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## Philip the Chancellor

# Motets and Prosulas



Edited by Thomas B. Payne



A-R Editions, Inc.  
Middleton, Wisconsin

For Lu Ann

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<i>ArsB</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3517-3518.
<i>Ba</i>	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 115.
<i>Berl</i>	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4°523.
<i>Bes</i>	Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, I, 716.
<i>Boul</i>	Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale, 148.
<i>CB</i>	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4660 ("Carmina Burana" manuscript).
<i>Ch</i>	Châlons-sur-Marne, Archives de la Marne et de la région de Champagne-Ardenne, 3.J.250.
<i>Cjec Q.B.1</i>	Cambridge, Jesus College, Q.B.1.
<i>Cl</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS nouv. acq. fr. 13521 ("La Clayette" manuscript).
<i>CTr</i>	Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.1.
<i>Da 521</i>	Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 521.
<i>Da 2777</i>	Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 2777.
<i>Eng 102</i>	Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 102.
<i>Eng 1003</i>	Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 1003.
<i>F</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1.
<i>Fauv</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 146 ("Roman de Fauvel").
<i>Frankfurt</i>	Frankfurt-am-Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. lat. VI.41.
<i>Graz 409</i>	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 409.
<i>Graz 756</i>	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 756 ("Seckauer Cantionarium").
<i>Ha</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 25566.
<i>Heid</i>	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 2588.
<i>Hu</i>	Burgos, Monasterio de Santa Maria la Real de Las Huelgas, codice ix.
<i>LoA</i>	London, British Library, MS Egerton 2615.
<i>LoB</i>	London, British Library, MS Egerton 274.
<i>LoC</i>	London, British Library, MS Additional 30091.
<i>Ma</i>	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 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.
- Nov* Novara, Biblioteca capitolare del duomo, XLI.
- Ob Add. A.44* Oxford, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Add. A.44 ("Oxford Additional" manuscript; "Bekynton Anthology").
- Ox Rawl* Oxford, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Rawlinson C 510 ("Oxford Rawlinson" manuscript).
- Pn fr. 2193* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 2193.
- Pn fr. 12615* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 12615 ("Chansonnier Noailles").
- Pn lat. 1112* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 1112.
- Pn lat. 1337* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 1337.
- Pn lat. 2208* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 2208.
- Pn lat. 15181* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 15181.
- Praha* Prague Castle Archive, Metropolitan Chapter Library, N VIII.
- R* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 844 ("Manuscrit du Roi").
- Sab* Rome, Archivio dei Dominicani di Santa Sabina, MS XIV L 3.
- StS1* Stary Sącz, Biblioteka Klasztoru SS. Klarysek, Muz 9.
- Stutt* Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, 9 (olim HB I 95).
- StV* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 15139 ("Saint Victor" manuscript).
- Tort* Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Cathedral, C 97.
- W1* Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.
- W2* Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst.
- Worc* Worcester, Chapter Library, Additional 68 (part of the "Worcester Fragments").

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Finally to Lu Ann Homza, the partner of all my labors, I dedicate this volume with love and affection.

# Introduction

Amid the bustle of musical activity during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries that is now credited to the composers and poets active in and around the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, Philip the Chancellor (d. 1236) holds a special place. Known elsewhere to history as a crucial figure within the cathedral's administrative body, and renowned for his substantive theological writings as well as a large corpus of sermons, Philip also contributed weightily to the musical efflorescence at Notre Dame.

Philip the Chancellor possesses a corpus of attributed songs that far exceeds any other known individual within the Notre Dame school. Approximately fifteen different medieval sources assign eighty-three poetic texts to him, and only five of these lack extant musical settings. The attributing sources comprise not only poetic anthologies, collections of songs, occasional liturgical manuscripts, 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. Modern scholars, in turn, have both questioned and expanded this canon, which embraces all of the musical genres associated with the Notre Dame school with the exception of organum.<sup>1</sup>

As one of the most prolific and outstanding authors of Latin lyrics of his time, Philip's contribution to Notre Dame music appears to be as important as that of Leoninus and Perotinus, the two named but otherwise shadowy composers connected with this school,<sup>2</sup> whose specific musical contributions still remain somewhat obscure.<sup>3</sup> Like Leoninus and Perotinus, Philip expanded existing genres of Latin song and liturgical music to create some of the most singular artistic endeavors of the era; but he also worked on new types of pieces, building from earlier styles and techniques to exploit novel musical-poetic genres with significant importance for later generations. In addition to writing texts that include examples of existing musical types such as the sequence, hymn, and monophonic and polyphonic conductus, Philip is also responsible for a sizeable number of motets, certainly

the most innovative and fertile musical genre that arose within the Notre Dame school.

Closely related to the motet in both conception and technique is a small collection of so-called prosulas, poems written to the preexisting melismatic music of voices taken from intact portions of three- and four-part organa and from the detached final caudae of polyphonic conductus. Although this practice is directly comparable to the older technique of writing prosulas to melismatic sections of plainchant,<sup>4</sup> Philip's works in this vein are exceptional because they are arguably the earliest known examples to set texts to the newly composed voices of an existing polyphonic model, a procedure that allows the rhythmic realization of a syllabically notated melody at a time when no notational system existed that could communicate this type of information.<sup>5</sup> In fact, this corpus of prosulas, a species that can be tied exclusively to Philip, is particularly significant, since the procedure of adding poetry to preexistent polyphony is clearly very similar to the common practice of texting discant clausulae to make motets. It is even possible that through Philip's cultivation of these prosulas to organum and conductus we can see the very seeds from which the motet grew, eventually to become the most fertile and long-lasting of all the musical species cultivated within the Notre Dame repertory.

The early history of these new creations is, admittedly, dimly understood, but a look into Philip's activity as an author of poetry for prosulas and motets can be especially revealing for the information it may supply on the creation of these forms, their relationships to each other, and the early history of the burgeoning motet. Philip is the only individual connected directly with the development of the motet at Notre Dame, and his works are also the oldest examples of the genre whose authorship can be posited.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, all of the information available at the present time argues forcefully that it was Philip himself who created the motet.<sup>7</sup> In the absence of other precise evidence that would help to elucidate the rise of this unusual species of polyphony,<sup>8</sup> the Chancellor's prosulas and

the motets that echo them emerge as important means for further understanding this pivotal development in Notre Dame music. The present volume is intended as a contribution to this undertaking by offering the music and texts of all of Philip's motets and prosulas, both the ascriptions in medieval sources and more recent attributions, presented together for the first time under the name of their author.

## The Extent of the Repertory

This edition presents thirty-eight separate musical items. Its contents divide into five sections plus an appendix. The first of these includes four organum prosulas for two voices, all of whose texts are attributed to Philip in medieval sources. These prosulas actually constitute five discrete poems, since one piece (*Vide prophecie—Homo cum mandato*) runs two separable lyrics together in a contiguous series. Five conductus prosulas follow in the second section, three of them attributions from medieval sources, the other two modern ascriptions. Next are six motet texts ascribed to Philip in medieval sources and accepted here as his work, followed by eighteen motets featuring twenty-one texts assigned to Philip by modern scholars, including myself. After this are two works with two texts ascribed to Philip by medieval witnesses, but judged here to be spurious attributions. The succeeding appendix concludes the volume by offering three of the earlier organum prosulas in four-voice versions (one of which is a hypothetical reconstruction) based on the unique arrangement of these pieces in the manuscript *Ma*. Because some of the works present examples of contrafacture where different words are set to the same music, and due to the presence of several double and triple motets with multiple, simultaneously performed texts, the actual quantity of different poems (thirty-nine, with three of them judged spurious) outnumbers that of the compositions, which represent twenty-six different musical families.

## Attributions to Philip

### Prosulas

Each organum prosula adds a syllabic text to the duplum voice of a complete polyphonic section from either an organum quadruplum or organum triplum. Together the poetic pair *Vide prophecie* and *Homo cum mandato* furnish a gloss to the opening respond portion of the four-part organum *Viderunt omnes*  $\Psi$ . *Notum fecit dominus* by Perotinus. *De Stephani roseo sanguine* and *Adesse festina* collectively trope the entire duplum—respond plus verse—of Perotinus's other four-voice organum *Sederunt principes*  $\Psi$ . *Adiuva me*

*domine*. Finally, *Associa tecum in patria* relies for its source on the respond of the organum triplum *Sancte Germane*  $\Psi$ . *O sancte*. Philip's authorship of each of these organum prosulas is sanctioned by the manuscript *Praha*, a fourteenth-century miscellany, now housed in Prague, that includes a substantial sampling of Philip's poems on folios 37v–38v transmitted without their music.<sup>9</sup> The entire body of organum prosulas, in fact, heads the collection in *Praha*, giving even greater sustenance to the argument that these texts are indeed Philip's works.

In contrast, the five examples of conductus prosulas that follow in this volume present poems ascribed to Philip on both medieval authority and modern initiative. For three of these pieces (*Bulla fulminante*, *Minor natu filius*, and *Veste nuptiali*) *Praha* again supplies the attribution, which is seconded for the first two by the London Egerton manuscript *LoB*, the only surviving source that transmits Philip's poems both with specific ascriptions to him and in musical settings.<sup>10</sup> The other two works of this type (*Anima iuge lacrima* and *Crucifigat omnes*) are pieces that I and others would strongly argue for inclusion in his corpus, based on the observation that at present they are the only known examples of conductus prosulas not ascribed to Philip, as well as the fact that their texts present strong evidence for his hand in their composition based on their verbal content.<sup>11</sup> When the examples of the conductus prosulas are combined with those works of Philip that add texts to organum voices, the entire Notre Dame prosula repertory—a small, technically delimited body of ten poems set to eight different compositions—appears to be the work of a single poet, suggesting that these ten organum and conductus prosulas may document a short-lived and chronologically circumscribed practice of adding texts to existing polyphonic music.

### THE ROLE OF PEROTINUS

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 all these pieces appears to stem from the composer Perotinus.<sup>12</sup> As we have seen, the melismatic models for the organum prosulas comprise the two massive organa quadrupla attributed to Perotinus by Anonymous IV, as well as the no less impressive three-part *Sancte Germane*, which modern scholars have also accepted as his work for some time.<sup>13</sup> In fact, with Philip's involvement in the casting of prosulas to two of Perotinus's other works, the presence of a poetic text to the music of *Sancte Germane* actually works to support this modern ascription. Since all other organum prosulas are already associated with compositions known to be by Perotinus, the chances are measurably strength-

ened that the organal source of the remaining text, *Associa tecum in patria*, should be his as well. In addition, the close connection of the three-part *Sancte Germane* with Perotinus's *Alleluia*  $\Psi$ . *Posui adiutorium*, 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 Perotinus may have composed the three-part responsory.<sup>14</sup>

The four caudae that serve as the foundations for the five conductus prosulas also reveal ties to Perotinus, although in this case no medieval attributions remain to connect the composer as solidly with these works as with the organa. Two of the 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 Cristi veritas*, which furnishes the music for *Bulla fulminante* and *Veste nuptiali*; and *Relegentur ab area*, the source for *Anima iuge lacrima*) belong to a corpus of pieces that is one of the most central and widely transmitted of all three-part Notre Dame conductus. In addition, this same layer of conductus exhibits stylistic affinities with several of Perotinus's other compositions, most notably his organa quadrupla.<sup>15</sup> The correspondences are so marked in these cases that it has been ventured more than once that Perotinus may be responsible for the conductus in this stratum,<sup>16</sup> and the presence of his compositions among the sources for the organum prosulas gives added strength to this possibility.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the melismatic sources for the conductus prosulas that stem from two-part compositions (the final caudae of *Austro terris influente* for *Minor natu filius* and *Quod promisit ab eterno* for *Crucifigat omnes*) are also recognized as widely disseminated, principal members of the Notre Dame repertory.<sup>18</sup> No major claims have yet surfaced for Perotinus's authorship of these last two pieces; but again, given the substantial number of his compositions among the organum prosulas, they deserve serious consideration for inclusion in his canon.<sup>19</sup>

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 they show that Philip and Perotinus were active collaborators. In addition to the prosulas, their cooperation produced the monophonic conductus *Beata viscera*, a song in which the words almost certainly preceded the music.<sup>20</sup> This evidence shows that the association of poet and composer was not confined merely to the prosula repertory, for Perotinus and Philip also collaborated on conductus. Nor were Philip's texts always written to Perotinus'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.

## Motets

If Philip's prosulas to organa and conductus caudae document two apparently short-lived, experimental species, his motets were to signal the wave of the future 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, sometimes equipped with several upper texts, each declaiming rhythmically over a melismatic chant segment torn from its original Gregorian framework and disposed in a rhythmic ostinato.<sup>21</sup> The singularity of this species was seemingly so infectious that it soon overtook the composition of 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 centuries as one of the principal musical genres of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance.

Among thirteenth-century poets, Philip is second to none in the number of motets attributed to him in medieval sources.<sup>22</sup> Four different documents specifically name him as the author of eight different motet texts. The most plentiful supply comes from the music manuscript *LoB*, with six pieces, followed by the poetic collection in *Praha*, with two. Additionally, the *Dit du Chancelier Philippe*, an elegy written in Philip's honor by the Norman poet Henri d'Andeli, and the historical *Chronica* by the Franciscan friar Salimbene de Adam each supply one work.<sup>23</sup> Table 1 enumerates these attributions and provides their sources.

Two of these texts, *Doce nos optime* and *In salvatoris nomine*, have been relegated to the fifth section of this edition as *opera dubia*, since their poetry demonstrates few features to argue for their inclusion among Philip's works.<sup>24</sup> In each of these instances there is the great likelihood that they may have been included in the attributing sources by mistake. In the case of *Doce nos optime*, the scribe of *Praha* may very well have intended a different work that begins similarly, and whose text is much more redolent of Philip's poetic conceits. This added piece, *Doce nos hodie*, is included in the fourth part of the edition, under the works ascribed to him by modern scholars.

The second doubtful text from a medieval witness, *In salvatoris nomine*, most likely was erroneously given to Philip in *LoB* based on its frequent transmission as the triplum voice of a double motet with the motetus *In veritate comperi*, a work that is almost certainly Philip's.<sup>25</sup> The separate inscription of *In salvatoris* in this manuscript as an apparent two-part motet alongside *In veritate* presents several curious features that suggest the scribe may not have realized he was

introducing a later accretion to one of Philip's genuine poems.<sup>26</sup>

Besides the attributions in the medieval sources, other scholars such as Gordon Anderson, Peter Dronke, and myself have claimed that numerous other motets warrant addition to Philip's corpus. In addition to *Doce nos hodie*, mentioned just above, four other poems—*Homo quo vigeas*, *Latex silice*, *Nostrum est impletum*, and *Ypocrite pseudopontifices*—are works whose texts have been attributed to Philip by Dronke and Anderson largely on the basis of their poetic style. Each of these pieces displays similarities to other lyrics by Philip in their choice of words and language, modes of expression, and specific images.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, the close interrelations between *Ypocrite* and another text, *Velut stelle firmamenti*, imply that the latter is also a prime contender for Philip's authorship. These two poems combine to form one of only three double motets in the early, central manuscript *F*, and their opposing viewpoints—one condemning, the other praising the behavior of members of the clergy—also provide fuel for the attribution. They not only present correlations with Philip's style seen in many of his other texts, but also suggest that the poems were conceived to go together from the outset.

Anderson also argues that three other examples, *Manere vivere* and two of the texts set to the four-part Perotinian clausula *Mors* (*Mors que stimulo* and *Mors morsu nata*), imply Philip's authorship not only through their style, but also in the manner of their presentation in the motet fascicles of the manuscript *W2*.<sup>28</sup> Here these three texts immediately precede the musical versions of Philip's four prosulas to Perotinus's organa quadrupla and likewise disrupt the alphabetical ordering of the fascicle, suggesting that all the poems, motets, and prosulas were regarded as a group and therefore could share the same author. But in also attempting to claim for Philip the quadruplum text of the *Mors* complex, *Mors a primi patris*, Anderson may have admitted an outsider. The evidence of the earliest surviving sources for this piece, which transmit versions of the motet without the quadruplum, as well as the verbal content of this text, which compares poorly to the others, seriously challenge Anderson's ascription. As a compromise, then, the *Mors* motet is presented here with all three texts (which correspond to the presumably original four-part state of its clausula source), but with *Mors a primi patris* signaled as a work of dubious modern ascription.

The further expansion of Philip's list of motets rests on a curiosity that I noticed in evaluating Dronke's and Anderson's attributions, but which did not specifically enter into their arguments for ascription.<sup>29</sup> Every one of the above motets assigned to Philip by Dronke and Anderson is also set to music that modern

scholarship has independently credited to Perotinus.<sup>30</sup> It seems from this reckoning that, in addition to their demonstrable collaboration in forming the repertory of organum prosulas, the poet and the composer also cooperated in this newest genre of Notre Dame polyphony.<sup>31</sup> Such a realization opens up an additional avenue for seeking texts by Philip among the motets made from other music attributed to Perotinus. By identifying additional motets written to clausulae proposed as Perotinus's work and evaluating how these added texts compare in their vocabulary and style to the works already given to Philip, a further six poems could be added with reasonable confidence: *Et exaltavi plebis humilem*, *Ex semine Abrahe*, *Ex semine rosa*, *Flos de spina rumpitur*, *Mens fidem seminat*, and *Non orphanum te deseram*.

Other texts presented in this portion of the edition may claim Philip as their author, but on less solid ground; they are therefore signaled as tentative for his authorship. The triplum *O quam necessarium*, for instance, argues for its inclusion because of its combination with one of Philip's medieval attributions, *Venditores labiorum*. As with the case of *Ypocrite pseudopontifices* and *Velut stelle firmamenti* signaled above, the double motet *O quam necessarium* / *Venditores labiorum* features a debate between opposing viewpoints, in this case the merits or demerits of canon lawyers. As a result, the affinity of the two texts once again suggests their near simultaneous composition and the possibility that they may share the same author. Here, though, the stylistic evidence is insufficient to support a strong claim for Philip's specific hand in *O quam necessarium*. 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. In this case it seems more likely that the two sides of the debate were argued by separate poets.

*Stupeat natura* also raises few flags to signal Philip's authorship. On the basis of the poetic excellence of the first three strophes of its text (the other two are plausibly dismissed as later accretions), Anderson has suggested that this contrafact of Philip's *Homo quam sit pura* may well share the same author as its model.<sup>32</sup> Yet otherwise this rumination on the miracles attendant on Mary's bearing of Christ offers few good signposts of a clear connection to Philip. Barring the appearance of any future arguments to support or contradict its inclusion, Anderson's proposal of Philip's authorship for this contrafact must thus remain uncertain. The same qualifications apply to the remaining three texts (*Memor tui creatoris*, *Mors vite vivificacio*, and *Serena virginum*). All are relatively impressive poems, which occasionally show traces of similarity to the content, expressions, and use of im-

TABLE 1  
Motets Ascribed to Philip in Medieval Sources

Motet Incipit	Source(s) of Attribution
Agmina milicie celestis omnia / Agmina	LoB, Praha, Henri d'Andeli
Doce nos optime / Docebit ( <i>dubious</i> )	Praha
Homo quam sit pura / Latus	Salimbene de Adam
In omni fratre tuo / In seculum	LoB
In salvatoris nomine / Veritatem ( <i>dubious</i> )	LoB
In veritate comperi / Veritatem	LoB
Laqueus conteritur / Laqueus contritus est	LoB
Venditores labiorum / Eius [or Domino]	LoB

agery to Philip's other lyrics. Nevertheless, their main motive for consideration is their identity as contrafacts of works more likely to be from Philip's hand.

## The Prosulas

### *Texts and Music, Styles and Techniques*

#### ORGANUM PROSULAS

The organum prosulas appear first in the edition because they head the collection of Philip's poems in *Praha*, the only source ascribing lyrics to him that contains all the various poetic genres he cultivated. They also demonstrate a conservative approach that, in my view, argues for their chronological priority. Unlike either the conductus prosulas or the motets presented here, Philip's organum prosulas use integral sections of each organum's duplum voice as it was set in polyphony. Just as the entire soloist's portion of a responsorial chant was cast polyphonically in a Notre Dame organum, so do Philip's extant prosulas encompass the complete intonation of the opening respond section or (in one surviving instance) the verse of a gradual or responsory. In contrast, the conductus prosulas and motets rely on segments of larger units, either the final, detached cauda from a two- or three-part conductus, or a melismatic portion of a chant that forms the tenor of a motet. Such a technique that so thoroughly preserves the essence of the liturgical source suggests that these organum prosulas most likely form the earliest layer of troping Notre Dame polyphony.

In addition, even though the transmission of these works presents them nearly exclusively as monodies,<sup>33</sup> the poetic style of Philip's organum prosulas always exhibits a persistent coordination with the sustained-tone cantus firmus from the source organum. In composing these texts to preexistent melismatic music, the Chancellor not only restricted himself to the pitches and rhythms of the model he texted, but to verbal elements of the tenor text as well. As a rule, each musical phrase in the organum prosulas is

coupled with a line of poetry that mimics in its end rhyme the vowel sound of the sustained syllable of the tenor. Complete syllables or even entire words from the chant also frequently arise in the poetry, especially when there is a change of syllable or movement to another sustained tone in the original organum. Such features suggest that the tenor parts, although typically absent in the manuscripts, may have been performed along with the monophonically transmitted prosula voice; they have therefore been added as a likely performance option in this edition.

Despite these apparent constraints to poetic design, Philip's prosulas to Perotinus's organa nevertheless 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*).<sup>34</sup> Assonance and rhyme run rampant in these texts, with sounds echoing not only between prosula and chant, but also among the individual lines of the poems themselves. 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.

They are likewise a fitting complement to the music they decorate. Poetic and musical structures are often parallel, and the syntax, rhyme, and assonance of the prosulas consistently reflect the design of themes, phrases, and motives in the original organum. One of the most pronounced attributes of Perotinus's organa is a highly structured melodic-rhythmic style. Phrases are often repeated or compiled to create larger formal designs, either through open and closed or antecedent-consequent pairings, successive variation, sequence, or as members of a polyphonic complex that indulges in voice exchange.<sup>35</sup> Such melodic reiteration also tends to be mirrored verbally in the texts that Philip added to these organa. Just as the music grants order and measure to the otherwise asymmetrical verse, the poetic lines in turn not only articulate individual musical phrases, but also break down longer units into motivic

cells and underscore these shorter segments with interlinear rhyme.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, major breaks in thought, analogous to the division of Philip's other poems into strophes, versicles, or other sense units, commonly occur at places where principal changes also arise in the musical material. The prosulas show Philip's deep assimilation of the music he glosses; each element, whether musical or verbal, works to sustain the other.

Certain poetic themes prevail throughout Philip's poetic oeuvre and are visible in his organum prosula texts. His most representative lyrics appropriate the voices of Christ, the Church, or other allegorical or historical personages to criticize immorality and condemn injustice. He particularly favored entreaties to mankind (*Homo*) to bewail its own sorry state, and he frequently used the debate format (*altercatio*) to present opposing viewpoints within a single poem. In general the Chancellor's lyrics are exceptional achievements that often employ surprisingly dark language, blunt, pointed, even violent expressions, piquant symbolism, and vivid imagery that frequently issue from classical, scriptural, patristic, and scholastic authorities.<sup>37</sup> The commonplace rhetoric that so predominates in other sequences, conductus, and motets is relatively absent from his poetic corpus.

Although at times his habitual criticism of mankind may also emerge, the tone throughout Philip's organum prosulas is religious, homiletic, and exegetical. Each poem is fashioned to suit ideally the chant and feast it elaborates. In the two *Viderunt omnes* texts, *Vide propheticie* and *Homo cum mandato*, which together set the respond of the gradual used for the feasts of Christmas and Circumcision, the main subjects 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.<sup>38</sup> Likewise, in his prosulas to *Sederunt* and *Sancte Germane*, set to a gradual and responsory for the respective feasts of Saint Stephen and Saint Eligius, the specific saint is invoked as a necessary intercessor for salvation, with frequent appeals by the speaker for deliverance and aid.<sup>39</sup>

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 *Homo cum mandato*, when the poet in characteristic fashion warns undeserving mankind that the taint of original sin still remains despite the promise

of redemption secured through the birth of Christ, he draws on passages from Genesis and from the record of one of Christ's miracles in the Gospel of John.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, when the narrative persona in *Adesse festina* implores Christ for deliverance, Philip paraphrases Stephen's final words from Acts, thus connecting the prosula even more tangibly to the feast for which it was created.

Certain other expressions in these texts seem to have been 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."<sup>41</sup> This metaphor, which connects the elect with the wheat and the damned with the chaff, is developed in two of the organum prosulas, *Adesse festina* and *Associa tecum in patria*.<sup>42</sup>

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, syntax, and sounds of the added words coincide with those of the melismatic source, but also the outward religious and liturgical contexts of the organa are both maintained and emphasized by the poetry of their prosulas.

#### CONDUCTUS PROSULAS

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 section of a conductus melody differs little from its liturgical counterpart. As before, the poetic and musical gestures of a conductus prosula 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 disseminated in other sources.<sup>43</sup>

Yet, despite the similarities that Philip's conductus prosulas share with his texts to Perotinus's organa, certain characteristics set the two genres apart. Fundamental differences between the two sets of prosulas arise not only in the type of melismas their poems set,

but also in the way they assimilate features from the model into the added text. The sum of these attributes suggests that the conductus prosulas are not as closely tied to the properties of their sources; 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 from 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 chant—divorcing it from its original context as part of a complete liturgical melody.

Further indications of such self-sufficiency in the conductus-prosula repertory arise in their reliance on strophic poetic designs, where each stanza is sung to the repeated musical block furnished by the final cauda.<sup>44</sup> Only one of the five prosulas, *Minor natu filius*, gives no evidence of any sort of strophic organization.<sup>45</sup> In contrast, among the source compositions only Philip's own *Dic Cristi veritas* (which serves for the two prosulas *Bulla fulminante* and *Veste nuptiali*) is regularly strophic. The other three models do admit several stanzas of text, but they are musically through-composed.

In terms of the correspondence of prosula text with cauda source, the preponderance of assonance and rhyme so noticeable in the organum prosulas is also less evident in the conductus-prosula repertory. The strongest verbal correlations between source and prosula appear in only two pieces, *Bulla fulminante* and *Minor natu filius*, where each prosula begins by echoing the closing lines of the source. 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.<sup>46</sup> Finally, even when an aural correlation between source and prosula is apparent, it never pervades the whole piece. The rhymes of the first strophe of *Bulla fulminante*, for instance, although largely identical to the sustained cauda syllable, go their own way beginning in the second strophe and likewise differ from the rhymes at the ends of the other stanzas of the model.

It therefore seems that audibly, as well as formally and conceptually, the conductus prosulas demonstrate a greater independence from the contextual framework of their generative melismas than do 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.

Divergences also surface in the choice of poetic subjects. These poems show little of the reliance on the textual content of the model that is 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 *Bulla fulminante* and *Minor natu filius* continue the message anticipated by their parent compositions, accentuating this correspondence by drawing their opening verses from the source conductus. Also, conductus prosulas only occasionally reveal the same exegetical and homiletic thrusts characteristic of their organal counterparts. The most immediate of such relationships occurs in *Minor natu filius* and *Veste nuptiali*, which respectively treat the biblical themes of the prodigal son and the wise and foolish virgins.

The remaining three conductus prosulas, although 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, because two of these three, *Anima iuge lacrima* and *Crucifigat omnes*, are not specifically attributed to him. With such correspondences, allied with the fact that all other organum and conductus prosulas are ascribed to the Chancellor, his authorship of these last two works becomes more defensible. Besides the criticism of the clergy in *Bulla fulminante*, which he employs in a host of other lyrics,<sup>47</sup> another Crusade poem along the lines of his *Venit Ihesus in propria* emerges in the prosula *Crucifigat omnes*.<sup>48</sup> A further favorite conceit of Philip is demonstrated in *Anima iuge lacrima*, where the Chancellor resorts to one of his most treasured conceits, the *altercatio*, or poetic debate.<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup>

Ultimately, even though 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 evident. Despite the differences between the two related genres, however, much evidence still remains to argue for the attribution of all 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.

### Chronological Observations

The organum and conductus-prosula repertoires are especially significant for the chronological information they may impart. The earliest information to bear upon the chronology of the organum prosula repertory stems from two oft-cited episcopal mandates from the years 1198 and 1199,<sup>51</sup> which posit possible dates for the composition of Perotinus's organa quadrupla *Viderunt omnes* and *Sederunt principes*, the sources of Philip's three organum prosulas *Vide prophecie—Homo cum mandato*, *De Stephani roseo sanguine*, and *Adesse festina*. The later chronological boundary occurs with the example of the datable *Associa tecum in patria*; the most likely impetus for the composition of this particular text has been traced to the gift of an arm of Saint Eligius from Noyon to Paris in 1212, and I suspect that the source organum *Sancte Germane* originated around this time as well.<sup>52</sup> The proposed dates for *Viderunt* (shortly before 1198), *Sederunt* (1199), and *Sancte Germane* (in or shortly before 1212) thus suggest the creation of these organa in the years from roughly 1198 to 1212. The prosulas to these pieces may also be dated provisionally within this interval.<sup>53</sup>

Of the conductus prosulas, only two, *Bulla fulminante* and *Crucifigat omnes*, have been supplied with dates; but disagreement still reigns over *Crucifigat*, placed either in 1187–88 or 1219–20,<sup>54</sup> and the chronological positioning of *Bulla* in 1222–23 is also problematic.<sup>55</sup> While it would be encouraging to find that dates proposed by two examples of the conductus prosulas support the assumption that they originated after the texts set to organa, I feel that the question should at present remain open, allowing for at least two different scenarios.

In the first of these, which assumes that the later dates for both *Bulla fulminante* and *Crucifigat omnes* prevail, the inference is that Philip's conductus prosulas do indeed constitute a later phenomenon than his texts to organa, just as their technical traits seem to indicate. In this view, the close conceptual identities between conductus prosula and motet would argue for the arrival of the motet at some point around the years 1212–19, postdating the creation of the last of the organum prosulas and at least the first texts set to conductus caudae.<sup>56</sup>

The second outcome is less tidy, but still compelling. If *Crucifigat* (and by implication its stylistically advanced source conductus *Quod promisit ab*

*eterno*) actually did arise as early as 1187, this would paint a much more complex picture of the prosula repertory, as it would collide with many of the present assumptions about the evolution of musical style in the Notre Dame repertory.<sup>57</sup> In this scenario, Philip's liturgically appropriate texting of complete sections of the organa quadrupla of Perotinus would not be the opening gambit in the process of polyphonic prosulation, but a corollary to a process that actually began with adaptation of poetry to the long closing caudae of some of the most impressive conductus in the Notre Dame repertory. This activity would first produce independent compositions, with *Crucifigat omnes* being one of the more notable examples, that could lead separate lives from the pieces that produced them. And with the close—and evidently exclusive—involvement of Philip and Perotinus in constructing conductus and organum prosulas, they laid the groundwork for the texting of discant clausula at some point soon afterward.

\* \* \*

The Notre Dame organum and conductus-prosula repertoires appear at first glance to be a trifling collection of ten eccentric texts that flourished for only a short time. Nonetheless, the works in this corpus are critical to enhancing our understanding of thirteenth-century music. No matter what further inquiry may reveal about how and when these few, curious pieces were first conceived and later cultivated, they still play a formative role in showing new ways to exploit convergences between poetry and polyphony that eventually provided a model for the emerging motet. And most remarkable, the responsibility for all these activities can be traced specifically to Philip the Chancellor.

## The Motets

### Texts and Music, Styles and Techniques

#### MOTET TEXTS

Thanks perhaps to their greater number of examples, the motets presented in this edition give a good account of Philip's favored poetic subjects and expressions. Among the six accepted medieval attributions, two of the poems are sacred or devotional. In *Agmina milicie celestis omnia* the martyr Catherine of Alexandria is welcomed into heaven by a contingent of her fellow saints, while *Laqueus conteritur* honors the Holy Innocents massacred by King Herod. The other four poems are more overtly critical in nature, railing 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 suf-

fered during his Passion, and along with *Agmina* and *Laqueus* this motet presents a gloss on its tenor text that directly relates to its liturgical origin as well as quotes words from the parent chant.

The rest of the reproachful motets increasingly pull away from correspondences with their tenors. *In omni fratre tuo* castigates false brothers and is probably directed specifically to mendicant friars.<sup>58</sup> It chastises them for duplicity and compares them to traitorous siblings from Roman history and the Old and New Testaments. *In veritate comperi* similarly chides the secular clergy for its pride, greed, and hypocrisy, whereas *Venditores labiorum* castigates corrupt canon lawyers—those “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.

Many of these same themes can also be seen in the modern attributions contained in this volume; indeed, in many cases it is these specific features that argue most persuasively for the inclusion of the particular works. Among the devotionally oriented poems, *Latex silice* displays striking textual similarities to Philip's *Homo quam sit pura*. Both of these Passion meditations likewise share strophic structures (very rare for motets) and the same *Latus* tenor from the Easter *Alleluia*  $\Psi$ . *Pascha nostrum*. Although in *Homo quam* the speaker is an angry Christ, the anonymous persona in the last stanza of *Latex* is just as harsh when he cautions sinners never to forget the meaning of Jesus's suffering and the promise fulfilled by his resurrection. Similarly, *Mens fidem seminat* encompasses an extended didactic reflection on the properties of the three theological virtues Faith, Hope, and Charity that stringently warns the faithful toward redemptive behavior and that echoes statements from Philip's theological treatise, the *Summa de bono*; *Doce nos hodie* contains an impassioned prayer to Christ to send the Holy Spirit to aid mankind by banishing vice and cultivating virtue; and *Nostrum est impletum* contemplates the mysteries of the Easter resurrection with a turn toward Philip's favored image of the prodigal son. In other poems the Virgin Mary dominates: *Ex semine Abrahe* and its closely allied triplum text *Ex semine rosa* examine her birth, and *Flos de spina rumpitur* her death and assumption into heaven; while the more tentatively ascribed *Serena virginum* and *Stupeat natura* respectively implore her as intercessor and marvel at her miraculous parturition.

Less strictly devotional poems with a reproachful streak continue to be well represented among the modern attributions. *Homo quo vigeas* and the double motet *Mors que stimulo* / *Mors morsu nata* continue the chiding seen in *Homo quam sit pura*; while three motets, *Et exaltavi plebis humilem*, *Manere vivere*, and *Non or-*

*phanum te deseram*, add further weight to their warnings by adopting the voice of Christ himself. *Memor tui creatoris* and *Mors vite vivificacio*, both tentative attributions and contrafacts of surer works, would also be comfortable among Philip's motets in this vein. The first presents another exhortation to mankind to fear God and practice good works as a surety of heaven's reward, and as in a majority of his poems it does not fail to offer stern advice on the necessity of avoiding sinful practices. *Mors vite*, moreover, is saturated with the paradox and word play characteristic of many poems by Philip.<sup>59</sup> As with its contrafact *Mors morsu*, this work also treats the subject of death in connection with Adam's fall and Christ's resurrection, but here death's sting has been dulled, the fear and horror typically associated with the Crucifixion have been reversed, and the very nature of death has been turned topsy-turvy.<sup>60</sup>

Finally two double motets turn to simultaneous criticism and praise of members of the clergy, invoking Philip's favored gambit of the debate poem and revealing a conceit evident in the prosula *Anima iuge lacrima* as well as a host of his conductus. As noted above, both *O quam necessarium* (a tentative attribution) / *Venditores labiorum* and *Ypocrite pseudopontifices* / *Velut stelle firmamenti* adopt opposite stances in each of the upper voices, with the motetus dispensing an opinion on one side of the disputation, and the triplum taking the other. In each of these cases, the sense of disagreement between the texts is borne out ingeniously by their musical settings as double motets: each position is declaimed simultaneously with the other, resulting in a verbal discord that, ironically, is offset by the harmonious musical setting that combines them.

#### REPERTORIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The motet texts by Philip the Chancellor are linked with a body of music that displays many of the major stylistic developments associated with the thirteenth-century Latin form of this genre. Philip's motets run the gamut from simple, conductus-like structures to more intricate, multi-texted works with overlapping phrases and rhythmically diverse parts. Despite the wealth and breadth of styles in Philip's motet corpus, many of the pieces with his lyrics nonetheless point to an origin in the earliest layers of the repertory, at a time, presumably, when the new species was just emerging.

Of the several motet types that have been assigned to Philip, the majority are so-called conductus motets (a three- or four-voice complex with the upper parts sharing a single text; eleven accepted works), with two-part specimens (nine pieces) and double- and triple-texted motets (four accepted works) each furnishing respectively fewer examples (see table 2).<sup>61</sup>

TABLE 2  
Philip's Motets Arranged According to Type

Conductus Motets (a 3, unless otherwise noted)	Two-Part Motets	Double and Triple Motets (brackets indicate texts already listed)
<i>Medieval Attributions</i>	<i>Medieval Attributions</i>	<i>Modern Attributions</i>
Agmina milicie celestis omnia	In omni fratre tuo	Ex semine rosa / [Ex semine Abrahe]
Homo quam sit pura	Laqueus conteritur	Mors que stimulo / Mors morsu nata
In veritate comperi	Venditores labiorum	O quam necessarium* / [Venditores labiorum]
		Ypocrite pseudopontifices / Velut stelle firmamenti
<i>Modern Attributions</i>	<i>Modern Attributions</i>	<i>Doubtful Attributions</i>
Doce nos hodie	Manere vivere	In salvatoris nomine / [In veritate comperi]
Et exaltavi plebis humilem	Memor tui creatoris*	Mors a primi patris / [Mors que stimulo / Mors morsu nata]
Ex semine Abrahe	Mens fidem seminat	
Flos de spina rumpitur	Mors vite vivificacio*	
Homo quo vigeas	Non orphanum te deseram	
Latex silice (a 4)	Stupeat natura*	
Nostrum est impletum		
Serena virginum (a 4)*		
<i>Doubtful Attributions</i>		
Doce nos optime		

\* indicates a tentatively attributed text

Among these various types, the conductus motet appears to be the configuration with the shortest life span. This species is most prominent among the earliest sources to transmit motets from Notre Dame. Conductus motets (sans tenors) account for all six examples of the genre in *W1*; and in the eighth fascicle of *F* twenty-six specimens are arranged according to the liturgical order of their tenors. Such organizational clarity in *F* suggests a repertory that had been in existence for a number of years. The final central source for such pieces is *W2* (with twelve pieces, five of them in French versions not found elsewhere), and they are conspicuous by their absence from the later manuscripts *Ba*, *Cl*, and *Mo*, the last a substantial codex that comprehensively surveys all other motet types of the thirteenth century. Each of these attributes suggests the codification and demise of the conductus motet before the other types.

Manuscript collections also support the hypothesis of only a slightly longer shelf life for the Latin motet a 2, and the later creation and much extended cultivation of Latin double motets. For the former, only early motet sources (*F*, *Ma*, and *W2*) feature two-part Latin motets in any abundance. Significantly, *F* evinces no logical ordering of these works, which suggests that the repertory was still alive and in flux during the period of copying. The remains of *MüA*, however, stick to a liturgical sequence and mix its six Latin and thirty French examples together, while the later *W2* has them arranged alphabetically. Perhaps most surpris-

ingly, *Mo* has only three two-part Latin works among its encyclopedic contents, even though it preserves at least seventy-seven examples of the French-texted form.

As for Latin double- and triple-texted motets, the single surviving example of a Latin triple motet appears in this volume, preserved in this state only in *Mo* and *Cl*; *W2*, similarly, contains only one French specimen, and the relatively few others again appear in *Mo* and *Cl*. Double motets in Latin, though, are well represented only in later manuscripts (*Mo*, *Ba*, and to a lesser extent *Cl*). Of the earliest copied sources, *MüA* has one (although this is a fragment), *F* has only three, *W2* only two, and *Ma* but one.

A number of Philip's ascribed conductus motets exploit links with the conductus itself. Such a heterogeneous display of features supports the consideration of these pieces as very early motet examples. Two works, the modern attribution *Latex silice* and the more tentatively ascribed *Serena virginum*, even present curiosities in terms of their generic classification. Their assorted sources indicate that they ministered both as motets and conductus.<sup>62</sup>

Closely related to the question of mixing 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 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.<sup>63</sup> Only six Latin motets are known to set strophic texts.<sup>64</sup> Of this total, half (*Homo quam sit pura*, *Latex silice*, and *Stupeat natura*) are poems that may be attributed to Philip.<sup>65</sup> The high incidence of Philip's pieces in the strophic motet repertory is yet another indication of his close connection with unusual—and therefore early—features of the new Notre Dame genre. 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 Perotinus's *Sederunt principes*, the Chancellor modifies the otherwise through-composed form of his melismatic model by twice repeating the music of the final segment of this work with two additional stanzas of text.<sup>66</sup>

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.<sup>67</sup> For some of these pieces, such as *Homo quo vigeas* and *Mens fidem seminat*, the original triplum voice was either reworked to make a conductus motet or stripped away to form a two-part work, but in the case of *Ex semine rosa* / *Ex semine Abrahe* and the three texts of the *Mors* triple-motet complex, separate texts were fashioned for each of the uppermost parts.

Yet perhaps the most curious and arguably the earliest examples of this affiliation occur in three of Philip's works (*Et exaltavi plebis humilem*, *Nostrum est impletum*, and, conjecturally, *Ex semine Abrahe*), which not only possess three-part clausula concordances, but also integrally preserve all three voices of the clausulae in a conductus-motet format. Additionally, all but one of these works (*Et exaltavi*) derive from organa tripla rather than independently preserved clausulae. In several cases this requires a sometimes substantial rearrangement of the triplum part when its phrase structure disagrees with the duplum.<sup>68</sup>

#### TROPING THE TENOR

The technique of glossing the plainchant tenor through quotation or assonance, a procedure that Philip exploited prominently in his presumably earlier repertory of organum prosulas, also occurs frequently in his motets. As in most of the other relationships already explored in connection with Philip's motets, the presence of quotations from the tenor text is a property associated primarily with the earliest layers of the Latin motet.<sup>69</sup> Only five of the twenty-six accepted motet texts attributed to Philip in this study lack iden-

tifiable references to their tenors. In addition to the conductus motet *Serena virginum*, the other four non-troping texts coexist as the two "debate" motets *O quam necessarium* / *Venditores labiorum* and *Ypocrite pseudopontifices* / *Velut stelle firmamenti*. Thus, except for the admittedly curious *Serena*, a Marian text whose generic mixture has been highlighted above, those motets that do not involve the participation of the tenor in their texts are works that, as double motets, argue for their consideration as later pieces.

A second aspect related to the idea of troping is the emergence in a motet poem of liturgical themes drawn from the feast of the tenor's chant. Only a slight majority of the texts (fifteen out of twenty-six) exhibit such correlations. Those that avoid the technique include the five non-troping texts just enumerated as well as *Et exaltavi plebis humilem*, *Homo quo vigeas*, *In omni fratre tuo*, *In veritate comperi*, *Memor tui creatoris*, and *Stupeat natura*. As is evident from this listing, liturgical citation and chant quotation in a motet need not coincide.

Leaving aside the vexing question of whether the use of troping and the liturgical fitness of a particular motet text argue for the likelihood of its habitual use within the Christian rite, the above observations suggest 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 it does prevail among motets 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 the 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.<sup>70</sup> The majority of Philip's motets, however, continue in the manner of the organum prosulas by exploiting textual alliances between the motet and its tenor source.

#### MUSICAL STYLE

The genesis of the medieval motet as a prosula to the newly composed upper part or parts of a discant clausula highlights the interaction of poetry and music in creating the new genre. The poetic facet appears in the application of a text to the upper part or parts of such clausulae. This process was inherited from the practice of writing prosulas to liturgical chant melismas and, as suggested above, was first explored in connection with newly composed polyphony in Philip's own prosulas to Perotinus's organa and conductus. 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 chant fragment, whose durations were expressed in the ligature notation common to Notre Dame organa and conductus caudae.

With evidence of the collaboration between Philip and Perotinus in writing both the monophonic conductus *Beata viscera* and the organum prosulas, and with the significant proportion of clausulae ascribed by modern scholars to Perotinus that also possess motets convincingly assigned to Philip, it seems clear that Perotinus was also a significant contributor to the development of the early motet. Even though the theorist Anonymous IV does not link him specifically with any motets in the attributions he supplies for Perotinus's compositions,<sup>71</sup> the composer's demonstrable participation with Philip (a poet that we likewise cannot directly credit with the composition of any specific music) suggests that this omission is not conclusive. Hence, the following discussion of musical style in the motets with Philip's texts also encompasses the style of the discant clausula that reached its full flower in the hands of Perotinus.

A wealth of fascinating musical strategies arises in Philip's body of motets. Elements such as the rhythmic patterning and structural disposition of the tenor, the interaction of musical phrases among voices, the use of rhythmic modes, and the diversity of motion between or among upper and lower parts showcase the wide variety of possibilities available for clausula and motet composers to exploit.

*Tenor Treatment.* The rhythmic designs in the tenors of Philip's motets show that a majority of his works use regularly grouped, fifth-mode patterns in various formats, a stylistic feature that was probably set in motion in the early decades of the thirteenth century and that is associated closely with the achievements of Perotinus.<sup>72</sup> Such configurations appear both 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 first stirrings of the motet. Alternately, the two accepted pieces with Philip's texts that depart significantly from this type of tenor manipulation (*In omni fratre tuo* and *Laqueus conteritur*), whether it be to employ iambic rhythms or a layout in equal perfect longs, can be connected with similar practices in the larger corpus of thirteenth-century motets. Many of these deviations from the prevailing Perotinian patterns are associated with more recent habits and thereby argue for a later chronological origin for such works.<sup>73</sup>

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. Very few of Philip's motets display a single tenor cursus. Single-color tenors appear in only six different motet texts associated with four different musical families: *Ex semine rosa* / *Ex semine Abraha*, *Homo quam sit pura*, *Laqueus conteritur*, *Latex silice*, and *Stupeat natura*. Among these motets with one tenor statement, an especially curious situation arises in the three strophic texts of *Latex silice*, *Homo quam*, and its contrafact *Stupeat*. 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 even makes one wonder whether Philip may have chosen to write strophic pieces for these clausulae expressly because of their single-statement tenors.<sup>74</sup>

All the remaining works exhibit at least two—and can include as many as five—statements of the tenor melody.<sup>75</sup> Such multiple presentations may also include a shifting of melodic and rhythmic content among *colores* if the numerical elements of *color* and rhythmic pattern do not coincide. Within Philip's ascribed 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.<sup>76</sup> Even so, the melodic or durational changes in other examples are relatively minor, typically involving only a few pitches added to or omitted from the beginning or end of the cursus. Such discrepancies do not effectively change the overall melodic/rhythmic disposition of the tenor *color* when it starts up again. The only times that an actual relocation of pitch and rhythmic content occurs in a successive *color* lie with two motets, *Agmina milicie celestis omnia* and *Nostrum est impletum*.

Yet even though this admittedly more complex treatment occurs only a few times in the motets offered in this study, a similar "phasing" of repeated melodic and rhythmic elements frequently obtains in many other motets through the phenomenon of internal musical repetition within a *color*, a feature absent only in the tenors *In seculum*, *Laqueus contritus est*, the *Domino* melody derived from the *Eius* melisma,<sup>77</sup> and *Et gaudebit*.<sup>78</sup> It has even been 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.<sup>79</sup>

Repetition of a motet tenor can offer evidence for placing Philip's motets within a historical framework. The use of single presentations of a tenor *color* in the music for six of Philip's motet poems strongly suggests at first glance an early origin for such composi-

TABLE 3  
Bridging of Tenor Rests in Philip's Motets with Parallel Phrases  
(eleven texts, eight musical families)

Sparse Bridging	Frequent Bridging
<i>Medieval Attributions</i>	<i>Medieval Attribution</i>
Agmina milicie celestis omnia	In omni fratre tuo
Homo quam sit pura	O quam necessarium* / Venditores labiorum
Laqueus conteritur	
<i>Modern Attributions</i>	<i>Modern Attributions</i>
Ex semine rosa / Ex semine Abraha	Nostrum est impletum
Latex silice	
Stupeat natura [= Homo quam sit, above]	

\* The triplum text of this double-motet complex is a tentative modern attribution.

tions. 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 have been suggested by features that stem from the treatment of recurring music within the chants themselves.

*Phrase Interaction.* A different musical technique, which owes much of its impact to the rhythmic organization of a motet's tenor, involves the alignment of phrases between the Gregorian tenor and the newly composed upper parts. The coincidence (parallelism) or independence (dovetailing) of cadences between the two sets of parts is a stylistic feature in Notre Dame clausulae and motets that is often explored for structural effects. The corpus of Philip's motets presents examples of both types: certain pieces feature a prevalent parallelism or simultaneity of phrase endings; others attempt to preserve the continuous flow of the music 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 extending or linking phrases in the upper parts. Nonetheless, this particular procedure of spanning the pauses of the tenor does little to disturb the overall parallel nature of the two sets of voices in these works—when the upper part or parts finally come to a rest, they conform again with the tenor. Likewise, in works that truly intertwine the tenor and upper voices (where one part

begins or continues a phrase while the other rests) there is always some instance of coincidence between the voices somewhere in the piece.

The simplest, and thus possibly 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 (see table 3) are not as numerous as those that dovetail.

Quite striking is the additional observation that the "stricter" parallel compositions given in the left column of this table incorporate all five of the compositions in Philip's repertory that possess only one statement of the tenor melody. The single exception is *Agmina milicie celestis omnia*, with three *colores*. Hence, the pieces examined here that exhibit the strictest use of parallel phrasing, and that additionally present only one statement of their tenor melody, also tend to show relationships with the earliest layers of the motet corpus.<sup>80</sup>

On the other hand, in the right column of table 3, the three remaining works with parallel phrasing (*In omni fratre tuo*, *Nostrum est impletum*, and *O quam necessarium* / *Venditores labiorum*) contrast with the others; they more frequently bridge their tenor rests without actually intertwining 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 clausula 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.

Compared to the use of coincident phrases in Philip's motet corpus, works that contain overlapping

cadences occur slightly more frequently. These compositions, however, never consist exclusively of dovetailed phrases. Even in the most continuously textured examples, such as the doubtful medieval attribution *Doce nos optime*, there are always at least three points where the rests of the tenor and upper parts coincide. All works with intertwined phrases also make frequent use of the bridging technique described above in connection with parallel phrase articulation, and even strictly parallel gestures are present on occasion.

Among the accepted works, *Et exaltavi* and *In veritate comperi* use dovetailing only rarely, while the *Mors* double motet, the *Ypocrite / Velut stelle* debate piece, and its two-voice contrafact *Memor tui* feature it extensively. A more habitual practice, though, seen in seven pieces from six musical families,<sup>81</sup> is to alternate between parallel and dovetailed phrases within sections of a composition, switching back and forth between the two techniques, rather than concentrating on one or another strategy.

A trait exploited with especially striking results in both parallel and dovetailed phrase structures is the treatment of the break between successive tenor *colores* in works with more than one tenor statement. It is not unusual for such pieces to alter a prevailing phrase construction from coincident to continuous—or vice versa—merely to herald the arrival of the repetition. This emphasis on the change to a new *color* is especially conspicuous in motets with parallel phrase structures. In all but one of the four coincidently phrased motets with more than one tenor statement (*Agmina milicie celestis omnia*, *In omni fratre tuo*, *Nostrum est impletum*, and the double-texted *O quam necessarium / Venditores laborum*), the treatment of the junctures between *colores* tends to depart from the prevailing texture of the piece.<sup>82</sup> In *Agmina milicie*, for example, the only instance of bridging in this piece happens to occur right over the seam between the second and third statements of the three-fold tenor. With *In omni fratre* and *O quam / Venditores*, none of the tenor *colores* is bridged, even though these particular pieces feature the most extensive use of bridged phrases among Philip's "parallel-phrased" works, and despite the fact that *In omni fratre* states its tenor five times.

In turning to 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 *Et exaltavi plebis humilem*. In this work, which otherwise employs strictly parallel phrases with frequent bridging, the only instances of true dovetailing occur immediately in the vicinity of the tenor's repetition, effectively obscuring the seam between the two *colores*, yet highlighting its presence all the same by the temporary variation of the cadence points.

Except for the clausula that produced the musically identical *Manere vivere* and *Serena virginum*, as well as the complexes containing *In veritate comperi*, *Mens fidem seminat*, and the prolific *Ypocrite / Velut stelle* group and its contrafacts, the remaining dovetailing motets in Philip's corpus regularly 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 the first note of the second *color*, not the rest that precedes it.

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 their arrival, a particularly striking group of four works uses the tenor's *color* change specifically to signal a more extended shift in phrase formation: *Doce nos hodie*, *Flos de spina rumpitur*, *Homo quo vigeas*, and *Mens fidem seminat*. All of them possess two tenor presentations, with each *cursus* 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*.

The many different manners of articulation employed in Philip's motets that feature interlocking phrases seem to defy any attempt to trace a progression from the apparently simpler technique of coincident rests to the more elaborate structures of the dovetailed works. 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 that 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 *Ex semine Abrahe*, *Homo quam sit pura*, *Latex silice*, and *Nostrum est impletum* are the most likely candidates for the earliest layer of Philip's involvement with the motet.

*Breves, Semibreves, and Iambic Rhythms.* Despite the concentration so far 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 this music. These are the appearance of the iambic second rhythmic mode, and the allocation of individual syllables in the upper voices to the shorter note values of the breve and semibreve.

The introduction into clausulae and motets of the iambic rhythms associated with the second rhythmic mode is a practice almost universally credited to later musical developments. *W1*, the earliest major source to contain independent discant clausulae, tends to avoid the use of rhythmic mode 2,<sup>83</sup> and the Latin motets that implement iambic rhythms are also somewhat exceptional. On the other hand, French motets—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.<sup>84</sup> Rebecca Baltzer confirms that clausulae with second-mode tenors (nearly always associated with equivalent upper parts) also reflect 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.<sup>85</sup>

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 one accepted piece, *In omni fratre tuo*,<sup>86</sup> that displays iambic rhythms in its upper parts. It also possesses an iambic tenor pattern and lacks a clausula concordance. *In omni fratre* is, therefore, quite probably a very late work of his, one that 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.<sup>87</sup> Ernest Sanders agrees, and remarks that sixth-mode tripla with syllabic semibreves are often combined with a second-mode motetus part, itself a more recent accomplishment.<sup>88</sup>

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 even more so. Although texted semibreves are

associated quite closely and acceptably with later practice, the intermittent use of syllabic breves in Philip's works does not appear to be as chronologically significant. A striking example of the employment of a short string of texted breves in an arguably early Philip piece occurs near the opening of his organum prosula *Vide prophecie*.<sup>89</sup> Syllabic semibreves, though, appear only in *In omni fratre tuo* and *Ypocrite pseudopontifices*, where, along with more extensive passages of syllabic breves, their use seems to point again to these works as being the most recent motets that Philip authored.

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 thread 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.<sup>90</sup> Just as the two poems in the motetus and triplum contend, each taking sides in a disputation on the morality and corruption of the clergy, so do all the voices spar rhythmically. The tenor proceeds in mode 5 (longs and duplex longs), the motetus in mode 1 (longs and breves), and the triplum in mode 6 (breves and semibreves).

Sanders suggests the intriguing possibility that Perotinus may have had a hand in composing the music of this triplum, a supposition that becomes more likely with Dronke's independent attribution of the text of *Ypocrite* to Philip.<sup>91</sup> Consequently, although this motet relates closely to major stylistic advancements that were to predominate in the second half of the thirteenth century, apparently such innovations were already in motion during Philip's and Perotinus's lifetimes. Given the rarity of other "hierarchically" rhythmic motets in the earliest layers of the Notre Dame sources,<sup>92</sup> it seems possible that Philip and Perotinus may even have been the first to formulate this particular motet 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 pseudopontifices / Velut stelle firmamenti* and *In omni fratre tuo* also presents the likelihood that these practices may well have first surfaced in Philip's and Perotinus's latest compositions.

#### *Datable Motets?*

In fact, the texts of both *Ypocrite pseudopontifices* and *In omni fratre tuo* may offer some evidence to suggest a specific time frame for their composition. The strong language and the particular types of misconduct enumerated in *Ypocrite* almost certainly refer to Philip's conflicts with William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris

(reg. 1228–49) during the late 1220s and early 1230s.<sup>93</sup> The opening lines of its text that decry hypocritical “bogus bishops” relate quite clearly to the suspect manner in which William initially acquired the See of Paris. His actions during the Paris bishop elections of 1227–28 thwarted the traditional prerogative of the cathedral chapter of Notre Dame to elect its own bishop and prevented the installation of Philip’s higher-ranking cousin to the post. Despite Philip’s championing of the chapter’s actions, William’s eventual investiture by the pope was the first result in a series of conflicts that put him and the Chancellor at odds with each other.

A later disagreement between the two may even arise in the allusions to avarice in lines 12–13 of *Ypocrite*, where the false prelates “scrutinize every single purse and hiding place before their eyes” (Ad oculos loculos singulos / angulos ruminant). This expression might well pertain to William’s efforts to divest the cathedral clergy of the income they derived from multiple benefices. It was this conflict that was especially to heighten the animosity between bishop and chancellor, resulting in a debate over the plurality of benefices held at Paris in 1235. At this gathering, Philip, supported by only one other colleague, prevented William from realizing his attempted reform.<sup>94</sup>

With all of these inferences, it is possible at the very least to situate the composition of *Ypocrite* sometime between 1228 (the date of William’s installation as bishop) and 1236, the date of Philip’s death. Indeed, if the reference in the motet to the 1235 debate holds up to scrutiny, the time of composition might be limited even further. This piece would thus be a near contemporary of Philip’s two conductus *Aurelianus civitas* and *Dogmatum falsas species*, both modern attributions that can be assigned to his final years.<sup>95</sup>

*In omni fratre tuo* may also offer some clues to situate its composition chronologically, although in this case the evidence is much more tenuous.<sup>96</sup> This particular text is exceptional among Philip’s motets, not because of its criticism of the clergy, but because the “false brothers” who are the specific targets of this rancorous poem are doubtless the members of the Dominican order. Philip’s relations with this new preaching community were often congenial, but during his final days he appears to have especially excited their enmity.<sup>97</sup> In a report contained in his *Bonum universale de apibus* (On the Universal Good of Bees),<sup>98</sup> written around the middle of the thirteenth century, the Dominican chronicler Thomas of Cantimpré relates that, two weeks before the Chancellor’s death, Philip and a certain Dominican preacher Henry of Cologne sparred in a series of sermons that took issue with the conduct of the Dominicans. According to

Thomas, Henry’s rebuttal to Philip’s initial homily “most brilliantly and exhaustively rejected everything he had said with reference to divine scripture.”<sup>99</sup> In Thomas’s reckoning, the humiliation that Philip suffered at Henry’s hands so discomposed him that he suffered a heart attack and died soon after.

Even though this story clearly has its fanciful elements, if we can accept a modicum of truth in this “battle of the sermons” between Philip and Henry, it may shed some light on a possible date for the composition of *In omni fratre tuo*. Most curious in this motet is its extremely high incidence of biblical citations. Nearly every line quotes, paraphrases, or addresses an allusion to the Bible. None of Philip’s other motets contains so concentrated a dose of scriptural excerpts as this piece; in its outward appearance it closely resembles the arsenal of assembled biblical authorities one might expect to find in one of Philip’s own sermons.

With the probable connection of Philip’s *In omni fratre tuo* with the Dominicans, combined with the uncommon glut of scriptural gloss in the motet, it is conceivable to view *In omni fratre* as a rejoinder to Henry’s sermon couched in the form of a motet. In this scenario, Philip would have attempted to have the final say by countering his adversary in the same way the friar had overcome him: by “reviewing each and every point . . . and exhaustively rejecting everything he had said with reference to divine scripture.”<sup>100</sup> If these associations are valid, they could place this motet in the year 1236, the last year of Philip’s life—possibly even in his final weeks if we accept Thomas’s assertions that Philip’s death occurred soon after his conflict with Henry of Cologne. In any event, such a placement 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.

\* \* \*

The music that accompanies Philip’s motet texts encompasses a 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—the earliest motets to feature an acknowledged author—there exists testimony that can further expand our knowledge of the origin, development, and early history of the medieval motet.

## Notes

1. For the most recent list of Philip’s poems along with their sources of attribution, see Payne, “Philip the Chancellor.” To this should be added Traill, “Philip the Chancellor and F10,” 219–48, which ascribes a large body of additional poems to him from the conductus in the tenth fascicle of the manuscript *F*; idem, “Cluster of Poems,” 267–86; idem, “More Poems by Philip the Chancellor,” 164–81; and idem, “Philip and the Heresy Inquisition,” 241–54.

2. Attempts to identify the two can be found in Wright, “Leoninus, Poet and Musician,” 1–36; and idem, *Music and Ceremony*, 281–94.

3. Perotinus, for instance, is credited with only seven specific works by Anonymous IV. But this theorist also offers some tantalizing hints that the composer is responsible for many more. See Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, 1:46. On the problems in determining Leoninus’s precise contribution to the *Magnus liber*, see Roesner, “Problem of Chronology,” 365–99; as well as the hypotheses of Wright in *Music and Ceremony*, 267–72.

4. See Steiner and Falconer, “Prosula.”

5. Mensural values for syllabic notation did not exist until well after the advent of the motet. Ernest Sanders speculates that some clausulae were therefore viewed as melismatic counterparts to early motets. See his “Medieval Motet,” 509. This view has been challenged by Norman Smith, who argues convincingly for the independence of the conception of such clausula. See his “Earliest Motets,” 143–45.

6. For a list of other thirteenth-century motet authors and their works, see appendix 3 of my “Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony,” 593–97. Except for Philip’s pieces and a Latin 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 postdate the Chancellor.

7. I earlier suggested this in “*Associa tecum in patria*,” 238; and I argued for it more forcefully in my study “Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula,” 220–38.

8. There are, for instance, no generally accepted dated examples of the motet comparable to those of the organa quadrupla, conductus, and Philip’s prosulas (see below for a consideration of this evidence). For possible dates for Philip’s two-part *In omni fratre tuo* / *In seculum* and the double motet *Ypocrite pseudopontifices* / *Velut stelle firmamenti* / *Et gaudebit* ascribed to him in this study, see the remarks at the end of this introduction.

9. On *Praha*, see Anderson, “*Obiter dicta*,” 361–64; and Brewer, “Communications,” 154–55.

10. For information on *LoB*, see Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 251–63; and Whitcomb, “Manuscript London, British Library, Egerton 274.”

11. For further details, see my “Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula,” 221–28. Both of these attributions are seconded in Traill, “Philip the Chancellor and F10,” 223 and 241; and in his “Philip the Chancellor and the Third Crusade.” In this last offering, Traill continues to support the dating of *Crucifigat omnes* to 1187. I would like to thank Professor Traill for his generosity in sharing his typescript of this talk.

12. See my earlier observations along these lines in “*Associa tecum in patria*,” 238.

13. See Rokseth, *Polyphonies*, 4:56–62; Husmann, *Notre-Dame-Organa*, xx–xxii; and Husmann, “Enlargement of the *Magnus liber*,” 194. See also Payne, “*Associa tecum in patria*,” 245.

14. *Sancte Germane* and *Alleluia Posui*, which set chants belonging to the feast of Saint Eligius, are adjacent in *F* (fols. 34v–37v) and in the motet codex *Mo* (fols. 13r–20r), where they follow Perotinus’s *Alleluia Nativitas*. Other applicable sources contain only *Sancte Germane* (*W1*, fol. IXr [5r]; and *W2*, fol. 10r). *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 tecum in patria*,” 248; and Husmann, “St. Germain und Notre-Dame,” 32.

15. See Falck, *Notre Dame Conductus*, 47–56.

16. Thurston, *Conductus Collections*, 56.

17. See Payne, “*Associa tecum in patria*,” 238 n. 13.

18. Falck, *Notre Dame Conductus*, 100.

19. See Payne, “*Associa tecum in patria*,” 238 n. 13.

20. Although such a collaboration has been questioned by the assertion that *Beata viscera* may not be Philip’s work (Falck, *Notre Dame Conductus*, 116–19), Peter Dronke’s reassignment of this piece to Philip has again made this a viable alternative. See his “Lyrical Compositions,” 578–79; Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 294; and Payne, “*Associa tecum in patria*,” 238 n. 14.

21. The only close analogy in the chant repertory is in the appropriation of certain responsory or Alleluia melismas to serve as melodies for the *Benedicamus Domino*. On this phenomenon, see Walters Robertson, “*Benedicamus Domino*,” 9–32.

22. Adam de la Halle comes closest to Philip, with five motets ascribed to him in *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 Wilkins, *Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle*, xii–xiii, 60–82.

23. For information on *LoB* and *Praha*, see notes 9 and 10 above. On Henri’s *Dit*, see Meyer, “Henri d’Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe,” 210–15 (as well as the introductory material on 190–210); Heron, *Oeuvres*, 31–41; and Corbellari, *Dits d’Henri d’Andeli*. For Salimbene’s remarks on Philip and his poetic works, see Holder-Egger, *Chronica*, 181–83 and 442–44; and Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 247–51. For a translation of the relevant sections of the *Chronica*, see Baird, Baglivi, and Kane, *Chronicle*, 172 and 450–52.

24. For more details on the arguments for the inclusion and exclusion of pieces, see the discussions in the critical commentary for these items.

25. There is a conflicting attribution of the motet poem *In veritate comperi* to William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris (reg. 1228–49), who is otherwise unknown as a lyric poet. William has been credited with the authorship of this poem solely on the evidence of a fragmentary manuscript from Munich, reported by Meyer in *Ludus de Antichristo*, 1:328–29. But this fragment can no longer be found, and Dronke, in “Lyrical Compositions,” 568, has questioned its very existence. *In veritate* is also ascribed to Philip in *LoB*, and there is a much greater probability that he is the author of this piece.

It is also highly conceivable, given the content of the motet text, that the disputed Munich fragment may indicate that Bishop William is the subject of *In veritate comperi* rather than its author.

26. See plates 3 and 4, which show the end of *In salvatoris nomine* and the beginning of *In veritate comperi* in *LoB*; see also the discussion in the critical notes for these pieces.

27. In this regard, see also Traill, "Cluster of Poems," 270–71, which supports the ascription of *Homo quo vigeas* to Philip.

28. See Anderson, *Latin Compositions*, 2:v; and idem, "Obiter dicta," 362.

29. Anderson comes closest to making the connection in *Latin Compositions*, 2:v.

30. The attributions stem from Husmann, *Notre-Dame-Organa*, xxii; and from Ernest Sanders in "Peripheral Polyphony," 284–85; and his "Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," 246–47. For Baltzer's confirmation of Sanders's claims, see her "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:266–68 and 454–55. For the *Mors clausula*, see Sanders, "Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," 246; and Anderson, *Latin Compositions*, 2:v.

31. Among 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 in "Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," 247; and by Wright in *Music and Ceremony*, 299. Given its musical characteristics, though, and the way Henri d'Andeli describes it in his *Dit du Chancelier Philippe* (lines 169–78), it is conceivable that *Agmina milicie* could actually count Philip as its composer.

32. Anderson, *Latin Compositions*, 2:viii n. 3.

33. For an example, see plate 1, which shows the first folio of *Vide prophetie* reproduced from W2. The sole surviving exceptions to the custom of presenting these works monophonically are the transmissions of the *De Stephani* (incomplete) and *Adesse festina* complexes in *Ma*, where the upper voices of the model have been arranged to be sung to the prosula text fitted to the duplum. The *Ma* redactions of these prosulas, along with a hypothetical four-part arrangement of *Vide prophetie—Homo cum mandato*, appear in the appendix to this edition.

34. On this poetic characteristic, see especially Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," 570–73.

35. Cf. Payne, "Associa tecum in patria," 245–46; and Gross, "Organum at Notre Dame," 92–95 and 99–105. Gross's study ingeniously affiliates the musical gestures with contemporaneous rhetorical figures; see also his book *Chanter en polyphonie à Notre-Dame*, which considerably expands the discussion in the earlier article.

36. This technique also appears frequently in chant prosulas. See Steiner, "Prosulae," 389.

37. See, 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*, 5:xl. Dronke, in "Lyrical Compositions," 583, has raised doubts about the validity of the attribution of this work to Philip that I find unconvincing; see the critical commentary for *Adesse festina* for some connections of *Regis decus* with other poems by Philip.

38. See Anderson, "Symbolism in Texts," 21–33, for a magisterial presentation of the images, symbols, and contemporaneous thought that these texts may reveal.

39. In *Adesse festina*, the prosula to the verse of Perotinus's *Sederunt*, the speaker in the poem is possibly Saint Stephen himself, requesting aid from Christ.

40. Gen. 2:7; John 9:1–41.

41. Matt. 3:12. Cf. Luke 3:17.

42. For these and further correspondences, see the "Notes on the Text" for these pieces.

43. *Bulla fulminante*, *Minor natu filius*, and *Veste nuptiali* appear in all their musical sources as monophonic pieces and are so presented in the edition. *Crucifigat omnes* is uncommon in that its earliest apparent 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. For a transcription of this part, see the edition in Sanders, "Style and Technique," 2:522–30. Since the musical phrases in both voices 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 lacrima*, 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 the critical commentary.

44. Only 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 syllables of [*miseri-cordiam*], creating a three-fold strophic invocation to Christ, obvious in its allusion to the Trinity. (See reference nos. 599–634 in the edition of this piece.) None of the sources for the *Sederunt* organum sanctions such a repetition.

45. The monostrophic transmission of *Minor natu filius* seems complete in its two sources (*F* and *Praha*), yet the poem's close seems to recall features associated with the motet. See the "Notes on the Text" for line 26 of this poem in the edition. For more on the peculiarities of the three through-composed strophes of *Anima iuge lacrima*, see Payne, "Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula," 230–31 and 234–35.

46. Knapp, in "Which Came First," 16–25, has previously called attention to the assonance of *Anima iuge lacrima* and *Crucifigat omnes*.

47. Most notably in his six conductus *Aristippe quamvis sero*, *Fontis in rivulum*, *Mundus a mundicia*, *Quo me vertam nescio*, *Ve mundo a scandalis*, and *Veritas equitas*; and the motet *In veritate comperi*.

48. I suggest further incentives for Philip's authorship of this poem in "Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula," 222–26.

49. Other 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* (among the various members of the body), and *Vitia virtutibus* (between the Virtues and Vices).

50. For more detail, see Payne, "Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula," 226–28.

51. Bishop Odo of Sully's documents of 1198 have been published in Guérard, *Cartulaire*, 1:72–75 (no. 76); and discussed in detail by Handschin in "Zur Geschichte," 5–7 (with copious quotations); by Rokseth in *Polyphonies*, 4:42–43; and by Wright in *Music and Ceremony*, 237–41 (with a facsimile of the decree and translations of the relevant portions). The second pronouncement from 1199 is available in Handschin, "Zur Geschichte," 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*, 1:358–59 (no. 52); and *Gallia christiana*, vol. 7, cols. 87–88.

52. See Payne, "Associa tecum in patria," 247–53, for further consideration of the dating of *Associa* and *Sancte Germane*.

53. Anderson, for instance, proposes dating the quadruplum prosulas around 1205; see his *Latin Compositions*, 1:222.

54. On the dating of *Crucifigat omnes* to the years 1219–20, see Sanders, "Style and Technique," 513–17. I sided with Sanders in "Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula," 222–26, and I also note that the expedition to the Fifth Crusade counted two of Philip's relatives among the invading party. Sanders's claims, however, have been contested recently by Traill in "Philip the Chancellor and the Third Crusade," in which he gives some compelling reasons for sticking to the original date of ca. 1187 first proposed by Schumann in Hilka, Schumann, and Bischoff, *Carmina burana*, 98–99.

55. Paul Meyer proposed this date for *Bulla fulminante* on the basis of the expression "Itur et recurritur ad curiam" in lines 8–9 of the poem's first strophe. He took this to refer to a series of fruitless journeys that Philip undertook to Rome during his struggles with the Paris university from 1219–22; see Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," 195–96 and 198–99. As attractive as this date might be for the claims I am making about the chronology of the conductus prosulas, its evidence as it stands appears rather slim to bear the entire weight of such an argument. In addition, the source cauda for this prosula comes from the conductus *Dic Cristi veritas*, also attributed to Philip and dated around the year 1198. The distance of a nearly a quarter century seems a rather long time to wait between the composition of the conductus and the trope that followed it, yet it is certainly possible that this could have been the case. For the attribution to Philip of *Dic Cristi*, see Fickermann, "Philipp de Grève," 71; on its dating, see Vollmann, *Carmina burana*, 1118–20.

56. Such a position concurs closely with Sanders's view of the chronology of the origin of the motet. See Sanders, "Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," 243–45; idem, "Peripheral Polyphony," 277 n. 83; and idem, "Style and Technique," 510. For additional considerations of the chronology of the motet, where many of the above points are again raised, see Payne, "Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula," 237–38. For the idea that the motet may have had an impact on the style of the conductus prosula *Anima iuge lacrima*, see page 231 of this same article.

57. For two related attempts to correlate the development of the musical features of conductus with respect to the works with datable texts, see Sanders, "Style and Technique"; and Payne, "Datable Notre Dame Conductus," 104–51.

58. For support of this assertion, see "Notes on the Text" for lines 1–3 and 19 of this piece in the edition.

59. On these techniques, see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," 570–71 and 573.

60. Notice the similar inversion of biblical events in strophe 1 of the conductus prosula *Crucifigat omnes*, lines 7–17.

61. The reasons for deciding on these particular musical versions of Philip's motet texts are explained below in "About the Edition: Renderings of the Works."

62. In addition to the remarks in the critical commentary on the generic peculiarities of these two pieces, see Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:261–71 and 445–55; Sanders, "Medieval Motet," 515–16; and Everist, *French Motets*, 41.

63. On this point, see Sanders, "Medieval Motet," 514. See also Everist, *French Motets*, 41–42.

64. See Anderson, *Latin Compositions*, 2:vii; and Sanders, "Medieval Motet," 514. There is an additional vernacular candidate in the headless French contrafact to the musically identical strophic motets *Scandit solium* and *Celi semita*. Its incipit is given as "... dieus nos a done" in Van der Werf, *Integrated Directory*, 47; and in Tischler, *Style and Evolution*, 1:81. This vernacular strophic work may also be found in Gennrich, *Bibliographie*, no. 307a.

65. The fourth and fifth strophes of *Stupeat natura* are most probably peripheral, later additions to an initial three-stanza structure. See Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 360–63; Anderson, *Latin Compositions*, 2:viii; and the notes on this text given in the edition.

66. See note 44 above.

67. For a discussion of the earliest examples of these works, see Sanders, "Medieval Motet," 522–24.

68. See the discussion of strategies in Everist, *French Motets*, 24–29.

69. Tischler, *Style and Evolution*, 188–90.

70. Despite the apparent liturgical incongruity of such Marian motets, Baltzer has argued that pieces of this kind could well have enjoyed performance within a ceremonial environment as part of their parent organum. See her "Why Marian Motets," 112–28. This article expands and modifies a number of points from her unpublished paper of 1985, "Performance Practice." I would like to thank Professor Baltzer for allowing me to see a copy of this earlier paper.

71. See Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, 1:46.

72. For these assertions, see Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:307.

73. For a detailed discussion of these points, see Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 459–63.

74. Two 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 and therefore not considered in this study, does possess a single tenor statement.

75. The works with more than two tenor statements are *In veritate comperi* (two and three-quarters), *Agmina milicie celestis omnia* (three), *In omni fratre tuo* (five), and *Manere vivere* with its contrafact *Serena virginum* (both five).

76. These are *Homo quo vigeas*; *Ypocrite pseudopontifices / Velut stelle firmamenti* and its contrafact *Memor tui creatoris*; the *Manere* complex containing *Manere vivere* and *Serena virginum*; *Flos de spina rumpitur*; *Non orphanum te deseram*; and the doubtful *Doce nos optime*.

77. For a version of the *Eius* melody, see Walters Robertson, "Benedicamus Domino," 21, under no. 10.

78. The motets with no internal repetition within their tenor melodies are *Homo quo vigeas*, *In omni fratre tuo*, *Laqueus conteritur*, *Memor tui creatoris*, *Non orphanum te deseram*, *O quam necessarium / Venditores labiorum* (in both versions that feature this motetus), and *Ypocrite pseudopontifices / Velut stelle firmamenti*.

79. Sanders, "Medieval Motet," 512.

80. Despite these characteristics, I would still regard *Laqueus conteritur* as one of Philip's more recent motets.

81. These works comprise *Doce nos hodie*, *Flos de spina rumpitur*, *Homo quo vigeas*, *Manere vivere* and its contrafact *Serena virginum*, *Mens fidem seminat*, and *Non orphanum te deseram*.

82. *Nostrum est impletum* is the sole member of these four that avoids any such emphasis on the arrival of the new tenor color.

83. The second rhythmic mode occurs in only four of the 102 surviving compositions in fascicles 5 and 6; see Sanders, "Medieval Motet," 529.

84. Tischler's intabulations, in *Style and Evolution*, 1:81, show that mode 2 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.

85. Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style," 1:136 and 100–101.

86. The arguably spurious *Doce nos optime* also has these features.

87. Tischler, *Style and Evolution*, 1:218.

88. Sanders, "Medieval Motet," 535.

89. See reference nos. 18–23 in the edition of this piece.

90. Sanders, "Medieval Motet," 524.

91. Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," 587 n. 56 and 592.

92. Neither of the other two double motets in *F* implements this technique, and it is also sparsely represented in *W2*. Of the twenty-two applicable pieces, 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 pseudopontifices / Velut stelle firmamenti*.

For the specific works in *W2*, see Van der Werf, *Integrated Directory*, motets 146–47, 523–25, and 784–89.

93. For more information on their struggles, see Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 80–88; and Wicki, "Philipp der Kanzler," 318–26.

94. For details, see Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 84–88.

95. On the dating of these two conductus, see Payne, "Aurelianus civitas," 607–8; and (on *Dogmatum falsas species*) Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and the Heresy Inquisition."

96. For a more detailed exposition of this assertion, see Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 514–17.

97. Philip's dealings with the Dominicans are reviewed in Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 71–77; and Lerner, "Weltklerus und religiöse Bewegung," 94–108.

98. Thomas's *Bonum universale* is available in a number of older editions. The one used here is Colvener, *Thomae Cantipratani*. There is an important list of errata in the back of this volume that bears on the issues treated here.

99. *Bonum universale* 2.10.36 (pp. 151–52 of Colvener, *Thomae Cantipratani*): "... singulis, quae contra Fratres dictus Cancellarius praedicaverat, retractis, ad unguem omnia luculentissimè per divinae scripturae paginam improbativ."

100. Ibid.

## About the Edition

### Sources

Three groups of manuscripts served as the base sources for this edition. Eight collections of thirteenth-century polyphonic music provided the main sources for Philip's motets and prosulas. A further six filled out material missing from the main-source exemplars and completed any verbal texts with omitted stanzas. Finally, a series of three plainchant books reflecting the liturgy of the Paris cathedral supplied the excluded choral chant portions needed for the organum prosulas. The following lists enumerate these sources in their various roles, with the abbreviations used to identify them in the edition, their locations and shelfmarks, proposed places of origin, and presumed dates of production.<sup>1</sup>

Numerous other concordant sources survive for nearly every piece; details are provided in the critical commentary. Complete citations of every manuscript consulted for this edition appear in the list of sigla.

### Main Sources

*Ba* Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 115 (Parisian, third quarter thirteenth century).

*F* Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (Parisian, ca. 1245–55).

*LoA* London, British Library, MS Egerton 2615, fols. 79–94 (Parisian, ca. 1245–55).

*LoB* London, British Library, MS Egerton 274 (northeastern-French, ca. 1260–70).

*LoC* London, British Library, MS Additional 30091 (Parisian, third quarter thirteenth century).

*Ma* Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 20486 (Spanish, mid-thirteenth century).

*Mo* Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, H 196 (Parisian, various chronologies proposed, 1260s–80s).

*W2* Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (Parisian, mid-thirteenth century).

### Other Manuscripts Supplying Omitted Material

*CB* Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm. 4660 ("Carmina Burana" manuscript; south-Austrian, ca. 1220–30).

*Cl* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS nouv. acq. fr. 13521 ("La Clayette" manuscript; Parisian, ca. 1300).

*Ob Add. A.44* Oxford, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Add. A.44 ("Oxford Additional" manuscript; "Bekynton Anthology"; Latin poetry collection copied in England, first quarter thirteenth century, with later additions from the fifteenth century).

*Praha* Prague Castle Archive, Metropolitan Chapter Library, N VIII (miscellany with Latin lyrics; Czech, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century).

*Sab* Rome, Archivio dei Dominicani di Santa Sabina, MS XIV L 3 (miscellany with music; French/Parisian?, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century).

*W1* Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (Scottish, 1230s).

### Plainchant Sources

*Pn lat. 1112* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 1112 (notated Parisian missal, ca. second decade thirteenth century, post-1212).

*Pn lat. 1337* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 1337 (Parisian gradual, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century).

*Pn lat. 15181* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 15181 (notated Parisian breviary, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century).

## Renderings of the Works

The manuscripts of the Middle Ages rarely present anything close to fixed or stable examples of musical compositions. Even if we may at times presume to see the seeds of our modern, nineteenth-century-based notions of a musical “work” in the surviving compositions of an individual such as Perotinus, these are rare exceptions and are not indicative of any immediate trends. The attempt to find or identify an “original” version of a piece is a concept that would have held little importance to a medieval scribe. Notre Dame polyphony, and thirteenth-century motets especially, exhibit a volatility rarely displayed by any other type of written musical artifact: 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 piece are all variable. Because of this variety, it is occasionally difficult to determine which of the surviving versions of a particular piece may be the earliest, and therefore closest to something approaching an “original” form of the work. This question is important for assessing Philip’s contributions in an edition such as this, because certain adaptations of his motets may transmit features that do not correspond to the piece as he conceived it or knew it.

In preparing the body of Philip’s prosulas and motets for presentation, an initial decision had to be made regarding which particular version of a given piece to isolate for inclusion. In most instances the accepted date and provenance of a given source provided the primary gauges for determining the chosen version of a particular example. In other words, adaptations that correspond with earlier, Parisian sources were generally preferred over later redactions from other areas. For the more formidable problems attendant on the choices for sources of the motets, another factor in choosing one particular version over another was based on the proposed chronological succession of motet types stated above in the introduction. Generally, conductus motet redactions of Philip’s texts were preferred over two-voice transmissions, and any version of a motet with texts other than the ones attributed to Philip was avoided.

Despite the above conditions, though, not every case is clear cut. Although in the majority of circumstances the reliance on the earliest central source (often *F*) also provides the “oldest” representation of a given motet as it is defined here, sometimes the age and path of a given transmission are more difficult to construe. In most of these instances the problem of which arrangement to include was avoided by presenting two different versions of a work, or by offering an example of a particular motet that contains the

greatest number of vocal parts so that renditions with fewer voices may be easily deduced. The following list describes the more problematic specimens:

(1) *In veritate comperi* is presented twice, as a conductus motet and a double motet. Here chronological and historical considerations prompted the primary choice of the conductus-motet version preserved in *F*. An alternate double-motet rendering from *LoB*, however, also appears in the *opera dubia* section of the edition, which adds 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*.

(2) *Venditores labiorum* is also presented twice, in a two-voice version from *LoC*, and in a double-motet arrangement from *Ba* with the tentatively attributed triplum text *O quam necessarium*. Only the motetus part is specifically assigned to Philip in *LoB*, but the close correlations between the two poems, as well as the likelihood that the double-motet version is the principal one, prompted the incorporation of both arrangements.

(3) *Ex semine Abrahe* is presented twice. Like *In veritate comperi*, this newly ascribed text is offered both as a conjectural conductus motet and as a double motet with the triplum text *Ex semine rosa*. No conductus-motet version survives in any of the central sources, but one does appear inserted in an organum on the chant *Alleluia W. Nativitas* among the Worcester Fragments (*Worc*) and in *W2* as a French contrafact (*Se j’ai amé*), 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 introduction for Philip’s authorship of both triplum and motetus texts.

(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 hypothetical “first” version, from which the *F* redaction 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*. However, the triple-motet arrangement of *Mo* and *Cl*, which adds the quadruplum text *Mors a primi patris*, dubiously attributed (I contend) to Philip by Anderson, appears in the edition 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 supposedly original four-part source clausula that purportedly spawned both adaptations.

(6) *Latex silice* and *Serena virginum*: These two pieces are particularly problematic, as they constitute the only known examples of four-voice conductus motets in the Notre Dame repertory.<sup>2</sup> 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, arguments both for and against the performance of these pieces in four parts prompt questions about the validity of such a presentation in the edition.<sup>3</sup> In this case the four-part versions are given in order to reflect accurately the state of their transmission in *F* and to allow the possibility of considering other performance alternatives.

## Editorial Methods

Each item in the edition includes: (1) a musical setting of the poem(s); (2) a separate presentation of the verbal text with a translation, explanatory notes, and references; and (3) critical commentary listing all sources for the item, general observations, and a report of variant readings from the base manuscript(s) for both the poetry and music. The works are numbered editorially and grouped by genre, with pieces within each category presented in alphabetical (conductus prosulas and motets) or liturgical (organum prosulas) order. Each piece is headed with a title based on the text incipit(s), with forward slashes separating those for various voices when they have different texts. For organum prosulas and motets, the M (Mass), O (Office), or BD (Benedicamus Domino) number of the tenor chant from Van der Werf’s catalog and its feast date (if applicable) based on Parisian usage<sup>4</sup> are listed directly below the title. Immediately above the music are references to the various catalogs of conductus by Anderson and Falck and of motets by Van der Werf (on the right, with multiple references listed in the order of voices from top to bottom),<sup>5</sup> and special comments regarding the status of the attribution to the work (on the left).

## Transcriptions of the Music

Base sources and folio ranges for the musical settings are cited above the initial staff or system (for transcriptions stemming from single base sources) or below each voice name at the start of the first system (for transcriptions stemming from multiple base sources). Additional sources required to complete a musical setting due to missing pages or other significant lacunae in the initial source are labeled above the staff at the point where their music begins and are separated from the preceding (and subsequent) material by editorial dashed barlines. Isolated items missing from the base source, such as individual notes, rests, text, or vertical strokes, are taken from concordant sources or other

voices when possible; these are enclosed in brackets, and accompanying critical notes cite the supplying concordances. An editorial reconstruction, shown in reduced-size notation to distinguish it from readings originating in medieval sources, is provided in one passage for which there are no extant concordances with which to restore the missing material (see no. 16); and the entire triplum of no. 18 is set on a reduced staff to signal that it is optional (see the commentary to no. 18 for details).

Regardless of the presentation of the source, voices in polyphonic settings are arranged in the transcriptions in score order, with the voices labeled from the top to bottom, as applicable: Quadruplum, Triplum, Motetus or Duplum, and Tenor. All base sources use a variety of C and F clefs, and the edition converts these either to transposing treble or to bass clef as convenient for placement on the modern five-line staff. The musical text has been keyed to the critical notes (see the “Variant” paragraphs under “Observations and Variants: Music” below) through arabic reference numbers, which track the music’s basic organizational units, placed above the top staff at the beginning of each system. In measured passages the unit is the ternary long (dotted quarter note or rest); in unrhythmicized segments the unit is the individual figure of notation, whether it be a single note, a ligature or neume, a *conjunctura*, or a compound neume or ligature with *conjunctura*. Subdivisions of the basic units are indicated by lower-case roman numerals attached to the arabic reference number (e.g., 14.iii refers to the third note or rest of unit 14).

Ligatures are indicated by horizontal square brackets above the notes; diamond-shaped *conjuncturae* or *currentes*, including the square note that normally precedes them, are signaled by dashed (broken) slurs above the notes. The unwritten plica tone appears as a small note connected to its host pitch by a solid slur. The choice of the plica pitch and rhythm depends on the musical context. In this edition, it most frequently takes the value of an eighth or sixteenth note; but this may vary, depending on the length of the host note and the prevailing rhythmic division of the ternary long as either iambic or trochaic. Unless the plica stroke is especially lengthened, the melodic interval of the plica pitch is ordinarily transcribed as a second away from the host. If this interval results in a repetition between the plica note and the following pitch, a melodic third is often preferred, although in the event of a possible liquescence at a syllable change or a familiar cadential figure at the end of a phrase, the plica may legitimately anticipate the pitch of the following note.

In rendering modal rhythms into modern notation, ternary (*ultra mensuram*) or perfect longs are transcribed as dotted quarter notes, duplex longs as dotted



half notes, *recta* (imperfect) longs and *breves alterae* as quarters, *recta* breves as eighths, and semibreves as equal sixteenth 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 thick dash (-), over the note in question. Very frequently such a figure implies or justifies the rhythmic interpretation of the affected note in the edition. Sustained tenor pitches in organum prosulas and any other notes longer in value than a duplex long appear as whole notes with short ties extending from the right side of the note. Small unstemmed black notes surrounded by parentheses at the beginning of a system indicate sustained tenor pitches held over from the previous system. Figures without specific rhythmic implications, such as in intonations and plainchant portions of organum prosulas, appear as unstemmed black notes.

*Tracti* in the sources, which may indicate either a change of text syllable (*divisio syllabarum*), a breath mark (*suspirium*), a phrase or line ending, or a similarly shaped point of articulation that does not require an actual rest, are usually represented in the transcriptions as vertical strokes that intersect the top line of a staff. Strokes that mark significant internal sections or the end of the piece are rendered as double or final barlines, respectively. The organum quadruplum settings in the appendix feature unusual full-system *tracti* in the sources, which are shown in the transcriptions as single barlines. In motets with multiple tenor statements, each *color* is marked with a roman numeral above the staff at the place where it begins.

Plainchant portions used to complete the transcriptions of the organum prosulas are given as unstemmed black notes, and the grouping of square notes into neumes is shown by normal (solid) slurs above the notes. Liquescent forms appear as smaller, unstemmed black notes connected to the host note or neume by a slur underneath the pitches. For neumes that feature rhomboid note shapes, a dashed (broken) slur indicates the figure in a manner equivalent to the treatment of *conjuncturae* elsewhere in the edition. Compound neumes and those that include repeated notes are generally grouped under a single slur unless they also contain rhomboid shapes.

The handling of accidentals and editorial *musica ficta* within each piece seeks to differentiate among the signs that appear variously in the base sources and concordances, and also to set apart editorial additions supplied according to melodic or harmonic criteria. A symbol placed on the staff indicates that a similar inflection appears at the same place in the base source, and it is presumed to be valid until it is cancelled by another figure or a change of system without the sign (this latter type of cancellation is indicated in the edition by a natural sign in parentheses on the staff).

When accidentals remain in effect for multiple systems, they are shown as key signatures placed conventionally according to the modern clef. All signs not present in the base source appear above the staff as *musica ficta* and apply only to the note above which they appear. Unbraced *ficta* symbols are supported by readings in concordant sources; those in parentheses are editorial recommendations based on contemporary conventions for *musica ficta*. Sharps in the sources are indicated by the *signum quadratum*, the same figure used to signal naturals; they are rendered in the edition as modern sharps with no comment.

Throughout the edition, textual abbreviations are expanded without comment, but the orthography of the base sources is largely preserved. If it happens that more than one textual exemplar is followed, as in the case of supplying extra strophes or because the first base manuscript is fragmentary, the orthography and other verbal idiosyncrasies of the supplementary text source will prevail whenever it is used. The identically represented forms of *u* and *v* are consistently distinguished in the edition, but the semivocalic *i* is never represented as *j*, and *c* and *t* are not normalized and appear as they do in the sources. The Greek letter pair *chi-ro* (χρ) is transliterated as *Cr* at the beginning of the various forms of *Cristus*. Most of the base sources insert punctuation, usually periods, only at the ends of major textual phrases or longer sections, and they use very few capital letters, except at the beginning of the piece or at significant internal divisions such as new strophes. In the edition, punctuation is modernized without comment, and capital letters are added for proper names (but the lower-case *d* is retained in both *deus* and *dominus*, just as it is in the sources). Within the musical setting, omitted words or letters are restored in brackets, but brackets are not shown in the side-by-side poetic versions of the texts (see below). A few words and syllables are added conjecturally (i.e., without the support of concordant sources); these are shown in italic typeface. Words are divided according to modern rules for singing in Latin.

### *Texts and Translations*

Following each musical setting, the verbal text is given separately in verse form (that is, arranged into numbered lines and, when applicable, strophes) with a parallel English translation. Texts and translations of all voice parts for each piece (including the liturgical tenors of the organum prosulas and motets) are typically presented together in the same order as in the score from top to bottom.<sup>6</sup> The poetic lines are numbered consecutively throughout each complete piece, including all voice parts; liturgical tenors, when they appear, are rendered as prose. Base sources for texts, including those that differ from those of the music

(such as in the case of extra poetic stanzas), are given at the top of each poem or section as appropriate.

The division of the poems into lines and strophes has been considered anew for this edition. In determining the frequently irregular verse structure of Philip's prosulas and motets, the design and articulation of the accompanying music has exercised just as much influence over line division as rhyme scheme and syllable tally. 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 defined by rhyme. Larger sections within the characteristically non-strophic organum prosulas and motets, signaled in the base source by capital letters, are demarcated in the edition by visual space between the lines.

The accompanying translations of Philip's lyrics were executed with great care and formed one of the most demanding parts 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 publications of the late Gordon Anderson.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, each text has been carefully scoured anew for 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.

Some explanatory paragraphs immediately follow the poem and its translation. They comment on the attributions to Philip and, under "Notes on the text," supply information to help explain any unusual, difficult, or problematic passages in the poem, and to illuminate references made in the text to other literature. Biblical, patristic, scholastic, and classical citations may be included,<sup>8</sup> 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 are discussed in an effort to showcase the complexities and interactions of meaning, interpretation, and allusion that so often arise in Philip's works. The textual notes are keyed to the poetic line number, with references to individual words represented as lower-case roman numerals attached to the arabic line number (e.g., 9.ii refers to the second word of line 9).

### **Critical Commentary**

#### *Source Listings*

The commentary for each separate piece begins with a list of all its known medieval sources. The first item to appear in the inventory is the base manuscript, the foundation for the transcription. The remaining

concordances proceed in a series that first enumerates those manuscripts that contain (1) both text and music (including examples in unheightened neumes), then ones that convey (2) the poetry alone (chiefly textual transmissions or unnotated staves), and lastly (3) sources where only the music is identical.

Within each of these three divisions, the manuscript sources are usually arranged in a roughly chronological order, inasmuch as this may be determined. Every entry for a source attempts to locate 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 other details about its transmission. Such particulars may include the number of transmitted strophes for a 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 enumerates existing melismatic concordances (such as organa, clausulae, or the caudae of conductus) and contrafacta; it also identifies any liturgical tenors that may be present. Conductus are identified by their entries in both Falck's and Anderson's catalogs, and all musical sources of any caudae are listed (see "Bibliographic Abbreviations Used in the Source Listings" below for shorthand references to these and other catalogs cited in the source listings).

For organum and clausula concordances, the text incipit of the cantus firmus is given, as well as (1) entry numbers from the clausula catalogs of Smith and Ludwig, (2) Van der Werf's Office (O), Mass (M), or Benedicamus Domino (BD) classification number of the chant, (3) an indication of the liturgical feast or celebration, and (4) an enumeration of the various manuscript transmissions of the concordance. If no clausula or organum redaction exists, merely the information on the tenor and its liturgical context appears (items 2 and 3 above).

The data on contrafacts are less extensive, with a list of only those sources that transmit the music, since it is the music that the retexed poem shares with Philip's work. The reader, however, is directed to relevant catalogs where more information can be found, and the number of additional textual sources of a given contrafact is announced without further elaboration.

#### *Observations and Variants*

Critical notes discussing unusual or noteworthy features in each piece and listing variant readings of the verbal and musical texts conclude the critical commentary for each piece. In reporting variants, the listing confines itself to differences between the transcription and the base sources. The only exceptions to this are works that have not yet been edited in a critical edition, or those for which significant new materials

have come to light that require a new collation of sources. In these instances complete lists of variants appear for all concordances.<sup>9</sup> The different readings are first presented for the verbal text, then for the music. In both sections, general observations, such as the use of more than one base source to supply lost or omitted material, may precede more particular ones. Comments and variants are keyed to poetic lines or musical reference numbers, as described in the "Editorial Methods" above. Music variants are further identified by voice part. Variant lists may be present in two separate paragraphs when necessary, the first giving readings of the base source(s) and the second relaying relevant readings from concordances.

#### Abbreviations Used in the Critical Notes

a-g	pitch classes, irrespective of octave
B	breve, either <i>recta</i> or <i>altera</i> (e.g., 2B: two breves in succession)
BD	Benedicamus Domino organum in the numbering system of Ludwig, <i>Repertorium</i> , and Van der Werf, <i>Integrated Directory</i>
C	<i>currentes</i> , <i>conjunctura</i> (e.g., 3C: a series of <i>currentes</i> totalling three notes, including the square-shaped first element, unless it is part of the preceding ligature, which in this case would be represented as +2C)
cop	<i>cum opposita proprietate</i>
D	duplum voice (of an organum, clausula, or conductus)
DL	duplex long (e.g., DL-L: duplex long followed by a long)
fol(s).	folio, folios
fasc.	fascicle
imp	<i>imperfecta (figura)</i> , ligature without perfection
L	long, whether <i>longa recta</i> , <i>ultra mensuram</i> , or <i>perfecta</i> (e.g., 2L: two longs in succession)
li	ligature, ligated (e.g., 2li: two notes in ligature)
M	motetus voice (of a motet)
M1, M2 . . .	mass organum in the numbering system of Ludwig, <i>Repertorium</i> , and Van der Werf, <i>Integrated Directory</i>
O1, O2 . . .	office organum in the numbering system of Ludwig, <i>Repertorium</i> , and Van der Werf, <i>Integrated Directory</i>

P	<i>plicata</i> , plicated, plica (e.g., siP: a plicated single note; 3liP: plica on last note of a three-note ligature; eP: a plica note on the pitch <i>e</i> ; Pe: <i>e</i> followed by a plica note, either higher or lower)
Q	quadruplum voice
R	responsory, respond section of a chant
R	rhombed-shaped note (in most situations the designation as S does not apply; e.g., 2R: two rhombs in succession)
S	semibreve
si	single note, simplex (i.e., a note not easily distinguishable as either an L or B)
T	tenor voice
Tr	triplum voice
∩	verse section of a chant
,	commas may separate groups of single pitches and serve to indicate notes grouped into ligatures, <i>currentes</i> , or <i>conjuncturae</i>
+	added to, fused with, grouped together
=	equivalent to

#### Bibliographic Abbreviations Used in the Source Listings

Anderson	Gordon A. Anderson. "Notre Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné," <i>Miscellanea Musicologica: Adelaide Studies in Musicology</i> 6 (1972): 152-229; 7 (1973): 1-81.
Falck	Robert Falck. <i>The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory</i> . Musicological Studies 33. Henryville, Pa.: Institute for Mediaeval Music, 1981. The references in the present edition are to the catalog that occupies pages 130-256.
Linker	Robert White Linker. <i>A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics</i> . Romance Monographs 31. University, Miss.: Romance Monographs, Inc., 1979.
Ludwig	Friedrich Ludwig. <i>Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili</i> . Vol. 1, <i>Catalogue raisonné der Quellen</i> , pt. 1: <i>Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation</i> . 2nd ed. [Edited by Luther Dittmer.] [Binningen]: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1978.
P. C.	Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens. <i>Bibliographie der Troubadours</i> . Halle:

Max Niemeyer, 1933. Reprint, N.Y.: Burt Franklin, 1968.	
R	Hans Spanke, ed. <i>Gaston Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes, erster Teil: ergänzt mit einer Diskographie und einem Register der Lieder nach Anfangsbuchstaben hergestellt von A. Bahat</i> . Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980.
Smith	Norman Smith. "The Clausulae of the Notre Dame School: A Repertorial

Study." 3 vols. Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1964. References in the present edition are to the catalog that appears in 1:93-350.	
Van der Werf	Hendrik van der Werf. <i>Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century</i> . Rochester, N.Y.: publ. by the author, 1989.

## Notes

1. For further literature on the manuscript sources cited here, see Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, especially chapters 2-4; and the applicable sections of the introductions to the various volumes in the series Roesner, *Magnus liber*, particularly vol. 1. Some other important studies on individual items include Norwood, "Evidence," 491-504 (on *Ba*); Everist, *French Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (on *LoA* and *LoC*); Whitcomb, "Manuscript London, British Library, Egerton 274 (on *LoB*); Parsonneault, "Montpellier Codex" (on *Mo*); Wolinski, "Manuscript W2 Re-examined" (on *W2*—my thanks to Professor Wolinski for supplying me with a copy of this unpublished paper); Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews," 1-43 (on *W1*); Traill, "Cluster of Poems," 267-86 (on Philip and *CB*); Husmann, "Faszikel Notre-Dame-Kompositionen," 1-23 (on *Sab*); Anderson, "Obiter dicta," 361-64 (on *Praha*); and Wilmart, "Florilège mixte," 1:41-84 and 4:35-90 (on *Ob Add. A.44*). New hypotheses on the date and circumstances for the creation of *F* appear in Hagg and Huglo, "Magnus liber," 193-230.

2. The surviving four-part renditions in *Ma* of Philip's organum prosulas *De Stephani roseo sanguine* and *Adesse festina* are not conductus motets, but organum prosulas; see the appendix of this edition for the *Ma* redactions of these pieces.

3. On these two pieces, their notable relationships to the conductus, and an attempt to resolve some of the problems posed here, see the critical commentary.

4. These liturgical details have been drawn from the findings presented in Wright, *Music and Ceremony*; see especially 259-62.

5. Anderson, "Catalogue Raisonné"; Falck, *Notre Dame Conductus*, 138-256; and Van der Werf, *Integrated Directory*.

6. The only exception is *Anima iuge lacrima*, whose voices are presented bottom-to-top because of its unique features; for these, see the critical commentary for this piece.

7. Especially his *Opera omnia*; and *Latin Compositions*.

8. All references to the Bible pertain to the Latin Vulgate version.

9. This applies only to 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 not yet been recognized in any formal edition of the work; see my "Associa tecum in patria," 238-39.

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