

Philip the Chancellor and F10: Expanding the Canon

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Philip the Chancellor, whose name derives from the position he held in Paris from 1217 till his death in 1236, played a significant role in the evolution of medieval music¹. Though it is unknown whether he actually wrote any music himself, he seems to have cooperated with the Notre Dame composer Perotinus, providing texts for the latter's compositions in a variety of musical forms². Their collaboration apparently gave birth to the motet³. Philip's office as chancellor made him responsible for granting the *licentia docendi* in the diocese and placed him in the middle of the wrangling between secular and ecclesiastical authorities as the nascent university struggled to win control over its own affairs. He was a prolific writer. His prose writings include a major theological work, *Summa de bono*, and hundreds of sermons. But it is as a poet that he is best known today. Medieval sources ascribe to him more than 80 poems, mainly hymns and satirical attacks on the clergy or mankind in general⁴. It is widely believed, however, that he is the author of many more anonymous pieces, particularly among those in sources associated with the Notre Dame school.

The famous thirteenth-century music manuscript in Florence, Laurentian Plut.29.1 (=F), provides us with the fullest selection of the Notre Dame repertoire. Though attributions are lacking in F itself, it is clear from a variety of medieval sources, above all from three manuscripts located in London, Darmstadt and Prague, that the Florence manuscript contains many songs by Philip the Chancellor, particularly in its tenth fascicule (F10)⁵. These medieval sources assign no less than 38 of that fascicule's 83 songs to Philip. Guido Dreves conjectured that three more should be added to that total⁶. Friedrich Ludwig added another but thought it probable that F10 contains even more of Philip's songs⁷. In 1981 Gordon Anderson's edition of F10 attributed three more songs to Philip, but in the same year, Robert Falck attempted to reduce Philip's canon by questioning many of the Darmstadt manuscript's attributions to him⁸. In 1987, however,

¹ Thomas B. Payne, *Philip the Chancellor* in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*², vol. 19, New York 2001, pp. 594-97, provides a succinct account of Philip's life and work.

² These forms included organa, conductus and discant clausulae; see Payne, *Philip* cit., p. 595.

³ Gordon A. Anderson, *Thirteenth-Century Conductus: Obiter dicta*, <<The Musical Quarterly>> 58 (1972), pp. 349-64, at p. 362 and H. Tischler, *Pérotin and the Creation of the Motet*, <<The Music Review>> 44 (1983), pp. 1-7, at p. 4.

⁴ Payne, *Philip* cit., p. 594, specifies 83 texts ascribed to Philip by medieval sources.

⁵ The London (B.L. Egerton 274) and Darmstadt (2777) manuscripts have long been known. More recently, Anderson, *Thirteenth-Century* cit., pp. 361-64, drew attention to the Prague manuscript (Knihovna Metrop. Kap. N. VIII), which ascribes 23 songs to Philip.

⁶ Guido Dreves tentatively ascribed *Cum omne quod componitur* (K39), *In nova fert animus / via gressus* (K29) and *Non te luisse pudeat* (K47) to Philip; see *Analecta Hymnica* (hereafter AH) 20, pp. 31-32 and AH 21, pp. 140-41. Like many other early editors, Dreves identified Philip the Chancellor with Philip de Grève.

⁷ Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium Organorum Recentioris et Motetorum Vetustissimi Stili*, vol. I.1, Halle 1910 (rep. New York 1964), p. 266, added K51 and remarked <<Es scheint, dass eine Erweiterung dieser Zahl besonders durch weitere Lieder des 10. Faszikels von F zu erwarten ist>>.

⁸ Gordon A. Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, vol. VI, Henryville, PA 1981. Subsequent references to Philip's poems in F 10 are to this edition. Anderson adds K55, K66 and K72 to

in an important article, Peter Dronke decisively rejected Falck's arguments, arguing convincingly for restoring the Darmstadt poems⁹. Moreover, in the catalogue appended to his article he assigned to Philip an additional five of the pieces in F10¹⁰. In his recent article on Philip, Thomas Payne attributes a further five poems in F10 to Philip. To date therefore, 55, or two thirds, of the pieces in F10, have been attributed to Philip. Only one of the medieval attributions to Philip has been shown to be erroneous --and only one other poem in F10 is known to have been written by someone other than Philip¹¹.

Dronke has claimed eight poems in F10 (4, 22, 28, 29, 36, 47, 72, and 74) for Philip's older contemporary, Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath and chancellor to successive archbishops of Canterbury¹². In his recent edition of Peter's poems, C. Wollin considers the attribution of four of these (22, 28, 29 and 36) unlikely but accepts the other four and (with some reservations) adds one more (43). Given the makeup of F10, these attributions to Peter look increasingly unlikely. In this paper I hope to show that many more poems in F10 should be attributed to Philip, including most of those that have been attributed to Peter of Blois. A complete list of the 83 poems in F10 (hereafter K, following standard usage among musicologists), with medieval and modern attributions, follows:

(Note: D and d numbers refer to Dronke's catalogue, designating medieval and modern attributions to Philip the Chancellor respectively. PC indicates a modern attribution¹³. Asterisks (*) and daggers (†) indicate respectively poems first ascribed to Philip in this article and those whose earlier attribution to him is here confirmed. The names Dreves,

Philip's total. For Falck's attempt to reduce the canon, see Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Henryville 1981, pp. 110-19.

⁹ P. Dronke, *The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor*, <<Studi Medievali>> ser. 3, vol. 28 (1987), pp. 563-92, at p. 579 n. 34.

¹⁰ Dronke, *Lyrical compositions* cit., p. 592, nos. 77-83, of which nos. 80 and 81 had already been attributed to Philip by Ludwig and Anderson respectively. On the other hand, Dronke pointed out that *Dum medium silentium / tenerent* (K15) is a poem by Walter of Châtillon that the Darmstadt manuscript has erroneously attributed to Philip. He also argued that *Quo me vertam nescio* (K28) and *Associa / tecum in patria* (K80), though assigned to Philip by the Darmstadt and Prague manuscripts respectively, are probably not by Philip.

¹¹ *Dum medium silentium / tenerent* (K15) is part of a prosimetrum (W.3) by Walter of Châtillon. *Exceptivam actionem* (K67) is by Alan of Lille.

¹² P. Dronke, *Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II*, <<Mediaeval Studies>> 28 (1976), pp. 185-235, esp. pp. 220-32. For a new edition of Peter's poetry see C. Wollin, *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, Turnhout 1998. Peter is most famous for his letters (PL 207). Letters 76 and 77 are addressed to another Peter of Blois, who was apparently a very distinguished poet. Dronke, however, argued that these letters should be understood as literary fictions, really addressed to the writer himself. This view was subsequently refuted by R.W. Southern, *The Necessity for Two Peters of Blois in The Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, edd. L. Wilson and B. Ward, London and Rio Grande, Ohio 1992, pp. 103-117. Southern identified the second Peter of Blois with the author of a study of canon law. It is now clear that there were two Peters of Blois, both talented poets, both canons of Chartres and both archdeacons. It follows that the only poems that we can safely attribute to the letter writer are poems 1.1-7, 9 and 10 in Wollin's 1998 edition. The attribution of *Ridere solitus* (Wollin 1.8) by a medieval source to *dictator ille egregius magister Petrus Blesensis archidiaconus* (Wollin, *Carmina* cit., p. 291) could refer equally well to either Peter of Blois.

¹³ It should not be assumed that I necessarily endorse all the attributions to Peter made by other scholars (though I certainly believe that the vast majority are correct) or that I disagree with attributions not specifically endorsed in this article.

Ludwig, Anderson, Dronke, Wollin and Payne indicate attributions, usually tentative, made in their publications indicated in notes 6, 7, 8, 9, 12 and 1 respectively).

1. Homo natus ad laborem (Philip the Chancellor—D.29)
2. Omnis in lacrimas (PC*)
3. Aristippe, quamvis sero (Philip the Chancellor—D.30)
4. Olim sudor Herculis (PC*)
5. In hoc ortus occidente (Philip the Chancellor—D.31)
6. Fontis in rivulum (Philip the Chancellor—D.35)
7. Excuset que vim intulit
8. Sede Syon in pulvere
9. Divina providentia
10. Ad cor tuum revertere (Philip the Chancellor—D.32)
11. Vide quo fastu rumperis (Philip the Chancellor—D.42)
12. Anglia, planctus itera (PC*)
13. Sol oritur in sidere (Philip the Chancellor—D.51)
14. Beata viscera (Philip the Chancellor—D.37)
15. Dum medium silentium / tenerent (D.66d =Walter of Châtillon,W.3)
16. Dum medium silentium / componit (PC—Dronke--d.77)
17. Quid ultra tibi facere (Philip the Chancellor—D.38)
18. Vanitas vanitatum (Philip the Chancellor—D.40)
19. Veritas veritatum (Philip the Chancellor—D.39)
20. Beatus qui non abiit (PC*)
21. O curas hominum (PC—Dronke--d.78)
22. Qui seminant in oculis (PC*)
23. Qui seminant in lacrimis (PC*)
24. Exsurge, dormis, domine (Philip the Chancellor—D.43)
25. Quomodo cantabimus (Philip the Chancellor—D.48)
26. Excutere de pulvere (Philip the Chancellor—D.41)
27. Ve mundo a scandalis (Philip the Chancellor—D.34)
28. Quo me vertam nescio (Philip the Chancellor—D.66.c)
29. In nova fert animus (PC[†]--Dreves)
30. O labilis sortis humane status (Philip the Chancellor—D.36)
31. Quo vadis, quo progredieris? (Philip the Chancellor—D.47)
32. Homo, qui semper moreris (Philip the Chancellor—D.44)
33. Eclipsim passus totiens (PC*)
34. Partus semiferos
35. Adulari nesciens (PC—Dronke--d.79)
36. Vitam duxi iocundam (PC*)
37. Bonum est confidere (Philip the Chancellor—D.33)
38. Ecce mundus moritur
39. Cum omne quod componitur (PC—Dreves, Payne)
40. Si vis vera frui luce (Philip the Chancellor—D.46)
41. Turmas arment Christicolos (PC*)
42. Venit Iesus in propria (Philip the Chancellor—D.49)
43. Vehemens indignatio (PC*)

44. Beata nobis gaudia (Philip the Chancellor—D.50)
45. Anima iugi lacrima (PC[†]—Payne)
46. Iherusalem, Iherusalem (PC*)
47. Non te lusisse pudeat (PC[†]--Dreves,)
48. Christus assistens pontifex (Philip the Chancellor—D.52)
49. Rex et sacerdos prefuit (Philip the Chancellor—D.45)
50. Alabastrum frangitur (PC[†])
51. Clavus clavo tunditur (PC—Ludwig--d.80)
52. Quisquis cordis et oculi (Philip the Chancellor—D.7)
53. Homo, vide que pro te patior (Philip the Chancellor—D.4)
54. Nitimur in vetitum (Philip the Chancellor—D.8)
55. Dogmatum falsas species (PC[†]—Anderson, Dronke—d.81)
56. Homo, considera (Philip the Chancellor—D.6)
57. O mens, cogita (Philip the Chancellor—D.5)
58. O Maria, / o felix puerpera
59. Crux, de te volo conqueri (Philip the Chancellor—D.54)
60. Aurelianis civitas (PC—Payne)
61. Pater sancte, dictus Lotharius (Philip the Chancellor—D.9)
62. Veritas, equitas (Philip the Chancellor—D.11)
63. Terit Bernardus terrea (PC—Payne)
64. In paupertatis predio (PC—Payne)
65. Aque vive dat fluenta (PC—Payne)
66. Veri solis radio (PC—Anderson)
67. Exceptivam actionem (Alan of Lille)
68. Homo, cur degeneras (PC[†]—Dronke--d.82)
69. Homo, cur properas (PC[†]—Dronke--d.83)
70. Si gloriari liceat
71. O Maria, stella maris
72. Fons preclusus sub torpore (PC—Anderson)
73. Homo, qui te scis pulverem (PC[†]—Wollin)
74. A globo veteri
75. Ave, gloriosa virginum regina (Philip the Chancellor—D.1)
76. Veni, sancte spiritus
77. O mors, que mordet omnia
78. Ad honores et onera
79. Stella maris
80. Associa / tecum in patria (Philip the Chancellor—D.66.1)
81. Veste nuptiali (Philip the Chancellor—D.64)
82. Minor natu filus (Philip the Chancellor—D.12)
83. Sol eclipsim patitur (PC*)

Among the first six poems, only 2 and 4 are not attributed to Philip in medieval manuscripts. Let us look more closely at the second poem (K2).

1a. Omnis in lacrimas Uberrimas Solvatur oculus Fundantque paria Suspiria Clerus et populus. Par sit dolor, par est causa. Mors licenter nimis ausa Nube tristitiae Terras operuit, Dum nobis rapuit Solem Campaniae.		1a. Let every eye dissolve In floods Of tears, And clergy 5 . And the people Heave equal sighs-- Their grief the same, the cause the same. With brazen licence Death engulfed the world 10 In a cloud of sadness When it stole from us The sun of Champagne.
1b. O dies funebris, Quae tenebris Mundum sic induit! Orbis deliciae, Fons gratiae Totius aruit. Largitate vir serenus, Gratiarum donis plenus, Comes flos comitum, Non impar regibus, Fatis crudelibus Exsolvit debitum.		1b. Ah! awful day That so enshrouded 15 The world in darkness. The joy of the world, The fount of all grace, Ran dry. A man, serene in liberality, 20 Brimming with the Graces' gifts, A count, who was the flower of counts, A match for kings, He paid his debt To the cruel fates.
2a. O dies lapide Nigro notabilis, Qua suo flebilis Privatur praeside Campania. Lugeat ecclesia Vidua praesidio, Clerus patrocinio, Milites stipendiis, Pauperes suffragiis, Francia consilio.	25	2a. Ah! it should be marked With black chalk, The day Champagne Was stripped Of its guardian! 30 Let them all weep, The church, reft of her protection, The clergy, of their patronage The soldiers, of their support. The poor, of assistance, 35 And France, of its counsel.
2b. Pax regni moritur Sepulto comite. Furens de fomite Rancoris oritur Discordia. Proeliorum Francia Turbine civilium Suis ipsa gladium	40	2b. The peace of the kingdom is dying, Now that the count is dead and buried. Raging, Strife arises From rancor's tinderbox. In the turbulence Of civil war France drives a sword

<p>Agit in visceribus, Cuius totis urbibus Fit pressura gentium.</p>	<p>45</p>	<p>In her own vitals. In all her cities Her people are in anguish.</p>
<p>3a. O si regem puerum Regeret avunculus, Fidus regni bajulus, Tantos motus scelerum Non sentiret populus. Belli sitim hanc sedaret, Fons virtutum, qui non aret, Quo nunc gemens orbis caret, Comes mundi titulus.</p>	<p>50 55</p>	<p>3a. If only the boy-king Were ruled by his uncle, The loyal stay of the kingdom, The people would not suffer Such criminal upheavals. That unquenchable fount of virtues, Would have quelled this thirst for war. Now the world groans and misses him, Titular Count of the world.</p>
<p>3b. Largitatis corrui Dulce domicilium, Gloria Trecensium, Qui donandi tenuit Solus privilegium. Largus erat absque pare, Cui datum erat dare Quasi suum singulare Proprie proprium.</p>	<p>60</p>	<p>3b. Liberality's sweet abode Has fallen, The glory of Troyes. Pride of place He held in giving. Peerless in generosity, He had a gift for giving Virtually unmatched, And peculiarly his own.</p>
<p>4. Quid, homo, vanis deditus, Quid nisi vanum jactitas? Quid opes? quid nobilitas? Quid gloria mundana, Cuius te torquet ambitus? Quod vanitatum vanitas Sit tota sors humana Henrici probat exitus.</p>	<p>65 70</p>	<p>4. Mankind, given up to vanities, What is your boast but vanity? What is wealth? What high birth? What worldly glory?-- When striving for it tears you apart? The lot of all mankind Is vanity of vanities. And this is proved by Henry's death.</p>

There can be little doubt that *Omnis in lacrimas* was written by Philip the Chancellor. This emerges clearly from the last stanza. One of Philip's most characteristic devices is to address mankind in general, usually with the vocative *homo*, and to follow this with a series of impassioned interrogatives or imperatives¹⁴. Many of his poems begin in this way: *Homo natus ad laborem* (K1), *Homo, qui semper moreris* (K32), *Homo, vide que pro te patior* (K53). Sometimes this address forms the structure for the entire poem, as for example in *Homo, considera* (K56). At other times the address is found only in the last stanza, as in *Nitimur in vetitum* (K54) and here. For parallels to the last stanza here, compare *homo, cur spernis vivere? / cur dedicas te vitiis?* and *quid igitur aura te*

¹⁴ Dronke, *Lyrical compositions* cit. (n. 9), p. 569, says of Philip's style: <<One of its characteristic features is the vocative *Homo*, followed by a torrent of imperatives or interrogatives>>. See also Table 1 below.

*popularis, / quid dignitas / quid generositas / extulerit?*¹⁵ Another indication of Philip's authorship is the motif of stabbing one's self: <*Francia*> *suis ipsa gladium / agit in visceribus* (43-44). We find the same motif in *laedor, quem feci, baculo, / conversus in me gladius* and *in vos ipsos irruitis, / gladium in vos vertitis*¹⁶. The comparatively rare word *pressura* <<affliction>> in line 46 links *Omnis in lacrimas* with four poems securely attributed to Philip¹⁷. Finally, the rhyming pair *lacrimas* and *uberrimas* at the beginning of the poem strikingly recalls the opening lines of CB 34 (*Deduc Syon uberrimas / velut torrentem lacrimas*), which both Schumann and Dronke have attributed to Philip¹⁸. PoetriaNova, a large database of some 900,000 lines of medieval Latin poetry, lists no example of *uberrim-* in close proximity to *lacrim-* other than the instance in CB 34¹⁹.

Omnis in lacrimas was written to commemorate the death, on 17 March 1181, of Henry the Liberal (1127-81), Count of Champagne from 1152. It was therefore probably composed in 1181 or 1182. It is the earliest datable poem so far attributed to Philip and has an important bearing on the year of his birth. Hitherto, in the absence of evidence, this has generally been said to fall within the broad parameters of 1160-1185²⁰. But if Philip wrote *Omnis in lacrimas* in 1181, he could hardly have been born much after 1160, for the poem shows skill and sophistication beyond the powers of a teenager.

Iherusalem, Iherusalem (K46) is a lament for Henry the Liberal's son, Henry II, Count of Champagne (1181-97). Like his father, he was an eager crusader. Through his marriage to Isabella, daughter of Amalric I of Jerusalem, he became king of Jerusalem in 1192, a title he held till his death in 1197, when he accidentally stepped backwards out of an upper-story window. The lament also refers to the death of Henry II's mother Marie and therefore must be later than March 1198. There can be little doubt that *Iherusalem, Iherusalem* was also composed by Philip. Here too we have the haranguing address to *homo*, again in the closing stanza:

Quid est, homo, quod iactitas?		Ah, mankind, what is your boast?
Et quibus mundo militas?	40	With what do you campaign for the world?
Forma, genus, divitie		Looks, birth and riches
Valent ad epitaphium.		Are good only for your epitaph.
Corpus, quod nutris hodie,		Your body, which you feed today,
Cras fiet cibus vermium.		Tomorrow will be food for worms.
Ecce nostra conditio!	45	This is our fate!

¹⁵ These quotes are taken from the last stanzas of *Ad cor tuum revertere* (K10, 3-4) and *O labilis sortis humane status* (K30, 11-14).

¹⁶ These phrases occur in Philip's *Rex et Sacerdos prefuit* (K49, 16-17) and *Inter membra singula* (AH 21, p. 117, 13c).

¹⁷ K25, 10; K59, 67; K62, 140; AH 21, p. 20 (no. 12), 4.

¹⁸ Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, edds., *Carmina Burana*, vol. II.1², Heidelberg 1961, p. 53 and Dronke, *Lyrical compositions* cit. (n. 9), p. 586.

¹⁹ Available from SISMELE-Edizioni del Galluzzo, Tavarnuzze (Florence). The database is useful and comprehensive but by no means exhaustive. For instance, it includes all of Philip's poems that appear in *Carmina Burana* but not the much larger number that are printed in *Analecta Hymnica*.

²⁰ See, for instance, *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le moyen âge*², ed. Robert Bossuat, Louis Richard and Guy Raymond de Lage, Paris 1992, p. 1142. More recently, however, Payne, *Philip* cit. (n. 1), p. 594, reduced the range to 1160-1170 and P. Dronke, *A History of Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, Cambridge 1988, p. 454, suggested ca. 1165.

Vide, ne vacet dextera
 Quia decurso stadio
 Mortem sequentur opera.

See that your right hand is not idle
 Because once the race is run
 Your deeds will follow you after death.

Besides the characteristic address to mankind, *Iherusalem, Iherusalem* shows other signs of Philip's authorship, such as, once again, the rhyming pair *lacrima ... uberrima* (16-17) and the use of *vide* to introduce an exhortation. For the latter usage, compare *vide, ne differas, / vide ne deseras* in *Homo, considera* (K56, 43-44). Finally, *condicio* (14 and 45) is a word favored by Philip, particularly when applied to the human condition; compare *ecce nostra condicio* (45) with *o condicio misera!* (K10)²¹.

Four other funeral hymns in F10 show striking similarities with *Omnis in lacrimas* and were almost certainly composed by Philip. The first of these, *Alabastrum frangitur* (K50) is a lament for Philip Augustus, who died in 1223. It is found in a long run of poems (K48-57) all attributed to Philip by medieval manuscripts or by Dronke. The likelihood that it too is by Philip must be rated very high. Moreover, lines 14-18 echo closely lines 30-33 of *Omnis in lacrimas* in subject matter and language:

<i>Omnis in lacrimas</i>		<i>Alabastrum frangitur</i>	
Lugeat ecclesia	30	Lugeat ecclesia	
Vidua praesidio,		Iustitiae cultorem,	15
Clerus patrocinio,		Lugeat militia,	
Milites stipendiis		Lugeant et studia	
		Sue pacis auctorem	

The remark about studies mourning the author of their peace alludes to the charter granted by Philip Augustus to the nascent university of Paris in 1200 following the bloody riot between townspeople and students earlier that year. The charter accorded scholars and students a number of rights, the most important being that in the future they would enjoy the status of clerics so that they could only be tried in ecclesiastical courts for any alleged misconduct. When we consider Philip's striking series of victories, which extended royal lands to include Flanders, Normandy, Anjou, and a substantial part of Aquitaine, it is certainly surprising that his actions to protect the university are singled out for mention in this eulogy rather than his military successes. As chancellor of Paris from 1218, Philip (the poet) was in a unique position to appreciate the importance of the charter of 1200. Certainly, it must have played a more significant role in his day-to-day concerns than the king's epoch-making victory at Bouvines (1214). Thus, while the emphasis on the dead king's achievements in university reforms to the exclusion of his military victories no doubt would have surprised many of his contemporaries as it does us, it accurately reflects Philip the Chancellor's *Sitz im Leben*.

The second funeral hymn, *Sol eclypsim patitur* (K83), was written to commemorate the death of Ferdinand II of Leon in 1188.

1. Sol eclypsim patitur

1. The sun is suffering an eclipse

²¹ For other examples of *condicio* in Philip's poems, compare K18, 11, AH 21, p. 111, 5.8, AH 21, p. 144, 6.3, AH 21, p. 202 (no. xxix), 39.

Ex mortis obiectu.		From death being interposed.
Mundi lux extinguitur		The light of the world has gone
Solis in defectu.		With the loss of the sun.
In celum sol iustitie	5	The sun of justice was carried off
Raptus, dum terras deserit.		To heaven, when it quit the earth.
Orbem nube tristitie		The sun's departure covered the world
Solis occasus operit,		With a cloud of sadness,

2. Dum Fernandus, Hispanie		2. When Ferdinand, Spain's pride,
Laus, decus, apex glorie,	10	Honor and summit of her glory,
Sol virtutum, fons gratie		Sun of virtues, fount of Grace,
Qui regum sceptrum tenuit,		Who held the scepter of kings
Quem nec potestas domuit,		And whom no might subdued
Nec mortis horror terruit,		Nor fear of death alarmed,
Heu! mortis iugo subditur.	15	Bowed, alas! to death's yoke.
Sed mors in morte moritur		But death dies in death
Dum mors in vitam vertitur,		When death is turned to life,
Dum pro superno bravio,		When, exchanging his throne below
Imo mutato solio,		For a heavenly prize,
In regis regum regia	20	In the palace of the King of kings
Stola fulget rex regia.		The king gleams in royal robes.

Philip's authorship of this poem emerges from a comparison with *Omnes in lacrimas*. *Orbem nube tristitie / solis occasus operit* (7-8) closely echoes (*mors*) *nube tristitie / terras operuit* of *Omnis in lacrimas* (K2, 9-10). Moreover, just as Henry the Liberal is called *fons gratie* (K2, 17) and *fons virtutum* (K2, 53), so here Ferdinand is *fons gratie* (11) and *sol virtutum* (11). Finally, the closing play with *regia* as noun and adjective is a favorite device of Philip's. We see a similar play with the verb and noun forms of *participes* in *Aristippe, quamvis sero* (K3):

Si potentum perfrui	60	If you wish to enjoy
Vis favore, vitio		The favor of the powerful,
Participes.		Participate in sin.
Gaudent a convictu pari		Sharers in Gehazi's sin
Suos sibi conformari		Rejoice that bonding ties
Giezi participes.	65	Make associates conform.

There is another example of this play with noun and verb forms in the same poem, this time with *exsules*, and one with *ducis* in *Homo natus ad laborem*²².

The third song is *Anglia, planctus itera* (K12), which laments the death of Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany, at a tournament in Paris in 1186.

1. Anglia, planctus itera		England, renew your lamentations
Et ad luctum revertere,		And turn again to grief!
Duplex dampnum considera		Reflect on your second loss;

²² See K3, 37-40 and K1, 23-24.

Duplici merso sidere.
 Mors in te sevit aspere
 Nec iam mortis insultui
 Facta potens resistere.
 Ergo luctus ingredi,
 Semper intenta luctui.

A second star has set.
 5 Death wars savagely against you
 And you are now impotent
 To resist Death's blow.
 So, begin your grief--
 Grief, your constant concern.

2. Parisius sol patitur
 Eclipsim; in Britannia
 Generaliter cernitur.
 O dies mundo noxia,
 O dies luctus nuntia,
 Solem involvens latebris!
 O dies, noctis filia,
 O dies carens venia,
 O dies plena tenebris!

10 2. In Paris the sun suffered
 An eclipse; in Brittany
 It was everywhere observed.
 O day, harmful to the world!
 O day, that announced our grief,
 15 Engulfing the sun in darkness!
 O day, daughter of night,
 O unforgiving day,
 O day filled with darkness!

Dreves thought that the deceased must be Geoffrey's father, King Henry II, who died in 1189, but the references to Paris, where Geoffrey died, and to Brittany, his dukedom (10-11), show that the song commemorates the son. The first death was therefore that of Geoffrey's elder brother Henry, in 1183. As in *Sol eclipsim patitur*, Geoffrey's death is compared to an eclipse of the sun and as in *Omnis in lacrimas*, we have repeated apostrophes to the fateful day (*o dies . . .*) The use of the imperative *considera* is also characteristic of Philip (see Table 1 below), as is the *annominatio* (with *sidere*) associated with it here²³.

The fourth song, *Eclipsim passus totiens* (K33), laments the death of Peter the Chanter in November 1197. Peter seems to have spent most of his life in Paris, where he was a master of theology from 1173 and the Cantor of Notre Dame from 1183. Philip, given his own interests in theology and his close ties with the music of Notre Dame, must have known Peter. Certainly, this tribute closely resembles Philip's other laments:

Eclipsim passus totiens
 Mundus dolores iteret;
 Praeclare lucis patiens
 Occasum luctum reseret.
 Radiabat Parisius
 Fulgens cantoribus radius.
 Quem mors videt et invidet.
 Dum toti mundo providet,
 Dum verbum vite seminat,
 Dum lucet non sub modio,
 Sublatus sol de medio
 Felicem vitam terminat.

Though it has suffered so many eclipses.
 Let the world renew its sadness!
 It has endured the loss of a brilliant light.
 So let it unlock its grief!
 5 The Cantor's gleaming rays
 Made Paris shine.
 Death saw him and was envious.
 Looking out for all the world,
 Sowing the seed of life,
 10 Not hiding his light under a bushel,
 The sun was taken from our midst,
 Ending a happy life.

²³ On Philip's predilection for *annominatio* see Dronke, *Lyrical compositions* cit. (n. 9), pp. 570-71.

Here again we have the deceased compared to the sun and his death to an eclipse. In the second half we have repeated *dum* clauses, as in *Sol eclypsim patitur*. Line 2, *mundus dolores iteret*, recalls the first line of *Anglia, planctus itera*.

Before going on to discuss the attribution of other poems to Philip, it will be useful to examine some characteristic aspects of Philip's vocabulary. Table 1 compares

Table 1
Comparative Frequency of Unusual Words Favored by Philip

	Dronke's Cat.		Ar	WoC O+W	PoB	CB			PoetriaNova
	1-66p	67-88				Tot.	PC	(PC)	
area/ palea ¹	5	0	0	1	0	4	1	1	5
bravium	4	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	60
character	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	37
conditio	5	1	0	1	2	8	2	0	280
conscientia	6	3	0	4	0	0	0	0	22
considera	6	2	0	0	0	7	1	2 ²	17
considero etc.	1	2	0	2	0	6	0	2 ²	37
contagium	4	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	114
convictus	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	12
de cetero	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	24
deficit / proficit	4	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	12
diffluo	6	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	8
exaspero	3	1	0	0	0	3	3	0	24
figulus	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	61
homo (voc)	14	5	0	0	0	5	2	2	?
hypocritae	5	4	0	0	0	3	1	0	33
malitia	8	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	20
palpo (vb)	3	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	10
patrimonium	3	0	0	1	1	2	0	1	46
patrocinium	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	1 ²	32
pressura	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	51
semitae	6	1	0	1	0	7	2	0	88
vide	11	1	0	3	0	11	1	7 ³	102

PoB: number of occurrences in Peter of Blois 1-7, 9, 10 (ed. Wollin).

PC: number of occurrences in CB poems attributed to Philip the Chancellor by medieval manuscripts.

(PC): number of occurrences in CB poems attributed to Philip the Chancellor by modern scholars, including attributions made in this article.

PoetriaNova: a large database of medieval Latin poetry; see footnote 19 above.

¹With *area* and *palea* rhyming at the end of corresponding lines.

²Includes up to two occurrences in poems which I hope to demonstrate are Philip's at a later date.

³Includes up to three occurrences in poems which I hope to demonstrate are Philips at a later date

the frequency of given words in the corpus of poems attributed to Philip, in the Arundel collection (Ar), in Walter of Châtillon's shorter poems (O and W), in the nine poems securely attributable to Peter of Blois (PoB), and in the *Carmina Burana* (CB). To put these frequencies in perspective, statistics are also provided for all the poems in PoetriaNova.

From Table 1 it is clear that the following unusual words were particularly favored by Philip: *character*, *conscientia*, *contagium*, *diffluo*, *exaspero*, *figulus*, *hypocrita*, *malitia* and *pressura*. Also, characteristic usages of more common words include: *homo* as a vocative in the sense of <<mankind>>, the imperative *vide*, and *area* / *palea* as a rhyming pair.

As can be seen from Table 1, *character* is a rare word that occurs five times in poems securely attributed to Philip but only 37 times in the entire PoetriaNova databank. It turns up in *Homo, qui scis pulverem* (K73). Since this poem repeats the address to mankind (*homo*) at the beginning of each stanza, it is almost certainly by Philip. If further proof of Philip's authorship were needed, that is provided in the second stanza, where it becomes clear that the poet is speaking in the persona of Christ²⁴. As Dronke has pointed out, this is a very unusual device but one that is often employed by Philip²⁵. Wollin has already tentatively suggested that *Homo, qui scis pulverem* be attributed to Philip²⁶. In my opinion, the attribution to Philip could scarcely be more certain. *Character* occurs only once in the *Carmina Burana*, in *Crucifigat omnes* (CB 47), which Payne has already attributed to Philip on musicological grounds²⁷. Philip's authorship of CB 47 is confirmed by a number of features, including the characteristic haranguing of mankind²⁸.

Contagium, though not uncommon in medieval metrical Latin poetry, is comparatively rare in rhythmical poetry, as the statistics in Table 1 for the *Carmina Burana*, the Arundel collection, Peter of Blois and Walter of Châtillon attest. It occurs in *Non te luisse pudeat* (K47, 26), which was tentatively ascribed to Philip by Dreves and Ludvig²⁹. More recently, Dronke (hesitantly) and Wollin (more confidently) have both attributed this poem to Peter of Blois³⁰. However, now that *Iherusalem, Iherusalem* has been shown to be by Philip, *Non te luisse pudeat* is found inside a long string of Philip's poems and its attribution to Philip looks increasingly likely. It offers advice to a bishop:

²⁴ Cf. *pro te feci me pauperem / et divitem de paupere* (K 73, 20-21).

²⁵ Dronke, *Lyrical compositions* cit., p. 569.

²⁶ Wollin, *Carmina* cit. (n. 12), p. 52.

²⁷ T. B. Payne, *Associa tecum in patria: A Newly Identified Organum Trope by Philip the Chancellor*, <<Journal of the American Musicological Society>> 39 (1986), p. 238 n. 12 and *Poetry Politics and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School* (Chicago dissertation 1991), pp. 242-3.

²⁸ Besides *fidei caractere* (3.2) and the address to mankind, *homo, Dei miserere!* (2.11), further signs of Philip's authorship of CB 47 are to be seen in the hortatory *vide ne* (3.9), and the vivid imagery of *rugientes contere catulos leonum* (3.4-5).

²⁹ AH 21, p. 141; Ludwig, *Repertorium* cit. (n. 7), pp. 266-67.

³⁰ Dronke, *Peter of Blois* cit. (n. 12), p. 224; Wollin, *Carmina* cit., 94-95 and 330-37.

<p>1. Non te luisse pudeat Sed ludum non incidere, Et que lusisti temere Ad vite frugem vertere Magistra morum doceat Te ratio Ut dignus pontificio, Divini dono numinis, Ad laudem Christi nominis Fungaris sacerdotio.</p>	<p>5 10</p>	<p>1. There is no shame in having played, Only in failing to cut short the game. As for your thoughtless foolery, Let reason, teacher of character, Show you how to turn it To better your life To be worthy of the episcopate, The gift of the Divine Being, And fulfil your role as priest To the glory of Christ's name.</p>
<p>2. Sis pius, iustus, sobrius, Prudens, pudicus, humilis, In lege docilis, Et ne sis arbor sterilis, Tuo te regas aptius Officio. Expulso procul vitio Munderis labe criminis, Ut mundus munde virginis Ministres in altario.</p>	<p>15 20</p>	<p>2. Be pious, just, and self-controlled, Wise, modest and humble, Eager to learn the law. Don't be a sterile tree. Govern yourself as befits Your office. Drive out every vice. Cleanse yourself of the stain of sin That you may serve unsullied At the altar of the unsullied virgin.</p>
<p>3. Pius protector pauperum Omni petenti tribue Malos potenter argue Manusque sacras ablue A sordidorum munerum Contagio. Nullus te palpet premio. Quesita gratis gratia Largire beneficia Sed dignis beneficio.</p>	<p>25 30</p>	<p>3. Dutifully protect the poor; Give to all who ask. Sternly refute the wicked! Wash clean your sacred hands From any contagion Of tainted gifts. Let none seduce you with a bribe. When your favor is freely sought, Bestow your largesse liberally But only on the deserving.</p>
<p>4. Non des ministris scelerum Non tua, sed ecclesie. Sub pietatis specie Non abutaris impie Commisso tibi pauperum Suffragio. Nil a te ferat histrio, Et tibi non allicias Infames amicitias De Christi patrimonio.</p>	<p>35 40</p>	<p>4. Don't give to the servants of sin What belongs not to you but the church. Under the guise of compassion Do not impiously abuse The protection of the poor Entrusted to you. Don't employ entertainers And don't attract Notorious friendships With Christ's patrimony.</p>
<p>5. Ministros immunditie A te repellas longius.</p>	<p></p>	<p>5. Keep servants of sinfulness At a far remove.</p>

Bonorum vitam fortius Pravus depravat socius Et afficit infamie Dispendio. Sic trahitur presumptio A convictu similium Prelati vita vilium Vilescit contubernio.	45	Bad company powerfully corrupts The lives of the righteous And affects them with the loss Of their good name. Arrogance comes about From association with arrogant men. A prelate's life is debased By association with base men.
6. Cautè dispone domui. Pauca sed vere loquere. Verba confirmes opere, Quia non decet temere Os sacerdotis pollui Mendacio. Prudentium consilio Te frui non displiceat Nec te sinistre moveat Salubris exhortatio.	55 60	6. Carefully manage your household. Speak few words, but make them true And follow them with action, Because the mouth of a priest Should not be thoughtlessly stained With lies. See fit to use Wise men's advice And don't let well-meant counsel Provoke your anger.
7. Teneris ut abstineas Ab omni mala specie; Sub freno temperantie Magistra pudicitie Sobrietate floreas. Ne vario Vagoque desiderio Declines ad illecebras. Sed cece mentis tenebras Purga virtutis radio.	65 70	7. See that you abstain From every form of evil. Under moderation's curb May you flourish in sobriety, Modesty's teacher. Do not, Through fickle and inconstant desire, Give way to temptations. Rather, illumine the dark recesses Of your heart with the bright ray of virtue.

As Dronke has pointed out, one of the recurring themes in Philip's poems is concern for the poor³¹. In *Non te luisse pudeat* this theme crops up twice: *pius protector pauperum* (21) and *commisso tibi pauperum suffragio* (35). Compare the injunction to a bishop *ut pauperum sit opifex in Christus assistens pontifex* (K48, 4) or the strikingly similar *pauperes <vidui> suffragiis in Omnis in lacrimas* (K2, 34). Wollin argues that *virtutis radio* (70) indicates Peter's authorship on the grounds that the collocation is paralleled elsewhere only in Peter's *Nec mare flumini* (Wollin 1.10.25) and in the anonymous *Iherusalem, Iherusalem* (K46)³². This view is mistaken, however, as PoetriaNova, lists nine other occurrences of *radius* with *virtutis* or *virtutum*, including three in Odo of Cluny alone. Moreover, *Iherusalem, Iherusalem*, as argued above, is almost certainly by Philip. Indignation that Christ's patrimony might be used to hire *histriones* (37-40) finds similar expression in Philip's *Fontis in rivulum* (K6): *de Christi prediis / ditatur histrio*

³¹ Dronke *Lyrical compositions* cit. (n. 9), p. 567 n. 13 and p. 574.

³² Wollin, *Carmina* cit. (n. 12), p. 95.

(53-54). Even more telling are the similarities in language and thought between *Non te lusisse pudeat* and Philip's *Aristippe, quamvis sero* (K3), a debate about the perils of court life:

Aristippe, quamvis sero

frui consilio (3)
meretur histrio (10)
virtutis premium (11)
dum palpet vitium (12)
ministros sceleris (24)

a convictu pari (63)
cum perverso perverteris (88)
si potentum gratus queris (89)
esse contuberniis (90)
pollui (59) *mendacio* (13)

Non te lusisse pudeat

consilio / frui (57-58)
nil a te ferat histrio (37)
nullus te palpet premio(27)

ministris scelerum (31)
sic trahit presumptio (47)
a convictu similium (48)
prelati vita vilium (49)

vilescit contubernio (50)
pollui (55) *mendacio* (56)

These parallels alone should be enough to establish beyond reasonable doubt that the author of *Aristippe, quamvis sero* also wrote *Non te lusisse pudeat*.

Contagium is also found in *Dogmatum falsas species* (K55). This, along with other characteristic features, confirms Dronke's attribution of this piece to Philip.³³ *Contagium* also turns up in *Qui seminant in loculis* (K22), which Dronke tentatively ascribes to Peter of Blois, though Wollin sees no convincing reason for the attribution³⁴. *Qui seminant in loculis* is a companion piece to *Qui seminant in lacrimis* (K23), which has several features that are typical of Philip's work. Both poems draw their inspiration from Psalm 125 and are written in similar rhythms. They are almost certainly by the same author³⁵.

1. Qui seminant in lacrimis
 Et azimis
 Sincere conscientie,
 Fermentum culpe veteris

 Permutant et malitie.
 Hi gratie
 Se preparant, qua lateris

1. Those who sow in tears
 And in the unleavened bread
 Of a clear conscience,
 Give up the leaven

 Of the old sin and wickedness,
 They prepare themselves for Grace,
 Which, when they throw away the mud

³³*Contagium / erroris* (K 55, 113-14). Other signs of Philip's authorship of K55 include: *hypocritae mendaces* (18), the *intus / foris* contrast (65-66), and the fiery foxes' tails (cf. AH 21, p. 203, no. xxx, 21) ubiquitous in the poem. Also, the *simplex / duplex* contrast of lines 25-27, reflects Philip's usage; cf. *corde loquens dupplici / veritate simplici* of *Aristippe quamvis sero* (K3, 30-31).

³⁴Dronke, *Peter of Blois* cit. (n. 12), p. 227; Wollin, *Carmina* cit. (n. 12), p. 118.

³⁵*Qui seminant in loculis* has 8 lines of 8pp interrupted, at varying intervals, by 3 lines of 4pp. *Qui seminant in lacrimis* has 7 lines of 8pp interrupted, at varying intervals, by 3 lines of 4 pp. Both quote from Psalm 125, 5-6: *qui seminant in lacrimis, in exultatione metent ... venient cum exultatione portantes manipulos suos*.

Luto proiecto soliti,
Emeriti
Maniplos portent glorie.

Of the long-accustomed brick,
Will enable them, like veterans,
To carry the maniples of glory.

Ref. Per motus ergo singulos
Ius viri legis emuli
Cernens, allide parvulos
Ad petre latus anguli,
Nec faucibus adhereat
Lingua, sed quocum veneris,
Ut pravus motus pereat,
Iherusalem memineris.

Observe, therefore, in the midst of passions,
The way of the man who is the Law's rival,
And dash the little children
Against the rock of the cornerstone,
And let not your tongue cleave
To your mouth. Wherever you go,
To make an evil passion dissipate,
Remember Jerusalem.

The first stanza shows *malitia* and *conscientia*, both rare words strongly favored by Philip (see Table 1). In the refrain, the injunction to dash the little children against the rock refers to Psalm 136, 9: *Beatus qui tenebit et allidet parvulos tuos ad petram*. This verse was usually interpreted allegorically as an exhortation to crush one's desires while they were still young. As Dronke has remarked, a penchant for audacious and even violent imagery is characteristic of Philip's style³⁶.

Conscientia also turns up in *Beatus qui non abiit* (K20), a poem organized around a set of beatitudes, where each stanza and each half-stanza begins *Beatus qui . . .*³⁷. Elsewhere, Philip begins lines five times with *Beatus qui . . .* or seven times if we count *Qui seminant in oculis* (K22) as his³⁸. Further indications of Philip's authorship of K20 are to be seen in the concern for the poor (*Beatus qui pauperibus / sua diffundens, animum / non claudit erga proximum* 34-36) and the applause for one who *fecem fugit luxurie* (50).

According to the PoetriaNova database, *diffluo* is an exceptionally rare word in medieval Latin poetry. It lists only eight occurrences. Since *defluo* and *diffluo* are frequently confused in the manuscripts, the much longer list of occurrences of *defluo* (101) was checked to see if any occurrences should be transferred to the *diffluo* column. Two certain and four probable instances of the confusion were found. Hence the <<+6>> in Table 1. *Diffluo* occurs in the refrain of *Olim sudor Herculis*, which Dronke and Wollin both attribute to Peter of Blois. However, despite its rarity, *diffluo* also turns up in Peter of Blois's *Quod amicus suggerit* (128). Consequently, while it seems clear that *Olim sudor Herculis* was written by either Peter or Philip, the occurrence of *diffluo* cannot be used to decide between them. However, now that *Omnis in lacrimas* has been shown to be by Philip, *Olim sudor Herculis* is located in the middle of a run of six poems in F (K1-6) by Philip and this naturally creates the likelihood that it too is by Philip. It opens as follows:

³⁶ Dronke *Lyrical compositions* cit. (n. 9), p. 575 and p. 586.

³⁷ *Beatus, conscientiae / quem non pungit aculeus* (17).

³⁸ In *Ad cor tuum revertere* (K10), *Quid ultra tibi facere* (K17), and *Bonum est confidere* (K37), which has three examples.

1. Olim sudor Herculis, Monstra late conterens, Pestes orbis auferens Clariss longe titulis Enituit.	5	1. The efforts of Hercules In crushing monsters far and wide, Clearing the world of plagues Won claims to high renown Of brilliant luster.
Sed tandem defloruit Fama prius celebris Cecis clausa tenebris Ioles illecebris Alcide captivato.	10	But the far-flung bloom of fame, Faded in the end, Enclosed in gloomy darkness, When he, Alcaeus' grandson, Was captured by Iole's charms.
Ref. Amor fame meritum Deflorat Amans tempus perditum Non plorat Sed temere	15	Love takes the bloom From well-earned fame. The lover does not lament The time he's lost But rather
Diffluere Sub Venere Laborat.		Struggles To wallow brazenly In Venus' power.

Lines 6-9 strikingly recall the closing lines of *Non te luisse pudeat: ne vario / vagoque desiderio / declines ad illecebras. / Sed cece mentis tenebras / purga virtutis radio*. PoetriaNova lists only ten instances of *illecebr-* in close proximity to *tenebr-* and in only two of these does *c(a)ec-* also occur—our two instances in *Olim sudor Herculis* and *Non te luisse pudeat*. Thus it must be considered extremely likely that these two poems are by the same poet. Also, the juxtaposition of *pestis* and *Hercules* is unusual. PoetriaNova lists only two occurrences besides lines 1-3 above. However, there is a further example, in Philip's *Mundus a munditia: nec tot pestis variae / monstra videt Hercules*³⁹. Accordingly, the cumulative weight of the evidence strongly suggests that we should attribute *Olim sudor Herculis* to Philip rather than to Peter. Dronke's argument that the surprising use of a refrain after each stanza of a sequence (rather than after each pair of stanzas) is characteristic of Peter is misleading⁴⁰. None of the poems *securely* attributed to Peter of Blois shows this feature⁴¹. On the other hand, it has long been known that Philip occasionally used this device⁴². Finally, the rhythms of *Olim sudor Herculis* are quite in keeping with Philip's practice⁴³.

Diffluo also occurs in *Anima, / iugi lacrima* (K45), a remarkable poem containing a great number of 3pp lines. This poem too should be attributed to Philip. Structurally, it

³⁹ AH 21, p. 144 (no. 206), 2.5-6.

⁴⁰ Dronke, *Peter of Blois* cit. (n. 12), p. 229.

⁴¹ On the authorship of *Ridere solitus*, see note 12 above

⁴² H. Spanke, *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik*, Berlin 1936. p. 85, pointed out that Philip's sequence *O labilis sortis humane status* has a refrain after every stanza.

⁴³ The first four stanzas, which comprise strings of 7pp of varying length interrupted by isolated verses of 4pp and occasional verses of 8p, are reminiscent of stanzas 5 through 8 of Philip's *Aristippe, quamvis sero* (K3). In the refrain and last four stanzas we find single and multiple verses of 4pp followed by 3p, as in Philip's *Vanitas Vanitatum* (K18), *Veritas veritatum* (K19) and *Ad cor tuum revertere* (K10).

is a debate poem, a genre often used by Philip⁴⁴. The debate here, as in his *Homo, natus ad laborem / tui status* (K1), is between the soul and the body. Furthermore, the poem is technically a prosula, a rare musical form closely associated with Philip. As Payne has shown, the texts of eight of the ten prosulas in the Notre Dame repertoire were composed by Philip⁴⁵. Payne argues that the two remaining (anonymous) prosulas in the repertoire, *Anima, / iugi lacrima* and *Crucifigat omnes* (see above), were also composed by Philip.

Exaspero is an excellent <<marker>> for Philip. It is rare in poetry (only 24 instances in PoetriaNova) and not found at all in the poems of Walter of Châtillon or Peter of Blois. All three instances in *Carmina Burana* are in poems securely attributed to Philip. It turns up in *Homo, cur properas* (K69), which Dronke has already attributed to Philip. The opening address to mankind with the series of impatient questions makes this attribution certain. The preceding poem, *Homo, cur degeneras* (K68), has a similar address, also accompanied by a string of questions. Since it further contains a remark about the need to be generous to the poor (25-27) and the imperative *considera* (19), we should have no hesitation in accepting Dronke's attribution of this poem too to Philip⁴⁶.

Pressura is another rare word (see Table 1). As we have seen, it is part of the argument for ascribing *Omnis in lacrimas* (K2) to Philip. It is also found in *Turmas arment Christicolae* (K41), which laments the assassination of St. Albert, Bishop of Liège, in November 1192. In this poem, just as in *Omnis in lacrimas* (K2, 28 and 31), the deceased is characterized as both *praeses* (9) and *praesidium* (30)⁴⁷.

Let us turn now to the poems in F10 that have been attributed to Peter of Blois. Dronke's attributions of *Qui seminant in oculis* (K22), *Quo me vertam nescio* (K28), *In nova fert animus* (K29), and *Vitam duxi iocundam* (K36) have been rejected by Wollin as unlikely⁴⁸. I have argued above for assigning the first of these to Philip. *Quo me vertam nescio* is authenticated as Philip's by Darmstadt 2777. Dronke, although he has persuasively vindicated the great majority of the Darmstadt manuscript's attributions to Philip, sticks by his earlier attribution of this poem to Peter of Blois⁴⁹. Wollin, however, upholds the manuscript's attribution⁵⁰. In concurring with Wollin I take the opportunity to point to a couple of phrases that seem particularly characteristic of Philip: *vermes conscientiae* (32) and *nube fastus* (22).

In nova fert animus (K29) comprises only a single stanza:

In nova fert animus		My mind inclines to guide my footsteps
Via gressus dirigere.		Along a new path.
Non pudet, quia lusimus		There is no shame in having fooled around,
Sed ludum non incidere.		Only in failing to cut short the game.
Si temere		Henceforth,
De cetero	5	If brazenly,

⁴⁴ On Philip's predilection for poems of altercation, see Dronke, *Lyrical compositions* cit. (n. 9), pp. 569 and 574.

⁴⁵ Payne, *Poetry, Politics* cit. (n. 27), pp. 242-43.

⁴⁶ Other signs of Philip's authorship of K68 are the use of *considera* (19) and *consideras* (5).

⁴⁷ The case for attribution to Philip is further strengthened by the use of *palpare* (34), a word favored by Philip.

⁴⁸ Wollin, *Carmina* cit. (n. 12), pp. 118, 134-35, 124, and 123-24.

⁴⁹ Dronke *Lyrical compositions* cit., p. 579.

⁵⁰ Wollin *Carmina* cit., pp. 134-5.

Distulero,		I put things off,
Non currens ad remedia,		Not hurrying to put things right,
Canitie		Though my whitening hair
Cotidie	10	Daily and peremptorily
Citante peremptorie,		Prompts me,
Liquet de contumacia		My arrogance is clear ⁵¹ .

The poem is found only in F10 and may originally have included several stanzas. Wollin considers that its position in F10, within a string of Philip's poems, makes its attribution to Peter <<recht unwahrscheinlich>>⁵². Dreves noted that the Horatian echo in lines 3-4 links the poem to *Non te lusisse pudeat* (K47) and concluded that one poet, probably Philip, wrote both poems⁵³. Among additional signs that this poem is by Philip one might point to the rare word *peremptorie*, which occurs so seldom in poetry that it is not found at all in the PoetriaNova database in either its adjectival or adverbial forms. The adjectival form, however, occurs twice in Philip's poems: *hac die peremptoria* and *dies est peremptoria*⁵⁴. Unfortunately, since the adjective also crops up in one of Peter's poems, the word is not particularly useful for helping us decide whether Peter or Philip is the author of *In nova fert animus*⁵⁵. More significant perhaps is the use of *de cetero* in the sense of <<henceforth>>, which is found only 19 times in PoetriaNova. This phrase links *In nova fert animus* with *Olim sudor Herculis* (K4), where it is used in exactly the same context of renouncing love to pursue more serious pursuits:

Dulces nodos Veneris		I am undoing
Et carceris		The sweet knots of Venus
Blandi seras resero,	135	And the locks of her pleasant prison,
De cetero		Now that I am turning
Ad alia		From this day forward
Dum traducor studia.		To other pursuits.

Wollin rejects Dronke's attribution of *Vitam duxi iocundam* (K36) to Peter on the grounds that it is far from the other poems in F that he would attribute to Peter and that it shows only <<die allgemeinsten gedanklichen Parallelen zu den authentischen Werken>>⁵⁶. As in *Olim sudor Herculis* and *In nova fert animus*, the theme of the poem is the renunciation of love and once again the motive for the change is loss of *fama*:

⁵¹ There is a play with *contumacia*, which besides meaning <<arrogance>> can mean <<crown of the head>>. Thus the last line could mean <<it is clear from the crown of my head>>.

⁵² Wollin, *Carmina* cit., p. 579.

⁵³ AH 20, p. 32.

⁵⁴ The first phrase is from *Homo, qui semper moreris* (K32, 20) and the second from *Dic, homo, cur abuteris* (AH 45b, p. 68, 4.3). Confirmation of Dronke's attribution of the latter poem to Philip is to be seen in the opening address to mankind, the indignant questions, *vide* in the second and final stanzas, and *conscientia* in the third. The final stanza, where *vide* is to be preferred to Dreves's *vides*, is structured *ergo, vide . . . ne . . .*; cf the final stanza of *Ad cor tuum revertere* (K10): *ergo, vide ne dormias*.

⁵⁵ It is found in Peter's *Quod amicus suggerit* (Wollin 1.5): *dies hunc peremptoria / comprehendet* (11-12).

⁵⁶ Wollin, *Carmina* cit. (n. 12), pp. 123-24.

<p>Sed a vita resipisco priore, Plus studiis Quam feriis⁵⁷ Contendens. Ut quae causa? Compellor unica: Ne me fama suo privet favore Dum sub vita vivo filargica.</p>	<p>5 But I am returning from my former life, Preoccupied More with studies Than with holidays. For what reason? Only one compels me: 10 Fear that fame will strip me of her favor As I live a life of ease.</p>
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Here too an exceptionally rare word links this poem with another poem in Philip's corpus. The word is *filargica*, which appears in its noun form *phylargia* (*filargia*) in *Vitia virtutibus*⁵⁸. Neither adjective nor noun is to be found in the poems of Peter of Blois or, for that matter, anywhere in the PoetriaNova database. The comparatively rare 4pp 4pp 3p rhythm, though it finds parallels in Peter's *Olim militaveram* and *Nec mare flumini*, also occurs in Philip's *Vanitas vanitatum* (K18) and *Veritas Veritatum* (K19).

Of the four poems in F10 (4, 47, 72 and 74), which both Dronke and Wollin attribute to Peter of Blois, *Fons preclusus sub torpore* (K72) and *A globo veteri* (K74) are probably not by Philip; so I will not discuss them further here⁵⁹. I have already indicated why I believe *Olim sudor Herculis* (K4) and *Non te luisse pudeat* (K47) should be attributed to Philip. The manuscript tradition of these poems provides further arguments. *Olim sudor Herculis* is found in five manuscripts besides F, four of which contain poems securely attributed to Philip in reasonably close proximity. In one of these it is immediately followed by six of Philip's poems⁶⁰. In no manuscript is it found immediately adjacent to a poem by Peter of Blois. Moreover, it is quite clear that *Olim sudor Herculis* formed part of the Notre Dame repertoire and there is no poem securely attributed to Peter of which this can be said.

The manuscript tradition of *Non te luisse pudeat* is more complicated. Some late manuscripts of the letters of Peter of Blois contain the poem as an appendage to Peter's letter 15. It is primarily for this reason that Wollin claims the poem for Peter. These manuscripts reflect the fifth redaction (post 1205) of Peter's letters, which may or may not have been made by Peter himself⁶¹. Even if one grants that Peter did make the fifth redaction, it does not follow that Peter himself appended *Non te luisse pudeat* to letter 15, for the earliest manuscripts of the fifth redaction date from the 14th century and the earliest fifth redaction manuscripts that actually contain the poem date from the 15th century. One has to wonder why, if the poem is genuinely Peter's, he did not choose to include it in one of the four earlier redactions, for which we know he was responsible. Certainly, unlike letter 57, to which Peter appended initially one, and later four more, of his poems, the body of letter 15 gives no hint of any such appendage.

⁵⁷ Both Dreves (AH 21, p. 156) and Anderson, *Notre Dame* cit. (n. 8), p. 134, mistakenly read *seriis* for *feriis*. Anderson emended to *stadiis* (p. LII).

⁵⁸ AH 21, p. 118, 4.1: *ira et phylargia*.

⁵⁹ I am inclined to assign *A globo veteri* to the *other* Peter of Blois; see note 12 above. I am not at all sure about the authorship of *Fons preclusus sub torpore*.

⁶⁰ The manuscript is bound in with the Bodleian Library's copy of the incunabulum Paulus de Sancta Maria, *Scrutinium scripturarum*, Auct. VI.Q.3.17; see Wollin, *Carmina* cit. (n. 12), p. 58.

⁶¹ On the topic of the various redactions of Peter's letters, see Wollin, *Carmina* cit., pp. 73-77 and the earlier literature cited there.

Besides **F** itself, *Non te lusisse pudeat* is found in two other manuscripts that reflect the Notre Dame repertoire: Munich Clm 4660 (*Carmina Burana*) and Oxford Add. A 44 (= **O**). By contrast, none of Peter's poems appears in any manuscript that reflects the Notre Dame repertoire except for **O**, a manuscript of English origin. That the manuscript's compilers drew on moral-satirical poems from the Notre Dame repertoire is beyond dispute but to this core they added many items of English origin. Given that none of Peter's poems appears in any other manuscript associated with the Notre Dame repertoire, we may conclude that they appear in the Oxford manuscript because of their English origin, not because of any association with the Notre Dame repertoire. No musical setting survives for any of Peter's poems nor do we know if any was ever set to music. Falck includes none of Peter's poems in his catalogue of the Notre Dame repertoire. In this respect there is a fundamental difference between the manuscript tradition of the poems of Peter and Philip, for the great majority of Philip's poems do have musical settings and are found in manuscripts that reflect the Notre Dame repertoire⁶².

Wollin very tentatively attributes *Vehemens indignatio* (K43) to Peter⁶³. He admits that his grounds for doing so are slight: general similarities to other poems of Peter in subject matter and rhythm. Equally close similarities, however, could be cited from poems of Philip. He also sees as significant its placement in **O** immediately before *Insurgant in Germaniam*, which he more confidently ascribes to Peter. Against this, one can point to the fact that *Vehemens indignatio* is immediately preceded in **O** by two poems securely attributed to Philip, *Homo, natus ad laborem* (K1) and *Veritas veritatum* (K19), and, in a Paris manuscript, by Philip's *Rex et sacerdos prefuit* (K49)⁶⁴. Moreover, in describing the sins of the prelates, our poet employs the bold imagery and strongly condemnatory tone that suggests Philip rather than Peter. Consider his account of their greed:

quod fidei doctores / impudenter ecclesie / deglutiant honores
or their hypocrisy:
induti vilibus / vestis aspectibus, / apparent humiles;
sed contemptibiles / pretendunt habitus, / ut suos ambitus
pretextu vestium / humilium / colorent.

In short, while conclusive evidence for attributing *Vehemens indignatio* to either Philip or Peter is lacking, the evidence supporting Philip's authorship is stronger.

When the new attributions made in this article are added to the older attributions, both medieval and modern, we have a grand total of 68 out of 83 (or 82%) of the poems in **F10** attributed to Philip. From that total *Fons preclusus sub torpore* (K72), which, most likely, was not written by Philip, should be subtracted. Of the 15 pieces not attributed to Philip, *Exceptivam actionem* (K67) and *Dum medium silentium / tenerent* (K15) were written by Alan of Lille and Walter of Châtillon and *A globo veteri* (K 74) is unlike Philip's poems in style and subject matter⁶⁵. The remaining 12 could, as far as

⁶² This consideration also reinforces my argument (above) that *Qui seminant in loculis* (K22), which appears in **O** and **F10**, is by Philip rather than by Peter.

⁶³ Wollin, *Carmina* cit., p. 97.

⁶⁴ See Wollin, *Carmina* cit., pp. 57 and 62.

⁶⁵ Both poems are found in the famous Arundel collection (B.L. Arundel 384). For an edition, see C.J. McDonough, *The Oxford Poems of Hugh Primas and the Arundel Lyrics*, Toronto 1984. On the attribution

subject matter and general style are concerned, have been written by Philip. Six show features suggestive of Philip⁶⁶. Four are very short (from 7 to 14 lines in length) and, while bearing a general resemblance to Philip's poems, possess no particular feature that strongly suggests Philip's authorship⁶⁷. Three longer poems also lack features characteristic of Philip.⁶⁸

Walter of Châtillon, Peter of Blois and Philip the Chancellor certainly appear to us today to be among the most significant rhythmical poets of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Distinguishing their poems among the mass of anonymous pieces that the manuscripts present is no easy task. It is made even more difficult by the fact that there was a second Peter of Blois, the canonist, whose poems may have been, in some respects, remarkably similar to those of the letter writer. To add to our difficulties, it is becoming increasingly clear that Philip the Chancellor modeled his technique on both Walter of Châtillon and Peter of Blois (perhaps both Peters). Of these writers, it is Philip whose body of work seems to have the greatest potential for expanding. In this article, I have largely focused on the poems in F10. There are certainly more of Philip's poems, however, lurking in other fascicles of F as well as in other manuscripts that reflect the Notre Dame repertoire.

of these two poems see note 59 above.

⁶⁶ Here I list the six poems with a very brief indication of the features that suggest Philip's authorship:

a) *Sede, Syon, in pulvere* (K8) praises Henry II of Champagne, comparing him to Hercules (29), shows *area / palea* as a rhyming pair (22-23), and uses violent imagery (*Syon in sinu lamie / catulos lactant hodie* 13-14) from Lamentations 4.3. *Lamie* are also found in Philip's *Vitia virtutibus* in a quotation from the same passage: *Mammas nudant lamie* (AH 21, p. 118, 9.1)

b) *Divina providentia* (K9) is a eulogy of William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely and Chief Justiciar of England (1189-91) during Richard's absence on the Third Crusade. It shows the rare word *patrocinium*, of which, if we count *Omnes in lacrimas*, there are three occurrences in Philip's poems. Also, the God and Caesar motif, which is found in Philip's *Christus assistens pontifex* (K48) and *Dic, Christe, veritas* (CB 131) crops up (K9, 51-52); in all three cases the motif occurs at the end of the poem. The *caput-membra* opposition (23-24) is another dichotomy favored by Philip, appearing in his *Homo, considera* (K56), *Mundus a munditia* (AH 21, p. 144) and *In veritate comperi* (AH 21, p. 203).

c) *Excuset que vim intulit* (K7) shows concern for the poor (*egentes pascit dextera* 12). Also, *quorum metitur exitum* (34) links it with *semper metitur exitus* of *Divina providentia* (K9, 12).

d) *Ad honores et onera* (K78) is a eulogy of an unnamed bishop. It contains the *caput-membra* dichotomy and instances of both *considera* and *considerat*.

e) *Si gloriari liceat* (K70), though only nine short lines long, contains *conscientia* and is therefore probably by Philip.

f) *O mors, que mordes omnia*, a lament for the death of Philip Augustus, addresses Death with *annominatio*, shows a form of *palpare*, and urges the rich not to think themselves better than the poor.

⁶⁷ These are: *Ecce mundus moritur* (K38); *O Maria, stella maris* (K71); *Veni, sancta spiritus* (K76); *Stella maris* (K79).

⁶⁸ *Partus semiferos* (K34) and *O Maria, o felix puerpura* (K58).