

# **The Latin Texted Motets of Guillaume de Machaut**

Submitted by  
Jennette Lauren Montefu B.A. (University of San Diego)

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School of Arts and Sciences

Faculty of Humanities

Australian Catholic University  
Research Services  
Locked Bag 4115,  
Fitzroy, VIC 3065  
Australia

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Jennette Lauren Montefu

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## Abstract

Guillaume de Machaut's motets constitute a cycle. This study focuses upon Machaut's six Latin texted motets and their influence upon these cyclical contexts. Former research into these motets has uncovered references to contemporary poetry, liturgical texts, literary sources, particular persons, and historical events. Through an examination of recent research into the cyclical nature of the motets it is possible to critically evaluate these hypotheses in the light of the past historical, codicological, liturgical, musical and poetic analysis of these works to create a rounded picture of each motet. In this way it was found that many of the previously researched aspects of the motets follow in line with recent theories surrounding motet grouping structures. In this way when placing these works within a mystical theological literary context their sacred nature, evident within the tenor chant fragments upon which many of them are built, becomes evident and a greater plan apparent. Beyond this, with an examination of Machaut's life and the events which occurred in his lifetime the context for composition of the remaining motets is unearthed. Within these motets elements have now been identified which link them to Machaut's canonries at both Saint Quentin and Reims as well as the events of the Hundred Years' War. In this way the deep connection between Machaut's motets and all levels of his life is becoming increasingly apparent.

Through an examination of these six Latin texted motets it is found that a liturgical context is key to the analysis of all voices. This is apparent in the mere use of vocabulary idiomatic to the liturgy present within these texts. In this way the selection of words within motet 21 points to a Marian allusion and the apocalyptic, drawing motet 21 even closer in context to motets 22-23. This apocalyptic reference is also seen in specific words within in triplum text of motet 22. Furthermore, the Marian allusions discovered throughout these last three motets in their upper voices are apparent only with a close examination of the *Salve Regina* texts. In this way the influence and importance of liturgical context to the analysis of the motet has been extended to all voices.

This study has also uncovered allusions to other fourteenth century works in the analysis of Machaut's motets. In the case of motet 9 a connection between its chant tenor and another from the *Roman de Fauvel* reveals a political context which brings an added richness to the interpretation of these texts. Furthermore, as with motets 18-19, it may be gleaned that as Machaut and Vitry were both canons at Saint Quentin that perhaps it was here and with these two motets that Machaut began his tutelage with the older master of the motet. These conclusions may be drawn by the striking similarities between Machaut's works and those believed to have originated from within the Vitry circle.

In the course of this study there have been additions to evidence the necessity of looking to all aspects of Guillaume de Machaut's motets in their analysis. This includes use of numerical symbolism in varying aspects as shown in motet 9 as well as a thorough exploration of Machaut's use of vocabulary within his texts to find its literary, historical, motet, and liturgical allusions. The identification of these sources may either serve to reinforce or expand the context of the motet leading to a deeper understanding of its purpose within a group of motets or individually.

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## Introduction

In the Prologue to his complete works, Guillaume de Machaut gives us a hint as to the elements which may be found in his musical and poetic works, listing them simply as *Sens, Rhetorique, et Musique*. Although these words appear to be straight forward their actual medieval meaning and their implications upon Machaut's musical works are not so easily fathomed. In order to derive this meaning it is necessary to examine the use of rhetoric, impressive words and language which probably hold different significance to the reader of today, and music, whose definition to the Medieval scholar was stratified and included mathematical ratio and divine order. In scanning the large breadth of Machaut's works for these elements they appear to reach their zenith in Machaut's motets. Indeed, in the past and present musicologists have excitedly unearthed allusions which seem to fill these three texted musical works to the brim. These motets have been shown to encompass references to both the past, with allusion to trouvère poetry and other French literary traditions, as well as Machaut's present, with reference to the events surrounding the Hundred Years' War. Beyond this, musically Machaut has been found to borrow motet material from Philippe de Vitry and his contemporaries, adding a further level of allusion to the mix. Recently it has even been discovered that in the mere act of ordering his works Machaut alludes to sacred theological writings of the period. The combination of these textual allusions, the symbolic musical elements of the *ars nova* motet, and the overall cyclical context of the works produces the meaning which Machaut describes within his Prologue.

Having acknowledged the use of allusion within Machaut's motets it must also be mentioned that the liturgy, shown markedly in the chant fragment tenor lines, plays a key role within many of these works. In this way the identification of the tenor source is essential to establishing the context of the motet. Beyond this, now that the cyclical nature of the motets has been discovered, in any successful analysis of a motet its context within the cyclical group must also be considered. Because a majority of Machaut's six Latin texted motets have been found to constitute groups unto themselves and because motet 9 forms a central point within the first French texted motets, this study focuses upon Machaut's six Latin texted motets. Research into these motets has already uncovered possible historical and liturgical allusions which allow for further analysis. Beyond this similarities between the motets of the Philippe de Vitry circle abound among these motets. Their placements within the cycles also give a solid understanding of the broader functions of the individual among the whole. These allusions and others found within the examination of these works will serve to form the context within which each motet's meaning may be more fully derived.

As in all cases of research the undertaking of such a study would not be possible without the aid and support of numerous people. In this way I must express my sincere gratitude to Mr. John Stinson for his constant input and the imparting of knowledge without which the completion of this thesis would have been impossible. The time and effort put forth by Mr. Stinson was indeed invaluable and I am much in his debt. Also, much thanks to my parents for their continuous love, support, and their contagious love of learning. Thanks to my sister Jamie for her editing skills, support, and recipes to fuel the scholar's mind and body. Thank you also to my hosts Nick, Dorte, and Chris Green

for providing a home away from home and a continuous source of encouragement and humor. Lastly, I must thank Michael for his constant love, support, companionship, confidence in my abilities, and for sharing his life with me. Without the help of these people none of the following would have been possible.

## Literature Review <sup>1</sup>

The musical and poetic works of Guillaume de Machaut have been studied in historical, musicological, and literary circles for over two centuries.<sup>2</sup> Machaut's extensive artistic oeuvre contains primarily poetic *dits* and secular chansons in the courtly love tradition but also music endowed with distinctly sacred themes.<sup>3</sup> Of this diverse collection of works, however, the

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<sup>1</sup> The research materials listed within this literature review have been found with the aid of electronic research materials such as the La Trobe University *Medieval Music Database* on the worldwide web, *International Index of Musical Periodicals*, and *RILM*. Printed materials which were consulted include Lawrence Earp. *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. Garland Composer Resource Manuals. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995. and Clemente Terni, ed. *Medioevo Musicale: Music in the Middle Ages*. Florence: SISMELE Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998.; and Lawrence Earp. "Bibliography." *Ymaginer* 14 Spring 2002: vi-ix.

<sup>2</sup> A historiography of both literary and musical studies of Machaut's works is given in Lawrence Earp's essential guide to Machaut research. Lawrence Earp. *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. Garland Composer Resource Manuals. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995. For literary studies see p. 195-202, for musical studies see p. 273. Here we find that the first printed excerpts of Machaut's poems in 1743 were incorporated within French histories for their historical insights into the events surrounding the Plague, Hundred Years War, and Crusades as depicted within the narrative poems *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, *Le Confort d'Ami* and the *La Prise d'Alexandria*. l'abbé Jean Lebeuf. *Dissertations Sur L'histoire Ecclésiastique Et Civile De Paris, Suivies De Plusieurs Eclaircissements Sur L'histoire De France*. Vol. 3. Paris: Durand, 1743; l'abbé Jean Lebeuf. "Mémoire Sur La Vie De Philippe De Mezières, Conseiller Du Roi Charles V, Et Chancelier Du Royaume De Chypre." *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 17 (1751): 491-514. The first modern study of Machaut's literary works was seen in 1753. Lebeuf, l'abbé Jean. "Notice Sommaire De Deux Volumes De Poesies Françaises Et Latines, Conservés Dans La Bibliothèque Des Carmes-Déchaux De Paris; Avec Une Indications Du Genre De Musique Qui S'y Trouve." *Mémoires de littérature, tirés des registres de l'Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 20 (1753): 377-98. Preliminary interest and research into Machaut's musical works did arrive until 1802 with a reprint of Machaut's *Gloria* and the third lyrical-musical insertion into the *Remede de Fortune*. Christian Kalkbrenner. *Histoire De La Musique*. 2 vols. in 1 vols. Paris and Strasbourg: Koenig, 1802.

<sup>3</sup> Machaut's complete musical sacred and secular works include 42 *ballades*, 25 *lais*, 23 *motets*, 22 *rondeaux*, 39 *virelais*, *Messe de Nostre Dame*, and *Hoquetus David* while his secular literary works include *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, *Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*, *Le Dit de l'Alerion*, *Le Dit du Cerf Blanc*, *Le Dit de la Fonteinne Amoureuse*, *Le Dit de la Harpe*, *Le Dit de la Fleur de Lis et de la Marguerite*, *La Loange des Dames*, *Le Dit dou Lyon*, *Le Dit de la Marguerite*, *La Prise de Alexandre*, *Le Prologue*, *Le Dit de la Rose*, *Le Livre dou Voir Dit* and *Remede de Fortune*. The complete poetic works have been published by Vladimir F. Chichmaref, *Guillaume De Machaut: Poésies Lyriques. Edition Complète En Deux Parties, Avec Introduction, Glossaire Et Fac-Similés Publiée Sous Les Auspices De La Faculté D'histoire Et De Philologie De Saint-Pétersbourg*. 2 vols. Paris: Champion, 1909. The complete musical works have been published by Friedrich Ludwig, ed. *Guillaume De Machaut: Musikalische Werke*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1929. and Leo Schrade. *Guillaume De Machaut, Œuvres Complètes*. Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century. Ed. Leo Schrade. Vol. 1, *Les lays*. Vol.



musical form of the motet is the most versatile in that it a form which may be applied to sacred or secular themes, or both at once as it was utilized in religious, courtly, and festive occasions.<sup>4</sup> During his lifetime the motet would increasingly utilize a technique called isorhythm. In the case of Machaut research, however, more critical attention has been given to Machaut's secular amorous and philosophical chansons and *dits* than to his motets. Years of progress in medieval musicological analysis of the texts and music of the thirteenth and fourteenth century has lead to the discovery of methods in which Machaut was able to encase intent and allusion within varying aspects of these works. Scholarly attention focused first on the dissection of the isorhythmic structures, then on the dating of the works. More recent research has dealt with their historical

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2, *Les motets*. Vol. 3, *La Messe de Notre-Dame*. Les Double hoquet. Remede de Fortune. Vol. 4, *Les ballades*. Les Remparts, Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1977.

<sup>4</sup> For more on twelfth to fourteenth century motet characteristics and their history see Ursula Gunther. "The Fourteenth Century Motet and Its Development." *Musica Disciplina* 12 (1958): 27-47; Hans Tischler. "The Two-Part Motets of the Roman De Fauvel: A Document of Transition." *The Music Review* (1981): 1- 8; Daniel Leech-Wilkinson. "Related Motets from Fourteenth Century France." *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 109 (1982-1983): 1-22; Dolores Pesce. "The Significance of Text in Thirteenth Century Latin Motets." *Acta Musicologica* (1986): 91-117; Sarah Fuller. *The European Musical Heritage 800 - 1750*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1987; Christopher Page. *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France*. Clarendon: Oxford University Press, 1993; Andrew Wathey. "The Motets of Philippe De Vitry and the Fourteenth Century Renaissance." *Early Music History* 12 (1993); Mark Everist. *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; Alice V Clark. "Concordare Cum Materia: The Tenor in the Fourteenth-Century Motet." PhD diss. Princeton, 1996; Ursula Gunther, Ludwig Finscher, and Dean J. Jeffrey, ed. *Modality in the Music of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries [Modalitat in Der Musik Des 14. Und 15.]*. Vol. 49. Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hanssler, 1996; Susan Fast. "God, Desire, and Musical Narrative in the Isorhythmic Motet." *Canadian University Music Review/Revue de musique des universités canadiennes* 18.1 (1997): 19-37; Sylvia Huot. "Polyphonic Poetry: The Old French Motet and Its Literary Context." *French Forum* 14: 261-78; Sylvia Huot. *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth Century Polyphony*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997; Margaret Bent. "Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet: *Tribum Que Non Abhorruit/Quonian Secta Latronum/Merito Hec Patimur* and Its "Quotations"." *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Ed. Dolores Pesce. New York and Oxford, 1997. 82-103; Anne Walters Robertson. "Which Vitry?: The Witness of the Trinity Motet from the Roman De Fauvel." *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Ed. Dolores and Margaret Bent Pesce. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. 52-81; Marie-Bernadette Dufourcet. *Les Motets*. Paris: Combre, 1998; Alice V. Clark. "New Tenor Sources for 14th Century Motets." *Plain-song and Medieval Music* (1999): 107-131; Christopher Page. "Performance in Context: Around the Performance of a 13th Century Motet." *Early Music* 28.3 (2000): 343-57; For more concerning possible historical circumstances in which motets were performed as well as those who would have performed them see Christopher Page. *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300*. London: Dent, 1989; and Christopher Page. "Performance in Context: Around the Performance of a 13th Century Motet." *Early Music* 28.3 (2000): 343-57. Susan A. Kidwell. "The Selection of Clausula Sources for Thirteenth-Century Motets: Some Practical Considerations and Aesthetic Implications." *Current Musicology* 64 (2001): 73-103

and literary contexts. The most recent findings have involved the motet collection's cyclical nature. It is not until each of these details is combined, however, that the true overall picture of the motet as composed by Guillaume de Machaut is realized. Therefore before a successful discussion of any of these works may be begun it is essential to retrace the steps of musicological and literary research into Machaut's motets. In this way a more complete and rewarding understanding of these intricate vessels of intent may be fashioned.

### **Musical Analysis**

The tools with which scholars conducted musical analysis during the beginning of the twentieth century and before were adequate for the music of Mozart and Handel but proved to be ineffective when applied to the music of the fourteenth century. The multi-textured character of the motet only accentuated these inadequacies. The addition of the study of musical treatises of the day provided further enlightenment yet because these texts were written primarily for beginners, in the case of Machaut's skillful work, they do not always apply.<sup>5</sup> The end result is that musicologists have had to outline many logical methods of analysis which have resulted in bringing a sense of order and purpose to our musical understanding of the motets. Yet, many of these earlier methods of musical analysis do not apply to all the motets. Although they resulted in the overall emphasis of the individuality of each of these motets it was also becoming increasingly apparent that the full intentions of the composer were not being revealed through these early methods of analysis.

The general consensus during the fifties appeared to be that Machaut's motets were chiefly vehicles for isorhythmic structure. This notion is embodied in Ursula Günther's article

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<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of these historical treatises by Johannes Boen and Petrus de Cruce see Daniel Leech-Wilkinson. *Compositional Techniques in the Four Part Isorhythmic Motets of Philippe De Vitry and His Contemporaries*. New York: Garland Publishers, Inc., 1989. p. 9-24.

discussing the motets of Machaut in comparison to others of the fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup> This article was an important contribution in the attempt to understand the motet and its isorhythmic intricacies through a listing of the traits found in each motet as well as a comparison with other motets of the time.<sup>7</sup> Although there was some mention of the importance of the text to the analysis of these works a majority of the research conducted during this time focused on structural issues.<sup>8</sup>

The year 1977 marked five hundred years since Machaut's death in 1377. In honor of the composer numerous musicologists gathered for a conference in Reims discussing Machaut's works.<sup>9</sup> This conference brought Machaut to the forefront for musicological study resulting to an increase in research. By the 1980s and early 1990s musicologists' attention to isorhythm remained focused but evolved to include theories regarding the composer's method of composition. Beyond these aspects central to the motet there were efforts to understand functional aspects of medieval tonality. These methods of analysis were driven primarily by musicologists Daniel Leech-Wilkinson<sup>10</sup> and Sarah Fuller<sup>11</sup> who relied upon instructions laid out

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<sup>6</sup> Ursula Günther. 'The Fourteenth Century Motet and its Development'. *Musica Disciplina* 12 (1958), 27-47.

<sup>7</sup> This article was also instrumental in providing a translation of many of the Machaut motet research results into the English language. Previous discussions of Machaut's motets include Heinrich Bessler. "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters: II. Die Motette von Franko von Köln bis Philipp von Vitry." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 8 (1927): 137-258; Armand Machabey. *Guillaume De Machaut 130?-1377: La Vie Et L'oeuvre Musical, Bibliothèque D'études Musicales*. Vol. 1-2. 2 vols. Paris: Richard-Masse-Editeur, 1955; Reaney, Gilbert. *Guillaume De Machaut*. Oxford Studies of Composers. Vol. 9. London: Oxford University Press, 1971; and Georg Reichert. "Das Verhältnis zwischen Musikalischer und Textlicher Struktur in den Motetten Machauts." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 13 (1956): 197-216.

<sup>8</sup> Further research into the Machaut's use of isorhythm following Ursula Günther's contributions are sparse until the 1980s.

<sup>9</sup> For some of the ideas put forth at this conference see the following publications *Guillaume De Machaut: Poète Et Compositeur. Colloque-Table Ronde Organisé Par L'université De Reims (19-22 Avril 1978). Actes De Colloques* 23. Paris: Klincksieck, 1982. and *Early Music* 5.4 (1977).

<sup>10</sup> Daniel Leech-Wilkinson. "Compositional Procedure in the Four-Part Isorhythmic Works of Philippe De Vitry and His Contemporaries." Ph. D. Cambridge University, 1983; Daniel Leech-Wilkinson. "Machaut's Rose, Lis and the Problem of Early Music Analysis." *Music Analysis* 3.1 (1984): 9-28; Daniel Leech-Wilkinson. *Compositional Techniques in the Four Part Isorhythmic Motets of Philippe De Vitry and His Contemporaries*. New York: Garland Publishers, Inc., 1989; Daniel Leech-Wilkinson. *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990; and Daniel Leech-Wilkinson. "Not Just a Pretty Tune: Structuring Devices in Four Machaut Virelais." *Sonus* 12.1 (1991): 16-31.

within instructional musical treatises of the fourteenth century by Petrus de Cruce and Johannes Boen. In this way, although his analysis of the rondeau *Rose Lis* by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson is not suggested to apply to Machaut's motets, its method of analysis is indeed valuable as it seeks to understand the structure and intricacies of medieval french secular song.<sup>12</sup> The most valuable aspect of this article is the step-wise process of analysis which is displayed firsthand. Firstly, he identifies any hexachords in each voicing, secondly, he looks at the intervals which the voices form together, thirdly, he looks at the function of key notes in moving toward moments of dissonance and consonance, and finally he reaches an extreme simplification with only key notes. From these key tones he is able to derive that in *Rose Lis*, just as in Italian secular song, the movement of an entire octave in a phrase appears to be its main characteristic.

Turning his sights to sacred works, in his doctoral thesis, Leech-Wilkinson established the notion that all isorhythmic motets of the fourteenth century owe their existence to preexistent material.<sup>13</sup> Through a detailed musical analysis of the composition of the four part motets of Philippe de Vitry, Guillaume de Machaut, and the Ivrea codex, Leech-Wilkinson finds that there is not one specific method of analyzing these Latin texted motets. Composers' use of preexistent material within their own works leads to a method of analysis appropriate to the individual piece. The most typical method of quoting preexistent material is use of a chant fragment within the tenor line whose importance extends to the overall color of the piece and which may result from the grafting of multiple lines of chant together or leaving notes of the original out. Composers also formed their pieces with an eye towards the forms of

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<sup>11</sup> Sarah Fuller. "A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? The *Ars Nova*." *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985-86): 23-50; Fuller. *The European Musical Heritage 800 - 1750*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1987; Fuller. "Modal Tenors and Tonal Orientation in Motets of Guillaume De Machaut." *Current Musicology* 45-47 (1990): 199-245; and Fuller. "Tendencies and Resolutions: The Directed Progression in *Ars Nova* Music." *Journal of Music Theory* 36 (1992): 229-58.

<sup>12</sup> Leech-Wilkinson. "Machaut's Rose, Lis..." p. 9-28.

<sup>13</sup> Leech-Wilkinson. *Compositional Techniques...*

previous works in which case emulating the form of a preexistent work might take ultimate priority and where the composer's text comes a distant second in its suitability for the form. Taleae are another source of reference to previous material. In the case of Machaut, Leech-Wilkinson finds that Machaut emulated Vitry in each of his four voice motets 5, 21, 22, and 23 and used similar compositional techniques to those of his predecessor. Overall, besides the proof of Machaut's ties with Vitry, the main argument of this thesis is that a method of analysis for the fourteenth century motet must include the identification of the preexistent material quoted as well as the manner in which it is shaped within the new composition.

In his work pertaining to Machaut's Mass, Leech-Wilkinson proves that the relationships between the voices as seen within the Mass are more than just coincidental and are the result of masterful vertical control, a finding which dispelled the theory that medieval composers were more concerned with horizontal structure.<sup>14</sup> In his book which serves as an introduction to the Mass, Machaut is deemed to have exhibited a sense of a moving toward and away from dissonance as well as a masterful awareness of vertical relationships. Through his analysis of the Mass, Leech-Wilkinson leaves no doubt that Machaut's use of dissonance was deliberate and that the function and the treatment of the dissonance varies throughout the work. There is no reason to believe that this intentional use and awareness of dissonance would have been reserved solely for Machaut's Mass and in this way there is much to derive from this introduction in regards to the treatment of dissonance within especially the later motets which were probably composed around the same time as the Mass.

In the nineties, the importance of the tenor to the tonal analysis of the motet and not just its isorhythmic structure is made increasingly apparent as is the individuality of each motet in

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<sup>14</sup> Leech-Wilkinson. *Machaut's Mass*.

analysis. With the aim of understanding how the tonal structuring within Machaut's motets is intended to be analyzed, Sarah Fuller's article discusses the key role each tenor should play in the analysis of the specific motet and brings to light the importance of the tenor to the overall tonal structuring of each motet.<sup>15</sup> Beginning with motet 9, Fuller shows that Machaut's use of tonal control was masterful and that the polyphony takes its form from the plainsong fragment used in the tenor. In the case of motet 9, just as with the other motets which Fuller analyzes, she finds that if one looks to the polyphony with an eye toward modal thinking, it is evident that the final of the tenor line is the key tone in which tonal stability may be found throughout the motet. Although each motet differs due to differences in plainsong fragments, there are qualities which remain constant such as the use of a color which ends with a descending step to the final, an occurrence which leads Fuller to conclude that tonal traits had as much to do with Machaut's selection of chant fragment as did text. In regard to formatting a method of analysis which can be applied to all Machaut's motets, there is no straightforward answer however, Fuller does believe that it is possible to analyze how the tenor has effected the overall polyphony. She offers three methods in which the borrowed plainsong can influence the polyphony of a piece: firstly, it can adhere to the pitch relations found within the original chant, secondly, it can reach a tonal coherence polyphonically even if the tenor hardly ever touches the final tone, or thirdly, it can embark on a departure away from the plainsong material and then return. This article is a welcome addition to the argument of how Machaut's motets should be analyzed as it does not attempt to provide a generic method for treatment but rather suggests that each motet should be considered in the context of the plainsong fragment upon which it finds its foundation. Fuller's analysis of motets 7, 9, 17, and 19 leaves much to be desired as to whether the tenors of motets thought to have been composed later, such as motets 21-23, subscribe to the same tenor

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<sup>15</sup> Fuller. "Modal Tenors..." p. 199-245.

foundations. Even so, Fuller's analysis appears to be a practical and logical method which may be easily applied and crafted to provide an interesting analysis into the structure of each of Machaut's motets and it does much to extend the scope of motet analysis beyond isorhythm.

Yet despite all the tonal and isorhythmic analysis of Machaut's motets especially by Fuller and Leech-Wilkinson, the motets were not being viewed as the poetic entities that they are. It was not until 1991 that a connection between musical analysis and textual analysis was forged. This connection established the motet as a structure with poetic intent instead of a structure which was constructed solely for the purpose of holding impressive manipulations of the original talea and color patterns.

Margaret Bent's article discussing the art of interpretation using symbolism in number as well as structure is fundamentally influential by way of identifying a manner in which musical analysis may lend itself to textual analysis.<sup>16</sup> In this article which serves as a codex to Kevin Brownlee's analysis of the text of motet 15, Bent finds support for Brownlee's analysis which finds deception as the motets main theme.<sup>17</sup> She looks to aspects such as the number of breves in the piece, the number of syllables, and the rhyme scheme. Biblical numerical symbolism abounds as Bent sees the possibility that the ten longs of the tenor which equal thirty breves stated in four talea might signify Peter's threefold denial of Christ and the thirty pieces of silver paid to Judas for Jesus betrayal. Using the golden ratio, Bent identifies words important to the theme. Structurally, differences between the lengths, patterns, and rhyme scheme of the motetus and triplum texts support the texts in which the two entities, Amours and Faux Semblant are presented as being in opposition. Key words are emphasized through their placement within the

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<sup>16</sup> Margaret Bent. "Deception, Exegesis and Sounding Number in Machaut's Motet 15." *Early Music History* 10 (1991), 15-27.

<sup>17</sup> Brownlee, Kevin. "Machaut's Motet 15 and the Roman De La Rose: The Literary Context of Amours Qui Le Pouoir/Faus Semblant M'a Deceu/Vidi Dominum." *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 1-14.

talea. Acrostics are seen with the spelling of ADINA in the triplum text, a finding which corresponds to the Biblical character Jacob of the tenor line as Dinah is the name of Rachel's sister who becomes the wife of Jacob as a product of deceit. Mirror like formations within the structuring recall the tenor text of '*facie ad faciem*'. From her examination of the above, Bent uncovers places within the motet where meaning is held. In closing she suggests that this method of analysis may prove fruitful in the examination of Machaut's other motets. This analysis which looked to both text and music was fundamental in establishing the motets as one of the most thriving areas of current Machaut scholarship.

### **Textual Analysis: Reference to the Sacred and the Present**

In the study of Machaut's motets in the late 1990s especially, musicologists were beginning to fully understand what is meant by the term 'subtle arts' and have grown to truly appreciate the enormous scope of medieval learning. References to numerous literary sources which were conceived centuries before Machaut's birth and are both sacred and secular in origin have added a novel idea to textual analysis as have allusions to the historical and political world of Machaut. With each literary source identified our understanding of what these motets held for the medieval listener blossoms and the works themselves become increasingly impressive.

The practice of using theological means to interpret Machaut's Latin motets came early on in the study of Machaut's motets and is discussed by Eggebrecht using motet 9 as his example as early as 1968.<sup>18</sup> His thought is that since the texts of the triplum and the motetus are in Latin, the language of the church, its texts should therefore be interpreted in this context. By using the liturgical context of the tenor as well as its Biblical context Eggebrecht interprets the tenor's theme. The text of the tenor is taken from Genesis where Jacob laments upon finding the

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<sup>18</sup> Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht. 'Machaut's Motette Nr. 9'. *Archiv fur Musikwissenschaft* 20 (1963), p 281-293, and 25 (1968), p. 173-195. Although this article discusses the connections between text and music the necessity to examine both was discussed by Heinrich Bessler in "Studien Zur Musik Des Mittelalters."



bloodied coat of his son Joseph. The main motive of Joseph's brothers in this deception was envy. The triplum text which speaks of Lucifer calls him the fount of all pride as well as the text which speaks of the betrayal of Jesus by Judas. All Biblical allusions point to an overall theme of envy. The fact that Envy is one of the 7 Deadly Sins, elements discussed widely throughout medieval literature, also would suggest this topic. Importantly, Eggebrecht points out a kind of 'word painting' in the notes of the tenor which resemble the slithering of a serpent, an animal which symbolizes Satan and who is discussed within the texts above. Eggebrecht chief contribution in this article is the fact that he considers the Biblical context of the tenor as well as the common practices in medieval literature, a practice which leads to a more sophisticated analysis of the motets as a whole.

Although Ludwig made reference to Machaut's use of events in the Hundred Year's War and the Siege at Reims in one of his motets,<sup>19</sup> Kurt Markstrom's analysis of four Latin motets *Fons tocius superbie/O livoris feritas/Fera Pessima* (M9), *Christe qui lux es/Veni creator Spiritus/Tribulatio proxima est et non* (M21), *Felix virgo/Inviolata genitrix/Ad te suspiramus gementes et fientes* (M23), and *Tu qui gregem/Plange, regni republica/Apprehende arma est et non* (M22) goes further in identifying references to specific events in history found within in these works.<sup>20</sup> Beginning with a literature analysis which discusses primarily the work done regarding the chronology of Machaut's works, Markstrom goes on to discuss motet 9, which he believes to have been written in 1347, as a political commentary as opposed to Eggebrecht's strictly theological interpretation. Among the many symbolic allusions to the political: Markstrom sees the envious Satan of the texts as Edward III of England who laid claim to the French throne and invaded France in numerous bloody attacks; he deems the 'Adam in dire

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<sup>19</sup> Friedrich Ludwig. 'Die französischen Balladen, Virelais und Rondeaux des 14. Jahrhunderts...', Chapter IV of ed. Guido Adler, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, Frankfurt-am-Main: Frankfurter Verlag, 1924.

<sup>20</sup> Kurt Markstrom. 'Machaut and the Wild Beast'. *Acta Musicologica* 61 (1989) 12-39

torment in the Stygian dungeon' as either Raoul de Brienne or Charles de Châtillon who were held in the Tower of London on the Thames; and Queen Philippa of England as the one to which Machaut refers in his textual references to the Virgin Mary. In discussing Motet 22 he deems this motet to have been written between the years 1347-48 as a call to arms against the English who invaded the French land. He agrees with Gilbert Reaney's conclusion that the leader discussed in the text must be the Duke of Normandy.<sup>21</sup> Markstrom goes further to support this conclusion with numerous historical and detailed political reasons which he discusses in detail. Continuing on to motets 21 and 23, Markstrom sees them as later compositions as they resemble to some degree those of the Chantilly Codex and are very closely related in isorhythmic structure and textually as they are both prayers for peace. Further agreeing with Reaney, Markstrom considers these pieces to have been written around the time of the defeat at Poitiers in 1356. He agrees again with Ludwig in his statement that motet 23 concerns the Seige at Reims and points out that Jeremy Yudkin concludes similarly regarding these motets but also draws attention to the manner in which the triplum and motetus texts paraphrase the original hymns *Christe, qui lux es et dies* and *Veni, creator spiritus*.<sup>22</sup> Although this article perhaps puts a little too much emphasis on finding historical parallels for every textual aspect of these motets, it is highly convincing with regard to the issue of Machaut's Latin motets acting as a form of political and social commentary. This in itself is an enormous step forward in the area of textual analysis as well as in providing a consistent topical point of origin for the Latin motets.

### **Textual Analysis: the Art of Recreating with Allusion and Quotation**

Having identified historical significance within the motet texts the next step was the identification of ties to other areas of medieval life and society. Kevin Brownlee's analysis of

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<sup>21</sup> Gilbert Reaney. "Towards a Chronology of Machaut's Musical Works." *Musica Disciplina* 21 (1967): 87-96.

<sup>22</sup> Jeremy Yudkin. *Music in Medieval Europe*. Prentice Hall History of Music Series. New York: Prentice Hall, 1989. p. 481-482.

the motet *Amours qui a le pouoir/Faus Samblant m'a deceü/Vidi Dominum* (M15) was instrumental in bringing to light the importance of identifying the literary context from which the texts come in order to find the critical message of the composition.<sup>23</sup> In motet 15 Brownlee looks to the medieval poem *Roman de la Rose*, a poem which he points out influenced Machaut throughout most of his poetic oeuvre, to find the context for both the triplum and motetus texts. The motetus and triplum are deemed to be a kind of dialogism in which the Lover in the *Roman de la Rose*, who is identified as the lyric 'je' of these texts, laments that he has been deceived by both the God of Love and False Seeming. In retracing the steps of the discourse between False Seeming and the God of Love, Brownlee finds that in the Rose the two are eventually identified as being two sides of the same coin, both corrupt and deceiving in their own way. If we consider the God of Love as embodying the practice of courtly discourse and False Seeming representing that which is clerical and theological although deceptive, we see that with this use of characters who embody traits and issues in society Machaut broadens the context of the motet to approach issues of real life. Furthermore, Machaut emphasizes the idea of deception with his use of seemingly diametrically opposite entities who are actually quite similar. Turning his attention to the tenor text, Brownlee uses its Biblical context to help establish the actual poles of opposition in this motet. The tenor which comes from Genesis 32:30 deals with deception's polar opposite: truth. In representing the deception of the human world with its clerical hypocrisy and false courtly discourse in the texts of the motetus and triplum, Machaut boldly highlights the divine truth which is embodied in the tenor textual context and comes only from God, a sentiment which appears to be the overall message of the motet. In this way Brownlee convincingly demonstrates that this identification of the literary context of the texts within a motet lead to an

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<sup>23</sup> Kevin Brownlee. "Machaut's Motet 15 and the Roman De La Rose: The Literary Context of Amours Qui Le Pouoir/Faus Semblant M'a Deceu/Vidi Dominum." *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 1-14.

exciting insight into the many layers of meaning found in each motet and, most importantly, the central message of the piece. Brownlee's link to the *Rose* is key in devising a rewarding new approach to analyzing the texts of Machaut's other French motets.

Sylvia Huot's article on the textual analysis of the motets *Tous corps / De souspirant cuer / Suspiro* (M2) and *He! Mors com tu / Fine Amour / Quare non sum mortuus* (M3) continues along the lines of Brownlee in its emphasis of the importance of the tenor line text and context in exploring the secular courtly love and sacred meanings found within each of the bilingual and French motets to the fullest.<sup>24</sup> Huot claims that the central Biblical figure in these motets is Job, a figure who she feels would have held interest for those living during the catastrophic fourteenth century because of his connection with Fortune and Providence. In motet 2 a courtly lover speaks of the pain he feels at the longing for his lady and how he waits patiently to receive the reward of her love that only she can grant and without which he will die. Huot uses the tenor word '*suspiro*' which occurs in the words of Job's lament to show the parallel between the suffering of the lover and the suffering of Job. With regard to Motet 3, Huot sees that the upper voices which speak of a lover's wish to die after the death of his lady correspond with the tenor which is a Responsory stating Job's wish to die rather than suffer the torments of his life. In placing these two motets together in many of his complete works, Huot believes that Machaut might have composed these motets together but more importantly that Machaut seeks to demonstrate the evolution of the sentiments of the lover in these motets. Although stretching it a bit, Huot suggests that the persona in motet 2 may be seen as the Lover who is unable to transcend the lust and desire of his earthly love into divine love while the persona of motet 3

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<sup>24</sup> Sylvia Huot. "Patience in Adversity: The Courtly Lover and Job in Machaut's Motets 2 and 3." *Medium Aevum* 63 (1994): 222-38.

loves loyally without hope of physical gratification and therefore finds himself looking forward to a divine love and reward in death.

The most interesting aspect of this analysis is Huot's tracing of the sentiments expressed in the motets to the sentiments expressed in Machaut's own dits *Jugement de roy de Behaingne* and the *Jugement dou roy de Navarre*. In this way she identifies the sentiments of the Knight with those in motet 2 and the sufferings of the Lady after the death of her true love with the sufferings of the lover in motet 3. This looking to different genres of Machaut's works is a new kind of approach which might prove to be a rewarding train of thought for future analysis.

Huot also makes a keen attempt at analyzing the motives for Machaut's resetting of this story with the Knight and Lady. She highlights how Machaut recalls the devastations of the plague in the prologue of Navarre before he enters into the retelling of the tale of the Knight and Lady. In this way Machaut has reached a new level of maturity which was probably due to the tragedy through which he lived. He therefore retells the tale with emphasis shifting from the pleasures of youth and leisure to moral and spiritual virtues which are eternal. Huot recalls the words of Boethius in his *De consolacione Philosophiae* in a ground breaking connection that leaves more parallels to be discovered in Machaut's other motets.

In the recent area of research into Machaut's motets musicologists are beginning to understand the vast amount of reference to the past held within the motets of Guillaume de Machaut. Jacques Boogaart's recent publications both in 1993 and more impressively 2001 have been instrumental in identifying quotations within the motets from numerous and varied sources from the past besides the already known Biblical and *Roman de la Rose* allusions.<sup>25</sup>

Although we knew that Machaut sought to emulate the troubadours and trouvères from French

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<sup>25</sup> Jacques Boogaart. "Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and Their Function in Machaut's Motets." *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 1-86, and Boogaart. "Love's Unstable Balance, Parts I & II." *Muziek en Wetenschap* 3 (1993): 3-33.

history through use of courtly love themes and even a scrap of one of his *lais* written in a form similar to that of the *trouvères*,<sup>26</sup> Boogaart identifies not only *topos* but specific passages from the works of Perrin d'Angicourt, Robert de Castel, Gace Brulé, and Thibaut de Champagne. Along this same vein of courtly love literature, Boogaart identifies further references to the highly popular Medieval courtly love poem *Roman de la Rose*. Besides these amorous sources, Machaut loosely quotes Boethius' *De consolacione philophie II* in the French triplum of Quant Vraie Amour/O series *summe rata/Super omnes speciosa* (M17). In this case, Machaut's quotation is in French while the original is in Latin. Judging from this fact it is safe to say that the language of the original source does not limit Machaut to using the same language in his quotation. In the case of *Lasse! Comment oublieray/Se j'aim mon loial amy/Pourquoy me bat mes maris* (M16), Boogaart finds that the arguments of the woman in the texts puts her in the role of defendant as her plea is arranged in a kind of formula which is meant to arouse pity in judges as demonstrated by Brunetto Latini in the chapter *De pitie* from his book on rhetoric. In his analysis, Boogaart touches upon almost every French motet as well as a couple of the Latin texted motets. He shows that in especially the Latin texted motets there is further use of quotation from the Bible even in the upper voices. Now although it is obvious that these texts allude to the Bible, Boogaart shows that the words selected for these poetic lines have ties to direct passages from the Vulgate which follow in the same vein as the texts. In other words, Boogaart shows that Machaut was deliberate in his selection of specific words which would recall in the listener specific passages of the Bible which bring further meaning to the original poetic lines of the upper voices.

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<sup>26</sup> David Fallows. "Guillaume De Machaut and the Lai: A New Source." *Early Music* 5.4 (1977): 477-83.

## Ordering Structure of the Motets: Rhyme or Reason?

At first analysis of the ordering of the motets in the numerous manuscripts, musicologists first had to determine which complete works manuscripts held the order of motets that Machaut himself intended. With an established concept of this regular ordering scheme there was speculation as to the possible reasons which might be behind this order. At one point it was generally believed that chronology was the ordering factor but later attempts at analysis found that this may have had little to do with the ordering structures. After leaving the issue of motet order for many years, scholars could not ignore the fact that every aspect of Machaut's motets seemed to hold meaning and therefore that it must also be contained within the sequence of motets. Drawing upon the recent research which has tied Machaut's use of quotation to a wide array of literary sources recent research into the motet order has found that Machaut's motet ordering recalls journey's made within some of these literary sources. In this way, musicologists have discovered another aspect of the motets which holds a profound level of meaning and may aid in finally tying together both the sacred and secular themes expressed within each motet as according to a higher plan established by Machaut himself.

Since the ordering of the motets differs to some degree according to which manuscript they are found, the issue of complete work manuscripts' reliability was one pertinent to discovering Machaut's intended ordering for these works.<sup>27</sup> Following from the dating of the manuscripts, Gilbert Reaney sought to date many of the motets therein.<sup>28</sup> Since Ms C, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France 1586, the earliest of the manuscripts, contains motets 1-3 and 5-20 he considers these the earliest although he acknowledges that this may be due to thematic issues in the motets which are left out. Focusing on the possibility of chronology in the order of

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<sup>27</sup> Literature concerning the dating of the manuscripts will be examined in Chapter 3 of this study.

<sup>28</sup> Gilbert Reaney. "Towards a Chronology of Machaut's Musical Works." *Musica Disciplina* 21 (1967): 87-96.

the motets, Reaney estimates that since they are not included among the first part of Machaut Ms C that some of their dates of composition could fall after 1349 although a majority of the motets seem to be of an earlier style. He points out that the style of motet 9 resembles that of the motets in the *Roman de Fauvel* and could therefore be an earlier work. He also deems the last three motets as being in a mature style. Motet 18 is dated 1324 and Motet 19 1335. He believes Motet 22 refers to Charles, the Duke of Normandy, due to the punning on the word 'duke' through the course of the piece and since it is similar to motets 21 and 23, believes it was composed sometime after 1356. This line of thought and arrival as to the date of composition for these motets was supported by Markstrom with his addition of historical support included within the texts of the Latin motets. The end result has been that the ordering of the motets does not owe much to their chronology and this realization has allowed musicologists to explore other possible influences upon this structure.

Currently there has been debate and an impressive amount of evidence showing that something as simple as the ordering of these works carries a deeper meaning and if these theories are in any way true, then there is no possible way to analyze one piece without referring to or without putting it into context with its function in the whole. In his recent article, Thomas Brown claims that with the first twenty motets, signaled partly by the word 'Amen' in the motetus of motet 20, *Roman de la Rose*.<sup>29</sup> The overall plan does not follow chronologically, however, in that the topics of discussion in each motet do not follow the chronology of the poem itself. Besides these themes recalling the Rose, Brown claims that there is an aspect of the order which recalls even the events under which the poem was composed. At the end of Motet 10, the Lover claims that he will be obedient until death, perhaps just as Lorrís was in the writing

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<sup>29</sup> Thomas Brown. "Another Mirror for Lovers? - Order, Structure and Allusion in Machaut's Motets." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 10.2 (2001): 121-33.



of his portion of the Rose, until his death. Brown suggests that this is a reflection of the death of Lorrís and the beginning of the continuation of his poem by de Meun. Besides the fact that the themes of these motets follow along the lines of the Rose, Brown goes on to claim that Machaut has created a structure which is meant to emulate a mirror, or more specifically, a mirror for lovers which is thought to have been the intended title of the *Roman de la Rose* as given by de Meun. Machaut casts this image of the mirror using symmetries in the motet order which are made by placing similar motets either in groups together or on opposite ends of the ordering. According to this mode of thought the midpoint of the 20 motets is reached in the silence between M10 and M11 and it is from this central point that the mirror image emanates. The motets do appear in this light to have been forged to be interpreted to some extent as one total unit.

There have been similar theories as to the importance of the motet ordering structure posed by musicologist Anne Walters-Robertson.<sup>30</sup> Unlike Brown, Robertson sees form in motets 1 through 17 and instead of identifying them with the courtly love poetry of the *Roman de la Rose*, she traces the influence of a theological work called *Horologium Sapientie*. Although this work is sacred in its foundation, it is steeped in amorous language which makes it not a distant possibility in providing structure. In this situation, Robertson claims that motet 9 provides a middle point for the form, a midpoint which is stressed by the fact that motet 9 is the only Latin motet included among the first seventeen with the last five Latin motets and one French motet included after this order. The fact that *Horologium Sapientie* was on display at Reims Cathedral at the time of Machaut's residence as canon there lends merit to Robertson's case.

When examining the past research concerning the motets of Guillaume de Machaut an evolution in analytical methods becomes apparent. Beginning first with the thorough analysis

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<sup>30</sup> Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

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and understanding of isorhythmic structures and tonal functions, musicologists were able to piece together a process of composition and the knowledge that Machaut excelled in the manipulation of tonal elements within his musical settings. Historical efforts included the analysis and dating of the complete works manuscripts and the motets therein. These historical methods lead to connections between Machaut's Latin motets and the violent historical events of his lifetime. This was followed by recent research which has identified numerous sources alluded to within these motet texts. In this way the importance of the tenor source has been repeatedly shown. In regard to the French motets, quotation from the body of courtly love poetry of the trouvères has been discovered in the upper voices. Recently, interconnections between Machaut's motets have been further established with new evidence concerning their cyclical nature. Overall through an examination of this research it is clear that Machaut embodied each aspect of his motets with a meaning which becomes apparent when placed in the correct context.

## **Chapter 1 – Fourteenth Century France**

Guillaume de Machaut's fourteenth century European world was characterized by dramatic transformation and conflict. The boundaries of nations such as England and France were shifting to reflect the losses and victories of bloody battles. Corruption and the hunger for power was apparent even among the French themselves as noblemen plotted to capture the French throne or at least to further themselves in the eyes of whoever did eventually become King. The link between politics and religion was never more obvious as in the turmoil which resulted in a papal schism with a French Pope residing in Avignon. Beyond this, death came silently and swiftly for possibly a third of the world's population in the invisible form of the Black Death which swept the globe. This destruction and turmoil brought with it rumours of the apocalypse which was undoubtedly soon to come in the wake of these atrocities. Such a climate would undoubtedly have influenced and shaped anyone living in France during this time but especially an individual in the position of Machaut who was among the courtly and religious circles of the day and was therefore privy to the political agendas and power plays occurring during this time. In analysing the works of Machaut it is then necessary to examine and discuss the events which occurred during his lifetime in order to better identify their influence, if any, upon his artistic oeuvre.

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The event which highlighted most of the fourteenth century, the Hundred Years' War, was the result of contention as to the rightful ruler of France after the ruling sons of King Philip IV (d. 1314) had failed to produce male heirs. Upon the King's passing, his oldest son Louis ruled until his death in 1316, leaving behind only a young daughter and unborn son (John I) who would live only five days.<sup>31</sup> This event, which left the throne to a young girl while there was the possibility of Louis' mature brother Philip ruling, resulted in the passing of a decree in 1316 forbidding the French throne to be transmitted to a female. Matters were further complicated, however, as Philip V also left behind no heirs while his brother Charles IV was survived by only four daughters.<sup>32</sup> After years of political stability in France stemming from the continuing line of male succession the line was finally broken. This occurrence was not problematic in itself but with the decree of 1316 as well as a later decree in 1328, the Salic law prohibiting the transmission of the French throne from mother to son, it produced violent consequences. The subsequent decision in 1328 to place Philip of Valois, the son of Philip IV's brother, upon the throne allowed descent to spring up from within and without the country. In rejecting the ability of the daughters of the King to produce an heir, France prohibited both the succession of Edward III of England and Charles II of Navarre of France.<sup>33</sup> Both

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<sup>31, 2</sup> Martin Scott. *Medieval Europe*. Bristol: Longmans Green & Co. Ltd., 1964. p. 322.

<sup>33</sup> It should be mentioned that in 1328, the year in which Philip of Valois was crowned King of France, practicality would have added further weight to the decision to crown him King of France by the young ages of the other strong candidates for the throne. Philip would have been deemed more capable of ruling at the age of 35 than Philip of Evreux who was only 23 and Edward of England who was a mere 15 years of age. John Le Patourel. "Edward III and the Kingdom of France." *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations*. Ed. Clifford J. Rogers. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1990. 247-64. p. 249.

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figures, Edward, son of Philip IV's daughter Isabella, and Charles, son of Philip IV's brother Charles of Valois, would play key and forceful roles within this troubled political system which resulted in over a century of bloodshed.

After the crowning of Philip of Valois as King of France in 1328 Edward III, as Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Ponthieu, paid him homage as his feudal lord in 1329, an act which was viewed by the monarchy to have been a renunciation of Edward's inherited right to the throne.<sup>34</sup> This was not the case, however, as in the year 1337 Edward, at the mature age of 23, declared his God-given right to the throne in a formal declaration of war sent to Philip. The concept of Edward cleverly biding his time until he reached a better age to defend his position is shown clearly in a manifesto of 1340:<sup>35</sup>

Whereas the kingdom of France has fallen to us by most clear right, by divine disposition and through the death of Charles of famous memory, late king of France, . . . and lord Philip of Valois . . . intruded himself into the said kingdom by violence while we were still of tender years and occupies it in defiance of God and of justice; we, lest we should seem to neglect our right and the gift of celestial grace, or appear unwilling to put our will into

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<sup>34</sup> Edward paid homage as Duke of Aquitaine in 1329. W. M. Ormrod. *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England 1327-1377*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990. p. 8

<sup>35</sup> Part of the reason why Edward may have waited until this point to declare his right to the French throne stemmed from the problems which England was battling with Scotland. In 1329 King Robert Bruce of Scotland died leaving only an infant son, David II. This opened up the question of succession once again in which the English King supported the English lord Edward Balliol. Obviously the Scottish wished for the ruling of one of their own and this culminated in the battle at Halidon Hill in 1333. The subsequent English success which forced David II into exile provided mixed results for the English due to the strong ties between Scotland and their French allies. The French King Philip VI, with the upper hand considering the amount of land in France owned by the English King, declared that no talks should take place between the two nations unless the situation with Scotland was addressed. Edward's position of subservience to the French King was brought to the forefront during the next years, an occurrence which resulted in the English King's formal claim to the throne in 1340. Ormrod. *The Reign of Edward III*:... p. 7-9. For a more thorough discussion of the struggle between England and Scotland as well as translations of historical documents of the day see James Campbell. "England, Scotland and the Hundred Years' War in the Fourteenth Century." *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations*. Ed. Clifford J. Rogers. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1990. 207-30.

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conformity with divine pleasure, have put forward our claim to the said kingdom in due form and, trusting in the support of the heavenly kingdom, have undertaken the government of it, as we ought to do.<sup>36</sup>

Under such circumstances it is possible to speculate that the French monarchy would have viewed this late drawing of attention to his birthright as deceptive and conniving although others would have happily anticipated the concept of a new king for their own selfish reasons.

Having pointed out this discrepancy among the French, it is necessary to further address the issue of Edward's right and ability to rule from France. This concept would not have been as far-fetched as it might sound to us today as Edward himself was not far removed from French culture.<sup>37</sup> Edward was half French and his possession of lands within the realm meant that the people in these regions would have considered their lord as the one to whom they held loyalty. In this way the peoples in this area of France may have felt more English than French in many ways. Yet the notion that Edward's primary reason for waging war against the French during this time was to claim the French throne is a drastic oversimplification of reality. Edward's reasons for war were manifold. As the sovereign King of England with lands in France, he found himself vulnerable to the possible rulings and mandates of the French King. Edward could not afford the possible confiscation of the possessions in Gascony as it was a highly lucrative land which produced most of the wine consumed by the English as well as the 13,000 bottles a year for the

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<sup>36</sup> Rodgers, ed. *The Wars of Edward III*:... Boydell: Woodbridge, 1999. p.250. as translated from *Foedera, conventiones, litterae etc.*, ed. Thomas Rymer, revised edition by A. Clarke, F. Holbrooke and J. Coley, 4 vols. in 7 parts. London: Record Commission, 1816-69. ii, pp. 1108-10.

<sup>37</sup> For further discussion of this concept of Edward's French background see Le Patourel. "Edward III and the Kingdom of France." p. 249.

crown.<sup>38</sup> For these same reasons it is important to remember that France was by no means a united country in that each feudal lord had his own interests in mind in forming his decisions for whom to support in the bloody days ahead. In this way Edward was able to gain support from within France as many French nobles would have happily acknowledged the validity of his claim to the throne for selfish reasons. Edward was already able to count upon the support of the lords Captal de Buch and Sire d'Albret of Gascony whose families had long been loyal to the English King.<sup>39</sup> For them the concept of a King who resided on the far side of the Channel as opposed to one ruling in nearby Paris was much more attractive.<sup>40</sup> Obviously, the notion of self-interest was alive and well in the political world of fourteenth-century France making the warring of the two nations even more complicated and dramatic.

The war was first fought on an economic front with Edward's embargo on the export of English wool which fuelled the prosperous economy of Flanders. The first actual violent attacks on land began in 1345 with the destructive *chévauchée* led by the Earl of Derby through Poitou.<sup>41</sup> The next year Edward would join the fighting himself in his campaign at Crécy intending to take the North of France. After the army's capture of Caen they made way toward Paris but were stalled along the way. When they finally were able to continue they found that they had been surrounded by the French. In this way the battle which resulted at Crécy was really a trap set by the French as it is believed that Edward would not have intended to lead

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<sup>38, 9</sup> Ormrod. *The Reign of Edward III...* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990. p.8.

<sup>40, 11</sup> Scott. *Medieval Europe*. p. 330.

his army into this situation where they were overwhelmingly outnumbered.<sup>42</sup> In finding himself in such an unexpected situation Edward was able to turn the tide by fighting a defensive battle relying mainly upon the use arrows fired from behind hedges and fences to delay the advance of the France.<sup>43</sup> This was enough to win the battle for the English, however, as Philip was not able to counteract such tactics. Although the French King was able to escape the confrontation of forces with his life, it was nearly not the case. Many of his fellow nobility and soldiers were wiped out in these frenzied events described by Froissart:

On the other side the archers fired so marvellously that when the horses felt these barbed arrows (which did wonders), some would not go forwards, others leapt into the air as if maddened, others balked and bucked horribly, others turned their rumps towards the enemy, regardless of their masters, because of the arrows they felt. Some, unable to avoid it, let themselves fall. The English lords, who were on foot, advanced and pierced through these men, who could not help themselves, by their own efforts or by their horses.<sup>44</sup>

Therefore, from the beginning the military and tactical prowess of the English was overwhelmingly apparent to the French as were the unmerciful rules of engagement in which no Frenchman would be spared. This description evidences the chaos and bloody situation which would have faced the French people in the days to come after the Battle at Crécy:

In the morning there was a great din, so that a large number of English went into the fields with the King's leave, in order to see if they could find any

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<sup>42</sup> The notion that Edward would not have brought himself into a direct conflict such as occurred at Crécy is echoed by several historians in numerous works such as Edouard Perroy, *The Hundred Years War* (New York, 1965), 119. Cf. Philippe Contamine, *La Guerre de Cent Ans* (1972), 29; Prestwich, *The Three Edwards*, 177-178, 186; Jim Bradbury, *The Medieval Archer* (Woodbridge, 1985), 105, 111; and Maruice Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages* (1973), 135 as pointed out in Clifford J. Rogers. "The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations." Boydell: Woodbridge, 1999. p.273.

<sup>43</sup> Scott. *Medieval Europe*. p. 331.

<sup>44</sup> From Jules Viard and Eugene Depres, ed. *Chronique de Jean le Bel*. Paris: Société de l'histoire de France (1904), Vol 2, p. 102-110 as translated in Rogers, ed. *The Wars of Edward III*, p. 133.



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Frenchmen who were re-assembling. Thus they found a great number of the commons, from the towns, who had slept in thickets, pits and hedges, and were asking each others' adventures, and what they could tell them, for they did not know what the outcome for their side had been nor where the King of their lords were. When they saw the English coming towards them, they awaited them, for they believed that these were their own people; and the English set upon them like wolves among sheep, and killed them at will. Another company of English went adventuring, and met another company of people advancing through the fields in order to see if they could hear news of their lords, others sought their masters, others their relatives, others their companions. The English killed all of these as they found them.<sup>45</sup>

This battle, followed by the slaying of unarmed French countrymen and peasants, convinced the commonality that their feudal lords were unable to protect them, contributing to a fear and resentment which would eventually turn violent.

From Crécy Edward's army marched on to lay siege of Calais from 1346-47.<sup>46</sup> Philip's decision to withdraw his defensive forces from Calais in 1347 consequently lead to the surrender of Calais to Edward's forces and the conceding of yet another tactical position in the English's favour.<sup>47</sup> The outbreak of Plague in 1348 slowed the progress of the war and in 1350 with the death of Philip VI the throne passed directly to his son John II. All this occurred while the French people suffered death, famine, and even harsher taxation to fund the war without the prospect of much protection. The growing inadequacy of the French monarchy and its failure to address the issues of its people further accentuated the weakness of the French position. This strengthened the claim and provided the fuel by which others

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<sup>45</sup> Rogers, ed. *The Wars of Edward III*. p. 134 as translated from Jean Froissart. *Chronique de Jean le Bel*, ed. Jules Viard and Eugène Déprez. Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1904. 2:102-110.

<sup>46, 17</sup> Scott. *Medieval Europe*. p. 331-332.

were therefore able to further complicate the already chaotic political climate of the day.

Part of Edward's success stemmed from his ability to play upon the unrest which was growing among the common inhabitants of France as well as the weaknesses in the relationships between the French King and those of the nobles to the North and the West, Normandy and Brittany. As far as the common folk were concerned the English continued to wreak havoc upon the countryside pillaging, burning, and murdering the French inhabitants whilst the French feudal lords meant to protect them held a non defensive and inactive stance which paralleled their political self interests. As far as the nobility were concerned, the securing of support for the French throne came through the granting of power and land. This issue also became important in issues surrounding the relationship between King John and the dangerous Charles of Navarre. As mentioned earlier, Charles' claim to the French throne was indeed valid in its own right and his support from his fellow countrymen was strong enough for him to have become a continuous thorn in the side of the Valois. With the unrest among the commonality his growing power became even more of a threat to the monarchy. This threat was not lessened with John's decision to grant the position of Constable of France to Charles of Castile along with the county of Angoulême, a county to which the house of Navarre had a claim.<sup>48</sup> This oversight by the King resulted in Charles of Navarre's assassination of

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<sup>48</sup> Scott. *Medieval Europe*. p. 332-333.

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Charles of Castile in 1354.<sup>49</sup> In an attempt to quell the growing number of supporters to the house of Navarre, John performed a further oversight with the acquittal of Charles of Navarre as well as the subsequent granting to him of lands in the north.<sup>50</sup> Such acts only encouraged Charles. In a late attempt to stamp out the plotting of Charles of Navarre, King John arrested him and beheaded five of his fellow co-conspirators but did not go through with the execution of Charles. This only angered the Navarrese supporters and in this way, with an increasing number of supporters and the obvious dismissal of the power of current rulers, by the year 1354 Charles of Navarre had confidently assured Edward that Navarrese nobility and his supporters were behind him, an assurance which partially resulted in another bloody battle at Poitiers and yet another victory for Edward.<sup>51</sup>

The three day Battle at Poitiers came as another deadly blow to the French nation. The inability of the remaining sympathizers to the crown to deal with the English forces resulted in the imprisonment of King John when he refused to abandon this obviously losing battle.<sup>52</sup> With the imprisonment of their King John in the Tower of London upon the Thames River in 1357 the resentment of the French people toward the current rulers was becoming too difficult to ignore. Ruling in his father's absence, Charles of Normandy, was left to deal with the rising of factions among the French as well as the increased frustrations of the common man. The people's chosen champions of reform became Etienne Marcel, supported by those

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<sup>49, 20</sup> Scott. *Medieval Europe*. p. 333.

<sup>51</sup> Rogers, ed. *The Wars of Edward III...* p. 148-150.

<sup>52</sup> Scott. *Medieval Europe*. p.333-334.

who also supported Charles of Navarre, and Robert le Coq, Bishop of Laon.<sup>53</sup> By 1356 the support for these two men was so strong that they were able to make demands of reformation upon the Dauphin which included the appointment of a council of twenty-eight who would rule along with the King in an oligarchical system as well as the release from prison of Charles of Navarre.<sup>54</sup> Charles escaped in 1357 and his appearance in Paris incited riots throughout the city. The mob even went to the point of breaking into the court and murdering two of the Dauphin's closest friends and humiliating the Dauphin himself:

The villagers and laborers of the commonalty of France gathered in crowds after their King Jean was taken at Poitiers, despising the nobility and doing violence to those whom they could reach, throwing down their houses and declaring that noble people were of no use except to oppress the commonalty and poor people by their extortions. They slew in some places the wives and children of gentlemen, wherefore the gentlemen gathered together and defeated them and put them to flight, and put down this rising.

In the same season the commonalty of Paris, having chosen themselves a leader, and named him Provost of the Merchants, rose suddenly and went to the palace of the King, where the King's son, who was called Duke of Normandy and Dauphin of Vienne, was in council. They broke open the doors of his chamber, killed in his presence the Marshal de Clermont, brother of him who died at Poitiers, and beheaded sundry others there, accusing them of having wasted by living in great towns the treasure of France taken from them [the commonalty] without any intention of making war upon the enemy. . . .<sup>55</sup>

This event, known as the *Jacquerie*,<sup>56</sup> made clear to the Dauphin the power of the common people. The people's power over the King did not last long for by 1358,

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<sup>53</sup> Michel Mollat and Philippe Wolff. *The Popular Revolutions of the Late Middle Ages*. Trans. A. L. Lytton-Sells. The Great Revolutions Series. Vol. 6. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1973. p. 118-123.

<sup>54</sup> Scott. *Medieval Europe*. p.333-334.

<sup>55</sup> *The Wars of Edward III*, p. 167, as translated from Sir Thomas Gray. *Scalacronia*, ed. and tr. Sir Herbert Maxwell. Edinburgh: Maclehose, 1907. p. 130-132.

<sup>56</sup> This revolution took its name from the peasants who took part in the revolt. These peasants were commonly known as Jacques most likely because of the garment or blouse they wore called a *jacque*. This word is the origin of the English word for 'jacket'. Mollat and Wolff. *The Popular Revolutions*

with the aid of the nobles who still supported the Dauphin, Marcel and 20,000 peasants had been massacred in a successful attempt to bring an end to the resistance.<sup>57</sup>

Returning to our discussion of the attacks by Edward III upon France, it is safe to say that he was highly successful in his attacks upon cities which were key to the economy and the monarchy of France. In this way the city of Reims, the traditional coronation site of French Kings, was an important strategic target for the English and one which would have been anticipated to have been their eventual destination. The man who was charged with the care and protection of this cathedral city which was, more importantly, the symbolic site where power had been passed from French ruler to succeeding French ruler, was the archbishop of Reims. With the threatened state of the French throne as displayed first in the Battles of Crécy and then Poitiers the protection of Reims was increasingly important. Years after the first overwhelming victory by the English, in 1355 King John II of France, fighting an increasingly defensive war, ordered the re-enforcement of the cities walls by then Archbishop of Reims, Jean de Croan. Undoubtedly King John foresaw that with the capture of the city Edward would be able to add further weight to his claim to the French throne through his coronation within the cathedral. Yet the executing of this order was not as easy as it should have been for in 1355 at the battle of Poitiers King Jean was captured, placing the responsibility of the kingdom in the hands of his son Charles.

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*of the Late Middle Ages*. p. 123.

<sup>57</sup> Scott. *Medieval Europe*. p. 336.

Further obstacles in the completion of the city walls were Jean de Craon himself, however, who seemed unfazed by the orders of the King and appeared to dither in his duty to protect the city. The resulting and understandable speculation was that the man charged with the care of the city of Reims, the archbishop, was a sympathizer to Edward III. This speculation, validated to some degree by the stalling of Jean to begin the re-enforcement process, was further solidified in the minds of the people of Reims by the history of his aristocratic family who hailed from Anjou, an area in the North known to have strong ties to Edward.<sup>58</sup> His preferred residency within the Porte de Mars, the gate of the city and a possible point of penetration into the city for an invading army, further reinforced the suspicious nature of his hesitancy. With the level of suspicion and uneasiness growing amongst the *Remois* in 1357 Craon finally appointed four men to oversee the re-enforcement of the wall. The unhappy state of the peasants of France erupted soon after this with the *Jacquerie* revolt in 1358 which also resulted in the Archbishop fleeing the city of Reims for his life. Obviously the peasant uprising which occurred in Paris also made itself known within Reims. With new found power and political presence in the wake of the *Jacquerie* the people of Reims appointed their own body of rulers and defenders called the *Élus* (the Chosen Ones) whose powers the Dauphin smartly approved. The archbishop soon returned to Reims but he did not ease the suspicions of the *Remois* when he not only once again insisted upon dwelling at the gate of the city but also suggested that Reims might be better protected with the import of guards from Anjou. With such plans in mind it would have been possible for the

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<sup>58</sup> Anne Walters Robertson makes this point in her discussion of Machaut's M22 and the possible implications which this might have had upon its texts. For further discussion see Chapter 6.

Archbishop to hand the city over to the English armies upon their eventual arrival. This did not happen, however, as despite the best attempts of Jean de Craon and the English, the walls of Reims were completed in early December 1359 just proceeding the arrival of the English armies later that month.

The siege upon the city lasted forty days but, much to the credit of the people of the city's resilience in the completion of the city walls, it was unsuccessful. This was finally the turning of the tide after long string of English victories against the French and one which would result in the signing of the Treaty of Bretigny in 1360. This treaty, although bringing peace in theory, was one which was costly to the French as they were forced to concede about a third of the kingdom, three hostages of royal blood, and three million gold *ecus* in return for the release of King John.<sup>59</sup> After all of this, however, the King was once again taken captive by the English in return for the release of his son Louis of Anjou and died captive in 1364.<sup>60</sup> The war between the English and French would eventually continue and although technically both nations were at peace independent mercenaries continued to threaten the peace of the people and plague continued to claim the lives of those who survived the attacks by their fellow men.

Another issue previously mentioned which had dire effects upon both the mentalities and the livelihoods of the French during the fourteenth-century, was the Black Death. This pestilence, which we now know was spread through the bites of fleas carried upon rats, originated in the Middle East.<sup>61</sup> The confusion which it

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<sup>59</sup> Rogers, ed. *The Wars of Edward III*:... p. 183.

<sup>60</sup> Scott. *Medieval Europe*. p. 336.

<sup>61</sup> George Deux. *The Black Death: 1347*. Turning Points in History. Ed. Sir Denis Brogan. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1969. p. 44.

caused when it struck Europe was partly due to the fact that there were three different forms which the disease took. In its bubonic form the victim developed large sores beneath their underarm or groin which foretold their death to come. The more easily spread and fast acting pneumonic form left the victim dead in days while the septicemic form killed within 24-36 hours.<sup>62</sup> Those who were struck with this disease in any form were left with no dignity as huge painful boils swelled beneath the arms and groin (bubonic plague) or they coughed blood (pulmonary plague) and leaked bodily fluids out of all orifices.<sup>63</sup> In this way many victims were left to fend for themselves contributing further to the high mortality rate. Although Europeans must have breathed a sigh of relief when first hearing of the distance of the outbreak of this disease before 1347, only a year later they would find that they were no match for such a disease when it finally reached them.

As this plague originated in Asia, many in Europe knew of its existence there was little thought that the disease could reach the continent. To those Europeans who had heard the stories of the East, however, these strange tales would have sounded as if they had come directly from the pages of the Biblical book of Revelations.<sup>64</sup> In 1333 there was a severe drought which parched the plains fed by the Kiang and Hoai rivers.<sup>65</sup> When the rain finally arrived, however, it brought with it flooding on such a scale that it resulted in the deaths of four hundred thousand

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<sup>62</sup> The pneumonic plague form resembles a form of pneumonia which is spread through coughing or even speaking. Herlihy. *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*. p. 22.

<sup>63</sup> Philip Ziegler. *The Black Death*. London and Glasgow: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1969. p. 27-29.

<sup>64</sup> An excellent account of the plagues sent as punishments in the Old Testament of the Bible is found in Deut. Accounts of the medieval Black Death strongly resemble these Biblical plagues. *The Black Death: 1347*. p. 23-42.

<sup>65, 36, 37</sup> Ziegler. *The Black Death*, p. 13.



people.<sup>66</sup> Beyond the flood deaths there were also the many deaths which came after the torrential waters caused the mountain Tsincheu to collapse, forming an enormous lake.<sup>67</sup> In all five million people were thought to have perished with the rest suffering under the swarms of locusts which emerged thereafter.<sup>68</sup> These trials were followed by similarly horrendous events in Greater India which are described by an anonymous Flemish cleric who had received this in a letter from a friend:

Horrors and unheard of tempests overwhelmed the whole province for the space of three days. On the first day there was a rain of frogs, serpents, lizards, scorpions, and many venomous beasts of that sort. On the second, thunder was heard, and lightening and sheets of fire fell upon the earth, mingled with hail stones of marvellous size, which slew almost all, from the greatest even to the least. On the third day there fell fire from heaven and stinking smoke, which slew all that were left of men and beasts, and burned up all the cities and towns in those parts. By these tempests the whole province was infected; and it is conjectured that, through the foul blast of wind that came from the South, the whole seashore and surrounding lands are waxing more and more poisonous from day to day. . .<sup>69</sup>

The poisons which were thought to have filled the atmosphere at this point were believed to be the reason for the outbreak of pestilence which soon followed and spread like a wave over the continent. Eventually this horror reached Europe as it spread like wildfire through the trade routes between the East and West on land as well as on sea with the infection rumoured to have arrived on Genoese vessels seeking ports in Italy in 1348.

The Black Death made its introduction to France only a few months after its arrival in Italy. The swelling population of France, which at times was difficult for

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<sup>68</sup> Ziegler. *The Black Death*, p. 13.

<sup>69</sup> Ziegler. *The Black Death*, p. 14 as seen originally in De Smet. 'Breve Chronicon clerici anonymi.' *Recueil des Chroniques de Flandres*. Vol. III p 14.

the land to sustain, fell quickly under the pestilence. Striking perhaps as early as November 1347 in Marseilles it was thought to have been introduced by the Genoese ships responsible for its spread to Italy.<sup>70</sup> An estimate of 56,000 dead in Marseilles gives a glimpse of the resulting human devastation.<sup>71</sup> After its spread to the populous city of Paris in early summer of 1348 the devastation was so severe that a chronicle of Saint Denis places the death toll at 50,000 while the Carmelites at Rheims estimate 80,000.<sup>72</sup> This quote from the chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis gives a startling look at life during this time in Paris:

And the said death and sickness often sprung from the imagination, or from the society and contagion of another, for a healthy man visiting one sick hardly ever escaped death. So that in many towns, small and great, priests retired through fear, leaving the administration of the Sacraments to religious, who were more bold. Briefly, in many places, there did not remain one alive out of every twenty. So great was the mortality in the Hôtel-Dieu of Paris that for a long time more than fifty corpses were carried away from it each day in carts to be buried.<sup>73</sup>

The fear and confusion caused by the swiftness and multitudes of deaths as described above would have been overwhelming as no one, not even the religious, were protected from death.

Amidst all of this chaos which characterised the era, men attempted to understand the reasons for their sufferings. The most scientific of explanations to explain the famine and strife which was becoming commonplace was the alignment of Saturn, Jupiter and Mars in the house of Aquarius.<sup>74</sup> The Medical Faculty at the University of Paris stated that the obvious reason for this calamity could be found in

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<sup>70</sup> The exact time of the plague's appearance in France is unknown and perhaps as late as January of 1348. Deux. *The Black Death: 1347*. p. 95.

<sup>71</sup> Ziegler. *The Black Death*, p. 64.

<sup>72, 43</sup> Deux. *The Black Death: 1347*. p. 105.

<sup>74</sup> Ziegler. *The Black Death*. p. 38.

the planets with the alignment of Saturn and Jupiter which brought death and disaster as well as Mars with Jupiter which spread an airborne pestilence.<sup>75</sup> To a majority of intellectuals of the day reason and religion were one and the same and in this way God was seen to be the all knowing entity who saw fit to allow such horrors to fall upon his people. Undoubtedly the human race was rife with sin and must be punished. Such a degree of judgement could only foretell the coming of the Apocalypse and medieval men and women were convinced that it would come at any moment. The feeling of powerlessness would have been overwhelming as most believed that if God had unleashed his wrath there was nothing the common man could do to bring it to an end as witnessed in the pages of the Bible. The methods which people resorted to in their attempts to scour themselves of the evil which must have brought about such atrocities were varied. The Flagellants took to beating themselves with leather thongs at the ends of which were metal studs as they walked along through the cities of Europe along their pilgrimage of pain.<sup>76</sup> In the hysteria of the time, others sought to seek the evil which merited their present circumstances in others, most markedly the Jews who were massacred in mass across the continent.<sup>77</sup>

Although these manners of ridding the population of the plague as well as the theories as to the origins of this disease seem highly irrational to us today, at the time

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<sup>75</sup> In Ziegler's book he goes further to explain that the conjunction of Mars and Jupiter meant that since Jupiter was a warm and humid planet while Mars was hot and dry Jupiter brought out the evil vapours from the earth while the heat of Mars allowed these vapours to become an infective fire. p. 38.

<sup>76</sup> Deux. *The Black Death: 1347*. p. 180-185; Robert E. Lerner. "The Black Death and Western European Eschatological Mentalities." *The Black Death. The Impact of the Fourteenth Century Plague: Papers of the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*. Ed. Daniel Williman. Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982. p. 79-85; and Ziegler. *The Black Death*. p. 86-97.

<sup>77</sup> Deux. *The Black Death: 1347*. p. 166-175; Norman Cantor. *In the Wake of the Plague: The Black Death and Its Aftermath in Late-Medieval England*. London: UCL Press, 1996. p. 147-167; and Ziegler. *The Black Death*. p. 96-109.

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even the most educated of people believed and were effected by these conjectures.

Guillaume de Machaut himself discusses his observations during this time in his lyric poem *The Judgment of the King of Navarre*, giving present day readers a chance to witness the happenings of the century through his eyes.

<p>But he who sits on high and sees far,<sup>78</sup>  Who governs all and provides all things,  Did not wish that this treason  Be hidden any longer; instead He revealed it  And made it known so widely  That they lost their lives and possessions.  For all the Jews were destroyed—  Some hung, others burned alive,  One drowned, another beheaded  By the axe's blade or sword.  And many Christians in turn  Died shamefully as a result.  At this time a company arose  At the urging of Hypocrisy, their lady,  Who beat themselves with whips  And crucified themselves flat on the ground,  While singing to an instrument  Some new song or other,  And according to them, they were worth more  Than any saint in Paradise....</p> <p>And when Nature saw what was happening,  Namely that her work was destroying itself in  this way  And that men were killing each other  And had poisoned the waters  In order to destroy the human race  Through greed and envy,  That beautiful and noble creature was much  displeased,  Quite vexed, greatly sorrowed.  So she went without delay  To Jupiter, and had forged  Lightning, thunder, and storms...</p> <p>...She wished the air corrupted as well.  And when the winds had taken their leave,</p>	<p>Mais cils qui haut siet et long voit,  Qui tout gouverne et tout pourvoit,  Ceste traïson plus celer  Ne volt, eins la fist reveler  Et si generaument savoir  Qu'il perdirent corps et avoir.  Car tuit Juïf furent destruit,  Li uns pendus, li autres cuit,  L'autre noïé, l'autre ot copée  La teste de hache ou d'espée.  Et meint crestien ensement  En norurent honteusement.  En ce temps vint une maisnie  Dar par leur dame Ypocrisie  Qui de courgies se batoient  Et adens se crucefoient,  En chantant de la lopinelle  Ne say quelle chanson nouvelle,  Et valaient miex, par leurs dis,  Que sains qui soit en paradis....</p> <p>Et quant Nature vit ce fait  Que son oeuvre ainsi se desfait,  Et que li homme se tuoient  Et les yaues empoisonnoient  Pour destruire humeinne lignie  Par couvoitise et par envie,  Moult en desplut la belle et gente,  Moult se coursa, moult fu dolente.  Lors s'en ala sans atargier  A Jupiter et fist forgier  Foudres, tonnoirres, et tempestes...</p> <p>...Elle vuet aussi l'air corrompre.  Et quant li vent orent congié,</p>
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<sup>78</sup> Guillaume de Machaut. *The Judgment of the King of Navarre*. Garland Library of Medieval Literature. Ed. R. Barton (trans) Palmer. Vol. 45. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988. Lines 229-248, 258-268, 282-294, 297-346, p. 11-17.

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<p>And Jupiter had forged everything,          Lightning, storms, and turbulence,          Who then watched them          Marvelously disperse in all directions          And thunder quite horribly,          Blow, hail, and rain in torrents,          Rouse up the clouds, the sea,          Shake the woods, make the rivers run fast,          And force everything          That lives on the earth to seek shelter          In fear of death so as to save itself,          ...For stones fell from the sky          Killing whatever they touched,          Men, beasts, women;          And in many places lightning and storm          Fell down with great flames          Which turned many villages into dust;          Nor was there anyone in the world so brave          Who didn't then have a coward's heart;          For it appeared that the world          Intended to fall into ruin, and end.</p> <p>But no one could have endured          If this weather had lasted long,          And so these storms came to an end,          But they gave rise to such haze,          Such filth, and such vapors          Which were hardly loved;          For the air which had been clear and pure          Was now vile, black, and hazy,          Horrible and fetid, putrefied and infected,          And so it became completely corrupted,          And concerning this corruption          Men held the opinion          That they in turn had become corrupted by it          And that they had thus lost their health;          For everyone was badly affected,          Discoloured and rendered ill;          They had buboes and large swellings          From which they died, and, to be brief,          Few dared to venture in the open air,          Or to speak together closely.          For their infected breath          Corrupted others who were healthy,          And if anyone was ill,          And one of his friends did visit him,          He fell into the same peril;          Five hundred thousand died as a result,          So that father lacked son,          Mother lacked daughter,          Son and daughter lacked mother          Because of fear for the Plague;          And no one was so true a friend          That he was not thereupon neglected          And received little help</p>	<p>Et Jupiter ot tout forgié,          Foudres, tempestes, et espars,          Qui lors veïst de toutes pars          Espartir merveilleusement          Et tonner très horriblement,          Vanter, gresler, et fort plouvoir,          Les nues, la mer esmouvoir,          Bois tamber, rivières courir,          Et, pour doubance de morir,          Tout ce qui a vie seur terre          Recept pour li garentir quere, e,          ...Car les pierres dou ciel chœoient          Pour tuer quanqu'elle ataignoient,          Les hommes, les bestes, les fames          Et en pluseurs lieux a grans flames          Cheïrent li tempès et la foudre          Qui mainte ville mist en poudre;          N'au monde n'avoit si hardi          Qui n'eüst cuer acourdi;          Car il sambloit que decliner          Vosist li mondes et finer.</p> <p>Mais nuls endurer ne peüst,          S'auques durer cils temps deüst.          Si que ces tempestes cessèrent,          Mais tels bruïnes engendrèrent,          Tels ordures et tels fumées          Qui ne furent gaires amées;          Car l'air qui estoit nès et purs          Fu ors et vils, noirs et obscurs,          Lais et puans, troubles et pus,          Si qu'il devint tous corrompus;          Si que de sa corruption          Eurent les gens opinion          Que corrompu en devenoient          Et que leur couleur en perdoient.          Car tuit estoient mal traité,          Descoloré et deshaitié:          Boces avoient et grans clos          Dont on moroit, et a briés mos,          Po osoient a l'air aler,          Ne de près ensamble parler.          Car leurs corrupues alainnes          Corrompoient les autres saines.          Et s'aucuns malades estoit,          S'uns siens amis le visetoit,          Il estoit en pareil peril;          Dont il en morut .v.c. mil;          Si que li fils failloit au pere,          La fille failloit a la mere,          La mere au fil et a la fille          Pour doubance de la morille;          N'il n'estoit nuls si vrais amis,          Qui ne fust adont arrier mis          Et qui n'eüst petit d'aïe,</p>
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If he fell ill with the disease. Nor was there a physician or any healer Who knew enough to name the cause Of its coming, nor what it was, (Nor applied any remedy to it) Except that this was a disease Which was called the Plague.	S'il fust cheüs en maladie. Ne fusicien n'estoit, ne mire Qui bien sceüst la cause dire Dont ce venoit, ne que c'estoit (Ne nuls remede n'i metoit) Fors tant que c'estoit maladie Qu'on appelloit epydimie.
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In describing these events in his poetry, Guillaume de Machaut seeks to record the strange happenings of his day for posterity. Indeed, his statements correspond strikingly with the views expressed within this study so far. That the plague was a punishment for the sins of man is a thread of logic which Machaut extends to his motets. Beyond this, returning to the topic of war previously discussed, within these works he also touches upon the wars, evil, and hypocrisy of the day going even further to allow us a glimpse into his fourteenth century world of upheaval and confusion. The survival of such horrors undoubtedly left a mark upon this man which may still be traced today.

It is through such attempts to capture the fourteenth century in all its violence and tragedy in the written word that we are able to grasp the implications of such events. Indeed it is important to understand the struggle which the French man of the

day would have faced under these sundry threats to his life as well as the various



Figure 1: The Flagellants <sup>79</sup>

threats to his spirit. No doubt men of the day would have suffered a severe feeling of helplessness and hopelessness which would have pervaded all areas of life. Yet, if one is able to glean anything from the study of this tumultuous century it should be that faced with unparalleled death and destruction, mankind was able to survive and continue along its path. The relating of such a lesson as well as the need to act in a seemingly hopeless situation would have been some of the chief reasons why writers and poets sought to capture its details in the written word.

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<sup>79</sup> As seen at <http://www.godecookery.com/plague/plague08.htm>

## Chapter 2: The Life of Guillaume de Machaut

Having surveyed the historical settings of the fourteenth century world in which Guillaume de Machaut lived it is evident that no French life would have been left untouched by such catastrophic events as the Hundred Years' War and the Black Death. That these calamities effected Machaut is clearly evidenced in his *Jugement dou roy de Navarre*, discussed in the previous chapter, but also in his Latin texted motets. In order to understand and to discover these hidden references it is therefore necessary to examine Machaut's life as we know it today.<sup>80</sup> Unfortunately many of his life's details remain a mystery and much of what we do know has been discovered in the writings of Machaut himself which survive within his complete works manuscripts. The mere existence of these manuscripts, costly in production, speaks volumes about Machaut's situation demonstrating the lifestyle he enjoyed as well as the type of wealthy and political circles he frequented. This and the other evidence allows us to paint a picture of Machaut as a highly educated and multifaceted man who kept in close contact with the powerful families of the day, was influenced by the catastrophic events of the century, but who also made a lasting

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<sup>80</sup> Much of what we know of Machaut's life is the result of a process of elimination as concrete documented evidence is scarce. Where it is possible these processes by which conclusions have been reached will be included in this discussion. For a more in depth look into the logic behind these findings see Lawrence Earp. *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. Garland Composer Resource Manuals. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995. 1-51. Earp's guide is by far the most complete, concentrated, and comprehensive recounting of Machaut's life to date. A more general and atmospheric telling of the details of his life may also be found in Anne Walters Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. p. 2-4.



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impression upon the era through his artistic endeavours which gave rise to a poetic heritage.

Guillaume de Machaut's early life in particular is somewhat shadowy as not much conclusive evidence regarding this period of his life survives. Nonetheless it is believed that he was born in Champagne around the year 1300-1302.<sup>81</sup> More specifically Machaut may have been born in an area near Reims which would have meant that he received his early education in Reims since during that time the cathedral school accepted students from the villages in its province.<sup>82</sup> During his years at the cathedral school Machaut would have resided in either the *Collège des Bons Enfants* or the *Collège de Crevés*, both situated between the cathedral and the canon's houses.<sup>83</sup> This education, steeped in the Liberal Arts with special emphasis placed upon grammar and rhetoric, would have resulted in Machaut being credited with the title of *clerc*, a rather vague term signifying one who had obtained some degree of learning at a school.<sup>84</sup> From these possibly humble beginnings<sup>85</sup> it is then

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<sup>81</sup> The exact date and year of his birth is unknown but Machaut has been described in historical documents of 1323 as *maistre*, a degree requiring the scholar to be least 20 years of age, and as canon of Verdun in 1330, a position obtained only after reaching the age of 25. Lawrence Earp discusses the fact that the family name of Machaut does not necessarily mean that Guillaume was born in the town Machault in the dept. of Ardennes. Earp also mentions two literary references concerning Machaut's origins in both a ballade by Deschamps and the *Livre de Cueur d'Amours Espris* in 1457. John XXII's bull of 1335 leaving Machaut with only the canonicate at Reims also lends substance to the theory. Lawrence Earp. *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995. p. 2.

<sup>82</sup> The concept of Guillaume de Machaut being from a town near Reims stems from a Bull of Pope Benedict XII (Bull of 17 April 1335) which eliminated all multiple canonicates held leaving canons with benefices in the church near their home towns. In this case Machaut was left with the position at Reims although he was stripped of his benefices at both Arras and Verdun, both towns in Champagne. This concept is discussed and is taken from Earp. *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 4

<sup>83</sup> Both of these colleges were funded through charitable donation, contributing nothing to the shallow pool of evidence as to the social status of Machaut's family (see note 5 below). Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 35.

<sup>84</sup> Robertson, *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 35. With regard to the progress of Machaut's career from the point after his early education much has been gleaned from records regarding Machaut's younger brother Jean de Machaut as the careers of the two brothers appear at times to have been in parallel. Accordingly, Jean's position of *clerc* at the diocese of Reims was probably also held by Guillaume at an earlier time as already mentioned. Earp, *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 3.

<sup>85</sup> There has also been much speculation as to the status of Machaut's family background. The historian Pierre Desportes points out that a canon at Reims with a bourgeois background was extremely uncommon. Pierre Desportes. *Reims Et Les Rémois Au XIII<sup>e</sup> Et XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècles*. Paris: Picard, 1979. p. 300-301 as referenced in Earp, *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 4. Evidence to the contrary is found in Machaut's

believed that Machaut went on to receive his higher education at the University at Paris resulting in at least the attainment of a degree of *magister atrium* (master of arts).<sup>86</sup>

Machaut's possible education at the University of Paris<sup>87</sup> is thought to have begun in the year 1316 and was most likely funded and arranged by his earliest and most longstanding patron, John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, for whom Machaut had served in the capacity of secretary, clerk, and familiar for twelve years by the 1323.<sup>88</sup> The benefice of chaplain at Houdain was arranged for Machaut by John in the year 1330 which would have provided Machaut with the income which may have funded his living expenses during his study in Paris.<sup>89</sup> It is at this point that musicologist Anne Walters Robertson suggests that Machaut may first have come into contact with the poet and administrator who would shape Machaut's musical and poetic works to some degree, Philip de Vitry (1291-1361).<sup>90</sup>

Vitry is thought to have come to Paris from an area surrounding Arras<sup>91</sup> much the same

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works themselves of which this comment made in Machaut's *Confort* is the most noteworthy: "Sire, et se je t'appelle amy, / N'en aies pieur cuer a my; / Car bien scay que tu es mes sires, / Et je des mieudres ne dex pires / Ne suis..." [Sire, if I call you friend, / Please don't be angry with me; / For you know quite well you are my lord, / While I come neither from the very high / Nor the very low] Text and translation from Robert Palmer, *Confort* 1993, p. 97. Although Earp notes that this passage may just be following a convention for those holding the position of *clerc* it may be an allusion to Machaut's possible bourgeois background.

<sup>86</sup> Earp notes that Machaut is described in these terms in several sources which include three documents, four literary references, three library inventories, and one music theory treatise. Beyond this Machaut's service to the King of Luxembourg would have required a university degree. Earp, *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 8.

<sup>87</sup> Robertson points out that there was no institute of higher education in Reims had been established during these years in Machaut's life. The choral school was not established until 1360-70 and even if Machaut went to University in Paris the Collège de Reims in Paris, which provided lodging for students from Reims while in Paris, was not formed until the fifteenth century. Robertson, *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 36.

<sup>88</sup> This date is given in the Papal Bull of Benedict XII from 1335 which states that Machaut had been in the service of John of Luxembourg for 12 years by that time. Another reference by Machaut in his *Prise*, however, states that Machaut had spent 30 years in total in the service of the King of Bohemia lending further to the theory that the King was responsible for providing Machaut with the means to pursue his studies. Earp, *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. 12.

<sup>89</sup> This position did not require the holder to hold residence in Houdain. Earp, *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 12.

<sup>90</sup> Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 37.

<sup>91</sup> For more concerning Philippe de Vitry's origins see Anne Walters Robertson. "Which Vitry?: The Witness of the Trinity Motet from the Roman De Fauvel." *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Ed. Dolores and Margaret Bent Pesce. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. 52-81.

way Machaut may have, through the Collège d'Arras, although, due to the age difference between the two men, he would have arrived years before Machaut was of an age to begin his study in Paris.<sup>92</sup> If this were not the case perhaps Machaut was introduced to Vitry by his patron the King of Bohemia. Whatever the circumstances, Vitry's influence upon Machaut's motets is evident especially in his Latin works. If Vitry was known to Machaut by this point Robertson further speculates that it is highly possible Machaut was present in Paris to witness the finishing of the political and allegorical *Roman de Fauvel* manuscript c.1317.<sup>93</sup>

Whatever the circumstances that brought Machaut into the service of the King of Bohemia, it was a fortuitous development for John was one of the most well-connected of figures in medieval France at this time. His close ties with the French throne were solidly established upon the union of Charles IV the Fair and Marie of Luxembourg, his sister, in marriage in 1322 and her subsequent rise to Queen of France with the coronation of her husband Charles in 1323. The combination of John of Luxembourg's political life as King with his well-known love of the courtly lifestyle resulted in an existence that involved an extensive amount of travel and courtly association across the continent. According to references made in his own poetic works as well as records of John's travels, it is likely that Machaut accompanied John along his numerous journeys made throughout France, Bohemia, Tartary, Cracovy, Lithuania, Livonia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Denmark, Prussia, Poland, Italy, and Lombardy.<sup>94</sup> An important musical connection established while

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<sup>92</sup> By the year 1323 Vitry was canon of Arras lending further to the possibility that the two would have come into contact with one another whilst among this ecclesiastical circle. Earp, *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 17.

<sup>93</sup> Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 37.

<sup>94</sup> Earp. *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 12 -13. It is quite possible that Machaut spent time in Italy in the city of Lucca while in the service of John of Luxembourg. After the year 1330 the King of Bohemia had become lord of Como, Bergamo, Cremona, Pavia, Novara, Vercelli, Parma, Reggio, Modena and Lucca. Green, Louis. *Lucca under Many Masters: A Fourteenth-Century Italian Commune in Crisis*

in the service of the King of Bohemia, as already mentioned, may also have been with Philippe de Vitry, a poet and musician whose influence upon Machaut's motets has been documented in musicological studies.<sup>95</sup> As Vitry frequented the Royal Parisian circles which Machaut would also have dealt with, especially with the newly established family connection through John of Luxembourg's sister's marriage to the French King, it would only have been a matter of time before the two intellectuals would have been provided an opportunity to meet. Constructing his conclusions around the dating of Machaut's motet and earliest work *Bone pastor Guillaume/Bone pastor* (M18), Lawrence Earp has proposed that Machaut met Vitry around the time of the Coronation of King Charles IV in Reims in 1322, an occasion which would have undoubtedly been attended by both parties.<sup>96</sup> Earp suggests that after this initial meeting the two most probably would have been members of an entourage accompanying King Charles IV to Toulouse. It is therefore easy to imagine that during this time an in depth discussion of music and poetry would have been possible and the opportunity to composer his motet for Charles' son Philip's tutor Guillaume de Trie upon his official nomination as archbishop of Reims either in 1323 or 1324 to have presented itself.<sup>97</sup>

During this time of faithful service to the King of Bohemia Machaut was honoured with the nomination to numerous benefices granted by Pope John XXII (r. 1316-1334). These appointments began in 1330 with the previously mentioned position of chaplaincy at Sainte-Marie-de-Houdain, a position which did not require Machaut to be in residence and

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(1328-1342). Ed. Leo S. Olschki. Vol. 30: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Sul Rinascimento, 1995. p. 7.

<sup>95</sup> This influence will be discussed further in the following chapters. See Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel. *Compositional Techniques in the Four Part Isorhythmic Motets of Philippe De Vitry and His Contemporaries*. New York: Garland Publishers, Inc., 1989. The close relationships shared by numerous surviving motets of the decade also hints at a clear knowledge and awareness of the works of others among composers of the day which shaped their own musical output. See Daniel Leech-Wilkinson. "Related Motets from Fourteenth Century France." *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 109 (1982-83):1-22.

<sup>96</sup> Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 21-22.

<sup>97</sup> Further evidence linking Vitry to this motet in particular will be presented in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

for which he would receive anything from 10 to 15 *livres*.<sup>98</sup> This benefice was followed by the more honoured and prosperous position of canon at the Cathedral of Verdun by 30 July of that same year.<sup>99</sup> Further canonicates were bestowed upon Machaut by the Pope in 1332 (Arras),<sup>100</sup> 1333 (Reims),<sup>101</sup> and 1335 (St-Quentin).<sup>102</sup> Overall, however, the most longstanding of these appointments and the most influential was the position at Reims Cathedral. The other benefices would be taken from Machaut in 1335 as the result of a bull of Pope Benedict XII which sought to eradicate the former abuses of the benefices as experienced under the reign of Pope John XXII. This bull thereby eliminated all benefices granted by the former with the exclusion, in the case of Machaut and the church at St-Quentin, of those not secured by papal intervention.<sup>103</sup> It would take until 1337 for Machaut to fully secure his position at Reims by procuration, meaning that he was not present at the time, as a space had finally opened among the seventy-four canons of Reims.<sup>104</sup>

Machaut's position of canon at Reims stipulated that he remain in residency twenty-eight weeks of the year allowing him the possibility to travel or remain in the service of his royal patrons.<sup>105</sup> As canon, therefore, Machaut would have participated in numerous Masses and may have even had duties as a composer during this time as

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<sup>98</sup> Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 17.

<sup>99</sup> This canon was granted expectatively by a Papal Bull of Avignon, 30 July 1330 as a favour from the Pope to the King of Bohemia. See Earp, *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 17

<sup>100</sup> Papal Bull dated 17 April 1332 granted this canon expectatively and as a favour to the King of Bohemia. Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 18.

<sup>101</sup> Papal Bull dated Avignon, 4 January 1333 granted the position of canon expectatively and *sine curia* once again at the request of John of Luxembourg. Earp, *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p 18.

<sup>102</sup> Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 19.

<sup>103</sup> Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 17. Further evidence of Machaut's remaining canonry at St-Quentin includes a request by Machaut in 1342 for a silk choir cope and a greater allocation of wine for his home in the cloister. Moreover Machaut is meant to have established an obit in the martyrology of the cathedral although the details of this are unknown. Johnson, Glenn Pier. "Aspects of Late Medieval Music at the Cathedral of Amiens (Volumes I & II)." Doctoral Thesis. Yale University, 1991. 253-254.

<sup>104</sup> Earp, *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 19.

<sup>105</sup> Robertson, *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 33-34.

evidenced by his surviving Mass and Latin-texted motets. The music of the liturgy would have filled his days at Reims with the observance and singing of the daily Offices.<sup>106</sup> Also, as canon Machaut was not obliged to follow the orders of the Archbishop,<sup>107</sup> an aspect of his position which resulted in a constant power struggle during Machaut's time at Reims, an aspect of Machaut's life which will be further addressed in Chapter 5 of this study.

Although Machaut would have still been in the service of the King of Bohemia after obtaining these canonries, his service for the King is thought to have come to an end in the year 1342.<sup>108</sup> The death of the King followed only years after this date in the Battle of Crécy (26 August 1346), the first of the violent battles of the Hundred Years' War between the French and the English. The demise of the chivalrous and, by this time, blind King who fought on the side of the losing French is memorably described by Froissart:

The noble and gallant King of Bohemia, also known as John of Luxemburg because he was the son of the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg, was told by his people that the battle had begun. Although he was in full armour and equipped for combat, he could see nothing because he was blind. He asked his knights what the situation was and they described the rout of the Genoese and the confusion which followed King Philip's order to kill them. 'He,' replied the King of his son Charles, King of Germany, and was told: 'My lord, we have none. We believe he must be fighting on some other part of the field.' Then the King said a very brave thing to his knights: 'My lords, you are my men, my friends and my companions-in-arms. Today I have a special request to make of you. Take me far enough forward for me to strike a blow with my sword.' Because they cherished his honour and their own prowess, his knights consented.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> This significant point is made by Robertson, *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 37.

<sup>107</sup> Robertson claims that the canons at Reims Cathedral were not required to submit to the orders of the Archbishop as this was not stipulated in the formulary which instructs the canon in his duties upon his reception. Guillaume Marlot. *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims, métropolitaine de la Gaule Belgique, divisée en douze livres contenant l'état ecclésiastique et civil du pays*. 4 vols. Reims, 1843-46, 1:713 as translated in Robertson. *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. p. 34 with original Latin text p. 283.

<sup>108</sup> This date is suggested by a document of 24 October 1337 witnessed by John's secretary Pierre de Waben. This document is mentioned in Earp, *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 21.

<sup>109</sup> Jean Froissart. *Froissart Chronicles*. Trans. and ed. Geoffrey Brereton. Ringwood: Penguin Books, Ltd, 1979. p. 89.

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After his former patron's violent passing Machaut served under the patronage of others whom he had met while in the service of the King of Bohemia. The first of these was the King of Bohemia's daughter Bonne of Luxembourg, wife of John, Duke of Normandy, future King John II of France. That Machaut and Bonne shared a warm relationship is suggested in his poems written during this time which include *Prise* and the *Remede de Fortune*. Furthermore it is believed that Machaut began the copying of one of his complete works manuscripts around the year 1349 for his patroness. After her sudden death in 1349 the volume would be completed in memory of Bonne with the inclusion of motet *Biaute paree de valour / Trop plus est bele / Je ne sui mie certains* (M20). This motet which is the last work of the volume is believed to have been written in Bonne's honour.

After the death of his patroness Bonne Machaut passed into the service of another influential political figure Charles King of Navarre, son-in-law of Bonne of Luxembourg, and pretender to the throne. During these years of service to Charles (1352-1360) Machaut would witness firsthand the bloody and murderous assertions to the French throne made by the house of Normandy and Navarre discussed in the previous chapter of this study. As far as his poetic works are concerned Machaut's service to Charles of Navarre is shown in the previously mentioned *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* which, although begun for Bonne of Luxembourg, was completed for Charles.<sup>110</sup> Ursula Günther claims that further proof of Machaut's service to the King may be found in the rondeau *Cinc, un, trese, wit, neuf* (R6), thought to be composed for the wedding of Charles of Navarre and Jeanne of France (daughter to Bonne of Luxembourg and King Jean II).<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Earp. *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p.33.

<sup>111</sup> Ursula Gunther. "Contribution De La Musicologie a La Biographie Et a La Chronologie De Guillaume De Machaut." *Guillaume De Machaut: Poete Et Compositeur. Colloque-Table Ronde Organise Par L'universite De Reims (19-22 Avril 1978)*. Actes Et Colloques 23. Paris: Klincksieck, 1982. 95-116. p. 106.

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Returning to the subject of Machaut's present patron Charles Navarre and former patron John II, King of France, the relationship between the two men was dangerous and volatile as both men felt that they were the rightful heir to the French throne. Although John held the throne with the unrest among the people of France which was driven by both war and plague the threat of Charles claim to the throne grew. Furthermore with this increase in power the possibility of an alliance between Charles and the King of England was becoming eminent. Machaut's awareness of his patron's political manoeuvrings and whether or not he realised how close his ties were to a man who would later be considered a traitor has been the subject of debate. It is possible that in coming into the service of Charles of Navarre, later dubbed Charles the Bad, Machaut may have been expressing his support for Charles as heir to the French throne and in this way possibly maligning himself with the current rulers of France, the House of Normandy. Machaut's composition of the poem *Le Comfort d'ami*, written for Charles upon his imprisonment by King Jean in 1356, offers a degree of support to this theory as does his motet *Tu qui gregem/Plange* (M22). In this motet Machaut complains of the ruling Dauphin, Charles Duke of Normandy, during the captivity of King Jean II by the English admonishing him to lead and not be lead.<sup>112</sup> Support such as this from scholarly circles allowed Charles of Navarre to unveil his claim to the French throne upon his escape from prison in 1358 but his greatest obstacle remained the ruling regent, Charles of Normandy. After a long period of waning support for the King of Navarre, the Treaty of Pontoise in 1359 ended the squabbles between the houses leaving Charles of Normandy as King Charles the V. The now obvious traitorous political manipulations of his patron as well as the futility of his position were both points which probably contributed to Machaut leaving the service of the King of Navarre. With this turn

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<sup>112</sup> Kurt Markstrom. "Machaut and the Wild Beast." *Acta Musicologica* 61 (1989): 12-39. p. 27-29.



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of events Machaut once again sought the patronage of the ruling nobility and the House of France.

Before the Treaty which marked a time of technical peace between England and France Machaut would have witnessed the bloody siege of Reims, the city he now called home, firsthand. Aspects of this attack which are echoed in Machaut's works include reference to Machaut donning a coat of mail and keeping watch upon the city walls in the complainte *A toi, Hanri, dous amis, me complain*.<sup>113</sup> The siege as well as events which surround it during this time such as the outbreak of plague are also subjects within Machaut's last three Latin texted motets *Christe qui lux/Veni creature spiritus/ Tribulatio proxima est* (M21), *Tu qui gregem / Plange regni respublica / Apprehende arma est et non* and *Felix virgo / Inviolata genitrix / Salve Regina* (M23).

Around the year 1360 Machaut returned to royal patrons of the House of Normandy and the lineage of Luxembourg with his service to John, Duke of Berry, the youngest son of Bonne of Luxembourg. For Jean Machaut composed a dit entitled *Founteinne Amorous* which discusses the young man's journey far from his new young wife and their love's ability to span the distance. Although there are no further works which may be directly related to John, the fact that he enjoyed Machaut's works to the end of his life is made clear by his possession of a complete works manuscript dating from around the year 1390,<sup>114</sup> now known as MS E. Despite his earlier criticisms of Charles of Normandy in his motet, Machaut came into the service of Charles sometime around 1361, a date when the King

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<sup>113</sup> Earp. *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 39 as discussed in James I. Wimsatt. "Natural Music in 1400." *Chaucer's Dream Visions and Shorter Poems*. Reprint from James I. Wimsatt, Chaucer and His French Contemporaries: Natural Music in the Fourteenth Century. Ed. William A. Quinn. Vol. Basic Readings in Chaucer and His Time 2. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 2105. New York and London: Garland, 1991. 439-61. p. 78-82.

<sup>114</sup> The year 1377 suggested by some scholars has to do with a pay document from that year on behalf of Jean II to Machaut. Well respected art historians, however, such as Avril and Meiss place the manuscript in the 1390's. Either way, the manuscript is recorded as being within the library of the duke of Berry by 1402.

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was documented to have stayed as a guest of Machaut in his abode at Reims. Machaut would undoubtedly have been present at the King's coronation at Reims on 19 May, 1364 after the death of King Jean II. Further hints at Machaut's service to Charles are also found in his lengthy *Le Voir dit*.<sup>115</sup>

Other later patrons of Machaut's poetry included Pierre de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, as well as another son of Bonne of Luxembourg, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy. Pierre was involved with the new crusade proclaimed by Pope Urban V in 1363 but his dealing with the Muslims did not endear him to his vassals resulting in his murder by his own nobles. Although there are disputes as to whether Machaut knew the king of Cyprus, Machaut's posthumous accounts of the man within his narrative poem, *Prise*, describe him as valiant and admirable. The duke of Burgundy is also praised within the *Prise* for his bravery and it is also thought that Machaut's last lengthy narrative work, *Fleur de Lis et Marguerite*, was written for him and his wife Marguerite of Flanders.<sup>116</sup>

During his remaining years Machaut became intent upon setting his works into the complete works manuscripts which survive to this day (to be discussed in the following chapter). Upon his death in 1377 Machaut was buried in the floor of the Cathedral at Reims along with his brother Jean de Machaut (d. 1372).<sup>117</sup> Until the eighteenth century an epitaph within the nave of the cathedral, where the Mass to the Virgin was held, marked the burial place of the Machaut brothers reading as follows:

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<sup>115</sup> *Le Voir dit*, Plainsong and Medieval Music. 114, line 1912.

<sup>116</sup> James I. Wimsatt. *The Marguerite Poetry of Guillaume De Machaut*. Studies in the Romance Languages and Literature 87. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970. p. 54-58.

<sup>117</sup> Anne Walters Robertson. "The Mass of Guillaume De Machaut in the Cathedral of Reims." *Plainsong in the age of polyphony* 2 (1992) and Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 257-275.

<p>Guillelmus de Machaudio • suusque Johannes frater. sunt in loco concordio • juncti sicut ad os crater. horum an[n]iversarium • est juxta petitorium. oratio de defunctis • diebus sabbathi cunctis. pro animabus eorum • amicorumque suorum. dicetur a sacerdote • celebraturo devote. ad roellam in altari • missam quae debet cantari. ad eorum memoriam • percepimus pecuniam. trecentorum florenorum • nuncupatorum francorum suis exequ[u]toribus • pro emendis redditibus. ad dicte misse cumentum • reddituum et fomentum. in eadem presentium • solerter venientium. hos fratres salvet dominus • qui tollit omne facinus.<sup>118</sup></p>	<p>Guillaume de Machaut and his brother Jean have been joined together in the grave just as bowl to mouth, Their anniversary is according to [their] petition: a prayer for the dead will be said every Saturday for their souls and for those of their friends by the priest who is about to say devoutly at the altar by the <i>Rouelle</i> the Mass that is due to be sung. For [saying] their prayer with pious devotion in memory of them, we have received the sum of three hundred florins, called francs, from their executors for the purchase of revenues for the increase of the said Mass and the furthering of revenues of those present at the same and skillfully taking part. May the Lord who takes away all sin save these brothers.<sup>119</sup></p>
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The mass in honour of the Virgin was regularly performed in this area of the cathedral and with Machaut's passing, as according to the stipulations of his endowment mentioned in the epitaph, would continue to be sung over his grave. These elements contribute to an impression of a man who later in life felt the need of the intervention of the Virgin on his behalf and who, most likely with the added influence of age and the tumultuous time in which he lived, was keenly aware of his own mortality. This knowledge was perhaps one of the reasons why we have been left with the complete works manuscripts through which we have come to know the musical and poetic characteristics of the age as well as the composer himself.

<sup>118</sup> Reims, Bibl. Mun. 1941, p. 94 as seen in Robertson. *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. p. 258-259, and Robertson. *The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut...* p. 101.

<sup>119</sup> Translation as seen in Robertson. *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. p. 259, also seen in Robertson. *The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut...* p. 101.

### Chapter 3 – Guillaume de Machaut's Complete Works Manuscripts and Motet Ordering Structures

Much of what we know about Guillaume de Machaut comes not to us through the historical documents discussed in the last chapter but through the composer's own poetic works. Machaut's complete works manuscripts, the copying of some of which is believed to have been overseen by the composer himself, afford us a glimpse into medieval courtly life as well as into the complex levels of meaning with which musical works of the day, especially the motet, were endowed. This meaning has been discovered in all parts of the motet from text and music to the tenor line upon which it is built. Recently yet another key with which to unlock the *sens*, discussed in Machaut's Prologue, within Machaut's motets has been identified. This additional method for analysis is found in the simple concept of the placement of individual works among others of their same musical genre leading to a deeper level of analysis and understanding of these motets. Musicologists Anne Walters Robertson<sup>120</sup> and Thomas Brown<sup>121</sup> have both formulated their own individual theories surrounding the groupings of the motets as well as the function of the individual among the whole which has put some of these works in a new context for interpretation. While the theories of these two scholars differ in several ways, with Robertson believing that the context to this ordering system is found within theological sources and Brown believing it to be found within the secular poem *La Roman de la Rose*, both share interesting similarities. This chapter will concern itself with the discussion of their two theories and, as

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<sup>120</sup> Robertson, Anne Walters. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

<sup>121</sup> Brown, Thomas. "Another Mirror for Lovers? - Order, Structure and Allusion in Machaut's Motets." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 10.2 (2001): 121-33.

### Chapter 3 – Complete Works Manuscripts and Motet Ordering Structures

these scholarly contributions are only recent, explore the validity of their claims. If the novel theories of Robertson and Brown prove to be sound in their examination it is necessary to derive the function of the individual Latin motets in these broader contexts. Before these proposals of ordering systems may be validated to be more than clever theories, however, areas of skepticism surrounding Machaut's intended numbering and ordering of the motets must be addressed. If the numbering assigned to these motets is questionable then the theories surrounding an overall pattern to the motet groupings becomes negligible and the function of the individual Latin motets among the motet groupings would hold no importance to our present study. Therefore, a discussion of the complete works manuscripts from which the motet numberings were derived as well as a codicological examination which may provide clues to Machaut's original intent in their ordering is essential to our present understanding of the Latin texted motets individually and as part of a group.

Table of Machaut's Complete Works Manuscripts

Location	Siglum	Letter Name	Year	# of Motets	Order of Motets
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	1586	<i>C</i>	1349-1356	19	M1, M2, M3, M5, M6, M7, M8, M9, M10, M11, M12, M13, M14, M15, M16, M17, M18, M19, M20
Aberystwyth National Library of Wales	5010	<i>W</i>	1356	1	M1 with remainder of motet section in ruin
New York, Wildenstein Collection	None	<i>Vg</i>	1370	23	M1, M2, M3, M4, M5, M6, M7, M8, M9, M10, M11, M12, M13, M14, M15, M16, M17, M18, M19, M20, M21, M22, M23
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	1585	<i>B</i>	1370-1372	23	M1, M2, M3, M4, M5, M6, M7, M8, M9, M10, M11, M12, M13, M14, M15, M16, M17, M18, M19, M20, M21, M22, M23
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	1584	<i>A</i>	1370	23	M1, M2, M3, M4, M5, M6, M7, M8, M9, M10, M11, M12, M13, M14, M15, M16, M17, M18, M19, M20, M21, M22, M23
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	22545-22546	<i>F-G</i>	1390	23	M1, M2, M3, M4, M5, M6, M7, M8, M9, M10, M11, M12, M13, M14, M15, M16, M17, M18, M19, M20, M21, M22, M23
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	9221	<i>E</i>	1390	22	M20, M1, M2, M8, M3, M4, M5, M6, M17, M16, M7, M9, M11, M10, M12, M13, M14, M15, M19, M18, M22, M21

### Chapter 3 – Complete Works Manuscripts and Motet Ordering Structures

Before continuing any further it is necessary to survey the surviving complete works manuscripts with an eye toward consistencies in the numbering of the motets as well as clues provided us through gathering structure, catchwords, dating, contents, historical circumstances, and variations.<sup>122</sup> The earliest of the known complete works manuscripts was copied in separable components with the later planning of the manuscript resulting in the grafting of gatherings.<sup>123</sup> This manuscript is the beautifully illuminated manuscript C, which has been studied most for the artistry which has connected it with the Parisian royal court.<sup>124</sup> It is speculated that this manuscript was originally intended for Machaut's beloved patron Bonne of Luxembourg but was most likely completed after her demise in 1349.<sup>125</sup> This thought as well as the input of art historian François Avril have placed the date for the completion of this manuscript at around 1356.<sup>126</sup> The ordering of musical works begins with 23 virelais, 16 ballades, 9 lais, 8 ballades, 6 lais, 5 virelais, 9 rondeaux, and 19 motets.<sup>127</sup> With regard to the motet ordering, it contains 19 motets which, in the current motet numbering system, include the first 20 motets with the exception of motet 4. Lawrence Earp estimates that the likely reason for the exclusion of motet 4 from this collection was merely an accident which resulted from problems of space during copying.<sup>128</sup> Here in the earliest of Machaut's manuscripts we find that the first 20 motets (minus M4) possess the ordering through which they have come to be labeled

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<sup>122</sup> The nine surviving complete works manuscripts, only seven of which contain motets, originally came to be known by letters which suggested their relationship to one another in age with the manuscript once believed to be the earliest, known as A. As the timelines for the creation of these books have been revised with years of research, their letter names may prove misleading but are still useful in their identification. Through the course of this study Guillaume de Machaut's complete works manuscripts will be referred to by their letter names although their complete reference numbers will be referenced in the first discussion of each manuscript.

<sup>123</sup> Earp. "Scribal Practice...." p. 142-143.

<sup>124</sup> François Avril. "Les Manuscrits Enluminés De Guillaume De Machaut: Essai De Chronologie." *Guillaume De Machaut: Poète Et Compositeur. Colloque-Table Ronde Organisé Par L'université De Reims (19-22 Avril 1978). Actes De Colloques* 23. Paris: Klincksieck, 1982. 117-33.

<sup>125</sup> Lawrence Earp. *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. Garland Composer Resource Manuals. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995. p. 78.

<sup>126</sup> Avril, "Les Manuscrits Enluminés De Guillaume De Machaut..." p. 119-124.

<sup>127</sup> Earp. *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 78.

<sup>128</sup> Earp, 'Scribal Practice....' p. 140-142.

and that the motet section was a fixed unit which was grafted onto the preceding chanson sections.

Although complete works manuscript *W*, National Library of Wales, 5010, has survived the years it has not fared as well as the other remaining manuscripts having fallen victim initially to the hands of hurried scribes and later to the perils of vandalism and moisture.<sup>129</sup> The musical portion of this book is lost with only the first 33 lines of the triplum of *Quant en moy* (M1) remaining proving that the manuscript once contained musical motets as well as text. The origins of this manuscript are difficult to trace but Lawrence Earp believes that *W* was created around the year 1356 and possibly originated from within the court of Charles d'Orléans.<sup>130</sup> As a majority of this manuscript is in ruin there is nothing we may derive concerning the ordering of the motets its contained with the exception of that M1 opening its motet section.

Perhaps due to its densely illuminated pages and its place among a private collection, the manuscript which has come to be known as *Vg* has been inaccessible to musicologists. As this manuscript was only viewed briefly in 1977 by a handful of scholars<sup>131</sup> its study has been conducted by observations made using slides of the original. Despite these challenges, the art historian François Avril calculated that the decorations within this book were completed circa 1370.<sup>132</sup> The first section of this manuscript is composed of strictly textual works while the second consists largely of musical works in the order of lais, motets, the mass, ballades, rondeaux, and hocket although it closes with the narrative poem *Prise d'Alexandrie* (c.1370). The motets are therefore numbered among the works in the second section with all 23 motets in the order from which they derive their identifying numbers adding further support to the current numbering system. In discussing *Vg* Earp considers that it was a highly authoritative copy as it

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<sup>129</sup> Earp, *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 79.

<sup>130</sup> Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 78.

<sup>131</sup> This viewing was attended by Bernard Bailly de Surcy, Margaret Bent, Harry Bober, and Elizabeth Keitel. Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 84.

<sup>132</sup> Avril. "Les Manuscrits Enluminés De Guillaume De Machaut..." p. 117-33.

served as a reference in the copying of numerous of the other surviving complete works manuscripts.<sup>133</sup> In this way complete works manuscript *B* is extremely close to *Vg* in both content and layout and has been deemed a direct copy of its nearly identical twin. Although it contains all 23 motets in the same order as its predecessor this does not give the ordering any more authority as it is too similar to Ms *Vg* to believe that it was anything but a copy.<sup>134</sup> Its estimated date of creation is circa 1370-1372.<sup>135</sup>

There has been speculation that Machaut played an active role in the compilation of the *A* manuscript. This is due in part to the presence of an index believed to have been created before the manuscript with an inscription appearing above claiming that this is the ordering desired by Machaut himself: '*Vesci l'ordenance que G. De Machau wet qu'il ait en son livre*'.<sup>136</sup> Art historical evidence put forth by Francois Avril places the creation of the manuscript in the early 1370's and suggests the work of an artist from Reims.<sup>137</sup> All of these factors have contributed to the weight given to this manuscript in Machaut research. With regard to the motet ordering structure of this book, it is intact and complete with all 23 motets following in the order by which they have come to be identified. Within Ms *A* the motets are divided into exactly three gatherings with corresponding catchwords further supporting the argument in favor of the current numbering system. We will find that both Anne Walters-Robertson's and Thomas Brown's theories are based upon the ordering of the complete collection of 23 motets as first displayed in this manuscript.

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<sup>133</sup> Earp. "Machaut's Role..." p. 479.

<sup>134</sup> Margaret Bent. "The Machaut Manuscripts *Vg*, *B*, and *E*." *Musica disciplina* 37 (1983): 53-83.

<sup>135</sup> Elizabeth Keitel. "La Tradition Manuscrite De Guillaume De Machaut." *Guillaume De Machaut: Colloque - Table Ronde (19-22 Avril 1878)*. Paris, 1982. 75-94. p. 83-87.

<sup>136</sup> 'Here is the order that G. de Machaut wants his book to have.' Translation from Lawrence Earp. "Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Works." *Journal of American Musicological Society* (1989): 461-503. p. 461.

<sup>137</sup> Avril. "Les Manuscrits Enluminés De Guillaume De Machaut..." p. 126-127.



### Chapter 3 – Complete Works Manuscripts and Motet Ordering Structures

Comprising two separate volumes of one complete manuscript, Ms F-G, has been deemed by Avril to have been completed around the year 1390.<sup>138</sup> Comparisons of Ms A with Ms F-G have led to the conclusion that the two manuscripts were probably produced from the same exemplar. It too contains all 23 motets in their proposed order.

Differences in motet order are shown strikingly in Machaut's *E* manuscript. The original owner of this manuscript has been identified as John, Duke of Berry.<sup>139</sup> Based upon the art historical studies by François Avril<sup>140</sup> and Millard Meiss,<sup>141</sup> Ms E is thought to have been completed around the year 1390. The inclusion of rondeaux within the motet portion of the manuscript as well as the differences in motet ordering structure may most likely be due to space as by the year 1390 Machaut was deceased and would therefore not be able to make these changes himself. The motet portion of the manuscript does show some type of ordering however as has been pointed out by Brown in his article on the motets. Here we find that rondeaux with similar topics to the motets are grouped together such as M1, *Quant en moy vint premierement*, with R15, *Quant premiers vit ma dame*, and M14, *Tant doucement m'ont attrait*, with R9, *Tant doucement me sens emprisonnes*.<sup>142</sup>

Having now established the codicological support behind the current state of motet numbering we must now consider the evidence that suggests that Machaut ordered the works within his complete works manuscripts with any intent. Is the notion that Machaut cared about the numbering of these works evidenced at all? In answer to these queries, the mere existence of the numerous volumes of Machaut's complete works which survive to this day is proof to some degree that the composer took an interest in the preservation of his artistic oeuvre. Whether he

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<sup>138, 20</sup> Avril. "Les Manuscrits Enluminés De Guillaume De Machaut..." p. 129.

<sup>140</sup> Avril. "Les Manuscrits Enluminés De Guillaume De Machaut..." p. 128.

<sup>141</sup> Millard Meiss. *French Painting in the Time of Jean De Berry. Part I, the Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*. National Gallery of Art: Kress Foundation Studies in the History of European Art. Vol. 1. 2 vols. London: Phaidon, 1969. p. 315.

<sup>142</sup> Brown, "Another Mirror for Lovers?..." p. 124.

was inspired by a new sense of his own mortality after the outbreak of the Black Death in France in 1349<sup>143</sup> or was attempting to emulate those who had come before him, Machaut's codices comprise the first known case of such a complete endeavor.<sup>144</sup> Beyond this, striking proof of Machaut's concern for the ordering of his works is seen around the year 1349 in his poem, *Jugement dou roy de Navarre*, which is thought to have been composed during the compilation of Ms C.<sup>145</sup> In this poem Machaut or the narrator makes a comment which highlights the composers deliberate ordering:

For my part, I have many written works, of several types, on many diverse subjects, each different from the other. Considered all together, and each meticulously perfected in order and detail, from the first beginning up to the last end, if I wanted to look at everything which I would well like to avoid- I would take too long at it.	J'ay bien de besoignes escriptes Devers moy, de pluseurs manieres, De moult de diverses matieres, Dont l'une l'autre ne ressamble. Considere toutes ensamble, Et chascune bien mise a point, D'ordre en ordre et de point en point, Des le premier commencement Jusques au darrein finement, Se tout voloie regarder -Dont je me vorray bien garder Trop longuement y metteroie. <sup>146</sup>
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Further references to Machaut's concern are shown in Machaut's most intimate work, *Le Livre de Voir Dit*. Within this lengthy poem are contained numerous letters exchanged between Machaut and a much younger admirer. In one letter in particular Machaut outlines some of the problems he is facing in compiling his works into a complete manuscript. From among the

<sup>143</sup> Lawrence Earp proposes that the Black Death may have been the fueling factor in Machaut's compilation of his complete works into manuscripts beginning around the year 1349. Earp, "Machaut's Role..." p. 464. The effect of this epidemic upon Machaut is seen markedly in his *Jugement dou roy de Navarre* as quoted in Chapter 1 or this study.

<sup>144</sup> Although the chanson collections of Adam la Halle have survived and together create a complete works manuscript which dates from the 13th century its contents are not as diverse or the ordering of the works as distinct as in the Machaut manuscripts. The possible influence of Dreux de Hautvillers, a twelfth century canon and poet at Reims, will be discussed further in this chapter as well as Chapter 4 of this study.

<sup>145</sup> Earp. "Machaut's Role..." p. 463.

<sup>146</sup> Translation and French texts as quoted from Earp, Lawrence. "Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Works." *Journal of American Musicological Society* (1989): 463-464.

exchanges of correspondence we find an allusion to Machaut's keeping of an exemplar suggesting to Lawrence Earp that a set manner of ordering by around this point in time<sup>147</sup>:

My very sovereign lady, I would have brought you my book in order to amuse you, in which are all the things I have every written; but it is in more than twenty parts; for I have had [a copy] made for one of my lords, and I am having [the music] notated and therefore it is convenient for it to be in parts. And when it is notated, I will take it or send it to you, God willing.<sup>148</sup>

Further evidence that Machaut was deliberate in the ordering of his works within his complete works manuscripts comes from a less obvious source evidenced by Anne Walters Robertson. Within the cathedral at Reims were housed similar volumes containing the complete works of canon Dreux de Hautvillers. These volumes which were placed upon the pulpit in the vestibule, a location which Machaut would have passed daily on his way between cathedral and cloister, bear an inscription which suggests this author's highly self-conscious approach to the creation of this manuscript: *Sensu fecundus quem fecit Drogo secundus / Liber completur et ubique bonus recitetur*.<sup>149</sup> Such words are suspiciously similar to those which are contained within Machaut's own manuscript *A* with words above the index which read: '*Vesci l'ordenance que G. De Machau wet qu'il ait en son livre*'.<sup>150</sup> Further evidence within an inscription from another volume once housed within the vestibule states that Dreux pressed and made the book himself with explicit instructions as to the title it should bear.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Earp, "Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Works." p. 472.

<sup>148</sup> *Ma tres-souveraine dame, je vous eusse prte mon livre pour vous esbattre, ou toutes les choses sont que je fis onques: mais il est en plus de .xx. Pieces; car je l'ay fait faire pour aucun de mes seigneurs; si que je le fais noter, et pour ce il convient que il soit par pieces. Et quant il sera notes, je le vous porteray ou envoiey, s'il plaist a Dieu.* Translation as seen in Earp, 1989, p. 472.

<sup>149</sup> 'The second book which Dreux made is completed / And let the good word be heard all around.' From Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1272, as seen and translated in Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims* p. 143 and 371.

<sup>150</sup> 'Here is the order that G. de Machaut wants his book to have.' Lawrence Earp. "Machaut's Role..." p. 461.

<sup>151</sup> '*Iste liber est de libris ecclesie Remensis, qui erat supra pulpitem in vestibule, ante constructionem hujus librerie, et hunc dedit ecclesie Remensi magister Drocho de Altovillari qui eum composuit et hunc sic maculavit, de multiplici material ignota et inusitata, qui partim est in prosa et partim in metro.*'

'This book is from the books of the church of Reims that are not excessively old, [and] which were in the vestibule

### Chapter 3 – Complete Works Manuscripts and Motet Ordering Structures

From these quotations found within Machaut's poetry as well as historical information gathered from documents at Reims itself, it is possible to glean that Machaut did indeed take an active and deliberate interest in the ordering of the works within his manuscripts. Other factors discussed within the numerous writings of Earp display an evolution in Machaut's orderings of the pieces within the manuscripts but with regard to the motets themselves there is little disparity between most of the manuscripts. Having examined the similar orderings of the motets in a survey of the complete works manuscripts and having outlined the evidence in favor of Machaut's careful attention to the ordering of his works within these manuscripts it is possible to discuss and examine the theories surrounding the motet ordering.

According to Anne Walters Robertson's theory regarding Machaut's motets, they may be divided into four distinct sections, the first comprised of motets 1 - 17, the second portion containing motets 18 and 19, the third 20, and the last including 21- 23. Besides the language and style differences between these motets, Robertson's chief support for this claim stems from evidence gathered from Reims Cathedral, the residence and canonicate of Guillaume de Machaut since 1340, as well as the primary literary sources of the period. In researching Machaut's first seventeen motets Robertson found that although sixteen of them are in the vernacular with texts discussing themes of courtly love there is no reason why these texts could not be read in a sacred context especially since the voices are built upon a tenor of liturgical chant. Viewing these motets through sacred lenses, therefore, Robertson came to the conclusion that the ordering of these works resembled the spiritual journey of the soul as discussed in numerous theological writings of the day, but more specifically, in the writings of theologian Henry Suso. This

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atop a pulpit before the construction of the library. Master Dreux de Hautvillers, our erstwhile scholaster, gave this book to the church, which book indeed Dreux pressed together and made, and wished that it should be called the *Liber aureus de omni faculate*.'

Taken from folio 99 of Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1272, as displayed and translated in Robertson p. 143 and 317. Robertson further evidences the influence of Dreux's poetry upon the text of Machaut's motet 9 in Robertson, p. 140-142. See chapter 4 of this current study for more on this influence.

concept was further strengthened by Robertson's discovery that Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* (Wisdom's Watch Upon the Hours) was among the codices in the Reims library during part of Machaut's time there.<sup>152</sup> The vernacular courtly love texts used by Machaut do not disagree with the teachings of Suso as according to his and others mystical theologians writings, such as Bernard of Clairvaux and Richard Rolle, the pilgrim's love for Christ could be expressed in amorous language like that which resounds in the Song of Songs. The true disciple or pilgrim of Christ was therefore meant to seek divine knowledge of Him through the daily devotion and meditation upon his sufferings and a feeling of yearning to be near him as a lover longs to be with their beloved. Focusing primarily on this concept in the work of Suso Robertson points out that according to his writings the human spirit that seeks to know Christ must walk in his footsteps passing through numerous phases on the way to spiritual union with the Savior. This spiritual journey, which was illustrated in the labyrinths which cover many medieval cathedral tiles, basically involves a journey to Hell and back. These steps which vividly recall the sentiments of courtly love are outlined in a table in which Robertson identifies the teachings of Suso in Machaut's first seventeen motets:

Among Suso's Steps to Spiritual Union with Christ	The Tenor Incipit of Machaut's First Seventeen Motets which correspond with Suso's Journey of the Soul
1 – Service of Wisdom/Christ will be bitter, though the reward is sweet	Motet 1 - <i>Amara valde</i> (Intensely bitter)
2 – Disciple sighs for Wisdom/Christ	Motet 2 – <i>Suspiro</i> (I sigh)
3 – Disciple decides to emulate Christ in His suffering and death	Motet 3 – <i>Quare non sum mortuus?</i> (Why did I not die?)
4 – Disciple who follows	Motet 4 – <i>Speravi</i> (I have hoped)
	Motet 5 – <i>Fiat voluntas tua</i> (Thy will be

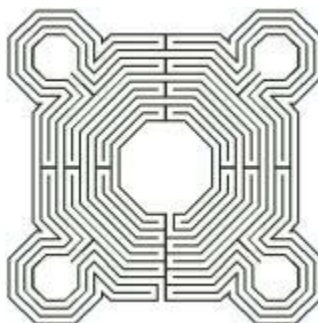
<sup>152</sup> Reims, Bibl. Mun. 613 as reported in Robertson. *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. p. 102.

Christ's passion and death can hope for mercy	done)
5 – Disciple willing to imitate Christ's passion	Motet 6 – <i>Et gaudebit cor vestrum</i> (And your heart will rejoice)
6 – Disciple longs for joyous sight of Wisdom/Christ	Motet 7 – <i>Ego moriar pro te</i> (That I might die for thee)
7 – Disciple's soul laments that she abandoned Wisdom/Christ; Disciple struggles with sin; Wisdom/Christ saves Disciple	Motet 8 – <i>Et non est qui adjuvet</i> (And there is no one to help) Motet 9 – <i>Fera pessima</i> (Most evil beast)
8 – Disciple must let the fire of love purify him.	Motet 10 – <i>Obediens usque ad mortem</i> (Obedient unto death)
9 – Disciple complains that Wisdom/Christ comes and goes, that others are confident in their acceptance by Wisdom/Christ, whereas his sick body languishes.	Motet 11 – <i>Fins cuers doulz</i> (Sweet noble hear)t Motet 12 – <i>Libera me</i> (Free me) Motet 13 – <i>Ruina</i> (Ruin) Motet 14 – <i>Quia amore langueo</i> (For I am sick with love)
10 – Disciple sees God but is reminded of his previous and continuing struggles.	Motet 15 – <i>Vidi Dominum</i> (I have seen the Lord)
11 – Examples of earthly trials, e.g. the woman who is beaten by her husband, and reminder to the Disciple that tribulation will benefit his soul.	Motet 16 – <i>Pour quoy me bat mes maris?</i> (Why does my husband beat me?) <sup>153</sup>
12 – Soul joined to Wisdom/Christ	Motet 17 – <i>Super omnes speciosa</i> (Beautiful above all) <sup>154</sup>

<sup>153</sup> Another convincing argument presented by Robertson includes the fact that Suso discusses the wife beaten by her husband in his *Horologium* as does Machaut in the vernacular French tenor (there is only one other of Machaut's motets, motet 11, which utilizes a tenor in vernacular French) of motet 16 – *Lasse! Comment / Se j'aim / Pour quoy me bat mes maris?*.

<sup>154</sup> This table is directly based upon that found within Robertson. *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*. p. 98-99. In Robertson's table there is also a comparison with the treatises of mystical theologians Guido de Ponte and Richard of Saint-Victor which corresponds closely with the motet tenor sentiments as well.

In this way Robertson finds the key to the context for the first seventeen motets in the tenor lines since this is where it is first possible to see the correspondence with the writings of Suso. Most pertinent to our present discussion of the Latin motets, moreover, we find that in this seventeen-motet cycle the Latin motet 9 falls directly in the middle of this group making it a pivotal point in the journey where the disciple battles Sin itself. The symmetry of this seventeen motet group also points to Motet 9 as being the center of this ordering of motets. According to Robertson this symmetry is taken from the symbolic figure of the labyrinth maze which covers the floor at Reims cathedral.<sup>155</sup> This maze recalls the journey of Christ after his crucifixion to Hell and then to resurrection. The journey to the center was just as long as the journey away but in the center of this labyrinth Christ confronted Satan himself. Since motet 9 recalls Christ's and therefore the following pilgrim's confrontation with evil this concept will be discussed further in Chapter 4 of this study.



**Figure 2** The design of the Labyrinth as depicted upon the cathedral floor of Reims.<sup>156</sup>

Beyond the group of seventeen's textual references to the symbolic journey of the pilgrim along the maze structure, Robertson finds symmetry in musical aspects of these works which contribute to her theory. Robertson points out that the first seven motets are all bipartite while

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<sup>155</sup> Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut at Reims*. p. 169.

<sup>156</sup> As seen at <http://www.labyrinthcompany.com/generic.html?pid=9>

motets 11-17 are unipartite creating a middle ground with motets 8-10.<sup>157</sup> Furthermore Robertson finds that in the mid-point of the motets which signify the middle ground, at the 75 breve center of the 150 breve motet 9 the words ‘*Ymis nunc regnas infernos*’ may be heard in the triplum voice contributing to her overall maze theory.<sup>158</sup>

The remainder of Robertson’s theories surrounding the motets and their ordering deal less with the concept of a journey and more with the concept of common themes and purposes, many of which are generally agreed upon. Robertson addresses Motet 18 and 19 as motets having functional purposes in the liturgy relating to ecclesiastical matters. The characteristics of motet 20 which include the closing words ‘Amen’ in the triplum and motetus, its closing position in manuscript C, and its text which speak of the perfection of a lady all lead Robertson to conclude that this motet was in honor of Machaut’s beloved patron Bonne of Luxembourg.<sup>159</sup> The similarities between motet 21-23 which include theme, the use of four voices, and Latin texts with introitus result in Robertson addressing these works together in the same chapter dealing with the historical events of the Hundred Year’s War, a connection first pointed out by Friedrich Ludwig.<sup>160</sup>

The second theory regarding motet order, presented by Thomas Brown, is based upon the secular and influential medieval poem, *La Roman de la Rose*.<sup>161</sup> According to Brown the forms and the characteristics of the first 20 motets generate a mirror like image which he claims to be the mirror of love as seen in courtly love poem. Focusing his discussion upon the 20 motet

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<sup>157, 39</sup> Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut at Reims*. p. 172.

<sup>159</sup> Lawrence Earp. *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. Garland Composer Resource Manuals. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995. p. 25.

<sup>160</sup> Friedrich Ludwig. "Die Geistliche Nichtliturgische / Weltliche Einstimmige und die Mehrstimmige Musik Des Mittelalters Bis Zum Anfang Des 15. Jahrhunderts." *Handbuch Der Musikgeschichte*. Ed. Guido Alder. Frankfurter am Main: Verlags-Anstalt, 1924.

<sup>161</sup> Brown, Thomas. "Another Mirror for Lovers? - Order, Structure and Allusion in Machaut's Motets." *Plain-song and Medieval Music* 10.2 (2001): 121-33. From here on for the purposes of this discussion the *Roman de la Rose* will be referred to as the *Rose*.



group, Brown supports this theory for the influence of the *Rose* upon Machaut's first 20 motets by identifying topics and themes from the *Roman de la Rose* to be found throughout the French courtly love motets 1 – 8, 10 – 17, and 20. The texts within several of Machaut's motets treat specific topics found within the *Rose*, although not in chronological order, as shown in the table below:

Theme as discussed in the lines of <i>Le Roman de la Rose</i>	Machaut motet in which theme is included
Legend of Narcissus and Echo (lines 1435-1492)	Motet 7
Bel Accueil gives Amant courage to approach the Rose (lines 3132-3747)	Motet 13
Personification of False Seeming <sup>162</sup>	Motet 15
The wife complains of her jealous husband (lines 8425-36)	Motet 16

The influence of the *Rose* in these instances is strikingly apparent to Brown who goes on to acknowledge the theories of Robertson surrounding motets 1-17. Brown points out that Robertson's proposals do not fully address the separation of the last French motet, M20, from the rest of the French motets which come before. Brown's solution to this problem is to include motet 20 in the first group of motets. In this way the inclusion of the words 'Amen' at the close of M20 furthers support this theory. To add further authority to this grouping Brown highlights the circumstances which resulted in the *Rose*, namely that with the death of the initial author, Jean de Meun, Guillaume de Lorris completed the composition of the poem. He goes on to suggest that this transference is also evident in Machaut's motet ordering in the silence which comes between M10 and M11. He points out a reference to the *Rose* in M10 which adds to this proposal as it alludes to the mid-point of the *Rose* in which the authorship changes hands. These

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<sup>162</sup> The influence of the *Roman de la Rose* upon Motet 15 is first mentioned and discussed in depth in Brownlee, Kevin. "Machaut's Motet 15 and the Roman De La Rose: The Literary Context of Amours Qui Le Pouoir/Faus Semblant M'a Deceue/Vidi Dominum." *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 1-14.

lines from the *Rose* which are similar to those of Machaut's M10 foretell the completion of the text by Jean de Meun:

(Rose, lines 10595-6)	(Machaut, M10, motetus, lines 12-13)
Sanz mal et sanz enconbrement Si qu'il puit vivre longuement	Einssi sans cuer et sans espoir, Ne put pas vivre longuement

Here we find that these two passages share numerous similarities.

Beyond the inner references to the *Rose* discussed above, however, Brown believes that the overall structure of the twenty motets uses similarities to create an image. He sees that several of the motets among this group are presented side by side as pairs. These pairs include M7 and M8, the only isorhythmic motets in *tempus imperfectum prolatio minor*, M14 and M15, of equal length and isorhythmic structure, M9 and M10, opening with similar rhythmic figures, and M2 and M3, both sharing tenors from the Book of Job.<sup>163</sup> Yet these motets pairs as well as individual motets also share similarities with other motets which are not directly adjacent. These motet similarities include M9, M10, and M15, with similar opening rhythmic figures, and M1 and M18, sharing identical lengths of 144 breves. Ratios formed between the works further evidence their connections with M1, M5, and M10 sharing a nearly 6:4:3 ratio of semibreves, M11, M16, and M20, share vernacular tenors as well as create a ratio of 2:3:1. A diagram drafted by Brown demonstrating these and other similarities and symmetries found in the twenty motet group produces this structure:

$$\square > [2/3] > 4 > 5 > 6 > [7/8] > 9 > 10 > 11 < 12 < 13 < [14/15] < 16 < 17 < [18/19] < 20$$

According to Brown this mirror-like image is the Mirror of Love as described in the *Rose*. These findings lead Brown to the conclusion that before the creation of *C* Machaut may have intended that his first seventeen motets form a group describing the journey of the soul as according to

<sup>163</sup> Brown, Thomas. "Another Mirror for Lovers? - Order, Structure and Allusion in Machaut's Motets." p. 130.

Robertson. He goes further to say, however, that by the time of the creation of *C Machaut* had extended this group, in order to be based also upon the *Rose* as well, to include motets 1-20. The word ‘Amen’ at the close of M20 further emphasizes this notion for Brown.

Although these two theories disagree on several points overall there is a general consensus and acknowledgement that Machaut had numerous sources in mind in the setting of his motets. We have already seen in the recent publication by Jacques Boogaart, discussed in the literature review, that Machaut alludes to the works of several courtly love poets in the settings of his motets. The popularity of their texts and the overall courtly love movement is evidenced by the creation of the *Roman de la Rose* which became one of the most popular and influential of sources upon medieval French culture. In this way it is not a far cry from the *trouvere* quotations by Machaut in his motets and is therefore a likely influence. Another influence upon the secular source the *Rose*, however, has been discovered to be sacred as its tale follows the story of ‘the Fall’ of Man. Therefore, in quoting and alluding to the *Rose* it is possible that Machaut at the same time sought to intertwine the sacred turning point within the maze of the pilgrim’s spiritual journey. In this way the blurred line between the sacred and the secular of the middle ages is made distinctly evident in Machaut’s motets as although the texts in the upper voices of the motets are usually amorous in nature the sacred foundation upon which it is built cannot be fully abandoned. Accordingly it follows that both theories bring much to the table of research into the Machaut motets and must therefore both be considered when attempting to understand each individual motet. In tracing the sources which were influential upon Machaut’s motets as a whole it is possible to discover the hidden meanings of the individual motet. In discovering these intricacies among the motets it is also possible to further appreciate and understand the rich and interwoven threads which formed a sacred and secular medieval France.

## Chapter 4 – Motet 9 (*O livoris feritas /Fons tocius superbie /Fera Pessima*)

An analysis of Guillaume de Machaut's Latin motets is best begun with motet 9, *O livoris feritas /Fons tocius superbie/Fera Pessima* as it stands on its own, stating passionate and intense themes with Latin texts amidst the cluster of French vernacular motets surrounding it. Musical characteristics somewhat unusual seen within this motet are the limited tenor line which utilizes only three notes in its color statements and is the shortest chant segment used among Machaut's motets, its isorhythm, its intense use of syncopation and hocket, the inclusion of an introitus and its tonal centers which shift between A and G. The passionate Latin text discussing sacred themes as opposed to the courtly themes of its surrounding French motet neighbors coupled with its distinct musical traits has made *O livoris feritas* an attractive one for study by musicologists.<sup>164</sup>

The most recent research by Anne Walters Robertson surrounding this work has concerned itself with the purpose of *O livoris* among a group of seventeen motets which

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<sup>164</sup> Jacques Boogaart. "Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and Their Function in Machaut's Motets." *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 1-86; Thomas Brown. "Another Mirror for Lovers? - Order, Structure and Allusion in Machaut's Motets." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 10.2 (2001): 121-33; Fuller, Sarah. "Modal Tenors and Tonal Orientation in Motets of Guillaume De Machaut." *Current Musicology* 45-47 (1990): 199-245; Armand Machabey. *Guillaume De Machaut 130?-1377: La Vie Et L'oeuvre Musical*, Bibliothèque D'études Musicales. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Paris: Richard-Masse-Editeur, 1955. 82-84; Kurt Markstrom. "Machaut and the Wild Beast." *Acta Musicologica* 61 (1989): 12-39; and Anne Walters Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

follow the journey of the soul as described by mystical theologian Henry Suso. In this context this motet comes at the dramatic central point of this journey at which time sin itself must be faced. In expanding upon this recent research with an eye toward the liturgical context of this piece to the words of Saint Ambrose this role in the overall seventeen motet plan proposed by Robertson becomes even more pronounced. Beyond this its possible allusion to the historical happenings of the day are also evident with reference to a motet from the same period found within the *Roman de Fauvel*.

Furthermore it will be shown that this work recalls passages from the secular poem *Roman de la Rose* and that when using a method of analysis formerly applied to the French motets there is the use of numerical symbolism pointing to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Overall, however, it will be seen that the ultimate inspiration for the texts of this motet is the liturgy with which Machaut would have been highly familiar with after his years as canon (as discussed in Chapter 2 of this study).

A re-examination of the research done into this motet to date follows numerous methods of analysis into this work which have all uncovered elements necessary in the piecing together of its overall intent. These first explorations into *O livoris feritas* simply discussed structure and identified isorhythmic and poetic characteristics. In his two volume discussion of Machaut, Armand Machabey surveyed the breadth of Machaut's works, speaking briefly about each. In his examination of *O livoris feritas*, Machabey highlights the isorhythmic tenor and the poetic structure paying no notice to text content.<sup>165</sup> An article by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht in 1962 was the first to address the analysis of both texts and music with his main goal being the discovery of Machaut's

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<sup>165</sup> Armand Machabey, *Guillaume De Machault 130?-1377: La Vie Et L'oeuvre Musical*, Bibliothèque D'études Musicales, vol. II, 2 vols. (Paris: Richard-Masse-Editeur, 1955)., 82-84.

chief aim in the selection of his tenor line.<sup>166</sup> His conclusions concerning the motet texts were that they all addressed the cardinal sin of Envy. By tracing the Biblical context of the tenor line, Eggebrecht was able to include the tenor text's theme of Envy as displayed in the Genesis story of Joseph creating a new line of analysis which looked at both liturgical context as well as thematic relationship among the upper voices. This mode of analysis combining text and musical analysis was a breakthrough.

Eggebrecht went on to address the issues of Machaut's purpose for the use of isorhythm and the fragmentation of the tenor into isorhythmic structure.<sup>167</sup> Along his line of analysis, Eggebrecht came to the following conclusions regarding the steps Machaut followed in the composition of *O livoris feritas*: selection of the tenor, ordering of the tenor in isorhythm, working the text of the upper voices out of the theme of the text of the tenor, working out of the three part sketch of the motet, and finally the working out of the upper parts with introitus and textual details.

Eggebrecht's article on *O livoris feritas* was instrumental in spurring the findings of Sarah Fuller in her article discussing the tonal functions of the tenor lines in the analysis of Machaut's motets.<sup>168</sup> Elaborating upon the characteristics which she first found in her published analysis of Machaut's motets as a body,<sup>169</sup> Fuller used *O livoris feritas* as a prime example for the claim that Machaut paid attention to tonal elements within the tenor chant fragments he used as the tenor lines of his motets. In her opinion

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<sup>166</sup> Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht. "Machauts Motette Nr.9, Teil I." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 19/20 (1962).

<sup>167</sup> Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht. "Machauts Motette Nr. 9, Teil II." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 25 (1968): 173-95.

<sup>168</sup> Sarah Fuller. "Modal Tenors and Tonal Orientation in Motets of Guillaume De Machaut." *Current Musicology* 45-47 (1990): 199-245. p. 199-245.

<sup>169</sup> Some of these observations concerning *O livoris feritas* specifically include three times as many lines of text in the triplum than the motetus, the lack of diminution in its tenor line, its use of isorhythm, and the use of striking syncopations in upper voices during pauses in the tenor line. Sarah Fuller. "Modal Tenors..." p. 207.

Machaut's chief aim in the selection of this tenor line is the tonal ambiguity which is produced by the shifts between A and G sonorities and therefore the tonal focus of the piece. The A sonority appears to be the sonority which signals stability. In this way, Fuller points out that triplum phrase and text endings as well as the first note after the close of a hocket section are assigned A sonorities within the tenor line. This being said, however, Fuller does not believe that 'these A sonorities receive the critical voice-leading preparation that would establish them as central.'<sup>170</sup> The equal statements of G and A within the tenor line leave each with equal weight within the tonal center of the piece up until the last moments of the motet in which G emerges as final, an occurrence which Fuller believed to have been the goal of the entire piece. Attention is also directed to this use of A and G within the introitus of the triplum which, like the motet as a whole, begins on A but ends with G. Fuller's observations lead her to the conclusion that Machaut's use of tonal control within his motets was purposeful with this tonal management coming through a thoughtful selection not only of the tenor's rhythm but of its harmonic characteristics. From these earlier examinations of *O livoris* it is therefore evident that Machaut was purposeful in the selection of the musical and structural elements which comprise his motets.

Offering a new line of interpretation Kurt Markstrom suggested a historically based analysis of *O livoris feritas* which places this work in the context of the Hundred Years' War.<sup>171</sup> Markstrom supported this concept by pointing out the 'secular cynicism of the age', the fact that Machaut's other Latin motets deal with sacred and topical

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<sup>170</sup> Fuller, "Modal Tenors..." p. 207.

<sup>171</sup> Markstrom, "Machaut and the Wild Beast."

subjects, and the medieval use of allegory as seen in the political *Roman de Fauvel*.<sup>172</sup> In this context the Lucifer discussed in the triplum and motetus lines becomes Edward III, King of England, whose position is described by the use of the word ‘*aquilone*’ meaning ‘North’ but also used as term for England.<sup>173</sup> Just as the triplum line opens by calling Lucifer the ‘fount of all arrogance’ so would the French of the day have seen Edward’s claim to the throne in much the same light according to Markstrom. The ‘darts’ of the triplum text become the arrows used to defeat the French by the English military in the battles of Crecy and Poitiers. According to Markstrom reference is even made to the deceptive concealment of the archers, an aspect of their attack which is credited for the English victories in these battles (‘in caves and pits you lie’). The ‘Adam’ of the triplum is further evidenced as Jean II, captured in the Battle of Poitiers in 1356 and released not until 1360. Markstrom immediately dismisses such a notion, however, as the composition of this motet would be placed much too late to have been included in the C manuscript that François Avril has placed around the years 1350-1355.<sup>174</sup> With this, Markstrom directs his attention to two other historical figures who he believes Machaut could allegorically have referred to through reference to Adam in *O livoris feritas*’s triplum text.

Markstrom proposes that reference to Adam within the triplum could pertain to either Raoul de Brienne, Constable of France, or Charles de Blois, Duke of

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<sup>172</sup> Stylistically musicologists such as Gilbert Reaney have pointed out the similarities between the motets of *Roman de Fauvel* and those of Guillaume de Machaut. Reaney, Gilbert. *Guillaume De Machaut*. Oxford Studies of Composers. Vol. 9. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.

<sup>173</sup> With reference to the use of *Aquilo* as a term for the English Markstrom cites *A Latin Dictionary: Founded on Andrew’s Edition of Freund’s Latin Dictionary*. Oxford University Press: Oxford (1879), p.57. Markstrom, "Machaut and the Wild Beast." p.19.

<sup>174</sup> François Avril. "Les Manuscrits Enluminés De Guillaume De Machaut: Essai De Chronologie." *Guillaume De Machaut: Poète Et Compositeur. Colloque-Table Ronde Organisé Par L’université De Reims (19-22 Avril 1978). Actes De Colloques* 23. Paris: Klincksieck, 1982. 117-33.



Briton, both captured and imprisoned in the Tower of London. Further evidence supporting these figures is viewed as the use of the term '*Stigos carceris*', the river Styx of Classic mythology, interpreted to convey the Thames and the Tower of London which upon the River Thames inside of which Brienne and Bloyes would have been imprisoned. Another historical figure which Markstrom suggests may have played the role of the Virgin Mary in Machaut's allegory is Queen Philippa of England. Wife to Edward III, she was considered a pious and kindly woman. After the imprisonment of Charles de Bloyes within the Tower in the beginning of 1348 she gave birth to her son William later that same year. In this case Markstrom believes that the obvious patron for this piece would therefore have been Jeanne de Penthièvre, wife of Charles. Furthermore, he believes that this possible link between Machaut and Jeanne may be established through the presence of canon Hugues de Châtillon at Reims, a possible relation of Charles. From these observations Markstrom therefore concludes that the occasion for the performance of this work would have been the Calais conferences during 1351 at which time Jeanne would have been able to visit her captured husband.

The case for Raoul de Brienne, Constable of France, is considered by Markstrom to be much stronger. Within this interpretation Queen Philippa once again plays the role of the Virgin Mary who actively intercesses on the behalf of prisoners. Although Markstrom sites no specific evidence that Philippa sought the release of Brienne, he offers this passage found within the writings of Froissart as an example of the Queen's intercession on behalf of other French prisoners after the falling of Calais:

Than the queen beyng great with chylde, kneled downe and sore wepyng, sayd,  
A gentyll sir, syth I passed the see in great parell, I have desired nothing of you;  
therefore nowe I humbly require you, the honour of the Son of the Virgyn Mary  
and for the love of me that ye woll take mercy of these sixe burgesses.<sup>175</sup>

Markstrom believes that such an intercession on behalf of Brienne may have been made particularly after the recent birth of the Queen's son. He then moves on to site evidence which concerns one of the most famous of Machaut's patrons. Tracing the movement of Guillaume de Machaut from the patronage of Jean of Luxembourg to his sister Bonne after his death in 1346, Markstrom suggests that *O livoris feritas* may have been written under her patronage. He believes that based upon the writings of Jean le Bon stating the rumor that Brienne was Bonne's lover she would have been most interested in the Constable's fate. Markstrom further makes a case for this rumor proving true by claiming that Jean II's subsequent execution of Brienne upon his release from England may have had something to do with this affair although the official historical reason for this swift execution was Brienne's estate which would revert to the French crown upon his death. Placing *O livoris feritas* in this context then, Markstrom believes that *O livoris feritas* would have been written in September 1347.

Pointing his attentions to the motetus text, Markstrom finds further evidence linking the topical text of the triplum concerning the Hundred Years' War and the liturgical context of the tenor line of *O livoris feritas*. As the motetus discusses envy shown as the 'beast' of the tenor, Markstrom claims that envy would have been interpreted by Machaut as the motivation for the claim to the French throne which fueled

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<sup>175</sup> Jean Froissart, *The Chronicle of Froissart: Translated out of French by Sir John Bouchier Lord Berners*. London: 1523; reprint, London 1901), vol. I, p. 331-32 as seen in Markstrom, "Machaut and the Wild Beast." p. 23.

the flames of war. He identifies Edward III as the scorpion described in the text, a beast which embodied evil in the Old and New Testaments, although he has found no reference alluding to Edward as a scorpion. Markstrom goes on to discuss the opening lines of the motetus as pertaining to the invasion of France by the English as well as references to the inconveniences of war as described by Machaut in his *Voir Dit*.<sup>176</sup> From these observations Markstrom states that the evidence supporting a historical interpretation of *O livoris feritas* is too overwhelming to support a strictly theological interpretation of this motet as posed by Eggebrecht. Rather, the two methods of analysis complement one to another.

The issue of quotation within the motets of Machaut was first thoroughly explored by Jacques Boogaart as was the Biblical allusion shown in *O livoris feritas*.<sup>177</sup> Here Boogaart challenges the theories of Markstrom concerning the topical nature of *O livoris feritas* and suggests that of Lucifer and Envy as first offered by Eggebrecht. He takes the foundation of this argument from the texts of Machaut of which numerous words are found in the Bible in potent and meaningful contexts such as the books of Isaiah and Revelation, both books which deal with apocalypse. The dragon of Machaut's triplum text (*dracho*) seems to have been inspired by the dragon (*draconibus*) of Isaiah 13:21 but more obvious and numerous similarities between sources are shown when compared to chapter 14 of Isaiah:

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<sup>176</sup> Markstrom references a letter from Machaut written to Peronnelle in 1363 which speaks of 'a great number of enemy soldiers in the vicinity and no one dares to leave from here.' (*Mais on nous dist qu'il y avoit grant foison de gens d'armes et d'anemis tout a l'environ et n'y osoit nulls aler.*) *Voir Dit*, p.233 as seen in Markstrom. "Machaut and the Wild Beast." p. 68.

<sup>177</sup> Boogaart. "Encompassing Past and Present..." p.1-86.

Machaut's <i>O livoris feritas</i> triplum	Isaiah 14, 11-17, 19-20
<p>Fons totius <b>superbie</b>,  <b>Lucifer</b>, et nequicie  Qui mirabilis specie  Decoratus,  <b>Eras in summis locatus</b>,  <b>Super thronos sublimates</b>,  <b>Draco</b> ferus antiquates  Qui dicere  Ausus es sedem ponere  <b>Aquiline</b> et gerere  <b>Te similem</b> in opera  <b>Altissimo</b>  Tuo sed est in proximo  fastui ferocissimo  a iudice justissimo  obviatum  tuum nam auffert primatum;  <b>ad abyssos cito stratum</b>  te vidisti per peccatum  <b>de supernis</b>,  <b>ymis</b> nunc regnas <b>infernus</b>;  in speluncis et cavernis  penis jaces et eternis  agonibus  dolus et fraus in actibus  tuis et bonis omnibus  obiare <b>missilibus</b>  tu niteris;  auges que naphas sceleris  Adam penis in asperis  <b>Tenuit</b> Stigos carceris <sup>178</sup></p>	<p><b>Detracta est ad inferos superbie tua</b>,  concidit cadaver tuum:  subter te sternetur tinea, et operimentum  tuum erunt vermes.  Quomodo <b>cecidisti de caelo Lucifer</b>, qui  mane oriebaris?  Corruisti in terram, qui vulmerabas gentes?  <b>Qui dicebas</b> in corde tuo: <b>in caelum</b>  <b>conscendam</b>,  <b>super astra Dei exaltabo solium meum</b>,  <b>sedebo</b> in monte testamenti <b>in lateribus</b>  <b>aquilonis</b>.  <b>Ascendam super altitudinem nubium</b>,  <b>ero similes Altissimo</b>  Verumtamen <b>ad infernum detraheris in</b>  <b>profundum</b>  <b>laci</b>: . . .  Qui posuit orbem desertum, et urbes eius  destruxit,  <b>vinctis eius non aperuit carcerem?</b>  <b>Tu autem proiectus es</b> de sepulchro tuo.  Quasi stirps inutilis pollutus, et obvolutus  cum his, qui interfecti sunt gladio,  Et descenderunt <b>ad fundamenta laci</b>, quasi  cadaver putridum.  Non habebis consortium, neque cum eis in  sepulture:  Tu enim terram tuam disperdisti, tu  populum tuum occidisti:  Non vocabitur in aeternum semen  <b>pessimorum</b>.</p>

From these findings Boogaart understandably concludes that Machaut's original inspiration for the texts of *O livoris feritas* was the Bible itself. Boogaart continues on further to offer observations concerning the musical and poetic structure of the motet stating that the first twenty lines of the triplum deal with Lucifer's heights while the last

<sup>178</sup> Robertson. *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. p. 307-308.

twenty consider his torments in Hell and the deliverance of Man by the Virgin. Both halves of the triplum therefore deal with these two striking polar extremes. Continuing with these notions of extremes within the music, Boogaart points out the high and low contrasts between the voices. With these two extremes a central lying theme is also included. This central aspect and the symmetrical division of this motet is emphasized by the motetus line which marks a mirror-symmetrical rhyme scheme emanating from the word *retro* (backward).<sup>179</sup> He sees further visual allusions to Lucifer within the tenor which resembles the slithering of a snake. In Machaut's composition of the texts of *O livoris feritas* Boogaart proposes that Machaut could be referring to two Vitry motets, *Firmissime/Adesto Sancta Trinitas/Allehuya benedictus* and *Tribum que/Quoniam secta/Merito hec patimur*. With the shared use of the symbolic beast, in *Tribum's* case the fox, the relationship between the two motets lead him to speculate that Machaut's work is also a political motet. With this point, Boogaart admits that the theory that this motet refers to Edward III is in fact possible. Overall, this article highlights the extent to which Machaut was influenced by the literature of the day but also of the past with most of his French motets having some portion inspired by the *trouvere* tradition.

The most recent theories surrounding Machaut's motets involve their relation to one another, their intended order, and the purpose behind this order as hinted in Machaut's *Prologue*. Due to these recent allocations of motets into thematic groups it is impossible to ignore the placement and proposed purpose of *O livoris feritas* within these groups. In this way the attention of musicologists has shifted away from the individual motet while at the same time shedding light upon each work by considering its place and

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<sup>179</sup> Boogaart. "Encompassing Past and Present..." p.

purpose in the whole. Whether the motet group containing *O livoris feritas* forms a mirror structure, as posed by Thomas Brown,<sup>180</sup> or a spiritual mystical journey of the soul, as posed by Anne Walters-Robertson, because of its unique nature *O livoris feritas* must be made a pivotal point in each of these proposals. This being said, within Brown's discussion of the motet ordering structure he fails to mention *O livoris feritas* in content but only structure simply drawing parallels between *O livoris feritas* and Machaut's motet 19, *Diligenter inquiramus/ Martyrum gemma latria/ A Christo honoratus*. Such a parallel between these works emphasizes the mirror like image he believes dictates the ordering of the motets as based upon the influential poem *Roman de la Rose*. Yet, in this case it is difficult to say where this motet would fall in the story of the *Roman de la Rose* as the presence of courtly language and intent within its texts is blatantly lacking. It is difficult to ignore Machaut's placement of the motet among so many other courtly love works, however, and its tendency to look out of place in this context is something that must be addressed in any solid theory. Without further argument as to the purpose of *O livoris feritas* in this structure, it is therefore difficult to consider Brown's theory as any more than interesting unless further efforts are exerted to discover *O livoris feritas*'s connection to the *Roman de la Rose*.

Moving on to the most recent theory concerning Machaut's motet ordering structure, according to Anne Walters-Robertson's theory Machaut intended the first of his seventeen motets to form a cohesive group recalling the journey of the soul in its search for Wisdom/Christ as found in mystical literature of the day. Therefore in this context *O*

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<sup>180</sup> Brown. "Another Mirror for Lovers?..." p.121-133.

*livoris feritas* ‘marks a defining moment in Machaut’s journey-to-love series’.<sup>181</sup> As discussed earlier, Robertson takes most of the support for this argument from this sacred journey as recounted in Henry Suso’s popular and widely copied<sup>182</sup> book, *Horologium Sapientiae*, or *Wisdom’s Watch Upon the Hours*. In this writing, as in the writings of Suso’s mystical theological contemporaries, the significance of *O livoris feritas* is shown clearly to play a central and pivotal role through its mere placement within the motet group but also by the elements of its theme and text. It is displayed centrally within the motet group with eight motets proceeding and eight following. This fact is emphasized by the shift from French motet texts to strictly Latin texts as seen only in *O livoris feritas* but also by an implied illusion to the center of the Christianized form of the Labyrinth structure in which Christ himself must face Satan along his journey to heaven. *O livoris feritas*’s Latin texts dealing with Pride and Envy, both key figures among the Seven Deadly Sins, hint at its place of centralized significance within the spiritual journey placing the Christ-seeking pilgrim himself at the point where he must follow in the footsteps of Christ and face his true test, the confrontation of evil and Sin itself, before reaching his ultimate goal. This theme is further emphasized by the tenor line ‘*Fera pessima*’ or ‘Most evil beast’.

The above key characteristics of *O livoris feritas* all support Robertson’s claims to the effects of mystical theology upon Machaut in his ordering of the motets but the subtleties which she identifies within this work are the most rewarding for the sake of

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<sup>181</sup> For further discussion of the theories stated within this paragraph see Chapter 3 of this study or for the original ideas see Robertson, *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. Chapters 3-6, p 79-187.

<sup>182</sup> Robertson notes that *Horologium Sapientiae* has survived in more than 350 manuscripts while such popular and influential secular works such as *Roman de la Rose* survive in only 300. Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. p. 97.

discussion. Robertson finds other allusions to the mystical literary body and mindset in all three voices of this piece. Since the general theme of the work in Suso's context is the discussion of Sin itself then it is necessary first to identify the characteristics of this personification as well as the Seven Deadly Sins within the text of this work. The text of the tenor comes from Genesis 37:33 which is found liturgically in the fourth Responsory from the third Sunday in Lent. In this text Jacob believes his favorite son Joseph to be dead after mistaking the animal blood covering Joseph's coat for the blood of his son.<sup>183</sup> It is from the passage describing the grief of Jacob that Machaut finds the tenor for his *O livoris feritas* as upon examining the coat brought to him by his envious sons, Jacob cries, 'A most evil beast has devoured my son'. To place this dramatic tenor even further in a context which applies to Suso and the chief Deadly Sin Envy, Robertson again recalls the story of Joseph where we find that it is the sin of Envy, felt by Joseph's brothers, that drives them to commit the evil act of selling Joseph into slavery. Robertson continues on to reveal how this theme of Envy is shared by the upper voices with the addition of the sin of Pride which, as Pope Gregory the Great stated in his *Moralia on the Book of Job*, is begotten by Envy.<sup>184</sup>

In the texts which make up the triplum and motetus lines of *O livoris feritas*, Robertson finds further evidence suggesting that Machaut had some of the same sources which were among the contents of the Cathedral library in mind when taking inspiration for his motets.<sup>185</sup> With regard to the topic of the Seven Deadly Sins, Robertson explains that the chief literary descriptions of these personas were derived from four French works

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<sup>183</sup> The idea of Envy as displayed within the tenor line of *O livoris feritas* was first explored by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht. "Machauts Motette Nr.9, Teil I." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 19/20 (1962).

<sup>184</sup> Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p.139.

<sup>185, 23</sup> See Robertson. *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*. p.140.



of the thirteenth and fourteenth century: Raymond of Penafort's *Summa...casuum conscientiae*, Guillaume Perault's *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus*, Laurent d'Orlean's *Somme le roi*, and Guillaume de Diguilleville's *Pelerinage de la vie humaine*. Indeed Machaut appears to have been influenced to some degree as from Perault Machaut derives mention of the betrayal by Judas captured in the motetus as well as the tenor reference to Envy as the worst of sins for which it is labeled, '*Fera pessima*'.<sup>186</sup> From Laurent Machaut personifies Pride as Lucifer himself in the opening words of the triplum. In this same way the language which Markstrom once deemed by Markstrom as describing the English Edward III is now clearly shown by Robertson to stem from the work of Guillaume de Diguilleville who describes Satan's emergence from the North, Envy as the beast which killed Joseph, and Pride as using its scorpion like tail to sting from behind. Elements shown in Machaut's motet are also visible in Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* firsthand when the pilgrim calls sin by its many names: 'You clever little vixen! You venomous viper. You evil beast [*fera pessima*]!'”<sup>187</sup> Accordingly, all of these ideas are captured within the three voices of the motet evidencing Machaut's use of quotation but also the overall journey of the soul as shown in the seventeen motet structure.

Interestingly, Robertson uses *O livoris feritas* to support the addition of a less known thirteenth century poet of Reims to the list of sources from which Machaut took his poetic illusions, Dreux de Hautvillers (previously discussed in Chapter 3 of this study). Of his four volumes of poetry, there are five which discuss Envy and Pride of

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<sup>187</sup> Robertson. *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*. p. 147.

which his *De invidia versus* is seen to share numerous passages of imagery with Machaut's *O livoris feritas*.<sup>188</sup> The most striking similarities between Machaut's works and those of Dreux are seen in his *De Homine Superbo*:

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<sup>188</sup> For a more in depth discussion of these similarities see Robertson. *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*. p.141.

DE HOMINE SUPERBO (Dreux)

... Sed vos inde pia sanavit **Virgo Maria**;  
Que peperit Chr[istu]m mu[n]du[m] qui venit  
istum,  
Sanguine qui p[ro]prio mittit moriendo redemi  
Posse resurgendo sathane q[uo]d habebat aden  
Ip[su]m dampnavit et in **inferno** religavit,  
Quem tenet in **penis** cruciacibus atq[ue] catheti  
Chr[ist]e laudetur tui laus et Gloria detur  
Ac exaltetur et semper m[a]gnificetur,  
Qui populi miseri dignet[ur] adhuc **misereri**,  
am[en].  
Si sis pacificus, vivus celestis amicus,  
Si n[on], antiquus serpens, cu[n]ctis inimicus,  
Te, miserum, rapiet D[omi]n[u]sq[ue] ferox tit  
fiet...

Translation:

But the holy Virgin Mary has cleansed you  
from it:  
She bore Christ, who came into this world.  
Who releases [us]: by dying He redeemed  
us,  
By rising again He deprived Satan of the  
power he had,  
He damned him and bound him firmly in  
hell,  
He keeps him in punishments, torments, and  
chains.  
Christ, may Your praise be sung and glory  
given  
And exalted and forever magnified,  
Since He still deigns to pity the pitiful  
people, Amen.  
If you are peaceful, you live a friend of  
heaven.  
If not, the old serpent, enemy to all,  
Will snatch you, wretched one, and the Lord  
will become fierce toward you. . . <sup>189</sup>

Triplum – *O livoris feritas* Machaut (lines 21 - 40)

...ymis nunc regnas **infernus**;  
in speluncis et cavernis  
penis jaces et eternis  
agonibus  
dolus et fraus in actibus  
tuis et bonis omnibus  
obiare missilibus  
tu niteris;  
auges que naphas sceleris  
Adam **penis** in asperis  
Te fuit Stigos carceris  
Sed **Maria**  
**Virgo**, que plena gratia  
Sua per puerperia  
Illum ab hac **miseria**  
Liberavit,  
Precor elanguis tedia  
Augeat et supplicia  
Et nos ducat ad gaudia  
Quos creavit

Translation:

Now you reign in the depths below  
In caves and pits  
You lie in punishments and eternal  
Agonies.  
Deceit and treachery [are] in your  
Deeds, and with your darts  
You strive to  
Resist all good [men].  
You augment that wicked crime  
That kept Adam in the harsh torments  
Of the Stygian dungeon.  
But I pray that the Virgin Mary  
Who, full of grace,  
By her childbearing  
Has freed him from this  
Misery.  
May both increase the sufferings  
And punishments of the serpent  
And lead us to joy,  
Whom she has created. <sup>190</sup>

<sup>189</sup> Texts and translations are originally by Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*, p. 141-142, as taken from Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 1271, fols. 67-68v.

<sup>190</sup> Text and translation from Robertson. *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. p. 307-308.

To Robertson these similarities between poems appear to be more than mere coincidence. Robertson further evidences a connection between Machaut and Dreux through a brief discussion of the inscriptions which appear in the opening pages of Dreux's manuscripts stating that they were to be placed in the pulpit of the vestibule. If this was the case, then Machaut would easily have had access to such volumes in which case his quotation of Dreux proves most interesting as does the compilation of his complete works manuscripts leaving Robertson to conclude that Machaut saw Dreux of somewhat of a mentor although the two never drew breath in the same century.<sup>191</sup>

Heeding further possible allusion to the chief Deadly Sins Envy and Pride as expressed within *O livoris feritas*, Robertson turns her attentions to musical imagery which might further capture these ideas. She claims that in the opening lines of the triplum which form an introitus to the work that the solo like lines call to mind the sin of pride which gives rise to the lines of the motetus representing the sin of envy, daughter to pride. In this way triplum (Pride) gives birth to motetus (Envy). The opening lines of the triplum also describe and introduce the characteristics of Satan and with the addition of the second voice; Robertson believes that the allusion to the pilgrim facing the Devil one-on-one is obvious.<sup>192</sup>

As to the reason for the overall switch from French to Latin within the texts of the motets seen so strikingly in *O livoris feritas*, Robertson assigns Machaut's reason for this change to the inclusion of all of us (*nos*) within the struggle against sin. Robertson believes that the power of the Latin language as used in the Bible and even exorcism was

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<sup>191</sup> A discussion of Robertson's claim (Robertson, 2002, p142-144) that Dreux's copying of his own works into volumes were the inspiration for Machaut's creation of his own complete works manuscripts refer to chapter 3 of this thesis.

<sup>192</sup> Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*. p. 146.

an element which Machaut wished to add to this motet in order to strengthen its purpose. She cites further that Latin was the language which empowered the Virtues as they battled the Fauvel and the Vices who sing in French in the *Roman de Fauvel*.<sup>193</sup>

With regard to discussions as to the significance of *O livoris feritas* within a broader group of motets, Robertson's recent book is successful in explaining the uniqueness of *O livoris feritas* amidst its surrounding French motets. If anything is made obvious from the recent findings of Robertson, it is that the key to a more thorough understanding of Machaut's motets lies in a solid knowledge of the literary sources which would have been accessible during the time. In this way it is one of the more convincing of the arguments dealing with motet order and exegesis therefore making it one of the more pertinent to any further discussion of this work. Having now surveyed the findings of musicologists regarding *O livoris feritas*, it is now possible to piece together these theories and perhaps derive a more complete view of this work which captures and combines the methods of those who have come before. Elements of methodology used upon the French motets should also prove beneficial as well as a view to Machaut's possible life long connection with Philippe de Vitry.

Turning our attentions first to the examination of this motet within the seventeen motet group as proposed by Anne Walters-Robertson, it is possible to find connections between the findings of previous musicological studies combined with further observations which would in fact serve to solidify this theory. The aspect of centrality and theme of Sin which characterize this work may be further reinforced by the balanced 40 line triplum text which stands with the polar opposite figures (Satan and Mary) and

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<sup>193</sup> Robertson. *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*. p. 149 the concept of which is taken from Susan Rankin. *The Divine Truth of Scripture: Chant in the Roman de Fauvel*. JAMS 47 (1994), 208, 231-234.

circumstances at the opening of the piece and at the closing. This division, pointed out by Boogaart,<sup>194</sup> of the ascension to the fall of Lucifer is quite clear within this triplum text as its first twenty lines are concerned with Lucifer in his high throne of the North (triplum lines 1-20) while the last twenty pertain to his decent to the depths and punishments in Hell (triplum lines 21-40). The rhyme scheme of the motetus which resembles a mirror-like structure radiating from the word ‘retro’, meaning backward, may further emphasize this idea of centrality in the 17 motet theory. The most rewarding aspect of this sectional and central view of the triplum and motetus texts is discovered by applying this idea of ‘the Fall’ of mankind through Satan followed by ‘the Deliverance’ of mankind by Christ to the concepts mentioned by Robertson concerning the Christianized Labyrinth structure. This structure which symbolically depicts the journey of Christ and therefore the journey of the Christ-seeking pilgrim of which Robertson believes the group of seventeen motets to be ultimately based. As Robertson points out, the journey *to* the center of the Labyrinth is exactly as long as the journey *from* the center just as shown within the motetus rhyme scheme. The center of this journey is shown to be the pivotal confrontation between Jesus and Satan himself. In this way we see that this idea is depicted in both the triplum and motetus texts of *O livoris feritas* which forms the symbolic confrontation. The first twenty lines therefore recall the first confrontation of a terrifying Satan while the last twenty recall his fall and man’s deliverance through the birth of Christ. Already in the last twenty lines the pilgrim is tracing his steps back from the centripetal journey toward Satan and toward Christ, his ultimate goal and

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<sup>194</sup> Boogaart. “Encompassing Past and Present...” p. 7-8.

reward. Accordingly, Robertson's findings regarding *O livoris feritas* are contributed to and solidified by the more recent findings of Boogaart and vice versa.

The most striking bit of evidence that *O Livoris* refers to the journey of the soul comes from an examination of the liturgical context in which its tenor line is presented. The words, '*fera pessima*' are shown to have originated from the fourth responsory from the third Sunday in Lent which is proceeded by a reading from the nocturn describing the lesson the soul may derive from the life of Jacob.<sup>195</sup> The first reading from the second nocturn precedes the *fera pessima* responsory and uses the words of Saint Ambrose to highlight the virtues for which the soul should aspire.

Joseph historia occurrit in quo cum plurima fuerint genera virtutum, praecipue insigne effulsit castimoniae. Iustum est igitur, ut, cum in Abraham didiceritis impigram fidei devotionem, in Isaac sincerae mentis puritatem, in Iacob singularem animi laborumque patientiam, ex illa generalite virtutum, in ipsas species disciplinarum intendatis animum.	In the story of Joseph there are many different kinds of virtues, of which the most outstanding one is chastity. It is fitting, therefore, as in Abraham one can learn the assiduous devotion of faith, in Isaac sincere purity of mind, in Jacob singlemindedness and patience in labor. From these exemplars of virtue one can aspire to the model disciplines of the soul. <sup>196</sup>
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From this reading it is possible to see that in the selection of the tenor line for *O livoris feritas* Machaut looked also to the context of the tenor source. This liturgical context, discussing the lessons of the soul as depicted by these Biblical figures, one again

<sup>195</sup> Regretably no Reims Antiphonal was available although the same responsory is found in the Poissy Antiphonal, a Parisian, Dominican manuscript which dates from 1335-1345 [State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, + 096.1 R66A]. For more on this manuscripts see Joan Naughton. "The Poissy Antiphonal in Its Royal Monastic Milieu." *Latrobe Library Journal* 13 (1993). Within this manuscript this passage is allocated to the third responsory of the first nocturn (Folio 92r). This passage is also found in the later edition of a 1568 Roman Brevary although here it occurs as the fourth responsory [first responsory of the second nocturn]. *Breviarium Romanum*. Editio Principio (1568) p. 302 (facsimile ed. 332) item 1936.

<sup>196</sup> Many thanks to John Stinson for his translation of this passage.

reinforces the notion of the spiritual journey of the soul as outlined in the first seventeen motets as discussed by Robertson.

Further observations concerning ‘the deliverance’ aspect of the second half of the triplum text are reinforced by the use of analytical devices found in the analysis of another of Machaut’s French motets.<sup>197</sup> Numerically if we count the total words in the text of the triplum and then divide it into the two sections suggested in the content of the text we find meaning using the Golden ratio of 1:1.618 which is the ratio of perfection as recognized by the Greeks and also medieval man. Multiplying the 65 words of the second section of the triplum text by 0.618 we come up with the number 40. Most interestingly, we find that the 40th word of the second section is Mary who is the embodiment of Perfection reinforcing once again both the findings of Boogaart and Robertson. Reference to the other chief deadly sins *Acedia* (Sloth), *Avaricia* (Avaricia), and *Gula* (Gluttony) may also be hinted at with the shifting between A and G tonalities described by Sarah Fuller as well as the opening notes of the triplum introitus: A A A G.<sup>198</sup> The attribution of these tonalities to the Sins would lead to the inclusion of five of the seven deadly sins within the motet: Pride, Envy, Avarice, Sloth, and Gluttony. In this way it is also beneficial to use some of the tools once reserved for French motet analysis in the analysis of the Latin motets.

With regard to the statements of Markstrom concerning a historically based reading of the texts of *O livoris feritas*, it is difficult to prove whether such a reading is merited. Certainly Machaut would have been concerned with the happenings stemming

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<sup>197</sup> Margaret Bent. "Deception, Exegesis and Sounding Number in Machaut's Motet 15." *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 15-27.

<sup>198</sup> Fuller. "Modal Tenors..." p. 207



from the Hundred Years' War with the invasion of Edward III but as shown in the previous chapter 1 of this study, there were also immediate threats from within France itself. To view Edward as the sole source of all the unrest would be highly naïve and no doubt Machaut, traveling in the political circles of the day, would have been educated as to the degree of politics within the situation. Further weight may be added to Markstrom's identification of the circumstances within which this motet was written as being the Hundred Years' War, however, by the findings of Boogaart who also believes that Machaut's motet is political in nature as evidenced by its connection with a motet from *Roman de Fauvel*.

The connection by Boogaart between Machaut's motet and the *Roman de Fauvel's Tribum que non abhorruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur* is merited by the fact that the two works share numerous similarities. Both use the personification of animals as well as the attribution of animal traits in their descriptions. In the case of *Tribum*, the blind Lion of whom the poetry speaks has been identified as Philip IV or the Fair who died in 1314. Thematically both motets are concerned with the Fall. *Tribum* is obvious in its allusions to the Fall which will come for the prosperous leader of its texts as described clearly in the triplum text (as shown above) while *O livoris feritas* is more veiled in its political references. When one examines the Biblical source for the imagery used within the triplum of *O livoris feritas* as identified by Boogaart,

Chapter 4 – Motet 9 (*O livoris feritas /Fons tocius superbie/Fera Pessima*)

line	O livoris feritas	Rhyme	Syllables	Words/ line	
	Fons totius superbie,	a	8	3	
	Lucifer, et nequicie	a	8	3	
	Qui mirabilis specie	a	8	3	
	Decoratus,	b	4	1	
	Eras in summis locatus,	b	8	4	
	Super thronos sublimatus,	b	8	3	
	Draco ferus antiquatus	b	8	3	
	Qui dicere	c	4	2	
	Ausus es sedem ponere	c	8	4	
	Aquiline et gerere	c	8	3	
	Te similem in opere	c	8	4	
	Altissimo	d	4	1	
	Tuo sed est in proximo	d	8	5	
	fastui ferocissimo	d	8	2	
	a iudice justissimo	d	8	3	
	obvium	e	4	1	
	tuum nam auffert primatum;	e	8	4	
	ad abyssos cito stratum	e	8	4	
	te vidisti per peccatum	e	8	4	
	<u>de supernis</u>	f	4	2	<u>Center</u>
	ymis nunc regnas infernis;	f	8	4	
	in speluncis et cavernis	f	8	4	
	penis jaces et eternis	f	8	4	
	agonibus	g	4	1	
	dolus et fraus in actibus	g	8	5	
	tuis et bonis omnibus	g	8	4	
	obiare missilibus	g	8	2	
	tu niteris;	h	4	2	
	auges que naphas sceleris	h	8	4	
	Adam penis in asperis	h	8	4	
	Te fuit Stigos carceris	h	8	4	
	Sed <b>Maria</b> ←	i	4	4	
	Virgo, que plena gratia	i	8	2	65 words (2nd section)
	Sua per puerperia	i	8	4	x 0.618 (Golden ratio)
	Illum ab hac miseria	i	8	3	40.17 word
	Liberavit,	j	4	4	Golden Section
	Precor elanguis tedia	k	8	1	
	Augeat et supplicia	k	8	3	
	Et nos ducat ad gaudia	k	8	3	
	Quos creavit	j	4	2	
	Motetus:				
	O livoris feritas	a	7	3	
	Que superna rogitas	a	7	3	
	Et jaces inferius!	b	7	3	
	Cur inter now habitas?	a	7	4	
	Tua cum garrulitas	a	7	3	
	<u>Nos affatur dulcius.</u>	b	7	3	Center, Reversal,
	<b>Retro</b> pungit seivius,	b	7	3	Mirror Structure or
	Ut veneno scorpius:	a	7	3	journey away from
	Scariotis falsitas	b	7	2	center of Labyrinth
	Latitat interius	b	7	2	
	Det Mercedes Filius	a	7	3	
	Dei tibi debitas!		7	3	

Chapter 4 – Motet 9 (*O livoris feritas /Fons tocius superbie/Fera Pessima*)

<p>Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito hec patimur<sup>199</sup></p>	
<p>Triplum: Tribum que non abhorruit indecenter ascendere furibunda non metuit Fortuna cito vertere, dum duci prefate tribus in sempiternum speculum parare palam omnibus non pepercit patibulum. Populus ergo venturus si trans metam ascenderit, quidam forsitan casurus, cum tanta tribus ruerit, sciat eciam quis fructus delabi sit in profundum. Post zephyros plus ledit hyems, post gaudia luctus; unde nichil melius quam nil habuisse secundum.</p> <p>Motetus: Quoniam secta latonum spelunca vispilionum velupes que Gallos rederat temporare quo regnaverat leo cecatus subito suo ruere merito in mortem privatam bonis: concinat Gallus Nasonis dicta que dolum acuunt: omnia sunt hominum tenui pendencia filo et subito casu que valere ruunt.</p> <p>Tenor: Merito hec patimur.</p>	<p>Triplum: Furious Fortune has not feared to bring down swiftly the tribe which did not shrink from ascending indecently, while for the leader of the aforesaid tribe she has not refrained from preparing the gallows as an eternal mirror in the sight of everyone. Therefore if the people to come should ascend across the limit, let a certain man who might, perhaps, fall, since such a tribe has collapsed, know also what an outcome it would be to fall into the depth. Winter harms more after gentle west winds, griefs [harm more] after joys; whence nothing is better than to have had nothing for the second time [that is, better nothing at all than to have enjoyed good fortune in the past]</p> <p>Motetus: Since the gang of thieves from a cave of reprobates and the fox which had gnawed the cocks in the time in which the blinded lion had ruled have fallen suddenly by their own deserts into a death deprived of good things, let the cock shout Ovid's words which intensify the deceit: "All human affairs are hanging by a slender thread, and with a sudden fall things which were strong crash."</p> <p>Tenor: Justly we suffer these things. [Genesis 42:21]  (From Matins responsory for the third Sunday in Lent)</p>

<sup>36</sup> Text and translations from Margaret Bent. "Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet: Tribum Que Non Abhorruit/Quonian Secta Latronum/Merito Hec Patimur and Its "Quotations"." *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Ed. Dolores Pesce. New York and Oxford, 1997. 82-103. p. 85-86.

however, we find that Machaut is also concerned with the Fall of a political leader on some level.

Isaiah 14, 11-20, shown in the Latin text from the Vulgate above, when translated is similar to

Machaut's text but goes further in describing the downfall of the evil leader who is shown as

Lucifer and his subsequent suffering:

**11** Thy pride is brought down to hell, thy carcass is fallen down: under thee shall the moth be strewed, and worms shall be thy covering. **12** How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, who didst rise in the morning? how art thou fallen to the earth, that didst wound the nations? **13** And thou saidst in thy heart: I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God, I will sit in the mountain of the covenant, in the sides of the north. **14** I will ascend above the height of the clouds, I will be like the most High. **15** But yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, into the depth of the pit. **16** They that shall see thee, shall turn toward thee, and behold thee. Is this the man that troubled the earth, that shook kingdoms, **17** That made the world a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof, that opened not the prison to his prisoners? **18** All the kings of the nations have all of them slept in glory, every one in his own house. **19** But thou art cast out of thy grave, as an unprofitable branch defiled, and wrapped up among them that were slain by the sword, and art gone down to the bottom of the pit, as a rotten carcass. **20** Thou shalt not keep company with them, even in burial: for thou hast destroyed thy land, thou hast slain thy people: the seed of the wicked shall not be named for ever.

Beyond this similarity the two motets share common threads within their tenor lines.<sup>200</sup> Both tenor chant fragments are taken from Responsories from the third Sunday in Lent and involve the same Biblical story of Joseph and Jacob with *O livoris feritas* calling upon text from Genesis 37:33 and *Tribum* recalling Genesis 42:21. While Genesis 37:33 speaks of the 'most evil beast' which Jacob believed to be responsible for the death of his son Joseph, Genesis 42 speaks of the punishment which Joseph's brothers believe they have merited for the selling of their brother into slaver. With the establishment of this possible connection arise some interesting interpretations for *O livoris feritas* which are well worth discussing. Whereas Machaut's motet is caught up in the deceit of the leader, the *Fauvel* motet is caught up in the downfall of the leader. This concept of the downfall of Satan may once again be applied to Robertson's 17 motet

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<sup>37</sup> Boogaart. "Encompassing Past and Present..." p.10.

ordering structure. That this motet appears in Fauvel also bears meaning in that this word is an anagram for the seven deadly sins, the sins which Machaut seeks to embody in his motet *O livoris*. In alluding to the Fauvel motet, moreover, Machaut seems to emphasize that the sufferings which come with the fall will be more agonizing because of the decent from a high position to the deepest depths. In this way, returning once more to the historical treatment by Markstrom, it appears that Machaut supports his claim that Edward III's downfall is promised by alluding to an historic ruler in the not too distant past that faced his own demise as well as the biblical ruler of Isaiah. Since *O livoris feritas* provides the pivot upon which the 17 motet structure rests of Robertson rests then it is obvious that the downfall which is alluded to through a reference to the *Fauvel* motet of Philippe de Vitry also pertains to the downfall of Lucifer at the center of the Labyrinth. This therefore hints at the victory of both Christ and now the pilgrim in his confrontation of Sin. Just as the tiled labyrinth upon the Cathedral floor at Reims depicts the important role at the center of the maze so does the text, music, and textual allusion within Machaut's *O livoris feritas* show itself to be a witness of its central and all important role within the seventeen motet structure proposed by Anne Walters-Robertson.

Having established the spiritual and Biblical connections which bring *O livoris feritas* into further focus, it is now necessary to examine the validity of Brown's ideas concerning the inclusion of *O livoris feritas* within his twenty motet grouping which follows the more secular *Roman de la Rose*.<sup>201</sup> As to the question concerning where the texts of *O livoris feritas* would fall within this work, the theme of evil and of the Sins is alluded to within the text of the *Rose*, an idea which is not addressed by Brown but which is none the less present within the narrative

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<sup>38</sup> It is important to understand that in the Middle Ages there is no real distinction between the sacred and secular as both arenas were intermingled in all aspects of life. Therefore the definition of secular may be better understood as being in the French language and following in the guidelines of Courtly Love as in the case of *La Roman de Rose*.

poem. Passages describing the fall of mankind come during the discourse between the Lover and his Friend:

But the first of which I tell you did not know the value of navigation. In their own country they found everything that seemed good to seek. All were equally rich, and they loved each other lawfully. Thus they lived peacefully together, for these simple people of good life loved each other naturally. At that time there was no simony in love; one did not demand something from another. Then Fraud came, with his lance at rest, and Sin and Misfortune, who take no heed of Sufficiency, and along with them came Pride, equally disdainful in her grand array, Covetousness, Avarice, Envy, and all the other vices...<sup>202</sup> (lines 9517 – 9537)

Immediately these wretched devils, excited by fury, sorrow, anger, and envy when they saw men leading such a life, rushed off through all countries, sowing discord, contention and war, slander, rancor, and hatred through anger and quarreling. Because they held gold dear, they had the earth flayed for it, and they drew out of its bowels for its old deposits of metals and precious stones that make men grow envious. For Avarice and Covetousness established in the hearts of men the burning desire to acquire possessions.<sup>203</sup> (lines 9561-9585)

In this passage we find that the vices were lead by Pride and Envy, as in Machaut's motet texts, and that after there arrival there was the eruption of violent wars and discord among men. This passage strengthens Brown's theory but beyond this it is made dramatically clear that although *Roman de la Rose* is commonly referred to as a secular text it is indeed possible to throw an amount of sacred light upon its context as the passage above basically explains 'the Fall' of mankind. Such references to the sins found within the *Rose* show the high degree to which the Sins as well as the Fall had penetrated everyday medieval French literary culture. With this now said, the question must be asked as to whether it is then possible or practical to attempt to trace the direct sources for Machaut's textual references in so much as references which Brown credits as coming from the *Rose* may be found in much of the other literature of the period including

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<sup>39</sup> Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. *The Romance of the Rose*. Ed. Harry W. (trans) Robbins. USA: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962. p. 171.

<sup>40</sup> Lorris and Meun. *The Romance of the Rose*. p. 171.

Guillaume de Deguillville's *Le Pelerinage De La Vie Humaine*. The notion of a historical treatment of this text is also weakened in that 'the Fall' had been a popular literary topic long before the composition of *O livoris feritas* as the corruption of man has been a constant focus of the church and the notion of spiritual perfection and discipline which characterizes its teachings.

As shown in this current chapter there are allusions to numerous sources to be found within Guillaume de Machaut's *O livoris feritas*. Chief among these sources of inspiration is the liturgy as evidenced by Saint Ambrose's reference to the journey of the human soul within the liturgical context of the tenor chant source. Here we also find that reference to this journey was not only reserved for the theological writings of Machaut's day but was present from the inception of the liturgy. The influence of the liturgy is also visible in secular sources such as the *Roman de la Rose* in which there are passages that also recall images from *O livoris feritas*. Liturgical context is shown as important in the connection which it establishes with the Vitry motet *Tribum* which provides the basis for a possible historical interpretation of these texts. In this way it has been seen that whether or not many of the methods established by earlier musicologists to approaching this work have been ground breaking they have each been useful and indispensable. With the aid of this research we are now able to explore *O livoris feritas* with the further understanding gained through the addition of liturgical insight. All in all, it is only after over a decade and generations of musical and poetic thought surrounding *O livoris feritas* that we are finally beginning to understand the scope of intent and meaning which it holds. This thought is quite humbling when considering that one man, Guillaume de Machaut, was able to endow this motet with the wealth of knowledge which he derived in one lifetime.

**Chapter 5 – Motets 18 & 19 (*Bone pastor guillerme /Bone pastor, qui  
pastores /Bone pastor and Martyrum gemma latria /Diligenter inquiramus  
/A Christo honoratus*)**

Having seen the significance of liturgical, literary, and fourteenth century motet context in the interpretation of Machaut's motet 9, *O livoris feritas*, it is now necessary to apply these perspectives to the analysis of Latin motets 18, *Bone pastor guillerme/ Bone pastor, qui pastores / Bone pastor* and 19, *Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / A Christo honoratus*.<sup>204</sup> These two motets appear to form a pair in that they share the traits of functionality in ecclesiastical services and texts in praise of religious figures. In the case of *Bone Pastor* this figure is commonly believed to have been the archbishop of Reims, Guillaume de Trie<sup>205</sup> while in the case of *Martyrum gemma* the praised subject has been identified as the martyred Saint Quentin. In the exegesis of these works we will find that they share striking similarities with other motets of the period. These similarities, too numerous to allow us to consider mere coincidences, hint at the close ties Machaut had to a theoretical group of motet composers, perhaps under the supervision of Philippe de Vitry, who were responsible for the composition of the surviving body of isorhythmic motets of the fourteenth century.<sup>206</sup> Considering *Bone*

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<sup>204</sup> From here on motet 18 will be referred to as *Bone Pastor* and motet 19 as *Martyrum gemma*.

<sup>205</sup> The first identification of the subject of this motet placing its composition around the year 1323-1324. Armand Machabey. *Guillaume De Machault 130?-1377: La Vie Et L'oeuvre Musical*, Bibliothèque D'études Musicales. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Paris: Richard-Masse-Editeur, 1955. p. 100-101

<sup>206</sup> The theoretical group of composers is discussed in Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel. "Related Motets from Fourteenth Century France." *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 109 (1982-1983): 1-22.



*pastor* and *Martyrum gemma* in the context of the fourteenth century motet body as well as their possible historical and liturgical functions the aspects of these individual works may be more fully understood and a deeper level of analytical understanding obtained.

The functional aspect of *Bone pastor* has long been the most discussed aspect of this work as it has long been believed to have been composed for a service honoring Guillaume de Trie, archbishop of Reims from 1324-1334.<sup>207</sup> This connection to the archbishop stems from use of the name *Guillierme* in the opening of the triplum voice.<sup>208</sup> Beyond this with reference to these texts addressing Guillaume de Trie they are rather vague in nature giving the impression that this motet could serve several functions including the praise of a bishop. Even references to his stately family background (Good shepherd, who surpasses | Other shepherds in morals | And in birth [family]<sup>209</sup>) are generally found in one ascending to this position within a cathedral.<sup>210</sup> Elements of the texts of the upper voices which recall the characteristics of an archbishop or a bishop include the references to the traditional vestment worn by those in this position including the mitre and staff as well as the allegory which describes the ‘Good Shepherd’ leading his flock to safety.<sup>211</sup> The use of the words *vas* (vessel) and the description of the shepherd leading his flock allow this piece to be connected with the liturgies of both Paul and Peter. All these elements may be generically attributed to either archbishop or bishop.

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<sup>207</sup> As the text of the motet discusses Trie in the context of Archbishop, it has long been assumed that this work was completed early on in the Archbishop’s service, perhaps even to have been performed in the prelate’s crowning ceremony. Machabey, Armand. *Guillaume De Machault 130?-1377: La Vie Et L'oeuvre Musical, Bibliothèque D'études Musicales*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Paris: Richard-Masse-Editeur, 1955.

<sup>208</sup> It is important to note that the symbols of the staff and mitre may also be applied to the position of bishop.

<sup>209</sup> *Bone pastor, qui pastores | Ceteros vincis per mores | Et per genus* motetus lines 1-3 of motet 18 as found in Robertson. *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. p. 323.

<sup>210</sup> Robertson. *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*, p. 57.

<sup>211</sup> The position of bishop and archbishop are only distinguished by the addition of one vestment, the pallium. Both the vestments of mitre and staff are worn by both bishop and archbishop.

## Chapter 5 – Motets 18 & 19 (*Bone pastor* and *Martyrum gemma*)

As to any symbols within this motet which point to the function of this motet within Reims specifically, they are few and unconvincing. Anne Walters Robertson offers that the mention of the warrior-like qualities of the subject, qualities exhibited forcefully by former Archbishops of Reims in particular, may be the most convincing ties to Reims which had a history of heroic martyrs.<sup>212</sup> These warrior references include images of Minerva recalling *Ovide moralisé* describing the armor of the virtues but also mention of the archbishop's role of protector as heard in the triplum lines 7-10 which urge the guarding of the gates of the city lest it be devastated by Satan. This reference to the gates of the city may argue most convincingly for the application of this motet to Reims as the archbishop to the coronation site held the responsibility to protect this symbolically important site to the crown of France. Beyond this Robertson believes that this connection may be further established through glimpses into the iconography displayed in the stained-glass windows of Reims cathedral. The references within the text to the writings of Paul and Peter closely recall the thirteenth century iconography seen in the stained glass of the upper choir window which places the Archbishop of Reims between both Paul and Peter. Even so, the emphasis placed upon both of these apostles within the liturgy surrounding the universal position of both archbishop and bishop leaves the specific and convincing attribution to Reims weak. The ambiguous nature of these texts already discussed is contributed to by the mystery surrounding the source of its tenor line reading Tenor: *Bone Pastor* which has only recently been satisfactorily explored by Anne Walters Robertson.<sup>213</sup> Overall, the generic quality of these texts leaves room for interpretation and speculation as does the possible circumstances for which it was composed.

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<sup>212</sup> Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*, p. 57.

<sup>213</sup> Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*, p. 61-68

Having related that the circumstantial evidence which has credited the subject of this motet with Archbishop Guillaume de Trie there are further clues to its function to be found in an examination of the life of this man as well as the liturgy at Reims itself. In her recent findings surrounding the history of Reims and its connection with Machaut Robertson explains that Guillaume de Trie came from a long line of associates of the Capetian kings and had formerly been bishop of Bayeux before becoming Archbishop of Reims.<sup>214</sup> Acknowledging the continuous power struggle between the position of archbishop and the canons, Robertson claims that de Trie in particular would have been no friend to the canons at Reims. By 1327 Guillaume de Trie had excommunicated almost a third of the canons and then within the next year had disallowed their celebrations of the Divine Office. The power struggle between the two religious positions would not be resolved without the intercession of first Philip of Valois in 1328 and then Pope John XXII in 1330.<sup>215</sup> These historical events lead Robertson to conclude that although Guillaume de Machaut would not have held the position of canon within the cathedral of Reims until the end of his time as archbishop (this position would not be granted until 1333) Machaut would nonetheless have had many reasons to dislike the Archbishop and in this way she is lead to question the sincerity of the praise the Archbishop within the texts of *Bone Pastor*. With the addition of this information regarding the strained relationship between de Trie and the canons at Reims, the question must be asked as to why Machaut's opinion of the archbishop would have been maligned. After all, he would not become a canon at Reims until the end of the archbishop's reign and so would have been unperturbed by the power struggle therein. In this way it seems more likely that Machaut may have composed this motet within the circumstances of his

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<sup>214</sup> Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*, p. 55.

<sup>215</sup> The matter was settled by a September 1330 bull of Pope John XXII reinstating the singing of the Mass and Offices throughout the city and therefore ruling largely in favor of the canons.

first possible meeting with Philippe de Vitry as described by Lawrence Earp. Earp suggests that this first meeting may have occurred around the time of the Coronation of King Charles IV in Reims in 1322.<sup>216</sup> As the King of Bohemia had close ties to Charles solidified through the marriage of his sister to the King, he would undoubtedly have been one of the members of an entourage accompanying the future King to Toulouse. Machaut, possibly a novice to the *ars nova* motet, may have then had the opportunity to discuss and learn from the more senior Philippe de Vitry. Along this journey it is clear that political discussions between the future King Charles and the King of Bohemia resulted in the engagement of Charles' son Philip, future King Philip VI, and John of Luxembourg's daughter Blanche. Through these political intrigues Lawrence Earp therefore believes that Machaut was provided with the opportunity to compose his motet for Philip's tutor Guillaume de Trie.<sup>217</sup> Further explorations into the structure of this motet and its borrowings from earlier motets, perhaps composed by Philippe de Vitry himself or by those within his circle, may serve to strengthen this idea that Machaut would have composed this motet early in his career in this situation.

That *Bone Pastor* resembles other motets of the period has been commented upon by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson in his study of fourteenth-century motets.<sup>218</sup> Within this comparative study Leech-Wilkinson finds striking similarities between these motets which lead him to speculate that there was a small group of composers who were responsible for the motet output of this period. In this way similarities are found between Machaut's *Bone Pastor* and two motets found within the circa 1365 Manuscript Ivrea,

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<sup>216</sup> Earp, *Guillaume De Machaut: A Guide to Research*. p. 21-22.

<sup>217</sup> Further evidence linking Vitry to this motet in particular will be presented in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

<sup>218</sup> Daniel Leech-Wilkinson. "Related Motets from Fourteenth Century France." *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 109 (1982-1983): 1-22.

Biblioteca capitolare 115 (hereafter referred to as Ivrea Codex).<sup>219</sup> The first of these similar motets IV40, *Se paour / Diex / Concupisco*, shares with *Bone Pastor* the musical characteristics of a straight-forward harmony, 3:1 breve to chant-note ratio, and a talea which begins with a breve rest followed by a maxima.<sup>220</sup> The characteristics shared by these motets lead Leech-Wilkinson to the conclusion that in composing *Bone Pastor* Machaut makes a, ‘conscious reference to the central tradition, and so would appear to support the suggestion of a central tradition, and so would appear to support the suggestion of deliberate derivation from IV40.’<sup>221</sup> Further similarities Leech-Wilkinson finds within the body of motets of this period and Machaut’s *Bone pastor* are also found in motet IV75, *L’amoureuse flour / En l’estat / Sicut fenum arui*. Machaut’s allusion to these other motets, possibly composed by Vitry or one of his students, leads Leech-Wilkinson to the logical conclusion that Machaut was among this close group of composers who borrowed heavily from one another’s material and were responsible for the output of *ars nova* motets. These implications for such a theory involving Machaut are important for understanding Machaut’s place in the musical society of the day as well as the process through and occasion for which *Bone Pastor* was composed.

Returning to the events surrounding the composition of *Bone Pastor* the possible reasons why Machaut chose to emulate the Vitry tradition in the case of this specific motet are numerous and intriguing. If *Bone Pastor* was one of Machaut’s earliest motets, as would have been the case if it was intended for Guillaume de Trie, then it is quite likely that he would have borrowed from existing material in its composition for reasons of practicality. A novice in the art of composing a motet would find that the problems

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<sup>219</sup> Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115. Circa 1365 is the year given for the creation of the Ivrea Codex by Leech-Wilkinson. "Related Motets from Fourteenth Century France." p. 20.

<sup>220</sup> "M18 also shows the 3:1 breve to chant-note ratio found in Machaut’s other Vitriacan works, M15 and M21." Leech-Wilkinson. "Related Motets from Fourteenth Century France." p. 14.

<sup>221</sup> Leech-Wilkinson. "Related Motets from Fourteenth Century France." p. 14.

which would have arisen in the setting would have been solved by these former composers. If we apply this theory to the scenario suggested by Earp in which Machaut composed this motet while in the company of Vitry, then perhaps we may view *Bone Pastor* as a kind of student exercise. The highly generic quality of these texts contributes to this theory in which perhaps the chief aim of this exercise was the mastery of the isorhythmic structures as well as the appropriate texts for either bishop or archbishop.<sup>222</sup> Continuing in this scenario it is also possible that Vitry assigned some of the characteristics of this musical setting to his student Machaut in its composition with the works of others as examples to go by. In this way perhaps *Bone Pastor*, although functional yet general and seemingly non-esoteric in text, is the work of a composer studying a new art form under a master.

To return to the important matter of the unidentified tenor line of this motet, through a thorough examination of the liturgy with this generic quality in mind its origins have become increasingly clear as has the importance of liturgical context in motet analysis. In her study of this work Anne Walters Robertson looks further to the liturgies of Paul and Peter alluded to within the upper voices in piecing together the tenor as it is found within Machaut's motet. Accordingly, Robertson turns her attentions specifically to the Feast of Peter and Paul (29 June) and to the text line among the liturgy of this feast which states 'I have asked on your behalf, Peter, that your faith should not be lacking; now you, having been converted, strengthen your brothers.'<sup>223</sup> Robertson believes that

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<sup>222</sup> While acknowledging the generic quality of these texts it is important to consider that perhaps we have not unlocked the keys which may be found perhaps in the musical structure of this piece. Further light may be shed upon this work with the consideration of its numerical symbolism. See John Stevens. *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama, 1050-1350*. Cambridge Studies in Music. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

<sup>223</sup> 'Ego pro te rogavi petre ut non deficiat fides tua et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos' found in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Responsory of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Nocturne of Matins of Saint Peter and Paul. *Breviarium Romanum Editio Princeps (1568)*. Ed. and intro. Manlio Sodi and Achille Maria Triacca. Vatican City: Vatican Press, 1999. p. 770 (5007 in facsimile edition) as also found in Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. p. 62

these sentiments may also be appropriately applied to the duties of an oath taking archbishop. The word ‘*frater*’ (brother) used within this passage leads Robertson to the *Fratres* melisma from this same Responsory when attempting to establish the melodic origins of the *Bone pastor* tenor line. Comparing numerous readings of this same chant line, Robertson finds that they all share the similar features of descending chains of thirds. As to the deviations from these chant readings, Robertson suggests that they may be due in part to the tonal movements which Machaut desired in the piece overall.

With the possible origins of the melody of the tenor line identified its possible performance context may be explored. Robertson believes that although the obvious occasion for its performance would have been the entry of the archbishop in Reims in 1324 or his oath taking in 1325, it might also have been the *laudes regiae*.<sup>224</sup> This text would have been performed during special feasts and involves among other features, a comparison between the earthly King and the heavenly King, a characteristic seen markedly in the texts of *Bone Pastor*. In the portion of the texts which are in praise of the archbishop the phrase ‘God has chosen you as shepherd; in this seat may he preserve you; may God multiply the years of your life,’<sup>225</sup> appears. Once again with this passage we find an allusion to the Good Shepherd of *Bone Pastor*. Robertson further believes that *Bone Pastor* may have been sung following the close of the *laudes regiae* according to the thirteenth century custom documented in Paris.<sup>226</sup> Considering the similarities in texts between *Bone Pastor* and the *laudes* this proposal does seem promising. Obviously

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<sup>224</sup> The earliest evidence showing the performance of the *laudes regiae* is shown in a quote from Flodoard which states that the piece was performed in 816 during the crowning of Louis the Pious. ‘The pontiff arose and, in a loud voice along with his choir, performed the laudes regiae for the king’ (*‘Erexit se pontifex et excelsa voce cum choro suo fecit regi laudes regales’*) taken from Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. p. 64 and 354 as first seen in Flodoard. *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*. Ed. J. Heller and G. Waitz. Hanover: MGH, 1881. p. 468 (bk. 2, ch. 19)

<sup>225</sup> *Te pastorem. Deus elegit. In hac sede. Te conservet. Annos vite. Deus multiplicet.* Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. p. 66

<sup>226</sup> Craig Wright. *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1500*, *Cambridge Studies in Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. p. 203-206.

in the case of this functional motet it is important to examine the liturgical manuscripts of the cathedral in order to understand its purpose as has been done in the research of Robertson.

That motet 18 served a functional ecclesiastical purpose has been made evident in recent research as has its connection to a theoretical fourteenth-century group of composers. Continuing on to the discussion of Machaut's motet 19, we find that these motets share these same qualities in common although the subject of motet 19 is clearly the Martyred Saint Quentin.<sup>227</sup> Yet even the identification of the subject has not resulted in the discovery of the exact function for which this work was composed. The similarities which it shares with two other motets found within the Ivrea Codex do shed some light upon the manner in which it was composed, however.

The theory that these two works are related is further solidified by their stylistic traits which would place them in an earlier motet style resembling the works found within the *Roman de Fauvel* and the *Ivrea Codex*. It has been observed that *Martyrum gemma* closely resembles Philippe de Vitry's *Impudenter circumivi* / *Virtutibus laudabilis* / *Alma redemptoris* / *Contratenor* in its introitus as well as his *Flos ortus* / *Celsa cedrus* / *Quam magnus* in several areas of its composition.<sup>228</sup> All three motets share texts which praise a different figure. *Martyrum gemma*, as discussed above, praises Saint Quentin, *Impudenter circumivi* speaks in praise of the Virgin Mary, while *Flos ortus* praises St. Louis of Toulouse.<sup>229</sup> As Kügle points out and as shown in the tables below, both *Martyrum gemma* and *Impudenter circumivi* use octosyllabic verse in their triplum voices with heptasyllables in their motetus. Besides this the rhyme schemes shown in these

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<sup>227</sup> The subject of this piece was first identified by Ernest Hoeffner, ed. *Oeuvres De Guillaume De Machaut*. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1908. xx n. 3.

<sup>228</sup> Karl Kügle. *The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 115: Studies in the Transmission and Composition of Ars Nova Polyphony*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1993. p. 119-124.

<sup>229</sup> Kügle. *The Manuscript Ivrea...* p. 119.



motets are the same although their similarities are between the opposite voices in each work. Further striking similarities between these works include the common syntactic structure of the triplum of *Martyrum gemma* and the motetus of *Impudenter circumivi* which Kügle points out use “adverb-verb in the first person-accusative object.”<sup>230</sup> Interestingly, further similarities include the cry for mercy as shown at the close of the triplum of Machaut’s motet and the motetus of Vitry’s. Musically the recombination as shown in the similarities shared between the opposite voices of these works is seen in the tempus imperfectum with major prolation of *Impudenter circumivi* (numerically expressed as 2x3) reversed in *Martyrum gemma* (3x2).<sup>231</sup> Kügle suggests that the reversal of the aspects of Vitry’s motet shown in Machaut’s may signify the cross of martyrdom born by Saint Quentin.<sup>232</sup> With regard to similarities shared by Machaut’s *Martyrum gemma* and *Flos ortus* the most obvious aspect is that of the seven cardinal sins and other evils are listed in both texts.<sup>233</sup> Besides this *Flos ortus* also uses octosyllables in its 36 lines of triplum just as does *Martyrum gemma*.<sup>234</sup> Beyond these similarities there are more numerous parallels in text within these two works in that the triplum of both motets uses ten of the same words (as highlighted in the table below).

The most obvious conclusion which may be reached in the identifying of these similarities between motets is that the composers of these works had some degree of interaction. Kügle’s conclusion in the case of *Martyrum gemma* is that Machaut composed this work in honor of his musical master Philippe de Vitry.<sup>235</sup> Although Kügle does not go any further in offering a reason for such similarities between the pieces these

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<sup>230, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31</sup> Kügle. *The Manuscript Ivrea...* p. 120.

<sup>235</sup> Kügle. *The Manuscript Ivrea...* p. 120.

striking connections are something that must be mentioned in any thorough analysis of *Martyrum gemma*.

In attempting to identify the occasion for which this work was composed further insights brought to the discussion by Anne Walters Robertson have shown that the texts may also pertain to the saint's namesake city and events which took place within its walls. Beginning first with a brief retelling of the life of the saint, Robertson points out that the text from which the tenor line is derived comes from the Responsory of the Office of Saint Quentin which tells the story of his life.<sup>236</sup> This story telling trait is captured in the upper voices as well. Establishing that the motet was indeed written in praise of this saint, Robertson then poses the question: why did Machaut choose to celebrate this particular saint when he could have chosen the saint of his canonical home in Reims, Saint Remigius? By way of posing an answer to this query, Robertson turns her attention to a key annual event which took place within the walls of the city of Saint Quentin annually. This event was the meeting of canons of the archdiocese of Reims in which they discussed issues pertaining to the rights of the canons withstanding the beliefs and whims of the bishops in regard to their privileges. That this was their chief concern is evidenced by the document reinstating these meetings which explains the need 'to check the temerity of the perverse [bishops],' and to prevent further 'nefarious crimes.'<sup>237</sup> Considering the above, although Robertson believes that it may be far-fetched to consider *Martyrum gemma* as an anthem for the annual reunion of this group, she does believe that this aspect is what connects this motet with the preceding *Bone Pastor* in resistance to the increasing powers of the archbishops.

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<sup>236</sup> This tenor source was first identified in Sarah Fuller. "Modal Tenors and Tonal Orientation in Motets of Guillaume De Machaut." *Current Musicology* 45-47 (1990): 199-245.

<sup>237</sup> '[E]t ut perversorum compescatur temeritas, et malignari volentium nephariis ausibus aditus precludatur, remedium antiquum' as seen in Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. p. 73, as taken from Varin, *Archives administratives* 2/1;607-08.

The shedding of further light upon this somewhat vague motet comes with the examination of the key issue that Machaut held the position of canon at the church of Saint Quentin for many years. It is unclear how this position was procured or in precisely what year with Hoepffner suggesting the year 1333 and Machabey 1325.<sup>238</sup> Tax documentation from the year 1362, however, hints that Machaut was still receiving an income producing prebend of 40 *livres* in the year 1362.<sup>239</sup> In this scenario it is likely that Machaut would have composed *Martyrum gemma* for the very saint for which the cathedral was named. Although this is a less exciting and dramatic theory than the one posed by Robertson it may be the more logical and functional. As far as the style of this motet bearing striking similarities to the works of Vitry, perhaps Machaut was paying tribute to the saint using a musical structure which was becoming recognized as honoring a religious figure as is the case in the two similar motets *Impudenter circumivi* and *Flos ortus*. The Vitry-like style of this motet would therefore imply that this was the appropriate style for the setting of such a text. Continuing on with the concept of practicality it may also be possible that the borrowings seen within these works are products of a lack of time in which to compose these works. Considering the involved practice of motet composition it is indeed possible that in order to make this process less time consuming ideas previously worked out by other composers were borrowed. Whatever the possibilities with *Martyrum gemma* to credit the annual meeting at Saint Quentin as the purpose for this work appears premature.

As motets *Bone Pastor* and *Martyrum gemma* are characterized as functional works it seems most appropriate to approach the subject of their analysis in a logical

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<sup>238</sup> Hoepffner (1908-1921, 1:xx) and Machabey, Armand. *Guillaume De Machault 130?-1377: La Vie Et L'oeuvre Musical, Bibliothèque D'études Musicales*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Paris: Richard-Masse-Editeur, 1955. p. 30.

<sup>239</sup> Machaut was taxed on this benefice in the year 1362. Machabey, Armand. *Guillaume De Machault 130?-1377: La Vie Et L'oeuvre Musical, Bibliothèque D'études Musicales*. 2 vols. Paris: Richard-Masse-Editeur, 1955. 1:30, note 60, 2:173.

manner. That both of these works draw upon the Vitry motet tradition and evidence a connection between Machaut and this group of composers is obvious. In the numerous borrowings from other motets of the time, however, perhaps this style of composition was deemed the most appropriate to be heard within the ecclesiastical services of the day. As a further demonstration of the functionality of these two works keeping in mind Machaut's canonicate position at Saint Quentin as well Reims it appears that in assigning these motets the numbers 18 and 19 within his ordering structure Machaut was paying homage to the two cathedrals most central to his life. This commonality between these motets suggests once again that Machaut had intent in their ordering within his manuscripts but also demonstrates the power of liturgical and historical context in the analysis of these intricate works.

Chapter 5 – Motets 18 & 19 (*Bone pastor* and *Martyrum gemma*)[illegible]

Chapter 5 – Motets 18 & 19 (*Bone pastor* and *Martyrum gemma*)

Comparisons of rhyme scheme and syllable count as seen between Machaut's <i>Martyrum gemma</i> and Vitry's(?) <i>Flos ortus</i>					
Machaut's rhyme scheme	Vitry's rhyme scheme	Machaut's syllables/line	Vitry's syllables/line	Machaut's words/line	Vitry's words/line
triplum:	triplum:	triplum:	triplum:	triplum:	triplum:
a	a	8	8	3	4
a	a	8	8	3	4
a	a	8	8	2	3
a	a	8	8	3	3
a	a	8	8	2	3
a	a	8	8	2	3
a	a	8	8	2	3
a	a	8	8	2	3
a	a	8	8	2	3
a	a	8	8	3	3
a	a	8	8	2	2
a	a	8	8	2	4
a	a	8	8	2	3
a	a	8	8	2	2
a	a	8	8	3	3
a	a	8	8	2	2
a	a	8	8	2	3
a	a	8	8	3	3
a	a	8	8	3	2
a	a	8	8	4	3
a	a	8	8	3	3
a	a	8	8	2	4
a	a	8	8	2	2
a	a	8	8	2	2
a	a	8	8	3	2
a	a	8	8	3	2
a	a	8	8	2	4
a	a	8	8	3	3
a	a	8	8	3	3
a	a	8	8	3	4
a	a	8	8	3	3
a	a	8	8	4	3
a	a	8	8	4	3
a	a	8	8	2	3
a	a	8	8	5	4

## Chapter 5 – Motets 18 & 19 (*Bone pastor* and *Martyrum gemma*)

<p>Flos ortus inter lilia quorum radix est Francia, quibus flagrat Sicilia, Ludovicus, vite via, qui spretu mundalia spemens et sensibilia, sceptra nolens regalia, iure paterno <b>propria</b>, sed Minorum consorcio poli captans <b>palacia</b>, preconizet ecclesia. O quam bella felicia movet, carni nocencia, spiritui utilia, sua fortis audacia, laudabilis milicia! Cui gladius sciencia, cui lorica <b>prudencia</b>, galea <b>sapiencia</b>, quibus iacent superbia, <b>livor, gula, luxuria</b>, et mala quevis alia, humilitate previa, religione socia, degente <b>paciencia</b>, devocionis <b>gracia</b>; O quam mira victoria triumphantis ad alia Dei regna <b>celestia</b>! O quam felix memoria relinquentis ad varia miraculorum bravia! Omni sensu <b>fulgencia</b> reliqueras, cuius pia prece muniat <b>gloria</b> nos perhempnis virtus dia.</p> <p>Celsa cedrus ysopus effecta pro Libano Syon adoptavit, Ludovicus qui tiara lecta diadema sceptraque negavit et devote Tolosanos pavit. Res hec, mira quod rex, in pastorem versus, reges cunctos superavit, summi regni complectens honorem; mors, que reges calcat, exaltavit, qui nos Dei regat ad amorem.</p> <p>Quam magnus pontifex.</p>	<p>A flower (has) sprung up among lilies, of which France is the root, with which Sicily is fragrant, Louis, the way of life, who in contempt, spurning worldly things and things of the senses, not wanting royal scepters, his own by paternal right, but taking the <b>palaces of heaven</b> held in common by the Minorites he would preach in Church. O what blessed wars he incites, harmful to the flesh, useful to the spirit, strong in his boldness, praiseworthy in his warfare. For whom understanding (is) a sword, for whom <b>prudence</b> (is) a breastplate, wisdom a helmet; by which (weapons) <b>pride, malice, gluttony, self-indulgence, and whatever other evils lie subdued</b>; with humility his harbinger, with religion his comrade, with lasting <b>patience</b>, with <b>grace</b> of devotion. O how wondrous a victory of one triumphing at the new celestial realms of God. O how blessed the memory of one departing for various rewards of miracles. You left behind things <b>shining</b> in every sense. By your holy prayer may eternal glory, divine virtue, fortify us.</p> <p>The lofty cedar turned into hyssop. Louis adopted Zion instead of Lebanon, Louis who renounced his choice tiara, diadem, and scepters, and devoutly provided for the citizens of Toulouse. This affair (is) wonderful because the king, changed into a shepherd, surpassed all kings, embracing the honour of the highest realm. Death, which tramples on kings, exalted (him) who would guide us to the love of God.</p> <p>How great a bishop.<sup>240</sup></p>	<p>Martyrum gemma latrìa, Tyranni trucis impia, Quintine, <b>sapiencia</b>. Verba spermens mavortia Jubentis terribilia Machinari supplicia, Romanorum prosapia Cenatorum <b>celestia</b>, Rictiovari solia Affectans et pitania Admovens supercilia Ambianensis <b>propria</b> Gentis alacromonia Humilitate socia, Victis volens martyria Oleique ledentia Martyrii redolentia Quibus fit appoplecia, Prece cujus anadia Datur cecis et <b>gracia</b> Cunctorum prugans vicia Infirmorum pernecia Sospitati vertigia Claudorum filocalia Prebentur morbis gravia, Cujus fulget provincia Virmendorum presentia, Quo <b>livor</b> advarcia Cadunt, <b>gula, luxuria</b>, Ira fastus, accidia Malaque cuncta noxia, Quo viget <b>paciencia</b>, Fides spes et <b>prudencia</b>, Quo simus ad <b>palatia</b> Celorum <b>refulgencia</b>, Ubi pax est et <b>gloria</b>.</p> <p>Diligener inquiramus Quintini preconia; Congaudenter impendamus Numini suffragia. Fuit vite mirabilis, Despuir obnoxia Fuit Deo laudabilis, Meruit supplicia. Illimis bucca fons erat Bargueries nobilis Animis Deo venerat Mollicies fragilis. Colentes hunc karissime Exultabunt suaviter; Canentes nobilissime Dabunt laudes dulciter.</p> <p>A Christo honoratus.</p>	<p>Gem of martyrs in worship, Quintinus by [your] wisdom [You] disdain the impieties, the warlike words of the tyrant Ordering terrible tortures To be devised, [Quintinus], of the Romans, [You] lay claim to a seat in heaven And the throne of Rictiovarus, [You] move Your merciful eyebrows For those conquered by the native Cheerfulness of the people of Amiens, Accompanied by humility, [You] seek martyrdom And the painful tortures of [burning] oil, Which were sweet perfume for [you] the martyr, Whereby apoplexy is caused [to Rictiovarus], By [your] entreaty sight Is given to the blind, and <b>grace</b> That purges the ruinous faults Of all the sick; Swift footsteps Through the love of beauty And serious medicines are provided for diseases, Through [your] presence the province Of St-Quentin <b>shines</b>; Through [you] <b>envy, avarice, Gluttony, excess, Anger, pride, sloth, And all harmful evils vanish</b>; In [you] <b>patience</b>, Faith, hope, and <b>prudence</b> thrive; Through [you] may we be At the <b>shining palaces of heaven</b> Where there is peace and glory. Let us diligently seek out The praises of Quintinus. Let us joyfully send out Approbations to the Godhead. He was admirable in life, He has rejected wicked things. He was praiseworthy to God, He has merited riches. His mouth was a clear spring, A noble Bergerian, To their souls from God had come A fragile tenderness. Those who cherish him most dearly Will rejoice delightfully, Those who sing most nobly Will sweetly give praise.</p> <p>Honored by Christ</p>
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<sup>240</sup> Text and translations from Philippe de Vitry and the Ars Nova: 14<sup>th</sup>-century motets. Orlando Consort. Amon Ra Records, CD-SAR 49, *Flos ortus / Celsa cedrus*, trans by David Howlett (1990) p. 19-20.

## Chapter 5 – Motets 18 & 19 (*Bone pastor* and *Martyrum gemma*)

<p>Impudenter circumivi solum quod amare terminat indiscrete concupivi quidquid amantem inquinat si amo forsan nec amor tunc pro mercede crucior aut amor nec in me amor tunc ingratus efficior porro cum amor et amo mater Aeneae media in momentaneo spasmo certaminis materia ex quo caro longe fetet ad amoris aculeos quis igitur ultra petet uri amore hereos? fas est vel non est mare fas est. Well, what hero wishes to be burned by love beyond a certain point? This is not to say that loving should be prohibited. But what girl should be loved? She who was worthy to carry within her the true God and Man; worthy, because she was virtuous and full of grace beyond all others, strong in her pure beauty, sweetness, humility and holiness. When one loves this lady, he is loved in turn. This is then a pleasant passion. Love is made happy by him who loves with the kiss of love itself.</p> <p>O Mary, virgin parent, burn my soul, so that, obedient to your love, I may avoid false love.</p> <p>MOTETUS Virtutibus <b>laudabilis</b> moribus commendabilis specie peramabilis puritate legibilis kari desiderabilis genere venerabilis potentia terribilis artibus profanabilis miraculis <b>mirabilis</b> Maria caro nobilis esse carni sit utilis velis quod per te labilis spiritus infamibilis tandem reddatur humilis ac deo acceptabilis.</p> <p>TENOR Alma redemptoris</p>	<p>Shamelessly I used to wander over all the earth bounded by the sea; recklessly I lusted after anything that could corrupt loving. When I was in love, but perhaps not loved, I would be tormented for payment; or if I was loved, but love was not in me, I became unpleasant. But when I loved and was loved (I would join) on the occasion of this "match" with any common Venus in surging spasms, after which my flesh would reek for a long wile from the darts of love. Well, what hero wishes to be burned by love beyond a certain point? This is not to say that loving should be prohibited. But what girl should be loved? She who was worthy to carry within her the true God and Man; worthy, because she was virtuous and full of grace beyond all others, strong in her pure beauty, sweetness, humility and holiness. When one loves this lady, he is loved in turn. This is then a pleasant passion. Love is made happy by him who loves with the kiss of love itself.</p> <p>O Mary, virgin parent, burn my soul, so that, obedient to your love, I may avoid false love.</p> <p>MOTETUS Laudable in virtue commendable for character lovely in appearance undefiled in purity desirable for preciousness venerable in ancestry awesome in power with moral qualities beyond speech wondrous in miracles, O Mary, you are noble flesh. It would be profitable to be of flesh if you wished that through your graces my wavering spirit might be restored from wickedness to true humility and become acceptable to God.</p> <p>TENOR Holy Redeemer's (Mother)<sup>241</sup></p>	<p>Martyrum gemma latria, Tyranni trucidis impia, Quintine, sapientia. Verba spermens mavortia Jubentis terribilia Machinari supplicia, Romanorum prosapia Cenatorum celestia, Rictiovari solia Affectans et pitania Admovens supercilia Ambianensis propria Gentis alacromonia Humilitate socia, Victis volens martyria Oleique ledentia Martyrii redolentia Quibus fit appoplecia, Prece cuius anadia Datur cecis et gracia Cunctorum prugans vicia Infirmorum pernicia Sospitati vertigia Claudorum filocalia Prebentur morbis gravia, Cujus fulget provincia Virmandorum presentia, Quo livor advaricia Cadunt, gula, luxuria, Ira fastus, accidia Malaque cuncta noxia, Quo viget pacientia, Fides spes et prudentia, Quo simus ad palatia Celorum refulgentia, Ubi pax est et gloria.</p> <p>Diligener inquiramus Quintini preconia; Congaudenter impendamus Numini suffragia. Fuit vite <b>mirabilis</b>, Despuir obnoxia Fuit Deo <b>laudabilis</b>, Meruit suppedia. Illimis bucca fons erat Bargueries nobilis Animis Deo venerat Mollicies fragilis. Colentes hunc karissime Exultabunt suaviter; Canentes nobilissime Dabunt laudes dulciter.</p> <p>A Christo honoratus.</p>	<p>Gem of martyrs in worship, Quintinus by [your] wisdom [You] disdain the impieties, the warlike words of the tyrant ordering terrible tortures to be devised, [Quintinus], of the Romans, [You] lay claim to a seat in heaven and the throne of Rictiovarus, [You] move Your merciful eyebrows for those conquered by the native Cheerfulness of the people of Amiens, accompanied by humility, [You] seek martyrdom And the painful tortures of [burning] oil, Which were sweet perfume for [you] the martyr, Whereby apoplexy is caused [to Rictiovarus], By [your] entreaty sight Is given to the blind, and grace that purges the ruinous faults Of all the sick; Swift footsteps Through the love of beauty And serious medicines are provided for diseases, Through [your] presence the province Of St-Quentin shines; Through [you] envy, avarice, Gluttony, excess, anger, pride, sloth, And all harmful evils vanish; In [you] patience, Faith, hope, and prudence thrive; Through [you] may we be At the shining palaces of heaven where there is peace and glory.</p> <p>Let us diligently seek out The praises of Quintinus. Let us joyfully send out Approbations to the Godhead. He was admirable in life, he has rejected wicked things. He was praiseworthy to God, He has merited riches. His mouth was a clear spring, a noble Bergerian, To their souls from God had come a fragile tenderness. Those who cherish him most dearly will rejoice delightfully, those who sing most nobly will sweetly give praise.</p> <p>Honored by Christ</p>
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<sup>241</sup> Text and translations taken from Philippe de Vitry: Motets and Chansons. Sequentia directed by Benjamin Bagby and Barbara Thornton. Deutsche Harmonia Mundi, RD 77095. *Impudenter circumivi / Virtutibus laudabilis*, trans by Gabriela Ilnitchi (1991) p. 20-21.



**Chapter 6 - Motets 21-23 (*Christe qui lux / Veni creator spiritus /*  
*Tribulatio proxima est, Tu qui gregem /Plange, regni respublica! /*  
*Apprehende arma, and Felix virgo /Inviolata genitrix /Salve Regina)***

In recent research on Guillaume de Machaut's earlier Latin motets the broad array of allusions contained within these works is becoming increasingly apparent. It has been discovered that in creating these motets Machaut drew upon numerous liturgical, literary, historical, and motet sources for the inspiration of these works and their ordering in the complete works manuscripts. Beyond this it is becoming increasingly clear that Machaut was not intellectually isolated in his motet composition and that he was among an active group of isorhythmic motet composers who borrowed from one another's motet material. There is now little doubt that in a thorough analysis of Machaut's motets all of these aspects are important and must be considered. As was the case in these previously discussed Latin texted motets, motets 21-23 contain references to each of these varied sources with the addition of allusions to the Hundred Years' War and the Black Death. That these three motets are intended to comprise their own group is evidenced by elements of commonality such as language, solo and duet introitus, four voice texture, as well as devotional and historical themes. Through a reading of these texts we are given a glimpse into Machaut's harsh fourteenth century reality and, more importantly, we are

given a clue as to how Machaut may have viewed these happenings. That Machaut believed that the events he was witnessing foretold the coming of the Apocalypse as described in the liturgy is clear. Allusions to the prophecies of the Bible which recall these ‘end times’ are evident in a textual analysis of motet 21, *Christe qui lux / Veni creator spiritus / Tribulatio proxima est*.<sup>242</sup> That Machaut held an active interest in the political climate of the day is also evidenced in the railings of motet 22, *Tu qui gregem / Plange, regni respublica! / Apprehende arma*.<sup>243</sup> Machaut’s sincere devotion to the Virgin Mary is attested to in motet 23, *Felix virgo / Inviolata genitrix / Salve Regina* as well as, as will be shown, is the case in the rest of these three motets.<sup>244</sup> Beyond these three presentations of the same coin, however, there is a cohesive and progressive quality to these three motets which deserves our attention as they appear to comprise a dramatic and logical plea to earn the support of the divine judge. All of these aspects are evident in the simple reading of these motet texts but when these individual texts are revealed in their liturgical context and when these three works are examined as a progressive group that the sentiments expressed therein become truly moving. Indeed in the analysis of these later motets this use of quotation, allusion, passion, reason, and creative mastery of the musical language reach their zenith.

That Machaut intended them to comprise a group has been made clear in the common themes of their texts referring to the Hundred Years’ War, discussed later in this chapter, and in the motets’ musical and isorhythmic makeup. The findings of Daniel

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<sup>242</sup> For the remainder of this discussion *Christe qui lux / Veni creator spiritus / Tribulatio proxima est* will be referred to as motet 21.

<sup>243</sup> For the remainder of this discussion *Tu qui gregem / Plange, regni respublica! / Apprehende arma* will be referred to as motet 22.

<sup>244</sup> For the remainder of this discussion *Felix virgo / Inviolata genitrix / Salve Regina* will be referred to as motet 23.

Leech-Wilkinson's doctoral thesis do much in the way of supporting this concept.<sup>245</sup>

Similarities between motet 22 and 21 include their treatment of syllables to taleae with motet 21 dividing into four talea of 28+32+28+32 syllables and motet 22 dividing into four talea of 33+28+32+28 syllables. Motet 23 and motet 22 share both share 36 breves per taleae as well as talea with the same number of notes.<sup>246</sup> The syllabic compositions of the texts of all three motets are also highly similar varying from either 8 syllables per line or four per line. The numerous musical and structural similarities which these works share have led Leech-Wilkinson to believe that these motets are related and comprise a group of their own although he finds the possible occasion and the function for which they served unclear.

Upon close inspection and thorough readings of the texts of motets 21-23 the progressive qualities of this motet group are revealed. This progression of each motet follows a kind of presentation of a case to a different judge or jury.<sup>247</sup> In this way motet 21 includes the statement of the helplessness of the victim, the grievance, the requests of the victim, the suggested form of reprimand which should be passed by the court, as well as the situation of a past example which supports the requests. The statement of the helplessness of the victim as well as the chief grievances is delivered primarily by the motetus text:

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<sup>245</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel. *Compositional Techniques in the Four Part Isorhythmic Motets of Philippe De Vitry and His Contemporaries*. New York: Garland Publishers, Inc., 1989.

<sup>246</sup> Leech-Wilkinson. *Compositional Techniques*... p.

<sup>247</sup> This sort of presentation of an argument as though to a jury is also seen in Machaut's motet 16, *Lasse! Comment oublieray / Se j'aim mon loial amy / Pourquoi me bat mes maris*. For the discovery of the use of this rhetorical outline see Jacques Boogaart. "Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and Their Function in Machaut's Motets." *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 1-86. p. 41.

Motet 21 – lines 6-20:	
Jam nostra virtus deficit Nec os humanum sufficit Ad narrandum obprobria Que nobis dant vecordia, Divisio, cupiditas Fideliumque raritas, Unde flentes ignoramus Quid agere debeamus. Circumdant nos inimici, Sed et nostri domestici Conversi sunt in predones: Leopardi et leones, Lupi, milvi eta quile Rapiunt omne reptile. Consumunt nos carbunculi,	Our strength is now failing, Nor does the human voice suffice To tell of the shameful things Given us by this madness, Division, avarice, And scarcity of the faithful, For which reason we, weeping, know not What we should do. Our enemies surround us, Even our countrymen Have been changed into brigands: Leopards and lions, Wolves, birds of prey, and eagles Snatch away every creeping thing. Carbuncles consume us. To you are our eyes [turned]: Destroy this rapacious people, Jesus, Redeemer of the world, And give us Your peace. <sup>248</sup>

The triplum voice outlines the requests of the victim from the court and even uses words which call for a decree.

Motet 21 triplum lines 7-9, 16-24, 28-29	
Posse tuum precipita Depredantes qui nos ita Vituperant... ...Sic cave, ne nos atterant Qui nos in guerris lacerant Nunc subortis, Et adire nexu mortis, Cuius sumus jam in portis, Nos protegas. Gentem serves tue sortis, Tui fratris ac consortis Causam regas... ...Proditores nunc detegas Horumque visum contegas,	Now summon up Your power, cast down The plunderers Who vituperate against us thus... ...So decree that they not destroy us Who tear us to pieces in the wars That have now sprung up, And from the coils of cursed death In whose gates we now are, May You protect us. May You watch over the people of Your portion, May You guide the cause Of Your brother and consort... ...May You expose now the traitors, And hide their sight with darkness. <sup>249</sup>

<sup>248</sup> Text and translation taken from Anne Walters Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. p. 327.

<sup>249, 9</sup> Text and translation taken from Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 326.

Within the texts of the triplum the victim attempts to reason with the judge and to justify the destruction of the victim's tormentors offering evidence from the past. In the course of this plea within the text there is even the reference to a judge-like Christ as

*'Legislator':*

Motet 21 triplum lines 10-15, 25-27, 31-34	
<p>Sicut per te fruit vita          Patribus nostris reddita,          Qui tunc erant          Nec tueri se poterant,          Sed ad te reclamaverant,          Deus fortis,...          ...Qui malos a te segregas          Nec justis opem denegas,          Legislator,...          Danielis visitor          Puerorumque salvator          In furnace,          Per Abacuc confortator,...</p>	<p>Just as through you life          Was restored to our fathers          Who lived then          And could not protect themselves,          But had cried out to You,          Mighty God...          ...You who separate the evil ones from Yourself          You who do not refuse aid to the just,          [O] Legislator,...          ...Visitor of Daniel          And saviour of the three boys          In the furnace,          Comforter through Habakkuk,...<sup>250</sup></p>

The end result which the Judge is asked to provide is peace as outlined in the closing line of each voice: *Et dimittas nos in pace* (triplum) and *Et da nobis tuam pacem* (motetus).<sup>251</sup>

Almost as in absence of a ruling of the Divine court of motet 21, in motet 22 the human action which should be taken to the atrocities outlined in the preceding motet is delineated. Again, the motetus voice decries the hopelessness of the situation and the vulnerability of the people:

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<sup>251</sup> 'And let us depart in peace' and 'And give us Your peace.'

Motet 22 motetus lines 1-15	
Plange, regni respublica! Tua gens ut scismatica Desolatur; Nam pars ejus est iniqua Et altera sophistica Reputatur. De te modo non curator, Inimicis locus datur Fraudulenter, Tui status deturpatur; Sua virtus augmentatur Nunc patenter. Te rexerunt imprudenter, Licet forte innocenter Tui cari.	Weep, commonwealth of the kingdom! Your people, as though divided, Are forsaken; For part of them is wicked And the other part is considered Sophistic. No care is taken of you now, A place is given to your enemies Fraudulently, Your standing is ruined; Their virtue is now magnified Openly. Those dear to you Have ruled you imprudently, Albeit perhaps innocently.

To this problem outlined in the motetus the plan of attack is outlined which is destined to be successful. First it is necessary to the success of the whole that they have a strong leader and that they should follow this leader who is appointed by God to lead to victory. The qualities of this leader are then stated logically with the final peaceful outcome of this leadership stipulated in the closing line of the triplum. In this description it should also be noted that the leader's role as a shepherd to a vulnerable flock is alluded to with the use of the Latin verb '*gregem*':

Motet 22 triplum lines 1-16	
Tu qui gregem tuum ducis, Opera fac veri ducis, Nam ducere et non duci, Hoc competit vero duci. Dux prudentium consilio Ducat nec sit in otio Debetque dux anteire, Ductus autem obedire; Sed si ductor nescit iter, Ambo pereunt leviter. Nam ambulat absque luce Qui ducitur ceco ducem, Sed qui habet verum ducem	You who lead your flock, Do the work of a true leader, For to lead and not be led, This befits a true leader. Let the leader lead on the counsel of the wise, And not be idle; And the leader should walk before, And the led obey; But if the leader know not the way, [Then] both easily perish. For he walks without light Who is led by a blind leader, But he who has a true leader

Omni hora habet lucem, Et ille bene ducitur Qui a nullo seducitur. Unde qui ducum ductor es, Contere nunc seductores, Et taliter nos deducas, Ut ad pacem nos perducas.	Has light as all times, And he is well led Who is misled by no one. Wherefore, you who are the leader of leaders, Crush now the misleaders, And lead us in such a way That you lead us to peace. <sup>252</sup>
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The proposed action of this leader is also dramatically outlined in the tenor text which states: ‘*Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge.*’ The fact that this text is taken from the Responsory for Common of One Martyr is no coincidence for this call to arms is a call to a holy victory lead by this leader for whom death is equated with martyrdom. This perhaps inactive leader who has allowed the wolves to feed freely upon his flock must now do his best to take action and protect.

The last motet of this group seeks the hope which is offered by the Blessed Virgin Mary. After the continuous violent events of the time and the failure of the leadership of men the substance of this motet alludes to the intercession of the Virgin as being man’s last prospect of peace. It is this figure who is called upon in the lengthy motet 23 in the wake of appeals to Christ and the Holy Spirit in motet 21 and an appeal to the earthly leader in motet 22. Here once again the helplessness of the situation is clearly stipulated in both triplum and motetus texts:

Motet 23 triplum lines 13, 15-24	
Nam a gente ditissima,... ... De sublimi ad infima Deducimur; Cunctis bonis exuimur, Ab impiis persequimur, Per quos jugo subicimur Servitutis,	For we are brought down by a most wealthy tribe,... ... From the heights To the depths, We are stripped of all good things, We are pursued by the impious, Through whom we are brought under the yoke Of servitude,

<sup>252</sup> Text and translations from Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 328-329.

Nam sicut ceci gradimur Nec directorem sequimur, Sed a viis retrahimur Nobis tutis.	For we make our way as if blind and do not follow a guide, But we are drawn back from paths [That are] safe for us.
Motet 23 motetus lines 15-21	
Nam perimus, Invadimur hostiliter Sed tuimur debiliter, Neque scimus Quo tendere nos possimus, Nec per quem salvi erimus Nisi per te;	For we perish, We are invaded by enemies, But weakly defended, Nor do we know Which way we may go, Nor by whom we shall be saved If not by you; <sup>253</sup>

The proposed actions of the Virgin are also stated in both voices:

Motet 23 triplum lines 10-13	
Roga natum, piissima, Ut pellat mala plurima Tormentaue gravissima, Que patimur;	Beseech your Child, most faithful one, That He might drive away the many evils And severest torments That we endure:
Motet 23 motetus lines 13-14	
Para nobis tutum iter, Juvaque nos viriliter	Prepare a safe way for us, And help us with vigor, <sup>254</sup>

That the Virgin in the last hope is of man is implied in lines such as triplum line 26 '*Sola nostre spes salutis*,' (Only hope of our salvation) and motetus lines 18-21:

Neque scimus Quo tendere nos possimus, Nec per quem salvi erimus Nisi per te;	Nor do we know Which way we may go, Nor by whom we shall be saved If not by you; <sup>255</sup>
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The end result of these pleadings is once again peace as shown in the closing line of the triplum text. In this way, with only the hope in the Virgin to cling to, the motets of

<sup>253, 13, 14</sup> Text and translations from Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 329-330.



Guillaume de Machaut are brought to an end in his later complete works manuscripts with a final prayer of deliverance.

Indeed, this aspect of the Virgin Mary is not only evident in this closing motet. Upon examination of the complete text of the *Salve Regina*, the original context of the tenor line of motet 23, it is clear that Machaut drew upon these words for the inspiration of several textual allusions found within motets 21-23.

Salve Regina	Translation
Salve, regina mater misericordiae: Vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve. Ad te clamamus, exules, filii Hevae. Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle. Eia ergo, advocate nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte. Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui, nobis post hoc exilium ostende. O clemens, o pia, o dulcis Virgo Maria.	Hail, Queen, Mother of mercy: life, sweetness, and our hope, hail. To you we exiles, sons of Eve, cry. We sigh to you, lamenting and weeping in this vale of tears. O therefore, our advocate, turn these your merciful eyes toward us. And show us Jesus, the fruit of your womb after this exile. O kind, O holy, O sweet Virgin Mary.

It will be shown through the exegesis of these works that Machaut believed that he was in the *lacrimarum valle* (vale of tears) of the Marian antiphon *Salve Regina*. The continued allusion to the *gementes et flentes* (lamenting and weeping) experienced in this valley is continually referenced throughout the texts of all three of these final motets. These tears of suffering are shown in motet 21, motetus line 2, ‘*Flentium audi gemitus*,’ (Hear the sighs of those weeping), in motet 22, motetus line 1, *Plange, regni respublica!* (Weep, commonwealth of the kingdom!), and finally, in the tenor text of motet 23. Beyond this there numerous reference to blindness as the eyes of the victims seek the light which is the Virgin as described in the *Salve*. In triplum line 14 of motet 23, the Blessed Virgin is even called, ‘*Lux lucis splendidissima*,’ ([O] Most splendid of Light of the Light). These

ocular and light references are further shown in motet 21, motetus line 21, ‘*Ad te nostri sunt oculi,*’ (To You are our eyes [turned]), and motet 22, triplum line 12, ‘*Qui ducitur ceco duce,*’ (Who is lead by a blind leader). These texts request that the eyes of the enemy may be covered by darkness with their abandonment by the perfect Virginal light as in motet 21 triplum line 29, ‘*Horumque visum contegas,*’ (And hide their sight with darkness). Machaut’s view of the situation is made powerfully unambiguous: the people’s leader, and therefore the people, has abandoned the Light and therefore they were now suffering these atrocities in the vale of tears, desperately seeking what they had once lost. The notion of the apocalypse which is present within these works upon further textual examination is also present in this valley of tears as God’s suffering people wait for the return of their bridegroom savior. These aspects of the texts will be made increasingly evident through the remainder of this chapter.

With an overall concept as to how these last three motets interact it is now valuable to review the research into these works so that we may further piece together and expand upon the meaning with which they have been most richly endowed by their creator. It should be noted that the historical aspects of these works have been their most noted qualities as demonstrated by the research of Kirk Markstrom<sup>256</sup> and Anne Walters Robertson.<sup>257</sup> The recent biblical explorations of Jacques Boogaart<sup>258</sup> have uncovered the apocalyptic allusions not before appreciated and which have consequently shaped motet research into 21-23 as in the title of Robertson’s portion of the book discussing these works, ‘Music of war, kingship, and final things.’ Beyond this it has also been found that

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<sup>256</sup> Kurt Markstrom. "Machaut and the Wild Beast." *Acta Musicologica* 61 (1989): 12-39.

<sup>257</sup> Robertson, Anne Walters. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

<sup>258</sup> Boogaart, Jacques. "Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and Their Function in Machaut's Motets." *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 1-86.

Machaut was influenced by the literature of the day in his composition to some degree even in these works especially in relation to other isorhythmic motets from the Vitry circle. In expanding upon the progression of these three motets as explained in this present study as well as the previous research into these works it will be shown that liturgical allusions within the texts demonstrate the parallels between the events of the time period in which they were composed and the apocalyptic as explained in the liturgy. Such allusions within Machaut's texts would therefore make his knowledge of these parallels obvious adding a further emotional quality to their interpretation. The similarities between Machaut's motets and others of the time period expressing similar unrest contribute to a picture of Machaut as one deeply connected with these historical events.

With regard to the allusions to the apocalyptic as found within the texts of Motet 21, Jacques Boogaart points out direct quotation of the Bible within Machaut's texts.<sup>259</sup> Identifying the specific source of this text quotation Psalm 21:12, Boogaart shows the use of the exact same words within the triplum text as in the original Biblical passages preceding this verse:

Motet 21 – Machaut Lines	Psalm 21:12
Sicut per te fuit vita <b>Patribus nostris</b> reddita, Qui tunc errant Nec tueri se poterant, Sed <b>ad te reclamaverant</b> ,	In te speraverunt <b>patres nostri</b> : speraverunt, et liberasti eos. <b>Ad te clamaverunt</b> , et salvi facti sunt: in te speraverunt, et non sunt confusi.

Further on in the text there is also allusion to the story of Daniel and the Lions Den as well as Sadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. Tracing these stories Biblically Boogaart

<sup>259</sup> Jacques Boogaart. 'Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and Their Function in Machaut's Motets.' *Early Music History* 20 (2001), p. 1-86

finds further direct quotation and the possible inspiration for the animal imagery seen in the motetus:

Motet 21	Habakkuk 1:8 and 1:14
Circumstant nos inimici, Sed et nostri domestici Conversi sunt in predones: <b>Leopardi</b> et leones, <b>Lupi</b> , milvi et <b>aquile</b> Rapiunt omne <b>reptile</b> .	Leviores <b>pardis</b> equi eius, et velociores <b>lupis</b> vespertinis; et diffundentur equites eius: equites manqué eius de longe venient, volabunt quasi <b>aquila</b> festinans ad comedendum.  Et facies homines quasi pisces maris, et quasi <b>reptile</b> non habens principem.

Beyond these identifications Boogaart goes on to attempt to find a reason for the common use of tenor material shown in M21 and *Qui es promesses de Fortune / Ha! Fortune / Et non est qui adiuvat* (M8), a motet which refers first and foremost to the fickleness of Fortune. Linking these motets through a reference in Machaut's *Remede de Fortune*, Boogaart is able to establish that in this text the statue in Nebuchadnezzar's dream becomes Fortune itself for it decides the fate of the three men to be cast into the furnace. He concludes his discussion of motet 21 with the speculation that the connection between M21 and the following M22 is established with the final words of the text *non habens principem* which introduce the theme of M22, *Tu qui gregem*.

Anne Walters Robertson chooses to discuss motets 21-23 as a group of their own<sup>260</sup> especially in regards to historical events during the Hundred Years War. The experience which produced motet 21 in particular is deemed to have been Siege of Reims itself by the English in 1359. Reims, long the coronations site of French Kings had become a target for King Edward III at this time in an attempt to add further weight to his claim to the throne, as discussed in Chapter 1 of this study. Although strong in force and

<sup>260</sup> Robertson. *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. Chapter 7.

number the English eventually failed due to the impenetrable walls surrounding the city itself but with the devastated state of Northern France at that time and the imprisonment of their king the French victory would have been long and costly in coming. It is understandable then in such circumstances how Robertson came to the conclusion that motet 21 took the form of ‘a cry for help’ with the words, ‘*Christe veni*’ (Christ come) first sung in solo and completed by the entrance of the motetus voice. The concept of the apocalypse is present even in the entrance of this work as the *introitus* text points to an allusion which Robertson sites in the Book of Revelation: ‘Even so, come, Lord Jesus.’

Besides this apocalyptic allusion Robertson identifies the influence of two popular hymns of the day. The first of these hymns, *Christe, qui lux es et dies*, sung at the Office of Compline, is strikingly similar to Machaut’s motet. Although the most obvious commonality between the two pieces is their shared first line, it is possible to see parallels in subject matter throughout the body of these works which relates to rest, protection, and peace.<sup>261</sup> The Office in which the hymn was meant to be sung is appropriate for such a text as it was the office held at the end of day before slumber. Just as the triplum of line is shown to borrow from the hymn *Christe qui lux* so the motetus line refers to another hymn, *Veni creator spiritus*. Instead of going on to list the benevolent attributes of the Holy Spirit, however, the text recalls the ravages of war with the English.<sup>262</sup> These similarities suggest that Machaut had these hymns in mind in forming the layouts of the motetus and triplum texts of motet 21.

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<sup>261</sup> Robertson highlights three common key words among both pieces: *requies*, *protegas*, and *detegis*.

<sup>262</sup> Robertson points out common verbs used between the two works however with Machaut’s motet 21 motetus uses *veni*, *propera*, *perde*, and *da* and *Veni* uses *veni*, *visita*, *da*, and *praesta*. Although the forms of the verbs differ the common thread shared by the two texts is strengthened by their use.

Another important feature of these texts which Robertson discusses is their use of animal imagery to refer to key historical figures of the day. She believes that this practice links Machaut's motet both to the political writings of the period but also to the practice of political prophecy and allegory of which Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* and the *Roman de Fauvel* are prime examples. The influence of this form of allegory is seen markedly in the fourth and fifth stanzas of the triplum text in which Machaut describes his enemies as various wild beasts. In her opinion this motet deals with the time period during the Siege of Reims, placing the composition of this work somewhere between December 1359 and January 1360.

What Robertson has found regarding motet 21 is indeed interesting and useful information. That Machaut was influenced by a number of sources in the composition of motet 21 is clear. It remains that these sources must be expanded upon especially in relation to the influence of Philippe de Vitry and his circle upon Machaut's work to gain a fuller understanding of Machaut's relation to these composers. This musical influence of Vitry is shown by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson in his doctoral thesis. In his analysis of motet 21 he identifies musical links between Machaut's motet and two of Philippe de Vitry's: *Impudenter circuivi/Virtutibus laudabilis/Alma redemptoris* (V11) and *Vos quid admiramini / Gratissima virginis species / Gaude virgo gloriosa* (V7). The *introitus* of motet 21 was most certainly based upon that of V11 whilst the harmonies shown within the piece are most directly related to V7 according to Leech-Wilkinson. Further observances regarding motet 21 include its use of a 3:1 breve chant-note ratio which is thought to be in direct reference to the motets of Vitry. Leech-Wilkinson sees this shared ratio as a sign of conscious acknowledgement and borrowing from the works of Philippe

de Vitry.<sup>263</sup> Again, as earlier shown in Machaut's other Latin motets, he derives part of his musical and textual inspiration from Vitry leading to the notion of Machaut being in close contact with this theoretical circle of composers. This close contact may have been partially responsible for the subject matter and the musical characteristics of Machaut's works although a more fundamental and all encompassing source must now be acknowledged.

The most important source for the inspiration of the texts of Machaut's motets is the liturgy, as shown strikingly in the case of motet 21, and it is from this original that we are able to better contextualize these works and to further their connections. The first and prime example of this effect is shown in M21. The tenor source gives some context with which to better understand this work as a whole. Machaut mentions in his motet triplum the saving of God's people just as he had done in the past. This thread is taken from the beginning lines 4-5 of Psalm 22 of the Vulgate: 'Our fathers trusted in thee: they trusted, and thou didst deliver them. They cried unto thee, and were delivered: they trusted in thee, and were not confounded.' Within the passages of this Psalm we also find the story of Daniel in the Lion's Den as mentioned within Machaut's motetus as well.<sup>264</sup> Beyond this Boogaart identified exact parallels in language between Machaut's M21 and Chapter 1 of Habakkuk. In this way it is possible to glean more and find further purpose for reference to this story within the text. Reading the first chapter of this Biblical book it is almost as if the story of the French invasion is told by a prophet who lived hundreds of years before Machaut:

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<sup>263</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, p. 5 specifically. For more concerning the relationships shared between other 14<sup>th</sup> century motets see the remainder of this article. Leech-Wilkinson further finds the use of this 3:1 breve to chant-note ratio within Machaut's motets 15 and 18.

<sup>264</sup> Psalm 22:5 'Save me from the lion's mouth: for thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns.'

Habakkuk Chapter 1 – Vulgate	Habakkuk Chapter 1 – King James Version
<p><sup>1</sup> onus quod vidit Abacuc propheta</p> <p><sup>2</sup> usquequo Domine clamabo et non exaudies vociferabor ad te vim patiens et non salvabis</p> <p><sup>3</sup> quare ostendisti mihi iniquitatem et laborem videre praeda et iniustitia contra me et factum est iudicium et contradictio potentior</p> <p><sup>4</sup> propter hoc lacerata est lex et non pervenit usque ad finem iudicium quia impius praevallet adversus iustum propterea egreditur iudicium perversum</p> <p><sup>5</sup> aspice in gentibus et videte et admiramini et obstupescite quia opus factum est in diebus vestris quod nemo credet cum narrabitur</p> <p><sup>6</sup> quia ecce ego suscitabo Chaldeos gentem amaram et velocem ambulantiem super latitudinem terrae ut possideat tabernacula non sua</p> <p><sup>7</sup> horribilis et terribilis est ex semet ipsa iudicium et onus eius egredietur</p> <p><sup>8</sup> leviores pardis equi eius et velociores lupis vespertinis et diffundentur equites eius equites namque eius de longe venient volabunt quasi aquila festinans ad comedendum</p> <p><sup>9</sup> omnes ad praedam venient facies eorum ventus urens et congregabit quasi harenam captivitatem</p> <p><sup>10</sup> et ipse de regibus triumphabit et tyranni ridiculi eius erunt ipse super omnem munitionem ridebit et conportabit aggerem et capiet eam</p> <p><sup>11</sup> tunc mutabitur spiritus et pertransibit et corruet haec est fortitudo eius dei sui</p> <p><sup>12</sup> numquid non tu a principio Domine Deus meus Sancte meus et non moriemur Domine in iudicium posuisti eum et fortem ut corripere fundasti eum</p> <p><sup>13</sup> mundi sunt oculi tui ne videas malum et respicere ad iniquitatem non poteris quare non respicis super inique agentes et taces devorante impio iustiores se</p> <p><sup>14</sup> et facies homines quasi pisces maris et quasi reptile non habens principem</p> <p><sup>15</sup> totum in hamo sublevavit traxit illud in sagena sua et congregavit in rete suo super hoc laetabitur et exultabit</p> <p><sup>16</sup> propterea immolabit sagenae suae et sacrificabit reti suo quia in ipsis incrassata est pars eius et cibus eius electus</p> <p><sup>17</sup> propter hoc ergo expandit sagenam suam et semper interficere gentes non parcat</p>	<p><sup>1</sup> The burden which Habakkuk the prophet did see.</p> <p><sup>2</sup> O LORD, how long shall I cry, and thou wilt not hear! even cry out unto thee of violence, and thou wilt not save!</p> <p><sup>3</sup> Why dost thou shew me iniquity, and cause me to behold grievance? for spoiling and violence are before me: and there are that raise up strife and contention.</p> <p><sup>4</sup> Therefore the law is slacked, and judgment doth never go forth: for the wicked doth compass about the righteous; therefore wrong judgment proceedeth.</p> <p><sup>5</sup> Behold ye among the heathen, and regard, and wonder marvelously: for I will work a work in your days which ye will not believe, though it be told you.</p> <p><sup>6</sup> <b>For, lo, I raise up the Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty nation, which shall march through the breadth of the land, to possess the dwellingplaces that are not their's.</b></p> <p><sup>7</sup> <b>They are terrible and dreadful: their judgment and their dignity shall proceed of themselves.</b></p> <p><sup>8</sup> <b>Their horses also are swifter than the leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves: and their horsemen shall spread themselves, and their horsemen shall come from far; they shall fly as the eagle that hasteth to eat.</b></p> <p><sup>9</sup> <b>They shall come all for violence: their faces shall sup up as the east wind, and they shall gather the captivity as the sand.</b></p> <p><sup>10</sup> <b>And they shall scoff at the kings, and the princes shall be a scorn unto them: they shall deride every strong hold; for they shall heap dust, and take it.</b></p> <p><sup>11</sup> Then shall his mind change, and he shall pass over, and offend, imputing this his power unto his god.</p> <p><sup>12</sup> Art thou not from everlasting, O LORD my God, mine Holy One? we shall not die. O LORD, thou hast ordained them for judgment; and, O mighty God, thou hast established them for correction.</p> <p><sup>13</sup> Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canst not look on iniquity: wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy tongue when the wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he?</p> <p><sup>14</sup> And makest men as the fishes of the sea, as the creeping things, that have no ruler over them?</p> <p><sup>15</sup> They take up all of them with the angle, they catch them in their net, and gather them in their drag: therefore they rejoice and are glad.</p> <p><sup>16</sup> Therefore they sacrifice unto their net, and burn incense unto their drag; because by them their portion is fat, and their meat plenteous.</p> <p><sup>17</sup> Shall they therefore empty their net, and not spare continually to slay the nations?</p>



Further along in Habakkuk Chapter 3 there is the mention of the coming of a warrior-like God to overthrow the wicked attackers and avenge his faithful. In this dramatic description pestilence comes in his wake: (Habakkuk 3:5) ‘Plague went before him; pestilence followed his steps.’<sup>265</sup> Machaut also mentions pestilence in the motet in M21. This reference to plague also calls to mind words within the Book of Revelations describing the plague which comes with the opening of the fourth seal. Undoubtedly although Machaut’s reference alludes to the Black Death which had devastated the world, this devastation had brought with it the belief that those left standing would soon see the ‘end times’ described in Habakkuk and Revelations with the return of God. There is no doubt that Machaut would have seen the parallels between the torments of Habakkuk and those of his present day France and there is little doubt that M21 is the ‘cry for help’ described by Robertson but in this same way there may be little doubt that Machaut is presenting a case to a divine Judge. This story from Habakkuk ultimately has a happy ending for the victims who are avenged by their God. This is the progression of events leading to peace as Machaut would have them. Ultimately, however, perhaps Machaut may not only be calling for the end of these troubled times but for the hastening of the end of the world at which time justice will reign on Judgment Day.

In exploring motet 21’s biblical allusions to identify the parallels which Machaut found within this source and the events occurring in his own lifetime is indeed interesting. Beyond this, however, through the tracings of influence of the liturgy upon the texts of this motet it is possible to find further connections with the *Salve Regina* texts formerly mentioned whose influence appears to permeate the texts of motets 21-23. Another striking reference to this Marian antiphon found within motet 21 is derived from

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<sup>265</sup> *The Student Bible*. (New International Version) The Zondervan Corporation: Michigan (1986)

the words which comprise these texts of which it now appears that Machaut took extreme care in selecting. It has already been shown by Boogaart that several of the animals of the text of motet 21 are taken specifically from the first book of Habakkuk. Examining these textual links further, however, it is interesting that although Machaut's uses many of the exact same words found within Habakkuk in his own texts there are two which are not mentioned and one of which uses a different word with the same meaning. Here we find that Machaut chooses the word '*leopardi*' for leopard instead of the '*pardis*' of the original biblical text.

Machaut's motet 21	Vulgate Chapter 1 Habakkuk
Leopardi	Pardis
Leones	(not found in this book)
Lupi	Lupi
Milvi	(not found in this book)
Aquile	Aquila
Reptile	Reptile

It is interesting to see the close correspondence of the Latin used by Machaut and that which is used within the Vulgate. Yet, considering these close parallels, why does Machaut choose to use the word *leopardi* and why does he also include the lion and the bird of prey among his motet menagerie? To provide these answers it is necessary to perform a search through the materials which would have been familiar to Machaut. A thorough search through the texts of the Vulgate finds no derivatives of the word *leopardi*, however, a word search through medieval liturgical manuscripts provides the context within which this Latin word was used. The word '*leopardorum*,' derived from

the text of Song of Solomon 4:8, is used in multiple medieval liturgical feasts in honor of the Virgin Mary. Most commonly among these medieval manuscripts it is used in the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin within this context:

Latin text from the liturgy	English translation (Douay-Rheims Bible)
Ibo mihi ad montem myrrhae et ad collem Libani, et loquar sponse meae: Tota speciosa es, proxima mea, et macula non est in te. Veni a Libano, veni, et transibis ad montem Seir et Hermon, a cubilibus leonum, a montibus leopardorum,	Come from Libanus, my spouse, come from Libanus, come: thou shalt be crowned from the top of Amana, from the top of Sanir and Hermon, from the dens of the lions, from the mountains of the leopards.

Within this liturgical text we also find the origin of the lion of Machaut's motet text as well as another source for the Daniel and the Lion's Den story mentioned in the triplum text of motet 21. In identifying this liturgical source beyond simply finding the source from which Machaut borrows his selection of Latin words, more importantly it allows the tracing of these texts to a new context which brings new dimension to Machaut's motet. Here, the Bride, who is obviously seen by the medieval scholar to embody the Virgin Mary, is being called by her lover just as the speaker of Machaut's text is calling for the Holy Spirit and Christ. Beyond this reference to the Virgin within this text there is also an allusion to the second coming of Christ as will occur in the final days before the Day of Judgement. In the discovery of these allusions to the Virgin and the apocalyptic contained within these liturgical passages the connections between this final group of motets becoming further solidified and the reward for these explorations is seen firsthand. There is little doubt that as '*leopardi*' is not found within any Biblical text Machaut's inclusion of this word within his motet must lead us to search for other liturgical sources to which Machaut may be alluding which may bring a further insight into these texts, a scope which is unfortunately beyond that of this present study.

Continuing on to discuss motet 22, Robertson's analysis of this piece rounds out the theory which has long been accepting concerning its purpose, namely that this text is directed primarily to Charles Duke of Normandy, later Charles V. Keywords within the text describing the followers which the *dux* (leader) leads as *grex* (flock) lead Robertson to conclude that such a description would suggest religious implications, namely that the leader in question would have been the archbishop of Reims itself at the time of the motet's composition. Although Robertson agrees that this piece is directed to Charles V first and foremost she poses the theory that it was also intended for the enlightenment of Archbishop Jean de Craon (1355-74) as he was instrumental to the protection of the city, as discussed in Chapter 1 of this study.<sup>266</sup> At the point in history when Archbishop Jean de Craon continued to argue his presence at the gates of the city that Robertson proposes that Motet 22 was composed by Machaut with the tenor line, 'Take up arms and buckler and arise' bearing the sentiments of the towns people who would have been forced to protect their city themselves.<sup>267</sup> Beyond this allusion to the archbishop, however, Robertson agrees that this motet was intended for the ears of Charles the Dauphin. As the archbishop was the Dauphin's closest advisor, however, she also suspects that its texts may also have been intended for his benefit as well. In regards to the date of

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<sup>266</sup> Robertson traces this motet to a list of other political poetry and motets that encourage and criticize the political person addressed within their primarily Latin texts. Among these works motets such as *O Philippe / O bone dux / Solus tenor* addresses two different persons, with each of the upper voices reserved to address a different historical figure. In this way the triplum speaks to Philip VI of France (1328-50) while the motetus to the Duke of Normandy, future John II (1350-64). This occurrence in an earlier work emphasizes this possibility with regard to Machaut's motet according to Robertson. Doubts concerning this theory, however, may be supported by such works of the day as *Rex Karole / Letities, pacis / Contratenor / Solus tenor* and *Quasi non ministerium / Trahunt in precipicia / Ve, qui gregi / Displcebat ei* the first of which refers to the king as 'shepherd' (*pastor*) while the second taken from the Roman de Fauvel makes reference to the King's 'flock' (*gredi*).

<sup>267</sup> Robertson further argues that the tenor line is appropriate in this context as its responsorial context surrounds the subject by a 'wall of salvation' which might be applied to the walls surrounding Reims itself. Alice Clark, 'Concordare cum Materia: The Tenor in the Fourteenth-Century Motet.' Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1996. p.175

composition of this work Robertson suggests that the occasion for which it was composed was 14 March 1358, the date that Charles of Normandy, now turned 21, became regent of France. According to her estimations such an occasion would have been the most appropriate for the encouragement of the new leader to follow in the footsteps of the ideal leader as described within the triplum text.

Although Robertson's ideas concerning the inspiration of motet 22 offer valid points, her belief that it is the people of the text who are urged to bear arms seems unlikely as during this time would have come the bloody peasant's revolt, the *Jacquerie* (1357). This uprising was a product of the unrest which was growing among the French people due to their vulnerability to the English attacks which were not defended by the nobility to which they were paying hefty war taxes. The leadership had abandoned them and they were therefore divided as to the way of action. This appears to be more the case as this peasant unrest was felt outside of Paris as well as within. In this way perhaps it is more appropriate to interpret the texts of motet 22 as a call for the people to follow this new leader who was therefore called to fight for his people. It is clear in this situation that Machaut saw the instructions of leadership as outlined in his triplum as imperative stating that the leader must be led by the 'leader of leaders' being God and that the people should therefore follow this God led leader to victory. In defending his country and those therein, Charles was therefore called to act where previously he had been inactive and in this way the tenor line which bears a call to arms urges on the Dauphin himself.

In the further elaboration upon previous observations concerning motet 22, once again it will prove beneficial to consult the liturgy. In this way it will be further demonstrated that with the mere selection of the words used within his texts Machaut

encapsulated further meaning. In the case of motet 22 this hidden meaning refers to the apocalyptic, once again solidifying the placement of motets 21-23 together as a group. The cry, ‘*Plange!*’ in the first sentence of the motetus and in the motet for that matter, vividly recalls the biblical passage: ‘*Plange quasi virgo, plebs mea: ululate, pastores, in cinere et cilicio: Quia veniet dies Domini magna et amara valde,*’ from the Old Testament book of Joel 1:8 used within the Responsory for Holy Saturday. The immediate response of this passage brings to mind the Virgin Mary with the word ‘virgo’ but as will be shown this connection is unfounded in this context. The remainder of the this chapter go on to explain the dire conditions in the time of Joel which also parallel the conditions of France during the time of the composition of this motet:

Vulgate Joel 1:8-20	
<p><sup>8</sup> <b>plange</b> quasi virgo accincta sacco super virum pubertatis suae <sup>9</sup> periit sacrificium et libatio de domo Domini luxerunt sacerdotes ministri Domini <sup>10</sup> depopulata est regio luxit humus quoniam devastatum est triticum confusum est vinum elanguit oleum <sup>11</sup> confusi sunt agricolae ululaverunt vinitores super frumento et hordeo quia periit messis agri <sup>12</sup> vinea confusa est et ficus elanguit malogranatum et palma et malum et omnia ligna agri aruerunt quia confusum est gaudium a filiis hominum <sup>13</sup> accingite vos et plangite sacerdotes ululate ministri altaris ingredimini cubate in</p>	<p><sup>8</sup> Mourn like a virgin in sackcloth grieving for the husband of her youth. <sup>9</sup> Grain offerings and drink offerings are cut off from the house of the LORD . The priests are in mourning, those who minister before the LORD . <sup>10</sup> The fields are ruined, the ground is dried up; the grain is destroyed, the new wine is dried up, the oil fails. <sup>11</sup> Despair, you farmers, wail, you vine growers; grieve for the wheat and the barley, because the harvest of the field is destroyed. <sup>12</sup> The vine is dried up and the fig tree is withered; the pomegranate, the palm and the apple tree- all the trees of the field-are dried up. Surely the joy of mankind is withered away. <i>A Call to Repentance</i> <sup>13</sup> Put on sackcloth, O priests, and mourn; wail, you who minister before the altar. Come, spend the night in sackcloth,</p>

<p>sacco ministri Dei mei  quoniam interiit de domo  Dei vestri sacrificium et  libatio  <sup>14</sup> sanctificate ieiunium  vocate coetum congregare  senes omnes habitatores  terrae in domum Dei vestri  et clamate ad Dominum  <sup>15</sup> a a a diei quia prope est  dies Domini et quasi vastitas  a potente veniet  <sup>16</sup> numquid non coram  oculis vestris alimenta  perierunt de domo Dei  nostri laetitia et exultatio  <sup>17</sup> computruerunt iumenta in  stercore suo demolita sunt  horrea dissipatae sunt  apothecae quoniam  confusum est triticum  <sup>18</sup> quid ingemuit animal  mugierunt greges armenti  quia non est pascua eis sed  et greges pecorum  disperierunt  <sup>19</sup> ad te Domine clamabo  quia ignis comedit speciosa  deserti et flamma succendit  omnia ligna regionis  <sup>20</sup> sed et bestiae agri quasi  area sitiens imbrem  suspexerunt ad te quoniam  exsiccati sunt fontes  aquarum et ignis devoravit  speciosa deserti</p>	<p>you who minister before my God;  for the grain offerings and drink offerings  are withheld from the house of your God.  <sup>14</sup> Declare a holy fast;  call a sacred assembly.  Summon the elders  and all who live in the land  to the house of the LORD your God,  and cry out to the LORD .  <sup>15</sup> Alas for that day!  For the day of the LORD is near;  it will come like destruction from the Almighty.  <sup>16</sup> Has not the food been cut off  before our very eyes-  joy and gladness  from the house of our God?  <sup>17</sup> The seeds are shriveled  beneath the clods.  The storehouses are in ruins,  the granaries have been broken down,  for the grain has dried up.  <sup>18</sup> How the cattle moan!  The herds mill about  because they have no pasture;  even the flocks of sheep are suffering.  <sup>19</sup> To you, O LORD , I call,  for fire has devoured the open pastures  and flames have burned up all the trees of the field.  <sup>20</sup> Even the wild animals pant for you;  the streams of water have dried up  and fire has devoured the open pastures.</p>
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Within this description it should also be noticed that there are numerous pastoral allusions showing the suffering of the sheep also referred to by the word ‘*gregem*’ of Machaut’s triplum text. The liturgical context of this passage read on Holy Saturday continues on in a different manner than the biblical passage, however, reading instead:

Plange quasi virgo.... In the liturgy context of this passage, the setting within which Machaut would have been most familiar with this passage from the daily recitation of the hours as a canon, it is clear that it warns of the *Dies irae*, *Dies illa* or the Day of Judgement as foretold in apocalyptic writings. Here we find that Machaut's text, with the aide of liturgical allusion, calls for repentance for the day of the Lord is near. These findings further serve to enforce the care with which Machaut paid to all aspects of his motet texts as well as further serving to solidify the union of motets 21-23 within a group which includes, among other things, references to the apocalyptic.

Continuing our discussion of these final motets, in the case of motet 23 the listener is left with little doubt as to whom the subject of the texts of this motet is directed, with the opening lines of the introitus voicing the words *Felix Inviolata Genetrix* (Happy, inviolate Mother). Robertson believes that this sentiment of Virginal devotion echoed by the tenor, derived from the Marian Antiphon *Salve Regina*, was specifically inspired for the performance within a newly instated service in honor of the Virgin Mary a few years after its composition.<sup>268</sup> This service called the *Salve* was traditionally performed in the evening after the Office of Compline and at Reims in 1380 served not only as a devotion to the Virgin but also to King Charles V (1364-80) through his donation to the cathedral. Robertson finds evidence for the link between this motet and King Charles in a document containing the guidelines stipulated in this endowment. Firstly two spoken Masses were to be performed daily to both the Virgin Mary and the Holy Spirit after the Office of Matins. Secondly, a Mass on behalf of the Holy Spirit was to be sung on the first Sunday of each month. Thirdly, after the death of the King these

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<sup>268</sup> Anne Walters Robertson's establishment of a possible purpose for which motet 23 was to be performed is important in that it had never been possible to establish before. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson in his study of the motets made the comment that motet 23's texts, 'suggest no links with any specific occasion.'



Masses would become Requiem Masses in Charles' behalf. Lastly, the Marian service performed daily after Compline during the weeks of Lent was to be in honor of Charles.

In her study of motet 23, Robertson highlights the most relevant text in Charles' instructions which apply to the performance of the Marian Mass during Lent in his honor:

On those Lenten days, so that the devotion of the faithful might be increased, let there be sung, after Compline as finished in the aforementioned church [of Reims], the jubilus or Prose *Inviolata*, along with that well-known Ant. [*Salve Regina*] or the Resp. *Sancta et immaculate virginitas* and its Ver. *Benedicta tu in mulieribus*, and the Collect *Omnipotens aeterne Deus*. During Our lifetime, this phrase should be added [to the Collect]: *God who with a wonderful sense of order and gives out every dignity and every right of Kings graciously concede that Charles, our king, along with his subjects, may become members of your family through devotion so that they might continually merit to be protected by the gift of your invincible power.*<sup>269</sup> And when We shall have been taken away from this light [the Collect] should be changed to one for the dead. [Let it be sung] processionally in the nave of this church in the presence of the image of the aforementioned glorious Virgin.<sup>270</sup>

These instructions were followed by the stipulation that upon the death of the King there was to be a devotion specifically naming him added to this service. According to Robertson the theory that motet 23 was composed with this Marian service in mind follows logically after the reading of the above documents discussing Charles' stipulations for the use of his donation to the Cathedral.<sup>271</sup> Before Robertson's theory

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<sup>269</sup> The translation of the italicized portion of this passage was performed by John Stinson. My gratitude for his efforts in translating this important sentence which sheds further light upon the context of these motets.

<sup>270</sup> 'In ipsis vero quadragesimalibus diebus, finito et complete in dicta ecclesia completorio, illud jubilum seu prosa *Inviolata*, cum illa antiphona seu resp. *Sancta et immaculate virginitas*, ac versiculo *Benedicta tu in mulieribus*, et illa collecta: *Omnipotens aeterne Deus*, qui gloriosae Virginis; adjecta quoad vixerimus illa quae sequitur: *Deus qui miro ordine omnium dignitatum, omniumque regnorum jura dispensas; concede propitious, ut famulus tuus rex noster Carolus cum populo sibi subjecto, ita tibi devotione famuletur, quatenus invicibili potentiae tuae dono jugiter protegi mereatur*, in alia de defunctis, nobis ab had luce substractis, commutanda, processionaliter coram imagine dictae Virginis gloriosae in navi ejusdem ecclesiae, et ad devotionem fidelium adaugendam decantetur.' Passage from Archives de la Marne, dépôt annexe de Reims, 2G 1550, no. I; May 1380, as seen in Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. p. 287. English translations: Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut in Reims*. p. 217-218.

<sup>271</sup> Although this document does not mention anything about the performance of polyphonic music within this service, Robertson deems the absence of its mention as a common occurrence after the banning of this form in main churches under Pope John XXII in 1324/25. This ban would not have reached into the realm

may be accepted, however, it must be acknowledged that the *Salve* was practiced throughout Europe after Compline and was most likely established within Reims Cathedral well before Charles' endowment. In this way, although Machaut most likely composed motet 23 for the *Salve* service, it is not possible to suggest that this service was established by Charles.

Acknowledging that Charles did not establish the *Salve* service at Reims, this does not mean that Charles's endowment had nothing to do with these motets, however. Beyond Robertson's new proposal's contribution to our understanding of the connection between the *Salve* service and King Charles, the discovery of the endowment document sheds light on the possible functions served by both motet 21 and 22 as well. The triplum text of motet 21 which calls upon the Holy Spirit may in this context of this document have served within Charles' newly instated sung Mass for the Holy Spirit on the first Sunday of each month. As to the function of motet 22 within the stipulations of Charles' endowment, perhaps it was intended to address Charles in life but also to serve after his death in the Requiem Masses to be performed after his death. This thought is supported by the previously discussed reference to this *dies irae, dies illa* within the texts of motet 22. That these motets request protection from above serves further to support the placement of these works into the context of this document, however, as according to Charles the devotion expressed within these services was so: that they might continually merit to be protected by the gift of [the Almighty's] invincible power. Yet even if we are not guaranteed a specific performance context for the performance of these motets it

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of side-altars, however, a thought which enforces this conclusion. Furthermore, the performance of Machaut's Mass in this altar area leads one to the conclusion that his motet 23 may have shared the same area of performance.

is clear that they do share references to the *Salve Regina*, the apocalyptic, and the Hundred Years' War which serve to unite these works.

The final three motets of Guillaume de Machaut demonstrate the concentrated amount of allusion and intent contained within each of his motets. These three works which include passionate texts surrounding the events of the Hundred Years' War, the uncommon use of four voices, as well as beautifully fluid solo and duet introitus have made them all popular in study. It is not until their liturgical and Biblical contexts are taken into account that their full intent becomes apparent, however. The rewards of these liturgical allusions are seen markedly in motets 21-22 in particular. References to the *Salve Regina*, Marian liturgy, the apocalypse, and the Hundred Years' War within the texts of all three works go far in arguing this claim. Indeed, in Machaut's final three motets his use of reference and allusion to bring meaning and a dramatic flair to the motet genre seem to reach their zenith, an occurrence which has resulted in a century of rewarding analysis of these works as well as the promise of more to come.

## Conclusion

Guillaume de Machaut's twenty-three motets combine to form a group of individual works which have been found to contribute to an overall plan in their ordering. Recent research into these pieces has unveiled their cyclical nature contributing further to the analysis of each individual motet's function within the whole. This mode of analysis allows for the further contextualization of each motet and therefore a deeper level of understanding of the intent encased therein. Although the theories surrounding the purposes behind the grouping of these motets differ slightly they have been found to agree on several points. The theory that the first seventeen motets demonstrate the journey of the soul as described within mystical theological writings of the day may appear unlikely at first glance due to the amorous French text of sixteen of these motets. This amorous nature has lead to the theory that their order is built around the courtly love poem *Roman de la Rose*. Yet, when placing these works within a mystical theological literary context their sacred nature, evident within the tenor chant fragments upon which many of them are built, becomes evident and a greater plan apparent. Beyond this, with an examination of Machaut's life and the events that occurred in his lifetime, the context for composition of the remaining motets is unearthed. Within these motets, elements have now been identified which link them to Machaut's canonries at both Saint Quentin and Reims, as well as to the events of the Hundred Years' War. In this way the deep connection between Machaut's motets and all levels of his life is becoming increasingly apparent.

Having established the collective qualities of these works, however, questions may arise as to why this study has elected to focus upon the Latin texted motets among their French counterparts. In answer to such possible criticism it has been demonstrated that the analysis of these six motets, although not a substitute for a full examination of all motets, contributes to our understanding of the whole. This is demonstrated with motet 9, *O livoris feritas*, as its placement among its surrounding French neighbors allows it to play a pivotal role within the theological journey of the soul. It functions to embody sin itself and the pilgrim's battle with Satan which is central to the journey. Knowing its purpose within the cyclical group of seventeen motets is therefore enough to provide a successful analysis of this individual motet as well as a glimpse into the intense nature of the whole. With regard to the remainder of the five Latin texted motets, these fall outside of this seventeen motet group and appear to comprise groups unto themselves. This is seen in the functional natures of motets 18 and 19 as well as the Hundred Years' War, apocalyptic and Marian themes of motets 21-23. In the case of these final works, therefore, it was possible to highlight the overall group effect and purpose in their examination. Most important to future research and understanding of Machaut's motets, however, in the examination of all six motets it was possible to establish the importance of liturgical context and allusion to other fourteenth-century motets.

Before this study was conducted it was clear that the tenor chant-fragment source was able to provide a degree of context for motet analysis. This study has shown, moreover, that a liturgical context is significant to the analysis of Machaut's motets in all voices. This is apparent, for example, in the selection of words idiomatic

to the liturgy found in motet 21. This text contains Marian and apocalyptic allusions, drawing motet 21 even closer in context to motets 22-23. This apocalyptic reference is also seen in specific words within in triplum text of motet 22. Furthermore, the Marian allusions discovered throughout these last three motets in their upper voices are apparent only with a close examination of the *Salve Regina* texts. In this way the influence and importance of liturgical context to the analysis of the motet has been extended to all voices.

Beyond this pronounced reliance upon the liturgy, this study has also begun to uncover the importance of allusion to other fourteenth-century works in the analysis of Machaut's motets. In the case of motet 9 a connection between its chant fragment tenor and another from the *Roman de Fauvel* provides a political context and brings an added richness to the interpretation of these texts. Furthermore, as with motets 18-19, it may be gleaned that, as Machaut and Vitry were both canons at Saint Quentin, perhaps it was here, and with these two motets, that Machaut began his tutelage under the older master of the motet. These conclusions may be drawn by the striking similarities between Machaut's works and those believed to have originated from within the Vitry circle. In this light the vague nature of motet 18 becomes less strange as this motet may be viewed as a preliminary attempt at isorhythmic motet form, as possibly assigned by Vitry, with the ambiguous text allowing its use in various liturgical situations.

Although these connections between fourteenth-century motets do not always contribute to an overall deeper understanding of Machaut's motets, they do allow a striking link between Vitry and Machaut that should be further studied. That there

was a group of composers during this time who were responsible for the output of *ars nova* motets is a theory which has been largely acknowledged. That these composers borrowed liberally from one another's works has also been established. Future studies might well focus on the significance of these borrowings and their implications. Numerous questions may be posed regarding this frequent borrowing of material: were these composers seeking to establish varying forms of motet composition in which the textual contents and function of the piece was mirrored within a set characteristics of its form? Does a composer's borrowing of material from another motet carry with it any of that other work's implications? Is this borrowing of material simply fueled by practical functional reasons in some cases, such as lack of time? In view of the similarities between these motets from the fourteenth century and the findings of this study, it appears that these questions must be explored to provide a further context for the analysis of these motets.

This study has demonstrated the necessity of looking to all aspects of Guillaume de Machaut's motets in their analysis. These aspects include the use of numerical symbolism, the use of borrowed material, as well as a thorough exploration of Machaut's use of vocabulary within his texts to find its literary, historical, and liturgical allusions. The identification of these aspects may either serve to reinforce or expand the context of the motet, leading to a deeper understanding of its purpose within a group of motets or individually. Although research into the motet has come a long way, as we come to terms with the vast amount of knowledge possessed by Machaut, one comes away from analyzing these motets with the feeling that layers of intent may still be gleaned from within and without these works. With this in mind

before these hidden meanings may be further uncovered our knowledge of Machaut's world, including its literary sources, history, tradition, and the people that he would have known, must be expanded to the limits which the distance of time will permit.



## APPENDIX

### Texts and Translations of Guillaume de Machaut's Latin Texted Motets

#### *Fons totius superbie/O livoris feritas/ Fera pessima (Motet 9)*<sup>272</sup>

<p>Fons totius superbie,  Lucifer, et nequicie  Qui mirabilis specie  Decoratus,  Eras in summis locatus,  Super thronos sublimatus,  Draco ferus antiquatus  Qui dicere  Ausus es sedem ponere  Aquiline et gerere  Te similem in opere  Altissimo  Tuo sed est in proximo  fastui ferocissimo  a iudice justissimo  obviatum  tuum nam aufert primatum;  ad abyssos cito stratum  te vidisti per peccatum  de supernis,  ymis nunc regnas infernis;  in speluncis et cavernis  penis jaces et eternis  agonibus  dolus et fraus in actibus  tuis et bonis omnibus  obiare missilibus  tu niteris;  auges que naphas sceleris  Adam penis in asperis  Te fuit Stigos carceris  Sed Maria  Virgo, que plena gratia  Sua per puerperia  Illum ab hac miseria  Liberavit,</p>	<p>Fount of all pride,  Lucifer, and all evil  You who, with a wondrous beauty  Endowed,  Had been set on high,  Raised above the thrones,  You who the old fierce dragon  Are called,  You dared to set up your seat  In the North and to conduct  Yourself in your doings similarly  To the Most High:  But soon was  Your most ferocious pride  By the Most Just Judge  Resisted.  For he took away your primacy;  You saw yourself, for your sin,  To the abyss swiftly flung down  From the heights.  Now you reign in the depths below  In caves and pits  You lie in punishments and eternal  Agonies.  Deceit and treachery [are] in your  Deeds, and with your darts  You strive to  Resist all good [men].  You augment that wicked crime  That kept Adam in the harsh torments  Of the Stygian dungeon.  But I pray that the Virgin Mary,  Who, full of grace,  By her childbearing  Has freed him from this  Misery,</p>
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<sup>272</sup> Texts and translations taken from Anne Walters Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. p. 307-310.

<p>Precor elanguis tedia Augeat et supplicia Et nos ducat ad gaudia Quos creavit</p> <p>Motetus: O livoris feritas Que superna rogitas Et jaces inferius! Cur inter now habitas? Tua cum garrulitas Nos affatur dulcuis, Retro pungit seuius, Ut veneno scorpius: Scariotis falsitas Latitat interius Det Mercedes Filius Dei tibi debitas!</p> <p>Tenor: Ferra Pessima.</p>	<p>May both increase the sufferings And punishments of the serpent And lead us to joy, Whom she created.</p> <p>Motetus: O savageness of envy, You who seek the heights And lie in the depths! Why do you dwell among us? While your unceasing speech Speaks to us the more sweetly, It stings the more savagely from behind Like the scorpion with its poison: The treachery of Iscariot Lies hidden within. May the Son of God Give you your just rewards.</p> <p>Tenor: Most evil beast</p>
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*Bone pastor / Bone pastor, qui pastores / Bone pastor (Motet 18)*<sup>273</sup>

<p>Bone pastor Guillaume, Pectus quidem inerme Non est tibi datum; Favente sed minerva Virtutum est caterva Fortiter armatum. Portas urbis et postes Tue munis, ne hostes Urbem populentur Mundus, demon et caro, Morsu quorum amaro Plurimi mordentur. Mitra que caput cingit Bino cornu depingit Duo testamenta, Que mitrifer habere Debet tanquam cingere Mentis ornamenta. Et quoniam imbutus</p>	<p>Good shepherd William a defenseless breast is not given to thee but with the help of Minerva it is strongly armed with a troop of virtues. You fortify the gates and the doors of the city lest the enemy destroy the city, The world, the devil and the flesh with whose bitter sting many are bitten. The mitre that crowns your head with its two horns portrays the two testaments, which the mitre bearer must have like ornaments of a pure mind. And because you are steeped</p>
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<sup>273</sup> Texts and translations taken from Sarah Fuller. *The European Musical Heritage 800 - 1750*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1987. p. 108.

<p>Et totus involutus  Es implebatur,  Ferre mitram est digna  Tua cervix, ut signa  Sint equa signatis.  Curam gerens populi,  Vis ut queant singuli  Vagos proficere  Prima parte bauli  Attrahere;  Parte quidem alia,  Que est intermedia,  Morbidos regere;  Lentos parte tertia  Scis pungeri.  Oves predicamine  Et cum conversamine  Pascis laudabili,  Demum erogamine  Sensibili.  Det post hoc exilium  Huic rex actor omnium,  Qui parcat humili,  Stabile dominium  Pro labili.</p> <p>Bone pastor, qui pastores  Ceteros vincis per mores  Et per genus  Et per fructum studiorum  Tollentem mentes ymorum  Celo tenus,  O, Guillelme, te decenter  Ornatum rex, qui potenter  Cuncta regit,  Sue domus ad decorem  Remensium in pastorem  Preelegit.  Elegit te, vas honestum,  Vas insigne,  De quo nichil sit egestum  Nisi degne.  Dedit te, vas speciale  Sibi regi;  Dedit te, vas generale  Suo gregi.</p>	<p>and wholly involved with worship  Your neck is worthy  to bear the mitre, so that the symbols  may be equal to the signified.  Displaying care for the people,  you wish, just as each tries  to help those that stray,  to draw them with the upper part  of your staff.  With the other part,  Which is the middle,  To administer to the sick  with the third part  you know how to sting  those who resist.  You feed your sheep with preaching  and with praiseworthy conversion,  and finally with sensitive pleading.  After this destitution  may this King, doer of all things,  who spares the humble,  grant a stable rule  for those who falter.</p> <p>Good shepherd who excels other shepherds  in conduct  and in lineage  and in the fruit of study  bearing human understanding as far  as heaven.  O William, properly adorned,  a King who powerfully  rules All  has predestined you to grace  his house, as shepherd of Reims.  He has chosen you, an honorable vessel,  a distinguished vessel,  from whom nothing may be brought forth  except that which is worthy.  He gave you, a special vessel,  to himself, the King,  He gave you, a universal vessel,  to his flock.</p>
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Bone pastor.	Good Shepherd
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*Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / A Christo honoratus* (Motet 19)<sup>274</sup>

Martyrum gemma latria, Tyranni trucidis impia, Quintine, sapientia. Verba spernens mavortia Jubentis terribilia Machinari supplicia, Romanorum prosapia Cenatorum celestia, Rictiovari solia Affectans et pitania Admovens supercilia Ambianensis propria Gentis alacromonia Humilitate socia, Victis volens martyria Oleique ledentia Martyrii redolentia Quibus fit apploplecia, Prece cujus anadia Datur cecis et gracia Cunctorum prugans vicia Infirmorum pernicia Sospitati vertigia Claudorum filocalia Prebentur morbis gravia, Cujus fulget provincia Virmandorum presentia, Quo livor advaricia Cadunt, gula, luxuria, Ira fastus, accidia Malaque cuncta noxia, Quo viget pacientia, Fides spes et prudentia, Quo simus ad palatia Celorum refulgentia, Ubi pax est et gloria.  Diligenter inquiramus Quintini preconia;	Gem of martyrs in worship, Quintinus by [your] wisdom [You] disdain the impieties, the warlike words of the tyrant Ordering terrible tortures To be devised, [Quintinus], of the Romans, [You] lay claim to a seat in heaven And the throne of Rictiovarus, [You] move Your merciful eyebrows For those conquered by the native Cheerfulness of the people of Amiens, Accompanied by humility, [You] seek martyrdom And the painful tortures of [burning] oil, Which were sweet perfume for [you] the martyr, Whereby apoplexy is caused [to Rictiovarus], By [your] entreaty sight Is given to the blind, and grace That purges the ruinous faults Of all the sick; Swift footsteps Through the love of beauty And serious medicines are provided for diseases, Through [your] presence the province Of St-Quentin shines; Through [you] envy, avarice, Gluttony, excess, Anger, pride, sloth, And all harmful evils vanish; In [you] patience, Faith, hope, and prudence thrive; Through [you] may we be At the shining palaces of heaven
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<sup>274</sup> Texts and translations taken from Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 323-325.

<p>Congaudenter impendamus  Numini suffragia.  Fuit vite mirabilis,  Despuit obnoxia  Fuit Deo laudabilis,  Meruit suppedia.  Illimis bucca fons erat  Bargueries nobilis  Animis Deo venerat  Mollicies fragilis.  Colentes hunc karissime  Exultabunt suaviter;  Canentes nobilissime  Dabunt laudes dulciter.</p> <p>A Christo honoratus.</p>	<p>Where there is peace and glory.</p> <p>Let us diligently seek out  The praises of Quintinus.  Let us joyfully send out  Approbations to the Godhead.  He was admirable in life,  He has rejected wicked things.  He was praiseworthy to God,  He has merited riches.  His mouth was a clear spring,  A noble Bergerian,  To their souls from God had come  A fragile tenderness.  Those who cherish him most dearly  Will rejoice delightfully,  Those who sing most nobly  Will sweetly give praise.</p> <p>Honored by Christ</p>
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*Christe qui lux es et dies / Veni creator spiritus / Tribulatio proxima est (Motet 21)*<sup>275</sup>

<p>Christe, qui lux es et dies  Fideliumque requies  Nos visita.  Tu furoris temperies  Tu dulcoris planities  Nunc exita.  Posse tuum precipita  Depredantes qui nos ita  Vituperant.  Sicut per te fruit vita  Patribus nostris reddita,  Qui tunc erant  Nec tueri se poterant,  Sed ad te reclamaverant,  Deus fortis,  Sic cave, ne nos atterant  Qui nos in guerris lacerant  Nunc subortis,  Et adire nexu mortis,</p>	<p>Christ, You who are the light and day  And the rest of the faithful,  Visit us.  You, the tempering of fury,  You, the leveling of sweetness,  Now summon up  Your power, cast down  The plunderers  Who vituperate against us thus  Just as through you life as  Was restored to our fathers  Who lived then  And could not protect themselves,  But had cried out to You,  Mighty God;  So decree that they not destroy us  Who tear us to pieces in the wars  That have now sprung up,  And from the coils of cursed death</p>
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<sup>275</sup> Texts and translations taken from Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 326-328.

<p> Cuius sumus jam in portis,  Nos protegas.  Gentem serves tue sortis,  Tui fratris ac consortis  Causam regas  Qui malos a te segregas  Nec justis opem denegas,  Legis lator.  Proditores nunc detegas  Horumque visum contegas,  Consolatur,  Danielis visitor  Puerorumque salvator  In fornace,  Per abacuc confortator.  Sis pro nobis preliator  Et dimittas nos in pace.    Veni, creator spiritus  Flentium audi gemitus,  Quos nequiter gens misera  Destruit;  veni, prospera.  Jam nostra virtus deficit  Nec os humanum sufficit  Ad narrandum obprobria  Que nobis dant vecordia,  Divisio, cupiditas  Fideliumque raritas,  Unde flentes ignoramus  Quid agere debeamus.  Circumdant nos inimici,  Sed et nostri domestici  Conversi sunt in predones:  Leopardi et leones,  Lupi, milvi eta quile  Rapiunt omne reptile.  Consumunt nos carbunculi,  Ad te nostri sunt oculi:  Perde gentem hanc repacem,  Jhesu, redemptor seculi,  Et da nobis tuam pacem.    Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui  adjuvet. </p>	<p> In whose gates we now are,  May You protect us.  May You watch over the people of Your  portion,  May You guide the cause  Of Your brother and consort.  You who separate the evil ones from  Yourself  You who do not refuse aid to the just,  [O] Legislator,  May You expose now the traitors,  And hide their sight with darkness.  [O] Consoler,  Visitor of Daniel  And savior of the three boys  In the furnace  Comforter through Habakkuk  May You be a warrior for us,  And let us depart in peace.    Come Creator Spirit,  Hear the sighs of those weeping,  Whom a wretched people has villainously  Destroyed,  Come, hasten.  Our strength is now failing,  Nor does the human voice suffice  To tell of the shameful things  Given us by this madness,  Division, avarice,  And scarcity of the faithful,  For which reason we, weeping, know not  What we should do.  Our enemies surround us,  Even our countrymen  Have been changed into brigands:  Leopards and lions,  Wolves, birds of prey, and eagles  Snatch away every creeping thing.  Carbuncles consume us.  To You are our eyes [turned]:  Destroy this rapacious people,  Jesus, redeemer of the world,  And give us your peace.    Trouble is near and there is no one to help. </p>
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*Tu qui gregem / Plange, regni respublica / Apprehende arma* (Motet 22)<sup>276</sup>

<p>Tu qui gregem tuum ducis,  Opera fac veri ducis,  Nam ducere et non duci,  Hoc competit vero duci.  Dux prudentium consilio  Ducat nec sit in octio  Debetque dux anteire,  Ductus autem obedire;  Sed si ductor nescit iter,  Ambo pereunt leviter.  Nam ambulat absque luce  Qui ducitur ceco duce,  Sed qui habet verum ducem  Omni hora habet lucem,  Et ille bene ducitur  Qui a nullo seducitur.  Unde qui ducum ductor es,  Contere nunc seductores,  Et taliter nos deducas,  Ut ad pacem nos perducas.</p> <p>Motetus:  Plange, regni respublica!  Tua gens ut scismatica  Desolatur;  Nam pars ejus est iniqua  Et altera sophistica  Reputatur.  De te modo non curator,  Inimicis locus datur  Fraudulenter,  Tui status deturpatur;  Sua virtus augmentatur  Nunc patenter.  Te rexerunt imprudenter,  Licet forte innocenter  Tui cari.  Sed amodo congaudenter</p>	<p>You who lead your flock,  Do the work of a true leader,  For to lead and not be led,  This befits a true leader.  Let the leader lead on the counsel of the wise,  And not be idle;  And the leader should walk before,  And the led obey;  But if the leader know not the way,  [Then] both easily perish.  For he walks without light  Who is led by a blind leader,  But he who has a true leader  Has light as all times,  And he is well led  Who is misled by no one.  Wherefore, you who are the leader of leaders,  Crush now the misleaders,  And lead us in such away  That you lead us to peace.</p> <p>Weep, commonwealth of the kingdom!  Your people, as though divided,  Are forsaken;  For part of them is wicked  And the other part is considered  Sophistic.  No care is taken of you now,  A place is given to your enemies  Fraudulently,  Your standing is ruined;  Their virtue is now magnified  Openly.  Those dear to you  Have ruled you imprudently,  Albeit perhaps innocently.  But now will they joyfully</p>
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<sup>276</sup> Texts and translations taken from Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 328-329.

Te facient et potenter, Deo dante, dominari.	And forcefully cause you, God granting, to prevail.
Tenor: Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge	Take up arms and buckler, and arise for mine help.

*Felix virgo / Inviolata genitrix / Ad te suspiramus (Motet 23)*<sup>277</sup>

<p>Felix virgo, mater Christi Que gaudium undo tristi Ortu tui contulisti, Dulcissima, Sic hereses peremisti Dum angelo credidisti Filiūque genuisti, Castissima. Roga natum, piissima, Ut pellat mala plurima Tormentaue gravissima, Que patimur; Nam a gente ditissima, Lux lucis splendidissima, De sublimi ad infima Deducimur; Cunctis bonis exuimur, Ab impiis persequimur, Per quos iugo subicimur Servitutis, Nam sicut ceci gradimur Nec directorem sequimur, Sed a viis retrahimur Nobis tutis. Gracie fons et virtutis, Sola nostre spens salutis, Miserere destitutis Auxilio, Ut a culpis absolutis Et ad rectum iter ductis Inimicisque destructis Pax sit nobis cum gaudio.</p>	<p>Happy Virgin, Mother of Christ, Who has brought joy to an unhappy world By your birth, Sweetest one, Thus you destroyed the heresies When you believed the angel And bore a Son, Most chaste one. Beseech your Child, most faithful one, That He might drive away the many evils And severest torments That we endure: For we are brought down by a most wealthy tribe, [O] Most splendid Light of the Light, From the heights To the depths, We are stripped of all good things, We are pursued by the inpiious, Through whom we are brought under the yoke Of servitude, For we make our way as if blind and do not follow a guide, But we are drawn back from paths [That are] safe for us. Fountain of grace and virtue, Only hope of our salvation, Have mercy on those bereft Of help, So that, freed from [our] sins And led to the right path, And our enemies destroyed, We may have peace with joy.</p>
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<sup>277</sup> Texts and translations taken from Robertson. *Guillaume De Machaut in Reims*. p. 329-331.



<p> Inviolata genitrix  Superbie grata victrix  Expers paris,  Celestis aule janitrix,  Miserorum exauditrrix,  Stella maris  Que ut mater consolaris,  Et pro lapsis deprecaris  Humiliter,  Gracie fons singularis  Que angelis dominaris,  Celeriter  Para nobis tutum iter,  Juvaque nos viriliter  Nam perimus,  Invadimur hostiliter  Sed tuimur debiliter,  Neque scimus  Quo tendere nos possimus,  Nec per quem salvi erimus  Nisi per te;  Eya! Ergo poscimus  Ut sub alis tuis simus  Et versus nos te converte.   Ad te suspiramus gemenets et  flentes. </p>	<p> Inviolat Mother,  Beloved conqueress of pride  Having no peer,  Door-keeper of the celestial palace,  You who hearken the wretched,  Star of the sea,  You who comfort like a mother,  And intercede humbly on behalf of  The fallen,  Singular font of grace,  You who rule over the angels,  Swiftly  Prepare a safe way for us,  And help us with vigor,  For we perish,  We are invaded by enemies,  But weakly defended,  Nor do we know  Which way we may go,  Nor by whom we shall be saved  If not by you;  Ah! Therefore we pray  That we may be under your wings  And turn yourself toward us.   We sigh to you, lamenting and weeping. </p>
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