

A Cluster of Poems by Philip the Chancellor in *Carmina Burana* 21-36

The *Codex Buranus* in Munich (Clm 4440 = **B**) provides us with a splendid collection of Medieval Latin lyrics, known to the world as the *Carmina Burana* (CB) ⁽¹⁾. These lyrics are anonymous in **B** itself but many of them also occur in other manuscripts, where ascriptions are found. This enables us to attribute a number of the poems in **B** to such well-known authors as Walter of Châtillon, the Archpoet and Philip the Chancellor. Manuscripts in London, Darmstadt, Berlin and Munich attribute the following six poems in the *Carmina Burana* to Philip: *Veritas veritatum* (21), *Ad cor tuum revertere* (26), *Bonum est confidere* (27), *Dic, Christi veritas* (131), *Bulla fulminante* (131a), and *Aristippe, quamvis sero* (189) ⁽²⁾. Peter Dronke also assigns *Deduc, Syon, uberrimas* (34) to Philip, and, more tentatively, *Homo, quo vigeas* (22) and *O curas hominum* (187) ⁽³⁾. More recently, Thomas Payne has added *Crucifigat omnes* (47) to the list ⁽⁴⁾. Elsewhere, I have argued that *Non te luisse pudeat* (33) and *Olim sudor Herculis* (63) should be attributed not to Peter of Blois, as others have suggested, but to Philip ⁽⁵⁾. If

(1) The standard edition of **B** is: *Carmina Burana*, ed. A. HILKA - O. SCHUMANN - B. BISCHOFF, Heidelberg, 1930-1970. Subsequent CB references are to this edition.

(2) The manuscripts are: London BL Egerton 274; Darmstadt 2777; Berlin Theol. Lat. Fol. 312 and Munich Clm 26860; see P. DRONKE, *The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor*, in *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, vol. 28, 1987, pp. 563-92, esp. 589-92.

(3) DRONKE, *Compositions* cit., pp. 586 and 592. HILKA-SCHUMANN, *Carmina Burana* (cit. n. 1), II, pt. 1, p. 53, also suggested that Philip is the author of CB 34.

(4) *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2, New York, 2001, 19, 596.

(5) D. TRAILL, *Philip the Chancellor and F10: Expanding the Canon*, in *Filologia Mediolatina*, 10 (2003), pp. 219-48. In attributing this poem to Philip I follow the view of Guido Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica*, 21, pp. 140-41 against HILKA-SCHUMANN, *Carmina Burana* cit., II, pt.1, p. 58, P. DRONKE, *Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II*, in *Mediaeval Studies*, 28 (1976), pp.

we add these modern attributions to the core of six medieval attributions, we have a total of twelve CB poems by Philip. Some of these modern attributions have been supported by slender or non-existent arguments. Accordingly, in this paper I intend to demonstrate more fully why it is reasonable to assign these poems to Philip. In addition, I will also argue that a number of other poems, hitherto unattributed, should be added to the canon of Philip's work.

From the above list, it is clear that there is a considerable concentration of poems between CB 21 and 34 that are either certainly or probably by Philip. Of the fourteen poems in that section, no less than six have been attributed to him. Thus Bulst's dictum that for every ten successive poems in CB there is an equal number of authors is certainly not borne out in this section⁽⁶⁾. In fact, the concentration is even greater than six out of fourteen, for CB 25, 28 and 32 are not really poems at all but rather groupings of quotations⁽⁷⁾. It follows that more than half of the poems between CB 21 and 34 are certainly or probably Philip. Such a high concentration reflects the well-known tendency of medieval anthologies to group poems by a single poet closely together and suggests that other poems in this section might well be by Philip.

Perhaps it will be best to begin with CB 26, whose attribution to Philip is guaranteed by Darmstadt 2777. It has some claim to be one of Philip's most typical poems, for in its short compass it includes a remarkable number of features that repeatedly crop up elsewhere in Philip's work.

CB 26

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Ad cor tuum revertere,
condicionis misere
homo, cur spernis vivere?
cur dedicas te vitiis?
cur indulges malitiis? | Mankind, your state is wretched.
Return to your true self.
Why reject life?
Why devote yourself to sin?
5 Why indulge in wrongdoing? |
|--|--|

185-235 (esp. 192 note 27) and 224-25, and C. WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, CCCM, 128 (1998), pp. 94-95 and 330-37.

(6) W. BULST, *Carmina Leodiensia*, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Kl., 1975, Abh. 1, p. 27: « eine Folge von zehn 'Carmina Burana' mit sehr seltenen Ausnahmen ebensoviele verschiedenen Verfasser hat ».

(7) See *Carmina Burana*, ed. B. BISCHOFF, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, No. 9, New York, 1967, 22. CB 32 is somewhat different; it comprises five answers to the repeated question *Cur homo torquetur?* followed by the quotation *Gratia sola Dei, quos vult, facit alta mereri*.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>cur excessus non corrigis
nec gressus tuos dirigis
in semitis iustitie,
sed contra te cotidie
iram Dei exasperas?
in te succidi metue
radices ficus fatue,
cum fructus nullos afferas.</p> | <p>Why not correct excesses?
Why not guide your steps
In the paths of righteousness?
Daily you provoke instead
10 The wrath of God against you. Why?
Fear, rather, that the useless fig-tree's roots
May be severed deep within you,
Since you bear no fruit.</p> |
| <p>2. O condicio misera!
 considera
 quam aspera
sit hec vita, mors altera,
 que sic immutat statum.
 cur non purgas reatum
 sine mora,
 cum sit hora
tibi mortis incognita
 et invita?
caritas, que non proficit,
prorsus aret et deficit
 nec efficit
 beatum.</p> | <p>How wretched your state!
 Consider
 How harsh
This life is – a second death –
Which alters your condition so.
Why not purge your sin
 Without delay,
 Since the hour
Of your passing is unknown to you
And never welcome?
Unavailing love
Is arid and deficient
 And fails to produce
 Happiness.</p> |
| <p>3. Si vocatus ad nuptias
 advenias
 sine veste nuptiali,
 a curia regali
 expelleris.
et obviam si veneris
sponso lampade vacua,
es quasi virgo fatua.</p> | <p>If, invited to a wedding,
 You come
 Without wedding attire,
You are sent away
From the king's court.
And if you meet the bridegroom
And your lamp is empty,
You're like a foolish virgin.</p> |
| <p>4. Ergo vide ne dormias,
sed vigilans aperias
Domino, cum pulsaverit.
beatus, quem invenerit
vigilantem, cum venerit.</p> | <p>So be sure you are not asleep.
Stay awake! Open the door
To the Lord when he comes knocking.
Blessed is he whom the Lord finds awake
When he comes.</p> |

One of the most characteristic features of Philip's style is an address to mankind in general. This often assumes the tone of a harangue and usually includes the vocative *homo* and a series of imperatives or rhetorical questions or, as here, a combination of both⁽⁸⁾. Sometimes the entire poem is constructed around this

(8) DRONKE, *Compositions* (cit. n. 2), p. 569.

address to mankind ⁽⁹⁾. At times the address is a way of opening or closing a poem ⁽¹⁰⁾. The infertile fruit-tree (1.11-13), the improperly attired wedding guest (3.1-5), the foolish virgins (3.6-9), and Christ returning as angry master or judge (4.1-5) are all recurring motifs in Philip's poems ⁽¹¹⁾. Poem 26 is also rich in certain rare, or comparatively rare, words or usages for which Philip shows a marked predilection. These include: *exaspero*, *malitia*, and *condicio* (of the human condition) and the use of the imperative *vide* (4.1), often followed by *ne*, to introduce an injunction ⁽¹²⁾.

Let us turn now to CB 22. Without providing specific arguments, Dronke has tentatively attributed this poem to Philip. It too begins with an address to mankind:

CB 22

Homo, quo vigeas		Mankind, consider
vide!		What gives you strength.
Dei		Abide
fidei		By your faith
adhereas,	5	In God!
in spe gaudeas.		Take joy in hope!
et in fide		Burn inwardly
intus ardeas,		With faith,
foris		And on the outside
luceas.	10	Be radiant!
turturis retorqueas		Twist the dove's head
os ad ascellas.		Back under its wings.
docens ita		Teaching thus
verbo, vita,		By word and way of life,
oris	15	With the ploughshare
vomere		Of your mouth

(9) For instance, *Homo, vide que pro te patior* (*Analecta Hymnica* 21, pp.18-19). I have argued elsewhere (*Philip*, cit. n. 5, pp.) that *Homo, qui te scis pulverem*, each of whose stanzas begins with *Homo*, is by Philip; for text see G. A. ANDERSON, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, vol. 6, Henryville, PA, 1977, pp. xcvi-xcvii. The sixth volume of Anderson's work is devoted to the tenth fascicle of the famous Florence manuscript Laurentian Plut. 29.1, which contains many of Philip's poems; see TRAILL, *Philip* (cit. n. 5), *passim*.

(10) As a way of opening a poem, see *Homo, considera* and for closing a poem, *Nitimur in vetitum*; see *Analecta Hymnica*, 21, pp. 93 and 106 respectively.

(11) For wedding apparel, compare *Veste nuptiali* and *Veri solis radio*. Full texts and translations of these poems are to be found in ANDERSON, *Conductus* (cit. n. 9), pp. cvi and xc respectively. For the foolish virgins, see *Nitimur in vetitum* and *Veste nuptiali* (*ibid.*, pp. lxxii and cvi); for the master and the fruit-tree, see *Fontis in rivulum* and *O labilis sortis humane status* (*ibid.*, pp. xiii-xiv and xlvi-xlviii).

(12) See Table 1 in TRAILL, *Philip* (cit. n. 5) p. 233.

de cordibus fidelium		Tear up the weeds
evellas		From the hearts
lolium.		Of the faithful.
lilium	20	Graft
insere		The lily
rose		On the rose,
ut alium		So that you can
per hoc corripere		Thereby,
speciose	25	Gracefully
valeas.		Reform another.
virtuti		Zealously pursue
saluti		The Good
omnium		And Salvation
studeas;	30	Of all.
noxias		Abhor
delicias		Harmful
detesteris.		Pleasures.
opera		Consider
considera	35	The works
que si non feceris,		Whose omission
damnaberis.		Will cause your damnation.
hac in via		Soldier
milita		Along this path
gratie	40	Of Grace
et premia		And reflect
cogita		On the rewards
patrie;		Of your homecoming.
et sic tuum		Thus will your heart
cor in perpetuum	45	Find
gaudebit.		Everlasting joy.

The vocative of *homo*, which occurs in at least a dozen other poems by Philip, is otherwise far less common than one might think⁽¹³⁾. In the *Carmina Burana*, for instance, there are only four occurrences besides the opening of CB 22: in *Cor tuum revertere* (26), *Dic, Christi veritas* (131), *Crucifigat omnes* (47) and *In huius mundi domo* (39a). The first two of these are attributed to Philip by medieval manuscripts and the third by a modern scholar⁽¹⁴⁾. It follows that the vocative of *homo* is an excellent “marker” for Philip.

(13) See Table 1, *ibid.*

(14) I count only the 228 items of CB proper, not the later pieces numbered 1*-26a*. Philip's authorship of *Dic, Christi veritas* is guaranteed by manuscripts in Berlin and Munich, while *Crucifigat omnes* has been attributed to him on musicological grounds, by T. B. PAYNE, « *Associa tecum in Patria* »: A Newly Identified Organum Trope by Philip the Chancellor, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986), pp. 233-54, at 238 n. 12, and *New Grove* (cit. n. 2), 19, p. 596. Though probably not by Philip, CB 39a shows some affinities with his poems.

Also characteristic of Philip are the very short lines, often consisting of only a single word. For instance, compare *Veritas, / equitas, / largitas, / corrui* and *Associa / tecum in patria* ⁽¹⁵⁾. Besides *homo*, other favorite locutions of Philip turn up: *vide* (2) and *considera* (35) ⁽¹⁶⁾. Finally, the oddity of the last word's failure to rhyme finds a parallel at the end of another poem by Philip – *Minor natu filius* ⁽¹⁷⁾.

CB 23

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Vide, qui nosti litteras
et bene doces vivere,
quid sit doctrina littere,
de quo et ad quid referas.
diligenter considera,
si sis doctor, quid doceas.
et quod doces, hoc teneas,
ne tua perdant opera
eterna Christi munera.</p> | <p>You who are skilled in letters
And teach the Good Life, ponder
The teaching of the Letter, what it means,
What you discuss and to what end.
5 If you are to teach, carefully consider
What it is you teach.
And what you teach, abide by that,
Or else your works may lose
Christ's everlasting gifts.</p> |
| <p>2. Vide, qui colis studium
pro Dei ministerio,
ne abutaris studio
suspirans ad dispendium
lucri, nec te participes
coniuge vite vitio;
namque multos invenio
qui sunt huius participes,
ecclesiarum principes.</p> | <p>You who cultivate learning
In the service of God,
Don't lose your zeal,
Sighing over loss of wealth,
5 And in the sin of married life
Take no part.
Many, I find,
Who share in this sin,
Are leaders of the church.</p> |
| <p>3. Vide, qui debes sumere
religionis gloriam
summi per Dei gratiam,
ne te possit decipere</p> | <p>You who are about to assume
The honor of religious office
Through the Grace of God Almighty,
Make sure no Philistine</p> |

HILKA-SCHUMANN, *Carmina Burana*, II, pt. 1, p. 65, believe that it shows the influence of German *Verstechnik*.

(15) Thomas B. PAYNE, *Poetry, Politics and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School* (Chicago dissertation, 1991), pp. 242-44 has confirmed the Prague manuscript's attribution of *Associa tecum in patria* to Philip on musicological grounds; see also *New Grove* (cit. n. 4), p. 596. DRONKE, *Compositions* (cit. n. 2), p. 583, had earlier cast doubt on the attribution. Perhaps the piece structurally closest to *Homo, quo vigeas* is *Anima, iugi lacrima*, which PAYNE, *Poetry, Politics* cit., p. 244 and *New Grove*, 19, 596 also attributes to Philip. All three poems are conveniently published in ANDERSON, *Conductus* (cit. n. 9), vol. 6, pp. lxxxiv, cv, and lxi respectively.

(16) See Table 1 in TRAILL, *Philip* (cit. n. 5) p. 233.

(17) *Analecta Hymnica* 21, p. 196.

nec trudad in interitum	Entraps you unawares
Philisteus improvide –	And thrusts you to your death
namque prodent te Dalide –	(For Delilahs will betray you),
ut non amittat meritum	So that God does not lose
Deus suorum militum	The service of his soldiers

The opening *Vide, qui*, which recurs at the beginning of each stanza, links CB 23 with Philip's *Vide, qui fastu rumperis* (18). Other signs of Philip's authorship include *considera* (1.5) and *nec trudad in interitum* (3.5), which recalls its rhythmical equivalent in CB 21, a poem certainly by Philip: *nos dedit in interitum* (2.6). Also, Philip liked to rhyme words that are identical in form but have different grammatical functions. Thus in *Homo natus ad laborem* we find *ducis* (verb) rhyming with *ducis* (noun) and in *Aristippe quamvis sero* there are two such pairs and a variant: *exsules* (verb and noun) *participes* (verb and adjective) and *abeas / habeas*, which are spelled differently but were pronounced the same (19). The identical play here with *participes* as verb (2.5) and adjective (2.8) is therefore an excellent indication of Philip's authorship. The strongly moralizing tone is of course typical of Philip's work, as is the dispensing of advice. For a similar expression of concern about the morality of the teaching profession, see Philip's *Fontis in rivulum*:

Doctor abutitur	The teacher abuses
Doctrinae regula	The norms of his profession
Cuius inficitur,	Whose student is tainted
Subjectus macula (20).	By the stain of his sin.

It is natural to recall that from 1217 till his death in 1236 Philip, as chancellor of Notre Dame, had the task of conferring the *licentia docendi* within the city of Paris and to see CB 23 as an idealized version of the kind of advice he dispensed to young teachers. However, it is virtually certain that the poem predates 1217, when Philip became chancellor, by many years. While many German poems in the *Carmina Burana* date from the 13th century – some as

(18) *Analecta Hymnica* 21, p. 159 has *Vide, quo*, the reading of the Florence manuscript, which Dronke follows. ANDERSON, *Conductus* (cit. n. 9), pp. xx and 124-25 adopts the reading of other manuscripts, *Vide, qui*.

(19) See ANDERSON, *Conductus* (cit. n. 9), p. ii for the *ducis* rhyme, and p. vi for *exsules* and *participes*. For similar plays with *Eligi* (vocative) and *eligi* (passive inf.) and *stabilis* (adj. and verb), see *ibid.* pp. cv and il (= xl ix).

(20) *Analecta Hymnica* 21, p. 146.

late as the early 1220s – this is emphatically not true of the Latin poems. Only one Latin poem, CB 124, can be dated after 1200, and since that is a lament for the murder of Philip of Swabia (1208), it is probably of German origin ⁽²¹⁾.

CB 24 does not resemble Philip's lyrics and there seems no good reason for attributing it to him. CB 25 and 28, as already indicated, are collections of quotations, while CB 26 and 27 unquestionably belong to the canon of Philip's work. Before turning to CB 29-31, it will be useful to look briefly first at *Non te lussisse pudeat* (CB 33) and *Olim sudor Herculis* (CB 63). I have already argued elsewhere in more detail that the attribution by Schumann (followed by Dronke, Wollin and others) of these two poems to Peter of Blois is mistaken ⁽²²⁾. Here it will be enough to give the highlights of these arguments.

There can be little doubt that Dreves was correct in seeing *Non te lussisse* as Philip's work ⁽²³⁾. The theme, advice to a bishop, was one of Philip's favorites and the links in subject matter and vocabulary to poems known to be by Philip are striking. Compare, for instance, the close links with Philip's *Aristippe, quamvis sero* (CB 189):

<i>Aristippe, quamvis sero</i> (CB 189)	<i>Non te lussisse pudeat</i> (CB 33)
<i>frui consilio</i> (1a.3)	<i>consilio / frui</i> (6.7-8)
<i>meretur histrio</i> (1a.10)	<i>nil a te ferat histrio</i> (4.7)
<i>virtutis premium</i> (1a.11)	<i>nullus te palpet premio</i> (3.7)
<i>dum palpet vitium</i> (1a.12)	<i>ministris scelerum</i> (4.1)
<i>ministros sceleris</i> (1b.11)	<i>sic trahit presumptio</i> (5.7)
<i>a convictu pari</i> (3b.6)	<i>a convictu similium</i> (5.8)
<i>cum perverso perverteris</i> (4b.9)	<i>prelati vita vilium</i> (5.9)
<i>si potentum gratus queris</i> (4b.10)	<i>vilescit contubernio</i> (5.10)
<i>esse contuberniis</i> (4b.11)	<i>pollui</i> (6.5) <i>mendacio</i> (6.6)
<i>pollui</i> (3b.2) <i>mendacio</i> (1a.13)	

(21) If we date CB 124 to 1208, it is nine years later than the next latest datable Latin poem (CB 122). Unless we arbitrarily assign CB 23 a date much later than any other datable Latin poem of western origin, we must assume that Philip wrote CB 23 ca. 1200, when he was about forty. Philip may have written the poem around this time – perhaps even as late as 1208, when his uncle Peter became bishop of Paris – to demonstrate that he possessed the views and concerns that would make him a suitable candidate for chancellor. His illegitimate birth appears to have precluded him from holding the office until Pope Honorius II granted him special dispensation on 2 January, 1217; for a detailed discussion, see PAYNE, *Poetry, Politics* (cit. n. 15), pp. 45-51.

(22) TRAILL, *Philip* (cit. n. 5), pp. 234-37.

(23) *Analecta Hymnica* 21, pp. 140-41.

Moreover, the “loss of fame” topos, *pravus depravat socius / et afficit infamie / dispendio* (5.4-6) recalls Philip’s *Vide, qui fastu rumperis*, where the same topos recurs with similar wording: *vide . . . / quantum fame pertuleris / et honoris dispendium* (“see . . . how great a loss of reputation and honor you endured”) (24). The topos does not appear in any of the poems that can securely be ascribed to Peter – a much smaller corpus, admittedly, than that of Philip (25). Finally, Philip’s injunction not to use Christ’s patrimony to hire *histriones* forges a close link with *Fontis in rivulum*, where we find indignation at this practice expressed in similar language (26).

There are also significant links between *Olim sudor Herculis* and poems known to be by Philip. Several of these are to be seen in the opening lines of the poem:

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

(24) *Analecta Hymnica* 21, p. 159.

(25) These are nos. 1.1-10 (except 1.8) in WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis* (cit. n. 5), pp. 229-74. The attribution of *Ridere solitus* (1.8) by a medieval source to *dictator ille egregius magister Petrus Blesensis archidiaconus* (WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis*, p. 291) could refer to either of the two Peters of Blois, for the canonist appears to have been archdeacon of Dreux in the 1180s; see R. W. SOUTHERN, *The Necessity for Two Peters of Blois*, in *The Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, ed. L. Wilson and B. Ward, London and Rio Grande, Ohio, 1992, pp. 103-117, at 110, note 11. Wollin himself admits (p. 291) that for Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of Bath and famous letter writer, to have written « ein so humorvolles Gedicht », is nothing short of astonishing.

(26) Compare *nil a te ferat histrio / et tibi non allicias / infames amicitias / de Christi patrimonio* (CB 33, 4.7-10) with *de Christi prediis / ditatur histrio*; for text of *Fontis in rivulum*, see ANDERSON, *Conductus* (cit. n. 9), vol. 6, pp. xiii-xiv, here lines 53-54.

PoetriaNova, a database of some 900,000 lines of medieval Latin poetry, contains only two other occurrences of *pest-* in close proximity to *Hercul-*, of which only one (in a poem by Hugo de Matiscone) also includes *monstra*. There is, however, at least one further instance, not included in the PoetriaNova database, where *Hercul-*, *pest-* and *monstra* are found together: in Philip's *Mundus a munditia* (27). Again, when we search PoetriaNova for *illecebr-* in close proximity to *tenebr-*, as in lines 6-9 above, the database provides ten instances, of which only two also contain *c(a)ec-* – our passage and the closing lines of *Non te luisse pudeat* (28). Thus it must be considered extremely likely that these two poems are by the same poet. Besides the “loss of fame” topos of lines 5-12 (on which see above), we also encounter the “loss of time” theme in the refrain: *amans tempus perditum / non plorat*. Here the poet means that the lover does not care that his amatory pursuits distract him from preparing his soul for eternity. Philip expresses a similar sentiment in *O mens cogita*, where he warns about the weaknesses of the flesh and “the loss of time” that these may entail: *iam recogita / de temporis iactura. / sis sollicita / de corporis / fractura* (29).

Poems 29-31 are all on the same theme: a man, no longer young, resolves to give up his youthful indulgences. Schumann argued that they are all so similar in theme and style that they must be by the same poet (30). He saw striking structural and stylistic similarities between this group and the six (now re-divided as five) poems appended to Letter 57 of Peter of Blois (31). However, while 29-31 all share similarities, it is certainly true, as Schumann himself pointed out, that 30-31 have more in common with one another than either does with 29. It seems clear that 29 is by Philip. Whether 30 and 31 should be attributed to Peter, as most scholars, following Schumann, believe, or to Philip, as I am inclined to think, or to someone else altogether, is at present far from clear (32). Here, accordingly, I will leave 30 and 31 aside and discuss only 29.

(27) *Analecta Hymnica* 21, p. 144, 2.5-6: *nec tot pestis varie / monstra vidit Hercules*.

(28) CB 33, 7.7-10: *ne vario / vagoque desiderio / declines ad illecebras. / Sed cece mentis tenebras / purga virtutis radio*.

(29) *Analecta Hymnica* 21, p. 97.

(30) HILKA-SCHUMANN, *Carmina Burana* (cit. n. 1), II, pt. 1, pp. 47-49.

(31) For a modern edition of these poems see WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis* (cit. n. 5), pp. 229-74.

(32) Though CB 31 has features that suggest Philip's authorship, notably, the rhyming of words identical in form but differing in grammatical function (*legi / legi* in stanza 1, *feci / feci* in 6, and *rei / rei* in 9), it has others, particularly the enigmatic but apparently risqué tone of stanza 3, that argue against such an attribution.

CB 29

1. In lacu miserie
 et luto luxurie
 voveris, inutile
 tempus perdens, Panphile!
 cur offensas numinum
 aut derisum hominum
 non metuis,
 dum destruis
 corpus, rem et animam?
 salva saltem ultimam
 vite portiuunculam,
 offerens celestibus
 pro iuvente floribus
 senectutis stipulam.
2. Forsan ludo Veneris
 ultra vires ureris,
 ut amoris tedium
 tibi sit remedium.
 sed si te medullitus
 exsiccatum penitus
 exhaurias,
 ut febias,
 nichil tamen proficis,
 dum ad tempus deficis;
 nam insurget artius
 Hydra multiplicior,
 et post casum fortior
 surget Terre filius.
3. Ut stes pede stabili
 sine casu facili,
 cave praecipitium,
 devitando vitium.
 sed si te vexaverit,
 aut si comprehenderit
 Egyptia,
 mox pallia
 fugitivus desere,
 nec lucretis temere.
 nam resistens vincitur
 in hoc belli genere,
 et qui novit cedere,
 fugiendo fugitur.
- You wallow, Pamphilus,
 In the pool of wretchedness
 And the mire of lust,
 Senselessly wasting time!
 5 Why no fear
 Of heaven's wrath
 Or the mockery of men
 As you ravage
 Body, wherewithal, and soul?
 10 Save at least
 The last little portion of your life,
 Offering the gods
 For the flowers of youth
 The stubble of old age.
- Perhaps you burn in Venus's game
 So far beyond your strength
 That love's weariness
 Becomes your cure.
 5 But though you drain yourself
 Completely
 To the marrow
 To the point of fever,
 It still does you no good
 10 If you fail at the critical moment.
 For the Hydra will tower up
 With a denser array of heads
 And the son of Earth will arise
 Stronger from his fall.
- To stand with steady footing
 Without danger of falling,
 Stay away from the precipice
 By avoiding sin.
 5 But if the Egyptian woman
 Pesters you
 Or grabs hold of you,
 Quick, run away!
 Leave your shirt behind!
 10 Don't be bold and struggle,
 For in warfare of this kind
 He who resists is the loser
 And from him who can yield,
 Others shy away at his flight.

Here again we have the “loss of time” motif that we noted in Philip’s *O mens cogita* and in *Olim sudor Herculis* above. Pamphilus (“Promiscuous Lover”, the name of an amorous young man in two of Terence’s plays), like the lover in *Olim sudor Herculis*, is wasting his time by not preparing his soul for eternity. The references to the Hydra and Antaeus forge more links with *Olim sudor Herculis*; compare lines 2.11-14 above with *Hydra damno capitum / facta locupletior* and *Antei Libyci / luctam sustinuit, / casus sophistici / Fraudes cohibuit, / cadere dum vetuit* (33). Persuaded by Unger’s suggestion that similarities between CB 29 and 63 indicate that they are probably by the same author and convinced that CB 29-31 were by Peter of Blois, Schumann added *Olim sudor Herculis* to the roster of Peter’s poems (34). Dronke and most subsequent commentators have accepted the attribution of all four poems to Peter. Philip, however, as we have seen, was given to making allusions to Hercules and, I believe, has a stronger claim than Peter to *Olim sudor Herculis* (35).

Schumann compares the opening stanza, where the “flowers of youth” are contrasted with old age, to the opening lines of Peter’s first poem: *Olim militaveram / pompis huius seculi / quibus flores obtuli / mee iuventutis / pedem tamen rettuli / circa vitae vesperam*. The “flower(s) of youth”, however, is a very common expression (36). In CB, it is also found at 93a.1,2: *modo flos preterit mee iuventutis, / in se trahit omnia tempus senectutis*. Similarly, the concluding *fugiendo fugitur* finds many close parallels from the time of Alain de Lille onwards, including *sicque Venus vincitur: / dum fugitur, / fugatur* in *Olim sudor Herculis* (37).

The third stanza opens with one of Philip’s favorite themes: the instability of the human condition, and the tendency to slip into sin (38). *O labilis sortis humane status* is devoted to this nexus of

(33) CB 63, 1b.1-2 and 3a.1-5.

(34) Besides the references to the Hydra and Antaeus, Unger noted the play with *fugere*, on which see below; see H. UNGER, *De Ovidiana in Carminibus Buranis quae dicuntur imitatione*, Strasbourg, 1914, pp. 37-38.

(35) See TRAILL, *Philip* (cit. n. 5), pp. 239-40 and 244-4.

(36) *The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* offers six examples of the motif; see s.v. *flos*, 7.

(37) CB 63, 4a10-12. Further instances of this play with *fugere* are listed in HILKA-SCHUMANN, *Carmina Burana*, II, pt. 1, p. 43.

(38) Cf. *Homo, qui semper moreris, O mens cogita, Vitia virtutibus* at *Analecta Hymnica* 21, pp. 98-99, 97, and 118-19 respectively.

ideas⁽³⁹⁾. Accordingly, lines 3.1-4 sound very much like Philip, especially with the *annominatio* in *devitando vitio*⁽⁴⁰⁾. The topic of Joseph fleeing the embraces of Potiphar's wife (3.5-9) turns up in *Christus assistens pontifex* and *Quid ultra tibi facere*⁽⁴¹⁾. Finally, the rhyming opposition *nil proficit / sed deficit* (and similar permutations) is part of Philip's stock-in-trade but not, apparently, Peter's⁽⁴²⁾.

CB 34

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>1. Deduc, Sion, uberrimas
velut torrentem lacrimas!
nam qui pro tuis patribus
nati sunt tibi filii
quorum dedisti manibus
tui sceptrum imperii,
fures et furum socii.
turbato rerum ordine
abutuntur regimine
pastoralis officii.</p> | <p>5 Into whose hands you gave
The scepter of your power,
Are thieves and friends of thieves.
Overthrowing the natural order,
They abuse the power</p> | <p>Shed, Sion, floods of tears
Like a torrent.
The sons born to you
To be your fathers,
10 Of pastoral office.</p> |
| <p>2. Ad corpus infirmitas
capitis descendit,
singulosque gravitas
artus apprehendit.
refrigescit karitas,
nec iam se extendit
ad amorem proximi.
nam videmus opprimi
pupillum a potente,
nec est qui salvum faciat
vel qui iustum eripiat
ab impio premente.</p> | <p>5 Charity grows cold,
No longer extending
To love of neighbor.
Orphans we see
Exploited by their wardens
10 And none to protect them,
Or rescue the just man
From his godless oppressor.</p> | <p>A sickness in the head
Has passed down to the body
And a heaviness steals
Over individual limbs.</p> |
| <p>3. Vide, Deus ultionum,
vide videns omnia,
quod spelunca vispillorum</p> | <p>See! God of vengeance –
You, who see everything –
The church has become</p> | <p></p> |

(39) *Analecta Hymnica* 21, pp. 97-98.

(40) On Philip's love of *annominatio*, see DRONKE, *Compositions* (cit n. 2), pp. 570-71.

(41) *Non potuit inficere / Ioseph Venus Egyptia* in the first poem (ANDERSON, *Conductus*, cit. n. 9, p. lxxv) and *Qui derelicto pallio / fugerat ab Egyptia* in the second (*Analecta Hymnica* 21, p. 141).

(42) Rhyming pairs of *deficit / proficit* or *deficis / proficis* are found in *Ad cor tuum revertere, O labilis sortis humane status, In veritate comperi* and *Nitimur in vetitum*; see *Analecta Hymnica*, 21, pp. 104, 98, 203 and 106 respectively.

facta est Ecclesia, quod in templum Salomonis 5 venit princeps Babylonis et excelsum sibi thronum posuit in medio! sed arrepto gladio scelus hoc ulciscere! veni, iudex gentium, cathedras vendentium columbas evertere!	A den of thieves. The Prince of Babylon Has entered the temple of Solomon And set his lofty throne Right in the middle! Take up your sword, 10 Avenge this crime! Come, judge of the world, And overturn the seats Of the dove-sellers.
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Schumann compared the beginning of the third stanza with passages from two of Philip's poems:

Non est qui bonum faciat istorum, quorum conscientia <i>Spelunca latronum.</i> <i>Haec vide, videns omnia,</i> <i>Deus ultionum.</i>	There is not one among them Who does good. Their conscience Is a den of thieves. God of vengeance, You who see all things, See this!
and O quando discutiet <i>speluncam latronum,</i> quam tremendus veniet <i>Deus ultionum</i> (43).	When he destroys The den of thieves How awesome will he be When the God of vengeance comes!

Arguing that these similarities could not be a coincidence, Schumann concluded that CB 34 was also by Philip (44). Most other scholars have accepted this attribution, which is confirmed by a number of other features. For instance, the motif of Christ as stern judge is also found in the closing stanzas of *Fontis in rivulum, O labilis sortis humane sortis, Veritas veritatum,* and *O mens cogita* (45). Furthermore, the imagery in the second stanza of the head infecting the limbs, which illustrates how prelates contaminate their flocks with their sins, recurs in the same context in Philip's *Mundus a munditia* (46), *In veritate comperi* (47), and *Fontis in rivulum* (48).

(43) These passages are from *In veritate comperi* and *Quomodo cantabimus*; see *Analecta Hymnica* 21, pp. 203 and 165.

(44) HILKA-SCHUMANN, *Carmina Burana* (cit. n. 1), II, pt.1, p. 53.

(45) For these poems, see *Analecta Hymnica* 21, pp. 146-47, 97-98, 120 and 97 respectively.

(46) *Analecta Hymnica* 21, p. 144: *Praesulum flagitia / plangite, / quia fluunt vitia / ad membra de capite.*

(47) *Analecta Hymnica* 21, p. 203: *Membra domat alia / capitis insania.*

(48) *Analecta Hymnica* 21, p. 146: *Doctor abutitur / doctrine regula, / cuius inficitur / subiectus macula. / Defectu mergitur / naute navicula, / dum caput patitur / et membra singula.*

CB 35 is a difficult piece, which can be more conveniently discussed after CB 36. *Nulli beneficium* (CB 36) is attributed by Dronke and Wollin to Peter of Blois (⁴⁹). It is found in five manuscripts besides CB (⁵⁰). All five contain other poems by Philip. In two of them *Nulli beneficium* is immediately adjacent to at least one poem known to be by Philip (⁵¹). In only one of the five (Oxford, Bodl. Add. A 44) does a poem of Peter of Blois also occur. This manuscript in fact contains four of the five poems appended to Peter's Letter 57. Only one of these, however, *Qui habet aures audiat*, is at all close to *Nulli beneficium*, while there are three poems by Philip that are closer, with one (*Heu quo progreditur*) actually intervening between Peter's poem and *Nulli beneficium* (⁵²). Moreover, *Nulli beneficium*, like *Non te lusisse pudeat* and *Olim sudor Herculis* and unlike any poem securely attributed to Peter of Blois, clearly belongs to the Notre Dame repertory, to which Philip is by far the most prolific known contributor (⁵³). Accordingly, it follows that the manuscript evidence, both with regard to the range of manuscripts in which *Nulli beneficium* is found and the immediate contexts of the poem in individual manuscripts, points to Philip rather than Peter as the author. Moreover, the overall theme, advice to a bishop on how to behave, is highly characteristic of Philip, as are a number of motifs that crop up, particularly in the second half, printed below:

CB 36

2b. Tuum sit contemnere	Let it be your goal
contemntentes	To despise the contemptuous
et fovere munere	And help with a gift
nil habentes.	Those who are destitute.
relevato debiles	Raise up the weak.
et exaltes humiles.	And exalt the humble.
in te sit humilitas,	May there be humility in you
cui mixta sit gravitas,	Combined with solemn dignity
ut lene corripias	That you may gently chide
et serene lenias.	Or soothe with calm serenity.

(49) DRONKE, *Peter of Blois* (cit n. 5), pp. 224-25; WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis* (cit. n. 5), pp. 94-95.

(50) WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis* cit., p. 357.

(51) *Ibid.*, pp. 57 and 62.

(52) See, for instance, Wollin's description of the MS., *ibid.* p. 57.

(53) See further on this, Robert FALCK, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies, vol. XXXIII, Henryville, etc., 1981, 223 and TRAILL, *Philip* (cit. n. 5) p. 220.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>3a. Cui magis committitur,
 ab eo plus exigitur.
 quid Domino retribuistis
 pro tot, que tibi tribuit,
 quod lac et lanam exuis
 gregis, cuius constituit
 te pastorem?
 sed cave ne, cum venerit,
 te districte tunc conterat
 ut raptorem!
 districtus iudex aderit;
 nunc sustinens considerat
 peccatorem.</p> | <p>More is demanded of him
 To whom more is entrusted.
 What do you return to the Lord
 For all that he has given you,
 For the milk and the wool you take
 From the flock whose shepherd
 He made you?
 When he comes,
 Take care he does not crush you
 Severely, as he would a robber.
 A stern judge will he be then.
 Now he waits,
 Pondering the sinner.</p> |
| <p>3b. Cum subiectis ne pereas,
 exempla prava timeas
 in subjectos transfundere;
 nam quanto gradus altior
 cum graviori pondere,
 tanto labenti gravior
 lapsus datur.
 ne desperes, si criminis
 in latens precipitium
 pes labatur,
 nam iuste penitudinis
 nemini beneficium
 amputataur.</p> | <p>Lest you perish with your flock
 Take care you don't pass on to them
 An evil example.
 The higher and weightier
 Your rank,
 The heavier, if you slip,
 Your fall.
 Don't lose all hope
 If your foot should slip
 Into a hidden crevasse,
 For no-one is denied
 The boon
 Of a just repentance.</p> |

Dronke has rightly pointed out that concern for the poor is one of the hallmarks of Philip's poetry⁽⁵⁴⁾. This concern is in evidence in stanza 2b, particularly in the phrase *fovere munere / nil habentes*. In the following stanzas we encounter motifs already discussed: Christ returning as the stern judge (3a), and bishops contaminating their flocks (3b). The flock is here referred to as the bishop's *subjecti* just as in *Fontis in rivulum* the student who is tainted by the influence of a corrupt teacher is called *subjectus*⁽⁵⁵⁾. Finally, the poem closes with the language of slipping into sin (*lapsus, labatur, precipitium*, etc.) The close juxtaposition of all these themes confirms the indications of the manuscripts that suggest Philip's authorship.

(54) DRONKE, *Compositions* (cit n. 2), pp. 567 n. 13 and 574.

(55) See note 48 above.

CB 35

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Magnus, maior, maximus,
parvus, minor, minimus:
gradus istos repperi,
per quos gradus comperi
augeri et conteri
gradus status hominis,
prout datur dignitas,
dignitatum quantitas
quantitasque nominis.</p> | <p>Great, greater, greatest,
Small, smaller, smallest:
These are the degrees I have found
Through which I have experienced</p> |
| <p>2. Magni parvus extiti
parvi magnus meriti,
parveque sunt gratie
diviti contrarie.
cui plus datur hodie,
magis est obnoxius,
quique minus habuit
et minus attribuit,
minus reddit gratius.</p> | <p>5 The waxing and waning
Of man's standing,
According as office is given him,
The importance of such offices,
And the extent of his fame.</p> <p>I have been a little man of great merit
And a great man of little merit.
Paltry thanks
Are not the rich man's way.</p> |
| <p>3. Viri fratres presules,
rationis consules,
me non imitemini!
ne sic operemini
super gregem Domini.
pervigil sit animus,
sit lumen in manibus,
presit custos renibus
magnus, maior maximus.</p> | <p>5 The man with more today
Is all the more in thrall,
While the man with less
Who gives less, gets greater thanks
For giving less.</p> <p>My brother bishops,
Princes of reason,
Do not copy me!
Do not treat the Lord's flock</p> |
| | <p>5 As I have done.
Keep your mind awake,
The lamp lit in your hands,
And, controlling your passions, a guard
That is great, greater, greatest!</p> |

The theme is once again advice on how bishops should behave. The third stanza implies that the speaker is himself a bishop, who lost sight of the high calling of his office and is now advising other bishops to do as he says, not as he has done. Though Philip seemed to relish giving advice to bishops, he was certainly never one himself. This does not necessarily rule him out as the author of CB 35 for, as Dronke has observed, one of Philip's ways of chiding mankind was by adopting the persona of Christ⁽⁵⁶⁾. The second stanza's *cui plus datur hodie, magis est obnoxius* recalls *cui magis committitur / ab eo plus exigitur* of CB 36⁽⁵⁷⁾. The context is the

(56) DRONKE, *Compositions* (cit. n. 2), p. 569.

(57) Cf. the Rule of St. Benedict 2.30: *cui plus committitur, plus ab eo exigitur* and Luke 12.48: *cui multum datum est, multum quaeretur ab eo*.

same: the *largitio* expected of a bishop. The closing stanza echoes the closing stanza of *Ad cor tuum revertere* (CB 26 above). Both draw their inspiration from Luke 12.35-37:

35. Sint lumbi vestri praecincti, et lucernae ardentis in manibus vestris,
36. et vos similes hominibus expectantibus dominum suum quando revertatur a nuptiis; ut, cum venerit et pulsaverit, confestim aperiant ei.
37. Beati servi illi quos, cum venerit dominus, invenerit vigilantes.

Magnus, maior, maximus ends with a return to the opening, as is the case with *Nulli beneficium* (58). This form of composition is not common in Philip's poems but an interesting variant of it does occur in *Ad honores et onera*, where each stanza opens and closes with the same line (which varies from stanza to stanza) (59). Schumann links CB 35 and 36 with CB 14 and 15, both of which also close with a return to the opening lines, and attributes all four poems to the same author. Both earlier poems are thoroughly secular; CB 14 (*O varium / Fortune lubricum*) describes the fickle nature of Fortune, while CB 15 (*Caelum, non animum*) praises constancy and resolve. The opposing themes, both dear to Philip's heart, suggest that the two poems were perhaps conceived of as a pair, as seems to be the case with *Vanitas vanitatum* and *Veritas veritatum* and *Qui seminant in lacrimis* and *Qui seminant in loculis* (60). Both CB 14 and 15 poems may also be by Philip (61).

The attribution of anonymous poems is a difficult and, inevitably, subjective process. Usually, there is no test that we can apply that can give us absolute certainty that a given anonymous poem should be attributed to a given author or not. The best that we can hope for is to make attributions of varying degrees of probability.

(58) The opening, *Nulli beneficium/ iuste penitudinis / amputatur* is closely echoed in its close: *nam iuste penitudinis / nemini beneficium / amputatur*.

(59) This poem has tentatively been attributed to Philip; see TRAILL, *Philip* (cit. n. 5), p. 247, n. 66d.

(60) The poems of both pairs are juxtaposed in the tenth fascicle of the Florence manuscript Plut. 29.1; see ANDERSON, *Conductus* (cit. n. 9), vol. 6, pp. xxxi-xxxii. and xxxviii-xl.

(61) The clearest indicator of Philip's authorship of CB 15 is the reference to Proteus (5.1). Elsewhere the name occurs only three times in the *Carmina Buarana*, always in poems attributed to Philip: CB 131a *Bulla fulminante* 3.11; CB 189 *Aristippe, quamvis sero* 3.9; CB 187 *O curas hominum* 1.11. Other signs of Philip's authorship are: the imperative *considera* (2.5) and *non erat stabilis gradus, qui cecidit* (compare CB 29, 3.1-3: *ut stes pede stabili / sine casu facili/ cave precipitium*). Reasons for attributing CB 14 to Philip include the following: the topos that can be paraphrased as "the taller they are, the harder they fall" (cf. CB 14.9-16 with 36.3b above); the allusion in 1.1212-14 to the passage in Psalm 112.7 (cf. 1 Sam. 2.8) that speaks of raising up a poor man from a dunghill (cf. *Excuset que vim intulit*, 4.5-8 at *Analecta hymnica* 21, p. 137; on the attribution of this poem to Philip, see TRAILL, *Philip*, cit. p. 247, n. 66c.).

Among the poems attributed to Philip in manuscripts, some, like CB 26 *Ad cor tuum revertere*, show a wealth of details that are typical of Philip's work. Others, whose authenticity we have no reason to doubt, may, like *Sol oritur in sidere*, have no such "typical" features⁽⁶²⁾. Inevitably, when it comes to anonymous poems, we feel more confident about attributions that are based on a number of features, especially features that are particularly idiosyncratic. Bearing in mind that Philip was actively engaged in composing poetry for at least fifty-five years (1181-1236) and that the poems in the *Carmina Burana* must all come from the earlier part of that period (probably 1185-1200), we should not be surprised if some of his poems reflect attitudes and styles that are not found after 1200, when, one imagines, most of his poems were written. That said, attributions that best reflect the style and preoccupations of the *oeuvre* as a whole are bound to seem most probable.

It might be useful to close with an attempt to rank the attributions made above in terms of their probability. Those poems with manuscript attributions to Philip, namely, CB 21, 26, and 27, must be ranked most certain. Of the remainder, the most probable attributions are CB 22 *Homo, quo vigeas* and 34 *Deduc, Sion, uberrimas*, which earlier commentators have already assigned to Philip. Just as certain in my view is the attribution of CB 33 *Non te lusisse pudeat* to Philip, though Dronke and Wollin have assigned it to Peter of Blois. Then come CB 23 *Vide, qui nosti litteras* and 29 *In lacu miserie*. All these poems closely resemble Philip's work elsewhere in subject matter, language, and tone and their attribution to Philip can be deemed highly probable. Much the same is true of CB 36 *Nulli beneficium*. Finally, because they share with *Nulli beneficium* the same kind of ringed structure, three other poems, CB 35 *Magnus, maior, maximus*, 14 *O varium Fortune*, and 15 *Celum, non animum* have been thought to be by the same author. Though these poems, particularly CB 35 and 15, have thematic links with Philip's work, they also show significant differences in tone and style. The attributions of these three poems therefore range from probable to possible.

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(62) Text and translation in ANDERSON, *Conductus* (cit. n. 9), vol. 6, p. xxi.