. 21-24; F, f. 385v.

ce- sa ge- na o- mnis ve- na san- gui- ne cru- en- ta.

additional observation that these seven "stricter" parallel compositions incorporate all five of the compositions in Philip's repertory that possess only one statement of the tenor melody. (These comprise eight poems, two of which are dubious ascriptions.) The two exceptions to this trait among his motets with more rigorous parallel phrase structures are the three colores in the cantus firmus of Agmina milicie, and the double-cursus tenor of the triplum part O quam necessarium (see Table 42 above).⁶⁵

With the exclusion of only the unusual Laqueus conteritur, whose probable later origin has been signalled above, every one of the other single-color motets (seven texts to four different pieces of music) either display traits that suggest a very early origin, or are contrafacts of these presumably older works. They all, for instance, have clausula concordances, three of the seven are strophic motets,⁶⁶ and the remaining four are related to the integral conductus motet repertory—three-part works that duplicate all the voices of their

⁶⁵O quam necessarium is affixed to the motetus Venditores laborum, which exhibits more bridging of the tenor than its partner.

⁶⁶Homo quam sit pura, Stupeat natura, and Latex silice.

clausula concordances.⁶⁷ Hence, the pieces examined here that exhibit the strictest use of parallel phrasing with their tenors, and which additionally present only one statement of their tenor melody, also tend to show relationships with the earliest layers of the motet corpus.

On the other hand, the three remaining works with parallel phrasing, In omni fratre tuo, Venditores labiorum and Nostrum est impletum, contrast with the others. These more frequently bridge their tenor rests without actually intertwining their phrases. Except for Nostrum est, which is an integral conductus motet, the two other works exhibit convincingly later features. Venditores is a double motet with no melismatic concordances, which is combined with the triplum O quam necessarium, a part with more strictly parallel phrasing; and In omni fratre, likewise newly composed without apparent resource to a clausula, is a French-style piece in an iambic rhythmic mode.

Dovetailed Phrase Structures

In comparison to the use of coincident phrases in Philip's motet corpus, works that contain overlapping cadences occur slightly more frequently. This characteristic appears in thirteen different musical compositions out of twenty-two, and comprises twenty-three out of thirty-six texts, including eight of the ten doubtful poems (see Table 43). These compositions, however, never consist exclusively of dovetailed phrases. Even in the most continuously textured examples, for instance in the doubtful medieval attribution Doce nos optime (see

⁶⁷Ex semine Abrahe, Ex semine rosa, Radix venie, and Ave maria fons leticie.

Example 55), there are always at least three points where the rests of the tenor and upper parts coincide.

Example 55. Doce nos optime, mm. 1-8; F, f. 389.

The image shows a musical score for the motet 'Doce nos optime'. It consists of two systems of three staves each. The top staff is the vocal line, the middle is the alto line, and the bottom is the tenor line. The music is in 8/8 time and the key signature has one flat (F major). The lyrics are: 'Do- ce nos o- pti- me vi- te fons sa- lus a- ni- me mun- do nos a- di- me nos u- ni- ge- ni- te.' The score illustrates the 'bridging technique' where rests in different parts coincide.

All of the works with intertwined phrases also make frequent use of the bridging technique described above in connection with parallel phrase articulation, and even strict parallel phrases are present on occasion. Examples of both these practices appear in the first half of Mens fidem seminat (see Example 56).

Among the Philip motets that interweave their phrases, three musical families rarely use such dovetailing. These comprise two accepted and two doubtfully ascribed texts. The technique figures much more prominently in another three musical works, supplying ten poems

Example 56. *Mens fidem seminat*, mm. 18-32; *F*, *f*, 399.

The image displays a musical score for the motet 'Mens fidem seminat'. It consists of four systems, each with a vocal line (soprano or alto) and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are written below the vocal lines. The first system contains the lyrics: 'Fru- ctum flos pro- pa- gi- nat. vir- tus fit hoc'. The second system contains: 'or- di- ne. fi- des spe- i spes est e- i'. The third system contains: 'ra- dix et i- ni- ti- um que so- la ma- ior o- mni- um ex-'. The fourth system contains: 'tre- ma li- gans me- di- um. que vi- ti- um de- cli- nat.' The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand.

with four dubious attributions. The most habitual practice, though, is to alternate between parallel and dovetailed phrases within sections of a composition. Seven discrete pieces of music in Philip's corpus operate in this manner, supplying seven confirmed texts and two dubious lyrics. The resulting breakdown of these various practices in Philip's dovetailed motets can be seen in Table 43.

Musical Phrasing and Tenor Colores

A stylistic trait exploited with especially significant results in Philip's motets with overlapping cadences is the treatment of the break

TABLE 43

PHILIP'S MOTETS WITH DOVETAILED PHRASES

A. MOTETS WITH FEW INSTANCES OF DOVETAILING

Medieval Attributions

In veritate comperi

Probable (New) Attributions

Et exaltavi plebis

Doubtful Attributions

Et illumina eximia In salvatoris nomine

B. MOTETS FEATURING PROMINENT DOVETAILING

Medieval Attributions: NoneModern AttributionsMors que stimulo Mors morsu nata
Ypocrite pseudopontificesProbable (New) AttributionsMemor tui creatoris Mors vite vivificacio
Velut stelleDoubtful AttributionsDoce nos optime Mors a primi patris
O quam sancta quam benigna Virgo virginum regina

C. MOTETS WITH SECTIONAL DOVETAILING

Medieval Attributions: NoneModern Attributions

Manere vivere Homo quo vigeas vide

Probable (New) AttributionsDoce nos hodie Flos de spina rumpitur
Mens fidem seminat Non orphanum te deseram
Serena virginumDoubtful Attributions

Alpha bovi et leoni Larga manu seminatum

between successive tenor colores in works with more than one tenor statement. Tischler finds that in the thirteenth-century motet repertoire, the change to a new tenor color was generally considered to

be an important event. It was not unusual for works to alter a prevailing phrase structure from coincident to continuous—or vice versa—merely to herald its arrival. However, like the presence or absence of parallel or dovetailed phrasing techniques in the motet corpus, no clear historical or chronological pattern seems to emerge with respect to the treatment of the tenor color in these works, though Tischler does admit that a pause in all the parts before the arrival of a new color may have been regarded as a conservative feature by the composers in the later layers of the motet repertory.⁶⁸

The emphasis on the change to a new color is especially conspicuous in motets with parallel phrase structures; and in Philip's repertory the results conform for the most part to Tischler's observations. In the four coincidentally phrased motets that actually possess more than one tenor statement (Agmina milicie, Nostrum est impletum, In omni fratre tuo, and the double-texted O quam necessarium / Venditores laborum), the treatment of the junctures between colores tends to depart from the dominant texture of the piece. With In omni fratre and O quam / Venditores, none of the tenor colores are bridged, even though these particular pieces feature the most extensive use of bridged phrases among Philip's "parallel" works, and despite the fact that In omni fratre states its tenor five times.

Agmina milicie on the other hand is especially notable for its nearly unsullied parallel disposition of phrases. This feature makes it all the more striking when the only instance of bridging in this piece

⁶⁸Style and Evolution, 1:155-157.

(see Example 57) happens to occur right over the seam between the second and third statements of the three-fold tenor.

Example 57. *Agmina milicie*, mm. 37-44; *LoA*, f. 91v.

The image shows a musical score for a chant. It consists of two systems, each with three staves. The top two staves of each system are vocal lines, and the bottom staff is a tenor line. The lyrics are written below the vocal lines. The first system covers measures 37-44, and the second system covers measures 45-52. The tenor line has a 'III' marking above it in the second system. There are some 'b' markings above the vocal lines in the first system, and a 'd' marking above the tenor line in the first system. The score is in a single system with a common time signature.

sa-pi-en-tum gre-ci-e fa-cun-di-e so-phis-ma-tum et

dog-ma-tum ar-gu-ci-e si-lent et stu-di-a

The prominent change here from the habitual four-measure units to a long phrase of eight at this place is even more notable because *Agmina* also features a tenor melody with a rhythmic displacement upon its return. The successive pronouncements of the chant melody are therefore especially difficult to hear. Perhaps not coincidentally, the first such juncture in this work, between *colores* I and II (measure 22), also calls attention to itself, for this is the first time a two-measure phrase appears in the work (see Example 58).

Example 58. Agmina milicie, mm. 21-24; LoA, f. 91.

The only major exception to these techniques of emphasizing the transition from one tenor color to another in Philip's works with coincident phrases emerges in the integral conductus motet Nostrum est impletum. This piece bridges the rhythmic elements of its tenor pattern quite frequently, and like Agmina features a displacement of the rhythmic pattern upon the return of the tenor melody. It does not, however, highlight the new color by any unusual construction of phrases. The lack of such a feature in a motet with both parallel phrases as well as several tenor statements may be the result of the probable early date of Nostrum est.

In turning to the motets with dovetailed phrases, perhaps the clearest indication of pieces that temporarily modify their phrase structure to enhance the transition to a new tenor color can be seen in the two examples Et exaltavi plebis and Et illumina eximia mater. In both these works, which otherwise employ strictly parallel phrases with frequent bridging, the only instances of true dovetailing occur immediately in the vicinity of the tenor's repetition (see, for an illustration, Example 59), effectively obscuring the seam between the

two colores, yet highlighting its presence all the same by the temporary variation of the cadence points.

Example 59. Et illumina eximia, mm. 17-24; W2, f. 181.

The image shows two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute line (treble clef). The first system's vocal line has lyrics: "o vir go re- gi- a e- gre- gi- a re- gi-". The second system's vocal line has lyrics: "a re- gis glo- ri- e". The lute lines provide accompaniment with various rhythmic patterns and rests. The key signature is one flat (B-flat).

An analogous procedure for stressing the juncture between colores affects the music that serves for both Philip's impressive lyric Manere vivere and its more tentatively ascribed contrafact, the Marian motet Serena virginum. The music of this vast clausula with its five-fold tenor repetition is sectional in its treatment of phrase coincidence. It opens with a segment of forty measures (80 Longs), in which all the phrases either match or at most bridge the tenor's rests. Within the course of the second color, however, it then abruptly switches to dovetailed cadences, which then prevail until the midst of the fourth tenor cursus, when parallel phrases recur. A final burst of dovetailing returns with the utterances over the pause between colores IV and V, before the structure reverts anew to a parallel scheme with a single

long bridging phrase followed by five short parallel gestures to close the work.⁶⁹

But despite the prevalence of both asynchronous phrases and bridged tenor rests in Manere vivere, all but the last of the rests between colores cadence together with the upper voices. These breaks between tenor repetitions are, in fact, forcefully emphasized by reiterated motives that surface in the motetus at each of these points, a correspondence that offers convincing testimony that the extended discant composition supporting Manere vivere and Serena virginum is indeed an intact work and not an assemblage of several different clausulae.⁷⁰

Besides the previously discussed motets Et exaltavi plebis and Et illumina eximia, there is only one other complex in Philip's corpus that employs dovetailed phrases to such a small extent. This comprises the conductus motet In veritate comperi and its companion, the dubiously ascribed triplum voice In salvatoris nomine, which exactly mirrors the phrase structure of its attendant motetus. These two parts contain only three brief phrases that cut through the rhythmic patterns of the tenor, although the otherwise parallel cadences in this piece are frequently enlivened by bridging. Whereas the three dovetailed phrases in In veritate do not coincide with a change to a new color as in Et exaltavi or Et illumina, it is striking nonetheless that the first two instances of dovetailing (in measures 3-8 and 35-40, see Example 60) happen to

⁶⁹See the transcription of the entire piece in Volume 4 of this study.

⁷⁰This point, with an accompanying example (Example 35), is also made above, Chapter 6.

fall in the exact same position in the first two successive colores of the cantus firmus, at a point during a scalar descent from g to d. The third and last dovetailed phrase occurs soon after the second (in measures 49-54 presented as Example 61) at a point where—not surprisingly—the tenor melody has a melodic (though not a rhythmic) correspondence to the first two cases of dovetailing.

Example 61. In veritate comperi, mm. 49-54; F, f. 398v.

The musical score for Example 61 consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in soprano clef with a [b] above the first measure. The middle staff is a tenor line in alto clef. The bottom staff is a bass line in bass clef. The lyrics are: "ut tha-mar in bi-vi-o tur-pi mar-cens o-ci-o." The music shows dovetailing between the vocal and tenor lines.

The In veritate complex shares an additional trait with the music for only two other continuously phrased discants in Philip's repertory: the In odorem clausula that provides the source for the likely Mens fidem seminat and the incredibly fertile Et gaudebit that engendered the five Latin texts associated with the double motet Ypocrite pseudopontifices / Velut stelle firmamenti.⁷¹ All three of these musical families employ dovetailing—the latter two quite extensively—but each retains Tischler's so-called "conservative" feature of leaving the gap between the tenor colores completely unbridged.

⁷¹For the various guises of this music within the Notre Dame repertory, see van der Werf, Integrated Directory, p. 49.

Example 60. In veritate comperi, mm. 3-8, 35-40, F, f. 398r-v.

3

[b] [b] [b]

com- pe- ri quod sce- le- ri cle- ri stu- det

NB

Detailed description: This system contains measures 3-8. It features three staves: vocal line, piano accompaniment, and basso continuo. The vocal line has a triplet of eighth notes in measure 3. The piano accompaniment has a bass line with a flat in measure 4. The basso continuo line has a flat in measure 4. The lyrics are 'com- pe- ri quod sce- le- ri cle- ri stu- det'. There are three flats in brackets above the vocal line in measures 3, 4, and 7.

35

[b] [b] [b] [b]

u- ni- tas. cru- cis be- ne- fi- ci-

Detailed description: This system contains measures 35-40. It features three staves: vocal line, piano accompaniment, and basso continuo. The vocal line has a half note in measure 35. The piano accompaniment has a flat in measure 36. The basso continuo line has a flat in measure 36. The lyrics are 'u- ni- tas. cru- cis be- ne- fi- ci-'. There are four flats in brackets above the vocal line in measures 35, 36, 39, and 40.

[b] [b]

-a. lu- ge sy- on fi- li- a.

NB

Detailed description: This system contains measures 41-46. It features three staves: vocal line, piano accompaniment, and basso continuo. The vocal line has a half note in measure 41. The piano accompaniment has a flat in measure 42. The basso continuo line has a flat in measure 42. The lyrics are '-a. lu- ge sy- on fi- li- a.'. There are two flats in brackets above the vocal line in measures 41 and 42.

The presence of this feature is, however, not as noticeable as it could be in In veritate. Although the pertinent phrases in this piece do indeed cadence along with the completion of each of the two changes to a new tenor color, the continued motion in breves in the upper parts of both the conductus and double motet versions of this piece easily obscures the transition to the new repetition (see Example 62).

Example 62. In veritate comperi, mm. 31-33, 63-65; F, f. 398r-v.

que runt o- mnes pro pri- a. ma- nus pa- tent ca- ri- ta- tem
re- spu- it. stu- dens pan- ci- (tati)

In Mens fidem and the Ypocrite group, however, the juncture is much more obvious. The change to the second color in the sophisticated double motet Ypocrite / Velut stelle (see Example 63) even presents the illusion that something akin to a second strophe or even a new composition is beginning, for this is one of only two places in this

work where all three parts coincide and the cadence sounds particularly final.⁷²

Example 63. Ypocrite pseudopontifices / Velut stelle, mm. 34-36;
F, f. 412-r-v.

(diminu) -unt pon- de- ra sta- te- res.
sper- nunt ter- re- a. **Color II begins.**

Barring the above-mentioned Manere clausula, as well as the complexes containing Mens fidem, In veritate, and the prolific Ypocrite / Velut stelle group, the remaining ten pieces of music for all the other dovetailing motets in Philip's corpus span the junctions between the multiple statements of their tenors with ongoing phrases in their upper parts. In three of these compositions (the Mors family, Non orphanum te deseram, and the dubiously ascribed Doce nos optime), the prevailing phrase structure does not appear to be affected by the shift to a new statement of the tenor melody. In Mors and Doce nos optime, moreover, the texture is prevailingly continuous; simultaneity of cadences in all parts occurs infrequently, and in both these pieces the rests in all voices do coincide near the pause between colores, but with

⁷²In the only other point of congruence of triplum, motetus, and tenor in this work (measure 20), the sense of closure is not nearly as complete, since the triplum launches into a new phrase on the Long unit that immediately follows this break.

the first note of the second color (see Example 64), not the rest that precedes it.

Example 64. Mors a primi patris / Mors que stimulo / Mors morsu nata, mm. 32-36; Mo, f. 59v.

The musical score consists of four staves. The first two staves are vocal lines with lyrics: "-to de-so-la-nis re-ve-la-(-to)" and "-to di-ves-ti-tu-lo." The third and fourth staves are instrumental accompaniment with lyrics: "-to cum ra-di-o." The score includes a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). There is a fermata over the final note of the first vocal line.

But if certain of Philip's works seem to ignore, or at least not to spotlight the consecutive repetitions of their cantus firmi, while others briefly modify their principal textures to accentuate its arrival, a particularly striking group of works uses the tenor's color change specifically to signal a more extended shift in phrase formation. These comprise five clausulae that utilize a total of six different poems: 1) the modern attribution to Philip Homo quo vigeas; the three probable ascriptions 2) Doce nos hodie, 3) Flos de spina rumpitur, and 4) Mens fidem seminat; and the doubtfully ascribed lyrics 5) Alpha bovi et leoni and its contrafact 6) Larga manu seminatum. In each of these musical compositions, all of which possess two tenor presentations, at least one entire cursus of the cantus firmus is given over either to parallel or to interlocking phrase structures. The major difference,

though, between these works and the other Philip pieces employing sectional stretches of dovetailing, is that the fluctuation in phrase formation is apparently triggered expressly by the transition to the new tenor color.

Three of these clausulae—those related to the motets Homo quo vigeas, Flos de spina rumpitur, and the Alpha bovi-Larga manu complex—are especially stringent, with each tenor color devoted nearly exclusively to one of the two phrasing methods. The first half of Homo quo vigeas, for instance, consistently ends its phrases over the initial member of its 1,1|3| tenor pattern, pausing with the first of the two rests in this scheme. Five measures before it encounters the second color, however, an extended phrase of twelve Longs appears in the motetus and triplum to conclude the half (see Example 65). This is supported by a tenor line that momentarily breaks its pattern. It inserts a six-Long phrase that effectively shifts the relationship between the two sets of parts so that the remaining music in the upper voices always cadences with the start of a tenor pattern component.

The comparable, strongly Perotinian-styled Flos de spina rumpitur behaves in nearly the same fashion as Homo quo vigeas, even to employing the same rhythmic tenor pattern and a strikingly identical opening gesture (see Example 66). Here, however, the methods of articulation are reversed. Flos de spina commences with dovetailed phrases, while its second half turns to parallel cadences. This motet achieves its change in overlap in a more conventional fashion (see Example 67). Instead of furnishing an irregular rhythmic extension at the end of its first tenor color as in Homo quo vigeas, it instead closes its first

Example 65. Homo quo vigeas, mm. 31-48; F, ff. 386v-387.

First system of musical notation. It consists of three staves: a vocal line (treble clef) and two piano accompaniment lines (treble and bass clefs). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: e-vel- las lo- li- um li- li- um in- se- re ro- se. A double bar line with a repeat sign (II) is at the end of the system.

Second system of musical notation. It consists of three staves: a vocal line (treble clef) and two piano accompaniment lines (treble and bass clefs). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: ut a- li- um per hoc cor- ri- pe- re spe- ci- o- se va- le- as.

Third system of musical notation. It consists of three staves: a vocal line (treble clef) and two piano accompaniment lines (treble and bass clefs). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: vir- tu- ti sa- lu- ti o- mni- um stu- de- as.

Example 66. a. Flos de spina rumpitur, mm. 1-5; F, f. 393v.

b. Homo quo vigeas, mm. 1-6; F, f. 386v.

a.

Flos de spi- na rum- pi- tur.

Reg-

b.

Ho- mo quo vi- ge- as vi- de.

Et gau- -de-

half with a phrase in its upper parts that is five Longs in duration. This gesture, when followed by the two pickup phrases of twelve and nine Longs respectively, effectively moves the point of coincidence in the second half so that rests now concur with rests.

The same technique of including a phrase with an odd number of Longs in order to redistribute the relationship of the cadences in a successive color also appears with marked clarity in the music for the doubtful ascribable Philip motets Alpha bovi et leoni and its contrafact Larga manu seminatum. In this instance the elimination of an expected Long rest near the middle of the piece constricts the sixth phrase of the motetus part just enough to offset the cadences in the second

Example 67. Flos de spina rumpitur, mm. 30-44; F, f. 394.

lau- re- a re- di- ni- tur. ma- ter be- a- ta glo- ri- fi- ca-

II

Detailed description: This system contains the first three measures of the piece. It features a vocal line on a treble clef staff and a piano accompaniment on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are 'lau- re- a re- di- ni- tur. ma- ter be- a- ta glo- ri- fi- ca-'. A Roman numeral 'II' is placed above the piano staff in the second measure. The music is in a major key and 4/4 time.

ta per cun- cta mun- di cli- ma- ta; ci- vi- um con- sor- ti- um ce- le- sti-

Detailed description: This system contains measures 4 through 7. The lyrics are 'ta per cun- cta mun- di cli- ma- ta; ci- vi- um con- sor- ti- um ce- le- sti-'. The piano accompaniment continues with a steady rhythmic pattern. The lyrics are aligned with the vocal line.

um lau- de re- sol- vi- tur. o- ri- tur fi- de- li- bus

Detailed description: This system contains measures 8 through 11. The lyrics are 'um lau- de re- sol- vi- tur. o- ri- tur fi- de- li- bus'. The piece concludes with a double bar line and a fermata over the final notes. The piano accompaniment ends with a sustained chord.

portion of the work. This change in design is underscored all the more forcefully by the profuse application of hocket in this section (see Example 68).

Example 68. Alpha bovi et leoni, mm. 21-27; F, f. 407.

The last two pieces, Mens fidem seminat and Doce nos hodie, also use the change to a new tenor color to vary the dispositions of their phrases, but these works do not divide the techniques between the two statements as exclusively as the previous three. The first half of Mens fidem, for instance, would be strictly parallel in its phrase alignment were it not for its anticipation of the dovetailed second portion in its opening measures (see Example 69). This "introductory" segment also appears particularly conspicuous, thanks to the extremely curious opening rest at the beginning of the tenor.⁷³

Doce nos hodie likewise mixes parallel and interlocking phrases during its first tenor cursus, but here the alternating sections of dovetailed and coincident phrases are nearly equally balanced, dividing the opening half of this composition into two quarters with a respective

⁷³Another example of the rare trait of beginning a motet and clausula with a rest in the tenor can be seen in the music of Ad veniam perveniam (a possible Philip attribution too tentative to be considered in this study). For a transcription of this piece, see Anderson, Latin Compositions, pp. 19-20.

Example 69. *Mens fidem seminat*, mm. 1-7; *F*, *f* 399.

The image shows a musical score for Example 69, consisting of two systems of vocal and piano parts. The first system has a vocal line with lyrics "Mens fi- dem se- mi- nat. fi-" and a piano accompaniment with the word "In" below it. The second system has a vocal line with lyrics "des spen- ger- mi- nat." and a piano accompaniment with the word "do-" below it. The piano parts feature complex rhythmic patterns with overlapping phrases, as indicated by the caption.

series of dovetailed and parallel phrases (see Figure 3). With the commencement of the second color, accompanied by a change in rhythmic pattern, overlapping again gains the upper hand.

Section A:	dovetailed phrases, 14 measures
Triplum/Duplum:	10.....4...8.....6..... +
Tenor (color I):	4...4...4...4...4...4...4... +
Section B:	coincident and bridged phrases, 18 measures
Triplum/Duplum:	8.....8.....8.....8.....6.....
Tenor (color I):	4...4...4...4...4...4...4...4...4...

Figure 3. Phrase structures over the first tenor cursus of *Doce nos hodie* (in Longs).

The many different manners of articulation employed in Philip's motets that feature interlocking phrases add a great measure of support to Tischler's observations that little in the way of historical development can be deduced from the use of this phrase structures in motets. The supposed progression from the apparently simpler technique of coincident rests to the more elaborate structures of the dovetailed

works does not, in the long run, afford a useful means for determining the chronology of motet development in the works with which Philip the Chancellor and Perotin can be associated. If, however, one sorts the repertory in a slightly different manner with regard to its use of phrasing techniques, and considers the combined attributes of pieces that not only feature parallel phrases, but which also furnish only one statement of their cantus firmus, a somewhat more positive view of an early stage for these particular works may be claimed. The combined forces of parallel phrasing, single tenor statements, and the testimony of other relationships indicative of early origin within the motet repertory (such as the presence of strophic texts and the reliance on multi-voice clausulae) offer forceful supplementary evidence for the allegation that the specific motets Homo quam sit pura, Latex silice, Nostrum est impletum, and Ex semine Abrahe are indeed examples from the earliest layer of Philip's involvement with the motet.

Breves, Semibreves, and Iambic Rhythms

Despite the concentration so far in this chapter on procedures that suggest an early date of creation for many of Philip's motets, two stylistic features that are consistently deemed to be later developments emerge in the music from his motets. These are: 1) the appearance of the iambic second rhythmic mode, and 2) the allocation of isolated syllables in the upper voices to the "shorter" note values of the Breve and Semibreve. The presence of these features in Philip's motets is especially telling, because in two specific pieces it can even be combined with a dose of historical conjecture to provide some

provisional dates for the works in question and thereby possibly supply us with examples of two of Philip's most recent motets.

The introduction into motets of the iambic rhythms associated with the second rhythmic mode is a practice almost universally credited to later musical developments. Sanders⁷⁴ notes that W1, the earliest major source to contain independent discant clausulae, tends to avoid the use of Mode II;⁷⁵ and the Latin motets that implement iambic rhythms are also somewhat exceptional.⁷⁶ French motets on the other hand—which are almost certainly a later phenomenon than Latin ones due to the more immediate connection of the Latin language to the liturgical domain that created organa, clausulae, and motets—are quite closely associated with the iambic form.⁷⁷ Sanders concludes that the "intrusion" (as he puts it) of the French language into motets probably went hand in hand with the injection of Mode II rhythms into Notre Dame discant. This, he claims, sparked in turn the establishment of the modal system, since the creation of the second mode thus made the classification of trochaic and iambic rhythmic patterns possible and necessary.⁷⁸ Baltzer likewise confirms that clausulae with second-mode tenors (nearly always

⁷⁴"The Medieval Motet," pp. 529-531

⁷⁵It occurs in only four of the 102 surviving compositions in fascicles 5 and 6; see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 529.

⁷⁶Tischler's intabulations (Style and Evolution, 1:81) show that Mode II occurs in 15 percent of motets related to Notre Dame clausulae and in 21.5 percent of the newly composed Latin repertory, as opposed to 40 percent of the newly composed French repertory and 33.25 percent of the French motets found in chansonniers.

⁷⁷See also Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:81.

⁷⁸Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 530-531.

associated with equivalent upper parts) were also a later development that was practiced soon after the arrival of the French motet, since such clausulae are generally unique in their sources and did not engender many successive motets. The most elaborate of these clausulae are associated primarily with two-part French motets that were not extensively reworked.⁷⁹

Given Philip's demonstrably close contact with the earliest strata of the motet repertory, it is not unexpected to find that his corpus of works includes only three pieces, In omni fratre tuo, Doce nos optime, and Et illumina eximia mater, that display unequivocal iambic rhythms in their upper parts. Of these three works, the first and second both possess iambic tenors and lack clausulae, while the latter two pieces are probably not his texts. This leaves In omni fratre tuo as the only securely attributed Philip motet with iambic rhythms, which occur in both the tenor and motetus of this two-part work. In omni fratre is, therefore, quite probably a very late work of his, which either imitates the newly emergent French style, or else survives as a contrafact of a lost French original.

Similarly, the use of breves and semibreves to articulate individual syllables in a motet text is also judged to be an achievement associated with later clusters of Notre Dame compositions. Tischler notes that new motets from sources appearing after the mid-thirteenth century have fast text declamation involving semibreves as a chief characteristic.⁸⁰ Sanders agrees, and remarks that sixth-mode tripla

⁷⁹"Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:136, 100-101

⁸⁰Style and Technique, 1:218.

with syllabic semibreves are often combined with a second-mode motetus part, itself a more recent accomplishment.⁸¹

Such "patter-style" tripla become even more common in the younger fascicles of later mensural sources such as Mo, and their use was soon to influence one of the major contributions of the Franconian notational system with the recognition of the semibreve as a separate, definable rhythmic value.⁸² The consistent, thorough use of syllabic breves and semibreves even appears to grow into a customary method of composing motet parts, especially tripla, in the second half of the century after the influence of the Notre Dame school had waned. Apparently the practice soon achieved the status of a convention or formula, and was common enough by the latter part of the century for Walter Odington (fl. 1298-1316) to note that "tripla are frequently fashioned in the sixth mode."⁸³ The proliferation of these faster rhythms eventually obliterated the modal system, exploding it from within as the originally "immeasurable" semibreve acquired its own definable value, which was soon to engender even quicker divisions of its own.⁸⁴

It is therefore expressive of Philip's alleged relationship with the earliest motets that the use of syllabic breves in his works is rare, and syllabic semibreves almost non-existent (see Table 44). Breves with individual syllables appear in only nine texts involving

⁸¹"The Medieval Motet," p. 535.

⁸²See Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 536.

⁸³Cited in Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 535.

⁸⁴On this rhythmic "chromaticism," see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 536-537.

eight different musical complexes,⁸⁵ two of which, Doce nos optime and In salvatoris nomine, are doubtful. Syllabic semibreves, though, occur only in two of the nine pieces: In omni fratre tuo and Ypocrite pseudopontifices.

TABLE 44

 PHILIP'S MOTETS WITH SYLLABIC BREVES AND SEMIBREVES

(All works below contain syllabic breves;
syllabic semibreves are absent unless indicated.)

Medieval Attributions

In omni fratre tuo (with syllabic semibreves)
In veritate comperi

Modern Attributions

O quam necessarium
Ypocrite pseudopontifices (with syllabic semibreves)

Probable (New) Attributions

Memor tui creatoris
Mens fidem seminat
Non orphanum te deseram

Doubtful Attributions

Doce nos optime
In salvatoris nomine

Although texted semibreves are associated quite closely and acceptably with later practice, the occasional use in Philip's works of syllabic breves does not appear to be as chronologically significant. A striking example of the employment of a string of texted breves in an obviously early Philip piece occurs near the opening of his organum prosula Vide prophecie (see Example 70). In the seven instances noted above in which syllabic breves occur exclusively in his motets, the

⁸⁵In veritate and In salvatoris belong to the same family, thus explaining the discrepancy of the numbers.

Example 70. Vide prophecie, mm. 10-13; W2, f. 167.

pro- ge- ni- es est ma- ri- e

ad ex- i- tum hu- ius me- te

passages generally consist of either a single occurrence or a short phrase or two, just as in the above example from his organum prosula. The notable exceptions are the more frequent but random appearance of breves in In veritate comperi and In salvatoris to accommodate an occasional text syllable;⁸⁶ and a slightly more extensive presentation in the doubtful medieval attribution Doce nos optime (see Example 71).

However, when syllabic semibreves appear in tandem with texted breves in Philip's works, their presentation appears to be much more deliberate. In In omni fratre tuo, for instance, the faster notes surface primarily in connection with an eccentric series of ten syllable lines in the central section of the poem (lines 13-19 out of a total of 33; see Example 72). The contrast here from the predominant five- and seven-syllable verses of the surrounding poem is thus punctuated even

⁸⁶See the transcriptions of these pieces in Volume 5, measures 16, 43, 75, 77, and 85.

Example 71. *Doce nos optime*, mm. 10-11, 16-18, 25, 27-30; E, f. 389r-v.

10 16

dux et lux se-mi-te pa-ra-eli-(te) (im-)bu-e os in-stru-e o-pus

25

re-sti-tu-e (du-)e ma-nus ly-e mens ma-ri-e sint mu-tu-

e ple-bi tu-e per-pe-tu-e vi-te spem tri-bu-(-e)

Example 72. In omni fratre tuo, mm. 25-40; LoB, f. 55r-v.

Nul- lo mo- do cre- das te ta- li- bus qui- a mors est in lin- gue ma- ni- bus

ve- sti- ti sunt e- nim du- pli- ci- bus pa- ce- fo- ris et in- tus frau- di- bus.

in oc- cul- tis a- stant di- vi- ti- bus ut no- ce- ant nu- gis

fal- la- ci- bus. a fru- cti- bus et non a ve- sti- bus

cha- um tri- bus no- te sunt ho- mi- ni- bus

more forcefully by an abrupt change in the flow of the musical rhythm from an ornamented iambic second mode pattern to that of a flowing sixth.

But the most interesting application of rapid syllabic notes occurs in the fascinating Ypocrite pseudopontifices. The entire musical fabric of this triplum part is interwoven with a nearly unbroken stream of breves, a practice employed consistently in later motet tripla and whose appearance in a source as early as F is nothing short of astonishing. Sanders points out that F's double motet configuration of Ypocrite / Velut stelle firmamenti / Et gaudebit "fully realizes the inherent potential of the [motet] genre" as a coordination of various rhythmically (and in this case even textually) defined members.⁸⁷ The Tenor proceeds in Mode V (Longs and Duplex Longs), the duplum in Mode I (Longs and Breves), and the Triplum in Mode VI (Breves and Semibreves), while the two poems also contend, each taking sides in a disputation on the morality and corruption of the clergy. Sanders also suggests the possibility that Perotin may have had a hand in composing the music of the triplum, a supposition that becomes more likely with Peter Dronke's independent attribution of the text of Ypocrite to Philip.⁸⁸ Consequently, although this motet relates closely to major stylistic advancements that were to predominate in the second half of the thirteenth century, such innovations were apparently already in motion well before the close of the Notre Dame era (ca. 1250). Given the rarity of other "hierarchically" rhythmic motets in the earliest layers

⁸⁷"The Medieval Motet," p. 524.

⁸⁸See above, Chapter 5.

of the Notre Dame sources,⁸⁹ it seems possible that Philip and Perotin may even have formulated this style.

The systematic use of syllabic breves in conjunction with individually texted semibreves thus points quite convincingly to some of the latest techniques employed in Notre Dame motet composition. The presence of such patterns in Ypocrite / Velut stelle and In omni fratre tuo also presents the likelihood that these practices may well have first surfaced in Philip's and Perotin's latest compositions. The assertion of a later date of creation for these two specific works is also supported by implications that arise in two of their three texts. These two poems not only substantiate the musical evidence, but if the results are upheld they may even yield two motets whose time of composition can be roughly dated.

Chapter 5 has already introduced a possible impetus for Philip's authorship of the stinging Ypocrite pseudopontifices, an admonishment to corrupt, greedy, and hypocritical bishops. There, in an attempt to support Dronke's attribution of this poem to the Chancellor,⁹⁰ it was suggested that the strong language and the specific types of misconduct enumerated in this text could easily refer to Philip's conflicts with the Paris bishop William of Auvergne (reg. 1228-1249) during the late

⁸⁹None of the other two double motets in F implement this technique; and it is also sparsely represented in W2. Only three of the French motets (two double, one triple) in fascicle 9 of this manuscript can claim to approach this style, and none is as definitive as Ypocrite / Velut stelle. For the applicable works in W2, see Gennrich, Bibliographie, nos. 146-147, 523-525, and 784-789.

⁹⁰The attribution surfaces in his "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 587-587, note 56; and p. 592.

1220's and early 1230's.⁹¹ The opening lines of the text that decry "the hypocrites and bogus bishops" may even be a specific reference to William himself. The suspect manner in which he acquired the see of Paris, thwarting the traditional prerogative of the cathedral chapter of Notre Dame to elect its own bishop and preventing the installation of Philip's higher-ranking cousin, offers a scenario that amply explains both the acidity of the expressions in this text and its many echoes of other Philip poems.⁹²

Likewise the allusion to extortion in lines 12-13 ("Ad oculos loculos singulos / angulos ruminant")⁹³ can be perceived as a thinly veiled reference to William's efforts to divest the clergy of the income derived from multiple benefices. It was this conflict that was especially to heighten the animosity between the bishop and the chancellor, resulting in the debate over the plurality of benefices held at Paris in 1235, where Philip, supported by only one other colleague, prevented William from realizing his attempted reform.⁹⁴ If the attribution of this text to Philip prevails, it may therefore be possible to situate its composition sometime between 1228 (the date of William's installation) and 1236, the date of Philip's death. This piece would thus be a near contemporary of his conductus Aurelianis

⁹¹On the confrontations, see above, Chapter 1.

⁹²See Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions," pp. 586-587, note 56.

⁹³"They scrutinize every single purse and hiding place before their eyes."

⁹⁴See above, Chapter 1.

civitas, a newly attributed work that can also be assigned to his final years.⁹⁵

If Ypocrite still remains marginally suspect in both its attribution to Philip and the possibility of its assigned date, the second probable late work, In omni fratre tuo, at least has the added support of a medieval ascription to the Chancellor in LoB. Given the near certainty of Philip's authorship of this text, its rather curious content is significant for the apparent allusions it makes to an event that supposedly occurred during the final year—perhaps even the last weeks—of his life.

In the chapter on Philip's biography above, an anecdote was related from the Bonum universale de apibus of Thomas of Cantimpré that describes an occasion "fifteen days before his death," when Philip preached a sermon that cruelly reproached the members of the Dominican order.⁹⁶ Thomas goes on to say that within a week of Philip's invective, Brother Henry of Cologne of the same order refuted Philip on every point of his earlier homily with references drawn from scripture. According to Thomas, the resulting humiliation brought about a seizure or attack that soon prompted Philip's death.⁹⁷ If one discounts the implicit moral behind Thomas' exemplum—that Philip's arrogance in attempting to discredit the followers of Saint Dominic cost him his

⁹⁵On Aurelianus, its history, and the probability of its attribution to Philip, see above, Chapter 2.

⁹⁶Thomas of Cantimpré, Bonum universale, ed. George Colvener, pp. 151-152.

⁹⁷For this anecdote, see above, Chapter 1. The relevant Latin text is provided in Appendix 5, Document 4C.

life—and if we can let ourselves believe at least the events of Thomas' story leading up to Philip's supposed affliction, it may have a great bearing on suggesting a possible date for In omni fratre tuo and explaining its poetic style.

In omni fratre is exceptional among Philip's motets, not because of its criticism of the clergy, but because the "false brothers" who are the targets of this poem are doubtless the members of the Dominican order.⁹⁸ Although Philip otherwise displayed little evidence of conflict with the mendicant clergy,⁹⁹ In omni fratre tuo demonstrates that like the kings, popes, bishops, and priests in his other lyrics, the Dominicans also earned his reproach:

In omni
fratre tuo non habeas
fiduciam, quoniam
livor est in pluribus,
dolum acuentibus
ut novaculum.

.
Lingue solvent iaculum

odii sermonibus.

.
A fructibus et non a vestibus

Chaym tribus
note sunt hominibus.

.
Nullum esse gravius
periculum
quam in falsis fratribus
per seculum.

Don't place your
trust in every brother,
since malice lurks
in so many of them,
sharpening their artifice
like a razor.

.
In their rancorous sermons
they will
unleash the darts of their
tongues.

.
By their fruits and not by
their garb
are the tribes of Cain
revealed to men.

.
There is no
graver danger
in any age
than in false brothers.

(In omni fratre tuo, lines 1-6; 11-12; 19-21; 30-33.)

⁹⁸For the specific evidence for these claims, see the Notes to the Text of In omni fratre in Volume 4 of this study.

⁹⁹On the overblown enmity between the two, see above Chapter 1.

But even with its anti-Dominican sentiment, what else is there in this piece that connects it specifically to Philip's rebuttal by Henry of Cologne? This, I believe, may be answered with a look into the unusual design of In omni fratre. Most curious in this text is its extremely high incidence of Biblical citations. Nearly every line quotes, paraphrases, or addresses an allusion to the Bible.¹⁰⁰ None of Philip's other motets contain so concentrated a dose of scriptural excerpts as this piece. With this in mind the following sentence from Thomas' account of Henry's retort to Philip begins to sound more significant:

. . . Brother Henry of Cologne, a most reserved and discreet preacher of the [Dominican] order, after reviewing each and every point that the said Chancellor had proclaimed against the brothers, most brilliantly and exhaustively rejected everything he had said by reference to divine scripture [my emphasis].¹⁰¹

With the probable connection of Philip's In omni fratre tuo with the Dominicans, combined with the fact that the exemplum from Thomas' Bonum universale is one of the few pieces of evidence pointing to any outright confrontation between Philip and the Order of Preachers, and adding as well the uncommon glut of scriptural references in the motet that seems more than fortuitously to evoke elements from Thomas' story, it is conceivably that In omni fratre could well be a reaction or

¹⁰⁰For specific references, see the Notes on the Text of this piece in Volume 4 of this study.

¹⁰¹". . . Frater Henricus, dictus de Colonia, dicti ordinis seruentissimus et discretissimus praedicator, . . . singulis, quae contra Fratres dictus Cancellarius praedicaverat, retractis, ad unguem omnia luculentissimè per divinae scripturae paginam improbavit." Bonum universale, book 2, chapter 10, paragraph 36 (pp. 151-152 in the edition of George Colvener). The complete text of the account is given in Appendix 5, Document 4C. See also above, Chapter 1 for a complete translation.

rejoinder to Henry's sermon couched in the form of a motet, where Philip counters his adversary the same way the friar had done: "reviewing each and every point. . . and exhaustively rejecting everything he had said with reference to divine scripture." If this relationship is true, it would then place this motet in the year 1236, the last year of Philip's life (possibly in his final weeks if we accept Thomas' assertions that Philip's death occurred soon after his conflict with Henry of Cologne), an assertion that is strongly borne out by the observation that In omni fratre tuo behaves as one of the most stylistically advanced of all Philip's works in this genre.

Form in Philip's Motets

It indeed appears somewhat curious, given the frequent reliance of thirteenth-century motets upon tenors with repeated colores (tenors which in turn descend most often from ornate responsorial chants with their own large-scale architectonic patterns), that unlike the conductus, chanson, Latin rondellus, French rondeau, lai, sequence, and hymn, the motet is not as disposed to assemble its upper parts into extended structures based upon repetition. Even on the rare occasions when obvious designs do occur, these are most often traceable to the influence of other genres rather than to the autonomous schemes of motets. Some obvious examples of such structural connections can be seen, for instance, in motets that ape the strophic forms of the conductus or the refrain constructions of the rondeau.¹⁰²

¹⁰²On the rondeau motet, see Mark Everist, "The Rondeau Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century," Music and Letters 69 (1988): 1-22.

Certainly a central impediment to the development of repetitive formal structures in the thirteenth-century motet is the presence of the pre-conceived tenor. Such an interpretation is affirmed somewhat by the observation that those few motets which mimic the designs of the rondeau are often forced to modify their tenors so drastically that the shape and pitch content of the original chant are severely corrupted.¹⁰³ And even in the many motets where restatements of original tenor phrases do appear, whether through the reiteration of the entire color or as a result of internal repetition, such a structure is rarely joined with a corresponding melodic recapitulation in the upper parts.¹⁰⁴ In fact, as noted above, the occasion of a new tenor cursus was frequently a signal for contrast rather than resemblance in the music of the upper parts. Thus, of all the new musical genres that appeared in the later Middle Ages, the motet, relatively speaking, can probably claim to be the most "formless."

This is not to imply, though, that motets lack constructive aspects altogether; this is far from true. Rather, it seems that the common principle of organization through repetition that commonly informs sequence versicles, conductus caudae, chanson strophes, and rondeau refrains is not as suitable for the motet, nor is it easy to

¹⁰³Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 533-534; Everist, "The Rondeau Motet," pp. 4-6. Also notable in this regard is the practice of the many thirteenth-century English motets which employ thorough voice exchange with its attendant repetitive structures. Quite frequently in these pieces the tenor either consists of a newly composed pes, or uses a reiterative form (such as a sequence versicle) that allows the consecutive restatement of larger blocks of musical material. On this practice, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 538, 540-543.

¹⁰⁴The major exception, of course, is the rare strophic motet.

apply. Motets are more spare and sporadic in their use of repetitive form. But even given these traits, the melodic structures of the motets with Philip's texts can still point to some clues for interpreting the historical development of the genre as a whole and the chronological implications of his works in particular.

The most extensive investigation into the melodic style of the thirteenth-century motet repertory appears in the recently published study of Hans Tischler.¹⁰⁵ In this work, he divides the thirteenth-century motet corpus into six "melody classes" based on several melodic and rhythmic characteristics evident in the upper parts. Tischler's categories comprise: 1) Irregular melodic repetition, where one or more entire musical phrases are repeated within a composition, but not in immediate proximity to each other; 2) Parallel melodic phrases, which describe the immediate, consecutive repetition of at least one complete phrase during a piece (often most noticeable at the beginning of a work); 3) Motif technique, where melodic units smaller than an entire phrase (motives) are exploited in repetition, variation, or transposition; 4) Rhythmic patterning, which signifies the recurring use of phrases with specific lengths, occasionally bearing the same internal rhythmic content; 5) Motets with refrains: pieces in French that contain short phrases whose same text and music appear in other motets and even in separate genres; and 6) Principles of variety, where no attempt at repetitive or organizational form is evident.

¹⁰⁵Tischler, Style and Evolution, vol. 1, see especially pp. 67-114.

Excepting class number 5 (Motets with refrains), which does not concern the Latin motet texts associated with Philip the Chancellor,¹⁰⁶ each of Tischler's classifications includes elements that are valuable for the evaluation of form in Philip's motets. The division of the

TABLE 45

PHILIP'S MOTETS WITH IRREGULAR MELODIC REPETITION

(10 DIFFERENT TEXTS FROM 5 MUSICAL FAMILIES, 2 DOUBTFUL POEMS)

Medieval Attributions

Venditores labiorum (rhythmic patterning)

Modern Attributions

Nostrum est impletum (rhythmic patterning)

O quam necessarium (rhythmic patterning)

Ypocrite pseudopontifices

Probable (New) Attributions

Doce nos hodie Memor tui creatoris

Flos de spina rumpitur (parallel repetition)

Velut stelle

Doubtful Attributions

O quam sancta quam benigna Virgo virginum regina

poet's motet corpus according to Tischler's categories is presented in Tables 45-49. Several of the various works make use of more than one type of classification, indicated in the applicable tables by additions in parentheses placed opposite to the corresponding entry on the left.

¹⁰⁶Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:78, indicates that a French contrafact of the modern Philip ascription Nostrum est impletum contains a refrain. This trait, however, is not corroborated by van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et Refrains, the most recent major catalog of the species. In any case, this so-called refrain appears in no other source than the French contrafact in question, thus prompting the query whether it indeed is a citation from another, previously composed work. On the problems of identifying refrains in motets, see van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et Refrains, p. 23, note 21; and especially Mark Everist, Polyphonic Music, pp. 238-246.

TABLE 46

PHILIP'S MOTETS WITH PARALLEL MELODIC REPETITION

(10 DIFFERENT TEXTS FROM 8 MUSICAL FAMILIES, 3 DOUBTFUL POEMS)

Medieval Attributions

Homo quam sit pura (rhythmic patterning)

Modern Attributions

Homo quo vigeas vide

Latex silice (rhythmic patterning)

Stupeat natura (rhythmic patterning)

Probable (New) Attributions

Et exaltavi plebis (rhythmic patterning)

Flos de spina rumpitur (irregular melodic repetition)

Mens fidem seminat

Doubtful Attributions

Alpha bovi et leoni Et illumina eximia mater

Larga manu seminat

TABLE 47

PHILIP'S MOTETS THAT USE MOTIF TECHNIQUE

(14 DIFFERENT TEXTS FROM 8 MUSICAL FAMILIES, 5 DOUBTFUL POEMS)

Medieval Attributions

Agmina milicie celestis (rhythmic patterning)

In omni fratre tuo

In veritate comperi (variety)

Modern Attributions

Manere vivere

Mors que stimulo

Mors morsu nata

Probable (New) Attributions

Non orphanum te deseram (rhythmic patterning)

Mors vite vivificacio Serena virginum

Doubtful Attributions

Ave maria fons leticie (rhythmic patterning)

Doce nos optime (variety)

In salvatoris nomine (variety)

Mors a primi patris

Radix venie (rhythmic patterning)

TABLE 48

PHILIP'S MOTETS WITH RHYTHMIC PATTERNING

(13 DIFFERENT TEXTS FROM 9 MUSICAL FAMILIES, 2 DOUBTFUL POEMS)

Medieval Attributions

Agmina milicie celestis	(motif technique)
Homo quam sit pura	(parallel repetition)
Venditores labiorum	(irregular repetition)

Modern Attributions

Latex silice	(parallel repetition)
Nostrum est impletum	(irregular repetition)
Stupeat natura	(parallel repetition)
O quam necessarium	(irregular repetition)

Probable (New) Attributions

Et exaltavi plebis	(parallel repetition)
Ex semine abrahe divino	Ex semine rosa prodit
Non orphanum te deseram	(motif technique)

Doubtful Attributions

Ave maria fons leticie	(motif technique)
Radix venie	(motif technique)

TABLE 49

PHILIP'S MOTETS THAT EXHIBIT PRINCIPLES OF VARIETY

(4 DIFFERENT TEXTS FROM 3 MUSICAL FAMILIES, 2 DOUBTFUL POEMS)

Medieval Attributions

In veritate comperi	(motif technique)
Lacqueus conteritur	

Modern Attributions: NoneProbable (New) Attributions: NoneDoubtful Attributions

Doce nos optime	(motif technique)
In salvatoris nomine	(motif technique)

Tischler additionally notes some chronological patterns within these divisions. He states that though all of the various classes are

well represented in the very earliest layers of the motet repertory, repetition of phrases, whether irregular or parallel, tends to decline in the later strata in favor of rhythmic patterning and motif technique. Eventually, with the predominance of French texted works, the latest phase of motet construction features a majority of pieces employing refrains, with through-composed structures appearing especially prominently.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, the same features of motivic manipulation and rhythmic patterning likewise prevail over melodic repetition in the presumably later double motet repertory; and those double motets that do feature repeating phrases are prone to strong connections with the clausula repertory.

When Philip's motet corpus is examined from this viewpoint, the results continue to suggest his primary involvement in the earliest stages of the motet repertory. Tables 45-46 above show that nineteen different texts (five of these are doubtful assignments), belonging to twelve of the twenty-two musical families assessed for this study, employ either irregular or parallel repetition in their music. Seven of these poems, representing five different musical compositions, also employ a significant amount of rhythmic patterning along with their repetitive elements.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:82, 90. For the following remarks, see ibid., pp. 100 and 103.

¹⁰⁸These seven poems are all accepted attributions. The five compositions comprise 1) the double motet complex Venditores labiorum / O quam necessarium. 2) Homo quam sit pura and its contrafact Stupeat natura, 3) Nostrum est impletum, 4) Latex silice, and 5) Et exaltavi plebis.

On the other hand, the more durable practice of motif technique never appears alongside melodic repetition in Philip's corpus, and figures as a structural factor in only nine accepted poetic attributions stemming from six different musical works. Included in this sample are the clearly late In omni fratre tuo, the three texts associated with the four-part Mors,¹⁰⁹ the two poems¹¹⁰ set to the long two-part Manere clausula, Non orphanum te deseram, and finally the conductus motets Agmina milicie and In veritate comperi. These last two, interestingly enough, not only close F's first motet fascicle, but violate its liturgical ordering, suggesting by their placement in this source that they may well indeed be later additions, "afterthoughts" to the conductus motet collection of this manuscript.¹¹¹

Least numerous of all Philip's motets are the four pieces that exhibit Tischler's "principles of variety"—the technique with the longest life span and associated with the latest works. Three of these four texts also implement occasional motivic interaction. They include the discarded medieval attributions Doce nos optime and In salvatoris nomine—both of which exhibit other features (later sources or vernacular motet style), which argue for their relatively younger age—as well as the latter's sidekick, the accepted attribution In veritate comperi. Besides this last work, the only other accepted attribution among the through-composed pieces is the clearly French influenced Laqueus

¹⁰⁹The fourth poem related to this group, the quadruplum text Mors a primi patris, is a dubious ascription.

¹¹⁰Manere vivere and Serena virginum.

¹¹¹For further indications for a later conception of Agmina and In veritate, see below, Chapter 8.

conteritur, whose more modern attributes have been signalled several times in the above pages. Tischler's observations on the chronology of the various thirteenth-century motet classes thus conform with the testimony provided by Philip the Chancellor's collection, and, as usual, the majority of pieces in his canon favor demonstrably older styles.

Forms and Styles in Specific Works

Several of Philip's motets are either excellent representations of the classes they embody, are unusual in their protracted use of formal elements, or are so striking in their designs that they warrant a brief account of their features. The involved layout of the motetus in Flos de spina rumpitur,¹¹² for instance, demonstrates a pervasive formal structuring that exploits numerous repeated and paired phrases, despite the typical restraints of its patterned tenor (See Figure 4).¹¹³

A (measures 1-5) B (6-9) B' (10-13) C (14-17) C¹ (18-21) D (22-25)
 E (26-29) F (30-32) G (32-34) G' (34-36) H (36-38) E¹ (38-42) I
 (43-44) J (45-46) E² (47-50) K (51-54) K¹ (55-56 [= 53-54]) C² (57-
 60) K² (61-65).

Figure 4. Musical form of the motetus of Flos de spina rumpitur, (Regnat nos. 2-3).

The sound as well as the construction of Flos de spina brings immediately to mind the style of Perotin's multi-voiced organa and well

¹¹²Its melismatic concordance is the M34 Regnat nos. 2-3 in the catalog of Smith, "The Clausulae."

¹¹³For a similar, though not quite as extensive use of repeating phrases, with the added factor of a startling correspondence to the opening phrases of Flos de spina, see Philip's (and Perotin's) Homo quo vigeas vide, transcribed in Volume 4.

Example 73. *Flos de spina rumpitur*, mm. 6-13; F, f. 393v.

spi- na ca- ret flos et a- ret sed non mo- ri- tur.

vi- te flo- rem per a- mo- rem flos com- ple- cti- tur.

supports Sanders attribution of this work to him.¹¹⁴ Some of its most striking evocations surface in the regular employment of antecedent-consequent gestures in the repeated phrases, one of which clearly suggests his hand through its construction of neighbor tones circling around a restated pitch (see the motetus voice of Example 73).¹¹⁵ A second involves a long sequential figure that first arrives in measures 26-29,¹¹⁶ resurfaces in 38-42, and emerges again on a different pitch

¹¹⁴"The Medieval Motet," p. 518.

¹¹⁵For the use of this technique in other works associated with Perotin, see Payne, "Associa," p. 246.

¹¹⁶All references to measure numbers of motets, unless otherwise indicated, refer to the transcriptions provided in Volumes 4 and 5 of this dissertation.

level in 47-50 (see Example 74).¹¹⁷ Finally, there appears an example of Perotin's signature technique of generating a new phrase out of the closing gesture of its predecessor (see Example 75).¹¹⁸

Example 74. Flos de spina rumpitur, mm. 26-29; F, ff. 393v-394.

A unique case of sustained repetition well beyond the kind exhibited by Flos de spina, not only within Philip's corpus but in the motet repertory at large, appears in the formal structure of the hybrid motet-conductus Latex silice. Here the successive reiteration of phrases in the motetus forms a series of units organized into repeating groups of three, an arrangement that Tischler has likened to the versicles of the sequence and lai (see Figure 5).¹¹⁹ The formal

¹¹⁷For other extended sequences in Perotin's organa, see the opening and closing phrases of the duplum from his Sederunt principes (preserved in Philip's prosula De Stephani roseo transcribed in Volume 4 of this study); the gestures leading to the clausula on [Dom]i-ne in the verse section of the same work (available also in Philip's Adesse festina in Volume 4, measures 225-233); and the markedly similar phrase from his Viderunt omnes that appears in Philip's Vide prophecie, measures 43-46).

¹¹⁸For other examples of this procedure in Perotin's works, see the transcriptions in volume 2 of Philip's Vide prophecie, measures 79-90; and Adesse festina, measures 86-95 and 131-136.

¹¹⁹Tischler, Style and Evolution, 1:88. For a similar structure see Philip's newly attributed conductus prosula Crucifigat omnes.

Example 75. Flos de spina rumpitur, mm. 51-56; F, f. 394.

non e-ro de ce-te-ro ia-cta-tus a pro-cel-la.

ec-ce ma-ris stel-la

contribution of these "triple versicles" in Latex is elaborated even further through the added presence of less strictly reiterated phrases in the triplum and quadruplum parts, the appearance of voice exchange,¹²⁰ and the concluding cauda that so confuses the generic classification of this work.

Comparable, though not quite as extensive, is the melodic recurrence in the modest Homo quam sit pura; but here the practice of phrase parallelism merges with the technique of rhythmic patterning. In terms of its rhythmic structure, this work extends the similarities not only to the duration of the phrases, but even to the specific note values within them. The result offers a composition that exhibits a

¹²⁰See especially measures 13-18 of the triplum and quadruplum.

<u>Quadrup:</u>	J	A ⁹	C ⁴		D ⁴	A ¹⁰	D ⁵
<u>Triplum:</u>	D ¹	G	C ¹		C ²	C ³	D ²
<u>Motetus:</u>	A	B	A ¹		A ²	A ³	A ⁴ .
<u>Measure:</u>	1	2	4		7	9	11
<u>Quadrup:</u>	K	A ²	G ⁵		B ²	D ⁶	C ⁵
<u>Triplum:</u>	A ⁶	G ¹	A ⁷		G ²	G ³	G ⁴
<u>Motetus:</u>	C	C	C		D	D	D
<u>Measure:</u>	13	15	17		19	21	23
<u>Quadrup:</u>	L	D ⁷	M	N		+ cauda:	
<u>Triplum:</u>	A ⁸	D ³	H	I			
<u>Motetus:</u>	E	A ⁵	B ¹	F			
<u>Measure:</u>	25	27	39	31			
<u>Quadrup:</u>	c ²	g ²	i	j	k		
<u>Triplum:</u>	f	c ¹	g	g ¹	h		
<u>Motetus:</u>	a	b	c	d	e		
<u>Measure:</u>	33	35	37	39	41		

Figure 5. Musical form of Latex silice, motetus, triplum and quadruplum.

nearly uninterrupted regularity in both its periodic design and in the versification of its poetry (see Figure 6).

- a. Poetic scheme (in numbers of syllables): 10(6) + 8 [or 2x4] + 7(6)
- b. Phrase structure (in Longs): 10(4) + 8 + 6(4)

Figure 6. Regularity of textual design and phrase structure in the motetus and triplum of Homo quam sit pura.

Philip's celebrated Aqmina milicie celestis also uses repeated phrase lengths. Although this work suggests comparison to Homo quam sit pura because its music consists of arrangements exclusively in units or multiples of four Longs, the rhythmic diversity within its periods is somewhat greater. As a result, the verse scheme of Aqmina is more varied than Homo quam, yet it still approaches a regularity unusual for

many early motets.¹²¹ Especially conspicuous is the frequent presence of couplets of seven and six syllables that are often interspersed with ones of five (see Figure 7). The incorporation of both rhythmic patterning and the attempt at poetic regularity, however, contrast starkly with the lack of melodic repetition in this through composed composition.

a. Poetic scheme (in numbers of syllables):

$$5(7 + 6) + 2(5) + 2(7+6) + 2(5) + (7 + 4(4) + 6) + 2(5) + 2(7 + 6) + (7 + 8).$$

b. Phrase structure (in Longs):

$$5(8) + 2(4) + 2(8) + 2(4) + 16 + 2(4) + 2(8) + 10L.$$

Figure 7. Textual and phrase structure in Agmina milicie celestis, motetus and triplum.

The manipulation of motivic ideas emerges prominently in several of Philip's works from both the earlier and later phases of his career as a motet poet. In the presumably older Manere vivere, for instance, motives unify this extended composition in a variety of impressive ways. Not only is its application of recurring musical rhyme especially striking at the point of change to a new tenor color (a feature that has been noted several times already in this study),¹²² but elsewhere the extension of the motivic correlations to sequential and antecedent-consequent phrases adds considerably to the internal cohesion of this striking composition (see Example 76).

¹²¹See Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 514.

¹²²See above; and, for an illustration, Example 35.

Example 76. Manere vivere, mm. 31-38, 91-97; W2, f. 166r-v.

31

e- um vo- lo sic ma- ne- re quid ad te me se- que- re

ti- bi stra- te pre- mon- stra- te pa- tent et cru- o- re

91

fu- it huic cu- bi- le me- um pe- ctus hic e- le- ctus

cu- stos ma- tri ma- ri- e

The decidedly late In omni fratre tuo furnishes an especially attractive piece of music that also owes much of its charm to motivic recollection. In this work, the opening two-measure gesture (or a close variant) appears no less than six different times, and through its combination with several other phrases that also share repeated and paired motives, provides a motet whose five successive colores sound not unlike a short set of related variations over the "ground" of the famous In seculum melisma (see Figure 8).

For a final consideration of the formal aspects in Philip's motets, the completely through-composed structure of Laqueus conteritur

Color I:A (measures 1-2) B (3-5) C (6-8) A¹ (9-10) D (11-12).Color II:E (13-14) A² (15-16) A³ (17-18) F (19-20) G (21-22) A⁴ (23-24).Color III:G¹ (25-26) G² (27-28) H (29-30) I (31-32) H (33-34) H' (35-36).Color IV:

J (37-39) B' (40-41) K (42-43) L (44-46) M (47-48).

Color V:K' (49-51) N (52-54) O (55-57) A⁵ (58-59) M' (60-61).

Figure 8. Musical form of In omni fratre tuo (motetus).

may be briefly noted. The unusual nature of this piece, not only in its lack of apparent structural design, but also in its unpatterned tenor in simple Longs, the lengthy text of its cantus firmus, and its clear reliance on the rhythmic vivacity of vernacular motet style, renders this one of the most extraordinary works in Philip's corpus. In fact, were it not for the attribution of this poem to him in LoB, it is doubtful whether its excellent text alone would be enough to single it out as one of his motets. The music does not at all suggest the hand of Perotin, and in all likelihood Laqueus conteritur, like its cohort In omni fratre tuo, represents either a belated instance in which Philip either contrafacted a now lost French motet, or even conceivably a work whose music he might have written himself.¹²³

With the clarity of the formal structures of such works as Flos de spina rumpitur and Latex silice, the almost isorhythmic designs of Homo quam sit pura and Aqmina milicie, the motivic repetition of Manere vivere and In omni fratre tuo, and the through composed Laqueus conteritur, the music that accompanies Philip's motet texts describes a

¹²³On the possibility that Philip may have been a composer, see above, in the Introduction to this study.

multitude of thirteenth-century musical designs. These works, though, are far more than depictions of intellectual constructs, they also comprise some of the most appealing polyphonic works of the Notre Dame school. The repertorial relationships and musical styles of the various motets with texts by Philip the Chancellor thus form a body of works that demonstrate significant stylistic breadth and frequent ties to the earliest repertory of Notre Dame motets. Within this group of works there also exists additional testimony that can further contribute to our knowledge of the medieval motet's origin, development, and early history. The implications of these issues will occupy the next and final chapter devoted to Philip's motets.

CHAPTER 8

PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR'S MOTETS IV TOWARDS A CHRONOLOGY OF PHILIP'S MOTETS

The foregoing examination of musical and textual features, melodic and rhythmic practices, formal and structural techniques, and exceptional and commonplace elements in Philip the Chancellor's motets showcases an impressive and varied array of works, ranging from early, occasionally experimental pieces to later, progressive compositions illustrating techniques which are typically associated with vernacular and "Franconian" motets. The primary task that remains is to attempt an assimilation of the stylistic and repertorial information presented in the previous two chapters. The results seek to offer a provisional consideration of the chronological implications of Philip's motets, to establish some sort of order to the works of his canon, and to assess their significance for the development of this new category of musical composition.

There are presently two major schools of thought on the likely date for the creation of the motet. Both rely for their principal evidence on the same episcopal edicts of Odo of Sully from 1198 and 1199 that have been treated in Chapter 4 as part of the discussion of the chronology of the organum prosulas, and both arrive at their conclusions as the result of an attempt to delineate the career of the composer

Perotin. The major difference between the two theories lies in their different appraisals of Perotin's two unprecedented organa quadrupla Viderunt omnes and Sederunt principes.

Hans Tischler provides the earlier of the two proposed dates for the origin of the motet.¹ He accepts the testimony of Bishop Odo's pronouncements on the performance of Christmastide organa in two, three, and four parts as a likely indication for the composition of Perotin's quadrupla around the year 1200,² and reasons logically that his writing of organa and clausulae in two and three voices prefaced the creation of his vast four-voiced achievements. The Viderunt and Sederunt, claims Tischler, are late masterworks, the culmination of the composer's musical career. Furthermore, arguing ex silentio from the fact that Anonymous IV never mentions Perotin in connection with the motet, Tischler asserts that the composer probably did not live to see the genre develop into its classic form of a multi-texted composition in either Latin and French, but that he possibly did observe the formation of the earliest Latin two-part and conductus motets. Finally, Tischler places the origin of the French motet within the years 1200-1215, based on the observation that the double motet De la ville / A la ville /

¹For Tischler's views and for verification of the following points that are attributed to him, see especially his articles "New Historical Aspects," pp. 24-31; "The Dates of Perotin," pp. 240-241; "Perotinus Revisited," pp. 810-817; "The Early Cantors," pp. 85-87; and "Pérotin and the Creation of the Motet," The Music Review 44 (1983): 1-7.

²The edicts are published in Guérard, ed., Cartulaire, vol 1, pp. 72-75. For a translation and discussion of the relevant sections, see above, Chapter 4; and Wright, Music and Ceremony, pp. 237-243.

Manere³ contains a refrain that also appears in the roman Geleran de Bretagne, a work that was allegedly written by the poet Jean Renart (fl. ca. 1190?-1210?), and which supposedly dates from close to 1200. Hence, Tischler concludes that Perotin died soon after the turn of the century (around 1200-1205), and that by the middle of its second decade at the latest (ca. 1215), the motet had developed fully enough to incorporate texts in the vernacular.

Tischler's claims, first published in 1950, were largely prompted as a response to the observations on Perotin's life proposed by Yvonne Rokseth in her seminal work on the Montpellier motet codex published in the 1930's.⁴ In 1967, however, Ernest Sanders broke new ground in the evaluation of Perotin's contributions to Notre Dame music.⁵ He rejected the majority of Tischler's proposals, sided again with Rokseth and her supporters, and proposed a later date for the conception of the motet.

Stated as succinctly as possible, Sanders notes that Perotin's two quadrupla possess noticeably conservative traits. Despite their immensity and their abundant vocal parts, they do not exploit the rhythmic and notational complexity of the more intimate but highly sophisticated clausula. The tenors in the discant segments of the Viderunt and Sederunt display none of the ostinato patterns that appear

³Gennrich, Bibliographie, nos. 74-75. This work occurs only as a double motet in W2 and the chansonniers R and N; and additionally has a clausula source, the three-part Manere in the St. Victor manuscript (StV, f. 288), the second item in its famous collection of forty melismas.

⁴Polyphonies, 4:50-51.

⁵"The Question," pp. 241-249. See also his "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode, p. 280, note 150.

in the cantus firmi of at least two of Perotin's own organa tripla⁶ and in the majority of the independently conceived discant clausulae.⁷ The upper parts of Perotin's quadrupla are likewise less adventurous in their use of rhythmic modes, with no evidence of the unequivocal use of definitive iambic patterns during the entire course of either piece.

Sanders, therefore, views the chain of events somewhat differently, although his suggestions for the date of origin of the motet differ from those of Tischler by only a decade or two at most. He proposes first of all that the quadrupla (which he agrees with Tischler were written around 1200) represent works that predate the birth of the clausula. Secondly, he favors the view that Perotin first formulated the concept of the discant clausula as the result of his work on the revision of Leonin's Magnus liber from approximately the last decade of the twelfth century and the first of the thirteenth. During this time Perotin perfected the clausula, which became an independent compositional genre around the year 1210.⁸ Thirdly, and most

⁶Most noticeably the M38 Alleluia et Nativitas in its discant section on ex semine (which corresponds to the likely Philip motet Ex semine rosa / Ex semine Abrahe transcribed in Volume 5) and the M51 Alleluia et Posui adiutorium over the text per potentem et exaltavi. For transcriptions of these specific passages, see Husmann, ed., Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame-Organa, pp. 89 and 106, respectively.

⁷Sanders ("The Question," pp. 241-243) makes a necessary distinction between the "substitution passages" contained in the second and third groups of clausulae in the fifth fascicle of F (ff. 172v-180), which due to their short length were obviously intended to replace sections of organa, and the more audacious discants elsewhere in the fascicle that were most likely written as independent compositions or as melismatic sources for motets.

⁸Another interesting facet to this argument is provided by the M3 "abbreviation" clausula Deus meus salvum me fac propter misericordiam (no. 2 in the catalog of Norman E. Smith, "The Clausulae." As Rebecca Baltzer has readily observed ("Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:412-414),

importantly for our present purposes, Sanders suggests that due to the necessity for the composer's prior cultivation of the clausula, Perotin would not have seen the birth of the Latin motet until around the second decade of the thirteenth century (ca. 1210 - ca. 1220). He therefore regards the development of the discant clausula as the true culmination of Perotin's career. When compared to a four-part organal setting of an entire cantus firmus, a clausula is far more radical in its use of an excised melismatic segment from a larger chant to serve as the foundation for an autonomous, polyphonic musical work.

Sanders additionally responds to Tischler's assertion that no medieval witness connects Perotin with the composition of motets by observing that the term motetus most likely made its way into Latin by way of French (where it derives from the word "mot") rather than the reverse. Before the insinuation of the French language into the motet, he reasons, there was no cause to use such a term, and such pieces were most likely denoted by the Latin names of "clausula" or "discantus." Therefore, according to his reckoning, Perotin lived well into the thirteenth century, was certainly involved with the early Latin motet, and may additionally have witnessed the initial flourish of its vernacular form.

the second part of this discant segment, beginning with the words salvum me fac, concords with musical material set to this same text in both the duplum and triplum of Perotin's Sederunt. Since it appears much more probable that the abbreviation clausula would have been formed by "compressing" the voices of the organum quadruplum, rather than the reverse, the presence of this unusual concordance thus suggests that for this piece at least, Sanders' theories of chronological succession are the most appropriate.

As for the origin of the vernacular motet, Sanders considers it unlikely, given his view of the chronology, that the French-texted form of the new genre could have arisen much earlier than 1220. In answer to Tischler's presentation of the refrain from Galeran de Bretagne as proof of the existence of French motets soon after the turn of the century, he states that the refrain in question is not specific enough in its reference to the roman to require the reliance of the one on the other. By this implication a good period of time could have elapsed after the appearance of the refrain in the roman before it was cited in the double motet. Furthermore, he states that Galeran is probably a decade younger than Tischler's claim, thereby securing his argument for the later emergence of the French motet.

Sanders' dismissal of Tischler's evidence for the dating of Galeran, however, now appears a bit rash; for as Mark Everist has shown, this interpretation relies on a selective reading of the literature. Scholars have yet to find a reasonable consensus on the time of composition of Galeran, nor is it even certain that Jean Renart is its author.⁹ Nevertheless, the lack of a solid connection that would compel the close temporal dependence of the motet on the roman continues to hamper severely the use of this detail to support Tischler's view of the emergence of the vernacular motet.¹⁰ Despite this minor criticism though, it is Sanders' hypotheses that have best withstood the test of time. Though they are now more than two decades old, they have held up admirably, even as new information arrives that further clarifies the

⁹Everist, Polyphonic Music, pp. 19-27.

¹⁰On these points, see ibid.

history of Notre Dame music. This newly applicable evidence allows us to refine Sanders' views ever so slightly in the search for the origins of the medieval motet.

Much of the credit goes to Craig Wright for illuminating many of the events that shaped the Notre Dame school. His recently published work, the result of meticulous research into the surviving archives of the Paris cathedral,¹¹ aids in providing some chronological boundaries for several of the major musical achievements of Notre Dame. Perhaps his most notable breakthrough was his identification of the canon and poet Leonius as the hitherto elusive composer Leonin.¹² Wright's findings place him squarely in Paris and closely attentive to the business of the cathedral during the 1180's and 90's, with his death occurring in or shortly after the year 1201. The survival of Leonin into the earliest years of the thirteenth century thus raises the possibility that the chronological limits for the composer's attention to the Magnus liber might be pushed several decades later than previously suspected. Such a situation could mean that even some of Leonin's works may have been prompted by Bishop Odo's decrees of 1198 and 1199.¹³

Also significant are Wright's persuasive arguments for the reconsideration of Petrus Succentor, another Parisian native and dignitary of the Notre Dame cathedral chapter, as a candidate for the

¹¹Music and Ceremony.

¹²See not only his Music and Ceremony, pp. 281-288; but also the fuller treatment in idem, "Leoninus," both of which apply for the following remarks.

¹³Even Sanders never envisioned Leonin crossing the threshold into the thirteenth century. See his "The Question," p. 245.

identity of the equally obscure composer Perotin.¹⁴ Petrus apparently became succentor shortly before July 1207, but was certainly affiliated beforehand with Notre Dame. His death in 1238 makes him a nearly exact contemporary of Philip the Chancellor, who died only two years earlier.

The likely possibility that Petrus Succentor may indeed be Perotin not only supports Sanders' version of the historical chain, but simultaneously explains and cements even more tightly the bond between Philip and Perotin in their dealings with Notre Dame poetry and music. This connection likewise eases a potential problem in using Philip's motets to inform the chronology of Notre Dame musical style, for it could be argued that the Chancellor may well have appropriated much older compositions for use with his texts, thereby contaminating any attempts to classify his works chronologically on musical grounds.¹⁵ However, the likelihood of such a close association between the poet and composer as that of Philip the Chancellor and Petrus Succentor makes it more plausible that a given motet by Philip and a musically identical Perotinian clausula are very near contemporaries, perhaps composed even within a few days or even hours of each other.

In addition, Wright's observations on the composition of three-part organa help to fix a possible time for the emergence of the motet. He argues forcefully that the organum triplum Sancte Germane (almost certainly a work by Perotin and probably originally titled Sancte Eliqi)

¹⁴Music and Ceremony, pp. 288-294.

¹⁵For an attitude towards this point that is extremely and, I believe, sometimes overly cautious, see Everist, Polyphonic Music, chapter 1; and particularly his discussion of a passage from the chronicler Salimbene de Adam on pp. 30-36.

was probably composed for Notre Dame in the year 1212.¹⁶ This indicates that its accompanying organum prosula, Philip's Associa tecum in patria, may also stem from this date at the earliest.¹⁷ The appearance of the motet as a species almost certainly occurred after the composition of Philip's organum prosulas; but the motet also presumably developed prior to, or at least contemporarily with his texts to conductus melismas.¹⁸ There are, in fact, two datable examples of conductus prosulas from 1219-20 and 1222-23, and these are probably not the earliest of the five essays in this genre.¹⁹

Consequently, if we accept the dates of the episcopal decrees for the composition of the two organa quadrupla and allow for the likely potential of a slight temporal overlap between the different genres, Perotin's association with Leonin's Magnus liber and the formation of the clausula can thus be placed anywhere from approximately 1190 to about 1215. Analogously, from the evidence of the organum triplum Sancte Germane [Eligii] and its prosula Associa, Perotin's cultivation of organa in three or four parts probably began around 1190 and ceased around 1212 with the composition of the three-part Sancte Germane

¹⁶Music and Ceremony, pp. 298-299.

¹⁷I consider it to be an exact contemporary of its organum source, prompted by the same stimulus of the gift of a relic of Saint Eligius to Notre Dame from Noyon, where Philip was presently archdeacon. See Payne, "Associa," p. 253.

¹⁸For the sequence of events in the proposed chronology of Philip's organum and conductus prosulas, see above, Chapter 4.

¹⁹The two examples are, respectively, Crucifigat omnes (1219-1220) and Bulla fulminante (1222-1223). They may well have been preceded by the more conservatively styled Minor natu filius, and possibly even Veste nuptiali, Philip's own contrafact of Bulla. See above, Chapter 4.

[Eligi] and its liturgical companion the Alleluia Ψ Posui adiutorium à3, which appears to be his most advanced organal work.²⁰ With the composition of the last of the organum prosulas (Associa) tracable to this same year, and with the creation of Philip's conductus prosulas (most of them probably also set to the music of Perotin) attested to by at least 1219-1220, the entire spectrum of datable and stylistic information suggests that the motet was in full flower by the beginning of the third decade of the thirteenth century (1220-1230) at the latest. Hence, Sanders' suggested date of around 1210 for the creation of the motet seems very close to the mark, though a period of origin slightly subsequent to this, ca. 1215 for instance, would also fit the evidence. Likewise his placement of the origin of the French motet in 1220 or perhaps even a little later is similarly justifiable. Certainly the French motet had appeared by at least 1236 due to its obvious influence on several of Philip's Latin works such as In omni fratre tuo and Laqueus conteritur.

Given the sequence of events just delineated, we are now in a better position, not only to evaluate Philip's motets chronologically according to their musical and textual characteristics, but also to assign some potential dates in the form of approximate decades to the different phases of his activity as a motet poet. These periods have added significance, for they can also furnish insight into the progression of the discant style cultivated in the various clausulae attributed to Perotin.

²⁰On this claim, see Payne, "Associa," pp. 245-246 and the references cited therein.

TABLE 50

A CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR'S MOTETS

Stylistic Features	Earlier Features											Later Features											PERIOD			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22		23		
EARLY WORKS (ca. 1210 - ca. 1220)																										
Alpha bovi et leoni		X			X	X	X		X	X														D	Early	
Doce nos hodie	X	X				X		X	X	X															Early	
Et exaltavi plebis	X	X			X	X			X								X		X						Early	
Ex semine Abrahe	?	X			X	X	X	X		X	X									X					Early	
Flos de spina	X	X				X		X	X	X															Early	
Homo quam sit pura	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X										X					Early	
Homo quo vigeas	X	X			?	X			X	X							X								Early	
Latex silice	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X												X				Early	
Manere vivere		X				X		X											X						Early	
Mens fidem seminat		X			X	X	X	X		X															Early	
Nostrum est	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X											X				Early	
O quam sancta quam	X	X				X		X										X						D	Early	
Radix venie	X	X			X	X	X			X								X	X	X					D	Early
Serena virginum	X	X	X											X					X	X				T	Early	
EARLY TO MIDDLE-PERIOD WORKS (ca. 1210 - ca. 1225)																										
Ave Maria fons		X			X	X			X				X					X	X	X				D	Early/Middle?	
Stupeat natura		X	X		X	X			X	X								X	X					T	Early/Middle?	
MIDDLE-PERIOD WORKS (ca. 1215 - ca. 1225)																										
Ex semine rosa	X			X	X	X	X		X	X									X		X				Middle	
Mors que stimulo	X			X	X	X			X										X						Middle	
Mors morsu nata	X			X	X	X			X										X						Middle	
Non orphanum	X			X	X	X													X	X					Middle	
MIDDLE-PERIOD TO LATE WORKS (ca. 1215 - ca. 1236)																										
Agmina milicie	X	?			X	X		X										X	X						Middle/Late?	
In veritate comperi	X				X				X	X								X	X	X					Middle/Late	
Larga manu	X			X			X						X					X						D	Middle/Late?	
Memor tui creatoris	X			X	X	X												X						T	Middle/Late?	
Mors vite	X			X	X	X												X						T	Middle/Late?	
Virgo virginum	X						X						X					X						D	Middle/Late?	
LATE WORKS (ca. 1220 - 1236)																										
Doce nos optime	X				X	X			X			X	I	X			X	X						D	Late	
Et illumina eximia	X				X	X		X					X		X			X						D	Late	
In omni fratre tuo					X			X				X		I	X	X	X	X		X					Late	
In salvatoris								X	X	X							X	X		X	X		D		Late	
Laqueus conteritur					X	X	X		X			X	U						X	X					Late	
Mors a primi patris	X				X	X	X		X								X		X		X		D		Late	
O quam necessarium					X	X	X		X	X	X						X	X	X					T	Late	
Velut stelle	X				X				X	X							X								Late	
Venditores laborum					X	X	X		X	X	X						X		X	X					Late	
Ypocrite					X				X	X	X					X	X							T	Late	

Identification of Stylistic Features by column

- | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1: Conductus motet | 9: Irregular melodic repetition | 17: Syllabic Semibreves |
| 2: Clausula source | 10: Parallel melodic repetition | 18: Non-liturgical text |
| 3: In F, fascicle 6 | 11: Coincident phrasing | 19: Motif technique |
| 4: Strophic motet | 12: Double or Triple motet | 20: Rhythmic patterning |
| 5: Multi-part clausula | 13: No clausula concordance | 21: Elements of variety |
| 6: Troping techniques | 14: No troping techniques | 22: Work only in later sources |
| 7: Single tenor color | 15: Unpatterned or Iambic Tenors | 23: Doubtful or Tentative ascription |
| 8: Liturgical text | 16: Iambic upper parts | |

Table 50 furnishes an overview in graphic form of a provisional chronology of the motets in Philip's corpus. In its leftmost column it displays the thirty-six different texts that have been evaluated in this study. The succeeding twenty-three vertical columns, capped by numbers whose functions are listed at the bottom of the table, report the presence or absence of chronologically significant stylistic traits. The final column entry under the heading PERIOD furnishes the most likely stage (Early, Middle, Late or some period in between these three categories) for the composition of the motet text in question. Based on the timetable given above for the invention of the genre and its development during Philip's lifetime, an "early" motet text by Philip can be assigned to the period from around 1210 to 1220; a "middle" composition from about 1215 to 1225; and a "late" work from between roughly 1220 to 1236, the year of Philip's death. The pieces that appear to straddle these chronological boundaries can be placed anywhere within the proposed limits they span.

Although it may be tempting to determine the chronological placement of a given Philip motet merely by weighing presence of earlier characteristics against later ones and selecting the period that displays the majority of attributes, in the end each piece must speak for itself. The stylistic characteristics of the four different texts set to the quadruple clausula Mors, for instance, display a slightly greater number of earlier versus later traits, due to the presence of a multi-part clausula source for these texts and their use of liturgically suitable poetry. However, the novel tenor arrangement in this piece, which features a pattern change in its second color, suggests that the

clausula is relatively advanced in nature, and the likely earliest appearance of the motet as a double-texted work likewise indicates that this piece probably belongs to a period subsequent to the more manifestly conservative examples, such as Homo quam sit pura.

In addition, seven examples are flagged with question marks in the PERIOD column, indicating that some measure of doubt exists in their chronological assignment. In every case but one, each of these pieces is a contrafact of another, more clearly demarcated poem that probably represents the older, original motet version. Furthermore, in all but a single instance, these texts are doubtful or at best tentative attributions to Philip.²¹ The single exception to both these situations is Philip's most celebrated motet, Agmina milicie celestis omnia. Its characteristics are special enough to require a slight digression to justify its chronological placement.

* * *

Agmina milicie is preserved in eleven different sources and is attributed to Philip both in the manuscripts LoB and Praha and by his friend the trouvère Henri d'Andeli, who attests to its renown in his Dit du Chancelier Philippe:

Ah, Lady Saint Catherine,
chaste virgin, splendid martyr,
whom the Chancellor never forgot

²¹The poems comprise the dubious Virgo virginum regina, Larga manu seminatum, and Ave Maria fons leticie; and the tentative Stupeat natura, Mors vite vivificacio, and Memor tui creatoris. Their placement in the table as early-to-middle works is influenced by the fact that the first appearance of any of these works in a central source is in W2, not F, and therefore as contrafacts they quite probably come from a slightly later layer. Additionally, Larga manu, Memor tui, and Virgo virginum are unique to W2, while with the exception of Ave Maria the other works have notable ties to peripheral sources.

because he loved you so:

.
 For you he wrote Agmina milicie, a conductus
 [motet] wherein no fault could be found,
 which no cleric has ever forgotten.²²

Although Philip's Agmina milicie may be his most famous motet, its historical classification can be confusing. It is indeed a troping conductus motet with a clausula concordance, and would be suitable for performance within the liturgy of Saint Catherine's feast; but these implications for early origin are clouded by other, contradictory factors that suggest it hails rather from a later stage in Philip's career.²³

Agmina survives in its earliest source, E, near the current end of the eighth fascicle of this manuscript, gathered together with and preceding both the conductus motet O Maria maris stella and an incomplete transmission of Philip's In veritate comperi. This last work is incompletely preserved and breaks off with the pages that are missing after folio 398. The placement of O Maria and In veritate after Agmina frustrates the otherwise uninterrupted ordering of the motets in this fascicle according to the liturgical sequence of their tenor chants. In addition, all three of these final pieces conflict with the majority of

²²"Ha! dame sainte Katerine, / virge pure, martire fine, / lou Chancelier n'oblie mie / car molt te tenoit a s'amie. / . . . Un conduit ou il ne faut rien / fist: Agmina milicie / que li cler n'ont mie oblié." The cited text is from Heron, Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli, p. 37, lines 169-172 and 176-178. There is another edition by Paul Meyer as part of his article "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe." See p. 213 for the passage in question.

²³On the following points, see Ludwig, Repertorium, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 106-108.

the compositions in Fascicle 8 through their lack of clausula concordances.²⁴

Although it is true that Agmina is one of Philip's two medieval motet attributions with a discant clausula,²⁵ the melismatic concordance appears only in StV, and therefore presents the attendant dilemma associated with this source, since the discant version may not represent an actual Notre Dame composition at all, but could very well have been derived by stripping the text from the motet. Although, given the close alliance between Philip and Perotin,²⁶ the priority of either the clausula or motet is not a serious issue here, the possibility that Agmina may not have originally relied on a clausula does seriously challenge one of its claims for early origin.

The chance that Agmina may not have originally possessed a clausula is also supported by several unusual features in the scoring of its sources. Ludwig argues against the possible loss of a "Notre Dame" version of the Agmina clausula by declaring it unlikely that at one time F preserved such a piece in the lost final folios of its clausula

²⁴O Maria maris stella and In veritate (both from M37) follow Agmina (M65, or more likely O40). These three entries are preceded by Ecclesie vox hodie (M53). Thus, Agmina may also be out of order in this fascicle, which would make the final three pieces of F, 8 an even more closely knit group. Only three other works without clausulae appear in F, 8—again in a group, but separated by a blank folio after the first of these three. They are the dubious Philip motet Doce nos optime, Prodit lucis radius, and the anomalous troped organum Veni doctor previe (Gennrich, Bibliographie, nos. 346, 371, and 359, respectively; and nos. 15, 17, and 16 in the ordering of the fascicle).

²⁵The other is Homo quam sit pura.

²⁶Sanders has suggested that Perotin may be responsible for the music of Agmina. See "The Question," p. 247.

fascicle.²⁷ This is implied by the disposition of the Agmina motet in F, which reverses the standard placement of the triplum and motetus parts. In nearly all the other sources of this work, including the StV clausula, the supplied motetus matches the music of the F triplum part.²⁸ Ludwig therefore observed that if the work really was derived from the clausula as it now stands in StV, it is extremely peculiar that the F version of Agmina appears to insert a middle voice to create a conductus motet, rather than the more customary practice of adding a new "upper" triplum.²⁹ Thus, one may extrapolate that the motetus and triplum of Agmina were probably initially composed for the motet at the same time,³⁰ and that when the redactor of the melismatic version now preserved in StV decided to include the composition as a two-voice clausula, he entered the part that was the most prominent to his ears: the F triplum voice with its unusually high tesitura.³¹ It is therefore quite reasonable to concur with Ludwig that the last three works of F, fascicle 8 (Agmina, O maria maris stella and Philip's In veritate comperi) belong to a later stratum of conductus motet composition,

²⁷Repertorium, vol. 1, part 1, p. 107. A rigorous paleographical study into the provenance and date of StV is still sorely needed.

²⁸The F scoring is also preserved in the modified conductus motet version in Hu, f. 90v.

²⁹On this point, see also Frobenius, "Zum genetischen Verhältnis," p. 19.

³⁰This perspective is rendered even more likely when the excellent counterpoint between all the parts of this motet is taken into account. See Anderson, The Latin Compositions, 1:11.

³¹This vocal part consistently hovers in the range around d-a above Middle C, and three times touches the high tenor c during the course of the work. It is therefore surprising that in contrast to F most of the other sources reverse the positions of Agmina's triplum and motetus.

suggested by the lack of central clausula sources for all these pieces and by their placement at the end of the conductus motet fascicle in this source.³²

* * *

When Philip's motet texts are viewed according to the chronology suggested by Table 50, the measure of his activity and the extent of his specific practices as a contributor to the Notre Dame motet repertory can be readily assessed. In addition to the broader divisions into early, middle, and later works, the use of specific techniques within each of these layers can suggest some further gradations of stylistic practice that may have historical and chronological significance.

It has often been claimed in previous chapters that many of Philip's motets contain features that clearly illustrate the initial attempts to define the emerging new species. This is especially true in his very earliest works, which illustrate quite well the genesis of the motet as an offspring of liturgical discant: all of Philip's oldest motets have discant clausulae as melismatic sources, and only the text of the Marian Serena virginum neither tropes nor relates liturgically to its chant tenor. Additionally, these older works frequently disclose features borrowed from the conductus: all but two of Philip's earliest motets are conductus motets, and thereby approximate the homophonic

³²Craig Wright has also tentatively suggested a later period for the composition of both Agmina milicie and the three-part organum Virgo ⁊ Sponsus (O40; also attributed to Perotin by Rokseth in Polyphonies, 4:56-62.), in which chant the Agmina melisma also appears, though not set in organum. He suggests that Philip's devotion to Saint Catherine, implicit in the text of his motet and explicit in the lines from Henri d'Andeli's Dit quoted above, may be the result of the foundation of a church under her patronage in the year 1229. For this speculation, see his Music and Ceremony, p. 299, note 136.

texture of this earlier cultivated genre;³³ three of these conductus motets also represent the total number of integral conductus motets attributable to Philip, which ties them to the use of multi-part organa, rather than clausulae, as melismatic sources;³⁴ and two of the three accepted strophic motets by Philip are included among the early works.³⁵ Also present in this initial layer are the generic hybrids, the two motet-conductus Latex silice and Serena virginum, both of which are pieces that not only appropriate features from the conductus, but also display a short-lived experimental attempt to actually fuse together the two genres.

Five early compositions attributable to Philip show on the other hand a more independent conception. They comprise Homo quo vigeas, Manere vivere, Doce nos hodie, Flos de spina rumpitur, and Mens fidem seminat. As a group they appear to rely less on borrowings from other genres, and hence may represent examples from slightly later than the earliest, conductus-influenced layer of motets. These pieces are therefore likely candidates for the most recent of Philip's early works, with the non-liturgical, admonitory poetry of Mens fidem and Homo quo vigeas possibly representing the latest of all his introductory efforts at fashioning motets.

³³Only Manere vivere and Mens fidem were apparently initially conceived in two parts.

³⁴Nostrum est impletum, Ex semine Abrahe, and the dubiously attributable Radix venie all stem from organum triplum settings. The only integral conductus motet that derives from an independent clausula is Et exaltavi plebis.

³⁵The only exception is Stupeat natura, a contrafact of Homo quam sit pura that first appears in W2. Hence it probably hails from a time only slightly later than his earliest works and has so been classified.

The four motet texts that form Philip's central layer are so grouped because even though they partake of some significant traits found in the earliest layers of his works, they also promote the further development of the genre by initiating techniques and experiments typically associated with later layers of the repertory. Two different pieces, comprising three of his "middle-period" texts, possibly exhibit Philip's earliest ventures into the innovative form of the double motet. Both the double-texted Ex semine and Mors motets use multi-part clausulae and rely on liturgical troping texts. Conceivably the earlier of the two is Ex semine Abrahe / Ex semine rosa, his newly attributed texting of the three-part clausula from an organum by Perotin. This piece appears to be a later rendition of a now lost original Latin integral conductus motet that transmitted only the motetus text, which was converted a short time later to a double texted version with the addition (probably by Philip himself) of a rhythmically comparable triplum poem. But even the double motet Mors que stimulo / Mors morsu nata, which probably represents a slightly later effort, shares with Ex semine the feature of complementary verse in the two upper parts. Both of these pieces trope the tenor and relate liturgically to the feast from which their music derives. The third and last of Philip's "middle-period" motets is the classically styled, two-part Non orphanum te deseram, which begins to forecast the "patter-style" of the so-called Franconian works that were flourishing by the final quarter of the thirteenth century.³⁶

³⁶Strings of syllabic breves occur in this piece in measures 49-53. See the edition of the music in Volume 5 of this study.

Except for the examples of the problematic Agmina milicie and In veritate comperi, whose later categorizations have been explained above, the proposed transition from middle to later works is marked by a succession of tentatively ascribed, two-part contrafacts that first surface in W2, all of which have clausula concordances. Philip's latest motets, however, are quite distinct from those of the previous periods, and their placement in or close to the final decade of his life is suggested not merely by the possibly datable texts of In omni and the "futuristic" Ypocrite / Velut stelle motet,³⁷ but also by the clearly progressive inclinations of these compositions.

The late works comprise just six texts that make up only four distinct musical works, thereby demonstrating the claim often made in these pages for the Chancellor's waning participation in the later stages of the Notre Dame motet repertory. Only one of the poems (Velut stelle) has a demonstrable concordance with a clausula; only one work (In veritate) is fashioned as a conductus motet; and only a single example (Laqueus conteritur) demonstrates any obvious liturgical suitability, or indeed any evidence of troping beyond a perfunctory tenor quotation.

Furthermore, the works in this most recent group either exploit stylistic characteristics that are typically associated with vernacular pieces in their appropriation of iambic rhythms, unpatterned tenors in

³⁷It may also be tentatively suggested that Laqueus conteritur, with its text bewailing the massacre of the Holy Innocents by King Herod, could relate to the murders in 1229 that prompted the University strike which culminated in the Great Dispersion of masters from Paris in 1229-1231. Another possible alternative is that this text may be a lament on the victims of the riots in Orléans in 1236, which Philip treated in his newly ascribed conductus Aurelianus civitas.

simplex-longs, and ornate melodies in the upper parts;³⁸ or they alternately form a type of double motet that represents a significant conceptual advancement over the presumably earlier Ex semine and Mors examples. The two later double motets in question, O quam necessarium / Venditores laborum and Ypocrite / Velut stelle, represent a critical change from the liturgically appropriate, trope-like demeanor of Ex semine Abrahe divino / Ex semine rosa prodit and Mors que stimulo / Mors morsu nata venenato. Besides their lack of clausulae, both of these later double motets also feature poems that are united not by the evocation of their tenor text or their liturgical suitability; they interrelate instead in a more complex fashion. In Ypocrite / Velut stelle and O quam necessarium / Venditores, two pairs of poems with no symptoms of troping take each other on in a musical-poetic debate, with the motetus dispensing an opinion on one side of the disputation, and the triplum taking the other. Finally, the extent of Philip's connection to the stylistic advancement of the motet is admirably demonstrated by the most impressive and foresightful of these works, Ypocrite / Velut, which is arguably the first composition to set the pattern for the classic, late thirteenth-century "Franconian" motet with its hierarchical organization of rhythm in three different modes among the different voices.

Thus, with the exceptions of the notational and rhythmic innovations associated with Petrus de Cruce, Philip the Chancellor's efforts span the entire gamut of styles and techniques associated with

³⁸The two "French-style" pieces are In omni and Laqueus; the discarded medieval attribution Doce nos optime would also fit conveniently into this group.

the thirteenth-century motet. Especially conspicuous, nonetheless, is his role in the first manifestations of the new genre, his influence on pieces with a decidedly experimental cast, and his close affiliation with compositions that forcefully imply the presence of Perotin's creative hand.

Philip, Perotin, and the Creation of the Medieval Motet

The close relationship between Philip and Perotin, clausula and motet, and the demonstrable earlier contact between the poet and composer provided by the Notre Dame repertory of organum prosulas raises a conjecture of major consequence for the origin of the motet and Philip's and Perotin's role in its creation. Ever since 1972, when Gordon Anderson revealed the attribution to Philip of the five Perotinian organum prosulas (which he called motets) in the manuscript Praha,³⁹ the stage has been set for considering whether Philip the Chancellor was more than simply the only author whose name has happened to come down to us in connection with the Notre Dame Latin motet, or whether his contribution may be even more central. As Anderson himself stated:

The knowledge that Philippe wrote texts for some of the earliest motets. . .raises the very interesting speculation whether he in fact was the originator of the new method of musical and textual creation. This would certainly increase his stature in musical history, for the rise of the motet was to prove decisive in showing which direction music was to take during the thirteenth century and the periods following.⁴⁰

³⁹"Obiter dicta," p. 362.

⁴⁰Anderson, "Obiter dicta," p. 364.

Although a few scholars have echoed Anderson's conjecture,⁴¹ no one has yet endeavored to investigate meticulously the body of available evidence that could answer or refute this question. The following discussion, therefore, seeks to show that Philip's participation in the stages both prior to and immediately after the motet's formation demonstrates that he was indeed a seminal force in the motet's creation, and along with Perotin one of the actual co-inventors of the genre.

Philip's position is unique among the identified poets whose texts survive today as settings in the Notre Dame musical manuscripts, for he is the only named Latin versifier currently associated with all of the poetic genres identified with the school. Philip not only authored Notre Dame conductus, sequence, and hymn texts, as did his older contemporaries Walter of Châtillon and Peter of Blois, but he alone also added (substantially it seems) to the Parisian corpus of motets, and created as well the only surviving prosulas to three- and four-part organa and to final melismas from conductus. His combined stock of over 100 possible lyric works, only thirteen of which are presently transmitted without musical notation,⁴² not only dwarfs those of his known poetic colleagues, but is comparable in stylistic breadth only to the musical oeuvre of Perotin. Like Philip, this composer distinguished himself in each of the genres that are so closely associated with the Notre Dame school by providing the musical substance for conductus and

⁴¹See Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 295; and Tischler, "Pérotin and the Creation of the Motet," p. 4.

⁴²For details on his works without music, see the comprehensive list of Philip's poems presented in Appendix 1.

motets in one to three parts, and organa, clausulae, and prosulas in as many as four voices.

It is these organum prosulas that are so crucial for illuminating the history of the motet, for Philip's method of fashioning texts to this kind of melismatic polyphony is essentially identical to the technique that produced the earliest examples of the medieval motet. Philip's texts to organa, though, differ from the motet in one key respect. Their supporting tenors, conforming to the Notre Dame practice of composing liturgical organa, contain the complete solo sections from a chant. This feature contrasts starkly with the use of melismatic chant segments that make up the tenors of clausulae and motets. This use of comprehensive solo sections in the organum prosulas represents a more conservative treatment of the tenor, since it preserves the liturgical integrity of the original chant. This more conservative treatment of the tenor, as well as the persistent links that the texts provide to their cantus firmi through the application of comprehensive rhyme, assonance, quotation, and the liturgical propriety of the resulting poems, clearly substantiate the hypothesis that his prosulas preceded the motet, and hence probably influenced its creation.

Philip's involvement in this early, experimental phase of texting melismatic polyphony is further enhanced by his association with the practice of troping conductus caudae. The techniques displayed by the conductus prosulas rely on a concept that is related much more immediately to the conventions of the early motet than that of their organal counterparts. Like the motet, whose musical structure is founded upon a detached, rhythmically ordered melisma from a

responsorial Gregorian chant, the conductus prosula also uses a smaller portion from a larger composition—a closing conductus cauda—for its melismatic source. The conductus prosula, therefore, demonstrates the same concept that prompted the emergence of the motet, and thus most likely arose around the same time as the motet and for a short while coexisted with it. In fact, with the example of the three-part, triple-texted Anima iuge lacrimas, the influence of the motet on the conductus prosula is readily demonstrable.

Philip the Chancellor is likewise the only poet identified with these ten known specimens of prosulas. Barring the possibility that further examples specifically ascribed to other authors still lie waiting to be discovered, at present it may be stated without reservation that no other poets wrote prosulas to Notre Dame sustained-tone organa. The evidence additionally suggests that he may be the sole author of the texts to conductus melismas. Three of the five poems that are now known to implement this technique are definitely his, while the remaining two treat specific events or disclose stylistic features that also argue for his hand in their poetry.⁴³ The state of the repertory thus indicates that at least for the organum prosulas, and probably for the conductus examples as well, Philip is the sole poet responsible for their invention. He can therefore claim credit for inspiring the first cultivators of the motet, among whom he now must also be reckoned.

But who were these other motet poets? An inquiry into the acknowledged authors that contributed to the Notre Dame motet corpus up to around the middle of the thirteenth century points to no convincing

⁴³See above, Chapters 2 and 4.

attributions of any Latin texts to anyone other than Philip, and possibly except for Adam de la Halle, no known individual even comes close to Philip in the number of their ascribed motets.⁴⁴ As Table 51 illustrates, most of the other known authors who wrote motet lyrics either died or flourished later than the Chancellor, and those artists who can reasonably claim to be temporally close to Philip cultivated only secular, vernacular examples.⁴⁵ The greater distance of such pieces from the liturgical sphere in which the organum and clausula developed quite clearly suggests a later inception for these French motet.⁴⁶ Philip the Chancellor, therefore, remains not only the sole poet whose name is coupled with the texting of melismatic polyphony, but likewise is the only author whose name has endured from the earliest period of the motet's existence.

With his obvious importance for the formation of the textual components of the Notre Dame prosula repertory and (as the previous two chapters have shown) his specific role in an initial phase of motet

⁴⁴Besides Philip, the only other poets with convincingly ascribed Latin motet texts are Adam de la Basée (1286) and Adam de la Halle, both of whom flourished much later than Philip. For a rebuttal to the oft-held assumption that Bishop of Paris William of Auvergne is responsible for Philip's motet lyric In veritate comperi, see above, Introduction; and Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions," p. 568.

⁴⁵Known poet/composers connected with motets that are close contemporaries of Philip include Audefrois le Bastart (fl. 1190-1230, d. ca. 1250), Gautier de Coincy (b. 1177-78, d. 1236), Gautier de Dargies (ca. 1165-after 1236), Li moine de Saint Denis (fl. ca. 1230), Moniot d'Arras (b. 1190, d. 1239), and Richart de Fournival (ca. 1190-1260). For their specific works, see the more detailed presentation of the information in Table 51 in Appendix 3. For the problems involved in the supposed link of the troubadour Marcabru (b. 1100-1110, d. 1147-1148) to the motet repertory, see above in the Introduction.

⁴⁶See Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 530-531.

TABLE 51

KNOWN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY POETS/COMPOSERS WITH ATTRIBUTED MOTETS
(excluding Philip the Chancellor)

- ADAM DE LA BASSEE (d. 1286); 1 work.
- ADAM DE LA HALLE (btwn 1245 and 1250-btwn 1285 and 1288, or after 1306);
11 works, six of them questionable.
- AUDEFROI LE BASTART (fl. 1190-1230, d. ca. 1250); 1 work, questionable.
- COLART LE BOUTELLIER (fl. 1240-1260); 1 work.
- ERNOUL LE VIEL DE GASTINOIS (fl. late 13th c.); 1 work.
- GAUTIER DE COINCY (b. 1177-1178, d. 1236); 1 work.
- GAUTIER DE DARGIES (ca. 1165-after 1236); 1 work.
- GILON FERRANT (dates ?); 1 work.
- JEHAN ERART (b. 1200-1210, d. 1258-1259); 3 works.
- MARCABRU (b. 1100-1110, d. 1147-48); 1 work, extremely dubious.
- MOINE DE SAINT DENIS (ca. 1230); 1 work.
- MONIOT D'ARRAS (b. 1190, d. 1239); 3 works, questionable.
- RICHART DE FOURNIVAL (ca. 1190-1260); 3 works.
- ROBERT DE REINS LA CHIEVRE (ca. 1240 or after 1300); 4 works, 1
questionable.
- THOMAS ERIER (HERIER) (fl. 1240-1270); 1 work, questionable.
-

composition, it appears even more noteworthy that the Chancellor's forays into these new genres fasten repeatedly on the music of Perotin. Each of the three sources for Philip's organum prosulas are by Perotin; and the four different conductus that underlie the five cauda prosulas exhibit traits that suggest his possible hand in their music as well.⁴⁷

⁴⁷On these points, see above, Chapter 4.

As a result, the attribution of specific clausulae to Perotin by modern scholars has enabled us to suggest further texts to include in Philip's motet corpus.

And, just as Philip is credited with the textual innovations that contributed to the birth of the motet, so is Perotin the source of the musical novelties that nourished the new genre. Besides his celebrated ascription of four organa and three conductus to the composer, the theorist Anonymous IV conspicuously designates Perotin as "optimus discantor"—the best discant composer of his era—and relates that it was Perotin who "abbreviated" Leonin's Magnus liber, "and made a great many better clausulae or [discant] sections."⁴⁸ As noted previously, it was probably the very process of Perotin's revision of Leonin's book that hastened the establishment of the clausula as a discrete, independent genre of cantus-firmus polyphony. Although Anonymous IV mentions other figures connected with the music of his time,⁴⁹ some more obscure even than Leonin and Perotin, he makes no claims for the involvement of anyone else either in the revision of the Magnus liber, or in the writing of independent clausulae. It is therefore neither inappropriate nor misleading for scholars to claim that Perotin himself "invented" the discant clausula.⁵⁰ The creation of this extraordinary type of composition is just as likely to have been the result of one man's ingenuity as the crafting of Philip's organum and conductus prosulas.

⁴⁸For the oft-quoted original Latin of the cited passages, see Reckow, ed., Der Musiktraktat, 1:46.

⁴⁹See the list of people mentioned by Anonymous IV supplied by the editor in Reckow, Der Musiktraktat, 1:95-102.

⁵⁰Sanders, "the Question," p. 248.

Since the organum prosulas especially can be convincingly assigned to a single poet and composer, it follows that the conception of the closely related genre of the motet may also be attributable to the same two individuals. This close alliance between poet and composer, strongly suggests that Perotin and Philip were not merely the only known contributors to the very earliest body of Notre Dame motets—they were also very likely its creators.

The likely birthplace of the motet also supports this argument, for there can be little doubt that the formation of Perotin's organa, Philip's prosulas, and through them the motet, happened at any other place than Notre Dame of Paris. First of all, it is noteworthy that the Magnus liber, whose revision prompted the creation of the clausula and the motet, has recently been confirmed as a product of the cathedral's liturgy and as the work of one of its canons, Leonin.⁵¹ Furthermore, even within the city walls, it was the clergy of Notre Dame alone who cultivated this elaborate style of polyphonic singing. When the celebration of processions or stational Masses at other churches took the choir outside the confines of the cathedral, it was the musicians of Notre Dame who performed the required organum.⁵²

Similarly, although no specific Parisian documents survive that call for the performance of actual organum prosulas or motets either in the divine service or in a paraliturgical context, it is striking that

⁵¹See Wright, Music and Ceremony, pp. 243-267.

⁵²See Payne, Associa, pp. 251-252; and Baltzer, "How Long Was Notre Dame Organum Performed?" Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer, Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, eds. (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), pp. 121-124.

each of the original organa that Philip texted received express authorization that sanctioned their use at the Parisian cathedral. With the approval given by Bishop Odo's reforms of 1198 and 1199, and because of the impetus of the gift of the arm of Eligius in 1212, Philip's texts to these organa would likewise have been appropriate for Christmas, Circumcision, and the feasts of Stephen and Eligius at Notre Dame. Finally, Philip the Chancellor himself, our one certain link to the early motet, was born and almost certainly educated in Paris, and called the city his home for nearly all his life. Given these circumstances, what place other than Paris might have served as the crucible for the motet, this most progressive and ultimately popular melding of words and melody?

The combination of all these factors, the connections among Perotin's music, Philip's motet-like prosulas to his compositions, the subsequent birth of the motet through the texting of discant clausulae, and the cultivation of all three of these things in the setting of Notre Dame cathedral present a more detailed scenario for the origin of the medieval Latin motet than has been offered previously. The rise of the medieval motet at Notre Dame of Paris can thus be viewed as the final result of merging the two separate yet parallel strains of poetry and music, with each of these two facets cultivated by the specific individual who was best qualified to exploit them to their fullest. At the same time, such relationships also strongly support Craig Wright's recent suggestion that Petrus the Succentor was the composer Perotin. Indeed the physical proximity of these two persons at Notre Dame may have one final bearing on the origin of the motet. Wright has quite

clearly illuminated the breakdown of duties that fell to the succentor and chancellor of Notre Dame when they were present in choir for the celebration of the Office and Mass. He explains that:

while the cantor nominally, and the succentor in fact had charge of the song in the church, it was the chancellor at Notre Dame who was responsible for the word. He selected the readers for the lessons, rehearsed them in correct pronunciation, accent, and punctuation, and maintained all the books in the church that did not contain chant.⁵³

It appears, then, that the very liturgical environment of Notre Dame, which featured an exclusive division of labor between the keeper of the song and the keeper of the word, mirrors exactly the same process that contributed to the emergence of the early motet. I would therefore suggest that Gordon Anderson was right when he alluded to the possibility of Philip's role in the creation of the motet, and that we can assert more confidently than ever before that Perotin the optimus discantor and Philip the optimus poeta of Notre Dame joined forces to create one of the most innovative and enduring musical genres of their time.

⁵³Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 19.

CONCLUSIONS

Philip the Chancellor left an indelible mark on everything he touched. In his many pursuits, whether the writing of theology, the delivery of sermons, the reform of church practice, or the control of education in Paris, Philip's presence is not only inescapable, but vital for our understanding of the history and development of these activities and events of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The same holds true for the lyrical poetry he composed and the music that accompanies it. Philip's contributions to Notre Dame music not only enhance our appreciation of historical changes within this school, but revise our estimation of his role in its evolution. This dissertation has endeavored to call attention to some of these contributions, in an attempt to define more clearly Philip's central position in the history of Notre Dame music.

Philip's biography, delineated in Chapter 1, attests to the elevated social status and distinguished intellectual acumen of the individuals who contributed to the Notre Dame repertory. Like many of the composers and poets of sacred music within this era, he occupied a high position within the hierarchy of a cathedral chapter and influenced major political and ecclesiastical decisions.¹ The broad range of activities presented in his biography additionally serves to put his

¹For a similar view of the medieval poet and musician, see Craig Wright, "Leoninus," pp. 2-5.

poetic output and his musical involvement in perspective. The writing of poetry and the fashioning of song lyrics was apparently a very small, part of Philip's existence, and yet he never seemed to tire of this occupation. Rather than considering his compositions as detached, abstract entities, they can often be seen as part of the larger complex of his activity and sometimes as the reflection of various influences and events in his life. In addition to their contextual role, the incidents in his biography help to suggest new additions to his list of works and to propose periods of composition for otherwise undated pieces.

Among the forty-four works with Philip's texts that are specifically examined in this dissertation, his eleven datable conductus discussed in Chapter 2 provide the clearest and most defensible patterns of chronological development and stylistic change. Philip's pieces are especially valuable because they constitute nearly one third of the total chronologically specific repertory known to have issued from Notre Dame and related manuscripts. The investigation of the historical circumstances behind these lyrics complements the knowledge gleaned from Philip's biography and shows his particular reactions to certain events around him. An especially notable feature surfaces in his datable poetry with the apparent change in tone from earlier works to later ones. Only after the year 1218 does he appear to sharpen his distinctive critical edge. Before he had attained the office of chancellor, it seems, Philip was not as ready to censure the clergy for moral or ethical laxity, nor as quick to damn a pope or bishop for laziness or corruption.

The study presented in Chapter 3 of musical style in the datable Notre Dame conductus goes well beyond Philip's specific contributions to examine the entire repertory of such chronologically specific works, a corpus of thirty-five compositions ranging from approximately 1164 to 1244. This inquiry into stylistic change adds significantly to prior investigations by including in its discussion the evidence of the monophonic pieces and the structural schemes of the poetic texts. The results of the evaluation corroborate the idea of a conspicuous change in musical practices in the two decades that immediately surround the year 1200, a change also noticed by other scholars and tracable most readily to the compositional activity of Perotin.² These assertions are supported by the findings in this study that monophonic conductus were less prone to discernible stylistic advancement during the course of the thirteenth century, possibly due to the concentration on polyphony. Similarly, melismatically rich, through-composed musical works become more prevalent in the examples of conductus written after the turn of the century, while the use of unadorned, strophically organized secular songs as models for Latin conductus declines markedly. The waning influence of such older structural designs in the wake of Perotinian innovations is additionally proposed by the changes in musical form that appear in this repertory. The datable evidence indicates that the presence of cantio structures in conductus (non-melismatic songs that emulate the AAB design of a multitude of secular and early Latin pieces)

²See, for instance, the observations of Rebecca Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:510.

is also particular to Notre Dame works from the twelfth century and does not make great inroads after 1200.

In the fourth chapter, which is devoted to the ten prosulas set to passages from sustained-tone organa and conductus caudae, arguments are brought forward to propose viewing these works as a pair of separate genres within the greater corpus of Notre Dame music. These prosulas are particularly notable for exactly duplicating the technique of adding words to melismatic polyphony that was to lead to the creation of the motet. Additionally and significantly, the circumstances of transmission and attribution in the Notre Dame prosula repertory argue forcefully not only that Philip is the sole poet responsible for the texts of such works, but that Perotin may also have an exclusive claim to the crafting of their music.

The evaluation of the musical and textual features of the organum prosulas in Chapter 4 readily suggests that they are stylistically more conservative than the motet and therefore probably preceded it in conception and execution. The evidence for this claim relies mainly on the conventional treatment of the tenor in these works as a complete liturgical unit and on the close accord of the prosula poems with their supporting chants, both in the sounds and in the liturgical specificity of their texts. Although the cultivation of organum prosulas apparently did not last long—perhaps fifteen years at the most—it is asserted here that they represent the earliest substantiated cases where syllabic melodies were outfitted with modal rhythms. The likewise short-lived conductus prosulas, on the other hand, do not show the same exhaustive dependence on their sources as their organal counterparts. They arose

instead as a segment of a larger composition and frequently exhibit greater latitude from their melismatic models in their use of poetic designs and textual themes. This greater autonomy suggests a divergence from the style of the organum prosulas and a closer connection to the motet for the works derived from conductus caudae, both in their creation and in their period of cultivation. Finally, the evaluation of these stylistic procedures may be combined with surviving documentary testimony to venture a possible chronology of the ten pieces that comprise the Notre Dame prosula repertory.

The initial object of the four chapters (5-8) that treat Philip the Chancellor's motet poems and their music is to suggest which lyrics in this genre can convincingly be assigned to him. In this attempt to clarify his canon, ascriptions of motet texts from both medieval sources and recent scholarship are examined. As a result, there is careful attention in chapter 5 to the delineation of style, vocabulary, and the use of imagery and rhetorical elements in these texts. In the course of evaluating the contributions of modern scholars, the close connection of many of these works to the music of Perotin again surfaces, the same relationship that was evident in the corpus of Philip's organum and conductus prosulas. The likelihood of such a collaboration between the poet and composer provides a major incentive for positing a further series of motet texts for Philip's authorship in several poems added to discant clausulae ascribed by modern scholars to the hand of Perotin. The end result of Chapter 5 is a provisional cycle of twenty-six motet poems that Philip may quite plausibly have written, ten of which are newly attributed to him for the first time in this study.

In Chapters 6 and 7, which treat respectively the various relationships of Philip's motets to the repertory at large and which consider the musical styles that are evident in these pieces, it is proposed that Philip can be connected very strongly to an initial layer of Notre Dame motet cultivation. Some of the major features suggesting his involvement with early examples of the Notre Dame motet include the prevalence of so-called conductus motets and two-part pieces over polytextual compositions, the reliance on clausulae for the execution of many of his works (a component that additionally stresses the importance of Philip's connections to Perotin), the use of troping techniques along the lines of the organum prosulas, the suitability of many of Philip's motets for performance in a liturgical setting, the presence of strophic motet texts which evoke the older genre of the conductus, and the sparse appearance of syllabic semibreves in his works.

In the concluding eighth chapter, the foregoing survey of stylistic features in Philip's motet repertory encourages an attempt at a chronological organization of the motets in his corpus, based on the extent of their reliance on older versus more recent practices. In addition, dates are tentatively suggested for the composition of two motets of especially late vintage: the double motet Ypocrite pseudopontifices / Velut stelle firmamenti / Et gaudebit and the two-part In omni fratre tuo / In seculum. Finally and most significantly for the history of Notre Dame music, the previous findings are brought together to assemble a considerable amount of evidence which proposes that Philip and Perotin are ultimately responsible for the creation of the motet. Among the factors that argue for this view are the

connection of many of Philip's texts to works convincingly ascribed to Perotin, the reputation of Perotin as the foremost creator of Notre Dame discant and the probable inventor of the clausula, the knowledge that these two figures are the only composer and poet responsible for the entire earlier repertory of texts added to melismatic organa, the likelihood of Philip's similar position as sole lyricist in the related repertory of conductus prosulas (where syllabic poems are also added to previously composed polyphony), and Philip's distinction as the only known author associated with Latin motet texts from the Notre Dame period.

Thus, Philip's historical reputation may now be expanded, for he contributed as significantly to sacred poetry and music as to speculative theology, preaching, and the development of the university in Paris. Next to the shadowy, nearly mythical figures of Leonin and Perotin, Philip the Chancellor appears as one of the best guides through the complex maze of works and workings that constitute the Notre Dame school.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

POETRY, POLITICS, AND POLYPHONY: PHILIP THE
CHANCELLOR'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE MUSIC
OF THE NOTRE DAME SCHOOL
VOLUME THREE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

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APPENDIX 1

THE POETIC WORKS OF PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR

This list is arranged according to the various genres in Philip's poetic corpus: I. Monophonic Conductus, II. Polyphonic Conductus, III. Organum Prosulas and Troped Organa, IV. Conductus Prosulas, V. Motets. Within each genre, works appear under the subheadings: A. Poems Attributed in Medieval Sources, B. Poems attributed by Modern Scholars, C. Other Possible Attributions, and D. Tentative Attributions with possibilities for Philip's authorship. These last two subgroups contain works of greater and lesser probability, and the reasons for including most of them are put forth in a small paragraph following the entries.

Within each of these subgroups, the poems are numbered consecutively and listed alphabetically, except for C. and D., which often contain sets of pieces that form specific groups within the sources. A question mark at the left margin preceding the entry number indicates a possibly spurious attribution, either from a doubtful source, a conflicting ascription to another poet, or a questionable assignment by a modern scholar. Such a question mark, however, does not necessarily mean that the poem is not by Philip.

Information following each entry seeks to offer a few essential or relevant details, such as the source of an attribution to Philip [given in brackets] or to another poet, the presence of contrafacts, the date of a given text (if known), conflicting attributions, the reasons for a new attribution to Philip, the number of voices in the polyphonic works, the tenors of troped organa and of motets, possible composers, and the absence of music. Abbreviated references to the works in the major catalogs (in parentheses) and pertinent literature are also supplied. For manuscript abbreviations see Bibliography.

Abbreviations:

A.—Anderson, "Catalogue Raisonné."

Anon. IV—Reckow, ed. Der Musiktraktat.

attr.—attribution(s); attributed.

Baltzer—Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style."

Dreves—See both Analecta hymnica, vol. 21; and Analecta hymnica, vol. 50.

Everist—Everist, French 13th-Century Polyphony.

F.—Falck, The Notre Dame Conductus.

Ferdinand and Delorme—Ferdinand and Delorme, "Un prose inédite."

G.—Gennrich, Bibliographie.

Henri d'Andeli—Henri d'Andeli, Le Dit du Chancelier Philippe; published in: Heron, ed., Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli; and in Paul Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe."

Husmann—Husmann, ed., Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame-Organa.

L.—Linker, A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics.

Ludwig—Ludwig, Repertorium organorum, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 243-267.

PL—Migne, Jacques-Paul, ed. Patrologia cursus completus, sive Bibliotheca universalis. . .series latina, 221 vols (Paris: J.-P Migne Editor, 1844-1864).

R.—Hans Spanke, ed. Gaston Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes neu arbeitet und ergänzt, vol. 1. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955.

Salimbene—Salimbene, Chronica, ed. Holder-Egger.

Saxer—Saxer, "Les Hymnes magdaleniennes."

Schneyer—Schneyer, Die Sittenkritik.

Speculum laicorum—see the references to this anonymous work in Page, "Angelus ad virginem."

Strecker—Strecker, ed., Die Lieder Walters von Châtillon.

Wright—Wright, Music and Ceremony.

- I. MONOPHONIC CONDUCTUS (Including Sequences, Hymns, French Chansons, and Pieces without music).
- A. Poems Attributed in Medieval Sources (59 texts).
1. Ad cor tuum revertere—[Da]; (A. K10, F. 6).
- ? 2. Angelus ad virginum—[Speculum laicorum]; (A. O15); later polyphonic versions; English contrafacts (doubtful according to Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 591).
3. Aristippe quamvis sero—[Da]; (A. K3, F. 19).
- ? 4. Ave dei genetrix et immaculata—[Munich, lat. 14940]; (-); text only; also attr. to Bishop Robert

[Grosseteste] of Lincoln (b. ca. 1168-1175, d. 1253); (Salzburg); (Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 591, says attr. to Philip doubtful).

5. Ave gloriosa virginum regina-[LoB, Praha, Walters W88, Bu B XI 8]; (A. K75, F. 28); sequence; French contrafacts.
6. Beata nobis gaudia reduxit-[Da]; (A. K44, F. 41); dated 1223.
7. Beata viscera Marie virginis cuius-[Da]; (A. K14, F. 42); music by Perotin (Anon. IV); text probably not ascribable to Walter of Châtillon (ca. 1135-ca. 1190), see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 563-564; French contrafacts.
8. Bonum est confidere in dominorum-[Da]; (A. K37, F. 50).
9. Ceciderunt in preclaris-[?]; (-); sequence; see Ferdinand and Delorme for attr. to Philip.
10. Christus assistens pontiphex-[Da]; (A. K48, F. 61); dated 1208.
11. Crux de te volo conquere-[Vienna 883, Salimbene]; (A. K59, F. 71); also attr. to Jacopone da Todi (b. 1228-1236, d. 1306) (Bergamo) and S. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) (Tours).
12. Li cuers se vait de l'oil-[X]; (L. 32-1, R. 349); Latin contrafact, Philip's "Quisquis cordis," below; French and Provençal contrafacts.
13. Cum sit omnis caro fenum-[LoB]; (A. L3, F. 76).
14. Dum medium silentium tenerent-[Da]; (A. K15, F. 99); also more likely ascription to Walter of Châtillon (ca. 1135-ca. 1190) (Oxf. Digby 166, Pn lat. 3245); dated 1174; see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 579, for authorship problems.
15. Excutere de pulvere-[Da]; (A. K26, F. 113).
16. Ex[s]urge dormis domine-[Da]; (A. K24, F. 118).
17. Festa dies agitur-[LoB]; (A. N16, F. 121); Latin rondeau; different poem with similar incipit is modern attr. to Walter of Châtillon (ca. 1135-ca. 1190); (see Strecker, no. 4).
18. Fontis in rivulum-[Da]; (A. K6, F. 130).
19. Homo considera-[LoB, Praha]; (A. K56, F. 156); French contrafacts.
20. Homo natus ad laborem et avis-[LoB]; (A. L7, F. 159).
21. Homo natus ad laborem tui status-[Da]; (A. K1, F. 160); possibly confused with above poem.
22. Homo qui semper moreris-[Da]; (A. K32, F. 162).
23. Homo vide que pro te patior-[LoB, Praha, Pn, lat. 15952, Chartres 341 {destroyed}]; (A. K53, F. 164); also doubtful attr. to S. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) (Karlsruhe 36); Anderson (Opera omnia, 6:142) and Dreves (p. 19) say Chartres ascription is to S. Bernard.

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24. In hoc ortus accidente-[Da]; (A. K5, F. 174); probably not ascribable to Walter of Châtillon (ca. 1135-ca. 1190), see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 563-564.
25. Inter membra singula-[LoB, Praha, Salimbene]; (A. L2, F. 186).
- ? 26. Inter natos mulierum ut testatur-[Cologne, Seminarbibl. 12a]; (-); sequence (Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 591: doubtful).
- ? 27. J'ai un cuer mout lait ma ioie m'annour-[S]; (L. 253-1, R. 695, 2026); more likely by Thibaut d'Amiens (dates?), see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 584.
28. Luto carens et latere-[LoB]; (A. F1, M6; F. 200); see also slightly different version à3, below; Latin rondeau.
- ? 29. Missus Gabriel de celis-[Florence. Laur. Plut. 25.3]; (-); sequence; also attr. to a "prior Montis Acuti" (Oxf. Jun. 121); (Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 584: doubtful).
30. Nitimur in vetitum-[LoB]; (A. K54, F. 219); French contrafacts.
- ? 31. O amor deus deitas-[Bu B XI 8]; (A. L56); (Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 584: doubtful).
32. O labilis sortis humane status-[Da]; (A. K30, F. 234).
33. O mens cogita-[LoB, Praha]; (A. K57, F. 240).
- ? 34. Pange lingua (or Collaudemus) Magdalene-[Salimbene]; (-); hymn; associated with "Aestimavit hortulanum" and "O Maria noli," below; also modern attr. to Alexander Neckham (1157-1217), by Saxer.
35. Pater sancte dictus Lotarius-[LoB]; (A. K61, F. 267); dated 1198?
36. Phebus per dyametrum-[Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka I. Q. 102]; (-); text only; goliardic stanzas.
37. Que est ista que ascendit transiens-[Walters W88]; (-); sequence.
38. Quid ultra tibi facere-[Da]; (A. K17, F. 288); probably not ascribable to Walter of Châtillon (ca. 1135-ca. 1190), see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 563-564.
39. Quisquis (or Si quis) cordis et oculi-[LoB, Salimbene]; (A. K52, F. 291); French and Provençal contrafacts, including Philip's "Li cuers se vait," above.
- ? 40. Quo me vertam nescio-[Da]; (A. K28, F. 292); tentative modern attr. to Peter of Blois (ca. 1135-ca. 1212) (Dronke, "Peter of Blois," p. 330).
41. Quo vadis quo progredieris-[Da]; (A. K31, F. 293).
42. Quomodo cantabimus-[Da]; (A. K25, F. 296).

43. Rex et sacerdos prefuit-[Da]; (A. K49, F. 308); dated 1209-10.
44. Si vis vera frui luce-[Da]; (A. K40, F. 329); sequence.
45. Sol est in meridie-[LoB]; (A. N17, F. 332); Latin rondeau.
46. Sol oritur in sidere-[Da]; (A. K13, F. 333).
47. Suspirat spiritus-[LoB, Praha]; (A. L6, F. 344); French contrafacts; Latin contrafacts, both monophonic and polyphonic.
48. Tempus adest gratie-[LoB]; (A. M51, F. 345); Latin rondeau.
49. Thronus tuus christe Jhesu-[Walters W88]; (-); text only?; sequence.
50. Vanitas vanitatum-[Da]; (A. K18, F. 355).
51. Ve mundo a scandalis-[Da]; (A. K27, F. 356).
52. Veni sancte spiritus spes-[LoB]; (A. N19, F. 363); French contrafacts also employed as motet refrains; Latin rondeau.
53. Venit Jhesus in propria-[Da]; (A. K42, F. 365); dated 1187?
- ? 54. Venite exultemus regnante-[Bu B XI 8]; (A. Q1); text only; (Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 584: doubtful).
55. Veritas equitas largitas-[LoB, Praha]; (A. K62, F. 375); Latin lai; French and Provençal contrafacts.
56. Veritas veritatum-[Da]; (A. K19, F. 376).
57. Vide quo fastu rumperis-[Da]; (A. K11, F. 381).
- ? 58. Virgo templum trinitatis-[Florence, Laur. Plut. 25.3]; (-); text only?; gloss on the "Ave Maria;" (Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 584: doubtful).
59. Vitia virtutibus-[LoB]; (A. L4, F. 388).

B. MONOPHONIC CONDUCTUS: Modern Attributions (21 texts).

1. Adulari nesciens-(A. K35, F. 10); attr. Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 587-588.
- ? 2. Aestimavit hortulanum-(-); hymn; associated with "Pange lingua," above and "O maria noli," below.
- ? 3. Clavus clavus retunditur-(A. K51, F. 64); dated 1233; attr. because of evidence of related work given by medieval chronicler; attr. by Aubry, Ludwig, and Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592; attr. questioned by Robertson, Service Books, Chapter 5.
4. Cum omne quod componitur-(A. K39, F. 74); attr. Ludwig.
5. Dic homo cur abuteris-(-); text only; also attr. to S. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) (PL, 184: cols. 1315-18); attr. Dreves, Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592.

6. Dogmatum falsas species—(A. K55, F. 97); attr. Anderson, Opera omnia; Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592.
7. Homo cur degeneras—(A. K68, F. 157); attr. Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592.
8. Homo cur properas—(A. K69, F. 158); attr. Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592.
- ? 9. In nova fert animus via gressus—(A. K29, F. 176); also tentative modern attr. to Peter of Blois (ca. 1135-ca. 1212) (Dronke, "Peter of Blois," p. 324); attr. Dreves, Ludwig.
10. In superna civitate—(-); sequence; associated with "Ceciderunt in preclaris," above.
11. Lignum vite querimus—(-); sequence; text only; attr. Dreves, Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592.
- ? 12. Nec mare flumini—(-); text only; also modern attr. to Peter of Blois (ca. 1135-ca. 1212) (Dronke, "Peter of Blois," p. 325); also attr. to S. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) (PL, 184: cols. 1315-1318); attr. Dreves.
- ? 13. Non te lusisse pudeat—(A. K47, F. 223); also modern attr. to Peter of Blois (ca. 1135-ca. 1212) (Dronke, "Peter of Blois," p. 326: tentative; and PL, 207: col. 58); also attr. to Stephen Langton (d. 1228) (Obl 57; doubtful); attr. Dreves, p. 141; Ludwig.
14. O christi longanimitas—(A. Q99); text only; also attr. to S. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) (PL, 184: cols. 1315-18); attr. Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592, Dreves; also has incipit "O mira christi pietas."
15. O curas hominum—(A. K21, F. 231); attr. Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592.
16. O maria noli flere—(-); hymn; associated with "Pange lingua," and "Aestimavit hortulanum," above.
- ? 17. Post dubiam post nugatorium—(-); text only; also attr. to Peter of Blois (ca. 1135-ca. 1212) (Dronke, "Peter of Blois," p. 328); attr. Dreves.
18. Post peccatum hominis—(-); text only; goliardic stanzas; attr. Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592.
19. Quomodo sunt oculi—(-); text only; attr. Schneyer, p. 29.
- ? 20. Regis et pontificis—(-); sequence; attr. Dreves.
21. Tuum syon exilium—(-); text only; attr. Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592.

C. MONOPHONIC CONDUCTUS: Other Possible Attributions (6 texts).

1. Aurelianus civitas—(A. K60, F. 25); dated 1236; found within series of Philip's works in F, 10; textual correspondences with sermon of Philip.

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2. O maria o felix puerpura—(A. K58, F. 237); French contrafact; found within series of Philip's works in E, 10.
3. Quod iude murmuracio—(A. L22, F. 294); first piece in StV; first gathering of this source contains Philip's "Inter membra" and "Agmina milicie" immediately following this piece; gathering followed by two added leaves copied in a later hand.
4. Terit Bernardus—(A. K63, F. 347).
5. In paupertatis predio—(A. K64, F. 179); textual correspondences with other works of Philip.
6. Aque vive dat fluenta—(A. K65, F. 18).

The previous three poems seem to form a closed group in honor of contemporaneous saints after the central collection of Philip's works in E, 10; all are unica; followed by unicum Veri solis (tentative).

D. MONOPHONIC CONDUCTUS: Tentative Attributions (8 texts).

1. Alabastrum frangitur—(A. K50, F. 12); found prior to central collection of Philip's works in E, 10 and after 2 Da poems.
2. Dum medium silentium componit—(A. K16, F. 98); Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 579, states that attr. is possible, based on an apparent confusion by the Da compiler of this poem with Walter of Châtillon's "Dum medium. . . tenerent," where latter poem was entered, but former intended.
3. Fons (or Flos) preclusus—(A. L145, K72; F. 129); also modern attr. to Peter of Blois (ca. 1135-ca. 1212) (Dronke, "Peter of Blois," p. 322); French and Provençal contrafacts; attr. Anderson, Opera omnia, 6: xcv (tentative).
4. Veri solis radius lucerna—(A. K66, F. 371); attr. Anderson, Opera omnia (tentative).
5. Veni sancte spiritus veni lumen—(A. K76, F. 364).
6. O mors que mordet omnia—(A. K77, F. 241); dated 1223.
7. Ad honores et honera—(A. K78, F. 7).
8. Stella maris lux ignaris—(A. K79, F. 338).

The previous four poems occur between "Ave gloriosa virginum" and the collection of tropes at the end of E, 10; all are unica.

II. POLYPHONIC CONDUCTUS (8 texts).

A. Poems Attributed in Medieval Sources.

- ? 1. Ave virgo virginum verbi-[Praha]; (A. F16, P44; F. 39); à3; also version à1 (Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 584: doubtful).
2. Centrum capit circulus-(A. J38, F. 57); [Praha, Salimbene, Arsenal 526]; à2.
3. Dic Christi veritas-[Berlin, theol. lat. fol. 312, Munich, lat. 26860]; (A. C3, F. 94); à3; source of texted melismas "Bulla fulminante" and "Vestiu nuptiali," both by Philip.
4. Gedeonis area-[Praha]; (A. 15, F. 143); à3.
5. Luto carens et latere-[LoB]; (A. F1, M6; F. 200); à3; see also slightly different version à1, above; Latin rondeau.
6. Mundus a mundicia-[LoB, Praha, Pn, lat. 8207]; (A. F17, F. 212); à3; possible Provençal contrafact.
7. O Maria virginei flos-[LoB, Praha]; (A. E14, F. 239); à3.
- ? 8. Regis decus et regine-[Praha]; (A. J47, F. 301); à2; (Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 583: doubtful, I disagree).

B. POLYPHONIC CONDUCTUS: Modern Attributions (13 texts).

- ? 1. Austro terris influente-(A. G1, F. 26); à2; cauda is texted; attr. Anderson, "A Postscript," p. 37; Dronke, raises doubts, but concedes attr. is possible.
2. Caput in caudam vertitur-(A. J3, F. 54); à2; found before 2 works by Philip in F, 7; high quality text; attr. Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 591.
- ? 3. Clavus pungens acumine-(A. J39, F. 65); à2; dated 1233; attr. because of evidence of related work given by medieval chronicler by Ludwig and Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592; attr. questioned by Robertson, Service Books, Chapter 5.
4. Consequens antecedente-(A. H2, F. 68); à2; attr. Dreves, Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 591.
5. Deduc Syon uberrimas-(A. 68, F. 85); à2; attr. Anderson, Opera omnia; Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 578.
- ? 6. Dum sigillum summi patris-(A. J24, F. 100); à2; music by Perotin; attr. Anderson, Opera omnia.
- ? 7. Gratuletur populus-(A. H6, F. 147); à2; attr. Dreves.
8. Heu quo pregreditur-(A. J26, F. 155); à2; attr. Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 591.
9. Inflexu casuali verbum-(A. P18, F -); attr. Anderson, Opera omnia.
10. Luget Rachel iterum-(A. J40, F. 199); à2; attr. Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592.

- ? 11. O levis aurula--(A. J34, F. 235); à2; attr. Anderson, Opera omnia.
12. Regnum dei vim patitur--(A. H33, F. 302); à2; attr. Dreves; Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 591.
- ? 13. Veni creator spiritus spiritus recreator--(A. E13, F. 361); à3; attr. Dreves.

C. POLYPHONIC CONDUCTUS: Other Possible Attributions (3 texts).

1. Non livoris ex rancore--(A. F14, F. 222); à3; found between works by Philip in a group of his pieces in F, 6.
2. Quod promisit ab eterno--(A. G6, F. 295); à2; cauda is texted.
3. Relegentur ab area--(A. C6, F. 304); à3; textual correspondences with other works of Philip; cauda is texted.

D. POLYPHONIC CONDUCTUS: Tentative Attributions (5 texts).

1. De rupta rupecula--(A. F25, F. 82); à3; dated 1224.

The previous piece and the unlikely Philip motet "O quam sancta quam benigna," q.v., occur in the 2nd and 3rd groups of pieces in the Châlons-sur-Marne fragments (Ch), which also contains Philip's "Regis decus," "Homo quam sit pura," "O maria virginei," "In veritate," and "Gedeonis area;" the likely attr. "Nostrum est impletum" and "Dogmatum falsas; and the doubtful " Et illumina eximia mater" and "O maria maris stella."

2. Frater iam prospicias--(A. I31, F. 132); à2; attr. Anderson, Opera omnia (tentative); prosula-like appearance; textual correspondences to other works by Philip.
- ? 3. O quotiens [vos] volui--(A. J1, F. 244); à2; attr. Anderson, Opera omnia (tentative).
4. Parit preter morem--(A. E12, F. 261); à3; attr. Anderson, Opera omnia (tentative); French contrafact.
- ? 5. Quare fremuerunt gentes--(A. F24, F. 278); à3; attr. Anderson, Opera omnia (tentative); also later setting à2 from Fauvel.

III. ORGANUM PROSULAS (5 texts).

A. Poems Attributed in Medieval Sources.

- ? 1. Associa tecum in patria / (X) Sancte Germane--[Praha]; (A. K80, F. 22); à1, à2; music prob. by Perotin; text shows prosula intended for S. Eligius, not Germanus; dated 1212; (Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 583: doubtful. I disagree).

- ? 2. Adesse festina / (Y) Aduva me domine...-[Praha]; (A. A12, G. 58); ã1, ã2, ã4; music by Perotin; paired with "De stephani," below; (Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 583: doubtful. I disagree).
- ? 3. De Stephani roseo sanguine / (Gradual) Sederunt-[Praha]; (A. A11, G. 57); ã1, ã2, ã4; music by Perotin; paired with "Adesse festina," above; (Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 583: doubtful. I disagree).
4. Homo cum mandato dato / (Gradual) Omnes-[Praha]; (A. A10, G. 3); ã1, ã2, ã4?; music by Perotin; paired with "Vide prophecie," below.
5. Vide prophecie / (Gradual) Viderunt-[Praha]; (A. A9, G. 2); ã1, ã2, ã4?; music by Perotin; paired with "Homo cum mandato," above.
- B. TROPED ORGANA: Modern Attributions (2 texts).
- ? 1. Beatis nos adhibe / Benedicamus domino-(A. A7, F. 44, G. 761); ã3; attr. Anderson, "Obiter dicta."
- ? 2. Veni doctor previe / (Y) Veni sancte spiritus reple. . .-(A. A8, G. 359); ã3; attr. Anderson, "Obiter dicta."

The previous two pieces, although tropes to sustained-tone organa, do not appear to have originated as texts added to melismatic polyphony. Therefore, unless other evidence can be brought forward, their attribution to Philip is questionable.

IV. CONDUCTUS PROSULAS (3 texts).

A. Poems Attributed in Medieval Sources.

1. Bulla fulminante-[LoB, Praha]; (A. L5, F. 53); ã1; text of source by Philip; music prob. by Perotin; Latin contrafact by Philip, "Veste nuptiali," below.
2. Minor natu filius-[LoB, Praha]; (A. K82, F. 208); ã1.
3. Veste nuptiali-[Praha]; (A. K81, F. 377); ã1; text of source by Philip; music prob. by Perotin; Latin contrafact by Philip, "Bulla fulminante," above.

B. TEXTED CONDUCTUS CAUDAE: Probable (New) Attributions (2 texts).

1. Crucifigat omnes-(A. D3, F. 70); ã2; ã3 (2 diff. added tripla); dated 1219-1220; Latin contrafacts.
2. Anima iuge lacrimas-(A. K45, F. 15); ã1, ã3; strophes successively notated ã1, can be combined for piece ã3.

The previous two pieces are the only known conductus prosulas not ascribed to Philip. The two contrafacts of Crucifigat (Mundum renovavit, Curritur ad vocem)

have not been considered because they are probably peripheral works that do not take account of the origin of their model as a prosula.

V. MOTETS.

A. Poems Attributed in Medieval Sources (8 texts).

1. Agmina milicie / Agmina-[LoB, Praha, Henri d'Andeli]; (G. 532); conductus motet; music modern attr. to Perotin (Sanders, "The Question," p. 283; and Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 299); French and Provençal contrafacts.
- ? 2. Doce nos optime / Docebit-[Praha]; (G. 346); conductus motet; (Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions:" doubtful on textual grounds; I agree); possibly confused by scribe of Praha with the possible attr. "Doce nos hodie," q.v.
3. Homo quam sit pura / Latus-[Salimbene]; (G. 231); conductus motet; strophic; strophic Latin contrafact is the modern attribution "Stupeat natura."
- (?) 4. In omni fratre tuo / In seculum-[LoB]; (G. 197); ã2.
- ? (?) 5. In salvatoris nomine / Veritatem-[LoB]; (G. 452); ã2?; triplum of double motet; can be combined with "In veritate," below. Doubtful: probably included among Philip's works in LoB only because of connection with "In veritate comperi."
- (?) 6. In veritate comperi / Veritatem-[LoB]; (G. 451); conductus motet; double motet; can be combined with "In salvatoris," above; there is also a lost, questionable attr. to Bishop William of Auvergne (reg. 1228-1249, d. 1249), see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 568, for details.
- (?) 7. Lacqueus conteritur / Lacqueus contritus. . .-[LoB]; (G. 95); ã2.
- (?) 8. Venditores laborum / Eius [or Domino]-[LoB]; (G. 760); ã2; double motet combined with tentative "O quam necessarium."

The works designated by (?) in the previous list are primarily the result of indecision by Ludwig and Dreves as to whether the entire collection of LoB could be attributed to Philip. Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," decides in favor of them all, with the exception of "Doce nos optime." I would also question "In salvatoris nomine."

B. MOTETS: Modern Attributions (10 texts).

1. Homo quo vigeas / Et gaudebit-(G. 313); conductus motet; source is clausula ã3 (also ã2); music modern attr. to Perotin (Husmann, p. xxii);

- French contrafact; attr. Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," pp. 592.
2. Latex silice / Latus-(A. A2, F. 190, G. 228); à4?; textual correspondences with other works of Philip.
 3. Manere vivere / Manere-(G. 70); à2; Latin contrafact; attr. Anderson (Latin Compositions 2:v); music modern attr. to Perotin (Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," pp. 284-85; and Baltzer, pp. 266-68).
 - ? 4. Mors a primi patris / Mors-(G. 256); à4; triple motet to be combined with "Mors morsu" and "Mors que stimulo," below; attr. Anderson (Latin Compositions 2:v); source is clausula à4; music modern attr. to Perotin (Sanders, et al., see his "The Question," p. 246); doubtful attr. of this specific text to Philip on stylistic and repertorial grounds.
 5. Mors morsu nata venenato-(G. 255); see above; Latin contrafact is the tentative "Mors vite vivificacio," q.v.
 6. Mors que stimulo-(G. 254); see above.
 7. Nostrum est impletum / Nostrum-(G. 216); conductus motet, based on integral clausula à3; music modern attr. to Perotin (Husmann, p. xxii); French contrafact; attr. Anderson, "A Postscript," pp. 36-37), and Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592).
 - ? 8. O quam necessarium / Eius [or Domino]-(G. 759); triplum of a double motet that has its motetus ("Venditores labiorum") assigned to Philip. The correspondences between the two texts suggest that the double motet is the original composition (Everist, pp. 25-26); attr. tentative on stylistic grounds.
 9. Stupeat natura / Latus-(G. 232); à2; strophic; contrafact of Philip's "Homo quam sit pura."
 - ? 10. Ypocrite pseudopontifices / Et gaudebit-(G. 316); triplum of double motet; surviving moteti include the possible attr. "Velut stelle" and the doubtful "O quam sancta," q.v.; this triplum attr. Dronke ("Lyrical Compositions," pp. 586-587, note 56); music of clausula is a modern attr. to Perotin (Sanders, "The Question," p. 247); French contrafact; Fritz Reckow believes that there is evidence to date this piece after Philip's death (see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," ibid.); textual correspondences with Philip's other works.

C. MOTETS: Other Possible (New) Attributions (11 texts).

1. Doce nos hodie / Docebit-(G. 345); conductus motet; possibly the work intended for Praha, instead of the probably spurious "Doce nos optime."
2. Et exaltavi plebis humilem / Et exaltavi-(G. 517); conductus motet; from integral clausula à3; music modern attr. to Perotin (Husmann, p. xxii); textual correspondences with Philip's other works.

The previous motet, along with the unlikely attr. "Ecclesie vox hodie," is found before Philip's "Agmina milicie" in F, 8, and with this piece disrupts the liturgical ordering of the works in this fascicle.

3. Ex semine Abrahe divino / Ex semine-(G. 483); à2, double motet (the triplum is the probable "Ex semine rosa prodit spina," below); music by Perotin (Anon. IV); poss. lost Notre Dame conductus motet from integral clausula à3 (it occurs as such in the Worcester Fragments; see Ludwig, p. 114); French contrafacts.
4. Ex semine rosa prodit spina / Ex semine-(G. 484); Triplum of double motet (motetus is the possible "Ex semine abrahe;" music by Perotin (Anon. IV).
5. Flos de spina rumpitur / Regnat-(G. 437); conductus motet; music modern attr. to Perotin (Sanders, "Medieval Motet," p. 518).
- ? 6. Memor tui creatoris / Et gaudebit-(G. 320); à2; tentative; contrafact of the probable "Velut stelle firmamenti;" music modern attr. to Perotin (Sanders, "The Question," p. 247); textual correspondences with Philip's other works.
7. Mens fidem seminat / In odorem-(G. 495); à2; music modern attr. to Perotin (Sanders, "Medieval Motet," p. 505; idem, "The Question," p. 245; Ludwig, p. 37; Husmann, p. xxii); a lost conductus motet from an integral clausula à3?; textual correspondences with Philip's Summa de Bono; French contrafacts.
- ? 8. Mors vite vivificacio / Mors-(G. 257); à2; tentative; contrafact of the modern attr. "Mors morsu," q.v.; source is clausula à4; music modern attr. to Perotin (Sanders, et al., see his "The Question," p. 246); textual correspondences with Philip's other works;
9. Non orphanum te deseram / Et gaudebit-(G. 322); á2, double motet; music modern attr. to Perotin (Sanders, "The Question," p. 245); French contrafact.

- ? 10. *Serena virginum / Manere*—(A. A1, F. 323, G. 69); à4?; tentative; strophic; music modern attr. to Perotin (Baltzer, pp. 266-68, 454-55; and Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," pp. 284-85); contrafact of the probable "Manere vivere," q.v.
11. *Velut stelle firmamenti / Et gaudebit*—(G. 315); double motet; music modern attr. to Perotin (Sanders, "The Question," p. 247); triplum is the possible modern attr. "Ypocrite pseudopontifices," q.v.; French and Latin contrafacts, including the possible "O quam sancta," q.v.; textual correspondences with Philip's other works.

D. MOTETS: Tentative Attributions (5 texts; attr. based only on poetic style.)

1. *Ad solitum vomitum / Regnat*—(G. 439); conductus motet.
2. *Adveniam perveniam / Tamquam*—(G. 635); conductus motet; textual correspondences with other works of Philip.
3. *Celi semita / [Captivi]Tatem*—(G. 307b); à2; strophic; Latin and fragmentary French contrafact.
4. *O natio que viciis / Hodie perlustravit*—(G. 337); conductus motet; French contrafacts.
5. *Qui servare puberem / Domine*—(A. A6, F. 285, G. 59); conductus motet; strophic; clausula = Benedicamus Domino at end of conductus Columbe simplicitas.

E. MOTETS: Related Works probably not by Philip (13 texts).

- ? 1. *Alpha bovi et leoni / Domino*—(G. 762); à2; music modern attr. to Perotin (Husmann, p. xxii); Latin and French contrafacts, one of which is the unlikely attr. "Larga manu seminatum, q.v.
- ? 2. *Ave maria fons leticie*—(G. 230); à2 and double motet; based on integral clausula à3; music modern attr. to Perotin (Husmann, p. xxii); from same organum as the probable "Nostrum est impletum," q.v.; contrafact of the doubtful attr. "Radix venie," q.v.
- ? 3. *Ecclesie vox hodie / Et florebit*—(G. 524); conductus motet.

The previous motet, along with the probable "Et exaltavi plebis humilem," q.v., are found before Philip's "Agmina milicie" in F, 8, and with this piece disrupt the liturgical ordering of the pieces in this fascicle.

- ? 4. *Et illumina eximia mater / Et illuminare*—(G. 101); à2; strophic; music modern attr. to Perotin

(Husmann, p. xxii); from source clausula à3;
French contrafacts.

The previous piece, along with Philip's "Homo quam sit pura," the modern attr. "Stupeat natura," and the tentative "Celi semita" and "Qui servare puberem," constitute the repertory of Latin strophic motets, and hence are probably very early works.

- ? 5. Larga manu seminatum / Domino--(G. 763); à2; music modern attr. to Perotin (Husmann, p. xxii); Latin and French contrafacts, one of which is the unlikely "Alpha bovi et leoni," q.v.
- ? 6. O quam sancta quam benigna / Et gaudebit--(G. 317); conductus motet; double motet; music modern attr. to Perotin (Sanders, "The Question," p. 247); triplum is the modern attr. "Ypocrite pseudopontifices;" French and Latin contrafacts, including the possible attr. "Velut stelle," q.v.

The previous piece, along with the conductus "De rupta rupecula," dated 1224, q.v., occurs in the 2nd and 3rd groups of pieces in the Châlons-sur-Marne fragments (Ch), which also contains Philip's "Regis decus," "Homo quam sit pura," "O maria virginei," "In veritate," and "Gedeonis area;" as well as the possible attr. "Nostrum est impletum," "Dogmatum falsas," the tentative "Serena virginum;" and the doubtful "Et illumina eximia mater" and "O maria maris stella."

- ? 7. Radix venie / Latus--(G. 229); conductus motet; based on integral clausula à3; music modern attr. to Perotin (Husmann, p. xxii); from same organum as the probable "Nostrum est impletum," q.v.; contrafact of the doubtful attr. "Ave Maria fons leticie," q.v.
- ? 8. Virgo virginum regina virga virens / Et gaudebit--(G. 321); à2; music modern attr. to Perotin (Sanders, "The Question," p. 247); French and Latin contrafacts, including the possible attr. "Velut stelle," q.v.
- ? 9. Deo confitemini / Domino--(A. A3, F. 87, G. 131); conductus motet; French contrafact.
10. Gaudeat devotio / Nostrum--(A. A5, F. 140, G. 215); conductus motet.
- ? 11. Laudes referat / Quoniam--(A. A4, F. 191, G. 140); conductus motet.

The previous three motets, along with the modern attr. "Latex silice," "Serena virginum," and the tentative attr. "Qui servare puberem" are the only ones found in W1, and are hence regarded as some of the earliest examples of the genre. They do not possess tenors in this source, and may not have been considered as motets by the compiler of W1. They thus indicate a hybrid nature (and hence early origin) through their survival as conductus (in W1) and motets elsewhere. The two four-part motets "Latex silice" and "Serena virginum" are also transmitted in F, 6 among conductus à3. They also may not be intended as motets à4, but rather as conductus or motets à3.

- ? 12. Laus domino resonet / Eius-(G. 656); conductus motet.
 ? 13. Virgo plena graciae / Virgo-(G. 412); conductus motet;
 Latin and French contrafacts.

The previous two works are found in the non-alphabetical collection of conductus motets in W2, which also includes Philip's "Agmina milicie;" the modern attr. "Homo quo vigeas;" the probable attr. "Doce nos hodie," "Et exaltavi plebis;" the tentative attr. "O natio que vitiis," "Ad solitum vomitum," "Adveniam perveniam," and the doubtful attr. "Deo confitemini," "Gaudeat devotio," and "O maria maris stella," q.v.

APPENDIX 2

DATABLE WORKS BY PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR

Philip's datable works are listed below in chronological order with the date of the composition of the text immediately following. A question mark preceding the entry signifies a modern, tentative, or questionable attribution; one following the year, an uncertain dating. Next appear the number of voices for each of the pieces, followed by the catalog numbers of Anderson and Falck, respectively, and the events and personages referred to in the text. Further details on all these pieces are available in Appendix 1, the complete list of Philip's possible poems, and in Appendix 6, the complete list of all datable Notre Dame works. Because of the highly tentative nature of their ascriptions to Philip, Alabastrum frangitur, O mors que mordes omnia, and De rupta rupecula are not considered in the body of the dissertation. The suitability of these two pieces for his authorship has yet to be determined.

- ? Dum medium silentium tenerent-ca. 1174 (à1; K15, 99) Part of a longer prosimetrum beginning "In domino confido," delivered by Walter of Châtillon (ca. 1135-ca. 1190) to the University of Bologna; most probable author: Walter of Châtillon, not Philip.
- Venit Jhesus in propria-1187? (à1; K42, 365) Fall of Jerusalem to Saladin, impetus for the Third Crusade.
- Pater sancte dictus Lotarius-1198? (à1; K61, 267) Installation of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216).
- Christus assistens pontiphex-1208 (à1; K48, 61) Installation of Peter of Nemours (Philip's uncle) as bishop of Paris (1208-1219).
- Rex et sacerdos prefuit-1209-1212 (à1; K49, 308) Dispute between Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) and Emperor Otto IV (1209-1215) concerning land conquests.
- Associa tecum in patria-1212? (à1 [à2?]; K80, 22) Gift of a relic of Saint Eligius from Noyon to Paris; organum prosula.
- ? Crucifigat omnes-1219-1220 (à3; D3, 70) Refers to the Fifth Crusade; conductus prosula.
- Bulla fulminante-1222-1223 (à1; L5, 53) Dispute between Philip the Chancellor and Pope Honorius III (1216-1227); conductus prosula.
- ? Alabastrum frangitur-1223 (à1; K50, 12) Death of King Philip Augustus of France (1180-1223); tentative attribution to Philip.

- ? **O mors que mordet omnia-1223** (à1; K77, 241) Death of King Philip Augustus of France (1180-1223); tentative attribution to Philip.
- Beata nobis gaudia-1223** (à1; K44, 41) Coronation of King Louis VIII of France (1223-1226).
- ? **De rupta rupecula-1224** (à3; F25, 82) Refers to the battle of La Rochelle; tentative attribution to Philip.
- ? **Clavus clavo retunditur-1233** (à1; K51, 64) Recovery of the Holy Nail of St. Denis.
- ? **Clavus pungens acumine-1233** (à1; J39, 65) Recovery of the Holy Nail of St. Denis.
- ? **Aurelianis civitas-1236** (à1; K60, 25) Riot in Orléans between the townspeople and the clergy.

APPENDIX 3

OTHER KNOWN POETS/COMPOSERS WITH WORKS SET TO MUSIC IN THE NOTRE DAME AND ARS ANTIQUA REPERTORIES

This list contains all the examples of poetry with extant musical settings (indicated by Arabic numerals) from the Notre Dame and Ars Antiqua repertories that are attributed to identifiable authors (indicated by Roman numerals) other than Philip the Chancellor. It is divided into large two subgroups: A. Conductus and B. Motets. In addition to references to major catalogs, specific information on contrafacts and the formal designs of the conductus examples is also included.

Abbreviations:

A.—Anderson, "Catalogue Raisonné."

attr.—attribution(s); attributed.

B.—van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et Refrains.

F.—Falck, The Notre Dame Conductus.

G.—Gennrich, Bibliographie.

L.—Linker, A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics.

p, pp—paroxytonic, proparoxytonic.

P.C.—Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstons. Bibliographie der Troubadours.
Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933; repr. ed. New York: Burt Franklin,
1968.

R.—Spanke, ed. Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes.

thru-comp.—through-composed musical design.

A. CONDUCTUS

I. ALANUS DE INSULIS (b. 1114-1128, d. 1202)

1. Exceptivam actionem-(A. K67, F. 110); Strophic, thru-comp., refrain, opening melisma.

II. WALTER OF CHATILLON (ca. 1135-ca. 1190).

- ? 1. Dum medium silentium tenerent-(A. K15, F. 99); dated 1174; Strophic; cantio form, refrain: ABAB, CDCD', EC'; also dubious attrib. to Philip the Chancellor.
2. Ecce torpet probitas-(A. L50).
3. Excitatur caritas in Ierico-(A. F30, F. 111); à3; strophic; very long lines with musical rhyme AB(a')CD(c').
4. Frigescente caritatis-(A. L23a).
5. Licet eger cum egrotis-(A. L51).
6. Omni pene curie-(A. I34, F. 252); à2; Strophic; cantio form: ABAB, CDEF.
7. Sol sub nube latuit-(A. I16, F. 334); à2; Contrafacts: "Chanter et renvoisier seuil" by Thibaut de Blason (d. after March 1229) (L. 255-6, R. 1001); and "Pour mon chief reconforter" (L. 72-16, R. 885) by Gautier de Coincy (b. 1177-1178, d. 1236); Strophic; cantio form: AA'AA', BCBC' + refr.: efgh + short final melisma.
8. Ver pacis aperit-(A. J32, F. 366); à2; dated 1179; Contrafact: "Ma (or La) joie me semont" (L. 24-13, R. 1924) by Blondel de Nesle (fl. 1180-1200); 6pp lines; Strophic; cantio form: ABAB, CDEF.
9. Veri floris sub figura-(A. C1, F. 369); à3; Strophic; thru-comp. strophes, 7 lines, brief melismatic extension at end.
- ? 10. Vite perditte-(A. J35, F. 387); à2; also modern attr. to Peter of Blois; Contrafact: "A l'entrant du tens sauvage" (L. 113-1, R. 41) by Hue de Saint Quentin (fl. 1221) and "Per dan que d'amor m'aveigna (P.C. 366-26) by Peirol (?1160-after 1221); Strophic; cantio form: ABAB, CDCD'.

III. PETER OF BLOIS (ca. 1135-ca. 1212).

1. A globo veteri-(A. K74, F. 2); Sequence, 6pp lines among others, lai-like repetitions of phrases.
2. Dum iuventus floruit-(A. L75); neumes.
3. Ex ungue primo teneram-(-);
- ? 4. Fons (Flos) preclusus sub torpore-(A. K72, L145; F. 172); also tentative attrib. to Philip the Chancellor; Contrafact: A. L145 = "Povre viellece m'assaut" (L. 265-1379. R. 390); Strophic; thru-comp., 12 lines, 8pp + 6p pairs.

- ? 5. In nova fert animus via gressus--(A. K29, F. 176); tentative attr. to Peter; also modern attr. to Philip the Chancellor; 1 strophe; thru-comp., melismatic.
6. Non te luisse pudeat--(A. K47, F. 223); also modern attr. to Philip the Chancellor; Strophic; thru-comp., 10-line strophe, 8pp, 6pp, 4pp lines.
7. Olim sudor Herculis--(A. K4, F. 250); Sequence; thru-comp., refrain.
- ? 8. Qui seminat in oculis--(A. K22, F. 284); tentative attr. to Peter; Strophic; thru-comp., ending melisma.
- ? 9. Quo me vertam nescio--(A. K28, F. 292); tentative attr. to Peter; also attr. to Philip the Chancellor; Sequence; thru-comp., melismas.
10. Vacillantibus trutine--(A. L48);
11. Veneris prosperis--(A. J28, F. 359); à2; thru-comp., 6pp, 8p 4pp, 7pp lines.
12. Vitam duxi iocundam sub amore--(A. K36, F. 386); Strophic; thru-comp.
- ? 13. Vite perditæ--(A. J35, F. 387); à2; also modern attr. to Walter of Châtillon, see above.

IV. ADAM DE LA BASSEE (d. 1286)--All the following pieces come from his Ludus super Anticlaudianum (ca. 1280), which includes 38 musical works. The ones omitted here are either a motet (q.v.) or are contrafacts of Gregorian chants, hymns or sequences. The order of the poems is that of the manuscript.

1. O quam fallax est mundi gloria--(A. L165); Contrafacts: "Quant voi paroïr la feuille en la ramee" (L. 249-1, R. 550) by Sauvage de Bethune (dates?) and "He com dechoit du monde la veuille" (L. 265-749, R. 1217a).
2. Ave gemma que lucis copia--(A. L166); Contrafact: "Tant ai amours servies longuement" (L. 240-51, R. 711) by Thibaut IV de Champagne, Roi de Navarre (1201-1253).
3. Ave presul sancte qui pueros--(A. L167).
4. Ave pugil qui in agonia--(A. L168).
5. Ave cuius vera contritio--(A. L169).
6. Ave radix de cuius stipite--(A. L170).
7. O constantie dignitas--(A. L171); Contrafact: "Je ne chant pas pour verdour" (L. 192-12, R. 2017) by Perrin d'Angecourt (fl. 1245-1270).
8. Ave pater multarum gentium--(A. L172).
9. Ave princeps celestis curie--(A. L173); Contrafact: "Loiaus desirs et pensee jolie" (L. 179-3, R. 1172) by Martin le Beguin de Cambrai (dates?).
10. Ave rosa rubens et tenera--(A. L174); Contrafacts: "Tant ai amours apris et entendu" (L. 66-7, R.

- 2054) by Gaidifer d'Avion (fl. 1230-1250) and "Ave rose pleine de grande odour" (L. 265-196, R. 2000a).
11. Homo cur extolleris--(A. L175).
 12. O quam felix qui servit domino--(A. L176).
 13. Fecis avaritie--(A. L177).
 14. Modestos blanditie--(A. L178).
 15. Beatus vir qui sapientie--(A. L179).
 16. Olim in armonia--(A. L180); Contrafact: "De juer et de baler" (L. 264-464, R. 767a).
 17. Qui opus accelerat--(A. L181).
 18. Leges sacras passas exilium--(A. L182).
 19. Amor emptus pretio--(A. L183).
 20. Felix qui humilium--(A. L184); Contrafact: "L'autrier estoie montes" (L. 56-2, R. 936) by Henri III, Duc de Brabant (1248-1261).
 21. O felix custodia--(A. L185).
 22. Corrosus affligitur--(A. L186).
 23. Nature exigua--(A. L187).
 24. O quam felix qui in consortio--(A. L188).
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B. MOTETS

I. ADAM DE LA BASSEE (d. 1286).

1. O quam sollempnis legatio / Amoris--(G. 364); à2 (à1 in MS); from his "Ludus super Anticlaudianum" (ca. 1280); Contrafacts: "Et (or He or Dieus) quant jou (or je) remir son cors le gai / Amoris (G. 361, L. 265-690, 265-1354, 265-407); "Veni salva nos lux inclita" (G. 360); and "Virgo dei plena" (G. 365).

II. ADAM DE LA HALLE (btwn 1245 and 1250--btwn 1285 and 1288, or after 1306).

1. Aucun (or Adam) se sont loé d'amours / A dieu comment amouretes / Super te--(G. 834, 835; L. 2-54); double motet; dated after 1269; cf. Adam's rondeau "A dieu comment," (B. 73, L. 2-38) which uses same refrain (B. Refrain 12).
- ? 2. Bien met amours son pooir a moi grever / Dame alegrés ma grevance / A paris--(G. 884, 885, L. 265-260) double motet; possible attr. to Adam (Wilkins); duplum quotes refrain (B. Refrain 823) of Adam's rondeau "He diex quant verrai" (B. Rondeau 79) near end; same refrain also in possible motet "Theoteca / Las pourquoi / qui prandroit," q.v. and in Le Roman de Violette (ca. 1230) which would make it too early to be Adam's; see also B. Refrains 36, 422, 824.

- ? 3. Dame bele et avenant / Fi maris de vostre amour / Nus n'iert ja jolis s'il n'aime—(G. 872, 873; L. 2-55); double motet; possible attr. to Adam (Wilkins, ed.); motetus (Adam's) and tenor are rondeaux (B. Rondeaux 74, 181; L. 2-45); see also B. Refrains 746, 1842; 1407.
4. De ma dame vient / Diex comment porroie trouver / Omnes—(G. 33, 34; L. 2-56); double motet; cf. Guillaume d'Amiens' (fl. late 13th c.) rondeau "De ma dame vient," (B. Rondeau 90, L. 101-7), which uses same opening refrain (B. Refrain 477, music transposed) and likewise Adam's "Diex comment porroie" (B. Rondeau 80, Refrain 496; L. 2-43); also see B. Refrains 765, 1661, and 1473 (quoted in Adam's "Jeu d'Adam ou de la feuille").
- ? 5. En mai quant rosier sont flouri / L'autre jour pour un matin chevauchoie / He resvelle toi—(G. 870, 871; L. 265-639); double motet; possible attr. to Adam (Wilkins); tenor is rondeau refrain used by Adam in his "Jeu de Robin et Marion" (B. Refrain 870, L. 2-74); see also B. Refrains 54, 192; 52, 1627
6. Entre adam et hanikel / Chief bienseans / Aptatur—(G. 725, 726 L. 2-57); double motet.
7. J'ai adés d'amours chanté et servi / Omnes—(G. 35, L. 2-58, B. Refrain 703); à2.
8. J'os bien a m'amie parler / Je n'os a m'amie aler / In seculum—(G. 198, 199; L. 2-59); double motet.
- ? 9. Mout me fu grief il departir / Robins m'aime robins m'a / Portare—(G. 297, 298; L. 2-60); possible attr. to Adam (Wilkins); triplum contains B. Refrain 1346 (cf. G.196, 197; L. 265-1179a); motetus is pastourelle (rondeau) used by Adam in his "Jeu de Robin et Marion" (B. Refrains 1633, 1879; L. 2-64); triplum is closely related to motet "Mout me fu griés li departir / In omni fratre tuo / In seculum," (G. 196, 197, R. 1179a) whose motetus is a medieval attr. to Philip the Chancellor.
- ? 10. Se je sui liés et chantans / Jolietement / Omnes—(G. 39, 40, L. 265-1597); double motet; possible attr. to Adam (Wilkins); close of triplum quotes beginning of refrain, whose words appear at opening in duplum of Adam's motet "Entre Adam / Chief bienseans / Aptatur."
- ? 11. Theoteca virgo geratica / Las pourquoi l'estongetant / Qui prandroit—(G. 878, 879, L. 265-1661); double, bi-lingual motet; possible attr. to Adam (Wilkins); duplum quotes refrain (B. Refrain 823) of Adam's rondeau "He diex quant verrai" (B. Rondeau 79) at end; same refrain also in

possible motet "Bien met / Dame alegrés / A paris," q.v. and in Roman de la Violette (ca. 1230), which would make it too early to be by Adam.

III. AUDEFROI LE BASTART (fl. 1190-1230, d. ca. 1250).

- ? 1. Destrois pensis en esmai—(L. 15-8, R. 77); Audefrois's chanson, which is cited in the Roman de la Violette (ca. 1230), is possibly related to the motet "Bien m'ont amours entrepris" (G. 942a, L. 265-261, R. 1532); à2;.

IV. COLART LE BOUTELLIER (fl. 1240-1260).

1. Ce qu'on aprent en enfance—(L. 41-3, G. -, R. 219); à1; contrafact of Jehan Erart's motet "L'autrier par une valee," q.v.

V. ERNOUL LE VIEL DE GASTINOIS (fl. late 13th c.).

1. Pour conforter mon courage—Virgo (G. 415, L. 59-3, R. 19); à2; contrafact of "Crescens incredulitas / Virgo" (G. 414); possesses a concordant clausula à3.

VI. GAUTIER DE COINCY (b. 1177-1178, d. 1236)

1. Hui matin a l'ajournee / Domino—(G. 765, L. 72-8, R. 526, 491a); à2; contrafact of motet "Hier matin a l'enjournee" (G. 764, L. 265-771); Latin versions of motet extant, including "Alpha bovi et leoni;" see also B. Refrains 343, 1882.

VII. GAUTIER DE DARGIES (ca. 1165-after 1236).

1. Pour noient me represent on / Johanne—(G. 384, L. 73-19a); à2; also see B. Refrain 846.

VIII. GILON FERRANT (dates?).

1. De joli (or jolif) cuer doit venir / Je me quidai bien tenir / Et gaudebit—(G. 326, 327, L. 265-461); double motet; Gilon is named in triplum text as the composer of its melody. The triplum can be viewed as a second stanza of the duplum text, for both share similar poetic shemes and end with the same refrain (B. Refrain 548).

IX. JEHAN ERART (b. 1200-1210, d. 1258-1259)

1. L'autrier par une valee—(G. 1138, L. 154-14, R. 558); à1; pastourelle.
 2. Mes cuers n'est mie a moi—(G. 1137, L. 154-17, R. 1663); à1; motet enté; see also B. Refrain 1320; and G. 388, 424, 686, which use similar refrain.
 3. Piecha c'on dist par mauvais oïr—(G. 1137a, L. 154-22, R. 1801); à1.

- X. MARCABRU (b. 1100-1110, d. 1147-48)
- ? 1. L'altrier cuidai aber druda / Agmina-(G. 537, P.C. 461-146); à2; very dubious attribution to Marcabru (Tischler, Style and Evolution); Latin contrafact is Agmina milicie by Philip the Chancellor, q.v. The Marcabru connection rests on the incipit given to the Agmina clausula in StV, which is in French ("L'autrier cuidai avoir"). The Provençal version is not recognized as Marcabru's in any of the major catalogs.
- XI. MOINE DE SAINT DENIS (ca. 1230)
1. En non dieu [dieu] c'est la rage / Ferens pondera-(G. 271, L. 184-2, R. 33); à2; dated before 1230, inserted in Le Roman de Violette (ca. 1230); see also B. Refrains 665, 1447.
- XII. MONIOT D'ARRAS (b. 1190, d. 1239)
- ? 1. Bone amour sans tricherie / Flos-(G. 668, L. 265-276); à2; motet enté; lines from Moniot's chanson (L. 185-5, R. 1216) surface in this motet at its beginning and end.
- ? 2. Li doz termines m'agree / Balaam-(G. 593, L. 265-1063); à2; motet enté; correspondences with the first and last pairs of lines of Moniot's chanson (L. 185-11, R.490)
- ? 3. Par main s'est levee la bele Maros / Tres douce pensee / Florebit-(G. 528c 528d, L. 265-1304); double motet; only triplum attr. to Moniot; see also B. Refrain 1335.
- XIII. RICHART DE FOURNIVAL (ca. 1190-1260)
1. Chascuns qui de bien amer / Et florebit-(G. 526, L. 223-4, R. 759, 1281); à2; first stanza of chanson serves as motetus; see also B. Refrain 948
2. Onques n'amai tant que jou fui amee / Sancte Germane-(G. 820, L. 223-11, R. 498); à2; motet enté; see also B. Refrain 1427.
3. Renvoisement i vois a mon ami par espaules-(G. 1143a, L. 223-18); Motet? music not entered; see also B. Refrains 65, 1623.
- XIV. ROBERT DE REINS LA CHIEVRE (ca. 1240 or after 1300)
1. L'autrier de jouste un rivage (or vinage)-(G. -, L. 231-4, R. 35, 44a); à1; Motet? pastourelle.
2. Main s'est levée aelis qui tot / Et tenerunt-(G. 252, L. 231-5, R. 1510); à2; pastourelle.
3. Quant fueillissent (or florissent) li buisson / Domino-(G. 137, L. 231-7, R. 1852); à2; see also B. Refrain 670.

- ? 4. En mai quant rose est florie par / Quant voi le dous
tans venir / Latus--(G. 235, L. 265-637, R.
1485); à2 and double motet; triplum not attr. to
Robert; first stanza of Robert's chanson (L.
231-8) set as motet; see also B. Refrain 1149.
- XV. THOMAS ERIER (HERIER) (fl. 1240-1270)
- ? 1. Se valours vient d'estre amourous et gay / Bien me sui
aperceus / Hic factus est--(G. 213, 214, L. 265-
1613); double motet; Thomas' chanson (L. 259-2,
R. 2125) appears as motetus; see also B.
Refrains 114, 572, 1808.

APPENDIX 4

WORKS OF PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR WITH CONTRAFACTA

This inventory contains all of the pieces (regardless of the certainty of their authorship) from Philip's main work list given in Appendix 1 (indicated by Roman numerals) that possess known contrafacts (indicated by Arabic numerals). The list begins with A. Conductus (including conductus prosulas with contrafacts), and is followed by B. Motets. Doubtful or tentative works are signalled by a question mark (?) in the margin. Information after the entry of the contrafact gives a reference to the work in the major catalogs:

A.—Anderson, "Catalogue Raisonné."

B.—van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et Refrains.

F.—Falck, The Notre Dame Conductus.

G.—Gennrich, Bibliographie.

L.—Linker, A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics.

P.C.—Pillet and Carstons, Bibliographie der Troubadours.

R.—Spanke, ed. Gaston Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes.

Also included are the names of any known composers and poets, the number of voices for polyphonic compositions (all others are assumed to be monophonic), and any unusual characteristics exhibited by the contrafact.

A. CONDUCTUS

? I. Angelus ad virginem—(A. 015); doubtful medieval attribution.

1. Gabriel fram hevenc king—(See A. 015); found together with a transmission of "Angelus."
2. The angel to the vergyn said—(See A. 015).

- II. Ave gloriosa virginum regina—(A. K75, F. 28).
1. Virge (or Nete) glorieuse—(L. 265-1026, R. 1020).
 2. L'autrier chevauchois pensant—(L. 265-1014, R. 1695); only opening identical?
 3. Lonc tens m'ai teü—(L. 265-1096, R. 2060).
 4. ...en tremblement—(L. 265-666, R. 362a); fragmentary, identity begins with "amours m'a au lapris."
- III. Beata viscera marie virginis cuius—(A. K14, F. 42); music by Perotin.
1. De la (or A) sainte leocade—(L. 72-3, R. 12); text by Gautier de Coincy (b. 1177-1178, d. 1236).
 2. Entendez tuit ensemble—(L. 72-5, R. 83); text by Gautier de Coincy (b. 1177-1178, d. 1236).
- IV. Bulla fulminante—(A. L5, F. 53); conductus prosula; music by Perotin?
1. Veste nuptiali—(A. K81, F. 377); text by Philip.
- V. Crucifigat omnes—(A. D3, F. 70); conductus prosula; possible attr. to Philip.
1. Mundum renovavit—(See A. D3); à3.
 2. Curritur ad vocem—(See A. D3); à1?
- ? VI. Fons (or Flos) preclusus—(A. K72, L145, F. 129); tentative attribution to Philip.
1. Tant ai mon cor ple de joja—(P.C. 70-44); Bernart da Ventadorn (b. ca. 1130-1140?, d. ca. 1190-1200).
 2. Povre viellece m'assaut—(L. 265-1379, R. 390).
- VII. Homo considera—(A. K56, F. 156).
1. De yessé naistra—(L. 265-509, R. 7).
 2. Je chant comme desvés—(L. 125-1, R. 922); Jacques de Hesdin (dates?).
 3. L'autrier m'iere levés—(L. 266-4, R. 395, See P.C. 461-148).
- VIII. Mundus a mundicia—(A. F17, F. 212).
1. Dirai vos senes doptansa (P.C. 293-18); same poetic scheme; preserved melody different; Marcabru (b. 1100-1110, d. 1147-1148).

IX. Nitimur in vetitum—(A. K54, F. 219).

1. Quant li rossignols jolis—(L. 38-15, R. 1559); ascribed to Raoul de Ferrières (fl. 1200-1210), Ferri de Ferrières (dates?), Chastelain de Coucy (ca. 1165-1203).
2. En (or De) pascour un jour erroie—(L. 154-9, R. 1718); music only slightly similar; Jehan Erart (b. 1200-1210, d. 1258-1259), Moniot d'Arras (1190-1239).
3. L'autrier m'iere rendormis—(L. 265-1029, R. 1609).

X. O maria O felix puerpura—(A. K58, F. 237); possible attr. to Philip.

1. Ma viele—(L. 72-12, R. 617a); Gautier de Coincy (b. 1177-1178, d. 1236).
2. Pastourele—(L. 265-1317, R. 605); similar poetic form.

? XI. Parit preter morem—(A. E12, F. 261); tentative attribution to Philip.

1. Pieça que savoie—(L. 265-1325, R. 1760).

XII. Pater sancte dictus lotarius—(A. K61, F. 267).

1. Douce dame grés et graces—(L. 65-31, R. 719); Gace Brulé (ca. 1160-after 1213).

XIII. Quisquis (or Si quis) cordis et oculi—(A. K52, F. 291).

1. Amis qui est li mieus vaillant—(L. 265-52, R. 365).
2. Can vei la lauzeta mover—(P.C. 70-43); Bernart da Ventadorn (b. ca. 1130-1140?, d. ca. 1190-1200), Peire Vidal (fl. ca. 1175-1210).
3. Seyner mi gracias ti rient—(P.C. 461-218a).
4. Li cuers se vait de l'oil—(L. 32-1, R. 349); text by Philip.
5. Plaine d'ire et desconfort—(L. 265-1326, R. 1934).

XIV. Suspirat spiritus—(A. L6, F. 344).

1. Amour dont sui esprit m'efforce—(L. 24-4, R. 1545); Blondel de Neslé (fl. 1180-1200).
2. Amour dont sui esprit de chanter—(L. 72-2, R. 1546); à2; àl; Gautier de Coincy (b. 1177-1178, d. 1236).
3. Procurans odium—(A. E9, F. 274); à3.
4. Purgator crimum—(A. F2, F. 277).

XV. Veni sancte spiritus spes—(A. N19, F. 363); Latin rondeau.

1. En ma dame ai mis mon cuer—(B. Rondeau 186).

2. Chanter vueil por fine amour—(R. 1957); Jaquemin de la Vante (dates?); refrain identical (B. Refrain 662).
3. La bele m'ocit dieus qui m'en—(G. 166); identical refrain in motet (B. Refrain 662).
4. Trop souvent me duel—(G. 172); identical refrain in motet (B. Refrain 662).
5. Grant solas me fait amours—(G. 787); identical refrain in motet (B. Refrain 662).

XVI. Veritas equitas largitas—(A. K62, F. 375); Latin lai.

1. Gen menäis del cuis—(P.C. 461-124); "Lai Markiol."
2. Flours ne glais—(L. 265-712, R. 192).

B. MOTETS.

I. Agmina milicie celestis omnia—(G. 532); music modern attr. to Perotin.

1. Quant froidure trait a fin encontre—(G. 535); conductus motet, double motet.
2. L'altrier cuidai aber druda—(G. 537, P.C. 461-146); à1; extremely doubtful attribution to Marcabru (b. 1100-1110, d. 1147-1148) (Tischler, Style and Evolution). The Marcabru connection rests on the incipit given to the Agmina clausula in StV, which is in French ("L'autrier cuidai avoir"). The Provençal version is not recognized as Marcabru's in any of the major catalogs.

? II. Alpha bovi et leoni—(G. 762); doubtful.

1. Larga manu seminatum—(G. 763); à2.
2. Hier matin a l'enjornée toute m'enbleüre chevauchoi—(G. 764, L. 265-771); à2.
3. Hui matin a l'ajournee toute m'enbleüre chevauchoi—(G. 765, L. 72-8, R. 526, 491a); à2; Gautier de Coincy (b. 1177-1178, d. 1236).

? III. Celi semita—(G. 307b); tentative attr. to Philip.

1. Scandit solium—(G. 307); conductus motet and à2.
2. . . .que soions net—(G. 307a); only end of motetus text preserved; G. gives text as ". . .que tout ce nos."

? IV. Deo confitemini—(A. A3, F. 87, G. 131); doubtful.

1. Mout est fous qui femme croit—(G. 132, L. 265-1170); à2 and conductus motet.

- ? V. Et illumina eximia mater-(G. 101); doubtful.
1. Entre Robin et marot-(G. 104, L. 265-669); à2.
 2. Et illumina je vos salu-(G. 105, L. 265-687); à2.
- VI. Ex semine abrahe divino-(G. 483); music by Perotin; probable attr. to Philip.
1. Se j'ai amé-(G. 485, L. 265-1580); conductus motet.
 2. Hier matin (or main) trespensis-(G. 486, L. 265-776); à2.
- VII. Homo quam sit pura-(G. 231).
1. Stupeat natura-(G. 232); à2; tentative attr. to Philip.
- VIII. Homo quo vigeas-(G. 313); modern attr. to Philip.
1. Amours va querant-(G. 314, L. 265-129); à2.
- IX. Manere vivere-(G. 70); modern attr. to Philip.
1. Serena virginum-(G. 69); à4?; tentative attr. to Philip.
- X. Mens fidem seminat-(G. 495); probable attr. to Philip.
1. Quant fueillant aubespín-(G. 497, L. 265-605); double motet.
- XI. Mors morsu nata venenato-(G. 255); modern attr. to Philip.
1. Mors vite vivificatio-(G. 257); à2; tentative attr. to Philip.
- XII. Non orphanum te deseram-(G. 322); probable attr. to Philip; music modern attr. to Perotin.
1. El mois de mai que florissent rosier et glai (G. 324, L. 265-1418); double motet.
- XIII. Nostrum est impletum gaudium-(G. 216); modern attr. to Philip.
1. Hui matin a l'ajournée me levai-(G. 217, L. 265-782); à2.
- ? XIV. O nacio que vitiis-(G. 337); tentative attr. to Philip.
1. A ma dame ai toute mon cuer douné-(G. 338, L. 265-47); conductus motet.

2. Dame que j'aim com fins amis—(G. 339, L. 265-421); à2.

? XV. O quam sancta quam benigna—(G. 317); doubtful; music modern attr. to Perotin.

1. Velut stelle firmamenti—(G. 315); double motet; probable attr. to Philip.

2. Al cor ai un alegrance—(G. 319, L. 265-36); double motet.

3. Memor tui creatoris—(G. 320); à2; doubtful.

4. Virgo virginum regina—(G. 321); à2; doubtful.

See also "Ypocrite pseudopontifices."

? XVI. Radix venie—(G. 229); doubtful.

1. Ave maria fons leticie—(G. 230); à2 and double motet; doubtful.

2. Quant l'aloete s'esjoïst en mai—(G. 240, L. 265-1446); à2.

? XVII. Virgo plena gracie—(G. 412) doubtful;

1. O maria mater pia mater salvatoris—(G. 411); conductus motet and à2; doubtful.

2. Deduisant m'aloie ier mein—(G. 413, L. 265-456); à2.

XVIII. Ypocrite pseudopontifices.—(G. 316); modern attr. to Philip.

1. El mois d'avril qui vers va departent—(G. 318, L. 265-586); double and triple motet.

See also "O quam sancta quam benigna."

APPENDIX 5

SELECTED DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE LIFE OF PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR

Document 1

Philip's Dispensation from the Defect of Illegitimacy

(From Horoy, ed., Honorii III Opera omnia, vol. 2, part 2, cols. 152-153, no. 120.)

Honorius, etc. dilecto filio Ph[ilippo] archidiacono Noviomen[si].

Humanae fragilitatis conditio multis subjecta defectibus neminem producit perfectionis lima sic usquequaque politum, qui si suam considerare voluerit originem ab omni rubiginis naevo audeat iudicare se mundum. Quis enim natus de muliere praesumat de suae nativitatis munditia gloriari, cum prophetarum eximius se in iniquitatibus genitum, et natum in delictis affirmet? Et natura filiis irae vas electionis annumeret semetipsum. Concluit quippe Deus omnia sub defectu, ut in se gloriari non audeat omnis caro, sed qui gloriatur in Domino glorietur,¹ cuius gratia sic electos praevenit, et subsequitur, ut virtutes et praemia largiatur non attendens quam generosos parentes quis habeat, sed quanta morum et meritorum generositate praecellat.

Licet igitur contra natos non de legitimo matrimonio constitutiones diversae in poenam parentum fuerint promulgatae, Apostolicae tamen Sedis benignitas illos nonnunquam consuevit ab huiusmodi constitutionum impedimento subducere, quos a parentum vitiis gratia praeveniente subductos virtutibus conspicit eminere, nec indigne illos tanquam legitimos in dominicam haereditatem assumit, defectum dissimulando natalium, quos meritorum gratia insigniores ipsa legitimat praerogativa virtutum, quia Phares et Zaram de Thamar genitos Evangelista regali genealogiae intexuit, et regnum Salamonis nati ex ea quae fuit Uriae Dominus confirmavit.

Cum igitur multi episcopi aliique praelati merito fide digni, tibi de vita et scientia testimonium laudabile perhibentes, humili nobis instantia supplicarunt, ut impedimentum, quod tuae promotioni opponit defectus natalium eo quod a bonae memoriae Philippo Parisien[si] archidiacono genitus extitisti, amovere per dispensationis gratiam dignaremur, cum defectum huiusmodi multorum redimas tessera meritorum; nos volentes, sicut dignum est, ut plus tibi prosint propria merita,

¹I Corinthians, 1:31.

quam culpa noceat aliena, dispensando auctoritate tibi praesentium indulgemus, ut in spiritualibus impedimentum tibi nihil officiat memoratum, sed eo non obstante libere valeas et promoveri ad sacros ordines, et ad ecclesiasticas dignitates assumi. Nulli ergo, etc., nostrae dispensationis, etc. Si quis autem, etc., Datum Laterani IV nonas Januarii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Document 2

Philip is called to Paris by Honorius III

(From Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis. vol. 2, part 2, cols. 276, no. 223; and Horoy, Honorii III Opera Omnia, vol. 2, part 2, col. 276, no. 223.)

Honorius, etc., venerabili fratri episcopo Parisien[si].

Per tuas litteras humiliter supplicasti, ut dilectum filium Philippum Noviomen[sem] archidiaconum tibi vocare ad Parisiensem ecclesiam de nostra permissione liceret, quod a bonae memoriae Ph[ilippo]² Parisien[si] archidiacono genitus extitit non obstante. Quoniam igitur cum eodem archidiacono ad humilem multorum episcoporum et aliorum praelatorum instantiam de vita et scientia sibi testimonium laudabile perhibentium, super hujusmodi defectu de benignitate Sedis Apostolicae dispensavimus, tibi praesentium auctoritate concedimus, ut impedimento non obstante praedicto, ipsum ad tuam libere voces ecclesiam, si ejus vocationem ipsi ecclesiae videris profuturam. Datum Laterani, decimo quinto kalendas martii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Document 3

Philip's Acquittal from the Papal Court at Rome

(From Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:93, no. 33; also Horoy, ed., Honorii III Opera Omnia, 3: col. 358, no. 59; and Hauréau, "Quelques lettres," vol. 21, part 2, p. 185. Both of the latter editions incorrectly date the letter December 4.)

Honorius decano et capitulo Parisiensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Cum ad aures nostras de delicto filio Ph[ilippo], cancellario vestro, quaedam gravia provenissent, et ob hoc eum ad nostram praesentiam vocassemus, quia, ipso coram nobis postmodum comparente, nullus contra eumdem comparuit accusator, nos, in hoc et aliis vos honorare volentes, quos nobis novimus et Apostolicae Sedi devotos, et qui ex affectu sinceritatis, quem ad Romanam habetis Ecclesiam, dari nuper ecclesiae vestrae dilectum filium nostrum A[ldobrandinum], S. Susannae presbyterum cardinalem, in episcopum postulastis, cancellarium

²Horoy: Th.

ipsum ad vos cum gratia nostra duximus remittendum. Datum Viterbii, II kal[endas] Decembris, pontificatus nosrti anno quarto.

Document 4

Selections concerning Philip from Thomas of Cantimpré

(From his Bonum universale de apibus, ed. Colvener.)

A. Book 1, chap. 19, par. 5 (p. 58).

Determinatio quaest[ionis] de pluralitate beneficiorum³

Volo ut quicumque; haec legerit, sciat me anno ab incarnatione Domini M.CC.XXXVIII. fuisse [Pa]risijs,⁴ ubi venerabilis Guillielmus [sic] Parisiensis Epsicopus, qui in Theologia iam rexerat, convocationem fecit omnium magistrorum in capitulo fratrum Praedicatorum. Proposita ergo quaestione de pluralitate beneficiorum, solerti et valde longa disputatione probatum est, duo beneficia, dummodo unum valeret quindecim libras Parisienses, teneri cum salute animae non posse. Hoc determinavit praedictus Episcopus: hoc frater Hugo ordinis Praedicatorum, postmodum Romanae curiae Cardinalis: hoc frater Guericus, et frater Gaufridius eiusdem ordinis: frater Johanne de rupella ordinis fratrum minorum; et alii quamplures magistri Theologiae determinaverunt in scholis proprijs successivè. Fuerat autem habita disputatio longa valde, et multò solemnior ante annos tres: in qua etiam, omnes magistri Theologiae, exceptis duobus, determinasse probantur idem per omnia quod et suprâ: quorum unus fuit Magister Philippus Cancellarius Parisiensis, et alter Magister Arnoldus, postmodum Ambianensis Episcopus.

B. Book 1, chap. 19, par. 6 (pp. 58-60).

Visio de anima cancellarij Pari[siensis] damnata⁵

Quid autem de ipso Philippo contigerit, audiamus. Agonizantem in morte, dictus Guillelmus [sic] Parisiensis Episcopus paterna sollicitudine visitavit [p. 59] rogavit'que eum, ut singulari opinioni cederet de pluralitate beneficiorum, et omnia beneficia sua, excepto uno, in manus ecclesiae resignaret; et hoc conditione media, ut convalesceret, ei supplere vellet de suo proprio quod dimisisset. Renuit ille, experiri se velle dicens: utrum esset damnabile beneficia plura tenere, Mortuus est ergo sic. Post paucas autem dies, cum dictus

³Title in margin.

⁴Misprint noted in the errata to this edition of Thomas' book, p. 587.

⁵Title in margin.

Parisiensis Episcopus, finitis matutinis, orare vellet, vidit inter se et lumen quasi umbram hominis, tetram nimis. Elevata ergo manu consignat se, et si ex parte Dei sit praecipit ut loquatur. Cui respondit apparens. Alienus à Deo sum, sed tamen mirabilis⁶ factura eius. Et presul. Tu quis es inquit. Cui ille respondit. Ego sum Cancellarius, inquit, ille dudum miserimus. Rursus Episcopus elato altius gemitu, et quomodo, inquit, tibi est sic dolenti? Malè, ait, immò quam pessimè, quia damnatus sum aeterna morte. Et episcopus. Heu, ait, charissime, quae causa tuae damnationis? Tres sunt, inquit, causae, quare morte perpeti sum damnatus.⁷ Una est quod recresentes fructus annuos contra pauperes timidè reservavi. Secunda est quod contra sententiam plurimorum, de pluralitate beneficiorum, quasi licitè tenendorum, opinionem propriam defensavi,⁸ et in hoc me periculo mortalis culpae commisi. Tertia est, et illa gravissima omnium, quod abominabili carnis vicio, in scandalum multorum, multe tempore laboravi; et ad Episcopum mox subiunxit. Estne inquit finitus mundus? Et Episcopus. Miror, ait, te litteratissimum quondam virum hoc quaerere cum me adhuc vivum cernas, et omnes nos viventes adhuc mori necesse sit, antequam mundus instante iudicio finiatur. Et ille. Non mireris inquit: quia nec scientia, nec opus, nec ratio est apud inferos venienti.⁹ Et haec dicens, umbra ab oculis mirantis evanuit; ipse autem Episcopus (non tamen sub [p. 60] persona sua, quasi haec vidisset) in praedicatione sua clericis omnibus recitavit.

C. Book 2, chap. 10, par. 36 (pp. 151-152).

Occasio mortis Philippo Cancellarij Parisiensis.¹⁰

Narrabo et de Magistro Philippo Cancellarij Parisiensi, de quo superius loco suo retuli.¹¹ Hic contra fratres ordinis Praedicatorum in omni ferè publica statione et sermone Parisijs latrabat. Et quidem cum ipse diebus quindecim ante mor- [p. 152] -tem contra eos crudeliter praedicasset, sequenti Dominica Frater Henricus, dictus de Colonia, dicti ordinis serventissimus et discretissimus praedicator; Parisiis coram Universitate, singulis, quae contra Fratres dictus Cancellarius praedicaverat, retractis, ad unguem omnia luculentissimè per divinae scripturae paginam improbavit. Cuius improbationis confusione, Cancellarius mox tactus dolore cordis intrinsecus, repente contremuit,

⁶In margin: ms. b. secundum imp. miserabilis.

⁷In margin: Tres causae damnationis illius avaritia, pluralitas beneficiorum, Luxuria.

⁸In margin: ms. p. defendi.

⁹In margin: Ecclae. 9 [i.e., Ecclesiastes, 9:10].

¹⁰Title in margin.

¹¹In margin: liber I, capitulum 19, paragraphus 5 et 6.

et infirmatus ad mortem, obiit tali modo ut in praecedentibus¹² iam audistis.

Document 5

Selections from *Le Dit du Chancelier Philippe* by Henri d'Andeli

(From Paul Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," pp. 210-215; and Heron, Ouevres de Henri d'Andeli, pp. 31-41.)

A. Lines 22-67.

[Philip's Last Words]

Oiez qu'il dit ou lit mortel:
 Li Chanceliers, en icel point
 qui la mort temporal le point,
 25 un suen privé clerc apela,
 son pensé pas ne li cela:
 "Di moi," fit il, "quele ore il est;
 je sui cil qui cest siecle lès;
 g'i ai assez esté entant."
 30 Quant li clers la parole entent,
 de pitié li cuers li fondi;
 en sospirant li respondi:
 "Sire, il est entor mienuit."
 Dist li prodon: "Cui qu'il anuit,
 35 de cest siecle me vuel partir;
 je m'en vois après lou martir
 que selon Juif lapiderent,
 por ce qu'il sorent et cuiderent
 que par lui fussent sormonté
 40 et de science et de bonté."
 Ce sache bien chacuns qui m'ot
 qu'il dit encore .i. autre mot
 ou clerc se doivent assentir,
 quar cest mot dit il sanz mentir:
 45 "Dex, tes jugleres ai esté
 toz tens, et yver[s] et esté.
 De ma viele seront rotes
 en ceste nuit les cordes totes,
 et ma chançons dou tout faudra;
 50 mais, se toi plait, or me vaudra.
 Dieus, or me rent lou guerredon;
 de mes pechiez me fai pardon:
 Toz jors t'ai en chantant servi;
 rent m'en ce que j'ai deservi.
 55 Ne te demant or ne argent,

¹²In margin: ut supra.

mais acuel moi avuec ta gent
 qui sont en pardurable joie.
 Doz Dieus, otroie moi que j'oié
 tel verité de ma chanson
 60 que je ne chiece en contengon;
 enseigne moi la droite voie
 biau sire Diex, que je te voie."
 Lors li Chanceliers s'arrestut.
 Plus ne parla, transir l'estut.
 65 Je ne di mie qu'il morist;
 je diroie ançois q'il florist
 la sus es ciez par sa deserte.

B. Lines 72-105.

[Eulogy of Philip the Chancellor]

Hom mortez ne porroit conter
 ses bones mors ne sa meniere:
 des tos clers estoit la baniere,
 75 il ert fonteinne de clergie,
 il estoit flors de compaignie,
 il ert plus larges qu'Alixadres.
 Toz jors voloit estre li mandres
 en compaignie, par S. Gile,
 80 qu'il ovroit selonc l'ewangile
 qui dit, si com il bien savoit:
 "Li graindres com li mendres soit."¹³
 Si faisoit debonairetez
 dont ses cuers ert inheritez.
 85 Il ne feït mal a nul fuer.
 Tant par avoit liberau cuer,
 que toz biens s'i ert herbergiez.
 Ce puet bien dire li clergie
 et jurer Dieu le fil Marie
 90 qu'or est la fontienne tarie
 ou science puisier soloient
 tuit cil qui aprendre voloient;
 et de rechief dire vos puis
 de voir qu'or est sechiez li puis
 95 ou on pooit puisier toz biens.
 An Chancelier ne falloit riens:
 c'ert des clers li plus liberaus,
 en .vii. ars estoit generaus.
 Dieus! quel dolor et quel damage
 100 dou plus vaillant et dou plus sage
 qui fut en la crestienté!
 Cheü sont en grant enferté
 tuit cil qui li apartenoient.

¹³Luke, 9:38.

Dou Chancelier tuit bien venoient;
105 au siecle ne remaint som per.

C. Lines 246-250.

[The Date of Philip's Death]

Qui de sa mort vuet savoir terme,
.M. et CC. et XXXVI.
joigne ensemble, et tot issis
de sa mort saura verité
250 l'andemain de Nativité.

APPENDIX 6

DATABLE WORKS OF THE NOTRE DAME SCHOOL

These works are arranged in chronological order, with the possible date or dates following the incipit. Information enclosed within parentheses indicates the number of voices and the number of the piece in the conductus catalogs of Anderson ("Catalogue raisonnée") and Falck (The Notre Dame Conductus), respectively. Symbols at the left margin are as follows: *—a poem of Philip the Chancellor; *?—a questionable or tentative attribution; *!—a new, probable attribution. See also Appendix 2, where Philip's datable works are also displayed separately.

- In Rama sonat gemitus** 1164-1170 (à1; L1, 181) On the exile in France of Thomas Beckett, archbishop of Canterbury (1162-1173).
- Novus miles sequitur** 1173? or 1215? (à3; E11, 228) On the death of Thomas Beckett, archbishop of Canterbury (1162-1173); Triplum possibly a later addition.
- Dum medium silentium tenerent** ca. 1174 (à1; K15, 99) Part of a longer prosimetrum beginning "In domino confido," delivered by the author to the University of Bologna; probable author: Walter of Châtillon.
- Ver pacis aperit** 1179 (à2; J32, 366) Coronation of King Philip Augustus of France (1179-1223); author: Walter of Châtillon.
- Omnis in lacrimas** 1181 (à1; K2, 253) death of Henry I, "the Liberal," count of Champagne.
- Eclipsim patitur** 1186 (à2; I7, 105) death of Geoffrey, duke of Brittany, son of King Henry II of England.
- Anglia planctus itera** 1186? or 1189? (à1; K12, 14) Death of Geoffrey, duke of Brittany (1186)? or death of his father, King Henry II of England (1189)?
- *Venit Jhesus in propria** 1187? (à1; K42, 365) Fall of Jerusalem to Saladin, impetus for the Third Crusade; author: Philip the Chancellor.
- Sol eclipsim patitur** 1188? or 1252? (à1; K83, 331) Death of Ferdinand of Spain, King of León (1188)? or death of Santo Rey Don Fernando (1252)?
- In occasu syderis** 1189 (à2; I11, 178) Death of King Henry II (1154-1189) and praise to the future King Richard the Lion-Hearted of England (1189-1199).
- Redit etas aurea** 1189 (à2; I8, 298) Coronation of King Richard the Lion-Hearted of England (1189-1199).
- Pange melos lacrimosum** 1190? (à2; I15, 258) Death of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190)?

- Divina providentia** 1190-1192 (à1; K9, 96) During the regency of Willam of Longchamp, bishop of Ely, for King Richard the Lion-Hearted.
- Turmas arment Christicolas** 1192 or 1193 (à1; K41, 352) Death of Albert of Louvain, archbishop of Liège, assassinated at Rheims.
- Sede Syon in pulvere** 1192-1197 (à1; K8, 321) Call to Henry II, Count of Champagne, to deliver the Holy Land from the infidels.
- Eclipsim passus tociens** 1197 (à1; K33, 104) Death of the theologian Petrus Cantor.
- Iherusalem Iherusalem** 1198 (à1; K46, 169) Death of Henry II, count of Champagne (1197) and his mother Marie, countess of Champagne (1198).
- *Pater sanctus dictus Lotarius** 1198? (à1; K61, 267) Installation of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216); author: Philip the Chancellor.
- *Christus assistens pontiphex** 1208 (à1; K48, 61) Installation of Peter of Nemours (Philip's uncle) as bishop of Paris (1208-1219); author: Philip the Chancellor.
- Anni favor iubilei** 1208 (à2; J25, 16) Call to the Albigensian crusade.
- Regi regum omnium** 1209 (à2; J22, 300) Death of William, archbishop of Bourges.
- O felix Bituria** 1209 (à3; E8, 232) Death of William, archbishop of Bourges.
- *Rex et sacerdos prefuit** 1209-1212 (à1; K49, 308) Dispute between Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) and Emperor Otto IV (1209-1215) concerning land conquests; author: Philip the Chancellor.
- *Associa tecum in patria** 1212? (à1 [à2?]; K80, 22) Gift of a relic of Saint Eligius from Noyon to Paris?; troped organum; author: Philip the Chancellor.
- *!Crucifigat omnes** 1219-1220 (à3; D3, 70) Refers to the Fifth Crusade; troped conductus cauda; author: Philip the Chancellor.
- *Bulla fulminante** 1222-1223 (à1; L5, 53) Dispute between Philip the Chancellor and Pope Honorius III (1216-1227); troped conductus cauda; author: Philip the Chancellor.
- *?Alabastrum frangitur** 1223 (à1; K50, 12) Death of King Philip Augustus of France (1180-1223); tentative author: Philip the Chancellor.
- *?O mors que mordet omnia** 1223 (à1; K77, 241) Death of King Philip Augustus of France (1180-1223); tentative author: Philip the Chancellor.
- *Beata nobis gaudia** 1223 (à1; K44, 41) Coronation of King Louis VIII of France (1223-1226).
- De rupta Rupecula** 1224 (à3; F25, 82) Refers to the battle of La Rochelle.
- Gaude felix Francia** 1226? or 1244? (à2; P3, 136) Coronation of King Louis IX of France (Saint Louis, 1226-1270)? or in celebration of the anniversary of his coronation? from the St. Victor MS.
- *?Clavus clavo retunditur** 1233 (à1; K51, 64) Recovery of the Holy Nail of St. Denis; probable author: Philip the Chancellor.
- *?Clavus pungens acumine** 1233 (à1; J39, 65) Recovery of the Holy Nail of St. Denis; probable author: Philip the Chancellor.
- *!Aurelianus civitas** 1236 (à1; K60, 25) Riot in Orléans between the townspeople and the clergy; probable author: Philip the Chancellor.

Scysma mendacis Grece 1244? (à2; P4, 320) Refers to the flight of Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) to France before Emperor Frederick II (1215-1250)?; from the St. Victor MS.

Pieces whose Dating has been Rejected

(See Sanders, "Style and Technique," p. 521.

Nulli beneficium (à2; H7, 229)

Nemo sane spreverit (à3; F12, 215)

APPENDIX 7

TWO PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN SEQUENCE TEXTS

ATTRIBUTED TO PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR

IN BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALLERY, MS W88

This appendix contains the texts of two sequences, A. Que est ista que ascendit transiens and B. Thronus tuus Christe Jesu, otherwise unknown as works of Philip the Chancellor, which are transmitted with attributions to this author in MS W88 of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Maryland. Along with these two pieces, the manuscript also contains a version of the text of a third sequence by Philip, his well-known Ave gloriosa virginum regina, on f. 189. Walters 88 is a Franco-Flemish Book of Hours, probably of the use of Cambrai, and dating from around 1300. I am indebted to Dr. Margareth Owens for bringing these poems and their attributions to Philip to my attention, and to Dr. Roger S. Wieck of the Walters Art Gallery for allowing me access to the manuscript and providing me with the above material on the date and provenance of Walters 88.

In the following transcriptions, the beginning folio numbers are provided, the descriptive headings are supplied from the manuscript, abbreviations are expanded without comment, and the works are arranged into paired strophes. The first of the two poems presented here, Que est ista, has previously appeared in published form in Analecta hymnica, 9: 58-60, no. 72; edited from two manuscripts from Olmütz. Variants in this published text from the version in Walters 88 are supplied in a critical apparatus.

A. Que est ista que ascendit transiens, f. 181.

Incipit suavissima viellatura beate virginis edita a magistro Philippo Cancellario Parisiensi.

Ia	Que est ista que ascendit transiens deserta quo tendit aut quid portendit floribus operta	Ib	Hec est hostis holofernus mulier hebraea
5	pape furem non offendit opibus referta virgo singularis O predo iam predaris	12	quid iudeos aman spernis hester est iudea mardocheo crucem sternis
9	predafactus virginis	15	punieris ea singularis ferus O rex est assuerus hester magni nominis

- IIa Hec est illa virga iesse
quam fert ysaïas
21 de radice natam esse
cuius flos messias
passionis sue messe
stravit mundi vias
25 fructus centenariorum
O cum sexagenario
atque tricenario
- IIIa Hec de manu pharaonis
suum salvat masculum
hec est vellus gedeonis
40 rore ditans vasculum
hec est veri salomonis
singulare ferculum
et sedes eburnea
A tota refulgens aurea
45 tota delectabilis
- IVa Hec est arbor inflammata
sed comburi nescia
57 stella iacob procreata
veri solis nuncia
porta semper obserata
60 soli regi pervia
sed et archa sederis
A laus david humeris
63 magno translata iubilo
- Va Istis suffulta oculis
istis malis stipata
75 stat exuta periculis
in portu laureata
desideratis oculis
iam fruitur beata
coniuncta trinitati
80 O plaudant iam renati
ad verbum tam suave
- VIa Ave maria gratia
plena tecum sit deus
corruptionis nescia
quam sompniat iudeus
95 thabescat in fallacia
seductor seduceus
nam vere surrexisti
O dulcis mater christi
99 reorum miserere
- IIb Hec est sunamitis illa
que david servivit
30 ista iael tam pusilla
sysaram contrivit
hec est regina sibilla
que regis adivit
salomonis regiam
35 O cuius sapientiam
audit in sacrari[o]
- IIIb Hec est in quo se reclinat
rex reclinatorium
viatoris dum declinat
hec est diversorium
50 caput super hanc inclinat
non habens turgurium
rex eterne glorie
A quam dulcis est memorie
54 mater tam laudabilis
- IVb Lunam tenens hec sub planta
sole stat circumdata
66 talis extat et tam sancta
tot gereris carismata
tot figuras signa tanta
tot gereris enigmata
70 quod sunt celi sydera
A quanta sit considera
tu quisquis es in iubilo
- Vb O iubilum quo iubilat
nato mater unita
O quam preclara rutilat
85 duplicibus vestita
translator non sic ventilat
fides allegat ita
quod regnat iam cum deo
O carnis cum tropheo
90 ergo dicamus ave
- VIb Ave maria gratie
mater mundi regina
102 mater misericordie
salva nos a ruina
fons vita vena venie
105 venire tunc festina
cum morte propinquamus
O tecum valeamus
perpetuo gaudere. Amen.

Variants: 5,4: ostendit. 9,1: praseda factus. 13,3: hebraea.
25,2: tricenario. 27,7: centenariorum. 28,3: Sunamitis. 30,2: Jahel.

31,1: Sisaram. 43,2: turris. 44,1: Here and elsewhere in this poem, this word is rendered as "Ha." 44,3: resplendens. 48,1: viatori. 51,3: tugurgium. 61,3: foederis. 62,1-2: In Walters 88 this is possibly "a latis;" Analecta hymnica has "allata." 63,2: sublata. 64,2: tenet. 66,1: qualis. 66,4: quam. 67,2: habens. 70,1: quot. 92,2-3: sit tecum. 105,2: morti.

B. Thronus tuus Christe Jesu, f. 193v.

Sequentia philippi cancellarii parisiensis, de beata virgine.

Ia Thronus tuus christe jhesu reparavit id quod esu 3 eve fuit perditu[m]	Ib Thronus tuus specialis est uterus virginalis 6 pregnans per paraclitum
IIa De valore huius throni credendum est salomoni 9 dicenti per spiritum	I Ib Thronus tuus eberneus venter enim virgineus 12 ebur valet preditum
IIIa In eboris essentia notatur patientia 15 cor molle cor domitum	IIIb Maria fuit patiens et cor suum non quaciens 18 ad opus illicitum
IVa Duplex color in ebore in virginali corpore 21 duplex notat meritum	IVb Primus color est candoris candor autem dat pudoris 24 insigne propositum
Va Ebur vero per ruborem cruce[m] signat et cruorem 27 carnis ad interium	Vb Candet castrum cor habendo rubit carnem macerendo 30 virgo preter solitum
VIa Quid loquens de eodem si perfecte id denodem 33 verbum dixit inclitum	V Ib Thronus eius plenus deo ut sol in conspectu meo 36 propter lucis habitum
VIIa Solis iubar prefulgentis reddit lumen intuentis 39 penitus attonitum	V IIb Sic maria plena lucis iram summi placat ducis 42 placens reddit placitum
VIIIa Nam ad huius throni solem peccatorum nostri mole[m] 45 non videt rex celitum	V IIIb Rex qui vivit in ethera nostra non pensat scelera 48 eius ad intuitum
IXa Ad honorem huius throni adoremus una proni 51 genetricis genitum	IXb Ut in summi gregis caula nos reponat et in aula 54 supernorum hospitem. Amen.

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- MüB: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, latin 16443.
- MüC: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, latin 5539.
- Munich, lat. 14940: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, latin 14940.
- Munich, lat. 26860: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, latin 26860.
- N: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 845.
- Nov: Novara, Biblioteca capitolare del duomo, XLI.
- O: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 846 (Chansonnier Cangé).
- Ob 30151: Oxford, Bodleian Library, 30151 (Oxford Additional manuscript).
- Ob Auct: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. VI.Q.3.17:
- Ox Rawl: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 510 (Oxford Rawlinson manuscript).
- Oxf. Digby 166: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 166.
- Oxf. Jun. 121: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121.
- Pa 1030: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1030.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 14883.
- Pn fr. 1530: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 1530.
- Pn fr. 1536: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 1536.
- Pn fr. 2193: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 2193.
- Pn fr. 12615: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 12615 (Chansonnier Noailles).
- Pn fr. 22928: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 22928.
- Pn fr. 25532: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 25532.
- Pn lat. 1139: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, 1139.
- Pn lat. 2208: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, 2208.
- Pn lat. 3245: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, 3245.

- Pn lat. 3549: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, 3549.
- Pn lat. 8207: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, 8207.
- Pn lat. 15952: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, 15952.
- Pn n.a. fr. 24541: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 24541.
- Pn n.a. lat. 1509: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions latines, 1509.
- Praha: Prague, Archiv pražského hradu, N VIII.
- R: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 844 (Manuscrit du Roi).
- S: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 12581.
- Sab: Rome, Santa Sabina (Venerabile Convento), XIV L3.
- Salzburg: Salzburg, St. Peter Benediktiner-Erzabtei, a I 14 and a IV 9.
- StS1: Stary Sącz, Biblioteka Klasztoru SS. Klarysek, D.2.
- Stutt: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, 9.
- StV: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, 15139 (Saint Victor manuscript).
- Tort: Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Cathedral, C 97.
- Tours 348: Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, 348.
- V: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 24406.
- Vienna 883: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 883.
- W1: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Helmstedt 628.
- W2: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Helmstedt 1099.
- Walters 88: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W88.
- Worc: Worcester, Chapter Library, Additional 68 (part of the so-called Worcester Fragments).
- Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I.Q.102.
- X: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 1050 (Clairambault manuscript).

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

POETRY, POLITICS, AND POLYPHONY: PHILIP THE
CHANCELLOR'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE MUSIC
OF THE NOTRE DAME SCHOOL
VOLUME FOUR

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

BY
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INTRODUCTION TO THE EDITION

In 1907, at the conclusion of an essay on Philip the Chancellor, Charles-Victor Langlois remarked:

At the present time it would not be easy, but possible. . .to publish a complete edition of the dicta of the Chancellor, once famous in every land. This collection, at once sacred and secular, would be one of the notable monuments of thirteenth-century literature.¹

Today, more than fourscore years later, no such edition exists, and the number of newly uncovered medieval sources with poems ascribed to Philip, as well as the subsequent attributions of modern scholars, have rendered Langlois' acknowledged obstacles even more insurmountable. Publications such as the Analecta hymnica have indeed served to bring many of Philip's poems to light; but the general absence of music and musical considerations in the presentation of his texts are significant omissions. Furthermore, although recent editions of Notre Dame music do contain a great number of Philip's efforts, not all of his works are yet represented; and in any event, due to the nature of the publications, the existing compilations make no attempt to offer his pieces as a unit, but rather scatter them among the contributions of his anonymous contemporaries. A complete edition of Philip's songs is therefore still

¹"Le chancelier Philippe," p. 612: "Il serait aujourd'hui non pas facile, mais possible. . .de donner des Dicta du chancelier, jadis fameux dans tous les pays. . .une édition d'ensemble; ce recueil, à la fois sacré et profane, serait un des natables monuments de la littérature du XIII^e siècle."

necessary and would be a major step towards promoting his contribution to Notre Dame music and poetry.

It is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this dissertation to offer such an undertaking. The compositions here comprise only those works by Philip that were specifically examined above in Volumes 1-3. The presentation of the Chancellor's datable conductus, his organum and conductus prosulas, and his motets in Volumes 4 and 5 of this study is therefore intended to function primarily as a musical supplement to the thesis and as a point of reference for the observations on the music and poetry that occupied the earlier volumes. Nevertheless, this anthology of transcriptions does attempt to offer some suggestions for the design of a complete edition of Philip's poetry and its music, and hence may be regarded as a blueprint for such an effort in the future.

The compositions presented herein are arranged primarily by genre, commencing with Philip's datable conductus (8 works), following with his prosulas to organa and conductus caudae (10 pieces), and concluding with his motets (36 selections, which include 26 accepted texts and a further 10 dubious poems not easily ascribable to Philip).² Within each genre, the plan of ordering the poems varies. The eight datable conductus appear in the chronological sequence provided by the dating of their texts, whereas the five organum prosulas follow the liturgical arrangement of their cantus firmi in the Magnus liber. For the five prosulas to conductus caudae, however, this edition first offers the

²Several of the motet texts in Volume 2 occur in more than one redaction or combine to form double and triple motets. On the works that present a specific text more than once, see the second volume of this dissertation, Chapter 6.

three texts ascribed to Philip in medieval sources. The order of their presentation (Minor natu filius, Bulla fulminante, and Veste nuptiali) accords with their succession in the manuscript Praha, which is the only source to contain all three of the poems in direct succession. After these three medieval attributions come the two newly ascribed conductus prosulas (Anima iuge lacrimas and Crucifigat omnes) arranged alphabetically.

A slightly more complex arrangement of works appears in the many motets that may be ascribed to Philip the Chancellor. In these cases, as with his conductus prosulas, pieces with a higher assurance of authenticity precede examples that are less certain, and spurious or doubtful texts claim last place. Within each of these divisions the motets are arranged alphabetically. The order of the works thus begins with the six accepted pieces assigned to Philip by medieval witnesses, proceeds sequentially with compositions attributed to him by modern scholars, and follows with new works ascribed for the first time in this study. The fourth and final group of motets, which encompasses the doubtful and related items, first presents the two questionable poems that are ascribed to Philip in medieval manuscripts (Doce nos optime and In salvatoris nomine), and then continues with settings of seven other motet texts.³ The motivation for including these final seven pieces is that their music has been associated closely with the style of Perotin,

³The tenth and last of the doubtful poems is the quadruplum text Mors a primi patris. This lyric appears earlier in the edition along with its companion duplum and triplum texts (which are more likely works by Philip), even though Gordon Anderson's ascription of Mors a primi to Philip is probably erroneous. The reasons for presenting the four-part motet version of the Mors clausula appear above in Volume 2 of this study, Chapter 6.

and they have therefore been carefully evaluated as potential additions to Philip's corpus. Their poetry, however, does not strongly suggest Philip's authorship, and so no claim has been made for his hand in their composition. Consequently, the seven last works in Volume 5 are more of an appendix to the edition, a supplement of pieces that can be related to Philip's efforts but not convincingly assigned to him.

Editorial Policy

The plan of the edition is to present Philip's selected works as clearly and informatively as possible. Each piece has been transcribed from a single source, and in nearly every case, the choice of the base manuscript rests on the combined factors of its age (the earlier the source, the better), its proximity to Paris (the nearer the better), and its presentation of the work in a form that corresponds most persuasively to the way Philip would have conceived it. In other words, to construct a hypothetical example of an extreme case, a mensurally notated codex from Arras that preserves a text by Philip in a mixed (Latin and French) double motet redaction would yield as a base source to a conductus motet version of the same text in an earlier, Parisian manuscript such as F.⁴

Although every source for every piece has been consulted—either by direct access to the original, through facsimile editions, microfilms, photographs, and as a last resort from the notes of critical editions—the size of the critical reports in this edition has been held to a minimum. The inclusion of an extensive apparatus was deemed unnecessary

⁴For exceptions, see above, Volume 2, Chapter 6.

because such materials are already available in the recently published complete editions of Notre Dame conductus and motets.⁵ Such a presentation, one hopes, will not only accomodate performers in providing an uncluttered, readable score, but will also appeal to scholars by offering pertinent if not exhaustive observations on Philip's poems and their musical settings. If, however, a particular composition has not yet appeared in a rigorously edited form, or if significant details affecting a work were unknown to editors at the time their own editions were compiled, complete lists of variant readings from all concordant sources have been provided.⁶

The entries in the edition consist of four major sections. Each work opens with 1) an introductory page or two that delineates sources, concordances, editions, and references in major catalogs. This is followed by 2) an edition of the text in verse form, with a translation in a parallel column and appended with a series of explanatory notes; 3) a transcription of the piece itself, music and text; and 4) a brief report to close the entry, which supplies observations on the music and poetry and furnishes variants between the transcription and the base source. With this manner of presentation, all the materials affecting a single work are gathered together for easy consultation. A description

⁵In particular, Anderson, ed., Opera omnia; and Tischler, ed., The Earliest Motets.

⁶This actually applies to only two works, Bulla fulminante and Associa tecum in patria. The former still awaits publication in the seventh volume of Anderson, Opera omnia; while Associa's identity as an organum prosula, concordant with a section of the organum triplum Sancte Germane, has only recently been discovered. See Payne, "Associa," pp. 238-239.

of each of these four segments follows, in order to clarify their designs, contents, and objectives.

Sources and Concordances

The pages that introduce each of Philip's works begin with a list of all the known medieval sources of the piece. The first item to appear in the inventory is the base manuscript, the foundation for the edition.⁷ The remaining concordances proceed afterwards in a series that first enumerates those manuscripts that contain both text and music (including examples in unheightened neumes), then presents ones that convey the poetry alone (chiefly textual transmissions or unnotated staves), and lastly offers sources that provide only the music (wordless specimens or melismatic concordances). Within each of these three divisions, the items are typically arranged in a roughly chronological order, inasmuch as this may be determined. Every entry for a concordance locates the work by number either in the entire manuscript or within its individual fascicles, and provides the beginning folio numbers of the piece, the quantity of its vocal parts, and specific details about its transmission. Such particulars may include the number of strophes in the poetic text, the type of motet in terms of the number and language of its texts, titles or rubrics from specific sources, and other notable features or differences from other versions.

The Music only segment of the source list also enumerates existing contrafacta and discant clausula concordances of motets.

⁷A list of manuscript abbreviations used in the edition appears below, following this Introduction.

Should a clausula be present, the text of its cantus firmus is given, as well as 1) its number from the catalogs of Norman Smith and Friedrich Ludwig,⁸ 2) Ludwig's O(ffice) or M(ass) classification number of the chant, 3) an indication of the liturgical feast or celebration,⁹ and 4) an enumeration of the various manuscript transmissions of the clausula. If no clausula redaction survives, merely the information on the chant and its liturgical context appears (items 2 and 3 above). The data on contrafacts is less extensive, with a list of only those sources that transmit the music, since it is essentially the music that the re-texted poem shares with Philip's work. The reader, however, is directed to relevant publications where more information can be found; and the number of additional textual sources of a given contrafact is announced without further elaboration.

After the summary of manuscript concordances follow references to the piece in some of the major musical and poetic catalogs, specifically the ones by Robert Falck and Gordon Anderson dedicated to the conductus, Friedrich Gennrich's and Hans Tischler's registers of motets, and the general directories of Latin verse compiled by Ulysse Chevalier and Hans Walther.¹⁰ This information is complemented by the citation of at least one edition—preferably a critical one—for both the text and the music. Finally, any significant new studies of the work in question, too recent

⁸For the bibliographic references and abbreviations used in the edition, see below, at the end of this Introduction.

⁹These have been drawn from the recent findings presented in Wright, Music and Ceremony. See especially pp. 259-262.

¹⁰See the list of bibliographic works cited below at the end of this Introduction.

to be incorporated in the supplied catalogs, conclude the account. The preliminary concordance report for each of Philip's works thus attempts to trace comprehensively the multitude of guises a piece may assume, to display these details as clearly and concisely as possible, and to point to other avenues of inquiry, should further investigation be necessary.

Texts and Translations

The presentation of the poetic text of each work in verse form (that is, arranged into lines and strophes) appears after the list of sources and concordances. It precedes the musical setting of the lyric and differs from it only slightly in editorial execution. Unlike the more diplomatic presentation of the poem later on in the musical transcription, the text edition has its abbreviations expanded without comment and is punctuated according to modern practice. Except for an explanation of possibly spurious stanzas, all its strophes are furnished without the editorial bracketing that indicates omissions from the principal exemplar. The orthography of the base source, however, is preserved and conforms to that of the music edition.¹¹

The division of the poem into lines has been considered anew for this edition. In many if not most of the conductus, the pattern of lines tends to correspond with other modern transcriptions. But in determining the frequently irregular verse structure of Philip's prosulas and motets, the design and articulation of the accompanying

¹¹The only deviation from the orthography of the source in both transcriptions of the text occurs in the differentiation of u and y and the transliteration of the Greek letter pair chi-ro (χρ) as Chr at the beginning of the various forms of the name Christus.

music has exercised just as much influence over line division as the rhyme scheme and tally of syllables. Overall, musical phrases tend to match poetic lines, although unusually long specimens with more than ten syllables are nearly always split into smaller coherent groups.

The accompanying translations of Philip's lyrics were executed with great care, and formed the most demanding part of the edition. I have not hesitated to consult the work of other scholars for insight into difficult passages, and I must particularly acknowledge my debt in this regard to the work of the late Gordon Anderson. Nonetheless, each text has been carefully scoured anew for hitherto uncovered faulty readings, rare or idiomatic expressions, and subtleties of meaning. Consequently, the translations at times have to strike a balance between fidelity to the letter of the Latin language and the spirit of the sometimes acerbic expressions that Philip employs. The disposition of each text and its translation into parallel columns allows the reader to determine conveniently the extent of such a paraphrase, and to locate specific passages with ease.

The last member of the textual unit of each work is the explanatory Notes to the Text that follow immediately the poem and its translation. These Notes, which are keyed to the number of the poem's lines and the words within them,¹² chiefly supply information for understanding unusual, difficult, or problematic passages in the poem and for illuminating references made in the text to other literature.

¹²See the diagram below in Figure 9 that explains the arrangement of textual references. The same system applies in the Notes to the Text.

Biblical, patristic and scholastic citations may be included,¹³ as well as expressions echoed in other songs—both those by Philip and from the balance of the Notre Dame repertory. Peculiar, or easily misconstrued readings of the poem may also be glossed here, and other curious features of the text presented in an effort to showcase the complexities and interactions of meaning, interpretation, and allusion that so often arise in Philip's works.

The Edition of the Music

The next item in the presentation of each work consists of a transcription of the musical setting of Phillip's poem, drawn from the base source and conforming to the general editorial conventions of Notre Dame music. For those compositions that are notated rhythmically (polyphonic conductus, prosulas and motets) perfect longs always have the value of a dotted quarter note, imperfect longs appear as quarters, breves as eighths, and semibreves as sixteenth notes. Perfect longs are typically grouped into duple patterns corresponding to 6/8 measures, although no time signatures are given, and an unannounced extension or contraction of the bar to 9/8 or 3/8 is not infrequent. This division of the music into measures is offered here only to facilitate references to specific places in the music transcription and does not imply a perception of metrical stress or accentual regularity.¹⁴ Monophonic

¹³All references to the Bible pertain to the Latin Vulgate version.

¹⁴However, I must admit that such a manner of organization, coupled with the rhythmic vigor and "dance-like" quality of this music, has occasionally led me unaccountably to "square" phrases or to fill out the remainder of some measures.

conductus, on the other hand, appear here in unmeasured transcriptions using stemless noteheads. In these works, each poetic line begins a new system of staves, and references to the critical notes are keyed to the syllable numbers of the poem. As with the reckoning of measures, the numbers of the text's syllables appear only at the beginning of each system, so as not to clutter the staff.

Other standard editorial procedures include the rendering of ligatures as horizontal square brackets (┌───┐), with diamond-shaped conjuncturae (currentes) signalled by broken brackets (┌ - - - ┐). Vertical braces ([]) fulfill their usual role by indicating material that is missing from the base source, but here such additions are further distinguished by their dimensions. If the pitches are normal in size, the restoration has been culled from an existing source; if smaller, they are editorial completions. Double barlines split conductus into strophes and motet tenors into colores; and the specific number of a color repetition appears as a Roman numeral above the staff at the place where it occurs. Fermatas are occasionally employed to indicate an optional rhythmic elongation not sanctioned by the main source. These may include the opening sustained "tuning notes" of an organum prosula, or a final cadence that falls on the second beat of a 6/8 measure. Also, an alternative rhythmical reading has sometimes been provided above the staff for the purposes of comparing equally legitimate interpretations.

Some of the more uncommon editorial symbols used in the transcriptions include the following:

1) Plicated notes are connected to their host pitch by a slur, rather than by the more typical slash through their note stem. Such a slur is always placed underneath the two notes in question, except in a very few cases when vertical space does not allow, and where it occurs above the staff.

2) Ties placed above the staff and within a measure represent closely grouped repeated notes. Such signs can suggest an attempt at rhythmic grouping in the manuscript source when a series of identical pitches temporarily defeats the rules of sine littera notation. There is, however, no implication here or elsewhere that these tied notes should not be sounded in performance. Another recurrent use of such a tie is in combination with a plica to indicate the figure known either as longa (or duplex longa) plicata or tangendo conjunctim (two closely grouped notes, the second of which is plicated). Here as before, the tie occurs above the staff, and merely indicates a note cluster. The major exception to this policy is a tie that spans a barline (always placed under the affected notes whenever possible). In this case the tie functions, and is to be executed, in its customary manner.

3) Vertical strokes in the transcription that intersect the upper two lines of a staff indicate either a change of text syllable (divisiones syllabarum or Silbenstriche), phrase and line endings, or similarly shaped points of articulation in the sources that do not require an actual rest. These strokes supplant the more common use of the breath mark (') for the same purpose in other transcriptions of Notre Dame music.

4) Extended Notes—The common practice of some scribes to thicken or broaden certain pitches is represented in the transcriptions by a corresponding symbol, similar in appearance to a black squat rectangle (-), over the note in question. Very frequently such a figure indicates a rhythmic extension of the affected note, and its presence often serves to justify the accepted rhythm of the edition.

5) Stemless noteheads have been preferred to modern or archaic rhythmic values (such as whole notes, breves, and longs) to depict the long, sustained tones that support Philip's organum prosulas, or which underly embellished cadences in some of his polyphonic conductus. In this manner, the notation that is now commonly used for chant and other types of "unmeasured" music plays a similar role in an otherwise rhythmical context.

The handling of accidentals and editorial musica ficta within each piece seeks to differentiate among the sharps and flats that appear variously in the base source and its concordances, as well as to isolate the editorial additions supplied according to melodic or harmonic criteria. A symbol placed within the staff, whether an accidental or part of a key signature, indicates that a similar inflection appears at the same place in the base source. Such an accidental is presumed to be valid until it is cancelled either by another figure or a change of system.¹⁵ All signs not present in the main manuscript appear above the

¹⁵A change of system that omits an existing accidental is denoted by a natural sign enclosed in square brackets. Should this occur elsewhere than at the beginning of a measure, two such natural signs appear. The first, bracketed accidental indicates the point of the new system in the manuscript source; the second, unbracketed one is a new "key signature" that does not appear in the manuscript. This replication is compelled by the limits of the computer program used to generate the musical

staff. An accidental in brackets indicates an editorial recommendation, whereas an unbraced figure means that a concordant source modifies this pitch with a flat or sharp. Sharps that employ the mi sign (the modern natural) in opposition to the crosshatch (#) are duly noted in the critical notes.

The verbal text of the composition—Philip the Chancellor's specific contribution to the work—contrasts slightly with its foregoing presentation in verse form. The transcription of the poetry within the musical setting displays much more information about its appearance in the base manuscript. All expanded abbreviations are indicated by underscored letters, omitted words or letters are bracketed, and the punctuation and capitalization of the poetic text here attempts to mirror that of the source. If it happens that more than one textual exemplar is followed, as in the case of extra strophes or because the base manuscript is fragmentary, the orthography, abbreviations, punctuation, and other idiosyncrasies of the appended text will thereafter prevail. Any such combination of sources are signalled in the critical notes.

Observations and Variants

The last item in the edition of each piece consists of a brief set of observations on the work and a list of variant readings from the manuscripts that were used to compile the transcription. The Observations begin with data on the Attribution of the text. These delineate the sources or authorities, medieval or modern, that ascribe

notation.

the text to Philip; and if it is a new assignment, ventured for the first time in this dissertation, some reasons for his authorship also appear. If the music can also be connected to Perotin, this evidence is given, and any conflicting ascriptions to other poets are also included. This information is followed by three separate entries that indicate the Date of the text (if this is known), the Genre of the composition, and the generic species of the Text with a brief description of its contents.

Next in the list of observations, two separate diagrams of the poetic structure of the text are displayed, Verse and Rhyme. They enumerate the poem's structure, first by furnishing the numbers of syllables per line with an indication of the final accent patterns,¹⁶ and then by providing a complementary intabulation of the rhyme scheme of the poem.

The last major component of the observations consists of a sketch of the form of the Music of the composition. Motets and organum prosulas with discant segments are provided with two additional charts. These intabulate the Phrase Structure of the counterpoint by the number of Longs (L) per phrase (8+4+10L, for example), and illuminate the Tenor Behavior by displaying the rhythmic scheme of this part, the number of colores it possesses, and their inclusive measures.

The list of variant readings of the musical and verbal texts that concludes the editorial material furnished for each work confines itself exclusively to differences between the transcriptions and the base

¹⁶This is designated by the symbols p and pp, which indicate respectively a paroxytonic rhyme (on the penultimate syllable) or a paraproxytonic rhyme (on the antepenultimate syllable).

source or sources. The only exceptions to this are, as mentioned above, works that have not yet been edited in a critical edition, or those for which new materials have come to light that require a new collation of sources. In these latter instances complete lists of variants appear for all concordances. The different readings are first presented for the poem, and follow with those that apply to the music. Within these divisions the variants are organized first by source and then, if applicable, by the specific vocal part (Tenor, Duplum, Triplum, etc.). If more than one exemplar has been used to supply the complete musical text, it is indicated; and each supplementary source also reveals all its variants from the established text, not merely the excerpts used to complete the edition. The specific form for each entry is intended to be as clear and concise as possible. Some illustrative examples of hypothetical variant readings for the poetry and music, along with a list of symbols, appear below in Figure 9.

Manuscripts Abbreviations used in the Edition

- a: Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regina 1490.
- ArsB: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3517-3518
- Ba: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115
- Berl: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4°523.
- Bes: Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, I, 716.
- Boul: Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale 148.
- Br 10747: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert 1^{er}/Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 10747.
- CB: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 4660 (Carmina Burana manuscript).
- Ch: Châlons-sur-Marne, Archives de la Marne et de la région de Champagne-Ardenne, 3.J.250.
- Cjec Q.B.1: Cambridge, Jesus College, Q.B.1.
- Cl: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 13521 (La Clayette manuscript).
- CTr: Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.1.
- Da: Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 2777.
- Da 521: Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 521.
- Eng 102: Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 102.
- F: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1.
- Fauv: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 146 (Roman de Fauvel).
- Graz 409: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 409.
- Graz 756: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 756 (Seckauer Cantionarium).
- Heid: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 2588.
- Hu: Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas, manuscript without shelf number.
- K: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5198 (Chansonier de l'Arsenal).

- L: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 765.
- Lb 4401: London, Bristish Library, Harley 4401.
- LoA: London, Bristish Library, Egerton 2615.
- LoB: London, Bristish Library, Egerton 274.
- LoC: London, Bristish Library, Additional 30091.
- Lsc XIV, 9: Leningrad, Gosudarstvennaya Ordena Trudovovo Krasnovo
Znameni Publichnaya Biblioteka imeni M.E. Saltikova-Shchedrina,
fr. F. v. XIV, 9.
- Ma: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486
- Mo: Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine,
H 196.
- MüA: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. 4775 and lost fragments
formerly in the possession of Johannes Wolf.
- MüB: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 16443.
- MüC: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 5539.
- N: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 845.
- Nov: Novara, Biblioteca capitolare del duomo, XLI.
- O: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 846 (Chansonnier
Cangé).
- Ob 30151: Oxford, Bodleian Library, 30151 (Oxford Additional
manuscript).
- Ob Auct: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. VI.Q.3.17:
- Ox Rawl: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 510 (Oxford Rawlinson
manuscript).
- Pa 1030: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1030.
- Pn fr. 1530: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 1530.
- Pn fr. 1536: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 1536.
- Pn fr. 2193: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 2193.
- Pn fr. 12615: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 12615
(Chansonnier Noailles).

- Pn fr. 22928: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 22928.
- Pn fr. 25532: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 25532.
- Pn lat. 2208: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, 2208.
- Pn n.a. lat. 1509: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions latines, 1509.
- Pn n.a. fr. 24541: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 24541.
- Praha: Prague, Archiv pražského hradu, N VIII.
- R: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 844 (Manuscrit du Roi).
- Sab: Rome, Santa Sabina (Venerabile Convento), XIV L3.
- StS1: Stary Sącz, Biblioteka Klasztoru SS. Klarysek, D.2.
- Stutt: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, 9.
- StV: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, 15139 (Saint Victor manuscript).
- Tort: Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Cathedral, C 97.
- V: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 24406.
- W1: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Helmstedt 628
- W2: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Helmstedt 1099.
- Worc: Worcester, Chapter Library, Additional 68 (part of the so-called Worcester Fragments).
- X: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 1050 (Clairambault manuscript).

Bibliographic Abbreviations used in the Edition

- Anderson: Gordon Athol Anderson. "Notre Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné," Miscellanea musicologica, Adelaide Studies in Musicology 6 (1972): 152-229; 7 (1973): 1-81.
- Chevalier: Chevalier, Ulysse. Repertorium hymnologicum. 6 vols. Louvain: Lefever, Polleunis & Ceuterick; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1892-1921.
- Falck: Robert Falck. The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory. Musicological Studies, no. 33. Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute for Mediaeval Music, 1981. The references in the present edition are to the catalog that occupies pp. 130-256.
- Gennrich: Friedrich, Gennrich, ed. Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten. Summa musicae medii aevi, no. 2. Darmstadt: publ. by the author, 1958.
- Linker: Robert White Linker. A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics, Romance Monographs, no. 31. University, Mississippi: Romance Monographs, Inc., 1979.
- Ludwig: Friedrich Ludwig. Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili. Luther Dittmer, ed. 2 vols. in 3. Vol. 1: Catalogue raisonné der Quellen, part 1: Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation. 2nd rev. ed. Musicological Studies, no. 7. Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964. Vol. 1: Catalogue raisonné der Quellen, part 2: Handschriften in Mensuralnotation. 2nd rev. ed. Musicological Studies, no. 26. Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1978. Vol. 2: Catalogue raisonné der Quellen: Ein vollständiges musikalisches Anfangs-verzeichnis. Musicological Studies, no. 17. Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, n.d. For an explanation of the procedures and abbreviations used throughout this work for Ludwig's inventory of organa, clausulae and motets, see vol. 1, part 1, pp. xiii-xiv; and Smith (cited below), pp. 9-18.
- P.C.: Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstons. Bibliographie der Troubadours. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933; repr. ed. New York: Burt Franklin, 1968.
- R: Hans Spanke, ed. Gaston Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes neu arbeitet und ergänzt. Vol. 1. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955.
- Smith: Norman E. Smith. "The Clausulae of the Notre Dame School: A Repertorial Study." 3 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1964. References in the present edition are to the catalog that appears in 1:93-350.

Tischler: Hans Tischler, ed. The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition. 3 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982. And idem. The Style and Evolution of the Earliest Motets (to circa 1270). 3 vols. in 4. Musicological Studies, no. 40. Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1985. The references in the present edition allude to the numbering system for motets (including some prosulas to organa and conductus) employed throughout these two works. See especially the inventories in Style and Evolution, vol. 3 in two parts, "Catalogue Raisonné."

Walther: Hans Walther. Initia carminum ac versorum medi aevi posterioris: alphabetische Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellatienischer Dichtungen. 2nd ed., revised and expanded. Carmina medi aevi posterioris latina, no. 1, part 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969.

VENIT JHESUS IN PROPRIASOURCES:

F: fascicle 10, no. 42, f. 432v, à1.

Text only: Da: no. 22, f. 4.

Catalogs: Anderson: K42; Falck: 365; Walther: 20103; Chevalier: 21291.

Editions: Anderson, ed, Opera omnia, 6:lviiii (text and translation), 59-60 (music), 135 (notes).

Text only: Analecta hymnica medii aevi, 21:164 (no number).

Literature: Spreckelmeyer, Das Kreuzzugslied des lateinischen Mittelalters, pp. 264-268.

Venit Jhesus in propria,	Jesus came into his own,
quem sui non recipiunt.	and his own received him not.
In Dei patrimonia	A miscreant people ravages
perverse gentes seviunt.	God's promised land.
5 Diis alienis ostia	They open Solomon's gates to
Salomonis aperiunt;	foreign gods;
et saltare demonia	and they make demons dance
per templum Dei faciunt.	about God's temple.
Syon, Iudee gloria	Zion, let Judea's glory
10 fit pomorum custodia.	guard the fruits.
Eius amici fugiunt,	Her friends desert her,
nec alieni veniunt	and no one comes to the
ad sepulchri sollempnia.	festivals of the foreign tomb.

Notes on the Text:

For other treatments of similar themes in the Notre Dame repertory, cf. the conductus prosula Crucifigat omnes, and the conductus Quomodo cantabimus, Homo cur properas, all probably by Philip.

1-2: John, 1:11. 1,4: propria can also mean "own house" or "homeland." In support of the apparent meaning of "inheritance," cf. 3,3. 4,1-2: The Saracens, at this time (ca. 1187) the possessors of the Holy Land. There is little evidence to suppose, as Anderson does (Opera omnia, 6:lviii), that this poem is a polemic against the Jews. 5,1: According to the musical setting and the syllabic count of the poem, this word is monosyllabic. 5,3: The manuscripts read hostia, a common variant of ostia in these sources. A literal reading with hostia is possible, but awkward: "open the sacrifices of Solomon to foreign gods." Also possible with hostia is the reading of 6,2 as offeriunt: "offer sacrifices." 7-8: Isaiah, 13:21. 10: Psalms 78:1 (Septuagint). 10,2: I.e., the land God promised the Jews. 11,2: I.e., the Christians. 12-13: Lamentations, 1:4; i.e., no pilgrims come to visit the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.

VENIT JHESUS IN PROPRIA

E, F. 432v

8 Ve- nit jhe- sus in pro- pri- a

9 quea su- i non re- ci- pi- unt.

17 in de- i pa- tri- mo- ni- a

25 per- ver- se gen- tes se- vi- unt.

33 diis a- li- e- nis ho- sti- a

41 sa- lo- mo- nis a- pe- ri- unt.

49 et sal- ta- re de- mo- ni- a

57 per- ten- plum de- i fa- ci- unt.

65 sy- on iu- dé- é glo- ri- a

73
8
fit po- mo- rum cu- sto- di- a.

81
8
e- ius a- mi- ci fu- gi- unt.

89
8
nec a- li- e- ni ve- ni- unt

97
8
ad se- pul- chri sol- lem- ni- a.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Da.

Date: After 1187; refers to the conquest of Jerusalem by Islamic forces. Also possible circa 1219, cf. the conductus prosula Crucifigat omnes, probably by Philip.

Genre: Conductus

Text: Lament on the capture of Jerusalem.

Verse: 13(8pp).

Rhyme: ab ab ab ab aa bb a.

Music: 1 surviving strophe; syllabic / neumatic:

A (syllables 1-8), B (9-16), A (17-24), B (25-32), C (33-40), D (41-48), E (49-56), F (57-64), G (65-72), H (73-80), I [A'] (81-88), J (89-96), K (97-104).

Variants

Text: F-5,3: hostia. Da-5,3: hostia.

Music: F-77: begins f. 433.

PATER SANCTE DICTUS LOTARIUSSOURCES:

F: fascicle 10, no. 61, f. 440, à1; Strophe I only.

MüA: Complex D, no. 4, f. 6, à1 (probably began on lost folio 5v);
Strophes I-IV complete, beginning missing.

LoB: no. 9, f. 26v, à1; superscript: "De innocentio III pontifice"
(numeral added by a later hand); Strophes I-IV complete.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Contrafact: Douce dame grez et grasses vous rent (R719; Linker: 65-31;
attrib. to Gace Brulé, ca. 1160-1213):

a: f. 19v, à1.

K: p. 90, à1.

L: f. 60, à1 (anon.).

R: f. 35v, à1.

N: f. 35v, à1 (anon.).

Q: f. 40v, à1 (Chansonnier Cangé; anon.).

V: f. 42, à1 (different melody; anon.).

X: f. 65v, à1 (Ms. Clairambault).

The text alone of Douce dame also occurs in two other sources.

Catalogs: Anderson: K61; Falck: 267; Walther: 13814; Chevalier:
14681.

Editions: Anderson, Opera omnia, 6:lxxxiii (text and translation), 87
(music), 147 (notes).

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:173 (no. 242).

Literature:

- I. Pater sancte, dictus Lotarius,
 quia lotus baptismi gratia,
 appellaris nunc "Innocentius,"
 nomen habens ab "innocentia."
 5 Divinitus vocaris "tertius."
 Ternarii signant misteria,
 Trinitatis quod sis vicarius.
- II. In numeris primus respergitur,
 et non sine nota binarius;
 10 quod binatim archam ingreditur
 animal non ullum immundius.
 Pre ceteris felix ternarius,
 hoc impare Deus exprimitur.
 Hic numerus est Dei proprius.
- III. Imitaris patris potentiam,
 16 quia solus potens es omnia;
 et filium per sapientiam,
 qui premines omni scientia.
 Pietatis per affluentiam,
 20 septiformis preditus gratia,
 geris in te personam terciam.
- IV. A potente, peto presidium,
 ut infirmum firmet potentia;
- Holy father, once known as
 Lothar,
 because you have been cleansed
 by the grace of baptism,
 you are now called "Innocent,"
 deriving your name from
 "innocence."
 By God's will, you are also
 "the third."
 Three signifies divine
 mysteries.
 Because you are the minister
 of the Trinity.
- The first of numbers is
 stained with sin,
 and the number two is not
 without its blemish;
 for no animal is more unclean
 than those
 that entered the ark in pairs.
 But happy beyond all others is
 the number three,
 for through this inequality is
 God expressed.
 This number is God's own.
- You express the Father's
 power,
 for you alone have power over
 all;
 the Son you likewise represent
 in wisdom,
 you, who excell in all
 knowledge.
 Through the fullness of your
 love towards God,
 endowed with the grace of the
 sevenfold gifts,
 you also assume the aspect of
 the Spirit.
- From you, powerful one, I
 crave assistance,
 so that your power may heal a
 sick man;

a prudente, verum consilium,	from you, learned one, I
25 illuminet cecum prudentia;	require just counsel,
a benigno, pium remedium,	so that your prudence may open
indulgeat misericordia	a blind man's eyes;
cordis, oris, operis vicium.	from you, kindly one, I seek
	blessed relief,
	so that your pity may forgive
	the sin of thought, word, and
	deed.

Notes on the text:

1,4: Lothario de' Conti di Segni, the original name of Innocent III (reg. 1198-1216). 2,2: Pun on "Lotarius" which literally means "launderer." 2,3: Figurative allusion to the assumption of a new name by the pope, as in baptism. 7: A major tenet of Innocent's conception of his role as pontiff. This idea of the vicarius Christi is continued in strophe III. 8-14: Strophe II is a play on number symbolism. The transmission is corrupt in all surviving sources. Select emendations have been drawn from those proposed by Friedrich Gennrich in "Zwei altfranzösische Lais," Studi Medievali, n.s., 15 (1942): 57. 8: The number one is probably associated here with Adam, the primus homo. 9-11: Genesis, 7:2; the animals Noah collected in groups of seven to enter the ark were clean; those in groups of two, unclean. Exegetical writers extended this to infer that even numbers were hence somehow sullied, while odd numbers were not (see the Glossa ordinaria, in Migne, ed., Patrologia latina, 113:106-107). 13-14: This idea also occurs in the Classical poets, see Virgil, Eclogues, 8,75. 20: Isaiah, 11:2-3. The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit were frequently invoked in medieval poetry. See, for example, the sequence Veni sancte spiritus, lines 25-27; the hymn Veni creator spiritus, lines 9-10; and the conductus Veni creator spiritus, spiritus recreator (possibly by Philip), strophe IIa. 22-28: Compare the similarities in content and language with the anonymous conductus Homo per potentiam. 28,1: literally "of the heart," "from within." 28,1-3: Compare the Confiteor of the Mass: "quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, verbo, et opere."

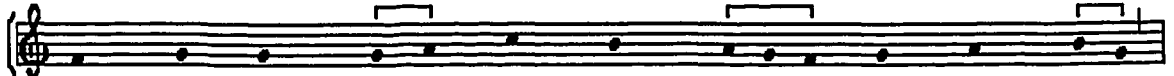
PATER SANCTE DICTUS LOTARIUS

E. F. 440



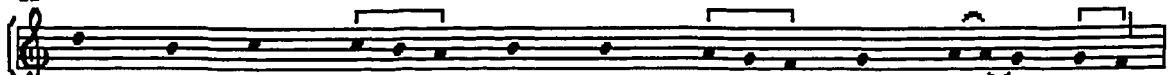
I. Pa- ter san- cte di- ctus lo- ta- ni- us
 II. [In nu- me- ris pri- mus re- sper- gi- tur
 III. [I- mi- ta- ris pa- tris po- ten- ti- am
 IV. [A po- ten- te pe- to pre- si- di- um

11



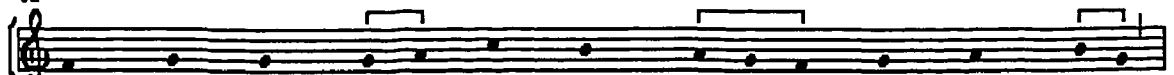
qui- a lo- tus ba- ptis- mi gra- ti- a.
 et non si- ne no- ta bi- na- ri- us
 qui- a so- lus po- tens es o- mni- a
 ut in- fir- mum fir- met po- ten- ti- a

21



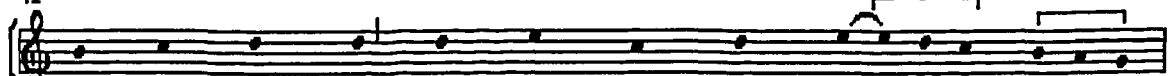
ap- pel- la- ris nunc in- no- cen- ti- us
 quod bi- na- tim ar- cham in- gre- di- tur
 et fi- li- um per sa- pi- en- ti- am
 a pru- den- te ve- rum con- si- li- um

31



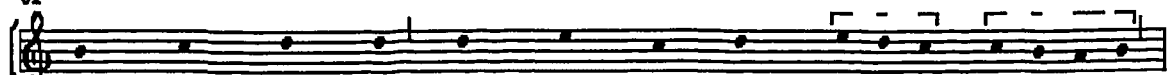
no- men ha- bens ab- in- no- cen- ti- a.
 a- ni- mal non ul- lum im- mun- di- us
 qui pre- mi- nes o- mni- sci- en- ti- a
 il- lu- mi- net ce- cum pru- den- ti- a

41



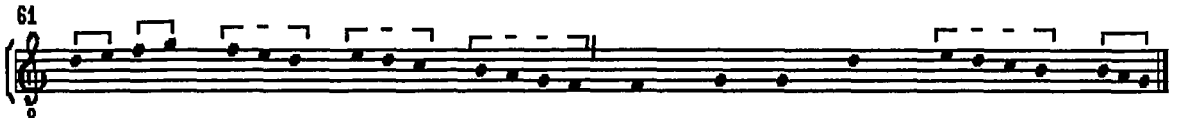
di- vi- ni- tus vo- ca- ris ter- ci- us
 pre- ce- te- nis fe- lix ter- na- ri- us
 pi- e- ta- tis per- af- flu- en- ti- am
 a be- ni- gno pi- um re- me- di- um.

51



ter- na- ri- i si- gnant mi- ste- ri- a
 hoc im- pa- re de- us ex- pri- mi- tur
 se- pti- for- mis pre- di- tus gra- ti- a
 in- dul- ge- at mi- se- ri- cor- di- a

61



8

tri-	ni-	ta-	tis	quod	sis	vi-	ca-	ri-	us.
hic	nu-	me-	rus	est	de-	i	pro-	pri-	us.]
ge-	ris	in	te	per-	so-	nam	ter-	ci-	am.]
cor-	dis	o-	ris.	o-	pe-	nis	vi-	ci-	um.]

Observations

Attribution: Philip: LoB.

Date: ca. 1198? Other possible dates: ca. 1202, ca. 1216.

Genre: Conductus.

Text: Strophes I-III: An encomium to Pope Innocent III (reg. 1198-1216); Strophe IV: a plea for mercy on the part of the poet for some unspecified sin.

Verse: 28(10pp).

Rhyme: Strophes I, II, and IV share an identical rhyme scheme:

I: a b a b a b a II: c a c a a c a
 III: d b d b d b d
 IV: e b e b e b e

Rhyme b, furthermore, occurs as the second element in every strophe but II.

Music: Strophic (4 Strophes); syllabic / neumatic:

A (syllables 1-10), B (11-20), A (21-30), B (31-40), C (41-50), C' (51-60), D (61-70).

Variants

Text: Main sources: Strophe I: F; II-IV: MüA.

F-none.

MüA-1-2: missing. 9,2-3: in fine. 11,2-3: nullum. 25,2: tecum.

Music:

F-5: begins f. 440v.

CHRISTUS ASSISTENS PONTIPEX**SOURCES:**

F: fascicle 10, no. 48, f. 435v, à1; Strophe I only.

Fauv: no. 19, f. 6, à1; Strophes I-IV, complete.

Text only: **Da:** no. 26, f. 4v; Strophe I only.

Catalogs: Anderson: K48; Falck: 61; Walther: 2763; Chevalier: 24555.

Editions: Anderson, Opera omnia, 6:lxv (text and translation), 69 (music), 137 (notes).

Text only: Analecta hymnica mediæ ævi, 50:535, no. 368.

Literature:

I. Christus, assistens pontiphex, formam scripsit pontificum.	Christ, in his role as pontiff, drew up a decree for bishops.
Quibus prefecit unicum: ut pauperum sit opifex.	He charged them with one thing only: that they should aid the needy.
5 In quo virtutum normula, in quo vivendi regula, monstrat, satis inspecta, quod ceteris premineat, quasi qui viam doceat,	Whereby, this virtuous example, this precept for living, when well examined, shows that this
10 Zacheus super tecta.	bishop excells all others, as one who like Zacchaeus publicly proclaims the way.
II. Non potuit inficere Joseph Venus Egyptia.	Lust could not corrupt Joseph in Egypt.
Nec hunc potest involvere, involvens omnes curia:	Nor can the court, entangling itself in everything, ensnare this man:
15 Martham dat sorti regie, Mariam regi glorie.	he assigns Martha to the palace, and Mary to the king of glory.
Totus intendens ei, utraque fert insignia.	Wholly intent on God, he bears both standards.
Magnus in domo regia, 20 maior in domo Dei.	He is great in the royal household, but greater in the house of God.
III. Formam misericordie prescripsit ceteris, ut subveniret miseris in hac valle miserie.	He has ordered a rule of blessed mercy for others, to aid the wretched in this vale of misery.
25 Intrans urbem scolarium,	Entering the city of scholars,

<p> sic pauper sanctuarium muneribus prevenit, quod Sortes, Plato, Tullius tota clamat Parisius: 30 "Benedictus qui venit!" </p>	<p> this pauper so outstrips the sanctuary with his gifts, that Socrates, Plato, Cicero, all Paris exclaims: "Blessed is he who comes!" </p>
<p> IV. Ne sit clausa sub modio lucerna sanctuarii. Processit de Nemosio columpna sacerdocii 35 Francorum vigil oculus, affectu pio sedulus, totus intendens eo, quod census reddat dispari: que Cesaris sunt, Cesari 40 et que sunt Dei, Deo. </p>	<p> Let not this sanctuary lamp be hidden under a bushel. The pillar of the priesthood has come from Nemours. The watchful eye of the French, persistent in tender compassion, is wholly intent on him, because he restores wealth to the less fortunate: What are Caesar's, he renders unto Caesar, and what are God's, to God. </p>

Notes on the text: (Much of the following relies on Norbert Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied," pp. 37-44.)

This poem was written in 1208 to commemorate the election of Philip's uncle Peter of Nemours (reg. 1208-1218 or 19).

1: Hebrews, 9:11. 10,1: Luke, 19:1-10. 10,2-3: Matthew, 10:27; Luke, 12:3. Literally, "over the rooftops." 11-12: Genesis, 39:2-23. 12: possibly the papal curia is intended. 15-16: Luke, 10:38-42; Martha signifies the active, worldly life, Mary the contemplative, religious life; cf. John, 11, and the poem O tu gemma pontificum, strophe 11, lines 5-6, in Wilhelm Meyer, "Die Arundel Sammlung mittellateinischer Lieder," Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse, n.s., 11 (1908-1909): 50. The meaning of this passage is that this bishop does not mix his sacred and secular affairs. 19: This is literally true, since Peter of Nemours was the son of the king's chamberlain. 21-22: Or: "he piously ordered a rule of mercy...." The subject here, recalling the first lines of the poem, is Peter of Nemours, who reflects in his acts the teachings of Christ. 24: Psalms, 83: 7. 25-27: The

city of scholars is Paris. Fickermann, "Bischofslied," p. 39, proposes for this reference the pauper sanctorum of the church of Saint Julien-le-Pauvre, which at the time was used for general congregations by the University. 28: Socrates, Plato, and Cicero, symbols of Paris' learning. 30: Matthew, 21:9; Mark, 11:10; Luke, 19:38. 31-32: Matthew, 5:15; Mark, 4:21; Luke, 11:33; see also Peter of Blois, Epistolae, no. 126, published in Migne, ed., Patrologia latina, vol. 207, col. 378, and in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, 1:36 (no. 30). 33,3: This place name is missing in Fauv, the only source preserving this strophe. Fickermann ("Bischofslied," pp. 39-42) argues convincingly that this reading is the only one that fits all the conditions imposed by the poem. 34: Jeremiah, 1:18; Apocalypse, 3:12; see also Honorius of Autun, Gemma animae, book 1, chap. 131, published in Migne, ed., Patrologia latina, vol. 172, col. 586. The pillar is a symbol of power and strength, and according to Honorius the columns of the church are its bishops. 35: See Philip's lay Inter membra singula, strophe 2a and the anonymous conductus Quid tu vides Jeremia, line 10. 37: Cf. line 17 above. 37-38: Or: "wholly intent on that which restores..." 39-40: Matthew, 22:21; Luke, 20:25; cf. the conductus Dic Christi veritas (probably by Philip), strophe 3, line 11; Divina providentia, lines 51-54; and O tu gemma pontificum, strophe 10, lines 5-6 (Meyer, "Arundel Sammlung," p. 50).

CHRISTUS ASSISTENS PONTIPHEX

E, f. 435v

I. Chri-
II. Non
III. For-
IV. Ne

[Chri-]
[Non]
[For-]
[Ne]

2

-stus as- sis- -tens pon- -ti- phex
po- tu- it- in- fi- -ce- re
-mam mi- se- -ri- cor- -di- e
sit clau- sa sub mo- -di- o

9

for- mam scri- psit pon- ti- -fi- cum.
jo- seph ve- nus e- gyp- -ci- a
pi- e pre- scri- -psit ce- -te- ris
lu- cer- na san- -ctu- ce- a- -ri- i

17

qui- bus pre- fe- cit u- ni- cum.
nec hunc po- fest in- vol- ve- re
ut sub- ve- ni- ret mi- se- ris,
pro- ces- sit de [ne- mo- si- o]

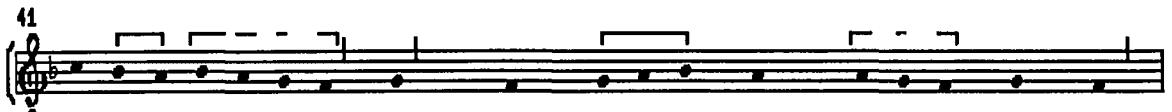
25

ut pau- pe- rum sit o- -pi- fex.
in- vol- vens o- mnes cu- -ri- a,
in- hac val- le mi- se- -ri- e,
co- lum- pna sa- cer- do- -ci- i,

33

in quo vir- tu- tum nor- -mu- la,
mar- -tham dat son- ti re- -gi- e,
in- -trans ur- bem sco- -ri- um
Fran- -co- rum vi- gil oc- -cu- lus,


41



8

in quo vi ven -di re -qu- la
 ma- ri- am re- gi glo- ri e,
 sic pau- per san- ctu- a- ri- um,
 af- fec- ctu pi- o se- du- lus

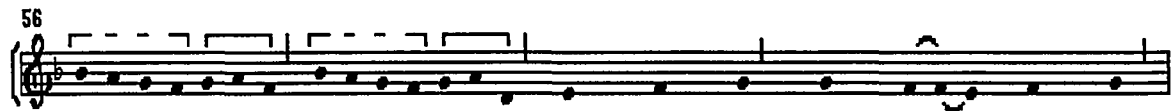
49



8

mon- stra sa- tis in- spe- -cta
 to- tus in- ten- dens e- -i,
 mu- ne- ri- bus pre- ve- -nit:
 to- tus in- ten- dens e- -o,

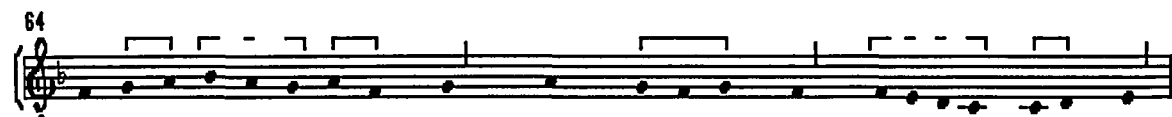
56



8

quod ce- fe- ris pre- mi- -ne- at
 u- tra- que fert in- si- -gni- a,
 quod sor- tes pla- to- tu- -li- us,
 quod cen- sus red- dat dis- -pa- ri

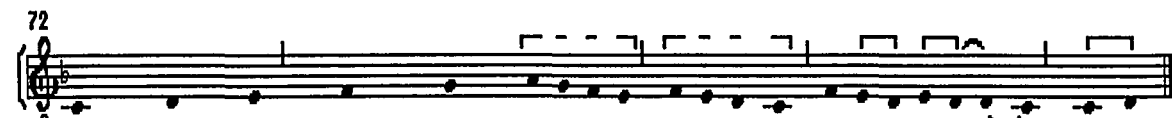
64



8

qua- -si qui vi- -am do- -ce- at
 ma- -gnus in do- -mo re- -gi- a,
 to- -ta cla- mat pa- ri- -si- us
 que ce- sa- ris sunt ce- -sa- ri

72



8

za- che- us su- per te- -cta.
 ma- jor in do- mo de- -i.
 be- ne- di- ctus qui ve- -nit.
 et que sunt de- i de- -o.

Observations:

Attribution: Philip: Da.

Date: ca. 1208.

Genre: Conductus.

Text: Encomium to Philip's uncle, Peter of Nemours, the bishop of Paris, newly elected in 1208.

Verse: 6(8pp) + 7p + 2(8pp) + 7p.

Rhyme: I: abba cc deed

II: abab cc deed

III: abba cc dede

IV: abab cc dede

All possible configurations of the rhyme scheme (two-rhyme quatrain, plus couplet, plus two-rhyme quatrain) are used; no two strophes repeat the same rhyme scheme.

Music: Strophic (4 strophes); melismatic.

X (opening melisma, syllable 1), A (1-8), B (9-16), C (17-24), D [C'] (25-32), E (33-40), F (41-48), G (49-55), H (56-63), I (64-71), J (72-76), Y (closing melisma, 77-78).

Variants

Text: Main sources: strophe I: F; strophes II-IV: Fauv.

F-none.

Fauv-4,3: sic. 12,2-3: venus in egyptia, with no extra note for the added syllable. 33,3: omitted.

Music:

F-1,14: originally f; erased and correct pitch never entered.

REX ET SACERDOS PREFUITSOURCES:

F: Fascicle 10, no. 49, f. 435v, à1; Strophes I-III, complete.

Ob Auct: à1; fragments 16, ext. a (text lines 12,3-14,1); 19, ext. b (18,2-21,1); 21, ext. b (16,2-18,2). Each fragment contains part of the notation for the indicated text, and part of the notation of the staff below.

Fauv: no. 25, f. 7v, à1; music for strophe I only; also contains the spurious strophes IIa and IIIa.

Text only: Da: no. 18, f' 4; complete.

Catalogs: Anderson: K49; Falck: 308; Walther: 16723; Chevalier: 32926.

Editions: Anderson, Opera omnia, 6:lxvi (text and translation), 70 (music), 137 (notes).

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:173 (no. 243).

Literature: Steiner, "Tenth Fascicle," pp. 148-149. Mark E. Everist, "A Reconstructed Source for the Thirteenth-Century Conductus," Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981): In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen, 2 vols., Musicological Studies, no. 49, (Institute of Medieval Music: Henryville, Pennsylvania, 1984), 1:97-108 (on the Oxford fragments).

I. Rex et sacerdos prefuit	As king and priest,
Christus utroque gladio.	Christ ruled with both swords.
Regnum in ipso floruit	Under him flourished a temporal
coniunctum sacerdotio.	kingdom
	joined with the priesthood.
5 Utile dulci miscuit;	He intermingled the useful with the
sed sub figura latuit	sweet;
	but underneath this symbol lay
huius iuncture ratio.	a reason for this union.
II. Otho, quid ad te pertinet?	Otto, what does this have to do with
Que te rapit presumptio?	you?
	What audacity seduces you?
10 Cessa! Iam casus imminet.	Cease! Already your fall is
Iam vicina subversio,	imminent.
que reprobum exterminet.	The ruin that will destroy the
	traitor
	is now close at hand.
Ut Saulem eliminat	There will be an anointing, so
14 Davit, fiet inunctio.	that David may banish Saul.
III. Exclamat Innocentius:	Innocent exclaims:
16 "Ledor quem feci baculo.	"I am wounded by the scepter that I
Conversus in me gladius,	made.
cuius cingebat capulo.	The sword, with whose belt I was
	once girded, is turned upon me.
Vas est collisum figulo.	The vessel has been smashed by the
	potter.
20 Fortior ille vasculo,	He is stronger than the little pot,
franget ergo fragilius."	and therefore breaks the frailer
	object.

The following two strophes, probably spurious, are included in place of II and III in Fauv. Due to the fact that this manuscript does not contain the music for the through-composed strophes II and III, the extra Fauv strophes were probably intended to be sung to the music of strophe I. A performance of all five strophes, in the order I, IIa,

IIIa, II, III has been suggested by Hans Spanke in "Zu den musikalischen Einlagen im Fauvelroman," pp. 212-213.

<p>IIa. Horum vincturam innuit auri, thuris oblacio: Thus sacerdoti congruit, 25 aurum splendori regio. Sacerdotem exhibuit, se dum offere voluit regem turbe convivio.</p>	<p>An offering of gold and frankincense signified their union: Frankincense corresponded to the priest, and gold well suited royal excellence. This offering represented the priest when he wished to present the king to the crowd at the feast.</p>
<p>IIIa. Quod ad curatos pertinet, 30 bonum tollit ambicio. Hos mundus, caro detinet et maligna monicio. Ve tali, qui sic preminet, non previdens quod inminet 35 rote Fortune lesio.</p>	<p>Because it extends even to curates, ambition destroys good. The world, the flesh, and vicious counsel occupy these men. Woe to such a man, who is so successful, not foreseeing that the betrayal of the wheel of Fortune is at hand.</p>

Notes on the text:

1-4: Cf. Luke, 22:38. The metaphor of the two swords, which represent the powers of the spiritual and temporal ruler, respectively, was a common medieval symbol, often invoked during the Investiture Controversy. As exemplified by Saint Bernard (De consideratione, book IV, chap. 3, para. 7), Christ delivered both "swords" to the pope, who then handed the temporal power over to the sovereign for use as a privilege, not as a right. Philip himself speaks of the primacy of the Church in the control of the two swords: "Et nota quod non sine causa dictum fuit illud: 'Ecce duo gladii hic,' quorum licet unus dicatur pertinere ad sacerdotium et alter ad regnum, tamen uterque in veritate ecclesie est." (Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 2:1048, lines 258-260.) Innocent III (see strophe III) was especially influential in championing the papacy's right to intervene in secular affairs. 4,2: Other possible readings for this word and 7,2 could be convinctum and vincture, which are similar in meaning to the text adopted here; cf. 22,2. 5: Horace, Ars poetica, V, 343; i.e., "intermingled the temporal

with the spiritual." 6-7: The elucidation of the ratio figure in strophe IIa is actually unnecessary, for it is implicit here in strophe I: the swords were originally the property of the Church, and only its leaders have the right to determine their proper use. 8-9: Otto IV, who was crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Innocent III in 1209, soon afterward attempted to add the kingdom of Sicily to his dominions. This was expressly against Innocent's wishes and earned Otto the condemnation of the pope. 10-14: This is probably a reference to Frederick of Hohenstaufen, whom Innocent chose to replace Otto after he began his forbidden conquests. Frederick did not succeed to the throne until 1215, after he routed Otto in the battle of Bouvines in 1214 with the help of Philip Augustus of France. He was finally crowned Emperor at Rome in 1220 by Honorius III. 13-14: 1 Kings [1 Samuel], 16:12-13. The reference to Otto (Saul) and Frederick (David) here is especially apt. Saul committed a sin which cost him his rule by assuming the duties of a priest in offering a sacrifice (1 Kings [1 Samuel], 13:8-14). This is comparable to Otto, who wrongly used the "sword" entrusted him by Innocent to further his power. Similarly, Frederick, a young boy at the time, is comparable to David, the youngest in his father's house when he was anointed as king by Samuel (See Psalms, 151 and 1 Kings [1 Samuel], 16:6-11). 13,2: According to the music and the syllabic count of the verse, Saulem is a three-syllable word. 16-18: The language of this passage, as Steiner has pointed out ("Tenth Fascicle," p. 149), is remarkably similar to a letter of Innocent III from January 1210: "quasi nos fecerimus gladium, de quo graviter vulneremur." For the role that the sword and scepter played in Otto's coronation, see ibid. 23: Matthew, 2:11. 26-28: or, possibly: "When he [the priest] wished that the king offer himself...." Although the meaning of this passage seems obscure, Emilie Dahnk, L'Hérésie de Fauvel, Leiziger romanistische Studien, ed. W. von Wartburg, II. Literaturwissenschaftliche Reihe, no. 4 (Leipzig: Selbstverlag des romanischen Seminars, 1935), p. 54, posits a reference to the Mass, as exemplified in the liturgy of the feast of Corpus Christi. Compare the hymn Pange lingua gloriosi, strophe III, line 5, and the Magnificat antiphon for the same feast, O sacrum convivium. 29,3: Or possibly not as specific: "Those well cared for."

REX ET SACERDOS PREFUIT

E, f. 435v

8 I. Rex [Rex] et sa- cer- dos pre- fu- it
 IIa. [Ho- {Ho-} rum vin- ctu- ram in- nu- it
 IIIa. [Quod {Quod} ad cu- ra- tos per- ti- net

9
 8 chri- -stus u- tro- -que gla- -di- o
 au- -ri thu- ris o- bla- -ci- o
 bo- -num tol- lit an- bi- -ci- o.

17
 8 re- -gnum in- ipso flo- -ru- it
 thus sa- cer- do- ti con- -gru- it
 hos mun- dus ca- ro con- -de- -ti- net

25
 8 con- -iun- ctum sa- cer- do- -ti- o.
 au- -rum splen- do- ri re- -gi- o.
 et ma- li- gna mo- ni- -ci- o,

33
 8 u- ti- -le dul- ci mi- -scu- it.
 sa- cer- -do- tem ex- hi- -bu- it
 ve ta- -li qui sic pre- -mi- net

41
 8 sed sub fi- gu- ra la- -tu- -it
 se dum of- fe- re vo- -lu- -it
 non pre- vi- dens quod in- -mi- -net

49
 8 hu- [hu-] -ius iun- ctu- -re ra- -ti- o.
 re- [re-] -gem tur- be con- vi- -vi- o.]
 ro- [ro-] -fe for- tu -ne le- -si- o.]

57
8 II. 0- [0-] tho quid ad te per- ti- net.

65
8 que te ra- -pit pre- sum- -pti- o.

73
8 ces- -sa iam ca- sus im- -mi- net.

81
8 iam vi- -ci- -na sub- ven- -si- -o

89
8 que re- -pro- bum ex- ter- mi- -net.

97
8 ut sa- u- lem e- li- ni- -net.

105
8 da- vit fi- et in- un- -cti- o.

113
8 III. Ex- [Ex-] cla- mat in- -no- cen- ti- us

121
8 le- -dor quem fe- ci ba- cu- -lo.

129

 con- -ven- -sus in me gla- di- -us.

137

 cu- ius cin- ge- -bar ca- -pu- lo.

145

 vas est col- li- sum fi- -gu- lo.

153

 for- -ti- or il- le va- -scu- lo.

161

 fran- -get en- -go fra- -gi- -li- -us.

Observations:

Attribution: Philip: Da.

Date: 1209-1210; concerns a dispute between Pope Innocent III and Emperor Otto IV.

Genre: Conductus.

Text: Critical of the pride of secular rulers; use of patristic and biblical authorities to criticize a political dispute; sides with the church.

Verse: 21(8pp); or 35(8pp) if strophes IIa and IIIa are included with I, II, and III.

Rhyme: I: ababaab. II: cbcbccb. III: dededde.

[IIa: ababaab. IIIa: cbcbccb.]

All strophes have an identical rhyme scheme. IIa and IIIa repeat the same rhymes as I and II, respectively.

Music: 3 through composed strophes (or, if IIa and IIIa are included, one triple and two single versicles; Melismatic:

Strophe I, (and IIa and IIIa):

X (opening melisma, syllable 1), A (1-8), A' (9-16), B (17-24), B' (25-33), C [B'] (41-48), D (49-56).

Strophe II:

X (opening melisma, 57 = a [notes 1-8], a' [notes 9-16]), A (syllables 57-64), B (65-72), B' (73-80), C (81-88), C' (89-96), D (97-104), E (105-112).

Strophe III:

X (opening melisma, 113), A (113-120), B (121-128), C (129-136), A' (137-144), D (145-152), B' (153-160), E (161-168).

Each strophe's form has been considered independently.

Variants

Text: Main sources: Strophes I, II, III: F; IIa, IIIa: Fauv.

F-4,1: coniuictum. 7,2: iucture. 14,1: Davit.

Fauv-2,2: utrumque. 4,1: convicium. 7,2: victure. 30,2: tollis.

Music:

F-22: begins f. 436. 57,17-58,1: originally a third lower; corrected. 59: originally a second higher; corrected. 88: plica pitch possibly d, but long stroke suggests e. 104: pitch possibly g.

BEATA NOBIS GAUDIA REDUXIT**SOURCES:**

F: fascicle 10, no. 44, f. 433v, à1.

Text only: Da, no. 23, f. 4v.

Catalogs: Anderson: K44; Falck: 41; Walther: 2095; Chevalier: 24094.

Editions: Anderson, Opera omnia, 6:lx (text and translation), 61 (music), 136 (notes).

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:176, (no number).

Literature:

Beata nobis gaudia reduxit proles regia. Philippi primogenitus, qui, patris actis inclitus, 5 nec laude carens propria, post tot laborum tedia, post tot felices exitus, tibi debetur Gallia. Regni cuius inicia, 10 tua, tu Dei digitus, aspirare clementia, veni Creator Spiritus.	The royal scion has restored our blessed happiness. Philip's first-born, who, famous from his father's deeds, and not lacking in his own merit, after so many tedious hardships, after so many happy accomplishments, France is beholden to you. Come, Creator Spirit, finger of God, that with your mercy you may favor the beginnings of his reign.
---	--

Notes on the text:

1-2,1: See the hymn for Lauds at Pentecost, used also at Prime, Sext, and Nones, which begins: "Beata nobis gaudia / anni reduxit orbita (Antiphonale Romanae, p. 505); and the opening lines of the conductus Beata nobis gaudia / dum patrem. Presumably the reference to the liturgy is not meant to be specific, since the occasion for which this conductus was written (see following note) did not occur on the feast of Pentecost. 3: Louis VIII (reg. 1223-1226), crowned August 6, son of Philip Augustus (reg. 1180-1223). 10,2-4: See the Pentecost hymn for Vespers, Veni creator spiritus (cf. line 12), strophe 3, lines 1-2 (Antiphonale Romanum, p. 501) and the conductus Veni creator spiritus / spritus recreator (possibly by Philip), line 5. As Anderson has observed (Opera omnia, 6:lx), Leo Schrade ("Political Compositions," p. 29) missed this reference to the hymn and faultily ascribed this address to the new king. 12: See note above. According to Schrade ("Political Compositions," pp. 29-30), Veni Creator figured in the coronation ceremony, sung during the introduction of the ampulla containing the oil for anointing the new king. It is therefore possible that Beata nobis could have been used in the ceremony as well, perhaps preceding the hymn in a manner akin to that of an antiphon.

BEATA NOBIS GAUDIA REDUXIT

F. F. 433v.

8 Be- [Be-]

2 a- -ta no- -bis gau- -di- a

9 re- du- -xit pro- -les re- -gi- a

17 phi- lip- -pi pri- -mo- ge- -ni- tus,

25 qui pa- -tris a- -ctis in- -cli- -tus,

33 nec lau- de ca- -rens pro- -pri- a

41 post tot la- -bo- -rum te- -di- a

49 post tot fe- li- -ces ex- -i- tus

57 ti- bi de- be- -tur gal- -li- a

65
8
re- gni cu- -ius i- ni- -ci- a

73
8
tu- -a de- i tu di- -gi- tus

81
8
a- -spi- ra- -re cle- men- -ti- a

89
8
ve- ni cre- a- -tor spi- -ri- -tus.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Da.

Date: 1223; for the coronation of Louis VIII.

Genre: Conductus.

Text: Coronation song; praise of the new and old king; invocation of the Holy Spirit to bless the reign.

Verse: 12(8pp).

Rhyme: a a b b a a b a a b a b.

Music: 1 surviving strophe; melismatic:

X (opening melisma, syllable 1 = a [notes 1-10], b [11-21]), A (1-8), B (9-16), A (17-24), B (25-32), C (33-40), D (41-48), D¹ (49-56), D² (57-64), D³ (65-72), E (73-80), F (81-88), G (liturgical tag, 89-96).

Variants

Text:

F-none.

Music:

F-25: b-flat; this has been changed to c, based on comparison with 9.

CLAVUS CLAVO RETUNDITURSOURCES:

F, fascicle 10, no. 51, f. 437v, à1; Strophes I-III; unique.

Catalogs: Anderson: K51; Falck: 64; Walther: 2890; Chevalier: 3388.

Editions: Anderson, Opera omnia, 6:lxviii (text and translation), 71 (music), 137 (notes).

Text only: Delisle, "Discours," p. 135.

Literature: Pierre Aubry, "Comment fut perdu;" Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica, p. 931; Robertson, Service Books, chapters 3 and 5.

- I. Clavus clavo retunditur,
 dum peccatorum meritis,
 Christi clavus amittitur.
 Amissum frustra queritis
 5 cum planctibus ypocritis,
 si pro culparum debitis,
 mens, quasi clavis insitis,
 dolore non compungitur.
- The Nail is blunted by a nail,
 when through the fault of sinners
 Christ's Nail is lost.
 Pointlessly, you seek what is lost
 with insincere sorrow,
 if, thanks to your sins,
 your mind is not pierced with
 grief, as though by driven nails.
- II. Clavus, figens tentorium
 10 Gallicane militie,
 tam regalis ecclesie,
 quam regni firmans solium,
 mistici dampni spetie,
 signans prioris glorie,
 15 prioris excellentie,
 dissolvendum fastigium.
- The Nail, holding fast the tent
 of the French soldiery,
 fortifying the throne of
 both the royal church and the
 kingdom.
 through the guise of this mystic
 loss,
 expresses the summit of an earlier
 glory,
 of a prior preeminence,
 that now must be annulled.
- III. Quid est, quod diu latuit;
 et latentem exhibuit
 Christus die Paraceves?
 20 Sic: in die qua doluit,
 te condolere monuit.
 Amissum dum restituit,
 gaudio fletum miscuit,
 ut sic dolorem releves.
- What is this that lay concealed so
 long;
 the secret that Christ revealed
 upon Good Friday?
 'Tis this: that on the day he
 suffered,
 he reminded you to grieve with him.
 When he restored what was lost,
 he mingled tears with joy,
 that, thereby, you might assuage
 your pain.

Notes on the text:

This poem concerns the loss and miraculous recovery of the Holy Nail of St Denis, a relic from the Crucifixion especially prized by the royal abbey, which was lost on Sunday, February 24, 1233, and found again on April 1, Good Friday. An extended contemporaneous account of this incident has been published by Pierre Aubry in "Comment fut perdu" from the manuscripts Pn n.a. lat. 1509 and Pa 1030 (See Literature above). Although the medieval chronicler, Aubry des Trois-Fontaines (Chronica Albrici, p. 931) relates that Philip may have written a similar narratio on the loss and recovery of the nail, the text offered by Pierre Aubry is probably not the work of the chancellor (see "Comment fut perdu," pp. 287-288). Nonetheless, certain passages of this poem do seem to correlate with the published account (see below), and it is conceivable that it could at least be modelled on Philip's lost work. Another possibility is that Clavus clavo, and possibly the related conductus Clavus pungens acumine (q.v.), are themselves the narratio that Aubry des Trois Fontaines cites. This is less likely, though, given the general meaning of narratio (account, story, exposition of deeds), and by the fact that the surviving prose accounts of the miracle fit this definition more precisely. Perhaps we may yet find this missing work among Philip's sermons.

1: The meaning of this line is somewhat obscure, but even so, the changes proposed by Dreves in Analecta hymnica (vol. 21, p. 169, no. 238) and Anderson in his edition in Opera omnia (above) are unnecessary. Both scholars presuppose a play on words between clavus (nail) and clavis (key), such as that found in conductus Clavus pungens, lines 24 and 40 (probably by Philip, q.v.). Such word play does not necessarily obtain for Clavus clavo as well. Rather, the reference seems to apply the expression "clavum clavo eicere" ("to drive out a nail with a nail"). In this case, the nail that is blunted or dulled refers to the nail of the Crucifixion, a symbol of redemption that has been lost. The other "nail" is clearly expressed as the "faults of sinners" (line 2, 2-3: peccatorum meritis). This latter metaphor plays on the double meaning of the crucifying nail not only as a symbol of redemption, but also as an instrument of torture and pain (cf. lines 22-24). The meaning of strophe I is, therefore, that since the true nail has been lost, thanks to the worthlessness of sinners, its purpose has been blunted by the "nail" of their offense. 4-5: The loss of the nail caused much grief, as is evident throughout Pierre Aubry's published text of the incident. The poet here wants to make sure such mourning is sincere. 9-12: Pierre Aubry has pointed out the relationship between strophe II and a section near the end of the narratio ("Comment fut perdu," pp. 176-177), where the nail is compared to the sustaining power attributed to the king (presumably including the army mentioned in lines 9-10) and the church. Interestingly enough, the author of the narratio even seems to recall the author of Clavus clavo (probably Philip) when he says: "Sicut per quendam sapientem dictum est, per coronam regni et Ecclesie sancte dignitas, per sacrum clavum utriusque stabilis firmitas sive firma stabilitas designatur." 13-16: This phrase, which is somewhat cryptic, could have several meanings. One possibility is that

the nail, which represents Christ and the Crucifixion, is at once the fulfillment of the prophecies of the Old Testament, and the reason for the dissolution of the Old Law. Another possible interpretation, which may be more likely given the comments to lines 9-12 above, is that the Nail was a relic that symbolized the union between the church and kingdom. According to legend it had been given to the abbey of Saint Denis by Charlemagne. Hence, since the nail has now been lost, the tie that bound the church and kingdom together, and which contributed to the strength of both establishments, has now been dissolved. 19,2-3: The day when the nail was recovered (see remarks above). The phrase means, literally, "Day of Preparation," the day before the Sabbath. 23: Compare Horace, Ars poetica, V, 343; and Philip's conductus Rex et sacerdos prefuit, line 5.

CLAVUS CLAVO RETUNDITUR

F, F. 437

8 I. Cla- [Cla-]

2 -vus cla- vo re- tun- di- -tur

9 dum pec- ca- to- rum me- -ri- -tis

17 chri- sti cla- vus a- mit- -ti- tur.

25 a- mis- sum fru- stra que- -ri- tis

33 cum plan- cti- bus y- po- cri- tis.

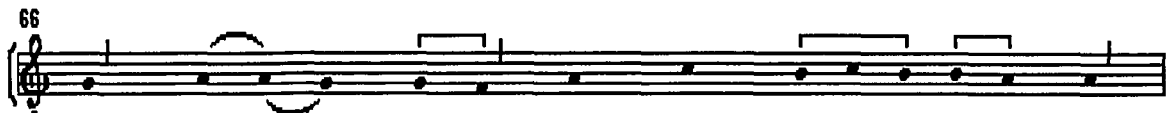
41 si pro cul- pa- rum de- -bi- -tis


49 mens qua- si cla- vis in- -si- tis

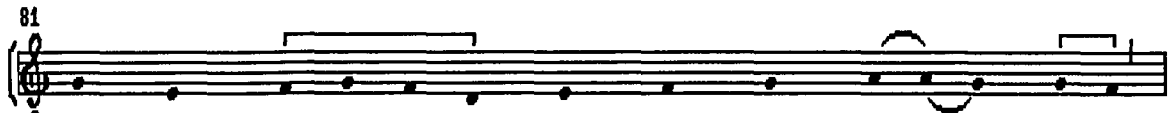
57 do- lo- re non com- pun- -gi- tur.

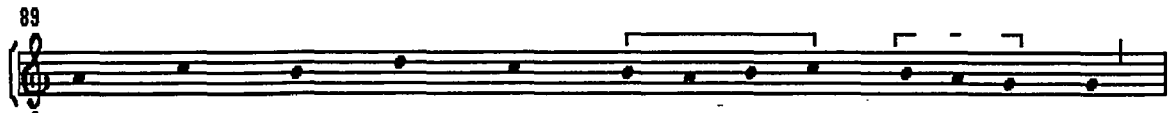
65

 II. Cla- [Cla-]

66

 -vus fi- -gens ten- to- ri- -um

73

 gal- li- ca- -ne mi- li- ti- -e

81

 tam re- ga- -lis ec- cle- si- -e

89

 quam re- gni fir- mans so- -li- -um.

97

 mi- sti- ci dan- pni spe- -ti- -e

105

 si- gnans pri- o- ris glo- ri- -e

113


 pri- o- ris ex- cel- len- -ti- -e

121

 dis- sol- ven- dum fa- sti- -gi- -um.

129

 8 III. Quid est quod di- u la- -tu- -it.

137

 8 et ia- ten- tem ex hi- bu- it-

145

 8 chri- stus di- e pa- ra- ce- -ves

153

 8 sic in di- e qua do- -lu- it

161

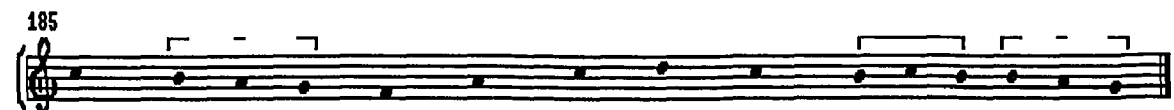
 8 te con- do- le- re mo- -nu- it

169

 8 a- mis- sum dum re- -sti- -tu- -it

177

 8 gau- di- o fle- tum mi- -scu- it.

185

 8 ut sic do- lo- rem re- le- ves.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: based on indirect evidence from the Chronica of Aubry des Trois Fontaines (p. 931) and the fact that this poem is close to the major collection of Philip's works in F.

Date: 1233; concerns the loss and recovery of the Holy Nail of St. Denis.

Genre: Conductus.

Text: Symbolic interpretation of the Nail; critical of mankind.

Verse: 3 (8 x 8pp).

Rhyme: I: a b a b b b b a. II: a b b a b b b a.

III: a a b a a a a b.

None of the strophes shares any rhymes.

Music: Strophic sequence: 2 double and 1 single versicles; melismatic:

Strophe I:

X (opening melisma, syllable 1), A (1-8), B (9-16), A' (17-24), C (25-32), C' (33-40), D (41-48), D' (49-56), E [A'] (57-64).

Strophe II:

X (opening melisma, 65 = a [notes 1-7], b [8-17]), A (65-72), B (73-80), C (81-88), D (89-96), E (97-104), F (105-112), G [D'] (113-120), H (121-128).

Strophe III:

X (opening melisma, 129), A (129-136), B (137-144), C (145-152), D (153-160), E (161-168), F (169-176), G (177- 184), H (185-192).

Each stophe's formal structure has been considered independently.

Variants

Text:

F-none.

Music:

F-102,3: The pitch is slightly obscured by the text in the line above.
132,1: begins f. 437v. 154,1-2: Erased, but visible; the reading in the edition restores the erased pitches, which may not be what the scribe intended.

CLAVUS PUNGENS ACUMINESOURCES:

F: fascicle 7, no. 112, f. 358, à2; strophes Ia, IIa, III only; each strophe has a separate illuminated initial, making the work appear to be three different conductus.

Fauv: no. 15, f. 5 (â1); Strophes I-III, complete; disposition of the strophic pairs resembles that of F.

Catalogs: Anderson: J39; Falck: 65; Chevalier: 3389, 13175, 34731; Walther (-).

Editions: Anderson, Opera omnia, 5:xxxii (text and translation), 67 (music), 120 (notes).

Text only: Dahnk, L'Hérésie de Fauvel, p. 32.

Literature: Pierre Aubry, "Comment fut perdu;" Aubry des Trois-Fontaines, Chronica Albrici, p. 931; Robertson, Service Books, chapters 3 and 5.

- Ia. Clavus pungens acumine,
 dum carnem Christi perforat,
 ex vulnerum foramine,
 Passionem commemorat.
- 5 Cuius dum madet sanguine,
 nos perfundens dulcedine,
 Christo Crucis ymagine
 conformatos incorporat.
- Ib. In istis foraminibus,
 10 ut columba nidifica,
 tibi domum edifica,
 quam intres istis foribus.
 Nova curandi fisica,
 salutem de livoribus,
 15 medelam de vulneribus,
 de morte vitam vendica.
- IIa. O manuum confixio!
 [O] pedum perforatio!
 Quibus Christus confoditur
 20 cuius dum caro scinditur.
 Et clavorum misterio,
 regnum celorum panditur;
 celestis fabri studio,
 24 clavus in clavem vertitur.
- When the piercing Nail punctures
 Christ's flesh with its point,
 it calls to mind the Passion from
 out of the opening of the wounds
- When it drips with his blood,
 showering us with sweetness,
 it makes one with Christ those
 fashioned in the image of the Cross.
- Like a dove making a nest,
 build yourself a home
 within these wounds,
 which you may enter through these
 doors.
 With a new science of healing,
 deliver benevolence from envy,
 extract a remedy from the wounds,
 and demand life from death.
- O, the fastening of the hands!
 O, the piercing of the feet!
 By these Christ is transfixed
 when his flesh is torn.
- And by the divine mystery of the
 nails,
 the kingdom of heaven is thrown
 open;
 through the efforts of the heavenly
 smith,
 the nail is turned into a key.

<p>I Ib. Clavi quid est amissio, 26 nisi quod Christi Passio excidit a memoria? Clavis quid est confixio, que clavo fit contrario, 30 nisi culpe malicia aut boni simulacio claudicans in iusticia?</p>	<p>What means this loss of the Nail, save that Christ's Passion has been forgotten? What means this fashioning of the key, which is formed from the nail, its opposite, if not that the wickedness of guilt or even the pretence of good wobbles around in justice?</p>
<p>III. Vobis loquor, pastoribus, vobis, qui claves geritis, 35 vobis, qui vite luxibus, claves Christi reicitis. Vos lupi facti gregibus. Membra Christi configitis; et abutentes clavibus, 40 claves in clavos vertitis.</p>	<p>I speak to you, shepherds, to you who bear the keys, to you, who in the debauchery of your life, cast away Christ's keys. You have become wolves among the flock. You have nailed Christ's limbs; and, abusing the keys, you turn them back into nails.</p>

Notes on the text:

See the above Notes on the text for Clavus clavo retunditur for information on the circumstances which possibly led to the composition of this text and the evidence for its dating. See also the note to lines 25-27 below.

9-10: Compare Jeremiah, 48:28. 13,3-4: I.e., the wounds caused by the nails. 20-24: See also Philip's sequence Si vis vera frui luce, stanza Ib (lines 4-6). 25-27: This is possibly a reference to the loss of the nail of St. Denis. Often this poem is not considered to reflect this event, but construing the meaning of the lines in this way yields an effective translation. For more explanations on the symbolic meaning of the nail and its loss, see Clavus clavo, above. 29: I.e., the key to salvation (happiness) was only able to be formed through the Crucifixion (suffering). Compare Philip's remarks in his Summa de bono (ed. Wicki, 2:848, lines 73-74): "Sed est ex comparatione pene Christi, a qua claves habent virtutem." 30-32: The sins of the world required a new

means of salvation. 33-34: I.e., the clergy, through whom the faithful may seek salvation. St. Peter, who symbolizes the papacy, the head of all priests, is usually represented with a key as one of his attributes. See also Matthew, 16:19, and the chant Tu es pastor ovium (Antiphonale Romanum, p.750). 37: Compare Matthew 7:15 and the conductus Doqmatum falsas species, possibly by Philip, lines 13-14.

CLAVUS PUNGENS ACUMINE

E. F. 358

8
Ia. Cla-
Ib. In

[Cla-]
[In]

vus pun- gens a- cu- mi- ne dum car- nem chri- sti per- fo- rat; ex
i- stis fo- ra- mi- ni- bus ut co- lum- ba ni- di- fi- ca. ti-

vul- ne- rum fo- ra- mi- ne pas- si- o- nem com- me- mo- rat. cu-
bi do- mum e- di- fi- ca- quam in- tres i- stis fo- ri- bus no-

39

ius dum ma- det san- gui- ne nos per- fun- dens dul-
va cu- ran- di fi- si- ca sa- lu- tem de li-

45

ce- di- ne chri- sto cru- cis y- ma- gi- ne con-
vo- ri- bus me- de- lam de vul- ne- pi- bus de

51

for- ma- tos in- cor- po- rat.
mor- te vi- tam ven- di- ca.

57

63

69

IIa. O
IIb. Cla-

74

80

[O] ma- nu- um con-
[Cla-] -vi quid est a-

86

fix- i- o. [o] pe- dum per- fo- ras- ti- o qui-
mis- si- o ni- si quod chri- sti pas- si- o ex-

93

bus chri- stus con- fo- di- tur, cu- ius dum
ci- dit a me- no- ri- a cla- vis quid

99

ma- det scin- di- tur. et cla- vo rum mi- ste- ni-
est con- fix- i- o que cla- vo fit con- tra- ni-

106

o re- gnum ce- lo- rum pan- di- tur ce-
o ni- si cul- pe ma- li- ci- a aut

113

le- stis fa- bri stu- di- o. cla- vus in cla- vem
bo- ni si- mu- la- ci- o clau- di- cans in iu-

120

ver- ti- ti-
sti- ci-

127

133 [h] [h] h

Musical score for measures 133-138. The score is in 8/8 time and features a melodic line in the upper voice with slurs and accents. The lower voice provides a rhythmic accompaniment. The key signature has one flat.

139 h h h h

Musical score for measures 139-145. The score continues with the same melodic and accompanimental lines. A slur is present under the lower voice in the final measures. The key signature has one flat.

-tur.
-a.

146

Musical score for measures 146-154. The score continues with the same melodic and accompanimental lines. The key signature has one flat.

III. Vo-

155

Musical score for measures 155-162. The score continues with the same melodic and accompanimental lines. The key signature has one flat.

163

Musical score for measures 163-170. The score continues with the same melodic and accompanimental lines. The key signature has one flat.

169

[Vo-] -bis lo- -quor

176

pa- -sto- ni- bus vo- bis qui cla- ves

183

ge- ni- tis. vo- bis qui vi- te lux- i- bus cla- ves chri-

192

sti ne- i- ci- tis. Vos

199

[Vos] lu- pi fa- eti

205

gre- gi- bus men- bra chri- sti con- fi- gi- tis. et

211

a- bu- ten- tes cla- vi- bus;

218

cla- -ves in cla- -vos

224

ver- ti- tis.

231

237

Musical score for measures 237-241. The score is written for piano in 8/8 time, featuring a treble and bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The melody in the treble clef consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. The bass clef provides a steady accompaniment with eighth notes. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

242

Musical score for measures 242-246. The score is written for piano in 8/8 time, featuring a treble and bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The melody in the treble clef continues with eighth and sixteenth notes, including some beamed eighth notes. The bass clef accompaniment remains consistent. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: based on indirect evidence from the Chronica of Aubry des Trois Fontaines (p. 931) and the fact that this poem is close to some of Philip's works in F.

Date: 1233; concerns the loss and recovery of the Holy Nail of St. Denis.

Genre: Conductus.

Text: Sequence-like; homiletic, explains the mystery of the nail, its loss, and its relationship to the Crucifixion; critical of false priests.

Verse: all lines (40) 8pp.

Rhyme: Ia: ababaaab. IIa: aabbabab. III: abababab).
Ib: abbabaab. IIb: aabaabab.

The same a rhyme is shared by Strophes IIa and b, and a different a rhyme by Ib and III. No others are repeated.

Music: Strophic sequence (2 double, 1 single versicles); melismatic. Separate melismas begin and end each strophe:

Strophe I:

X (opening melisma, measures 1-22, 1 = a [1-4], a' [5-8], a'' [9-14], b [15-22, 1]), A (22, 2-26, 1), A' (26, 2-30, 1), B (30, 2-34, 1), B' (34, 2-38, 1), C (38, 2-42, 1), D (42, 1-46, 1), D' (46, 2-50, 1), E (50, 2-54), Y (closing melisma, voice exchange and canon 55-68).

Strophe II:

X (opening melisma, 69-83 = a [69-75] canonic, b [76-79], b' [80-83, 2]), A (83, 3-88, 1), B (88, 2-92, 4), C (92, 5-97, 1), C' (97, 2-102, 1), D (102, 2-107, 1), E (107, 2-112, 1), E' (112, 2-117, 1), F (117, 2-121), Y (closing melisma, 122-145 = a [122-124], b [125-132] voice exchange, c [133-145]).

Strophe III:

W (opening melisma, 146-170 = a [146-152], a' [153-160], b [161-164], b' [165-170]), A (171-179), B (180-184), C (185-189), D (190-194), X (195-202, 2 interior melisma = a [194-198], a' [199-202, 2]), E (202, 3-206, 1), E' (206, 2-210, 2 [Duplum]), F (210, 3-214), Y (215-218, interior melisma, scalar descent), A' (219-226), Z (closing melisma, 227-247 = a [227-242], voice exchange and canon, b [243-247] coda).

Each strophe's formal structure has been considered independently.

Variants

Text: Main sources: F: Strophes Ia, IIa, III; Fauv.: Ib, IIb.

F-18,1: omitted. 24,3: clavum. 37,1: begins with a capital letter, as though beginning a new strophe or versicle.

Fauv-16,4: vendicat. 18,1: omitted. 19,2: christo. 22,3: ponditur. 24,3: clavum. 24,4: last syllable "-tur" omitted. 37,1:

initial missing; as in F this would have been a capital letter, as in the beginning of a new strophe or versicle.

Music:

F-Duplum: 3,2: possibly e, but see the similar motive in the duplum, measure 11. 69,3: possibly not a plica but a stroke of division. 76-83: the rest of this melisma could be construed in rhythmic mode 2, but mode 1 yields better consonances at the beginning of perfections. Likewise, the variant reading from Fauv for this melisma has a few correspondences that argue for a first mode reading. 88,2: optional; a missing text syllable in both sources occasions this conjecture. No extra pitches are supplied by the composer, and possibly this syllable was not intended to be set. 169,1: missing pitch. Tenor: 73,5: possibly f, but the adopted reading forms an antecedent-consequent phrase. 74: missing, conjectural emendation; compare measures 63,1-3 Duplum and 64,1-3 Tenor. 88,2: optional; an apparently missing text syllable in both sources occasions this conjecture. No extra pitches are supplied by the composer, and possibly this syllable was not intended to be set. 175: conjectured missing rest. 210: stroke omitted.

AURELIANIS CIVITAS**SOURCES:**

F: fascicle 10, no. 60, f. 439v, à1; Strophes I-IV; unique.

Catalogs: Anderson: K60; Falck: 25; Walther: 1825; Chevalier: 23298.

Editions: Anderson, Opera omnia, 6:lxxxii (text and translation), 86 (music), 147 (notes).

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:182, (no. 256).

Literature: Léopold Delisle, "Discours," p. 136. Falck, The Notre Dame Conductus, pp. 104-105.

I. Aurelianis civitas,	City of Orléans,
te replevit iniquitas,	wickedness has filled you,
novo pollutam scelere.	dishonored by a shocking crime.
Amnis qui prius aureus,	A river that once was golden
5 factus torrens sanguineus	has become a bloody torrent
ex innocentum funere.	through the slaying of guiltless men.
II. Sancte Crucis exaltata	Once exalted by the victorious
triumphali nomine,	sign of the Holy Cross,
Passione renovata	the Passion now has been reenacted
10 fuso cleri sanguine.	in the shed blood of the clergy.
Sanctum nomen polluisti,	You have violated your holy title,
occidisti servos Christi,	you have slain the servants of Christ,
quos servare debuisti	whom you should have protected
14 a turbarum turbine.	from the force of the mob.
III. Plange, civitas sanguinum,	Mourn, bloody city,
16 indigna Crucis titulo;	unfit for the Cross's title;
pro gravitate criminum,	because of the rankness of your crimes,
digna Crucis patibulo.	you are worthy only for crucifixion.
Nomen perdis Sancte Crucis.	You squander the good name of the Holy Cross.
20 Digna crucis pene trucidis	You deserve a cross of harsh punishment
capitali piaculo.	for your mortal offense.
IV. Urbs beata Parisius,	O happy city of Paris,
in qua si peccet impius,	where, if a wicked man should sin,
ultione redimitur,	he is compensated with vengeance,

25	quicquid inique gesserit.	however unjustly he has behaved.
	Studio locus proprius,	You are a place proper for study,
	civis clero propicius.	with a citizenry favorable to the clergy.
	Ad quem redire cogitur,	Whoever flees from you is
	quisquis ab ea fugerit.	soon compelled to return.

Notes on the Text:

1-21: Strophes I-III of this poem refer to a riot in Orléans in the year 1236 between the citizenry and clergy of the town. (See Le Nain de Tillemont, Vie de Saint Louis, 2:288, who gives the date as "fifteen days after Easter, around April 13," after a lost manuscript source; and Matthew Paris, Chronica majora, 3:370-371, who relates that the riot occurred "around the feast of Pentecost.") This conflict caused the death of "from 80-100" (Le Nain de Tillemont) "scholars, famous young men, and nobles" (Matthew Paris) who were either murdered outright or drowned in the Loire river. As a result of the carnage, the bishop of Orléans, Philippe Berruier, placed the city under interdict and excommunicated the evildoers; while the relatives of the murdered nobles took matters into their own hands and entered the city, slaying many of its inhabitants. The matter was finally settled by Saint Louis to the satisfaction of both parties. 4,1: The text is faulty; Anderson reads annus, which is possible, but more awkward than the emendation here, suggested by Deslisle, "Discours," p. 136. 4,4: Possibly a pun on the name "Aurelianus." 5-6: Possibly an oblique reference to the fact that several of the victims were drowned in the river Loire (see above). 7-8: these lines, as well as 11 and 16-20, refer to one of the city's prized relics: a portion of the Holy Cross given to the celebrated Orléans bishop Theodulf (ca. 760-ca. 821) by the emperor Charlemagne (reg. 768-814). The presence of this relic, to which the town cathedral was dedicated, moved many to visit Orléans as a stop upon the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela (see Debal, ed., Histoire d'Orléans, 1:298. 9: the murder of the clergy in Orléans is likened to the murder of Christ. 11,1-12: the privileges the city enjoyed under the auspices of the Holy Cross; cf. line 19. 18: Literally: "worthy of the Cross's instrument of punishment." 20: Other editors, among them Anderson and Dreves (see Editions given above) have postulated a missing line after 20, which, when included, would force the poem into a series of double versicles in the manner of a sequence (Ia: lines 1-3; Ib: 4-6; IIa: 7-14; IIb: 15-21 [with extra line]; IIIa: 22-25; IIIb: 26-29). However, the music does not reflect any analogous repetitive structure, strophes II and III do not possess the same syllable count, the text seems to suffer no omission, nor are there any indications in the unique manuscript that would suggest a scribal error at this point. For these reasons, I have let the reading of the source stand unchanged. 22-29: In an abrupt turnaround, the poet shifts his viewpoint and tone to the contrasting situation at Paris. Paris, too, suffered occasional riots

and bloodshed in several Town-Gown conflicts. The most famous of these, the so-called "Great Dispersion," happened while Philip was chancellor. In 1229, during the Carnival period preceding Lent, several students of the university at Paris were killed by the provost of police, following riots that had taken place between the students and townsfolk. The rest of the university community was furious. After a suspension of lectures received only mild attention, the masters dissolved the university and moved with their students to other towns to continue their teaching. It was this dispersion that helped other universities to become established, among them the cathedral school at Orléans. Le Nain de Tillemont (Vie de Saint Louis, p. 288) even specifies that the students killed during the Orléans riot were ones that had journeyed there during the dispersion at Paris. Although Pope Gregory IX had the offenders of the Paris riot punished by the crown, the exile continued until 1231. One outcome of the Paris strike was the promulgation of the famed bull Parens scientiarum, often described as the "Magna Carta" of the University. (13 April, 1231; published in Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, vol. 1, no. 79; see also Potthast, Regesta, vol. 1, no. 8707; and Auvray, Les Registres, vol. 1, no. 607.) This bull affirmed and extended the privileges of the students and masters and put further restraints upon the chancellor's authority. (On the dispersion and its effects, see Volume 1 of this study, Chapter 1; and Rashdall, The Universities, 1:334-340.) During this period, Philip himself journeyed to Orléans and delivered a sermon to the exiled students on the Vigil of Easter, April 6, 1230, where he exhorted them to return to Paris (published in Davy, Les Sermons universitaires, pp. 167-177; discussed in Steiner, Tenth Fascicle, p. 22). Some of the phrases in this sermon find echoes in the text of Aurelianus (see below). This strengthens Falck's implication that this conductus could be part of Philip's canon, since it occurs in the midst of a group of poems in F that are securely attributed to him (Notre Dame Conductus, pp. 104-105). 23-25: Cf. the sermon by Philip cited above (Davy, Les Sermons universitaires, p. 169) "...et inimicus homo, quicumque ille sit...." 26-27: Cf. Davy, ibid.: "felix locus et felix civitas quae filios dispersos collegit." 28-29: Cf. Davy, ibid., p. 171: "...Parisiis, quae est domus panis, et mirum est quod de domo panis, urgente necessitate famis, exire compulsa est."

AURELIANIS CIVITAS

E. F. 439

I. Au- re- li- a- nis ci- vi- tas

te re- ple- vit i- ni- qui- tas

no- vo pol- lu- tam sce- le- re.

am- nis qui pri- us au- re- us

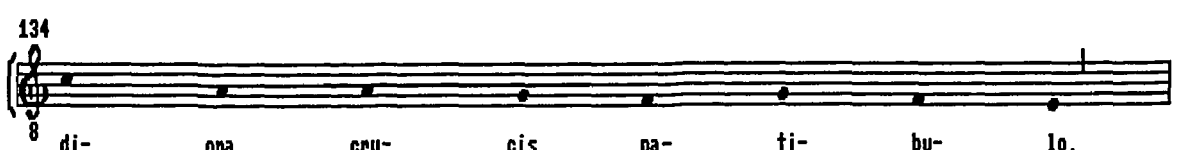
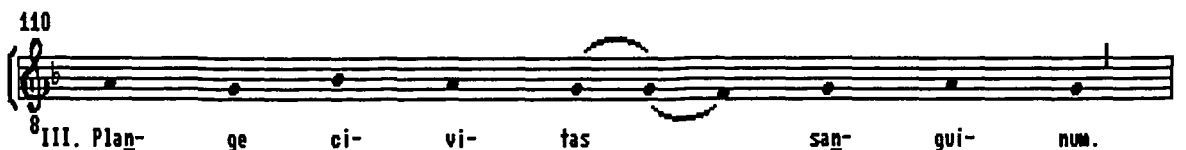
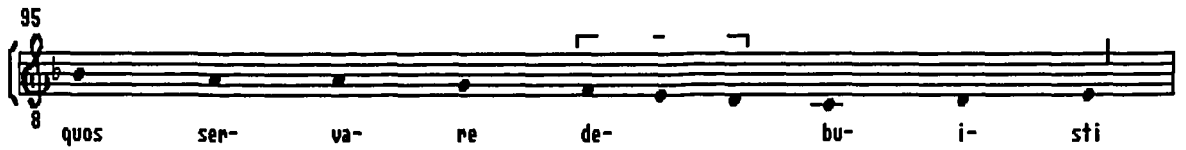
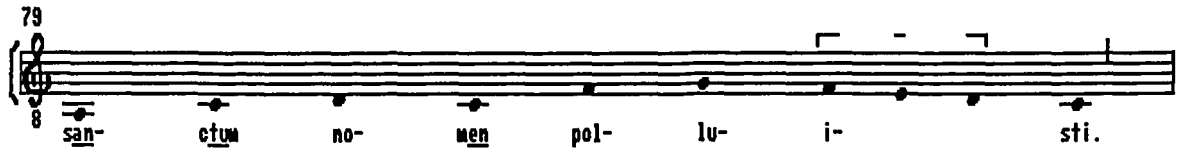
fa- ctus tor- nens san- gui- ne- us

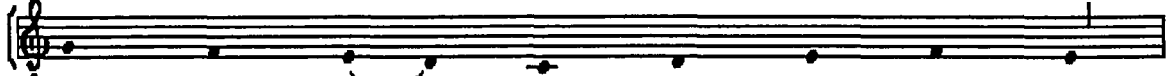
ex in- no- cen- tum fu- ne- re.


II. San- cte cru- cis ex- al- ta- ta

tri- um- pha- li no- mi- ne

pas- si- o- ne re- no- va- ta



142

 8 no- men per- dis san- cte cru- cis

150

 8 di- gna cru- ce pe- ne tru- cis

158

 8 ca- pi- ta- li pi- a- cu- lo.

166

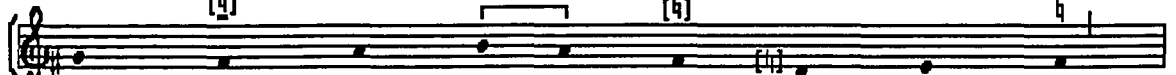
 8 IV. Urbs be- a- ta pa- pi- si- us

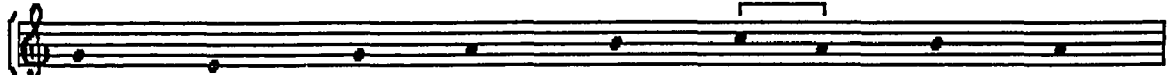
174

 8 in qua si pec- cet im- pi- us

182

 8 ul- ti- o- ne re- di- mi- tur


190

 8 quic- quid i- ni- que ges- se- rit.

198

 8 stu- di- o lo- cus pro- pri- us,

206

 8 ci- vis cle- ro pro- pi- ci- us,


214



8 ad quem re- di- re co- gi- tur

This musical staff shows measure 214. It begins with a treble clef, a common time signature (C), and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The measure contains eight eighth notes, each with a syllable underneath: 'ad', 'quem', 're-', 'di-', 're', 'co-', 'gi-', and 'tur'. The notes are: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), and F4 (quarter). The syllable 're-' under the fourth note has a horizontal line extending to the right, indicating a long note.

222



8 quis- quis ab e- a fu- ge- rit.

This musical staff shows measure 222. It begins with a treble clef, a common time signature (C), and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The measure contains eight eighth notes, each with a syllable underneath: 'quis-', 'quis', 'ab', 'e-', 'a', 'fu-', 'ge-', and 'rit.'. The notes are: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), and F4 (quarter). The syllable 'e-' under the fourth note has a horizontal line extending to the right, indicating a long note. There are also horizontal lines above the notes for 'a' and 'ge-'.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: indirect evidence because it occurs within the collection of his works in F and because it shares expressions with one of his sermons.

Date: 1236; condemns a riot in Orléans between the citizens and the clergy.

Genre: Conductus (possibly an unidentified organum or conductus prosula?)

Text: Diatribe of Orléans; encomium of Paris.

Verse: I: 6(8pp). II: 2(8p + 7pp) + 3(8p) + 7pp. III: 4(8pp) + 2(8p) + 8pp. IV: 8(8pp).

Rhyme: I: a a b a b. II: a b a b c c c b.

III: a b a b c c b. IV: a a b c a a b c.

No rhymes are repeated among the strophes. On the possible grouping of strophes into double versicles, see the Notes on the text, above, line 20.

Music: 4 through composed irregular strophes; syllabic:

Strophe I:

A (syllables 1-8), A' (9-16), B (17-24), C (25- 32), B' (33-40), C' (41-48).

Strophe II:

A (49-56), B (57-63), C (64-71), B' (72-78), C' (79-86), D (87-94), E (95-102), B'' (103-109).

Strophe III:

A (110-117), B (118-125), C (126-133), B' (134-141), E (142-149), E' (150-157), B'' (158-165).

Strophe IV:

A (166-173), B (174-181), C (182-189), D (190-197), E (198-205), F (206-213), G (214-221), H (222-229).

Each strophe's formal structure has been considered independently.

Variants

Text:

F-4,1: annis.

Music:

F-26: begins f. 440. 184: sharp represented by a "natural" (mi) sign in the manuscript. 189: stroke omitted.

VIDE PROPHECIE / VIDERUNT**SOURCES:**

W2: fascicle 8, no. 40, f. 167, à1.
StS1: no. 19, f. 7v, à2; fragmentary.

Text only:

Praha: no. 1, f. 37v; superscript heads this collection: "Carmina philipi parisiensis cancellarii sacre theologie doctoris viri solempnissimi;" in margin: "de incarnatione sancta(?) nativitatis."
Da 521: f. 220v; superscript: "alia de eadem [i.e. Epiphany] prosa." Previously, on f. 110v, the incipit is given with the rubric: "tercio Ydus Januarii, scilicet quinta die post festum epiphanie Sequencia."

Music only: Equivalent to the duplum voice set to the word viderunt in the organum quadruplum Viderunt omnes (M1) by Perotin, the Gradual for the feasts of Christmas (Dec. 25) and Circumcision (Jan. 1):

F: fascicle 1, no. 1, f. 1, à4.
Ma: fascicle 2, no. 3, f. 13v, à4.
LoA: no. 8, f. 79, à4

Catalogs: Anderson: A9; Gennrich: 2; Tischler: 94; Walther: 20304; Chevalier: 48498.

Editions: Anderson, ed., Opera omnia, 1:xi (text and translation), 16 (music), 158 (notes). Tischler, The Earliest Motets, 1:597-610.

Text only: Analecta hymnica medii aevi, vol. 49, Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter, ed. Clemens Blume (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1906), p. 216, no. 419.

Literature:

	<u>Vide</u> prophecie	See the result
	finem adimplete!	of the fulfilled prophecy!
	Fugit umbra die,	The shadow flees from the daylight,
	quia lux prophete	because the light of the prophet
5	progenies est Marie.	is the son of Mary.
	Ad exitum huius mete	All roads lead to the
	tendunt omnes vie:	outcome of this goal:
	prodit silice	the stream flows from the rock,
	fons, mel cortice,	honey from the hull,
10	mistice,	and, symbolically,
	vellus madet rore.	the fleece drips with dew.
	Signum est insigne.	It is a wondrous sign.
	Rubus rubet igne,	The bush glows with fire,
	virens in rubore.	yet flourishes amidst the flames.
15	Virga vernat flore.	The dry twig blossoms with a flower.
	Virgo, novo more,	A virgin, in a novel manner,
	parit cum pudore.	gives birth without disgrace.
	Solem sydere	See that the sun
	procedere	comes forth to shine
20	fulgere,	from the star.
	<u>Vide,</u>	See
	sydus singulare,	the wondrous star,
	tuum <u>salutare</u> .	your salvation.
	Stelle signo <u>fulgide</u> ,	Rejoice, trust in
25	quod radiat hoc mare,	the sign of the glistening star
	arride, <u>confide</u> .	that shines upon this sea.

	Stella <u>preside</u> ,	With this star as a protector,
	viam <u>preside</u>	watch over the road
	quam <u>provide</u>	that the wise men
30	magi <u>providerunt</u> .	prudently perceived from afar.
	Ante puerum,	Before the child,
	sydus syderum,	the star of stars,
	trinum unicum,	the threefold unity,
	trium mysticum	they presented
35	munerum numerum	the symbolic number
	obtulerunt.	of their three gifts.
	<u>Vide</u> mundi figulum	See the maker of the world
	brevi claudi vasculo;	enclosed in a small vessel;
	stabulo parvulo	see God, next to a dumb beast,
40	deum iuxta brutum;	in the little stable;
	angulo sacculo	see the king in the corner
	regem involutum.	wrapped in swaddling.
	Restitutum	The father rejoices in
	pater parvulum	the son restored to him
45	ceso gaudet vitulo.	with a slaughtered calf.
	Cum osculo, dat anulum.	With a kiss, he gives him a ring.
	Luto sputum,	They saw spittle mixed
	sputo lutum,	with clay, and clay
	et unicum et linitum,	smeared with spittle
50	cui sanat oculum.	restore eyesight to the blind.

Statum datum,	They saw the lame man stand,
post grabatum.	his sickbed abandoned.
Post Triduum	And after the Triduum
vivere mortuum	they saw the dead
55 <u>viderunt.</u>	live again.

Notes on the Text: (The following comments rely principally upon Anderson, "Symbolism in Texts," pp. 22-32).

This piece forms a musical and poetic pair with Homo cum mandato dato.

1-2: That is, the Old Testament prophecies of the birth of the Messiah. See Isaiah, 9:2-7; 11:1-9. 8-15: Though Anderson is correct that lines 8-9 are symbols of Christ (Opera omnia, 1:xi; and "Symbolism in Texts," p. 22), it is also possible to construe this passage as an allusion to the Virgin birth of Jesus. See the similar listing of these portents in the motet Latex silice, lines 1-6 (possibly by Philip); and his conductus Beata viscera. . . cuius, lines 61-68. 8-9,1: See Numbers, 20:1-11; Deuteronomy, 32:13; Psalms, 80:17. 9,2-3: Possibly a reference to Deuteronomy, 32:13. 11: Judges, 6:36-40. See also Philip's conductus Sol oritur in sydere, line 2; Gedeonis area, lines 1-2; his sequence Ave gloriosa virginum regina, line 63; and the motet Stupeat natura (possibly his work), line 46. 13-14: Exodus, 3:2-4. See Ave gloriosa, line 64. 15: Isaiah, 11:1. 18-32: The sun refers to Christ, the star to Mary. 23: This word, which is not set in organum, occurs in the verse (Notum fecit Dominus) of the Christmas gradual. 25,3-4: The world. 29-36: Matthew, 2:1-12 37-38: See the conductus Centrum capit circulus, line 8; Fontis in rivulum, Strophe I; In hoc ortus accidente, lines 11-12 (all by Philip); and Relegentur ab area, lines 8-9 (possibly by Philip). 43-46: From the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32.). For a fuller treatment of this topic see Philip's conductus prosula Minor natu filius, as well as the motet Nostrum est impletum, lines 9-11 (probably by Philip), and the troped organum Beatis nos adhibe, lines 27-32. 47-52: Miracles that Christ performed. For the healing of the blind man, see John, 9:1-41; Philip's organum prosula Homo cum mandato dato, lines 17-29, Latex silice, lines 12-13, and the anonymous conductus In terram Christus expuit. For the curing of the lame, see Mark, 2:3-12; and John, 5:3-15; as well as the reference in Philip's conductus Veritas veritatum, lines 16-17. 53-55: A reference to the Resurrection. The Triduum is the three-day period in the liturgical year that precedes Easter.

VIDE PROPHECIE / VIDERUNT

W2, f. 167

[Vi-] Vi- de pro- phe- ci- e fi- nem ad im- ple- te fu- git um- bra

[Vi-

7

di- e qui- a lux pro- phe- te pro- ge- ni- es est ma- ri- e

12

ad ex- i- tum hu- ius me- te ten- dunt o- mnes vi- e pro- dit si- li- ce

18

fons mel cor- ti- ce mi- sti- ce vel- lus ma- det ro- re si- gnum est in-

24

si- gne ru- bus ru- bet i- gne vi- vens in ru- bo- re vir- ga ven- nat

30

Flo-re vir-go no-vo mo-re pa-rit cum pu-do-re so-lem sy-de-

36

re pro-ce-de-re ful-ge-re vi-de sy-dus sin-gu-la-re tu-um sa-lu-de-

42

ta-re stel-le si-gno ful-gi-de quod ra-di-at hoc ma-re an-ri-de

49

con-fi-de stel-la pre-si-de vi-am pre-si-de quam pro-vi-

58

de ma-gi pro-vi-de-runt an-te pu-e-rum sy-dus sy-de-runt

66

rum tri- num u- ni- cum tri- um my- sti- cum mu- ne- rum nu- me-

72

rum ob- tu- le- runt vi- de mun- di fi- gu- lum bre- vi clau- di va- scu- lo

79

sta- bu- lo par- vu- lo de- um iux- ta bru- tum an- gu- lo sac- cu- lo

85

re- gem in- vo- lu- tum re- sti- tu- tum pa- ter par- vu- lum ce- so gau- det

92

vi- tu- lo cum o- scu- lo dat a- nu- lum lu- to spu- tum spu- to lu- tum

99

et u- ni- tum et li- ni- tum cu- i sa- nat o- scu- lum sta- tum da- tum post gra-

105

ba- tum post tri- du- um vi- ve- re mor- tu- um vi- de- runt.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Praha.

Date: Possibly close to 1200

Genre: Organum prosula.

Text: The mysteries of Christmas foretold by the Old Testament prophecies, the symbolism of the gifts of the Epiphany, and the miracles performed by Christ.

Verse: Irregular, the text is composed to fit preexistent melismatic music.

Rhyme: Likewise irregular, but large sections share assonance with the text of the organum's tenor chant.

Music: Through composed, syllabic. Major sections are delineated by the change of the tenor's pitches:

A (1-38) = a (1-15), b (16-38).

B (39-62) = a (39-46), b (47-62).

C (63-74) = a (63-66), b (67-70), c (70-74).

D (75-112) = a (75-86), b (87-94), c (95-102), d (103-112).

Variants

Text:

W2-8,2: filice. 26,2: et confide. 33,1: trinus. 48,1: spirto.

Music:

W2-Duplum: 1: omitted. This initial "tuning note" has been supplied from the organum sources and may be omitted in performance. 36,2: begins folio 167v. 60-62: this rhythmic reading supported by the triplum voice of the organum in Ma and LOA, which may indicate that the other parts have had their original rhythms modified. All others advocate the alternate version above the staff. 86,2: begins folio 168. Tenor: This part is not included with the prosula and is optional for performance. It has been supplied from the organum sources, with the changes of syllables chosen in accordance with the assonance of the prosula's text.

HOMO CUM MANDATO DATO / OMNES**SOURCES:**

W2: fascicle 8, no. 41, f. 168, à1.

Text only:

Praha: no. 2, f. 37v; joined immediately without break onto Vide prophecie, q.v.

Da 521: f. 220v; joined immediately to Vide prophecie, q.v.; ends with Deo gratias.

Music only: Equivalent to the duplum voice set to the word omnes in the organum quadruplum Viderunt omnes (M1) by Perotin, the Gradual for Christmas (Dec. 25) and Circumcision (Jan. 1):

W1: fasc. 1, no. 1, f. III (1 new), à4; fragmentary.

F: fasc. 1, no. 1, f. 1, à4.

LOA: no. 8, f. 81, à4.

Ma: fasc. 2, no. 3, f. 15, à4.

Catalogs: Anderson: A10; Gennrich: 3; Tischler: 95; Walther: 8384; Chevalier: 27983.

Editions: Anderson, Opera omnia, 1:xiii (text and translation), 19 (music), 159 (notes); Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:611-619.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 49:217, no. 420.

Literature: Anderson, "Obiter dicta," pp. 361-364.

<p>Homo, cum mandato dato spreto, dignus leto, homo, pomo 5 vesceris vetito, perderis merito, deus te proprio redemit filio. Non est assumptio 10 dei consumptio carnis in coniugio verbi. Manet vicio tua reformatio, talis ut formatio, 15 quando primo nupsit limo spiritus conubio. Luto sit unito sputo ceco lito, reparata visio, 20 tua reparacio. Lutum commaduit sputi conubio; sputum non viluit luti consortio. 25 Neutrum absorbit ista conmixtio.</p>	<p>Man, even though you disobeyed the given order when you tasted the forbidden fruit and, worthy of death, deservedly perished, God redeemed you through his own son. The reception of God does not perfect the flesh in its union with the Word. Your tranformation still retains its sin, just as in your creation, when the spirit first was joined in marriage to clay. Let your renewal be as when vision was restored to the blind, when clay, mixed with spittle, was smeared on his eyes. The clay was softened through its union with the spittle; but its fusion with the clay did not render the spittle useless. Such a mingling consumed neither of the two.</p>
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Salvat, quas miscuit

The union that merged

naturas, unio

these two natures

omnes.

saves us all.

Notes on the Text:

This piece forms a musical and poetic pair with Vide prophecie.

1-6: Genesis, 3:1-19. 7-8: John, 3:16. 12,2-13: Romans, 3:23-24.
 14-16: Genesis, 2:7. 17-20: John, 9:1-41. See also Philip's organum
 prosula Vide prophecie, lines 47-50, the motet Latex silice, lines 12-13
 (possibly by Philip), and the conductus In terram Christus expuit. 21-
 26: The clay is symbolic of the body or flesh and the spittle of the
 soul. See also Philip's conductus Homo natus ad laborem tui, Strophes
 Ib and IIa, and the cauda prosula Anima iuge lacrimas, Strophe I
 (probably by Philip). 27-29: Cf. Dum medium silentium tenerent, lines
 41-44, by Walter of Châtillon, but also attributed to Philip.

HOMO CUM MANDATO DATO / OMNES

42, f. 168

Ho- mo cum man- da- to da- to

spre- to di- gnus le- to ho- mo po- no ve- sce- nis

15

ve- ti- to per- de- nis me- ri- to de- us te pro- pri- o

20

re- de- mit fi- li- o non est as- sum- pti- o de- i con-

25

sum- pti- o car- nis in con- iu- gi- o ver- bi ma- net vi- ci- o

30

tu- a re- for- ma- ti- o ta- lis ut for- ma- ti- o quan- do pri- mo

35

nu- psit li- mo spi- ri- tus con- u- bi- o lu- to sit u- ni- to spu- to

41

ce- co li- to re- pa- ra- ta vi- si- o tu- a re- pa- ra- ci- o lu-

46

tum com- ma- du- it spu- ti con- u- bi- o spu- tum non vi- lu- it lu- ti con-

51

sor- ti- o neu- trum ab- sor- bu- it i- sta com- mix- ti- o sal- vat quas mi- scu-

56

it na- tu- ras u- ni- o om- nes.

-nes

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Praha.

Date: Possibly around 1200.

Genre: Organum prosula.

Text: Critical of mankind, commentary on Creation, salvation, and the nature of the body and soul.

Verse: Irregular, the text is composed to fit preexistent melismatic music.

Rhyme: Likewise irregular, but large sections share assonance with the text of the organum's tenor chant.

Music: Through composed, syllabic; short melisma at end. Major sections are delineated by the change of the tenor's pitches:

A (1-9) clausula.

B (10-37) = a (10-18), b (18-21), c (22-25), c' (26-29) c' (30-33), d (34-37).

C (38-57) = a (38-39), a (40-41), b (42-45), b (45-48), c (48-51), d (51-54), d (54-57), e (58-63) melisma.

Phrase structure in the clausula A (1-9) = 18L:

Duplum and Tenor: 6 + 3(4)

Variants

Text:

W2-10,2: consumptio. 21,1: litum.

Music:

W2-Duplum: 25: begins f. 168v. 31;33;37: Extended rhythms (given in the alternate reading above the staff) are possibly indicated here through the lengthening of the note heads in the source. 35: afgff. The extraneous f is not found in any of the organum sources, nor is it supported with a syllable in the prosula. 39: c b-flat acf. Another added, unnecessary pitch. 58-62: the word omnes is divided as in the source. Different rhythmic readings and varying pitch content for this phrase appear in the organum sources. The adopted reading follows the W2 version of the prosula. Tenor: This part is not included with the prosula and is optional for performance. It has been supplied from the organum sources, with the changes of syllables chosen in accordance with the assonance of the prosula's text.

DE STEPHANI ROSEO SANGUINE / SEDERUNT**SOURCES:**

W2: fasc. 8, no. 42, f. 168v, à1.

Ma: fasc. 2, no. 1, f. 5, à4; fragmentary; Tenor included only occasionally.

Pn lat. 2208: f. 1v, à1, heightened neumes.

Graz 756: no. 18, f. 185, à1; staffless neumes; superscript: "Tropus in die beati stephani prothomartyris." Ends with the word "Principes," the continuation of the chant text.

Text only:

Praha: no. 3, f. 37v; in margin: "de sancto stephano contra viderunt" (should read "sederunt").

Music only: Equivalent to the duplum voice of the respond section in the organum quadruplum Sederunt principes (M2) by Perotin, the Gradual for the feast of Saint Stephen (Dec. 26):

W1: fasc. 1, no. 2, f. IIIv (1v new), à4.

F: fasc. 1, no. 2, 4, à4.

Ma: fasc. 2, no. 4, f. 17, à4.

Catalogs: Anderson: A11; Gennrich: 57; Tischler: 96; Walther: 4164; Chevalier: 4258.

Editions: Anderson, Opera omnia, 1:xiv (text and translation), 21 (music), 159 (notes); Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:620-657.
Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:195, no. 15.

Literature: Anderson, "Obiter dicta," pp. 361-364; Flotzinger, "De Stephani," pp. 177-191.

<p>De Stephani roseo sanguine martyrii vernant primicie. Eliminat pristine nubem scripture; 5 patent figure legis obscure. Irradiat pagine lux gracie.</p> <p>Erant future 10 signa pressure, quod abel, iure fracto nature, fratris obit acie. Culpa non est sub caligine; 15 clamat sanguis fusus hodie. Non celatur, quod monstratur nulli dubie culpe turpitudine.</p> <p>20 Iudices et vindices de crimine clamant anxie syon filie: "O Domine!</p> <p><u>Sede</u> in pulvere!</p> <p>25 "Pro filio,</p>	<p>From Stephen's crimson blood sprang the first martyrs. He clears away the cloud from the early scripture; the hidden symbols of the law now lie exposed. The light of grace shines upon the page.</p> <p>There were signs of this future oppression, when the law of nature was broken because Abel died from his brother's blade. The offense is now cleared of mist; today the spilled blood cries out. It is no longer concealed, because it is shown to be doubtful to no one through the iniquity of sin. The daughters of Zion, the judges and avengers of the crime, call in distress: "O Lord! Be seated in ashes! Zion, mourn for</p>
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	Syon, conquerere!"	your son!"
	Querele	I hear dirges
	planctus aspere	and plaints
	et ploratus audio.	of strident anguish.
30	Voces et loquele	Voices and words
	mixte sunt suspirio.	are mixed with sighing.
	Plangitur a Rachele.	Even Rachel laments him.
	Surge! Pugna tute!	Arise! Fight without fear!
	Tuos cum virtute	He shall crush your
35	hostes conterit.	enemies with his power.
	Surge libere,	Arise unimpeded, and when
	pulsa servitute,	bondage has been cast aside,
	agnum sequere.	follow the lamb.
	Hic est glorie	For he is the robe of
40	stola, cursus bravium,	glory, the prize of the race course,
	fructus victorie.	the fruit of victory.
	Hunc pie	Embrace him
	complectere.	affectionately.
	Spera, crede.	Hope, believe.
45	Nulla cedas <u>cede</u> .	Abandon no conflict.
	Certa strenue	Fight fiercely
	certa de <u>mercede</u> .	for the assured reward.
	Nullum metue,	Fear nothing,
	nullique <u>cede</u> .	and submit to no one.

50	Non permittet deus te succumbere. Nullus Phariseus, nullus Iebuseus, nullus Philisteus	God will not allow you to surrender. No Pharisee, no Jebusite, no Philistine will be
55	poterit resistere. Contra Stephanum non poterant prevalere, ei qui nocere <u>sederunt</u> .	able to oppose you. For those who sat in council seeking to harm Stephen were unable to prevail against him.
60	Sunt afflicti, sed invicti manserunt. Ferientes et furentes,	The martyrs were tormented, but remained unconquered. They vanquished, their enemies,
65	vicerunt. Omnes defecerunt.	smiting and enraging them. They defeated them all.

Notes on the Text:

This poem forms a musical and poetic pair with Adesse festina.

1-2: Stephen is customarily known as the "first of martyrs" (protomartyris). His feast day was celebrated as part of the Proprium de Tempore on the day after Christmas, an especially honored location in the liturgical calendar. His preaching, condemnation, trial and martyrdom are detailed in Acts, 6:5-7:60. 3-19: With the death of Stephen, symbolic of Christ's crucifixion, the earlier martyrs in the Bible can now be seen as similar prefigurations of the Passion. This applies all the way back to the murder of Abel (lines 11-13; see Genesis, 4:1-16), who was the first of all martyrs, as opposed to Stephen, the first Christian one. 15: Genesis, 4:10. 22,3-4: Probably the Church is meant here. Cf. Luke 23:28; and see the conductus Virtutum thronus frangitur, line 5, and Anderson's explication

of the reference in Opera omnia, 5:ix. 23-24: Cf. Isaiah, 47:1. Ashes are a sign of mourning. 24-26: See also the conductus Sede Syon in pulvere, lines 1-3; and Turmas arment Christicolas, lines 1-20. 25,2: Stephen. 32: Rachel's grief over the death of her children (Jeremiah, 31:15) is one of the most celebrated lamentations in the Scriptures. Hence, Stephen's death is honored by her presence. 38,1: Christ. 39-40: Cf. Ecclesiasticus, 6:30, 6:32, 15:5, 45:9, 50:11; and 1 Corinthians, 9:24. 52-54: Various enemies of either the Christians or the Israelites. The Jebusites were the inhabitants of the city that was named Jerusalem after it was conquered by David. See 2 Kings [2 Samuel] 5:6-7; and 1 Paralimpomenon, 11:4-9. 58-59: Cf. Acts 6:12-13. 60: It is possible to construe this line as "They defeated all [the princes] (who sat in council)," since the following word in the chant is principes. This is supported by the transmission in Graz, which ends with this word.

DE STEPHANI ROSEO / SEDERUNT

M2, f. 168v

[Se-] De ste-pha-ni ro-se- o san-gui-ne mar-tu-ri-i ver-nant pri-mi-ci-

e e-li-mi-nat pri-sti-ne nu-bem scri-ptu-re pa-tent fi-gu-re

le-gis ob-scu-re ir-ra-di-at pa-gi-ne lux gra-cie

e-rant fu-tu-re si-gna pres-su-re quod a-bel iu-re fra-cto na-

tu-re fra-tris o-bit a-ci-e cul-pa non est sub ca-li-gi-ne

37

cla-mat san-guis fu-sus ho-di-e non ce-la-tur quod mon-stra-tur nul-li du-bi-

43

e cul-pe tur-pi-tu-di-ne iu-di-ces et vin-di-ces de cri-mi-ne

49

cla-mat anx-i-e sy-on fi-li-e o do-mi-ne Se-

57

de in pu-ve-re pro fi-li-o sy-on con-que-re-re que-re-le

-de-

63

plan-ctus a-spe-re et plo-ra-tus au-di-o vo-ces et lo-que-le

69

mix-te sunt su-spi-ni-o plan-gi-tur a ra-che-le sur-ge pu-gna-tu-te

76

tu- os cum vir- tu- te ho- stes con- te- nit sur- ge li- be- re pul- sa ser- vi-

83

tu- te a- gnum se- que- re hic est glo- ri- e sto- la cun- sus bra- vi- um fru-

90

ctus vi- cto- ri- e hunc pi- e com- ple- cte- re spe- ra cre- de

98

nul- la ce- das ce- de cer- ta stre- nu- e cer- ta de mer- ce- de

104

nul- lum me- tu- e nul- li- que ce- de non per- mi- tet de- us te suc- cum- be-

112

re nul- lus pha- ri- se- us nul- lus ie- bu- se- us nul- lus phi- li- ste- us

119

po- te- rit re- sis- te- re con- tra ste- pha- num non po- te- rant pre- va-

125

le- re e- i qui no- ce- re se- -de- -runt sunt af- fli- cti
-runt

133

sed in- vi- cti man- se- runt fe- ri- en- tes et fu- ren- tes vi- ce- runt

140

o- mnes de- fe- ce- runt.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Praha.

Date: Possibly around 1200.

Genre: Organum prosula.

Text: The symbolism of Saint Stephen's martyrdom; exhortation to Christians to persevere in the faith, despite threats and odds.

Verse: Irregular, the text is composed to fit preexistent melismatic music.

Rhyme: Likewise irregular, but large sections share assonance with the text of the organum's tenor chant.

Music: Through composed, syllabic; occasional neumatic phrases. Major sections are delineated by the change of the tenor's pitches:

A (1-56) = a (1-11), b (12-33), c (34-45), d (56-52), e (53-56).

B (57-73) = a (57-62), b (63-68), c (69-73).

C (74-95) = a (74-79), a' (80-85), b (86-95).

D (96-108) = a (96-99), a' (100-103) b (104-108).

E (109-131) = a (109-112), b (a': 113-116), c (b' 117-121), d (122-125), e (126-131).

F (132-142) = a (132-135), a' (136-139), b (140-142).

Variants

Text:

W2-29,2: plaratus. 45,2: credas. 50,2: permitet. 53,2: ebuseus.
61: si vincti. 65: vincerunt.

Music:

W2-Duplum: 1,1: omitted. This initial "tuning note" has been supplied from the organum sources and may be omitted in performance. 6,2: begins f. 169. 50,2-3: omitted. 55: begins f. 169v. 71-73: a,g,fe,d,c,d,d. In W2 a superfluous d occurs at the end of this phrase and the other pitches have been shifted with respect to their original syllables to accomodate it. 109,2: begins f. 170. 129-130: the alternate reading above the staff is supported by all the organum sources except F, with the ligation of the pitches in m. 129 as 1+3 = L,LBL. Additionally, F has an added d pitch, which if used would render m. 130 as dcba = BBBL. 140: all the organum concordances supply the alternate reading above the staff. The reading adopted in the edition is suggested by the variants among the sources in the quadruplum voice at this point, which seem to indicate that the faster values in the Duplum and Triplum are the result of modal transmutation. It also makes the rhythms of this antepenultimate measure less abrupt. Tenor: This part is not included with the prosula and is optional for performance. It has been supplied from the organum sources, with the changes of syllables chosen in accordance with the assonance of the prosula's text.

ADESSE FESTINA / ADIUVA ME DOMINE . . .**SOURCES:**

W2: fasc. 8, no. 43, f. 170, à1.

Ma: fasc. 2, no. 2, f. 5v, à4; Tenor included only occasionally.

StS1: no. 20, f. "?" (sic), à2; fragmentary.

Text only:

Praha: no. 4, f. 37v; in margin: "contra adiuva me idem [i.e. on Saint Stephen]."

Music only: Equivalent to the duplum voice of the verse section (Adiuva me Domine) in the organum quadruplum Sederunt principes (M2) by Perotin, the Gradual for the feast of Saint Stephen (Dec. 26):

W1: fasc. 1, no. 2, f. IIIIv (2v new), à4

F: fasc. 1, no. 2, f. 5, à4.

W2: fasc. 1, no. 1, f. 1, à4; fragmentary.

Ma: fasc. 2, no. 4, f. 18, à4.

Catalogs: Anderson: A12; Gennrich: 58; Tischler: 97; Walther: 511; Chevalier: 34976.

Editions: Anderson, Opera omnia, 1:xvi (text and translation), 26 (music), 160 (notes); Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:658-732.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 49:251, no. 487; and 21:35, no. 38 (for the three strophes beginning with line 120).

Literature: Anderson, "Obiter dicta," pp. 361-364.

<p><u>Adesse</u> festina, monas michi trina. Lux divina, aurem huc inclina.</p> <p>5 Te propina, vite medicina. Sit vicina virtutum doctrina, ne ruina</p> <p>10 cadam repentina.</p> <p>Seda gemitus et crimina laves in piscina. Cor illumina. Valle peregrina</p> <p>15 qua sum positus, extermina. Cura mundi spina. Fraus clam destina urget serpentina carnis cum sentina.</p> <p>20 Ut de sago sim cortina, penitus elimina sordes mentis officina, ut de pelle cilicina, fiam rubens ovina,</p> <p>25 tandem iacinctina.</p>	<p>Hasten to be near me, Threefold unity. Divine Light, lend hither your ear. Pledge yourself to me, O remedy of life. Let the precepts of the virtues be close at hand, lest I fall into unforeseen hardship. Allay my sorrows and bathe my sins in your basin. Enlighten my heart. Deliver me from the unknown valley where I am placed. Attend to the problems of the world. Deceit, with the support of filth, secretly goads the serpents of the flesh. In order that I may become a curtain from out of a covering, clear away in your workshop the uncleanliness of my mind from deep within, so that from out a pelt of goats' hair, I may become a red sheepskin, and then a blue one.</p>
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	<u>Adiutum</u>	You give
	tu redde me tutum.	me secure aid.
	Tu dominus es virtutum.	You are the lord of virtues.
	Tu cuncta regis adnutum.	You rule all with a nod of your head.
30	Tu mutas auro lutum.	You change clay into gold.
	Mundas vas pollutum.	You cleanse the polluted vessel.
	Tu pugnancium es brachium, gladius, et scutum.	You are the arm, sword and shield of your soldiers.
	Tributum	Dispel the burden
35	remove servitutum.	of your servants.
	Tu me destitutum <u>iuva</u> .	Help me, for I am destitute.
	Lapidea,	Stones,
	<u>me</u> iacula,	spears,
40	<u>me</u> ferrea,	irons,
	premunt ergastula.	dungeons,
	<u>Me</u> vincula,	chains,
	<u>me</u> troclea.	and the rack oppress me.
	Craticula	The burning
45	<u>me</u> cremat ignea.	pyre consumes me.
	<u>Me</u> framea,	Swords,
	sudes, et spicula;	stakes, and arrows pierce me;
	<u>me</u> fellea	bitter potions
	debriant pocula.	intoxicate me.
50	<u>Me</u> laniant	Teeth and talons
	dentes et ungula.	rend me.

Patibula	They crucify me
<u>me</u> cruciant	on my very own
Singula <u>mea</u> .	gibbet.
55 <u>M</u> essis matura	The crop is ripe for the
crucis pressura.	Cross's press.
Flagellatur area,	The chaff is beaten and
emundatur palea.	cleaned on the threshing floor.
Reddidit pura	Christ has restored the pure
60 grana tritura.	threshed grains.
Ea fert ad horrea,	He bears them to the granaries,
fracto domo lutea.	having broken the filthy hull.
<u>M</u> e recrea	Create me anew
et laurea	and crown me with a
65 aurea laurea <u>m</u> e.	golden sprig of laurel.
Ihesu, per te,	Jesus, through you I see
video quod ianue	that the doors
sunt aperte.	have been opened.
Iam in loco pascue,	Place me now in the
70 post finite	green pastures
cursum vite,	after the race of life,
<u>m</u> e constitue,	so often challenged,
tociens laccessite.	is finished.
<u>M</u> entes sint lete	Let minds be joyful
75 post dolorem.	after sorrow.
Iam complete	Now that the goals

mete,
 post laborem,
 athlete tuo da quiete
 80 fruite.

Dona stipendia
 iam merito,
 stolam cum gloria.
 Pro quibus milito,
 85 illis ut venia
 fiat, flagito,
 neque supplicia
 des pro merito
mi.

90 Misericors Deus,
 parce sceleri.
 Nescit homo reus
 scelus fieri.
Ne statuas ei

95 hoc pro crimine.
 Memor esto rei
 in discrimine.
 Convertatur, domine,
 vir sanguinum a sanguine,
 100 ne ruine
 tradas eum infine.

have been reached,
 grant peace to your
 delighted champion
 after his toil.

Now bestow the reward,
 the cloak with its glory,
 on your veteran soldier.
 For those whom I fight,
 I implore that an indulgence
 be granted to them,
 and that you may not
 punish me as much as I
 deserve.

Merciful God,
 pardon the sinner.
 The accused man is
 ignorant of his crime.
 Hold not this
 offense against him.
 Remember the accused
 in this critical moment.
 O Lord, let a violent man
 turn away from bloodshed,
 lest you commit him
 to perpetual destruction.

Cito, miserere
 miseri, ne misere
 possit interire
 105 pena mortis dire
 in diebus ire.
Neminem vis perire,
 sed, conversum, vivere.
 In scelere
 110 nullum vis perire,
 sed deligere,
 credere.

Que commisere.
 Flere da sincere,
 115 vere penitere;
 inde
 placere, spe fervere.

Deus meus salvum me fac
propter misericordiam.

a. Tu deitati
 121 carnem unisti.
Tu pro me pati
 sustinuisti.
 Nemo tanta fieri
 125 potest promereri.

I implore you, have pity
 on an unfortunate, that
 he may not perish wretchedly
 in the agony of awful death
 on the Day of Judgement.
 You wish no one to die,
 but rather, converted, to live.
 You wish none
 to perish in sin,
 but rather to love and
 to believe.

Forgive them these things.
 Let them weep sincerely,
 and earnestly repent;
 thereafter to
 please you, to burn with hope.

My God, save me through your
 loving kindness.

You united
 the flesh with divinity.
 You took it upon yourself
 to suffer for me.
 No one can be so deserving
 for the great things you have done.

	Sed <u>tu</u> cordi miseri da <u>miser cordi[am]</u> .	Nevertheless, grant mercy to the heart of a wretched one.
b.	<u>Tu</u> pro me mori non horruisti.	You were not afraid to die for me.
130	Reddi favori quid valet isti? Nichil potest muneri tanto par censeri. <u>Tue</u> manus operi	What does it mean to me to be returned to your favor? Nothing can be equal in value to such a gift. Grant mercy to
135	da <u>miser cordi[am]</u> .	Your handiwork.
c.	<u>Tu</u> morte mortii mortem dedisti. Tartara forti manu fregisti.	You gave death to death through death itself. You crushed Hell with your mighty hand.
140	Iure sui meriti nemo potest niti. Ergo <u>tuo</u> militi fac <u>miser cordiam</u> .	No one can depend on the strength of his own merit. Therefore, grant mercy to your soldier.

Notes on the Text:

This poem forms a musical and poetic pair with De Stephani roseo.

2: Apparently the person speaking in this poem is Stephen himself, although it can be construed as applicable to any repentor. 4: Psalms, 16:6. 12,3: A piscina is a stone basin with a drain, located near the altar of a church for the purpose of disposing water used in liturgical ablutions. 14-15: Psalms, 83:7. 20-25: A comparison of the sinner's journey to salvation with the materials and colors of the curtains used in the construction of the Tabernacle that housed the Ark of the Covenant, see Exodus, 26:1-14. Philip's conductus Regis decus et regine contains related and further explanations of the symbolism in these

lines. 30-31: A reference to the state of the flesh, formed from the clay of the ground. See Genesis, 2:7. 32-33: Cf. Psalms, 34:2-3. 38-53: Cf. 2 Corinthians 6:5; 11:23-27. 55-62: Matthew, 3:12; Luke 3:17. See also Philip's organum prosula Associa tecum in patria, lines 10-12 and 44; his conductus In hoc ortus accidente, line 45; Fontis in rivulum, lines 69-71; Veritas veritatum, lines 64-66; O labilis sortis, line 48; Bonum est confidere, lines 32-33 and 36-39; the conductus In paupertatis predio, line 17, and Relegentur ab area, line 1; the motets Et exaltavi plebis humilem, lines 29-32, and Ypocrite pseudopontifices / Velut stelle firmamenti, line 50 (all possibly by Philip); and the anonymous Sede Syon in pulvere, lines 23-24. 63: Cf. Psalms, 50:12. 66-68: Acts, 7:56. A paraphrase of Stephen's own words, this text also figures in the verse of the Alleluia on his feast. 69: Psalms, 22:2. 70-72;76-80: See Ecclesiasticus, 6:30, 6:32, 15:5, 45:9, 50:11; and 1 Corinthians, 9:24. 83: Cf. Ecclesiasticus, 6:30, 6:32, 15:5, 45:9, 50:11. 87-88: Cf. Psalms, 24:7; 102:10; Tobit, 3:3. 94-95: Acts, 7:60. Another paraphrase, this time of Stephen's last words. See lines 66-68, above. 118-119: From Psalms, 6:5. Here the poet reverts to the actual text of the Gradual Sederunt, which is sung here in discant in the organum transmissions. 120-143: For this section of the prosula, Philip has departed from the original state of the music as it survives in the organum. He has twice repeated the music for lines 120-127 exactly, forming a threefold strophic invocation to God, obvious in its symbolism, to close the prosula. 127,2; 135,2: The final syllable -am of misericordiam may be delayed until the end of the final strophe, thus according with the sustained syllable of the organum. 132-133: Cf. Romans, 3:24. 136-137: Cf. 1 Corinthians, 15:26; 15:54-55; Philip's dialogue Crux de te volo conqueri, lines 47-48; and the anonymous planctus Sol eclypsim patitur, lines 16-17. 140-141: Cf. Ephesians, 2:8.

ADESSE FESTINA / ADJUVA ME DOMINE. . .

W2, F. 170

[Ad-] Ad- es- se fe- sti- na mo- nas mi- chi tri- na lux di- vi- na

12

au- rem huc in- cli- na te pro- pi- na vi- te me- di- ci- na sit vi-

21

ci- na vin- tu- tum do- ctri- na ne ru- i- na ca- dam re- pen- ti- na

30

se- da ge- mi- tus et cri- mi- na la- ves in pi- sci- na cor il- lu- mi- na

37

val- le pen- i- gri- na qua sum po- si- tus ex- ter- mi- na cu- ra mun- di

43

spi- na fraus clam de- sti- na ur- get ser- pen- ti- na car- nis cum sen-

49

ti- na ut de sa- go sim cor- ti- na pe- ni- tus e- li- mi- na sor- des

55

men- tis of- fi- ci- na ut de pel- le ci- li- ci- na fi- am ru- bens o- vi- na

62

tan- dem ia- cin- cti- na ad- - - iu- - - - - tum tu red- de
-iu-

71

me tu- tum tu do- mi- nus es vir- tu- tum tu cun- cta re- gis ad- nu-

80

tum tu mu- tas au- ro lu- tum mun- das vas pol- lu- tum tu pu- gnan- ci-

87

um es bra- chi- um gla- di- us et scu- tum tri- bu- tum re- mo- ve ser- vi- tu-

95

tum tu me de- sti- tu- tum iu- va. la- pi- de- a me. ia- cu- la

-va

105

me fer- re- a pre- munt en- ga- stu- la me vin- cu- la me tro- cle- a

113

cra- ti- cu- la me cre- mat i- gne- a me fra- me- a su- des et spi- cu-

120

la me fel- le- a de- bri- ant po- cu- la me la- ni- ant den- tes et un- gu-

128

la pa- ti- bu- la me cru- ci- ant sin- gu- la me- a mes- sis ma-

136

tu- ra cru- cis pres- su- ra fla- gel- la- tur a- re- a e- mun- da- tur

142

pa- le a re- di- dit pu- ra gra- na tri- tu- ra e- a fent ad

148

hon- re- a fra- cto do- mo lu- te- a me re- cre- a et lau- re- a

155

au-re-a lau-re-a me jhe-su per te vi-de o quod ia-nu-e
me

162

sunt a-per-te iam in lo-co pa-scu-e post fi-ni-te cur-sum vi-te

168

me con-sti-tu-e to-ci-ens la-ces-si-te men-tes sint

176

le-te post do-lo-rem iam com-ple-te in e-is post la-bo-rem

185

a-thle-te tu-o da qui-e-te fru-i-te do-na sti-do-

194

pen di- a iam e- me- ri- to sto- lam cum glo- ri- a pro qui- bus mi- li- to

201

il- lis ut ve- ni- a fi- at fla- gi- to ne- que sup- pli- ci- a des pro me- ri- to

208

mi mi- se- ri- cors de- us par- ce sce- le- ri ne- scit ho- mo re- us

-mi-

215

sce- lus fi- e- ri ne sta- tu- as e- i hoc pro cri- mi- ne me- mor e- sto

-ne

222

re- i in di- scri- mi- ne con- ver- ta- tur do- mi- ne vir san- gui- num a

228

san- gui- ne ne ru- i- ne tra- des e- um in- fi- ne ci- to mi- se- re- re

236

mi- se- ri ne mi- se- re pos- sit in- te- ri- re- pe- na mor- tis di- re;

242

in di- e- bus i- re ne- mi- nem vis per- i- re sed con- ver- sum vi- ve- re

248

in sce- le- re nul- lum vis per- i- re sed de- li- ge- re cre- de- re

254

que com- mi- se- re fle- re da sin- ce- re ve- re pe- ni- te- re in- de pla-

264

ce-re spe-fer-ve-re de- - -us

de- - -us

273

me- - - -us

me- - - -us

282

sal- - -vum me fac pro- - -pter mi-

sal- - -vum me fac pro- - -pter mi-

291

-se- -ri- -cor- - - -di- [-am]

-se- -ri- -cor- - - -di- [-am.]

299

a. tu de- i- ta- ti car- nem u- ni- sti tu pro me pa- ti

b. tu pro me- mo- ri non hor- ru- i- sti red- di fa- vo- ri

c. tu mor- te mor- ti mor- tem de- di- sti tar- ta- ri for- ti

305

8

sus- ti- nu- i- sti ne- mo tan- ta fi- e- ri po- test pro- me- re- ri
 quid va- let i- sti ni- chil po- fest mu- ne- ri fan- to par- cen- se- ri
 ma- nu fre- gi- sti iu- re su- i me- ri- ti ne- mo po- test ni- ti

8

311

8

sed tu cor- di mi- se- ri da mi- se- ri- cor- di- - - - -am.
 tu- e ma- nus o- pe- ri da mi- se- ri- cor- di- - - - -am.
 er- go tu- o mi- li- ti fac mi- se- ri- cor- di- - - - -am.

8

-am.]

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Praha.

Date: Possibly around 1200.

Genre: Organum prosula.

Text: A penitent invocation to Christ through the persona of Saint Stephen to pardon the speaker and all sinners; praise of the Passion.

Verse: Highly irregular, the text is composed to fit preexistent melismatic music.

Rhyme: Likewise irregular, but large sections share assonance with the text of the organum's tenor chant.

Music: Through composed, syllabic, with occasional melismatic and discant sections near the end; closes with three-fold strophic repetition. Major sections are delineated by the change of the tenor's pitches:

- A (1-65) = a (2-5), a' (5-9), b¹ (10-14), b² (15-19), b³ (20-24), c (b⁴: 25-29), d (30-38), d (29-47), e (48-53), f (54-61), g (62-65).
- B (65-100) = a (65-68), a' (69-72), b (73-76), b' (77-80), c (81-85), d (86-92), d (93-100).
- C (101-134) = a (101-108), b (109-116), c (117-124), d (125-130), e (131-134).
- D (135-157) = a (135-142), b (a': 143-150), c (153-157).
- E (158-192) = a (158-165), b (166-172), c (173-192).
- F (193-208) = a (193-200), a (201-208).
- G (209-224) = a (209-216), a (217-224).
- H (225-233) = a (225-227), b (228-230), b (231-233).
- I (234-253) clausula
- J (254-267) = a (254-259), b (259-267).
- K (268-298) clausula
- L (299-317) 3 strophes = 3(a [299-306], b [307-314]) + c [315-317]).

Especially interesting is the phrase that first appears in mm. 74-76, which also occurs in 78-80, 93-95, 170-172 (inverted), 228-233 (twice, varied inversion), 280-282 (in a clausula).

Phrase structures in the clausulae:

I (234-253) = 40L:

Duplum: 7(4) + 3 + 4 + 3 + 2.

Tenor: 6(4) + 5 + 2 + 4 + 3 + 2.

K (268-298) = 62L:

Duplum: 5(4) + 2(2) + 6 + 2(4) + 6 + 8 + 10.

Tenor: 12 + 18 + 8 + 6 + 8 + 10.

Variants

Text:

W2-11,2: genitus. 14,1: vale. 16,1: curas. 18,1: urgetur, corrected. 24,3: omnia. 25,2: iacuctina. 31,1: mundis. 32,3: ex. 57,2: aurea. 61,2: fer. 62,4: hoerea. 70,2: fruite. 73,2: latescite. 77: in eis. 83,3: gloriam, corrected. 84,3: milita. 89: au or an? 94,2: stremas. 102,1: ceto. 103,1: misereri, corrected. 103,3: miserere. 113,1: te. 117,3: fruere. 118,3: salum. 126,3: cordis, corrected. 127,2: misericordi. 132,3: munere, corrected. 135: das misericordi. 136,1-2: morte tu. Although this word order appears in both sources, its reversal, as adopted in the edition, corresponds with the opening of the other two strophes. 142,2: tu, corrected.

Music:

W2-Duplum: 1: omitted. This initial "tuning note" has been supplied from the organum sources and may be omitted in performance. 3;7: variants in the ligature pattern of these measures among the organum sources allow either the adopted or alternate rhythms shown above the staff. 25,2: begins f. 170v. 26: Rest missing. 48-53: The alternate, second mode reading of mm. 48-49 appears in all the organum sources except Ma. Given the repeated pitches of this phrase and the lack of iambic rhythms elsewhere in this piece, mode I can still prevail. In addition, W1 and Ma render mm. 50-53 in mode I, while F and W2 have mode II. 55,3-4: Extension of these two pitches into Longs may be indicated by the enlarged notes in the source. 57-61: All the organum sources give the alternate rhythm, which corresponds badly with the text's accentuation. The only possible exception is F, which, however, may indicate mode III, since it has a pause mark after m. 57,1. 62-63: See the remarks for mm. 48-53 above. 64: All the other sources contain the b-flat omitted by the W2 version of the prosula. However, a reading following this source may be obtained by omitting the supplied pitch and rendering m. 64,2 as a Long. 66-80: For this very interesting section, the four-voice version of the prosula in Ma gives evidence of a 5L rest in mm. 68, 72, 77, and 80, with imitative, canonic, and textual repetition occurring in the Triplum and Quadruplum during the pauses. The extra rests needed for this rendition are shown above the staff, but do not seem necessary, nor intended, for the W2 version of the prosula. 71: missing rest. 78,2: begins f. 171. 81: All the organum sources support the alternate rhythm above the staff. The only hint of the adopted reading stems from the elongated note in the W2 version of the prosula and a pause mark after the b-flat in the F and W2 versions of the organum, but there are no corresponding rests in the Triplum and Quadruplum. 96-98: The first mode rendition of this phrase only appears in W1. 101-133: this entire passage may be performed in the iambic mode III, and possibly even in mode VI, but mode I remains the most likely possibility, given its prevalence throughout the rest of the piece. 131-132: All the organum sources seem to favor the alternate rhythm, but the possibility of the later transformation of

this cadential phrase into the faster values is likely. 135: begins f. 171v. 161,1-2: g,f. All other sources have the adopted reading. The copyist here has made the phrase identical to m. 165. 188: A reading of these pitches as Longs is possible, suggested by the elongation of the notes in the W2 source of the prosula. 189-192: The other sources for this cadential passage vary, but most support the addition of the f in 190,1 and the reading of 190,2 as a Long. 193-208: All the organum sources except for W1 render this section in iambic rhythms. Ma, however, switches to trochaic in m. 205. 197,2: begins f. 172. 245,2: begins f. 172v. 270: The MS places this syllable in m. 273. 298: omitted. The syllable -am of misericordiam may be withheld until the end. 299-314: Strophes b and c of this section of the prosula are written out fully both in W2 and Ma. There are no variants in either source with the music of Strophe a. 315-317: In Ma, this cadential figure is sung after each of the three strophes, rather than merely after the third. The faster alternate rhythm above the staff occurs in all the organum sources, but without the pitch in 314,4. Tenor: This part is not included with the prosula and is optional for performance. It has been supplied from the organum sources, with the changes of syllables chosen to accord with the assonance of the prosula's text. 157: The change of syllable in the other sources occurs in m. 156. 224: The placement of the Tenor tone here follows F. W1 and W2 have it occurring in m. 221. It is omitted in Ma. 298: The syllable -am of misericordiam may be withheld until the end.

ASSOCIA TECUM IN PATRIA / SANCTE ELIGI**SOURCES**

F: fascicle 10, no. 80, f. 450, à1.

Text only

Praha: no. 5, f. 37v; in margin: "de sancto eligio."

Music only: Equivalent to the duplum voice of the respond section of the organum triplum Sancte Germane (O27), a responsory from the Common of a Bishop Confessor):

F: fascicle 2, no. 17, f. 34v, à3.

W1: fascicle 2, no. 1, f. IX (old), 5 (new), à3.

W2: fascicle 2, no. 3, f. 10, à3.

Mo: fascicle 1, no. 11, f. 13, à3; some sections omitted and abbreviated.

Catalogs: Anderson: K80; Falck: 22; Walther: (-); Chevalier: 23149.

Editions: Payne, "Associa," pp. 241-243.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:194 (no. XII).

Literature: Anderson, "Obiter dicta," pp. 361-364. Payne, "Associa."

Associa tecum in patria	Join us with you in heaven
et satia perhenni gloria.	and fill us with eternal glory.
Vite brevis peritura	Brief life's shade, soon to die,
preterit figura;	passes away;
5 umbra levis ut pictura	the fleeting shadow is lost like
interit litura.	erased writing.
Fides plana,	Common faith,
quod mundana,	because it is worldly,
cuncta vana;	is entirely fruitless;
10 late patet area	the chaff lies spread about
palea.	the threshing floor.
Nulla grana	Without the grain
sors humana	human destiny
tamquam lana,	is eaten away like
15 teritur a tinea.	wool by a moth.
Lese mentis vulnera	Heal the wounds of an
<u>sana</u> .	afflicted mind.
Ut a cura sit segura,	Free it from the yoke, so that
iugo libera.	it may be delivered from care.
20 Procura.	Protect it.
Luceant sic opera,	Let our works so shine, that
nube remota,	with the cloud removed,
tersa culpe nota,	and the mark of sin cleansed,
solvat ut vota	the devout mind may
25 tibi mens devota.	offer you prayers.
Renes lustra;	Purify our innermost thoughts,

cor illustra	illuminate the heart
unda gratie fecunda.	with the life-giving water of grace.
Lava carnis crimina,	Cleanse the sins of the flesh,
30 animam illumina,	enlighten the soul,
holocaustum anima.	kindle the sacrifice.
Caro victima munda;	Let the victim have unblemished
mens lucida,	flesh;
caro sit candida.	let his mind be clear,
	his flesh radiant.
35 <u>Sancte</u> ,	O holy one,
Deo precare,	especially dear to God,
Deum precare,	pray to God,
ut hodie	that today
ros et lux gratie,	the cleansing dew may fall, and the
40 mundans instillet,	dazzling light of grace
lucens scintillet.	may shine forth.
<u>Eliqi!</u>	O Eligius!
Da cum agnis <u>eliqi</u> ,	Grant that we be chosen with the
da cum granis colligi,	lamb,
45 da cum iustis diligi,	grant that we be gathered with the
via vite dirigi,	grains,
alis virtutum erigi,	grant that we be selected with the
<u>Eliqi!</u>	just,
	guided on the way of life,
	and borne up by the wings of the
	virtues,
	O Eligius!

Notes on the text:

1-6: Compare the many similarities in language throughout Philip's conductus O mens cogita. 10-12: Matthew, 3:12; Luke, 3:17. The image of the wheat and chaff is also invoked in Philip's organum prosula

Adesse festina, lines 55-62, q.v. for other references. 14-15: Isaiah, 51:8. 26,1: Literally "kidneys." For the particular meaning in this context, see Psalms 138:13 and Apocalypse, 2:23. 38-39: Judges, 6:37-40; cf. Philip's conductus Gedeonis area. 42: See lines 10-12. 42;48: Saint Eligius (588-660) was bishop of Noyon from 641 until his death. He was highly venerated in Paris and founded a monastery very close to Notre Dame that was eventually to bear his name. The most likely impetus for the composition of Associa was the gift of a relic—an arm—of Eligius, given to Notre Dame in 1212. The fact that Philip should choose to celebrate this donation in verse is particularly appropriate, since at the time he was archdeacon of Noyon, a post he was to hold until his death in 1236. For further information on Eligius and his abbey in Paris, see Payne, "Associa," pp. 249-254. 43: Matthew, 25:32-33; cf. Ezekiel, 34:17. Note the play on words in 41,4 with 40 and 46. 43-45: Compare the similar repeated supplications in Adesse festina, lines 126-127, 134-135, 142-143. See also the exact quotation of lines 43-44 of Associa tecum in the conductus In paupertatis predio (probably by Philip), lines 16-17.

E, F. 450

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

ni glo-ri-a. vi-te bre-vis pen-i-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 te-ni-tur a ti-ne-a. le-se men-tis vul-ne-ra sa-

na. ut a-cu-na sit se-cu-na iu-go li-be-ra pro-cu-na. lu-ce-ant sic

38

o- pe- ra. 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 lu- stra cor il- lu- stra un- da gra- ti- e fe- cun- da.

52

la- va car- nis cri- mi- na. a- ni- mam il- lu- mi- na ho- lo- cau- stum a- ni- ma

58

ca- ro vi- cti- ma mun- da. mens lu- ci- da ca- ro sit can- di- da. san-

66

cte de- o pre- ca- re de- um pre- ca- re. ut ho- di- e ros et lux gra- ti-

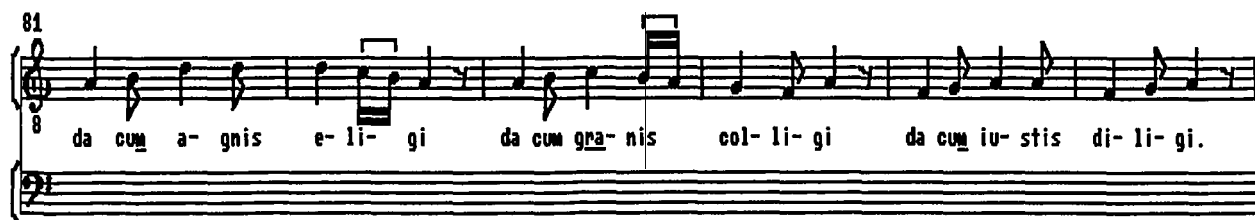
-cte E-

74

e mun- dans in- stil- let. lu- cens scin- til- let. e- li- gi

-li- -gi

81



8 da cum a- gnis e- li- gi da cum gra- nis col- li- gi da cum iu- stis di- li- gi.

This musical system contains measures 81 through 86. It features a treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The melody is written on a single staff, with lyrics underneath. The lyrics are: "da cum a- gnis e- li- gi da cum gra- nis col- li- gi da cum iu- stis di- li- gi." The bass staff is present but contains no notes.

87



8 vi- a vi- te di- ri- gi a- lis vin- tu- tum e- ri- gi. e- li- gi.

This musical system contains measures 87 through 92. It features a treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The melody is written on a single staff, with lyrics underneath. The lyrics are: "vi- a vi- te di- ri- gi a- lis vin- tu- tum e- ri- gi. e- li- gi." The bass staff is present but contains no notes.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Praha.

Date: 1212, as the result of a gift of an arm of St. Eligius from Noyon to Notre Dame of Paris.

Genre: Organum prosula.

Text: In praise of St. Eligius; asking for intervention and deliverance.

Verse: Since the organization of the text reflects the structure of the pre-composed music, the division of the poetry into lines is irregular.

Rhyme: Likewise irregular, but large sections feature assonance with the text of the chant tenor.

Music: Through composed; syllabic; contains discant section:

A (1-31) = a (1-8), b (9-12), b (13-16), c (b': 17-22), c'(b'': 23-27), d (28-31).

B (32-51) = a (32-35), b (35-36), c (37-38), d (39-42), d' (43-46), a' (47-51).

C (52-66) = a (52-53), a' (54-55), b (56-57), c (58-60), d (61-66).

D (67-80) clausula.

E (81-95) = a (81-82), a' (83-84), b (85-86), c (87-88), d (89-91), e (92-95).

Phrase structure in the clausula (67-80) = 28L:

Duplum and Tenor: 2(4) + 8 + 3(4).

Variants

Text:

F-2,3: perhenn or perhemi. 29,1: holocaustum. 43,4: originally dirigi; the ascender of the correct letter "l" has been drawn through the "r."

Praha-1,1: [a]-socia; no initial, but there is a cue in the margin. 3,1: iure. 12,1: pauca.

Music:

F (prosula)-Duplum: 1: omitted. This initial "tuning note" has been supplied from the organum sources and may be omitted in performance. 56: begins f. 451. Tenor: This part is not included with the prosula in fascicle 10 of F, and is optional for performance. It has been supplied from the organum sources, with the changes of syllables in measures 79 and 80 chosen in accordance with the assonance of the prosula's text.

Organum sources: Variants of the duplum and tenor only are considered here. Generally there are no indications of the ligatures from the melismatic sources, unless they are particularly different or significant. Commas divide the ligated groups, which may not be given

complete. When reference is made to the syllables of the tenor, the syllables Ger-ma-ne refer respectively to the syllables E-li-gi in the edition.

F-Duplum: 6,4: not a plica note. 7,1-2: ffepli = BBB. 12,2-4: fgpli = LB. 15,5-6: e = B. 35: no rest after f (note 1); rest after g (note 2). 37: begins f. 35; no b-flat signature. 38,2: plica note. 45,5-6: 1 = f = B. 46,1: e. 49,4: plica note. 53,2: not a plica note. 61: b-flat signature begins measure. 63,2-4: BBB. 65: stroke follows g. 75: b natural signature begins measure. 78: BBBL. 79: 3 = gbc = LBL. 82: BBBL. 83,3-5: BBB. 92-93: 2+4 = ag,abca. Tenor: 51: d does not appear until measure 60. 75: syllable -ma- of Germane occurs here. 93: Initial Q of following verse appears faultily here; correct placement follows measure 94. 94: syllable -ne of Germane occurs here.

W1-No accidentals appear anywhere. Duplum: 1: 2 = aa = LL. 4,1-3: gepli (slightly erased). 6: omitted rest. 6,4: not a plica note. 7,2: plica note. 12,2-4: fgpli = LB. 15,5-6: e = B. 17,4-18,1: SS. 23,4-24,1: SS. 32,1-2: LS. 33,2: S. 35: no rest after f (note 1); rest after g (note 2). 38,2: plica note. 45,5-6: 1 = f = B. 46,1: e. 47,1-2: LS. 48,2: S. 49,4: omitted (plica). 52,4: S. 53,2: not a plica note. 54,4: S. 63,2-4: BBB. 65: stroke follows g. 67,2-3: SS. 72,2: S. 77,1-2: SS. 78: BBBL. 79: 3 = gbc = LBL. 82: BBBL. 83,3-5: BBB. 86: omitted rest. 88: omitted rest. 89,1: rest follows this note. 92-93: LB,BB(plica)BL. Tenor: 1: stroke omitted before initial pitch. 51-52: d in 51 repeated in 52. 67-69: all notes followed by rests. 80: syllable -ma- of Germane occurs here. 94: stroke before note omitted.

W2-Duplum: 6,4: not a plica note. 7,1-2: ffepli = BBB. 12,2-4: fgpli = LB. 15,5-6: e = B. 17: No b-flat signature for rest of piece. 17,4-18,1: BL. 23,4-24,1: BL. 32,1-3: LBL. 33,2-3: BL. 35: no rest after f (note 1); rest after g (note 2). 38,2: plica note. 45,5-6: 1 = f = B. 46,1: e. 47,1-3: LBL. 48,2-3: BL. 49,4: plica note. 52,4-53,1: BL. 54,4-55,1: BL. 56,4-57,1: BL. 57: omitted rest. 61: begins folio 10. 63,2-4: BBB. 64: omitted rest. 65: stroke follows g. 67-68: LBB, LB. 75,1-2: LB. 78: BBBL. 79: 3 = gbc = LBL. 82: BBBL. 83,3-5: BBB. 89,1: rest follows this note. 90,4-91,1: 1+1 = L,L. 92-93: 1pli+3+1 = LB(plica),BBB,L. Tenor: 1: stroke before initial pitch omitted. 51: stroke before pitch. 79: syllable -ma- of Germane occurs here.

Mo-Duplum: 1: no b-flat signature. 3,1: b-flat signature follows this note. 6: omitted rest. 7,1-2: ffepli = BBB. 11: no b-flat signature. 12,2-4: 1 = f, rest. 13: b-flat signature precedes measure. 15,4: omitted (plica). 15,5-6: c.o.p. ligature = SSL. 17-29: omitted. 35: no rest. 38,2: plica note. 39,3: rest follows this note. 40: begins f. 13v; no b-flat signature until m. 61. 43,3: rest follows this note. 45,5-6: 1 = f = B. 46,1: e. 49,4: plica note. 52-60: omitted. 61: b-flat signature precedes measure. 61,2-63: 6 simplices + 3 = BBBBBB,BBB. 64: No b-flat signature until

measure 72. 65: The values of the triplum render this a L of 9 B; stroke follows g. 67-79: Iambic rather than trochaic mode 3 for this entire section, even in the triplum. The other sources have mode 1, evident in measure 71. This is the reason the trochaic mode has been adopted in the edition. 72: b-flat signature begins measure. 75: b-natural signature begins measure. 78,2-4: c.o.p. ligature = SSB. 79,2-4: 2 = bc = BL. 81-91: omitted. 92: begins f. 14. 92-93: all simplices = DL+6B = a,gabcca. Tenor: 31: c aligned with this measure; has a preceding stroke. 71: syllable -ma- of Germane occurs here. 80: syllable -ne of Germane occurs here.

MINOR NATU FILIUS**SOURCES:**

F: fasc. 10, no. 82, f. 450v, à1.

LoB: no. 12, f. 36, à1; superscript: "De filio prodigo."

Text only:

Praha: no. 6, f. 37v; in margin: "de filio prodigo."

Music only: Equivalent to the tenor voice of the final melisma of
Austro terris influente (Anderson G1):

W1: fasc. 9, no. 39, f. 122 (113 new), à2.

F: fasc. 7, no. 31, f. 300, à2.

W2: fasc. 6, no. 6, f. 107, à2

Ma: fasc. 4, no. 3, f. 69, à2.

Heid: no. 4, f. 3, à2; fragmentary.

Stutt: no. 34, f. 25, à1; unheightened neumes.

Eng 102: no. 27, f. 150v, à1.

Catalogs: Anderson: K82; Falck: 208; Walther: 11067; Chevalier:
11554.

Editions: Anderson, Opera omnia, 6:cvii (text and translation), 116
(music), 153 (notes).

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:196, no. 16.

Literature: Anderson, "Obiter dicta," pp. 361-364.

	<u>Minor natu filius</u>	The younger son by birth
	est gentilis populus,	is the Gentile race,
	cecus et incredulus,	blind and skeptical,
	qui recesserat,	the prodigal son,
5	qui dissipaverat,	who had fled,
	prodigus,	who had squandered
	partem quam funiculus	the share that the bond
	nature dederat.	of nature had bestowed.
	Factus indigus,	Becoming destitute,
10	in desertum fugerat	he had fled into the desert
	et porcos paverat.	and had fed swine.
	Penitens, redierat.	Repenting, he had returned.
	Gaudet pater sedulus,	the devoted father rejoices,
	quia parvulus	because his young son
15	in amplexus venerat.	had returned to his embraces.
	Perditus,	Behold, he who was lost,
	qui perierat,	who had perished,
	ecce, reditus.	is returned.
	Saginaturs ceditur	The fatted calf
20	vitulus.	is slaughtered.
	Digitis inseritur	A ring is placed
	anulus.	on his fingers.
	Dolet frater emulus.	The rival brother grieves.
	Affligitur ex odio,	He is overcome by hate,
25	suus quod fraterculus	because his little brother

recipitur cum gaudio

is received with the delight

patris.

of the father.

Notes on the Text:

The entire text is an exegetical interpretation of the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke, 15:11-32). See, in this context, Anderson, "A Postscript," pp. 38-39. Also compare Philip's organum prosula Vide prophecie, lines 43-46, his conductus Excitere de pulvere, lines 9-10, the motet Nostrum est impletum lines 9-11 (possibly by Philip), and the troped organum Beatis nos adhibe, lines 27-32.

23-27: The elder brother represents the Jews; the father, God. 14-15: Cf. the conductus Veri solis radius, lines 11-12 (possibly by Philip).

21-22: For Philip's specific views on the symbolism of the ring given by the father to his son, see Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 2:888.

MINOR NATU FILIUS

F, f. 450v

8 Mi- nor na- tu fi- li- us est gen- ti- lis po- pu- lus ce- cus et in-
 8 cre- du- lus. qui re- ces- se- rat qui dis- si- pa- ve- rat pro- di- gus
 14 8 par- tem quam fu- ni- cu- lus na- tu- re de- de- rat. fa- ctus in- di-
 19 8 gus in de- sen- tum fu- ge- rat. et por- cos pa- ve- rat. pe- ni- tens re-
 25 8 di- e- rat. gau- det pa- ter se- du- lus. qua- re par- vu- lus in am-
 30 8 plex- us ve- ne- rat pro- di- tus qui pen- i- e- rat ec- ce re- di- tus.
 36 8 sa- gi- na- tus ce- di- tur vi- tu- lus. di- gi- tis in- se- ri- tur
 41 8 a- nu- lus. do- let fra- ter e- mu- lus af- fli- gi- tur ex o- di- o
 46 8 su- us quod fra- ten- cu- lus re- ci- pi- tur cum gau- di- o pa- tris.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: LoB, Praha.

Date:

Genre: Conductus prosula.

Text: Exegetical gloss on the parable of the Prodigal Son.

Verse: As the text is composed to fit preexistent music, the length of the lines is irregular: 3(7pp) + 5pp + 6pp + 3pp + 7pp + 6pp + 5p + 7pp + 6pp + 2(7pp) + 5pp + 7pp + 3pp + 2(5pp) + 2(7pp + 3pp) + 2(7pp + 8pp) + 2p.

Rhyme: Also irregular, though utilizing a very few rhymes, which are assonant with the opening line of the poem and taken verbatim from the cauda of the source conductus:

a b b c c a b c a c c c b b c a c a d b d b b e b e f

Music: Through composed, syllabic. Major structural divisions signalled by the cadential figure "x."

A (1-10) = a (1-4), b (5-6), c (b': 7-8), x (9-10).

B (11-19) = a (11-12), b (a': 13), c (14-15), d (16-17), x (18-19).

C (20-35) = a (20-21), b (22-23), c (b': 24-25), d (x': 26-27), e (x'': 28-29), f (29-31), g (31-32), h (32-33), x (34-35).

D (36-51) = a (36-38) a' (39-41) b (42-45) b' (46-51).

Variants

Text:

F-none.

Music:

F-2-3: Alternate rhythms possible, due to the elongation of m. 2,1.

17,3: begins f. 451.

BULLA FULMINANTESOURCES:

- LoB: no. 14, f. 38v, à1; Strophes I-IV, complete; superscript: "De curia romana."
CB: no. 131a, f. 54, à1; staffless neumes; three strophes, in order I, III, II, each one interlarded following strophes I, II, III of the conductus Dic Christi veritas (see below).
Stutt: no 47, f. 33v (31v), à1; staffless neumes; strophe I, with strophe III as a later, marginal addition; occurs between strophes I and II of Dic Christi veritas (see below).

Text only:

- F: f. 204; Strophes I-IV; follows strophe III of Dic Christi veritas (see below).
Praha: no. 7, f. 37v; Strophes I-IV; marginal title: "De curia romana."

Music only:

Equivalent to the tenor part in the final cauda of the conductus Dic Christi veritas (Anderson C3), also attributed to Philip:

- W1: fascicle 8, no. 4, f. 73 (new: 66), à3.
F: fascicle 6, no. 3, f. 203, à3.
Ma: fascicle 5, no. 6, f. 114, à2, (tenor and duplum).
W2: fascicle 3, no. 2, f. 33, à3.
LoA: fascicle 2, no. 7, f. 88v, à3.
CB: no. 131, f. 54; staffless neumes, à1.
Stutt: no. 46. f. 33v (31v) staffless neumes, à1.

The text of Dic Christi veritas also survives without music in two other sources.

Contrafact: Vesti nuptiali (Anderson K81); also attributed to Philip (q.v.):

F: fascicle 10, no. 81, f. 450v.

The text of Veste nuptiali also survives without music in one other source, q.v.

Catalogs: Anderson: L5; Falck: 53; Walther: 2254; Chevalier: -.

Editions: Thurston, The Conductus Collections, 1:16-17 (Notes), 59-62 (Music).

Text only: Carmina Burana, Hilka and Schumann, eds., vol. 1, part 2, pp. 218-220, no. 131a.

Literature: Anderson "Obiter Dicta," pp. 361-364.

<p>I. Bulla fulminante sub iudice tonante, reo appellante sententia gravante, 5 veritas supprimitur, distrahitur, et venditur, iustitia prostante. Itur et recurritur ad curiam, nec ante 10 quid consequitur quam exuitur quadrante.</p>	<p>With a bull striking like lightning wielded by a thundering judge, summoning the defendant in oppressing terms, truth is suppressed, torn limb from limb, and sold for profit, while justice prostitutes herself. You have to run back and forth to the curia, before you achieve anything more than being stripped of your purse.</p>
<p>II. Pape ianitores Cerbero surdiores. In spe vana plores, 15 nam etiam si fores Orpheus, quem audiit Pluto deus tartareus. Non ideo perores, malleus argenteus 20 ni feriat ad fores ubi Proteus variat mille colores.</p>	<p>The Pope's gatekeepers are deafer than Cerberus. You will only mourn an empty prospect, even if you were Orpheus, to whom Pluto, the god of the underworld, hearkened. Don't even try to beg, unless the silver knocker raps upon those doors where Proteus changes his shape a thousand times.</p>
<p>III. Si queris prebendas, frustra vitam pretendas. 25 Mores non commendas</p>	<p>If it is prebends you are seeking, the experience you offer is worthless. Do not recount your good conduct</p>

ne iudicem offendas.	lest you vex the judge.
Frustra tuis litteris inniteris; moraberis per plurimas kalendas.	In vain will you support yourself with your learning; for you will be kept waiting for months on end.
30 Tandem expectaveris a ceteris ferendas, paris ponderis precio nisi contendas.	Eventually, you will end up waiting for rewards farmed out to others, unless you solicit them with a bribe of equal value.
IV. Iupiter dum orat	As long as Jupiter begs for
35 Danem, frustra laborat. sed eam deflorat auro dum se colorat. Auro nil potencius, nil gratius; nec Tullius	Danae's favors, he labors in vain; but he deflowers her easily once he turns himself to gold. Nothing is more powerful than gold, nothing is more dear; even Cicero
40 facundius perorat. Sed hos urit acrius, quos amplius honorat. Nichil iustius calidum Crassus dum vorat.	never argued more eloquently. But gold consumes more ardently those it honors most. Nothing is more fitting than when Crassus gulps his molten drink.

Notes on the Text:

Given the various differences in transmission among the sources, Bulla fulminante may be performed either as an independent piece, or as a "companion" composition added to Dic Christi veritas (see above). For either performance, the sequence of strophes can be I-IV (as in F, LoB, or Praha), or I, III, II (the last is optional), (as in CB and Stutt). If Bulla is performed with Dic Christi, it may occur integrally at the end of the piece (after strophe III of Dic Christi, as in F), or each strophe of Bulla may be intermingled with those of Dic Christi, replacing its final melisma (as in CB and Stutt). A further performance alternative is provided by the disposition in CB, where apparently each

phrase of text (measures 1-4, 5-8, 9-14, 15-18, 19-23) can be followed by a melismatic repetition. However, it may be possible that this is a form of successive notation.

1,1: Initially, bullae were leaden or golden seals used to validate certain papal announcements. Eventually, the documents themselves came to be known by this name. On the possible reference to specific decrees, see below. 1-11: According to Paul Meyer ("Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe, pp. 195-196 and 198-199), the text of Strophe I refers to several confrontations between Philip and Pope Honorius III (reg. 1216-1227). Both stemmed from Philip's exercise of authority over members of the University of Paris during the years 1219-1222; and, hence, Bulla fulminante can probably be dated shortly after May 31, 1222. The crux hinges on lines 8-9,2 ("Itur et recurritur ad curiam"), which seem to refer to two specific journeys made to Rome by the chancellor. The first of these was occasioned by the bishops's excommunication of several Parisian masters who attempted to set up statutes for their independent government within the University (sometime before June 1218). The following year, Philip himself extended this sentence to include those masters and students who had attempted to aid the excommunicants (Feb. 24, 1219), despite several appeals on their part to the Pope. This resulted in a university-wide strike. As a consequence, Philip was commanded to journey to Rome, to face papal judgement on the matter during the octave of the feast of St. Michael (Sept. 29). However, his accusers failed to appear on the specified day and he was acquitted with a full pardon. The second trip was occasioned for the same reasons, when, in 1221, certain masters and students repeated their assertion of independence from the cathedral chapter. They again appealed to the Pope, who set the matter before several apostolic judges (among them Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury). Philip had to journey a second time to Rome, where the resulting decision deprived him of much of the authority he had wielded as chancellor, including the demolition of a prison for University offenders, and the cancellation of his privilege of excommunication. For further literature on these topics, see Volume 1 of this study, Chapter 1. 13: Cerberus was the three-headed watchdog of the gates of the Underworld in Greek and Roman mythology. See, e.g., Virgil, Aeneid, 6, 417-418; Ovid, Metamorphoses, 4, 450-451; 7, 408-415. I know of no reference to him being deaf. 15-17: Orpheus was, of course, the famous Thracian poet and singer-musician of Classical mythology, who journeyed to the Underworld to rescue his wife Eurydice from death. He won the chance—which failed—to have her return with him to the upper world by charming Pluto, the god who ruled the kingdom of dead souls, with his singing. See, e.g., Virgil, Aeneid, 6, 645-647; idem, Georgics, 4, 453-506; and Ovid, Metamorphoses, 10, 3-77. 19: figurative expression for wealth. 21-22: Proteus was a mythical sea god, blessed with the gift of foretelling the future. In order to extract a prophecy from him, he had to be caught and held fast as he attempted to elude his captors by changing into a multitude of different shapes. See, e.g., Virgil, Georgics, 4, 387-414; Ovid, Metamorphoses, 8, 730-731. 23-33: If Philip is indeed castigating the papal court of Honorius III, this strophe (III) is rather unfair. It was thanks to Honorius that Philip

was granted a dispensation pro defectu natalium (due to his illegitimacy) to return to Paris from Noyon to hold whatever post he was deemed worthy of occupying. See Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 1:17*; and in this dissertation, Volume 1, Chapter 1. It was apparently this decree which paved the way for Philip's succession to the chancellorship of Paris. 34-37: Danae, mother of the Greek hero Perseus and daughter of Acrisius of Argos, was imprisoned by her father in a bronze tower or chamber because of an oracle that predicted her son would provoke his grandfather's downfall. She was seduced by Jupiter, who changed himself into a shower of golden rain in order to gain access to her prison. See, e.g., Horace, Odes, 3, 16; Ovid, Ars amatoria, 3, 415-416; idem., Amores, 2, 19, 27 and 3, 8, 29-34; idem., Metamorphoses, 4, 697-698; 4, 610-611; and 6, 112-113. 38: Cf. Ovid, Amores, 3, 8, 29. 39,3-40: Marcus Tullius Cicero, the celebrated Roman orator (106-43 B.C.). 43-44: Marcus Licinius Crassus (c. 112-53 B.C.), surnamed Dives ("The Rich"), was a famous Roman statesman and military commander. A member of the first triumvirate with Julius Caesar and Pompey (60 B.C.), and instrumental in quelling the revolt of Spartacus (73-71 B.C.), he was known for his greed and his accumulation of wealth, and died in Carrhae in Mesopotamia during his unprovoked campaign against the Parthians. According to some authors, molten gold was poured down the throat of his decapitated head, which was subjected to further indignity by being used as a prop in a production of Euripides' Bacchae. See his sketch in Plutarch's Lives. The story of molten gold stems from the histories of Dio Cassius and Florus Annaeus.

BULLA FULMINANTE

LoB, f. 38v

8

I. Bul- la ful- mi- nan- te sub iu- di- ce to- nan- te.
 II. Pa- pe ia- ni- to- res cer- be- ro sur di- o- res.
 III. Si que- ris pre- ben- das fru- stra vi- tam pre- ten- das.
 IV. Iu- pi- ter dum o- rat. da- nem. fru- stra la- bo- rat

5

8

re- o ap- pel- lan- te sen- ten- ti a gra- van- te.
 in spe va- na plo- res. nam e- ti- am si fo- res
 mo- res non com- men- das. ne iu- di- cem of- fen- das.
 sed e- am de- flo- rat. au- ro dum se co- lo- rat.

9

8

ve- ri- tas sup- pri- mi- tur. dis- tra- hi- tur et ven- di- tur. iu- sti- ti- a pro-
 or- phe- us quem au- di- it plu- to de- us tan- ta- re- us. non i- de- o per-
 fru- stra tu- is lit- te- ris in- ni- te- ris. mo- ra- be- ris per plu- ri- mas, ka-
 au- ro nil po- ten- ci- us nil gra- ti- us nec tul- li- us fa- cun- di- us per-

14

8

stan- te i- tur et re- cur- ri- tur ad cu- ri- am nec an- te
 o- res mal- le- us ar- gen- te- us ni fe- ri- at ad fo- res
 len- das tan- dem ex- pe- cta- ve- ris a ce- te- ris fe- ren- das
 o- rat. sed hos u- rit a- cri- us. quos am- pli- us ho- no- rat.

19

8

quid con- se- qui- tur quam ex- u- i- tur qua- dran- te.
 u- bi pro- te- us va- ri- at mil- le co- lo- res.
 pa- ris pon- de- nis pre- ci- o ni- si con- ten- das.
 ni- chil iu- sti- us. ca- li- dum cras- sus dum vo- rat.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: LoB.

Date: 1222-1223; dispute between Philip and Pope Honorius III.

Genre: Conductus prosula.

Text: Critical of corrupt clergy and disdainful of the power of money.

Verse: As the text is composed to fit preexistent music, the length of the lines are somewhat irregular: 2(6p +7p) + 7pp + 8pp + 7p + 7pp + 7p + 5pp + 8p.

Rhyme: I: a a a a b b a b a b a. II: a a a a b c a c a c a.

III: a a a a b b a b a b a.

IV: a a a a b b a b a b a.

Line 5 of strophe II departs from the scheme of the other strophes.

Rhymes are not repeated among the strophes.

Music: Strophic (4 strophes); syllabic:

A (1-4). A' (5-8). B (9-14). C (15-23).

Variants

Text: CB and Stutt, sharing many similar variants, differ from the other sources, which are also very close in their own readings. The two German sources probably represent a peripheral transmission, where Bulla and Dic Christi were considered to be a single poem.

LoB-5,2: subprimitur.

CB-5,2: opprimitur. 10,1: quod. 11,1: nam. 13,1: gerbero. 15,1: iam. 16,3: adiit. 24: vitam frustra commendas. 25,3: pretendas. 32,1: pari. 33,2: nil.

Stutt-4,1: sententiam. 5,2: opprimitur. 24: vitam frustra commendas. 25,3: pretendas. 27,2-3: omitted. 30: tamen expectaberis. 32,1: pari.

F-35,1: dampnem. 38,3: potentius. 43,2: rectius.

Praha-1,1: [b]ulla; no initial, cue in margin. 22,1: variat variat (sic). 33,1: after this word is a mistake of two or three words, crossed out, and with the correct text entered. 39,4: tulius. 40,1: gratus. 42,2: ampus.

Music: In general, the unheightened neumes of CB and Stutt have not been considered, except when they offer unusual information (see below). Except for the occasional commas separating ligated groups of pitches, variants in the ligatures of the melismatic cauda sources have generally not been considered.

LoB-Strophe II is also set to music up to measure 3,2. This does nothing more than fill up the remainder of the staff lines on the page. 4,2: g. 7,5: begins f. 39. 18,1-3: "English" conjunctura. 22: "English" conjunctura.

CB—After measures 4, 8, 14, 18, and 23, the musical phrase is repeated melismatically. Apparently this is a performance alternative opposed to the other versions, although it is possible that this may be a form of successive notation.

Stutt—Quite similar to CB, but without the "repeated" phrases.

Contrafact: Veste nuptiali: This is almost identical to LoB, but for the final cadence.

F-16,1-3: 1+2 = BSS; no plica. 18,1-3: ordinary ligature, not a conjunctura. 21,3-5: 2 = ca = BL. 22: 2 = bg = LL?

Cauda sources: Only the tenor voice is considered here. W1, LoA, and Ma form a group sharing similar variants, while F and W2 form another. The latter group is probably the later one.

W1-3,3-6: SSpliBB? 7,3-8,1: 6 = edplicbag = SSpliSSBL. 16,2: not a plica. 18,2: a plica note. 21,3-5: 2 = c,a = BL. 22: 3 = b,ag = L,BL(rest). 23: 3+2 = fef(stroke),ag = LBL,DD.

F-3,3-6: 3 = edplic = BBpliB. 5: begins f. 204. 7,3-6: 3 = edplic = BBpliB. 16,2: not a plica. 21,3-5: 2 = c,a = B,L. 22: 3 = b,ag = L,BL. 23: 2+2+2 = fe,ef(stroke),ag = LBLB (BBBL?),DD.

LoA-3,3-6: SSpliBB? 7,3-8,1: 6 = edplicbag = SSpliSSBL. 16,2: not a plica. 18,2: a plica note. 21,3-5: 2 = c,a = BL. 22: 3 = b,ag = L,BL(rest). 23: 3+2 = fef(stroke),ag = LBL,DD.

Ma-2,1: stroke follows this note. 3,3-6: SSpliBB? 6,1: stroke follows this note. 7,3-6: SSpliBB. 16,2: not a plica. 18,2: a plica note. 21,3-5: 2 = c,a = BL. 22: 3 = b,ag = L,BL(rest). 23: 3+2 = fef(stroke),ag = LBL,DD.

W2-3,3-6: 3 = edplic = BBpliB. 7,3-6: 3 = edplic = BBpliB. 16,2: not a plica. 18,2: a plica note. 21,3-5: 2 = c,a = BL. 22: 3 = b,ag = L,BL(rest). 23: 3+2 = fef(stroke),ag = LBL,DD.

VESTE NUPTIALI**SOURCES:**

F: fascicle 10, no. 81, f. 450v, à1; Strophe I only.

Text only: Praha: no. 8, f. 37v; Strophes I-III, complete; in margin: "de virginibus."

Music only: Equivalent to the tenor voice of the final cauda of the conductus Dic Christi veritas (Anderson C3), attributed to Philip:

W1: fascicle 8, no. 4, f. 73 (new: 66), à3.

F: fascicle 6, no. 3, f. 203, à3.

Ma: fascicle 5, no. 6, f. 114, à2 (tenor and duplum).

W2: fascicle 3, no. 2, f. 33, à3.

LoA: fascicle 2, no. 7, f. 88v, à3.

CB: no. 131, f. 54, à1; staffless neumes.

Stutt: no. 46, f. 31v, à1; staffless neumes.

The text of Dic Christi veritas also survives without music in two other sources.

Contrafact: Bulla fulminante (Anderson L5); also attributed to Philip, q.v.:

LoB: no. 14, f. 38v, à1.

CB: no. 131a, f. 54, à1 (staffless neumes).

Stutt: no 47, f. 31v, à1 (staffless neumes).

The text of Bulla fulminante also survives without music in one other source, q.v.

Catalogs: Anderson: K81; Falck: 377; Chevalier: 21451.

Editions: Anderson, Opera omnia, 6:cvi (text and translation), 115 (music), 153 (notes).

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:200, no. 24.

Literature: Anderson, "Obiter dicta," pp. 361-364.

<p>I. Veste nuptiali splendore figurali, non tam corporali, quam habitu mentali, 5 nuptias introeas. Sic fulgeas, ut sedeas in sede speciali. caveas ut habeas in habitu te tali 10 quod non exeas, de domo pulsus regali</p>	<p>In a wedding garment of symbolic brilliance, not only of bodily, but of mental garb, may you enter the nuptial feast. May you so shine, that you sit in the seat of honor. Beware that you hold yourself in such a state that you do not depart, banished from the house of the king.</p>
<p>II. Virgo clamat foris in tenebris meroris. Vana vox clamoris, 15 non est mentis, sed oris. Ei clausa ianua, nam fatua cum vacua stat lampade splendoris. Non sua sat mutua 20 prudens plena timoris ne residua non sufficiens liquoris.</p>	<p>Outside, the maiden cries aloud in the shadows of mourning. The sound of her cry is empty, it is not of the mind, but of the mouth. The doors are closed to her, for she is foolish and stands with a lamp bereft of light. The wise maiden was fearful that the borrowed residue of her own oil might not be enough for all.</p>
<p>III. Germen sine flore, fam̄is sine dulcore, 25 vas sine liquore,</p>	<p>A bud without flower, hunger without sweetness, a lamp without oil,</p>

vox est sine stentore.	is a voice with no force.
Sed que cum lampadibus	But those with lamps
ardentibus in manibus	burning in their hands
in operum candore,	through the brilliance of their
30 foribus patentibus	works,
	enter the opened doors
intrans absque clamore,	without alarm,
cibus talibus	to be refreshed by such foods that
	are
refici mente, non ore.	not of the mouth, but of the mind.

Notes on the Text:

This poem is an allegorical commentary on the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matthew, 25:1-13). See also Luke, 12:35-40; Philip's conductus Ad cor tuum revertere, lines 28-36; and the motets Doce nos hodie, lines 20-25; and Adveniam perveniam (both possibly his work).

6-7: Cf. Luke, 14:7-11; and Proverbs, 25:6-7. 16-17: Cf. Philip's conductus Nitimur in vetitum, lines 31-32. 27-28: See also Philip's conductus Quid ultra tibi facere, lines 45-46.

VESTE NUPTIALI

F, F. 450v.



8

I. Ve- ste nu- pti- a- li splen- do- re fi- gu- ra- li
 II. [Vir- go cla- mat fo- nis in te- ne- bris me- ro- nis
 III. [Ger- men si- ne flo- re fa- mis si- ne dul- co- re

5



8

non tam cor- po- ra- li quam ha- bi- tu men- ta- li
 va- na vox cla- mo- ris non est men- tis sed o- ris
 vas si- ne li- quo- re vox est si- ne sten- to- re

9



8

nu- pti- as in- tro- e- as sic ful- ge- as ut se- de- as in se- de spe- ci-
 e- i clau- sa ia- nu- a nam fa- tu- a cum va- cu- a stat lam- pa- de splen-
 sed que cum lam- pa- di- bus ar- den- ti- bus in ma- ni- bus in o- pe- rum can-

14



8

a- li. ca- ve- as ut ha- be- as in ha- bi- tu te fa- -li
 do- nis non su- a sat mu- tu- a pru- dens ple- na ti- mo- -ris
 do- re fo- ni- bus pa- ten- ti- bus in- trant abs- que cla- mo- -re

19



8

quod non ex- e- as de do- mo pul- sus re- ga- -li.
 ne re- si- du- a non suf- fi- ci- ens li- quo- -ris.]
 ci- bus fa- li- bus re- fi- ci men- te non o- -re.]

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Praha.

Date:

Genre: Conductus prosula.

Text: Exegetical gloss on the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

Verse: As the text is composed to fit preexistent music, the length of the lines is somewhat irregular: 2(6p +7p) + 7pp + 8pp + 7p + 7pp + 7p + 5pp + 8p.

Rhyme: a a a a b b a b a b a (all strophes.)

Music: Strophic (3 strophes); Syllabic:

A (1-4). A' (5-8). B (9-14). C (15-23).

Variants

Text: Main sources: Strophe I: F; II-III: Praha.

F-none.

Praha-17,3-18,2: cum lampade stat vacua. 19,1-2: sua non. The word order of the source has been changed to parallel the interlinear rhymes in the other strophes.

Music: F-none.

ANIMA IUGE LACRIMAS**SOURCES:**

F: fasc. 10, no. 45, f. 433v, notated à1, though the three strophes can be combined for a piece à3.

C1: no. 3, f. 370, à3; order of strophes: I, III, II.

StS1: no. 8, f. 3v; fragmentary; order of strophes and disposition of parts follow F.

Text only:

Bes: no. 11a, f. 11; incipit of strophe III (Lis hec ratio) only; from surviving index of lost codex.

Music only: Strophe I is equivalent to the tenor voice of the final melisma of Strophe III (Ad vitem pullus) of the conductus Relegentur ab area (Anderson C6):

W1: fasc. 9, no. 2, f. 98 (89 new), à2.

F: fasc. 7, no. 21, f. 288v, à2.

Catalogs: Anderson: K45; Falck: 15; Gennrich: 1055; Tischler: 77; Chevalier: 22990.

Editions: Anderson, Opera omnia, 6:1xi (text and translation), 62 (music), 136 (notes); Tischler, Earliest Motets, 2:553-556.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:197, no. 18.

Literature:

[The Flesh]

I. Anima, iuge	Soul, pour forth your
lacrimas difflue.	tears continually.
Dilue saucie	Wash away the filth of
sordes conscientie.	your injured conscience.
5 Fac tibi tutum	Make safe for yourself
luteum vas, exue lutum,	the vessel of clay, strip off
subitus exitus	the filth, lest death soon
pium ne propositum	forestall your devout
perimat. Meritum	purpose. Let your worth
10 redimat vite	compensate the injuries
dampna perditte.	of a life lost.

[The Soul]

II. Caro, spiritui	What, Flesh, are you
quid subderis?	subject to the spirit?
Quid, tenui	Are you checked
15 flatu suspenderis?	by this thin vapor?
Ad solita revertere.	Return to your accustomed haunts.
Via trita curritur libere.	Run freely on the beaten path.
Stes legi divitum.	Persist in the law of the rich.
Vetitum licitum.	Willfully consider
20 putes ad libitum,	the forbidden as licit,
Devia	caring for the perversions
curans, non de patria,	owed to the nature of flattery,
nature debita	and not of heaven.
culture. Letos age dies,	Make your days joyful,

25	leves requies.	your amusements light.
	Cure tedium	Beware of weariness,
	sit, quod iuvat pium.	for that would befit a pious man.

[The Appeal to Reason]

III.	Lis hec, ratio,	Reason, let this quarrel
	tuo iuditio	come to an end
30	finem subeat.	through your judgement.
	Cohibeat	Let the dread of a
	carnis impetus	fair judge halt the
	iusti iudicis metus.	charges of the flesh.
	Expietur anima,	Let the soul, the victim
35	carnis victima.	of the flesh, be appeased.
	Libere servitutis	Let penitence flourish freely
	opere, spe salutis,	through the work of servitude,
	vigeat penitentia.	the hope of salvation.
	Gratie pateat patrie via.	Let the road of heavenly grace lie open.

Notes on the Text:

Compare the text of this dialogue poem with that of Philip's other debates between the Soul and the Body, Homo natus ad laborem tui, and, possibly his Quo vadis quo progredieris. In contrast to Anderson's translation (Opera omnia, 6:lxix), I see the initial words of the first two strophes as apostrophic addresses, rather than a labelling of the speakers. I have thus reversed the characters of Strophes I and II from those of Anderson's edition and I feel that this change is borne out admirably well by the content of each strophe.

1-4: Cf. Philip's Quisquis cordis et oculi, lines 21-22. 16: Cf. Proverbs, 26:11. 17: Cf. Numbers, 20:17-21; Ecclesiasticus, 2:16. 24-25: The apparent change of tone here is apparently sarcastic, as is indicated by lines 26-27. Cf. Ecclesiasticus, 51:35. 27: See Wisdom, 11:13; cf. Tobit, 7:20; Wisdom, 8:16. 39: Cf. Isaiah 60:11; Ezechiel, 1:1; Psalms, 77:23; Apocalypse, 4:1; 11:19.

ANIMA IUGE LACRIMAS

E. F. 433v

III. Lis hec ra-ti-o tu-o iu-di-ci-o

II. Ca-ro spi-ri-tu i quid sub-de-ris? quid te-nu-

I. A-ni-ma iu-ge la-cri-mas

7 Fi-nem sub-e-at. co-hi-be-at. car-nis im-pe-tus

i fla-tu sus-pen-de-ris? ad so-li-ta re-ven-te-re.

dif-flu-e. di-lu-e sau-ci-e

13 iu-sti iu-di-cis me-tus. ex-pi-e-tur a-ni-

vi-a tri-ta cur-ri-tur li-be-re. stes le-gi di-vi-tum. ve-ti-

sor-des con-sci-en-ti-e. fac-ti-bi-tu-tum

20

ma car-nis vi-cti-ma. li-be-re ser-vi-
tum li-ci-tum. pu-tes ad li-bi-tum. de-vi-a cu-rans non de-
lu-te-um vas ex-u-e-lu-tum. su-bi-tus ex-i-

27

tu-tis o-pe-re spe-sa-lu-tis vi-ge-at
pa-tri-a. na-tu-re de-bi-ta cul-tu-re le-tos a-ge di-es
tus pi-um ne pro-po-si-tum per-i-mat

34

pe-ni-ten-ti-a. gra-ti-e pa-te-at pa-tri-e vi-a.
le-ves re-qui-es. cu-re te-di-um sit quod iu-vat pi-um.
me-ni-tum. re-di-mat vi-te dan-pna per-di-te.

Observations

Attribution: Attributed to Philip based on the fact that this piece tropes the cauda of a conductus.

Date:

Genre: Conductus prosula.

Text: Dialogue between the Soul and Body, with a final invocation to Reason to settle the dispute.

Verse: Irregular, the text is composed to fit preexistent melismatic music.

Rhyme: Somewhat irregular:

I: a a b b c c d e e f f

II: a b a b c c d d d e e e f f g g

III: a a b b c c d d e e f f

Each strophe's rhymes are considered independently.

Music: Three non-identical, through composed strophes, which can be combined for a motet-like piece ã; syllabic:

Tenor:

A (1-4) A' (5-8) A'' (9-12) B (13-16) C (17-23) D (24-27)

D' (28-31) D'' (32-35) E (36-40).

Duplum:

A (1-5) A' (6-9) A'' (10-12) B (13-16) B' (17-23) C (24-27)

C' (28-33) D (34-35) E (36-37) E' (38-40).

Triplum:

A (1-4) B (5-6) C (7-8) B (9-10) C' (11-12) D (13-16) E (17-20)

F (21-23) G (24-25) H (26-31) I (32-33) F' (34-35) J (36-40).

Phrase structure = 80L:

Triplum: 8 + 4(4) + 2(8) + 6 + 4 + 12 + 2(4) + 10.

Duplum: 3 + 7 + 8 + 6 + 8 + 14 + 2(4) + 12 + 4 + 10.

Tenor: 6(4) + 8 + 6 + 2(8 + 2[4]) + 10.

Variants

Text:

F-1,2: iugi. 2,1: lacrima. 3,2: sautie. 11,1: dapmna.

Music: The trochaic division of the Long is used here. This follows the indications of all the cauda sources except for W1, which is transmuted into mode I. The Cl version of Anima iuge has an iambic division of the Long, except in the Triplum, mm. 10-11 and Duplum, m. 34, where it is trochaic. This may indicate remodeling from an originally trochaic rendering.

F-Tenor: 25: Rest omitted. Duplum: 15,2: begins f.434. 25: Rest omitted. 39: Extended note in MS. Triplum: 3,1-2: Not ligated in F; are in Cl. 33: Rest omitted.

CRUCIFIGAT OMNES**SOURCES:**

F: fasc. 6, no. 35, f. 231v, à3; strophes I-II only.

W1: fasc. 8, no. 10, f. 78v (71v new), à3; strophe I only.

W2: fasc. 3, no. 10, f. 46v, à3; fragmentary; strophe I only; and fasc. 7, no. 23, f. 138v, à2; strophe I only.

Hu: no. 97, f. 97, à2; strophe I only.

Cjiec Q.B.1: no. 7, f. 1c, à3 (different triplum); strophe I only.

Stutt: no. 42, f. 33v (30v), à1 (unheightened neumes); strophe I only.

Text only:

CB: no. 47, f. 13; Strophes I-III.

Ox Rawl: no. 28, f. 13v; superscript: "De effectu crucifixionis Jesu Christi;" Strophes I-III.

Music only: Equivalent to the tenor and duplum of the final melisma of the conductus Quod promisit ab eterno (Anderson D3):

W1: fasc. 9, no. 54, f. 140 (131 new), à2.

F: fasc. 7, no. 32, f. 301, à2.

W2: fasc. 6, no. 8, f. 112v, à2.

Ma: fasc. 4, no. 6, f. 77v, à2.

Hu: no. 146, f. 133v, à2.

Stutt: no. 41, f. 30v à1 (unheightened neumes).

Contrafacts: Equivalent to the conductus Mundum renovavit:

W1: f. 78v (71v new); text only; entered in margin next to Crucifigat.

and Curritur ad vocem:

CB: no. 47a, f. 13; text only; follows directly after strophe III of Crucifigat.

Stutt: no. 44, f. 32 (31), à1 (unheightened neumes); strophe II only; follows directly after the isolated strophe III (Olim fuit argumentum) of Quod promisit.

Catalogs: Anderson: D3; Falck: 70; Walther: 3462; Chevalier: 3987.

Editions: Anderson, Opera omnia, 1:xxxiii (text and translation), 106 (music), 169 (notes); Sanders, "Style and Technique," pp. 513 (text and translation), 522-530 (music).

Text only: Carmina Burana, Hilka and Schumann, eds., vol. 1, part 1, p. 72, no. 47.

Literature: Sanders, "Style and Technique," pp. 513-518.

I.	Crucifigat omnes, Domini crux altera, nova Christi vulnera! Arbor salutifera	Let the second cross of the Lord, the new wounds of Christ, crucify them all! The tree that brings salvation
5	perditur; sepulcrum gens evertit extera violente. Plena gente, sola sedet civitas. Agni fedus rapit edus;	is destroyed; a foreign people has forcibly overthrown the tomb. Though once filled with people, the city sits forsaken. The goat plunders the lamb's covenant;
10	plorat dotes perditas sponsa Syon. Immolatur anania; incurvatur cornu davit; flagellatur mundus.	the bride of Zion laments her lost dowries. Ananias is immolated; David's horn is cast down; the innocent man is put to the lash.
15	Ab iniustis abdicatur per quem iuste iudicatur mundus.	He through whom the world is justly judged is renounced by the unjust.
II.	O quam dignos luctus! Exulat rex omnium;	O what worthy laments! The king of all peoples is banished;
20	baculus fidelium sustinet opprobrium gentis infidelis. Cedit parti gentium pars totalis. Iam regalis	the staff of the faithful endures the disgrace of the heathen race. The total part yields to the gentiles' faction. Now the royal
25	in luto et latere elaborat tellus. Plorat	land labors in mud and brick It laments that its

	Moysen fatiscere.	Moses has grown weak.
	Homo, Dei miserere.	Man, have pity on God.
	Fili, patris ius tuere.	Son, defend your father's right.
30	In incerto certum quere.	Seek the certain among the uncertain.
	Ducis	Earn the gifts of the
	ducum dona promerere	leader of leaders,
	et lucrare lucem vere	and gain the light
34	lucis	of the true light.
III.	Quisquis es signatus	Whoever you are that have been inscribed
	fidei karactere,	with the mark of the faith,
37	fidem factis assere.	maintain that faith with deeds.
	Rugientes contere	Annihilate the lions'
	catulos leonum.	roaring cubs.
40	Miserans, intuere	Merciful one, look upon
	corde tristi dampnum Christi.	Christ's injury with a saddened heart.
	Longus Cedar, incola,	Rise up, O dweller, long in distant
	surge. Vide, ne de fide	Kedar. Take care, lest you are
	reproberis frivola.	condemned for your sorry faith.
45	Suda, martir, in agone,	Sweat, martyr, in the contest,
	spe mercedis et corone.	with the hope of reward and crown.
	Derelicta babylone,	Now that Babylon has been abandoned,
	pugna!	fight!
	Pro celesti regione	Prepare yourself for the heavenly
50	aqua vite te compone.	realm, for the water of life.
	Pugna!	Fight!

Notes on the Text:

For a reconsideration of the date of this poem, placing it in the year 1219 or 1220, rather than 1187, see Sanders, "Style and Technique," pp. 513-518, from which many of the following comments are also drawn. For other Crusade songs by Philip, see his conductus Venit Jhesus in propria, Quomodo cantabimus, and Homo cur properas.

2-3: The loss of the Holy Land and the need for the Crusade. 4: Jerusalem and/or the Cross. 8: Lamentations, 1:1. 9: Matthew, 25:32-33. 11,1-2: Probably the Church, but also an epithet of Jerusalem. See Lamentations, 1:6. 11,3-12,1: According to Knapp ("Which Came First") the reference here is not to the prophet Hananiah (as in Anderson, Opera omnia, 1:xxxiii), but rather to one of the three youths, friends of the prophet Daniel, who survived the ordeal of the fiery furnace (Daniel, 3:1-97). Although in this Biblical reference the particular person is identified as Shadrach or Sirach, his original name was Hananiah, see Daniel, 1:7. The significance of this passage and the others following it is that the world has been turned topsy-turvy through the overthrow of Jerusalem, and the events of the Bible are now inverted. 12,2-13,2: Cf. Luke, 1:69. According to Anderson (ibid.) the horn symbolizes the kingdom of Christ. 13,3-14: Matthew, 27:26. 16-17: Cf. Romans 3:6. 19: Christ has been driven from his homeland. 20: Probably the Church or Christ. 23-24,2: That is, Christ, the totality, yields to a lesser "part," the conquerors of the Holy Land. 24,3-26,2: Exodus 1:14. The Holy Land has again become an Egypt that enslaves the Israelites. See also the Latin rondeau Luto carens et latere, attributed to Philip. 26,3-27: According to Sanders, this is a reference to the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, who delayed long in taking up the cross to recapture the Holy Land. For another probable reference to Frederick, see Philip's conductus Rex et sacerdos preefuit, lines 13-14. 29,3-4: The Holy Land, captured by Western Crusaders in 1099 and lost in 1187. 30: Possibly: "Seek the redemption of the Holy Land (certo) by conquering the infidel Saracens" (incerto). 31-32,1: If not a reference to God, possibly to the Pope, who will give Frederick the imperial crown. 36: That is, the vow to take up the cross (crucesignatus). 37: Frederick delayed long in going on Crusade. 38-39: Psalms, 103:21. According to Anderson (ibid., p. xxxiv) the roaring lions symbolize demons who seek to destroy the souls of the faithful. 42-43,1: Cf. Psalms, 119:5. According to Sanders, the reference to Kedar (the far-off country of exile for the Psalmist) is applicable to Frederick, King of Sicily, who resided in Germany in order to settle the affairs of the empire prior to his journey to Rome to be crowned by the Pope on November 22, 1220. The reference to Babylon in line 47 is probably also an allusion to Frederick's Germanic kingdoms. 43,2-44: Frederick's long deferral of his Crusade forced the pope to threaten him with excommunication in October 1219. For the more vehement attack on Frederick's predecessor, Otto IV of Brunswick, who likewise refused the pope's wishes, see Philip's conductus Rex et sacerdos. 46: This would indicate that Frederick had not yet been crowned emperor at the time this poem was written. 47: See above note to lines 42-43. 50: Revelation, 22:17.

CRUCIFIGAT OMNES

E, f. 231v

I. Cru- ci- fi- gat o- mnes do- mi- ni crux al- te- ra.
 II. O quam di- gnos lu- ctus. ex- u- lat rex o- mni- um.
 III. [Quis- quis es si- gna- tus fi- de- i ka- ra- cte- re.

no- va chri- sti vul- ne- ra ar- bor sa- lu- ti fe- ra.
 ba- cu- lus fi- de- li- um sus- ti- net op- pro- bri- um.
 fi- dem fa- ctis as- se- re. ru- gi- en- tes con- te- re.

per- di- tur se- pul- chrum. gens a- ver- tit ex- te- ra.
 gen- tis in- fi- de- lis. ce- dit par- ti gen- ti- um.
 ca- tu- los le- o- num. mi- se- rans in- tu- e- re.

25

vi- o- len- te ple- na gen- te so- la se- det ci- vi- tas.
 pars to- ta- lis. iam re- ga- lis in lu- to et la- te- re
 cor- de tri- sti dam- pnus chri- sti. lon- gus ce- dar in- co- la

33

a- gni fe- dus ra- pit e- dus. plo- rat do- tes per- di- tas.
 e- la- bo- rat tel- lus plo- rat mo- y- sen fa- ti- sce- re
 sur- ge. vi- de. ne de fi- de re- pro- be- ris fri- vo- la.

41

spon- sa sy- on im- mo- la- tur. a- na- ni- as
 ho- mo- de- i mi- se- re- re. fi- li- pa- tris
 su- da mar- tir in a- go- ne. spe men- ce- dis

51

in-cur- va- tur. con- nu da- vit fla- gel- la- tur mun- dus. ab in-
 ius tu- e- re. in in- cer- to cer- tum que- re. du- cis du- cum
 et co- ro- ne. de- re- li- cta ba- by- lo- ne. pu- gna pro- ce-

60

iu- stis ab- di- ca- tur per quem iu- ste iu- di- ca- tur mun- dus.
 do- na pro- me- re- re et lu- cra- re lu- cem ve- re lu- cis.
 le- sti re- gi- o- ne. a- qua vi- te te con- po- ne pu- gna.]

Observations

Attribution: Attributed to Philip based on the fact that it is a conductus prosula.

Date: 1219-1220.

Genre: Conductus prosula.

Text: Crusade song; Lamentation on the capture of Jerusalem; exhortation to Emperor Frederick II to take up the cross.

Verse: Surprisingly regular, due to the consistency of the length of the musical phrases:

6p + 3(7pp) + 6p + 7pp + 2(8p + 7pp) + 3(8p) + 2p + 2(8p) + 2p.

Rhyme: I and III: a b b b c b d e f e g g g h g g h.

II: a b b b c b d e f e e e g e e g.

Each strophe's rhymes are considered independently. Strophe II departs from the scheme of the others only in its tenth line.

Music: Strophic (3 strophes), syllabic:

A (1-4) A' (5-8) B (9-12) B' (13-16) C (17-20) D (21-24) E (25-28)
D (29-32) E (33-36) D (37-40) F (41-48) G (49-52) G' (53-58) G (59-62)
G' (63-68).

Also particularly interesting is the unusually high correspondence for a polyphonic conductus between the form of the tenor and the upper parts, especially beginning with section C.

Variants

Text: Main sources: Strophes I-II: F; III: CB

F-32,3: promere.

CB-44,1: reputeris. 50,1-2: et ad vitam.

Music:

F-6: Sharp sign in the Triplum represented by a natural (mi) sign in the MS. 35,2: begins f. 232.

AGMINA MILICIE CELESTIS OMNIA / AGMINASOURCES:

- LoA: fascicle 2, no. 10, f. 91; conductus motet.
F: fascicle 8, no. 24, f. 396v; conductus motet; position of Triplum and Motetus reversed.
W2: fascicle 7, no. 1, f. 123; conductus motet.
Hu: no. 89, f. 90v; conductus motet; Motetus precedes Triplum; rhythmic pattern of Tenor modified; transposed down a fourth.
CTR: no. 9, f. 230v; conductus motet; fragmentary.
LoB: no. 19, f. 45, à2; superscript: "de sancta katherina."
StV: gathering 1, no. 3, f. 258, à2.
Ba: no. 6, f. 4; double motet.
Cl: no. 22, f. 377; triple motet.
StS1: no. 13, ff. 5v-6r; probably à2; fragmentary, Tenor wholly missing.

Text only:

Praha: no. 20, f. 38v; in margin: "Katerine."

Music only:

Source clausula: Agmina (Smith no. -, Ludwig no. 2), from the M65 Alleluia \forall Corpus beate virginis; or from the O40 Responsory Virgo flagellatur \forall Sponsus amat, both for the feast of Saint Catherine of Alexandria (Nov. 25):

StV: gathering 6, clausula no. 40, f. 292, à2; partially erased; contrafact incipit in margin: "lautrier cuidai avoir."

Contrafacts:

Quant fro'dure trait a fin encontre (Gennrich no. 535, Linker no. -):

W2, fascicle 7, no. 13, f. 134; conductus motet; beginning missing.

L'autrier cuidai aber druda (Gennrich no. 537; P.C. no. 461-146) extremely doubtful attribution to Marcabru (b. 1100-1110, d. 1147-1148):

Pn fr. 844 (R, Chansonier du Roi), f. 199, à1, transposed down a fifth.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 532; Tischler: 34; Chevalier: 728; Walther: 687.

Editions: Tischler, The Earliest Motets, 1:243-262.
Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:195, no. xiv.

Literature: Anderson, "Obiter dicta," pp. 361-364; James Heustis Cook, "Manuscript Transmission of Thirteenth-Century Motets," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1978), 1:178-188.

	<u>Agmina</u> milicie	All the legions
	celestis omnia	of the heavenly host
	martiris victorie	hasten to acknowledge
	occurrunt obvia.	the martyr's victory.
5	Virginis eximie	They proclaim the praise
	laudant preconia.	of the excellent virgin.
	Rosa paciencie,	She is the rose of suffering,
	pudoris lilia,	the lily of propriety,
	donum sapiencie,	the gift of wisdom,
10	legis eloquia.	the eloquence of the law.
	Virgo regia,	The regal virgin,
	regis filia,	daughter of the king,
	Christum regem hodie	shall today see
	in celi regia	Christ the king
15	revelata facie	with his face revealed
	videt in gloria.	in glory.
	Christi hostie	The gates open to
	patent ostia.	Christ's sacrifice.
	Sapientum Grecie	The eloquence of
20	facundie,	the wise men of Greece,
	sophismatum,	the shrewdness of their
	et dogmatum	sophistries and teachings,
	argucie,	and their learning
	silent, et studia.	all fall silent.
25	Post hec stadia	After these contests
	gaudet requie.	she rejoices in rest.

Carnis habet spolia	The peaks of Arabia possess
apex Arabiae.	the spoils of her flesh.
Caro caret carie;	Her body is free from decay;
30 mens immundicia.	her mind from impurity.
Oleum hec gratie	She confers the oil of grace
dat et precum suffragia.	and the blessing of prayers.

Notes on the Text:

1-6: The virgin martyr is Saint Catherine of Alexandria. See the similar expression: "cantant celi agmina laudes," in the text of her Responsory Virgo flagellatur ⁊ Sponsus amat (O40), from which the Tenor of this motet may well be drawn. Also note the quotation of lines 1-2 of Agmina milicie in the Triplum of the motet Ave virgo regia / Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris / Domino, lines 16-20. 11-12: In some of the accounts of her life, Catherine is reported to be of royal lineage. 17-18: See the similar expression in Philip's conductus Venit Jhesus in propria, lines 5-6. 19-25: Among the deeds that legend has ascribed to her, during the persecution of the Christians by the Emperor Maxentius (reg. 307-312) Catherine argued against fifty pagan philosophers, whom she convinced with her learning. They were summarily executed by the emperor. 25-26: See the similar expression in Philip's organum prosula Adesse festina, lines 78-80. 27-28: After her death, legend has it that Catherine's body was carried by angels to a resting place on Mount Sinai. 31: Cf. Psalms, 44:8.

AGMINA MILICIE CELESTIS OMNIA / AGMINA

Loh, f. 91

Ag-mi-na mi-li-ci-e ce-le-stis o-mni-a mar-ti-ris vi-cto-ri-e oc-

[Ag-mi-na]

cur-runt ob-vi-a. vir-gi-nis ex-i-mi-e lau-dant pre-co-ni-a

ro-sa pa-ci-en-ci-e pu-do-ris li-li-a. do-num sa-pi-

en-ci-e le-gis e-lo-qui-a vir-go re-gi-a

23

re- gis fi- li- a. chri- stum re- gem ho- di- e in ce- li glo- ri-

28

a. re- ve- la- ta fa- ci- e vi- det in glo- ri- a. chri- sti ho- sti-

34

e pa- tent o- sti- a sa- pi- en- tum gre- ci- e fa- cun- di- e so-

40

phis- ma- tum et dog- ma- tum an- gu- ci- e si- lent et stu- di- a

45

post hec stu- di- a gau- det re- qui- e. car- nis ha- bet spo- li- a a-

51

pex a- ra- bi- e ca- ro ca- ret ca- ri- e mens im- mun- di- ci- a

57

o- le- um hec gra- ci- e dat et pre- cum suf- fra- gi- a.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: LoB, Praha, Henri d'Andeli. The music has a tentative modern attribution to Perotin. See Sanders, "The Question," p. 247; and Wright, Music and Ceremony, p. 299, note 136.

Date: ca. 1229 (see Wright, ibid.).

Genre: Conductus motet.

Text: In praise of Saint Catherine.

Verse: With many pairs of 7 and 6 syllable couplets: 5(7pp + 6pp) + 2(5pp) + 2(7pp+6pp) + 2(5pp) + 7pp + 4pp + 2(4p) + 4pp + 6pp + 2(5pp) + 2(7pp + 6pp) + 7pp + 8pp.

Rhyme: Uses only three different rhymes:

a b a b a b a b a b b b a b a b a b a a c c a b b a b a a b a b.

Music: Through composed.

Phrase structure (=122 Longs):

Triplum and Motetus: 5(8) + 2(4) + 2(8) + 2(4) + 16 + 2(4) + 2(8)
+ 10L.

Tenor: 7(2(4 + 4)) + 6L.

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+2 (Mode V); 3 statements (mm. 1-21; 22-41,1; 41,2-61).

Variants

Text:

LoA-6,1: laud. 7,1: rosam. 14,3: curia. 17,1: cristi. 18,2: hostia. 29,2: carens.

Music:

LoA-Triplum: 22: rest missing. 31: begins f. 91v. 59,4: begins f. 92. Motetus: 22: rest missing. 34: rest missing. 31: begins f. 91v. 59,4: begins f. 92. Tenor: 1-2: The text of the motet is underlaid to the tenor part, thus allowing no room for the tenor incipit. 11-12: d e, written a third too low. 31: begins f. 91. 37,2: g. 59,1: begins f. 92.

HOMO QUAM SIT PURA / LATUSSOURCES:

F: fascicle 8, no. 11, f. 385v; conductus motet; strophe I only.

Sab: no. 2, f. 135v, à2; strophes I-III, complete.

Ch: no. 8, f. 5, à1?; fragmentary.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Source clausula: Latus (Smith and Ludwig no. 4) from the M14 Alleluia y Pascha nostrum for Easter Sunday:

W1: fascicle 6, no. 22, clausula no. 56, f. 57 (49), à2.

F: fascicle 5, no. 104, clausula no. 104, f. 158v, à2.

Contrafact: Stupeat natura (Gennrich no. 232), possibly by Philip, q.v.; also a strophic motet.

W2: fascicle 8, no. 53 (49), f. 177v, à2; strophe I.

MüB: no. 15, f. IIa v, à2?; fragmentary; Tenor missing; strophe I.

Tort: no. 3, f. 140, à1; Tenor omitted; strophe I.

The text of Stupeat also survives without music in two other sources, q.v.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 231; Tischler: 21; Chevalier: 7979; Walther: 8394.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:133-138.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:20, no. 12.

Literature:

<p>I. Homo, quam sit pura michi de te cura probra probat plura: dolor et pressura, 5 verberum tritura, lancee fixura —vinctus in cathena, nulla victus pena— potus in lagena 10 mirra felle plena. Cesa gena, omnis vena sanguine cruenta. Stupens hec tormenta, condolet natura: 15 veli fit scissura, solis lux obscura, patent monumenta dum sum <u>immolatus</u>.</p> <p>II. Homo, quam ingratus. Omnis immutatus 21 est nature status, manes induratus. Ego pro te natus, pro te inmoratus, 25 parvus involutus, pauper destitutus.</p>	<p>Man, my many humiliations prove how absolute is my concern for you: the grief and oppresion, the sting of the whips, the piercing of the lance —though bound in chains no suffering vanquished me— the drink from the flask filled with bitter myrrh. My cheek was cut, every vein shedding blood. Nature grieved along with me, astonished by these torments: the temple veil was rent, the light of the sun blotted out, and tombs gaped forth when I was sacrificed.</p> <p>Man, how thoughtless you are. The entire state of your nature has been transformed, and yet you remain hardened. For you was I born a child in swaddling clothes; For you I remained a forsaken pauper.</p>
--	---

	Pro te baptizatus,	For you I was baptized;
	pro te sum temptatus.	For you I endured temptation.
	Exprobatus et ligatus,	I was reproached and bound fast,
30	traditus, consputus,	delivered up, spat upon,
	virgis flagellatus,	beaten with sticks,
	clavis perforatus,	pierced by nails,
	spinis coronatus,	crowned with thorns,
	latus lanceatus.	had my side pierced with a lance.
35	Morte contempnatus,	I was condemned to death
	tandem <u>immolatus</u> .	and finally sacrificed.
III.	Homo, quem formavi,	Man, whom I fashioned,
	mich conformavi,	whom I shaped after myself,
	tandem reformavi;	and eventually transformed;
40	pro te, quem amavi,	for you, whom I loved,
	celos inclinavi,	I have bent down the heavens,
	tuis condescendi	stooped, and yielded
	penis et descendi.	to your punishments.
	In agone gravi	In dire agony
45	pro te laboravi.	I toiled for you.
	Pro te non expavi	For you I feared not to be
	vili pendi, tradi, vendi.	weighed, delivered up, and cheaply
	Et qui non offendi,	sold.
	penas pro te pendi.	And I, who displeased no one
		suffered punishment for you.
50	Veni. Iam extendi	I came. And just when I stretched
	out

zelo conplectendi
 manus, immolatus.

my hands with the zeal of embracing
 you, I was sacrificed.

Notes on the Text:

1-2: The speaker is Christ. 5-7; 9-12: References to the abuse Christ suffered during the Passion, see Matthew, 27:27-34, 48; Mark, 15:16-23, 36; Luke, 23:36; and John, 19:1-30, 34. For further occurrences of these tortures in Philip's works, see the motet Manere vivere (possibly his work), lines 24-31. 13-14: These lines probably formed the inspiration for the contrafact Stupeat natura (possibly by Philip), whose subject is the Virgin Birth. 15-18: Portents that occurred at the moment of Christ's death, see Matthew, 27:45, 51-53; Mark, 15:33, 38; Luke, 23:44-45. 25,1: This emendation (see variants) is suggested by a similar expression in Philip's organum prosula Vide prophecie, lines 39-42. 27: Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist, see Matthew, 3:13-17; Mark, 1:9-11; Luke, 3:21-22; and John, 1:31-34. 28: Jesus was tempted at the hands of Satan, see Matthew, 4:1-11; Mark, 1:12-13; Luke, 4:1-13. 29-34: Other tortures drawn from the Gospel accounts, see the notes to lines 5-7 and 9-12 above. 31: Possibly an oblique reference to the text used by the responsory Virgo flagellatur ⁊ Sponsus amat (O40) for the feast of Saint Catherine of Alexandria. 51-52: The scribe of Sab appears to have omitted these two lines in copying the music and text for this strophe. Even so, there is no apparent break in thought and no other indication of any error in the source at this place.

HOMO QUAM SIT PURA / LATUS

E, F. 385v

I. Ho- mo quam sit pu- ra mi- chi de te cu- ra pro- bra pro- bat
 II. [Ho- mo quam in- gra- tus o- mnis in- mu- ta- tus est na- tu- re
 III. [Ho- mo quem for- ma- vi mi- chi con for- ma- vi tan- dem re- for-

la-

6
 plu- ra do- lor et pres- su- ra. ven- be- rum tri- tu- ra.
 sta- tus ma- nes in- du- ra- tus e- go pro te na- tus
 ma- vi pro te quem a- ma- vi ce- los in- cli- na- vi

11
 lan- ce e fix- u- ra. vin- ctus in ca- the- na. nul- la vi- ctus
 pro te in- mo- ra- tus par- vus in- vo- lu- tus pau- per de- sti-
 tu- is con- de- scen- di pe- nis et de- scen- di in a- go- ne

16

pe-na. po-tus in la-ge-na mir-ra fel-le ple-na. ce-sa ge-na
tu-tus pro te bap-ti-za-tus pro te sum temp-ta-tus ex-pro-ba-tus
gra-vi pro te la-bo-ra-vi pro te non ex-pa-vi vi-li pen-di

22

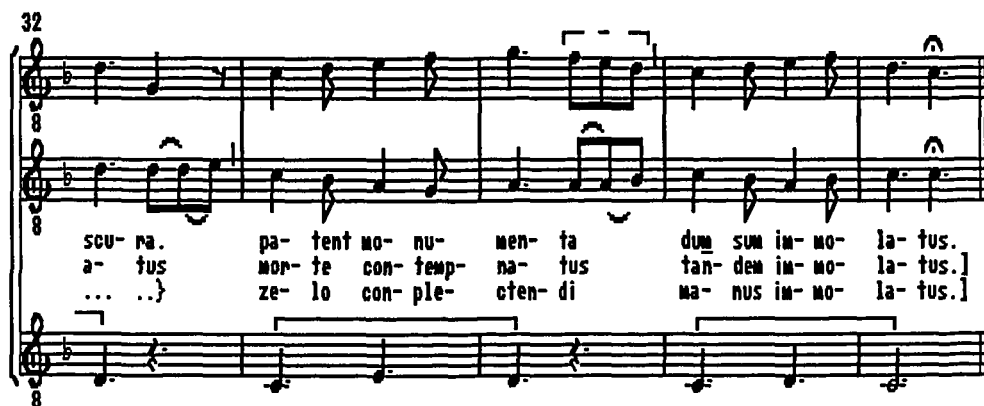
o-mnis ve-na san-gui-ne cru-en-ta. stu-pens hec tor-men-ta
et li-ga-tus tra-di-tus con-spu-tus vir-gis fla-gel-latus
tra-di ven-di et qui non of-fen-di pe-nis pro te pen-di

27

con-do-let na-tu-ra. ve-li fit scis-su-ra. so-lis lux ob-
cla-vis per-fo-ra-tus spi-nis co-ro-na-tus la-tus lan-ce-
ve-ni iam ex-ten-di (... ..)

-tus

32



scu-ra. pa-tent mo-nu-men-ta dum sum im-mo-la-tus.
a-tus mor-te con-temp-na-tus tan-dem im-mo-la-tus.]
... ..} ze-lo con-ple-cten-di ma-nus im-mo-la-tus.]

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Salimbene.

Date:

Genre: Strophic conductus motet.

Text: Christ reproaches Mankind for the ordeals he suffered during the Passion.

Verse: Extremely regular for a motet: 10(6p) + 8p [or 2x4p] + 7(6p).

Rhyme: I: a a a a a a b b b b b c c a a a c d

II: a a a a a a b b a a a b a a a a a

III: a a a a a b b a a a b b b b ? ? b c

Each strophe's rhymes have been considered independently. Use of only seven different rhymes throughout the whole poem. Rhyme d of I = a of II and also = c of III.

Music: Strophic (3 strophes); Many relationships among phrases through the use of sequence and transposition.

A (measures 1-2), A' (3-4), B (5-6), C (7-8), B¹ (9-10), B² (11-12), B³ (13-14), B⁴ (15-16), D (17-18), B⁵ (19-20), E-E' (21-22), F (23-24), G (25-26), H (27-28), I (29-30), I' (31-32), B⁶ (33-34), I (35-36).

Phrase structure (= 72 Longs):

Triplum and Motetus: 10(4) + 8 + 6(4L)

Tenor: 18(4L)

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+3 (Mode V); 1 statement.

Variants

Text: Main sources: strophe I: F; strophes II-III: Sab.

F-3,1: prout.

Sab-6,1: lance or larice. 7,3: charbena. 13: membra sunt distenda. 25: paras. 51-52: omitted with no gaps in the source.

Music:

F-Triplum: 29,2: begins f. 386. Motetus: 2,2: b-natural, all other sources argue for the adopted c. 29,2: begins f. 386. Tenor: notated on f. 386.

IN OMNI FRATRE TUO / IN SECLUMSOURCES:

LoB: no. 27, f. 54v, à2.

Mo: fascicle 3, no. 37, f. 67; double motet.

Cl: no. 27, f. 376v; double motet.

Ba: no. 47, f. 27; double motet.

LoC: no. 8, f. 4v, à2

Boul: no. 5, f. 92, à2; at the bottom of the folio containing this work is the note: "Anno Domini MCCLXIII [1264] scripsi hec."

Hu: no. 96, f 96, à2.

Text only:

Bes: no. 13b, f. 13; text incipit only, from a surviving index of a lost codex.

Music only:

Source clausula: none; Tenor is In seculum from the M13 Gradual Hec dies ¶ Confitemini Domino for Easter Sunday.

Contrafacts: none

Catalogs: Gennrich: 197; Tischler: 221; Chevalier: 8713; Walther: 9038.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 2:1247-1261.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:200, no. xxvi.

Literature: Cook, "Manuscript Transmission," 1:167-177.

<p><u>In</u> omni fratre tuo non habeas fiduciam, <u>quoniam</u> livor est <u>in</u> pluribus, 5 dolum acuentibus ut novaculum. Servient ad oculum, et sub verbis dulcibus tuis ponent gressibus 10 offendiculum. Lingue solvent iaculum odii sermonibus.</p> <p> Nullo modo credas te talibus, quia mors est <u>in</u> lingue manibus.</p> <p>15 Vestiti sunt enim duplicibus, pace foris et intus fraudibus. <u>In</u> occultis astant divitibus, ut noceant nugis fallacibus. A fructibus et non a vestibus</p> <p>20 Chaym tribus note sunt hominibus. A quibus, ut caveas: tibi Joseph habeas, ne doleas,</p> <p>25 <u>in speculum</u>,</p>	<p>Don't place your trust in every brother, since malice lurks in so many of them, sharpening their artifice like a razor. They will be gracious in your presence, yet will lay a stumbling block in your path beneath their sweet words. In their rancorous sermons they will unleash the darts of their tongues.</p> <p>By no means should you entrust yourself to such men, because there is death in the power of their speech. They are clothed in a double raiment, with peace on the outside and deceit within. They lie in wait with the rich in private places, in order to wreak injury with their false gibberish. By their fruits and not by their garb</p> <p>are the tribes of Cain revealed to men. Lest you suffer, take heed through these examples: keep before yourself the image of Joseph,</p>
---	---

Iude fallax osculum,	the false kiss of Judas,
Remum, Romulum.	and Romulus and Remus.
Per quos, patet omnibus	Through these illustrations,
lucidius,	it is very clearly evident to
30 nullum esse gravius	all,
	that there is no
periculum	graver danger
quam <u>in</u> falsis fratribus	in any age
per <u>seculum</u> .	than in false brothers.

Notes on the Text:

Especially noteworthy in this poem is its unusually high incidence of Biblical citations. Nearly every line quotes, paraphrases, or addresses a scriptural reference.

1-3,1: See Jeremiah, 9:4. In view of the specific charges that Philip inveighs against "false brothers" throughout this poem (see the notes to lines 11-12, and 17-19), it is probable that he is referring to mendicant friars (fratres). Of the two major orders, the Dominicans held him in particular disfavor, and it is therefore possible, given the reference to preaching (lines 11-12), that they may be the specific target of this motet. For more on Philip's relationship with the Dominicans, see Volume 1 of this study, Chapter 1. 3,2: This word appears in the text of the Easter Gradual immediately prior to the tenor on which this motet is based. 5-6: See Psalms, 51:4. 7: Cf. Ephesians, 6:6 and Colossians, 3:22. 8-10: Cf. Romans, 14:13. 11-12: Cf. Psalms, 63:4. Dominican friars were known for their caustic sermons. 14: See Proverbs, 18:21. 15: Cf. Proverbs, 31:21. 17-18: Cf. Psalms, 9:29-31 (Psalms [Hebrew], 10:8-10). Line 17 has been translated in accordance with the Biblical reference. It can also be rendered: "They lie in wait with concealed riches." Either way it is a serious accusation, since both Franciscans and Dominicans embraced a vow of evangelical poverty. 19: See Matthew, 7:16 and 7:20. The implication here that the false brothers of this poem can be distinguished by their clothing also supports the conjecture that Philip is referring to the mendicants. 20-21: Philip, foreshadowing his three illustrations in lines 22-27, here alludes to the story of Cain (Genesis, 4:8-16) who slew his brother Abel. Those who seek to inflict similar harm are therefore Cain's descendants. 22-27: In these lines Philip offers three exempla (one each from the Old and New Testaments and from Classical literature) to warn of the fate that may befall one who trusts his brothers or companions too closely: Joseph, sold into Egyptian slavery by his own brothers (Genesis, 37:12-28); Judas, who betrayed Christ with a kiss in the garden of Gethsemane (Matthew, 26:48-

50; Mark, 14:44-46; and Luke, 22:47-48); and the story of the twins Romulus and Remus, the mythical founders of Rome. Romulus killed his brother in a dispute over the sovereignty, site, and name of the new city. See Livy, Ab urbe condita, book 1, chapters 6.3-7.3. 31-32: Cf. 2 Corinthians, 11:26.

IN OMNI FRATRE TUO / IN SECULUM

LoB, f. 54v

In o-mni fra-tre tu-o non ha-be-as fi-

In se-culum

-du-ci-am quo-ni-am li-vor est in plu-ri-bus do-lum a-cu-

en-ti-bus ut no-va-cu-lum sen-vi-ent ad o-cu-lum

et sub ven-bis dul-ci-bus tu-is po-nent gres-si-bus

of-fen-di-cu-lum. lin-gue sol-vent ia-cu-lum o-di-i ser-

24
8
mo- ni- bus. Nul- lo mo- do cre- das te fa- li- bus qui- a mors est in lin-

III

28
8
que ma- ni- bus ve- sti- ti sunt e- nim du- pli- ci- bus pa- ce- fo- ris et in-

32
8
tus frau- di- bus. in oc- cul- tis a- stant di- vi- ti- bus ut no- ce- ant nu- gis

36
8
fal- la- ci- bus. a fru- cti- bus et non a ve- sti- bus cha- yu tri- bus

IV

40
8
no- te sunt ho- mi- ni- bus [a qui- bus] ut ca- ve- as

44

ti- bi jo- seph ha- be- as ne do- le- as in spe- cu- lum.

49

Iu- de fal- lax o- scu- lum re- mum ro- mu- lum per quos pa- tet

53

o- mni- bus lu- ci- di- us nul- lum es- se gra- vi- us pe-

57

ri- cu- lum quam in fal- sis fra- tri- bus per se- cu- lum.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: LoB.

Date: Tentatively placed in the year 1236, shortly before Philip's death.

Genre: Motet à2 or double motet.

Text: Critical of the duplicitous nature of false brothers (probably the mendicant clergy).

Verse: 3p + 8pp + 2(3(7pp) + 5pp) + 2 (7pp) + 7(10pp) + 4p + 3(7pp) + 2(4p) + 7pp + 5pp + 3(7pp +4pp). Features a preponderance of 7pp lines and a central section of 10pp lines.

Rhyme: a b c d d e e d d e e d d d d d d d d d b b b e e e d f(d?) f(d?) e d e.

Music: Form enlivened by repeated motives; French style, hint of refrain structures.

A (1-2), B (3-5), C (6-8), A¹ (9-10), D (11-12), E (13-14), A² (15-16), A³ (17-18), F (19-20), G (21-22), A⁴ (23-24), G¹ (25-26), G² (27-28), H (29-30), I (31-32), H (33-34), H' (35-36), J (37-39), B' (40-41), K (42-43), L (44-46), M (47-48), K' (49-51), N (52-54), O (55-57), A⁵ (58-59), M' (60-61).

Phrase structure: (=122 Longs):

Motetus: 2 + 8 + 2 + 5(4) + 2(8) + 7(4) + 2 + 2(4) + 6 + 4 + 3(6) + 2(4)L.

Tenor: 4(12(2)) + 6(2) + 6 + 4(2L).

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+3 (Mode 2); 5 statements (mm. 1-12; 13-24; 24-36; 37-48; 49-61). The final statement breaks the rhythmic pattern into single Longs in mm. 55-57.

Variants

Text:

LoB-3: fidutiam quam. 11,2: solent. 13,4: de. 22,1-2: omitted. 30,2: erit.

Music:

LoB-Motetus: 9,1: begins f. 55. 26,1: begins f. 55v. 30: notated a third too high. 38,5: begins f. 56. 39: omitted rest. 42,1-4: omitted. 53,5-54: cbpli, a, gfe, f. 56,6: begins f. 56v. Tenor: begins on f. 56v. 13-61: The MS provides only the first of the five tenor statements. The continuation has been supplied with reference to the existing tenor.

IN VERITATE COMPERI / VERITATEMSOURCES:

- F: fascicle 7, no. 26, f. 398v; conductus motet; fragmentary, ending of upper parts and entire Tenor lost.
- Ch: no. 11, f. 7v; conductus motet; fragmentary, mutilated; different triplum from F.
- CTR: no. 7, f. 230; conductus motet; fragmentary, beginning lost; different triplum from both F and Ch.
- W2: fascicle 8, no. 9, f. 149, à2; Tenor designated In veritate.
- Hu: no. 140, f. 126, à2.

All other sources also transmit the triplum/quadruplum In Salvatoris nomine, likewise attributed to Philip, q.v.

- Mo: fascicle 4, no. 57, f. 94v; double motet.
- Ba: no. 45, f. 25; double motet; Tenor designated In veritate.
- Cl: no. 25, f. 378v; triple motet, with In Salvatoris as quadruplum and a French triplum partially identical to triplum of F.
- LoB: no. 26, f. 52v, à2? or double motet. In Salvatoris (LoB no. 25) immediately precedes this work. Both have separately notated tenors incorrectly designated In seculum.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Source clausula: none; Tenor is Veritatem from the M37 Gradual Propter veritatem Y Audi filia for the second and fifth days of the week following the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15) and also for the Common of a Virgin or Matron.

Contrafacts: none.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 451; Tischler: 36; Chevalier: 28148; Walther: 9150.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:279-322.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:203, no. xxx.

Literature: Cook, "Manuscript Transmission," 1:189-204.

In <u>veritate</u>	I have discovered that
comperi quod sceleri	in reality the entire clergy
cleri studet unitas.	is given over to wickedness.
Livor regnat; <u>veritas</u>	Envy reigns and truth
5 datur funeri.	lies dead and buried.
Heredes Luciferi sunt prelati,	The prelates, now puffed up with
iam elati gloria.	glory, are the heirs of Lucifer.
Membra domat alia	The madness of the head subdues
capitis insania.	the other parts of the body.
10 Ceci ducesque cecorum,	The blind and their blind leaders,
excecati terrenorum	blinded by their idolatry
ydolatria,	towards wordly matters,
querunt omnes propria.	all seek personal gain.
Manus patent, sed iam latent	Their hands are empty, but the
15 crucis beneficia.	profits of the Cross are already concealed.
Luge, syon filia!	Weep, daughter of Sion!
Fructus urit messium	The fire in the foxes' tails is
ignis in caudis vulpium.	consuming the fruits of the harvest.
Tristes perypocritas!	You miserable, thorough hypocrites!
20 Simulata sanctitas,	Like Tamar at the crossroads,
ut Thamar in bivio	sinking into shameful boldness,
turpi marcens ocio,	contrived holiness
totum orbem inficit.	infects the whole world.
Nec deficit, sed proficit,	Nor does it weaken, but flourishes
25 data libertati.	when given the liberty.
Castitatem polluit;	It desecrates chastity;

caritatem respuit,	and, eager for frugality,
studens parcitati.	it spits out charity.
Sedet in insidiis	It sits in ambush
30 hominum pre filiis,	for the sons of man,
pauperem ut rapiat	so that it may waylay the poor
et, linguarum gladiis,	and murder the just with
iustum ut interficiat.	the swords of its tongues.
Non est qui bonum faciat	No one among them
35 istorum	whose conscience is
quorum consciencia	a den of thieves
spelunca latronum.	can do any good.
Hanc vide, videns omnia,	O God of vengeance, seeing
Deus ultionum.	all,
	look down upon this pretense.

Notes on the Text:

6-7: Lucifer, originally the foremost of the angels, dared to oppose God and was cast down from Heaven for his pride. He became equated with Satan, the Devil. See Isaiah, 14:12-15; Luke, 10:18; Apocalypse, 12:7-12. 8-9: Cf. Philip's conductus Mundus a mundicia, lines 17-18. 10: Cf. Matthew, 15:14, 23:16, 23:24; Luke, 6:39. These terms are usually associated with the Pharisees. See also Mundus a mundicia, Strophe VI. 16,2-3: The Church. 17-18: Samson, cheated of his marriage to a Philistine woman, burned the Philistines' crops by tying torches to the tails of pairs of foxes and setting them loose to run through the fields. See 2 Judges, 15:1-6; and the conductus Docmatum falsas species (probably by Philip), lines 11-12 (the third and fourth lines of the refrain). 21-22: By sitting at a crossroads disguised as a prostitute, the widow Tamar seduced her father-in-law Judah. She afterwards bore him two sons. See Genesis, 38:12-30. 29-31: Cf. Psalms, 9:29-31 (Psalms [Hebrew], 10:8-10). See also the identical expressions in the opening lines of the second strophe of the conductus Omni pene curie, attributed to Walter of Châtillon (probably falsely, see Anderson, The Latin Compositions, 2:iv). 32,2-3: Cf. Psalms, 56:5, 63:4. 37-39: Cf. Philip's conductus Quomodo cantabimus, lines 11-14 and Deduc Syon uberrimas (possibly his work), lines 23-26. 37: See Jeremiah, 7:11; Matthew, 21:13; Mark, 12:17; Luke, 19:46. 39: See Psalms, 93:1.

IN VERITATE COMPERI / VERITATEM

F. f. 398 [b]

In ve-ri-ta-te com-pe-ri quod sce-le-ri cle-ri stu-det

8 Veritatem

7

u-ni-tas. li-vor re-gnat ve-ri-tas da-tur fu-ne-ri.

13

he-re-des lu-ci-fe-ri sunt pre-la-ti. iam e-la-ti glo-ri-

18

a. mem-bra do-mat a-li-a ca-pi-tis in-sa-ni-a.

23

ce-ci du-ces-que ce-co-rum. ex-ce-ca-fi-ter-re-no-rum

29

y-do-la-tri-a. que-runt o-mnes pro-pri-a. ma-nus pa-tent

34

sed iam la-tent cru-cis be-ne-fi-ci-a. lu-ge sy-on fi-li-

40

a. fru-ctus u-rit mes-si-um i-gnis in cau-dis vul-pi-um

45

tri- stes per- y- po- cri- tas. si- mu- la- ta san- cti- tas

49

ut tha- mar in bi- vi- o tur- pi mar- cens o- ci- o. to- tum or- bem

56

in- fi- cit. nec de- fi- cit sed pro- fi- cit da- ta li- ber-

60

ta- ti ca- sti- ta- tem pol- lu- it. ca- ri- ta- tem re- spu- it.

65

stu-dens par-ci-ta-ti. se-det in in-si-di-is ho-mi-num pre

70

fi-li-is pau-pe-rem ut ra-pi-at. et lin-gua-rum gla-di-is

75

iu-stum ut in-ter-fi-ci-at non est qui bo-num fa-ci-at i-sto-

80

rum quo-rum con-sci-en-sci-a spe-lun-ca la-tro-num

85

hanc vi- de vi- dens o- mni- a de- us ul- ti- o- num.]

Observations

Attribution: Philip: LoB. Bishop William [of Auvergne] (reg. 1229-1248) from a lost fragment cited by Wilhelm Meyer. This attribution and the existence of the fragment is now in doubt, see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 568.

Date:

Genre: Conductus motet, or double motet with triplum In Salvatoris nomine (also attributed to Philip, q.v.).

Text: Critical of the pride and greed of the clergy.

Verse: 5p + 3(7pp) + 5pp + 11pp + 3(7pp) + 2(8pp) + 5pp + 7pp + 8p + 3(7pp) + 8pp + 5(7pp) + 8pp + 6p + 2(7pp) + 6p + 4(7pp) + 2(8pp) + 3p + 7pp + 6p + 8pp + 6p. The syllable count and the accentual stresses (except for line 22) correspond exactly with In Salvatoris nomine.

Rhyme: a b c c b d e e e f f e e g e e h h c c i i j j k l l k m m n m n n o e p e p.

Music: Through composed.

Phrase structure: (=178 Longs):

Triplum and Motetus: 10 + 6 + 2(4) + 7 + 5 + 2(4) + 2(8) + 4 + 10
+ 6 + 4(4) + 2(6) + 8 + 4(4) + 8 + 12 + 8 + 10L.

Tenor: 2(16(4)) + 11(4) + 6L.

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+3 (Mode V); 2 3/4 statements (mm. 1-32; 32-64; 65-89).

Variants

Text: Main sources: F: lines 1-35,1; W2: lines 35,2-39.

F-22,2-3: marcet occio. 28,1: prudens. 33,1: After this word the remainder of the text is lost from F. The missing portion is supplied from W2.

W2-8,2: domant. 11,1: et cecati. 13,1: querens. 14,3: et. 22,1: turpis. 24,3: nec. 26-27: The order of these two lines is reversed. 32,2: lingarum.

Music: Main sources: F: mm. 1-75,2; W2: Motetus, mm. 75,3-89; Cl: Triplum, mm. 75,3-89.

F-Triplum: 17: The uncharacteristically ornate rhythms implied by the alignment of the pitches with their syllables in this measure have been smoothed out by shifting the values slightly. 34,3: begins f. 398v. 75,2: After this pitch, the remainder of both upper parts and all of the Tenor is lost with an indeterminable number of folios. Since no other source remains that preserves the same music as the Triplum of F, the continuation is supplied from the French-texted Triplum of Cl. Although the music of this source does not correspond exactly with the surviving excerpt of the F Triplum, the Cl concordance presents numerous passages that are strikingly identical to those in F. It has therefore

been included as the voice that most closely approximates the missing music from F. Motetus: 1,4-2,1: These two pitches have been shifted one Breve to the left in the edition. The occurrence of d in 2,1 along with the more consonant harmony it produces is sanctioned by all the other sources. 34,3: begins f. 398v. 75,2: After this note, the rest of the Motetus has disappeared with the lost folios that originally followed f. 398v. The remainder of this voice has been taken from W2, which presents a B-flat key signature beginning in m. 82 (omitted in the transcription). W2 is the only source that supplies any accidentals for this piece. It is therefore unlikely that any flats would have appeared in the missing section from F, hence all accidentals in the Triplum (some of which seem necessary, others questionable) have been relegated to the realm of editorial ficta. Tenor: The entire voice, which would have begun on the now lost original f. 399, is missing from F. It has been supplied instead from the Tenor of the previous work in F on f. 398. This is a different motet, but one with the same tenor and rhythmic pattern, albeit with only one instead of 2 3/4 statements. The reason for choosing this particular Tenor stemmed from an attempt to approximate as closely as possible the presentation of the Tenor part had it survived in F.

W2-Motetus: B-flats appear uniquely and almost unfailingly in this source. Their rare omission is shown by editorial ficta in brackets above the staff. 2,1: d. 5: stroke omitted. 16: stroke omitted. 23,2: stroke follows this note. 29,5: plica tone omitted. 33,3: plica tone omitted. 37,2: plica tone omitted. 42: stroke omitted. 44,6-7: d. 45,3-5: d. 46,3-5: = 2 = cb. 47,3-5: = 1+2 = c,ba. 48: stroke omitted. 48,4-6: apli (ascending). 58,3-5: dpli. 59,3: plica tone omitted. 60: stroke omitted. 62,3-5: c. 69,4: plica tone omitted. 70,3-6: =3=bag. 71,3-5: cbpli a = BBB.

C1-Triplum (Ce fut en tres douz tens de mai, f. 379): 1,2-4: = 1pli = c bpli. 4,4: a plica tone. 8,2-3: omitted. 9,1: long rest follows this note. 11,3: a plica tone. 13,4-5: c bpli. 14,3: long rest follows this note. 14,4-15,1: = 1+3 = f, edc = B, BSS. For a transcription of the remaining measures (16-75), see Anderson, The Latin Compositions, 2:266, (Appendix C, no. 8b).

LAQUEUS CONTERITUR / LAQUEUS CONTRITUS EST
ET LIBERATI SUMUS

SOURCES:

LoB: no. 18, f. 43, à2; superscript: "de innocentibus."

Mo: fascicle 7, appendix b, no. 301, f. 347, à2.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Source clausula: none. Tenor is Laqueus contritus est et liberati sumus from the M7 Gradual Anima nostra ¶ Laqueus contritus est for the feast of the Holy Innocents (December 28).

Contrafacts: none.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 95; Tischler: 272; Chevalier: 10186;
Walther: -.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 2:1425-1428.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:195, no. xiii.

Literature:

	<u>Laqueus</u>	The snare
	<u>conteritur</u> venancium	of the fowlers is broken
	dum queritur rex omnium,	when one seeks Jesus,
	Ihesus, nasci dignatus.	the king of all, who deigned to be born.
5	Frustra rete iacitur,	The net is cast to no avail,
	quod previdet pennatus.	because the bird foresees it.
	Argenteus rumpitur	The silver cord is snapped
	funis dum persequitur	when angry King Herod
	Herodes rex iratus.	exact's his vengeance.
10	Quorum pes avellitur	Golden life returns to us,
	a <u>laqueo</u> reatus,	whose foot is torn
	vita recurrit aurea.	from the snare of sin.
	Puer nobis <u>est</u> natus,	To us a child is born,
	a quo donati laurea	who has wreathed
15	sunt pueri bymatus	in laurel the two-year-old boys
	quorum sanguis funditur,	whose blood is spilled,
	anima diffunditur.	whose soul is released.
	In gaudium ploratus	Rachel's weeping is changed
	Rachel, in solacium,	into joy, into comfort.
20	vertitur. Beatus	A blessed chorus of innocents,
	chorus innocencium,	rejoicing with one voice,
	una vox letancium,	is fashioned,
	efficitur, oblatu's	offered as a
	deo sacrificium,	sacrifice to God,
25	ad gaudia translatus,	transported to delights,
	<u>et</u> agni sequitur,	and follows in glory

quocumque vertitur,	the footprints of the Lamb,
in gloria vestigia,	wherever he goes,
cuius gratia	by whose grace
30 <u>liberati sumus.</u>	we have been set free.

Notes on the Text:

This poem is especially full of references to various Biblical texts used in the feast of the Holy Innocents (December 28). Also noteworthy is the omnipresence of passive constructions, modeled after the text of the tenor chant.

1-2: See Psalms, 123:7, and also 90:3. The metaphor used in the Psalms and the motet text likens the soul to a bird (see below, line 6,3) that has escaped the snare of sin. The first of the cited Psalm verses also forms the text of the Gradual for the feast of the Holy Innocents (from which the motet's Tenor is drawn), as well as the Offertory. 5-6: See Proverbs, 1:17. 6,3: The pennatus ("winged one," "bird") is a symbol of the soul; the net is a metaphor for sin. 7-8,1: See Ecclesiastes, 12:6. The snapping of the silver cord (i.e. life) is a symbol of death. 8,2-9: See Matthew, 2:16, part of the Gospel text for the feast of the Innocents. Herod killed all the male children in Bethlehem who were two years old or younger (see lines 14-17), in an attempt to forestall the coming of the Messiah. The phrase Herodes iratus also appears in the text of Laus tua Y Herodes iratus (M8), the Alleluia for the feast of the Innocents, which also spawned organa, clausulae, and motets. In addition see the anonymous motet In Bethlehem Herodes iratus / In Bethlehem which contains some further correspondences with the text of Laqueus conteritur. 10-11: Cf. Jeremiah, 18:22. 12: A pun on a phrase from Ecclesiastes, 12:6: "recurrat vitta aurea." See also the note to lines 7-8, above. 13: Isaiah, 9:6. This text also forms the beginning of the Introit for Christmas Mass. 14-17: See the notes for lines 8-9, above. 18-20,1: See Matthew, 2:18, part of the Gospel reading for the feast of the Innocents, who quotes Jeremiah, 31:15. Rachel's lament is seen as a prefiguration of the massacre. 20,2-28: See Apocalypse, 14:1-5, which forms the Epistle for this feast. In the motet, the attendants of the Lamb are directly compared with the slain Innocents. 21: See the anonymous motet Chorus innocencium, a triplum to the motet mentioned above in the notes to lines 8-9. 26-27: See Apocalypse, 14:4. 30: See the notes to lines 1-2, above.

LAQUEUS CONTERITUR / LAQUEUS CONTRITUS EST. . .

LoB, f. 43

La- que- us con- te- ri- tur ve- nan- ti- um dum

La- que- us

que- ri- tur- rex o- mni- um jhe- sus na- sci di- gna- tus

fru- stra- re- te ia- ci- tur quod pre- vi- det pen- na- tus ar- gen- te- us

rum- pi- tur fu- nis dum per- se- qui- tur he- ro- des rex i- ra- tus.

Quo- rum pes a- vel- li- tur a la- que- o re- a- tus vi- ta re- cur- rit

23

 au- re- a pu- er no- bis est na- tus a quo do- na- ti lau- re- a sunt
 [con-] [-tri-] [-tus] fest]

28

 pu- e- ri by- ma- tus. Quo- rum san- guis fun- di- tur

32

 a- ni- mam dif- fun- di- tur in gau- di- um plo- ra- tus.
 [et] [nos] [li-] [-be-] [-ra-]

36

 Ra- chel in so- la- ci- um ver- ti- tur be- a- tus

40

 cho- rus in- no- cen- ci- um u- na vox le- tan- ci- um ef-

44

fi- ci- tur o- bla- tus de- o sa- cri- fi- ci- um ad gau- di- a trans-

[-ti] [su-]

49

la- tus et a- gni se- qui- tur quo- cum- que ver- ti- tur in glo- ri- a ve-

[mus]

54

sti- gi- a cu- ius gra- ti- a li- be- ra- ti su- mus.

Observations**Attribution:** Philip: LoB.**Date:****Genre:** Motet à2.**Text:** On the massacre of the Holy Innocents; their tragedy turned to joy.**Verse:** 3pp + 2(8pp) [or 2x4pp] + 2(7p+7pp) + 2(7pp+7p) + 8p + 7p + 8pp + 7p + 2(7pp) + 7p + 7pp + 6p + 2(7pp) + 7p + 7pp + 7p + 2(6pp) + 8pp + 5pp + 6p.**Rhyme:** a b b c d c d d c d c e c e c d d c b c b b c b c d d f f g.**Music:** Through composed.Phrase structure: (= 116 Longs):

Motetus: 14 + 10 + 2 + 3(8) + 4 + 2(8) + 4 + 2(8) + 10 + 3 + 5L.

Tenor: 14 + 8 + 2(2) + 4(8) + 4 + 8 + 3(4) + 2(8) + 18L.

Tenor behavior: pattern: single longs; 1 statement.Variants**Text:**LoB-8,1: fumus.**Music:**LoB-Motetus: 6,1: begins f. 43v. 8,1: f. 20,7: begins f. 44. 21,3: f. 23,8: g. 30,1: b. 31: rest missing. 36,2: begins f. 44v. 46,1: c. 52,3: begins f. 45. Tenor: notated on f. 45. 7: In place of the rest in this measure, Mo has a repeated c. 21: contains an ascending plica, omitted in the transcription.

VENDITORES LABIORUM / EIUS [or DOMINO]SOURCES:

LoC: no. 4, f. 2, à2; Tenor designated Eius.

LoB: no. 28, f. 56v, à1; with superscript: "de advocatis;" Tenor omitted.

Ba: no. 100, f. 61v.; double motet, with Triplum O quam necessarium, possibly also by Philip, q.v.; Tenor designated Domino.

Text only:

Bes: no. 23, f. 23; text incipit only, from a surviving index of a lost codex.

Music only:

Source clausula: none; Tenor is either designated Eius from the O16 Responsory Stirps Jesse Y Virgo dei genetrix for the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15), also used for the Nativity of the Virgin (September 8); or Domino from the BDI Office versicle Benedicamus Domino, used on a variety of feast days, and derived from the O16 Responsory melisma.

Contrafacts: none.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 760; Tischler: 265; Chevalier: 34359; Walther: 20069.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 2:1408-1413.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:203, no. xxxi.

Literature: Everist, French 13th-Century Polyphony, pp. 19-20, 25-26.

Venditores labiorum	Honest lawyers should deplore
fleant advocati,	those who merely sell their lips,
qui plus student premiorum	who are more concerned with the
dande quantitati	amount
5 quam cause qualitati.	of the payment they will be given
Ad consulta prelatorum	than with the caliber of their case.
multi sunt vocati,	Many are called
sed electi pauci quorum	to the hearings of prelates,
adquiescat animorum	but few are chosen in whose
10 virtus equitatis.	hearts virtue resides
Parcunt veritati.	with equity.
Stantes causis pro reorum,	Standing in cases on behalf of the
ius pervertunt decretorum,	accused, they neglect the truth and
sanctas leges antiquorum.	distort the laws of the decretals,
15 Nummis obligati,	the sacred edicts of old.
duplices probati	Bound by money and
mala fovent perversorum,	engrossed with sin,
scelus operati.	these proven charlatans nurture
Quod attendat occultorum	the evil deeds of wicked men.
20 iudex Christus nec eorum	Let Christ, the judge of men's
parcat falsitati.	secrets, consider this outrage and
	spare not their dishonesty.

Notes on the Text:

1-5: Pierre Aubry, in his edition of the Bamberg codex (Cent motets, 3:110) speculates that the events in this text refer to a decision made at the Second Council of Lyon in 1274, which set a limit on the amount of a lawyer's honorarium. He therefore decided that this text could not have been written by Phiip due to its late date, and discarded the attribution of LoB. However, Everist (French 13th-Century Polyphony, pp. 19-20) takes issue with Aubry on both these points, stressing that

the question of the honorarium is hardly the central theme of either this motetus or its triplum O quam necessarium. He therefore rejects Aubry's late date for this work, reports that the attribution to Philip fits in handily with the dates implied by physical qualities of the manuscript source LoC (third quarter of the 13th century), and also offers the tentative assertion (pp. 25-26) that the double motet version of this work as preserved in Ba is probably the original form of the piece, since the motetus and triplum texts complement each other so well. This last point argues for adding the triplum text O quam necessarium (q.v.) to Philip's list of potential works. 7-8,3: See Matthew, 20:16 and 22:14. 13-14: Cf. Ephesians, 2:15. Decretals (decreta) were papal pronouncements on matters of canon law. The most famous collection and commentary on these and related documents was made around 1140 by the monk Gratian in his Decretum or Concordia discordantium canonum. Gratian's work became the standard "textbook" on canon law soon after its creation, and is probably the exact source Philip had in mind when mentioning the "sanctas leges antiquorum." 18: Cf. Ezechiel, 22:9; Hosea, 6:9. 19,3-20,2: Cf. Romans, 2:16.

VENDITORES LABIORUM / EIUS

LoC, f. 2

8 Ven-di-to-res la-bi-o-rum fle-ant ad-vo-ca-ti. qui plus stu-dent

I

f Fine

6

8 pre-mi-o-rum dan-de quan-ti-ta-ti quam cau-se qua-li-ta-ti.

11

8 ad con-sul-ta pre-la-to-rum mul-ti sunt vo-ca-ti. sed e-le-cti

16

8 pau-ci quo-rum ad-qui-e-scat a-ni-mo-rum vir-tus e-qui-

20

8 ta-ti. par-cunt ve-ri-ta-ti. stan-tes cau-sis pro re-o-rum

II

25

ius per- ver- tunt de- cre to- rum san- ctas le- ges an- ti- quo- rum

29

num- mis ob- li- ga- ti. du- pli- ces pro ba- ti. ma- la fo- vent

34

per- ver- so- rum sce- lus o- per- na- ti. quod at- ten- dat oc- cul- to- rum

39

iu- dex chri- stus nec e- o- rum par- cat fal- si- ta- ti.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: LoB.

Date:

Genre: Motet à2 or double motet.

Text: Critical of greedy and unethical canon lawyers.

Verse: 2(8p +6p) + 7p + 8p + 6p + 2(8p) +2(6p) + 3(8p) + 2(6p) + 8p + 6p + 2(8p) + 6p. Extremely regular for a motet, with all lines but one composed of 8p or 6p.

Rhyme: a b a b b a b a a b b a a a b b a b a a b. Use of only two rhymes throughout poem.

Music: Occasional repetition of motives.

A (1-2), B (3-4), C (5-6), D (7-8), E (9-10), B¹ (11-12), A¹ (13-14), A² (15-16), F (17-18), B² (19-20), G (21-22), H (23-24), I (25-26), B³ (27-28), G' (29-30), J (31-32), K (33-34), A³ (35-36), F' (37-38), L (39-41).

Phrase structure: (=86 Longs):

Motetus: 8 + 12 + 8 + 12 + 4 + 16 + 4 + 8 + 14L.

Tenor: 10(2+2) + 6L.

Tenor behavior: pattern: (2+3 Mode 5); 2 statements (mm. 1-20; 21-43). The second tenor statement has a slightly different ending with added pitches in m. 41 (omitted in LoC, but confirmed by Ba).

Variants

Text:

LoC-none.

Music:

LoC-Motetus: 30,2: f. 31,2: B. Tenor: begins on f. 2v. 41: omitted.

HOMO QUO VIGEAS / ET GAUDEBITSOURCES:

F: fascicle 8, no. 13, f. 386v; conductus motet.

W2: fascicle 7, no. 6, f. 127; conductus motet with Triplum differing slightly from F.

Ma: fascicle 6, no. 6, f. 126, à1; Tenor omitted.

W2: fascicle 8, no. 8, f. 14v, à2.

StS1: no. 14, f. 6, à2; fragmentary.

Text only:

CB: no. 4, f. 2; with incipit "Gaude cur gaudeas vide."

Music only:

Source clausula: Et gaudebit (Smith nos. 1, 3v; Ludwig no. 1) from the M24 Alleluia ¶ Non vos relinquam for the feast of the Ascension (second Alleluia). This particular clausula survives both in two and three parts, with a triplum similar to the ones in the conductus motet versions:

F: fascicle 2, no. 29, f. 45v, à3.

W1: fascicle 5, no. 23, clausula no. 23, f. 53 (45), à2.

F: Magnus liber, fascicle 4, no. 25, f. 116, à2.

Contrafact: Amours va querant (Gennrich no. 314, Linker no. 265-129):

W2: fascicle 10, no. 82, f. 249, à2.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 313; Tischler: 23; Chevalier: 7984; Walther: 8398.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:144-160.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:199, no. xxiii.

Literature:

Homo, quo vigeas vide:	Man, see how you should prosper:
Dei fidei adhereas,	Keep close to your faith in God,
in spe <u>gaudeas</u> , <u>et</u> in fide	rejoice in hope, and burn within
intus ardeas, foris luceas;	and shine without in faith;
5 turturis retorqueas	twist the beak of the
os ad ascellas.	turtledove back to its wings.
Docens ita verbo vita,	Teaching thus by word and deed,
oris vomere	root out the weeds from the
de <u>cordibus</u> fidelium	hearts of the faithful with the
10 evellas lolium. Liliū	ploughshare of your speech.
insere rose,	Plant the lily along with the rose,
ut alium per hoc corripere	so that thereby you may be
speciose valeas.	wonderfully strong to pluck up the
Virtuti saluti	garlic.
15 omnium studeas,	Apply yourself to virtue,
Noxias delitias	the salvation of all.
detesteris.	Renounce
Opera considera;	hateful pleasures.
que si non feceris,	Examine carefully your works;
20 damnaberis.	for if you do them not,
Hac in via milita gratie,	you will be damned.
<u>et</u> premia cogita patrie,	Wage war when on this path to grace,
<u>et</u> sic <u>tuū</u> <u>cor</u> in perpetuum	consider the rewards of heaven,
<u>gaudebit</u>	and thus your heart will forever
	rejoice.

Notes on the Text:

3,1-3: Cf. Romans, 12:12. 5-6: I.e., give yourself to Christ. See Leviticus, 1:15. The action described is a procedure for offering a bird as a sacrifice. For an explication, drawn from Bede and the Glossa ordinaria, of the sacrifice of the turtledove as a symbol of Christ, see Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:iv. 7-13: The lily and rose are symbols of virtuous behavior (see Pliny, Historia naturalis, book 21, chap. 11, §22; and book 21, chap. 74, §126), whereas cockle weed or tare, and garlic represent opposite qualities (see ibid., book 18, chap. 44, §153; book 19, chap. 32, §101; book 2, chap. 5, §16; Vergil, Georgics, book 1, line 154; idem, Eclogues, no. 5, line 37; Horace, Epodes, no. 3. 8: Possibly an oblique reference to Isaiah, 2:4 and Micheas, 4:3. 18: Cf. Ecclesiastes, 7:14. 23-24: John, 16:22, from which passage the tenor of the motet has been drawn.

HOMO QUO VIGEAS VIDE / ET GAUDEBIT

F, f. 386v.

Ho-mo quo vi-ge-as vi-de. de-i fi-de-i ad-
Et gau-de-

he-re-as. in spe gau-de-as. et in fi-de in-tus an-de-as. fo-

ris lu-ce-as. tur-tu-ris re-fo-r-que-as os ad a-scel-las. do-cens

i-ta ver-bo vi-ta o-m-nis vo-me-re de-con-di-bus fi-de-li-

30

um e-vel- las lo-li- um li-li- um in-se-re-ro-se ut a-li-

II

38

um per hoc cor-ri-pe-re spe-ci-o-se va-le-as. vir-tu-ti

45

sa-lu-ti o-mni-um stu-de-as. nox-i-as de-li-ti-as de-te-ste-

52

ris. o-pe-ra con-si-de-ra. que si non fe-ce-ris. dam-pna-be-

[b]

58

ris. hac in vi- a mi- li- ta gra- ti- e. et pre- mi- a co- gi-

65

ta pa- tri- e. et sic tu- um cor in per- pe- tu- um gau- de- bit.

-bit.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592. The music is attributed to Perotin by Husmann, Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame-Organa, p. xxii.

Date:

Genre: Conductus motet.

Text: Exhorts mankind to seek salvation, providing advice on how to achieve it.

Verse: Due to the rampant internal rhyme within this poem, the lines have generally been divided in accordance with the musical phrases:

8p + 9pp + 9p (pp?) + 10pp + 7pp + 5pp + 8p + 5pp + 8pp + 9pp + 5p + 10pp + 7pp + 6p + 6pp + 7pp + 4pp + 7pp + 6pp + 4pp + 3(10pp) + 3pp.

Rhyme: a b a b b c d e f f g e b h b i j k j j l l m n.

Music: Frequent use of paired phrases.

A (1-6), B (7-10), B¹ (11-14), C (15-18), D (19-22), B² (23-26), C' (27-30), E-E-E' (31-35), F (36-42), G-G' (43-46), H (46-48), I (49-52), I' (53-56), H' (56-58), J (59-62), J¹ (63-66), J² (67-71).

Phrase structure: (=142 Longs):

Triplum and Motetus: 12 (or 4+8) + 6(8) + 2(12) + 7 (or 4+3) + 5 + 8 + 12 (or 8 +4) + 2(8) + 10L.

Tenor: 8(4+4)+6 + 8(4+4)+8L. The second half of the motet repeats the same Tenor pattern with an extension of the penultimate Long.

Tenor behavior: pattern: 2+3 Mode V; 2 statements (mm. 1-35; 36-71).

Variants

Text: F-17: desteris.

Music:

F-Triplum and **Motetus:** 46,3: begins f. 387. **Tenor:** begins on f. 387.

LATEX SILICE / LATUSSOURCES:

F: fascicle 6, no. 34, f. 230v, à4; Strophes I-II only; transmitted in a fascicle containing three-part conductus; possibly only the upper three or lower two parts were intended to be performed as a unit.

W1: fascicle 8, no. 15, f. 81 (74), à3, Tenor omitted; Strophes I-III, complete.

Stutt: no. 43, f. 32v, à1; Strophe I only.

Text only:

Ox Rawl: no. 20, f. 240v; Strophes I-III; superscript: "prosa de passione dominica."

Graz 409: no. 6, f. 1v; complete, (Strophes I-III in the order I, III, II).

Music only:

Source clausula: Latus (Smith and Ludwig no. 5) from the M14 Alleluia Y Pascha nostrum for Easter Sunday:

W1: fascicle 6, no. 23, clausula no. 57, f. 57 (49), à2.

F: fascicle 5, no. 101, clausula no. 101, f. 158, à2.

Contrafacts: none.

Catalogs: Anderson: A2; Gennrich: 228; Tischler: 8; Chevalier: 10192; Walther: 10167.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:25-29. Anderson, Opera omnia, 1:iv (Text and translation), 4 (Music), 156 (Notes).

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:17, no. 9.

Literature: Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:266-268, 454-455. Scott, "Dissonance in the Earliest Three- and Four-voice Monotextual Motets."

- I. Latex silice,
 mel petra profluit,
 medulla cortice.
 Manna terra compluit.
- 5 In ardenti frutice
 flamma nihil destruit.
 Eicit veterana
 regulum caverna,
 dextera superna.
- 10 Spiritus emanat;
 litteram complanat.
 Sputo cecum sanat
 lux de lumine.
 Suo sanguine
- 15 qui librum gratie
 scripsit immolatus.
- II. In suppliciis,
 hec supplex hostia,
 dum stat in ostiis,
 20 petit hec stipendia,
 ut de beneficiis
 recens sit memoria.
 Quia pro te natus,
 pro te perforatus
- 25 manus pedes latus.
 Pro te se despexit.
- Water flows from the rock,
 honey from the stone,
 nutmeat from the shell.
 Manna rains down upon the earth.
 The flame within the burning
 bush destroys nothing.
 With his heavenly hand,
 Christ casts the serpent
 out of his ancient cave.
 The spirit flows forth;
 it makes plain the Scripture.
 With his spittle, the light
 of light heals the blind man.
 He who wrote the book of grace
 with his own blood
 is sacrificed.
 This humble sacrifice
 seeks these dues
 in suffering
 when he stands at the gates,
 so that the memory of his
 intercession may be kept fresh.
 Because he was born for you,
 his hands, feet, and side
 were pierced for you.
 He condemned himself for you.

Pro te resurrexit.	He rose again for you.
Humeris revexit	He carried back the lost sheep
ovem perditam.	on his shoulders.
30 Sequi semitam	Through these examples you should
per hec convinceris.	be convinced to follow the path.
Ne sis tam ingratus.	Be not so thankless.
III. Quod cor asperum!	What a bitter heart!
Cor saxo durius!	A heart harder than stone!
35 Tot fructus operum,	The fruits of his works are so many,
quid non reddis melius.	that you can render nothing better.
Nec dolore vulnerum	Nor does the son of God diminish
frangit Dei filius	the reimbursement you must pay
vicem quam rependis.	for the pain of his wounds.
40 Quare non attendis?	Why do you not listen?
Quis est quem offendis?	Who is it that displeases you?
Ergo, prudens ire,	Therefore, take care
diem prevenire,	to proceed wisely,
iudicem lenire,	to anticipate the final day,
45 cures opere.	to soothe the judge with your works.
Hunc amplectere	Embrace this man who stretches out
qui tibi brachia	his arms to you, the one who was
tendit, <u>immolatus</u> .	sacrificed.

Notes on the Text:

1-6: Symbols of Christ, and possibly also of his Virgin Birth. See Exodus, 3:2-4 and 16:14; Numbers, 20:1-11; Deuteronomy, 32:13; Psalms, 77:24 and 80:17. Many of these images also appear in Philip's organum prosula Vide prophecie, lines 8-15; as well as the motets Ex semine rosa

/ Ex semine Abrahe, line 11; and Stupeat natura, lines 37-40 (both possibly his work). 8: A symbol of the Devil; cf. Isaiah, 11:8. 12: John, 9:1-41. See also Philip's organum prosulas Vide prophecie, lines 47-50; Homo cum mandato, lines 17-29, and the anonymous conductus In terram Christus expuit. 17-32: Compare the similar language of this strophe with that of Strophe II of Philip's motet Homo quam sit pura, as well as the similar final lines of Strophes I and III in both Latex and Homo quam. 19: Possibly the gates of Heaven, but also quite likely a reference to the Harrowing of Hell; see Emile Mâle, The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century, trans. Dora Nussey, Icon Editions (New York: Harper and Row, 1972) pp. 224-226. Cf. also Apocalypse, 3:20 and 4:1. 24-26: Tortures Christ suffered during his Passion, see Matthew, 27:27-34, 48; Mark, 15:16-23, 36; Luke, 23:36; and John, 19:1-30, 34. For similar occurrences of these torments in works by Philip, see the notes to the text of Manere vivere, lines 24-31. 28-29: Matthew, 18:12-14; Luke, 15:3-7. 30: Cf. Matthew, 3:3; Mark, 1:3, Luke, 3:4. 32: Cf. Homo quam sit pura, line 19. 41: Ibid., line 48. 46-48: Ibid., lines 50-54.

LATEX SILICE / LATUS

E. F. 230v.

I. La- tex si- li- ce mel pe- tra pro- flu- it. me-
 II. In- sup- pli- ci- is hec sup- plex ho- sti- a dum
 III. [Quod cor a- spe- rum cor sa- xo du- ri- us tot
 La-

5

dul- la cor- ti- ce. man- na ten- ra com- plu- it. in ar- den- ti
 stat in o- sti- is pe- tit hec sti- pen- di- a. ut de be- ne-
 fru- ctus o- pe- rum quid non re- dit me- li- us nec do- lo- re

10

fru-cti-ce fla-ma ni-hil de-stru-it. e-i-cit ve-ter-na
 fi-ci-is re-cens sit me-mo-ri-a. qui a pro-te na-tus.
 vul-ne-rum fran-git de-i fi-li-us vi-cem quam re-pen-dis

15

re-gu-lum ca-ver-na. dex-te-ra su-pen-na spi-ri-tus e-
 pro-te per-fo-ra-tus. [ma-nus] pe-des la-tus. pro-te se de-
 qua-re non at-ten-dis quis est quem of-fen-dis er-go pru-dens

20

ma-nat. lit-te-ram com-pla-nat. spu-to ce-cum sa-nat.
 spes-it. pro-te re-sur-rex-it. hu-me-ris re-vex-it
 i-re di-em pre-ve-ni-re iu-di-cem le-ni-re

25

lux de lu-mi-ne. su-o san-gui-ne qui li-brum gra-ti-e
o-rem pen-di-tam. se-qui se-mi-tam per hec con-vin-ce-ris.
cu-res o-pe-re hunc am-ple-cte-re qui ti-bi bra-chi-a

-tus.

31

scri-psit im-mo-la-
ne sis tam in-gra-
ten-dit im-mo-la-

37

-tus.
-tus.
-tus.]

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Anderson, Opera omnia, 1:iv. The music is attributed to Perotin by Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," pp. 284-285; and Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:266-268, 454-455.

Date:

Genre: Conductus motet à4?; possibly intended only as a conductus à3 or a motet à2.

Text: The mystery of the virgin birth; a meditation on Christ's Passion; exhorts the ungrateful and unrepentent to embrace the sacrificed Christ.

Verse: Quite regular for a motet, composed of 5, 6, and 7 syllable lines:

5pp + 2(6pp) + 3(7pp) + 6(6p) + 2(5pp) + 6pp + 6p

Rhyme: I, III: ababab ccc ddd eefg

II: ababab ccc ddd eefc

Each strophe's rhymes have been considered independently. Strophe II deviates from the scheme of the others only in its final line. This rhyme not only is the only one repeated (g of I and III = c of II), but it also tropes the Tenor word, Latus (or Immolatus).

Music: Strophic (3 strophes)—Heavy interrelations among parts, with lai-like triple versicle structure (mm. 7-24) and voice exchange.

<u>Quadrup:</u>	J	A ⁹	C ⁴		D ⁴	A ¹⁰	D ⁵
<u>Triplum:</u>	D ¹	G	C ¹		C ²	C ³	D ²
<u>Motetus:</u>	A	B	A ¹		A ²	A ³	A ⁴
<u>Measure:</u>	1	2	4		7	9	11

<u>Quadrup:</u>	K	A ²	G ⁵		B ²	D ⁶	C ⁵
<u>Triplum:</u>	A ⁶	G ¹	A ⁷		G ²	G ³	G ⁴
<u>Motetus:</u>	C	C	C		D	D	D
<u>Measure:</u>	13	15	17		19	21	23

<u>Quadrup:</u>	L	D ⁷	M	N		+ cauda:
<u>Triplum:</u>	A ⁸	D ³	H	I		
<u>Motetus:</u>	E	A ⁵	B ¹	F		
<u>Measure:</u>	25	27	39	31		

<u>Quadrup:</u>	c ²	g ²	i	j	k
<u>Triplum:</u>	f	c ¹	g	g ¹	h
<u>Motetus:</u>	a	b	c	d	e
<u>Measure:</u>	33	35	37	39	41

Phrase structure: (= 86 Longs-64 + 22L cauda):

Quadruplum, Triplum, Motetus: 3 + 4 + 5 + 10(4) + 3 + 5 + 4L + cauda:
4(4)+6L

Tenor: 3(4) + 12 + 10(4)L followed by a 22L cauda in the upper parts.

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+3 (Mode V), with a segment of 12 ungrouped single longs in mm. 7-12; 1 statement.

Variants

Text: Main sources: Strophes I, II: F; Strophe III: W1.

F-6,2-3: nil destituit. 19,1: dat. 19,4: hostiis. 25,1: omitted. 32,2: sit.

W1-1,2: scilice. 4,2: terram. 6,2: nil. 11,1: literam. 18,2: suplex. 19,4: hostiis. 32,3: tot.

Music:

F-Quadruplum and Triplum: 7,2: begins f. 231. 35: begins f. 231v.
Motetus: 7,2: begins f. 231. 11,3: note erased or worn away. 35: begins f. 231v. Tenor: begins on f. 231v. 25-26: omitted. 32: The Tenor ends here, and is followed by a cauda in the upper parts that is not present in any of the clausula versions of this piece. If the cauda is performed, the Tenor may conclude after m. 32, or may sustain its pitch in the manner of an organum tenor.

MANERE VIVERE / MANERESOURCES:

W2: fascicle 8, no. 39, f. 165v, à2.

StS1: no. 6, f. 2v, à2; fragmentary.

Text only: none.

Music only:

LoA: fascicle 1, no. 5, f. 74v, à3; with added triplum and text omitted; Tenor transposed down a fifth. This transmission is probably a version of the contrafact Serena virginum (see below).

Source clausulae:

Manere (Smith nos. 3-6, Ludwig nos. 6-9) from the M5 Gradual Exiit sermo Y Sed sic eum for the feast of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist (Dec. 27). Although the music of Manere vivere is usually catalogued as four separate clausulae, it is probable that they were initially conceived as a single composition:

W1: fascicle 5, nos. 16-19, clausulae nos. 16-19, f. 50 (44), à2; in the same order as in the motet: 1,2,3,4.

F: fascicle 5, nos 42-45, clausulae nos. 42-45, f. 151, à2; in this transmission the order of the second and third clausulae are reversed in the motet: 1,3,2,4.

Illi (Smith and Ludwig no. 3) from the M50 Gradual Ecce sacerdos Y Non est inventus from the Common of a Bishop Confessor. This transmission presents only the first of the four clausulae that make up this motet:

W2: Magnus liber, fascicle 5, no. 25, f. 83, à2.

Contrafact: Serena virginum (Gennrich no. 69), possibly by Philip, q.v.

W1: fascicle 2, no. 5, f. XIII (9), à3, Tenor omitted.

F: fascicle 6, no. 40, f. 235, à4; found in a fascicle containing three-part conductus.

Ma: fascicle 5, no. 11, f. 119v, à2; Quadruplum and Tenor omitted.

LoA: fascicle 2, no. 11, f. 92, à3, Quadruplum omitted.

Graz 409: no. 35, f. 72, à1, unheightened neumes.

Catalogs: Anderson: A1; Gennrich: 70; Tischler: 9; Chevalier: 38801; Walther: 10648.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:35-59.

Text only: Analecta hymnica medi aevi, 49:249, no. 484.

	<u>Manere</u> , vivere	You should remain, live,
	debes, et florere	and flourish in me,
	in me, qui sum vere	who am truly the vine of life.
	vite vitis. Qui sicitis,	All you who are thirsty,
5	haurite	draw forth life
	vitam de me, vite.	from me, the vine.
	Odor mirre trite,	The odor of crushed myrrh,
	balsamo condite,	is fragrant when seasoned with
	fragrat. Huc venite.	balsam. Come hither.
10	Mirram invenite.	Seek the myrrh.
	Sentite. Oblite	Comprehend it. Forget about
	tui. De te quere.	yourself. Examine yourself.
	De Iohanne mirere.	Look at John.
	<u>Eum volo sic manere.</u>	I wish him to remain.
15	Quid ad te? <u>Me sequere!</u>	What is that to you? Follow me!
	Tibi strate premonstrate	The paths already shown to you
	patent, et cruore	lie open, and have been marked
	proprio sunt signate.	with my own blood. I have
	Te redemi pignore	redeemed you with the pledge of
20	anime pro te date	my soul that was given for you.
	Ingrate, pietate	You ingrate! Rouse yourself
	commovere, si me vere	with piety, if you truly and
	diligis et pure.	purely love me.
	Flagellorum triture,	Let the scourgings of the whips,
25	sputa, mine, clavi, spine,	the spitting, the threats, the
	pressure,	nails,
		thorns, and oppression be the

	forma sint discipline.	standard of instruction.
	Fel, cathene, cese gene,	The gall, chains, my cut cheeks,
	omnes vene plagis plene,	all my veins filled with gashes,
30	tot pene, si bene	these many torments are teachings,
	ponderes, sunt doctrine.	if you ponder them well.
	Condolent nature:	The elements grieved along with me,
	lapidum scissure,	with the splitting of the rocks and
	lucis sol obscure.	the sun with its light blotted out.
35	O dure,	O harsh one,
	te Iohannis aquile	let the writings of John the eagle
	moneant scripture	instruct you in the miracles
	magna sepulture.	of my burial.
	Fuit huic cubile	My breast was his
40	meum pectus. Hic electus	resting-place. He was chosen as
	custos matri Marie.	guardian for my mother Mary.
	Hora cene hausit plene	At the time of the meal he drank
	fontem graciae.	fully from the spring of grace.
	Ales alis spiritalis,	Fledged with the wings of the
45	preminens scientie,	spirit,
	figens visum non elisum	renowned for his wisdom, he who has
	in me, solem glorie,	planted a gaze on me, the sun of
	cuius ale	glory,
	sunt virtutum scale:	that cannot be shaken,
		he whose wings are
		the ladders of the virtues:
50	meum spiritalem	I want such a spiritual
	<u>volo</u> talem <u>manere</u> .	one as he to remain my own.

Notes on the Text:

3-6: The speaker is Christ; see John, 15:1-11. 4,3-6: John, 7:37. 7-11,1: Ecclesiasticus, 24:20-21. The Biblical reference is in praise of Wisdom, which in this context also signifies Christ. 14-15: John, 21:22-23, from which passages the tenor of the motet has been drawn. 19-20: See 2 Corinthians, 1:22 and 5:5. 22,2-23: Cf. John, 14:15. 24-31: The tortures Christ suffered during his Passion; see Matthew, 27:27-34, 48; Mark, 15:16-23, 36; Luke, 23:36; and John, 19:1-30, 34. See also the similar list in Philip's motet Homo quam sit pura, lines 5-7 and 9-12; and the motets Latex silice, lines 24-26, and Mors vite vivificacio, lines 15-18 (both possibly by Philip). 32-34: Portents that occurred at the moment of Christ's death, see Matthew, 27:45, 51-53; Mark, 15:33, 38; Luke, 23:44-45. Also note the strikingly similar language in lines 15-17 of Homo quam. 36: The eagle is the standard attribute of John the Evangelist, see Mâle, The Gothic Image, p. 36. 39-40,2: John, 13:23-25 and 21:20. 40,3-41: John, 19:26-27. 42-43: At the Last Supper, when John laid his head upon Christ's breast; see the above reference in lines 39-40,2. 46-47: John's symbol, the eagle, was purportedly able to gaze directly into the sun (Christ); see Mâle, The Gothic Image, p. 36. 48-49: Cf. Philip's organum prosula Associa tecum in patria, line 47. 51: See the above notes to lines 14-15.

W2, f. 165v

Ma- ne- re vi- ve- re de- bes et flo- re- re in me qui sum

Ma- ne- re.

8

ve- re vi- te vi- tis qui si- ci- tis hau- ri- te vi- tam de me

14

vi- te o- dor mir- re tri- te bal- sa- mo con- di- te Fra- grat huc ve-

20

ni- te. mir- ram in- ve- ni- te. sen- ti- te o- bli- te

27

tu- i de te que- re. de io- han- ne mi- re- re e- um vo- lo sic ma- ne- re

33

quid ad te me se- que- re ti- bi stra- te pre- mon- stra- te pa- tent et cru-

38

o- re pro- pri- o sunt si- gna- te te re- de- mi pi- gno- re

44

a- ni- me pro te da- te in- gra- te pi- e- ta- te com- mo- ve- re

52

si me ve- re di- li- gis et pu- re fla- gel- lo- rum tri- tu- re

59

spu- ta mi- ne cla- vi spi- ne pres- su- re for- ma sint di- sci- pli- ne

66

fel ca-the-ne ce-se ge-ne o-mnes ve-ne pla-gis ple-ne tot pe-

72

ne si-be-ne pon-de-res sunt do-ctri-ne con-do-lent na-

79

tu-re la-pi-dum scis-su-re lu-cis sol ob-scure o du-

84

re te io-han-nis a-qui-le mo-ne-ant scri-ptu-re ma-gna se-pul-

90

tu-re fu-it huic cu-bi-le me-um pec-tus hic e-le-ctus cu-stos ma-tri

96

ma-ri- e ho- ra ce- ne hau- sit ple- ne fon- tem gra- ci- e

102

a- les a- lis spi- ri- ta- lis pre mi- nens sci- en- ti- e fi- gens vi- sum

108

non e- li- sum in me so- lem glo- ri- e cu- ius a- le sunt vir- tu- tum

114

sca- le me- um spi- ri- ta- lem vo- lo ta- lem ma- ne- re.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:v; Handschin, "Zur Geschichte," p. 11. The music is attributed to Perotin by Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," pp. 284-285; and Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:266-268, 454-455.

Date:

Genre: Motet à 2.

Text: Christ cautions the reluctant sinner to follow him. As inducements to salvation, he uses events from the Passion and the example of John the Apostle and Evangelist.

Verse: 6pp + 2(7p) + 8p + 3pp + 5(6p) + 6pp + 6p + 7p + 8pp + 6pp + 8p + 6p + 4(7p) + 8p + 7p + 7pp + 8p + 3pp + 7p + 2(8p) + 7p + 7pp + 3(6p) + 3p + 7pp + 2(6p) + 6pp + 8p + 7pp + 8p + 5pp + 2(8p + 7pp) + 4p + 2(6p) + 7pp.

Rhyme: a a a b c c c c c c c a a a a d e d e d d a f f g f g h h h g f f f i f f i j k h l m l n o p p q a.

Music: Generally through composed, but recurrence of several motives tightens structure.

Four-note scalar descent: 1-2, 22-24, 25-26, 49-50, 70-71, 72-73, 83-84.

Scalar cadential motive: 23-24, 47-48, 71-72, 96-97 (inverted), 105-106 (inverted), 119-120.

Sequential pairing of lines: 30-34, 35-38.

Antecedent consequent line pairings: 42-43, 44-46; 66-67, 68-70; 91-92, 93-94, 95-97.

Phrase structure: (=240 Longs):

Motetus: 4 + 8 + 4 + 8 (or 4+4) + 4(4) + 8 (or 4+4) + 4 + 3(8) + 2(6 +4) + 10 + 4 + 6 (or 10) + 8 + 6 + 4 + 10 + 4 + 6 + 10 + 8 (or 3 + 5) + 3(4) + 10 + 8 + 10 + 8 + 5(4)L.

Tenor: 5(12(4))L.

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+3 (Mode V); 5 statements (mm. 1-24; 25-48; 49-72; 73-96; 97-120).

Variants

Text:

W2-9,2-3: flagrat hunc. 32,1: monecant.

Music:

W2-Motetus: 23,2: begins f. 166. 48: rest omitted. 55: rest omitted. 79,3: begins f. f. 166v. Tenor: begins on f. 166v. 43: begins f. 167.

MORS A PRIMI PATRIS / MORS QUE STIMULO / MORS MORSU NATA / MORS

Quadruplum doubtful

SOURCES:

Mo: fascicle 2, no. 35, f. 57v; triple motet.

Cl: no. 11, f. 372v; triple motet.

F: fascicle 9, nos. 5-6, f. 400; double motet, Quadruplum omitted.

W2: fascicle 8, no. 38, f. 164v; double motet; Quadruplum omitted, Tenor melody not supplied; Motetus precedes Triplum.

Ba: no. 61, f. 37v; double motet; Quadruplum omitted.

Ma: fascicle 4, no. 24, f. 104v, à2, Triplum and Quadruplum omitted.

Text only:

Bes: no. 10, f. 10; text incipit of Motetus only, from an index to a lost codex.

Music only:

Source clausula: Mors (Smith no. 4v, Ludwig no. 1) from the M18 Alleluia Y Christus resurgens for the Wednesday in Easter Week:

W1: fascicle 1, no. 3, f. VIv (4v), à4; ending missing.

F: fascicle 1, no. 3, f. 7, à4.

Ma: fascicle 2, no. 7, f. 21, à4.

W2: fascicle 1, no. 2, f. 5, à4.

Contrafact: (Motetus) Mors vite vivificacio (Gennrich no. 257, possibly by Philip, q.v.):

W2: fascicle 8, no. 37, f. 164, à2, Tenor melody not supplied.

Tort: no. 5, f. 140v, à1; Tenor omitted.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 254-256; Tischler: 39; Chevalier: 11701 (Motetus), 11703 (Triplum); Walther: 11259 (Motetus), 11267 (Triplum).

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:332-361.

Text only: Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:100-106 (texts with music); 1:205-207 (translation and commentary).

Literature:

Quadruplum (probably not by Philip)

- Mors, a primi patris vicio, Death sprang forth from the
cum transgressio sin of the first father
iussi dei facta fuit, after a violation of God's
emicuit. O order was committed. O
- 5 Mors, a ligno Death, it was you who
que triumphaveras vanquished us with a tree
cum seductio when we earned condemnation through
a Demonis ore the first man who was created
mortifero because of the death-bearing
10 primo procreato. mouth of the Demon.
O Mors, que moriente O Death, it was you who
superas, gentium triumphed by killing, when
omnium domino the lord of all peoples
cruce locato. was placed on the Cross.
- 15 Desolaris revelato But you were deprived
a patibulo when the son of the heavenly lord
celestis Domini filio. was freed from his gibbet.
O quanta surrectio! O what a resurrection!
Quanta populo contristato, How wonderful it is
20 in penis inferi cruciato, to a saddened people
arcato, racked by the torments of Hell,
prostrato, imprisoned, overcome, and bound
ligato, fast, to be delivered
mortis ex palato, from the jaws of Death,
25 visu pessimo! most horrible in appearance!

Ob hoc, proprio
 Dei filio,
 psallat, tam pio,
 nostra concio.

Therefore, let our
 congregation sing
 to God's own son,
 so holy.

Triplum

30 Mors, que stimulo
 nos urges emulo,
 importuno trahis uno
 omnes vinculo;
 dum te vito,

Death, you who ply us
 with your spiteful spur,
 you who yank all of us with
 your cruel chain;
 when I seek to escape you,

35 Mors, ades subito
 invito.

Death, you are suddenly at hand
 against my will.

Mors, quam paveo,
 caveo,
 quam fugio,

Death, whom I dread and
 shun,
 whom I flee,

40 non effugio;
 serpis clanculo,
 insopito
 vigil oculo.

but cannot escape;
 you slither about secretly,
 on the watch with your
 unsleeping eye.

Dum insignito

Though the affluent man may

45 dives titulo
 floret seculo,
 vite finito
 hoc curriculo,

prosper in this world through his
 notable status,
 when the race of life
 has been run and abandoned,

inanito, demolito

when his feeble body

50 hoc corpusculo,

has been destroyed,

	dissoluto	when the clay of his fragile
	teste fragilis luto,	vessel has been dissolved,
	parvulo	you shut him up
	claudis angulo,	in a cramped niche,
55	brevi tumulo.	in a shallow grave.
	<u>Mors</u> , gladio	Death, you menace
	exuto,	my throat with your
	instas iugulo.	unsheathed sword.
	Vivam, ut in tuto	I shall endure, as long as
60	me signaculo	I protect myself with the
	crucis munio,	sign of the Cross,
	christi scuto,	Christ's shield,
	O <u>Mors</u> .	O Death.

Motetus

	<u>Mors</u> , <u>morsu</u> nata venenato;	Death, born from that poisonous
65	<u>Mors</u> tu palato	bite; Death, you cling
	heseras viciato	to the tainted palate;
	<u>Mors</u> , peccato	Death, you spring from
	primo derivato,	the ancestral corruption
	ex vicio	obtained through
70	venis avito.	original sin.
	Fonte fellito,	Iniquity originated
	fit corruptio,	from this bitter source,
	ex abscincio	transmitted by this
	translato.	poison.
75	Sed veneno	But when the venom

cum radio	was dried up
sereno	by the radiant
exsiccato,	sunbeam, a transformation
fit reformatio	was accomplished
80 vero sole nato,	when the true sun was born,
verbo humanato.	when the word was made flesh.
Passo sub pilato	Though he suffered under Pilate,
dolo iude vendito	was betrayed by the deceit of Judas,
crucis <u>morti</u> tradito	was consigned to the Cross's punishment,
85 <u>mortis</u> <u>morsu</u> perditio	and was destroyed by Death's sting,
vite statu reddito.	he still returned to life.

Notes on the Text:

1-4,1: The fall of Adam and Eve that brought death upon mankind; see Genesis, 2:15-3:19. 5-6: The tree alluded to here is the tree of knowledge, from which Adam and Eve ate; but there is an unquestionable intimation of the Cross as well. 8-9: The Devil, in the form of a serpent, who convinced Eve to eat from the tree and give some of its fruit to Adam; see Genesis, 3:1-6. 18-25: Possibly a reference to the saints and prophets that Christ liberated during the Harrowing of Hell (see Mâle, The Gothic Image, pp. 224-226), as well as to mankind in general. 30: Death's spur or sting is sin; see 1 Corinthians, 15:55-56. 41-43: Death is again compared to the serpent, the Devil, from the Garden of Eden; see above notes to lines 8-9. 44-55: Possibly a reference to the parable of Dives and Lazarus (see Luke, 16:19-31), as well as echoing Matthew, 19:23-24; Mark, 10:23-25; and Luke, 18:24-25. 56-57: Cf. Apocalypse, 6:8. 62: Cf. 2 Kings [2 Samuel], 22:3; and Ephesians, 6:16. 64-74: Another reference to the sin of Adam and Eve, see above notes to lines 1-4. 71-74: Cf. Jeremiah, 9:13-15, 23:15; Lamentations, 3:15, 3:19; and Amos, 6:13. 80: The sun is a common symbol of Christ. 85: See above note to line 30.

2> MORS A PRIMI PATRIS / MORS QUE STIMULO / MORS MORSU / MORS

Mo, F. 57v

Mors a pri-mi pa-tris vi-ci-o cum trans-gres-si-o ius-si de-i
 Mors que sti-mu-lo nos ur-ges e-mu-lo im-por-tu-no
 Mors mor-su na-ta ve-ne-na-to mors

fa-cta fu-it e-mi-cu-it o mors a li-gno
 tra-his u-no o-mnes vin-cu-lo dum te vi-to
 tu pa-la-to he-se-ras vi-ci-a-to mors pec-

que tri-um-pha-ve-ras cum se-du-cti-o a
 mors a-des su-bi-to in-vi-to mors
 ca-to pri-mo de-ri-va-to ex vi-ci-

19

de-mo-nis o-re mor-ti-fe-ro pri-mo pro-cre-a-to o
 quam pa-ve-o ca-ve-o quam fu-gi-o non ef-fu-gi-o
 o ve-nis a-vi-to fon-te fel-li-to

26

mors que mo-ri-en-te su-pe-ras gen-ti-um o-mni-um do-mi-no
 sem-pis-clan-cu-lo in-so-pi-to vi-gil-o-cu-lo
 fit con-rup-ti-o ex-ab-scin-ci-o trans-la-to

32

cru-ce lo-ca-to de-so-la-ris re-ve-la-to a pa-ti-bu-
 dum in-si-gni-to di-ves-ti-tu-lo. flo-ret se-cu-lo
 sed ve-ne-no cum ra-di-o se-re-no

39

lo ce-le-stis do-mi-ni fi-li-o o quan-
 vi-te fi-ni-to hoc cur-ri-cu-lo in-a-ni-to
 ex-sic-ca-to fit

45

ta sur-re-cti-o quan-ta po-pu-lo con-tri-sta-to
 de-mo-li-to hoc cor-pus-cu-lo dis-so-lu-to
 re-for-ma-ti-o ve-ro so-le-na-to

51

in pe-nis in-fe-ri cru-ci-a-to ar-ca-
 te-ste fra-gi-lis lu-to par-vu-lo clau-dis an-gu-lo
 ver-bo hu-ma-na-to pas-so

57

to pro-stra- to li- ga- to mor- tis ex
 bre- vi tu- mu- lo mors gla- di- o ex- u- to
 sub pi- la- to do- lo iu- de ven- di- to

63

pa- la- to vi- su pes- si- mo ob hoc pro- pri- o
 in- stas iu- gu- lo vi- vam ut in tu- to me si- gna- cu- lo
 cru- cis mor- ti tra- di- to mor- tis

69

de- i fi- li- o psal- lat tam pi- o no- stra con- ci o.
 cru- cis mu- ni- o chri- sti scu- to o mors.
 mor- su per- di- to vi- te sta- tu red- di- to.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:v; idem, "Obiter dicta," p. 362. The Quadruplum, however, ends with a cliché ("let this congregation sing. . .") that is uncharacteristic of Philip's verse. Most significantly, although this work was originally written as a four-part clausula, the earliest sources only provide a double motet. See also Sanders, The Medieval Motet, pp. 522-524. The music has also been attributed to Perotin by many modern authors, see Sanders, "The Question," p. 246.

Date:

Genre: Triple motet, probably originated as a double motet.

Text: A meditation on death. Quadruplum and Motetus: Death sprang from the transgression of Adam, but was thwarted by Christ's resurrection. Triplum: the speaker seeks to escape death and cannot; all people, rich and poor, are humbled by death; the only chance for eternal life is under Christ's protection.

Verse: Quadruplum: 9pp + 5pp + 8p + 5pp + 4p + 6pp + 5pp + 6p + 4p + 6p + 7p + 2(6pp) + 5p + 8p + 4pp + 9pp + 8pp + 9p + 10p + 3(3p) + 6p + 3(5pp) + 5p + 5pp.

Triplum: 5pp + 6pp + 8p + 5pp + 4p + 6pp + 3p + 5pp + 3pp + 4pp + 2(5pp) + 4pp + 6(5pp) + 8p + 5pp + 4p + 7p + 3pp + 2(5pp) + 4pp + 3pp + 5pp + 6p + 2(5pp) + 4p + 2p.

Motetus: 9p + 5pp + 7p + 4p + 6p + 4pp + 4(5pp) + 3p + 4p + 4pp + 3p + 4pp + 6pp + 3(6p) + 4(7pp).

Rhyme: Quadruplum: a a b c d e a f g h i j k h h l m a h h h h h h a m m m m.

Triplum: l l o l c c c p p m m l c l c l l c l c l q q l l l m q l q l m q r.

Motetus: h h h h h m c c a a h s m s h a h h h c c c c.

Almost every line is assonant with the vowel o in the Tenor text.

Music: Through composed.

Phrase structure: (=150 Longs):

Quadruplum: 4 + 2 + 4 + 8 + 2 + 4 + 2 + 3 + 5 + 2 + 2(6) + 2 + 4 + 2(2) + 4 + 2(6) + 4 + 8 + 6 + 8 + 2 + 8 + 3(4) + 6 + 2(4) + 8 + 6L.

Triplum: 4 + 2 + 4 + 8 + 2 + 4 + 2 + 2(4) + 2 + 6 + 5(4) + 6 + 6(4) + 2(8) + 7(4) + 8 + 6L.

Motetus: 10 + 2 + 4 + 3(6) + 8 + 3(4) + 8 + 4 + 10 + 9(8)L.

Tenor: 10(2+4)+6L + 10(2+6)+4L

Tenor behavior: pattern: (first) 1+3; (second) 1+3 + 4L rest (both in Mode V); 2 statements (mm. 1-33; 34-75).

Variants

Text:

Mo-2: contrangressio. 3,1: iussu. 4,1: emeruit. 19,1: quia.

25,1: viru. 42: dissoluto. 43: iugi loculo. 46,1: flores. 55,2:

titulo. 56,2: originally gaudio, corrected 58,1: instans. 58,2: originally iuguo, corrected. 61,2: originally munito, corrected. 62-63: vite statu reddito. These two lines have been exchanged for line 86 in Mo. 80,1: o vero. 81,1: verbis. 84,3: tractato. 86: christi scuto o mors; see above note to lines 62-63.

Music:

Mo-Quadruplum: 2,2: begins f. 58v. 11,2-3: BL. 22,2-3: BB. 26,1-2: BB. 29: begins f. 59v. 31: L rest. 38: BLBL. 41,2-3: BL. 42,2-3: BL. 58,2: begins f. 60v. 62,2-3: BL. 63,2-3: BL. 73,2: B. 74,1: B. Triplum: 3: begins f. 58v. 19,2-3: BB. 20,2-3: BB. 29: begins f. 59v. 30,4: L. 49,2-3: BB. 53,2-3: BB. 59: begins f. 60v. 59,2-3: BB. Motetus: Begins on f. 58. 3: begins f. 59. 18,2-3: BB. 19,2-3: BB. 29: begins f. 60. 35,2-3: BB. 60: begins f. 61. Tenor: Begins on f. 58. 1-2: Underlaid with text mors morsu (the motetus incipit). 3: begins f. 59. 29: begins f. 60. 62: begins f. 61. 70: edpli.

NOSTRUM EST IMPLETUM GAUDIUM / NOSTRUMSOURCES:

F: fascicle 8, no. 9, f 384; conductus motet.

Ch: no. 6, f. 5, à1; fragmentary, mutilated.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Source clausula: Nostrum (Smith no. 3v, Ludwig no. 1) from the M 14 Alleluia y Pascha nostrum for Easter Sunday. All voices of the conductus motet correspond with those of the clausula:

W1: fascicle 8, no. 20, f. 87v (78v), à3.

F: fascicle 2, no. 8, f. 24, à3.

W2: fascicle 2, no. 9, f. 22v, à3.

Contrafact: Hui matin a l'ajournée me levai (Gennrich no. 217, Linker no. 265-782).

Pn fr. 12615: no. 32, f. 185, à2.

R: no. 9, f. 206, à2.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 216; Tischler: 19; Chevalier: 12306;
Walther: -.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:117-121.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 49:227, no. 439.

Literature:

<u>Nostrum</u>	Our joy
est impletum gaudium	has been fulfilled
per azimum. Sit annuum	through the unleavened bread.
<u>pascha</u> letum.	Let Easter Sunday be joyous.
5 Leto letum est deletum;	Death has been destroyed by death,
exulat exilium	and exile is exiled
post Triduum.	after the Triduum.
Cessat vacuum tuum,	Death, your hollow verdict
mors, decretum.	is overturned.
10 Amplexatur parvulum;	The father embraces his son.
dat osculum, dat anulum	He gives him a kiss,
pater, et vitulum.	a ring, and a calf.
O quam dulce ferculum	O how sweet is the dish cooked
in ara crucis torridum,	upon the altar of the Cross,
15 a quo fluit sapidum	from which flows the blood,
cruor poculum	the savory drink
<u>nostrum</u> .	that is ours.

Notes on the Text:

3,2: I.e., Christ. 3,3-4,2: Another possible rendering of these lines, retaining the MS reading sit animum in line 3, could read: "let the paschal lamb (Christ) be happy in his soul." However, this seems less satisfactory than the emended version. 5-9: Cf. Philip's organum prosula Adesse festina, lines 136-137 and the references cited there. The meaning is that through Christ's death, Death himself was overcome and his hold over mankind rendered void by the Resurrection. Similarly, Christ's exile in Hell for three days was overturned ("banished") after he rose again on Easter Sunday. 7: The Triduum is the three-day liturgical period that precedes Easter. 10-12: A reference to the Parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke, 15:11-32). See the notes to Philip's conductus prosula Minor natu filius for further appearances of this story in Philip's works, as well as for the explication of its symbolism.

NOSTRUM EST IMPLETUM GAUDIUM / NOSTRUM

E, F. 384

No- -strum est im- ple- tum

No- -strum

6

gau- di- um per a- zi- num. sit an- nu- um pa- [s]cha le- tum.

11

le- to le- tum est de- le- tum ex- u- lat ex- i- li- um post tri- du-

16

um ces- sat va- cu- um tu- um mors de- cre- tum. am- plex- a- tur

22

par- vu- lum dat o- scu- lum dat a- nu- lum pa- ter et vi- tu- lum.

27

o quam dul- ce fer- cu- lum in a- ra cru- cis tor- ri- dum a quo flu- it

32

sa- pi- dum cru- or po- cu- lum no- strum.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 592; Anderson, "Symbolism in Texts—A Postscript," pp. 36-37; *idem*, "Obiter dicta," p. 362. In addition, the music has been attributed to Perotin. See Husmann, Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame Organa, p. xxii.

Date:

Genre: Conductus motet.

Text: On the joy of Easter: death is conquered, the Prodigal Son returns, the Eucharistic sacrifice is compared to a feast.

Verse: 2p + 7pp + 8pp + 4p + 8p + 7pp + 4pp + 7p + 4p + 7pp + 8pp + 6pp + 7pp + 8pp + 7pp + 5pp + 2p.

Rhyme: a b c d d b c c d e e e e f f e a.

Music: Through composed; however, Motetus mm. 22-24 = Triplum 27-29..

Phrase structure: (=74 Longs):

Triplum and Motetus: 8 (cauda) + 4 + 8 + 12 + 8 + 12 + 8 + 8 + 6L.

Tenor: 8(4+4) + 10L

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+2 (Mode V); 2 statement (mm. 1-17; 18-37).

Variants

Text:

F-2,4: animum. 4,1: pacha.

Music:

F-Triplum: 5,4: begins f. 384v. 6: omitted rest. 14-15: In the manuscript, 14,4 is aligned with 15,1 of the Motetus, causing a dissonant displacement of the subsequent pitches of measure 15. The alignment has been restored with reference to the clausula sources.

Motetus: 4: omitted rest. 8-10: omitted. 5,4: begins f. 384v.

Tenor: begins on f. 384v.

O QUAM NECESSARIUM / VENDITORES LABIORUM / DOMINO [or EIUS]

Triplum tentative

SOURCES:Ba: no. 100, f. 61v.; double motet; Tenor designated Domino.

All other sources omit the triplum.

LoC: no. 4, f. 2, à2; Tenor designated Eius.LoB: no. 28, f. 56v, à1; with superscript: "de advocatis;" Tenor omitted.Text only:Bes: no. 23, f. 23; text incipit of motetus only, from a surviving index of a lost codex.Music only:

Source clausula: none; Tenor is either designated Eius from the O16 Responsory Stirps Jesse Y Virgo dei genetrix for the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15), also used for the Nativity of the Virgin (September 8); or Domino from the BDI Office versicle Benedicamus Domino, used on a variety of feast days, and derived from the O16 Responsory melisma.

Contrafacts: none.Catalogs: Gennrich: 759; Tischler: 265; Chevalier: -; Walther: 12900.Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 2:1408-1413.Text only: Anderson, Compositions of the Bamberg Manuscript, p. cxxiii.Literature: Mark Everist, French 13th-Century Polyphony, pp. 19-20, 25-26.

Triplum

	O quam necessarium	O, defenders of lawsuits,
	vestrum est officium,	how indispensable
	causarum patroni.	is your profession.
	Obstant rationi	Those who tend to
5	vobis vituperium	criticize you stand in
	imponere proni.	the way of reason.
	Publice proficitis.	You contribute to the public good.
	Vestrum tamquam militis	Your name is honored like
	nomen honoratur.	that of the soldier.
10	Hic est quod salarium	This is why your salary
	vestrum honorarium	from the law is called
	a lege vocatur.	an honorarium.
	Qui causas dirimerent?	Who would take the cases?
	Qui legem exponerent	Who would explain the law
15	nisi vos? Statuta	if not for you? Established
	iura prorsus fierent	rulings would be utterly
	sine vobis muta.	silenced without you.
	Si capitis, facitis	Though you exploit and invent
	hoc iuris licencia,	matters through legal license,
20	non igitur sequitur	it does not therefore follow
	quod vendatis labia.	that you are selling your lips.

Motetus: for this text, see under Venditores laborum.

Notes on the Text:

The following remarks pertain only to the Triplum. For information on the Motetus, Philip's Venditores labiorum, see under its own title.

10-11: See the notes pertaining to this passage in Venditores, lines 1-5, for the recently discarded dating of this work after 1274; and also for indications that the Triplum as well may be ascribed to Philip. 21: Echoes the opening line of the Motetus.

O QUAM NECESSARIUM / VENDITORES LABIORUM / DOMINO

Ba, f. 61v

O quam ne- ces- sa- ni- um ve- strum est of- fi- ci- um cau-

Ven- di- to- res la- bi- o- rum fle- ant ad- vo- ca- ti.

I
Domino

5

sa- rum pa- tro- ni ob- stant ra- ci- o- ni

qui plus stu- dent pre- mi- o- rum dan- de quan- ti- ta- ti quam

9

vo- bis vi- tu- pe- ni- um im- po- ne- re pro- ni

cau- se qua- li- ta- ti. ad con- sul- ta pre- la- to- rum

13

pub- li- ce pro- fi- ci- tis ve- strum tam- quam mi- li- tis

mul- ti sunt vo- ca- ti. sed e- le- cti pau- ci quo- rum

17

no- men ho- no- ra- tur hic est quod sa- la- ri- um

ad- qui- e- scat a- ni- mo- rum vir tus e- qui- ta- ti.

21

ve- strum ho- no- ra- ri- um a le- ge vo- ca- tur qui cau- sas di-

par- cunt ve- ri- ta- ti. stan- tes cau- sis pro re- o- rum ius per- ver- tunt

II

26

8 ri- me- rent qui le- gem ex- po- ne- rent ni- si vos sta- tu- ta
8 de- cre- to- rum san- ctas le- ges an- ti- quo- rum num- mis ob- li- ga- ti.

31

8 iu- ra pron- sus fi- e- rent si- ne vo- bis mu- ta
8 du- pli- ces pro- ba- ti. ma- la fo- vent per- ver- so- rum

35

8 si ca- pi- tis fa- ci- tis hoc iu- ris li- cen- ci- a
8 sce- lus o- per- ra- ti. quod at- ten- dat oc- cul- to- rum

39

8 non i- gi- tur se- qui- tur quod ven- da- tis la- bi- a.

8 iu- dex chri- stus nec e- o- rum par- eat fal- si- ta- ti.

Observations

Unless specified otherwise, the following remarks pertain only to the Triplum. For information on the Motetus, Philip's Venditores labiorum, see under its own title.

Attribution: Suggested by Everist, French 13th-Century Polyphony, pp. 25-26.

Date:

Genre: Double motet.

Text: In praise of canon lawyers.

Verse: Extremely regular for a motet; only two types of lines used: 2(7pp) + 2(6p) + 4(7pp + 6p + 7pp) + 6p + 4(7pp).

Rhyme: a a b b c b d d e a a e f f g f g d h i j(h')

Music: Repetition of motives in both parts.

Triplum: A (1-2), B (3-4), C (4-6) B' (7-8), D (9-10), E (11-12), F (13-14), F' (15-16), G (17-18), B' (19-20), H (21-22), I (23-24), J (25-26), K (27-28), L (29-30), M (31-32), J' (33-34), N (35-36) G (37-38), L' (39-40), F'' (41-43).

Motetus: A (1-2), B (3-4), C (5-6), D (7-8), E (9-10), B¹ (11-12), A¹ (13-14), A² (15-16), F (17-18), B² (19-20), G (21-22), H (23-24), I (25-26), B³ (27-28), G' (29-30), J (31-32), K (33-34), A³ (35-36), F' (37-38), L (39-41).

Phrase structure: (=86 Longs):

Triplum: 4 + 8 (or 4+4) + 18(4) + 6L. The Triplum is isoperiodic, except for the final phrase.

Motetus: 2(8 + 12) + 4 + 16 + 4 + 8 + 14L.

Tenor: 10(2+2) + 6L.

Tenor behavior: pattern: 2+3 (Mode V); 2 statements (mm. 1-20; 21-43). The second tenor statement has a slightly different ending with additional pitches from the chant in m. 41.

Variants

Text:

Ba-Triplum: 8,2: tmquam. 14,2: legum. **Motetus:** 4,1: grande.

Music:

Ba-Triplum: 11,1: begins f. 62. **Motetus:** 11,1: begins f. 62. 18: gabc. **Tenor:** 11,1: begins f. 62.

STUPEAT NATURA / LATUS

Strophes I-III tentative; IV-V doubtful

SOURCES:

W2: fascicle 8, no. 53 (49), f. 177v, à2; strophe I.

MüB: no. 15, f. IIa v, à2?; fragmentary; Tenor missing; strophe I.

Tort: no. 3, f. 140, à1; Tenor omitted; strophe I.

Text only:

Ob 30151: no. 84, f. 129; complete, strophes I-V; superscript: "carmen super admirabili partu beate virginis."

Graz 409: no. 9, f. 2r; strophes I-II.

Music only:

Source clausula: Latus (Smith and Ludwig no. 4) from the M14 Alleluia Y Pascha nostrum for Easter Sunday:

W1: fascicle 6, no. 22, clausula no. 56, f. 57 (49), à2.

F: fascicle 5, no. 104, clausula no. 104, f. 158v, à2.

Contrafact: Homo quam sit pura (Gennrich no. 231), by Philip, q.v.; also a strophic motet:

F: fascicle 8, no. 11, f. 385v; conductus motet; strophe I only.

Sab: no. 2, f. 135v, à2; complete, strophes I-III.

Ch: no. 8, f. 5, à1?; fragmentary.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 232; Tischler: 21; Chevalier: 19541; Walther: 18649.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:133-138.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:185, no. 245.

Literature: Anderson, "Obiter dicta," pp. 355-360.

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| I. | <p>Stupeat natura;
 fracta sua iura
 virgine fecunda.
 Omnis creatura
 5 sua pro mensura
 hac in genitura
 iubilet iocunda
 vota placitura.
 Lingua det facunda
 10 laude non obscura.
 Psallat plebs gratulabunda
 communi sensura;
 sit hec nobis cura,
 lenis et non dura,
 15 voce letabunda.
 Nam sine iactura,
 parit parens pura,
 virgo manens munda.</p> | <p>Let nature be astounded;
 her laws have been broken
 by a fertile virgin.
 Let every living thing
 according to its ability
 shout favorable prayers
 that will be pleasing
 to this birth.
 Let an eloquent tongue
 relate uninhibited praise.
 Let the cheering crowd sing
 in universal accord.
 Let this be our charge,
 a easy one, not difficult,
 performed with a joyful voice.
 For without defilement,
 a pure mother gives birth,
 remaining a chaste virgin.</p> |
| II. | <p>Ordine mutato,
 gaudet virgo nato,
 21 nata genitorem
 utero beato,
 verbo fecundato
 celitus illato.
 25 Gignit contra morem,
 servans, illibato</p> | <p>With the standard order recast,
 a virgin rejoices in a son,
 having born her father
 from her blessed womb,
 made fertile by a word
 furnished from heaven above.
 She gives birth counter to custom,
 preserving her virtue,</p> |

	corpore, pudorem.	her body untouched.
	Singulari dato,	Through this unique gift,
	sponsa parit amatorem,	the bride begets her lover
30	thalamo serato.	with her chamber still secure.
	Perdit, usitato	Reason, its usual course
	cursu violato,	violated, surrenders
	ratio vigorem;	its command;
	nam, intemerato	for, preserving her
35	flore conservato,	maidenhood intact,
	flos producit florem.	the flower produces a blossom.
III.	Hoc figurabatur	This was foreshadowed
	olim, videbatur	long ago, when
	cum rubus ardere,	a bush seemed to burn,
40	nec exurebatur.	yet was not consumed.
	Quod si contemplatur	For if anyone ponders
	quo pes calciatur,	how his foot is shod,
	debet remove,	he should remove his shoes,
	ut sic mereatur	that thus he may be worthy
45	proprius videre.	to look more closely.
	Vellus humectatur;	The fleece is moistened;
	ros quo possit vas implere	the dew that can fill the
	Gedeoni datur.	vessel is granted to Gideon.
	Nulli reseratur	The door that is revealed
50	porta que monstratur,	to one who is truly searching
	inquirenti vere.	is unbolted to no one.
	Virgo fecundatur,	The virgin becomes pregnant,

sed non irrigatur,	bearing fruit like the Spring,
fructum ferens vere.	but is not dampened.

The following two strophes transmitted in Ob 30151 do not appear to belong to the original poem.

IV. Thronus deitatis	This throne of divinity
56 est fons castitatis,	is the source of chastity,
lilium ortorum,	the lily of the gardens,
flos virginitatis,	the flower of virginity,
splendor claritatis,	the radiance of brightness,
60 lux iocunditatis	the light of happiness,
rosa angelorum,	the rose of the angels,
dux humilitatis,	the duchess of humility,
forma perfectorum,	the beauty of perfect things,
causa sanitatis,	the cause of health,
65 spes et venia reorum,	the hope and pardon of sinners,
portus pietatis,	the harbor of piety,
domus caritatis,	the house of charity,
mater bonitatis.	the mother of goodness.
Memor miserorum,	Remember your unfortunate ones,
70 dans solamen gratis	granting solace for free
cunctis desolatis	to all the desolate
metu peccatorum.	through fear of sins.
V. Speculum doctrine,	Mirror of beliefs,
cella medicine,	chamber of remedies,
75 ianua salutis,	gate of salvation,

<p>dux lucis divine, mentis columbine; te laudant regine vocibus argutis.</p> <p>80 Schola discipline, procul a versutis; gene turturine dant fulgorem restitutis stelle matutine.</p> <p>85 Et tu, Florentine, da laudes regine danti. Verba mittis, ut sis sine fine flos expers ruine</p> <p>90 in regno virtutis.</p>	<p>noble lady of the divine light, of the dove-like mind; queens praise you with lively voices.</p> <p>School of good conduct, far from cunning; your cheeks like turtledoves bestow the splendor of the morning star upon the delivered.</p> <p>And you, Florentine, grant praises to your generous queen. Send forth the words, so that you may forever be a flower free from destruction in the kingdom of virtue.</p>
--	---

Notes on the Text:

1: Cf. Philip's motet Homo quam sit pura, a contrafact of this piece, lines 13-14; and the opening lines of the anonymous conductus De nature fracto iure and Nove geniture. It is probable that the lines from Homo quam formed the inspiration for Stupeat. 23: The word is probably intended in a double sense, as a representation of God (see John, 1:1), and as the "Ave" of the Angel Gabriel (see Luke, 1:28). 31-33: Cf. the anonymous conductus referred to in the notes to line 1, above. 36: I.e., Mary bears Christ. 37-40: Exodus, 3:2-4; for other occurrences of this image see notes to the text of the motet Latex silice (possibly by Philip), lines 1-6; and also of Philip's organum prosula Vide prophecie, lines 8-15. 41-45: Exodus, 3:5. The shoes represent sin. For this interpretation, drawn from Isidore of Seville, see Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:vii. 46: Judges, 6:36-40; a symbol of the virgin birth. For other occurrences of this image in Philip's works, see the notes to the text of Vide prophecie, line 11. 47-48: Judges, 6:38. The dew is a symbol of God's power, while the vessel that Gideon gathered it in stands for the womb of the Virgin Mary. 49-51: Ezechiel, 44:2. This image is also mindful of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matthew, 25:1-13), one of Philip's most prominent

biblical allusions. For the occurrence in his works, see the notes to his conductus prosula Veste nuptiali. 52-54: Unlike even plants, which need irrigation to flower, the virgin required no human seed to bear her child. 55-90: The remaining strophes of this poem consist of a chain of Marian appellations mingled with appeals for mercy. A contemporaneous treatise illustrating and explaining a great number of images associated with Mary can be found in the De laudibus Beatae Mariae of Richard of Saint Laurent (see the notes to the text of the motet Ex semine Abrahe divino for the cited edition). The blandness of these two strophes when compared to the rest of the poem makes it almost certain that they were later additions to the other three, and that they must claim a different author. 85: Probably addressed to a man named Florentine, or perhaps an inhabitant of Florence. Less likely is the possibility that the city of Florence itself is invoked, given the masculine form of the second declension vocative case that is used here.

STUPEAT NATURA / LATUS

M2, F. 177v

8

I. Stupeat natura fracta supra iura virgine fecunda
 II. [Or-dine muta-to gaudet virgo nato nata genito-rem
 III. [Hoc figu-raba-tur o-lim vide-batur cum ru-bus ar-de-re
 IV. [Thro-nus dei-ta-tis est fons cari-tatis li-li-um or-to-rum
 V. [Specu-lum do-ctri-ne cel-la medi-ci-ne ia-nu-a sa-lu-tis

8

la-

7

8

o-mnis crea-tu-ra su-a pro men-su-ra hac in ge-ni-
 u-te-ro be-a-to ven-bo fe-cun-da-to ce-li-tus il-
 nec ex-u-re-ba-tur quod si con-tem-pla-tur quo pes cal-ci-
 flos vir-gi-ni-ta-tis splen-dor cla-ri-ta-tis lux io-cun-di-
 dux lu-cis di-vi-ne men-tis co-lum-bi-ne te lau-dant re-

8

12

8

tu-ra iu-bi-let io-cun-da vo-ta pla-ci-tu-ra
 la-to gi-gnit con-tra mo-rem ser-vans il-li-ba-to
 a-tur de-bet re-mo-ve-re ut sic me-re-a-tur
 ta-tis ro-sa an-ge-lo-rum dux hu-mi-li-ta-tis
 gi-ne vo-ci-bus ar-gu-tis scho-la di-sci-pli-ne

8

17

8

lin-gua det fa-cun-da lau-de non ob-scu-ra psal-lat plebs gra-
 con-po-ne pu-do-rem sin-gu-la-ri da-to spon-sa pa-rit
 pro-pri-us vi-de-re vel-lus hu-me-ta-tur ros quo pos-sit
 For-ma per-fe-cto-rum cau-sa sa-ni-ta-tis spes et ve-ni-
 pro-cul a ver-su-tis ge-ne-tur-tu-ri-ne dant ful-go-rem

8

22

tu-la-bun-da con-mu-ni sen-su-ra sit hec no-bis cu-ra
 a-ma-to-rem tha-la-mo se-ra-to per-dit u-si-ta-to
 vas im-ple-re ge-de-o-ni da-tur nul-li re-se-ra-tur
 a-re-o-rum por-tus pi-e-ta-tis do-mus ca-ri-ta-tis
 re-sti-tu-tis stel-le ma-tu-ti-ne et tu flo-ren-ti-ne

27

le-vis et non du-ra vo-ce le-ta-bun-da nam si-ne ia-
 cur-su vi-o-la-to ra-ti-o vi-go-rem nam in-te-me-
 por-ta que non-stra-tur in-qui-ren-ti ve-re vir-go fe-cun-
 ma-ter bo-ni-ta-tis me-mor mi-se-ro-rum dans so-la-men
 da lau-des re-gi-ne dan-ti ver-ba mit-tis ut sis si-ne

-tus.

32

ctu-ra pa-mit pa-rens pu-ra vir-go ma-nens mun-da.
 ra-to flo-re con-ser-va-to flos pro-du-cit flo-rem.]
 da-tur sed non ir-ri-ga-tur fru-ctum fe-rens ve-re.]
 gra-tis cun-ctis de-so-la-tis me-tu pec-ca-to-rum.]
 fi-ne flos ex-pers ru-i-ne in-re-gno vir-tu-tis.]

Observations

Attribution: Attribution of Strophes I-III to Philip posited by Anderson (Latin Compositions, 2:viii). Supporting the ascription are the very high quality of the text (especially Strophes II-III), the use of many of Philip's favored symbols and images, and the fact that it is a contrafact of a known Philip work.

Date:

Genre: Motet à2.

Text: Strophes I-III: Nature's laws have been broken through Christ's birth from a virgin; all manner of creation should offer her praise; Old Testament events that prefigured the Virgin Birth: the burning bush, Gideon's fleece, Ezechiel's door. Strophes IV-V: List of Marian attributes, exhortation to a Florentine (or a person of that name) to offer prayers to the Virgin to assure salvation.

Verse: Extremely regular for a motet: 10(6p) + 8p [or 2x4p] + 7(6p).

Rhyme: a a b a a a b a b a b a a b. Each strophe's rhymes have been considered independently. none of the rhymes is repeated among the strophes,

Music: Contrafact of Homo quam sit pura; Many relationships among phrases through sequential and transpositional identity.

A (measures 1-2), A' (3-4), B (5-6), C (7-8), B¹ (9-10), B² (11-12), B³ (13-14), B⁴ (15-16), D (17-18), B⁵ (19-20), E-E' (21-22), F (23-24), G (25-26), H (27-28), I (29-30), I' (31-32), B⁶ (33-34), I (35-36).

Phrase structure (= 72 Longs):

Triplum and Motetus: 10(4) + 8 + 6(4L)

Tenor: 18(4L)

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+3 (Mode V); 1 statement.

Variants

Text: Main sources: strophe I: W2; strophes II-V: Ob 30151, original unavailable, text consulted from the editions of André Wilmart, "Le Florilège mixte," pp. 77-78; and Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:vii-viii.

W2-3,2: feconda. 7,1: iubili. 11,2: plesb. . 13,1: sic.

Ob 30151-12,1: communi. 34,1: cum.

Music:

W2-Motetus: 10;16: omitted rest. 24,1: begins f. 178. Tenor: Notated on f. 178. 29,1: Text syllable actually appears at end, not aligned with any notes of the tenor melody. The placement here corresponds with the underlay of other clausula and motet sources.

YPOCRITE PSEUDOPONTIFICES / VELUT STELLE / ET GAUDEBIT

Triplum tentative

SOURCES: In view of the intricacy of this complex of pieces, the incipits of multi-texted works are given along with their numbers from Gennrich's motet catalogue:

F: fascicle 9, nos. 40-41, f. 411v; double motet.

All other sources that contain the triplum provide a different motetus text:

Ma: fascicle 6, nos. 16-17, f. 132; double motet with Motetus O quam sancta quam benigna (Gennrich, no. 317), q.v. in this edition; Motetus precedes Triplum, second half of Triplum omitted, Tenor omitted.

Ba: no. 74, f. 47; double motet with O quam sancta as Motetus.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Source clausula: Et gaudebit (Smith, Ludwig no. 2) from the M24 Alleluia ¶ Non vos relinquam for the Feast of the Ascension (second Alleluia):

F: fascicle 5, no. 130, clausula no. 130, f. 161v, à2.

StV: gathering 6, clausula no. 15, f. 289v, à2; contrafact incipit in margin: "Al cor ai une aligrance."

Contrafacts:

(Motetus) O quam sancta quam benigna (Gennrich no. 317):

Ch: no. 9, f. 6; conductus motet; fragmentary, beginning and end missing.

LoC: no. 7, f. 3v, à2.

ArsB: no. 8, f. 117, à2.

Hu: no. 93, f. 94v, à2; incomplete, second half omitted, Tenor rhythmically and melodically varied.

Ma: see above.

Ba: see above.

Mo: fascicle 3, no. 36, f. 63v; double motet with Triplum El mois d'avril (Gennrich no. 318).

Cl: no. 28, f. 381v; triple motet with Triplum O maria mater pia vite via (Gennrich no. 317a), and El mois d'avril as Quadruplum.

The text alone of O quam sancta survives in three other sources, q.v.

(Motetus) Al cor ai une alegance (Gennrich no. 319, Linker no. 265-36):

W2: fascicle 9, no. 2, f. 195; double motet with triplum El mois d'avril.

(Motetus) Memor tui creatoris (Gennrich no. 320);

W2: fascicle 8, no. 79 (74b) f. 188v, à2.

(Motetus) Virgo virginum regina virga virens (Gennrich no. 321):

W2: fascicle 8, no. 78 (74a), f, 187v, à2.

(Triplum) El mois d'avril qui vers va departent (Gennrich no. 318, Linker 265-586):

Cl: no. 28, f. 381v; triple motet with Motetus O quam sancta and Triplum O maria mater pia vite via (Gennrich no. 317a); El mois d'avril appears as Quadruplum.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 315 (Motetus), 316 (Triplum); Tischler: 71; Chevalier: 13546 (Motetus), 27870 (Triplum); Walther: 8615 (Motetus), - (Triplum).

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:493-537.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:201, no. xxvii (Motetus); 21:202, no. xxix (Triplum).

Literature:

Triplum

<p>Ypocrite, pseudopontifices, ecclesie duri carnifices, in crapulis epulis calices geminant.</p>	<p>The hypocrites, the bogus bishops, the harsh butchers of the church, clink their goblets at their drunken feasts.</p>
<p>5 In lacrimis fructices seminant. In cathedris cum Iove fulminant. Ut iudices et vindices, ypocrite supplices simplices nominant;</p>	<p>In tears they sow the shrubs of wickedness. They thunder along with Jove upon their thrones. As judges and avengers, the hypocrites accuse sincere petitioners;</p>
<p>10 sed dupplices, qui divinant in sedibus, numinant. Ad oculos loculos singulos angulos ruminant. Aculeum felleum mel propinant.</p>	<p>but give the nod to the deceitful ones who tell lies in their courts. They scrutinize every single purse and hiding place before their eyes. They deliver a bitter sting as though it were honey.</p>
<p>15 Lubrificant, fabricant errorum codices, et facies suas exterminant. Libidinum criminum artifices diminuunt pondera stateres.</p>	<p>They falsify and forge law books full of errors, and disguise their outward appearance. These crafters of lecherous sins devalue the coinage.</p>
<p>20 Iudiciis opprimunt pauperes. Hii palee, luterus lateres. Inficiunt vias bonas veteres. O misera conditio magnatum! Tot capita fantasmatum</p>	<p>They oppress the poor with their judgements. They are chaff, washers of bricks. They taint the good old ways. O the miserable state of these dignitaries! Ashes cloak the heads of</p>
<p>25 obumbrant cineres.</p>	<p>many a charlatan.</p>

Triste Sabbatum! Pallor climatum in facie patet, et matie simplicitas, in animo latet dupplicitas.	Miserable Sabbath! Although upon their faces they display the pallor of the season, and proclaim earnestness through fasting, treachery lies hidden in their souls.
30 O Veritas, que sub nube latitas; O Bonitas, possideat timor ypocritas, ne noceat duplex iniquitas, dupplex falsitas. O Caritas,	O Truth, who hides under a cloud; O Goodness, let fear possess the hypocrites, lest their deceitful vice and deceptive fraud harm you. O
35 semitas abditas vitas. Debitas cognitatas doces et habitatas.	Charity, you seek to avoid the secluded paths. You teach what is required and dwell upon the known roads.

Motetus

Velut stelle firmamenti fulgent facta prelatorum.	The deeds of good prelates shine like the stars in the firmament.
40 Bases sacri fundamenti, fons virtutum, via morum, decor ornamenti.	They are the pillars of the sacred foundation, the source of virtue, the path of good conduct, the elegance of adornment.
Nubes mel stillantes sunt; venti fecundantes	They are clouds raining down honey; winds pollinating the
45 terram, agrum, vineam, extirpantes tineam, spinas, lolium, inserentes lilium cordibus fidelium.	earth, fields, and vineyards, that root out the worms, thorns, and weeds and plant the lily in the hearts of the faithful.

50	Grana pura separant a palea. Per supernis spernunt terrea. Irradiant clave scientie. Culpas piant, reos solvunt clave potentie.	They separate the pure grain from the chaff. They reject earthly affairs for the heavenly. They glow with the key of learning. They expiate sins and free the condemned with the key of power.
55	Ad premia non nectunt retia, nec oculos ad loculos flectunt. Agni mitis eligunt vestigia, ad amena dirigunt gregem vite pascua cum gloria.	They neither weave nets for rewards, nor direct their eyes to someone's pockets. They choose the footprints of the gentle Lamb, and with glory steer the flock to the delightful fields of life.
60	Lampade non vacua, ad regias nos ducunt nuptias. Nos pro pia sublevent suffragia.	With a lamp that is not empty, they guide us to the royal nuptials. Because of their pious deeds let their intercession sustain us.

Notes on the Text:

In view of the term pseudopontifices in the Triplum, along with the attribution to Philip posed by Peter Dronke ("Lyrical Compositions," p. 586, note 56), it is tempting to suggest that Philip may have written this poem as an attack against William of Auvergne (reg. 1228-1249), who successfully protested the Paris chapter's election of Philip's nephew as bishop, and was himself invested with the office. For information on these events, see Volume 1 of this study, Chapter 1.

3-4: Cf. Matthew, 23:6. 5: See Psalms, 125:5; Ecclesiasticus, 3:30; and the opening lines of the two anonymous conductus Qui seminant in lacrimis and Qui seminant in loculis. 6: Cf. Philip's conductus prosula Bulla fulminante, lines 1-5. 11,3: This word does not appear in any of the standard dictionaries. It is probably a neologism, derived from numen ("a nodding of the head," "will," "might," "authority," "divine power"). Hence the presumed meaning is "to nod at," "to authorize," or "to empower" someone. 17: Matthew, 6:16. 19: Cf. Proverbs, 16:11. 19,3: This word is here construed as a "Hellenized" genitive of either stater (coin) or statera (scale), with both terms relating to trade standards, hence the translation "currency." A similar genitive ending can be found in the Latin form musices. Although the correct form of the genitive stateris appears at

this point in Ba. I prefer to retain the "Greek" form of the word as transmitted in F, and thus preserve the rhyme that is so dominant in this poem. 21,3-4: The phrase "to wash a brick" (luterem lavare) means to perform a useless task (see Terence, Phormio, line 186). The form lateres is apparently another "Greek" genitive; see the notes above to line 19,3 for its justification. Alternatively, Ba has lutei lateres for 21,2-3, which could be plausibly rendered "filthy bricks," or (with palee) "filthy bricks of straw." 24-25: The wearing of ashes signifies humility when offering special prayers or sacrifices; and it is also associated with mourning (see Judith, 4:15, 7:4, 9:1; Lamentations, 2:10; and 1 Maccabees 3:47, 4:39). 26-28: Cf. Matthew, 6:15.-18. Although this passage is somewhat obscure, the references to ashes in lines 24-25, the apparent severity of the climate in 26, and to fasting in 28 suggest the observance of Lent. The meaning appears to be that, although the hypocritical church officials display all the outward trappings associated with Lenten compliance, they still foster internal corruption. 32: Isaiah, 33:14. 36-37: Cf. 2 Paralipomenon [2 Chronicles], 6:27. 40: See Philip's conductus Christus assistens pontifex, lines 33-34. 48-49: See the motet Homo quo vigeas (probably by Philip), lines 9-11. 50: Matthew, 3:12; Luke, 3:17. See also Philip's organum prosula Adesse festina, lines 54-62 for other references to this image in his works. 52: Cf. Luke, 11:52. 56: Echoed in the Triplum text, lines 12-13. 57-59: See Apocalypse, 14:4; and Philip's motet Laqueus coneritur, lines 26-27. 60-61: From the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matthew, 25:1-13). See Philip's conductus prosula Veste nuptiali for other references to this story in Philip's works.

YPOCRITE / VELUT STELLE / ET GAUDEBIT

E, f. 41v

Y-po-cri-te pseu-do-pon-ti-fi-ces. ec-cle-si-e du-ri

Ve-lut stel-le fin-na-men-ti

Et gau-

4

car-ni-fi-ces. in cra-pu-lis e-pu-lis ca-li-ces ge-mi-

ful-gent fa-cta pre-la-to-rum.

-de-

7

nant. in la-cri-mis fru-cti-ces se-mi-nant. in ca-the-dris cum io-ve ful-mi-

ba-ses sa-cri fun-da-men-ti. fons vir-tu-tum

11

nant. ut iu-di-ces et vin-di-ces y-po-cri-te sup-pli-
vi-a mo-rum. de-cor or-na-men-ti. nu-bes mel stil-

15

ces sim-pli-ces no-mi-nant sed dup-pli-ces qui di-vi-nant.
lan-tes. sunt ven-ti fe-cun-dan-tes ter-ran a-grum

19

in se-di-bus nu-mi-nant. ad o-cu-los lo-cu-los sin-gu-los an-gu-los ru-mi-
vi-ne-am. ex-tir-pan-tes ti-ne-am

23

nant. a-cu-le-um fel-le-um mel pro-pi-nant. lu-bri-fi-cant fa-bri-
spi-nas lo-li-um. in-se-ren-tes li-li-um

27

cant er-ro-rum co-di-ces. et fa-ci-es su-as ex-ter-mi-nant.
con-di-bus fi-de-li-um. gra-na pu-ra

31

li-bi-di-num cri-mi-num ar-ti-fi-ces di-mi-nu-unt pon-de-ra sta-te-
se-pa-rant a pa-le-a. pro su-pen-nis sper-nunt ten-re-

35

res. lu-di-ci-is op-pri-munt pau-pe-res. hii pa-le-e lu-te-
a. In- II ra-di-ant cla-ve sci-en-ti-

39

res la-te-res in-fi-ci-unt vi-as bo-nas ve-te-res. o mi-se-
e. cul-pas pi-ant re-os sol-vunt cla-

43

ra con- di- ti- o ma- gna- tum. tot ca- pi- ta fan- tas- ma- tum ob- ua-
ve po- ten- ti- e. ad pre- mi- a non nec- tunt

47

brant ci- ne- res tri- ste sab- ba- tum. pal- lor cli- ma-
re- ti- a. nec o- cu- los ad lo- cu-

50

tum in fa- ci- e pa- tet et ma- ti- e sim- pli- ci- tas. in a- ni-
los flec- tunt. a- gni mi- tis e- li- gunt ve-

54

mo la- tet dup- pli- ci- tas. o ve- ri- tas que sub nu- be la- ti- tas o bo- ni-
sti- gi- a ad a- me- na di- ri- gunt

58

tas pos- si- de- at ti- mor y- po- cri- tas. ne- no- ce- at dup- plex in- i- qui-
gre- gem vi- fe pa- scu- a cum glo- ri- a. lan- pa- de non

62

tas dup- plex fal- si- tas. o ca- ri- tas se- mi- tas ab- di- tas
va- cu- a ad re- gi- as nos du- cunt

66

vi- tas. de- bi- tas co- gni- tas do- ces et ha- bi- tas.
nu- pti- as. nos pro- pi- a sub- le- vent suf- fra- gi- a.
-bit.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Triplum attributed by Peter Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 586, note 56. The Motetus text also has several references that suggest Philip's authorship. In addition, the music has been attributed to Perotin. See Sanders, "The Question," p. 247.

Date: Tentatively ascribable to the years 1228-1236, see above, Volume 2, Chapter 5.

Genre: Double motet.

Text: Triplum: Critical of corrupt, dishonest, and unjust church officials; invocations to Truth, Goodness, and Charity to reform them.

Motetus: In praise of honest prelates.

Verse: Each of the two texts of this motet is divided into two "partes," signified by a virga (/) in the following enumerations.

Triplum: Due to the rampant internal rhyme within this poem, the lines have generally been divided in accordance with the musical phrases:

2(10pp) + 7pp + 6pp + 2(10pp) + 8pp + 7pp + 6pp + 8pp + 7pp + 9pp + 6pp + 11pp + 7pp + 6pp + 10pp + 11pp + 10pp / 2(10pp) + 2(11pp) + 8p + 6pp + 10pp + 4pp + 10pp + 11pp + 4pp + 2(10pp) + 9pp + 8p 2(6pp).

Motetus: 4(8p) + 2(6p) + 7p + 2(7pp) + 5pp + 2(7pp) + 11pp + 9pp / 10pp + 8p + 6pp + 10pp + 10p + 2(11pp + 7pp) + 10pp + 11pp.

Rhyme: Triplum: a a b c c c a a c c c d c c c a c a e / e e e f f e f g h h h h h h h h h.

Motetus: a b a b c d d e e f f f g g / h i h j k j l j m n j.

Neither of the two texts shares any rhymes.

Music: Motetus through composed; Triplum generally through composed with a few repeated phrases.

Triplum: A (1-2), B (3-4), C (5-7,1), D (7,2-9,3), E (9,4-11,1), F (11,2-13), G (14-16), H (17-18), I (19-20,1), J (20,2-23,1), J' (23,2-25), K (26-28,1), L (28,2-30), H' (31-33,1), M (33,2-35), N (A' 36-37), B (38-39), C' (40-42,1), O (42,2-44), P (45), B' (46-48,1), Q (48,2-49,1), R (49,2-50,1), S (50,2-51,1), T (51,2-53,1), U (53,2-55,1), V (55,2-57,1), W (57,2-58,1), X (58,2-60,1), Y (60,2-64), Z (65-66), AA (67-68,1), BB (68,2-70).

Phrase structure: (=140 Longs):

Triplum: 2(4) + 5 + 8 (or 4+4) + 5 + 6 + 4 + 3 + 6 + 5(5)L / 2(4) + 2(5) + 2 + 5 + 4 (or 2+2) 2 + 3(5) + 2 + 5 + 9 (or 7+2) + 4 + 3 + 5L.

Motetus: 12 (or 6+6) + 14 (or 6+8) + 8 (or 4+4) + 6 + 8 + 10 (or 4+6) + 12 (or 6+6)L / 8 + 10 + 6 + 8 + 6 + 6 + 6 + 12 (or 6+6) + 8L.

Tenor: 2(8(4+4)+6)L

Tenor behavior: pattern: 2+3 (Mode V), with an extension of the last three notes at the end of each tenor color; 2 statements (mm. 1-35; 36-70).

Variants**Text:**

F-9,1: et simplices, no note provided for extra syllable. 11,2: possibly nuncinant. The manuscript appears to be slightly damaged here, or some type of correction was proposed for this unusual word (see above in the Notes on the Text). 25,2: fatie. 48,2: li lilium; the repeated syllable is carried over from the end of the previous system.

Music:

F-Triplum: 2,4: e. 13,4: possibly b. 24,6: begins f. 412. 70: following the end of the Triplum is a five-note tenor incipit with the text Et gaude. Motetus: begins on f. 412v. 54,1-2: edpli. 58,4: f. 60,3: begins f. 413. Tenor: begins on f. 413. 2: no syllable stroke provided here for proper text underlay; but underlay confirmed by Tenor tag at the end of the Motetus (see above note to m. 70).

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

POETRY, POLITICS, AND POLYPHONY: PHILIP THE
CHANCELLOR'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE MUSIC
OF THE NOTRE DAME SCHOOL
VOLUME FIVE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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DOCE NOS HODIE / DOCEBITSOURCES:

W2: fascicle 7, no. 12, f. 132v; conductus motet; incomplete, end of upper parts and entire Tenor missing.

F: fascicle 9, no. 2, f. 399v, à2.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Source clausula: Docebit (Smith, Ludwig no. 2) from the M26 Alleluia y Paraclitus spiritus, the second Alleluia for the feast of Pentecost:

W1: fascicle 5, no. 27, clausula no. 27, f. 53v (45v), à2.

F: fascicle 5, no. 138, clausula no. 138, f. 163, à2.

Contrafacts: none.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 345; Tischler: 110; Chevalier: 25670; Walther: 4662.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:776-782.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:198, no. xx.

Literature:

	<u>Doce</u> nos hodie	Teach us today,
	viam prudentie	O Christ, O Truth,
	stabilem,	the steadfast path
	christe, veritas.	of prudence.
5	Et qui lucem habitas	And you who inhabit
	inmarcessibilem,	the imperishable light,
	pelle gracia	banish the dreariness
	splendoris	of night through the
	noctis tedia.	grace of your brilliance.
10	Remedia meroris	Prescribe a remedy
	gentibus	for sadness to
	intus gementibus	your people
	tribue.	lamenting within.
	Tue gregi pascue	Give the spirit of fear
15	da spiritum timoris,	to your grazing flock,
	ut te diligat	that it may cherish you
	et eligat	and choose
	ardue	the paths
	vie semitas,	of the rigorous way,
20	ne foris	lest it be locked out
	sit ut virgo fatua	like a foolish virgin
	vacua liquoris	bearing lamps extinguished
	et extincta vasa gerens,	and empty of oil, seeking
	frustra querens	in vain an entrance when the
25	aditum iam clausa ianua.	doors are already closed.
	Igitur te vocibus	Therefore, we beseech you

supplicibus,	with humble voices,
pie rex glorie, petimus,	O blessed king of glory,
per quem fugimus	through whom we escape
30 tenebras erroris:	the shadows of error:
ad te suspirantibus	to those who sigh to you,
da <u>Spiritum Paraclitum</u>	grant the Holy Spirit,
cuius unctio	whose salve
viciium arcebit,	will hinder vice,
35 et excluso vitio	and with our sin removed
de virtutibus	will instruct us
nos <u>docebit</u> .	in the virtues.

Notes on the Text:

3: Cf. Matthew, 20:21. 4: Cf. John, 14:6. 14: Cf. Ezechiel, 34:31.
 19: Cf. Matthew, 3:3; Mark, 1:3; Luke, 3:4. 20-25: A reference to the
 parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matthew, 25:1-13). This figure
 occurs in several other poems by Philip. See the notes to his conductus
 prosula Veste nuptiali for the other occurrences. 32-37: Cf. John,
 14:26.

DOCE NOS HODIE / DOCEBIT

M2, F. 132v

Do- ce nos ho- di- e vi- am pru- den- ci- e sta- bi- lem chri- ste ve- ri-

7

tas et qui lu- cem ha- bi- tas in- mar- ces- si- bi- lem

12

pel- le gra- ci- a splen- do- ris no- ctis te- di- a re- me- di- a me- ro-

18

ris gen- ti- bus in- tus ge- men- ti- bus tri- bu- e tu- e gre- gi

24

pa- scu- e da spi- ri- tum ti- mo- ris ut te di- li- gat et e- li- gat an- du-

30

e vi- e se- mi- tas ne fo- ris sit ut vir- go fa- tu- a

36

va- cu- a li- quo- ris et ex- tin- cta va- sa ge- rens fru- stra que- rens

42

ad- i- tum iam clau- sa ia- nu- a i- gi- tur te vo- ci- bus sup-

47

pli- ci- bus pi- e rex glo- ri- e pe- ti- mus per quem fu- gi- mus

52

te- ne- bras er- ro- nis ad te sus- pi- ran- ti- bus da spi- ri- tum pa-

57

ra- cli- tum cu- ius un- cti- o vi- ci- um ar- ce- bit et [ex- clu- so

62

vi- ti- o de vir- tu- ti- bus nos do- ce- bit.]

{-bit.}

Observations

Attribution: Tentatively ascribable to Philip. Possibly confused with the unlikely medieval attribution Doce nos optime by the scribe of Praha when compiling his list of Philip's poems. Contains Wise and Foolish Virgin imagery.

Date:

Genre: Conductus motet.

Text: Invocation to Christ to send the Holy Spirit to aid mankind, banish vice, and cultivate virtue.

Verse: 2(6pp) + 3pp + 5pp + 7pp + 6pp + 5pp + 3p + 5pp + 7p + 3pp + 6pp + 3pp + 7pp + 7p + 5pp + 4pp + 3pp + 5pp + 3p + 7pp + 6p + 8p + 4p + 9pp + 7pp + 4pp + 9pp + 5pp + 6p + 7pp + 8pp + 5pp + 6pp + 7pp + 5pp + 4pp.

Rhyme: a a b c c b d e d e f f g g e h h g c e i e j j i f f k k e f l m n m f n.

Music: Occasional repeated or varied phrases.

A (1-5), B (6-7), A' (8-11), C (12-14), D (15-19), E (19-22), E' (23-26), F (27-30), D' (31-33), C¹ (34-37), G (38-40), H (41-44), C² (45-49,1), I (49,2-51), J (52-53), K (54-57), L (58-59), M (60-61), N (62-64), N' (65-66), O (67-69).

Phrase structure: (=138 Longs):

Triplum and Motetus: 10 + 4 + 8 + 6 + 4(8) + 2 (6+8) + 9 + 5 + 4 + 8 + 4 + 2(10)L.

Tenor: 15(4) + 2(4)L / + 8 (4+4) + 4 + 6L. The last four notes of the first tenor statement, and the last three notes of the second, break their rhythmic patterns with cadential extensions.

Tenor behavior: pattern: I: 3+3 (Mode V), II: 3+2 (Mode V); 2 statements (mm. 1-32; 33-69).

Variants

Text: Main Sources: W2: lines 1-35,1; F: 35,2-37.

W2-14,2: greci. 26,2: de. 27: simplicibus. 35,2-37: The manuscript breaks off after 35,1 because of missing folios; remainder supplied from F, f. 400.

F-6: inaccessible. 26,1: capital initial.

Music: Main Sources: W2: Triplum and Motetus, measures 1-62,1; F: Triplum, 62,2-69; Tenor 1-69.

W2-Triplum: 1,3: possibly g. 15,1: begins f. 133. 23-24,3: originally ddcdbac (a third too low), erased and corrected. 40: omitted rest. 41,3: begins f. 133v. 49: omitted rest. 50,3: erased and a correction never entered. 51: omitted rest. 62,2-69: the remainder of this unique triplum is missing due to the loss of the following bifolio; its completion is conjectural. Motetus: 2: ed, c b a = BB, B L B. The variant reading used in the edition, supplied from

F, yields better harmony on the second beat of the measure. 15,1: begins f. 133. 40: omitted rest. 41,3: begins f. 133v. 49: omitted rest. 50,2-3: erased and a correction never reentered. The canceled notes correspond with the other versions of the piece, so the reason for their effacement is unclear. 51: omitted rest. 62,2-69: The remainder of the voice is lost with the following folio. It has been completed from F, f. 400. Tenor: This entire part has disappeared with the loss of the following folio. It is supplied from F, f. 400. 68: text syllable omitted.

F-Motetus: 1,2: plica instead of ligated tone. 10,2: b. 13,1: = 2 = cb = BB. 20,3-5: = 1+2 = d,cb = L,SS. 28,1: stroke follows this note. 29,1-2: ccbpli. 32,1-2: ccbpli. 43,2: originally c, erased and b entered. 55,4: g.

ET EXALTAVI PLEBIS HUMILEM / ET EXALTAVISOURCES:

F: fascicle 8, no. 22, f. 395; conductus motet.

W2: fascicle 7, no. 2, f. 124; conductus motet.

W2: fascicle 8, no. 28, f. 159v, à2.

Fauv: no. 28, f. 9, à1.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Source clausula: Et exaltavi (Smith no. 3v-2, Ludwig no. 2) from the M 51 Alleluia ¶ Posui adiutorium from the Common of a Bishop Confessor. The three parts of the conductus motet correspond with those of the source clausula, except for some varying phrases in the triplum:

F: fascicle 2, no. 30, f. 46, à3.

Contrafacts: none.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 517; Tischler: 32; Chevalier: 26212; Walther: 5917.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:227-236.

Text only: Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:5-9 (text with music); 1:14-15 (translation and commentary).

Literature:

	<u>Et exaltavi</u>	I have both ennobled
	<u>plebis</u> humilem	the modest and
	venerabilem,	honorable of my people,
	et superbum inclinavi	and have degraded the proud and
5	despicabilem.	contemptible.
	Fastus mentis germinat	Arrogance spawns
	turpitudinem.	corruption in the mind.
	Fastus ventum seminat	It sows the wind
	et metit turbinem.	and reaps the whirlwind.
10	Ergo labiles,	Therefore, shun
	umbre similes,	transient, fickle,
	fragiles, et vanas	and irreverent
	fugas divitias,	riches, frail and empty
	instabiles et prophanas.	as a cloud.
15	Qui cum interieris	You, who when you die
	eris olla cineris	will be an urn of ashes
	et cibus vermium,	and food for the worms,
	vas es sordium,	are a vessel of filth,
	sepulchrum sceleris.	a tomb of sin.
20	Dampna culpe veteris	If you recall the penalty
	si memineras,	of original sin,
	expedit ut vigiles.	it will ready you to be on watch.
	Gazas mundi steriles	Defy the fruitless riches of this
	contempnas, querens fertiles,	world,
		and seek profitable,
25	sinceras, ineffabiles,	sincere, inexpressible, true,
	veras, interminabiles.	and inexhaustible treasures.

<p>Ne timeas, quin gaudeas in die flebili. si pertranseas has paleas, 30 adherens humili grano, cunctis utili, quod <u>exaltavi</u>.</p>	<p>You should not dread, but rather delight in the Day of Judgement, if you bypass these chaffs and cling to the modest grain that is useful to all, which I have glorified.</p>
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Notes on the Text:

1-2,1: From Psalms, 88:20, from which the tenor text of this chant is taken. 4-5: Cf. Psalms, 17:28, 88:11; Luke, 1:51. 8-9: Hosea, 8:7. 10-14: Cf. 1 Timothy, 6:17. 29-32: Cf. Matthew, 3:12; Luke, 3:17. This image occurs very often in Philip's lyrics, see the notes to the text of his organum prosula Adesse festina, lines 55-62 for other occurrences. 29,3-4: I.e., worldly riches.

ET EXALTAVI PLEBIS HUMILEM / ET EXALTAVI

E, F. 395

The musical score is written for three staves: a vocal line (top), a piano accompaniment (middle), and a basso continuo line (bottom). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 8/8. The score is divided into four systems, each starting with a measure number (8, 6, 12, 17). The lyrics are written below the vocal line, with syllables aligned with the notes. There are two flats (b) above the first and fourth measures of the first system. A fermata is placed over the first measure of the second system. The lyrics are: "Et ex-al-ta-vi ple-bis hu-mi-lem ve-ne-ra-bi-lem. et su-per-bum in-cli-na-vi de-spi-ca-bi-lem. fa-stus men-tis ger-mi-nat tur-pi-tu-di-nem. fa-stus ven-tum se-mi-nat et me-tit tur-bi-nem. er-go la-bi-les um-bre si-mi-les".

8 Et ex-al-ta-vi ple-bis hu-mi-lem ve-ne-ra-bi-

8 Et ex-al-ta-

6 lem. et su-per-bum in-cli-na-vi de-spi-ca-bi-lem. fa-stus men-tis

12 ger-mi-nat tur-pi-tu-di-nem. fa-stus ven-tum se-mi-nat et

17 me-tit tur-bi-nem. er-go la-bi-les um-bre si-mi-les

23

8 8 8

fra- gi- les et va- nas fu- gi- as di- vi- ti- as in- sta- bi- les. et

28

8 8 8

pro- pha- nas. qui cum in- ten- i- e- nis e- nis ol- la

II'

34

8 8 8

ci- ne- ris et ci- bus ven- mi- um. vas es son- di- um se- pul- chrum sce- le-

40

8 8 8

ris. dan- pna cul- pe ve- te- ris si me- mi- ne- nis ex- pe- dit ut vi- gi-

46

les. ga-zas mun-di ste-ni-les con-tem-pnas que-rens fen-ti-les. sin-

51

ce-ras in-ef-fa-bi-les. ve-ras in-ter-mi-na-bi-les. ne ti-me-as quin

56

gau-de-as in di-e fle-bi-li si pen-tran-se-as has pa-le-as. ad-

61

he-rens hu-mi-li gra-no cun-ctis u-ti-li quod ex-al-ta-vi. [b] [-vi.]

Observations

Attribution: Ascribable to Philip because this motet's music has a modern attribution to Perotin (see Husmann, Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame Organa, p. xxii), the text evinces stylistic traits and images Philip favors in his other poems, and the conductus motet version is derived from an integral three-part clausula, thereby indicating the possibility of a very early work.

Date:

Genre: Conductus motet derived from an integral clausula à3.

Text: God or Christ speaks; cautions the listener to avoid sinful behavior; wheat and chaff imagery.

Verse: 5p + 2(5pp) + 8p + 5pp + 7pp + 5pp + 7pp + 6pp + 2(5p) + 6p + 7pp + 8p + 2(7pp) + 6pp + 5pp + 6pp + 7pp + 5pp + 2(7pp) + 4(8pp) + 6pp + 9pp + 6pp + 7pp + 5p.

Rhyme: a b b a b c d(b') c d e e f g f h h i i h h h e e e e e j k j k k a.

Music: Generally through composed; however, repeated phrase occurs right over beginning of second Tenor statement (33-36, 37-40), and the long breathless phrase near the end is full of sequential repetitions: a (47-48), a' (49-50), b (51-52), b' (52-53), c (54-58), c' (58-62).

Phrase structure: (=132 Longs):

Triplum + Motetus: 2(8+4) + 6(4) + 10 + 4 + 10 + 8 + 4 + 3 + 4 +
23 + 9 + 8L.

Tenor: 33(4L).

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+3 (Mode V); 2 statements (mm. 1-32; 33-66). The second statement leaves off the opening three notes of the first, and extends its ending by five notes (mm. 63-66) not in first.

Variants

Text: F—none.

Music:

F-Triplum: 5,3: begins f. 395v. 45,1: begins f. 396. **Motetus:** 5,3: begins f. 395v. 31,3: d. 45,1: begins f. 396. **Tenor:** begins on f. 396. 67: text syllable omitted.

EX SEMINE ABRAHE DIVINO / EX SEMINESOURCES:

- F: fascicle 9, no. 14, f. 403v, à2.
W2: fascicle 8, no. 5, f. 146v, à2; contrafact incipit in margin: "se
 iai ame" (see below).
Worc: Fragment XVIII, f. 1v; conductus motet imbedded in a fragmentary
 setting à3 of Alleluia ¶ Nativitas (M38) that does not otherwise
 correspond to the Notre Dame organum triplum versions of this
 chant. See Dittmer, The Worcester Fragments, no. 81. All three
 voices of this motet source concord with the three parts of the
 source clausula (see below).
Mo: fascicle 4, no. 62, f. 100v; double motet with triplum Ex semine
rosa prodit spina, possibly by Philip, q.v. The triplum of the
 double motet and the source clausula are musically identical.
Ba: no. 29, f. 15v; double motet as above.
Hu: no. 128, f. 117v; double motet as above; Motetus precedes Triplum.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Source clausula: Ex semine (Smith nos. 2 and 3v; Ludwig no. 1) from the
 M 38 Alleluia ¶ Nativitas for the feast of the Nativity of the
 Virgin (Sept. 8). This particular clausula occurs both in an
 organum triplum attributed to Perotin by Anonymous 4 and in a two-
 part setting in the Magnus Liber of F. In addition, several of
 the clausula sources set the music of the organum triplum to
 different texts (see below):

- W1: fascicle 2, no. 2, f. XI (7), à3; this setting of the M38 chant is
 also underlaid with the contrafact text of the Alleluia ¶ Optimam
partem (M -) for the feast of St. Mary Magdalene (July 22). The
 clausula occurs over the word "Maria."
F: fascicle 2, no. 14, f. 32, à3.
W2: fascicle 2, no. 6, f. 16v, à3.
Mo: fascicle 1, no. 10, f. 11, à3
F: Magnus Liber, fascicle 4, no. 40, f. 129, à2; Triplum omitted.
Berl: no. 1, f. 1, à2; Triplum omitted.
F: fascicle 1, no. 9, f. 12, à3; provides the music only for the verse
 of the organum, set to the text of the M55 [Alleluia] ¶ Diffusa
est for the Common of a Virgin or Matron. The clausula occurs
 over the word "benedixit."
W2: fascicle 2, no. 7, f. 18v, à3; set to the text of the M60 Alleluia
¶ Sanctissime Jacobe for the feast of Saint James (July 25). The
 clausula occurs over the words "pro salute."
W2: fascicle 2, no. 8, f. 20, à3; set to the text of the M42 Alleluia ¶
Judicabunt sancti for the feasts of the Finding of St. Stephen
 (August 3), St. Denis (October 9), All Saints (November 1), and
 the common of Several Martyrs. Here the chant of the M38 Gradual

replaces the standard melody for this text. The clausula occurs over the words "et dominabuntur."

Contrafacts:

Se j'ai amé (Gennrich no. 485, Linker no. 265-1580):

W2: fascicle 7, no. 15, f. 136; conductus motet; all parts concordant with the three-part clausula settings (see above).

W2: fascicle 10, no. 77, f. 247, à2.

Hier matin (or main) trespensis (Gennrich no. 486, Linker no. 265-776):

W2: fascicle 10, no. 46, f. 233v, à2.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 483; Tischler: 111; Chevalier: 26283; Walther: 6015.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:783-794.

Text only: Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:44-45 (text with music); 1:105-109 (translation and commentary).

Literature:

<u>Ex semine</u>	From Abraham's
<u>Abrahe</u> , divino	seed, by divine
moderamine,	intervention, in
igne, pio numine,	fire and with godly strength,
5 producis, Domine,	you brought forth, O Lord,
hominis salutem	mankind's salvation
paupertate nuda,	in abject poverty
<u>virginis nativitate</u>	through the birth of a virgin
<u>de tribu Iuda.</u>	from the tribe of Judah.
10 Iam propinas ovum	Now that you have pledged your
per natale novum.	egg through this marvel of
piscem panem dabis	childbirth,
partu sine <u>semine.</u>	you will give us fish and bread
	from this birth without a seed.

Notes on the Text:

1-2,1: Mary, as well as her husband Joseph, were descended from Abraham; see Matthew, 1:1-16. 3-4: Possibly an echo of the fire in the burning bush that appeared to Moses (Exodus, 3:2-6). This bush was a common symbol associated with the Virgin Mary, and the fire that burned within it without consuming it can easily figure as a reference to Christ, whom Mary bore without sacrificing her virginity. For an explication of this metaphor, see Richard of St. Laurent, De laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis, (misattributed to Albertus Magnus and published in B[eaati] Alberti Magni, Ratisboniensis episcopi, ordinis Praedicatorum, opera omnia. . ., ed. Auguste and Emile Borgnet [Paris: Louis Vivès, 1898], vol. 36), book 12, chapter 4, nos. 31-34, book 12, chapter 6, §III. For Christ as fire, see ibid., chapter 5, §X; and Prudentius, Peristephanon, no. 2, line 394. 10,3: Christ. 12: A miracle performed by Jesus that fed a multitude of people on a scanty amount of food; see Matthew, 14:15-21; Mark, 6:34-44; Luke, 9:12-17; John, 6:5-14. Here, Christ's gift of food is synonymous with his gift of salvation.

EX SEMINE ABRAHE DIVINO / EX SEMINE

E, F. 403v

The musical score is written for three parts: Soprano (top staff), Alto (middle staff), and Bass (bottom staff). It consists of four systems of music, each with a system number (6, 12, 18) on the left. The lyrics are written below the vocal staves. The music features various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as 'a.' and 'b.'. The lyrics are in Latin and describe the lineage of Abraham and the birth of Jesus.

Ex se- mi- ne a- bra- he di-
a.
Ex se- mi- ne

6
vi- no mo- de- ra- mi- ne ig- ne pi- o nu- mi- ne pro- du- cis do- mi-

12
ne ho- mi- nis sa- lu- tem pau- per- fa- te nu- da vir- gi- nis na-

18
a.
ti- vi- fa- te de tri- bu iu- da. iam pro- pi- nas o- vum per na- ta- le
b.

24

no- vum pi- scem pa- nem da- bis par- tu si- ne se- mi- ne.

Observations

Attribution: Attributable to Philip because the music is by Perotin, the text is commendable, and the possibility that there may be an early Notre Dame version of this work as a conductus motet derived from all three parts of the clausula, thereby indicating the possibility of a very early work.

Date:

Genre: Motet à2; possibly originally a conductus motet derived from an integral three-part source clausula.

Text: A meditation on the birth of the Virgin; her role in mankind's salvation as the bearer of Christ.

Verse: 4pp + 6p + 5pp + 7pp + 6pp + 2(6p) + 8p + 5p + 3(6p) + 7pp.

Rhyme: a b a a a c d c d e e f a.

Music: Through composed.

Phrase structure: (=58 Longs):

Triplum and Motetus: 3(8 + 4 + 4) + 4 + 6L.

Tenor: 6(4 + 4) + 4 + 6L (the final 6L are a cadential extension of the pattern).

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+2 (Mode V); 1 statement, with internal repetition of pitches (mm. 3-12, 13-21).

Variants

Text:

F-4,3: numino. 5,1: prodicis.

Music: Motetus and Tenor: F; Triplum: W2, f. 136.

W2-Triplum (only): Since a great likelihood exists that a Notre Dame conductus motet version of Ex semine Abrahe did exist, an optional triplum part has been included for this piece, culled from the French conductus motet transmission in W2. Several phrases of this voice part, however, are either corrupt or deliberately changed in this source. Such variant passages have been restored through comparison with other sources of the music. 17-18,3: a third too high: abagffg. 18,4: begins f. 136v. 22: omitted rest. 23,1-3: fed. 27-28,5: g,f,edc,d.
F-Motetus: 9,2: begins f. 404. **Tenor:** notated on f. 404.

EX SEMINE ROSA PRODIT / EX SEMINE ABRAHE DIVINO / EX SEMINESOURCES:

All sources containing the triplum text transmit the motetus Ex semine Abrahe, which is also possibly by Philip, q.v. For sources involving the motetus alone, including additional clausula transmissions and contrafacts, see under Ex semine Abrahe.

Mo: fascicle 4, no. 62, f. 100v; double motet.

Ba: no. 29, f. 15v; double motet.

Hu: no. 128, f. 117v; double motet; Motetus precedes Triplum.

Three other musical sources contain the text for the motetus alone.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Worc: Fragment XVIII, f. 1v; a setting of Ex semine Abrahe as a conductus motet imbedded in a fragmentary setting à3 of Alleluia y Nativitas (M38) that does not otherwise correspond to the Notre Dame organum triplum versions of this chant. See Dittmer, Worcester Fragments, no. 81. All three voices of this motet source concord with the three parts of the source clausula (see below).

Source clausula: Ex semine (Smith nos. 2 and 3v; Ludwig no. 1) from the M 38 Alleluia y Nativitas for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin (Sept. 8). The music for Ex semine rosa prodit is equivalent to the triplum of the three-part version of the clausula, which stems from a three-part organum attributed to Perotin by Anonymous 4. In addition, several of the clausula sources set the music of the organum triplum to different texts (see below):

W1: fascicle 2, no. 2, f. XI (7), à3; this setting of the M38 chant is also underlaid with the contrafact text of the Alleluia y Optimam partem (M -) for the feast of St. Mary Magdalene (July 22). The clausula occurs over the word "Maria."

F: fascicle 2, no. 14, f. 32, à3.

W2: fascicle 2, no. 6, f. 16v, à3.

Mo: fascicle 1, no. 10, f. 11, à3

F: fascicle 1, no. 9, f. 12, à3; provides the music only for the verse of the organum, set to the text of the M55 [Alleluia] y Diffusa est for the Common of a Virgin or Matron. The clausula occurs over the word "benedixit."

W2: fascicle 2, no. 7, f. 18v, à3; set to the text of the M60 Alleluia y Sanctissime Jacobe for the feast of Saint James (July 25). The clausula occurs over the words "pro salute."

W2: fascicle 2, no. 8, f. 20, à3; set to the text of the M42 Alleluia y Judicabunt sancti for the feasts of the Finding of St. Stephen

(August 3), St. Denis (October 9), All Saints (November 1), and the Common of Several Martyrs. Here the chant of the M38 gradual replaces the standard melody for this text. The clausula occurs over the words "et dominabuntur."

This clausula also survives in two other sources in a version without the triplum.

Contrafacts:

Se j'ai amé (Gennrich no. 485, Linker no. 265-1580):

W2: fascicle 7, no. 15, f. 136; conductus motet; all parts concordant with the three-part clausula settings.

Se j'ai amé also survives in one other source without the triplum.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 484; Tischler: 111; Chevalier: -; Walther: -.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:783-794.

Text only: Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:44-46 (text with music); 1:107-109 (translation and commentary).

Literature:

Triplum

<u>Ex semine</u>	From the seed of a thorn
rosa prodit spine.	a rose springs up.
Fructus oleae	The olive's fruit
oleastro legitur.	is plucked from the olive tree.
5 <u>Virgo</u> propagine	A virgin is born
nascitur <u>Iudee</u> .	from the descendants of Judah.
Stelle matutine	The ray of the morning star
radius exoritur,	peeks forth, and from the
nubis caligine	star's beam the sun breaks free
10 radio sol stelle.	from the gloom of the clouds.
Petra fluit melle.	The rock flows with honey.
Parit flos puella	Virginity bears
Verbum sine <u>semine</u> .	the Word without a seed.

Motetus: For this text, see under Ex semine abrahe divino.

Notes on the Text:

1-2: The rose, a common Marian symbol, grows from a thorny branch, which here most probably represents the transgression of Adama and Eve that brought on original sin (Genesis, 3). For the rose and thorn imagery, see Richard of St. Laurent, De laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis (pp. 667-672 of the cited edition). See also Pliny the Elder, Historia naturalis, book 21, chapter 10, §14; and the opening lines of the anonymous conductus Flos de spina procreatur. 3-4: Cf. Isaiah, 25:13-14; Romans, 11:16-17,24. This is probably a reference to Christ (the olive) who was sired by God (the olive tree). However, see the De laudibus, book 12, chapter 6, §II, nos. 1-7 and §XXVIII; where the olive and its tree can represent not only Christ, but the Virgin as well. 7-10: Cf. Numbers, 24:17. The star is a frequent attribute of Mary, as is the sun of Christ; see the De laudibus, book 1, chapter 3 (p. 22 of the cited edition); and book 12, chapter 5, §1. 11: See Exodus, 17:6; Deuteronomy, 32:13; Psalms, 81:16. This is a common symbol associated with Christ, though it is also applicable to the Virgin; see the De laudibus, book 4, chapter 13, no. 2 (pp. 206-207 of the cited edition);

Philip's organum prosula Vide prophecie, lines 8-15 (related images);
and the motet Latex silice, (possibly by Philip) line 2.

EX SEMINE ROSA / EX SEMINE ABRAHE / EX SEMINE

Mo, f. 100v

8 Ex se mi- ne ro- sa pro- dit spi- ne.

8 Ex se- mi- ne a- bra- he di- vi- no

8 Ex [s]e- mi- ne

7

8 Fru- ctus o- le- e o- le- a- stro le- gi- tur vir- go pro- pa- gi-

8 mo- de- ra- mi- ne ig- ne pi- o nu- mi- ne pro- du- cis do- mi-

12

8 ne na- sci- tur iu- de- e stel- le ma- tu- ti- ne ra- di- us ex-

8 ne ho- mi- nis sa- lu- tem pau- per- fa- te nu- da vir- gi- nis na-

18

8 o- ni- tur nu- bis ca- li- gi- ne ra- di- o sol stel- le pe- tra flu- it

8 ti- vi- ta- te de tri- bu iu- da iam pro- pi- nas o- vum per- na- ta- le

8

24

mel- le pa- rit flos pu- el- le. ver- bum si- ne se- mi- ne.
no- vum pi- scem pa- nem da- bis par- tu si- ne se- mi- ne.

The image shows a musical score for three voices, likely soprano, alto, and tenor/bass. The score is written on three staves. The first staff has a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The second staff has a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The third staff has a bass clef and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the notes. The first line of lyrics is 'mel- le pa- rit flos pu- el- le. ver- bum si- ne se- mi- ne.' and the second line is 'no- vum pi- scem pa- nem da- bis par- tu si- ne se- mi- ne.' The number '24' is written at the top left of the first staff.

Observations

Unless specified otherwise, the following remarks pertain only to the Triplum. For information on the Motetus, Ex semine Abrahe divino, also possibly by Philip, see under its own title.

Attribution: Attributable to Philip because the music is by Perotin, the text is commendable and uses an image found in other poems ascribable to Philip, and since the music for this triplum comes directly from a clausula ã3, thereby indicating the possibility of a very early work.

Date:

Genre: Double motet derived from a three-part clausula.

Text: A meditation on the birth of the Virgin; her symbolic role in dispelling original sin; honey from the rock image.

Verse: 4pp + 6p + 5pp + 7pp + 6pp + 2(6p) + 7pp + 6pp + 3(6p) + 7pp.

Rhyme: a a b c a b a c a d d d a.

Music: Through composed.

Phrase structure: (=58 Longs):

Triplum and Motetus: 3(8 + 4 + 4) + 4 + 6L.

Tenor: 6(4 + 4) + 2(4) + 2L (the final 6L are a cadential extension of the pattern).

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+2 (Mode V); 1 statement, with internal repetition of pitches (mm. 3-12, 13-21).

Variants

Text:

Mo-Triplum: 7,1: stella. Motetus: 8,2: nativitatem. 13,1: partus.

Music:

Mo-Triplum: none. Motetus: begins on f. 101. 28,4: L. Tenor: 1,2: letter "s" omitted in the tenor text. 13,1: begins on f. 101.

FLOS DE SPINA RUMPITUR / REGNATSOURCES:

- F: fascicle 8, no. 19, f. 393v; conductus motet.
Ma: fascicle 6, no. 7, f. 126v, à1; Tenor omitted.
W2: fascicle 8, no. 6, f. 147, à2.
W2: fascicle 8, no. 60 (56), f. 180, à2.
MüC: no. 20, f. 75v, à1; Tenor omitted; transposed up a fourth.
Mo: fascicle 3, no. 44, f. 78v; double motet.

Text only:

Bes: no. 21, f. 21; text incipit only, from an index to a lost codex.

Music only:

Source clausula: Regnat (Smith and Ludwig nos. 2-3) from the M34 Alleluia ¶ Hodie Maria for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15). Although catalogued as two separate pieces, the clausulae were probably conceived as a single composition:

- W1: fascicle 6, nos. 38-39, clausula nos. 75-76, f. 59 (51), à2.
F: Magnus Liber, fascicle 4, no. 36, f. 126, à2.

Contrafacts: none.

Catalogs: Genrich: 437; Tischler: 29; Chevalier: 6406; Walther: 6681.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:205-216.
 Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:192, no. x.

Literature:

	Flos de spina rumpitur.	A flower is snapped off its stem.
	Spina caret flos et aret, sed non moritur.	It yearns for its stem and wilts, but dies not.
	Vite florem per amorem	The wilted flower embraces
5	flos complectitur, cuius ex solatio sic reficitur in rigore proprio quod non patitur.	the flower of life with affection, and is so revived to its former rigor through its consolation that it suffers not.
10	Virgo de Iudea sursum tollitur. Testea fit aurea; corporea sanctitur. Laurea redimitur	The virgin from Judea is borne aloft. The earthly becomes golden; the corporeal is sanctified. The celebrated
15	mater beata glorificata. Per cuncta mundi climata, civium consortium celestium	blessed mother is crowned in laurel. To all the corners of the world she is diffused by the praise of her comrades,
20	laude, resolvitur. Oritur fidelibus dies iubilei. Dabitur amplexibus <u>Marie</u> quies Dei.	the inhabitants of heaven. A day of jubilation breaks for the faithful. God's peace will be granted through Mary's embrace.
25	Non ero de cetero iactatus a procella.	No longer will I be buffeted by the storm.

<p>Ecce, maris stella</p> <p>aurem pii filii</p> <p>precibus impregnat.</p> <p>30 Que stellato solio</p> <p><u>cum filio regnat.</u></p>	<p>Behold, the star of the sea</p> <p>fills the ear of her holy son</p> <p>with our prayers,</p> <p>she who reigns with her son</p> <p>on the star-studded throne.</p>
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Notes on the Text:

1-9: The wilting flower is Mary, separated from Christ (the stem) by his death, and restored by him (the flower of life) through her assumption. Cf. Isaiah, 11:1; the opening lines of the anonymous conductus Flos de spina procreatur; and Pliny the Elder, Historia naturalis, book 21, chapter 10, §14. 2-3: Mary was an old woman at the time of her assumption; see the references in the notes to lines 10-22, below. 10-22: The account of Mary's assumption given here tallies with many of the details given in contemporaneous versions of this apochryphal subject; see Emile Mâle, The Gothic Image, pp. 248-250 and 252-258. 25-26: Cf. Vergil, Aeneid, book 1, line 3. 27,2-3: This is one of the most common appellations of the Virgin; see Richard of St. Laurent, De laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis, book, 1, chapter 3 (pp. 24-25 of the cited edition).

FLOS DE SPINA RUMPITUR / REGNAT

E. f. 393v

8 Flos de spi-na rum-pi-tur. spi-na ca-ret flos et a-ret sed non mo-ri-

8 Req-

9 tur. vi-te flo-rem per a-mo-rem flos com-ple-cti-tur. cu-ius ex so-

15 la-ti-o sic re-fi-ci-tur. in ri-go-re pro-pri-o quod non pa-ti-

21 tur. vir-go de iu-de-a sur-sum tol-li-tur. te-ste-a fit au-re-a. con-

28

po-re a san-cti-tur. lau-re a re-di-mi-tur. ma-ter be-a-ta glo-ri- II

35

fi-ca-ta per cun-cta mun-di cli-ma-ta; ei-vi-um con-sor-ti-um ce-le-sti-

41

um lau-de re-soi-vi-tur. o-ri-tur fi-de-li-bus di-es iu-bi-le-i.

47

da-bi-tur am-plex-i-bus ma-ri-e qui-es de-i. non e-ro de-ce-te-ro ia-

53

cta-tus a pro-cel-la. ec-ce ma-ris stel-la au-rem pi-i fi-li-i

59

pre-ci-bus im-pre-gnat. que stel-la-to so-li-o cum fi-li-o re-gnat.

[-gnat.]

Observations

Attribution: Attributable to Philip because the music has a modern attribution to Perotin (see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 518), and the text is of exceptionally high quality.

Date:

Genre: Motet à2.

Text: On the Assumption of the Virgin; she is compared to a wilted flower regenerated by Christ; relation of the events of the Assumption and the celebration of Mary's reception into heaven.

Verse: 7pp + 8p + 5pp + 8pp + 2(5pp + 7pp) + 5pp + 6p + 8pp + 3(7pp) + 2(5p) + 8pp + 7pp + 4pp + 6pp + 7pp + 6p + 2(7pp + 7p) + 2(6p + 7pp) + 6p.

Rhyme: a b a c a d a d a e a e a a f f f g g a h i h i j k k l m d m.

Music: Formal organization and melodic style reminiscent of Perotin's organa quadrupla.

A (1-5), B (6-9), B' (10-13), C (14-17), C¹ (18-21), D (22-25), E (26-29), F (30-32), G (32-34), G' (34-36), H (36-38), E¹ (38-42), I (43-44), J (45-46), E² (47-50), K (51-54), K¹ (55-56 [= 53-54]), C² (57-60), K² (61-65).

Phrase structure: (=130 Longs):

Triplum and Motetus: 4 + 6 + 2(8) + 6(4) + 8 + 5 + 12 + 9 + 2(4) + 2(8) + 3(4) + 10L.

Tenor: 2(8(4 + 4L)). The final three neasures are merely a cadential extension of the last component of the pattern.

Tenor behavior: pattern: 2+3 (Mode V); 2 statements (mm. 1-32; 33-65).

Variants

Text: F—none.

Music:

F-Triplum: 28,6: begins f. 394. 32: omitted rest. 44: omitted rest. **Motetus:** 28,6: begins f. 394. 32: omitted rest. 35,2: originally c; erased and correct pitch never entered. 44: omitted rest. **Tenor:** begins on f. 394. 1: second syllable of tenor text not included. 23,1: begins on f. 394v. 65: The second syllable of the Tenor text is not included. Normally it would occur on the a in m. 64. However the quotation of the chant text in the Motetus suggests its placement here.

MEMOR TUI CREATORIS / ET GAUDEBIT

Tentative

SOURCES: In view of the intricacy of this complex of pieces, the incipits of multi-texted works are given along with their numbers in Gennrich's motet catalogue:

W2: fascicle 8, no. 79 (74b) f. 188v, à2.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Source clausula: Et gaudebit (Smith, Ludwig no. 2) from the M24 Alleluia ¶ Non vos relinquam for the Feast of the Ascension (second Alleluia):

F: fascicle 5, no. 130, clausula no. 130, f. 161v, à2.

StV: gathering 6, clausula no. 15, f. 289v, à2; contrafact incipit in margin: "Al cor ai une aligrance."

Contrafacts:

Velut stelle firmamenti (Gennrich no. 315), probably by Philip, q.v.:

F: fascicle 9, nos. 40-41, f. 411v; double motet with triplum Ypocrite pseudopontifices (Gennrich no. 316), probably by Philip, q.v.

O quam sancta quam benigna (Gennrich no. 317), possibly by Philip, q.v.:

Ch: no. 9, f. 6; conductus motet; fragmentary, beginning and end missing.

LoC: no. 7, f. 3v, à2.

ArsB: no. 8, f. 117, à2.

Hu: no. 93, f. 94v, à2; incomplete, second half omitted, Tenor rhythmically and melodically varied.

Ma: fascicle 6, nos. 16-17, f. 132; double motet with triplum Ypocrite; Motetus precedes Triplum, second half of Triplum omitted, Tenor omitted.

Ba: no. 74, f. 47; double motet with triplum Ypocrite.

Mo: fascicle 3, no. 36, f. 63v; double motet with Triplum El mois d'avril (Gennrich no. 318).

Cl: no. 28, f. 381v; triple motet with Triplum O maria mater pia vite via (Gennrich no. 317a), and El mois d'avril as Quadruplum.

The text alone of O quam sancta survives in three other sources, q.v.

Al cor ai une alegance (Gennrich no. 319, Linker no. 265-36):

W2: fascicle 9, no. 2, f. 195; double motet with triplum El mois d'avril.

Virgo virginum regina virga virens (Gennrich no. 321), possibly by Philip, q.v.:

W2: fascicle 8, no. 78 (74a), f, 187v, à2.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 320; Tischler: 71; Chevalier: 38927; Walther: 10888.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:493-537.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 49:236, no. 457.

Literature:

Memor tui creatoris,	Remembering your creator,
eius vivas in timore.	may you live in fear of him.
Intus te formes et foris,	Reform yourself within and
deleas pio culpas	without,
5 lacrimarum liquore,	and, burning with love,
fervens amore,	dutifully wash away your sins
ut gracie de rore	with the liquid of your tears,
mens fidelis floreat,	so that your faithful mind may
et ex fide prodeat	flourish from the dew of
10 fructus operis.	grace,
Veteris te pudeat	and may produce from faith
vite, nova placeat.	the fruits of your works.
labilem rotam erroris,	Let it disavow your old life
providus, caveas	and favor you with a new one.
15 sequi, ne pereas.	Be watchful, and take care not
	to
	follow the slippery wheel of
	uncertainty, lest you perish.
Sed in spe firma semper nitere	Instead, always rely on
ad patriam pergere,	steadfast
quia iugiter <u>gaudeas</u> .	hope to progress towards
Et pondere languoris careas,	heaven,
20 possideas opes lucis vere.	where you may perpetually
Regem summi decoris aspicias.	rejoice.
Ad quem ut pervenias,	Cast off the weight of
luchrum tibi facias proficias,	idleness,
sedulus, custodias,	lay claim to the riches of the
25 soli vias virtuti pervias,	true light.
	Behold the most beautiful
	king.
	In order for you to reach
	him, to gain credit for
	yourself,
	be diligent, keep your watch,
	travel the paths with virtue
	alone,

et sic, homo fias, ramus honoris. and thus, Man, you will become
a branch of honor.

Notes on the Text:

1: Cf. Ecclesiastes, 12:1. 3: Cf. the motet Homo quo vigeas, probably by Philip, line 4. 4: Cf. Acts, 3:19. 10: Philipians, 1:22. 26: See Ecclesiastes, 24:22. Another possible conjecture for 26,5 (omitted in the unique source) is fructus (see Ecclesiasticus, 24:23), which would render the line: ". . . become a fruit of honor." Both emendations continue the metaphor of lines 5-10.

MEMOR TUI CREATORIS / ET GAUDEBIT

M2, F. 188v

Me-mor tu-i cre-a-to-ris e-ius vi-vas in ti-mo-re in-tus
Et gau-de-

te for-mes et fo-ris de-le-as pi-o cul-pas la-cri-ma-rum li-

quo-re fer-vens a-mo-re ut gra-ci-e de-ro-re mens fi-de-lis

flo-re-at et ex fi-de pro-de-at fru-ctus o-pe-ris

ve-te-ris te pu-de-at vi-te-no-va pla-ce-at la-bi-lem ro-

31

tam er- ro- ris pro- vi- dus ca- ve- as se- qui ne per- e- as. Sed II

37

in spe fir- ma sem- per ni- te- re ad pa- tri- am per- ge- re qui- a

43

iu- gi- ter gau- de- as et pon- de- re lan- guo- ris ca- re- as

48

pos- si- de- as o- pes lu- cis ve- re re- gem sum- mi de- co- ris a-

54

spi- ci- as ad quem ut per- ve- ni- as lu- chrum ti- bi fa- ci- as pro-

60

fi- ci- as se- du- lus cu- sto- di- as so- li vi- as vir- tu- ti

66

per- vi- as et sic ho- no fi- as [ra- mus] ho- no- ris.

-bit.

Observations

Attribution: Possibly by Philip, since the music has a modern attribution to Perotin (see Sanders, "The Question," p. 247), and since it is connected with other works that may be by the Chancellor. However, the probable late redaction of this work, supported by its late occurrence in the eighth fascicle of W2, (see Anderson, Latin Compositions, 1:256) leaves some doubt as to whether Philip may indeed have composed this text.

Date:

Genre: Motet à2.

Text: Admonition to mankind to reform and repent through fear of God and the hope of heaven.

Verse: The text of this motet is divided into two "partes," signified by a virga (/) in the following enumerations. 2(8p) + 2(7p) + 5p + 7p + 2(7pp) + 5pp + 2(7pp) + 8p + 2(6pp) / 10pp + 7pp + 8pp + 10pp + 10p + 2(11pp + 7pp) + 10pp + 11p.

Rhyme: a b a c b b b d d e d d a f f / g g f f g h h h h h a.

Music: Through composed.

Phrase structure: (=140 Longs):

Motetus: 12 + 14 + 8 + 6 + 8 + 10 + 12 / + 8 + 10 + 6 + 8 + 4(6) + 4 + 8L.

Tenor: 2(8(4 + 4) + 6L).

Tenor behavior: pattern: 2+3 (Mode V), with an extension of the last three notes at the end of each tenor color; 2 statements (mm. 1-35; 36-70).

Variants**Text:**

W2-11,1: uteris. 26,5: omitted, supplied by conjecture.

Music:

W2-Motetus: 44,1: begins f. 189. 49,1: c. 60,1: f. Tenor: notated on f. 189. 1;2;5;70: Text underlay is not precise in the manuscript, the adopted version follows that of other chant and motet sources.

MENS FIDEM SEMINAT / IN ODOREMSOURCES:

F: fascicle 9, no. 1, f. 399, à2.

Ma: fascicle 6, no. 14, f. 130v, à1, Tenor omitted.

W2: fascicle 8, no. 11, f. 150v, à2; contrafact incipit in margin:
"quant foilent."

Cl: no. 39, f. 385v; double motet; begins "Deus fidem seminat."

Ba: no. 62, f. 38; double motet.

Text only:

Bes: no. 15, f. 15; text incipit only, from an index to a lost codex.

Music only:

Source clausula: In odorem (Smith no. 3v, Ludwig no. 2) from the M45 Alleluia ¶ Dilexit Andream for the feast of Saint Andrew (November 30). The tripla of the double motet and the clausula are also musically identical:

W1: fascicle 8, no. 22, f. 91 (82), à3.

F: fascicle 2, no.27, f. 45, à3.

Contrafact: Quant feuillent aubespine (Gennrich no. 497, Linker no. 265-605):

W2: fascicle 9, no. 1, f. 193; double motet.

Mo: fascicle 5, no. 95, f. 134v; double motet.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 495; Tischler: 129; Chevalier: 11461; Walther: 10902.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 2:849-873.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:149, no. xxii.

Literature: Cook, "Manuscript Transmission," 1:228-240.

	Mens fidem seminat.	The mind sows faith.
	Fides spem germinat.	Faith sprouts hope.
	Caritas exterminat metum, et eliminat,	Charity expels fear, turns it out of doors,
5	mentem et illuminat.	and enlightens the mind.
	Germen fit de semine.	A bud is formed from a seed.
	Florem germen propinat.	This bud produces a flower.
	Fructum flos propaginat.	The flower generates a fruit.
	Virtus fit hoc ordine.	This is how one cultivates virtue.
10	Fides spei spes est ei, radix et initium, que sola major omnium: extrema ligans medium, que vitium declinat,	The faith of hope is hope in a root and origin, which by itself is greater than anything else: the end securing the middle, which shuns vice, eludes
15	occium vitat, nos invitat cursus ad stadium, vite bravium. Mentem ditat.	idleness, and summons us to the racecourse, to the prize of life. It enriches the mind.
	Fides spem maritat.	Faith is coupled with hope.
20	Miscet armonias; parit varias melodias. Caritas est bonum mentem quod iustificat per gratiam,	It blends the harmonies and spawns sundry melodies. Charity is the good that absolves the mind through grace,
25	vere lucis donum quod tenebras purificat.	the gift of true light that purges the shadows.

Hanc sitias.	Thirst for it.
Vanas scias	Come to recognize meaningless
linguas, prophetias,	speeches, false prophecies, and
30 rerum copias.	the lavishness of possessions.
Hanc tu capias;	Cherish it,
hanc tu sapias;	savor it, and
vias devias	through it
per hanc fugias.	flee the crooked paths.
35 Arbor fias	Become a tree, so that
ut bonum parias	you may yield good fruit
fructum <u>in odorem</u> .	with an odor [of sweetness].

Notes on the Text:

The entire poem is a commentary on the properties of the three theological virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity (see 1 Corinthians, 13:1-13). For an extended discussion by Philip himself on these virtues, see Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 2:561-743.

1-5: Cf. Galatians, 5:6, 5:22; and Philip's Summa de Bono, 2:593, lines 44-49; and p. 659, lines 317-318. 6-9: Cf. the Summa de Bono, 2:699, lines 46-48. 10-18: Ibid., p. 702, line 149-153. 15,3-17: 1 Corinthians, 9:24. 22-26: Cf. the Summa de Bono, 2:743, lines 202-204. 33-34: Cf. 2 Timothy, 2:22. 35-37: Cf. Matthew, 7:16-20. 37: Since the text of the chant that furnishes this tenor continues with the word suavitatis, it is possible that its inclusion would be understood here.

MENS FIDEM SEMINAT / IN ODOREM

E, F. 399

Mens fi- dem se- mi- nat. fi- des spe- gen- mi-
In o- do-

nat. ca- ri- tas ex- ter- mi- nat me- tum et e- li- mi- nat men- tem et il-

lu- mi- nat. gen- men fit de se- mi- ne. flo- rem gen- men pro- pi- nat.

fru- ctum flos pro- pa- gi- nat. vir- tus fit hoc or- di- ne. fi- des spe- i

spes est e- i ra- dix et i- ni- ti- um que so- la ma- ior o- mi- um ex-

tre- ma li- gans me- di- um. que vi- ti- um de- cli- nat. oc- ci- um vi- fat

36
8 nos in- vi- tat cur- sus ad sta- di- um vi- te bra- vi- um. men- tem

43
8 di- tat. fi- des spem ma- ri- tat. mi- scet an- no- ni- as. pa- rit va- ni-

50
8 as me- lo- di- as. ca- ri- tas est bo- num men- tem quod iu- sti- fi- cat

57
8 per gra- ti- am. ve- re- lu- cis do- num quod te- ne- bras pu- ri- fi- cat.

63
8 hanc si- ti- as. va- nas sei- as lin- quas pro- phe- ti- as.

71
8 re- rum co- pi- as. hanc tu ca- pi- as. hanc tu sa- pi- as. vi- as de- vi-

78

as per hanc fu- gi- as. ar- bor fi- as ut bo- num pa- ri-

85

as fru- ctum in o- do- rem.

[-rem.]

Observations

Attribution: Attributable to Philip because the music has a modern attribution to Perotin (see Sanders, "Medieval Motet," p. 505; *idem*, "The Question," p. 245; Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 37; and Husmann, *Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame Organa*, p. xxii), the text is of very high quality and relates to passages in Philip's Summa de Bono, and because this motet à2 is derived from a three-part clausula, thereby indicating the possibility of an early origin for this work.

Date:

Genre: Motet à2, whose musical source is a clausula à3..

Text: On the significance, hierarchy, and cultivation of the three theological virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity.

Verse: 2(6pp) + 7(7pp) + 8p + 7pp + 2(8pp) + 7p + 9p + 6pp + 5pp + 4p + 2(6pp) + 9pp + 6p + 7pp + 4pp + 6p + 8pp + 4pp + 4p + 6pp + 5(5pp) + 4p + 6pp + 6p.

Rhyme: a a a a b a a b c d d d a e d d e e f f g h i g h f f f f f f f f f f j.

Music: Abounds in repeated and antecedent-consequent pairings and sequentially related phrases.

A (1-2), A¹ (3-4), A² (4-7), B (8-9), C (10-11), C' (12-13), D (14-15), D' (16-17), E (18-19), F (20-21), G (22-23), G' (24-25), H (26-29), I (29-33, consequent to previous phrase), J (34-35), K (36-37, consequent to previous phrase), L (38-41, consequent to previous phrase), M (42-43), M' (44-45), N (46-48), O (49-52), P (53-58), Q (59-64), O¹ (71-72), R (73-74), R' (75-76), S (77-80), T (81-82), O² (83-86), T' (87-89).

Phrase structure: (=178 Longs):

Motetus: 4 + 2(3) + 4(4) + 8 + 4(4) + 16 + 2(4) + 8 + 2(4) + 6 + 2(8 + 4) + 8 + 5 + 7 + 3(4) + 5 + 7 + 6L.

Tenor: 2 + 2(22(4L)). The last tenor ordo contains only two pitches, sustained to equal 4L. The deficiency of the final ordo has been claimed as a deliberate procedure, intended to balance the rest at the opening of the Tenor (see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 250).

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+3 (Mode V); 2 statements (mm. 2-45; 46-89).

Variants

Text: F-19,2: spes.

Music:

F-Motetus: 4-5: The resolution of the plicas using the lower third is confirmed by the melismatic sources. 61,5: begins f. 399v. 78,2: d. 78,3: omitted. **Tenor:** notated on f. 399v. 1: the whole measure rest is indicated by two vertical strokes. 2-4,1: a third too high: fgfg. 89: the last syllable of the tenor text is not used. It actually

occurs four notes later in the chant; but its placement here, coinciding with the quotation in the motetus, would be appropriate.

MORS VITE VIVIFICATIOSOURCES:

W2: fascicle 8, no. 37, f. 164, à2, Tenor melody not supplied.

Tort: no. 5, f. 140v, à1; Tenor omitted.

Music only:

Source clausula: Mors (Smith no. 4v, Ludwig no. 1) from the M18
Alleluia y Christus resurgens for the Wednesday in Easter Week:

W1: fascicle 1, no. 3, f. VIv (4v), à4; ending missing.

F: fascicle 1, no. 3, f. 7, à4.

Ma: fascicle 2, no. 7, f. 21, à4.

W2: fascicle 1, no. 2, f. 5, à4.

Contrafact: Mors morsu nata venenato (Gennrich no. 255), probably by
Philip, q.v.:

Mo: fascicle 2, no. 35, f. 57v; triple motet.

Cl: no. 11, f. 372v; triple motet.

F: fascicle 9, nos. 5-6, f. 400, à3, Quadruplum omitted.

W2: fascicle 8, no. 38, f. 164v, à3, Quadruplum omitted, Tenor melody
not supplied; Motetus precedes Triplum.

Ba: no. 61, f. 37v, à3, Quadruplum omitted.

Ma: fascicle 4, no. 24, f. 104v, à2, Triplum and Quadruplum omitted.

The text of Mors morsu also survives in one source without music, q.v.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 257; Tischler: 39; Chevalier: 39006; Walther:
11280.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:332-361.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 49:220, no. 428.

Literature:

	<u>Mors</u> -vite vivificacio;	Death-the quickening of life;
	<u>Mors</u> -nostre <u>mortis</u>	Death-both the demise,
	et mortificacio,	the alleviation
	consolatio,	of our own death,
5	et reparacio	and compensation for the
	primo parentis noxio.	first offense of our forefathers.
	O <u>Mors</u> , anxio	O Death, filled with
	plena gaudio,	dreadful joy,
	tu es nostra liberacio.	you are our deliverance.
10	O, proprio	Oh, the father
	non pepercit propicio	graciously spared not
	pater filio;	his own son;
	sed nobis, exilio	but for us, oppressed
	pressis egyptio,	with Egyptian banishment,
15	crucis afflictio,	the torment of the cross,
	clavorum fixio,	the driving of the nails,
	lateris apercio,	the puncturing of his side,
	sputa, exprobatio	the spitting, the reproach,
	-O, O, O-	-Oh, Oh, Oh-
20	redempcio,	these venerable acts
	-O, O-	-Oh, Oh-
	pia sunt, O <u>Mors</u> .	are our redemption, O Death.

Notes on the Text:

1-9: Through Christ's resurrection, Death's power over humankind has been reversed: thanks to death, Christ has risen again, and original sin has been revoked. 13,3-14: A symbol of the sinfulness of the world. 15-18: The tortures Christ suffered during his Passion; see Matthew, 27:27-34, 48; Mark, 15:16-23, 36; Luke, 23:36; and John, 19:1-

30, 34. For other instances of similar expressions in Philip's works, see the notes to the text of Manere vivere, lines 24-31. Like death, these horrifying abuses are also reinterpreted through the resurrection.

MORS VITE VIVIFICATIO / MORS

M2, F. 164

Mors vi- te vi- vi- fi- ca- ci- o mors no- stre mor- tis

Mors

et mor- ti- fi- ca- ci- o con- so- la- ci- o et re-

pa- ra- ci- o pri- mo pa- ren- tis nox- i- o o

mors anx- i- o ple- na gau- di- o tu es no- stra li- be-

na- ci- o. o. pro- pri- o non pe- pen- cit pro-

II

37

pi-ci-o pa-ter fi-li-o sed no-

45

bis ex-i-li-o pres-sis e-gy-pti-o cru-cis

53

af-fli-cti-o cla-vo-rum fi-xi-o la-te-

61

ris a-pen-ci-o spu-ta ex-pro-ba-ti-o.

68

o o o re-demp-ci-o o. o. pi-a sunt o mors.

Observations

Attribution: Possibly by Philip, since the text is of high quality, its music has a modern attribution to Perotin (see Sanders, "The Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," p. 246), and it is found in the central section of the eighth fascicle of W2 as part of a group of poems with connections to Philip.

Date:

Genre: Motet à2.

Text: A meditation on and apostrophe to Death. Thanks to Christ's resurrection, Death is a new source of life, a recompense for Adam's sin, and a release from sin. The tortures suffered by Christ during his Passion are the means for our redemption as well as the cause of his suffering.

Verse: 9pp + 5p + 7pp + 5pp + 6pp + 8pp + 2(5pp) + 9pp + 4pp + 8pp + 5pp + 7pp + 3(6pp) + 2(7pp) + 3pp? + 4pp + 2p? + 4p?.

Rhyme: a, b, 16(a), c(a), a, c(a), d. nearly every line rhymes with the vowel sustained by the Tenor.

Music: Through composed.

Phrase structure: (=150 Longs):

Motetus: 10 + 2 + 4 + 3(6) + 8 + 3(4) + 8 + 4 + 10 + 9(8).

Tenor: 10(2+4)+6L + 10(2+6)+4L

Tenor behavior: pattern: (first) 1+3; (second) 1+3 + 4L rest (both in Mode V); 2 statements (mm. 1-33; 34-75).

Variants

Text:

W2-19: o o o o; with no note for extra syllable. 5,1: a later insertion. 22,2: sum.

Music:

W2-Motetus: 73,3: begins f. 164v. **Tenor:** Begins on f. 164v; melody omitted, supplied from Mo.

NON ORPHANUM TE DESERAM / ET GAUDEBITSOURCES:

F: fascicle 9, no. 20, f. 405, à2.

W2: fascicle 8, no. 47 (43), f. 174v, à2.

StS1: no. 21, fragment no. 49', f. ? [sic]; probably à2; Tenor completely lost, Motetus fragmentary.

Hu: no. 90, f. 92, à1, Tenor omitted.

Mo: fascicle 3, no. 42, f. 75v; double motet.

Ba: no. 67, f. 42v; double motet.

Text only:

Bes: no. 20, f. 20; text incipit only, from an index to a lost codex.

Music only:

Source clausula: Et gaudebit (Smith, Ludwig no. 5) from the M24 Alleluia γ Non vos relinquam for the feast of the Ascension (second Alleluia):

F: fascicle 5, no. 246, clausula no. 246, f. 174v, à2.

Contrafact: El mois de mai (Gennrich no. 324, Linker no. 265-1418):

Mo: fascicle 5, no. 125, f. 183v; double motet.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 322; Tischler: 52; Chevalier: 12132; Walther: 12139.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:395-406.

Text only: Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:162-166 (text with music); 1:241-243 (translation and commentary).

Literature:

	<u>Non orphanum</u> te deseram,	I shall not abandon you as
	sed efferam	an orphan, but will disperse you
	sicut libanum.	like frankincense.
	Sicut clibanum	I shall make you like
5	ponam te virtutis,	a furnace of virtue,
	sicut timphanum	like a drum
	et organum	and an organ
	letitie et salutis.	of happiness and salvation.
	Auferam egyptie	I shall sever the yoke
10	iugum servitutis.	of your Egyptian slavery.
	Conferam me secutis.	I shall bestow myself on my
	Post lacrimas,	followers.
	gaudium, premium,	After the tears,
	post laboris tedium.	after the weariness of your toil
		will come the joy and the reward.
15	Cum iero, <u>veniam</u> ;	When I go, I shall return,
	<u>subveniam</u>	and shall deliver you
	per gratiam.	through grace.
	Tribuam <u>veniam</u> ,	I shall show mercy,
	celestium	the glory of those
20	civium gloriam.	who dwell in heaven.
	Mentem puram et securam	I shall render your mind
	efficiam.	clear and carefree.
	Carnis curam, et pressuram	I will cast out concern for the
	seculi reiciam.	flesh,
		and dispel the affliction of the
		world.
25	Inclitus Paraclitus	The illustrious Holy Spirit,
	divinitus	will instruct your heart

<u>tuum cor</u> docebit;	through inspiration;
et radicitus	and from its very roots
tuus spiritus	your own soul shall
30 Domino sic herebit,	so cling to the Lord,
tuus ut introitus	that your entrance and
tutus sit et exitus;	your exit will be safe, and your
<u>cor</u> penitus <u>gaudebit</u> .	heart will thoroughly rejoice.

Notes on the Text:

1;15;18;27;33: See John, 14:18, 16:22, which furnishes the chant text from which this motet's tenor was drawn. 3-4: Cf. Ecclesiasticus, 24:21. Also compare the use of these same words in Philip's sequence Ave gloriosa virginum regina, lines 67-68, where they are applied to Mary. 4-5: Cf. Hosea, 7:6. 6-8: Cf. 1 Kings [1 Samuel], 18:6. 24-27: Cf. John, 14:26, 16:7. 31-32: See Psalms, 120:8; Wisdom, 7:6.

MORS VITE VIVIFICATIO / MORS

H2, f. 164

Mors vi- te vi- vi- fi- ca- ci- o mors no- stre mor- tis

Mors

9

et mor- ti- fi- ca- ci- o con- so- la- ci- o et re-

16

pa- ra- ci o pri- mo pa- ren- tis nox- i- o o

23

mors anx- i- o ple- na gau- di- o tu es no- stra li- be-

30

ra- ci- o. o. pro- pri- o non pe- per- cit pro-

II

37

pi- ci- o pa- ter fi- li- o sed no-

45

bis ex- i- li- o pres- sis e- gy- pti- o cru- cis

53

af- fli- cti- o cla- vo- rum fi- xi- o la- te-

61

nis a- pen- ci- o spu- ta ex- pro- ba- ti- o.

68

o o o re- demp- ci- o o. o. pi- a sunt o mors.

Observations

Attribution: Ascribable to Philip because the music has a modern attribution to Perotin (see Sanders, "The Question," p. 245), the text is of high quality, and because it uses techniques associated with Philip's style.

Date:

Genre: Motet à2.

Text: Christ speaks to the Apostles before his Ascension; he promises joy and salvation to his followers, and confers the Holy Spirit upon them.

Verse: 8pp + 4pp + 2(5pp) + 6p + 5pp + 4pp + 8p + 7pp + 6p + 7p + 4pp + 6pp + 2(7pp) + 2(4pp) + 6pp + 4pp + 6pp + 8p + 4pp + 8p + 7pp + 7p + 4pp + 6p + 2(5pp) + 4(7pp).

Rhyme: a a b b c b b c d c c e f f g g g g f g h g h...g i i j i i j i i j.

Music: Occasional repeated and antecedent-consequent pairings and sequentially related phrases.

A (1-4), B (5-6), C (7-10), D (11-15 [≈ end of A]), E (17-18), E' (19-20), C' (21-23), F (24-27 [sequences]), G (27-29), H (30-32), I (33-34), J (35-38), K (39-42, consequent to previous phrase), L (47-50 [≈ end of A]), M (51-52), N (53-56), O (57-58), P (59-60), Q (61-63), Q' (64-65), R (60-70).

Phrase structure: (=140 Longs):

Motetus: 8 + 4 + 8 + 12 + 8 + 6 + 12 + 6 + 4 + 4(8) + 4 + 8 + 2(4) + 6 + 4 + 10L.

Tenor: 2(8(4 + 4) + 6L.

Tenor behavior: pattern: 2+3 (Mode V), with an extension of the last three notes at the end of each tenor color; 2 statements (mm. 1-35; 36-70).

Variants

Text: F—none.

Music:

F-Motetus: 12,5: begins f. 405v. 27,5: bb; the pitch has been repeated at the beginning of a new staff. **Tenor:** notated on f. 405v.

SERENA VIRGINUM / MANERE

Tentative

SOURCES:

F: fascicle 6, no. 40, f. 235, à4; found in a fascicle containing three-part conductus.

W1: fascicle 2, no. 5, f. XIII (9), à3, Tenor omitted.

Ma: fascicle 5, no. 11, f. 119v, à2; Quadruplum and Tenor omitted.

LoA: fascicle 2, no. 11, f. 92, à3, Quadruplum omitted.

Graz 409: no. 35, f. 72, à1, unheightened neumes.

Text only: none.

Music only:

LoA: fascicle 1, no. 5, f. 74v, à3; Quadruplum and text omitted; Tenor transposed down a fifth.

Source clausulae:

Manere (Smith nos. 3-6, Ludwig nos. 6-9) from the M5 Gradual Exit sermo ¶ Sed sic eum for the feast of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist (Dec. 27). Although the music for Serena virginum is usually catalogued as four separate clausulae, it is probable that they were initially conceived as a single composition:

W1: fascicle 5, nos. 16-19, clausulae nos. 16-19, f. 50 (44), à2; in the same order as in the motet: 1,2,3,4.

F: fascicle 5, nos. 42-45, clausulae nos. 42-45, f. 151, à2; in this transmission the order of the second and third clausulae are reversed from the motet: 1,3,2,4.

Illi (Smith and Ludwig no. 3) from the M50 Gradual Ecce sacerdos ¶ Non est inventus from the Common of a Bishop Confessor. This transmission corresponds only to the first of the four clausulae that make up this motet:

W2: Magnus liber, fascicle 5, no. 25, f. 83, à2.

Contrafact: Manere vivere (Gennrich no. 70), possibly by Philip, q.v.:

W2: fascicle 8, no. 39, f. 165v, à2.

StS1: no. 6, f. 2v, à2; fragmentary.

Catalogs: Anderson: A1; Gennrich: 69; Tischler: 9; Chevalier: 18828; Walther: -.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:35-59. Anderson, Opera omnia, 1:ii (text and translation), 1 (music), 156 (notes).

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:191, no. ix.

Literature: Darwin F. Scott, "Dissonance in the Earliest Three- and Four-voice Monotextual Motets."

<p>Serena virginum, lux luminum plena, templum trinitatis, puritatis specialis 5 thalamus, archa nove legis, thronus novi regis, vellus quod rigavit, qui nostrum portavit 10 saccum, nostram carnem vestiens. Nesciens virum Deum paris. O Maria, mater pia, stella maris singularis, 15 stella cuius radius nubem pressit quam impressit Eve culpa prius. Istud nulla caritas meruit aut castitas, 20 sed simplex humilitas ancille. O mamille, quarum vene fluunt plene mundo lac et mella. Gens misella, tollite 25 vas fellitum; vas mellitum bibite.</p>	<p>Fair lady of the virgins, light full of splendor, sanctuary of the Trinity, chamber of singular purity, ark of the new law, throne of the new king, moistened fleece that clothed in our flesh him who shouldered our burden. Innocent of man, you bore God. O Mary, blessed mother, peerless star of the sea, the star whose ray overwhelmed the cloud that Eve's sin had previously imprinted. No charity nor chastity merited this, merely the sincere humility of the handmaiden. O breasts, whose full vessels pour forth milk and honey for the world. O wretched people, refuse the cup of vinegar and drink instead from the cup of honey.</p>
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	Ecce lac infantium.	Behold the milk of children.
	Ecce manna mundo pium.	Behold the world's blessed manna.
	Ecce pie flos Marie	Behold the flower of the holy virgin
30	virginis, seminis	Mary, the celebrated progeny
	Abrahe strips inclita,	of Abraham's seed,
	balsamus mellita,	the honey-sweetened balsam,
	calamus condita,	savory calamus reed,
	nardus, mirra trita.	nard oil, crushed myrrh.
35	o pia,	O pious lady,
	trahunt nos ad varia	the snares of the plunderer,
	laquei predonis,	the waters of Babylon,
	torrens Babilonis,	and Samson's Delilah
	Dalida Sansonis.	lure us to capricious acts.
40	Hostem, mundum, vas inmundum,	O warlike lady, regal virgin,
	bellica, pacifica,	light of the heavens,
	spes reorum, lux celorum,	hope of the accused, vanquish the
	virgo regia	enemy,
	O Maria, cecis via,	the world, and the unclean vessel,
45	nostra timphanistria,	O Mary, pathway for the blind,
	in hoc salo nos a malo	our timbralist,
	salva, stella previa,	save us, guiding star,
	ut concordis	from the evil upon this sea,
	vocis, manus, cordis	so that with the threefold
50	plausu leti trino	acclaim of a joyful and harmonious
	<u>benedicamus Domino.</u>	voice, hand, and heart
		we may bless the Lord.

Notes on the Text:

This poem consists largely of Marian appellations. A contemporaneous treatise illustrating and explaining a great number of images associated with Mary can be found in the De laudibus Beatae Mariae of Richard of Saint Laurent (see the notes to the text of the motet Ex semine Abrahe divino for the cited edition). Many of the Marian motets whose music modern scholars have attributed to Perotin are similarly constructed (see, for example, Et illumina eximia mater, O quam sancta quam benigna, and Radix venie), and the commonplace nature of their language and style argues against proposing Philip's authorship for these three pieces. Serena virginum, however, is much more evocative in its imagery and complex in its technique. The poet is not content to merely list attributes and beg for mercy, but also seeks to contemplate the significance of the images and offer interpretations of them. Philip himself was not averse to writing poems that included lists of Marian attributes (see, for instance, his sequence Ave gloriosa virginum regina and his conductus O Maria virginis flos). So although the conventional nature of this text gives me pause in claiming it wholeheartedly for Philip's canon, it is the one I would most likely accept of the Marian group.

6: Mary, who bore Christ, is comparable to the Ark of the Covenant (see Exodus, 25), which contained the tablets of the Ten Commandments, the symbol of God's covenant with man in the Old Testament. Mary, in bearing Christ, thus gave birth to the covenant of the New Testament, which superseded the Old. On Mary as the ark, see the De laudibus, book 10, chapter 1, especially p. 132 of the cited edition. 8: See Judges, 6:37-38; Psalms, 71:6; the opening lines of Philip's conductus Gedeonis area; and the De laudibus, book 12, chapter 5, §VIII, no. 7. 10,1: This word is here rendered literally ("sack," "burden"); however, in theological terminology it more specifically signified Christ's human nature (intended in the translation). For a definition of this term drawn from Alain de Lille's Distinctiones dictionum theologiarum, see Wicki, ed., Summa de Bono, 2:835, in the note to line 63. 14,1-2: One of the most common of the epithets for Mary, see the De laudibus, book 1, chapter 3 (on p. 22 of the cited edition). 15: The ray of the star (Mary) is Christ. Cf. the triplum of the double motet Ex semine rosa prodit / Ex semine Abrahe divino (possibly by Philip), lines 7-10. 20-21,1: Cf. Luke, 1:38. 25: This line recalls the bitter drink given to Christ during the Crucifixion; see Matthew, 27:48; Mark, 15:36; John, 19:28-30. 30-31: Mary, like her husband Joseph, traced her ancestry back to Abraham; see Matthew, 1:1-16. 32-34: The typical medieval association of Mary with the beloved in the Song of Solomon is developed here; cf. Ecclesiasticus, 24:20-21; Song of Songs, 1:11, 5:5. See the similar expressions in the text of this motet's contrafact, Manere vivere (probably by Philip), lines 7-9,1; and the De laudibus, book 12, chapter 6, §X and §XV. 37: The temptation of the Devil; cf. Job, 12:6; Jeremiah, 4:7, 48:32; Psalms, 123:7, 90:3; 1 Timothy, 3:7, 6:9; 2 Timothy, 2:26; as well as the opening lines of Philip's motet Laqueus conteritur. 38: Cf. Psalms, 136:1. Babylon is traditionally associated with sin and paganism. In Apocalypse, 17:1-5, Babylon,

represented as a whore, signifies Rome, the major seat of paganism and persecution of Christians. Her fall (Apocalypse, 18) is placed in opposition to the rise of the New Jerusalem (Apocalypse, 21). 39: Judges, 16:4-21; the woman who deluded Samson and sapped his strength, another metaphor for the Devil, sin, and temptation. 40,3-4: The human body or bodily substance, as opposed to the soul. For another use of the term in this context, see, for example, Philip's conductus Homo natus ad laborem tui status, lines 13-14. 41,1: Possibly an evocation of Judith, who was viewed as an allegorical presursor of Mary; see the motet Radix venie, line 18. 44: Cf. Isaiah, 42:16. 45: See Exodus, 15:20-21. The Mary in this Biblical passage is the sister of Aaron, but furnishes a likely source for comparison with the Virgin. 47,2-3: Another component of the maris stella, the North Star that guided sailors on the sea, with echoes of the star that guided the Magi to Christ (see Matthew, 2:2; and the De laudibus, book 1, chapter 3, no. 3 [p. 22 of the cited edition]). 48-51: The wording of this passage can be understood as a possible indication for performing this motet/conductus in no more than three parts. Much of the scholarly literature has suggested that the version as preserved in F is not an indication for four-part execution, but rather a conflation of at least these two possibilities. See Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm and Style," 1:262-271. However, a recent paper by Darwin F. Scott "Dissonance in the Earliest Three- and Four- voice Monotextual Motets," has argued convincingly for authenticating the four-part version of this motet in F.

SERENA VIRGINUM / MANERE

E, F. 235

Se-re-na vir-gi-num lux lu-mi-num ple-na.
Ma-ne-re.

7

tem-plum tri-ni-ta-tis. pu-ri-ta-tis spe-ci-a-lis

11

tha-la-mus. an-cha no-ve le-gis thro-nus no-vi

16

re-
gis. vel-
lus quod ri-
ga-
vit qui no-
strum pon-
ta-
vit

21

sac-
cum no-
strum car-
nem ve-
sti-
ens Ne-
sci-
ens

27

vi-
rum de-
um pa-
ris o ma-
ri-a ma-
ter pi-a
stel-
la ma-
ris sin-
gu-
la-
ris

33

stel- la cu- ius ra- di- us nu- bea pres- sit quam im- pres- sit e- ve cul- pa

38

pri- us. i- stud nul- la ca- ri- tas me- ru- it aut ca- sti- tas

44

sed sim- plex hu- mi- li- tas an- cil- le. O ma- nil- le

51

qua-rum ve-ne flu-unt ple-ne mun-do lac et mel-la. gens mi-sel-la

57

tol-li-te vas fel-li-tum. vas mel-li-tum bi-bi-te. ec-ce lac in-

64

fan-ti-um. ec-ce man-na mun-do pi-um ec-ce pi-e flos ma-

70

ni e vin-gi-nis. Se-mi-nis a-bra-he stips

IV

76

in- cli- ta bal- sa- mus mel- li- ta ca- la- mus con- di- ta nar- dus mir- ra

82

tri- ta. o pi- a. tra- hunt nos ad va- ri- a la- que- i pre-

88

do- nis tor- rens ba- bi- lo- nis. da- li- da san- so- nis.

93

ho- stem mun- dum vas in- mun- dum bel- li- ca pa- ei- fi- ca. spes re- o- rum

99

lux ce- lo- rum vir- go re- gi- a. O ma- ri- a ce- cis vi- a

104

no-stra tim-pha-ni-stri-a in hoc sa-lo nos a ma-lo sal-va stel-la

110

pre-vi-a. ut con-con-dis vo-cis ma-nu con-dis

115

plau-su le-ti tri-no-be-ne-di-ca-mus do-mi-no.

Observations

Attribution: Quite possibly by Philip as suggested by Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:viii. Its music also has a modern attribution to Perotin (see Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," pp. 284-285; and Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," pp. 266-268, 454-455), it is a contrafact of the more certain motet Manere vivere, it bears a relationship to the probable attribution Latex silice in that it is a hybrid form of a conductus and a motet, and since it also found as a motet in W1, thereby suggesting a very early origin. However the style and technique of the text still leave some room for doubt as to the certainty of such an ascription to Philip.

Date:

Genre: Conductus motet à4?; possibly intended only as a conductus or a motet à3.

Text: The virgin is invoked as an intercessor so that the Lord may be blessed; consists largely of chains of Marian attributes, with occasional reflection on the significance of her traits.

Verse: 6pp + 2(6p) + 8p + 3pp + 5(6p) + 6pp + 6p + 2(8p) + 7pp + 8p + 6p + 4(7pp) + 8p + 6p + 7pp + 8p + 3pp + 7pp + 2(8p) + 6pp + 7pp + 3(6p) + 3p + 7pp + 3(6p) + 8p + 7pp + 8p + 5pp + 2(8p + 7pp) + 4p + 2(6p) + 8pp.

Rhyme: a b c d e f f g g h i j k j l m l n n n o p q r s r t t u v x x x x k k y y y z aa bb k k k cc k dd dd ee ee. Very sparse use of recurring rhymes.

Music: Contrafact of Manere vivere; Generally through composed, but recurrence of several motives tightens structure.

Four-note scalar descent: 1-2, 22-24, 25-26, 49-50, 70-71, 72-73, 83-84.

Scalar cadential motive: 23-24, 47-48, 71-72, 96-97 (inverted), 105-106 (inverted), 119-120.

Sequential pairing of lines: 30-34, 35-38.

Antecedent consequent line pairings: 42-43, 44-46; 66-67, 68-70; 91-92, 93-94, 95-97.

Phrase structure: (=244 Longs):

Quadruplum, Triplum, Motetus: 2(4 + 8) + 4(4) + 2(8 + 4) + 4 + 8
2(6 + 4) + 2(4 + 6) + 8 + 6 14 + 4 + 6 + 10 + 3 + 5 + 3(4) +
10 + 8 + 10 5(4) + 12L.

Tenor: 5(12(4)) + 4L. The final note is added to effect a cadence with the upper parts and does not occur in the other tenor statements, nor is it part of the chant at this point.

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+3 (Mode V); 5 statements (mm. 1-24; 25-48; 49-72; 73-96; 97-122).

Variants

Text: F-none.

Music:

F-Quadruplum: 6,3: begins f. 235v. 34,1: begins f. 236. 43,1: b-flat. 51,1: omitted. 55,4: d. 62,2: begins f. 236v. 91,1: begins f. 237. 93,3-4: cc. 116,1: begins 237v. Triplum: 6,3: begins f. 235v. 7,2: b-flat. 34,1: begins f. 236. 62,2: begins f. 236v. 91,1: begins f. 237. 116,1: begins 237v. Motetus: 6,3: begins f. 235v. 32: stroke omitted. 34,1: begins f. 236. 62,2: begins f. 236v. 68,3-4: omitted. 91,1: begins f. 237. 116,1: begins 237v. 117,3: c. Tenor: notated on f. 237v. 25;49;73: the syllable strokes at these points, beginning new tenor statements, may indicate that the tenor text could be supplied here as well. These strokes are a holdover from the notation of this piece as four separate clausulae. 121-122: The final c pitch in the Tenor does not occur in any of the the other clausula or motet sources. The upper parts of these two measures, which are present in the concordances for the motet, derive from the cadential figure of the W1 version of the clausula, which closes on a. The cadence on c seems to be a variant peculiar to the conductus versions of Serena in F, W1, and Ma. Significantly, the two LoA versions of this piece contain upper parts consonant with the a in measure 120, the normal final pitch of the tenor and conforming with the W1 cadential figure. Such a muddle of variants at this important spot supports the probability that this piece existed in two different versions, either as a three-part conductus motet, or a three-part conductus; and also indicates that the presentation of this work in F does appear to sanction four-part performance.

DOCE NOS OPTIME / DOCEBIT

Doubtful

SOURCES:F: fascicle 8, no. 15, f. 389; conductus motet.MüA: Complex B, no. 12, f. 6; conductus motet.W2: fascicle 8, no. 27, f. 158v, à2.Text only:Praha: no. 21, f. 38v; in margin: "de sancto spiritu."Music only:Source clausula: none; Tenor is Docebit from the M26 Alleluia ¶ Paraclitus spiritus, the second Alleluia for the feast of Pentecost.Contrafacts: none.Catalogs: Gennrich: 346; Tischler: 25; Chevalier: 25669; Walther: 4660.Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:168-171.Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:148, no. xxi.Literature:

	<u>Doce</u> nos, optime	Teach us, O source of the
	vite fons, salus anime.	best life, soul's salvation.
	Mundo nos adime,	Deliver us from the world,
	rex unigenite,	O only-begotten king,
5	vitis vite,	vine of life,
	dux et lux semite.	leader and light of the path.
	Paraclete,	O Holy Spirit,
	doctor inclite,	illustrious teacher,
	vena divite	fill the heart
10	cor imbue.	with a rich pulse.
	Os instrue.	Inform our speech.
	Opus restitue.	Revive our work.
	Manus strenue.	Let our hands be nimble.
	Vitam distribue,	Arrange our life,
15	sint ut assidue	so that our two hands
	due manus Lye,	may be busy for Leah, and the
	mens Marie, sint mutue.	mind may do the same for Mary.
	Plebi tue	Grant to your people
	perpetue vite spem tribue	the hope of the eternal life
20	que nos <u>docebit</u> .	that shall teach us.

Notes on the Text:

5: A reference to Christ. See John, 15:1-11. 6: Cf. Isaiah, 2:3. 7: This word also appears in the chant that contains the tenor of this motet. 15-17: Leah was a wife of Jacob. She was deceitfully married to him after he had labored for seven years in the fields of her father Laban, in an attempt to marry her younger sister Rachel. Jacob did eventually marry Rachel after another seven years of toil: see Genesis, 29:16-30. The reference to Mary in line 17 could refer to the Virgin, but it is more likely that it concerns the Mary of Luke, 10:38-42, who sat and listened to Jesus speak while her sister Martha served. The

point of these combined Biblical allusions suggests that the speaker in the poem summons the Holy Spirit to favor him both in work (Leah) and in intellectual activity (Mary).

DOCE NOS OPTIME / DOCEBIT

F. 389

Do- ce nos o- pti- me vi- te fons sa- lus a- ni- me mun-

Do- ce-

do nos a- di- me nos u- ni- gen- ni- te. vi- tis vi- te.

dux et lux se- mi- te pa- ra- cli- tus do- ctor in- cli- te.

ve- na di- vi- te cor in- bu- e os in- stru- e o- pus re- sti- tu- e

19

ma- nus stre- nu- e vi- tam di- stri- bu- e. sint ut as- si- du-

24

e du- e ma- nus ly- e mens ma- ri- e sint mu- tu- e ple- bi tu-

29

e per- pe- tu- e vi- te spem tri- bu- e que nos do- ce- bit.

-bit.

Observations

Attribution: Philip: Praha. Peter Dronke ("Lyrical Compositions," p. 583) raises doubts as to the validity of the attribution on the grounds of its lackluster text.

Date:

Genre: Conductus motet

Text: Invocation to Christ as the Holy Spirit.

Verse: 6pp + 8pp + 6pp + 2(6pp+ 4p) + 2(5pp) + 2(4pp) + 6pp + 5pp + 2(6pp) + 6p + 8pp + 4p + 10pp + 5pp.

Rhyme: a a a b b b b b b c c c c c c d(c?) c c c e.

Music: Through composed; much internal Tenor repetition.

Phrase structure: (= 67 Longs):

Triplum and Motetus: 4 + 5 + 4 + 3 + 5 + 2 + 2(3) + 2(2) + 2(3) +
4 + 1 + 3 + 2(2) + 4 + 2 + 4 + 6L.

Tenor: 8(4L) + 7(1+3L) + 6L.

Tenor behavior: pattern: 1 + 2 + 3 (Mode 2); 2 statements (mm. 1-16;
17-32).

Variants

Text:

F-none

Music:

F-Triplum: 16,3: begins f. 389v. 25: omitted rest. Motetus: 16,3: begins f. 389v. 25: rest omitted. Tenor: notated on f. 389v. 15,1: In the second tenor statement, added rests, such as the one following this note, occur consistently in F after the first note of the pattern. They do not appear to affect the Tenor's rhythmic disposition. MüA does not contain these additional rests, while W2 tends to include them throughout the entire Tenor. 16,2: possibly f?

IN SALVATORIS NOMINE / IN VERITATE COMPERI / VERITATEM

Triplum doubtful

SOURCES:

All sources also transmit the motetus In veritate comperi, likewise attributed to Philip, q.v.

LoB: no. 25, f. 50, à2 or double motet. In veritate (LoB no. 26) immediately follows this work. Both have separately notated tenors incorrectly designated In seculum.

Mo: fascicle 4, no. 57, f. 94v; double motet.

Ba: no. 45, f. 25; double motet; Tenor designated In veritate.

Cl: no. 25, f. 378v; triple motet, with In Salvatoris as quadruplum, In veritate as motetus, and French triplum.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Source clausula: none; Tenor is Veritatem from the M37 Gradual Propter veritatem ¶ Audi filia for the second and fifth days of the week following the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15) and also for the Common of a Virgin or Matron.

Contrafacts: none.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 452; Tischler: 36; Chevalier: 8747; Walther: -.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:279-322.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:189, no. v.

Literature:

Triplum (probably not by Philip)

<p>In Salvatoris nomine, qui sanguine mundo mundum abluit, exactoris exuit 5 nos voragine, eius pie genetrici Marie studeamus psallere. Ergo, virgo virginum, culpae pone terminum, 10 et nos tibi fac placere. Dum silerent et tenerent cuncta medium in terris silentium, mellifluus sermo tuus, 15 pater, a regalibus mundo venit sedibus O quale misterium! Nupsit cum carne deitas, et fecit humanitas 20 deitati pallium. Velatur divinitas carnis fragilis velo. Iam nova progenies delabitur et mittitur 25 a supremo celo.</p>	<p>In the name of the Savior, who cleansed the world with his pure blood and dragged us from the pit of the executioner, let us strive to sing to his blessed mother Mary. Therefore, virgin of virgins, put an end to our guilt, and make us please you. While everything upon the earth was quiet and wrapped in the midst of silence, your speech, father, like flowing honey, came to the world from your royal throne. O what a mystery! The deity joined with the flesh, and humanity fashioned a cloak for the deity. Divinity is enveloped by a veil of fragile flesh. Now a new child comes from above, sent from highest heaven.</p>
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<p>Speciosa facies, sed attrita species passionis zelo. Qui pugillo continet 30 celum, terram sustinet, expers omnis criminum, mittitur, et clauditur in sinu matris virginis.</p> <p>O liliu[m], presidium 35 reorum, ora natu[m] propriu[m], ut, tollens reatu[m], nos revocet et collocet in parte sanctoru[m].</p>	<p>His face is handsome, but his body is bruised by his zeal for the Passion. He who with his fist subdues the heavens and controls the earth, innocent of every sin, is sent and lies enclosed in the womb of his virgin mother.</p> <p>O lily, defender of sinners, pray to your own son, that, dismissing the charge, he may call us back and place us in the realm of the saints.</p>
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Motetus: for this text, see under In veritate comperi.

Notes on the Text:

4,1: Cf. Luke, 12:58. 11-16: These lines form a paraphrase of Wisdom, 18:14-15. This Biblical text also forms the Introit for Mass, the antiphons for the Magnificat at First Vespers and the Benedictus at Lauds on a Sunday within the Octave of Christmas, and the antiphon for the Benedictus at Lauds on the Feast of Epiphany (Jan. 6). See also the opening lines of the conductus Dum medium silentium tenerent (attributed to Philip, but more likely by Walter of Châtillon) and Dum medium silentium componit (tentatively attributed to Philip).

IN SALVATORIS NOMINE / IN VERITATE COMPERI / VERITATEM

LoB, f. 50

In sal-va-to-ris no-mi-ne qui san-gui-ne
In ve-ri-ta-te com-pe-ri quod sce-le-ri

[Veritatem]

mun-do mun dum a-blu-it
ex-a-cto-ris ex-u-it

cle-ri stu-det u-ni-tas
li-vor re-gnat ve-ri-tas

nos vo-ra-gi-ne e-ius pi-e ge-ni-tri-ci ma-ri-
da-tur fu-ne-ri. he-re-des lu-ci-fe-ri sunt pre-la-

16

e stu- de- a- mus psal- le- re. er- go vir- go vir- gi- num

ti iam e- la- ti glo- ri- a mem- bra do- mat a- li- a

21

cul- pis po- ne ter- mi- num et nos ti- bi fac pla-

ca- pi- tis in- sa- ni- a ce- ci in- du- ces- que ce-

26

ce- re dum si- le- rent et te- ne- rent cun- cta me- di- um

co- rum ex- ce- ca- ti ter- re- no- rum y- do- la- tri- a

31

in ter- ris si- len- ti- um mel- li- flu- us ser- mo tu- us
 que- runt o- mnes pro- pri- a ma- nus pa- tent sed iam la- tent

35

pa- ter a re- ga- li- bus mun- do ve- nit se- di-
 cru- cis be- ne- fi- ci- a lu- ge sy- on fi- li-

40

bus. O qua- le mi- ste- ri- um nu- psit cum car- ne de- i- tas
 a fru- ctus u- rit mes- si- um i- gnis in cau- dis vul- pi- um

45

et fe-cit hu-ma-ni-tas de-i ta-ti pal-li-um
tri-stes per-y-po-cri-tas si-mu-la-ta san-cti-tas

49

ve-la-tur di-vi-ni-tas car-nis fra-gi-lis ve-
ut tha-mar in bi-vi-o tun-pi mar-cens o-oi

54

lo iam no-va pro-ge-ni-es de-la-bi-tur et mit-ti-tur
o to-tum or-bem in-fi-cit nec de-fi-cit sed pro-fi-cit

59

a su- pre- mo ce- lo spe- ci- o- sa fa- ci- es sed at- tri- ta
da- ta li- ber- ta- ti. ca- sti- ta- tem pol- lu- it ca- ri- ta- tem

64

spe- ci- es pas- si- o- nis ze- lo qui pu- gil- lo con- ti- net
re- spu- it stu- dens par- ci- ta- ti. se- det in in- si- di- is

69

ce- lum ter- ram sus ti- net ex- pers o- mnis cri- mi- nis
ho- mi- num pre fi- li- is pau- pe- rum ut ra- pi- at.

73

mit-ti-tur et clau-di-tur in si-nu ma-tris vir-gi-nis. O
 et lin-gua-rum gla-di-is iu-stum ut in-ter-fi-ci-at non

77

li-li-um pre-si-di-um re-o-rum o-ra-na-tum
 est qui bo-num fa-ci-at i-sto-rum quo-rum con-sci-

82

pro-pri-um ut tol-lens re-a-tum nos re-vo-cet et
 en-sci-a spe-lun-ca la-tro-num. hanc vi-de vi-dens

86

col- lo- cet in par- te san- cto- num.

o- mi- a de- us ul- ti- o- num.

Observations

Unless otherwise indicated, all the following remarks pertain only to the triplum. For observations on the motetus, see under In veritate comperi.

Attribution: Philip: LoB. This piece was probably included in LoB only because of its connection with In veritate comperi, and hence may not necessarily be by Philip.

Date:

Genre: Double motet with motetus In veritate comperi (attributed to Philip, q.v). Possibly motet à2.

Text: In praise of Christ and the Virgin; on the miracle of the Nativity; and a plea for intercession from the Virgin.

Verse: 5p + 3(7pp) + 5pp + 11pp + 3(7pp) + 2(8pp) + 5pp + 7pp + 8p + 3(7pp) + 8pp + 3(7pp) + 7p + 7pp + 8pp + 6p + 2(7pp) + 6p + 4(7pp) + 2(8pp) + 3p + 7pp + 6p + 8pp + 6p. The syllable count and even the final accentual stresses of each line (except for 22) correspond exactly with In veritate comperi.

Rhyme: a b c c b d e f f e g h h i j j h k k h k l m n l m m l o o f n p h q h r s q.

Music: Through composed.

Phrase structure: (=178 Longs):

Triplum: 10 + 6 + 2(4) + 7 + 5 + 2(4) + 2(8) + 4 + 10 + 6 + 4(4)
 + 2(6) + 8 + 4(4) + 8 + 4 + 8 + 3(4) + 6.
 Motetus: 10 + 6 + 2(4) + 7 + 5 + 2(4) + 2(8) + 4 + 10 + 6 + 4(4)
 + 2(6) + 8 + 4(4) + 8 + 12 + 8 + 10L.
 Tenor: 2(16(4)) + 11(4) + 6L.

Until m. 71, the phrase structure is identical between the upper parts, and the differences thereafter are very slight, with no major overlap. This parallels the identity between structure of the Motetus and Triplum texts.

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+3 (Mode V); 2 3/4 statements (mm. 1-32; 32-64; 65-89).

Variants

Text:

LoB-Triplum: 4,1: exactores. 8,2: This word was initially omitted and added afterwards by a different hand. 17,2: quantum. 18: cum carni nupsit deitas. 24,1: All other sources have dilabitur. Motetus (For the line numbers of this part, see the separately edited text of this piece under its own title): 8,2: domant. 11,1: et cecati. 14,3: et. 22,3: oscio. 24,3: nec. 38,3: vident.

Music:

LoB—This work is transcribed here as a double motet, following the testimony of all the other sources. Although editorial ficta is supplied for the many B pitches, all these flats stem from the two-part transmission of In veritate comperi (q.v.) as preserved in W2. No version of the double motet contains indications of these accidentals, and they may easily be disregarded in performance. Triplum: 9-10,2: agfpli, ed, f, a, g. 16: missing rest. 21,3: begins f. 50v. 41,4: begins f. 51. 61,1: begins f. 51v. 63,1-5: f, e, fed, c. 74: missing rest. 77,4: begins f. 52. Motetus: 24,2: begins f. 53. 37,1: repeated pitch omitted. 45: begins f. 53v. 46: missing rest. 64,3: begins f. 54. 82: missing rest. 84,2: begins f. 54v. Tenor: This part appears twice in LoB, after the music for both the Triplum and the Motetus, notated on ff. 52 and 54v, respectively, and incorrectly designated In seculum. The rest of the surviving sources, however, argue against the probability that the Triplum was ever regarded as an independent piece and sung without the Motetus. Each individual Tenor in the LoB transmission only presents one color of the required $2\frac{3}{4}$ statements to fill out the complete composition. There are no significant variants between the two presentations, other than the fact that the one associated with the Motetus has double instead of single strokes indicating the ordines, and that the first three pitches of this Tenor appear as simplex notes.

ALPHA BOVI ET LEONI / DOMINO

Doubtful

SOURCES:F: fascicle 9, no. 25, f. 407, à2.Ma: fascicle 6, no. 15, f. 131v, à1; Tenor omitted.Hu: no. 83, f. 84v; conductus motet; Tenor varies rhythmically and melodically with other sources, Motetus slightly different rhythmically, Triplum does not correspond to clausula.Text only: none.Music only:Source clausula: Domino (Smith no. 3v, Ludwig no. -) from the BD VI Office versicle Benedicamus Domino, used on a variety of feasts, and derived from the melisma clementiam in the responsory Qui cum audissent for the feast of St. Nicholas (December 6):W1: fascicle 2, no. 3, f. XII (8), à3.F: fascicle 2, no. 23, f. 42v, à3.W2: fascicle 2, no. 12, f. 29, à3.Contrafacts:Larga manu seminatum (Gennrich no. 763), possibly by Philip, q.v.:W2: fascicle 8, no. 66 (62), f. 182v, à2.Hier matin a l'enjornée toute m'enbleüre chevauchoi (Gennrich no. 764, Linker no. 265-771):W2: fascicle 10, no. 48, f. 234, à2.Hui matin a l'ajournée toute m'enbleüre chevauchoi (Gennrich no. 765, Linker no. 72-8, R nos. 526, 491a) by Gautier de Coincy (b. 1177-78, d. 1236); a strophic paraphrase of Hier matin from his Miracles de Nostre Dame:Br 10747: f. 108v, à1.Lb 4401: f. 107v, à1.Ars B: f. 143v, à1.Pn fr. 1530: f. 146v, à1.Pn fr. 1536: f. 113v, à1.Pn fr. 22928: f. 158, à1.Pn fr. 25532: f. 108, à1.Lsc XIV, 9: f. 142, à1.Pn n.a. fr. 24541: f. 117, à1.The text alone of Hui matin also survives in six other sources.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 762; Tischler: 57; Chevalier: 22873; Walther: 832.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:422-435.

Text only: Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:255-256 (text with music); 1:300-301 (translation and commentary).

Literature:

Alpha, bovi et leoni	The Alpha, the ox and lion
aquile volanti;	flying with the eagle;
ovi, vermi, et drachoni	the sheep, the worm, and the
anguem conculcanti;	dragon trampling the serpent;
5 Ysaac, Yseph, Sansoni	Isaac and Joseph, Samson
portas asportanti;	carrying off the gates;
Davit vero, Salomoni	even David, and Solomon
pacem restauranti;	restoring the peace;
masculo agniculo,	the little male lamb,
10 virge matris flosculo,	the blossom on the mother's staff,
giganti gemineo;	the twin-like giant;
O, O, O, O, O, O,	Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh,
igni nimphe, grano,	even the fire, the grain,
tramiti plano;	and the straight path;
15 O, O, O, O, O,	Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh, the Omega,
unico et trino,	the single and triple Lord
<u>benedicamus, Domino.</u>	let us bless.

Notes on the Text:

In this poem, every single thing enumerated is representative of Christ. Significantly, the list of items tends to be grouped into units of three (ox, lion, eagle; sheep, worm, dragon; rose, flower, giant; fire, grain, path). The only exception occurs in lines 7-8 (David, Solomon). This clumping of symbols into three's highlights the main argument of the motet text, which seeks to praise Christ as part of the Trinity. However, despite the wealth and cleverness of this poem's symbolism, the mere listing of objects without any type of commentary or interpretation is not characteristic of Philip's verse. Similar techniques cast doubt on the attribution of the motet Doce nos optime given in Praha, and also cause many of the Marian pieces following in this edition to be regarded in a questionable light, even though modern scholars have identified their music with the style of Perotin. Similar reservations also prevent the ascription of the contrafact, Larga manu seminatum, q.v., to Philip.

1,1: God and Christ are often referred to as the Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and The End (from the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet); see Apocalypse, 1:8, 21:6, 22:13). This image may also explain the repeated "O" exclamations further on in this motet (lines 12 and 15). Consequently, the last of these has been translated as "the Omega". 1,2-2: The ox, lion, and eagle are creatures that appear in the writings of the prophets Ezechiel (1:1-14) and John (Apocalypse, 4:6-9). They are traditionally associated with the Evangelists Luke, Mark, and John, respectively, who spread Christ's teachings through the Gospels. The symbol for Matthew—the man—is not included here, perhaps to emphasize the number three as a symbol of the Trinity. 3,1: The sheep is typically associated with mankind, who in sinning strayed from the flock of the Good Shepherd (Christ). See, for example, Matthew, 18:12-14; Luke, 15:3-7. However, by association with the Agnus Dei, the sheep may also signify Christ. 3,2: Cf. Psalms, 21:7. This is another possible figure for Christ, since legend has it that worms were spawned without the benefit of sexual union. See the reference from the Glossa ordinaria in Migne, ed., Patrologia Latina, vol. 113, col. 874. 3,4-4: The appearance of the dragon among the symbols for Christ and the Evangelists is somewhat puzzling. It and its synonyms (serpens, anguis) are nearly always portrayed in the Bible as images of the Devil (most notably in Genesis, 3; or Apocalypse, 12-13). Also confusing is its role in trampling the serpent (another diabolical symbol), an act performed by Eve in Genesis, 3:15 (cf. Psalms, 90:3, where a dragon is also crushed!). A possible interpretation is provided by the common allegorical significance of Numbers, 21:6-9, where a bronze serpent, crafted by Moses to heal the bites of poisonous snakes sent by God, prefigures Christ conquering the Devil (cf. John, 3:14-15; and see Mâle, The Gothic Image, p. 143). 5,1-2: Isaac and Joseph are both Old Testament figures commonly associated with the figure of Christ (see Mâle, The Gothic Image, pp. 155-156). Isaac's forestalled sacrifice by his father Abraham is often compared to the Crucifixion; while Joseph, sold into slavery by his brothers, prefigures the events of the Passion. 5,3-6,2: Samson is also viewed as a prototype of Christ. In this instance, his bearing away the Gates of Gaza (Judges, 16:1-3) was interpreted as a metaphor for Christ conquering death through his resurrection (see Mâle, The Gothic Image, p. 146). 7-8: David and Solomon continue the procession of Old Testament Christological symbols (see Mâle, The Gothic Image, p. 157). The incident in line 8 may be the judgement Solomon rendered in the dispute of the two mothers over a single child; see 3 Kings, 3:16-28. 9: Another probable emblem of Christ, the Agnus Dei, perhaps with echoes of the ram offered by God in the story of the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham (see the notes to line 5; and Mâle, The Gothic Image, p. 155). 10: See Numbers, 17:1-9; Isaiah, 11:1. The flower upon the staff represents Christ born from the Virgin Mary. 11: The translation and meaning of this line is not altogether clear. Gemineo does not appear in any of the standard dictionaries, and appears to be a neologism: "twin-like," "double," "two-fold." The only interpretation that I can find that is remotely pertinent happens to fit the context of the rest of the poem admirably. It relies on a passage from St. Augustine's Contra sermonem Arianorum, chapter 8: "Apparet tamen idem ipse Christus, geminae gigas substantiae, secundum quid

obediens, secundum quid aequalis Deo; secundum quid Filius hominis, secundum quid Filius Dei." That is, Christ is a giant composed of twin substances, the human and divine. See also the motet Ecclesie princeps (Gennrich 112b), line 3. 12;15: See above note to 1,1. 13,1: A figure of Christ. For example, in Exodus, 3:2-4, the burning bush (a common symbol of Mary's virginity) is not consumed by the fire within it (Christ). See also Prudentius, Peristephanon, no. 2, line 394. 13,2: Nimphe does not mean "nymphs" in this context, but is an adverb, an orthographical variant of nempe. 13,3: See John, 12:24; 1 Corinthians, 15:36. The grain of corn that must die in order to proliferate is an obvious symbol of Christ and the Resurrection. This image is developed more fully in the contrafact to this motet, Larga manu seminatum, q.v. 14: Christ, the way to heaven; cf. Isaiah, 40:4, 62:40; Matthew, 7:14; Luke, 3:5.

ALPHA BOVI ET LEONI / DOMINO

E, F. 407

8 Al-pha bo-vi et le-o-ni a-qui-le vo-lan-ti o-vi ver-mi

8 Do-

6 et dra-cho-ni an-guem con-cul-tan-ti. y-sa-ac. y-seph. san-so-ni

11 por-tas as por-tan-ti. da-vit ve-ro sa-lo-mo-ni pa-cem re-stau-ran-ti.

17 ma-scu-lo a-gni-cu-lo vin-ge ma-tris flo-scu-lo. gi-gan-ti ge-

22 mi-ne o o o o o o i-gni nim-pha gra-

II

32

8 no. tra-mi-ti pla-no. o o o o o. u-ni-

41

8 co et tri-no be-ne-di-ca-mus do-mi-no.

mi- no.

Observations

Attribution: Possibly by Philip, since the music has a modern attribution to Perotin (see Husmann, Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame Organa, p. xxii), and since it is derived from a three-part clausula. However the style and technique of the text do not support such a claim.

Date:

Genre: Motet à2, derived from a clausula à3.

Text: Christ is praised in a bewildering variety of symbolic manifestations.

Verse: 4(8p + 6p) + 7 (7pp) + ? + 6pp + 5p + ? + 6p + 8pp.

Rhyme: a b a b a b a b c c d x e e x g g. X = "O" refrain.

Music: Phrase pairing and antecedent-consequent relationships among phrases.

A (1-4), A¹ (5-8), A² (9-12), B (13-16), C (17-18), C' (19-20), D (21-23), E (24-28), F (29-32), G (33-34), E' (35-39), H (40-43), D' (44-48).

Phrase structure: (=96 Longs):

Motetus: 4(8) + 2(4) + 5 + 12 + 7 + 5 + 8 + 9 + 8 + 10L.

Tenor: 11(4) + 2 / + 11(4) + 6L. The final 6L are a cadential extension of the 4L pattern.

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+3 (Mode V); 2 statements (mm. 1-23; 24-48).

Variants

Text: F—none.

Music:

F—Motetus: 42: begins f. 407v. **Tenor:** notated on f. 407v. 46: The "-mi-" syllable of the tenor text is underlaid to the tone in this measure. Its correct placement coincides with the quotation in the Motetus text.

AVE MARIA FONS LETICIE / LATUS

Doubtful

SOURCES:W2: fascicle 8, no. 21, f. 156, à2.Ma: fascicle 4, no. 25, f. 105, à1, Tenor omitted.Mo: fascicle 4, no. 63, f. 101v; double motet; Triplum is contrafact
Radix venie, q.v., with music differing from clausula triplum.Text only: none.Music only:Source clausula: Latus (Smith nos. 2, 3v; Ludwig nos. 1-2) from the M14
Alleluia Y Pascha nostrum for Easter Sunday. This clausulae
occurs in both three-part and two part versions in the Magnus
liber:W1: fascicle 8, no. 20, f. 88 (79), à3.F: fascicle 2, no. 8, f. 23, à3.F: Magnus liber, fascicle 4, no. 15, f. 109v, à2.W2: Magnus liber, fascicle 5, no. 12, f. 72v, à2.Contrafacts:Radix venie (Gennrich no. 229):F: fascicle 8, no. 10, f. 385; conductus motet, all parts
correspond with those of the three-part clausula.Mo: f. 101v; see above.Quant l'aloete s'esjoïst en mai (Gennrich no. 240, Linker no. 165-1446):W2: fascicle 10, no. 73, f. 245v, à2.Catalogs: Gennrich: 230; Tischler: 20; Chevalier: 23600; Walther:
1929.Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:122-132.Text only: Analecta hymnica, 21:187, no. I.Literature:

Ave, Maria,	Hail, Mary,
fons leticie,	source of happiness,
virgo pura, pia,	pure, blessed virgin,
vas mundicie.	vessel of cleanliness.
5 Te voce varia	Let your earnest, happy people
laudet sobrie	solemnly praise you
gens leta, sobria.	with manifold voices.
Gaudens varie,	Let the church,
promat ecclesia	rejoicing variously,
10 laudes marie.	utter praises to Mary.
Sonet in maria	Let the voice of the church
vox ecclesie.	resound upon the seas.
Hec solvit scrinia	She has fulfilled
ysaie,	Isaiah's writings,
15 reserans ostia	unlocking the bolted
clausa patrie.	doors of heaven. She is
Iura dans, eximia,	the excellent one, granting
regi glorie:	the laws to the king of glory:
cui, sola gracia,	he, who by grace alone,
20 plenus gracia,	and filled with her grace,
factus est hostia,	was sacrificed
finis hostie.	as the end of all sacrifices.

Notes on the Text:

This poem consists largely of Marian appellations. A contemporaneous treatise illustrating and explaining a great number of images associated with Mary can be found in the De laudibus Beatae Mariae of Richard of Saint Laurent (see the notes to the text of the motet Ex semine Abrahe divino for the cited edition). Many of the

Marian motets whose music modern scholars have attributed to Perotin are similarly constructed (see, for example, Et illumina eximia mater, O quam sancta quam benigna, and Radix venie), and the commonplace nature of their language and style argues against proposing Philip's authorship for these three pieces.

11: A play on words, maria meaning both "seas" and "Mary." 13-14: Isaiah, 7:14, 11:1-16. Scrinium means, literally, "writing desk." 20: Cf. Luke, 1:28. 21-22: for an explanation, see Hebrews, 10.

AVE MARIA FONS LETICIE / LATUS

W2, P. 156

8
8

R- ve ma- ri- a fons le- ti- ci- e vin- go pu- ra

La-

6
8
8

pi- a vas mun- di- ci- e te vo- ce va- ri- a

11
8
8

lau- det so- bri- e gens le- ta so- bri- a gau- dens va- ri- e

17
8
8

pro- mat ec- cle- si- a lau- des ma- ri- e so- net in ma- ri- a

23
8
8

vox ec- cle- si- e hec sol- vit scri- ni- a y- sa- i- e

29

re-se-rans o-sti-a clau-sa pa-tri-e iu-ra dans ex-

34

i-mi-a re-gi glo-ri-e qui so-la gra-ci-a

39

ple-nus gra-ci-e fa-ctus est ho-sti-a fi-nis ho-sti-e.
-tus

Observations

Attribution: Possibly by Philip, since the music has a modern attribution to Perotin (see Husmann, Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame Organa, p. xxii), it comes from the same organum as the probable motet Nostrum est impletum, and since the music was originally derived from a three-part clausula. However the style and technique of the text do not support such a claim.

Date:

Genre: Motet à2.

Text: In praise of the Virgin; a call to the church to praise her; Mary as the conduit for Christ's sacrifice.

Verse: 2(5pp) + 6p + 5(5pp + 6pp) + 4p + 6pp + 2(5pp + 7pp) + 5pp + 6pp + 5pp.

Rhyme: 11(ab).

Music: Generally through composed, but with a notable, repeated motive in 11-12 = 19-20 ≈ 23-24 ≈ 31-32. Sequence in 29-30.

Phrase structure: (=88 Longs):

Triplum and Motetus: 10(4) + 2(8 + 4 + 4) + 2(4) + 8L.

Tenor: 11(4 + 4L).

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+2 (mode V); 1 statement.

Variants

Text:

W2-6,1: laudes. 10: laudis hodie. 13,3: scriniare? No extra note for apparent added syllable. 15,1-2: reserens hostia. 17,3: exenmia, with stroke (indicating the letter "i") over the second "e," and with "m" underdotted to show error. 18,1: regem. 19,1: cui. 20,1: plena.

Music:

W2-Motetus: 5,2: The stroke through the entire staff after this note (omitted in the transcription) separates the motetus from the continuation of the tenor in the previous piece. 10;18;24;26: omitted rests. 23-24,1: fgagf. 27,1: begins f. 156v. Tenor: notated on f. 156v. 44: The text syllable follows this note; correct placement would occur in measure 35.

ET ILLUMINA EXIMIA MATER / ET ILLUMINARE

Doubtful

SOURCES:

W2: fascicle 8, no. 60 (56), f. 180v, à2; Strophe I only; begins "Eximia mater" with the omitted text and music supplied as a correction at the end of the Motetus.

Ch: no. 7, f. 5v, à1; complete text, Strophes I-II; fragmentary, mutilated.

StS1: no. 22, fragments 49', 50', f. ? [sic]; probably à2; Strophe I only; fragmentary, beginning of Motetus lost, Tenor wholly missing.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Source clausula: Et illuminare (Smith no. 3v, Ludwig no. 1) from the M9 Gradual Omnes de Saba venient ¶ Surge et illuminare for the feast of the Epiphany (Jan. 6):

F: fascicle 2, no. 28, f. 45, à3.

Contrafacts:

Entre Robin et Marot (Gennrich no. 104, Linker no. 265-669):

W2: fascicle 10, no. 38, f. 230, à2.

Et illumina je vous salu (Gennrich no. 105, Linker no. 265-687):

W2: fascicle 10, no. 43, f. 232, à2.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 101; Tischler: 123; Chevalier: -; Walther: 6080.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:828-832.

Text only: Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:183-185 (text with music); 1:286-287 (Strophe I); p. 384 (Strophe II translation and commentary).

Literature:

I.	<u>Et illumina,</u>	[Arise] and enlighten us,
	eximia	excellent
	mater, plena gratie,	mother, full of grace,
	potens <u>et</u> pia.	powerful and holy.
5	Subveni pie.	Dutifully assist us.
	Per te patet via	Through you lies the path
	celi regie.	to the court of heaven.
	O virgo regia,	O regal virgin,
	egregia regia	illustrious palace of
10	regis <u>glorie,</u>	the king of glory,
	victorie	gather together your troops
	confer subsidia.	for the conquest.
	Da gaudia.	Grant your delights.
	Remove tedia,	Dispel weariness,
15	fons venie,	O source of mercy,
	vie patrie	through the glory
	<u>gloria.</u>	of the road to heaven.
II.	[<u>Et illumina.</u>]	[Arise] and enlighten us.
	Elimina	Banish the sins of
20	sordes gentis <u>misere.</u>	<u>your wretched people.</u>
	Mitte lumina	Send forth the light
	fidei vere.	of the true faith.
	Mentes <u>illumina.</u>	Enlighten our minds.
	Nosque dextere	Appoint us as the
25	filiis nomina.	daughters of your right hand.
	O domina, nomina	O lady, write our

nostra libere	names boldly
fac scribere	upon the page
in vite pagina.	of life.
30 Tu, femina,	You, lady,
virtutum semina	instruct me in the
<u>et</u> suggere	seeds of the virtues.
me. Refugere	Revoke
vitia.	my sins

Notes on the Text:

This poem consists of a chain of Marian appellations mingled with appeals for mercy. A contemporaneous treatise illustrating and explaining a great number of images associated with Mary can be found in the De laudibus Beatae Mariae of Richard of Saint Laurent (see the notes to the text of the motet Ex semine Abrahe divino for the cited edition). Although Philip himself was not averse to writing poems that included lists of Marian attributes (see, for instance, his sequence Ave gloriosa virginum regina and his conductus O Maria virginei flos), the blandness of this particular poem seems inconsistent with the vigor of his known corpus of writings. For further evidence questioning his authorship, see the note to line 25, below; and the remarks below on the music under the Attribution heading of the Observations.

1: Isaiah, 60:1. Since the tenor text of this motet is preceded by the word surge in its chant setting, it is probable that its inclusion was understood here. 3,2-3: Luke, 1:29. 11-12: Probably a reference to the saints or angels. 25: This line from the second strophe, which may not be part of the original poem, offers the possibility that this motet text may have been written in or for a convent. However, see Anderson, Latin Compositions, 1:384, for an alternative, substituting filios for filiis. 29: See Apocalypse, 20:12-15.

ET ILLUMINA EXIMIA MATER / ET ILLUMINARE
 motet and discant clausula

W2, F. 180 v

I. Et il- lu- mi- na Ex- i- mi-
 II. [Et il- lu- mi- na} E- li- mi-

[Et il- lu- mi- na-]

E, f. 45: "restored" mode I version of clausula.

Et il- lu- mi- na-

6

a ma- ter ple- na gra- ti- e po- tens et pi- a sub- ve-
 na sor- des gen- tis mi- re- re mit- te lu- mi- na fi- de-

11

ni pi- e per te pa- tet vi- a ce- li
i ve- re men- tes il- lu- mi- na nos- que

15

re- gi- e o- vir- go re- gi-
dex- te- re fi- li- as no- mi-

19

8
a e- gre- gi- a re- gi- a re- gis glo- ri-
na o do- mi- na no- mi- na no- stra li- be-

II

II

24

8
e vi- cto- ri- am con- fer- sub- si- di- a da gau- di-
re fac scri- be- re in vi- te pa- gi- na tu fe- ni-

30

a re-mo-ve-te-di-a fons ve-ni-e vi-
na vir-tu-tum se-mi-na et sug-ge-re me

[b]?

[b]

35

e pa-tri-e glo-ni-a.
re-fu-ge-re vi-ti-a.].

-re.

-re.

Observations

Attribution: Possibly by Philip, since the music has a modern attribution to Perotin (see Husmann, Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame Organa, p. xxii), it is derived from a three-part clausula, and since it survives in a strophic redaction. However the style and technique of the text do not support such a claim. It also appears that rhythmic details in the source clausula differ from those in the motet. Although modern editors of the clausula (Husmann, Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame Organa, pp. 135-136; Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:183-185) transcribe it in mode III, it actually makes much better harmonic sense if rendered in mode I. Even though the unique transmission of the melismatic version of this piece in F gives occasional signs of a mode III interpretation, the many dissonances that result from such a rendition argue for the priority of the trochaic version. As a result of these contradictions, it seems quite likely that the motet (which clearly shows mode III rhythms) stems from a period of composition much later than that of the clausula, which seriously challenges any attempt to ascribe this text to Philip.

Date:

Genre: Strophic motet à2, derived from a clausula à3.

Text: A list of attributes and appeals to the Virgin, possibly written from a female point of view.

Verse: Strophe I: 5pp + 4pp + 7pp + 2(5p) + 6p + 5pp + 6pp + 7pp + 5pp + 2(4pp + 6pp) + 4pp + 5pp + 3pp.

Strophe II: [5pp] + 4pp + 7pp + 2(5p) + 6pp + 5pp + 6pp + 7pp + 5pp + 2(4pp + 6pp) + 4pp + 5pp + 3pp.

The two strophes differ in their sixth lines (underlined) and only in the accentual pattern.

Rhyme: Strophe I: a b c b c b a b b c c b b b c c b.

Strophe II: [a] a d a d a d a a d d a a a d d b. Rhyme scheme identical in both strophes. Their rhymes are interrelated; use of only four rhymes in whole poem, three in each strophe.

Music: Strophic (2 Strophes). Opens with varied pair of phrases; otherwise through composed.

A (1-4), A' (5-8), B (9-12), C (12-16), D (17-19), E (20-24), F (25-28), G (29-32), H (33-37).

Phrase structure: (=74 Longs):

Motetus: 2(8) + 7 + 9 + 6 + 3 + 7 + 2(8) + 10L.

Tenor: 9(4 + 4) + 2L.

Tenor behavior: pattern: 2+3 (Mode V); 2 statements (mm. 5-21; 22-37).

Variants

Text: Strophe I: W2; Strophe II: Ch: original unavailable; text consulted in the varying editions given by Anderson and Tischler (see Editions above).

W2-6,3: pater. 11: victorie. 12,1: confert. 18: omitted; possibly text and music of line 1 only performed with the first strophe. 20,2: Tischler-genus. 20,3: Anderson-mirere. 21-22: Anderson-omitted. 26,1: Tischler-contamina. 30,2: Tischler-semina.

Music: In order to demonstrate the rhythmic differences between this motet and its source clausula, both versions of the work have been included, with the clausula "restored" to a presumed original form in the first rhythmic mode.

Motet: W2-Motetus: 1-4: Text and music omitted in the initial copying of the piece, and supplied immediately after the end of the Motetus on f. 181 with a cross (+) here and at the beginning of the piece to indicate where to supply the omitted material. 10,3: begins f. 181. 28: omitted rest. Tenor: notated on f. 181. 1-4: the first five syllables of the tenor text have been taken over by the misplaced opening phrases of the motetus. See the above notes to the Motetus, measures 1-4.

Clausula: F-Triplum: 6,3: begins f. 45v. Motetus: 6,2: begins f. 45v. Tenor: 7,1: begins f. 45v.

LARGA MANU SEMINATUM / DOMINO

Doubtful

SOURCES:W2: fascicle 8, no. 66 (62), f. 182v, à2; unique.Text only: none.Music only:

Source clausula: Domino (Smith no. 3v, Ludwig no. -) from the BD VI Office versicle Benedicamus Domino, used on a variety of feasts, and derived from the melisma clementiam in the responsory Qui cum audissent for the feast of St. Nicholas (December 6):

W1: fascicle 2, no. 3, f. XII (8), à3.F: fascicle 2, no. 23, f. 42v, à3.W2: fascicle 2, no. 12, f. 29, à3.Contrafacts:Alpha bovi et leoni (Gennrich no. 762), possibly by Philip, q.v.:F: fascicle 9, no. 25, f. 407, à2.Ma: fascicle 6, no. 15, f. 131v, à2.

Hu: no. 83, f. 84v; conductus motet; Tenor varies rhythmically and melodically from other sources, Motetus slightly different rhythmically, Triplum does not correspond to clausula.

Hier matin a l'enjornée toute m'enbleüre chevauchoi (Gennrich no. 764, Linker no. 265-771):

W2: fascicle 10, no. 48, f. 234, à2.

Hui matin a l'ajournée toute m'enbleüre chevauchoi (Gennrich no. 765, Linker no. 72-8, R nos. 526, 491a) by Gautier de Coincy (b. 1177-78, d. 1236) from his Miracles de Nostre Dame; strophic paraphrase of Hier matin:

Br 10747: f. 108v, à1.Lb 4401: f. 107v, à1.Ars B: f. 143v, à1.Pn fr. 1530: f. 146v, à1.Pn fr. 1536: f. 113v, à1.Pn fr. 22928: f. 158, à1.Pn fr. 25532: f. 108, à1.Lsc XIV, 9: f. 142, à1.Pn n.a. fr. 24541: f. 117, à1.

The text alone of Hui matin also survives in six other sources.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 763; Tischler: 57; Chevalier: 10187;
Walther: -.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:422-435.

Text only: Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:189-191 (text with music); 1:300 (translation and commentary).

Larga manu seminatum,	This grain of wheat,
granum hoc frumenti,	sowed by a beneficent hand,
terre bone commendatum,	entrusted to the good earth
hora competenti;	when the time is right;
5 nisi morte sit mundatum,	unless it is cleansed through death,
vitam conferenti,	it will not sprout forth as a
non resurget duplicatum,	double,
sibi vel ferenti.	bestowing or producing life
Igitur premoritur.	for itself.
	Therefore, it decays.
10 Sic ad vitam reducitur	In this way is the just
iustum et deificum,	and deified,
O, O, O, O, O, O,	Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh,
tropicum, celicum	the symbolic, the heavenly
granum et triticum.	grain and wheat restored to life.
15 O, O, O, O, O,	Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh,
glorificum	glorified
.....
sed ex uno reliquum	but from one the rest
.....

Notes on the Text:

This text is a meditation on John, 12:24-25, which is itself an allegory of Christ's death and resurrection. The theme of this motet may well have been inspired by line 13 of its contrafact, Alpha bovi et leoni, another possible but questionable attribution to Philip. Larga manu is apparently incomplete (see the notes to lines 17 and 19 below) and its corrupt transmission hinders any attempt to ascribe it to or remove it from Philip's list of works. Nevertheless, a different grain metaphor, derived from Matthew, 3:12 and Luke, 3:17, appears quite frequently in Philip's poems (see the notes to the text of his organum prosula Adesse festina, lines 55-62 for a list of occurrences), and it is surprising that a nod in the direction of this figure would be absent in

a poem by Philip written on such a closely related topic. Also arguing against his authorship is the fact that after line 10 the grain metaphor is not developed any further, but degenerates into a list of attributes similar to those of many Marian poems, and analogous to the chain of people, animals, and objects in the contrafact Alpha bovi. Due to these features, and always bearing in mind that the incomplete transmission of this uniquely preserved text severely hampers our assessment of it, I would question—but not completely dismiss—the prospect of Philip's authorship, even though the music has been associated with the style of Perotin.

5-9: See John, 12:24; and 1 Corinthians, 15:36. The grain, like Christ, must die in order to sprout and bear fruit. 7,3: In botanical terminology, a double is a plant that sprouts with a larger ratio of leaves to flowers. Though this image may have some veiled metaphorical significance, duplicatum may merely be meant in an adverbial sense, "to sprout again." 17;19: In comparing this poem to its own music, and with the aid of the contrafact Alpha bovi, it is clear that there is a gap of at least three syllables after line 16, and an omission of at least two more after line 18. Although it is probable that the missing verses would have continued the "-icum" rhyme beginning in line 11, a trope of the tenor text with some hint at "Benedicamus Domino" is entirely possible.

LARGA MANU SEMINATUM / DOMINO

M2, f. 182v

8 Lar- ga ma- nu se- ni- na- tum gra- num hoc fru- men- ti ter- re bo- ne

8 Do-

8 con- men- da- tum ho- ra com- pe- ten- ti. ni- si- mor- te sit mun- da- tum

11 8 vi- tam con fe- ren- ti. non re- sur- get du- pli- ca- tum si- bi vel fe-

16 8 ren- ti. i- gi- tur pre- mo- ri- tur sic ad vi- tam re du- ci- tur

21 8 iu- stum [et] de- i- fi- cum o o o o o

II

28 8 o tro- pi- cum ce- li- cum gra- num et tri- ti- cum

35

o o o o o glo- ri- fi- cum [...]

42

... ...] sed ex u- no re- li- qum. [... ..]

MI- NO.

Observations

Attribution: Possibly by Philip, since the music has a modern attribution to Perotin (see Husmann, Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame Organa, p. xxii), and since it is derived from a three-part clausula. However the style and technique of the text do not support such a claim.

Date:

Genre: Motet à2, derived from a clausula à3.

Text: On the planting and growth of a grain of corn; implicitly connected with the Resurrection; text suffers omissions.

Verse: 4(8p + 6p) + 7pp + 8pp + 7pp + x + 2(6pp) + x + 4pp + ? + 7pp + ?

Rhyme: a b a b a b a b c c d x d d x d ? d ?.

Music: Phrase pairing and antecedent-consequent relationships among phrases.

A (1-4), A¹ (5-8), A² (9-12), B (13-16), C (17-18), C' (19-20), D (21-23), E (24-28), F (29-32), G (33-34), E' (35-39), H (40-43), D' (44-48).

Phrase structure: (=96 Longs):

Motetus: 5(8) + 7 + 10 + 7 + 5 + 8 + 4 + [5] + 6 + [4]L.

Tenor: 11(4) + 2 / + 11(4) + 6L. The final 6L are a cadential extension of the 4L pattern.

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+3 (Mode V); 2 statements (mm. 1-23; 24-48).

Variants

Text:

W2-1,3: seminatu. 4,2: copetenti. 9,2: premorimur. 11,2: omitted (conjecture). 13,1: tripicum.

Music:

W2-Motetus: 9,3: begins f. 183. 18,3: aabpli. 42,2-43: text and music omitted. 47-48: text and music omitted. Tenor: notated on f. 183.

O QUAM SANCTA QUAM BENIGNA / ET GAUDEBIT

Doubtful

SOURCES: In view of the intricacy of this complex of pieces, the incipits of works with multiple texts are given here, along with their numbers from Gennrich's motet catalogue:

LoC: no. 7, f. 3v, à2.

Ch: no. 9, f. 6; conductus motet; fragmentary, beginning and end missing.

ArsB: no. 8, f. 117, à2.

Hu: no. 93, f. 94v, à2; incomplete, second half omitted, Tenor rhythmically and melodically varied.

Ma: fascicle 6, nos. 16-17, f. 132; double motet with Triplum Ypocrite pseudopontifices (Gennrich no. 316), possibly by Philip, q.v.; Motetus precedes Triplum, second half of Triplum omitted, Tenor omitted.

Ba: no. 74, f. 47; double motet with Ypocrite as Triplum.

Mo: fascicle 3, no. 36, f. 63v; double motet with Triplum El mois d'avril (Gennrich no. 318).

Cl: no. 28, f. 381v; triple motet with Triplum O maria mater pia vite via (Gennrich no. 317a), and El mois d'avril as Quadruplum.

Text only:

Pn fr. 2193: f. 12; ruled for notation and supplied with irrelevant musical notes.

Nov: f. 384v; superscript: "In purificationem beate virginis. Sequentia."

Bes: no. 9, f. 9; text incipit only, from an index to a lost codex.

Music only:

Source clausula: Et gaudebit (Smith, Ludwig no. 2) from the M24 Alleluia ¶ Non vos relinquam for the Feast of the Ascension (second Alleluia):

F: fascicle 5, no. 130, clausula no. 130, f. 161v, à2.

StV: gathering 6, clausula no. 15, f. 289v, à2; contrafact incipit in margin: "Al cor ai une aligrance."

Contrafacts:

Velut stelle firmamenti (Gennrich no. 315):

F: fascicle 9, nos. 40-41, f. 411v; double motet with Triplum Ypocrite.

Al cor ai une alegance (Gennrich no. 319, Linker no. 265-36):

W2: fascicle 9, no. 2, f. 195; double motet with triplum El mois d'avril (Gennrich no. 318).

Memor tui creatoris (Gennrich no. 320);

W2: fascicle 8, no. 79 (74b) f. 188v, à2.

Virgo virginum regina virga virens (Gennrich no. 321):

W2: fascicle 8, no. 78 (74a), f, 187v, à2.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 317; Tischler: 71; Chevalier: 34357; Walther: 12906.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:493-537.

Text only: Analecta hymnica, 42:71, no. 60.

Literature: Cook, "Manuscript Transmission," 1:208-217.

	O quam sancta, quam benigna; fulget mater salvatoris. Laude plena, virgo digna, archa Noe, Iacob scala, 5 vasculum pudoris, aula redemptoris, tocius fons honoris, angelorum gaudium lactans Dei filium, 10 regem omnium. Ave, salus gentium. Preces supplicantium, audi, virgo, Yesse virga nobilis, super omnes venerabilis.	O how holy, how kind; the mother of the saviour gleams. Worthy virgin, full of praise, Noah's ark, Jacob's ladder, vessel of modesty, stronghold of the redeemer, source of absolute honor, joy of the angels nursing the son of God, the king of all. Hail, salvation of peoples. Hear, virgin, noble rod of Jesse, esteemed beyond all others, the prayers of your supplicants.
15	Spes unica, succurre miseris. Inebrians animas fons es admirabilis, que tuos nunquam mori deseris. O anima, ex sordibus vilis, 20 hanc Mariam virginem expostula ut sit pro te sedula, exorare Dominum propitium. Una spes fidelium, O genetrix, <u>gaude</u> in filio.	Sole hope, aid the wretched. You are the admirable stream that intoxicates souls, which never abandons your own to die. O soul, revolting in your filth, persuade this virgin Mary to be solicitous for your benefit, to prevail upon the gracious Lord. O only hope of the faithful, O mother, rejoice in your son.
25	<u>Gaudens</u> ego <u>gaudebo</u> in Domino.	And I will rejoice, rejoicing in the Lord.


Notes on the Text:

This poem consists of a chain of Marian appellations mingled with appeals for mercy. A contemporaneous treatise illustrating and explaining a great number of images associated with Mary can be found in the De laudibus Beatae Mariae of Richard of Saint Laurent (see the notes to the text of the motet Ex semine Abrahe divino for the cited edition). Although Philip himself was not averse to writing poems that included lists of Marian attributes (see, for instance, his sequence Ave gloriosa virginum regina and his conductus O Maria virginei flos), the blandness of this particular poem seems inconsistent with the vigor of his known corpus of writings.

4,1-2: Genesis, 6:13-7:19. Mary is comparable to the ark because she contained within her the materials necessary for the survival of mankind; see the De laudibus, book 11, chapter 9. 4,3-4: Genesis, 28:10-13. Through Mary, like Jacob's ladder, a path is made to heaven; see the De laudibus, book 11, chapter 31, §§17-18. 13,3-5: See Isaiah, 11:1. Cf. Numbers, 17:1-9.

O QUAM SANCTA QUAM BENIGNA / ET GAUDEBIT

LoC, f. 3v



O quam san-cta quam be-ni-gna ful-get ma-ter sal-va-to-ris. lau-de
Et gaudebit.

8
ple-na vir-go dig-na ar-cha-no-e ia-cob sca-la va-scu-lum pu-

13
do-ris. au-la re-dem-pto-ris to-ti-us fons ho-no-ris. an-ge-lo-rum

19
gau-di-um lac-tans de-i fi-li-um re-gem om-ni-

24
um. a-ve sa-lus gen-ti-um pre-ces sup-pli-can-ti-um

30

au- di vir- go yes- se vir- ga no- bi- lis. su- per o- mnis ve- ne- ra- bi-

35

lis. Spes u- ni- ca suc- cur- re mi- se- ris in- e- bri-

II

41

ans a- ni- mas fons es ad- mi- ra- bi- lis que tu- os nun- quam mo- ri

47

de- se- ris. o a- ni- ma ex sor- di- bus vi- lis hanc ma- ri- am

53

vir- gi- nem ex- po- stu- la ut sit pro te se- du- la ex- o- ra- re

59

do- mi- num pro- pi- ti- um. u- na spes fi- de- li- um. o ge- ne-

65

trix gau- de in fi- li- o gau- dens e- go gau- de- bo in do- mi- no.

Observations

Attribution: Possibly by Philip, since the music has a modern attribution to Perotin (see Sanders, "The Question," p. 247), and since it is connected with other works that may be his. However the style and technique of the text do not support such a claim.

Date:

Genre: Motet à2. Possibly originally a conductus motet, but survives in this form only in Ch.

Text: A list of attributes and appeals to the Virgin.

Verse: The text of this motet is divided into two "partes," signified by a virga (/) in the following enumerations: 4(8p) + 2(6p) + 3(7pp) + 5pp + 2(7pp) + 11pp + 9pp / 10pp + 2(7pp) + 2(10pp) + 2(11pp + 7pp) + 10pp + 11pp.

Rhyme: a b a c b b b d d d d e e f g e f e h h d d i i.

Music: Through composed.

Phrase structure: (=140 Longs):

Motetus: 12 + 14 + 8 + 6 + 8 + 10 + 12 / + 8 + 10 + 6 + 8 + 4(6) + 4 + 8L.

Tenor: 2(8(4 + 4) + 6L).

Tenor behavior: pattern: 2+3 (Mode V), with an extension of the last three notes at the end of each tenor color; 2 statements (mm. 1-35; 36-70).

Variants

Text: LoC-25,3: gaudeo.

Music:

LoC-Motetus: 9,2-3: begins f 4. The absence of a b-flat sign at the beginning of the system in the manuscript may be due to the confusion of this plica figure with a key signature, even though it occupies the wrong space. 54,1: begins f. 4v. 55: bbba. 69,1-2: BL. Tenor: notated on f 4v. 36-70: second tenor statement omitted.

RADIX VENIE / LATUS

Doubtful

SOURCES:F: fascicle 8, no. 10, f. 385; conductus motet.Mo: fascicle 4, no. 63, f. 101v; double motet; text of Radix appears as Triplum with different music from that of F transmission, and with contrafact Ave Maria fons leticie as Motetus.Text only: none.Music only:Source clausula: Latus (Smith nos. 2, 3v; Ludwig nos. 1-2) from the M14 Alleluia Y Pascha nostrum for Easter Sunday. This clausulae occurs in both a three-part transmission and a two-part version from the Magnus liber. All voices of the conductus motet correspond with those of the three-part clausula:W1: fascicle 8, no. 20, f. 88 (79), à3.F: fascicle 2, no. 8, f. 23, à3.F: Magnus liber, fascicle 4, no. 15, f. 109v, à2.W2: Magnus liber, fascicle 5, no. 12, f. 72v, à2.Contrafacts:Ave Maria fons leticie (Gennrich no. 230):Ma: fascicle 4, no. 25, f. 105, à1, Tenor omitted.W2: fascicle 8, no. 21, f. 156, à2.Mo: fascicle 4, no. 63, f. 101v; double motet; text of Radix appears as Triplum with music differing from clausula triplum.Quant l'aloete s'esjoïst en mai (Gennrich no. 240, Linker no. 165-1446):W2: fascicle 10, no. 73, f. 245v, à2.Catalogs: Gennrich: 229; Tischler: 20; Chevalier: 17004;
Walther: -.Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:122-132.Text only: Analecta hymnica, 49:242, no. 471.Literature:

	Radix venie,	Root of mercy,
	vena gratie,	conduit of grace,
	vie dux et portus,	pilot and harbor of life,
	porta patrie,	door to heaven,
5	veri solis ortus,	dawn of the true son,
	thronus glorie,	throne of glory,
	summi regis cella,	chamber of the highest king,
	Yesse virgula	twig of Jesse
	ex qua flos est ortus	from which was born the flower
10	salvans secula,	that saves the world,
	clara maris stella,	radiant star of the sea,
	lucis specula,	mirror of light,
	mortis exterminium,	annihilator of death,
	salus mentium,	salvation of minds,
15	claustra pandens celica	key from the lineage of David
	clavis Davitica,	throwing open the heavenly portals,
	caput hostis terens	warlike Judith treading
	Iudith bellica,	on the enemy's head,
	lignum vite ferens	blossoming tree
20	arbor florida,	bearing the timber of life,
	pigras move mentes, fove	bestir our listless minds.
	corda languida.	encourage our sluggish hearts.

Notes on the Text:

This poem consists of a chain of Marian appellations mingled with appeals for mercy. A contemporaneous treatise illustrating and explaining a great number of images associated with Mary can be found in the De laudibus Beatae Mariae of Richard of Saint Laurent (see the notes to the text of the motet Ex semine Abrahe divino for the cited edition).

Although Philip himself was not averse to writing poems that included lists of Marian attributes (see, for instance, his sequence Ave gloriosa virginum regina and his conductus O Maria virginei flos), the blandness of this particular poem seems inconsistent with the vigor of his known corpus of writings.

3: An epithet related to, and complemented by the very common one below in line 11. 8: Isaiah, 1:11. Cf. Numbers, 17:1-9. 9: The flower is Christ. 11: One of the most common of the epithets for Mary, see the De laudibus, book 1, chapter 3 (on p. 22 of the cited edition). 16: Mary, like her husband Joseph, traced her lineage back to David, and ultimately Abraham; see Matthew, 1:1-16. 17-18: See Judith, 13-14. The act of treading upon Holofernes' head recalls Eve's same action with the Devil in Genesis, 3:15. Like these two Old Testament figures, Mary, by bearing Christ, also conquered the Devil. 19: Reminiscent of the tree of Knowledge in Genesis, 2-3; and thereby also of the cross.

23

lu- cis spe- cu- la. mor- tis ex- ter- mi- ni- um sa- lus men- ti- um.

29

clau- stra pan- dens ce- li- ca cla- vis da- vi- ti- ca. ca- put ho- stis

34

te- rens iu- dith bel- li- ca. li- gnum vi- te fe- rens

-tus

39

am- bor flo- ri- da. pi- gras mo- ve men- tes fo- ve cor- da lan- gui- da.

Observations

Attribution: Possibly by Philip, since the music has a modern attribution to Perotin (see Husmann, Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame Organa, p. xxii), it comes from the same organum as the probable motet Nostrum est impletum, and since it is derived from a three-part clausula. However the style and technique of the text do not support such a claim.

Date:

Genre: Conductus motet from an integral clausula à3.

Text: A chain of Marian appellations concluding with an appeal for aid.

Verse: 2(5pp) + 5(6p + 5pp) + 7pp + 5p + 7p + 6pp + 2(6p + 5pp) + 8p + 5pp.

Rhyme: a a b a b a c d b d c d e e f f g f g h i h.

Music: Generally through composed, but with a notable, repeated motive in 11-12 = 19-20 = 23-24 = 31-32. Sequence in 29-30.

Phrase structure: (=88 Longs):

Triplum and Motetus: 10(4) + 2(8 + 4 + 4) + 2(4) + 8L.

Tenor: 11(4 + 4L).

Tenor behavior: pattern: 3+2 (mode V); 1 statement.

Variants

Text: F-none.

Music:

F-Triplum: 10: omitted rest. 41,1: begins f. 385v. Motetus: 38: stroke omitted. 41,1: begins f. 385v. Tenor: notated on f. 385v. 35: text syllable underlies 37,1.

VIRGO VIRGINUM REGINA VIRGA VIRENS / ET GAUDEBIT

Doubtful

SOURCES: In view of the intricacy of this complex of pieces, the incipits of multi-texted works are given along with their numbers in Gennrich's motet catalogue:

W2: fascicle 8, no. 78 (74a), f. 187v, à2.

Text only: none.

Music only:

Source clausula: Et gaudebit (Smith, Ludwig no. 2) from the M24 Alleluia ¶ Non vos relinquam for the Feast of the Ascension (second Alleluia):

F: fascicle 5, no. 130, clausula no. 130, f. 161v, à2.

StV: gathering 6, clausula no. 15, f. 289v, à2; contrafact incipit in margin: "Al cor ai une aligrance."

Contrafacts:

Velut stelle firmamenti (Gennrich no. 315), probably by Philip, q.v.

F: fascicle 9, nos. 40-41, f. 411v; double motet with triplum Ypocrite pseudopontifices, probably by Philip, q.v.

O quam sancta quam benigna (Gennrich no. 317):

Ch: no. 9, f. 6; conductus motet; fragmentary, beginning and end missing.

LoC: no. 7, f. 3v, à2.

ArsB: no. 8, f. 117, à2.

Hu: no. 93, f. 94v, à2; incomplete, second half omitted, Tenor rhythmically and melodically varied.

Ma: fascicle 6, nos. 16-17, f. 132; double motet à2 with Triplum Ypocrite (Gennrich, no. 316), possibly by Philip, q.v.; Motetus precedes Triplum, second half of Triplum omitted, Tenor omitted.

Ba: no. 74, f. 47; double motet with Triplum Ypocrite.

Mo: fascicle 3, no. 36, f. 63v; double motet with Triplum El mois d'avril (Gennrich no. 318).

Cl: no. 28, f. 381v; triple motet with Triplum O maria mater pia vite via (Gennrich no. 317a), and El mois d'avril (Gennrich no. 318) as Quadruplum.

The text alone of O quam sancta survives in three other sources, q.v.

Al cor ai une alegrance (Gennrich no. 319, Linker no. 265-36):

W2: fascicle 9, no. 2, f. 195; double motet with triplum El mois d'avril.

Memor tui creatoris (Gennrich no. 320);

W2: fascicle 8, no. 79 (74b) f. 188v, à2.

Catalogs: Gennrich: 321; Tischler: 71; Chevalier: -; Walther: 20569.

Editions: Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:493-537.

Text only: Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:206-213 (text with music); 1:344-345 (translation and commentary).

Literature:

<p>Virgo, virginum regina, virga virens generosa florens flore sine spina, germinans germen rore 5 celi deliciosa, rosa que non rosa, que regis preciosa, archa firma federis, legis glosa veteris, 10 nove medium, gaudium tu superis spemque reis reperis. Miseris opem propina, domina sedula, 15 iuva per secula.</p> <p>O maris stella, per hec maria nos dirige. Per omnia rege pericula.</p> <p>Ad te clamamus voce puerula, 20 quos emula carnis trahit via, mundi rete glutina. Sed propera, felix O puerpera, que regnat in ethera.</p> <p>Confedera nobis. Propter opera, 25 gravi fera tua sint opera,</p>	<p>Virgin, queen of virgins, noble blooming branch sprouting a flower without a thorn, producing a bud from the delicate dew of heaven, rose that was uncorrupted, the king's precious one, steadfast ark of the covenant, explication of the old law, instrument of the new, you procure joy for those in heaven and gain hope for sinners.</p> <p>Devote your power to the wretched, O diligent mistress, forever aid us.</p> <p>O star of the sea, direct us through these waters. Guide us through all dangers.</p> <p>To you we call with our foolish voices, we, whom the envious path of the flesh, the chains and snares of the world lure away. Hasten, O happy mother, who reigns in the upper world.</p> <p>Unite with us. Through our works, may your own be so greatly fervent,</p>
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VIRGO VIRGINUM REGINA VIRGA VIRENS / ET GAUDEBIT

M2, f. 187v

Vir- go vir- gi- num re- gi- na. vir- ga vi- rens ge- ne- ro- sa
Et gau- -de-

7
flo- rens flo- re si- ne spi- na ger- mi- nans ger- men ro- re ce-

12
li- de- li- ci- o- sa ro- sa que non ro- sa que re- gis pre- ci- o- sa

18
ar- cha fir- ma fe- de- ris le- gis glo- sa ve- te- ris no- ve me- di-

24
um gau- di- um tu su- pe- ris spem- que re- is re- pe- ris

30

mi-se-ris o- pem pro-pi-na do-mi-na se-du-la iu-va per se-cu-la.

36

o. ma-ris stel-la per hec ma-ri-a nos di-ri-ge per o-mni-

42

a re-ge pe-ni-cu-la ad te cla-ma-mus vo-ce puer-u-la

48

quos e-mu-la car-nis tra-hit vi-a mun-di re-te glu-ti-na sed

54

pro-pe-ra fe-lix o pu-er-pe-ra que re-gnat in e-the-ra con-

60

fe- de- ra no- bis. pro- pter o- pe- ra gra- vi fe- ra tu- a sint

66

o- pe- ra ne nos fre- mens fe- ra fe- rit ru- i- na.
-bit.

Observations

Attribution: Possibly by Philip, since the music has a modern attribution to Perotin (see Sanders, "The Question," p. 247), and since it is connected with other works that may be his. However the style and technique of the text do not support such a claim.

Date:

Genre: Motet à2.

Text: A list of attributes and appeals to the Virgin.

Verse: The text of this motet is divided into two "partes," signified by a virga (/) in the following enumerations: 3(8p) + 2(7p) + 6p + 7p + 2(7pp) + 5pp + 2(7pp) + 8p + 2(6pp) / 10pp + 8pp + 6pp + 11pp + 10p + 11pp + 2(7pp) + 11pp + 10pp + 11pp.

Rhyme: a b a c b b b d d e d d a f f / g g f f g g h h h h a.

Music: Through composed,

Phrase structure: (=140 Longs):

Motetus: 12 + 14 + 8 + 6 + 8 + 10 + 12 / + 8 + 10 + 6 + 8 + 4(6) + 4 + 8L.

Tenor: 2(8(4 + 4) + 6L).

Tenor behavior: pattern: 2+3 (Mode V), with an extension of the last three notes at the end of each tenor color; 2 statements (mm. 1-35; 36-70).

Variants

Text:

W2-7,2: resis. 21,2: recte. 23,1: qui, last letter underdotted to show error. 25,1: gravem. 25,4: sit.

Music:

W2-Motetus: 3,2: The stroke through the entire staff after this note (omitted in the transcription) separates the motetus from the continuation of the tenor in the previous piece. 21,1: begins f. 188. 24: omitted rest. 37,5: e. 36,1: d. 53,1: d. 57: omitted rest. 60,1: f. 61,3: begins f. 188v. 61,2: Stroke after this pitch (omitted in the transcription) separates motetus from the notation of the tenor, which begins immediately following. Tenor: notated on f. 188. 1;2;5;70: Text underlay is not precise in the manuscript, the adopted version follows that of other chant and motet sources.