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TEXTS BY PETRUS WILHELMI DE GRUDENCZ IN THE CONTEXT OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL *ARS POETRIAE**

Since the mid 1970s, when Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (1392–after 1452) was discovered by the Czech musicologist Jaromír Černý, a rich literature has been produced relating to his life and compositional work.[1] Although Paweł Gancarczyk subtitled his recent biographical text devoted to Petrus 'kompozytor i poeta łaciński' [composer and Latin poet],[2] scholarly reflection has been clearly dominated hitherto by the musical aspect to the work of this chaplain (*capellanus*) to Frederick III Habsburg, whilst analysis of his texts has appeared mainly where they are strictly linked to a musical layer.[3] It is high time, therefore, to take a closer look at the literary output and poetical skills of this son of Grudencz (Grudziądz) within the context of his education and of the Central European environment in which he was raised.

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1   See *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz Magister Cracoviensis. Opera musica*, ed. Jaromír Černý, Cracow 1993; Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (b. 1392) – a Central European composer', *De musica disserenda* 2 (2006) no. 1, pp. 103–112; idem, 'Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz', in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Personenteil*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, vol. 13, Kassel 2005, col. 437; idem, '"Probitate eminentem / Ploditando exarare" Petrusa Wilhelmiego de Grudencz – środkowoeuropejska inkarnacja motetu izorytmicznego' [Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz's *Probitate eminentem / Ploditando exarare*: A Central European incarnation of the isorhythmic motet], in: *Ars musica and its contexts in medieval and early modern culture*, ed. P. Gancarczyk, Warsaw 2016, pp. 255–269; idem, '*Presulem ephebeatum* by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz and the musical identity of Central Europe', in: *Musikalische Repertoires in Zentraleuropa (1420–1450). Prozesse & Praktiken*, eds. Alexander Rausch and Björn R. Tammen, Vienna 2014 (= Wiener Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge 26), pp. 135–150; Martin Staehelin, *Neues zu Werk und Leben von Petrus Wilhelmi. Fragmente des mittleren 15. Jahrhunderts mit Mensuralmusik im Nachlaß von Friedrich Ludwig*, Göttingen 2000; *Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 in deutschem Sprachgebiet*, III, also a monographic issue of the journal *Muzyka* 49 (2004) no. 2.

2   See *Wpisani w dzieje miasta. Znani i mniej znani ludzie Grudziądza na przestrzeni wieków* [Inscribed in the city's history: Well-known and less well-known people of Grudziądz through the ages], ed. Wiesław Sieradzan, Grudziądz 2016, pp. 35–42 and 327–329 (footnotes).

3   See especially P. Gancarczyk, '"Probitate eminentem"', op. cit., pp. 261–262.

EDUCATION

We know absolutely nothing about Petrus Wilhelmi's early years in Grudziądz. We may only assume that he finished the parish school in his home town at least at the primary level (*Schreibschule*), before he continued his education at a so-called Latin school (*Lateinschule*) either in Grudziądz or else in one of the main cities of the State of the Teutonic Order (Gdańsk, Toruń or Elbląg). So prior to enrolling at the university in Cracow as a twenty-six-year-old, in 1418,[4] he had gained a thorough knowledge of Latin grammar and the *ars dictaminis* while still in Prussia. Zenon Hubert Nowak, writing about the parish school in Toruń during the first half of the fifteenth century, stresses that 'in all classes, plenty of time was devoted to singing. Pupils took part in all ecclesiastic and municipal solemnities […] and they were also obliged to serve at mass every day'.[5] Although the municipal elite of Toruń around the turn of the fifteenth century included figures from Grudziądz (from 1389 till at least 1415, one Nicolaus (de) Grudencz (Gruydencz) was scribe of the New Town of Toruń[6]), we do not know whether the young Petrus was among them. He could just as well have gained his knowledge in the *trivium* and the rudiments of music, particularly church music, in other centres of the Teutonic State.

The *trivium*, and especially grammar and rhetoric (as well as poetics, closely linked to rhetoric), also formed the basis of the curriculum on the Faculty of Arts of Cracow University, with which Petrus Wilhelmi was associated (probably with breaks) for twelve years. It was there that he was promoted 'ad gradum baccalariatus in artibus', in 1425, and 'ad gradum magisterii', in 1430.[7] At that time, the curriculum in place was that devised in 1404–06 by the then vice-chancellor, Stanisław of Skarbimierz, together with Erazm of Nysa, Wojciech of Młodzew and Franciszek of Brzeg, the reading list of which featured thirteenth-century textbooks for grammar and poetics that continued to be read up to the early sixteenth century: *Doctrinale puerorum* by Alexandre de Villedieu (d. *c.* 1250) and *Poetria nova* by Geoffrey of Vinsauf (twelfth/thirteenth century). Also read on the departments of grammar and rhetoric founded by Tomasz Nowka and Katarzyna Mężykowa *c.* 1420 were *Laborintus* by Eberhard the German (thirteenth century) and *Graecismus* by Eberhard of Béthune (second half of the twelfth century).[8] The same authors underpinned *trivium* education

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4   See the name 'Petrus Wylhelmi de Gruᶜdencz' among the *intitulati* under the name of vice-chancellor Johannes de Falcow in 1418, in: *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400–1458* [Records of Cracow University 1400–1458], eds. Antoni Gąsiorowski, Tomasz Jurek and Izabela Sierska, Cracow 2004, p. 95.

5   Zenon Hubert Nowak, 'W okresie kryzysu państwa krzyżackiego' [During the crisis in the State of the Teutonic Order], *Historia Torunia* [History of Toruń], ed. Marian Biskup, t. I, *W czasach średniowiecza (do roku 1454)* [During the Middle Ages (up to 1454)], eds. Jadwiga Chudziakowa et al., Toruń 1999), p. 295.

6   See Janusz Tandecki, 'Kultura, życie religijne i codzienne XIV-wiecznego miasta' [The culture, religious life and everyday life of a fourteenth-century city], in: ibid., pp. 237–238.

7   See *Statuta nec non liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in Universitate Studiorum Jagiellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849*, ed. Józef Muczkowski, Cracow 1849, p. 17 (Petrus de Grawdencz) and 23 (Petrus de Grudencz).

8   See Teresa Michałowska, *Średniowieczna teoria literatury w Polsce. Rekonesans* [Mediaeval literary theory in Poland: A reconnaissance], Wrocław 2007, pp. 29–32.

in various schools across almost the whole of late mediaeval Europe, including in Vienna, where Petrus lived probably from at least *c.* 1440, when he joined the court of Frederick III.[9] Although new Renaissance trends, personified by the humanist Enea Silvio de Piccolomini (1405–64; the future Pope Pius II (from 1458), and from 1442 secretary and court poet to King Frederick[10]), were already influential by then at the royal court (from 1452 the imperial court), Austria, like Bohemia, Poland and the Silesian duchies, still adhered to late mediaeval aesthetics. And it was outside the court, within the circle of students and alumni of Central European universities in Cracow, Prague and Vienna who were taught from *Poetria nova*, *Laborintus* and John of Garland's *De arte prosayca, metrica et rithmica*, that Petrus Wilhelmi, 'a Central European composer',[11] appears to have enjoyed particular popularity.

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TYPES OF POETRY ACCORDING TO THE *ARTES POETRIAE* AND POEMS
BY PETRUS WILHELMI

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The *artes poetriae*, to which the above-mentioned works by Geoffrey of Vinsauf and Eberhard the German belonged, were specifically mediaeval textbooks, combining elements of grammar, poetics and rhetoric.[12] As William M. Purcell notes: 'the *ars poetriae* lay at the end of a world whose system of communicative reference was oral, grounded in the dynamics of the human voice, and at the beginning of a world whose system of communicative and intellectual reference was the printed word'.[13] Within the context of the work of Petrus Wilhelmi, that assertion is not just of chronological significance (printed books appeared during his lifetime); above all, emphasising the link between the *ars poetriae* and the human voice, it points indirectly to *poetriae* as the theoretical grounding of output subordinated to song and to music.

Yet before we analyse texts by the Grudziądz composer as examples of the practical application of the recommendations of authors of school poetics, we should consider to what extent they fall within the general classifications and divisions of poetry present in the works by Eberhard the German and John of Garland.[14] In *Laborintus*, Eberhard distinguishes *poesis metrica*, based on classical metres (mainly hexameter

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9   See P. Gancarczyk, 'Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (b. 1392)', op. cit., p. 105. On the arts curriculum at Vienna University in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, see Kurt Mühlberger, 'Die Gemeinde der Lehrer und Schüler – Alma Mater Rudolphina', in: *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt*, ed. Peter Csendes, t. I, Vienna 2001, pp. 344–345.

10 Cf. Alois Niederstätter, *Österreichische Geschichte 1400–1522. Das Jahrhundert der Mitte. An der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, Vienna 2004, pp. 383–384.

11 P. Gancarczyk, 'Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (b. 1392)', op. cit., p. 108 and 111.

12 Cf. T. Michałowska, *Średniowieczna teoria*, op. cit., pp. 86–91; also William M. Purcell, *Ars poetriae. Rhetorical and grammatical invention at the margin of literacy*, University of South Carolina 1996 (unpubl. diss.), pp. 5–9.

13 Ibid., p. 140.

14 Geoffrey of Vinsauf was not interested in classifications of genres of poetry. As William M. Purcell writes (*Ars poetriae*, op. cit., p. 72), 'Geoffrey's work does not offer much instruction on methods of achieving particular metrical lines, rather its precepts focus on thematic and expressive concerns'.

and elegiac distich) and *poesis (versificatio) rithmica / rigmica*, based on rhythm and rhyme,[15] which he further divides into simple rhythm (*rigmus simplex et unus*) and composite rhythm (*compositus*), whilst the author of *De arte prosayca, metrica et rithmica*, in his definition of prose as 'pithy and elegant discourse, not in meter but divided by regular rhythms of *clausulae*' ('prosa est sermo sententiosus sine metro compositus, distinctus clausularum debitis intervallis'[16]), also distinguishes 'rhythm used in liturgical *prosae*' ('rithmus, quo utimur in prosis ecclesiasticis'[17]) as a separate musical form (*species musicae*), not subject to the principles of poetical versification. The divisions of poetry in *Laborintus*, meanwhile, are completed by a section at the end of the work exemplifying simple rhythms (*rhytmi simplices*), divided into spondaic lines (*versus spondaici*) and iambic lines (*iambici*), and composite rhythms (*rhytmi / rigmi compositi*), combining spondees and iambs.[18]

Of the twenty-two works by Petrus Wilhelmi (with an acrostic of his first name) published by Jaromír Černý and the dozen or so (some preserved in fragments) identified over the last twenty years,[19] only two – *Presulis eminenciam* (I/1), which opens Černý's edition, and the canon (*rotulum*) *Pneuma erumpnosi telluris rei* – can be classified in respect to the mediaeval *ars poetriae* as rhythmic prose.[20] The first strophe of the work II/1 would also appear not to meet the criteria of metric or rhythmic versification:

> Promitat eterno trono regi
> ve superno patri regnanti
> super ethera cuncta cani.

Not only are there no closing rhymes here, but the 10–9–9 verse scheme is far from the eight-syllable spondaic and seven-syllable iambic lines that dominated late mediaeval *rigmus*. It is also strange that the conjunction *ve* is moved to the start of the line, when it ought to be an enclitic suffix to the previous word. However, in the case of this work, a small correction to the text and a conjecture of the final word enables one to restore what would appear to be the original form of the strophe, preserving the rhythm and aabb rhyme:

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15   See Eberhard the German, *Laborintus*, 253–264 (metrical poetry) and 991–1005 (rhythmic poetry). Cf. T. Michałowska, *Średniowieczna teoria*, op. cit., pp. 91–101.

16   John of Garland, 1.28–29 (translated by William M. Purcell, *Ars poetriae*, op. cit., p. 89).

17   Ibid., 1.62 (translated by Bartosz Awianowicz).

18   See bilingual edition: Eberhard z Bremy [Eberhard the German], *Laborintus*, tr. with notes by Dorota Gacka, Warsaw 2011, pp. 68–79.

19   See especially *Poligena exanimes* (CZ-OP RC 4, *c.* 1431–35), *Psalteriis et timpanis* and *Prodigiis eximiis* (D-LEu 1084, *c.*1450), *Pneuma erumpnosi* (D-LÜh cod. lat. 2° 16, after 1440), *Pantaleon eleon*, *Prorumpamus euduli*, *Pascaliter epiloget trevis*, *Plausiva eulogia tropum* and *Psalmodia exileratum* (D-Gs XXX, 1, *c.* 1450). See also Martin Staehelin, *Neues zu Werk und Leben von Petrus Wilhelmi,* op. cit.; Tom R. Ward, 'Music in the university: The manuscript Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1084', in: *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Staehelin, Wiesbaden 1998, pp. 21–34.

20   Cf. Jan Ciglbauer, '*Habent sua fata libelli*. Das Lübecker Troparium und mögliche musikalische Interessen des Simon Batz von Hamburg', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 73 (2016) no. 3, pp. 226–229.

>Promitat eterno
>trono regive superno
>patri regnanti
>super ethera cuncta cani[21].

Although this takes us far from Eberhard the German's recommendations of a five-syllable line ('patri regnanti'), it is perfectly suited to the analogously constructed second strophe of this same work by Petrus:

>Psallant clerorum
>modulamina preconiorum
>cum devotorum
>limine mentis amorum.

All the other works belong to *poesis rithmica*, whilst none is subject to classical metrical versification. The works with the acrostic PETRVS are dominated by *rhytmi compositi*, mainly composed of alternating spondaic eight-syllable and iambic seven-syllable lines with abab rhymes (nine works[22]) or of two eight-syllable lines and one seven-syllable line in paired strophes rhymed aab ccb (eight works[23]). Only a hymn to St Martin, *Presulem ephebeatum* (II/3), is dominated by a strophe composed of two spondaic eight-syllable lines and two iambic seven-syllable lines with aabb rhymes (strophes 1–4), although from the fifth strophe the author alters the rhythm, introducing lines of nine (lines 18–19), six (line 23) and nine syllables (line 30), and also modifies the rhyme, by introducing an unusual sequence: aaab cccda aeae (strophes 5–7, lines 17–28):

>quam devote sistis rogans,
>oblectamenta dire negans
>mundi, simul hiis denegans
>tue nutum anime;   20
>
>quare calles poli isti
>enti deneganti scisti
>sertum quia capere.
>Ergo nos sis protegens,

qui fuisti mire negans,   25
fasce perge timida
atque nimis denegans
saporis fastidia;

The departure from the versification norms exemplified in *Laborintus* may result here from the text being subordinated to the musical technique. However, as Paweł Gancarczyk notes:

> Consecutive entries of voices reveal the full sound of the work, in which we can distinguish pairs of voices conducting a dialogue. As in the *hoquetus* technique, the voices exchange short, declamatory motifs, while repeating fragments of text relating to them, e.g. *rogans, protegens, dire negans, mire negans* […]. An analysis of these fragments shows that they operate using a selection of Latin words which have associations with the German language. They are skilfully chosen homonyms, through which the celebratory text devoted to St Martin reveals a second meaning […]. The frequent appearances of the syllable *-gans* (or *-gens*) indicates that 'geese' are of key importance in discovering this meaning.[24]

This subordination of the text to a two-part notation, despite the introduction of lines of different length (strophe 5: 8–9–9–7, strophes 6–7: 8–7–7–7) and atypical rhymes, is not at odds with the theoretical part of Eberhard's treatise, which characterises *rigmus compositus* perfunctorily as 'having parts not equal', but 'different' (*variae*) and 'varied' (*variatae*).[25]

Similarly absent from the exemplificative material of *Laborintus* and quite original against the background of the early mediaeval poetic tradition is the combination of a strophe composed of four eight-syllable lines with abab rhymes,[26] which we see in *Probitate eminentem* (II/7). Of course, Petrus Wilhelmi was not an innovator here with regard to his text; Eberhard's textbook, although remaining one of the pillars of the *trivium* taught at universities and better 'Latin schools' in Central Europe for most of the fifteenth century, was written in the thirteenth century. Yet the departure from schoolroom models reflects well on the poet's openness to innovation against a rather free approach to form, since we find in this work, among the eight-syllable lines, also lines of nine syllables (lines 5 and 9) and even eleven syllables (line 3 of the second part's text); the irregularity of two of them (line 5 of the first part and line 3 of the second) is linked to the statement of the first name (in the accusative) and

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24   P. Gancarczyk, '*Presulem ephebeatum*', op. cit., p. 137.

25   See lines 1001–1003: '[…] simplex, cuius non sunt variatae
             Partes, sed similes; e contra non habet aequas
             Compositus, sed dissimiles.'

26   Typical mediaeval poetry is dominated by 8–8–8–8 strophes with aabb, aaabbb, aaaabbbb or aaabbbccc rhymes, not abab. See Eberhard z Bremy [Eberhard the German], *Laborintus*, op. cit., pp. 70–72 (10–13); cf. e.g. *Florebat olim studium* or *In taberna quando sumus* (*Carmina Burana* 6, fol. 44v–45r; Bernt 16–21, Vollmann 22–25, and 196, fols. 87v–88r; Bernt 592–595, Vollmann 628–633).

surname of the addressee of the ostensible praise, 'Andream Ritter', which is probably a later interpolation introduced in place of another name.[27]

Numerous irregularities also characterise the length of the lines in *Pregrata era* (I/2). Although the first part of the work, after the opening three-line segment 'Pregrata era, | tunc regali vera | stirpe nata', is dominated by eight-syllable lines (although there are also two lines of nine syllables each and line 5 ('fidem et paganicam postergare'), even taking account of the elision, numbers ten syllables) with aabb rhymes (lines 4–11), in the second part Petrus clearly varies the versification, as well as introducing an unusual combination of (often inexact) abbccad rhymes (lines 14–20):

> Ergo, Katerina, nos instrue
> pervincere hanc audaciam   15
> protervam ac furibundam,
> ut interventu tuo
> omnes salvemur a periclo,
> tecum ut perpetue
> capiamus celli gaudia.

Finally, the lines are not entirely regular in the longest of the works (135 lines in total), the poem *Pontifices ecclesiarum* (I/4), which has no musical notation: the first two strophes are filled with eight- and nine-syllable lines (lines 1–12), we find lines arranged in a pattern of 8–8–7 syllables in the third strophe (lines 13–18), then 8–9–7 (lines 19–24), in the next strophe eight- and nine-syllables lines return (lines 25–30), and so on. Common to the whole work, meanwhile, is the rhyming scheme aab ccb, readily used in different versification combinations illustrating composite rhymes (*rhytmi compositi*) in *Laborintus*.[28]

To sum up, it should be stated that most of the poetical texts with the acrostic PETRVS adhere to a versification scheme for rhythmic poetry familiar from the textbooks of the *ars poetriae*. The relatively few departures (*Presulis eminenciam*, *Pneuma erumpnosi*, *Presulem ephebeatum*, *Probitate eminentem* and partly also *Pregrata era* and *Pontifices ecclesiarum*) may be treated as expressive of the author's inventiveness (abab rhymes in *Probitate eminentem* and aaab cccda aeae in *Presulem ephebeatum*), but also as evidence of a certain nonchalance on the part of either Petrus himself or the copyist (irregularity to the versification in *Pregrata era*, *Pontifices ecclesiarum* and *Probitate eminentem*) or else as the result of later interference in the original text (the lines with the name of Andreas Ritter in *Probitate eminentem*).

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27   See P. Gancarczyk, '"Probitate eminentem"', op. cit., pp. 262–263.
28   See Eberhard z Bremy [Eberhard the German], *Laborintus*, op. cit., p. 74 (17–19 and 22).

THE *DISPOSITIO* AND *ELOCUTIO* OF POEMS BY PETRUS WILHELMI AND THE THEORY
OF *POETRIA NOVA* BY GEOFFREY OF VINSAUF

The influence of the *ars poetriae* on the poetry by Petrus Wilhelmi is not confined to versification. No less crucial is the influence of the recommendations of authors of mediaeval poetics, in particular Geoffrey of Vinsauf, on Petrus' literary inventiveness, the disposition of the material and the style of his longer texts. We can speak of *dispositio* and *elocutio* especially in the case of the longest work (135 lines) with the acrostic PETRVS, namely, *Pontifices ecclesiarum* (I/4). This work is suited to a more precise poetical-rhetorical analysis on account not only of its length, but also of the lack of musical notation, thanks to which it can be treated solely as a poetical work. In addition, this text can be dated quite precisely, since it is closely linked to the Council of Basel (1431–37) and, it would seem, the Council of Ferrara (1438–39). Particularly crucial to the dating here would appear to be lines 16–18:

> quasi monstrum vilis facta,
> ad despectum et redacta,
> bifurcata capite,

The remark concerning the 'cloven head' ('bifurcata capite') of the Church should be read as a criticism of the election, in 1439, by the participants in the Council of Basel, rebelling against Eugene IV, of Antipope Felix V. Whilst the year 1439 represents the *terminus post quem* of the text of *Pontifices ecclesiarum*, its *terminus ante quem* is determined by the date 20 February 1446 given on the copy of a letter to King Frederick III relating to the sending of Cardinal Louis Aleman to the Council of Basel as the royal legate, which immediately precedes this work in codex 5393 of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.[29] The whole of codex 5393, meanwhile, which is the only source of this work by Petrus Wilhelmi,[30] contains various texts (mainly ecclesiastic or political documents, but also mnemonic tracts) from the area under Habsburg rule or influence from the period 1409–66.[31]

The fact that the poem *Pontifices ecclesiarum* stands in the immediate vicinity of the letter to Frederick III and also of a bull addressed to the king by Eugene IV and a letter written by Antipope Felix V to the vice-chancellor of Vienna University (fols. 282r–283r) may suggest that the copyist was interested primarily in the historical material of the work. However, the codex also contains a mnemonic tract with full-page illustrations (fols. 328v–339r), which makes it impossible to exclude aesthetic or

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29   See ÖNB 5393, fols. 284r–284v.
30   See ÖNB 5393, fol. 285r, see Fig. 1.
31   See Susanne Rischpler and Martin Haltrich, 'Der Codex 5393 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek und seine lokalhistorische Verortung. Eine Zusammenschau', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 120 (2012), pp. 307–320.

didactic motivations on the part of the copyist of Wilhelmi's text, particularly since we are dealing here with an entirely felicitous realisation of the artificial ordering of the material (*ordo artificialis*), propagated in Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* (lines 91–141), which departs from simple chronological order and also recommends starting with general things before subsequently entering into detail. Petrus, meanwhile, begins his longest work by apostrophising bishops and kings (lines 1–2: 'pontifices ecclesiarum, | terrarum reges'), and then princes, counts, prelates, soldiers, clients and others (the enumeration fills lines 4–6: 'duces, comites potentes, | pralati, milites, clientes | ac celeteri'), to heed (line 3, 'perpendite'; line 6, 'conspicite') the storms threatening to sink 'Saint Peter's little ship' (lines 7–9):

> 2. Procellis quantis agitatur
> et naufraga periclitatur
> sancti Petri navicula.

Only after this and a number of other metaphors, in which the Church is described as the 'holy mother' (line 13: 'ecclesia – sancta mater'), the 'chaste bride of Christ' (line 25: 'sponsa Christi illibata') and a 'lonely widow' (line 27: 'sola sedet vidua'), does the author inform the reader that the crisis in Western Christianity was caused by ignoring the resolutions of an as yet unnamed ecclesiastic council (lines 38–39: 'nemo potest firmamento | concilii discedere') and by the authorities' slowness to bring an end to the schism (lines 41–42: 'cur prorogatis | scisma hoc rescindere?'). The reader only learns which council, or rather councils, are referred to in strophe 8 and the first half of strophe 9 (lines 43–51), where the author first points to the on-going (as indicated by the present tense of the predicates 'profitentur… venerantur') session of learned masters and doctors of theology at the Council of Basel, which represents the continuation of what has already been accepted ('accepit') at Constance and what could have been strengthened ('duraverit') in Siena:[32]

> 8. Ecce fere singulorum
> precipuorum studiorum
> magistri cum doctoribus 45
>
> Basiliense profitentur
> concilium et venerantur
> decentibus honoribus,
>
> 9. quod robora Constanciensi
> accepit, duraverit[33] Senensi 50
> conciliis solemnibus,

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32 The Council of Constance was held from 1414 to 1418, the Council of Siena from 1423 to 1424.
33 In Černý's edition: 'dive erit'.

Such an arrangement perfectly realises Geoffrey's injunction (*Poetria nova*, lines 126–129) to gradually 'illuminate' ('diffundere lumen') the material of the work, not immediately passing into details (*speciale*) of the subject, but first focussing on general matters (*generale*):

> Si pars prima velit maius diffundere lumen,
> Thematis intacta serie, sententia sunpta
> Ad speciale nihil declinet, sed caput edat
> Altius ad quoddam generale.[34]

The author of *Poetria nova* goes on to recommend introducing proverbs into the text (line 142: 'sic opus illustrant proverbia'), as Petrus appears to remember when preceding the apostrophe to the most important addressee of the work, King Frederick III (lines 64–75), with an aphoristic sentence (lines 61–63) about how, while the papacy (personified in the form of a synecdoche by the first pope, St Peter) and the supreme secular powers (personified by the first Roman emperor, Augustus) were incapable of acting with requisite energy, 'the cruelty of the pagans was increasing' (no doubt understood here as the arrogance of heretics):

> 11.   Heu, Petri ensis iam vilescit,
>   Augusti mucro requiescit,
>   augetur cruor gencium.

Following the apostrophe to the Habsburg, the author again addresses kings, electors, princes and bishops, counts and prelates, and finally nobles and simple folk (line 81: 'nobiles et simplices'), urging them all to take up the defence of the authority of the council and *eo ipso* of the Catholic Church (lines 82–93). The *exhortatio*, emphasising the need to unite all Christians (line 106: 'idem cuncti sentiamus'; lines 109–111: 'ut spiritus in unitate […] concordet unanimitet'), fills the last part of the work (lines 88–135).

In the carefully planned, persuasive structure of *Pontifices ecclesiarum*, one discerns the practical application of the theory of *transsumptio*, key to the style (and also the argumentation) of Geoffrey of Vinsauf, which underpins 'difficult ornament' (*ornatus difficilis* – lines 765–1093). As William M. Purcell notes:

> In *Poetria nova*, *transsumptio* is a concept that subsumes the tropes of metaphor, allegory, *antonomasia*, and *onomatopoeia*. The term *transsumptio* refers to an enthymematic method of connecting words for figurative use. A transsumption is achieved when one word or expression is used to provide a link between the term and the term supplanted. The mode of reasoning used in transsumption is syllogistic.[35]

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34 See bilingual edition: Godfryd z Vinsauf [Geoffrey of Vinsauf], *Nowa poetyka (Poetria nova)*, tr. with notes by Dorota Gacka, Warsaw 2007, p. 24.

35 W.M. Purcell, *Ars poetriae*, op. cit., p. 80.

Particularly strong in the work by Petrus Wilhelmi is metaphor linked to the Church, which is now 'St Peter's storm-tossed little ship' (lines 7–9), now the 'holy mother' (line 13), elsewhere the 'chaste bride of Christ' (line 25) or a 'lonely widow' (line 27), but also, due to the schism, 'like a vile monster' (line 16: 'quasi monstrum vilis") and finally, indirectly, 'Peter's sword' (line 61: 'Petri eneis'). Each of these examples of the metaphorical antonomasia of the Church is subordinated to the overriding aim of persuasion.

Whilst the poem *Pontifices ecclesiarum* exemplifies the use of *ordo artificialis* on the level of disposition, on the level of elocution, of *ornatus difficilis*, the (anti)panegyric *Probitate eminentem* (II/7) acquires originality only thanks to its two-part rendition, whereas its disposition adopts an eminently simple form, in which the outlining of the subject (praise for the 'splendid moral benefactor of the clergy' Andreas Ritter in lines 1–8) is followed by a description of the addressee's *virtutes*. Here, the praise, devoid of all allegory and metaphor, does not go beyond 'facile ornament' (*ornatus facilis* – *Poetria nova*, lines 1094–1587). However, because the text is rather short and of an irreverent character (as is only brought out by the musical notation), it is difficult to compare this motet with the text of *Pontifices ecclesiarum*, which is almost twice as long. That said, if we look at the hymns to Christ, Mary and the saints which dominate the output of Petrus Wilhelmi, it turns out that as a poet he prefers the elaborate metaphors of *ornatus difficilis*, manifest above all in the images of Phoebus – Apollo – Helios triumphing over Pluto as an antonomasia of Christ in *Phebus ecclipsi tumuli* (I/5) and of Mary tearing down the castle walls 'built from our sins' ('Maria advocata, | arcem muri viciorum | nostrorum rue') in *Prelustri elucencia* (I/7, R 2) or glorified as a 'rose blooming in Jericho' ('in Iericho tu florens rosa') and 'Jesse's rod' defending us from the devil ('virga Iesse […] firma […] contra zabulum') in *Presidiorum erogatrix* (I/10, lines 14–19). The whole of *Panis ewus typicatus* (II/6), meanwhile, about the host, appears to correspond, on the level of inventiveness and elocution, to the poem about the wood of the Cross ('Crucis lignum') through which Eberhard the German illustrates various combinations of *rhytmi compositi*.

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So how should we assess Petrus Wilhelmi as a poet? In the first half of the fifteenth century, he was certainly not an innovator. He based his poetical craftsmanship on treatises of the *artes poetriae*, which underlay education in rhetoric and poetics throughout Central Europe at that time. It should be admitted, however, that Petrus moved very freely within the bounds set by Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* and Eberhard the German's *Laborintus*, fluently employing different variants of *versificatio rithmica / rigmica* and introducing elaborate metaphors based mainly on allegory and antonomasia, and less frequently on comparison. As a composer, Petrus Wilhelmi was particularly popular within the university environments of Cracow, Vienna
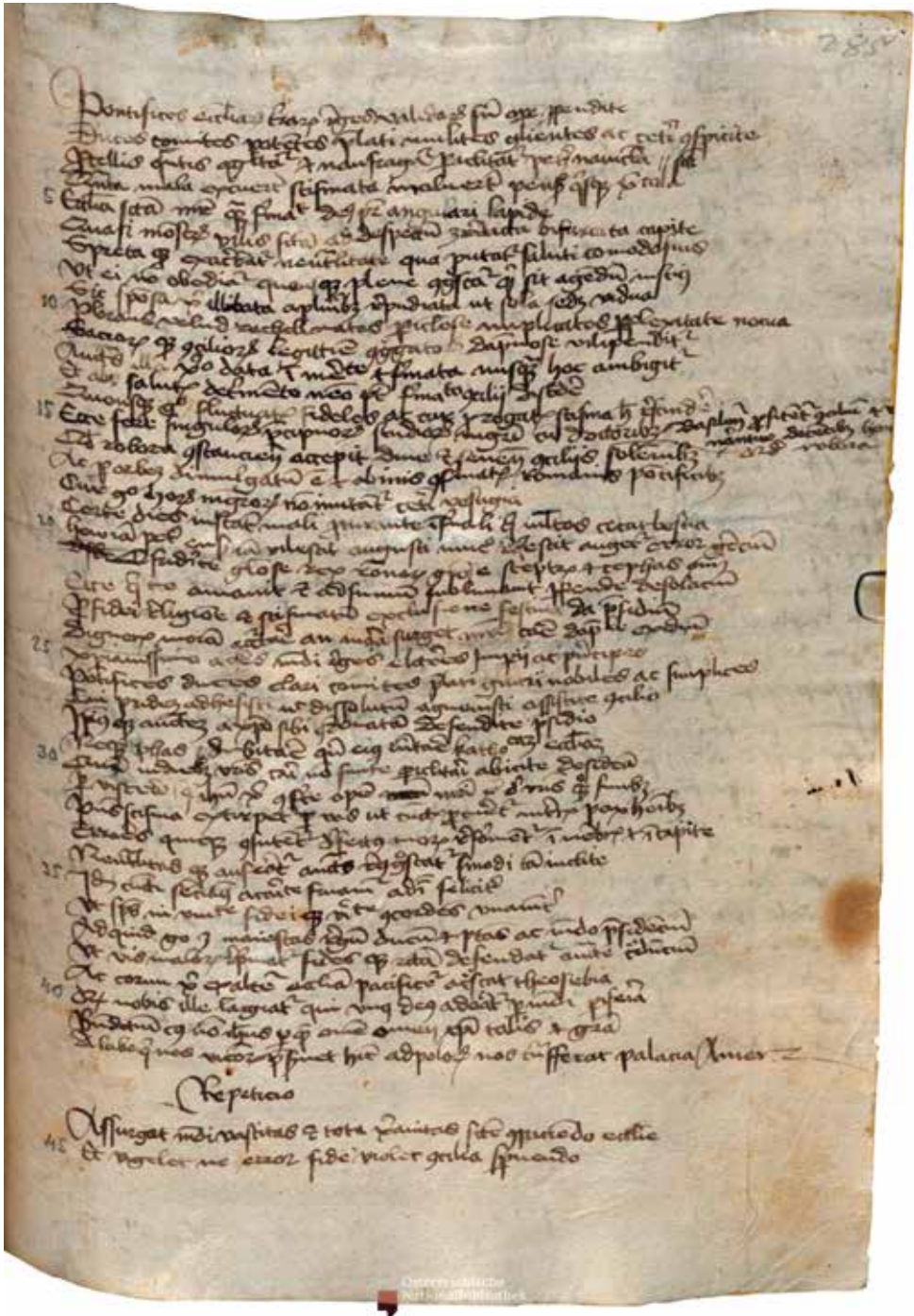
Fig. 1. Petrus Wilhelmi, *Pontifices ecclesiarum,* Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 5393, fol. 285r.

and Leipzig and among Bohemian Utraquists. Yet he was not, as Paweł Gancarczyk stresses, a court composer.[36] At the court of Frederick III, where the humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini was writing in the mid fifteenth century, the very mediaeval – in both form and content – poetical output of the author of *Pontifices ecclesiarum* would not have been appreciated. However, it perfectly adhered to the aesthetic canons of the universities of those days, which only began to depart from mediaeval *poetria* in the second half of the century.[37]

Translated by John Comber

TEKSTY PETRUSA WILHELMIEGO DE GRUDENCZ W KONTEKŚCIE PÓŹNOŚREDNIOWIECZNYCH *ARTES POETRIAE*

Biografia, jak i twórczość kompozytorska Petrusa Wilhelmiego de Grudencz (1392–po 1452) od momentu odkrycia go przez Jaromíra Černego doczekały się już bogatej literatury przedmiotu, jednak wciąż nieopracowany pozostawał dorobek *stricte* poetycki kompozytora. Niniejszy artykuł stawia sobie za cel osadzenie tekstów Petrusa w kontekście średniowiecznych *artes poetriae*, podręczników łączących w sobie elementy gramatyki, poetyki i przede wszystkim retoryki, z którymi kompozytor mógł się zetknąć jeszcze w rodzinnych Prusach, a z pewnością poznał je dokładnie podczas swych długich studiów w Krakowie (1418–30). Na ówczesnym uniwersytecie krakowskim czytano wówczas przede wszystkim należące do tego nurtu *Nową poetykę* Godfryda z Vinsauf oraz *Laborintus* Eberharda z Bremen. W stolicy ówczesnej Polski lub nieco później w Wiedniu mógł się Petrus zetknąć również z *De arte prosayca, metrica et rithmica* Jana z Garlandii.

Eberhard z Bremen daje w swym dziele przejrzysty podział poezji na opartą na klasycznych miarach wersyfikacyjnych *poesis metrica*, opartą na rymie i rytmie *poesis rithmica* lub *rigmica*, oraz swobodną formę muzyki kościelnej zwaną *prosa*. Wśród dwudziestu dwóch utworów Petrusa Wilhelmiego (z akrostychem jego imienia) wydanych przez Jaromíra Černego oraz kilkunastu kolejnych zidentyfikowanych w ostatnim dwudziestoleciu tylko dwa – otwierający edycję Černego utwór *Presulis eminenciam* (I/1) i kanon (*rotulum*) *Pneuma erumpnosi telluris rei* z punktu widzenia średniowiecznej *ars poetriae* można zaklasyfikować jako zrytmizowaną prozę. Wszystkie pozostałe utwory należą do *poesis rithmica*, żaden natomiast nie podlega klasycznej wersyfikacji metrycznej. Wśród utworów z akrostychem PETRVS dominują *rhytmi compositi*, najczęściej o rymach abab lub aab ccb. Stosunkowo nieliczne odstępstwa od zasad poetyki można potraktować jako wyraz inwencji autora (rymy abab w *Probitate*

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36 See P. Gancarczyk, 'Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (b. 1392)', op. cit., pp. 107–108.

37 In Cracow, for instance, in 1476. See T. Michałowska, *Średniowieczna teoria*, op. cit., p. 32; in Vienna, the first attempts to reform the university were made by Frederick III, shortly before his death, in 1493. See A. Niederstätter, *Österreichische Geschichte 1400–1522*, op. cit., p. 384.

eminentem i aaab cccda aeae w *Presulem ephebeatum*), ale też jako świadectwo pewnej nonszalancji albo samego Petrusa Wilhelmiego, albo kopisty (nieregularności w wersyfikacji w *Pregrata era*, *Pontifices ecclesiarum* i *Probitate eminentem*), lub też jako wynik późniejszej ingerencji w pierwotny tekst (wersy z imieniem Andreasa Rittera w *Probitate eminentem*). Natomiast w najdłuższym utworze Petrusa – *Pontifices ecclesiarum* – mamy do czynienia z zastosowaniem kluczowego dla stylistyki Godfryda z Vinsauf „układu kunsztownego" (*ordo artificialis*) i „trudnej ozdobności" (*ornatus difficilis*).

Bartosz Awianowicz

Dr hab. Bartosz Awianowicz, adiunkt w Katedrze Filologii Klasycznej UMK, specjalizuje się w retoryce antycznej (wydawca *De inventione* oraz wydawca i tłumacz *De oratore* Cycerona) i jej recepcji w XV–XVIII w., jest również autorem podręcznika łaciny i książek poświęconych napisom na monetach starożytnego Rzymu.
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