More Poems by Philip the Chancellor

by David A. Traill

Philip the Chancellor (ca. 1160–1236) was the youngest of the great Latin poets of the latter part of the twelfth century.[1] His earliest datable poem commemorates the death of the Henry the Liberal, Count of Champagne, and so must be dated after, but presumably not long after, 17 March 1181.[2] He studied and probably taught theology in Paris before becoming chancellor of Notre Dame in 1217. He seems to have had close connections with the composers of music there, for he is by far the most prolific contributor of lyrics to the collection of musical pieces known as the Notre Dame repertory. The manuscript that most fully reflects this repertory is the large Florence manuscript known to musicologists as **F**.[3] No fewer than 68 of the 83 poems in the tenth fascicle (**F10**) of that manuscript have been ascribed to Philip either by medieval manuscripts or by modern scholars.[4]

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[1] Of fundamental importance for the study of Philip's poetry is Peter Dronke's groundbreaking article: "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *SM*, ser. 3, 28 (1987), 563–92, with a catalogue of his poems on pp. 588–92. "D" numbers in this article refer to this catalogue (for "K" numbers, see n. 4 below). The fullest treatment of Philip's life and work is to be found in Thomas Payne, "Poetry, Politics and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1991). For a short account with useful bibliography, see his article "Philip the Chancellor," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 19 (New York, 2001), pp. 594–97. Since then: David Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and F10: Expanding the Canon," *FM* 10 (2003), 219–48 and "A Cluster of Poems by Philip the Chancellor in the *Carmina Burana*," *SM* ser. 3, 47 (2006), 267–85.

[2] Traill, "F10," pp. 224–27.

[3] Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS Pluteo 29.1 (**F**); facsimile in Luther Dittmer, *Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteo 29,1,* 2 vols., Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 10–11 (Brooklyn, n.d.).

[4] Texts, translations, and musical settings in Gordon A. Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, 10 vols. (Henryville, PA, 1979–88), vol. 6. Medieval manuscripts attribute 38 of these poems to Philip. Of these attributions only one is known to be false. The remaining 30 attributions have been made by modern scholars; for details, see Traill, "F10," pp. 220–24 and 247. "K" numbers in what follows identify poems in F10

Though **F10** contains the greatest concentration of Philip's poems, they are by no means confined to that fascicle. Each of fascicles 7 (fols. 263–380), 8 (fols. 381–98) and 9 (fols. 399–414), for instance, contains at least one poem attributed to Philip by a medieval manuscript and several poems ascribed to him by modern scholars. There are, however, certainly more poems in these fascicles of **F** and in related manuscripts that can, with considerable confidence, be attributed to Philip, as I hope to show.

Let us begin with *Relegentur ab area*, which is found in **F** and in five other manuscripts that reflect the Notre Dame repertory.[5]

1. Relegentur ab area
    fidelis conscientie
    lutum, later et palea
    servitutis Egyptie.
        pressuris mancipati   5
    sint libertatis hodie
        caractere signati.
	Let the mud, brick, and straw
	of Egyptian servitude be
	banished from the floor of be-
	lievers' consciences.[6] Let them
	be released from their anguish
	and marked today with the sign
	of their liberty.

1.3 luctum W_2 1.7 signati *om.* W_1

attributed to Philip that are not listed in Dronke's catalogue; for further details, see Traill, "F10," pp. 222–24 and passim.

[5] These other manuscripts are:

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS 677 (W_1), fols. 87v–89r; facsimile in J.H. Baxter, ed., *An Old St. Andrews Music Book* (London, 1931)

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS 1099 (W_2); facsimile in Luther Dittmer, ed., *Wolfenbüttel 1099 (1206),* Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 2 (Brooklyn, 1960)

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 20486 (**Ma**); facsimile in Luther Dittmer, ed., *Madrid 20486*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 1 (Brooklyn, 1957)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A 44 (**O**); for a detailed description of **O**, see André Wilmart, "Le Florilège mixte de Thomas Bekynton," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1941–43), 41–83, and 4 (1958), 35–90

London, British Library, MS Egerton 2615 (**LoA**)

Relegentur ab area is found complete in **F** (fols. 202v–203r and 287v–288v), **O** (fol. 80r) and W_1 (fols. 87v–89r); first stanza only in W_2 (fols. 34v–36r), **Ma** (fols. 109v–110v), and **LoA** (fol. 89v).

[6] *Conscientia* here seems to mean something like "self-identity"; cf. DMLBS, s.v. 2a.

2. Clausus in testa figulus
   univit sibi fictile.
   fons idem, fons et rivulus
   immo fluentum stabile
       se nobis propinavit   5
   assumensque mutabile
       quod erat non mutavit.

   Enclosed within his pot, the potter became one with his creation. Also, as spring, spring and stream, or rather a steady stream of water, he even offered himself to us as a drink, and though taking on a form subject to change, he did not change what he was.

3. Ad vitem pullus, asina
   colligatur ad vineam.
   vite panduntur limina,
   quibus amovit rumpheam,
   cuius virtute sarcina   5
       legalis leviatur,
   novelle vetus pagina
       spiritu complanatur.

   The foal was tied to a vine, the ass tied up in the vineyard. The threshold of life, from which he removed the sword, was opened. By his power the burden of the Law was lightened and the old page made smooth with the spirit of the new.

3.4 amovit *O* : ammovit *F* : admovit *W₁* Dreves   3.6 leviatur *O F W₁* : leniatur *Dreves*

Thanks to the pervasive use of a coded language filled with allegorical terms unfamiliar to the modern reader, the meaning of the poem is not immediately apparent. The first stanza is a call for non-Christians to forget the symbols of their earlier enslavement (*lutum, later, palea*) in Egypt (heathenism or Judaism) and convert to Christianity ("sint libertatis hodie / caractere signati"). The second stanza marvels at the willingness of God to shed his immortality and become a mere mortal, even offering himself to save his creation. The third stanza alludes to Christ's entry into Jerusalem (1–2) and his ensuing death, which opened the door to eternal life. The New Testament story of Christ's life and death necessitates a new, spiritual (i.e. non-literal) interpretation of the Law (Old Testament).

What evidence is there that *Relegentur ab area* was written by Philip? First, there is the contextual evidence of the six manuscripts in which the poem is attested. In four of them it is immediately adjacent to (and in a fifth close to) a poem securely attributed to Philip.[7] Next there is the general impression that the poem conveys; its polish, sophistication, and learning are all in keeping with Philip's style. More specifically, the poem closely

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[7] In **F, LoA,** and **W₂** it is immediately adjacent to *Dic, Christi veritas* (D60) and in **O** it is immediately followed by *Sol oritur in sidere* (D51). In **Ma** it is separated from *Dic, Christi veritas* by three anonymous hymns.

resembles other poems of Philip in theme and treatment.[8] Finally, there is the matter of word choice. Short as it is, the poem contains several words and usages that are in themselves comparatively rare but for which Philip had a distinct predilection. Just how characteristic of Philip these are can be judged from the frequency lists in Table 1, where Philip's usage (as seen in the poems listed in Dronke's catalogue) is compared with corresponding frequencies in the Arundel collection (Ar), Walter of Châtillon's shorter poems (O and W) the poems of Peter of Blois (PoB), and the *Carmina Burana* (CB). Also included is the number of occurrences in *PoetriaNova,* a large database of some 900,000 lines of Medieval Latin poetry.[9]

The rhyming conjunction of *area / palea* (1.1 and 3) crops up repeatedly in Philip's poems, as, for example, in *In hoc ortus occidente* (D31), *Associa tecum in patria* (D66 1), *Veritas veritatum* (D11). Even better markers for Philip, however, are the words *conscientia* (1.2), *pressura* (1.5), and *character* (1.7). *Conscientia* is a rare word in poetry. As is clear from Table 1, it does not occur at all in the *Carmina Burana,* the authentic poems of Peter of Blois (the letter-writer),[10] or the Arundel lyrics, and only twice in the shorter poems of Walter of Châtillon, but no less than nine times in Philip's verse. Philip's preoccupation with this word is not surprising because he devotes a substantial section of his *Summa de bono* to a philosophical discussion of conscience.[11] Similarly striking is Philip's liking for *pressura* and *character,* which turn up seven and five times respectively in his poems.[12] In the comparison sources (excluding *PoetriaNova*) *pressura* crops up only twice and *character* only once and that is in *Crucifigat omnes* (CB 47), which has recently been attributed to Philip on musicological

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[8] Notably, *Luto carens et latere* (D22) in *Analecta Hymnica,* vol. 21, p. 39. For the image of Christ the potter enclosing himself within his pot (2.1–2), compare Philip's *Centrum capit circulus* (D55) 1.7–8: "Dum se mundi figulus / inclusit in vasculo ..."; see Dronke, "Compositions," p. 580.

[9] Available from SISMEL—Edizioni del Galluzzo, Tavernuzze (Florence).

[10] The only poems I count as authentically written by Peter of Blois, letter-writer, are nos. 1.1–7 and 9–10 in Carsten Wollin, ed., *Petri Blesensis Carmina,* CCCM 128 (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 229–85 and 305–17; see further, Traill, "F10," p. 221, n. 12.

[11] For a discussion of Philip's views on conscience see Timothy C. Potts, *Conscience in Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 12–31.

[12] *Character* crops up in the same context of Jews converting to Christianity in Philip's essentially similar *Luto carens et latere* (D22); for complete text see *Analecta Hymnica,* vol. 21, p. 39.

grounds.[13] With such a concentration of words favoured by Philip but largely avoided by other poets, there can be no doubt that *Relegentur ab area* is by Philip.

Table 1.
Comparative Frequency of Unusual Words Favoured by Philip

	Dronke's Cat.		Ar	WoC	PoB	CB			*PoetriaNova*
	1–66p	67–88		O+W		Tot.	PC	(PC)	
area / palea[*]	5	0	0	1	0	4	1	1	5
character	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	37
conscientia	6	3	0	4	0	0	0	0	22
considera	6	2	0	0	0	7	1	2	17
homo (voc.)	14	5	0	0	0	5	2	2	?
pressura	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	51

PoB: number of occurrences in Peter of Blois (ed. Wollin) 1.1–7, 9, 10
PC: number of occurrences in CB poems attributed to Philip by medieval manuscripts
(PC): number of occurrences in CB poems attributed to Philip by modern scholars
    [*]With *area* and *palea* rhyming at the end of corresponding lines

It has recently become clear that Philip composed a considerable number of laments commemorating the deaths of important contemporaries, such as Philip Augustus, Henry I, count of Champagne, his son, Henry II of Champagne, Geoffrey, duke of Brittany (son of Henry II of England), and Ferdinand II, king of Leon.[14] The following lament for Young King Henry (joint king with Henry II, 1170–1183) has been tentatively attributed to Peter of Blois by Dronke and Wollin largely because in the only manuscript where it occurs (**O**), it follows two poems known to be by him.[15] It is followed immediately by the lengthy *Apocalypse of Golias* (of unknown authorship) and then by *Olim sudor Herculis* (K4), which Dronke and Wollin ascribe to

[13] 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," pp. 242–43.

[14] See Traill, "F10," pp. 224–31.

[15] *Da plaudens organo* is found only in **O** (fol. 66r–66v); on **O**, see n. 5 above. For text and commentary, see Wollin, *Carmina,* pp. 339–43; for attributions, see Peter Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II," in Dronke, *The Medieval Poet and his World,* Storia e Letteratura: Raccolta di Studi e Testi 164 (Rome, 1984), pp. 281–339, at 320 ("possibly") and Wollin, *Carmina,* p. 95.

Peter of Blois but which I have recently argued should be attributed to Philip.[16]

1a. Da plaudens organo
  plausus cum tympano
  et choro reici
 dulcesque lirici
    clangoris strepitus   5
      in uberes
    transferre properes
    dolorum gemitus.
    aquarum exitus
      singuli   10
    deducant oculi
      in novos cineres!
	Allow the celebratory sounds you are making with the organ, drum and chorus to be put aside and make haste to change the sweet strumming of the lyre into deep groans of grief. Let every eye shed streams of tears over the fresh ashes of the deceased.

1b. O tristes nimium
    lapsus sublimium!
    nunquam in principe
    sine participe
    mundane machine   5
      frons labitur,
    que circumscribitur
    crebra caligine,
    dum lapso lumine
      radius,   10
    quem fudit Cinthius,
    terris subripitur.
	Ah, exceptionally bitter are the deaths of the exalted! In the case of a prince, never does the countenance of the world fall, shrouded in thick gloom, without a partner, for when the luminary passes on, the rays shed by the sun are stolen from the earth.

2a. Etate pululat a primula
   in mores patrios mens emula.
    licet cor regium
    libret sublimia,
      precordia   5
    venantur omnium
	From his earliest years, his emulous spirit made him grow into his father's ways. Though his kingly mind weighed the highest matters of state, his jovial nature and affability

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[16] See Traill, "F10," pp. 239–40.

iocunditas et dulciloquium,
    mens cuius pietas,
    forma dominium,
    dextra refugium,   10
    fama serenitas.

sought to win over the hearts of everyone. His heart was benevolence itself, his appearance authority, his right hand a refuge for others, his serene calm a source of fame.

2b. O seva veritas![17] o termini,
   quos transgredi non licet homini!
     vir mentis predite
     virtutum predio,
       vir regio   5
     creatus stipite,
  in duce rex, et dux in comite,
     post vite modicum
     cursu precipite
       fatali semite   10
       ruit in lubricum.

Ah, the grim truth! The boundaries that man is not permitted to transgress! A man whose heart was endowed with an estate of virtues, a man born of royal stock, regal in his capacity as duke, and like a duke where he was count, was carried, after a brief span of life, at precipitous speed along the fateful path to his downfall.

3a.   Quid forme flosculus?
      quid probitas?
    quid opes, largitas
    fama vel titulus
    vel boni cumulus,   5
    dum rerum bibulus
      tam subito
    hiatu solito
    res prius inclitas
    absorbet tumulus?   10

Of what value is the brief flower of beauty, of what value rectitude or fame, title, wealth, liberality or a full store of the good, when the grave, thirsty for victims, sucks so suddenly down its maw, gaping wide as is its custom, qualities that once were renowned?

2b 1 veritas *Traill* : severitas ***O, Wollin***

[17] ***O***'s reading here, "severitas," gives this line 11 syllables instead of the required 10. For the personification of Veritas, see Dronke, "Compositions," p. 580, "Philip's familiar personified Veritas," and p. 581. There is a characteristic play with *veritas* and *severitas* in *Adulari nesciens,* which Dronke quotes and tentatively attributes to Philip on pp. 587–88.

3b. Qua spe producitur
     fiducie
  qui natus hodie?
  ut flos, egreditur,
  mane conteritur.   5
  ad multas oritur
     miserias,
  post breves nuptias
  fallacis glorie
  momento moritur.   10

With what expectation that he can put his trust in does the man born today come forth? Like a flower he comes out and is crushed in the morning. He is born to many sorrows and a moment after his brief nuptials with treacherous glory, he dies.

4. Quid, homo, lambis ambitu
  labella rerum singula,
  quem plena fallunt oscula
  brevi delusum transitu
     temporis aprici?   5
  quicquid allegaveris
  rerum, forme, generis,
     prudencie,
  laudis et victorie
     vel indolis,   10
  nichil est, si recolis
  cineres Henrici.

Mankind, why do you kiss, out of ambition, the lips of things whose full embraces delude you with a brief spell of sunny days and then deceive you? Whatever advantage you adduce – wealth, looks, birth, foresight, merit, victory, ability – is of no account if you remember Henry's ashes.

That the deceased Henry is Henry Plantagenet, the Young King (1155–1183), is clear from the reference (2b.7–8) to his claim to the titles of king (of England), duke (of Normandy) and count (of Anjou), titles which he held jointly with his father from his coronation (1170) till his death (1183).[18] That the author of the lament is Philip follows from a number of considerations. In the first place, there is the very close structural resemblance to Philip's *Omnis in lacrimas* of 1181.[19] Both laments are sequences consisting of three sets of paired stanzas and an additional unpaired closing stanza. Secondly, there is the address to mankind in the

[18] Although the Young Henry was officially joint king, duke, and count of these lands, Henry II gave him no real authority in any of them; see W.L. Warren, *King John* (London, 1978), p. 31: "the shadow of authority that the Young King had had in England, Normandy and Anjou."

[19] For text, translation, and commentary, see Traill, "F10," pp. 224–27.

closing stanza. Addressing mankind with a series of rhetorical questions (or peremptory commands) is not characteristic of Peter of Blois or indeed of any known poet of the period with the exception of Philip the Chancellor, of whom it is so characteristic that we might call it one of his signature traits.[20] It is found in eleven poems securely attributed to Philip in medieval manuscripts.[21] At least six more with this feature have been attributed to Philip by modern scholars.[22] Often the opening word of these poems is the vocative *homo*. Sometimes the address is repeated throughout, as in *Homo, considera* (D6), and sometimes, as in *Nitimur in vetitum* (D8), *Omnis in lacrimas* (K2), *Iherusalem, Iherusalem* (K46), and here, it is found only in the last stanza.[23] Thirdly, the subject matter here, man's folly in letting ambition drive him to pursue wealth and other worldly vanities, is identical to that of the closing stanza of *Omnis in lacrimas* (lament for Henry I, count of Champagne):

4. Quid, homo, vanis deditus,   Mankind, given up to vanities,
   quid nisi vanum jactitas?   what is your boast but vanity?
   quid opes? quid nobilitas?   What is wealth, high birth, or
   quid gloria mundana,   worldly glory, when striving for
   cuius te torquet ambitus?   5   it torments you? The entire
   quod vanitatum vanitas   human experience is vanity of
   sit tota sors humana   vanities. And this is proved by
   Henrici probat exitus.   Henry's death.

Note the identical opening ("Quid, homo,"), the same driving force (*ambitus*), the same list of vanities that men see as significant advantages – wealth, high birth, fame – and the same conclusion: that the dead Henry's ashes are proof that these "advantages" are of no account. Finally, with

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[20] See Dronke, "Compositions," p. 569 and Traill, "F10," p. 226.

[21] *Homo, vide que pro te patior* (D4), *Homo, considera* (D6), *Cum sit omnis caro fenum* (D10), *Suspirat spiritus* (D15), *Homo natus ad laborem / et avis* (D17), *Ad cor tuum revertere* (D32), *Excutere de pulvere* (D41), *Homo, qui semper moreris* (D44), *Homo, quam sit pura* (D53), *Dic, Christi veritas* (D60), and *Homo, cum mandato* (D63).

[22] *Homo, quo vigeas* (D75), *Homo, cur degeneras* (D82), *Homo, cur properas* (D83), *Omnis in lacrimas* (K2), *Iherusalem, Iherusalem* (K46), and *Homo, qui te scis pulverem* (K73). The last three are not in Dronke's catalogue. Their "K' numbers refer to their position in the tenth fascicle of F; see Traill, "F10," pp. 224–28 and 232–24.

[23] On *Omnis in lacrimas,* see Traill, "F10," pp. 224–27. Strictly speaking, the word *homo* does not actually appear in the last stanza of *Nitimur in vetitum*; it has to be understood with the vocative "miserrime."

stanza 3b, compare the opening of D36: "O labilis / sortis humane status!/ egreditur, / ut flos conteritur / et labitur, / homo labori natus. / flens oritur, / vivendo moritur." ("Ah, the treacherous nature of the human condition! Man born to sorrow comes into this world, is crushed like a flower and falls to the ground. He is born weeping, and lives a life of death").[24]   Notice the similarity in thought and expression and in particular the same set of rhyming words (*egreditur, conteritur, oritur, moritur*) in exactly the same order. In short, the reservations Dronke and Wollin expressed about attributing *Da plaudens organo* to Peter of Blois are justified. It is hard to believe that this poem could have been written by anyone other than Philip the Chancellor.

Another lament, which should almost certainly be attributed to Philip is *Eclipsim patitur.* [25]

1. Eclipsim patitur
   splendor milicie.
   solis extinguitur
   radius hodie.
   lux mundi labitur,   5
   dum flos Britannie
   de via mittitur
   in sedem patrie.[26]
	The glory of our knighthood has suffered an eclipse. The sun's rays are today extinguished. The light of the world slipped away when the flower of Brittany was sent back from his journeying to his abode in his homeland.

Ref. Mors sortis aspere
   cunctis equa
   non novit parcere.
	Ref. The cruel fate of death, impartial to all alike, knows no mercy.

2. Virtutis fomitem,
   fontem irriguum,
   iam Christi militem,
   mundo residuum
   mors rapit comitem.   5
   fit regnum viduum,
   dum vite limitem
   linquit ambiguum.
	Death has snatched away from us the source and unquenchable fount of virtue, now a soldier of Christ, but when he was still in this world, a count. The kingdom was widowed when he crossed the ambiguous boundary of life.

Ref. Mors sortis *etc.*	*Ref.* The cruel fate of death, *etc.*

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[24] For text, translation, and music, see Anderson, *Conductus*, vol. 6, pp. xlvii and 44–45.

[25] Found only in **F** (fols. 322v–323r) and **W₁** (fol. 101r). **F** contains only the first stanza and refrain.

[26] *Patria* here, as often in Medieval Latin, means "homeland" in the sense of "heaven."

3. Comes, qui tenuit
   mundi dominium,
   qui fortes domuit,
   piis suffragium,
   fatis occubuit.
	5	A count who held lordship over
		the world, who subdued brave
		adversaries, and who lent his
		support to the pious, has met
		his fate. So let there be no

ergo solatium
   absit, nam affuit
   fatale tedium.
Ref. Mors sortis *etc.*
		comforting, for the sorrow of
		death has come over us.
		Ref. The cruel fate of death,
		etc.

4. Morum maturitas
   comiti nupserat.
   vultus simplicitas
   gratiam hauserat.
   dandi serenitas
	5	Maturity of character was
		wedded to the count. His
		guileless looks had imbibed
		grace. A serene liberality had
		chosen its abode in him. He

sedem elegerat.
   in eo largitas
   omnibus preerat.
Ref. Mors sortis *etc*
		surpassed all others in
		largesse.
		
		Ref. The cruel fate of death,
		etc.

Dreves identified the deceased as Geoffrey, count (or duke) of Brittany (son of Henry II and younger brother of Richard the Lionheart), who died in Paris in 1186.[27] There seems little doubt that this identification is correct. The deceased is called "flos Britannie" but his importance must have extended considerably beyond the borders of Brittany because he is said to have held "mundi dominium" (3.1–2). After the death of the Young King Henry in 1183, Richard the Lionheart was heir apparent to the English throne, Normandy, and Anjou, but his father's stubborn refusal to acknowledge this publicly prompted rumours that he would choose one of his younger sons as his successor. These rumours were strengthened in September 1183, when Henry tried to wrest Aquitaine from Richard and give it to John and in 1184, when he gave Normandy to Geoffrey with instructions "to hold it in custody."[28] This latter gesture probably seemed particularly significant, as Normandy and Anjou along with England had been reserved for the Young King Henry's share of the Angevin empire.

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[27] W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley, 1973), p. 599.

[28] Warren, *Henry II*, p. 597.

Moreover, just before Geoffrey's death in 1186 Philip Augustus had made him seneschal of France. John Gillingham points out that this "suggests that <Geoffrey> was aiming at Anjou, since this was a title claimed by the counts of Anjou."[29] Given his role as ruler of Brittany and Normandy and his potential to be recognized as heir to England and Anjou, Geoffrey could pardonably be lauded in an obituary as having had "mundi dominium" at the time of his death and it is hard to imagine any other "flos Britanniae" of whom this could be said.[30] Philip Augustus gave him a magnificent funeral in Paris, had him buried in the choir of Notre Dame, and endowed masses for him.[31] It seems likely that *Eclipsim patitur* and *Anglia, planctus itera* (K12) were commissioned for two of these occasions and that Philip, still in his twenties but already the leading lyricist associated with Notre Dame music, was assigned the task.[32]

Philip's authorship is suggested by the opening words. Among his other laments, *Sol eclipsim patitur* (K83) and *Eclipsim passus totiens* (K33) have similar openings, and *Omnis in lacrimas* (K2) and *Anglia planctus itera* (K12) also liken the gloom generated by the deaths they commemorate to a solar eclipse.[33] In addition, there are some striking parallels with *Omnis in lacrimas* in particular:

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[29] John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven, 1999), p. 80.

[30] The closest contender would be Geoffrey's son, Arthur. By the year of Arthur's death (1203), however, his star had dimmed considerably from its brilliance in 1190, when Richard, now king, had officially acknowledged his three-year-old nephew as his heir (Gillingham, *Richard,* p. 136). On his deathbed in April 1199 Richard had named John as his successor (Warren, *King John*, p. 48), thus seriously undermining Arthur's claim. John moved quickly to secure England, Normandy and Anjou for himself and international recognition of the legitimacy of his succession (Gillingham, *Richard,* pp. 335–36). In the Treaty of le Goulet (22 May 1200) even Philip Augustus, who had invaded the Angevin territories of Normandy, Maine, and Touraine to protect, as he maintained, Arthur's interests, recognized John "as the rightful heir of Richard to all the fiefs that his father and brother had held on the continent" (Warren, *King John*, p. 54). By 1203, when John apparently murdered his sixteen-year-old rival held in his custody, he had been king for nearly four years and all the principal players on the European stage had accepted the legitimacy of the succession. Besides, if the count of our poem were Arthur, one would have expected some reference to his youth.

[31] See Michael Jones's article on Geoffrey in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), vol. 21, pp. 769–71, at 771.

[32] For text and discussion of *Anglia, planctus itera,* see Traill, "F10," pp. 230–31.

[33] For the attribution of these poems to Philip, see Traill, "F10," pp. 224–32.

Eclipsim patitur	*Omnis in lacrimas*
flos Britannie (1.6)	*flos* comitum (1b.9)
virtutis fomitem (2.1)	*fomite* / rancoris (2b.3–4)
fontem irriguum (2.2)	*fons virtutum qui non aret* (3a.7)
comes qui tenuit (3.1)	*comes mundi titulus* (3a.9)
mundi dominium (3.2)	
piis *suffragium* (3.4)	pauperes \<vidui\> *suffragii*s (2a.10)
in eo largitas (4.7)	*largus erat absque pare* (3b.6)
omnibus preerat (4.8)	

Almost as striking as the similarities in topics and word choice is the virtually identical order in which these topics occur. In *Eclipsim patitur* we have: 1) *flos* of X 2) *fomes* of Y 3) *fons* of virtue 4) count of the world 5) *suffragium* to Z 6) peerless liberality. In *Omnis in lacrimas* the only difference is that items 4 and 5 are reversed. The metre of *Eclipsim patitur*, 8x6pp, is also found in Philip's *Beata viscera* (D37).

In the twenty-first volume of *Analecta hymnica* Dreves brings together four hymns, which he labels *planctus Christi*. As Dronke has pointed out, speaking in the persona of Christ was a very unusual device at this time but one that figures prominently in Philip's *corpus;* he calls it "one of Philip's distinctive devices."[34] To the three poems adduced by Dronke that clearly fall into this category, *Homo, vide que pro te patior* (D4), *Quid ultra tibi facere* (D38) and *Homo, quam sit pura* (D53), we can now add *Homo, qui scis pulverem* (K73).[35] It is not surprising therefore that of the four *planctus Christi* printed by Dreves, two (*Homo, vide que pro te patior* and *Homo, quam sit pura*), are known to be by Philip.[36] I believe that he is also the author of the other two, to which we will now turn.

The first of these is <mark>*O quotiens vos volui*.</mark> It is found only in **W₁** (fol. 100v–101r) immediately before *Eclipsim patitur* (see above).[37]

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[34] Dronke, "Compositions," p. 580; cf. also pp. 569 and 574.

[35] On *Homo, qui scis pulverem,* see Wollin, *Carmina,* p. 52 and Traill, "F10," pp. 233–34. Dronke, "Compositions," p. 574, holds that a fourth poem, *Quo vadis, quo progrederis,* falls into this category, but I agree with Anderson, *Conductus,* vol. 6, p. xlviii, that it is a debate between body and soul.

[36] The four poems appear at *Analecta Hymnica,* vol. 21, pp. 18–20.

[37] On this manuscript, see n. 5 above. *Eclipsim patitur* follows immediately. The poem appears in *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 21, p. 19 and Anderson, *Conductus,* vol. 5, p. ii (where the accompanying translation needs to be treated with great caution).

1. O quotiens vos volui
   blande sub ala cogere,
   quos iam natos regenui.
   deperditis aperui
   viam salutis terere.   5
   set crucis fracto foedere,
   me relicto contemptui,
   causas vultis exquirere
   ne sanctorum senatui
   vos possitis adiungere.   10

How often I have wanted to gather you gently under my wing, my children – you whom I have now caused to be born again! For those who have lost your way I have opened up a road to salvation for you to tread. But you have broken the pact of the cross and have abandoned me to contempt, choosing to seek reasons not to be admitted to the company of saints.

2. Numquid inter vos vilui,
   quod crucem meam perdere
   gentem pravam sustinui?
   nonne scitis quod potui
   mihi solus sufficere   5
   et angelis praecipere
   ne morerentur fatui?
   sed hoc crucis charactere
   plus gloriari volui
   quos me scitis compellere.   10

Have I become of no account among you because I allowed an evil people to destroy my cross? Do you not know that I could have looked after my own affairs myself and instructed my angels that people should not die for acting foolishly? But I wanted those whom you know I am assembling to take more pride in this sign of the cross.

1.1 vos *Dreves* : *om.* *W₁*   1.2 blande *W₁* : blanda *Dreves*   1.4 deperditis *sugg. Dreves, Anderson* : reperditis *W₁ Dreves*   2.8 hoc *edd.* : hõi *W₁*   2.9 volui *edd.* : nolui *W₁*

Though the language is allusive and difficult, it is clear that Christ is talking, with sad resignation, to all mankind, or more precisely, to all Christians. The context appears to be the time of the Third Crusade. In September 1187 the king of Jerusalem, Guy of Lusignan, suffered a disastrous defeat at the Battle of Hattin. Saladin had even captured the True Cross (cf. 2.2–3), which the Latins had carried into battle, and a few weeks later took Jerusalem itself.[38] There was a long delay – more than three years – before the West responded effectively to these events.[39] Accordingly, the poem is to be dated to the period 1187–1190.

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[38] On these events see Jonathan Philips, *The Crusades 1095–1197* (Harlow, 2002), pp. 135–36.

[39] Philips, *Crusades,* p. 139: "Europe roused itself to avenge the injury to Christ's patrimony, but it was not until the late spring of 1191 – over three and a half years after the

In the first stanza, Christ, echoing the language of Matthew 23.37,[40] compares himself to a mother hen protecting her brood (1–2), and chastises Christians for their eagerness to find excuses for not joining the crusade (6–7) and so losing the opportunity of being admitted to the company of saints through martyrdom (9–10). In the second stanza he explains that he could have prevented the Saracens from capturing the Cross and Jerusalem (1–5) but chose not to do so to provide his followers with an opportunity to take greater pride in crusading (8–10).

Besides its location in **W₁** next to *Eclipsim patitur* there are several indications that Philip is the author of *O quotiens vos volui*. For instance, Philip's love of *annominatio* shows itself in the play between the endings of 1.1 ("vos volui") and 2.1 ("vos vilui"). Also, the poem shares with *Quid ultra tibi facere* (D38) not only the distinctive device of speaking in the persona of Christ but also the same rhythmical structure: stanzas consisting of ten lines of 8pp. There are a number of remarkable similarities too in phrasing, as can be seen from the following comparisons:

Quid ultra tibi facere		*O quotiens vos volui*	
Baptismi *fracto federe*	(1.7)	Sed crucis *fracto federe*	(1.6)
Non cessas opes *querere*	(2.6)	Causas vultis *exquirere*	(1.8)
Relicto Christo paupere	(2.7)	*Me relicto* contemptui	(1.7)
Et, que signari *volui*	(2.8)	Plus gloriari *volui*	(2.9)
Paupertatis *charactere*	(2.9)	Sed hoc crucis *charactere*	(2.8)

These similarities in word choice and word placement leave little doubt that the author of *Quid ultra tibi facere* (known to be Philip) is also the author of *O quotiens vos volui*. Moreover, as already indicated and as can be seen from Table 1, *character* (2.8) is a very rare word in poetry in general but one for which Philip had a special fondness.

The last of the four *planctus Christi* in Dreves is *O levis aurula*. It is found only in the seventh fascicle of **F**.[41] It is a short anonymous hymn, whose exceptional quality has not received the attention it deserves. Anderson included it (with text, translation and brief notes) in his edition of

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Battle of Hattin – that the most effective crusading armies arrived in the Eastern Mediterranean."

[40] "Quoties volui congregare filios tuos, quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas, et noluisti."

[41] Text and music appear on fols. 355v–356r; see Dittmer, *Pluteo 29,1.*

the Notre Dame conductus.[42] He suggested that the author might be Philip the Chancellor but offered no argument in support of this attribution. Dronke, however, did not include *O levis aurula* in his catalogue of Philip's poems.[43] The text as it appears in the manuscript is certainly corrupt for there is a syllable missing somewhere in the last two lines.

1. O levis aurula
  cur credula
 videbaris primitus?
 quis vel qualis et cur erit exitus?
  imprimi sedula   5
  cur vincula
 velox fert interitus,
  mors extrema
 quia mortis anhelitus?

Ah! light little breeze, why did you seem so reliable at first? What will be the end, what kind of end will it be, and why? These shackles, all eager to be applied – why is swift Death[44] bringing them, because my last gasp in death is the end of death?

2. Gens nimis aspera,
  considera,
 quod adnector nexibus,
 sic in vestris cogor mori manibus.
  per te, Florigera,   5
  sint prospera
 pro malorum mentibus.
  omne malum
 malis malo fruentibus

Reflect, my cruel, cruel people, that it is at your hands that I am bound in chains and forced to die like this. May you, mother who bore the Flower, bring happiness to replace the designs of evil men. May every evil befall the evil men who find their joy in evil.

1.4 erit *Dreves* : exit *F* 2.8–9 *Traill* : et omne malum malo fruentibus *F* : et omine malum malo fruentibus *Dreves*.

The poem is highly sophisticated. It does not reveal that Christ is the speaker – at least not to a modern reader – until well into the second stanza. A medieval audience, cued perhaps by the context of the performance, would no doubt have grasped the situation more quickly. Ambiguity begins with the opening line. How are we to understand *aurula*? Breeze? Breath? Rumor? Spirit? The adjective *credula* might be thought to indicate that we

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[42]Anderson, *Conductus,* vol. 5, pp. xxxvii; Anderson's translation has many inaccuracies. For text, see also *Analecta Hymnica,* vol. 21, p. 20.

[43]Dronke, "Compositions," pp. 588–92.

[44] For the personification of *interitus*, see Job 18.14: "et calcet super eum, quasi rex, interitus"; see also, *TLL* 7: 2217, line 75, where *interitus* is described as a *demon mortuorum*.

should take *aurula* as *aurula popularis* "the breath of popular favour."[45] *Levis* would then be "fickle" rather than "light," as indeed the opposition between *primitus* and the implied *nunc* suggests. Christ, facing his accusers, is musing on the changing emotions of the Jews towards him over the past few days. The major difficulty lies in understanding *aurula* in this sense without a clarifying *popularis*. It is better therefore to take *credula* in the sense of "reliable" and understand the sentence as a nautical metaphor: the breeze seemed reliable enough when I set out on my journey.[46] *Imprimi sedula* (6) is placed before *cur* (7) for emphasis, with *sedula* agreeing with *vincula* (7) rather than with *gens aspera* (11), as Anderson suggests.[47] The conceit of applying to inanimate objects adjectives such as *sedula* that are usually applicable only to persons was strongly urged in such manuals as Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* and was by this time standard practice in medieval poetry.[48] The question asked in lines 1.4–5 is answered in 1.9–10: Christ's last gasp on the cross (Matt. 27.50) marks the end of death, for his death opens the way to eternal life. These lines also point to the irony inherent in Death's attempt to shackle Christ.[49]

In the second stanza Christ chastises the Jews for bringing about his death and then turns to Mary, whom he calls *Florigera* because she bore the *flos* (Christ). He hopes that she can bring happier times to replace the evil intentions of evil men, presumably the religious leaders who have condemned him. The manuscript's reading of the second last line is one syllable short but Dreves's emendation ("et omine malum / malo fruentibus") does not yield acceptable sense. It seems preferable to assume that *malis* dropped out between *malum* and *malo* and that *et* is an inadequate attempt to plug the gap. The *et* is not needed. Asyndeton is more effective.

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[45] For parallels, see Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Strasbourg, 1954), p. 107. The expression "aurula popularis" actually occurs in Philip's *O labilis sortis* 2.2: see *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 21, p. 97.

[46] For this meaning of *credulus*, see DMLBS, s.v..

[47] For the rather disconcerting dislocation of normal word order here and in 1.9–10 (where "mors extrema" belongs in the *quia* clause), compare Philip's *Vide, qui fastu rumperis* (D42) 2.5–8: "Hinc errant qui nobilibus / naturales connumerant, / adulterinis moribus / qui matrum probra reserant" ("Hence, they are wrong who count among the nobility bastard children, who tend to betray their mothers' sins by their adulterous behaviour"), where "adulterinis moribus" belongs in the second *qui* clause.

[48] See, for example, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, 777–871 in Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du xii*ᵉ *et du xiii*ᵉ *siècle* (Paris, 1962), pp. 221–24.

[49] For the shackling of Christ, see Matt. 27.2. For the personification of death here, see n. 44 above. Matt. 27.1 ("consilium iniecerunt ... ut eum morti traderent") may have suggested the personification.

O levis aurula is followed in **F** by *Vite perdite, Frater en Iordanus, Caput in caudam vertitur, Centrum capit circulus,* and *Clavis pungens acumine.* I am inclined to believe that Philip is the author of *Vite perdite,* though others have attributed that poem to Peter of Blois, the letter-writer.[50] Salimbene, a younger contemporary of Philip, ascribes *Centrum capit circulus* (D55) to Philip, and Dronke has tentatively attributed *Caput in caudam vertitur* (D71) and *Clavus pungens acumine* (D80) to him.[51] In short, the overall context in **F** lends support for the view that *O levis aurula* might be one of Philip's poems.

In such a short poem one cannot expect much in the way of vocabulary that is particularly suggestive of Philip's authorship. However, the imperative *considera* is one such word. It crops up eight times in Philip's poems listed in Dronke's catalogue, never in the short poems of Walter of Châtillon, Peter of Blois, or the Arundel collection and only 17 times in the *PoetriaNova* database; see Table 1. Of the seven occurrences in *Carmina Burana*, three are in poems attributed to Philip. Certainly the strongest argument, however, in favour of Philip's authorship is the fact that the poet employs Philip's distinctive device of speaking in the persona of Christ.

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[50] See the brief discussion in Traill, "Cluster," p. 276 with n. 32. The ascription of *Vite perdite* to Philip is not without difficulties, which I hope to address more fully on another occasion.

[51] Dronke, "Compositions," pp. 590–92; on Salimbene, p. 580.