Philip the Chancellor and Richard the Lionheart

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In this paper I will argue that the poems *In occasu syderis, Redit etas aurea* (here *Etas auri redditur*), and *Expirante primitivo* are all concerned with Richard the Lionheart and should all be attributed to Philip the Chancellor. However, before turning to the poems themselves, some background information on Philip is necessary to explain the rather surprising circumstance that the composition of these three formal poems praising Richard, which commemorate key events in the English king's life, should have been assigned to a young French poet, who, to the best of our knowledge, never set foot in England in his life.

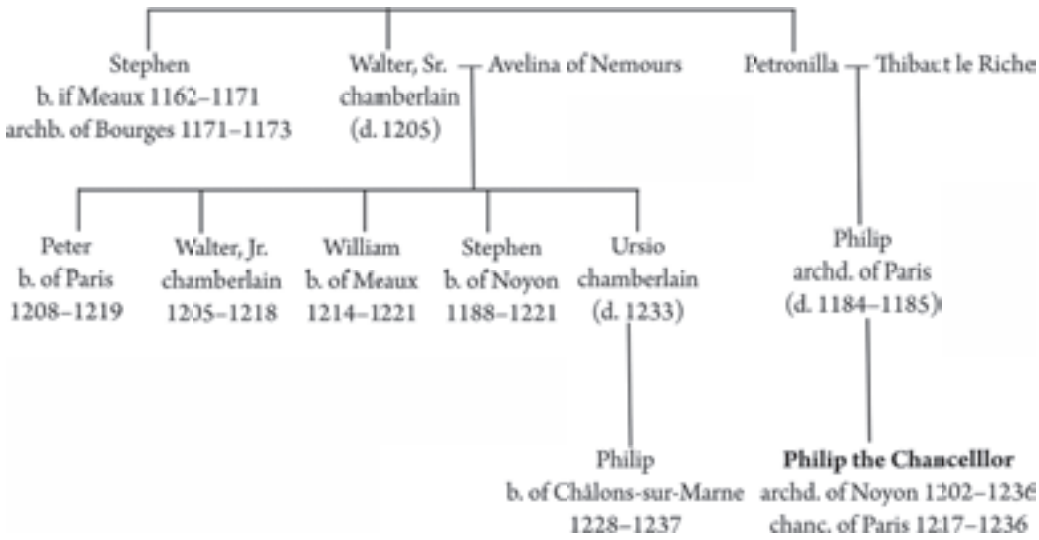

Fig. 1 Family Connections of Philip the Chancellor[1]

[1] Fig. 1 is a modified version of the schema 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), p. 41.

10.1484/J.JML.5.116025 The Journal of Medieval Latin 28 (2018): 001–013 © BREPOLS PUBLISHERS

Philip was the last of the great Latin poets of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[2] Born 1160–1165, he studied, and later taught, theology in Paris. His father's uncle, Walter, had married into the aristocratic family of Nemours, which was close to the French throne. Walter served as royal chamberlain for more than fifty years under both Louis VII and his son Philip Augustus and wielded considerable power in making official appointments.[3] Three of his sons were awarded bishoprics – of Paris, Noyon, and Meaux. These family connections secured Philip's father his appointment as archdeacon of Paris and later Philip's own appointment, probably in 1202, as archdeacon of Noyon, where his father's cousin Stephen was bishop.

Philip had been born out of wedlock and his illegitimacy was an impediment to his advancement in the Church – at least under Pope Innocent III.[4] Innocent's successor, Honorius III, however, was persuaded to grant a special dispensation for Philip, who was then promptly brought to Paris and made chancellor of Notre Dame in 1217.[5] The key player in this move was the bishop of Paris, who at this time was none other than Philip's father's cousin, Peter of Nemours. As chancellor, Philip had responsibility for accrediting teachers in Paris by granting the *licentia docendi* but as the nascent university struggled to free itself from the control of both secular and ecclesiastical authorities, Philip found himself caught in the crossfire. He died in December, 1236.

Long before his appointment as chancellor, Philip had had close connections with the composers of music at Notre Dame, for he is the most prolific contributor of lyrics to the collection of musical pieces known as the Notre Dame repertory. He is known to have been active in this capacity from 1181 until his death, that is, at least fifty-five years.[6] In collaboration with Perotinus, the leading composer at Notre Dame, Philip is credited with creating the motet. Among his earliest works is a series of laments for important people who died in the 1180s and 1190s, when Philip the Chancellor

[2] On the life of Philip see the entry on him by Thomas Payne in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*[2], ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 29 vols. (New York, 2001), 19:594–97.

[3] On Walter (Gautier) the Chamberlain, see John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus* (Berkeley, 1980), pp. 34–35.

[4] The explanation for Philip's appointment as archdeacon without papal objection seems to lie in the fact that in 1202 Innocent was preoccupied with the chaotic situation in Germany, where there were three contenders for the German throne, and had no wish to spoil the recently restored relationship with Philip Augustus by disputing a comparatively inconsequential appointment.

[5] Pietro Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III,* 2 vols. (Rome, 1888–1895), 1:38, no. 208 and 1:62, no. 348.

[6] In addition to Peter Dronke's groundbreaking article, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 28 (1987), 563–92, see Thomas Payne, "*Aurelianis civitas*: Student Unrest in Medieval France and a Conductus by Philip the Chancellor," *Speculum* 75 (2000), 589–604; for the date of his death and for his earliest datable work (1181), see David A. Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and **F**10: Expanding the Canon," *Filologia mediolatina* 10 (2003), 219–48, at pp. 224–27.

would have been in his twenties and thirties.[7] It appears that Philip's great-uncle, Walter, the chamberlain of Philip Augustus, sought to assist Philip financially prior to his appointment to the archdeaconry of Noyon by commissioning him to write laments for the deaths of members of the French king's extended family, which included the sons of Henry II, who were his step-brothers.[8]

Before we turn to the first of the three poems I wish to discuss, a sketch of the relevant historical background will be useful. Henry II intended that his eldest son, Henry, should succeed him as king of England, duke of Normandy, and count of Anjou. He even had him crowned joint king in 1170, when he came to be known as Henry the Young King, though as long as the old king was alive, all real power remained in his hands. The old king's plans were foiled, however, for he outlived his son, who died in 1183. At that point his younger brother Richard became the presumptive heir to the English throne.

In occasu syderis

In the first two texts, which are found with classical spelling in *Analecta Hymnica,* I have restored medieval spelling, but have kept the distinct forms of "u" and "v."[9] In the third I have adopted the spelling found in the *Carmina Burana* manuscript. The first poem, *In occasu syderis* is addressed to England and mingles sadness with joy, for it opens with England's grief over the death of an important figure in the royal family but promises that happier days lie ahead.[10]

[7] For a partial list of these laments, see Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and **F**10," pp. 227–32.

[8] See David A. Traill, "The Enigmatic *Vide, qui fastu rumperis* and the Career of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 57 (2017), 363–78, at pp. 368–70, for discussion of this and for the family trees showing how the subjects of these laments were related to Philip Augustus. See also Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and **F**10," pp. 226–31; and Traill, "More Poems by Philip the Chancellor," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 16 (2006), 164–81, at pp. 168–75, for arguments for attributing the relevant poems to Philip the Chancellor.

[9] The *In occasu syderis* and the *Redit etas aurea* (= *Etas auri redditur* here) are found in Guido Maria Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica medii aevi* (Leipzig, 1895), 21:178–79, no. 250, and 177–78, no. 249, respectively (hereafter *AH*). The *Expirante primitivo* (*CB* 122) is printed in *Carmina Burana,* ed. Alfons Hilka, Otto Schumann, and Wilhelm Meyer, 2 vols. in 3 parts (Heidelberg, 1930), 1.2:204; and *Carmina Burana*, ed. Benedikt K. Vollmann (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1987), pp. 438–42.

[10] In addition to some changes in the punctuation of *AH* 21:178–79, no. 250, variant readings include: stanza 1.4: geminans] germinans; 1.11: fato] facto; 3.2: tibi] sibi; 3.3: cui] tibi; and 3.13: Herculem] Hercules.

1. In occasu syderis
cadis in merorem,
Anglia, pre ceteris
geminans dolorem.
Viduata principe
rerum vices suscipe.
Tui fletus tedium
terminet solatium;
meta sit dolori.
Post hanc tibi vesperam
fato letiori
dabit diem prosperam
casu repentino
novus surgens lucifer
ortu matutino.

2. Novus heres Hectoris,
primus probitate,
vir maturi pectoris,
iuvenis etate,
tibi rex promittitur.
Iactura remittitur.
Spe salubris gratie
gaudeas, militie
florem susceptura,
cuius verbi veritas
mente proditura.
Indefessa largitas
nescit fatigari
sed cum multa dederit,
pauca putat dari.

3. Comes comis nuntiat
parem tibi flore,
cui suos sociat
amor cum timore.
Ricardus Pictavie,
rex futurus Anglie,
dignus est imperio,
plus honoris regio
conferens honori.

1. At the setting of your star,
England, you have fallen into mourning,
experiencing grief after grief
beyond all other nations.
Though robbed of your prince,
take up your tasks once more.
Let a sense of solace put an end
to the weariness of weeping;
let there be an end to grief.
After this dark evening
a happier destiny
will grant you prosperous days
when, by a sudden chance,
a new morning star will appear
at break of day.

2. Hector's new heir,
a pillar of rectitude,
a man of ripe judgment
though young in years,
is promised as your king.
The loss is made good.
Rejoice in the hope of the grace that brings
salvation, since you are soon to have
the flower of knighthood as your king.
The sincerity of his words
will come from his heart.
His inexhaustible generosity
knows no weariness;
rather, when he has given much,
he thinks he has given little.

3. The courteous count gives notice that
he will be a match for you in excellence,
for his friends are bound to him
by love and respect.
Richard of Poitiers,
king-to-be of England,
is worthy of the throne
and brings more honour
to the kingly office.

Nulla sit de cetero	10	Henceforth let no nation
natio timori.		cause you fear.
Fulgur habes hostibus,		You have a thunderbolt for your foes,
Herculem laboris,		a hardworking Hercules,
qui refrenat reprobos		who restrains the wicked
turbine timoris.	15	with a whirlwind of terror.

It is unclear from the first stanza who the *princeps* was whose death is being mourned. The third stanza makes clear that the "new heir" of stanza 2 is none other than Richard the Lionheart, count of Poitiers. The Cambridge musicologist Christopher Page understands the deceased to be Henry II himself, here referred to as Hector, and accordingly has dated the poem to 1189.[11] However, referring to Richard as "Hector's new heir" in 1189 makes little sense, since Richard had been Henry's presumptive heir ever since the death of his elder brother, the *original* heir in 1183.[12] Accordingly, the death in the first stanza should refer to the death of Richard's elder brother, Henry.

Reasons for attributing this poem to Philip the Chancellor include the following:

1. The rhythmic pattern comprises twelve alternating lines of 7pp and 6p with three successive lines of 7pp added after line 4; thus we have 2×(7pp, 6p), 3×7pp, 4×(7pp, 6p). This unusual scheme is virtually the same as that of Philip's *Quomodo cantabimus* except that the latter has only two additional lines of 7pp after line 4*:* 2×(7pp, 6p), 2×7pp, 4×(7pp, 6p).[13]

2. "Viduata principe" (stanza 1.5), referring to England's loss of its prince, recalls the "vidua praesidio" that refers to the Church's loss of the protection of Henry the Liberal, count of Champagne (d. 1181) at Philip's *Omnis in lacrimas*, 2a.7.[14]

[11] In the booklet accompanying his compact disc, Christopher Page, *Music for the "Lionhearted" King* (London, 1989), commemorating the 800th anniversary of Richard's accession to the throne, describes the *In occasu syderis* as (p. 15) "a lament for the death of Richard's father, Henry II," who died at Chinon in July 1189. Both English and French royalty at this time claimed descent from the Trojans; hence the reference to Henry II as Hector.

[12] Granted there were some doubts after 1183 about the new heir for a short period (from some point in 1185 till March 1186), when Henry gave Geoffrey "custodianship" of Normandy, raising doubts about his intentions regarding the succession. However, these doubts were scotched at the meeting with King Philip of France in March 1186 at Gisors, where the arrangements agreed upon confirmed the presumption that Richard was Henry's heir; see Wilfred L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley, 1973), p. 598.

[13] That the *Quomodo cantabimus* is by Philip is guaranteed by manuscript attribution; see Dronke, "Lyrical compositions," p. 590. For text and translation, see Gordon A. Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus,* 10 vols. (Henryville, PA, 1981), 6:xli–xlii.

[14] See Traill, "Philip and **F**10," pp. 224–27 for text, translation, and attribution to Philip.

3. The juxtaposition of *tedium* and *solatium* as a rhyming pair is unusual but is also found in the *Eclipsim patitur*, a lament for Geoffrey of Brittany, another son of Henry II, which is dated to 1186 and is clearly by Philip.[15] There too the *tedium* caused by mourning leads to a call to end the *solatium*.

Redit etas aurea (here *Etas auri redditur*)

The second poem celebrates Richard's accession to the English throne in 1189. The text reads:

1. Etas auri redditur,[16]
mundus renovatur.
Dives nunc deprimitur,
pauper exaltatur.
Omnis suo principi
plebs congratulatur.
Nec est locus sceleri;
scelus datur funeri,
scandalum fugatur.

1. The Golden Age is being restored
and the world made new again!
The rich man is being demoted
and the poor man raised on high.
All the people share
in their leader's joy.
There is no room for sinfulness;
sinfulness has met its end,
and scandal has been banished.

2. Deus regem contulit
nobis preoptatum.
Terra cornu protulit
copie ditatum.
Murmur omne populi
prorsus est sedatum.
Plebs sub pace regia
gaudet. Pax, Iustitia
sese osculatur.

2. God has conferred on us
the king we longed for.
The earth has brought forth
its rich cornucopia.
All the grumbling of the people
has completely died down.
The populace rejoices in
the royal peace. Peace and
Justice exchange kisses.

3. Pius, potens, humilis,
dives et maturus
etate, sed docilis
et rerum securus
suarum, preficitur
Anglie, daturus
rapinis interitum,

3. Pious, powerful, and humble,
rich, and mature in years
but amenable to counsel and
untroubled in his own concerns,
he is put in charge
of England and will put
an end to violent robbery,

[15] See Traill, "More Poems," at pp. 173–76.

[16] In both manuscripts in which this poem is found the opening line is "Redit etas aurea" but this creates an anomaly in that it fails to rhyme with line 3. The emendation of Page, *Music,* p. 13, "Aetas auri reditur" (passive of *redit*), slightly altered, has been adopted here. Other variant readings with *AH* 21:177–78, no. 249, include: stanza 2.3: protulit] potulit; and 2.9: osculatur] osculantur.

clero iuris aditum,
locum veritati.

4. Gaudeat Pictavia,
iam rege ditata,
tumescat Normannia
auro coronata.
Vasco, Scotus, Britones
obtinent optata.
Sine dolo Cambria
servit et Hibernia
nostre potestati.

give the clergy access to its rights,
and make room for truth.

4. Let Poitiers rejoice,
now enriched with a king,
let Normandy swell with pride,
now crowned with gold.
The Gascons, Scots and Bretons
have gained what they longed for;
Wales and Ireland
loyally serve
our sovereign lord.

That Richard is the subject of this poem is clear from the fourth stanza, for he had been count of Poitiers since 1169.[17] The references to sin and scandal in stanza 1.7–9 probably allude to Henry II's well-known infidelity to Eleanor and the widely credited rumor that he fathered the child born to Alys, the sister of Philip Augustus, who was betrothed to Richard but kept in Henry's custody for twenty years.[18] It is unclear to what "the royal peace" (stanza 2.7) refers, though the alliance, and indeed friendship, between Richard and the French king is a reasonable guess. In the eyes of his contemporaries Richard's piety (stanza 3.1) would probably have consisted primarily in his eager and distinguished participation in the Third Crusade.

The fourth stanza lists the countries and regions besides England over which Richard would have been expected to hold sway, though he would not rule them all directly. In addition to Poitiers, and by extension Aquitaine, these include Gascony, which, along with Aquitaine, he inherited from his mother, and Normandy, inherited from his father, who had also assumed lordship over Brittany.[19] Henry II had also been recognized as overlord in Wales and had a similar, if more complicated, relationship with Ireland.[20] Finally, in order to obtain release from captivity William the Lion, king of Scots 1165–1214, had been forced to acknowledge that he was Henry's liegeman.[21]

The following considerations indicate that this poem should be attributed to Philip:

1. The rhythm consists of eight alternating lines of 7pp and 6p with an additional 7pp line before the final 6p line: 3×(7pp, 6p), 2×7pp, 6p. Accordingly, its structure

[17] Warren, *Henry II*, p. 110.

[18] John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven – London, 1999), p. 5.

[19] Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 76–77.

[20] Warren, *Henry II*, p. 168 (Wales) and pp. 187–206 (Ireland).

[21] Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 138–39.

follows the same pattern as, but is shorter than, those of the *In occasu syderis* and the *Quomodo cantabimus.*

2. In **$W_1$22** it follows immediately after the *O quotiens <vos>volui* and the *Eclipsim patitur,* both of which have been attributed to Philip,[23] and in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 510, it is immediately followed by the *In occasu syderis*.[24]

3. The concern for the poor suggested at stanza 1.3–4, where the poet indicates that Richard will be their champion, is characteristic of Philip.[25]

4. For a parallel to stanza 3.1–3 compare Philip's *Non te lusisse pudeat*, where stanza 2.1–3 read "Sis **pius**, iustus, sobrius, / prudens, pudicus, **humilis**, / in lege Dei **docilis**," where *humilis* and *docilis* follow *pius* and rhyme with each other.[26]

Expirante primitivo

The *Expirante primitivo* is a lament for the death of an English king, but which one? The text reads:

1a. Expirante primitivo
probitatis fomite
laus exspirat adoptivo
carens laudis capite.
Splendor vite singularis,
flos marcescens militaris
vergit in interitum,

1a. As our leading source of rectitude
dies away,
honor itself dies away,
lacking the renowned head it adopted.
The lustre of a peerless life,
the flower of knighthood,
withers and sinks to its death

[22] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628.

[23] See Traill, "More Poems," pp. 176–78 and 173–76. In the *O quotiens vos volui* the poet speaks in the persona of Christ, one of Dronke's key indicators for Philip's authorship; see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 580. The *Eclipsim patitur* shows many similarities in phrasing to the *Omnis in lacrimas.*

[24] See Bryan Gillingham's useful listings in his *Indices to the Notre Dame Facsimiles* (Ottawa, 1994); and *A Critical Study of Secular Medieval Latin Song* (Ottawa, 1995).

[25] For Philip's concern for the poor, see Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," p. 574; and the *Expirante primitivo,* stanza 2a.10, "pauper vocativo." Outside of poems certainly or plausibly attributed to Philip concern for the poor is surprisingly rare in contemporary lyric.

[26] Though Carsten Wollin in his *Petri Blesensis Carmina,* CCCM 128 (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 330–37, following Dronke, attributes the *Non te lusisse pudeat* to the famous letter-writer, Peter of Blois, there can be little doubt that Dreves (*AH* 21:140–41, no. 200) was right in attributing it to Philip; see the remarkable similarities in the lists of phrases drawn from the *Non te lusisse* on the one hand and *Aristippe, quamvis sero* and other poems by Philip on the other, at David A. Traill, "A Cluster of Poems by Philip the Chancellor in *Carmina Burana* 21–36," *Studi medievali,* ser. 3, 47 (2006), 267–86, at pp. 274–75.

dum humane iubar sortis,
rex virtutum, dire mortis
Fatis solvit debitum.

1b. Cuius morte Mors regale
decus privat apice,
qua virtutis integrale
robur mutat Anglice,
qua lux orbis tanta luce,
Normannorum tanto duce,
destituta deperit.
Nubes tristis denigratum
suo clima desolatum
sole nostrum operit.

2a. Plange regem, Anglia,
nuda patrocinio,
fulcimento, Gallia,
Virtus, domicilio,
Probitas, preconio,
preside, militia,
opum Abundantia
hoc casu dativo,
duces amicitia,
pauper vocativo.[27]

2b. Luge, funde gemitus,
gemina suspiria,
tanti regis obitus
redimens solatia,
miles, querimonia,
cuius lapsu deditus
militum exercitus
flebili iactura
tanti gemit exitus
Mortis solvens iura.

3a. O Mors ceca, cecitatis
nos premens articulo,

and a bright ray of human fortune,
the king of the virtues, pays the Fates
the debt of grim death.

1b. By his death, Death strips
kingly honor of its crown,
and the whole fabric
of England's strength is altered,
and the light of the world perishes,
bereft of such a beacon,
the great duke of the Normans,
A cloud of gloom
covers our darkened sky
forsaken by its sun.

2a. Weep, England, for your king,
bereft of your patron,
France, bereft of your support,
Virtue, of your abode,
Decency, of your glory,
knights, of your leader,
Abundance,
of this case of giving,
dukes, of his friendship,
the poor man, of his advocate.

2b. Lament, my knights,
pour out your groans,
redouble your sighs,
winning solace for the death of such a king
with your plaintive cries.
At his death his dedicated army
of knights groans in sorrow
over their lamentable loss
in such a passing,
paying Death its due.

3a. O Death, who come unseen,
overwhelming us in a moment of darkness,

[27] Medieval poets' fondness for punning with grammatical terms usually creates phrases difficult to render in plausible English

omnis ausa probitatis derogare titulo, prelatorum speculo orbem privans, largitatis totius igniculo.	you dare to impugn the claim to any kind of goodness, by depriving the world of a model for bishops and of the spark for all munificence.
3b.O noverca vite, mori digna, laudis invida, --- --- proh, preclarum perfida manu regem acriori peste rapis morbida.	3b. Ah, you who begrudge life, you deserve to die! Envious of merit --- --- For shame, perfidious Death, you seize a distinguished king with a keener hand than a deadly pestilence!

In his edition of the *Carmina Burana*, Vollmann tentatively suggests that the *Expirante primitivo* is a lament for Richard the Lionheart but offers no substantive argument in support of this.[28] I will argue that this identification is correct but first we should establish the chronological parameters. The *Carmina Burana* manuscript was written close to 1230. The vast majority of the datable poems were written after 1150 and the latest datable Latin poem is the lament for Philip of Swabia, who was assassinated in 1208.[29] The English kings who died between 1150 and 1230 are Stephen, the Young King Henry, Henry II, Richard I, and John.

The poem refers to no specific event that would allow us to date it more precisely. However, the reference in 1b to "so great a duke of Normandy" makes both Stephen and John unlikely contenders since both managed to lose Normandy during their reigns. We are therefore left with the two Henrys and Richard. To make further progress we have little to go on but the rather generic character traits that the poet has attributed to the deceased. Laments tend to be a subset of panegyrics. Naturally, not all the praise lavished on the deceased is justified by the actual facts of their lives. Nonetheless, there was a natural tendency for poets to avoid praise that would seem absurdly incongruous. Our king is praised for probity, military distinction, largesse, and his championing of the poor. Neither probity nor concern for the poor seems to have been an outstanding characteristic of either of the Henrys or of Richard, though Richard, as we have seen, was praised for probity in the *In occasu syderis.* The emphasis on military virtues, which are alluded to in each of the first four stanzas, certainly suggests Richard rather than his brother or father, though not decisively. Praise of the

[28] *Carmina Burana*, ed. Vollmann, p. 1109.

[29] Most of the German stanzas by contrast can be dated to the early thirteenth century. Most of the Latin poems written before 1150 are metrical rather than rhythmical.

deceased's generosity crops up so frequently in eulogies of this period as to be virtually meaningless. However, it does seem to have been prominent among the virtues of both Richard and Henry the Young King.

More significant is the phrase *prelatorum speculum* (a model for bishops), for Henry II had a reputation for adultery. He fathered a number of illegitimate children and "Fair Rosamund" was probably his mistress from 1173 till her death in 1176.[30] In addition, for twenty years (1169–1189) Henry had custody of Alys, the younger sister of Philip Augustus. When still a baby she had been betrothed to Richard. Unmarried and still in Henry's custody, she produced a son. Contemporary gossip said that Henry had seduced her. Modern scholars debate the issue but Richard's most recent biographer, John Gillingham, is quite categorical: "Henry had not been able to resist the temptation to seduce her."[31] Richard gave as his reason for not marrying Alys the fact that she had been his father's mistress and had borne him a son.[32] Though a capable and respected monarch, Henry is unlikely to have been hailed by his contemporaries as "a model for bishops."

As for Henry the Young King, Elizabeth Hallam tells us that he had a "reputation for impiety."[33] This was no doubt earned by his plundering of shrines in Rocamadour and Limoges, and the monastery of Grandmont in 1183, the year of his death.[34] Given this behaviour at the end of his life, Henry the Young King could hardly be dubbed "a model for bishops" in his eulogy. Richard, on the other hand, refused to marry the French princess to whom he was betrothed for 20 years. When he finally did get married (to Berengaria of Navarre in May, 1191), he showed more interest in crusading than in spending time with his bride. He produced no heir. By twelfth-century standards, these qualities made him a good model for bishops, for besides practicing celibacy bishops were expected to support the cause of crusading not only in their preaching but also financially and, if possible, by personal participation. Quite a few bishops did join the crusades.

What evidence is there that the *Expirante primitivo* was written by Philip the Chancellor? If we compare this poem with Philip's lament for Henry the Liberal, count of Champagne, which begins the *Omnis in lacrimas,* we see that there are some

[30] Warren, *Henry II,* p. 119.

[31] Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 5; he cites a number of medieval sources in support of this view at p. 82, n. 24.

[32] Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 82.

[33] Elizabeth Hallam, "Henry [Henry the Young King] (1155–1183)," in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2001–2004), 26:416–18, at 417.

[34] For a detailed account of the Young King's plundering with citation of the relevant primary sources, see Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King 1155–1183* (New Haven, 2016), pp. 299–300 (Limoges), p. 302 (Grandmont), and p. 304 (Rocamadour).

striking resemblances.[35] Both are sequences, comprising three paired stanzas. The *Omnis in lacrimas*, however, has an additional unpaired stanza as a coda. Let us look carefully at stanza 2a of both. In both an adjective indicating bereavement (*nuda* in the *Expirante primitivo,* line 2, and *vidua* in the *Omnis in lacrimas,* line 4) is used with a series of paired nouns in the nominative and ablative to indicate respectively different segments of society and the losses they have suffered. In the *Expirante primitivo* England has been stripped of its *patrocinium* (patronage, protection) and the *militia* of its *praeses* (head or leader), while in the *Omnis in lacrimas* it is the clergy that have been stripped of their *patrocinium,* and Champagne of its *praeses.* Both Richard and Henry of Champagne assisted the poor; Richard as their advocate, Henry by providing *suffragia* (help).

If we expand our comparison beyond the confines of these two stanzas we find more similarities. In the *Expirante primitivo* Richard is called the *domicilium* (home) of *virtus*; in the *Omnis in lacrimas,* Henry is the *domicilium* of *largitas* (generosity, largesse). Richard is the *rex virtutum* (the king of the virtues), while Henry is the *fons virtutum* (the fount of the virtues). Interestingly, Philip uses *rex virtutum* elsewhere in his poetry as an epithet of God.[36] Both king and count have paid their debts to fate: Richard "dire mortis / Fatis solvit debitum," while Henry "Fatis crudelibus / exsolvit debitum." Also, in both poems, Death is personified and its brazenness (*ausa*) decried. These similarities of structure and content strongly suggest that the author of the *Omnis in lacrimas,* also wrote the *Expirante primitivo.*

While one may wonder whether Richard ever showed much concern for the poor, it is certain that concern for the poor is a frequently recurring theme in Philip's poetry, where it crops up more than a dozen times. So even if we dismiss the phrase as flattery, it does tend to point to Philip as author. *Patrocinium* (stanza 2a.2) is a rare word. It occurs only 39 times in *PoetriaNova,* a large database of over 900,000 lines of Medieval Latin poetry and only twice in the *Carmina Burana*: here and at *CB* 37.4.8, "non legis patrocinio" – "with no support from the law." It is also found in the *Omnis in lacrimas* at stanza 2a.8, where "clerus patrocinio <privatur>" – "the clergy is deprived of protection." I have already ascribed to Philip the *Omnis in lacrimas* and more recently – and more hesitantly – *CB* 37 *In Gedeonis Area.* In light of the arguments presented above, I would now maintain with considerable confidence that Philip is also the author of the poems *In occasu syderis, Etas auri redditur* (i.e. *Redit etas aurea*), and *Expirante primitivo.*

[35] For the attribution of the *Omnis in lacrimas* (*AH* 21:180–81, no. 253) to Philip, see Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and **F**10," pp. 224–27.

[36] In Philip's *In hoc ortus occidente* (*AH* 20:53–54, no. 23), "infirmatur rex virtutum" (stanza 2.1) refers to the diminution of God's status when he takes human form.

ABSTRACT

After a brief sketch of the life of Philip the Chancellor, including a family tree showing his family connection to Walter, the powerful chamberlain of both Louis VII and Philip Augustus, the article examines the poems *In occasu syderis*, *Redit etas aurea*, and *Expirante primitivo*. All three poems are found to be primarily focused on Richard the Lionheart, with the *In occasu syderis* referring to the death of his brother Henry (1183) rather than his father Henry II, as previously thought. The second poem must date after July 1189, as it celebrates Richard's accession to the throne, while the third mourns his death in April 1199. The analysis of each poem is followed by arguments attributing all three to Philip the Chancellor.

RÉSUMÉ

Après un bref résumé de la vie de Philippe le Chancelier, incluant un arbre généalogique démontrant ses liens avec Gauthier, le puissant chambellan des rois Louis VII et Philippe Auguste, cet article analyse les poèmes *In occasu syderis, Redit etas aurea* et *Expirante primitivo*. Ces trois poèmes s'avèrent centrés sur Richard Coeur de Lion. Ainsi, *In occasu syderis* évoque la mort de son frère Henri (1183) plutôt que son père Henri II, contrairement à ce qui a été établi jusqu'ici. Le deuxième poème doit avoir été composé après juillet 1189, puisqu'il célèbre l'ascension de Richard au trône, tandis que le troisième pleure sa mort en avril 1199. L'étude de chaque poème est suivie d'une discussion identifiant Philippe le Chancelier comme leur auteur.

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