French Ars Nova Motets and their Manuscripts:

Citational Play and Material Context

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signature: …………………………………………………………..

Abstract

The discussion of citation and allusion has become an important area of research in Medieval Studies. The application of postmodern intertextual theories has brought scholars to a deeper understanding of the reuse of borrowed material, shedding new light on a culture of music and literature that was once dismissed as dully repetitive. This thesis builds on this work by examining in depth the manner in which citation and allusion was deployed in the fourteenth-century motet.

Motets are a particularly fertile ground for discussion of the reuse of material, drawing as they do on a range of citational techniques such as borrowed liturgical tenors, modelling of rhyme schemes on existing works, and quotation of refrains and authorities. The polyphonic and polytextual nature of the motet enabled composers to juxtapose different registers, languages and genres, and thus to create an array of competing possible interpretations. This study is situated against several strands of recent scholarship. It draws on critical theory, as well as discussions of refrain definition, memory, manuscript compilation, and notions of voice, authority and authorship.

Each chapter examines a particular body of work: the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel*, the works of Guillaume de Machaut, the motets of the *Ivrea* and *Chantilly* manuscripts, and finally those of Manuscript Torino J.II.9. In each case, looking at the use of citation and allusion connects to other concerns. In the *Roman de Fauvel*, citation in the motets can be seen as functioning alongside use of the vernacular, manuscript layout and illuminations to elucidate the narrative. In the works of Guillaume de Machaut citation is linked to his ambiguous self-presentation and authorial presence, and connects individual pieces in his complete works' manuscripts. The *Ivrea* and *Chantilly* motets, while not linked by the same strength of context, demonstrate continuing use of thirteenth-century tradition. In this case, studying compilation choices may help us to understand how scribes interpreted citational material. Finally, I argue that understanding the internal use of symmetry in MS J.II.9 and its motets, and the reuse of material between the motets and the chansons of that repertory, vindicates the view that the music and poetry was composed by a single author well versed in mainstream tradition.

I have been able to propose some previously unnoted allusions in the major works, and draw out the benefits of a holistic approach to understanding these motet and manuscripts. All this points to motets both continuing the writing traditions of the thirteenth century throughout the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, but also shows individual writers and compilers choosing to cite in a creative and innovative manner.

For my Dad

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completing a PhD requires a support network of teachers, colleagues and friends, and I would here like to mention some of the key individuals who have helped me in my studies.

It has been my good fortune to have two wonderful supervisors in Yolanda Plumley and Giuliano di Bacco, who have provided the optimal intellectual environment as well as the necessary moral support. Indeed, I have been thoroughly spoiled in my supervision sessions, as they have often been accompanied by beautiful countryside walks, homemade food, and friendly cats! Such treats have by no means been at the expense of intellectual rigour, and I have found myself thoroughly challenged. Without such exceptional supervision and advice, this study would not have been possible, and indeed it was the faith that Yolanda and Giuliano showed in inviting me to become part of their AHRC project in Citation and Allusion that opened up for me the fascinating world of medieval scholarship. I would also like to thank Yolanda for allowing me to read the drafts of her forthcoming book, *The Art of Grafted Song* and for also giving me several opportunities to perform the music I have been studying, not least at her own wedding!

Throughout my studies, I have been helped by the time and knowledge that experts in the field have been kind enough to share with me, often taking far more trouble in answering my queries than I had any right to expect. In particular I would like to thank Jacques Boogaart whose advice was invaluable in respect of Machaut's motet 16 and gaining an understanding of the significance of courtly love, and Barton Palmer, for allowing me to read a draft of forthcoming article and for providing patient and precise feedback on my translations in Chapter Three; my translations in Chapter Four benefitted significantly from the guidance of Emma Cayley and Alwyn Harrison; any remaining errors are my own. Anne Stone, too, assisted my development as a medievalist by giving me the valuable chance to present in her session at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo. My appreciation also goes to Uri Smilansky, who took time out from his own studies to teach me much about medieval notation systems. He is also the co-director of Le Basile, specialists in the performance of medieval music, with whom I had the pleasure of performing, alongside Kate, his wife, and several other talented musicians. I am also grateful to Ben Albritton who gave me the chance to see Machaut MS Vg – one of the most uplifting moments of my PhD! I was extraordinarily lucky that my efforts culminated in a very positive viva experience and I would like to thank Emma Cayley and Emma

particular mention for creating and providing technical support for our project database. I have also got to know many fun people through my work in the temp bank, and through running and dance groups on campus, which have been fantastic ways to blow off steam. I am indebted to all the ladies I run and dance with for their encouragement and friendship.

In times of crisis, every researcher needs a friendly face and the offer of a cup of tea. In my case, these two essential items were always on hand, thanks to Jill Anderson and Josie Gabriel. Jill, whose courage and integrity have inspired me, and Josie, whose calm advice and ready friendship have kept me sane, have both seen me at my lowest ebb, and helped me back on track. Josie, her children Maddy and Eoghan, and my other singing pupils have been tremendously understanding of my complex schedule of the last few years, but have all continued to perform and develop wonderfully, making me very proud. To these much loved friends I must add the Warwick/Centerparcs gang, many of whom have shared my thesis-pain at various points and who have been the source of yearly dollops of riotous fun – I won't say that they kept me sane, but they provided the right kind of madness!

Finally, I need to thank all my family for their continued support throughout this and all my other adventures. Without their wisdom, practical and financial assistance, and encouragement, none of this would have been possible. I am blessed to have such a group of people who care about me.

Amongst these, my husband deserves special mention, for proofreading various versions of this thesis (including this page), holding my hand through the most difficult days, and providing an infinite number of cups of tea. Any typographical errors remaining in the text are entirely my responsibility.

Most of all, I have valued the love and support of my mother and father, who have always made huge sacrifices for the sake of my education, and have backed me every step of the way. Coming as I do from a background where low educational aspirations were the norm, to attend a good school and university would not have been an option without their guidance and belief in me. I owe them everything, and their example remains the best that I could possibly follow. I particularly dedicate this work to my Dad, David (Rusty to his friends), who would have wanted more than anything else to see me complete this project, and whose courage in adversity taught me that I could weather any storm.

MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

Arras	Arras: Bibliothèque municipale 983 (766)
Ba	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (olim Ed. IV. 6)
Cambrai	Cambrai: Bibliothèque municipale 1328
Chantilly	Chantilly: Bibliothèque du Musée Condé 564
Douce 308	Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 308
Durham	Durham: Cathedral Library C.I.20
Fauvain	Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 571
Fauvel/BnF, fr.146	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 146
Fribourg	Fribourg: Bibliothèque cantonale et Universitaire Z 260
Gerona	Gerona, Archivo Capitular, frag. 33/1
Ivrea	Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CXV(115)
J.II.9	MS Torino Biblioteca Nazionale J.II.9
La Clayette	La Clayette : Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. f. fr. 13521
Machaut A	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1584
Machaut B	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1585
Machaut C	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1586
Machaut E	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 9221
Machaut G	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 22546
Machaut Vg	Ferrell-Vogüé MS. Private Collection of James E. and Elizabeth J. Ferrell, on deposit at the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
Machaut W	Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 5010 C
McV	London: British Library, Additional 41667(I) (McVeigh fragment)
Mo	Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, H 196
Pic	Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, Coll. de Picardie 67
Reina	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6771

Strasbourg	Strasbourg: Bibliothèque municipale (olim Bibliothèque de la Ville) 222 C. 22
Trém	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms fonds nouvelles acquisitions françaises 23190 (olim Angers, Château de Serrant, Duchesse de la Trémoïlle)
Tu42	Torino: Biblioteca Reale, Vari 42
Udine	Udine: Biblioteca Comunale Vincenzo Joppi, ex Archivio Florio 290

LIST OF FIGURES AND EXAMPLES

Note about Figures, Examples and Other References

Music examples have been taken from the following sources:

Montpellier motets: Hans Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, 4 vols (Madison: A-R Editions, 1978).

Roman de Fauvel: Leo Schrade, ed., *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vol. i: The Roman de Fauvel; The Works of Philippe de Vitry; French Cycles of the Ordinarium Missae* (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956).

Guillaume de Machaut: Leo Schrade, ed., *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vols ii-iii: *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut* (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956).

Ivrea and *Chantilly* motets: Frank Harrison, ed., *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. v: *Motets of French Provenance* (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1968).

The Motets of Manuscript Torino Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9: Richard. H. Hoppin, ed., *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9*, 4 vols (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1960-63).

Texts of motets have mainly been taken from these sources, except for J.II.9, for which I have used the version of the texts edited by myself for the AHRC project database. For any other textual citations I have used footnotes to acknowledge the source of the edition.

Biblical quotations (in English) are taken from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) throughout.

'Fauvel' (italicised) will be used as shorthand for the *Roman de Fauvel*, whereas 'Fauvel' (unitalicised) will be used to refer to the character.

Refrains are italicized. Those that have been identified by Nico van den Boogaard I refer to as vdB+appropriate number.

I have provided a list of vernacular motets from the fourteenth century on p.17.

Translations are my own unless otherwise stated. Translations of Montpellier Motets are by Susan Stakel taken from Hans Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, vol. IV (Madison: A-R Editions, 1978), unless otherwise stated.

LIST OF FOURTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH MOTETS

<p align="center">ROMAN DE FAUVEL</p>

Short title	Full title	Manuscripts (Composer)
Detractor/Qui secuntur/Verbum	*Detractor est/Qui secuntur/Verbum iniquum* (p.mus. 12)	Fr.146/*Fauvain*
Desolata/Que nutritos/Filios	*Desolata mater ecclesia/Que nutritos filios/Filios enutrivj* (p.mus. 27)	Fr.146
Je voi/Fauvel/Autant	*Je voi douleur avenir/Fauvel nous a fait present/Autant* (p.mus. 29)	Fr.146
Se cuers/Rex/Ave	*Se cuers joians/Rex beatus/Ave* (p.mus. 32)	Fr.146/McV/*Trém*
La mesnie/J'ai fait/Grant	*La mesnie fauveline/J'ai fait nouveletement/Grant despit* (p.mus. 41)	Fr.146
Bonne/Se mes/A	*Bonne est amours/Se mes desirs/A* (p.mus. 68)	Fr.146
Celi/Maria/Porchier	*Celi domina/Maria, virgo virginum/Porchier mieuz estre* (p.mus. 122)	Fr.146
Quant/Bon/Cis	*Quant ie le voi/Bon vin doit/Cis chans veult boire* (p.mus. 130)	Fr.146

<p align="center">GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT</p>

Short title	Full title	Manuscripts (Composer)
M1	*Quant en moy vint/Amour et biauté parfait/Amara valde*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg, W
M2	*Tous corps qui de bien amer/De souspirant cuer dolent/Suspiro*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg
M3	*Hé! Mors, come tu es haie/Fine Amours/Quare non sum mortuus*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg
M4	*De Bon Espoir/Puisque la douce rousee/Speravi*	A, B, E, G, Vg
M5	*Aucune gent m'ont demande/Qui plus aimme/Fiat voluntas tua/C*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg
M6	*S'il estoit nulz/S'Amours tous amans/Et gaudebit cor vestrum*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg
M7	*J'ay tant mon cuer/Lasse je sui en aventure/Ego moriar pro te*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg

M8	*Qui es promesses/Ha! Fortune/Et non est qui adjuvat*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg, *Cambrai, Ivrea, Trém*
M10	*Hareu! hareu!/Helas! ou sera pris/Obediens usque ad mortem*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg, *Trém*
M11	*Dame, je sui cilz/Fins cuers doulz/Fins cuers doulz*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg
M12	*Helas pour quoy virent/Corde mesto cantando/Libera me*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg
M13	*Tant doucement m'ont attrait/Eins que ma dame/Ruina*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg
M14	*Maugre mon cuer/De ma dolour/Quia amore langueo*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg, *Trém*
M15	*Amours qui ha le pouoir/Faus Samblant m'a deceu/Vidi Dominum*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg, *Ivrea, Trém*
M16	*Lasse comment/Se j'aim mon loyal ami/Pour quoy me bat mes maris?*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg, *Trém*
M17	*Quant vraie amour/O series summe rata/Super omnes speciosa*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg
M20	*Trop plus et belle/Biauté paree de valour/Je ne sui mie certeins*	A, B, C, E, G, Vg, *Trém*

IVREA AND CHANTILLY

Tant /Bien/Cuius	*Tant a soutille pointure/Bien pert qu'en moy/Cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur*	*Ivrea, Chantilly, Arras*
A vous/Ad te/ Regnum	*A vous vierge de doucour/Ad te virgo/Regnum mundi*	*Ivrea*
Se grace/Cum/Ite	*Se grace/Cum venerint/Ite missa est*	*Ivrea, Trém,*
Les l'ormel/Main/Je ny	*Les l'ormel a la turelle/Main se leva/Je ny saindrai plus*	*Ivrea*, Tu42, *Cambrai*, Udine
Mon chant/Qui dolorous/Tristis	*Mon chant en plaint/Qui dolorous onques/Tristis est anima mea*	*Ivrea, Trém*, Dur
Douce/Garison/Neuma (Vitry)	*Douce playsence/Garison selon nature/Neuma quinti toni*	*Ivrea, Trém,*
Se paour/Diex tan/Concupisco Cambrai	*Se paour d'umble astinance/Diex tan desir/Concupisco*	*Ivrea, Trém,*
Li enseignement/De tous/Ecce	*Li enseignement/De tous les biens/Ecce tu pulchra es amica mea*	*Ivrea*, Fribourg, *Trém*
Fortune/Ma dolour/Dolour Cambrai, Pic	*Fortune mere a doulour/Ma dolour ne cesse pas/Dolour meus*	*Ivrea, Trém,*
Amer/Durement/Dolour	*Amer, Amours, est la choison pour quoy/Durement au cuer me blesce/Dolour meus*	*Ivrea, Trém*, Pic, Dur (Vitry)
Trop/Par sauvage	*Trop ay dure/Par sauvage/T/C*	*Ivrea*
L'amoureuse/En l'estat/Sicut	*L'amoureuse flour/En l'estat d'amere/Sicut fenum arui*	*Ivrea, Trém*, Dur
Clap/Sus Robin/T	*Clap clap par un matin/Sus Robin alons au molin/T*	*Ivrea*

Je comence/Et ie/Soules	*Je comence/Et ie seray/Soules viex*	*Ivrea, Trém, McV, Cambrai*
L'ardure/Tres dous/Ego	*L'ardure qu'endure/Tres dous espoir/Ego rogavi Deum*	*Chantilly, Trém*
D'ardant/Se fus/Nigra	*D'ardant desir/Se fus d'amer/Nigra est sed Formosa*	*Chantilly*
bon/Mon gauch	*...bon milgrana de valor.../Mon gauch, mon ris, ma salut e ma laus/T*	*Gerona*

MANUSCRIPT TORINO J.II.9

JM19	*Certes mout fu/Nous devons tresfort amer*	J.II.9
JM35	*Toustans que mon esprit mire/Qui porroit amer*	J.II.9
JM36	*Coume le serf a la clere fontainne/Lunne plainne d'umilite*	J.II.9
JM37	*Pour ce que point fui/A toi, vierge, me represente*	J.II.9
JM38	*Par grant soif, clere fontainne/Dame de tout pris*	J.II.9
JM39	*Mon mal en bien/Toustans je la serviray*	J.II.9
JM40	*Amour trestout fort me point/La douce art m'estuet*	J.II.9
JM41	*Se je di qu'en elle tire/Tres fort m'abrasa*	J.II.9

INTRODUCTION

> Until then I had thought each book spoke of things, human or divine, that lie outside books. Now I realized that not infrequently books speak of books: it is as if they spoke among themselves. – Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*.[1]

The discussion of citation and allusion has come to play a central role in the analytic approach taken by modern Medieval Studies. Amidst the revived interest in the subject that has grown over the last one hundred years, the realisation has dawned on scholarship at large that the reiteration of motifs and ideas, so seemingly repetitive, is the very creative matrix that allowed medieval literary and musical culture to flourish.[2] The medieval motet may well be described as being the zenith of citational activities, because its polyphonic and polytextual nature encouraged experimentation with different modes and sources of borrowing, and allowed composers to juxtapose ideas and registers in imaginative combinations. Thus the motet form could be both innovative and firmly rooted in medieval lyric tradition, with its chief borrowings being from the liturgy, Marian devotion, trouvère songs and refrains. In this thesis I shall be examining the complex and various uses of citation, by looking at the ways in which it was employed in different repertories of fourteenth-century French motets.

Much critical and theoretical thought that has come to influence our interpretation of literature and music has developed under the shadow of Georg W. F. Hegel, whose legacy has bequeathed structuralism and post-structuralism alike. His philosophy uses a system of dialectics in which thesis is played off against antithesis, resulting in synthesis. The synthesis becomes the new thesis and the process begins again. The fluidity of this process gives rise to a continuous momentum of thought and further emphasises the interrelation of all ideas within the system. It is this emphasis on a web of interrelations that has given rise to post-structuralist intertextual analysis, as Vincent Leitch et al. comment: 'all modern criticism that stresses the historical and social context of utterances or intertextual connections is Hegelian to some degree'.[3] Yet Hegel's system is closed, with the consequence that he theorises that the flux of dialectic will ultimately play out, resulting

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[1] Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose* (London: Vintage, 1998), p.286.

[2] See Yolanda Plumley, 'Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson', *Music & Letters*, 84/3 (2003), p.355.

[3] Vincent B. Leitch, William E. Cain, Laurie Finke, Barbara Johnson, John McGowan, Jeffrey J. Williams, *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism* (London: Norton, 2001), p.626.

in unity and the end of history. This idea has dangerous connotations in the political sphere, while in literary and historical analysis it can give rise to misleading ideas of qualitative progression, with each generation or new movement of thought acting as the antithesis to the previous.

Whether overtly or tacitly, the notion of progression has held sway over Western culture and theory from the Enlightenment period onwards. In the sphere of artistic endeavour, the conception of a lone, possibly mad genius as the locus of original creation, given theoretical credence by Kant's aesthetic theory, has similarly promoted a rejection of what has gone before in favour of novelty and the notion of historic betterment in human achievement.[4] Artistic merit thus becomes associated with the individual and his ownership of his creative output, divorcing it from the surrounding cultural environment within which it was produced. Little wonder then that medieval artistic output, so heavily dependent on the reworking of existing ideas and material, and lacking a strong sense of author ownership, had come to be viewed with so little respect. Yet, as critical theory has by degrees sloughed off its attachment to notions of progress and originality, and reminded us of the situatedness of the great, seemingly unparalleled touchstones of culture (that is, products of their social and historical milieu), scholarship has looked on medieval creativity with new eyes.

Theories of intertextual relations have allowed us to discover the value and interest in looking at medieval use of borrowed material. Perhaps further reasons for the revival of interest in music and literature from that era stem from the links we can postulate between their culture and our own. Graham Allen remarks that a number of theorists have characterised our era 'in terms of the concept of Postmodernism'.[5] He adds further that this term is 'often associated with notions of pastiche, imitation and the mixing of already established styles and practices'.[6] As potential avenues of innovation appear exhausted, and our culture is saturated with reinterpretations of the familiar, it becomes easier to recognise the creative impetus of the medieval period as working along similar lines. Critical approaches which value citation and allusion, including the various registers Allen identifies, therefore have an equal application in Medieval Studies as they do in studies of more recent times.

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[4] Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgement*, trans. Werner S. Pluhar (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987), pp. 181-9.

[5] Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (London: Routledge, 2000), p.5.

[6] ibid.

Indeed, in his exploration of Marian contrafacta on secular melodies, Daniel O'Sullivan comments: 'The question is as pertinent today as it was in the Middle Ages: from Monty Python's 'All Things Dull and Ugly' to Clairol's 'I'm Gonna Wash that Gray Right out of My Hair,' contrafacta are abundant in film, television, and radio. Perhaps the anthropological and sociological data derived from studies of popular culture could give us an insight into the performance and reception of contrafacture in the Middle Ages'.[7] This connection may prove profitable if explored in much greater depth, but is unfortunately outside the ambit of this study. In so far as the general idea is relative to the concept of citation and allusion running through my work here, it may be noted that in its appreciation of the interconnectedness of thought and text, the medieval era was perhaps less far removed from our own than might at first appear. This comprehension of the medieval mindset as dealing with authorised and recognised ideas, rather than striving for separateness and individuality, has informed the conceptual framework employed to study the medieval motet.

In this introduction I shall be examining the parameters, definitions and reasons for my investigation. Essentially I will be answering the question 'Why study citation and allusion in fourteenth-century French motets?' and defining what the component parts of this question mean to me.

I shall first address citation, allusion and intertextuality. My understanding of these terms will form the backdrop against which to place my discussion of the motets, so I shall start with some general comments about citation and allusion and why they are a fruitful locus of scholarly investigation, which will lead to a discussion of their importance in medieval texts. I shall be looking at Irwin's discussion of 'what is an allusion' and Sarah Kay's definitions of citation and quotation, to establish a working set of definitions for my study. This will be followed by an examination of the concept of intertextuality, to clarify my application of the term, and highlight some important aspects of the approach taken in textual analysis in this study. A key element of the discussion of citation and allusion in the late medieval era is the use of refrains. Here I shall examine their purpose in medieval literature, drawing in particular on Ardis Butterfield's comments on their functions in various genres.

I shall then proceed to demonstrate why motets in particular are fertile ground for looking at citation and allusion, and chart the development of the motet over the course of the

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[7] Daniel E. O'Sullivan, *Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century French Lyric* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), pp. 114-115.

thirteenth century. There will be a discussion of borrowed tenors and use of refrains, and how they were incorporated in motets, using as examples some Montpellier motets and the composer Adam de la Halle. Following this, there will be a brief explanation of my choice to privilege motets employing the French language over those using only Latin. This is in turn connected to the perception of registral differences in the repertories, which will be discussed alongside the use of the respective languages in literature. A significant area of registral juxtaposition and exchange is that of Marian devotional and courtly amatory lyrics, which will come to bear on my discussion of motets.

Finally, I shall turn to the *ars nova* motet specifically, and demonstrate the necessity of further scholarly work in this area. I shall look at some of the current literature in this area that has not already been covered in the preceding discussion, in order to situate my study. The introductory chapter will then conclude with a summary of the focus of each subsequent chapter, and a brief discussion of the importance of the manuscript sources.

CITATION AND ALLUSION

For the past few years I have taken to cutting my husband's hair. This arrangement has worked out rather well for us. Having received a set of electric clippers as a gift, the savings we have made financially from my husband no longer needing the services of a barber have begun to mount up. Fortunately for me, Michael is not the sort of individual prone to vanity, and is therefore unconcerned that my portfolio of hair styles contains only one option: the 'Thomas Hobbes', so named by me because it is 'nasty, brutish and short'.[8] Since we met while studying philosophy, the reference to Hobbes's rather pessimistic description of civil states, their tendency to descend into periods of war and the resulting conditions of life needed no further explanation. Indeed the choice of allusion was based on my understanding of my audience's knowledge set. The allusion also worked because it bore with it many simultaneous layers of interpretation. By juxtaposing Hobbes and hairdressing, the sting is taken from the tail of the serious political philosopher, thus perhaps Hobbes, *qua* philosopher, is parodied. However, this could cut the other way; hairdressing is a world of appearances, far removed from the rigour and gravitas of political theory. On a third interpretation, perhaps the playing field is in fact being levelled between Hobbes and haircuts; politics is no more removed from the world of *Faus Semblant* than is the salon de coiffure. On a more personal level the application of the adjectives 'nasty' and 'brutish' to Michael is disjunctive. The stereotypical thug or hooligan of the tabloid media is a white, male football fan with close shaved hair. The physical description

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[8] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.89.

in fact fits, but I can bear witness that the connection goes no further. Conversely, the descriptions 'nasty' and 'brutish' in fact emphasise his good characteristics by offering contrast. So which allusion did I intend as the 'author' of the pun? I cannot say. The various ideas that sprung from the allusion seemed to be present to take root in my mind the moment I made the leap from 'short hair' to the short lifespan of Hobbes's description. Indeed it was precisely because of my previous studies, my opinions on politics and philosophy, and my feelings about my husband that the allusion naturally sprang forth.

My comments on hairdressing alas do not serve to prove any great calibre of wit, but do go some way towards addressing why citation and allusion are such exciting topics. By reflecting on the manner in which I had employed an allusion, I began to think more closely about how we use such literary tools, and to what end. By beginning to understand the importance of citation and allusion in my own context, I was perhaps able to move closer to comprehending the medieval minds who put together the texts and music of the motets I have studied.

Before I outline some definitions of citation and allusion, it is appropriate to look at the broader background of intertextual theory against which these terms operate. As intertextuality is another key concept for the work undertaken in this study, I shall here provide a brief overview of the term's uses (and misuses), to underline how it is understood when applied to my analyses.

The first use of the term intertextuality has been widely attributed to Julia Kristeva, in the 1960s.[9] Its precise use and scope is a matter of some debate, however, and I shall outline here some of its implications and possible uses. In general, intertextuality refers to how a text is shaped by others, by its positioning within a landscape of related texts, linguistic and literary structures. This may be primarily concerned with the choices made by the author in referencing another text, but can also accommodate choices of interpretation made by the reader. Depending on its usage, intertextuality can therefore deal with such concrete links as direct quotation, or such expansive concepts as the necessary situatedness of our language. In effect, the term attempts to operate between extremes - the robust but limiting recitation of linear connections between intended literary influences, and a freer appreciation of the 'interconnectedness of all things', which is in danger of a certain

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[9] It appears in her essays 'The Bounded Text' and 'Word, Dialogue, Novel'. See Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine and Leon S. Roudiez, ed. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), pp. 36-63 and 64-91.

vacuous nebulosity.[10]   Controversy therefore arises in establishing at which point on this scale a particular theorist conceives themselves as, or is interpreted as, operating.

On a theoretical basis, the chief division of approach within intertextuality may be into structuralist and post-structuralist camps, which I will briefly outline here, followed by an explanation of why some of the leading theoretical approaches within these camps are unsuitable for my analysis. The structuralist approach to intertextuality, whose proponents include Genette and Riffaterre, draws on Saussure's conception of text as part of an intricate system of signs; language does not capture objects as such, but operates in the realm of signifiers and signified, that is, the concept denoted by a word and visual or aural presentation of it.[11]   A sign cannot have meaning of its own, but only through its position in relation to other signs. Being constrained by the possible moves within this realm, a text cannot escape what is essentially a closed system. Its meaning (in the broadest sense) can thus be established by reference to the frame of other texts which relate to it. Structuralism in the literary sense is particularly engaged with the formal elements of a text, including its placement within wider categories such as genre. This approach to some extent aims at an objectivity of interpretation, since it privileges the uncovering of demonstrable conceptual links over the activity of interpretation.

The post-structuralist view, of which the most prominent champions are Kristeva and Barthes, begins with the same conception of texts as signs within a system, deriving their meaning from their positioning and interrelation.[12]   However, it differs from structuralism in emphasising the impossibility of any fixity in the significance of a given text. Barthes promotes an 'unstable' view of texts, divorcing the author from the putatively controlling position he or she once held in relation to his or her composition, and thereby 'liberating' the reader to establish connections through their own interpretation of the piece. However, as Allen explains, this is not merely to shift the responsibility for devising a permanent significance of the text, as 'literary meaning can never be fully stabilized by the

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[10] Douglas Adams, *Dirk Gently's Holistic Detective Agency* (London: Pan, 1988), p.115.

[11] Gérard Genette, *The Architext: An Introduction*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Berkeley CA and Oxford: University of California Press, 1992); *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln NE and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Michael Riffaterre, *Semiotics of Poetry* (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1978). Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. Wade Baskin, ed. Charles Bally, Albert Sechehaye and Albert Reidlinger (London: Fontana, 1974).

[12] See Kristeva, *Desire in Language*. Roland Barthes, *Image – Music – Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana, 1977); 'Theory of the Text', in Robert Young, ed., *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981).

reader, since the literary work's intertextual nature always leads readers on to new textual relations'.[13] The text therefore becomes a rather slippery entity, as the conception of it as an intended product with linear reference to preceding works is abandoned. Barthes famously commented that 'we know now that a text is not a line of words releasing a single "theological" meaning (the message of the Author-God) but a multidimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash'.[14]

Yet, medieval 'authors' by no means had the kind of God-like identity with which Barthes wished to dispense, and, as a matter of course, sought to blend their own creation with what had gone before. The identity of the originator of any given material, where this was established at all, could be subsumed under the intent of the compiler of a given manuscript.[15] However, given the distance between a medieval text's composition and our readership, and the historical concerns of our enquiry, the reader-centric approach does not yield the interesting outcomes for which we search. As medievalists, we seem always to be searching for breadcrumb clues of authorship, uncovering the vestigial signs of a known individual's involvement with a text. The structuralist approach, by contrast, while offering greater emphasis on the role of author and genre to a text's meaning, suffers from its desire for fixity – a concreteness which medieval literature seems almost at pains to evade.

M. M. Bakhtin offers a more palatable approach for medievalists. Like Saussure, Bakhtin conceives of utterances as having meaning only insofar as they are in a web of relation with other utterances. However, he rejects the fixity of Saussure's synchronic system of linguistics. While utterances may be part of a rational web, this very web is socially and historically mediated and in a process of constant evolution. Most importantly for Bakhtin, utterances are 'dialogic', deriving their meaning from both previous utterances and their reception by others. In this manner, and unlike Barthes, he emphasises the two-sided nature of an utterance: 'A word is a bridge thrown between myself and another. If one end of the bridge depends on me, then the other depends on my addressee. A word is territory shared by both addressor and addressee, by the speaker and his interlocutor'.[16] Bakhtin's linguistic theories were also developed as a tool for literary criticism. Literary

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[13] Allen, *Intertextuality*, p.3.

[14] Barthes, *Image – Music – Text*, p.146.

[15] Sylvia Huot discusses the role of the compiler and his ability to manipulate material, including rewriting sections of texts to conjoin them with others. See *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Narrative Poetry* (London: Cornell University Press, 1987).

[16] M. M. Bakhtin and V. N. Volosinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, trans. L. Matejka and I. R. Titunik (London: Harvard University Press, 1986), p.86.

work is dialogic when it allows multiple discourses to interact without any one voice being dominant. This concept will be an important part of my understanding of Machaut, and has been applied to him before, notably by R. Barton Palmer and Kevin Brownlee.[17] It is also an important analytical tool for the comprehension of motets, the polyphonic and polytextual structure of which allows for disparate discourses to sound simultaneously.

Bakhtin's portrayal of the two-way street of language utterances further means that the author can still be a presence in any analysis: 'Bakhtin does not seek to announce the death of the Author. The author, for Bakhtin, we might say, still stands behind his or her novel, but s/he does not enter into it as a guiding authoritative voice'.[18] As we saw above in the story of my pun, the bridge between 'author' and 'audience' was significant to the very creation of the joke. Indeed the relationship between addressor and addressee is what makes texts meaningful; the connection of mutual understanding implied by the bridge metaphor also includes an element of resistance, since the reader and author must retain a simultaneous degree of independence (like the anchorage of a bridge) to enable successful communication to take place.

The metaphor of the bridge that Bakhtin employs also has relevance for the very active stance that medieval authors took towards the interaction of their texts with others: at the heart of any discussion of medieval intertextuality is the rich horticultural metaphor of the grafted (*enté*) branch or flower. This complex, layered term brings with it ideas of improving stock, reproduction and both interconnectedness and separation. Ardis Butterfield in her article '*Enté*: A Survey and Reassessment of the Term in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Music and Poetry', warns that our modern word 'intertextuality' does not adequately describe what medieval composers and authors actually did.[19] 'Grafted' in its literal and metaphorical sense, while it connects one entity with another, is also a process of absorption and assimilation by the 'host' entity, be it tree or text. Furthermore, I would add to this that while much modern intertextual analysis deals with sub- and semiconscious undercurrents of literary practice and language, or broader ideas of the author placing him or herself intentionally or not within a certain tradition (both of which ideas have currency

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[17] Palmer, R. Barton, 'Guillaume de Machaut and the Classical Tradition', in Bain, Jennifer and Deborah McGrady, eds, *A Companion to Guillaume de Machaut: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Master* (Boston: Brill, forthcoming 2011).; Kevin Brownlee, 'Machaut's Motet 15 and the *Roman de la Rose*: The Literary Context of *Amours qui a le pouoir/Faus Samblant m'a deceu/Vidi Dominum*', *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), 1-14.

[18] Allen, *Intertextuality*, p.24.

[19] Ardis Butterfield, '*Enté:* A Survey and Reassessment of the Term in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Music and Poetry', *Early Music History*, 22 (2003), p.85.

when talking about medieval literature), nonetheless '*enté*' has a more specific idea of a guiding hand cutting and joining. Thus as the gardener grafts a stem from one fruit tree onto the branch of another to improve the fruit, so also God is seen as grafting his son onto the Virgin Mary, the poet grafts old refrains onto new material, and the lover grafts his beloved onto his own heart, or himself onto hers. Bakhtin asserts that the iterations and reiterations of language contribute to the constant flux of its development. A word said anew in a fresh context thus gains something of that context. In a similar manner the 'grafted' citation grows anew in its setting, bringing with it the 'genetic material' of its origins, but recreating also its host.

Bakhtin's conception of textual interaction is pertinent if we consider the etymology of the word 'allusion', whose root is the Latin 'ludo, ludere, lusi, lusum', meaning 'to play'. As well as the literal meaning of linking to and reference to another text, the word, therefore, contains ludic associations – that is, the idea of games. With this in mind, the emphasis on input by both author and reader gains extra currency; to play a game requires certain restraints on behaviour, whether this means rules, a scoring system or an opponent. In any of these cases, a certain friction, as well as a degree of give-and-take is needed. Our interaction with an author's text operates in some sense as a game we play. Whether this is on the straightforward level of spotting citations and references deliberately highlighted by the author, or in identifying possible influences or interpretations, to play this game necessitates an engagement with the author's intent.

The ludic connotations of the connection between author and reader become all the more pertinent when one considers the significance of game playing in medieval literature.[20] Emma Cayley, in her examination of debate poetry and the work of Alain Chartier, explores the development of the culture of debate and poetic exchange witnessed in medieval French literature,[21] demonstrating that 'the tradition of literary exchange in the context of play and competition, is deeply rooted in medieval culture'.[22] The use of citation and allusion was intimately bound up with ideas of community and collaboration, with playful interchange and re-use of ideas and of material forming part of the social

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[20] For a wider analysis of game playing in medieval culture see Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, trans. F. Hopman* (London: The Folio Society, 1998), and *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 179-80.

[21] Emma Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue: Alain Chartier in his Cultural Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), Chapter One.

[22] ibid., p. 51.

game. Merit was placed on the creative manipulation of common tropes and phrases. As Jane Taylor comments:

> 'Unfamiliar though the concept may seem in our society, in which poetry is still figured as the inward and intensely personal exploration of the self, late-medieval poetry...operates in a participatory culture of mutually reinforcing rhetorics, existing in a particular social and ideological milieu'.[23]

This climate of poetic exchange was rule-bound and ludic. Yolanda Plumley has explored this in connection with the *puys*, literary competitions that flourished in northern France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. She demonstrates that poets used the competition to rework previous lyrics, often modelling their contributions on those of previous winners.[24] The *jeu-parti* was another example of competitive and playful exchange. It was a lyric dialogue in which the participants debated a dilemma posed in couplets by the first speaker, the second speaker having to answer the first while also adhering to their meter and rhyme scheme. The *jeu-parti* was characterised by neither party actually altering their original position[25], thus leaving the door open for continued debate. Indeed, the name *jeu-parti* existed already as the term for stalemate in chess. This re-use of the word in relation to poetry is perhaps unsurprising, since *le jeu des eschaz* had great literary significance in medieval times, serving as a metaphor for the games of love and of life.[26] I shall explore the chess metaphor a little futher in Chapter Three, in which I examine a motet which references the game.

Guillaume de Machaut has been studied for his use of anagrams, cryptograms, acrostics and number puzzles, in addition to his use of citation and allusion.[27] He was, therefore, aware of the ludic potential of his corpus of work and, as we will see in Chapter Two, may well have viewed his complete works' manuscripts as a forum in which his readers could explore the interconnections of ideas in his work, subtly guiding them, through his reuse of material. In the *Roman de Fauvel* and Manuscript Torino J.II.9 (Chapters One and Four) we will see different kinds of game playing that draw on the use of citation and allusion.

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[23] Jane H. M. Taylor, *The Poetry of François Villon.Text and Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 7.

[24] Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut*, Forthcoming, Chapter Five.

[25] Cayley, ibid., p.34.

[26] Cayley, ibid., Chapter Four, Part II.

[27] See Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (London: Garland, 1995). In Chapter 5 he discusses Machaut's use of number and word puzzles in relation to individual *dits*.

The writers of the *Fauvel* motets artfully inserted citations and used the vernacular to demonstrate the central character's wicked rise to power, while J.II.9's composer-compiler, I will argue, made playful use of symmetry to hint at the interconnectedness of his work.

Understanding the game-playing connotations of allusion is crucial, but, how can we meaningfully define the function of borrowings? William Irwin suggests that to define it as indirect reference is a reasonable initial position, but untenably simplistic.[28] Irwin considers two seemingly contradictory versions of allusion: the author-centric intentionalist view, and the reader-based internalist approach. The former privileges the idea that an allusion occurs where the author intended it, independent of the reader's recognition. The latter holds that allusion is a facet of the 'internal properties' of a text when it resembles another - regardless of authorial intent.

The intentionalist argument seems too strong a reading, producing a linear and authoritarian view of what it means to allude. As Irwin notes: 'Any text that an author intends as an indirect reference...would by fiat be an allusion. By mere force of will and intention we would have an allusion, and this might well render the concept of allusion vacuous and meaningless'.[29] That is, it would represent only one side of Bakhtin's bridge – the author side – and does not reference the game playing relationship between authors and readers. The internalist view in its turn points to something important, i.e. that the shared internal properties of two texts must, in principle, afford the possibility of association by a reader. However, if authorial intent is neglected in considering possible allusions, we can lose the temporal dynamic, or sense of direction, that exists between one text and another. For example, *Sur les Lagunes: Lamento*, by Théophile Gautier, set to music by Hector Berlioz in his song cycle *Nuits d'Été,* contains the refrain 'Que mon sort est amer; Ah, sans amour s'en aller sur la mer!' (How bitter is my lot; Ah, to go to sea without love).[30] In returning to this work after becoming a medievalist, the refrain rang for me with connotations of descriptions of the Blessed Virgin Mary in her role as the 'Étoile de Mer' (Star of the Sea) and of the oft-employed homonym 'amer', which means both 'bitter' and 'to love' (a sonic connection that no longer exists in modern French). For me, the infusion of Gautier's texts with medieval resonances was rich, but solipsistic. The medieval literature could not refer to Gautier and there is no indication that Gautier was influenced by Marian devotional lyrics of the thirteenth century. Of course, one could suppose that I

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[28] William Irwin, 'What Is an Allusion?', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 59/3 (2001), 287-97.

[29] Irwin, ibid., p.289.

[30] Hector Berlioz, *Les Nuits d'Été*, ed. Peter Bloom (Paris: Éditions Musicales du Marais, 1992).

might one day be inspired to compose my own poetry that alludes to both sources, but unless I decide to do this, the 'allusion' remains in Barthesian isolation, and does not shed any light on the two separate texts beyond this context. This is what Irwin would term 'accidental association', where one finds a link that was not intended by the author, but that still has aesthetic merit for the reader.

Allusion is not a third party as such, or as Stephanie Ross puts it 'some predicate or concept referring to...two works of art'.[31] Allusion is the passage from one work to another: 'The Bible does not allude to Shakespeare, although Shakespeare may allude to the Bible'.[32] Irwin, therefore, argues that we need a hybrid view of allusion, since judgement cannot be left to the tyranny of the reader. Allusion must always be intended and *logically* possible to recognise, but this does not mean that it *must* be recognised. This leaves open the potential for a Bakhtinian connection between author and reader in which both may partake of the game (even if the reader 'loses' by not correctly identifying the author's intent, or the author 'loses' by creating an unsuccessful allusion). We as readers also still have it in our power to judge if an allusion is aesthetically pleasing or successful, where recognised.

Irwin sums up his position as follows: 'Our definition of "allusion" is, then, a reference that is indirect in the sense that it calls for associations that go beyond mere substitution of a referent. An author must intend this indirect reference, and it must be in principle possible that the intended audience could detect it'.[33] His summary is neat, but I would add a caveat. In the example I gave above of my Hobbesian pun, I commented that diverse and competing ideas seemed to resonate with the allusion as soon as I had made the conceptual link, without any premeditated mapping out of the various connections between my comment, my sources and my audience. There were levels, then, on which my allusion was not immediately consciously intended, but these levels seem to me to be no less valid because they sprung from my milieu of education and relationships – one might surmise that someone writing about me 700 years in the future (!) would interpret those complex levels of allusion and consider their interpretation as valid, based on a biographical understanding of my life. Part of our historical reconstruction of medieval authors' allusions, therefore, includes establishing their plausible intent, which may exceed

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[31] Irwin, 'What is an Allusion', p.289.

[32] ibid.

[33] ibid., p.290.

the linear conscious allusions of the author, but still retain a connection to their creative intent, through the reader's wider appreciation of the context of production.

I thus privilege Bakhtin's theoretical approach and Irwin's definition for good reason. In studying medieval texts and music for citation and allusion we are trying to understand something about intention and reception *at that time*, rather than reacting solely and for ourselves to the aesthetic qualities of those works. In considering modern works – of any kind of art – particularly contemporary ones, one's personal interpretation or reaction has arguably as great a significance as the creator's intention, because these works are not only mirroring, but also impacting on our culture and attitudes. The texts and music we consider from the medieval era are for the most part those performed at the courts of kings and noblemen, and they both mirrored and shaped the attitudes of their surroundings. These works no longer have that privilege and power, the context in which they were conceived having passed away. However, they are still able to provide us with a mirror, if an imperfect one, of the era from which they came. Yet, in trying to comprehend medieval writers and their audiences, we are unable to remove our own readership from the equation and must own that any interpretation is mediated by us. Paul Zumthor comments that we must 'confront a most disturbing historical phenomenon, to consider a void...caused by lapse of time and gaps in our documentation'.[34] We cannot remove ourselves and our interpretation from the interaction with the text without rendering it meaningless to us, but we strive at least to make our understanding author-centric.

Citation ostensibly has a more fixed meaning than allusion. It is often conflated with the act of quotation, and both terms are used to suggest the exact reproduction of text or music from one source in another. Citation can further denote the act of referencing the author and/or source from which the material has been taken. In a related manner, citation operates as a legal term meaning to summon an individual to appear in court; indeed its etymological root is in the Latin *citare*, which means variously 'to put into quick motion', 'to move', 'to urge', 'to call or summon', ' (in law) to call the parties to see whether they are present', as well as 'to cite' and 'to quote'. As such, the term citation could be said to evoke a certain dynamism: the impelling or bringing forth of individuals and their words, literally, legally or metaphorically, into a textual space.[35].

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[34] Paul Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics*, trans. Philip Bennett (Oxford: University of Minnesota, 1992), p. xx.

[35] Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

The term 'quotation' derives from the medieval Latin *quotare*, which means 'to quote' in the sense of borrowed text, but can also mean 'to mark off the number of chapters'; this in turn finds its root in the classical Latin *quota* 'proportional share'.[36] A passage quoted often has a supportive role to the new text it is joining; it bolsters an argument, proves a point or gives an example. As a quotation, it does not have to be representative of the whole text from whence it came and can in some cases be used in isolation from the context of its source. Quoting, one might suggest therefore, does not have the fluid element of citation; embedded in its meaning is the idea of gathering up a certain number of words, a quota of text, to join a new text.

Sarah Kay uses a similar articulation of the differences between citation and quotation to analyse borrowed material in the *Breviari d'Amor* by Matfre Ermengaud.[37] For Kay, the legal aspect of citation is useful insofar as it implies the summoning forth of an authority or source, usually by name, 'without necessarily repeating what they said',[38] while quotation is the invocation of someone else's words and is as such 'a phenomenon involving subjectivity, knowledge and authority that cannot be equated simply with mechanical copying'.[39]

Kay acknowledges the difficulties of defining and identifying quotation as it appears in her object of study, though her categorisation above appears to provide her with a useful framework, despite the blurred boundaries of many acts of quotation therein. In the *Breviari d'Amor*, quotations become fuzzy entities because the author often introduces them with paraphrases or shorter snippets before giving us the extract proper; furthermore the end of the quotation is rarely marked clearly. While boundaries of quotations might seem hard to define in her examples, these can become perilously difficult to identify when we turn to the analysis of motets. Motet writers rarely 'cited' in Kay's sense; there are only few direct invocations of text or author by name in motet texts. And how are we to categorise musical borrowings under this framework?

It has been necessary in my study to take a freer approach to terminology. Mainly, when I use the word 'citation' I am conflating Kay's notions of summoning forth a source or

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[36] See Lewis and Short, ibid., and Ernest Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols (London: Elsevier Publishing Company, 1966).

[37] Sarah Kay, 'How Long is a Quotation? Quotations from the Troubadours in the Text and Manuscripts of the *Breviari d'Amor*', *Romania*, 127 (2009), 1-29.

[38] ibid., p. 6.

[39] ibid., p. 5.

person and using their words, although I try to clarify for each example what I discern to have taken place. Often, in the case of anonymous motets we cannot talk about the summoning forth of an author, and can only engage in detective work and supposition as to how the motet relates to a source upon which it appears to be drawing. In such cases, examining the frequency of certain phrases might help one to draw conclusions about whether a composer is using a cliché of the genre, redeploying an idiom particularly favoured in his repertory, or purposefully building a citational bridge between his own and others' works through explicit borrowing. The use of refrains, which will be discussed later in this introduction, is an example of how composers employed popular snippets of text which were found in many sources. Whether we can define these as quotation or citation in the strict terms mentioned above is difficult to say, since we cannot be sure whether the composer was intending to evoke other sources in which the refrain was used, or whether he intended just to use a certain 'quantity' (i.e. *quota*) of words that were pleasing to quote.

The vocabulary of citation is extensive and in many cases I make use of related terms of less technical but still useful specificity. In some cases I employ 'borrowing' to talk about the sequestering of text, music or ideas by one writer from another; this suggests intention on the part of the composer, although whether the borrowing was intended to invoke its source or merely to add 'lustre'[40] to the new text can be open to debate. 'Modelling' is also an important notion. The act of reusing of material can extend to the imitation of other textual or musical structures. For example a composer might choose to employ a metrical or rhythmic scheme from another piece of poetry or music that he found pleasing or to which he wished to refer with his own creation. Self-citation, reiteration and redeployment will be important notions for talking about Guillaume Machaut's reuse of his 'own' material (see Chapter 2) – which could be literally his own, or borrowed material that he adapted and manipulated in his corpus such that it became appropriated. Thus, 'appropriation' is often used in this thesis to mean material that has been borrowed by a composer from an outside source and then reworked in such a manner (or with sufficient frequency) that it becomes naturalised within his own corpus. My necessarily accommodating stance can usefully be illuminated through a discussion of two different kinds of 'borrowings' in medieval musico-poetic works: the invocation of authority, and refrain use.

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[40] See Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'Fauvel Goes to School', in Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach, eds, *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), p.59.

KINDS OF CITATIONS: *AUCTORITAS* AND REFRAIN USE

One of the pivotal motivations that drove a composer to borrow words and music was that it lent authority to his own work. The need for *auctoritas* is attested to not only by the evidence of identified borrowings and allusions in works, but by the existence of florilegia – medieval versions of dictionaries of quotations, which gathered together both proverbs and the pithiest points of classical wisdom, contemporary treatises, sermons and other scholarly literature. This suggests that while on some occasions writers may have drawn their inspiration from source texts, or from third parties also quoting those texts, on others they simplified the task by having to hand a florilegium, which could also be organised according to subject, to ease the finding of suitable extracts. The existence of such compendia might lead us to conclude that the act of citation did not involve the level of scholarly depth that I will argue is implied by the connections drawn between texts, since an author may simply have selected a pleasant phrase or a choice expression from a recognised authority in the anthology. However, this does not appear to have been the case. As we shall see below, memory has a moral element, since it speaks of the ability of the individual to store up experiences and wisdom, and thus to behave with prudence based on the sum of this accrued knowledge. Words such as 'justice', for example, did not have neat dictionary definitions as they do today, they were thought of as 'a "starting-point," or a *res* (which in this context might best be translated "idea") one holds within oneself either through accrued experience, both individual and common, or through some combination of that and indwelling divine grace'.[41] Thus, for a writer to rely solely on a florilegium without an understanding of the wider context of the quotations therein could be construed as not only unscholarly, but perhaps immoral, too.

These anthologies of quotations therefore probably did not replace reference to the contexts from which the quotations were drawn, but rather served as memory markers for scholars. Indeed, we shall see below the importance of memory in medieval culture, and how scholars could use systems to remind themselves of larger works, thus embedding the meaning and the context of their chosen citation into their own creative scholarship, rather than references being inserted *ad hoc*. Passages such as those from florilegia were used not merely to support an argument or attitude, but served through appeal to authoritative prior works to elevate the composition amongst contemporary writings, and perhaps also to establish the author and even the compiler amongst his contemporaries and antecedents. This may have allowed an author to situate his work within a particular tradition, or indeed

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[41] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 30.

to juxtapose multiple traditions - either for playful or dramatic effect, or to let one tradition challenge or subvert another.

The greatest source of *auctoritas* in medieval Europe was naturally the Bible, and secondary only to this were the liturgy and hagiographical sources. Since motets most often employed liturgical tenors, motet writers could bring the authority of the liturgy, and consequently the Bible – upon which most liturgical texts were based – to their work. Machaut's M12, *Helas! pour quoy virent onques mi oueil/Corde mesto/Libera me*, employs a Lenten Responsory whose text is drawn from the story of Jacob in Genesis. Hence both the sombre reflections of this period of the liturgy and the lessons that can be garnered from Jacob's life can be brought to bear on the interpretation of this motet. The tenor of the *Ivrea* motet *A vous vierge/Ad te virgo/Regnum mundi* draws on a line in the liturgy used as the 9th Respond at Matins for a Virgin Martyr or the 7th Respond for St Agnes, and hence provides a double liturgical backdrop for the motet.

The Montpellier motet Mo146, draws on the authority of hagiography. The triplum refers to the story of Saint Theophilus of Adana who had sold his soul to the devil in return for worldly authority. He later changed his mind and prayed to the Virgin Mary, and was absolved on account of her intercession.

> Hé, mere Diu, regardez m'en pitié,
> qui voz servanz gardes d'anemistié!
> Theophilus par toi de son pechié
> fu quite.

> Oh, mother of God, you who guard your servants from enmity, look with pity upon me. Theophilus was absolved of his sin through your intervention.

This hagiographical reference might also have a more general allusion to Christian salvation, since the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles are both addressed to a 'Theophilus', thought to be either the name of an individual or an honorific title (meaning 'friend of God') with which the reader is addressed. Seen as the latter, 'Theophilus' could allude to any good Christian who has been saved by Christ's death - and by extension by the Virgin Mary through her role as the Mother of God. Mo146 could be interpreted equally as referring to Saint Theophilus or to either use of the name in the New Testament.[42]

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[42] The motetus line of Mo146 is the lament of a penitent sinner who feels he has not adequately served the Virgin Mary, and could therefore be seen as the writer either giving voice to Saint Theophilus, or making his own lament to the Virgin.

When not drawing directly on the Bible, the liturgy, or the saints, medieval authors often made use of works that could admit of a strong Christian interpretation. Machaut's motets M12, *Helas! pour quoy virent onques mi oueil/Corde mesto/Libera me*, and M17, *Quant vraie amour enflamée/O series summa rata/Super omnes speciosa*, model their arguments on Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*. The *Ovide Moralisé* was also popular since it interpreted classical literature, namely Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, through the lens of Christian exegesis (Machaut makes reference to the story of Narcissus and Echo in his M7, *J'ay tant mon cuer/Lasse je sui en aventure/Ego moriar pro te*, for instance).

When it came to more earthly concerns, writers could turn to the trouvères and troubadours as experts in the rules of *fin'amors* and courtly behaviour. Machaut cited Thibaut de Champagne, Perrin d'Angicourt, and Gace Brulé.[43] The *Roman de la Rose* was a popular source, too. Kevin Brownlee has examined the juxtaposition of imagery from the *Roman de la Rose* and the Bible in Machaut's M15, and I shall give some further examples of the use of the *Rose* tradition in Chapters Three and Four.[44]

Borrowing from authoritative sources and great names was not only done as an act of reverence, but could signify the challenging of received wisdom, or the setting up of a discourse between two or more sources. Musically this could be done by using Marian contrafacta with the melody of a secular love song. The polyphonic and polytextual nature of the motet opened up greater opportunities by allowing multiple borrowings to be juxtaposed. For instance, a secular song or refrain could be harmonised with a liturgical tenor citation, allowing the composer to create both textual and musical interplay.

Machaut made truly virtuosic use of the motet's possibilities. As I shall argue in Chapter Two, in M12 he created a dialogue between his use of Boethius' philosophy and the tenor citation based on the account of Jacob. This results in multiple viable interpretations. Machaut allowed the varying authorities to collide in his motet, creating a musical and textual environment in which they could interact, without imposing a definite conclusion. A composer's employment of *auctoritas* could therefore create ambiguity and irresolution, and did not necessarily act as the 'Word of God' imposed on a text from outside to give it coherence.

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[43] See Jacques Boogaart, 'Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and their Function in Machaut's Motets', *Early Music History*, 20 (2001), 1-86.

[44] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Frances Horgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Proverbial wisdom can be understood as a further source of *auctoritas*, though of a different type, since the appeal is to general wisdom rather than a named authority. The triplum incipit of Mo182, *Tant grate chievre, que maugist* (A goat will scratch so much that he is uncomfortable), is one such proverb. It is numbered by James Hassell as C140 in his anthology of middle French proverbs.[45] He notes that it was employed by Machaut and Froissart amongst others. It can also be found in Ballade 5, *J'ai maintes fois oÿ conter*, in the French-Cypriot repertory of MS Torino J.II.9. This saying thus seems to have enjoyed a certain level of authority among writers. Proverbial sayings or common wisdom could be introduced by the writer in a manner that marked out the knowledge as such. The triplum of Mo93 has the incipit 'A ce qu'on dit bien m'acort' (I heartily agree with what they say) which introduces, if not a proverb or refrain per se, then certainly some standard courtly wisdom: 'que nus n'a joie ne confort d'amors, s'il n'en a deport ou solas ou garison' (that no one gets joy or comfort from Love if he derives not pleasure or solace or cure from it[46]).

Any discussion of proverbial phrases and common words of wisdom, which were usually anonymous and migrated across the boundaries of genre, leads us rather nicely to a discussion of refrain use, since refrains also appear to function as recognisable entities that can be reiterated in multiple generic contexts.

The term 'refrain', when applied to vocal music and lyrics in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries cannot be approached too carefully. It appears at once to be perilously specific and confusingly nebulous. As generally understood today in its poetic use, refrain refers to a recurrent phrase or phrases, usually placed at the end of a stanza, and is similarly applied in music (although the text may vary with each repetition in some cases). A refrain in late medieval musical and poetic forms operated in this way in some circumstances: chansons in the thirteenth century were divided into *chansons à refrains* and *chansons avec des refrains*. The former fits quite neatly with the modern definition of a refrain since it involved a multistrophic song with the same refrain at the end of each stanza, while the latter ends with a different refrain for each stanza. The refrain was the generative element of the rondeau form, moulding the text, rhyme scheme and music:

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[45] James Woodrow Hassell, Jr., *Middle French Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1982). See also Giuseppe di Stefano, *Dictionnaire des Locutions en Moyen Français* (Montréal: Éditions CERES, 1991), where this proverb is listed under 'chevre' and is shown to be popular in a number of sources.

[46] I am grateful to Emma Cayley for this translation.

Text:	A	B	a	A	a	b	A	B
Music:	α	β	α	α	α	β	α	β

'A' and 'B' represent the textual statements of the refrain, while 'a' and 'b' indicate new text which rhymes with the refrain. 'α' and 'β' are the musical statements.

Once we leave the safe ground – where a refrain is defined as a refrain because that which appears at the end of a strophe in refrain song is *de facto* a refrain – things become a little more difficult. *The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* notes of the refrain that 'its primary defining feature is that it migrates from one genre to another as a kind of quotation'.[47] Ardis Butterfield comments that 'perhaps the most arresting characteristic of refrains concerns their propensity to be cited *across* all four kinds of context. The same refrain may occur in a motet, a *roman*, a rondeau *and* a chanson'.[48] Yet this characteristic can create many challenges for the researcher seeking to identify refrains. The appearance of a line or two in a motet that also appears as the stanza conclusions in a *chanson à refrains* may lead us to conclude that the motet is citing the refrain of a song. But there are no grounds to assume that citation always moved in that direction. Furthermore, many textual entities that have been identified as refrains are unica. Mark Everist warns that 'the occurrence of the refrain in the motet may sometimes be its original manifestation'.[49] He suggests that the identification of many so-called refrains by Freidrich Genrich and Nico van den Boogaard may be 'over-optimistic' and that we must judge each putative refrain in its compositional context.

Where individual refrains may have originated, or whether we can even hope to identify any original sources for them is a matter of much debate. Butterfield questions the interpretation of Pierre Bec, who claims that most refrains are fragments, or generating elements of *rondets de carole* – early rondeau dance songs.[50] She notes that this is an oddly

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[47] Suzannah Clark, 'Refrain', in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001).

[48] Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval Music: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 78.

[49] Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 55.

[50] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music,* p. 44. Pierre Bec, *La Lyrique française au Moyen Age (XIIe-XIIIE siècles: contribution à une typologie des poétiques médiévaux)*, vol. I (Paris: Publications du Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale de l'Université de Poitiers 6-7, 1977), p. 225.

equivocal suggestion - that refrains are both fragmentary and generative. Thus the origin of refrains and their use is by no means clearly understood.

Refrains are not verbatim repetitions in each occurrence. They are cited with a considerable range of variation, and the question arises as to how precisely any one citation needs to be repeated in order to be recognized as a repetition. This, she believes, may help to account for a number of unica. Both Butterfield and Suzannah Clark eschew stricter definitions of the refrain in favour of a more fluid and complex understanding of refrain identity and function. Clark talks of the 'fluidity' of refrains, and Butterfield applies to them Wittgenstein's concept of family resemblances, 'a complicated network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing: sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of detail'.[51] She observes that 'the concept of a single refrain is itself mobile: the formulaic shifts, substitutions and rearrangements form part of the essential texture of a refrain, rather than represent deviant versions of a single normative prototype'.[52] This leaves open the possibility that composers can draw refrains from a number of sources, be it a stock of well-known refrains with which they are familiar, or any number of sources in which a refrain has already been placed. This fuzziness of identity is perhaps a little easier to understand if we remind ourselves of the discussion above on florilegia and memory. Verbatim repetition was not the virtue so much as the judicious application of one's accrued wisdom. If we extend such an idea to refrain citation, then we could conclude that the reiteration of familiar refrains might speak to one's capacity to be the ideal courtly lover. That is, just as in the sacred milieu, those who could recall moral teachings to weave into sermons were prized for this ability, similarly a ideal courtly lover might have been prized for his aptitude in recalling refrains and courtly aphorisms for the composition of poetry. Indeed as we shall see with Machaut, memory is one of the key virtues of the lover, who should be able to retain the sweet thought of the lady in his mind when separated from her, and compose lyrics in the courtly style.

Refrains operate as a 'kind of shorthand', by capturing a larger idea or context in a short expression.[53] Butterfield's conception gives refrains a powerful autonomy whereby a refrain can become part of a new source, while capturing the essence of another, and yet retain a

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[51] Suzannah Clark, "'S'en dirai chançonete': hearing text and music in a medieval motet', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 16/1 (2007), p. 35. Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 1978, p. 32, quoted in Ardis Butterfield, 'Repetition and Variation in the Thirteenth-Century Refrain', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 116/1 (1991), p. 18.

[52] Butterfield, ibid., p. 101.

[53] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, p. 62.

kind of independence in both contexts. This links with certain of Kay's ideas when she discusses the blurriness of the boundaries at the end of quotations. She comments that 'it is as if a troubadour, once quoted, does not leave the dialogue; one witness may be superseded by another, but though he steps down from the stand we do not sense that he leaves the room'.[54] Kay's description of the troubadours being quoted could also be applied to the use of refrains, particularly in 'irregular' contexts such as motets and narratives.

Given how hard to pin down the refrain is, how are we to attempt to identify them? Butterfield suggests that refrains are a 'disjunctive element' in *rondets*. She demonstrates that the refrains are usually 'detached semantically from the strophic sections' and that further 'they form a new sentence structure which is superimposed upon the strophe'.[55] Seeking out this 'disjunctive element' is one method for attempting to identify refrains in motets. For example, if it is possible to detach a phrase from its context such that it can operate as a separate semantic unit, it could be a refrain; or perhaps if a snippet of text disrupts the rhyme scheme or meter of the lyric within which it sits. Of course, such techniques are by no means certain ways of identifying a refrain. A piece of text may simply be a complete sentence in its own right, or perhaps its semantic detachability led to it being used as a refrain; poets may have chosen to disrupt their rhyme schemes and meters for other reasons than citation. However, a flexible and inclusive approach to refrains will be most helpful in the context of this study, since applying artificially exact conditions of refrain identification promotes a sterility of reference at odds with the more contextualised approach encouraged by medieval memory techniques, and misses the importance of various forms of citation and *auctoritas*, as discussed above. What matters is not so much certainty of identification of a refrain, but that it is sufficiently 'refrain-like'. To link again to Wittgenstein's notion of family-resemblance, we would talk of what a competent user would recognise as a refrain.[56] This idea will be particularly significant in my first chapter, where I will be looking at how citation and use of the vernacular are employed to represent the eponymous antihero of the *Roman de Fauvel*.

The identification of refrain music is perhaps more tricky than for textual refrains, since refrain texts can appear entirely without music, for example in a *roman*, or appear in

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[54] Kay, 'How Long', p. 12.

[55] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, p. 49.

[56] By 'user' I mean both writer and reader, but perhaps particularly the writer who may desire to manipulate his reader's expectations by employing a phrase that is 'refrain-like', even if it is not a genuine refrain.

separate sources with different music. Clark highlights the generative power of refrains in a musical context and suggests that refrains may play a role in helping the listener to negotiate the sonic landscape of the motet. Some commentators, notably Christopher Page,[57] have argued that the complexity of polyphony and polytextuality obscures understanding of texts, an attitude that Clark holds sets up a false dichotomy between the semantic reading of motet texts and the act of hearing them. She analyses Mo34, *Joliement en douce desirée/Quant voi la floret/Je sui joliete/Aptatur*, and concludes that not only did the composer engineer music to allow important textual moments to have prominence, but that refrains were used as sonic clues to the text. Furthermore, other important textual moments 'borrowed' the refrain music to tie in the meaning. There is some circularity in Clark's argument; she suggests that the refrain at the end of the duplum was taken from the trouvère song *Quant ce vient en mai* and that the music of this refrain was reused at the beginning of the motetus and the middle of the triplum. Unfortunately *Quant ce vient en mai* does not survive with music and Clark's basis for identifying the music of the refrain as coming from the trouvère chanson is that 'there is a far more powerful message in the motet if the melody is a recognizable one and it comes from a trouvère chanson'.[58] Despite this word of caution, it is legitimate to suggest that the repetition of the music lends weight to her argument. I shall explore below some other motets whose structure may imply that refrains had a generative power in motet writing.

As the thirteenth century gave way to the fourteenth, the *forms fixes* stabilised refrain identification to a certain extent: refrains gradually became refrains on the basis that they were placed in a refrain song, though many such songs still used older refrains. Motets, however do not have fixed textual or musical structures, and therefore refrains could potentially still operate in the way they had in the thirteenth century. Before I proceed to a discussion of the development of the motet and some further implications of refrain use and other borrowings, I shall examine a concept that is essential to the understanding of medieval citation: memory.

MEMORY

The consideration of refrains or the repetition of borrowed material must take account of medieval notions of memory. Repeated material, whether learned or popular, implies that an author or composer anticipated a particular level of knowledge in his audience. Thus it

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[57] Christopher Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medeival France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), and 'Around the Performance of a 13th-century Motet', *Early Music*, 28 (2000), 343-57.

[58] Clark, "S'en dirai chançonete", p. 49.

is worth giving some space to an elucidation of the importance of memorial culture. Memory in the middle ages commanded greater respect than it does today. For medieval people it was a mark of genius and was served by imagination; furthermore it carried moral implications. As Mary Carruthers explains: 'the trained memory was not considered to be merely practical 'know-how', a useful gimmick... it was co-extensive with wisdom and knowledge, but it was more – as a condition of prudence, possessing a well-trained memory was morally virtuous in itself'.[59] Carruthers further notes that hagiography often extols the memorial ability of saints as a means of demonstrating moral worth, rather than intellectual ability. These days, feats of memory have almost negative associations. We bring to mind circus-sideshow-like acts who memorise and effortlessly recall the randomised order of hundreds of playing cards, or dull acquaintances who regale us with endless trivia, or the case studies of Oliver Sachs, who recounts tales of incredible savants regurgitating streams of numbers, but lacking the abilities to function in society unaided.[60] These stereotypes are a far cry from the acclaim accorded saints and scholars of medieval times. Medieval memory skills were concerned with usefulness to the context – for example, creating a moral argument by recalling exempla and authoritative sources – rather than accuracy for its own sake.[61]

Mary Carruthers highlights the importance of 'organic' descriptions of memory in ancient and medieval texts. Particular favourites are pigeons in pigeon-holes and bees in honey cells. These animal metaphors emphasise the organic nature of memories: they can move around to connect with others, grow, or even escape. Today we often compare our memories to filing cabinets, or to file folders on computers that store documents virtually, with the implied hope that we can retrieve them uncorrupted: 'in other words the modern metaphor concerns memory's ability wholly to recapture a past, complete and unaltered,

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[59] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (2nd edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 188.

[60] Oliver Sachs, *The Man Who Mistook his Wife for a Hat* (Basingstoke: Picador, 1986).

[61] 'One of the first tasks of memory that young educated boys may have encountered would have been the memorising of the Psalms. The methodology involved the pigeon-hole approach to memory rather than rote-learning: 'The fundamental principle is to "divide" the material to be remembered into pieces short enough to be recalled in single units and to key these into some sort of rigid, easily reconstructable order. This provides one with a "random-access" memory system, by means of which one can immediately and securely find a particular bit of information, rather than having to start from the beginning each time in order laboriously to reconstruct the whole system or – worse – relying on simple chance to fish what one wants out from the murky pool of one's undifferentiated and disorganised memory'. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 8.

for its own sake'.[62] While the medieval metaphors seem to imply a similar set up – objects stored in locations where they can be retrieved – the organic character of the idea is a key distinction. Bees and pigeons have their own life and volition; they can stay or escape, become injured, grow fat, breed and die. For Carruthers this shows the medieval appreciation for the fluid and changeable nature of memory, where replication is less essential than application. The moral element of memory derives from this fluid and organic use of stored information 'one does not simply parrot forth some previously recorded *dictum* word for word by rote, but builds a "topic" or "commonplace" out of materials from one's memorial inventory'.[63] When we compare these organic descriptions with those above of the nature of refrains, we can perhaps appreciate more clearly how refrains were able to function as a kind of 'shorthand', in Butterfield's words, opening doors in the memory to other contexts, but retaining a degree of fluidity, rather than prioritising verbatim repetition.[64]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOTET AND ITS USE OF CITATION

Citation and allusion were the fulcrum of literary and musical creativity in the medieval era, and the motet was the genre that arguably represented the pinnacle of this kind of activity. It was the most fertile ground of intertextuality, as well as a melting pot of different styles. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach comment that

> 'the motet was a genre eminently suited to the exploitation of citation, allusion and intertextuality. It was a genre based on fragments of liturgical material. As early as the thirteenth century the idea of fragmentation, of citing pieces of pieces, spread from the tenor to the upper voices. The *ars antiqua* motet brings together the liturgy, trouvère repertoire (in the form of refrains), and narrative texts, as well as citation among motets'.[65]

In this section I shall summarise some ideas about the development of the motet and the various ways in which motets used borrowed material.

The medieval motet appears to have emerged from troped clausulae and sections of discant. The main voice – the tenor line – developed out of the original plainchant line but was often set into rhythmic patterns, while the upper line – the duplum – moved at a faster rate and was texted with new poetry. While the duplum texts (now called the 'motetus') in some cases preserved the liturgical origins with sacred Latin texts, they also exhibited a

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[62] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 38.

[63] ibid., p. 40.

[64] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, p. 62.

[65] Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach, eds., *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), p. xxiii.

dalliance with secular themes in the vernacular, a style that became the more popular. The earliest motets remained in this two-voice form, due to rhythmic considerations: 'to make a motet out of a three-part clausula with overlapping phrases in duplum and triplum was at first simply inconceivable, and in such cases the triplum was therefore dropped'.[66] With the development of modes, rhythmic notation became more subtle and intricate. The problem of notating simultaneous lines with text was overcome, and it was possible to add a triplum and even a quadruplum. The evolution of rhythmic modes and increased use of French poetry may well have been a complementary occurrence: 'The appearance of the French language and of the rhythms of the 2nd mode seem to have been corollary phenomena, for the 'iambic' mode is more commonly associated with French than with Latin texts'.[67] All this provides us with a useful starting point for a description of the medieval motet, but in no way does justice to the complexity of the genre.

That some motets were troped clausulae seems to be attested to by the existence of concordances between repertories. The critical apparatus of Hans Tischler's edition of the Montpellier motets lists a large number of motets which have matches with clausulae.[68] Mark Everist, however, warns that we must not be too simplistic in our understanding of motet development. Clausulae are believed to have been 'composed to enrich the *Magnus liber organi*'.[69] These compositions would then have provided sources for motet composition. Subsequent generations of composers wrote 'substitute clausulae'. Everist notes that this results in multiple clausulae existing for passages in the organa that are only liturgically relevant once a year, and as such he questions whether these clausulae were indeed intended as substitutes, or whether in fact they were designed to 'facilitate the performance of newly composed motets'.[70] His reason for suggesting this is that rhythmic notation in early motets is difficult to interpret. 'This is because the notes joined in ligatures that identify the modal rhythms of the clausula have to be separated when the motet text is added'.[71] Everist supplements his view on the complexity of motet

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[66] Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts, 'Motet I', in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001).

[67] ibid.

[68] Hans Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, vol. i (Madison: A-R Editions, 1978).

[69] Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 15.

[70] ibid.

[71] ibid.

development by pointing out that while clausulae provided the basis for a great deal of early motets, there were a 'variety of procedures that resulted in the creation of the motet'.[72]

Everist is right to highlight that a range of practices may have influenced motet composition. By oversimplifying the process, we risk denying the complexities of compositional procedures and reducing the motet to 'successive composition'. He remarks that thirteenth-century motet composers were involved in both 'innovation and renovation'.[73] Often motet writers worked in a collaborative way, reworking and building on the creations of their predecessors.

The fact that many motets have been built up in this piecemeal way has lead some commentators to draw conclusions about how the medieval ear experienced the early polyphony and also about how composers intended it to be heard. As Richard Crocker explains, 'many feel that the medieval composer did not think of vertical sonority at all; or, if he did, only in abstract, mathematical terms'.[74] Interpreted in this manner, medieval polyphony should primarily be thought of as linear, with harmonic concordances being fortuitous. Any attention that was paid to vertical sonority was merely to ensure that octaves, fourths and fifths – the perfect consonances – were employed. Crocker rightly finds this attitude hard to accept and urges us not to reject the evidence of our ears, and also those of our medieval predecessors – indeed taste may change over the course of 800 years but our perceptual abilities are surely a little more stable. Polyphony strikes us aurally as just that. We hear the interaction of the harmonies rather than picking out the individual line when the texture of the lines is closely knit and they are similar in pitch; in fact musicians tend to have to train carefully to reject this natural tendency of our ears, so that they can focus on a single line where a strong melody is not evident. Crocker also draws attention to the novelty value of polyphony as part of his argument: 'must we deny the logic of history, that to a monophonic age the most striking fact of polyphony must have been the presence of three pitches where there should be only one?'[75] Finally he points out the careful rhythmic construction that brings three separate melodies together and unites them to form one piece. The fact that we can use these arguments as evidence

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[72] Everist, *French Motets*, p.15.

[73] ibid. p. 7.

[74] Richard L. Crocker, 'Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 15/1 (1962), p. 1.

[75] ibid.

for how polyphony might have been heard by the medieval ear is also useful as evidence for how composers would have intended it to be heard, and therefore for how they constructed it. Yet, some contemporary accounts of motet writing, including in the texts of the motets themselves point to successive compositional procedures.

One such source is Johannes de Grocheio's *De Musica*, which provides us with an intriguing account of musical genres c.1300. His initial description of motets centres on their being 'music assembled from numerous elements, having numerous poetic texts or a multifarious structure of syllables, according together at every point'.[76] These 'numerous elements' are the individual lines (i.e. tenor, motetus, triplum and, sometimes, quadruplum), while the 'numerous poetic texts' means that each of these lines has its own poetic text, and 'according together' means that the parts sound simultaneously in reference to the rules of harmony (i.e. fourths, fifths and octaves). Further on Grocheio elaborates a little on the compositional structure of motets. He names the individual lines and stipulates that 'the tenor is the part upon which all the others are founded, as the parts of a house or edifice [rest] upon a foundation, and it regulates them and gives substance, as bones do, to the other parts'.[77] He adds some comments about the motetus being placed above the tenor in pitch and the triplum above that, but conceded that they all do cross in pitch at times. The quadruplum, when added, he suggests is a means of maintaining consonance when the motetus and triplum are doing something more elaborate or they are at rest.

Page, however, warns us not to take Grocheio's words as gospel. Likely Norman by birth, from Gruchy, near Rouen, it is probable that Grocheio wrote his treatise in Paris, which would have provided him with a rich source of material for observation. However, Page notes that 'one might well argue that it is quintessentially *provincial* activity to classify and describe the musical forms and fashions of a capital'.[78] It is possible, then, that Grocheio was more of an interested bystander from the country than an expert. Furthermore, his categorisation is rigidly ordered by groups of three. Since it is likely that Grocheio was a monk, he may well have imposed the constraint on his writing of dividing everything in accordance with the Holy Trinity – an unhelpful trait for our current purposes. Grocheio's account is limited in other ways too: he completely omits to tell us that the tenor, in many cases, is based on plainchant (although he does mention that many are untexted), nor does

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[76] Christopher Page, 'Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music: A Corrected Text and a New Translation', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 2 (1993), p. 36.

[77] ibid., p. 38.

[78] ibid., p. 18.

he comment on the variety of texts in the upper parts and the juxtaposition of secular and sacred, vernacular and Latin. There is no reference to the use of refrains, borrowed material or links to other works, save for the brief statement that the motet is 'assembled from numerous elements'.

Somewhat later than Grocheio, around the mid-fourteenth century, Egidius de Morino wrote his treatise on motet composition *De modo componendi tenores motetorum*. This appears to be a blueprint for motet construction and an endorsement for all those who would have us believe that the composition of medieval polyphony was carried out successively. He first instructs that the tenor be taken from an antiphon, responsory or chant, which has an appropriate text to chime with or enhance the text of the upper voices. It is then set rhythmically in perfect or imperfect mode. For four-voice motets the contratenor must then be added. The triplum is then written to concord with the lower voices and possibly arranged to fit also with the isorhythmic structure of the tenor. Subsequently comes the motetus at a perfect fifth above the lower voices. Egidius then instructs on how to apply the text to the music, although in such a way, as Leech-Wilkinson rightly comments, as to 'find almost no support amongst surviving compositions'.[79]

> When the music is made and ordered, then take the words which are to be in the motet and divide them into four parts, and likewise divide the music into four parts, and compose the first part of the words above the first part of the music as well as you can, and thus proceed to the end.[80]

Attending too closely to what Egidius has to say has caused a great deal of confusion, even though he himself offered a caveat regarding his work: 'Sed que scripta sunt superius ad doctrinam parvulorum scripta sunt' ('But those things written above are written for the teaching of children').[81] After setting out his outline of motet composition he advises that a subtle composer can create variations on the tenors and those who study hard may be rewarded by God with greater skill. Clearly, Egidius intended his treatise as a beginner's manual and not as a descriptive work about how skilled composers actually worked. Leech-Wilkinson also notes that Egidius leaves out crucial developments in composition from the beginning of the fourteenth-century. He suggests that 'the only possible audience for such a treatise in the fourteenth century consisted of those musicians in other places, too far distant from an expert to learn by word of mouth, who were not themselves skilled

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[79] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'Compositional Procedure in the Four-Part Isorhythmic Works of Philippe de Vitry and his Contemporaries', unpubd. PhD thesis, Churchill College, Cambridge, 1982, p. 22.

[80] Egidius de Morino, quoted in Leech-Wilkinson, ibid.

[81] Leech-Wilkinson, ibid.

composers, but who were required on occasion to produce musical settings for their employers'.[82]   Egidius was thus providing a text-book for the unskilled composer or schoolboy rather than a commentary.

While contemporary theoretical accounts may not be especially enlightening, the motets themselves yield plenty of evidence, both textual and musical, about the nature of their construction and use of borrowed material. There are some twenty two French-texted motets from the thirteenth-century corpus of the Montpellier Codex (Mo) which directly mention composition. Many more still tell of bursting into spontaneous song, with the implication that the song is a creation of the moment. However, for the sake of clarity I have chosen to focus on those which overtly speak of composition.

Of these twenty-two texts, seven are moteti, while the remainder are tripla and in two cases quadrupla. In the tripla and quadrupla, particularly, there were often self-conscious attempts on the part of the composer to emphasise his place in the compositional process. These motets may well be those pieces that have had lines of poetry replaced by contrafacta, or had whole new lines of music and poetry added by later composers. The intention of writers in mentioning composition in their lyrics seems to have been two-fold: on the one hand they desired to set themselves within a particular writing tradition or register (often the pastoral register as this was the most common locus for composers to reflexively refer to their own composition or singing activities). On the other hand, emphasising their contribution marked their own importance as poet-composers. It should be noted as a caveat, however, that the accounts of composition that appear in motet texts are fictionalised, and due care must be taken in interpreting them as representations of a composer's activity. The trope of knights riding out and overhearing a maiden's song, for example, cannot be taken at face value, and in many cases in fact represents a sexual fantasy in which the knight pursues a shepherdess, or hears a disgruntled wife relating tales of her lover. That being said, there is no reason to suppose that accounts of adding a line to a motet, or composing a quadruplum separately to the rest of the motet are so very far from the truth, particularly when a number of texts indicate that this may have happened.

I shall consider first the two quadrupla from the motets *Cest quadruble sans raison/Voz n'i dormirés ja mais/Biaus cuers renvoisiés et douz/Fiat* (Mo30), and *Le premier jor de mai/Par un matin me levai/Je ne puis plus durer sans voz/Iustus* (Mo32). In both cases the text refers specifically to the

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[82] Leech-Wilkinson, ibid., p. 10.

writing of the quadruplum itself. *Cest quadruble sans reison* is in all other respects a very typical love song. The lover begins:

> Cest quadruble sans reison
> n'ai pas fet en tel seison,
> qu'oisel chanter n'ose.

I didn't compose this quadruplum with no reason at all in a season during which even birds dare not sing.[83]

He then continues in the usual vein to tell of the importance of Love, who nourishes yet imprisons him:

> Quar se je repose
> de fere chançon,
> s'amor, qui arose
> mon cuer environ,
> ne perdra grant souprison.
> Se ai esté lonc tens
> en sa prison
> et en atent guerredon,
> biaus sui de sens:
> *Quant si bele dame m'aime,*
> *je ne demant plus*

For if I leave off composing songs, Love, who nourishes my heart, will not lose a thing of value. I have been long in this prison and await recompense; I am in my right senses: when such a fair lady loves me, I ask for nothing more.

The reference to the quadruplum is a crucial indication of how a composer may have approached motet composition at the time: individual lines could be perceived as entities in their own right and it was acceptable to add a line to an existing composition.

If we look even more closely at Mo30, the interplay of the texts seems to suggest that the quadruplum has been added later, and perhaps even by a different composer. The triplum and motetus texts work closely together in an interesting dialogic arrangement. The texts and translations for both are as follows:

> **Mo30 Motetus**
> *Biaus cuers renvoisiés et douz,*
> tuit me deduit sunt en voz;
> or ne m'est il riens d'autrui dangier,
> quant je de tot Angiers
> aim la plus senee,
> qui mieus pleist a toz.
> Douce desirree,
> sans fiel et sanz gas,
> pleine de solas,

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[83] All translations from the Montpellier Codex are by Susan Stakel in Hans Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, vol. iv (Madison: A-R Editions, 1978), unless otherwise stated.

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> biauté tres bien nee,
> taillie‹e› a compas,
> hé, doz Dieus,
> *quant dormirai j'avec vous,*
> *entre voz dous bras?*

Cheerful, fair, sweet heart, all of my pleasure comes from you now. I have need of nothing from anyone else since I love the wisest lady in all of Angiers, this one whom everyone finds the most pleasing. Sweet beloved, void of malice and of derision, full of comfort, high-born beauty, sculpted to perfection, oh, sweet God, when will I sleep with you, sleep in your sweet arms?

Mo30 Triplum
> *Voz n'i dormirés ja mais,*
> vilains tres chetis et la[i]s;
> vostre acoi[n]tance
> m'est trop a grevance:
> Trop avés depleit.
> N'aim pas vo samblance,
> si n'en puis je mes;
> las, quant je fui en vos las
> et je gisoie entre vos bras,
> dolans, n'i feites [n'es] as.
> Tenes vous en pais;
> *fi! quar trop vous trovai ma[u]vés*
> *au premier solas.*

You will never sleep there, you dastardly, miserable scoundrel; knowing you grieves me immeasurably: you have greatly displeased me. I can't stand your looks—I can't take it anymore; alas, when I was caught in your trap and lay mournfully within your arms, you didn't do anything at all. Keep quiet! Fie! for I found you exceedingly bad from the first embrace.

These two texts provide contrasting and seemingly irresolvable views of erotic love. While the lover of the motetus longs to lie in the sweet arms of his lover, the lady of the triplum reacts with distaste to the embrace of her suitor (the interplay of these two ideas is highlighted all the more since the two lines make their main points through contrasting refrains, which, split between the beginning and end of the motet – *enté* style – as they are, also sound simultaneously). These texts could be interpreted as the lady's response in the triplum to the lover's advances in the motetus, particularly given the reference to being in the arms of a lover in both texts. The quadruplum, however, does not fit with this theme. The writer of the quadruplum steps purposefully, if a little clumsily, outside the boundaries of the original dialogic of the longed-for sexual experience of the motetus and the bad sexual experience of the triplum, in order to tell us his own generically constructed thoughts on being a prisoner to the allegorical figure of Love. By prefacing his composition with the fact that he is the composer, he blunders into the motet like someone happening upon lovers *in flagrante*. Perhaps this was intended for comic effect by the composer of the lower lines, or perhaps a less artful composer was attempting to add his

own line to an already-composed motet. Either way, the effect is that the quadruplum line is somewhat disjunctive with the other two.

The quadruplum of Mo32, *Le premier jor de mai*, begins, as with that of Mo30, with the announcement of its own creation and the season in which it was composed:

> Le premier jor de mai
> acordai
> cest quadruble renvoisié,
> car en cest tans
> sunt amant
> cointe et lié.

At the beginning of May I finished this cheerful quadruplum for, at this time of the year, lovers are gallant and joyful.

Like Mo30, which posits the possibility of ceasing to sing on account of his long imprisonment at the hands of Love, and the likely consequences (Love will lose nothing of value), Mo32 toys with the notion of giving up: in this case on love itself. Yet the composer only mentions this possibility in order to reject it:

> Mes je me truis
> d'amors desconseillié
> n'onques confort n'i trovai
> ne ja pour ce ne m'en partirai,
> quar j'encontrai
> celui, dont dolour ai.

But I found myself distressed in love, I never found solace; yet never on account of this shall I leave off loving, for I met the one from whom comes my pain.

Again, in a manner similar to Mo30, Mo32 ends with a phrase that appears to be a refrain, insofar as it is introduced as being a song. Yet unlike Mo30, the latter claims that this is a 'new song', perhaps intimating that this is a newly composed snippet that apes a refrain. The lovers' demands also differ in the final lines of each quadruplum: while the lover of Mo30 asks for nothing more than his lady's love, the lover of Mo32 wants to 'have some comfort close to her'.

> S'ele n'a de moi merci,
> ja n'avrai mes
> nul jour mon cuer joli!
> Por ce li pri
> et salu par cest nouviau chant ici:
> "Que se lui pleiz, a ami,
> qu'aucun confort aie prochein de li"

If she does not have mercy on me, I will never again have a joyful heart! Thus I entreat her and greet her with this new song: "If I please her as a sweetheart, let me have some comfort close to her.")

This quadruplum is less at odds with its surroundings than that of Mo30: the triplum has a pastoral theme with a country girl rejecting the advances of her interlocutor, while the motetus is a courtly love song that is not so very different in theme from the quadruplum, although it addresses the lady directly, while the quadruplum speaks of her in the third person. I suspect that one of these quadrupla had been written in response to the other, for while both draw on conventional themes common to pastoral lyrics (for example, the mention of the season in which the lyric occurs), at each main point they are directly opposed: different seasons, different opinions on whether or not to give up, different requests of the lady and perhaps also present a contrast between citation of a refrain and the creation of something 'refrain-like' at the close of the respective lyrics. Since the mention of actually writing a quadruplum is rather unusual, and the main thematic points contrast with one another, we may tentatively suppose that one of these quadrupla had been written as a counterpoint to the other. Their close relative positioning in Mo might also suggest this, and may further indicate that we are looking at the work of one composer or a small group of composers operating collaboratively. This may suggest an interesting approach to motet composition, where an upper voice text is written to respond to and create an intertext with the same voice in another motet – perhaps more so than with the surrounding texts in the motet.

The triplum of Mo131, *Quant se depart la verdure/Onques ne sai amer a gas/Docebit omnem*, provides another interesting case study for understanding motet composition:

> Quant se depart la verdure des champs
> et d'yver neist par nature frois tans,
> cest treble fis acorder a deus chans,
> que primes fis malgré les mesdisans,
> qui ont menti, que je les aportai
> de mon païs, ce est drois de Tornoi;
> Dieus, il ont menti, bien le sai.
> Pour ce qu'il ont a usage, que chant
> sache trover concordant,
> si s'en vont il, ce quit, esmerveillant;
> petit en sai ne pour quant.
> Ains m'escondis sans faintise,
> qu'a tort ne soie blasmés
> ne encopés
> de controvee vantise.

When the verdure leaves the fields and cold weather is naturally born of winter, I set this triplum to the other two parts which I first made; I say this in spite of the evil tongues who lied, for I brought them from my homeland in the region about Tournai; God, they lied, I know it well, for that is their custom. If I know how to compose a harmonious song, they go around, I believe, wondering at it; little do I know why. Rather I refuse in all honesty to be wrongly blamed or accused of making up boasts.

This is an example of a motet that has apparently been constructed by one person. The motetus is a typical courtly love song, whereas the triplum quoted above is an indignant protest. The composer moans that he constructed the two-part motet (i.e. the motetus set above the tenor *Docebit omnem*) and brought it with him from his home, but spiteful gossips claim otherwise. The triplum can thus be seen as his attempt to show that he does know how to 'chant...trover concordant' ('compose a harmonious song'): he set his own melody in concordance with the tenor and knows the rules of harmony as well as how to construct poetry! This is interesting for musicologists, since he has seemingly laid bare for us his particular compositional process, and while this may not be a blueprint for all motets, it certainly shows us one approach in which one composer was responsible for the whole piece, but lines of music were added sequentially. In spite of his insistent presence in his own composition, the writer did not break with tradition, however, and shows deference to authority. The triplum itself begins with a rather typical pastoral incipit and the reference to the 'mesdisans' who cause the writer trouble are a common device of the courtly register, allowing the writer to put his own courteous behaviour in stark relief. The motetus could be described as an example of a *motet enté* (grafted motet) since the text is framed by two halves of a refrain: '*Onques ne sai amer a gas...n'enquore ne m'en repent je pas*' ('I never know at all how to love lightly...nor do I have any regrets'). Hence, not only do the stylistic qualities of the motetus line place the composer within a certain tradition, but the use of a refrain to frame his work and encapsulate his ideas aids him in situating himself amongst other poets and composers, both past and contemporary.

The above examples suggest a style of motet composition in which further lines of music and text are added to a motet at the top of its musical texture. I shall now examine three motets from Mo which may have been written as a set, and appear in fascicle five of the codex next to one another: Mo114, *Amours, en qui j'ai fiancé/Art d'amours ne decevance/Et gaudebit*, Mo115, *Tant me fait a vos penser/Tout li cuers me rit de joie/Omnes*, and Mo116, *De jolif cuer doit venir/Je me quidai bien tenir/Et gaudebit*. The tripla of these three motets are all self-referential, that is, where the line of poetry speaks of the act of composition, it is indicating itself. It may be possible to see these three motets as a narrative progression: they were juxtaposed by the compiler of the fascicle and one can easily imagine the three pieces working to form a story. Furthermore, the first and the last motet of the set are connected by their use of the 'et gaudebit' tenor ('and he/she will rejoice'). The middle motet, Mo115, has the tenor 'omnes', meaning 'all', or 'everyone' – perhaps indicating that we should read 'all' three together.

All three motets centre around the idea of being able to compose, or otherwise, on account of love. In the first, *Amours, en qui j'ai fiance*, the lover straightforwardly and joyfully declares that love, in whom he has confidence, gives him reason to compose. The motetus line, *Art d'amours ne decevance*, bears this out, showing him to be in the thick of love's pains and joys. This is also reflected in the tenor *Et gaudebit* (and he will rejoice), perhaps implying that his pains will soon be soothed. In Mo115, *Tant me fait a vos penser/Tout li cuers me rit de joie/Omnes*, the lover must part from his lady - a theme which appears in both the triplum and the motetus – but he uses his pleasant memories of the lady to help him compose. Mo116, *De jolif cuer doit venir/Je me quidai bien tenir/Et Gaudebit*, moves on another step. In the triplum the lady does not consider the lover her sweetheart and he is not able to compose a joyful song. Instead he must borrow a triplum melody from Sir Gilon Ferrant since 'who has no sweetheart cannot sing with a joyful heart. Thus I cannot and should not compose joyful songs, for I do not have a merry heart'. In the motetus the lover no longer refrains from singing, but feels he must sing of the joy of loving his sweetheart even if he fails to win her, since at least he can 'sing of [his] failure'. Thus these three motets could be seen as the progression of a romance from happiness and hope, to separation and resignation.

The three motets also demonstrate varying approaches to composition. The triplum of Mo114 refers to itself as just that: 'ce treble' ('this triplum'). Perhaps by using 'treble' the speaker wished to indicate that he wrote both the words and the music, but what is more telling is that Love has made him 'acorder' ('compose') the triplum – 'acorder' carries specific overtones of creating harmonic consonance. In Mo115 the triplum is referred to as 'this song' (*ce chant* as opposed to *ce treble*), which makes it unclear as to whether the protagonist intended us to understand him as having created music and text, or just text. Mo116 clearly states that he cannot compose a 'treble', because he is unhappy and thus borrows a 'treble' from Sir Gilon Ferrant. Stakel translates the first 'treble' as 'three-part song' and the second as 'triplum' since 'treble' is ambiguous. If the three motets are a narrative set, then it would perhaps make more sense to always translate 'treble' as 'three-part song'. That way, the progression of the composer's love life is mirrored by the manner in which he is able to compose. Thus in Mo114 he is able to compose the whole motet, in Mo115 he can only compose a line, and in Mo116 he borrows the entire polyphony.

In the examples I have given thus far the 'truth' of compositional techniques is intermingled with the 'fiction' of the story. Nevertheless, the texts of these motets hint enticingly at how composers saw their craft. Clearly harmony was important – in Mo131

the composer was keen to point out that he knew how to harmonise a two-part song – but composers also mingled the techniques of simultaneous composition with those of successive writing methods. What this points to is that although a large corpus of motets was emerging in the thirteenth-century, the methods for creating them were by no means fixed, and experimentation with different compositional methods was normal.

While composers saw fit to give us some clues as to how they might approach motet writing on a larger scale, they were less forthcoming about how and when they chose to incorporate refrains. To identify them we must hunt out recurring snippets, disruption of rhyme and meter, and self-contained and pithy phrases. On occasion a composer might introduce a refrain as reported speech, although unless such a piece of text has a concordance it is hard to know if he was borrowing material, or using a rhetorical device in order to tell his story.

Mo279, *De ma dame vient*/*Dieus, coument porroie*/*Omnes,* by Adam de la Halle, makes use of what appears to be refrain material. Three pieces of text have been identified as refrains: two in the triplum and one in the motetus. The refrain at the start of the triplum is split between lines one and five of the text, as follows:

> *De ma dame vient*
> li gries maus, que je trai,
> dont je morrai,
> s'esperance ne me retient,
> et *la grant joie que j'ai.*

From my lady comes the grievous pain which I bear and of which I will die, if hope and the great joy I have do not keep me alive.

Adam has skilfully woven this refrain into the fabric of his own poetry. The meaning of the refrain on its own is 'from my lady comes the great joy that I have' (vdB 477). I strongly suspect that Adam is citing the refrain in this case (rather than it having originated in his motet) for the syntax of the opening sentence is slightly odd. Adam seems to have taken the trouble to maintain '*la grant joie que j'ai*' as a line on its own; it would read more naturally if he had ordered it as 's'esperance et *la grant joie que j'ai* ne me retient', but this would have meant splitting the second line of the refrain and losing the rhyme on '*j'ai*'.

The refrain is known to occur in the triplum of Mo117, *Grant solaz me fet Amors*/*Pleüst Diu, qu'ele seüst*/*Neuma*, and as the recurring element in Guillaume d'Amiens's rondeau *De ma dame vient*. In the motet and the rondeau, the refrain appears whole, and not divided as it is in Adam's motet. Furthermore the music of the refrain in Mo117 is identical to that of its divided statement in Adam's motet, hence it seems that Adam borrowed and adapted the

words and music. It is likely, though by no means given, that both motets are citing the rondeau.

By interpolating the refrain into his triplum in this manner, Adam subtly warped the meaning. The poetry of Adam's triplum is far more anguished than the original refrain. He has been slandered by others who have damaged his chances of winning the lady's love and suffers on account of this, but is determined, nonetheless, to appear happy in order to spite his enemies. If Adam is drawing on the rondeau, then the lighter, happier piece might be, by implication, the kind of song he would sing to spite his enemies, in his pretence of happiness:

> *De ma dame vient*
> *la grant joie que j'ai.*
> De li me souvient,
> *- de ma dame vient –*
> n'en partirai nient,
> mais tous jours l'amerai.
> *De ma dame vient*
> *la grant joie que j'ai.*

From my lady comes the great joy which I have. I remind myself of her – from my lady comes – I will never part from her but always love her. From my lady comes the great joy which I have.

This is clearly a lighter and happier theme than Adam's triplum. This would also fit in with the courtly ideal that even if he suffers on account of love, he should be joyful since to love is to be improved. Therefore the subtle inclusion of the refrain in the opening implies that he himself is not slandering the joys of love, even though he expresses his pain, but, true to the courtly stereotype, rejoices in continuing to prove his worth in love, by remaining faithful to his lady in the face of adversity and adversaries.

Another motet by Adam de Halle, *A Dieu quemant amouretes/Aucun se sont loé d'amours/Super te*, may provide an example of the way he blended refrain music into the structure of his motets. The refrain is divided between the beginning and end of the triplum:

> *A Dieu quemant amouretes,*
> *car [je] m'en vois,*
> dolens pour les doucetes,
> hors du douz païs d'Artois,
> qui si est mus et destrois,
> pour ce que li bourjois
> ont esté
> si fort mené,
> que n'i keurt drois ne lois.
> Gros tournois
> ont avuglé contes et rois,.
> justices et prelas tant de fois,
> que la plus bele compagne

> dont Arras mehaigne
> laissent amis et maisons et hernois
> et fuient, ça deus, ça trois,
> *souspirant en terre estrange.*

> *I commend love to God, for I go,* sorrowing for the sweet little thing, away from the sweet land of Artois, which is terribly changed and torn apart because the bourgeois have been so mistreated that no rights or laws are upheld. Great tournaments have blinded counts and kings, judges and prelates so many times, that the finest knights which Arras has mistreated are leaving behind friends and houses and equipment and fleeing, here two, here three, *sighing all the while, into foreign lands.*

This refrain is also the generative element of Adam's rondeau of the same name. As can be seen in Example 1, below, there is a large amount of similarity between the first few bars of the rondeau and those of the motet. While it cannot be said for certain which piece Adam composed first and whether or not he was the originator of the words and music of the refrain, it appears that he wished to revisit not just the text but the whole polyphonic structure of the music. I find it more likely that the motet was composed later, particularly as the refrain music appears to generate other parts of the motet, implying that it had already been composed, and that Adam was renovating an old composition. The division of the refrain in the motet, and its semantic and musical completeness in the rondeau would also point to this direction of borrowing. However, the borrowed tenor '*Super te*' does present some problems since the tenor of the rondeau appears to be very similar to that of the motet. We could speculate here that Adam was experimenting with his polyphonic structure on a smaller scale before using it in the motet.

Example 2, below, is an interesting example of how the refrain may have been used to generate the motet's structure. The top half of the example shows bars 27-32 of the motet, and underneath this I have placed two lines of music, the second of which is the refrain as it appears in the incipit of the motetus and the rondeau. Above this I have amalgamated the triplum and motetus lines as they appear in bars 27-32. What we can see emerging here is the refrain melody, which has been woven between the two upper voices with only minimal embellishments.

EXAMPLE 1: Comparison of the music of the rondeau *A Dieu commant* (above) and the motet *A Dieu quemant amouretes/Aucun se sont loé d'amours/Super te* (below)

EXAMPLE 2: Bars 27-32 (top), the refrain *A Dieu quemant* (bottom) and the 'refrain' created from the amalgamation of the triplum and motetus of *A Dieu quemant amouretes/Aucun se sont loé d'amours/Super te*, bars 27-32 (middle)

Adam de la Halle's compositional process and use of refrains was subtle and complex. We are fortunate to have examples of his work surviving, as they can give us an idea of how the composition of motets developed from the kind of composite and collaborative efforts that seem to be indicated by the texts of some Mo motets discussed above, to the works of writers such as Adam whose guiding hand can be felt on the structure of the whole piece. The motet writers in the fourteenth century, as we shall see, took their lead from the likes of Adam de la Halle. Single composers were responsible for the design of whole motets and this, combined with the developments in notation that the *Ars Nova* heralded, allowed motets to become even more intricate and scholarly. This being said, motets also did not stray so very far from their roots. Composers, while choosing to draw on different parts of the liturgy, nonetheless exploited liturgical material for their tenor lines. Trouvère lyrics were cited, refrains employed, and modelling on some aspects of older style motets can be witnessed in some fourteenth-century motets. But, before I proceed to summarise my chapters and what they will contribute to the scholarly landscape, I must answer one more question: why French?

LANGUAGE AND REGISTER

As I have discussed above, the motet likely developed out of clausulae which were then texted. It is tempting to suppose that experiments began with the addition of Latin texts to these clausulae and that only later were French texts added to this sacred music. This was, however, probably not the case, and indeed no evidence exists to suggests that Latin texted motets developed significantly before their French counterparts. The use of the vernacular may well have been a foundation of the very existence of the medieval motet. To whatever extent this is true, French-texted motets were very popular in the thirteenth-century, as the extant manuscripts of Mo, Bamberg and La Clayette would seem to attest and, as such, an analysis of the motet's continuing development into the fourteenth-century must take account of these roots.

The significance of what the use of different languages and registers could evoke in the thirteenth-century motet has been extensively researched by Sylvia Huot.[84] The interplay between the language of the Church and the language of *fin'amors* allowed for a deeper level of intertextual interaction than one language could offer. The juxtaposition of courtly love and sacred devotion was by no means always parodic and irreverent. Many motets invoke pastoral imagery in conjunction with Pascal tenors to underscore the dual renewal of Eastertide: i.e. the blossoming of Springtime and the celebration of the resurrection of Christ. Similarly, a lover's pains could be juxtaposed with those of Christ by underscoring a love song with a Lenten tenor.

Discussing French motets in particular also acknowledges the limited geographical ambit of motet composition, although the pieces may have become more widely disseminated. Many thirteenth-century motets were composed in or around the Arras and Paris regions, and this did not change significantly in the first half of the fourteenth-century. In the early fifteenth-century, as will be discussed in Chapter Four, motet composition reached the shores of Cyprus, but this was a very particular phenomenon and the repertory created there remained very much of the mainstream French tradition, as will be explored fully later.

The intermingling of sacred and secular registers in the motet was not a new and shocking idea in the thirteenth century. By the time composers began experimenting with motet composition there was already established a significant tradition of vernacular Marian devotional lyrics that drew on the clichés of *fin'amors*. One of the catalysts for this had

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[84] Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

been the Song of Songs, of which exegetical interpretations saw in its erotic imagery an allegory for the love between Christ and the Church, and also between Christ and Mary.

The convergence of amatory and Marian devotional lyrics should, however, not be oversimplified. The latter was a wide-ranging devotion that crossed class and cultural borders, while the former was a highly stylised form of behaviour that existed in a specific and limited social milieu. Marina Warner argues that the synthesis of these two trends found its basis in something other than reverence of a female figure, for the two kinds of love expressed were, at least at the outset of the synthesis, very different indeed:

> Courtly love, as its name describes, took place in courts: it is steeped in social distinctions of rank and class...in the early and medieval Christian view, heaven or the other world was also a court, where Christ ruled with his mother as Queen of Heaven beside him. Surprisingly, it is through this active and vigorous metaphor that the Virgin was able to assume so much of the character and functions of the original beloved of Languedoc poetry and to rob it and its many descendents of its dangerous hedonism and permissiveness. Courtly poets addressed ladies of higher rank and posed as their vassals, because that was a common social situation of the times; prayerful Christians followed the model but subverted its content.[85]

Once the fusion between the Marian and the courtly had begun, it was not hard to see how it could take hold, for while courtly love's philosophy could be said to be ambiguous regarding marriage and adultery,[86] it also promoted service to love as a means of ennobling the soul, an ideal that was less at odds with Marian devotion.

The vernacular devotion of the Virgin Mary over time developed its own particular sets of language clichés (culled originally from the lyrics of the troubadours and trouvères, and then naturalised into Marian devotional language), that complemented her dual role as the Mother of God and the ultimate sweetheart of the trouvères. Marcia Epstein identifies and categorises Marian vocabulary; I believe this is worth quoting in full, since I shall be analysing some of the French Cypriot texts that use this vocabulary in Chapter Four.

Descriptive	bele, avenant, cler vis
Social	mere, pucelle, roine, dame, fille, empereriz, amie
Celestial	solaus, lune, estoile, lumiere
Terrestrial	terre, mont, rive

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[85] Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Picador, 1990), p. 43.

[86] Linda Paterson discusses the possible interpretations of the troubadour code of *fin'amor*. 'Its language permits considerable moral ambiguity, so that at extreme ends of the scholarly spectrum, *fin'amor* has been perceived on the one hand as a cover for the sexual licence of the upper classes, and on the other as a spiritual phenomenon, in which erotic language conveys mystical emotion or even encrypts heretical dogma'. '*Fin'amor* and the Development of the Courtly *Canso*', in Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, eds, *The Troubadours: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 36.

Water	fonteinne, fluns, vessiaux
Architectural	chambre, porte, chastel, tor, palais, ponz, planche, forteresce, donjons, verriere
Flora and Fauna	flor, rose, lis, violete, verdure, ierre, herbe, racine, grainne, froment, buisson, fenix, columbe, panthere, tigre
Ornamental	or, esmeraude, diamanz, jaspe, saphirs, rubiz
Military	estandarz, escuz, espée, monjoie, lance, hauberz
Powers	garantir, saner, garir, mediciner, aleger, aider, conduire, mener, defender, guerredonner, garder, recouvrer, ravir, rachater, resplendir, secorrer, conforter, concorder, raccorder[87]

O'Sullivan notes the kind of vocabulary that became prevalent in thirteenth-century contrafacta in works such as those of Gautier de Coincy:

> In Marian lyrics, metaphor helps the lay listener grasp the most difficult theological points. Many describe her beauty, especially highlighting flowers like the rose; others cast Mary as the source of salvation, likening her to a spring or a well; still others compare her with some agent of mediation such as a bridge, door, or window, illustrating Mary's important role as *mediatrix* between humanity and divinity.[88]

O'Sullivan argues that Marian contrafacta cannot be simply seen as parasitic upon other genres. Rather he emphasises the fluid nature of the interchange between different texts. As such he is reacting against Pierre Bec's characterisation of medieval texts as either *aristocratisant* or *popularisant* (or any degree in between) with devotional lyrics being parasitic entities which ape these other forms. This fluidity of interchange between texts is captured by motet structure more fully than perhaps any other genre.

TOWARDS THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY: ADDITIONAL LITERATURE AND CHAPTER SUMMARIES

Citation in the fourteenth-century chanson has received some excellent scholarly attention in recent years. In particular, Yolanda Plumley has discovered a plethora of hitherto unnoticed connections between the works of Machaut, his contemporaries and some of the *ars subtilior* composers who followed in his footsteps. Her study of these interconnections has not only established that, contrary to previous opinion, citation and allusion continued to thrive in the *ars subtilior* chanson, but that these compositions were more widely disseminated than previously thought. Her forthcoming monograph, *The Art of Grafted Song*, surveys and assesses the use of borrowed material in fourteenth-century music and literature. She finds that *ars nova* chansons drew more heavily on the older

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[87] Marcia Jenneth Epstein, '*Prions en Chantant' The Devotional Songs of the Trouvères* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 34.

[88] O'Sullivan, *Marian Devotion*, p. 19.

repertories, such as *Douce 308*, than was previously thought. Furthermore her analysis of citational activity leads her to suggest that some borrowings may attest to the lost works of Jehan de le Mote. Her analysis of Machaut's self-citation has been a particular influence on my Chapter Two.[89]

As far as work on motets is concerned, there has been an upsurge of interest in recent years. In each chapter I shall review the literature that is particularly relevant to that section of study, and as such I will not reiterate the finer points here. Machaut, as will become apparent, has generated the greatest wealth of literature.

The structure of fourteenth-century motets has come under a great deal of scrutiny of late. Notably, Anna Zayaruznaya has recently written her thesis on the relationship between form and idea in the *Ars Nova* motet.[90] She explores how motet structures are often deeply informed by their textual meaning, such that their large scale structures have an interpretative power, and that often the upper voices have greater influence over the organisation of the motet than the tenor citation. Her view challenges the idea that, despite successive composition being an unrealistic model for motet composition, the tenor nonetheless dominated the motet structure. Margaret Bent and Jacques Boogaart have also done important work on motet structure, both showing that factors such as representation of number in a motet can be an important means of comprehending the motet. I shall look in more depth at their ideas at the start of Chapter Two.[91]

Recent studies have shown that memorial techniques had an important role to play in the composition and performance of fourteenth-century motets. Anne Maria Busse Berger suggests that developments in isorhythm helped composers to create their works and performers to memorise them. Her position is also espoused by Zayaruznaya.[92] The

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[89] Yolanda Plumley, 'Citation and Allusion in the Late 'Ars nova': The Case of 'Esperance' and the 'En attendant' Songs', *Early Music History*, 18 (1999), 287-363; 'Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson', *Music & Letters*, 84/3 (2003a), 355-77; 'An 'Episode in the South'? Ars Subtilior and the Patronage of French Princes', *Early Music History*, 22 (2003b), 103-68; 'Playing the Citation Game in the Late 14th-Century Chanson', *Early Music*, 31/1 (2003c), 21-39; *The Art of Grafted Song*.

[90] Anna Zayaruznaya, 'Form and Idea in the *Ars Nova* Motet', unpubd. PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2010.

[91] Boogaart, 'Encompassing'; 'Love's Unstable Balance, Part I: Analogy of Ideas in Text and Music of Machaut's Motet 6', *Muziek & Weteschap*, 3 (1993), 3-23; 'Love's Unstable Balance, Part II: More Balance Problems and the Order of Machaut's Motets', *Muziek & Wetenschap*, 3 (1993), 24-33. Margaret Bent, 'Deception, Exegesis, and Sounding Number in Machaut's Motet 15', *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), 15-27.

[92] Anne Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (London: University of California Press, 2005), Chapter 6.

memorial culture of the middle ages, as I have already discussed, is also an essential concept for understanding the use of citation and allusion.

My study of the motets of the fourteenth-century seeks to combine a variety of approaches. Using my philosophical background, I draw on the dialogic analysis of Bakhtin. I have been influenced in this approach by the work of R. Barton Palmer and Kevin Brownlee.[93] I have also become increasingly concerned with the importance of manuscript context. In fact, this study has been significantly impacted upon by considerations of how citations operate within their manuscripts. The mass production of the modern book has lent a certain degree of abstraction to our relationship with the text. Students of literature, following in the footsteps of Derrida and Eco, focus on *prima facie* text rather than the means of its production, performance or preservation. The application of this approach to the medieval manuscript is necessarily reductive. In a discipline that is already data poor this information recessive philosophy cannot be consistent with best practice, where holistic interpretation of the book, its contents and context is required. Often it is appropriate to look exclusively at the meaning of a text, with little consideration for the material circumstances. However, approaches to the text that rely on a methodology of complete abstraction reveal a thinly disguised dualism of idea and artefact.[94]

The manuscript containing the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel*, BnF, fr.146, is a good argument for a non-abstractive examination of the text and music. In my first chapter I examine how citation and the use of the vernacular operate to enhance the narrative. This leads me to think about the *mise en page* of the motets and how they interact both intertextually and visually with their surroundings.

In my chapter on Guillaume de Machaut, manuscripts are important because Machaut likely chose to oversee the compilation of his complete works. I discuss how his role in the manuscript production not only allowed him assert his authorial presence, as suggested by

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[93] Palmer, 'Guillaume de Machaut'; Kevin Brownlee, 'Machaut's Motet 15 and the *Roman de la rose*: The Literary Context of *Amours qui a le pouoir/Faus Samblant m'a deceu/Vidi Dominum*', *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), 1-14. Cayley also draws on Bakhtin in her *Debate and Dialogue*, see especially pp. 6-7. Taylor, too, uses Bakhtinian analysis in her study of Villon, in particular developing his notion of *polyphony* to articulate her idea of the 'polyphonic codex', *The Poetry of Françaois Villon*, see especially pp. 27-8.

[94] An attitude that has been all but ousted from philosophical discussions of mind and body, and should be discouraged in literary and musicological studies too – especially in medieval studies where an individual book has something akin to a unique genetic identity.

Sylvia Huot,[95] but also permitted him to manipulate his use of citation to enhance internal connections and present multiple versions of himself to the reader.

The *Ivrea* and *Chantilly* repertories offer a more heterogeneous set of motets, since neither repertory is bounded by a narrative or particular authorial presence. Using one motet which appears in both manuscripts, *Tant a souttille pointure/Bien pert qu'en moy/Cuius pulchritudinem sol et luna*, as the spine of the chapter, I examine this motet in depth, and consider related aspects of other motets as offshoots from this main analysis. Manuscript ordering will also be significant in this chapter, and I will discuss the possibility that the *Ivrea* scribes may have interpreted tenor citations for their own ends: to air their views about papal politics.

Finally, I shall turn my attention to the Cypriot-French repertory of MS Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9. While this collection of unica has remained on the perimeters of mainstream scholarly investigation until lately, it has a great deal to offer. The motets are a rich source of Marian devotional material, and are full of allusions to the *Roman de la Rose*. I shall investigate a potential reference to Charlotte of Bourbon, wife of King Janus, and discuss the high degree of symmetry in the manuscript organisation and compositions, suggesting that this repertory was probably composed by and compiled under the watchful eye of one individual.

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[95] Huot, *From Song to Book*.

CHAPTER ONE

FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH: THE NARRATIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF CITATION IN THE ROMAN DE FAUVEL

Chaillou de Pesstain's edition of the *Roman de Fauvel*, preserved in MS BnF, fr.146, is in essence a biting allegorical satire, its target most likely being the twilight of the reign of Philippe IV "le Bel" (1285-1314) and his successors Louis X (1315-16) and Philippe V (1317-22). Enguerran de Marigny, the chamberlain of Philippe le Bel, is believed to have been a particular target of this allegorical tale. His rise to power was a threat to the position and self-image of the royal princes, 'arrogating a status and rights that were properly had by birth alone'.[1] After Philippe's death, Marigny was persecuted and eventually hanged on charges of financial mismanagement and necromancy.[2] The rise of the upstart Fauvel who appropriates privileges and status to which he is not entitled may have been intended as a parallel to the life of Marigny. However, Fauvel's downfall is not related in the text or music, and the story ends with Fauvel's offspring running riot over the garden of France ('Jardin de France'): thus he does not receive the just punishment dealt to Marigny that Chaillou approvingly alludes to through his interpolations. The historical references, however, are believed by Roesner et al. to work as contemporary *exempla* in the context of a more general admonitory tone rather than being a diatribe against any one individual: 'Such topical associations are used to illustrate the misfortune that follows upon pride and corruption, and not to attack a particular individual nor to gloat over his fate'.[3] Roesner et al point out that the imagery and allusions in the motet *Heu Fortuna/Aman novi/Heu me*, for example, which are often interpreted in relation to Marigny, were in fact common themes in contemporary poetry.[4]

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[1] Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, 'Introduction' in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 9.

[2] Philippe le Bel's campaign against the Templars is also alluded to several times in the *roman*, seemingly in support of his stance against them.

[3] Edward H. Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado, *The Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990), p. 21.

[4] Roesner et al. comment that '*Heu Fortuna subdola* is generally thought to have been inspired by the hanging of Marigny on the gallows of Montfaucon on 30 April 1315, for the text includes an explicit reference to that place of execution: In falconis montis | loco collocates | e pulvere elatus | ymbre sepe lavatur, | aura flante siccatur.(*triplum*, vv. 20-24). It should be noted, however, that most of the types and images in this motet can

Since Gervès du Bus, the author to whom the original *Fauvel* text is ascribed, was a royal clerk, he was a part of the establishment that considered itself 'attentive to the welfare of France and critical of those who sought to encroach upon royal authority'.[5] Chaillou de Pesstain[6] seems likely to have held a similar position. The *Roman de Fauvel* therefore can be considered alongside the *miroirs des princes* written by such attendants throughout the Middle Ages as instruction manuals on morals, behaviour and good rule for unseasoned princes. Alongside the theme of the wicked rising unchecked to power, is another medieval obsession: the dangers of behaving contrary to the natural order, as ordained by God:

> Diex, le roy de toute puissance,
> Qui tout a en sa cognoissance,
> Quant il fist au commenchement
> Le monde gloriosement,
> Ordena toute creature
> Et li donna propre nature.
> (ll.309-314)[7]

> When God, the all-powerful king,
> Who is omniscient,
> Gloriously made the world
> In the beginning,
> He made all creatures
> And gave them their own nature.

Fauvel is behaving contrary to his proper equine nature, and indeed all those who curry him are behaving contrary to theirs.[8] In this chapter, I shall argue that the rise to power of Fauvel and his unnatural behaviour is mirrored in the use of citation and allusion in the motets. Despite this apparently narrow focus I will suggest that a holistic approach to BnF, fr.146 is necessary in order to truly appreciate this facet of the *roman*.

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be found in other contemporary poems as well. Haman, Phaeton, and Icarus are often used as *exempla* of pride ready to suffer a fall. The motif of the gibbet that awaits those who flaunt the authority of Fortune was also well known. A passage similar to the one in *Heu Fortuna subdola* is to be found in Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*, in Phanié's interpretation of Croesus's prophetic dream'. Roesner et al., *Le Roman de Fauvel*, p. 21.

[5] ibid, p. 8

[6] Chaillou de Pesstain has remained a more elusive figure than Gervès du Bus. It has been suggested by Élisabeth Lalou that he is in fact the notary Geoffroy Engelor (see Bent and Wathey, *Fauvel Studies*, p. 2), however, Emma Dillon casts doubt on this and I agree with her analysis that the hypothesis is largely unsubstantiated (Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the 'Roman de Fauvel'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 18).

[7] Paul Helmer, ed., *Le premier et le secont livre de Fauvel: in the version preserved in B.N. f. fr. 146* (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1997).

[8] To curry is to groom a horse. A corruption of currying Fauvel in the English language has become the well-known phrase 'to curry favour'.

Chaillou de Pesstain's edition of the *Roman de Fauvel* has been described by Emilie Dahnk as like a 'gigantic motet'.[9] Indeed, the expansion of Gervès du Bus's narrative by Chaillou not only incorporates large amounts of additional text but also interpolates musical items, including refrains and snippets of plainchant - citational features also employed in motets. Furthermore, the complexity of tone, content and structure in Chaillou's *Fauvel* echoes motet writing in its incorporation of material both sacred and secular, old and new. Its moralizing and parodic use of this material is brought to the fore through the juxtaposition of variant registers. The individual motets within *Fauvel* in turn both develop and reflect the larger narrative structure within which they are placed. Some of them gloss the narrative by providing examples from current events, while others are inserted into the story itself, often continuing the speech of the characters in song. A number of the motets appear to have been specifically composed for *Fauvel*, while others have been 'fauvelized';[10] that is, pre-existing texts or motets were adapted or extended with material that names the central character of the *roman*. This function of the motets, namely to offer a commentary on the story, or to be woven into the fabric of the dialogue, is significant to our understanding of the work as a whole; however, in this chapter I wish rather to explore another means by which the *Fauvel* motets reflect the narrative within which they sit, by looking at how they employ citation and the vernacular. Specifically, by examining the mechanics of the use of citation in *Fauvel*, I wish to demonstrate that the rise to power of this turbulent horse and the development of his voice within the narrative is captured and enhanced in part through citation and the pointed use of the vernacular in the motets. The internal coherence of the manuscript in turn permits, through an examination of these motets within the context of its narrative, illuminations and layout, a vindication of the view that the manuscript itself can be understood as a performance.

Although *Fauvel* is, of course, not an isolated work, but sits within the great intertextual web of wider medieval literature, the exploration of its links with other texts will only play a minor role in this chapter. Connections have been established with the *Roman de Renart* and the *Torneiment Anticrist* amongst others, but as a great deal of work has already been undertaken elsewhere in this regard, I will not repeat the task here.[11] While not ignoring this aspect of BnF, fr.146, my focus is rather on the particular technical effect to which

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[9] Emilie Dahnk, ed., *L'Hérésie de Fauvel* (Leipzig and Paris: Leipziger romanistische Studien, Literaturwissenschaftliche Reihe 4, 1935), p. xlix.

[10] Roesner et al., *Le Roman de Fauvel*, p. 3.

[11] Roesner et al. give details of Chaillou's incorporation of Huon de Méri's *Torneiment Anticrist* and Jehan Maillart's *Roman du Comte d'Anjou*. ibid. pp. 9-10.

citation has been put, namely its mirroring of Fauvel's infiltration of the human world, and his deception and manipulation of those around him.

I am advocating a holistic approach to the examination of the *Fauvel* motets within their setting in BnF, fr.146. In Chapter Three I shall examine the motets of Guillaume de Machaut and suggest that these can be all the more richly interpreted when understood in the context of his complete works' manuscripts. Despite the interpretative value of exploring them in this manner, Machaut's individual works naturally still operate successfully as musical pieces extracted from their manuscript context. Although it is similarly possible to contemplate the motets of *Fauvel* abstracted from their source, I believe that an understanding of their context is demanded for their satisfactory individual and mutual interpretation. This does not merely encompass an acquaintance with the story into which they are set, but also an appreciation of the manuscript's layout and incorporated illuminations.

Given this concern, it is perhaps a disadvantage to an holistic approach to research that until relatively recently it has been nigh on impossible to view these musical works in situ, unless one has the rare opportunity to view the manuscript itself. The story of *Fauvel* appears in a number of other manuscript sources,[12] but only BnF, fr.146 contains the additional music and text provided by Chaillou de Pesstain, and is, therefore, the only manuscript with which I shall be concerned here. A number of modern editions have endeavoured to articulate facets of this manuscript, with the majority focussing exclusively on the singularly engaging *Fauvel* narrative, and omitting the other contents.[13] Arthur Långfors' 1914 edition is concerned primarily with the text attributed to Gervès du Bus; he

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[12] Manuscript sources for *Fauvel:*
Both books, without interpolations:
Leningrad, Bibliothèque imperiale ms. franç. 5. 2. 101
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 2139
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 2140
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 2195
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12460
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 24436
Tours, Bibliothèque municipale 947
First book only:
Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale 525
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 580
Fragments only:
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 24375
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 4579.

[13] The *complainte* on f. A^(r-v), the eight poems by Geffroy de Paris on ff. 46^r-55^v, the thirty-four ballades and rondeaux by Jehannot de l'Escurel (ff. 57^r-62^v), and the *Chronique métrique* (ff. 63^v-88^r) that is also suspected to be by Geffroy.

thus adds Pesstain's interpolations as an appendix, omitting any lyrics from the musical additions.[14] Emilie Dahnk's 1935 dissertation could be viewed as a companion volume to Långfors' since she provides us with the text of all the interpolations, musical and otherwise, with detailed annotations and descriptions of precisely where the interpolations occur on each folio, and corresponding references to Långfors' line-numbering. However, she does not transcribe the music.[15] A 1963 dissertation by Gregory Harrison Jr. provides in its first volume a transcription of the monophonic songs (text and music) and in volume two a transcription of the text which indicates the position of the musical interpolations, but does not include the words or music of the polyphony (unless one includes the reproduction of the manuscript at the beginning of Volume II, which is an unsatisfactory microfilm print-out).[16] Rosenberg and Tischler's edition of the monophonic songs[17] are a more reliable source and Schrade has edited the polyphonic music.[18] Paul Helmer has edited an invaluable complete edition of the words and music of *Fauvel* as they appear in BnF, fr.146, and addresses in his introduction the importance of an integrated approach to this particular edition of the *roman*.[19] Yet, while Helmer's edition lays out the text and music clearly in a modern format, it cannot, of course, transmit the *mise-en-page* or illuminations of the original manuscript. Edward Roesner, François Avril and Nancy Freeman Regalado have produced a facsimile edition of BnF, fr.146.[20] If one has the palaeographic wherewithal to follow the *bâtarde* hands of the scribes who produced the edition of the *Roman de Fauvel* as it appears in BnF, fr.146, then the facsimile is a rewarding experience, yet we still lose the effect of the muted palette of the illuminations, since it has been produced in black and white. The significance of this loss will be discussed below; photographs available on the internet must in the interim suffice to enhance this

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[14] Arthur Långfors, ed., *Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais du Bus Publié d'Après Tous les Manuscrits Connus* (Paris: Publications de la SATF, 1914-19).

[15] Dahnk, *L'Hérésie.*

[16] Gregory Alexander Harrison Jr., 'The Monophonic Music in the Roman de Fauvel', 2 vols, unpubd. PhD thesis, Stanford University, 1963.

[17] Samuel N. Rosenberg and Hans Tischler, eds, *The Monophonic Songs in the Roman de Fauvel* (Lincoln, Nebr., and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

[18] Leo Schrade, ed., *Polyphonic music of the fourteenth century. Vol. 1, The Roman de Fauvel, The works of Philippe de Vitry, French cycles of the Ordinarium Missae* (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956).

[19] Helmer, *Le premier et le secont livre.*

[20] Roesner et al., *Le Roman de Fauvel.* An earlier facsimile does exist, although I have been unable to examine this (Pierre Aubry, *Reproduction photographique du manuscrit français 146 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris avec un index des interpolations lyriques* (Paris, 1907)).

impression.[21] Joel Cohen has provided a valuable addition to the appreciation of the manuscript's contents with his recording of some of the music and narrative, which is based on a staged version that he directed on tour.[22] The limits of CD length and stage production mean that his recording does not cover the whole of the contents of the *roman*, and a certain amount of artistic licence has lead to an alteration to the order of the pieces as found in the manuscript. Nonetheless, hearing *Fauvel* provides a valuable further dimension to understanding this work. In particular Cohen picks up on the change of tone between Book I and Book II of *Fauvel*. Book II is the locus of the bulk of Chaillou de Pesstain's interpolations and is dominated by Fauvel's courting of Fortune and subsequent wedding celebrations when he marries her handmaiden Vaine Gloire; it is thus more spirited and raucous in tone than Book I, which is largely an estates satire. Cohen's direction is sensitive to this development of the narrative, introducing different combinations of voices and instruments to bring this to the fore.

My reason for summarising these editions is to emphasise that the act of trying to familiarise oneself with and navigate BnF, fr.146 can be a herculean mental and physical exercise. One explanation for how daunting it can seem and why editions bias a particular view of the manuscript is that *Fauvel* transcends disciplinary boundaries. Indeed it may well be impossible for any one edition or recording to capture the sheer diversity of *Fauvel*. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey's *Fauvel Studies* has taken good steps to address this by including essays from a range of disciplines, all targeting aspects of the BnF, fr.146 manuscript and its most famous section.[23] That the difficulty of engaging with BnF, fr.146 is thus recognised is important – not simply to foreground the challenge of producing an analysis of its contents, but as a means of clarifying the necessary methods employed in this chapter to study its motets.

With regard to the various editions, Helmer notes that 'the strengths of the individual contributions...has also resulted in their weaknesses – the concentration on particular aspects of *Fauvel* has meant that our view of the work as an integrated whole, as given in our ms. 146 version, was lost'.[24] Any consideration of this version of the *roman* must

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[21] Colour pictures can be found on a number of websites including
<http://www.thorn.demon.co.uk/Fauvel.htm, avaxhome.ws/music/roman_de_fauvel.html>,
<http://www.webdemusica.org/blog/index.php/2009/09/07/gervais-du-bus>,
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roman_de_Fauvel> all accessed 21st March 2011.

[22] *Le Roman de Fauvel*, The Boston Camerata / Ensemble P.A.N., Joel Cohen, dir. (Erato 4509-96392-2).

[23] Bent and Wathey, *Fauvel Studies*.

[24] Helmer, *Le premier et le secont livre*, p. x.

therefore take care not to obfuscate its many dimensions, even when one's prime focus is on one particular aspect. Emma Dillon emphasises the importance of viewing text and music in the context of its physical production and existence within the manuscript, an important facet in the understanding of the medieval book.[25] Indeed the manuscript becomes, on her reading, a physical counterpart to the fictional palace of Fauvel. Dillon remarks on the description of Fauvel's abode - where the walls are decorated with music – as being an 'index-like inventory that the narrator conjures up for his readers as he guides us through the arcades of the horse's *grande salle*'.[26] She sees the index to the *roman* - in her opinion of standard design - as presaging to some extent the journey we are about to be taken on through the halls of Fauvel: 'The consonance of the material reality of the book evoked by the descriptive preface to the index and the imaginary walls of the palace opens up an interpretative space in which to explore the book, just as we have witnessed the narrator explore the walls'.[27] She notes that the other items and decorations in the palace that are recounted by the narrator ('chronicles, romances, images of beasts in disguise'[28]) also mirror the contents of the manuscript. Dillon's holistic approach to the discussion of the manuscript has influenced the manner in which I have chosen to interpret the motets. Her view of 'making' music in Fauvel does not just encompass ideas of composition and performance as literally understood, but extends to the physical 'making' of the music on the page. Thus, in my analysis, I am deliberately conscious of the way citation and the vernacular in the motets are employed not only as a method for the authors/compilers to comment on Fauvel, condemn him or give him voice, but also as a means to representing on the page his wicked incursions into realms where he does not belong. The format of

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[25] Dillon, *Medieval Music Making.*

[26] ibid, p. 120.

[27] ibid. Sarah Kay discusses the significance of place in medieval literature in her book *The Place of Thought: The Complexity of One in Late Medieval French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). Kay notes that didactic texts commonly employ place as a means to 'group together sets of characters, typically either personified abstractions or else the historical or mythical figures of classical *exempla*, and thereby to situate the text's argument in an identifiably common ground' (pp. 2-3). *Fauvel* uses its place (i.e. the palace that is described and depicted in the manuscript) in this manner as a location for its didactic and moralising agenda; this serves to position the *roman* within the world of texts that use an imagined spaced for debate or learning, but at the same time further enhances the satirical elements, since in *Fauvel* the characters gather not to debate and learn, but to lie and to flatter the principle character, whose very presence in such a space is disjunctive with the norms of the didactic genre. For a discussion of the importance of architectural metaphors, see David Cowling, *Building the Text: Architecture as Metaphor in Late Medieval and Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

[28] Dillon, ibid.

motets allows different voices and ideas to be placed together both sonically and physically, and thus they can portray the hybridity of Fauvel to the ear and to the eye.

The multitude of disparate satirical and critical voices that emerge from the pages of *Fauvel* decrying corruption and greed, both in the text of the *roman* and the lyrics of the interpolated music, also make their plea through the illuminations and the very *mise-en-page* of the manuscript's contents. Such voices originate not only with the manuscript's various authors, but also from the *auctoritas* they draw on, and the sources they evoke. The first page of the *roman* (fol. 1ᵗ) is a masterclass in the arrangement of the visual, textual and musical facets of the written page, producing a chorus of voices that impacts upon the attentive reader (see Figure 1). Roesner has produced an intensive study of this page, which has proved valuable to my interpretation of it as an example of the sophisticated cacophony of voices and techniques that is so richly present in the remainder of the manuscript.[29] The first column of text is flanked by two columns of motets; this text is further delimited by illuminations at the top and the bottom – the former of which depicts Fortune leading Fauvel from the stable to the halls of the palace, while the latter shows men of power grooming the wicked horse.[30] In addition, the column of text is framed yet again by its own reference to Fauvel being curried gently ('de torcher fauvel doucement) since this phrase appears at both the beginning and end of the column of text. Roesner remarks that the amount of text on the first page was meticulously thought-out, allowing the scene to be set for the estates satire that is Book I of the *roman*. The framing of the first column of text with pictures of and reference to Fauvel being curried by members of different classes of society, and the admonitory motets ' is designed as an introduction to the satire, setting the stage for it, so that the first line on the following page, fol. 1ᵛ, could begin the satire proper with the figures to whom the *admonition* as a whole is most immediately directed: "Rois dus et contes verriez...' ('Kings, dukes and counts can be observed...')'[31] The illuminated letter F, a third of the way down the column is one of many decorated initials that Roesner notes 'are strategically placed in the manuscript'.[32] Such strategic placement, he points out can also been seen in the motets flanking the opening text.

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[29] Edward H. Roesner, 'Labouring in the Midst of Wolves: Reading a Group of 'Fauvel' Motets', *Early Music History*, 22 (2003), 169-245.

[30] The three columns on this page are hereafter denoted, left to right, as columns a, b and c.

[31] Roesner, ibid., p. 176

[32] ibid., p. 177

The three pieces preserved here, *Favellandi vicium/Tenor*, *Mundus a mundicia/Tenor*, and *Quare fremuerunt/Tenor*, all gloss the situation described in the text and seen in the illuminations. The first of these motets, forming column a, describes how the 'vice of fauvelling' now dominates the royal court: flattery and bribery have influence over those in power. *Mundus a mundicia/Tenor*, placed at the top of column c, relates how the world is besmirched by filth and becomes more wicked under the rule of Fauvel. Finally, *Quare fremuerunt/Tenor*, at the bottom of column c, asks why the nations and people complain; it is because they have never before seen such terrible happenings, all of which Fauvel is responsible for. All three motets have been 'fauvelized'; that is, they contain or have had appended material that names Fauvel, and are based on earlier works. *Favellandi vicium/Tenor* appears to be an unicum, however Roesner et al suspect it may be an adaptation of an earlier lost piece.[33] *Mundus/Tenor* is based on a thirteenth-century anticlerical conductus, attributed to Philip the Chancellor. The motet generalizes the tone of the conductus by omitting the more specific later stanzas, and it is fauvelized by the adding of three lines to the end of the borrowed stanza.[34] *Quare fremuerunt/Tenor* is also based on a thirteenth-century conductus using the original text from its source, and appending two lines at the end relating to Fauvel.[35] In addition to these motets being based on earlier compositions, Roesner notes references to Lucan and the Psalms in these works. The placement of these fauvelized motets further serves to frame the page with 'F' words and the naming of Fauvel: 'Favellandi vicium et fex avarice', the opening line of the first motet, is placed at the top of column a, thus commencing the *roman* both with alliteration and reference to its central character, while column c ends with 'inferunt fauvel et fasuli', (the last line of the third motet) thereby ending the page in the same fashion.[36] Thus the very first page of the *roman* is framed by motets which have been borrowed and adapted to incorporate Fauvel directly into the text and the soundscape of its performance.

This sets a precedent for the application and understanding of citation and motets in the rest of the *roman*. The placement of these motets lends *auctoritas* to the lofty condemnation

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[33] 'There are few real unica among the moral and satiric pieces included in the *Fauvel* collection, and *Favellandi vicium* apart, none at all in the earlier portions of the *roman*; the compilers drew for the most part on a well known and widely circulated repertory. This poem could be a lightly "fauvelized" version of an earlier text, now lost. On the other hand, it was not the normal practice to begin an important collection – whether a straightforward anthology or a more complex compilation like *Fauvel* – with a little known piece.' Roesner et al., *Le Roman de Fauvel*, p. 16.

[34] ibid., p. 15.

[35] Roesner, 'Labouring', p. 196.

[36] See ibid., pp. 177-8.

of Fauvel and those who curry him, by surrounding the textual description of the horse and his sycophantic followers with musical reproof borrowed from respected sources. *Mundus a mundicia*, for instance, has an admonitory tone in its description of the world 'sullied by the filth of sins'.[37] This comment in itself is strongly disparaging, but *auctoritas* is lent to it because it is an adaptation of a conductus by Philip the Chancellor, as mentioned above. A notable poet and philosopher of late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Paris, Philip was well known and respected, particularly for work such as the *Summa de bono* which discusses the nature of good. That Philip's text has been fauvelized gives the impression that Philip himself has been summoned forth to lend his voice to the criticism of Fauvel.

The arrangement of the motets on the first page also draws our attention to how the specific and targeted uses of citation are an essential addition to the construction of this presentation of the *roman*. Roesner, following Dahnk, suggests that BnF, fr.146 'can be understood as behaving like a giant motet, as a huge assemblage of different elements, textual, musical, illustrative, all brought together on the page in an intricate web of intertextual relationships that transcends language, genre and medium'.[38] However, the first page also serves as a prime illustration of how citation and motets can be understood as reflecting the behaviour of the central character. While the first three motets may offer *auctoritas* and condemnation in the manner described above, their own hybrid and borrowed nature itself mirrors the artifice which is at the core of Fauvel's character. All three have been fauvelized, so while they decry the situation that the narrator also laments in his text, they have at the same time been infiltrated by fauvellian language.

This interpretation of the musical interpolations on fol. 1ʳ as elements that have in a sense been corrupted may seem counter-intuitive at first, since their stated opinion of Fauvel is one of revulsion and criticism; the voices seem urgently to seek to distinguish themselves from the moral dissolution of the equine imposter. Yet, seen within the wider context of the full narrative, the reworking of older material to create fauvelized motets foreshadows the more overt way in which motets that appear later in the manuscript, particularly those employing the vernacular, mimic the wicked behaviour of the notorious horse. A holistic consideration of the work thus sheds new light on the earlier parts of the narrative and its interpolations. The progression of Fauvel's corruption – as the tale moves from the inappropriate stabling of a real hoofed mammal in the halls of the royal palace, through

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[37] Roesner, 'Labouring',, p. 191.

[38] ibid., p. 241.

FIGURE 1: Folio 1ᴿ

various forms of manipulation and deception, to his overt and all too human grasping after dynastic power – appears to be matched by the degree of subtlety with which the motets reflect the antihero's presence. That is, the motets on the first page, which are avowedly anti-Fauvel, are cunningly infiltrated by the beast's name. This presages the motets later in

the manuscript that incorporate him more concretely, and often in the vernacular – Fauvel's language. These latter motets contain refrains about Fauvel and even bear witness to him singing. The last motet in BnF, fr.146 is therefore very different from the first, as will be discussed in more detail later.[39]

While the initial motets address Fauvel through their content, later motets additionally refer to him through their structure; he has wormed his way into the very heart of the music, as he has society. The last motet of the manuscript offers a bawdy and repetitive alternative to the sombre and thoughtful *Favellandi vicium/Tenor*, in keeping with the infiltrating joker. Before I examine a selection of the motets in greater detail, I shall give some consideration to how the visual depictions of Fauvel similarly progress with the narrative. It is my conjecture that this progression forms a visual counterpoint to the use of citation and the vernacular in the motets.

THE ILLUMINATIONS: THEIR POSITIONING AND RELATION TO THE NARRATIVE

Seen in an unflattering light, the interpolations of Chaillou de Pesstain have all the subtlety of a Hollywood blockbuster: there is an extended love scene, a fight and a soundtrack to accompany the action. The original poem, some 3,280 lines, was nearly doubled in length by Chaillou. Around 1,000 new lines were added to Fauvel's courtship of Fortune and more than 1,800 inserted into the description of the wedding feast (which includes the joust between the Virtues and the Vices, and the rowdy charivari that takes place during the night). There are also 169 musical interpolations[40] and 77 illuminations.

Peter Noble criticises the second book of Fauvel and Chaillou de Pesstain's interpolations as artistically inferior; he judges the decreasing references to Fauvel as a horse to be a failing.[41] He suggests that the writers 'ont plus ou moins abandonée l'idée de base de la première partie, le cheval qui gouverne les hommes'[42] ('have more or less abandoned the

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[39] This is not to say that Latin motets with an admonitory tone are not present near the end of the narrative, continuing their opposition to Fauvel's importunity and praying for divine intervention; rather, I wish to highlight the increasing incursion of French into certain of the motets and suggest that this has parallels with the horse's mounting hubris.

[40] Helmer remarks that the exact number of musical interpolations depends on one's definition of a piece of music, *Le premier et le secont*, p. xxxvii.

[41] Peter Noble, 'Le Symbolisme de la Bête dans Le Roman de Fauvel', *Le Moyen Français*, 55-56 (2002), 281-87. While some believe that Gervès du Bus is responsible for books 1 and 2 of Fauvel and Pesstain for the interpolations, Noble suggests that du Bus wrote only the second book and a third author was responsible for the first. He uses his remarks on the diminishing bestial descriptions to support this idea.

[42] ibid., p. 286.

fundamental idea of the first part, the horse who governs men'). In this first part Fauvel, though having taken charge of the household, still behaves and is treated like a horse. The lords of the land come to win his favour and do so by currying him gently ('torchier Fauvel doucement');[43] he is described as a 'cheval' (horse) and a 'beste' (beast),[44] his coat is described at length – first all the colours it is not are listed and what these colours signify, and finally we are told that it is 'fauve' (a sort of dun colour), the colour of vanity.[45] The narrative portrays him as being unhindered by reins or bridle,[46] although the illustrations tell a different story here and depict him tethered inside the house eating hay (fol. 1ʳ, see Figure 1). On this same folio he is shown being rubbed down by the clergy and the aristocracy (similar pictures can be found on fol. 1ᵛ, fol. 2ʳ and fol. 2ᵛ).

The second book makes far less reference to Fauvel's true nature, as Noble points out: 'tout de suite il fait mention de la méchanceté de Fauvel *Car il est de tout mal figure* (1223), mais il n'y a aucune référence à son identité chevaline'[47] ('right away he mentions the viciousness of Fauvel *Because he has a bad character* but there is no reference to his equine nature'). In the scene in which Fauvel woos Lady Fortune, there is only occasional reference to the fact he is a 'beste': 'de plus en plus le poète décrit Fauvel comme s'il était un chevalier,'[48] ('increasingly the poet describes Fauvel as if he were a knight'). Chaillou de Pesstain uses the equine symbolism even less, notes Noble. In terms of the text, this is a valid observation, however, if we look also to the evidence of the music and illuminations, on which Noble does not focus so extensively,[49] the decreasing equine references may be seen as a sign of the artistic mastery of those who created the manuscript, rather than reflecting a failure in the standards of production.

It is important to view the diminishing equine vocabulary in terms of the music and illustrations to gain a complete picture of Fauvel's incursion into the world around him.

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[43] Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ll. 32-48.

[44] ibid, ll. 49-60.

[45] ibid., ll. 171-230.

[46] ibid., ll. 293-295.

[47] Noble, 'Le Symbolisme', p. 284.

[48] ibid., p. 285.

[49] 'En outre il y a beaucoup de pièces lyriques, par example, des motets, incluses dans le manuscrit, que je ne vais pas considérer ici, quoique les poèmes lyriques, la musique et les illuminations du manuscrit aient attiré l'attention de beaucoup de critiques' ('moreover, there are many lyric pieces, for example, motets, included in the manuscript, that I am not going to consider here, although the lyric poems, the music and the illuminations in the manuscript have attracted the attention of many critics'), ibid., p. 281.

Noble praises the work of the illuminators, pointing out that Fauvel is depicted both as a horse and as a centaur-like creature. These, however, can also be seen as part of the transformative progression that can be witnessed in the manuscript.[50]

The visual aspect of the *roman* in BnF, fr.146 plays a significant role in the portrayal of the narrative. The illustrations are ink drawings that have been highlighted with a muted palette of colours.[51] Roesner et al. discuss this restraint in the colouring as contributing to 'the quality of simplicity: the colors most often used are violet, pink, light green, and brown, none of them at all intense; and the more traditional red and blue also appear on occasion. A degree of highlighting in a white gouache enlivens these colors.'[52] Michael Camille interprets this use of colour as the illuminator's choice to emphasize the moral and didactic tone of the piece. The royal colours of red and blue are used less often because Fauvel is not truly royal, but a perverse imposter.[53]

Camille's study of hybridity, monstrosity and bestiality in *Fauvel* examines the transformative progression of the depiction of Fauvel. The monstrous hybridity, which is often found in medieval marginalia, takes centre stage in the *roman*, mirroring the World turned upside down of the narrative. At the beginning Fauvel is depicted as fully horse, but from there on, he mutates. He is depicted either sporting a horse's head on a man's body or vice versa, with the latter being the most common (see Figure 2, where he has a crown on his equine head, but gesticulates to his subjects with human hands, and Figure 3 in which he proposes marriage to Fortune using his human face). When he is portrayed wooing or in an inferior position, Fauvel tends to have a man's face – his false face according to Jean-Claude Mühlethaler; on the other hand, when he dons his horse's head, he is most often ruling or deceiving.[54]

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[50] 'Malgré ce silence, cependant, les artistes qui ont illuminé les manuscrits étaient très conscients de la nécessité d'illustrer les aspects bestiaux de Fauvel', ('in spite of this silence, however, the artists who illuminated the manuscripts were very conscious of the necessity of illustrating the bestial aspects of Fauvel'), ibid., p. 286.

[51] See Roesner et al., *The Roman de Fauvel*, p. 45: 'This relatively unusual technique, in which forms are created by line with colour highlighting rather than by the paint itself, has been called "portrait d'encre" by Henri Martin, who found the term in a manuscript from the third quarter of the fourteenth century'.

[52] Roesner et al., *The Roman de Fauvel*, p. 45.

[53] Michel Camille, 'Hybridity, Monstrosity, and Bestiality in the *Roman de Fauvel*', in Bent and Wathey, *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 172-3.

[54] See Camille, 'Hybridity', for a fuller discussion of the different possible interpretations of Fauvel's human and horse faces. For Mühlethaler's discussion of Fauvel's different guises see *Fauvel au Pouvoir: Lire la Satire Médiéval* (Paris: Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 26, 1994), p. 119.
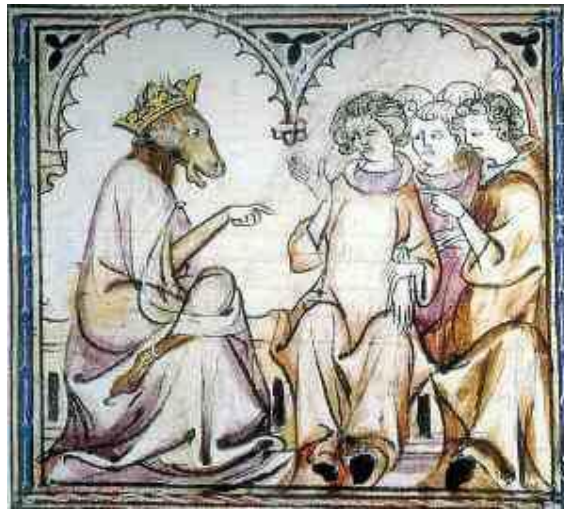
FIGURE 2: Fauvel depicted with a horse's head and wearing a crown (fol. 15ᵛ)

FIGURE 3: Fauvel shown with a human head and hands,
but with a horse's rump as he woos Fortune (fol. 28terᵛ)

The illuminators were sensitive to the narrative development and the decreasingly obvious equine nature of the eponymous villain. At the point where Fauvel is attempting to woo Fortune, he appears most human, his equine rump partially concealed beneath his robes. He speaks, and, more importantly he sings extensively (more so here than at any other point in the manuscript, for he performs lengthy ballades in the vernacular). As the story progresses, Fauvel anthropomorphises and works his way more deeply into human life and ways – he speaks, sings, considers marriage, carries a cane, wears a robe. His human body parts mirror the lessening bestial description in the narrative, but also add a dimension that is not made explicit in the narrative, that is, the shocking hybridity of his appearance.

As I have described above, on the first few folios we witness Fauvel as a horse, curried by those in power who should know better. On fol. 3ᵛ we see the first monstrous half-man, half-beast picture, with a horse's rump and hind legs protruding from beneath a man's garments. On fol. 8ᵛ we have the opposite – a horse's head adorning a human body. On fol. 11ʳ there is the famous *Fauvel* image of a horse (with apparently no human parts) astride a throne, hooves outstretched. From thereon, Fauvel is depicted more often with a man's

top half with a horse's rear and hind legs. On some occasions, a horse's head on a human body is used for shock or for reasons of clarity. For example, on fol. 14^r and fol. 15^v, where he is addressing people (and on the latter occasion he wears a crown) it seems more monstrous that the illuminators have chosen to depict a horse's head, since talking and crown-wearing are activities specifically relating to the human head. In the case of fol. 26^r he is seated on a throne facing forwards, his hind legs covered by his robe, thus the top half of his body must be depicted as a horse else identification of him as Fauvel would be rendered problematic. This is also true of fol. 28ter^r, fol. 32^v and fol. 33^r, where on all three pages he is sitting behind a table, making leg depiction impossible. Fol. 34^r features the bedroom scene with Vaine Gloire, where Fauvel is portrayed with a human body and horse's head, looming over the bridal bed. I shall leave it to the reader to ponder whether a horse's head or a horse's lower half would be a more distasteful prospect between the sheets; the illuminators clearly felt that the head alone was sufficiently monstrous to provide an arresting image. On 38^r, only Fauvel's head can be seen, protruding from a turret, viewing the joust; naturally a horse's head is necessary for identification.

As discussed above, his increasing hybridity mirrors the expanding range of human characteristics and activities to which Fauvel aspires, including sartorial embellishments and most importantly the powers of speech and song. In contrast, where the artistic pay-off results from the express horsiness of his natural self, the illustrations retain a greater degree of equine flesh in depictions of Fauvel. These images thus provide moments of shock. The initial illustrations are unsettling because there is a sharp contrast between the little horse and the great men who groom him. We can see that Fauvel is an imposter, worse still an abomination of the natural order, so why cannot they?

Yet, on a certain level he starts to fool the reader, just as he fooled those great men who came to groom him. We know he is not human, but we see human parts and we 'hear' human speech and song, and it is therefore only natural to have in part a human reaction to this character. Everything in the manuscript is geared towards drawing us in and showing us how possible it is for the wicked to attain power. Those moments, therefore, when his more equine features reappear in the illuminations – such as when Fauvel's muzzle looms over his new bride – are all the more jarring.

In addition to their development of Fauvel's appearance throughout the manuscript, the placing of the miniatures seems also often to be significant. Roesner et al. describe how Chaillou inserted the description and illumination of the Fountain of Youth into Gervès's

lines about the Garden of France 'squarely in the middle of the Garden of France'.[55] The placement of the illumination thus mirrors Fauvel's invasion of the princely realm.

Two of the illuminations appear to be linked to motets through their structure. The charivari scenes on fol. 34[r] and fol. 36[v] are segmented into three lines of characters. While medieval motets were not commonly presented in score format, nonetheless the three lines were written to sound together temporally. The two images mirror this through three layers of separate events occurring simultaneously that offer differing perspectives of the wedding night. The first illumination is perhaps the most strikingly motet-like (see Figure 4). On the top line we have something that parodies a courtly love song, as the monstrous half-horse approaches his bride. In the lower two sections we see the cacophonous charivari, featuring common people in the street, a lower register counterpoint to the supposedly courtly celebrations of the palace that provides a contrasting assessment of the proceedings.[56] These lower two lines depict characters with instruments, connecting the image all the more strongly with song and musical performance. The second picture (see Figure 5) has three superimposed linear representations of charivari, and this 'visual motet' has a correspondingly different flavour. Rather than the juxtaposition of registers that its counterpart offers, this one (like the last motet in *Fauvel*) represents three lines of bawdy song sounding together. Interestingly, both 'tenor parts' – the lowest stratum of each image - depict a character from the charivari displaying his backside; perhaps this is a tongue in cheek reference to it being the bottom line.[57] Usually the tenor line would be taken from a liturgical source; in these 'picture motets' the 'tenor line' could be understood perhaps as a parody of a religious procession.

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[55] Roesner et al., *Le Roman de Fauvel*, p. 9.

[56] Charivaris are recorded as being both celebrations and protests. They could be a raucous ritual to accompany a couple's wedding night, but were also used to disapprove of inappropriate marriages, force unwed couples to marry or make an example of a violent spouse. See 'rough music', *The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History*, ed. David Hey, (Oxford University Press, 2009), Oxford Reference Online <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t266.e1581> accessed 22 April 2011.

[57] In the second image there is man bending over with his tunic raised on the second stratum of the picture. However, he still appears to have some (minimal) covering on his behind.
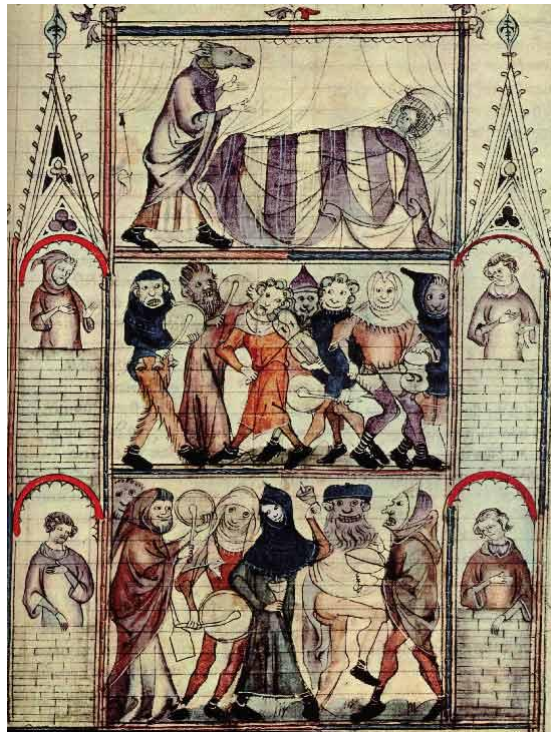
FIGURE 4: The charivari parades through the streets on Fauvel's wedding night (fol. 34ʳ)

FIGURE 5: The charivari continues (fol. 36ᵛ)

THE MOTETS

DETRACTOR EST/QUI SECUNTUR/VERBUM INIQUUM (P.MUS. 12)

This motet appears on fol. 4ʳ alongside references in the narrative to the lamentations of the prophet Jeremiah, who was noted for condemning idolatry, false prophets, avaricious priests, and for lamenting the fate of the church. A miniature on this same page depicts a cleric speaking to Fortune, while on the previous page there is an illumination showing the creation of Eve from Adam, next to the creation of a man from a horse.

The texts of the motetus and triplum (shown with translations in Figure 6) are in the same vein as the main narrative verses: flatterers and deceivers succeed in their nefarious plans, while those who serve faithfully are not rewarded. The lords of the land are deceived and the Church is robbed. The motetus ends with a plea that such flatterers be led by God to the gates of hell; the triplum asks that these deceivers be 'purged of their slanders'. The triplum is therefore softer-grained in its admonishments than the motetus. Not only is it not demanding a trip to eternal damnation, it also points out that the slanderer harms himself most by his behaviour, presumably because if he does not reform and purge himself of his slanders, he will indeed end up at the gates of hell. The link between self-inflicted harm and the need for purging is emphasized by the repetition of *mesdis* (slander) in the first and last line of the French in the triplum.

The tenor underpins all this with 'the Lord will abhor an unjust and treacherous word'. This citation most likely originates from Psalm 5:7:[58]

> perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium virum sanguinum et **dolosum abominabitur Dominus.**

> You destroy those who speak lies; the Lord abhors the bloodthirsty and deceitful.

This Psalm is the prayer of a righteous man who is surrounded by liars and flatterers:

> quoniam non est in ore eorum veritas cor eorum vanum est sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum linguis suis dolose agebant iudica illos

> For there is no truth in their mouths; their hearts are destruction; their throats are open graves; they flatter with their tongues.

The theme of this Psalm therefore provides appropriate *auctoritas* to *Detractor/Qui secuntur/Verbum.*

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[58] 5:7 in the Latin Vulgate, 5:6 in NRSV.

Leofranc Holford-Strevens notes the invocation of Lucan in the motetus. 'Qui secuntur castra sunt miseri' is an adaptation of a phrase from Lucan's *Bellum civile* 10.407-8[59] which circulated in the *Florilegium Gallicum*. As Holford-Strevens remarks: '[i]n context the reference is to the wickedness of soldiers, but line 407 was reinterpreted in isolation to mean "No faith is kept with, or consideration shown to, those who follow the camp".'[60] Furthermore, Holford-Strevens notes that this quotation is also found (unadapted) in Vitry's motet *Colla iugo/Bona condit/Libera me*, (found in the *Ivrea* manuscript) at the end of the triplum, where the use of citation is emphasized by a change in the rhyme scheme. In Vitry's motet, the listener is urged not to attend courts, but to live free, because the duty of a courtier means that by his very nature he is false. Since the phrase which both motets borrow and adapt is found in the *Florilegium Gallicum*, we cannot say whether either composer culled it directly from Lucan, particularly since the meaning is subverted. However, as both motets manipulate the meaning of the quotation in a similar way, it seems that both were taking part in the same citational game. Both drew on Lucan but used his words to emphasize the predicament of the faithful courtier in the midst of others of their rank who behave like the soldiers of Lucan's description.

There are other links between *Detractor/Qui secuntur/Verbum* and *Colla/Bona/Libera*. Both motets feature seven repetitions of their tenor taleae. Andrew Wathey notes that the latter uses citation 'in the first half of the first couplet, whose moral content is then completed or elaborated in the remainder of the pair of couplets'. He notes that if this pattern were to be continued, there would be a citation for each of the seven taleae, which leads him to suspect that the beginning of each couplet might be an unidentified citation. Seven is a crucial number in medieval exegesis. Not only is it the number of the deadly sins and cardinal virtues, but it is also employed fifty-five times in Revelation. The apocalyptic resonances of *Fauvel* have been discussed by Jean-Claude Mühlethaler and Margherita Lecco.[61] The colour of the horse – *fauve* – may link him to the four horsemen of the apocalypse and their steeds, which are similarly coated. His name means 'false veil', and

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[59] A. E. Housman, *M. Annaei Lucani Belli civilis libri decem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926).

[60] Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'Fauvel Goes to School', in Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach, eds, *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), p. 61. The original quote from Lucan is: 'Nulla fides pietasque viris qui castra secuntur, | venalesque manus; ibi fas ubi maxima merces' (Men who follow the camp do not keep faith or feel loyalty, and their hands are for sale; right lies where the greatest reward is to be had – trans. Holford-Strevens, ibid).

[61] See Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, p. 16.

evokes the idea of 'the false prophets that precede the Antichrist'.[62] The seven repetitions of the taleae of *Detractor/Qui secuntur/Verbum* are all six longa in length, save for the last one, which is seven.

The combination of the numbers six and seven in this motet has powerful connotations. While seven can represent either perfection or completeness, six, being one fewer, is the number of imperfection and also of man, since man was created by God on the sixth day. The beast Fauvel embodies the number six because his name is an acrostic of six vices.[63] The motet may, with its seven taleae, be referring to the many uses of the number seven in apocalyptic imagery, while the length of each talea may denote imperfection. Therefore, *Detractor/Qui secuntur/Verbum* may be interpreted as demonstrating in its structure the juxtaposition of perfection and imperfection in the World; this also resonates with the apocalyptic tone of the *roman* as a whole. The fact that the last talea is 'completed' by having a seventh longa could be understood as an allusion to the ultimate victory of God, as predicted in Revelation. The total number of longa in the motet is forty-three, a number that has its own significance. The number forty-two has important associations with Revelation, where it represents the number of months that the Gentiles will trample on the holy city and the number of months that the beast will exercise his authority; forty-three, being one beyond this number could therefore symbolise the end of the reign of the beast and the coming of Christ.

Andrew Wathey remarked upon a citation in the triplum of *Detractor/Qui secuntur/Verbum* of Bernard of Clairvaux, whose sermon 63 on the Song of Songs contains the phrase 'Pessima vulpes occultus detractor, sed non minus nequam adulator blandus' ('The worst fox is the hidden traducer, but the smooth flatterer is just as bad). In the motet this is adapted to 'Detractor est nequissima vulpis...sed non minus adulator blandus' (The fox is a most wicked traducer...But no less is he a smooth flatterer).[64] Thus, Wathey argues, '[t]hematic development within and between the texts of different motet voices has its analogue in prescribed routes for thematic construction in sermons.'[65] Furthermore, this use of citation mimics that of tenor lines in motet-writing in general. The tenor often

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[62] Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, p. 16.

[63] His name also means 'veil of falsity', while the colour *fauve* carries connotations of vanity and deceit. See Bent and Wathey, *Fauvel Studies*, p. 1.

[64] Translation by David Howlett in Andrew Wathey, 'The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45/1 (1992), p. 21.

[65] Andrew Wathey, '*Auctoritas* and the Motets of Philippe de Vitry', in Clark and Leach, *Citation and Authority*, p. 74.

evokes biblical passages through the medium of its liturgical citation. In this case, the Song of Songs is alluded to through the medium of Bernard's sermon.

The motet contains a historical reference that has proved hard to decipher. The reference to the Vidame of Picquigny had been interpreted by Långfors as referring to Renault de Picquigny, who was involved in the arrest and investigation of the Templars. Långfors further suggests that the motet is supportive of the Templars. However, Roesner et al counter that the syntax of the motet does not allow for this interpretation. Instead they note that the *Chronique métrique*, which is also included in BnF, fr.146, mentions that a 'Messire Ferri de Picquegny' 'led the lords of Picardy and Normandy in the purge of Marigny after the death of Philippe le Bel'.[66] Hence they suggest the motet may in fact be referring to the despised chamberlain.

Detractor est/Qui secuntur/Verbum iniquum is the first musical interpolation to feature the vernacular, and it does so in a way that is without parallel in any medieval motet. If one were to glance through the titles as listed in the index of BnF, fr.146 on fol. B[r], or indeed through the contents of any modern edition, one would not even notice the French it contains, since it appears only on every second line, starting with line two in both the motetus and the triplum. Therefore it does not appear in the incipits (the French has been highlighted in italics in the textual transcription in Figure 6).

Word placement and repetitions enhance the rhetoric of the motet. 'Detractor' (traducer or slanderer) is used again in the triplum in its infinitive verb form 'detrahere' and in its plural 'detractores'. Its use is arranged to coincide with the first, fourth and seventh taleae of the tenor (first, middle and last), contriving to place it at significant points musically, even if it is not placed so prominently textually: 'detrahere', beginning the seventh line of the text, is not the half-way point of its eighteen lines. Another significant placement may be suggested by 'De pinquegni O vicedomine' in line eleven, which falls at the Golden Section of the text (though musically it is a bar too late)[67]. This is an important turning point in the text, moving from relating the wicked fox deceiving princes to narrating how princes themselves can be the deceivers. This mirrors the rise of Fauvel, from a deceiver in search of power to one wielding power through deceit. The Golden Section of the

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[66] Roesner et al., *Le Roman de Fauvel*, pp. 20-1.

[67] Roesner, 'Labouring', p. 195 (n). I am not convinced that the use of the Golden Section was always a particular consideration of motet writers, despite the clear medieval concern with issues of proportion and number. Where it seems to function in a special role within motets, it may be an aspect of the musical or poetic balance of the piece, rather than highlighting the Golden Section itself. This natural 'turn', a common feature of many texts, may be a better guide to understanding the structure of a piece.

motetus text falls on the line 'mendaciis tanquam nugigeri' (like dealers in trifles), perhaps emphasising lies and superficiality of liars, and also the alliterative network running through the motetus and triplum in the recurrent letters 'm' and 'd' (emboldened in the text in Figure 6). In the motetus, the French and Latin verses evoke one another through homonyms, establishing moments of connection between the two languages, despite their opposition in register and tongue. (These homonyms are underlined in the text of Example 6).

FIGURE 6: Texts and translation of *Detractor est/Qui secuntur/Verbum iniquum*

Triplum

Detractor est nequissima vulpis.
*Par ses **mesd**is greve autri et li pis.*
Sed non **m**inus a**d**ulator blan**d**us,
*Car **d**eçoit roys, princes, contes, **d**us.*
omnibus sunt tales fugienti,
*et li uns plus que li autres, sen **di**.*
detrahere ulli vel au**d**ire
*Un **mesd**isant de vouloir **d**esire,*
huiusmo**di** quid **d**ampnabilius?
*Jugier se **d**oit reison et non li eus.*
De pinquegni O vice**d**omine,
*par tele gent prince ont **d**eterminé*
In sub**d**itos quoscunque grassari,
*d**ont est pitiez s'en sont pluseurs **m**ari.*
ecclesias palam expoliant
*sur espece **d**e bien **m**al paliant.*
iuste **d**eus, **d**etractores lue
*d**e leur **mesd**is, car il sont trop luié.*

Motetus

Qui secuntur castra sunt **m**iseri,
*car pouvrement sont service <u>**m**eri</u>*
fidelibus qui bene <u>serviunt</u>
*sanz **m**esprison et **d**e vrai cueur seri.*
de calice tales bibunt <u>**m**eri</u>.
*Mes li graeur qui a**d**es <u>servi ont</u>*
mend**a**ciis tanquam nugigeri
*plus conques **m**es a gens sont encheri.*
Hij de fece bibunt et sciciunt.
*<u>**D**uques</u> a**d**onc que bien fait ont peri.*
Hos <u>duc</u>, **d**eus ad portas inferi.

Triplum Translation

The fox is a most wicked traducer: by his slander he hurts others and himself worse. But no less is he a smooth flatterer. For he deceives kings, princes, counts, dukes. Such should be shunned by all people, and one more than the others, without term. He desires to wish to traduce anyone, or to hear of a slander. What could be more damning than such conduct? Reason, not use, should be judged. Vidame of Picquigny, by such means princes have determined to run wild against some of their subjects. Pity it is: many are harmed by it. They rob churches openly, uttering evil, under the pretext of good, Just God, purge the traducers of their slanders, for they are too well rewarded.[68]

Motetus Translation

Those who follow camps are miserable, for poorly are services repaid for faithful men who serve well without wrongdoing and with true and pure heart. Such men drink from the cup of wine. But the flatterers who have always served lies, like dealers in trifles, are valued more by people than ever; they drink from the lees and are thirsty. Therefore, since good deeds have gone to waste, lead them, O Lord, to the gates of hell.[69]

Tenor

Verbuum iniquum et dolosum abhominabitur dominus.
The Lord will abhor an unjust and treacherous word.

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[68] Translation by Howlett.

[69] ibid.

The pairs of Latin and French lines in the triplum are decasyllabic rhyming couplets and no rhyme is repeated. This allows each Latin line to have a unique relationship with its French counterpart; it is as if the two are being pitched against one another. This battle of Latin and French is played out in the music of the triplum as the two languages vie for the listener's ear. Up to the 'De pinquegni' couplet, the French always answers with a longer musical phrase (apart from lines 5 and 6, which are nearly equal). The 'De pinquegni' couplet and the following couplet see the Latin fighting back with longer phrases. There is also confusion in the scuffle. Whereas the couplets had been previously articulated by rests, lines 11, 12 and 13 run into one another. The musical space given to each couplet at this time is also limited: the couplets of lines 9/10 and 11/12 receive 8 and 7½ beats respectively, whereas the rest of the couplets receive anything between 11 and 20. The faster declamation of the texts helps to build musical tension that not only underscores a crucial textual moment, but also points to the crux of the linguistic skirmish that is going on. French is victorious. Line 14 'dont est pitiez s'en sont pluseurs mari' stands alone marked at either end by rests, unlike its Latin counterpart which follows straight on from the previous line. From here to the end of the piece the remaining French phrases dominate over their Latin counterparts in musical phrase length. The relative line lengths are demonstrated below in the graph in Figure 7. The Latin lines are shown in blue and the French in yellow, with the number of beats given to each phrase also indicated next to each bar on the graph. Following the graph is Example 1, showing the score of *Detractor/Qui secuntur/Verbum*. I have indicated on the score the line numbers of the triplum for ease of reference between the score and the graph. I have not included rests in my calculation of line length, for although moments of silence in music can be an important part of the interpretation, in this case they also serve to demarcate the phrases.
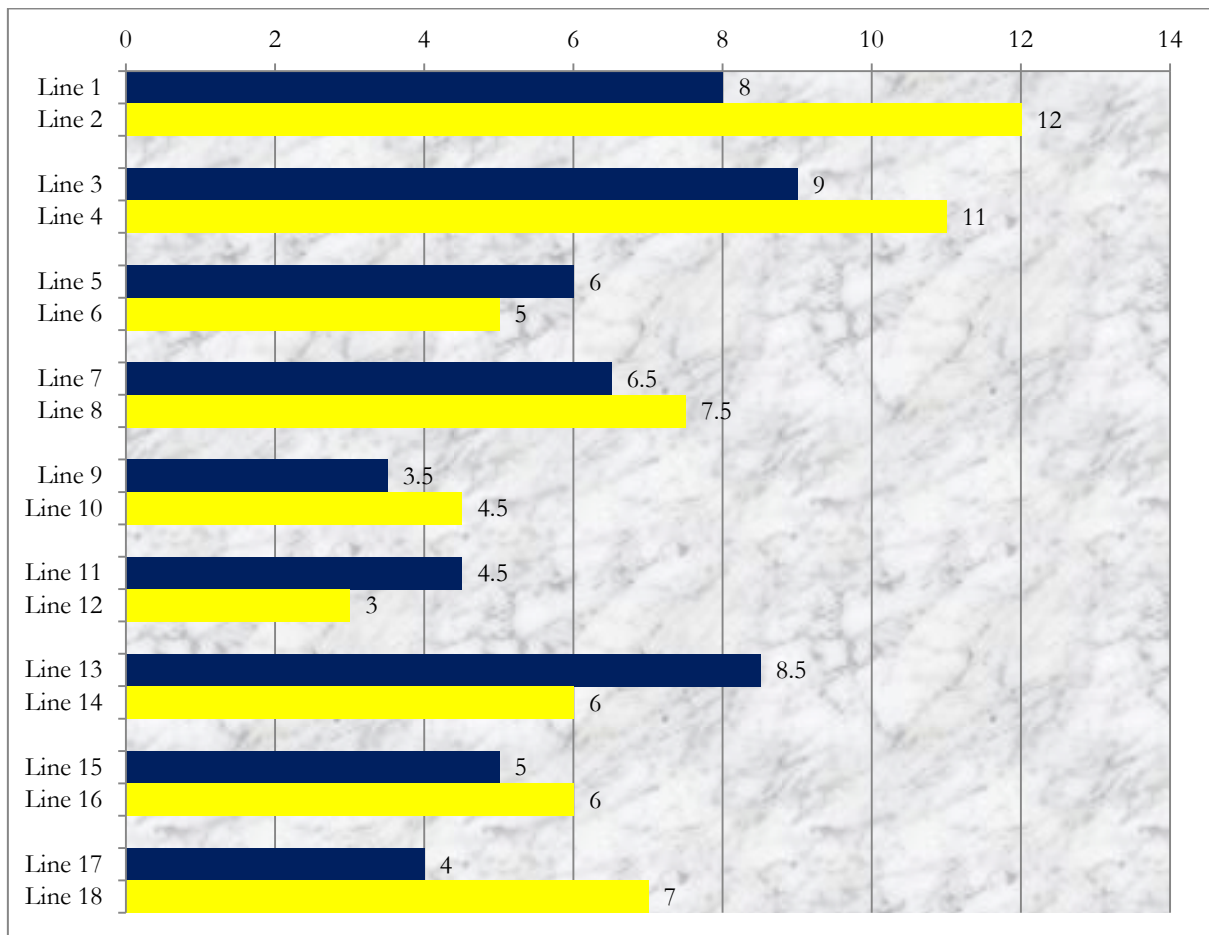
FIGURE 7: Relative line lengths in the triplum of *Detractor/Qui secuntur/Verbum*. French lines are shown in blue and Latin in yellow

Despite its macaronic structure, the overall meaning of the text flows seamlessly between the two languages. So, for all that we have two languages here, and that the music underscores the friction between their coexistence, grammatically and semantically they are well integrated with one another. The content of the French correlates with the Latin lines concerning duplicity, as the theme of deception of and by the powerful is represented in the French by the lines 'car il deçoit roys, princes, contes, dus' ('For he deceives kings, princes, counts, dukes'), and ' par tele gent prince ont determiné' ('such means princes have determiné'). It is important to note this agreement in tone and subject, because we shall see something different happening in the motetus.

EXAMPLE 1: *Detractor est/Qui secuntur/Verbum iniquum*

2

29

12 **13**

vi-ce-do - mi - ne, Par te - le gent prince ont de-ter-mi-ne in sub-di - tos quos - cun que gras- sa -

plus con-ques mes_____ a gens sont en- the - ri:

33

14 **15** **16**

ri, Dont est pi - ti- ez, s'en sont plu- seurs ma - ri. Ec-cle-si-as pa-lam ex-spo-li- ant____ Souz

Hij_ de fe-ce bi - bunt et sci - ci- unt. duc-ques a-donc que bien-fait ont pe - ri.

38

17

es - pe - ce de bien mal pa - li - ant iu - ste de - us, de - trac-to - res lu -

hos duc, de - us

41

18

e De leur mes - dis, car il sont trop lu - ie.

ad_____ por - tas in - fe - ri.

A different story can be told with the text of the motetus. *Qui secuntur* does not provide us with the same opportunity for analysis of musical space, since there are an uneven number of lines and therefore the final line must by necessity be in Latin. If we were to remove this final phrase, the temporal balance between Latin and French would be roughly equal. In the case of the motetus the French puts up a fight against the Latin in quite a different way: through the style of the language. Taken in isolation, the French lines of the motetus could easily be part of any courtly love song; notions of being poorly rewarded, of serving faithfully with a pure heart, but finding these goods deeds are wasted because flatterers and slanderers have spoken ill, are stock phrases of this genre. The verb 'merir' is found in the Montpellier texts some 17 times, all in a similar context of ill-rewarded love; in Machaut and Froissart later in the fourteenth century we find this verb put to very similar use. 'Sanz mesprison' is a stock phrase of the lover who laments that he has not been favoured by his lady, despite being 'without wrongdoing'. 'Seri' (pure) occurs often in a pastoral context; 7 Montpellier motets use it in this way. 'Vrai cueur' (true heart) is a standard phrase in love poetry, too. It seems that the French text, while ostensibly providing support to the argument of the Latin, undermines it by peppering it with the vocabulary of love. That is, in a motet whose theme is the criticism of the behaviour of the deceitful and insincere, the use of the French in the motetus presages how Fauvel himself will use false flattery and the language of love to try to win over Fortune for his own power-hungry and nefarious purposes.

In what way can the use of French be understood here as combative or subversive? The narrative text of *Fauvel* is in the vernacular; love poetry was also traditionally rendered in French, as were *romans,* works on love, like the *Roman de la Rose.* French is also the language of the eponymous anti-hero in the *Roman de Fauvel.* Chaillou de Pesstain added a striking element of conflict to the work by juxtaposing French and Latin in this manner, an element not present in the uninterpolated versions of the *roman.* While the narrative of the *roman* itself is in the vernacular, as is typical for the genre, Latin, the language of the Church, adds its admonishments through the music. As we have seen on fol. 1ʳ, the Latin-texted motets offer criticism on the French narrative, but gradually as the narrative progresses French motets and ballades are also used. Thus, while the music is employed initially to gloss the text and to criticise Fauvel as well as to offer prayers and lamentations, the vernacular infiltrates the music as subversively and deceitfully as Fauvel himself infiltrates society. Motets offer the perfect medium for such an infiltration. The polyphony and polytextuality disguise the arrival of the French language in the music. This incursion is mirrored in the illustrations of Fauvel, and the descriptions of his behaviour.

Roesner et al. see this bilingualism as 'an expression of one of the central themes of the *roman*: French, the language of corrupt Fauvel, has penetrated into Latin just as Fauvel has penetrated into the Church. Viewed from this perspective, the motet fits neatly with the *roman* verses that appear just beneath it in MS BnF, fr.146 (vv. 357-69) – about the world turned upside down under Fauvel – and with the miniature on the adjacent page, fol. 3ᵛ.[70] This is the image I mentioned above that shows both Eve and a Fauvel-like creature being created. For Roesner et al., the bilingual text of the motet has a moral function.[71] The collision of the two languages, and their respective characteristics, mimics the turmoil in the World's natural order. Not only is language use thrown into confusion, but the stately moral order of the Church is discombobulated by the intrusion of the more worldly vernacular lyrics.

I would add to this that bilingualism may also allude to another moral lesson, that of the Tower of Babel, which story describes the attempt of the people of earth to build a tower to heaven (Genesis 11:5-8). God's punishment for the pride and lust for knowledge of the people was to scatter them and to confuse their speech and understanding with new languages. Those who had been united in one language and in their pride, were no longer able to communicate. Fauvel, like the people in the story from Genesis, has inappropriate pride and a desire to go where he should not. Perhaps the unique bilingual structure of this motet alludes to the punishment that awaits the proud.

What is also interesting about the vernacular incursion through the medium of the motet is that it could be said to be taking on some of the characteristics of citation. The alternating bilingualism of this motet gives the impression of a cento, making each line feel like a citation, particularly those lines in French which follow the Latin, which takes us by surprise. The motet, as a genre, was already built on citation. Citation, however, can be employed subversively as well as to demonstrate erudition or *auctoritas*, and hence the motet can be understood as a subversive genre. The hiding of the French lines within the Latin and the furtive inclusion of courtly-style vocabulary masked as political and religious comment emphasizes the pivotal role of *Detractor/Qui secuntur/Verbum* in *Fauvel* and highlights the intricate possibilities of citation in fourteenth-century French music and lyrics. The language of courtly love used in the motetus gives the misleading impression that the author is citing an existing trouvère lyric, especially since if the French lines were to be read on their own, they would almost (but not quite) function as a coherent set of lyrics

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[70] Roesner et al., *Le Roman de Fauvel*, p. 17.

[71] ibid.

in their own right. By recalling the register of courtly love, the citation of a source is suggested that possibly does not exist; the author has created a 'faux-citation'. As well as no doubt providing an interesting puzzle for his audience, the author has used disjunctive lyric languages to open a window between one register and set of ideas, and another. This may be compared with Mo34, discussed in the Introductory Chapter, in which the insertion of a Latin phrase into a French motet produced a similar interesting contrast. In the case of *Detractor*, the teasing regress created by this 'faux-citation' further entangles the reader in the manuscript's complex structures, and adds to its sense of internal coherence.

Beyond the courtly tone of the French in the motetus there are allusions internal to the manuscript and possibly to external repertories. Of particular interest is the line 'Car deçoit roys, princes, contes, dus' ('For he deceives kings, princes, counts, dukes'). This text has resonances with lines 32-74 of the narrative,[72] where a long list of those who have come to 'torcher Fauvel' is given; this list includes 'Rois, dus et contes...'. A musical correspondence exists with the motet *La mesnie fauveline/J'ai fait nouveletement/Grant despite*. This contains a similar line: 'Ducx, Contes, Rois, Emperiere' ('Dukes, Counts, Kings, Emperor'). In *Detractor est* we learn how the evil slanderer can deceive kings, princes, counts and dukes. In the triplum of *La mesnie/J'ai fait/Grant,* the family of Fauvel are telling him that such people now serve him willingly. While the music could not be said to be a direct citation of *Detractor est*, there is a rhythmic and melodic reminiscence (see Example 2), creating a thematic and musical motif that strengthens the internal coherence of the narrative.

There is also a possible resonance with a motet by Adam de la Halle, *Aucun se sont loé d'amours/A Dieu commant amouretes/Super te*. It contains in the motetus the following lines:

> Gros tournois
> Ont aveuglé
> Contes et rois,
> Justices et prelas
>
> Great tournaments
> have blinded
> counts and kings,
> judges and prelates[73]
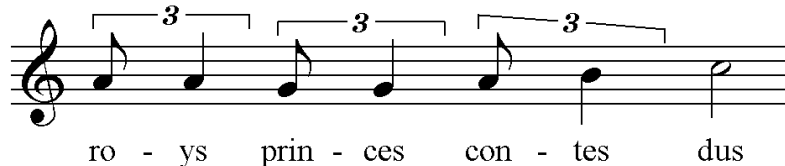
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[72] Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, pp. 4-6.

[73] Translation by Susan Stakel in Hans Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, 4 vols (Madison: A-R Editions, 1978).
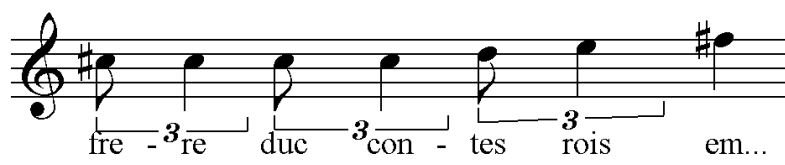
That is to say, the rulers of the land have been distracted by luxuries and do not carry out their duties to the people. The theme of this motet is, therefore, political discontent: many must flee their homes and the beautiful land of Artois. The lover must also be parted from his beloved and he laments, 'sighing in foreign lands'. Here we have a motet that combines a political message and the language of courtly love. *Detractor est* seems even to mirror somewhat the musical shape of the phrase (see Example 2).
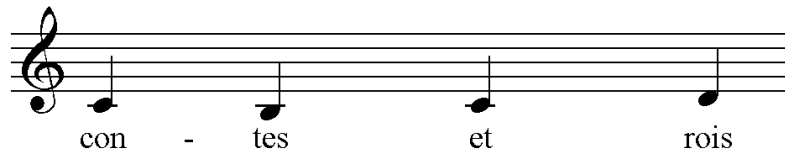
EXAMPLE 2: Comparison of bar 14 of the triplum of *Detractor est/Qui secuntur/Verbum iniquum*, bar 24 of the triplum of *La mesnie fauveline/J'ai fait nouveletement/Grant despite* and bar 13 of the motetus of *Aucun se sont loé d'amours/A Dieu commant amouretes/Super te*

This may not be enough of a correspondence to suggest a direct borrowing from Adam de la Halle in either of the *Fauvel* motets in Example 2. However, given that Adam's motet has a political critique built into its love lament, it is not unreasonable to imagine the writers of the *Fauvel* motets being in some way inspired by Adam's piece. Indeed, *Detractor/Qui secuntur/Verbum* marries polemical and courtly language too, as we have seen above. Furthermore, Adam de Halle was a writer known to the compilers of BnF, fr.146. A fragment of his *Congé d'Arras* can be found on fol. 62ᵛ, following the works of Lescurel.[74] Although some commentators dismiss the fragment, Dillon sees its intended inclusion at the end of the manuscript as significant since the poem concerns departure.[75]

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[74] See Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut*, Forthcoming, Chapter 2, for a discussion of citation that explores the relationship between Adam's work and BnF, fr.146.

[75] See Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, pp. 193-7 for a fuller discussion.

DESOLATA MATER ECCLESIA/QUE NUTRITOS FILIOS/FILIOS ENUTRIVJ (P.MUS. 27)

After *Detractor est* the next time the vernacular makes an incursion into a motet is in *Desolata mater ecclesia/Que nutritos filios/Filios enutrivj* (p.mus. 27) on fol. 8ᵛ. This lamentation about the corruption of the Templars has a curious insertion of one line of French into the triplum (shown in italics):

> Desolata mater ecclesia
> A filiis se contemptam videns
> Lamentatur potissime, quia
> pater horum facinus evidens
> Prelatorum inspicit opera
> Fratrum templi nephanda scelera,
> In clericis pectata cetera;
> *Dont dit la mere qui le cuer amer a:*
> Dic mihi, dic Christe,
> si sit dolor ut dolor iste.

Forsaken Mother Church laments, seeing herself despised above all by her own sons, for which reason the father of these prelates inspects the evident crime, the polluted and heinous works of the brothers of the temple, the rest of the sins among the clerics; thus said the mother who had a bitter heart: tell me, tell me Christ, if there is sadness such as this sadness.

Dahnk notes that the final two lines are a biblical allusion: Lamentations 1:12 'videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus'. This first of the Lamentations, The Sorrows of Jerusalem, depicts Jerusalem allegorically as a woman weeping over her fate. The reference to a mother in the motet, both in the Latin in line 1 and the French in line 8, is the Mother Church, lamenting her fate in the same manner as Jerusalem. It perhaps also alludes to Mary weeping for Christ on the cross. The French text may signify here that it is not just the Church that is, or should be, becrying the iniquities of the Templars, but all of France too. Whether this is an as yet unidentified citation or a 'faux-citation', it plays the role of the hoof print of Fauvel in a lament about the state of the Church. That is, the sudden inclusion of French, although semantically fitting with the lamentation, opens up a window on the world of Fauvel and mimics his infiltration of Church and State. The motet thus appears to be mocked from within by Fauvel's presence – a further cause for dismay. Furthermore, by being in the vernacular it connects this motet to the lament in the main narrative of Sainte Yglise (the allegorical embodiment of the Church) which follows the motet. Roesner et al. also suggest that the French introduces borrowed material in the classic manner of thirteenth-century motets: 'The appearance in an otherwise Latin work of a single French verse serving to highlight the important – indeed crucial – lines that follow it may have an

analogue in the use of refrains and other quotations in some thirteenth-century motets.'[76] The manner of introducing refrains by announcing that someone said or sung what follows is indeed a feature of thirteenth-century motets and was a technique still employed by Machaut to signal citations later in the fourteenth century. Perhaps this motet was intended to parody those motets and chansons of lower register, where a lover declares that he sang or spoke or heard another person do so. There is a more serious implication to this style of citation: the fact that the speaker can be interpreted as the Church or Jerusalem adds a further damning facet to the way the citation is constructed. Rather than the borrowing being that of a lover introducing a refrain that he claimed to have overheard a shepherd girl singing, instead it is the words of Mother Church which are cited. In effect, the voice of the Church is thereby reduced to the less impressive third-person subject of retelling, creating a sense of distance, even weakness, in the message it seeks to deliver – further evidence of a World in urgent need of strong moral guidance.

TWO BILINGUAL MOTETS

Complementing perhaps the illustrations of Fauvel that represent him either with a horse's head or a horse's rear, BnF, fr.146 contains two bilingual motets, one with the French in the triplum and one with the French in the tenor: *Se cuers joians/Rex beatus/Ave* (p.mus. 32) on fol. 10ᵛ, and *Celi domina/Maria, virgo virginum/Porchier mieuz estre* (p.mus. 122) on fol. 42ᵛ.

Se cuers/Rex/Ave is the penultimate motet of Book I of the *roman*, occurring just before *Servant regem/O Philippe prelustris/Rex Regum*. Both motets are dedicated to kings, the former to Louis X and the latter to Louis's father, Philippe IV le Bel. The culmination of the book with such pieces could prima facia serve to highlight the prestige of these royal persons. These kingly motets, however, have their authority subverted by the image placed dead centre on the facing page: Fauvel astride the throne – not Louis or Philippe – depicted with a horse's head and his hooves monstrously outstretched.

As was discussed in the introductory chapter, the juxtaposition of French and Latin texts in motets can be complementary, creating further possible allegorical interpretations by reading the one against the other. For *Se cuers/Rex/Ave*, Roesner et al. suggest that 'perhaps the composer's intent is to underscore the idea that all men, secular and ecclesiastical alike, hail the newly crowned Louis X.'[77] Indeed, the two languages in this motet can be seen as working together to create a miniature *miroir des princes*. While the

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[76] Roesner et al., *Le Roman de Fauvel*, p. 17.

[77] Roesner et al., *Le Roman de Fauvel*, p. 17.

motetus exhorts the saintly behaviour of Louis's namesake and predecessor, Louis IX, who was canonised in 1297, the triplum describes a paradigm of courtly love. The text of the triplum begins 'Se cuers joians, jonnes, jollis | Et gentis ainme, c'est raisons' (if a joyous, young, handsome and kind heart loves, it is just).[78] The use of 'se' ('if') sets up the didactic tone of the text, implying that only if one behaves in a courtly manner are the rewards of love merited. Later in the text, ladies are entreated to only choose such well-behaved men for their lovers: 'Dames, pensez d'itieus choisir!' ('Ladies, think of choosing such a one!'). Thus the abutment of the French and Latin texts can be interpreted as an encouragement to Louis to be both a just and godly ruler, and the perfect courtly lover (see Figure 8 below for full texts and translations).

While we could read this motet as friendly advice to a young king, it could also be understood as rather more admonitory in tone. 'Se' could be read as meaning 'if only you would behave in this manner...', implying that Louis's behaviour falls short of the courtly paradigm. The motetus reference to Saint Louis might then serve to offer a contrast between Louis IX and Louis X. Elizabeth A. R. Brown suggests that the interplay between the motetus and the triplum offers a condemnation of Louis' quick and youthful marriages.[79] The dangers of ill-considered weddings are more explicitly played out in Fauvel's later hasty marriage to Vaine Gloire, after cooling his interest in Fortune. Perhaps the seeds for observing this plain lesson were therefore set by this earlier motet. In this way the immoral behaviour of Fauvel could be subtly but not explicitly connected with Louis X's marital affairs, and contrasted with the impeccable judgement of the previous king.

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[78] The vocabulary of this courtly-flavoured triplum is standard (see Figure 8) The use of alliteration on the 'j' is not an unusual feature of courtly lyrics, since poetry in exhorting those who are 'joians, jonnes, jollis' ('joyous joung and handsome') are a common trope. It is possible that Froissart was influenced by *Fauvel* and its music. His ballade *Jone, joians, jolie et amoureuse* is reminiscent of the triplum's incipit, while another ballade *Qui voudroit Croix la doctrine* echoes the Fauvellian theme that things should behave according to their nature, lest chaos ensue.

[79] Elizabeth A. R. Brown, '*Rex ioians, ionnes, iolis:* Louis X, Philip V, and the *Livres de Fauvel*', in Bent and Wathey, *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 62-3.

FIGURE 8: Texts and translations of *Se cuers joians/Rex beatus/Ave*

Triplum	**Motetus**
Se cuers joians, jonnes, jollis	Rex beatus, confessor dominj,
Et gentis ainme, c'est raisons;	Ludovicus, iusto regmine
Car au joians est ses deliz	Quondam pollens, sanctorum agmini
Et au jonnes sa nourrecons,	Iam conregnat in celi culmine.
Et au joli est sa droicture,	Ergo vos, qui sub pari nominee
Et au gentil est sa nature.	Processistis ex eius sanguine,
Et d'autre part n'est il nuns hons	Hoc in avo congratulaminj
Qui puist ne sache amours server	Sique mores eius sequaminj,
Adroit, ne ses biens deservir	Quod in vobis sancto conglutine
Sanz les dites condicions.	Vox et vita consonant sanguinj.
Car li cueurs joians lieement	
Et li jonnes desiramment	
Seuffre, sert et set obeïr,	
Et li jolis mignotement,	
Et li gentis courtoisement	
La vie et les jours maintenir.	
Comment dont s'en pourroit tenir	
Cuers ennaturez telement?	
Dames, pensez d'itieus choisir!	
Car bien puet et doit avenir	
Gentilz, jolis, jonnes, joians,	
Au bien dont il est desirans:	
N'autres ne doit d'amours joir!	

Triplum translation

If a joyous, young, handsome and kind heart loves, it is just; for to the joyous it is his delight and to the young his guide, and to the handsome it is his uprightness, and to the kind it is his nature. And, furthermore, there is no man capable of serving love aright, nor of meriting its rewards without the said conditions. For the joyous heart gaily, and the young with desire suffers, serves and knows how to obey, and the handsome graciously, and the kind courteously know how to conduct life and its days. How then could a pure heart thus prevent itself from so doing? Ladies think of choosing such a one! For the kind, handsome, young and joyous can and should indeed come to the reward of which he is desirous: and others must not enjoy love![80]

Motetus translation

Saintly king, confessor of the Lord, Louis, once strong in just government, now reigns with the army of saints in highest heaven. Therefore, you, who, under a like name, proceeded from his blood, rejoice in this ancestor so that you follow his morals, for, in you, by a sacred bond, voice and life harmonize with the blood.[81]

Tenor

Ave (Hail).

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[80] Translation by Peter Ricketts from liner notes of *Le Roman de Fauvel*, The Boston Camerata / Ensemble P.A.N., Joel Cohen, dir. (Erato 4509-96392-2, 1991).

[81] ibid.

Bent interprets the juxtaposition of the French and Latin texts in *Se cuers/Rex/Ave* as representing the sinister and inappropriate presence of Fauvel: the 'French triplum creates an irreverent hybrid with the royal Latin duplum: the French-speaking Fauvel has inserted himself most unsuitably into a royal context, just before the invocation of the Holy Spirit at the anointing.'[82] This interpretation concords with my own, for although the triplum advocates gracious, pure-hearted behaviour, it is my conjecture that the use of the French language in the motets can be read equally as an encouragement or admonishment to Louis X, or as relating to the narrative context, the other motets and the placement of the miniatures, to demonstrate the function of the French as an embodiment of Fauvel and his encroachment into unsuitable territory.

Much later in the manuscript, amidst the prayers and lamentations to God and the Virgin Mary for deliverance from Fauvel, that form almost the very end of the narrative, we find the second bilingual motet, the curious *Celi domina/Maria virgo/Porchier mieux*. This motet sits among several others, including *Tribum/Quoniam/Merito* and *Firmissime/Adesto/Alleluya*. These motets, marked by their virtuosic style, form part of the climax of the oeuvre, marked by a particularly dense section of music. *Celi/Maria/Porchier*, based as it is on a rondeau tenor (a citation from earlier in the manuscript) is a rather different beast to these other motets. Pictures on the same page provide a counterpart to *Celi/Maria/Porchier*'s prayers for intercession by showing Chaillou praying to Fortune and to the Virgin with child (see Figure 9 for texts and translations).

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82 Bent, 'Fauvel and Marigny: Which Came First?', in Bent and Wathey, *Fauvel Studies*, p. 49.

FIGURE 9: Texts and translations of *Celi domina/Maria virgo/Porchier mieuz*

Triplum

Celi domina, quam sanctorum agmina
Venerantur omnia in celesti curia,
Tuum roga filium, redemptorem omnium,
Ut sua clemencia nobis tollat Falvium
gaudereque faciat nos eius sequacium absencia.

Triplum translation

Lady of heaven, whom all the host of saints
venerates in the celestial court,
pray your son, the saviour of all,
that by his clemency He take Fauvel from us
and that,
by the absence of his followers, He make us
rejoice.

Motetus

Maria, virgo virginum,
Mater patris et filia,
Pro nobis roga dominum,
Ut solita precepia
Nos virtutum presencia
Et seductoris hominum,
Falvelli, ducis criminum,
Glorificet absencia.

Motetus translation

Mary, virgin of virgins,
Mother of the Father and Daughter,
pray to the Lord for us
that by the special, accustomed
presence of virtues and by the absence of the
seducer of mankind,
Fauvel, the lord of crimes
he may glorify us.

Tenor

Porchier mieuz estre ameroie
Que Fauvel torchier;
Escorchier ainz me leroie
Porchier mieuz estre ameroie
N'ai cure de sa monnoie
Ne n'ai son orchier.
Porchier mieuz estre ameroie
Que Fauvel torchier.

Tenor translation

I would rather be a swineherd
than rub down Fauvel;
I would rather let myself be flayed.
I would rather be a swineherd.
I have no care for his money
nor do I hold his gold dear.
I would rather be a swineherd
than rub down Fauvel. [83]

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[83] Translation by Peter Ricketts from liner notes of
Le Roman de Fauvel, The Boston Camerata /
Ensemble P.A.N., Joel Cohen, dir. (Erato 4509-
96392-2, 1991).

In keeping with the idea of all that is right and natural being turned on its head, the Latin lyrics of the motetus and triplum are placed above a French rondeau tenor. Given the predominance of motets with sacred Latin tenors with French or Latin texts on top, this arrangement is unusual enough to invite comment. Dahnk notes that lines 1-7 of the triplum come from the Bamberg motet *Celi domina/Ave, virgo virginum/Super te*.[84] The incipit of the motetus of the *Fauvel* motet also recalls that of the Ba motetus incipit. Yet there is no musical correspondence between the two pieces, save for the last few notes of the tripla (see Example 3) and this is itself an inconclusive connection, since the fall and rise of the melodic line in both cases could be merely a clichéd motif to lead us to the final cadence. It therefore resists definitive interpretation as a musical borrowing.

Celi domina (fr.146)

Celi domina (Ba)

EXAMPLE 3: Comparison of the end of the tripla of *Celi domina/Maria virgo/Porchier mieuz* and *Celi domina/Ave, virgo virginum/Super te*

I suggest that the writer of the *Fauvel* motet most likely borrowed his text for the triplum from the Bamberg motet, rather than the other way round. The text is fauvelized, indicating that it was adapted for inclusion in the *roman*. The fact that we find no significant musical correspondence between the two pieces is because the structure of the motet is controlled rhythmically and melodically by the use of the rondeau tenor. This tenor likely pre-dates the motet as a whole, since we find it as a monophonic song at the end of Book I. This suggests that the motet was specially composed to provide a citational link between the ends of Book I and Book II. If we look at Example 4 below, it appears that there is a high degree of rhythmic correspondence between the tenor and the upper voices, particularly in the first six bars. Thus the musical structure is offering us a sinister

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[84] Dahnk, *L'Hérésie*, p. 208.

message: while the upper voices may be prayers to the Virgin, even these are driven and guided by the presence of the French rondeau. Perhaps we could go as far to say that the regular rondeau structure operate like prison bars, from behind which the pleas for intercession sound all the more pitiful.

The tenor is ostensibly anti-Fauvel. Unlike the many who have come to groom Fauvel and win his favour, the protagonist here would rather tend pigs than submit to the horse. Yet, this can also be seen as another example of the language of Fauvel tainting the purity of the religious Latin texts, showing the horse as infiltrating where he does not belong and dominating even the prayers of the faithful. Fauvel's presence in the form of the vernacular tenor simultaneously supports and undermines the upper voices, the classic actions of a manipulative deceiver. Furthermore, next to the elegance of Marian devotions, a rondeau is clunky, representing Fauvel's still unrefined incursions into fine society, and how mismatched he is to the world around him.

Mark Everist has advanced that idea that *Celi/Maria/Porchier* is one of a group of motets which fills an historical gap in the development of the polyphonic rondeau.[85] He argues that the emergence of this genre can be traced through experiments with rondeau tenors in motets in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. He examines a number of motets using this structure and demonstrates that these pieces exhibit rhythmic repetitions in the upper voices that presage the kind of reiterations in the polyphonic rondeau. His argument thus points to an important instance of citation being instrumental to the development of a genre. I find Everist's reasoning plausible and I would add to it the suggestion that these structural experiments with motets could be born from artistic need. In the case of *Celi/Maria/Porchier*, as we have seen above, the rondeau tenor's influence upon the upper voices appears to be a symptom of the composer's desire to demonstrate Fauvel's malign influence; the artistic innovation is driven by considerations of the narrative.

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[85] Mark Everist, 'Motets, French Tenors, and the Polyphonic Chanson ca. 1300', *The Journal of Musicology*, 24/3 (2007), 365-406, and "Souspirant en terre estrainge': The Polyphonic Rondeau from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut', *Early Music History*, 26 (2007), 1-42.

EXAMPLE 4: *Celi domina/Maria virgo/Porchier mieuz*

Celi domina/Maria, virgo/Porchier mieuz

2

OTHER VERNACULAR MOTETS

There are four more motets from BnF, fr.146 which use the vernacular. *Je voi douleur avenir/Fauvel nous a fait present/Autant* (p.mus. 29)*, La mesnie fauveline/J'ai fait nouveletement/Grant despit* (p.mus. 41)*, Bonne est amours/Se mes desirs/A* (p.mus. 68) and *Quant ie le voi/Bon vin doit/Cis chans veult boire* (p.mus. 130) are all exclusively in French. Apart from *La mesnie fauveline* they are all based on rondeau tenors and therefore are part of the set discussed by Everist, mentioned above.[86] He does not include *Bonne est amours/Se mes desirs/A* in this set, since its tenor, identified only by 'A', is not texted. However, this tenor exhibits a rondeau (or possibly virelai) style-pattern and the upper parts show repeated structures in the manner of a polyphonic rondeau; therefore I believe it is eligible for inclusion in a discussion of motets with French tenors, and may be added to the set that Everist has defined.

Je voi douleur avenir/Fauvel nous a fait present/Autant is very simple in structure. The tenor line upon which it is built is repeated four times, and this largely informs the structure of the upper lines (see Example 5, below). The final repetition of the tenor has the same music in its upper parts as that accompanying its first statement. Repetition 2 is identical for the first 3 bars, then continues with new music until the end of repetition 3. This reiterative structure is appropriate to the meaning of the tenor refrain, whose words are placed in the mouth of Fauvel: '*Autant m'est si poise arriere comme avant*' ('it is all the same to me if it is displeasing behind and in front'). Since the text as well as the music of the upper voices is found above the first and last instantiations of the tenor, the idea of 'behind' and 'in front'

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[86] Everist, 'Motets, French Tenors', and "Souspirant en terre estrainge".

is captured by textual and musical structure (see Figure 10 for the full texts and translations). The refrain which frames the motetus, '*Fauvel nous a fait present Du mestier de la civiere*' ('Fauvel has given us the gift of the trade of the litter'), further captures the notion of 'behind' and 'in front', since litter carriers would be carrying the litter from behind and in front (for an illustration of this see Figure 5 above where, in the lowest stratum of the picture, members of the charivari appear to be carrying someone in a makeshift litter).

Je voi/Fauvel/Autant can be found on fol. 9^v, near the end of Book I, thus the lament of the triplum's refrain, '*Je voi douleur avenir*' ('I see pain approaching) foreshadows Fauvel's further iniquities in Book II. While this is not the first motet to contain the vernacular, it is the first to be completely in French, and most importantly it is the first occasion on which Fauvel sings. The tenor – which is the framework upon which the repetitive structure of the motet is based – is placed in the mouth of Fauvel, thus implying his dominance, as much as the rondeau tenor did in *Celi/Maria/Porchier*. Later in the narrative, Fauvel will sing extended love ballades to Fortune, but his first excursion into singing is limited to the repetition of a very simple refrain. Nonetheless, this form of citation (it is unclear whether this is a pre-existent refrain or one composed for the *roman*) asserts Fauvel's malign authority by controlling the structure in the upper voices of the laments of his unfortunate subjects.

EXAMPLE 5: *Je voi douleur/Fauvel nous a fait/Autant m'est*

Je voi douleur/Fauvel nous a fait/Autant m'est

Je voi_____ dou - leur_____ a - ve - nir, car_____tout ce fait par con-trai - re.

Fau - vel_____ nous a fait pre - sent du mes - tier de la ci - vie - re;

7

Che - min_____ ne voi - e te - nir Ne veut nul par quoi_____ ve - nir

N'est pas_____homs qui ce ne_____ sent. Je_____ voi_____ tout_____quant a_____ pre - sent

15

puist_____ a bien n'a_____ rai - son_____ fai - re. Je voi_____

a - ler_____ ce de - vant der - rie - re. Fau - vel_____

20

dou - leur_____ a - ve - nir, car_____tout ce fait par con-trai - re.

nous a fait pre - sent du mes - tier de la ci - vie - re.

FIGURE 10: Texts and translations of *Je voi douleur/Fauvel nous a fait/Autant m'est*

Triplum
Je voi douleur avenir,
Car tout ce fait par contraire.
Chemin ne voie tenir
Ne veut nul par quoi venir
Puist a bien n'a raison faire.
Je voi douleur avenir,
Car tout ce fait par contraire.

Motetus
Fauvel nous a fait present
Du mestier de la civiere;
N'est pas homs qui ce ne sent.
Je voi tout quant a present
Aler ce devant deriere.
Fauvel nous a fait present
Du mestier de la civiere.

Tenor
Fauvel: *autant m'est si poise arriere comme avant.*

Triplum translation
I see pain approaching,
for everything is being done in reverse.
No one wishes to follow the path or way
which may lead him to good
or to act with reason.
I see pain approaching,
for everything is being done in reverse.

Motetus translation
Fauvel has made us a gift
of the trade of the litter;
there is no man who does not feel this.
I see everything these days
going back to front.
Fauvel has made us a gift
of the trade of the litter.

Tenor translation
It is all the same to me if it is displeasing behind and in front.[87]

Fauvel also sings in *La mesnie fauveline/J'ai fait nouveletement/Grant despit*. Again his incursion into the world of music takes the form of a citation: *J'ai fait nouveletement amie*, the incipit of the motetus, occurs as both words and music in the tenor of Montpellier motet no.312 (see Example 6). There are no further obvious melodic correspondences between these two motets. It is thus unclear whether one may be citing the other. Given that incipits and tenors are usual loci for citation, it is likely that both motets are citing a popular refrain here.

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[87] Translation by Peter Ricketts from liner notes of *Le Roman de Fauvel*, The Boston Camerata / Ensemble P.A.N., Joel Cohen, dir. (Erato 4509-96392-2, 1991).

Motetus of *La mesnie fauveline/J'ai fait nouveletement/Grant despit*

Tenor of Mo312

EXAMPLE 6: Comparison of the opening of the motetus of *La mesnie fauveline/J'ai fait nouveletement/Grant despit* with the tenor refrain of *Au tans nouvel/Chele m'a tollu ma joie/J'ai fait tout nouveletement* (Mo312).

As well as representing Fauvel's infiltration into the human world he is inhabiting, citation here may reflect his insincerity. He cannot speak of love without using borrowed words. While the borrowing of refrains to compose new love songs was not uncommon and therefore might not be an obvious criticism of Fauvel, it is worth mentioning that his chosen refrain does not rhyme with the rest of the text (see Figure 12 for texts and translations). Therefore, perhaps the criticism of Fauvel lies in his bad poetic skill. He borrows a refrain, but unlike a well-educated, courtly poet, he makes no attempt in integrate the refrain he has chosen into his lyric. The tenor line of *La mesnie/J'ai fait/Grant* is sung by Fortune, who is angered by Fauvel's boasts. By contrast with those of Fauvel, her lyrics do not appear to contain citation. Furthermore, unlike Fauvel's other attempts at singing, there is no repetition in her music, simultaneously highlighting Fauvel's own shortcomings and Fortune's existence in a higher sphere to the hoofed would-be seducer.

In the triplum, Fauvel's family are 'cited' as supporting him. It may be significant that the point at which their words are given music is the very point I highlighted earlier in Example 2, where there appears to be a textual and musical link between this motet and *Detractor/Qui secuntur/Verbum*. Thus Fauvel's family, at the exact moment when their supposed words support him, in fact are having words and music put in their mouths from a motet whose tone is ostensibly far more critical.

FIGURE 11: Texts and translations of *La mesnie fauveline/J'ai fait nouveletement/Grant despit*

Triplum

La mesnie fauveline
Qui a mau fere s'encline
Volentiers et de legier,
Car ainc a autre doctrine,
Science ne dicipline
Ne deigna soi asegier
A devoir aperceü
Que Fauvel a conceü
De prendre a fame Fortune.
Si a dit de voiz commune
Pour plus a son seigneur plere:
"Sire, bien va voastre afere!
L'apostole et tuit si frere,
Ducx, Contes, Rois, Emperiere,
Vous servent sanz contredit;
N'i est plus tencié ne dit.
Allez en vostre besoingne!
Ne devra avoir vergoingne
Fortune de vous avoir.
Or et argent et avoir
Avez et moult bele chere.
Sur touz portez la baniere."
Torchié devant et derriere
L'ont sa gent en tel maniere,
Qu'il a prise hardiesce,
Que vers sa dame s'adresce.
Si dit l'en communement
Qu'en folour n'a hardement.

Triplum translation

The family of Fauvel
which is disposed to do ill
willingly and thoughtlessly,
for never in another doctrine,
science or discipline
did it deign to establish itself
that Fauvel has had the idea
to take Fortune to wife.
They have[88] said publically
to please their lord the more:
"Sire, your venture is going well!
The Pope and all his brothers,
Dukes, Counts, Kings, Emperors,
serve you without opposition;
there is no longer any dispute or words.
Carry on with your task!
And Fortune should not be ashamed
to have you.
Gold and Silver and possessions
do you have as well as the finest countenance.
You bear the banner over all."
His household have rubbered him down
behind and in front in such a way
that he has summoned up the audacity
to address himself to his lady.
It is commonly said
that in folly there is boldness.

Motetus

J'ai fait nouveletement amie,
Cui vuel moustrer
Mon propos entierement,
Combien que li encontrer
Redout pour sa grant noblesce.
C'est Fortune qui me blesce,
Que n'ouse emprendre a li dire
Mon vueil pour li garder d'ire.
Nequetant tout sanz delay
Pour ce que trouvée l'ay
Douce, amiable et non dure,
Li direz ce que j'endure:
C'est que je la vueil a fame.
Combien que soit honorée
En ce siecle et haute dame,
De moi sera bien amée.

Motetus translation

I have just made a (lady) friend,
to whom I wish to reveal
my entire love;
however much I fear meeting her
because of her great nobility,
it is Fortune which wounds me,
for I dare not begin to tell her
my wish to prevent her anger.
In spite of everything, without delay,
because I have found her
sweet, friendly and not hard,
you will tell her what I am suffering:
it is that I want her for my wife.
However much she is honoured
in this world and high-born lady,
she will be well loved by me.

Tenor

Grant despit ai je, Fortune,
De Fauvel qui s'est fait prune
De moi demander a fame.
Mes ie li dirai a une,
Et si cler com luist la lune
Li mousterrai que sui dame.

Tenor translation

I suffer great vexation, I, Fortune,
concerning Fauvel, who has boasted
about asking me to be his wife,
but I will tell him straightaway,
and as clearly as the moon shines,
I will show him I am a lady.

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[88] Ricketts has 'she has', however it is clear from the context that the reference is to the family (la mesnie) in line 1. Although my translation is plural, 'they' refers here to 'the family' which is singular, however, it makes more sense to use 'they' to refer to the family in the English.

La mesnie/J'ai fait/Grant[89] also serves as a summary to what precedes it in the narrative and begins Fauvel's wooing of Fortune. Roesner et al. note that Fortune's 'refusal of his suit is anticipated in the tenor text, 'Grant despit ai ie Fortune','[90] a reference to the future that also complements Fortune's prognostications in her extended interchange with the horse.

The final motet of *Fauvel, Quant ie le voi/Bon vin doit/Cis chans veult boire* (and apart from one refrain, see Figure 8, it is the final piece of the whole *roman*), is as irreverent as the beast himself: it is a rowdy little drinking song (see Example 7 and Figure 13 for texts and translations). After the lamentations that Fauvel and his offspring are destroying France and prayers for help to the Virgin Mary, this might at first seem an odd way to finish this enormous interpolated work. On the contrary, I would argue that it is completely in keeping with all that has gone before. Brownlee notes that the last word in the all three lines of the motet, 'boire', answers the final word of Chaillou's epilogue 'boive'.[91] As well as answering the final words of the narrative, this motet captures the tone of the whole oeuvre. The rowdy theme recalls Fauvel's degenerate behaviour, his wedding celebrations and perhaps the charivari as well. The tenor that underpins the motet is a repeated refrain that points to the way citation has been used in the motets to demonstrate Fauvel's method of attaining power and getting what he wants: underhand, controlling, at times deceptive. There is also a potential allusion to the first motet to contain the vernacular – *Detractor/Qui secuntur/Verbum*. The reference to taking the good wine, rather than the bad, is suggestive of the motetus of that earlier motet, where the good men drink from the cup of wine and the bad drink the lees.

This idea of taking good wine rather than bad also has strong overtones of the crucifixion and the Eucharist. Dillon suggests an analysis of the final page in which the three columns – laid out as text-music-text, with the final refrain along with the tenor of the motet across the bottom of all three columns – correspond to the traditional iconographical layout of the crucifixion: Christ centre, with Mary and St. John either side, and as often appeared in thirteenth-century images, Adam depicted at the bottom, rising from his grave to catch the blood from Christ's wounds in a Eucharistic chalice. This visual allusion is reinforced by the references to drinking wine in the text of the motet, the refrain and the epilogue of the

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[89] Translation by Peter Ricketts from liner notes of *Le Roman de Fauvel*, The Boston Camerata / Ensemble P.A.N., Joel Cohen, dir. (Erato 4509-96392-2, 1991).

[90] Roesner et al., *Le Roman de Fauvel*, p. 16.

[91] Kevin Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation and Literary Models in the *Roman de Fauvel*', in Bent and Wathey, *Fauvel Studies*, p. 101.

narrative, which have connotations of the Eucharist and Christ's bleeding wounds on the cross. The final page of the *roman* thus becomes a visual echo of the climax of the Eucharist. Continuing the theme of motet use discussed in this chapter, the final page combines the highest and lowest registers. The simple and degenerate drinking song references Fauvel through its language and register, and yet also manages to allude to Christ at the most sublime moment of his earthly self-sacrifice.

EXAMPLE 7: *Quant ie le voi/Bon vin doit/Cis chans veult boire*

Quant ie le voi/Bon vin doit/Cis chans veult boire

[musical notation]

Quant ie le voi ou voir - re cler, vo-len tiers__ m'i vueil__ a - cor - der;

Bon vin doit__ l'en a li ti - rer et li mau - ves en__ sus bou - ter.

Cis chans veult boi - re Cis chans veult boi - re

[musical notation, measure 9]

et puis si chan - te de cueur__ cler: Cis chans veult boi - re.

puis doi-vent com - pa - gnons chan - ter: Cis chans__ veult__ boi - re.

Cis chans veult boi - re Cis chans veult boi -

EXAMPLE 8: The final refrain of the *Roman de Fauvel*

[musical notation]

Ci me faut un tour de vin Dex quar le me don - nez

FIGURE 12: Text and translations of *Quant ie le voi/Bon vin doit/Cis chans veult boire*

Triplum
Quant ie le voi ou voire cler,
Volentiers m'i vueil acorder;
Et puis si chante de cueur cler:
Cis chans veult boire.

Triplum translation
When I see it clearly in the glass,
I am completely in agreement;
and then sing out heartily:
this song needs a drink.

Motetus
Bon vin doit l'en a li tirer
Et li mauves en sus bouter.
Puis doivent compagnons chanter:
Cis chans veult boire.

Motetus translation
Good wine must one draw to oneself
and kick the bad one out.
Then companions must sing:
this song needs a drink.

Tenor
Cis chans veult boire x 4

Tenor translation
This song needs a drink.

CONCLUSIONS

Fauvel's vernacular incursions, be they explicit or implicit – that is actual words put in his mouth, or French texts being used to represent his presence – are significantly broad. His intrusions ride rough-shod over the accepted codes of expression, as he inveigles himself into different registers. In the motets, he interrupts religious texts, he sings rondeaux, he uses his voice in bawdy and courtly lyrics alike. Outside the motets he also sings ballades, and at one point even ventures into Latin as his final effort to woo Lady Fortune. Thus his musical identity mutates as much as his depiction in the illustrations and his description in the narrative. This movement between registers demonstrates Fauvel's insincerity and his inappropriateness. He uses music and language to his own manipulative ends, with little comprehension for its rightful setting, as indeed he has little comprehension of his own rightful place, in the stable.

The combined effect of the visual, musical and narrative techniques, arranged throughout the *roman* as a means of capturing Fauvel's behaviour, also serves to create a manuscript which embodies its own lessons. BnF, fr.146 becomes a didactic volume that warns us through cautionary examples to stay within our own sphere; that certain kinds of music, like certain kinds of people, should not be mixed, and that art can have a malign influence when misappropriated.

Ardis Butterfield draws attention to the power of the refrain to break down the boundaries of genre.[92] She notes how the *Fauvel* manuscript mirrors its own narrative of 'vicious excess' by the variety and volume of experience it offers anyone who encounters it. Reading alone cannot acquaint one fully with its contents any more than listening to a performance of the music or the text read aloud could – there are too many aspects to the work to encounter all of them in any one form of presentation or interaction. While there has not been space in this chapter to address all aspects of motet writing and citation in BnF, fr.146, I hope at least to have shown that by approaching a particular aspect of the manuscript in light of its context, we can gain a fuller understanding of that dimension than if considering it in isolation. In this case, examining the use of citation and the vernacular in the motets has shown how the compilers of *Fauvel* exploited these tools to echo and heighten the behaviour of the title character.

We saw how in the first motet, *Detractor/Qui secuntur/Verbum,* the use of the French language could be interpreted as subversive. The sombre language of the Church was infused with the language of Fauvel, and even the idiom of courtly love – foreshadowing the beast's deceitful courting of Lady Fortune. The alternating, macaronic text produces a curious hybrid, that recalls the depictions of Fauvel in the illuminations, and in particular resonates with the unsettling depiction of a man emerging from a horse on the preceding page. I also suggest that the two languages compete against each other both for temporal dominance and in tone, a reflection perhaps of the conflict between good and evil, and divine punishment for pride. This motet thus works on a number of levels: we can hear the different languages and their competition for space in the music, we see the alternating textual lines on the page and their relation to the hybridity of the depictions of Fauvel, and we find textual allusions to other points in the *roman*, to the Bible, to *auctores* represented in Florilegia, and even possible musical allusions to apocalyptic literature through the use of number in the structure of the motet. Other more traditionally bilingual motets (that is, with the respective voice parts in different languages) can similarly be understood as analogous to the half-man/half-horse representations of Fauvel in the miniatures.

Such interconnections between the motets and their context in the manuscript tell us that the compiling of this version of the *roman* was extremely well planned out, and that however many scribes, composers, writers and illuminators were involved in its production, they were likely working very closely together.

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[92] Ardis Butterfield, 'The Refrain and the Transformation of Genre in the *Roman de Fauvel*', in Bent and Wathey, *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 105-59.

The use of citation in the selected motets I have examined in this chapter also tells us something about the complex relationship between creators of the manuscript and of the music. While on the one hand they used music to comment on Fauvel's bad nature, to gloss the text, to pray for help, on the other hand they showed how music can be a tool for evil, too, in the hands of the corrupt. The music put in Fauvel's mouth reminds us that music can serve as propaganda and lies, that it can be used to persuade people to evil, that it can accompany degenerate gatherings as well as holy ones. Even genres of music that are held in high esteem can be manipulated for bad ends – the palace of Fauvel, seat of the worst villain, has music upon the walls described as being well written and well notated, 'Bien escriptez et bien notees', yet which tells of bad deeds and crimes.[93] It is not outside of the realms of possibility that the creators of *Fauvel* intended a serious warning here. In the spirit of admonition that pervades this work, perhaps the responsibility falls equally on those who admonish as the target of their lessons. Because of the way that Fauvel enters into these moral discourses, through the vernacular, I would argue that music is revealed to be potentially corrupted and corruptive, as well as didactic. Through the resulting reflexiveness of the manuscript, the compilers do not exclude themselves from the dire warnings it presents, and are thus subject to the same admonishments as the people of rank in the audience. This tallies with the likely courtly or ecclesiastical positions held by the creators of BnF, fr.146.

The didactic power of the book is further emphasised by miniatures of its interpolator. The illuminations on fols 10[r] and 11[r] which are believed to depict Chaillou de Pesstain himself, demonstrate the dual function of the book: oral performance and private reading. The progression of the depictions privileges contact with the book – the lectern disappears, the clerk holds the book to himself, a pictured listener takes off his gloves. Dillon suggests this may be an act of submission to the book and its lessons.[94] The wealth and variety of material in the manuscript, which includes more than the story of *Fauvel*, offer multiple ways in which we today can interact with these contents.

The dazzling variety of content in this manuscript and the interconnections it displays demand that we pay attention to the object as a whole. Its construction is by any measure unique, having neither clear antecedents on which it was modelled, nor subsequent manuscripts which were able to replicate its versatility. While demonstrating a great accomplishment in medieval literary

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[93] Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ll. 1345-1353.

[94] Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, p. 96.

production (and possibly presaging later polyphonic developments, as discussed earlier), BnF, fr.146 does not, therefore provide a blueprint for a new kind of work. Its virtuosity in music, narrative and visual presentation mean that the manuscript itself could perhaps be better viewed as a performance, taking all of these elements on board in our experience of it. I do not mean that the motets were not intended for performance on their own, or that there would have been no reading aloud of this manuscript. Indeed the production of a CD and staged show of *Fauvel*[95] in the modern era shows the value of the auditory side of the work, and I am sure that this would have been something sought by those interacting with the manuscript in its era of creation. Yet, the subtler points of the motets have to be seen as well as heard, from the precise placement of the different languages and registers, to their *mise en page*, as Dillon elegantly demonstrates with her analysis of the final page. A skilfully written motet can convey some of its meaning through artful arrangement and playful use of alliteration and assonance, but it can be difficult for the ear to pick up the finer points of a polytextual arrangement without prior knowledge of the words or music. In combination with the illuminations and the narrative development, these motets confirm how vital it is to view this manuscript holistically. If we divorce the contents from the physical object, we lose something of the urgency of the message contained, and the interaction with the reader the manuscript seems to demand. Ultimately, however we might approach *Fauvel* today, there is a level on which this manuscript defies abstraction, and waits to give its next performance to a privileged reader.

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[95] *Le Roman de Fauvel*, The Boston Camerata / Ensemble P.A.N., Joel Cohen, dir. (Erato 4509-96392-2, 1991).

CHAPTER TWO

BLURRING BOUNDARIES: MACHAUT'S USE AND REUSE OF CITATION

In the previous chapter, we saw how the *Roman de Fauvel* offers a unique perspective on citation in motets, functioning as a cohesive element that highlights narrative and character. The motets of Guillaume de Machaut might be described as equally sui generis, for reasons I shall elaborate below. Indeed his entire output is a special case, since he collected it in his lifetime into complete works' manuscripts, giving us opportunities to explore interrelations without being plagued by problems of attribution. I shall begin by briefly charting Machaut's life and career, before proceeding to address questions of language and register in his motets in the context of motet writing in general. From there I shall summarize what recent scholarship has had to say about citation and allusion in Machaut's motets as a means of positioning my own ideas within the debate.

As will become apparent, there has been some excellent analysis of textual and structural relationships in Machaut's motets, as well as a great deal of work done to situate his choice of material within his cultural milieu.[1] As part of this overview of previous studies, I shall demonstrate that there is further scope for examining his motets more closely within the context of his own oeuvre. To this end I shall be applying some of the techniques of examination I used earlier in connection with the *Fauvel* motets, to show how Machaut unifies his own work through citation, and how an understanding of this might better enable us to hear his 'voice'. This does not mean I shall be ignoring outside influences on

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[1] For structural analyses of Machaut's motets see in particular Jacques Boogaart, 'Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and their Function in Machaut's Motets', *Early Music History*, 20 (2001), 1-86, 'Love's Unstable Balance, Part I: Analogy of Ideas in Text and Music of Machaut's Motet 6', *Muziek & Weteschap*, 3 (1993), 3-23 and 'Love's Unstable Balance, Part II: More Balance Problems and the Order of Machaut's Motets', *Muziek & Wetenschap*, 3 (1993), 24-33; Anna Zayaruznaya, 'Form and Idea in the *Ars Nova* Motet', unpubd. PhD dissertation, 2010; Daniel Leech-Wilkinson 'Related Motets from Fourteenth-Century France', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 109 (1982), 1-22. For further information on how Machaut's work is situated in his cultural milieu see Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (London: Garland, 1995), especially Chapter One; Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut*, forthcoming, especially Chapter Eight where she examines poetic exchanges between Machaut and his contemporaries; see also Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) for a discussion of how his output relates to his canonry at Reims; for an overview of Machaut's life and work see Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut, Secretary, Poet, Musician* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011); for Machaut's relationship with and influence upon literate culture see Deborah McGrady, *Controlling Readers: Guillaume de Machaut and his Late Medieval Audience* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

his work, nor shall I be glossing over the problem of whether internal repetitions are reiterations of Machaut's own ideas or multiple uses of unidentified external material. On the contrary, his citation of lyrics and music from other sources will be examined in parallel, to illustrate how he appropriates this material not merely as a form of repetition, but in a manner that incorporates it into his own perspective. The way borrowed material is positioned within the nexus of his works is therefore more than a dialogue between two sources, but can be considered as essentially dialogic, in the Bakhtinian sense.

Machaut's citations suggest that he set out to blur the putative boundary between the evocation of external authors and tradition, and the reuse of his own material within his corpus. That is, the boundary between his use of material borrowed from other sources, which Machaut employed to lend authority to his own work, and those ideas and turns of phrase that are particular to him and which he redeployed on a number of occasions in order to augment his own authority. In support of this view I shall offer some comments on medieval ideas of memory and grafting in relation to Machaut's complete works' manuscripts, before proceeding to some case studies which illustrate the issues at hand. I shall finish with a section that explores some hitherto unremarked upon Marian allusions within Machaut's motets.

MACHAUT AND HIS ARTISTIC MILIEU

Guillaume de Machaut (c1300-1377) found a fame in his own lifetime that belied his humble origins. Born to a non-noble family, probably in the village of Machault in Champagne, he became widely known as a musician and poet through a combination of his own abundant talent and his association with some of the more illustrious patrons of music and poetry in fourteenth-century France. His work had a strong influence on that of his contemporaries and continued to influence the next generation of poets and composers.[2] He probably received a Masters degree in Paris, and went on to work as a clerk for some of the most prestigious nobility of the fourteenth century.[3] In this capacity, Machaut had

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[2] In particular he influenced Froissart, Deschamps, and Christine de Pizan. He was also a source of inspiration to Chaucer, who alluded to the work of Machaut in his own writing, notably the *Book of the Duchess* and *Legend of Good Women*. See Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut, A Guide to Research* (London: Garland, 1995), pp. 53-5, see also Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, and Jennifer Bain and Deborah McGrady, eds, *A Companion to Guillaume de Machaut: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Master* (Boston: Brill, forthcoming 2011).

[3] For a discussion of the documentary evidence for Machaut's title *maistre*, which implies he obtained a university degree, see ibid., pp. 3, 7–8. Earp also charts Machaut's interactions with various patrons, ibid., 3–51.

opportunity both to record historic events first-hand,[4] and to provide courtly entertainment at illustrious venues throughout Europe, no doubt also allowing him to meet and exchange with other respected writers and composers of the day. The conferment of a canonicate at Reims cathedral at the end of the 1330s does not appear to have diminished this itinerant lifestyle. Like many clerks in the service of nobility, the canonry was probably for Machaut and his employers a kind of insurance policy against old age and infirmity, allowing his employers to retain his services for as long as he was able to carry them out, with the knowledge that there was a 'retirement plan' for when he was no longer able to maintain the peripatetic lifestyle. This benefitted both parties, since the employee was ensured of a comfortable provision for his old age, while the employer could lessen the likelihood that his servant would be actively seeking a more secure position with another patron. It seems likely that Machaut took up the position at Reims in the late 1350s, which as Roger Bowers suggests, makes the composition of the *Messe de Nostre Dame* in the early 1360s an appropriate start to Machaut's new life.[5]

Machaut's artistic output extended to all the popular forms, genres, and styles of his era. In addition to his twenty-three motets he wrote copious lais, ballades and rondeaux, including many fixed form lyrics without music, a number of narrative *dits*, the *Notre Dame* mass, the *David Hoquet*, and a prologue to his collected works. Across this broad spectrum of creativity his predominant concern is with the paradigm of *fin'amors* that had been developed by the troubadours and trouvères in the previous centuries.[6] This preoccupation extends to his motets. Of the twenty-three that he wrote, fifteen are vernacular motets concerned with courtly love, two are bilingual and combine amatory and philosophical themes, and the remaining six are Latin and address devotional or occasional subject matter.

As discussed in the introductory chapter, there was, broadly speaking, a division of labour between the French and Latin languages in literary composition of this period. The vernacular was the usual locus of courtly love poetry, romances, and the 'lower' registers,

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[4] His military experiences are attested to in some of his narrative works. He mentions various campaigns in the service of John of Luxembourg and refers in the *complainte, A toi, Hanri,* to guarding the city walls during the siege of Reims, ibid., pp. 8, 39.

[5] Roger Bowers, 'Guillaume de Machaut and his Canonry of Reims, 1338-1347', *Early Music History*, 23 (2004), 1-48. Bowers offers a full discussion in this article of normal patterns of behaviour of those in receipt of benefices and canonicates, and assesses Machaut's likely pattern of attendance at Reims.

[6] See Alan R. Press, ed., and trans., *Anthology of troubadour lyric poetry* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971).

including pastoral themes. Latin by contrast was the vehicle of sacred, devotional, occasional, historical and didactic texts. Naturally, there are exceptions to this division, notably among Marian texts that were written in French, in the style of love poetry, but generally there appears to be a connection between the content of the piece and the language in which it was presented.

From a statistical point of view, Machaut's choice to write predominantly French motets runs contrary to the general trend in the fourteenth century, in which Latin superseded French as the preferred language of composition. Of the thirty-four motets found in the Ivrea codex (excluding those three by Machaut which are transmitted in this source), around a third (twelve) are French and two are bilingual. In the Chantilly codex, three of its thirteen motets are in French. The motets of the Cypriot-French repertory, J.II.9, also favour Latin compositions. (I shall discuss the motets of these sources further in chapters four and five respectively.) As we saw in the last chapter, the motets of *Fauvel* feature a mix of *ars nova* and *ars antiqua* musical styles, and the contrasting registers evoked by the use of Latin or French were exploited to make satirical points; *Fauvel* does not, however, necessarily offer a representative distribution of language use in motets .

Although the dearth of extant textual evidence makes it difficult to draw definite conclusions about the artistic output of the period, it seems *prima facie* reasonable to conclude that French-texted motets became less popular as *ars nova* compositional techniques became more well established. However, this summary of artistic activity is by no means straightforward since there are also indications that motet writing in general was in decline – or, at least, we do not have as many examples of surviving *ars nova* motets as we do of *ars antiqua* motets.[7] It is problematic to assess whether the information that has survived represents the general state of the musical scene at the time or merely the personal taste of those patrons, composers, or compilers who commissioned, created and preserved the works which remain available to us.

The only composers to whom a significant number of *ars nova* motets are attributed are Philippe de Vitry[8] and Machaut; other works are either unattributable or are single

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[7] The surviving fragment of the Trémoille manuscript, which has an index of motets, tells us that a number of motets were produced that are no longer extant. However, even given this evidence it still seems reasonable to conclude that motet writing in general was in decline – especially in contrast to the emerging fixed forms – and that French motets were less favoured in comparison to Latin ones.

[8] Since we do not have a complete works codex extant for Philippe de Vitry, we cannot be as sure about the overall nature of his output as we can for that of Machaut. It appears that his preference was for Latin motets since all those attributed to him, save for *Douce playsense/Garison selon nature/Neuma quinti toni*, are Latin motets.

examples from a named composer about whose wider output we have no details. Ursula Günther suggests that Machaut's preference for French motets may reflect his own taste: 'Possibly his great poetic gifts may account for this predilection as well as the natural tendency to employ the mother tongue when writing verse'.[9] Preference for a particular language and personal ability may well also explain Vitry's surviving output of predominantly Latin motets. He was lauded in his own lifetime as a skilled and highly learned poet – Petrarch praised Vitry as being 'the only true poet among the French ('Tu, poeta nunc unicus Gallicarum...')'[10] – and the texts for which he was most acclaimed, and consequently which have survived in a number of sources, are his Latin ones.[11] Wathey has drawn attention to the dissemination of Vitry's Latin motet texts, which circulated without their music,[12] prized as they were for their content, which was didactic, polemical and humanistic, replete with classical references that were clearly popular in certain high-brow circles. They were still circulating thus in humanist manuscripts of the fifteenth century, underlining the likely reasons for their perceived value. A composer's choice of language medium may therefore reflect not only personal preference, but also his particular expertise, in turn affecting which works have been preserved.[13]

Machaut's patrons were apparently exclusively from the high nobility, and, despite his canonicate at Reims, his output predominantly served secular audiences.[14] Vitry, on the other hand, worked for some time at the papal court in Avignon where, as we shall see in

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[9] Ursula Günther, 'The 14th-Century Motet and Its Development', *Musica Disciplina*, 12 (1958), p. 36.

[10] Andrew Wathey, 'The Motets of Philippe de Vitry and the Fourteenth-Century Renaissance', *Early Music History*, 12 (1993), p. 120. Apart from the obvious fact that Vitry and Petrarch had different mother tongues, it is otherwise noteworthy that Petrarch is praising him in Latin and calls him specifically 'the only true poet *among* the French', not 'French poet'.

[11] In the *Règles de la seconde rhétorique*, written by an anonymous author in the early fifteenth century, Vitry was described as having established the style of the vernacular *formes fixes* of the fourteenth century, in addition to his motet writing. Unfortunately none of Vitry's endeavours in these genres remain extant and we cannot, therefore, make any judgements regarding his abilities in vernacular poetry; if it bears any resemblance to his writing in Latin, however, it was surely of a high standard. Ernest Langlois, *Recueil d'Arts de Seconde Rhétorique* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902; repr. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974).

[12] Wathey, 'The Motets of Philippe de Vitry', p. 122.

[13] In the case of Machaut, since he made a particular effort to collate his output in 'complete work' volumes, all of his material survives as a collection. Therefore, it is more difficult to make the judgement that any one composition or poem may have survived because of its particular merit or popularity. Indeed, remarkably few of Machaut's individual works are transmitted in sources outside those exclusively devoted to his output.

[14] This is not to characterise Machaut as a solely secular writer, since he wrote a mass and the *David Hoquet*. Furthermore, his *Lay de Notre Dame* was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and his motets straddle the boundary between the sacred and the secular, with the later motets in particular being devotional in nature. Nonetheless the tone of his oeuvre is in the main courtly rather than religious.

Chapter Four, his motet writing was put to polemical and political use. Therefore, the choice of language was also influenced by particular circumstances or the interests of individual patrons.

If a trend can be identified in fourteenth-century motets, it is perhaps a distancing of the genre from the 'lower' registers. Pastoral-themed texts, or ones with a bawdy subject (such as those from the thirteenth century that feature the exploits of Robin and Marion) are not so common in the *ars nova* motet. In *Fauvel*, we found motets employing lower registers, but that these were used satirically, dramatically and didactically. I shall discuss in Chapter Four how *ars antiqua* motets continued to circulate alongside their newer counterparts and that, in some cases, textual modelling on thirteenth-century texts can be traced in *ars nova* motets. Nonetheless, whether we look to the polemic of Vitry's Latin, or the courtly love of Machaut's French, there is a noticeable movement away from pastoral or bawdy songs, or tales of the tavern, towards a more serious style of motet. I say a movement away, since, as will be suggested below, it is hardly a complete cessation: these motifs and ideas find more subtle ways to still incorporate themselves into the texts of motets. One example is found in M16, where Machaut employed a *chanson de maumariée* as a tenor, although, as we shall see, he elevates the register while parodying the older forms of this genre.

INFLUENCES AND SCHOLARSHIP

Machaut drew on a range of influences for his musical and poetic creation. References to classical material are present in his work, usually garnered from sources such as the *Ovide moralisé*,[15] which he alluded to especially in his *dits*.[16] His ballades tend to be populated by the allegorical figures familiar from the *Roman de la Rose*,[17] a tradition with which Machaut also engaged in his *dits* and motets. Certain of Machaut's lais have been shown to be modelled on those from *Fauvel*.[18] In his *formes fixes* we can observe a kaleidoscope of

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[15] *Ovide Moralisé: poème du commencement du quatorzième siècle publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus par C.de Boer*, 5 vols (Amsterdam: Muller, 1915-38).

[16] Yolanda Plumley discusses influences on Machaut's lyrics and songs, and remarks that his ballades, unlike his *dits*, do not draw extensively on classical exempla as do those of Le Mote, Vitry and Campion, nor do they cite extensively heroes and lovers from medieval romance. Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, Chapter Nine. M7 contains one of the few classical references that can be found in the motets: a reference to the story of Echo and Narcissus (this story is also related in the *Roman de la Rose*, so Machaut could be said to be making a double allusion with the one reference).

[17] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Lecoy, Félix (Paris: Editions Champion, 1965); Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Horgan, Frances (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[18] The connection was first suggested by Leo Schrade and more recently expanded upon by Benjamin Albritton. See Schrade, 'Guillaume de Machaut and the *Roman de Fauvel*', in *Miscelánea a Monseñor Higinio*

material gathered from contemporary writers and trouvères of previous generations, alongside commonplaces and proverbs.[19]

Citation in Machaut's motets has been the subject of a great deal of scholarship in recent years. The assumption that *ars nova* motet writers eschewed the practice of citing refrains, or using snippets from other songs or motets – as their thirteenth-century counterparts had done – is now coming under scrutiny. The question has moved from whether this practice continued at all, to the manner in which it continued. Jacques Boogaart has identified and discussed a number of links between Machaut's motets and the *grand chant* repertory of the trouvères.[20] In particular, he has found quotations of Thibaut de Champagne in motets 3, 4, 5 and 15, some material taken from Perrin d'Angicourt in motets 5, 6 and 7, and a snippet of Gace Brulé in M12. According to Boogaart, Machaut's use of citation thereby 'elevated the literary aesthetic of the vernacular motet'.[21] However, thirteenth-century motets, while not predominantly drawing on the *grands chants*, do display a mixture of registers and cite some higher-style songs.[22] What seems reasonably clear is that Machaut preferred to cite the 'big names' of previous generations – trouvères of particular fame and social standing – perhaps to accentuate his own authority and ability.[23] What is certain is the holistic mastery of design that Machaut achieved in the creation of his texts. Boogaart remarks that 'Machaut's motet texts are not haphazardly composed of standard phrases from the traditional courtly love language but have a reasoned and fixed order with a precise meaning, not only in their content but even in the position of their words'.[24] For Boogaart, Machaut's motet texts, and the citations they contain, can be considered in relation to the musical structure as well.[25] For example, the

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Anglés, vol. 2 (Barcelona: Consejo superior de investigaciones cientificas, 1958-61), 843-50, and Benjamin Albritton, 'Citation and Allusion in the Lays of Guillaume de Machaut', unpubd. PhD dissertation, 2009.

[19] See Plumley, ibid.

[20] Boogaart, 'Encompassing'.

[21] Boogaart, 'Encompassing', p. 64.

[22] Boogaart, 'Encompassing' p. 64.

[23] This conclusion is drawn from those citations in his work that have proven attributable to named sources. We can naturally never be absolutely certain that he does not also quote ideas from other (perhaps anonymous) sources now lost to us, since he drew on a wealth of traditional material including commonplaces and proverbs. Nevertheless, with due caution, the accumulated source-information for Machaut's citation does permit this interpretation.

[24] ibid., p. 33.

[25] The relationship between textual ideas and musical structure is also explored by Zayaruznaya in 'Form and Idea'. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson examines structural connections between different motets, establishing

'telescopic' talea arrangement of M6 is shown to correspond with the concerns about excess expressed in the text.[26] It is, therefore, crucial never to take an aspect of Machaut's work in isolation and to be aware of the creative tessellations and interconnections that he develops in his work.

Alongside the past masters of love poetry Machaut drew on philosophical works such as the *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius and Alain de Lille's *Complaint of Nature*.[27] Boogaart links the texts of M17 with these two works and identifies the chain of reasoning in the texts with the syncopated layout of the tenor.[28] Sylvia Huot and Anna Zayaruznaya both discuss the influence of Boethius on the motetus of M12.[29] It is noteworthy that the two motets particularly associated with Boethius are the only two bilingual motets Machaut wrote.[30]

As mentioned above, Machaut, like many fourteenth-century writers, drew much inspiration from the *Roman de la Rose*. He appropriated many of the allegorical characters, using his readers' assumed knowledge of the roles these figures played in the *Rose*, to explore ideas or create dialogues within his motets. Kevin Brownlee has examined the literary context of the allegorical figures, Amours and Faux Semblant, which feature in M15.[31] Brownlee notes how the motetus and the triplum (the former's incipit headed by Faux Semblant and the latter's by Amours) portray different accounts of one love story, both from the poet-narrator's point of view. In one he is the 'loyal servant of Amours', in the other he is the 'unwitting victim of Faux

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potential directions of influence. For example, he notices a relationship in 'melodic outline' between the introitus of M21 and Vitry's *Impudenter/Virtutibus/Alma redemptoris mater*. M15 and M18 display 'the same 3-breve to 1-chant-note ratio' seen in a number of Vitry's motets. Furthermore, M5 possibly attests to modelling on Vitry's *Douce/Garison/Neuma*. See 'Related Motets'.

[26] Boogaart, ibid., pp. 23–26. See also Boogaart, 'Love's Unstable Balance, Part I' and 'Love's Unstable Balance, Part II'.

[27] Lille's *Complaint of Nature* was modelled after Boethius. See Boogaart, 'Encompassing', pp. 45-46. Alan of Lille, *The Plaint of Nature*, trans. James J. Sheridan, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980).

[28] Boogaart, ibid., p. 48.

[29] Sylvia Huot, 'Patience in Adversity: The Courtly Lover and Job in Machaut's Motets 2 and 3', *Medium Aevum*, 63 (1994), p. 233, and Zayaruznaya, 'Form and Idea', p. 183.

[30] Since copies of Boethius were circulating in both Latin and French during Machaut's lifetime, it is unclear as to which Machaut would have seen – he may indeed have seen both. In the moteti of M12 and M17 he models his Latin texts on Boethius, though he chose to paraphrase him in French in the triplum of M17.

[31] Kevin Brownlee, 'Machaut's Motet 15 and the *Roman de la Rose*: The Literary Context of *Amours qui a le pouoir/Faus Samblant m'a deceu/Vidi Dominum*', *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), 1-14.

Semblant'.[32] Brownlee argues that this contrast should be read through the lens of the contrast between Amours and Faux Semblant in the *Roman de la Rose*, whereby both allegorical figures are revealed to be part of the same 'fallen linguistic world of appearances', rendering the seeming opposition illusory.[33] Thus, argues Brownlee, the real contrast becomes that between this "world of appearances" and the liturgical milieu of the tenor, which is taken from Jacob's declaration 'Vidi dominum, facie ad facium; et salva facta est anima mea' (I have seen the Lord face to face; and my life is preserved). This divine alternative is the 'true opposition' contrasted with the 'false opposition' offered in the upper voices.[34] Brownlee applies a similar approach to M10, considering its intertextuality from three perspectives: (*a*) reading the motetus against the triplum, (*b*) reading the motetus and the triplum together against their wider literary backdrop; in the case of M10 the *Roman de la Rose* and Dido's story in the *Ovide Moralisé*, and (*c*) reading the motetus and triplum against the tenor. Brownlee's interpretations of Machaut's motet texts suggest that the contrasts they portray are '"dialogic"…in the Bakhtinian sense of the term, i.e. the two apparently contradictory terms are mutually defining, at the same time as they seem to be mutually exclusive.'[35] Machaut absorbs and reinvents traditional material in an innovative way, as R. Barton Palmer has also argued.[36] This notion that Machaut could employ material without being slavishly dependent on the meaning of the source material is a key influence upon my reading of Machaut, too.

This latter consideration is of particular importance, since no discussion of citation in the motet should omit reference to its borrowed tenor. Bent and Boogaart have paid particular attention to the numerical and structural nature of Machaut's tenors in relation to the themes of the upper voices. In common with Brownlee they have each also examined how the liturgical and exegetical meanings of the tenors interact with

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[32] Brownlee, ibid., pp. 3-4.

[33] ibid., p. 12.

[34] ibid., p. 14. In response to Brownlee's literary analysis of M15, Margaret Bent, in a manner similar to Boogaart, examines the texts in light of the motet's musical structure, placing particular importance on Machaut's use of number (e.g. the number of taleae and use of the golden section). Bent, 'Deception, Exegesis and Sounding Number in Machaut's Motet 15', *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), 15-27.

[35] Brownlee, 'Machaut's Motet 15', p. 4.

[36] R. Barton Palmer, 'Guillaume de Machaut and the Classical Tradition', in Bain and McGrady, Bain, *A Companion to Guillaume de Machaut*.

the content of the upper voices.[37] Both Sylvia Huot and Anne Walters Robertson have, through different approaches, used an analysis of Machaut's tenor citations to propose links between his motets.[38] Huot examines the connections between motets 2 and 3, both of which she has identified as having tenors whose biblical source is the book of Job. Although M2 is concerned with rejection, and M3 is about loss of love through death, Huot sees these two as a pair, connected as they are by the shared source of their tenors. In turn, she argues, their relationship is analogous with Machaut's narrative *dits*, the *Jugement dou roy de Behaigne* and the *Jugement dou roy de Navarre*. Of the two *dits*, the first describes a debate, the central question of which is whether a knight whose lady has been unfaithful has suffered more than a lady whose knight has died; the conclusion is that the knight's sufferings are greater. In the second *dit*, after a prologue that describes the trials of plague and war (thus drawing our attention to wider concerns of mortality), the verdict is turned on its head.[39] Huot draws our attention to how Machaut not only set his questions about love in a broader context, but also how thematic connections can be seen to recur between different works in his own oeuvre.

Robertson proposes a striking theory to unify and analyse Machaut's first 17 motets.[40] Her conjecture is that these motets parallel the spiritual journey exemplified in Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*, with each motet reinterpreted by Robertson as a step in the quest for Wisdom (itself an allegory for Christ). Each aspect of courtly love, described and explored by Machaut in his texts, therefore becomes for Robertson an allegorical representation of the pilgrim's relationship to his journey and with God. Her reasons for making this connection are based on the supposed parallel she observes between the ordering of Suso's description of the pilgrimage and the

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[37] See Bent, 'Deception, Exegesis', Boogaart, 'Encompassing', and Brownlee, ibid. Yossi Maurey discusses the tenor of M5, suggesting that it could be linked with an antiphon for St Martin instead of Vitry's *Douce/Garison/Neuma*; see 'A Courtly Lover and an Earthly Knight Turned Soldiers of Christ in Machaut's Motet 5', *Early Music History*, 24 (2005), 169-211. For a discussion of the sources of Machaut's tenors see Alice Clark, '*Concordare cum materia*: The Tenor in the Fourteenth-Century Motet', unpubd. PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1996.

[38] Huot, 'Patience'; Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[39] 'The sober prologue of the Jugement Navarre serves a purpose analogous to that of the tenor in motets 2 and 3. In the Jugement Navarre, the question of love is placed in the context of universal tragedy. From this new perspective, the knight's courtly sufferings are diminished, even frivolous, compared to the much more serious ills of war, heresy and death'. Huot, 'Patience', p. 231.

[40] Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut*.

thematic order of Machaut's motets, particularly in respect to his choice of tenors. This is a fascinating hypothesis, although, I believe, ultimately untenable. Boogaart details a number of practical problems as to why Machaut was unlikely to have come into contact with Suso's work, and cites several examples from Machaut's oeuvre showing him to be of a very different mindset to Suso.[41] Most importantly, Boogaart suspects that Machaut did not intend for his motets to be read as 'allegories of a one-sided Christian message',[42] and proposes that readings of these motets should take into account their wider literary heritage and musical structure. I concur with his analysis, for although Robertson offers many fruitful insights into the sacred side of Machaut's career and its potential impact on his writing, Machaut was predominantly a writer of courtly love lyrics, and to limit the reading of his works to a theological context would be to deny a major aspect of his creative impetus. To pigeon-hole the meaning of the motets so narrowly not only limits the interplay between Machaut's many literary interests and voices, but also counters a deeper understanding of his complete works and the artist himself.

While a great deal of work has already been done on Machaut's citations in his motets, comparatively little attention has been paid the common ground between them and his other works. Yolanda Plumley and Benjamin Albritton[43], amongst others, have made significant progress in addressing this, but there remains ample scope for discussion of self-citation in Machaut's motets. Since motets take as their foundation an external citation, it is understandable that scholarship has in the main focussed on discovering further external influences.

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[41] Jacques Boogaart, 'Machaut and Reims', review of Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), in *Early Music*, 32/4 (2004), 605-608.

[42] ibid., p. 607.

[43] Plumley, *The Art*; Benjamin Albritton, 'Citation and Allusion'. Plumley has shown that Machaut's ballades feature considerable concentration of citations of refrains, proverbs and commonplaces, mainly already found in thirteenth-century repertories; she highlights further recurrences within Machaut's body of work, that suggest there may be more, and show how he self-cites. Although Machaut frequently reuses material from his own corpus, Plumley warns us that '[t]he very prevalence of these recurrences raises compelling questions about the nature of these materials and the possible intentions behind the author's use of them. Do these represent further instances of borrowings from as yet unidentified external sources, or did Machaut invent them himself, thereby becoming his own lyric authority? Are they simply a by-product of a compositional approach that relied on the compilation of familiar lyric materials, or are we witnessing here a more deliberate strategy on the author's part to engage his readers or listeners by inviting them to read a recently-composed work against an existing one from his output?' Plumley, ibid., Chapter 9.

Given this brief overview of the academic research that has engaged with citation in Machaut's motets, it is clear that a great deal of valuable work has been undertaken in this area. Nevertheless, there is scope to add to, combine and critique these various approaches. In particular I shall address self-citation in Machaut's motets, contextualising them within his general lyric output, and exploring in greater depth the relationship between the motets and his ballades, virelais and rondeaux, both those with and without music.

Methodological approaches to motets should accommodate their complexity, and as such it is beneficial to draw together different strands of study. These may be considered on three levels: first the intense textual study like that undertaken by Brownlee, second, the analysis of text and musical structure together, with which Bent and Boogaart have engaged, and third, a comparison and contextualisation of motets, both with one another and also set against Machaut's wider output, such as Huot has provided. This latter consideration particularly concords with my focus in this chapter, as it is my conviction that situating Machaut's motets within his full repertory brings us to a deeper understanding of them. My approach involves a closer examination of self-citation – and by that I refer to re-use of material internal to his corpus – which in the case of his motets has so far received little scholarly attention. By these means I shall build on and complement the existing work described above.

We are uniquely privileged that Machaut apparently chose to oversee the creation of several complete works' manuscripts, since this provides us the opportunity to perceive and analyse the full vista of his artistic endeavour, in the setting of his own choosing. The index to Manuscript A tells us: 'Vesci, l'ordenance que G. De Machaut wet qu'il ont en son livre' (Here is the order which G. De Machaut wants there to be in his book), indicating that at the very least he had an influence over the compilation process of this manuscript; it is further not unreasonable to assume that he had similar control over some other instances of such compilations.[44] This enables unique research into self-citation on a number of levels and may allow us to draw out aspects relating to the composer's individuality and voice. This is fundamental. We can just better understand not only Machaut's works and the composer himself by seeing these

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[44] Earp notes that 'in letters 6 and 10 of Machaut's *Voir Dit*…there is discussion of a separate manuscript of the *Fonteinne*', Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, p.73. See also Earp, 'Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Works', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 42/ 3 (1989), pp. 461 -503, for an extended discussion of the evidence for Machaut's involvement in creation of his complete works' manuscripts.

works in the context of his whole output, but also witness how his appropriation and reuse of material became one of the unifying factors of his complete works' manuscripts, alongside, and as a dimension of his authorial presence.

In his discussion of the *Confort d'ami*, R. Barton Palmer has addressed Machaut's appropriation of material and tradition in light of his innovations in self-regarding narrative.[45] For Palmer, Machaut is a 'liminal figure' who stands on the cusp of literary modernity. In the pre-modern era authorship was viewed communally: 'the act of composition was always already defined by a process of appropriation'. Machaut heralded an era in which literature became more self-regarding, while still making use of traditional themes.[46] As authorial presence and ownership of created texts became more important, there emerged the placement of an individuated "I" (to whatever degree autobiographical or fictionalized) who secured the identity of the author and at the same time often commented on the text's supposed creation. While still engaging with due reverence with the honoured texts cited, the application of such texts by an active and inventive narrator renders them distinct from their original setting, and brings them under the control of the interfering author figure.

The pre-modern authorial paradigm is exemplified by the thirteenth-century motet and its manner of intertextuality. In chapter one we saw how these motets could be built up by several composers: lines of text or music could be added or changed – the effort and the effect were communal. Refrains were appropriated with a frequency that muddied any idea of their original context.[47] Huot has explored how these communally built motets juxtapose different registers in order to make an allegorical or parodic point. For example a religious text next to an amatory text can invite a sacred interpretation of a secular text or vice versa, and in turn this interpretation could highlight a

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[45] Palmer, 'Guillaume de Machaut', p. 6.

[46] Palmer notes that Machaut's dits are the particular locus of his exploration and juxtaposition of these two trends since the dit 'is a syncretic form in the sense that it absorbs, re-orients, and even personalizes themes and narrative motifs borrowed from other secular and learned traditions.' Palmer, 'Guillaume de Machaut', p. 8.

[47] As discussed in the introduction, there is an extant manuscript that contains what may be the complete works of the thirteenth-century poet-composer Adam de la Halle, although it is not thought that he oversaw his work in the manner of Machaut. Interestingly, though, he somewhat prefigured Machaut's experiments with self-reference by presenting himself as a character in his own writings, including in Mo258 from the Montpellier Codex. In this motet he portrays himself in the triplum as part of a band of cheerful, revelling young men and in the motetus he describes the beauty of his love declaring that 'pris est Adans' (Adam was taken). Adam's use of his persona in his poetry is discussed by Huot, 'Transformations of Lyric Voice in the Songs, Motets, and Plays of Adam de la Halle', *Romanic Review*, 68 (1987), 148-64, and also by D. Hubbard Nelson, and H. van der Werf, *The Lyrics and Melodies of Adam de la Halle*, (London: Garland, 1985).

similarity of approach or point to a hypocrisy. Fourteenth-century motets, by comparison, have a stronger sense of individual – often named – authorship. They may, therefore, become defined by – and defining of – their writer.[48] While Machaut's self-regarding "I" that narrates the *dits* is not such a strong presence in his motets, his intermediary role as author allows him to fashion between his texts connections that exceed allegory or parody, becoming dialogic in the Bakhtinian sense. Knitted together in the figure of the possessive composer, the different voices in his motets attain a unity in their polytextual, polyphonic conflict that was not possible for the multi-authored motets of the thirteenth-century.

Machaut appropriated texts and tradition, and innovated with them. As Palmer explains, 'Machaut's is a poetry in which self and tradition are maintained in shifting, complex, and always intriguing ways; he does not adapt honored traditional texts as much as he appropriates them for his own purposes'.[49] In other words, his use of citation was not only a means of linking his work to tradition and opening a debate between his and other texts, but he also absorbed the material to become a necessary aspect of his own voice.

Palmer demonstrates this by examining Machaut's use of Boethius in the *Confort d'ami* (Comfort for a Friend). This *dit* was written by Machaut for Charles of Navarre while Charles was imprisoned by John II, King of France. It is modelled on Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, in which Philosophy, allegorically portrayed as a lady, exhorts the semi-autobiographical character of Boethius to understand the true nature of Fortune, both good and bad – as merely subjective experience over which the enlightened individual might assume power – and to become one with God through rationality. While Machaut made use of Philosophy's advice to see Fortune's whim as irrelevant, he also used examples from the Bible and the *Ovid Moralisé*, which seem to undercut Philosophy's conclusion. Although this may seem disjointed and contradictory, Palmer holds that Machaut intended the *dit* to be exactly thus. These inconsistencies mean that the kind of peaceful resolution Boethius seems to achieve cannot be found in Machaut's *Confort*, allowing the author to both pay homage to and parody Boethius. Machaut has

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[48] The Ivrea motet *Se päour d'umble astinance / Diex, tan desir estre amés de m'amour / Concupisco*, is found in the English manuscript Ob7 as a contrafactum, *Domine, quis habitabit / De veri cordis adipe / Concupisco*. However, this is an unusual occurrence in ars nova motets, and as Frank Harrison notes that English compositional practices were somewhat different to their continental counterparts: '*Ars Nova* in England: A New Source', *Musica Disciplina*, 21 (1967), 67-85.

[49] Palmer, 'Guillaume de Machaut', pp. 7-8.

been described as rational, [50] but despite making use of the rationalist work of Boethius, he was unwilling to follow him to his stoical extremes regarding the good things of the world. To diminish suffering through acceptance may be virtuous, but he could not on this basis also recommend to a king that the riches and enjoyable aspects of life were equally to be so diminished.

Boethius has proved something of an enigma, since although he ostensibly came from a Roman family that converted to Christianity and his work was appropriated extensively in the Middle Ages by Christian scholars, he nevertheless made no declaration of Christian faith or dogma in the *Consolation*. His stoical stance seems at odds with many Old Testament stories, including the ones which Machaut used as examples in the *Confort*. In the main Machaut used the book of Daniel for his examples. These tend to centre on unjustly imprisoned heroes (such as Daniel himself), punished by cruel kings who ultimately were in receipt of divine justice in the face of unwavering goodness and faith. As Palmer suggests, these examples may well have been of comfort to the languishing prisoner, Charles, but may also have warned him to be a wise ruler once restored to freedom and rank. Nonetheless, as Palmer also notes, these examples promote restitution for the unjustly punished, rather than encouraging the wronged man to see the hard circumstances of life as mere appearance, and ultimately irrelevant. [51] As we shall see in the case studies below, Machaut used a lenten responsory drawn from the story of Jacob as the tenor for the Boethian-influenced M12. The contrast between Boethius' stoic acceptance and the Old Testament figures who are in some way or other restored through an interventionist God, is therefore a theme which Machaut chose to revisit in his work. As Palmer suggests, Machaut seems not to have simply adapted the tradition of Boethius, but to have actively questioned and reinterpreted Boethius by juxtaposing his writing with challenging examples.

Machaut's use of Boethius illustrates how he alluded to the same external sources on multiple occasions within his output, thereby connecting his work to tradition but also assimilating the cited material within his own self-presentation. This is not 'self-citation' per se, but does go beyond the mere reiteration of tradition and refrains. The fact that Machaut developed the use of his own voice and perspective is also crucial to

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[50] Boogaart discusses Machaut's personality in his review of Robertson. Boogaart, 'Machaut and Reims', p. 606.

[51] Palmer, 'Guillaume de Machaut', p.19.

understanding his complete works' manuscripts. I shall proceed below to discuss these manuscripts in relation to medieval ideas about memory, and explore Huot's presentation of Machaut as a unifying presence in his own work, not simply as the named author of that work, but as the semi-fictionalised persona that he created therein. His use of citation and self-citation, I will argue, can be seen as another aspect of this same authorial presence.

MEMORY, GRAFTING AND MANUSCRIPTS

As discussed in the introductory chapter, late medieval culture has been described as memorial.[52] Mnemonic techniques were a standard part of education, and young scholars used these to memorise the complete Psalms, for example. One can well imagine that, as a young man, Machaut would have been schooled in such techniques.[53] Furthermore, his canonicate at Reims indicates that he was, at least later in life, part of the ecclesiastical culture that was steeped in these methods. Indeed, there are reasons to believe Machaut was well versed in the literature of memorial culture. Jacques Boogaart draws parallels between Brunetto Latini's *Livre dou Tresor* and Machaut's Motet 16. Boogaart suggests that the female protagonist of M16 – who is lamenting her marriage and resulting separation from her actual true love – frames her argument according to Brunetto's *De profile* from the *Livre dou Tresor*, which lists 'sixteen points for a model plea to arouse pity in the judges'.[54] If Boogaart's suspicion is correct, we can conclude that Machaut was familiar with the work of Brunetto and therefore conversant with his comments regarding memory, for, in another section of the *Livre dou Tresor*, Brunetto wrote about prudence, of which memory is a key aspect. Following many writers before him, from Cicero to Aquinas, Brunetto understood prudence temporally, as comprising memory (that is, recall of the past), intelligence (the ability to analyse the present), and foresight (the capacity for predicting what could happen based on one's memory of past circumstances and an understanding of present ones). Prudence was a key virtue and one founded in memory skills. The better we can recall our experiences and learning, the better we can act in the present and prepare for the future. This is a good example of the rationale that linked memory and morality in the medieval mind.

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[52] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, (2nd edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[53] Earp speculates that Machaut's early education was likely undertaken at Reims cathedral. *Guillaume de Machaut*, p. 3.

[54] Boogaart, 'Encompassing', p. 38.

Memory and love are inextricably intertwined in medieval literature, and a common trope in trouvère literature, and one that Machaut himself developed. In the triplum incipit to M16 the lady demands:

> Lasse! comment oublieray
> Le bel, le bon, le dous, le gay
> A qui entierement donnay
> Le cuer de mi?

Alas! How shall I forget the handsome, good, sweet, joyful one to whom I gave my heart totally?[55]

In the motetus, she further declares that it would be a mortal sin to forget her lover, despite her subsequent marriage and her husband's jealous beatings. (If she did so she would be obeying her husband, but transgressing the rules of courtly love, which seem to be as binding as those of marriage, and it is sinful, the lady declares, to commit a wrong in order to do right.) This is a common theme of courtly love poetry: once one has fallen in love one should stay true to that original love no matter what the circumstance. True love is therefore tied in with memory and morality. To forget one's lover is a mortal sin, whereas living, and especially suffering for love was thought to build character and moral strength. Since separation of lovers was also a frequent theme, with lovers left with only the memory of their lover to sustain them, memory is consequently an important part of love.

Machaut explored this idea not only in his motets but in the majority of his forms of lyric and narrative work. Memory and love are tied up with citation. Many of his ballades in the *Loange des Dames*, for instance, focus on the lover's separation from his lady. Plumley explores the connection between Lo13, Lo14 and Lo15, which all develop a proverb about memory and love, and address the theme of separation and the essential role of memory in the preservation of love.[56] Citation, which is dependent upon memory of absent texts, can therefore reflect the lover's mental recollections of the absent lady by reaching out beyond the boundaries of one work or poem to another.

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[55] trans. Boogaart, ibid., p. 37.

[56] Yolanda Plumley, *The Art*, Chapter 10. The proverb is: '*longue demeure fit changier d'amy*' ('a long separation can change a lover's heart') and is listed in Hassell as D25. See James Woodrow Hassell, Jr., *Middle French Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases*, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1982). Machaut alludes to it in the incipit of Lo14: 'On dist souvent que longue demouree / Fait cuer d'amy et d'amie changier'. In addition to Lo13, Lo14, and Lo15, Machaut also develops this *topos* in his Lo129, Lo130, and Lo131, which all share material with the former three ballades. Any textual quotation of the *Loange des Dames* will be from Wilkins' edition: Guillaume de Machaut, *La Louange des Dames*, ed. Nigel Wilkins, (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1972)

> The progression of this theme across the series is paralleled technically by the use of citation: just as memory of the lady's person compensates for her absence, so citation conjures up in the listener's memory previously encountered texts.[57]

Much of Machaut's love poetry focuses on separation from the object of desire and the importance of memory (which according to Plumley's discussion can become intimately bound up with citation). The importance of 'souvenir' ('memory') becomes so great that the actual lady herself seems of lesser importance than the poet's recollection of her. Indeed, in the *Voir Dit*, Machaut's love for Toute Belle is conceived through reading her letters and seeing a portrait of her, rather than meeting her first hand. This is reminiscent of Jean Renart's *Roman de la Rose* in which the Emperor Conrad falls in love with Lïenor after hearing a description of her. In both instances, great importance is placed upon what is occurring in the lover's mind and the quality of the words spoken about the beloved, as opposed to any physical meeting.

Machaut's motets feature several explorations of this theme, some key examples of which are given below, to give an impression of the variety and significance of this way of thinking. In the triplum of M3 the lover bemoans his separation from his loved one by her untimely death. Yet when he recalls how he felt prior to her departure from the mortal coil it is his remembrance of her that he brings to mind, rather than the lady herself:

> …souvenir
> Qui moult souvent resjoïr
> Me soloit,
> M'amour en pensant doubloit,
> Mon desir croistre faisoit
> Et tousdis amenuisoit
> Mes dolours.

> …memory, who very often made me rejoice, in thinking doubled my love, made my desire increase and always alleviated my sorrows.[58]

Further along in this same text Machaut has quoted the popular refrain *qui bien aimme à tart oublie* (he who loves well does not soon forget), which is also the incipit of his lai L22 (*Le Lay de Plour*). A loyal lover must have a good memory. Conversely the worst suffering a lover can endure is to be forgotten. In Lo28 the poet-narrator laments that he will die of sadness 'Se pour longue demourée | Bonne amour est oubliée' (if by waiting long good

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[57] Plumley, ibid.

[58] My translation.

love is forgotten). And in Lo30 he pleads that if he is never to see his lady again then 'Ne me metez en oubli' (do not forget me).[59]

In M4 (triplum), Most Sweet Remembrance comforts the lover and shows him his lady, and in M10 (motetus), Remembrance is responsible for a doubling of the love that inflames him. M11 (triplum) expresses a longing to actually see the lady, but affirms that distance is no object to his continuing to love faithfully *com lonteins que vous soie* (however far from you I might be). M16, as I mentioned before, declares forgetting one's lover to be a mortal sin. M17, while not mentioning memory per se, continues the theme of staying true, no matter what the circumstances. In the triplum of M20, the lady is unaware of her potential suitor's desire, but he is nonetheless joyful:

> Car toute la joie et le bien,
> Que j'ay, de sa grace me vient,
> Sans plus, quant de li me souvient

For, all the joy and good things that I have come to me only from her grace, when I remember her.[60]

The trope of recollection being privileged over the very lady recollected is often reiterated in the ballades of the *Loange des Dames*. In Lo131 the first stanza concludes with 'Comment que vous soiez de moy lonteins, | *De vous me vient li souvenirs procheins*' (However far from me you may be, memories of you nearby come to me). The idea finds its strongest articulation in the *Confort d'Ami* when, at line 2113, Machaut turned his attention to the subject of Sweet Thought and Memory, urging Charles to take comfort in the memory of his lady:

> Je t'ai dit que Douce Pensee
> Est de Souvenir engendree,
> Don't toutes les fois qu'il avient
> Que de ta dame te souvient

I've told you that Sweet Thought's | Brought to life by Memory, | And this means that whenever it happens | That you remember your lady.[61]

Machaut continued by encouraging Charles to bring to mind all of his lady's fine physical and mental attributes.

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[59] 'Ne me metez en oubli' was also employed by Machaut in the incipit of Lo144. This popular snippet can also be found in the work of Thibaut de Champagne, and in the Anglo-Norman poet Thomas's version of the *Tristan* romance. See Plumley, *The Art*, Chapter 8, for a discussion of Machaut's use of this and other refrains from earlier works in his own output.

[60] My translation.

[61] Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Confort d'Ami (Comfort for a Friend)*, ed. and trans. R. Barton Palmer, (New York: Garland, 1992), ll. 2153–2156.

> Lors dois avoir l'impression
> De ceste ymagination
> Et de ceste douce figure
> Que Dous Penser en toy figure,
> S'en dois en ton cuer une ymage
> Faire, a qui tu feras hommage.

At this point you should have the imprint | From making the image | Of this pleasant figure | Sweet Thought conjures up for you, | And thus you should build an image | In your heart, doing homage to it.[62]

It is this image, Machaut argued, that will bring Charles comfort and console him. It is promoted as a positive far more urgently and highly than any reference to reunion with the lady herself (though Machaut does *inter alia* point out to Charles that to so fervently remember the lady would be a point in his favour, were he to see her again in some happy future.)

The bridge that links memory and citation is the metaphor of grafting (which I discussed in the introductory chapter). The metaphor was a common one used to describe the process of citing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For example, in his *Prologue* Machaut describes the allegorical figure of *Nature* instructing *Esperence*, *Dous Penser*, and *Douce Plaisance* to assist him in composing various genres of song and poetry. This includes the '*Balades entees*'. Plumley comments that 'it is perhaps telling that in his *Prologue*…Machaut should list amongst the various lyric genres he has been inspired to write in honour of the fairer sex a form apparently characterised by its citational proclivities'.[63] She proposes that the inclusion of the term *enté* may suggest that all his ballades contained grafts from other works. The use of the grafting metaphor is also applied to the act of remembering and being remembered by one's true love.

Machaut used the term *enté* in several other places. In the *Voir Dit*, he describes how his heart is grafted on to Toute-Belle, such that it can never be removed.[64] On another occasion, the lover declares that '[f]or onto yours I've grafted my own heart because I see it wishes me to love there'.[65] The metaphor works on a number of levels, if the actualities of the grafting process are followed. If one is 'grafted' onto the heart of one's love, then in the face of separation there remains a connection between the lovers. However, the graft

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[62] Machaut, *Le Confort d'Ami*, ll. 2185–2190.

[63] Plumley, *The Art*, Chapter Nine.

[64] Guillaume de Machaut, *Le livre dou voir dit: The book of the true poem*, ed. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, trans. R. Barton Palmer, (New York: Garland, 1998), p. 199, ll. 1973-77.

[65] ibid., p. 197, ll. 3003-10.

can be seen as functioning in the same way as the act of remembrance, since the graft must be nurtured by the new host (through recall of the treasured idea of the lover), and this devotion to the memory may come to take on more value than the absent lover himself. By giving over his heart to be grafted to his lady, the lover sacrifices a part of himself to become static, immortal and perhaps idealised, at the cost of his actual self fading away, as the vitalising attentions of his love are transferred to his mnemonic avatar.

That the metaphor is used for both citation and for connection and recollection in love is significant. As seen in Plumley's discussion of Lo13, 14 and 15, there are links to be drawn between citation and notions of memory and love. Ardis Butterfield has explored the metaphorical functions of 'enté' in medieval literature, and provides an overview of the long-standing tradition of the term being employed in relation to both the technical act of appropriating text or music for a new context, and also as a metaphor for the link between lovers.[66]

The chief interest in examining this metaphor here lies not in its existence as a trope regularly seen in Machaut's motets, but rather in its illustrative power of his use of citation as it stands against the backdrop of an artistic milieu in which the reuse of traditions and materials was associated through the metaphor with ideas of memory and love. The specific link with motets is that *enté* as a citational term has long been associated with the genre; thirteenth-century motets whose texts are framed by a split refrain are generally known as *motets entés*. In Machaut's case, the grafting concept involves a particular kind of assimilation, because his authorial control went beyond the compository approach of earlier works to produce innovative, challenging, even apparently contradictory juxtapositions, as we saw above in Palmer's discussion of the *Confort d'ami*.

Ideas about memory and grafting can also be seen in relation to Machaut's production of complete works' manuscripts. Huot examines the changing landscape of lyric creation, which she suggests in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries moved its overriding emphasis from performance to composition, i.e. from oral to written presentation.[67] The scribe as compiler and anthologiser therefore had a great deal of power to manipulate texts. By creative juxtaposition he could elicit moral teachings from disparate texts, create a sense of continuity to a classical past, or even amend sections of the texts to engender coherent

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[66] Ardis Butterfield, '*Enté*: A Survey and Reassessment of the Term in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Music and Poetry', *Early Music History*, 22 (2003), 67-101.

[67] Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book, The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (London: Cornell University Press, 1987).

links between works. In the fourteenth century new motivations began to influence compilation. As Huot explains, compiling became less about the internal connections between texts, and instead turned into an 'extratextual act' based on external factors of composition such as authorship and patronage.[68] Machaut played on these new dynamics to an extent not previously witnessed. The manuscripts containing his complete works juxtapose a range of styles not found within a single manuscript before, but even more crucially, he appears to have been among the first writer-composers to have overseen the compilation of his own output, allowing him to emphasise exactly those aspects and themes he chose.

How we view Machaut's citation of and allusion to material and traditions external to his corpus is affected by his act of compilation. Huot suggests that his authorial presence becomes the unifying theme of his own book.

> Because Machaut projects himself into his narrative works as lover, poet and writer, the anthology is unified both externally through the historical fact of common authorship, and internally, through the continuing poetic and amorous adventures of a particular protagonist.[69]

Since single authorship is a singularly subtle unifying theme for a codex, Machaut's citation of material by other writers and composers is helpful in maintaining connections with texts external to the corpus of work represented therein. 'Internal' citation – i.e. the reiteration of material within Machaut's oeuvre (and by implication within a given manuscript[70]) – in turn creates connections that might be lacking between texts due to the non-thematic overall arrangement in which his works appear. Although Machaut made significant juxtapositions between his lais, and despite thematic links between the *Remede de Fortune* and the *Voir Dit*, there is no overall coherence to his corpus, save Machaut's authorship and self-fictionalisation. We may, however, be able to view his use of citation as a coalescing force in his manuscripts, alongside his authorial presence. Palmer's comments, which I outlined above, suggest that Machaut assimilated external material in such a way as to uncouple it from its original context, while still carrying much of the force of that context. This Palmer links with Machaut's innovating style of self-presentation which, he argues, presages modern literature. We can view Machaut's manuscript production as a facet of

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[68] Huot, *From Song to Book*, p. 213

[69] ibid., p. 236

[70] The existence of variations between Machaut's complete works' manuscripts is of course acknowledged, though I feel the argument as a whole stands, with due consideration to additions and amendments made by the older Machaut to his younger self's corpus.

this self-regarding innovation. By laying claim to his work through the ordering of his output in a manuscript, he also lays claim to all the borrowed material therein. When unattributable themes and refrains recur in his work, it leaves us questioning whether or not these ideas originated with Machaut, thus blurring the boundaries between his own and cited material.

Machaut would no doubt have anticipated a well-educated and literate readership for his manuscripts. He was fond of testing and challenging his readers by means of devices such as anagrams. Citation is another aspect of that kind of literary game, and he may well have anticipated his audience delighting in the discovery of familiar themes, ideas, refrains, proverbs, melodies and rhymes reused at various points in his manuscripts. Such an audience would probably also have found the novelty of a single-author codex of great interest in itself. Indeed, there is evidence from letters exchanged at the court of Aragon that Machaut's complete works were met with enthusiasm, with nobles vying to borrow manuscripts from one another to read or to discover which items might be missing from their own copies.[71] Picking up on the interconnections in, for example, the ballades of the *Loange des Dames* would be a challenge for his readers; it would stimulate, test, and compliment their intelligence. The *Loange* lyrics are presented to the reader diachronically and can be enjoyed thus, but for the more discerning reader (perhaps one with trained memory skills) there are synchronic relationships to be discovered and enjoyed. The reader may have picked up on Machaut's use of citation in tandem with the self-regarding narratives which highlighted his authorial presence.

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[71] Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, pp. 60-1, and Earp, 'Machaut's Role', p. 478.

CASE STUDIES

MOTET 11

M11(*Fin cuers doulz*) is a motet in which we can explore Machaut's use of tradition and observe the reuse of material employed elsewhere in his oeuvre. It is one of three motets in his output to have a French tenor (although unlike M16 and M20 it is untexted and has only a French incipit – *Fin cuers doulz*). Disburdened of the rest of the motet, the tenor appears to be a kind of irregular virelai (see Example 1), whose structure is ABBCA^{1}A.

EXAMPLE 1: The tenor of M11

No musical correspondence has been found for the tenor of M11, *Fin cuers doulz*,[72] but it seems likely to be a citation of an older song. As seen in Example 1, structurally and tonally, the tenor could well be the melody of a song that was then adapted for the motet. The motetus line (which shares its incipit with the tenor) begins with what could be interpreted as a more elaborate version of the three note descending motif at the start of the tenor; see Example 2. However, what is more telling is the use of leading-note to arrival-note progression (see the third and fourth notes of the tenor in Example 1). This is

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[72] I have looked for possible textual sources of this refrain. The following provided the nearest matches: *Douce 308* ballette (*Merci je vos proi, fin cuers doz*), van den Boogaard refrain 754 (*Fins cuers douz, avrez vous merci de moi?* which appears in the *Salut d'Amours* in BN f. fr.837), and van den Boogaard refrain 840 (*Hé, fin cuer dous, amez moi et je vous; si en menrons plus joliette vie*, which appears in the Arthurian romance *Escanor* by Girart d'Amiens in BN f. fr.24374). It would be tempting to suggest the *Douce* balette as a likely source for Machaut's citation of *Fin cuers doulz*, since Machaut appears to be citing a pastourelle from that manuscript as the text of the tenor of his M16, and therefore he may have been familiar with the other contents of *Douce 308*. However, none of these refrains appear to fit the melody as it appears in Machaut's M11 (motetus or tenor line). Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et Refrains du XII* siècle au début du XIV*, (1969).

characteristic of song, rather than chant, repertories. Furthermore, this leading-note progression appears often in all three parts of the motet.

EXAMPLE 2: The incipit of M11

These structural observations lead us to the conjecture that Machaut may in fact have been quoting a two part song here.[73] That the motetus and tenor have the same incipit could indicate that this is a polyphonic citation. The opening of the motetus and tenor suggest from their similar melodic shaping and shared incipit that they may together have had an existence independent of the triplum. Given that the tenor has an approximate virelai structure, Machaut undoubtedly borrowed more than just the opening notes. However the melodic shaping of the motetus after the incipit seems to be governed by the requirements of its relationship to the triplum. For instance, Example 4 below shows how the motetus echoes a melodic fragment in the triplum. That same fragment of the triplum is also echoed earlier in the motetus in conjunction with the words 'doulz viaire gent', which suggests that Machaut composed his motetus line to consciously reflect that of the triplum at some points. Furthermore there are moments of voice crossing in this motet where the two upper voices call and answer each other (see Example 4), and passages of somewhat gentle hocketting that require the interplay of the two voices.[74] Finally the motetus line does not have the strong melodic shape beyond its first few bars, which one might expect if it had been borrowed in its entirety. It would seem then, that if Machaut was indeed

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[73] I am grateful to Yolanda Plumley for suggesting this possibility.

[74] Zayaruznaya notes in respect of the voice crossing in this motet, and the large interval leaps required to achieve it that 'if Machaut had simply redistributed the melodic material to avoid registral exchange and allow for smoother melodic lines, the "sonic image" of the piece would not be radically different – the same notes would sound, though they would be texted differently. But this has not been done. The motet is written with crossings, and the conclusion must be that in this case they are deliberate'. *Form and Idea*, p. 179.

drawing on an earlier two-part song, he only cited both parts for the first few bars. Even if the motetus line is not a wholesale borrowing, the music which underscores 'cuers' in the incipit still seems to have provided a generative cell for the whole motet. Arguably this is because these five notes are a common melodic and rhythmic unit of *ars nova* motets with major prolation, recurring frequently with minor variations (see Example 3, a short extract of the triplum of Machaut's M1 – this unit can also be found frequently in a large number of the *Ivrea* motets). Even allowing for this, the pattern of the first three notes of this snippet recurs throughout the motet, and is also inverted in places, generating further material, suggesting that its use was a deliberate compositional choice on Machaut's part, rather than mere melodic cliché.

EXAMPLE 3: Extract of M1 triplum

EXAMPLE 4: Voice crossing and imitation in bars 23-29 of M11

By adapting an earlier two-part song, Machaut was behaving somewhat like the thirteenth-century motet composers who added tripla to pre-existing clausulae or two-part motets, but as I have suggested, he most likely did not leave the motetus and tenor untouched as earlier composers are thought more likely to have done, thus introducing an element of innovation to his act of citation. See the Introductory chapter for a discussion of the development of the motet and compositional techniques. Since Machaut was also a composer of polyphonic ballades, it is not outside the realms of possibility that he would

manipulate an earlier polyphonic song as the foundations on which to build his motet, thus blurring the boundaries of genre.

Mark Everist has suggested that some of the later Montpellier motets, which may date from around the early fourteenth century, represent precursors to the polyphonic chanson.[75] There are 26 motets with vernacular tenors from c.1300, and Everist demonstrates that a significant proportion of these 'show signs of mirroring the structures of their French tenors in their upper parts'.[76] Everist postulates that these motets signify experiments with genre and structure that foreshadowed the development of *ars nova* polyphonic songs later in the fourteenth century. While Machaut's M11 was clearly not participating in this kind of speculative composition, what is useful to note is that experiments with generic boundaries were not alien to his thinking within the motet form.

If Machaut was indeed making use of a polyphonic song here, this may be connected with the content of the motet text, which I suggest is enhanced by the virelai-like structure of the tenor. Since the final phrase of the tenor is identical to the first, Machaut may have been using this repetition to highlight certain ideas. In the first phrase of the triplum the lover states that he wishes always to submit himself to his lady's will. It becomes apparent, by the middle point of the text, that her will is that the lover remove himself from her service and absent himself from her presence. Paradoxically, by agreeing to do this he is still serving her, in a fashion, since he is obeying her request, though it hurts him to do so. The motetus tells a similar story – the lady forbids the lover to ever see her again in its first sentence, which is heard over the first statement of the tenor phrase A, but at the end of the motet, over the second and final statement of the tenor phrase A, the story has come full circle: the lover is increasing his service to the lady by agreeing never to see her, even if such hardship may prove the end of him. The words 'vostre voloir' (your will) occur near the beginning of the triplum and at the end of the motetus, and therefore on both occasions above phrase A of the tenor, see Figure 1. Significantly, Machaut highlights the repetition by employing similar melodic material for both occurrences of 'vostre voloir' (see Example 5). He further draws attention to it by ensuring that at the point when the motetus uses this text, it crosses with the triplum voice, so that it sounds at the top of the polyphonic texture. The lady's will circumscribes the motet both textually and musically, and in both lines the poet declares that he will submit to and endure whatever she requests,

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[75] Mark Everist, 'Motets, French Tenors, and the Polyphonic Chanson ca. 1300', *Journal of Musicology*, 24/3 (2007), 365-406.

[76] Everist, 'Motets, French Tenors', p. 365.

however painful it may be. It seems, then, that the structure of the tenor enhances the meaning of the text, which may be one of the reasons why Machaut chose to cite a French song with a virelai-like structure as the tenor. The original song seems to evince a certain thematic communality with the text of the motet.

EXAMPLE 5: Comparison of musical setting of 'vostre voloir' in M11, bars 1-6 and 79-86

The triplum also reveals potential reuse of material, this time internal to Machaut's corpus. The textual incipit of Machaut's virelai *Dame je vueil endurer* is very similar to the triplum incipit of M11, and its full text shares vocabulary with both the motetus and the triplum (see Figure 1).

Here we can see shared vocabulary between the virelai and both voices of the motet. There is no apparent musical link between the motet and the virelai (but then, the motet may have been shaped by another, external musical citation, as we have seen above) but Machaut's exploitation of similar incipits in the triplum and the virelai raises the possibility that he was consciously revisiting the same material.

There is no firm evidence for the chronological relationship between the composition of these two works, but the revisiting of the theme throws up interesting contrasts in

approach and presentation, generated in part by the strictures of the genre employed. Both pieces occur in manuscript C, generally believed to be the earliest extant example of Machaut's complete works, therefore manuscript evidence does not permit any conclusions about their order of composition. He may even have written both at a similar time.

Virelais tend to treat lighter subject matter than motets. The repetitive structure, which finds its roots in dance, lends itself more easily to a more popular register than the complex and polyphonic motet; indeed Machaut called virelais *chanson balladées* (danced songs) in his Prologue. The virelai in this instance offers some standard comments from the courtly love vocabulary about serving the lady and wishing nothing more than to endure the burning desire for her with which the poet is afflicted. This sets a striking contrast with the comparative complexity and sophistication of the treatment of the theme in the motet. Here the agonies of the poet are taken to their logical conclusion; by offering to obey the lady's will, he has created the circumstances of his own un-looked for banishment. The less nuanced treatment of the lover's predicament in the virelai is in keeping with the nature of the form.

The shared vocabulary of the virelai and the motet may not have been motivated by a desire to develop an intertext, but it does show how Machaut chose to explore a specific idea across different genres and modes of presentation to develop its intrinsic complexities and nuances. The former style, limited as it is by fixities of structure such as rhyme-scheme and repetition, is content with a relatively static and repetitive engagement with the idea, whereas the latter gives the composer much freer reign for narrative expansion and variation; motets are not bound by the same degree of standardisation of form, permitting access to a fulsome vocabulary and freer rhyme-scheme.

It may well be that 'Dame je vueil endurer, tant com je porray durer' is a citation of a refrain, or a combination of refrains ('tant com je porray durer', and similar formulations such as 'tant com je vivrai', are commonplaces in the works of many thirteenth- and fourteenth-century poets and composers[77]) that Machaut drew on from elsewhere (the virelai and the motet do not apparently share any melodic material).

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[77] Some examples of the formula from the Montpellier Codex include, Mo128 (tant com soie en vie), Mo335 (tant com iere vis), Mo293 (tant que vivrai), Mo278 (tant com je vivrai), Mo235 (tant com je vivrai), Mo193 (tant com serai vis), Mo102 (tant com iere vis), Mo21 (tant com soie), Mo324 (tant com je vivrai), Mo97 (tant com iere vis), Mo272 (tant com vivrai), Mo280 (tant com vivrai).

FIGURE 1: Comparison of Texts of M11 with virlelai *Dame je vueil*

M11 Triplum

Dame, je sui cils qui **vueil endurer**
Vostre voloir, **tant com porray
durer**;
Mais ne cuit pas que longuement
l'endure
Sans mort avoir quant vous m'estes si
dure
Que vous volés qu'ensus de vous me
traie,
Sans plus veoir la tres grant biauté
vraie
De vo gent corps qui tant a de valour
Que vous estes des **bonnes** la
millour.
Las! einsi ay de ma mort exemplaire.
Mais la doleur qu'il me convenra
traire
Douce seroit, s'un tel espoir avoie
Qu'avent ma mort par vo gré vous
revoie.
Dame, et se ja mes **cuers** riens
entreprent
Dont mes corps ait honneur
n'avancement,
De vous venra, com lonteins que
vous soie,
Car ja sans vous que j'aim tres
loyaument
Ne sans Amours emprendre nel
saroie.

Virelai

**Dame je vueil endurer,
Tant com je porray durer**,
Sans penser laidure,
M'ardure.

Sage, loyal, douce, plaisant,
Tres **bonne** et belle sans per,
En vo service faisant
Vueil toute ma vie user
Ne ja ne vous quier rouver
Riens dont vos **cuers** puist
penser
Que je teingne à **dure**
M'ardure.
Dame je vueil endurer,
Tant com je porray durer,
Sans penser laidure,
M'ardure.

C'est drois, que vo **viaire
gent**
Et vostre **dous** regarder
Me font amoureusement
Vivre en joie et demourer
Et tant de bien savourer
Que riens ne puis desirer
Fors qu'adès me dure
M'ardure
Dame, je vueil endurer,
Tant com je porray durer.

Einsi vous vueil tres liement
Doubter, servir et celer
De **fin cuer** et humblement,
A mon pouoir, honnourer,
Et **miex morir** pour **amer**
Vueil qu'on sache mon penser
Ne pour qui **j'endure**
M'ardure.
Dame je vueil endurer,
Tant com je porray durer,
Sans penser laidure,
M'ardure.

M11 Motetus

Fins cuers dous, on me deffent
De par vous que plus en voie
Vostre **dous viaire gent**
Qui d'**amer** m'a mis en voie;
Mais vraiement, je ne sçay
Comment je m'en atendray
Que briefment morir ne doie.
Et si m'en faut astenir
Pour faire vostre plaisir,
Ou envers vous faus seroie,
S'aim trop **miex** ma loyauté
Garder et par vostre gré
Morir, se vos **cuers** l'ottroie,
Qu'encontre vostre voloir,
Par vostre biauté veoir,
Receüsse toute joie.

Translation of Virelai

Lady, I wish to endure my burning desire, as long as I may live, with no ugly thought.

Wise, loyal, sweet, pleasant, very good and of peerless beauty, I want to spend all my life doing service to you and not ever seeking to ask anything such that your heart could think that I consider my burning desire to be a hardship. Lady, I wish to endure my burning desire, as long as I may live, with no ugly thought.

It is right that your noble countenance and your sweet look make me lovingly live in joy, and stay and delight in so much good that I cannot desire anything save that I always endure my burning desire. Lady, I wish to endure as long as I may live.

Thus I want very joyfully to fear you, serve you and conceal with a noble heart and, to the best of my ability, humbly honour you, and I would rather die for love than have anyone know my thoughts nor for whom I endure my burning desire. Lady, I wish to endure my burning desire, as long as I may live, with no ugly thought.

Translation of M11 Triplum

Lady, I am he who wishes to endure whatever you desire as long as I may live; but I do not believe I can long avoid death, for you are so harsh to me that you wish me to remove myself from your presence and no longer behold the great and true beauty of your noble body, which is of such great worth that you are the best of all good ladies. Alas! I thus see the pattern of my death. But the suffering I must undergo would be sweet if I could but hope that before my death I might have your leave to see you once more. And, lady, if ever my heart should undertake anything from which this body of mine would receive honor or advancement, it will all come from you, however far away from you I may be, for never without you whom I love so faithfully nor without Love would I be able to undertake it. [78]

Translation of M11 Motetus

Sweet noble heart, I am forbidden on your behalf ever again to behold your sweet and noble countenance which has set me on the path of love; but truly, I do not know how I can fail to die soon. And if I must so restrain myself in order to do your pleasure, or if by not doing so I would be false to you, I would much rather preserve my loyalty and die to please you, if your heart allows it, than to receive perfect joy by beholding your beauty against your will.

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[78] M11 Triplum trans. Colleen Donagher in Robertson, *Machaut and Reims*, pp. 310-311.

Both compositions are found in the same complete works' manuscripts (C, Vg, B, A, G and E); their presence in MS C indicates that both date from before 1356. It is tempting to conclude, though beyond substantiation, that the motet was a later re-working of the ideas of the virelai, showing Machaut giving a more mature treatment of the scenario through the more versatile form. This would give a pleasing progression to his developing thought, though one could, given the available evidence, equally argue that the virelai was written after or in parallel with the motet, perhaps as a means of cleansing the artistic palette.

The triplum of M11 contains one of Machaut's favoured formulations 'com lonteins que vous soie' (how ever far from you I may be). This phrase ties in with one of his most ubiquitous themes: that of the importance of memory to the true lover. As I discussed earlier, the lover's memory of the lady often appears to supplant the lady herself in the circumstance of separation. Several of the *Loange des Dames* contain versions of this refrain. The group Lo13, Lo14, and Lo15, the discussion of which by Plumley was referred to earlier, all contain variations on this phrase, as do Lo129, L130 and Lo131. Plumley examines the narrative sequences formed by these groups of ballades, which explore the effect of separation on lovers. The adage that forms the incipit of Lo14, 'On dist souvent que longue demouree fait cuer d'amy et d'amie changier' (it is often said that a long separation changes the hearts of two lovers) is central to the story implied by the former group.

Plumley traces the narrative development of these three ballades. 'In the first stanza of each text [of Lo13 and Lo14], the poet-lover argues that his lady's absence will not diminish his desire to love and serve her…while in the second, he recalls his lady's qualities, and in the third he states his undying devotion'.[79] The third poem, Lo15, which is written from the lady's perspective, brings memory to the foreground as the key element for enduring love. The three poems focus on the ardent desire to serve one's lover, despite being separated, in which true remembrance of ones love is a vital act of loyalty. M11 also concentrates on the idea of separation, but explores further its reasons and consequences; in this case it is the lady whose will is the cause of the estrangement, which in turn may cause the lover's death: 'Las! einsi ay de ma mort examplaire' (Alas! Thus I have the prefigurement of my death). Such detailed and coherent narrative is not given in the three ballades – the idea of preferring to die rather than forgetting one's true love is only mentioned once, and no reason is given for their parting. Although separation is the central theme of the three ballades, the lovers focus only on the maintenance of their love,

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[79] Plumley, *The Art*, Chapter Nine.

both expressing their own points of view, while in M11, the viewpoint of the lady, though not directly given voice, is related as part of the lover's concerns. A more complete picture of a love story is presented. In the triplum his suffering is not sweet, but would be, only if he could see his lady one more time before he dies. The motetus paints a slightly different picture, which could be interpreted as relating to a further stage in the lover's story, even though in performance it sounds simultaneously with the triplum. Here, the lady has forbidden him from ever seeing her again. As a loyal lover he must acquiesce to her wishes – paradoxically serving her on one level while agreeing not to on another; he declares:

> S'aim trop miex ma loyauté
> Garder et par vostre gré
> Morir, se vos cuers l'ottroie,
> Qu'encontre vostre voloir,
> Par vostre biauté veoir,
> Receüsse toute joie

I would much rather preserve my loyalty and die to please you, if your heart allows it, than to receive perfect joy by beholding your beauty against your will.

It is clear that M11, the virelai *Dame je vueil endurer*, and the ballades from the *Loange des Dames* discussed above, all share material and themes. As I have explained, manuscript evidence does not supply any kind of chronology for these pieces, so it cannot be definitively stated that the motet was evoking or reworking the ideas of the virelai or ballades, or vice versa, or even whether the perceived connections between the motet and the other pieces ere intentional. What is more evident, however, is the manner in which Machaut reworked material and themes within his own corpus, and how he was able to adapt them accordingly to the strictures and possibilities of different poetic and musical genres and forms. All the pieces discussed in this case study are concerned to some extent with ideas of enduring for love, of a lover's preference to die rather than not serve the lady, of separation and memory. The virelai is the simplest and most light-hearted form, as befits a dance song, its focus mainly being on the lover's desire to serve his lady as long as he should live. The ballades foreground the idea of service in the context of separation, and highlight the importance of memory in this endeavour. While the ballades which are presented in sequence offer a kind of narrative, individually they are merely descriptive of the lover's feelings. M11 has more scope, unhindered as it is by a fixed textual structure, to explore the reasons for separation, and consequences of the lover's desire to serve, no matter what. Furthermore, the polytextual motet can present three texts or viewpoints simultaneously, allowing for greater complexity - a polyphony of texts.

It is open to interpretation whether the use in the motet of a similar incipit to the virelai or shared phraseology with the ballades indicates that Machaut was intentionally modelling

one work upon another, and if so, in what direction the citation travelled. Nevertheless, we have here useful examples of how he reinterpreted ideas in different formats, which in turn would allow a discerning reader of his manuscripts to discover conceptual overlaps between individual pieces, and appreciate the complex variations of thought and presentation which Machaut devoted to the topics he explored. It is only by reading his works against each other that we gain a fuller picture of his various attempts to come to terms with notions of love, service, and memory. A key benefit of our access to Machaut's complete works' manuscripts is that we can witness the authorship and humanity evident in the ambiguity and depth of his attitudes to complex themes in a range of circumstances and forms. We have also seen in this section how Machaut may possibly have appropriated and adapted earlier material by his likely use of a polyphonic song as the basis for M11, thus at once rooting himself in tradition, and at the same time creatively reworking it using the virelai-like structure to mirror his textual ideas.

MOTET 12 AND MOTET 17

These two bilingual motets, M12, *Helas! pour quoy virent onques mi oueil/Corde mesto/Libera me*, and M17, *Quant vraie amour enflamée/O series summa rata/Super omnes speciosa*, both feature interpretations of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*. M12 also exhibits an interesting link with one of the ballades of the *Loange des Dames*.

The tenor of M12 is founded on a lenten responsory taken from Genesis 32:11. This is part of Jacob's story, at the point when he returns home fearing to face his brother Esau, whose birthright he has stolen. In the triplum the lover is so out of favour with his lady that he laments having ever laid eyes on her, yet just as in M11, cannot cease to love her, and must preserve his love at whatever cost. The Latin motetus has three stanzas, the first of which could be a standard love complaint, the second of which bemoans Fortune's heedless machinations, and the third of which turns its attention to heavenly salvation.

Huot discusses the Boethian influence in M12. She remarks that in the *Consolation*, Philosophy arrives and banishes the muses who have been aiding Boethius to express his grief through poetry. Philosophy insinuates that while poetry is very beautiful, it cannot relieve suffering without her teachings. Huot sees the pairing of (usually secular) poetry in the upper voices of vernacular motets with sacred tenors as embodying '[t]his same shift in perspective':

> The poetry of the upper voices is beautiful, but remains obsessively within the endless cycle of desire and pain. It is in fact a commonplace of courtly love lyric that the distraught lover, in singing, vents his sorrow and renews his commitment to love. The rhetoric of courtly love

serves, as Philosophy stated, not to release a man from passion but only to accustom him to its rigours.[80]

Huot suggests that the sacred tenor grants insight into an alternative world to the cloistered courtly lyric, which encompasses the possibility of succour through scripture. Therefore the motet can be read through the framework of the upper voices, or through that of the sacred tenor, the latter providing the kind of intervention and relief that Philosophy offers to Boethius.

Zayaruznaya also sees the contrast between the upper voices and the sacred tenor of M12 as mirroring Boethian ideas. She draws on Poirion's comparison of fourteenth-century musical forms to geometric patterns and Boethius' description of concentric circles as representing the universe, with the centre being the most still point and therefore the most simple. Thus the tenor, and likewise its sacred subject matter, form the stiller, simpler centre, with the turbulent experience of the love story in the upper voices encircling it, and reflecting a shift away from the desirable stability of the philosophical core. Zayaruznaya notes that this tallies with the most common rhythmic construction of motets, in which the higher density, and therefore rapidity of notes that can usually be found in the triplum line contrasts with the slightly slower motetus and yet slower tenor. She suggests: 'the three voices of a motet could fit on three concentric circles, with the tenor at the centre...and the triplum on the outermost orbit'.[81]

In M12 the motetus text itself echoes this transition from extravagant passion to a calmer philosophical stance, as the lover moves through an emotional journey from abandoning himself to worldly desire, through realisation and contemplation of Fortune's waywardness, to a final dedication of self to Christian renewal.

It is important to note, however, that Machaut did not settle for an orderly solution in the manner of Boethius. Unlike the latter, who reaches a state of quiet acceptance through the advice of Philosophy, Machaut's use of tenor citation may well indicate that he did not believe that such a state can ever be achieved. We saw in Palmer's analysis of the *Confort* that Machaut used biblical examples that work against a Boethian resolution. M12 is no different, since it uses a tenor whose liturgical source originated with the story of Jacob, as he returns home in fear of his vengeful brother, and asks the Lord for suitable protection. Jacob's story has numerous examples of him cheating (he cheats his brother Esau out of

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[80] Huot, 'Patience', p. 233.

[81] ibid., p. 203.

his birthright) and being cheated (he is tricked by Laban into marrying Leah instead of Rachel), coupled with direct and often unpredictable interventions by the Lord in his affairs, and ultimately a satisfactory though essentially worldly outcome for the Hebrew patriarch. Such an eventful and materially grounded life story, though intimately connected with the spiritual sphere throughout, hardly reflects the Boethian stillness putatively sought.

I believe that we are being asked to read the traditional presentation of Boethius against Machaut's own. The former allows us to see the motet as Zayaruznaya suggests; the pattern of its motetus text and musical structure representing Boethian spheres; the outermost triplum and its courtly love complaint being furthest from the sacred centre; the motetus voice-crossing musically with the triplum symbolising the move towards rejecting courtly love and Fortune's whim; and finally the sacred tenor sitting at the heart of the structure. Yet Machaut appears to sabotage this by using an equivocal figure like Jacob at his 'sacred' centre. Perhaps Machaut was admitting that he could never attain Boethius' philosophical position, or indicating that in the world in which he plied his trade, such resolution or closure was either unachievable or ultimately even undesirable.

M17 is the other bilingual motet in Machaut's repertory and also the other to make extensive use of Boethius' *Consolation*. Its tenor is taken from the Marian antiphon *Ave regina celorum*. In the French triplum, disorder is brought about by Love causing a man to fall for a girl who already has a lover, and who could not accept his advances without cheating the rules of love. The Latin motetus explores the conundrum that the perfect natural order begetting all things, also gives rise to Love, who abjures rationality. Both the triplum and the motetus are linked to the *Consolation*. Boogaart, who has identified a specific citation of Boethius' praise of Amor, suggests:

> The syntax of Boethius' panegyric of Love is unusual. The argument is presented as a series of images, in a double chain of dependent clauses in apposition to the principal sentence which explains the preceding lines...Machaut's triplum poem in M17 has the same unusual features which suggests that Boethius' well-known verses were his model. The test is formulated in general terms, without a lyric I. The way of arguing is very similar, as a double chain of clauses, governed by the words quant ('when') and se ('if') respectively, followed by the principal clause with the conclusion.[82]

Most important is the similarity between the themes. Boethius' text argues that the world is kept in order by the rule of Amor, and that conflict would arise if this were not so. Boogaart notes that Machaut's text shows a parallel line of thought but that he draws out the paradoxes and complexities that result from this. Thus, Machaut is offering a commentary on Boethius' text in addition to using it as a model for his own. Love, while

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[82] Boogaart, 'Encompassing', p. 43.

invoking harmony can also create discord in the form of Desire, which cannot be fulfilled in every circumstance, therefore causing pain.

The Latin motetus also takes its inspiration from the same section of Boethius and from Alain de Lille's interpretation of it. The paradox of Love's place in an ordered universe is perhaps resolved in light of the tenor. It employs a section of the antiphon *Ave regina caelorum* whose biblical source is ambiguous, allowing Machaut to impose additional layers of meaning on to his motet, although perhaps the most interesting potential source is Sapientia. *Super omnes speciosa* has been identified as deriving most probably from the now apocryphal Sapientia 7:29, in which Wisdom is personified as a woman who is 'more beautiful than the sun, and excels every constellation of the stars'. The persona of Wisdom was equated with Mary by medieval exegetes, and the imagery of the sun and stars is often found in Marian devotional vocabulary. Boogaart comments on the appropriate choice of a Sapiential citation 'for a motet in which the subject is the incomprehensible relation of Love and Order in the universe.'[83] I believe that the Marian aspect is also important, since adoration of the Virgin offers an alternative to sexual love. By turning his attention to this most pure and exalted of women, the lover is freed from the desire which may be associated with love, and further, the rules of courtly love are not cheated.

Yet this use of the Sapiential tradition may be a double-edged sword. While turning to worship the Blessed Virgin Mary may be a way of achieving Boethian serenity, and Wisdom may be pointing to this, perhaps Machaut used the figure of Wisdom to suggest that this kind of serenity may be difficult to achieve in the mortal sphere. As both the upper voice texts suggest, the perfect chain of reasoning that gives rise to this world we inhabit also gives rise to the very things that make it so difficult to endure, such as desire and unrequited love.

Both the upper texts have their own form of 'wisdom' – a logical chain which demands to be followed. In the case of the triplum, Love causes two men to fall in love with the same lady; she has given her heart to one, and therefore the other must suffer. Love, it is argued, cannot be blamed for this inequity, because this is the natural order of things, even though. pain is often a necessary outcome. In the motetus it is argued that Love is born from the natural order of things; the poet cannot believe that the perfection of nature could bring

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[83] Boogaart, 'Encompassing', p. 47. Boogaart notes that the term 'sapiential' was coined by Peter Dronke in *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric* (1968), and refers to the poetic tradition in which the personification of Wisdom is equated with the Blessed Virgin Mary.

forth 'such an offspring' (talem genituram),[84] and yet this is the inevitable result of the perfectly proportioned order of Nature. Boethius strived for passive indifference to worldly contingencies, and his contention that our reactions can be controlled is rather different to Machaut's indication in these texts that pain is a necessary and logical result of the supposedly perfect order of Nature. We could read the use of a tenor linked to the Sapiential tradition as pointing to the serenity that could be achieved if we realised that worldly 'problems' are really only illusions brought about by our reactions to circumstance. However, I prefer to see Machaut's conception of wisdom as a little more open-ended – resolutions cannot be achieved and pain is a consequence of life that we must accept. Machaut in fact tells us in the triplum that Love should 'be all the more valued because she has followed the command of Nature'.[85] The tenor *super omnes speciosa* ('beautiful above all things'), may also suggest that Love, though painful, must be held in the highest esteem.

Thus both M12 and M17 can be understood as Machaut's attempts, and perhaps acknowledgement also of his failure, to reconcile himself with the ideas of Boethius. Boethius was a popular source for medieval writers to draw upon, and no doubt Machaut had encountered Boethian ideas on a number of occasions and through a variety of sources, whether through citations, the original text, or translation. It would therefore have been natural for Machaut to have debated and tried to come to terms with Boethius, perhaps causing him personal conflict and confusion. Both his presentation in the *Confort* and in the motets discussed here show, I believe, that Machaut was demonstrating that neither his courtly love ideals, nor sacred scripture from which he drew in his work were reconcilable with Boethian ideas. Perhaps ultimately Machaut was not seeking such an orderly alignment of thought.

In addition to Machaut's critical engagement with Boethius, M12 also exhibits reuse of material within his own corpus. Its triplum incipit can be found elsewhere in Machaut's repertory: once in the fourth verse of *Se trestuit cil qui sont*, Lo48[86] and more prominently as the incipit of Lo53. Figure 2 illustrates the connection between Lo53 and the triplum of M12, and I think there is sufficient evidence to suppose Machaut was intentionally revisiting ideas previously explored, though once again, manuscript evidence does allow us

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[84] trans. Donagher in Robertson, *Machaut and Reims*, p. 321

[85] ibid., p. 320

[86] The incipit of this *Chant Royal* matches that of a ballade by Jehan de la Mote and may therefore be a citation. There is evidence of shared material between the works of Machaut and de la Mote. If Machaut was borrowing from external material in Lo48, this may suggest that *Helas! pour quoy virent onques mi oueil* has also been borrowed.

to reach definite conclusions as to which may have come first. Zayaruznaya has remarked that Machaut may be drawing a comparison between the lady depicted in the triplum and the goddess Fortune, since he laments her cruelty and indifference in a manner that reflects Fortune's 'unfair duality'.[87] Likewise in the motetus, the first stanza could either be a complaint about the narrator's treatment at the hands of a real lady or at those of Lady Fortune, and in stanza two he directly addresses Fortune's reward of the bad and punishment of the good. Similarly, Lo53 may also be addressing a lady who could be interchangeable with an allegorical figure, since in this case he talks about beauty in a way that might equally be the consideration of the beauty of a lady, or an address to Beauty herself.

In M12, the triplum incipit *Helas! pour quoy virent onques mi oueil* resonates with the traditional depiction of Fortune, since sight and blindness are among her associated themes. Indeed vision or lack thereof forms a thematic link for all three voices of the motet. The triplum laments ever having seen the lady and the motetus berates 'blind Fortune'. Zayaruznaya contends that there is a covert allusion to blindness in the tenor, since it concern Jacob, who made use of his father Isaac's blindness to rob Esau of the blessing which should have gone to the older son. She draws a parallel between Isaac's mistake and Fortune's indiscriminate blessings and curses described in the motetus.

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[87] Zayaruznaya, 'Form and Idea', p. 196

FIGURE 2: Comparison of M12 triplum with Lo53

M12 Triplum

Helas! pour quoy virent onques mi oueil
Ma chiere dame au **tres** plaisant **accueil**,
Pour qui je vif en **tel** martire
Que je ne congnois joie de ire?
N'onques Amour ne me vost **enrichir**
Tant que j'eüsse un **espoir de joïr**,
Ne je ne puis encor rien esperer
Que tout ne soit pour moy desesperer.
Dont vraiement plus chier eüsse,
Quant ma dame vi, que je fusse
Sans yex ou que mes **corps** tel **cuer** eüst
Que ja mais jour **dame amer** ne peüst
Qu'en li veoir je conquis mort crueuse
Et mon vivant vie avoir dolereuse,
Puis qu'einsi est que pité ne merci
Ses crueus cuers ne vuet avoir de mi.
Las! elle het mon preu et ma santé,
Pour ce que j'ain s'onneur et sa **biauté**,
Et si la serf de cuer en tel cremour
Que nulle riens ne li pri, eins l'aour.
Et c'est **raisons** c'on quiert souvent
Ce qu'on n'a de l'avoir talent.
S'aim miex einsi ma dolour endurer
Qu'elle me fust plus dure par rouver;
Car s'el savoit que s'amour souhaidier
Eüsse osé, ja mais ne m'aroit chier.
Et se l'aim tant que s'en ce monde avoie
Un seul souhait, einsi souhaideroie
Que s'amour fust envers trestous d'un fuer,
Fors vers celui qui l'aimme de mon cuer.
Par tel raison suis povres assazés,
Quant je plus vueil ce dont plus sui grevés:
Dont ne doit nuls <u>pleindre</u> ce que j'endure,
Quant j'aim seur tout ce qui n'a de moy cure.

Lo53

Helas! pour quoy virent onques mi oueil
Biauté, pour moy decevoir et traïr,
Ne **corps** changant, ne **cuer** plein de **tel** vueil
Qu'il faint amer et ne fait que haïr?
Miex me vausist estre nez, sens mentir,
Sans yex qu'**amer dame**, où tant truis contraire,
Quant loyauté ne maint en son viaire.

Le dous attrait de son tres bel **acueil**
Au commencier me volt tant **enrichir**
Que j'estoie de tous biens en l'escueil,
Et me teoit en **l'espoir de joïr**.
Las! or me fait de haut en bas venir
Et sans **raison** me vuet dou tout deffaire,
Quant loyauté ne maint en son viaire.

Si n'en puis mais, se je m'en <u>plaing</u> et dueil;
Car ailleurs voy doner et departir
Les tres dous biens que de li avoir sueil,
Et à grant tort les me voy retollir
Et moy guerpir pour un autre enchierir.
Fuiez, fuiez dames de tel affaire,
Quant loyauté ne maint en son viaire.

Lo53 – Translation

Alas! Why did my eyes, in order to deceive and betray me, ever behold beauty, I wish for neither an inconstant body, nor such a heart, that feigns love and only creates hate? Without a lie it would be better to have been born without eyes, than to love a lady in whom I find such contrariness, since loyalty does not reside in her countenance.

The sweet attraction of her very beautiful welcome to begin with inclined so much to enrich me that I was in the grip of all good things, and [the sweet attraction] held me in the hope of rejoicing. Alas! now it has caused me to descend low from a great height and without reason wants me completely undone, since loyalty does not reside in her countenance.

Indeed it is not my fault if I complain of it and mourn; since elsewhere I see given away and departing, the very sweet goods that I was accustomed to have from her, and very wrongly I see them taken back from me and myself abandoned in order to enrich another. Flee, flee ladies from such an affair, since loyalty does not reside in her countenance.[88]

M12 Triplum – Translation

Alas, why did my eyes ever behold my dear and sweetly welcoming lady, for whose sake I live in such agony that I cannot tell joy from anguish? Love has never enriched me with even a hope of fulfillment, nor can I hope for anything but that which must lead me to despair. So truly I would have been happier if, when I first saw my lady, I had been without eyes or my body had contained such a heart as could never love a lady, for in seeing her I won myself a cruel death and sorrow for as long as I live, since her cruel heart refuses me all pity or mercy. Alas, she hates what is good and healthful to me, and only because I love her honor and her beauty and because I serve her with all my heart and with such fearful reverence that I ask nothing of her but to adore her. And it is true that we often seek what we do not wish to have. I prefer to endure my sorrow rather tha to make her more cruel to me through pleading with her; for if she knew that I had dared desire her love she would never hold me dear. And I love her so much that if I could have but one wish in this world, it would be that her love were of equal measure towards all but him who loves her with my heart. For this reason I am a man of little wealth: that I most desire what does me the greatest harm; and so no one should pity what I suffer, since I love above all else that which cares nothing for me.[89]

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[88] My translation. The start of the second stanza is reminiscent of the triplum incipit of M13, *Tant doucement m'ont attrait Bel accueil et dous attrait*, and the start of stanza three is reminiscent of the incipit Machaut's ballade 15, *Se je me plaing*, although it is unlikely that there is intended citation here.

[89] trans. Donagher in Robertson, *Machaut and Reims*, pp. 311-2.

In Lo53, the incipit is apt for the ensuing discussion of Beauty, as the lover is contemplating beauty, and how a beautiful appearance can be deceptive.[90] As in the triplum of M12, the narrator of the ballade not only regrets ever having set eyes on his lady/Beauty, but even goes so far as wish he had never had eyes in the first place. Stanza three is akin to stanza two of the motetus, wherein Fortune gives riches to evil men and takes them from the good. Machaut could have been using the motet to comment on the ballade, thus sympathising with it but also offering an alternative in heavenly salvation; or could have been reworking in Lo53 his representation of Fortune in M12, showing us that Beauty can be an equally treacherous mistress. One might postulate that the motet was written second, allowing Machaut to give a more mature and complex statement of these ideas. Alternatively, since Fortune is the more usual locus of complaints about contrariness and duality, it could be argued that Machaut was revisiting earlier (and more usual) conceptions of Fortune and applying her characteristics to Beauty, thereby implying that the latter can be just as fickle and untrustworthy as the former.

MOTET 14

M14, *Maugre mon cuer / De ma dolour / Quia amore langueo*, provides an interesting case study. The incipits of both the triplum and the motetus resemble the incipits of two of Machaut's ballades without music from the *Loange des Dames*, *De ma dolour ne puis avoir confort* (Lo210) and *Maugre mon cuer me convient eslongier* (Lo87). The fact that the motetus and the triplum both exhibit this kind of connection strengthens the possibility that there was a conscious decision to revisit the themes, for the incipit was a common locus for citations. Of these three works, Lo210 does not appear in MS C. Since this is believed to be the earliest of the complete works' manuscripts, it seems likely this ballade was written after the motet, so if this represents a reworking, then it is the ballade that follows the motet. Whether the same is true of Lo87 is harder to say, since it appears in the same manuscripts as the motet.

The phrase 'de ma dolour' is not unusual and is indeed a particular favourite of Machaut. However, it is only used as an incipit in these two instances in his entire output, which suggests the sharing of this incipit may be significant. The motet and the ballade also share vocabulary after this opening in common, although the context in which the phrases are used carry opposite meanings: 'confortes doucement' and 'ne puis avoir conforte'. In the motet the poet claims he has received comfort for his pain, whereas in the ballade he

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[90] This has resonances with the allegorical character Faus Semblant (False Seeming) from the *Roman de la Rose*, who also appears in M15. Similarly the character 'Bel Accueil' (Fair Welcome) from the *Rose* is also invoked in such a discussion of beauty, especially since 'bel acueil' is used to describe the lady in the first line of stanza two in Lo53.

laments this is not possible. The fact that there is a reversal of meaning based on almost identical vocabulary suggests to me a conscious reworking. Rather than exhibiting a less striking (and therefore possibly incidental) difference, the direct opposites that these phrases form imply that Machaut was perhaps paying particular attention to their divergence on a single theme. In addition, as shown in Figure 3 there are some textual similarities between this ballade and the triplum text of the motet.

As I have suggested, the phrase 'de ma dolour' seems to have been a frequent one in Machaut's poetic language. While a direct line of citation between all its different uses cannot necessarily be traced, it is clear that Machaut enjoyed the alliteration and rhythmic force of this formulation. He uses it (or the very similar formulation 'de la dolour/doleur') on numerous occasions in his ballade output.[91] When we compare its usage in other repertories, we find that this phrase seems to be more particular to Machaut than to other composers. Further, where it has been used by others it is most common among those of the subsequent generation, such as Froissart, who tended to cite Machaut. This could suggest that they had also picked up on this phrase as a stylistic tic of Machaut's and that they were intentionally deploying it in order to allude to his style or had in a sense internalised the phrase through extreme familiarity with his lyrics. That the phrase is often placed in refrains and rhyme schemes by these citing composers suggests to my mind that in many cases this allusion carried a measure of intent. Philipoctus de Caserta, for instance, wrote a ballade whose incipit is *De ma dolour ne puis trouver confort*, which appears to draw textually on Machaut's Lo210 and may take part in a extended citational game drawing on other of Machaut's lyrics from the *Loanges des Dames*.[92] Prior to Machaut's use it does not seem to have been such a common turn of phrase. It occurs only twice in the Montpellier motets, for example.

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[91] 'De ma dolour' occurs in the notated ballades *S'amours ne fait* (B1) and *Ma chiere dame* (B40), and in the following ballades from the Loange des Dames: *Amours ne vuet* (Lo91), *Dame, pour vous* (Lo19), *Douce, plaisant, simple et sage* (Lo211), *Emmi! Dame, comment puet endurer* (Lo150), *Puis qu'Eurs est contraire* (Lo113) and *Souvenirs fait maint* (Lo23). 'De la dolour' occurs in the following ballades from the Loange des Dames: *Comment me puet mes cuers* (Lo143), *Douce dame, que j'aim* (Lo4), *Ja mais ne quier* (Lo28), *Loing de mon cuer* (Lo86), *On verroit maint amant* (Lo38) and *Se je ne say* (Lo6).

[92] Plumley, 'Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and the Legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta', in P.Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ciconia, Musicien de la Transition* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 124-8.

FIGURE 3: Comparison of M14 with Lo210

M14 Triplum

Maugré mon cuer, contre mon sentement,
Dire me font que j'ay aligement
De bonne Amour
Ceaus qui dient que j'ay fait faintement
Mes chans qui sont fait dolereusement
Et que des biens amoureus ay souvent
Le grant douçour.
Helas! dolens, et je n'os **onques** jour,
Puis que premiers vi **ma dame** d'onnour
Que j'aim en foy,
Qui ne fu nez et fenis en dolour,
Continuez en tristesse et en plour,
Pleins de refus pour croistre mon labour,
Et contre moy.
N'onques ma dame au riche meinteing coy
Mon dolent cuer, qui ne se part de soy,
Ne resjoï,
Ne n'ot pitié dou mal que je reçoy.
Et si scet bien qu'en li mon temps employ
Et que **je l'aim**, criem, serf **et desir** et croy
De cuer d'ami;
Et quant il n'est garison ne merci
Qui me vausist, se ne venoit de li
A qui m'ottry,
Et son franc cuer truis si dur anemi
Qu'il se delite es maus dont **je langui**,
Chascuns puet bien savoir que j'ay menti.

Lo210

De ma dolour ne puis avoir **confort**,
Puis que ma dame en riens ne meconforte,
Car de li vient le tres grant desconfort
Et le meschief qui si me desconforte
Qu'**oncques** mais nuls homs mortels
Ne pot estre si fort desconfortez,
Quant sa douceur de moy grever ne fine,
Pour ce qu'aim tant sa tres grant biauté fine.

De tant com **je l'aim et desir** plus fort
Est la doleur que j'endure plus forte,
Car je l'aim tant que je me tieng pour mort,
Sans nul retour, dont m'esperence est morte
Que jamais de li amez
Nès par penser, soie n'amis clamez.
Helas! dolens, einsi ma vie fine,
Pour ce qu'aim tant sa tres grant biauté fine.

Et nompourquant j'ay plaisance et deport
En mon meschief, quant elle se deporte
Et prent deduit en la piteuse mort
Qu'ay pour s'amour; riens plus de li n'emporte.
Einssi sui guerredonnés,
Car **j'ay langui**, dès qu'à li fu donnés,
Et en la fin elle m'occist et mine,
Pour ce qu'aim tant sa tres grant biauté fine.

M14 Motetus

De ma dolour confortes doucement,
De mon labour meris tres hautement,
De grant tristour en toute joie mis,
De grief langour eschapes et garis,
De bon eur, de grace, de pitie.
Et de Fortune amis et a mon gre,
Com diseteus richement secourus
Com familleus largement repeus
De tous les biens que dame et bonne Amours
Pueent donner a amant par honnour
Suis, et Amours m'est en tous cas aidans;
Mais, par m'ame, je mens parmi mes dens.

M14 Triplum – Translation

Those who say that I have falsely composed my sorrowful songs and that I often receive the great sweetness of love's riches cause me to say, despite my heart and contrary to my feelings, that I am comforted by good Love. I suffer, alas, for since I first saw my honored lady, whom I love faithfully, I have not had a single day which did not begin and end in sorrow, or continue in sadness and tears, filled with refusal which increased my travail, or work to my detriment. And never did my lady of such calm and noble bearing, bring joy to my suffering heart, which is entirely hers, or take pity on my ills. And she well knows that I employ my time in serving her and that I love, reverence, serve, desire, and place my faith in her with the true heart of a lover. And because there is no relief or mercy that would be of any good to me unless it came from her to whom I give myself, and because I find her noble heart such a fierce enemy to me that it delights in the ills from which I languish, everyone can easily tell that I have lied.[93]

M14 Motetus – Translation

For my distress I am sweetly comforted, for my labour richly rewarded, for my great sadness I am transported to complete joy, from my grievous languishing I am set free, and I am protected by happiness, grace and pity, and by Fortune I am befriended as I would wish, I am like a hungry man richly helped and like a starving man bounteously fed with all the good things that a lady and good Love can honourably give to a lover, and Love is helping me in all ways; but, by my soul, I'm lying through my teeth.

Lo210 – Translation

I cannot have comfort from my sadness, since my lady does not comfort me in any way, and because from her comes very great discomfort and the misfortune which discomforts me so much no mortal man could ever have been so greatly discomforted, since her sweetness never ceases to wound me, because I love so much her very great and noble beauty.

The more strongly that I love and desire her, the stronger is the pain that I endure, because I love her so much that I consider myself as dead without any return, since the hope that I would ever be loved by her is dead giving rise to the thought that I would not be called her lover. Alas! Sorrowing, thus my life ends because I love so much her very great and noble beauty.

And even though I have pleasure and distraction in my misfortune: when she is diverted and takes delight in the piteous death which I have instead of her love, I get nothing else from her. Thus am I rewarded since I languish since the moment the reward given and in the end she kills me and destroys me because I love so much her very great and noble beauty.

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[93] M14 Triplum trans. Donagher in Robertson, *Machaut and Reims*, p. 315.

It also occurs in two anonymous lyrics: one ballade from the *Reina* codex where the phrase 'de ma dolour' both occurs in the incipit (*A vous, sans plus, de ma dolour*) and forms the basis of the rhyme scheme; and one lyric from GB: BL additional 15224 (*Or uueil ie doucement chanter*). Matheus de Perusio, who famously quoted Machaut's *De Fortune* in his ballade *Se je me plaing*, used the phrase in one ballades and one virelai – where it forms part of the refrain (*Par vous m'estuet languir et soupirer* and *Trover ne puis aucunement confort*) and as part of the refrain of the rondeau *Dame souvrayne de beaute*. By placing a turn of phrase of which Machaut was particularly fond in a key position, Matheus may well have been intending an oblique allusion to Machaut – if not to a particular piece then in homage to Machaut's style of language. Froissart also used the phrase on four occasions, and was similarly known for citing Machaut. He employed 'de ma dolour' in the virelai *Amours, je te regrasci*, in the virelai *Assis comme la piere en l'or* as part of the refrain (like the incipit, the refrain was a key locus of citations); in the virelai *Le corps s'en va*; and finally in *Mon bien, ma paix et m'amour* – again he placed it in a key position at the end of the refrain and therefore as part of the rhyme scheme (it is also part of the rhyme scheme in the previous two pieces mentioned). Additionally, the phrase is used once by both Johannes Ciconia (noted for his citing of Philipoctus de Caserta) and Johannes de Janua.

In Machaut's ballade *De ma dolour* the lover receives no favour from his lady and bears pains such that he will surely die. Although he takes some pleasure from seeing her happiness, he nonetheless declares that finally she will destroy him. The motetus text seems initially to present a happier story: the lover is strengthened by his lady, his sadness is turned to happiness, and the fickle goddess Fortune is claimed, rather surprisingly, to be his friend. However, this illusion is brought crashing down by the revelation of the final sentence - *je mens parmi mes dens* (I am lying through my teeth).[94] Once the truth is revealed, we can see how it had been in fact buried in the structure of the text: the unusual frequent repetitions of '*de*' – particularly at the beginning of lines – and the alliteration on the letter 'd' anticipate the final word '*dens*', and thus become the teeth through which the text lies. The use of '*-ment*' in the rhyme scheme hints at the lie, '*mens*', that is to be revealed.

The triplum incipit of M14 *Maugre mon cuer, contre mon sentement* is similar to that of Machaut's ballade Lo87, *Maugre mon cuer me convient eslongier*. There is little further

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[94] Structurally, the music may also be reflecting lying in its talea/color structure: with four taleas arranged into six colors, the isorhythmic and melodic repetitions do not tally – perhaps suggesting the off-kilter world of a liar. At talea III they meet again only to diverge again until the end. The music also exhibits overly long pauses where both the motetus and the triplum hold long notes together; perhaps this was intended to reflect the stilted speech of a liar.

commonality beyond this beginning; however, the phrase only occurs twice in his lyric repertoire, both times as an incipit. The fact that the motetus and the triplum exhibit this kind of connection strengthens the possibility that there was a conscious decision to cite. Perhaps there is a contrast to be drawn between the text of the motet's triplum, in which the lover declares that he has had nothing but sorrow every day since he first saw his lady, and the text of the ballade, in which the lover must be separated from his lady and longs only to see her.

Zayaruznaya notes that the lover of the triplum complains of having to sing that he has love's support, when in fact he is lying in doing so. She suggests that the motetus could 'be an example of the kind of song the triplum is forced to sing',[95] and that the rhetorical style of the motetus, as well as its repetition of 'de' and intricate grammatical organisation 'serve to heighten our sense of the artfulness of the text'. This fits rather nicely with Machaut's dialogic self-presentation, as discussed by both Palmer and Brownlee. In the triplum, Machaut portrays a situation in which he must present a false persona to those around him by singing a song that he does not mean, even though the lie is clear to those who hear it, so even his deception is devalued. In the motetus he simultaneously presents a fictionalised self singing that song, but undercuts both the sense of performance and the meaning of the text with the declaration that he is lying. If he, in fact, was reworking in Lo210 the ideas of this motet, perhaps he presents there the song he really wanted to sing.

While not definitive, the connections I have traced between M14 and Lo210, are certainly multi-faceted, to a degree that I would propose makes deliberate citational modelling more plausible than unconscious repetition of material. This may be contrasted with the case of Lo87, the incipit of which parallels that of M14's triplum, but without further apparent textual connections, implying perhaps a simple reuse of a pleasing phrase. The incipits of the motetus of M14 and Lo210 employ similar vocabulary, and as shown in Figure 3, there are shared phrases between the ballade and the triplum text. Furthermore, as I have suggested above, there are distinct echoes in the treatments of Fortune and Beauty, both of whom are portrayed as inconstant and deceitful. The admission of the lover in the triplum that his song is falsely sung, and linking this with Zayaruznaya's proposal that the motetus is that same false song, leads me to suggest that given the coincidence of wording between the incipits of the ballade and the motetus, Lo210 is the 'real' song the lover was unable to sing in the motet (albeit one without music). The double self-representation – the lamenting lover, and his faux-happy self – is illustrative of the dialogism which Brownlee

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[95] Zayaruznaya, 'Form and Idea', p. 204.

and Palmer detect in Machaut's work, for while he admits that he lies, he still presents in the motetus a version of that very lie, and in the triplum confesses the transparency of his lie. Perhaps Machaut was making a commentary on the nature of performance – he must tell the lie to an audience who know that he is lying, yet do so as convincingly as he can. With the implicit addition of the ballade as a separate but connected text, Machaut may have been offering both a resolution to the conflict inherent in M14, while also adding another layer of complexity to his own performance. Ultimately, rather than offering an orderly solution, perhaps Machaut was presenting a continuation of the game.

MOTET 16

Like M11, M16, *Lasse! comment oublieray/Se j'aim mon loyal ami/Pourquoy me bat mes maris?* is a motet based on a vernacular tenor. It is an elegant and courtly pastiche of the *mal mariée* genre that was popular in the thirteenth century. This genre, as its name suggests, is a complaint of one trapped in a bad marriage. Usually the speaker is a woman, who either takes a lover, or wishes to do so. The husband is portrayed variously as jealous, brutal or impotent. Several Montpellier motets from the thirteenth century take this as the theme for at least one of their voices.[96] Boogaart has commented that in his use of the theme, Machaut elevated the genre.[97]

The stories in all three lines of M16 are told from the point of view of a female protagonist. She is in an unhappy marriage, separated from her true love and spied on by her husband. In both the triplum and the motetus she laments her suffering and declares that she cannot forget her lover – indeed it would be a mortal sin not to keep him in her heart for the sake of obeying her husband. The contrast between the motetus and the triplum is generated by the attitudes displayed to physical and mental love. In the triplum she declares:

> Lasse! comment oublieray
> Le bel, le bon, le dous, le gay
> A qui entierement donnay
> Le cuer de mi
> Pour le sien que j'ay sans demi
> Et le retins pour mon ami,
> Einssois qu'eusse mon mari...

Alas! How shall I forget the handsome, good, sweet and joyful one to whom I entirely gave my heart in return for his which I have in full, and took him as my lover instead of having my husband...

At the close of the same vocal line she says:

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[96] For example: Mo23, Mo142, Mo148, Mo156, Mo203, Mo233, Mo243 and Mo271.

[97] Boogaart, 'Encompassing', p. 36.

> Mais soit certeins
> Que, comment que mes corps lonteins
> Li soit, mes cuers li est procheins,
> D'amours et de loiaute pleins.

> But be certain that, however far away my body may be from him, my heart is close to him, full of love and loyalty.

Her declaration that she 'took him as my lover' in the first quotation, may well imply a physical relationship, and in the second she emphasises the distance of her *body* from her lover. Thus the physicality of love and separation are core themes for the triplum. Perhaps the key declaration, in relation to Machaut's agenda of registral elevation, is marked by its occurrence at the Golden Section point of the text. After stating that she can love her sweetheart with honour and goodness, and that this is in no way wrong, she explains:

> Mais j'eusse trop fort mespris,
> Se j'eusse l'amer empris,
> De puis que j'eus a marit pris,
> Lasse! celui
> Qui tant me fait peinne et anuy

> But I would have been badly mistaken, if I had decided to love, after I took as a husband, alas! the one who gives me such pain and trouble...

She had taken her lover before getting married, and therefore is transgressing no rules in maintaining her love. Now she is married, her husband prevents her from seeing her lover (*que ne voie son corps le gent* – that I may never see his noble body) Again, the use of 'body' is part of the emphasis in the triplum on physical contact and physical separation. She had given herself to her lover, is now prevented from even seeing him by her new husband, but will remain faithful in her heart despite the distance of her body from his. The use of the phrase 'comment que mes corps lonteins li soit' (however far my body may be from him) echoes its use in other parts of Machaut's corpus – as discussed above in relation to M11. It is not clear from the triplum whether the abuse from her husband is physical – she talks about being forced against her will to do what her husband wants ('Car il m'estuet malgré mien faire ce qu'il vuet') and later complains that he causes her pain and trouble. It is the tenor that gives us a more graphic account of this, as we shall see below.

In comparison with the triplum, the motetus speaks of a love less rooted in the physical. The theme here is about loving loyally and giving herself entirely to her lover, but *sans nul vilein pensement* (without any base thought). In the first part of the motetus she expresses a more cerebral love for him:

> Se j'aim mon loyal ami
> Et il mi si loyaument
> Qu'il est tous miens sans nul si

> Et je aussi entierement,
> Sans nul vilain pensement,
> Bonnement à li m'ottri,
> Pour ce qu'il m'a longuement,
> Liement, de cuer servi,

If I love my loyal lover and he I so loyally that he is utterly mine without reservation and I am also entirely his, with no base thought, well I give myself to him, since he has for a long while now, joyfully served me with his heart...

The second part of the motetus turns its attention to the suffering caused by her husband.

Again it is unclear whether her torment is merely mental, or also physical.

> Ay je pour ce desservi,
> Lasse! aymi, que tellement
> M'en demainne mon mari
> Que de li n'ay fors tourment?
> Nennil, car certeinnement,
> Mortelment peche celi
> Qui pour bien faire mal rent.
> Or m'aprent à faire einsi
> Qu'il vuet que mette en oubli
> Celui qui m'a humblement
> Doubté celé, obey
> Et cheri à mon talent.

Have I in this way deserved, alas! woe is me! that my husband should abuse me in such a way that from him I only receive torment? No, indeed, for certainly, he sins who in order to do good, does bad. Now he is teaching me to do this very thing, since he wants me to put from my mind the one who has humbly feared, concealed, obeyed and cherished me as I desired.

Although there is no direct reference to physical abuse in either the triplum or the motetus, it may be that the mention of the suffering she endures from her husband (*de li n'ay fors tourment*) is actualised in the physical violence portrayed by the tenor (*pour quoy me bat mes maris?* – why does my husband beat me?), which will be discussed further below.

FIGURE 4: Comparison of M16 tenor with *Douce 308* Pastourelle No.6

M16 Tenor	Douce 308, pastourelle no. 6
Pourquoy me bat mes maris?	Pour coi me bait mes maris
Lassette!	Laisette.
Aymi, Dieus!	Je ne li rienz meffait.
Pourquoy me bat mes maris?	Ne riens ne li ai mesdit.
Lassette!	Fors cacolleir mon amin.
Je ne li ay riens meffait,	Soulete
Je ne li ay riens meffait,	
Fors qu'a mon ami parlay seulette-	Et cil ne mi lait dureir.
Aimi, Dieus!	Ne bone uie meneir.
Fors qu'a mon ami parlay seulette.	Je lou ferai cous clameir.
Pourquoy me bat mes maris?	acertes.
Lassette!	
Aymi, Dieus!	Or sai bien que ie ferai
Pourquoy me bat mes maris?	Et coment man unagerai
Lassette!	Auec mon amin geirai.
	Nuete.
	Por coi mi bait mes maris.

Translation of M16 Tenor
Why does my husband beat me? Alas! Woe is me, O God! Why does my husband beat me? Alas! I have done nothing to hurt him, I have done nothing to hurt him, except for speaking to my lover alone. Woe is me, O God! Except for speaking to my lover alone. Why does my husband beat me? Alas! Woe is me, O God! Why does my husband beat me? Alas!

Translation of Douce 308
Why does my husband beat me? Alas. I haven't done anything wrong to him, I haven't said anything wrong to him, except for embracing my lover all alone. And if he won't let me carry on and lead a good life, I will cuckold him for certain. Now I know well what I will do and how I will take my revenge – I will fool around with my lover, in the nude! Why does my husband beat me?

It seems from the triplum and the motetus that the states of physical and mental love are juxtaposed. The triplum hints at the physical contact which had occurred prior to her marriage. The motetus, by contrast, is more typical of Machaut's discussions of maintaining love in the mind and not forgetting ones lover. Indeed it would be a mortal sin to do so. Obedience to one's husband is a virtue, but not if can only be accomplished by transgressing another rule: that one must stay loyal to one's first sweetheart.[98]

The tenor which makes manifest the physical violence hinted at elsewhere, appears to be an adapted version of a *Douce 308* pastourelle, though the text is a little more bawdy than Machaut's (see Figure 4 above). This had led scholars to conclude that Machaut's tenor melody is indeed the melody for this pastourelle. Whether Machaut knew the bawdier version and bowdlerized it himself, or whether he was quoting an alternative version, we cannot be sure. Certainly, the version that appears as the tenor of M16 is far more appropriate to Machaut's world of courtly lovers who are more nourished by remembrance than by physical presence; and it also fits with the controlled sexuality that he presents in his texts, both here in the upper voices and in his work in general. Since there is evidence that Machaut was familiar with the *Douce 308* repertory we can postulate that Machaut knew the bawdier version and was adapting it for his purposes here.[99] His interpretation seems to go so far as to be a parody of the *mal mariée* genre, a trope of numerous lower register songs that was also employed by some of the writers of the Montpellier motets. In most of these lyrics the wife-narrators announce that they will cuckold their husbands. There is no 'moral' element to these texts, and the women themselves, with their bold speech, seem as ill-mannered as their brutish husbands. Machaut's motet has a very different tone. The placement of the texts in the mouth of the unhappily-married woman in M16 serves to make her sound anything but ill-bred or bawdy. Instead she makes an eloquent case. Boogaart proposes that she frames her argument according to the template for a legal plea as outlined by Brunetto Latini.[100] She insists that it would be a great wrong to forget her lover, and swears to remain true even when physically separated. Thus she appears intelligent and reasoned, moral, and most importantly for Machaut, courtly in her understanding of love. The borrowed song underpinning this serves further to highlight

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[98] *Mortelment peche celi qui pour bien faire mal rent* is identified by Hassell as a proverb (M54). Lo198 also refers to mortal sin. A link between M16 and Lo198 is unlikely, but both texts use the formula of '*if* one is and has a loyal lover, *then*'. The ballade declares that he/she cannot be blamed for desiring their loved one, while the lady of the motet complains of ill treatment by her husband. In both, lovers are defending their actions.

[99] Plumley, *The Art*, Chapter 8.

[100] Boogaart, 'Encompassing', p. 38.

her moral high-ground – her husband physically abuses her, even though she has done nothing except speak to her lover, unlike the *Douce* version of the song, in which the lady embraces her lover when they are alone and threatens to avenge herself on her husband by sporting with her love, naked! Thus, although the motet contains elements of physical love in the triplum, the borrowed tenor is cleansed of these kinds of references, in order to emphasise the moral rectitude of the abused woman.

In taking the *mal mariée* genre and placing it in the courtly sphere, Machaut presents a paradox in which the lady cannot both obey her husband and stay true to her original lover. There is no bawdy fun to be had here, as in the lower-register tales, only the noble enduring of pain. Since love in medieval poetry is rarely depicted as having anything to do with marriage, one could imagine the situation Machaut sketches in M16 being a reality for many lovers. As a writer of courtly lover lyrics he must put forward a plea for the importance of the rules of *fin'amors*, even when they conflict with other deeply embedded social constraints which must also be adhered to. Thus, when they contradict one another so decidedly, as they do in M16, there can be no resolution. Machaut not only elevates the register of the *mal mariée* genre, he also puts forward the case for correct and courtly behaviour in love being as high a moral good as an other form of virtue. Therefore, in the possible allusion to Landini that Boogaart detects, Machaut would not only be allowing the lady to put her case forward elegantly and persuasively, but perhaps also arguing more generally as an artist for the importance of maintaining the rules of *fin'amors*.

Marian Devotion and Biblical Allusion in Machaut's motets

In this final section I would like to explore some allusions to the tradition of Marian devotion that can be traced in Machaut's motets. Machaut's French motets are *prima facie* unconcerned with the Blessed Virgin Mary – a figure of devotion common in the Montpellier motets, and still of interest in the later J.II.9 motets, as we shall see in Chapter Five. On one level, however, we can argue that she is ever-present in the amatory texts, since the fusion of Marian and amatory French lyrics was common in the late middle ages. As discussed in the introductory chapter, the mixing of registers – the sacred and the secular – was as present in the fourteenth-century motet as it had been in earlier motet repertories. The vocabulary of devotional texts to the Virgin had become intermingled with amatory texts for earthly ladies, initiating a complex fusion of these two subjects of adoration.

Marian motets are limited in Machaut's output, and are in the main highly ambiguous. Furthermore, vocabulary commonly associated with the Virgin is notably absent. [101] Machaut wrote three motets based on Marian tenors: *Maugre mon cuer/De ma dolour/Quia amore langueo* (M14), *Quant vraie amour/O series summe rata Super omnes speciosa* (M17), and *Felix virgo/Inviolata genitrix/Ad te suspiramus/Contratenor* (M23). The tenor of M14 draws on an antiphon from the feast of the assumption, the particular words chosen having in turn been drawn from the Song of Songs; M17 finds inspiration for its tenor in the antiphon *Ave regina celorum* and uses the same melody as Vitry's Marian motet *Vos qui admiramini/Gratissima virginis specie/Gaude gloriosa/Contratenor*; finally M23 uses the antiphon *Salve, regina misericordie* for its tenor material. Of these, only M23 (which is entirely in Latin) is overtly and unequivocally Marian. The Virgin Mary, therefore, rarely makes direct appearances in Machaut's motet repertory. However, there may be other ways in which she is concealed within the texts of his motets. As such Machaut could be seen as still connecting with the tradition that fused amatory and courtly text, but in a far more subtle manner than some of his contemporaries and predecessors, and I shall draw out some of these below.

In M1, the Responsory from which the tenor *amara valde* has been taken, begins 'plange quasi virgo' (lament like a virgin), taken from Joel 1:8. The reference to a virgin lamenting, despite being Old Testament, can be interpreted exegetically as a prophecy concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary, adding another layer of allusion to the motet. As this Responsory is part of the liturgy for Holy Saturday, the weeping virgin would undoubtedly have been understood as Mary lamenting the death of her son. The lady that the lover serves in the upper voices of M1 may thus be interchangeable with the Virgin Mary, a topos that is typical of medieval lyrics.

The tenor of M2 is identified by Huot as finding its source in Job (3:24). [102] Robertson notes that this is part of the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament. [103] This is significant because the figure of Wisdom, as we have seen above in the discussion of M17, is often portrayed as a lady and further often equated with the Virgin Mary. She may therefore be a presence in M2 that can only be discovered through a deeper contemplation of the tenor.

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[101] See the introductory chapter for a discussion of Marian vocabulary.

[102] Huot, 'Patience in Adversity'.

[103] Robertson, *Machaut and Reims*, p. 113.

M3 laments the death of a beloved. It is underpinned by the Jobian tenor *quare non sum mortuus?* (why did I not die?). This motet uses the popular refrain *Qui bien aimme, a tart oublie* (he who loves well, does not soon forget),[104] which is also cited in Mo196, forms the tenor line of a motet in Tu42, *Sens penseir folur/Quant la saisons desirei/Qui bien aime*, and can also be found as the final refrain of Thibaut's *Li Romanz de la Poire*. It is furthermore the incipit of a Marian trouvère song from the thirteenth century. Since Machaut drew on the trouvère lyrics of the century before his own in many of his motets and ballades, it seems possible that he would have been aware of prior use of this refrain in Marian contexts, perhaps lending the motet an added Marian dimension appropriate to its sober reflections. However, Machaut also used this refrain as the incipit to his lai 16 *Le lay de plour*, hence we cannot be certain that he intended this reading. If he did, it would give an alternative and more joyous reading of the citation, too. In the motet the lover mourns separation by death from his beloved and the Jobian tenor adds apocalyptic drama, yet by reading this motet through the lens of a Marian devotional lyric it provides a counterpoint. *Qui bien aimme, a tart oublie* rejoices in the adoration of the Virgin while also remembering the suffering of her son on the cross, and, in additional stanzas preserved in some manuscripts, reminds us of the impending judgement of mankind. Thus, death takes on a different aspect to that presented in the motet. Death is also the route to salvation by means of the sacrifice of Christ and the reward of heaven if one is righteous. Unfortunately, there are no further textual or musical correspondences, so we can only speculate as to whether the Marian lyric may have formed part of the intertextual backdrop against which Machaut composed his motet.

The tenor of M4, *speravi* (I have hoped) is from a Pentecost introit which is based on Psalm 12.[105] In the triplum the lover is rescued from the ravages of Desire, by Good Hope, Most

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[104] Hassell, *Middle French Proverbs,* A63.

[105] **1** In finem Psalmus David Usquequo Domine oblivisceris me in finem usquequo avertis faciem tuam a me | **2** Quamdiu ponam consilia in anima mea dolorem in corde meo per diem | **3** Usquequo exaltabitur inimicus meus super me | **4** Respice exaudi me Domine Deus meus inlumina oculos meos ne umquam obdormiam in mortem | **5** Nequando dicat inimicus meus praevalui adversus eum qui tribulant me exultabunt si motus fuero | **6** Ego autem in misericordia tua speravi exultabit cor meum in salutari tuo cantabo Domino qui bona tribuit mihi et psallam nomini Domini altissimi

Translation: 1 Unto the end, a psalm for David. How long, O Lord, wilt thou forget me unto the end? how long dost thou turn away thy lace from me? | **2** How long shall I take counsels in my soul, sorrow in my heart all the day? | **3** How long shall my enemy be exalted over me? | **4** Consider, and hear me, O Lord my God. Enlighten my eyes that I never sleep in death: | **5** lest at any time my enemy say: I have prevailed against him. They that trouble me will rejoice when I am moved: | **6** but I have trusted in thy mercy. My heart shall rejoice in thy salvation: I will sing to the Lord, who giveth me good things: yea I will sing to the name of the Lord the most high.

Sweet Remembrance and Most Sweet Thought. The lover comes close to despairing, since Resistance and Refusal are working against him. Despite this he accepts that it must be thus and determines that he will continue to love faithfully. In the motetus the lover also battles against the desire that has been caused by the lady's beauty and by Love, but Pity is not ready to relieve his pains. However, he accepts that if this is the will of Love and his lady, then he will submit to suffering even if it means his own death. Although the lover is struggling with the pains of his desire, he almost welcomes this with a certain stoicism. In the triplum he sees himself as subject to her 'commandment', a word which evokes both courtly devotion to the lady and the commandments given to Moses by God. In comparison to M2 and M3, where the basis provided by the tenors from Job infuses the motets with sighing and a longing for death, this motet is more accepting of its fate. Indeed the joyful words of the Pentecost introit provide a suitable backdrop. Pentecost celebrates the day on which the Holy Spirit descended on the disciples of Christ, fifty days after his resurrection. The disciples are thus given sweet thought and remembrance of their saviour even though they cannot be with him, and hope that one day they might. The motet parallels this in the courtly realm. Furthermore, Pentecost is linked to the Jewish festival of Shavuot, which remembers the Israelites being given the Ten Commandments fifty days after the Exodus. The idea of commandment is picked up at the end of the triplum, as I mentioned above. M4 is thus an acceptance of suffering based on the hope of salvation. As Huot has suggested in relation to motets 2 and 3, this adds a further dimension to the courtly love idea, rather than detracting from it. Suffering is once again put into a wider context than the pains of love, though equally this does not diminish these pains.

The motet also relates structurally to Psalm 12. In both the motetus and the triplum the lover lists his woes. In the final sentences, both of which begin with 'but' (mais), the lover accepts his fate and resolves to continue serving his lady. The Psalm follows a very similar line: the speaker feels he is forgotten by the Lord and recounts his sorrows, he entreats the Lord to hear him, and fears his enemies; however, in the final verse he says 'but (autem) I have trusted in thy mercy'. By following the structure of the Psalm and centring the final turn of the motetus and triplum around the word 'but', not only does Machaut allude to the Psalm, but he also highlights its meaning: continued trust and hope in the face of despair.

There is arguably a Marian angle to this motet. Acts 1:14 mentions that Mary was present at the Descent of the Holy Spirit, and therefore she could be imagined as present in the background of this motet as she was at the first Pentecost. Further, Mary is seen as a symbolic figure in Revelation. Psalm 12 implies a wait for the ultimate judgement and

salvation of the Lord, which is reflected in the motet by the wait for the good will of the lady. Seen through the lens of the tenor, this becomes the desire to be not only to be in the presence of God, but also to see Mary, the ultimate lady of 'radiant beauty' (biauté coulourée).

Boogaart notes that the incipit to the motetus of M4 'recalls the traditional *Natureingang* of the trouvères.'[106] He argues that this is an unusual image for Machaut and that it may be derived from a Thibaut chanson.[107] This may also evoke Marian symbolism, since thirteenth-century motets often juxtapose this kind of *Natureingang* and Marian devotion, particularly at Eastertide and the following period leading up to Pentecost (the liturgical season of M4's tenor). Springtime, traditionally associated with rebirth and fertility, is married to Christian notions of resurrection. Thirteenth-century motets using tenors from this period of the liturgy often have upper voices with pastoral themes and 'dance-like rhythms that create regular phrases, usually two or four bars long in transcription, which usually culminate in cadences between all three voices'.[108] Thus, underneath the amorous anxiety of the upper voices, there run deeper currents of joy: resurrection, ascension into Heaven, and allusions to Springtime.

CONCLUSIONS

If it is true that Machaut oversaw the compilation of one of the extant complete works' manuscripts, he was certainly an innovator, since we have no evidence of any other composer or writer of his or earlier generations taking such care to preserve and promote their own authorship. This act of compilation in itself provides a coherence to Machaut's output. However, there are other factors which heighten this sense of his presence in his own work.

As we have seen from the examples above, which are by no means exhaustive, Machaut certainly re-used and reworked ideas within his own corpus. Sometimes this appears to be the revisiting of themes or formulations that pleased him, while on other occasions a deeper connection may be supposed – for example between M14 and Lo210.

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[106] Boogaart, 'Encompassing', p. 19.

[107] Boogaart believes that the image of the water sprinkled on the graft in Thibaut's *Tout autresi con l'ente fet venir* may have inspired Machaut's metaphor of the sweet dew of humility, and cites Wallensköld's remark that Thibaut's imagery is 'unique in trouvères poetry. See ibid., p. 20.

[108] David J. Rothenberg, 'Marian Feasts, Seasons, and Songs in Medieval Polyphony: Studies in Musical Symbolism', unpubd. PhD dissertation, Yale University, 2004.

He also used traditional tropes and associations, but did so in an inventive manner. Palmer's discussion of Machaut's use of Boethius in the *Confort* suggests that he did more than just adapt the earlier thinker. Machaut appropriated and challenged Boethius' thought by modelling his own work on the *Consolation*, but employing examples which challenged or undermined Boethius' position. In M12 and M17 it appears that Machaut did something similar by modelling his texts on the syntax and sentiments of some of Boethius' arguments and poetry, but simultaneously questioning the philosopher through the tenor citations.

Machaut also appropriated other traditions, such as lower register songs of earlier vintage. His use of French tenors elevates the registers of the older material he used – particular in the example of M16, where the *mal mariée* genre moves away from its bawdy roots and becomes a persuasive and refined plea for the moral primacy of the rules of courtly love.

On the one hand we might argue that Machaut's borrowing and amending blurs the boundaries between his own work and that of others. Ideas and phrases recur in various forms throughout his lyric output. The result is a dazzling array of references. Both Albritton and Plumley have referred to the mosaic-like way in which Machaut constructs his texts. He reiterates permutations of his own work alongside that of other poets and composers. And yet, the presented personality – albeit a contrary and dialogically constituted one – which emerges from his work, reasserts the very boundaries between himself and his influences that he manipulated or obliterated. His use of Boethius, creates, in a sense, Machaut's Boethius, the allegorical figures from the *Roman de la Rose* are reinterpreted as Machaut's allegorical figures and all this is framed by his single author codex. Perhaps he is not so much blurring the boundaries as he is invading the territory of others, or taking the metaphor of the graft to new extremes with his absorption and renewal of others' material, making their utterances his own.

And yet, despite the prominence of self and the unapologetic seizing of themes and ideas from other writers and traditions, there is still a haziness in his self-presentation. The very expropriation that gives Machaut a strong authorial presence allows him to present shifting and mutating versions of his voice and opinions. In M14 we saw how Machaut can confound any simplistic conception of his thought through his simultaneous rendition of truth and lies, and how the potential link with Lo210 adds to this performance.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the way that Machaut uses citation and allusion is his commitment to examining the extreme implications of seemingly simple situations or arguments. Whatever idea he appropriated, reused or reworked, he was never content with merely letting it function as a window to another work, but let the consequences of its interpolation be played out. In M11, he examined how obeying a lady's will may result in undesirable consequences. The ideas in this motet have resonances with themes examined in one of his virelais and some of the ballades of the *Loanges des Dames*. Whatever the chronology of composition, it is important that he returned to these ideas repeatedly in his output, and what we can see in the motet is how much further its freer poetic form and polytextual structure allowed him to take his exploration of the ideas. M14 and the possibly related Lo210 permitted him to scrutinise the repercussions of artistic presentation. In M16 he thought through the competing demands of courtly love and societal obligations to their unhappy conclusion. M12 and M17 he played out the consequences of implementing the popular model of Boethian ideas.

Motets were the best possible ground for Machaut to investigate these conundrums because of their polyphonic and polytextual nature. The simultaneity of their presentation of different strands of thought is in many ways an accurate portrayal of conflicts of ideas and interests in life, which rarely present themselves as neatly alternating debates. Machaut seems to have been a writer with a strong sense of both self and integrity. He did not baulk at the sometimes alarming consequences of love, and the rules of the courtly sphere in which he worked, but rather used his art to play out these conflicts. Nor did he seek to use his artistic endeavour to generate tidy conclusions or a contrived happy ending. Instead he used the full potential of the motet form to facilitate the continuing interplay between complex and often contradictory expressions of thought.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROSE, THE CHESS QUEEN AND PAPAL POLITICS: THE USE OF CITATION IN THE FRENCH MOTETS OF THE IVREA AND CHANTILLY MANUSCRIPTS

In the previous two chapters I have looked at repertories that are in some way homogeneous. The motets of the *Roman de Fauvel* are bound together by their presence within a narrative context, while those of Machaut are linked not only by his authorship, but by his assumed personal involvement in the manuscript compilation process. In the case of both the *Fauvel* and Machaut motets, we have seen that citation contributes to the construction of the sense of unity of these two groups. More specifically, in *Fauvel*, citation, in conjunction with the vernacular, appears to be employed to develop the voice of the eponymous antihero and to suggest his transgression of social boundaries; Machaut's innovative use of citation seems to reinforce his authorial presence, weaving a unifying thread through his single-author codices. In Chapter Four I shall examine the Cypriot-French repertory of MS J.II.9, now housed in Turin, within which the motets – as well as the rondeaux, virelais, ballades and mass movements – have a collective identity through their status as unica and in their connection with the court of Cyprus. In this chapter, a somewhat more heterogeneous collection of French motets is the focus of my attention, namely those of the Ivrea and Chantilly manuscripts. Alongside the Machaut manuscripts, *Fauvel* and J.II.9, these two manuscripts are the most important sources of extant French motets from the fourteenth century. The motets of Ivrea and Chantilly, and their concordances with other sources and composers, where known, are given in the Appendix.

Although lacking the contextual interconnectedness of the Machaut or *Fauvel* motets, the majority of the compositions under consideration in this chapter exhibit varying degrees of structural, musical and textual similarity. Despite the suspected later copying date of the manuscript itself,[1] many of the motets in Ivrea, both French and Latin, are thought to date from around 1320, and to be linked with Philippe de Vitry; that is, they are either by his

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[1] Karl Kügle concludes that 'the manuscript was most likely copied in the 1380s and 1390s by two Savoyard clerics, Jehan Pellicier and Jacometus de ecclesia'. Despite this late copying date, it contains no pieces in the *ars subtilior* style and Kügle summarises this collection as one containing 'many pieces from the 1310s, 1320s and 1330s, and even some motets in Ars Antiqua style', and that it 'appears to preserve a repertory frozen in 1359'. 'The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 115: Studies in the Transmission and Composition of Ars Nova Polyphony', New York University, unpubd. PhD dissertation, 1993.

hand (whether attributed to him in the manuscripts or in theoretical treatises of the time, or by modern scholars), by a follower or student, or by an imitator of his style. The structural and stylistic interrelations of this group of motets have been intensively studied by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson and Karl Kügle.[2] Leech-Wilkinson suggests that many of the anonymous Ivrea motets, the securely attributed Vitry motets and some of the Machaut motets display a high degree of stylistic coherence with one another, suggesting potential modelling and citation. While he feels that it is not possible to demonstrate clearly that these similarities were necessarily deliberate, he nonetheless suspects that these shared features, which were 'not essential to the form', imply that 'composers were intentionally borrowing plans and materials from existing works which constituted the tradition at the time at which they wrote'.[3] Given also the historical evidence that can be gleaned for the ceremonial and polemical motets, a suspicion emerges that the time span over which these works were composed was quite limited and that they sprang from a remarkably circumscribed geographical ambit. As we shall see below, some of these motets show evidence of having been composed towards the middle of the fourteenth century, but nonetheless retain strong links with the style and tradition that emerged in the first quarter of that century.

The Chantilly motets appear on the whole to have be composed somewhat later than the majority of those from Ivrea. *L'ardure qu'endure/Tres dous espoir/Ego rogavi Deum* was initially thought by Ursula Günther to have been composed prior to 1376 since it appears in the index of the Trémoille manuscript (*Trém*), which was believed to have been finished by that date.[4] However, Margaret Bent has since concluded that there were later additions to the manuscript, including this motet, suggesting that it may have been written after 1376.[5] *D'ardant desir/Se fus d'amer/Nigra est sed formosa* was dated by Günther to the first half of the fourteenth century on account of its simple isorhythmic structure, but Plumley and Stone have suggested that its unusually low tessitura and its thematic material link it to songs in the *Chantilly* codex that were written around 1389.[6] The Latin motets of *Chantilly* may all

[2] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'Related Motets from Fourteenth-Century France', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 109 (1982), 1-22, and Karl Kügle, 'The Manuscript Ivrea'..

[3] Leech-Wilkinson, ibid., p. 18.

[4] Ursula Günther, ed., *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly, Musée Condé (Olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.M.5.24 (Olim Lat. 568)* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1965), p.xxxviii.

[5] See Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, eds., *Codex Chantilly Bibliothèque du château de Chantilly, Ms.564. Introduction* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), p. 139.

[6] Plumley and Stone, *Codex Chantilly*, p. 141

potentially be dated between 1370 and 1400. This later date range of the *Chantilly* repertory in relation to that of the *Ivrea* MS may suggest that the French motet shared by both sources, *Tant a souttille pointure/Bien pert qu'en moy/Cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur*, which Günther had placed in the early fourteenth century, was also composed rather later.

My approach in this chapter will proceed through a detailed analysis of *Tant a souttille pointure/Bien pert qu'en moy/Cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur*, a motet present in both the Chantilly and Ivrea manuscripts, which although standing alone in some respects,[7] shares thematic and stylistic material with other motets within and beyond those manuscripts. This will provide a useful springboard for a discussion of other motets from the same repertories. I consider the question of citation from two angles: the borrowings chosen by the composer and the interpretation of the borrowed material by scribes and compilers. I explore how some of these motets demonstrate continuities with the music and lyrics of the thirteenth century; in particular I demonstrate that mid-fourteenth-century motets still used as textual models lyrics from thirteenth-century motets, which should perhaps not surprise us, since the Ivrea manuscript transmits three *ars antiqua* motets, suggesting that such works were still in circulation late into the fourteenth century. The example I present here suggests *ars antiqua* motets were not only still being transmitted, but were actively used as templates for new compositions. Alongside discussion of this textual modelling, I appraise certain references in *Tant/Bien/Cuius* that evoke other literary traditions, including the *Roman de la Rose*.[8] An apparent musical citation of a ballade in the incipit of the motetus part of *L'ardure/Tres dous/Ego rogavi* provides further clues as to how motet writers approached their craft. Finally, I explore how interpretation of citation by scribes and compilers served to contextualise the *Ivrea* motets within the manuscript. That is, by examining the order of works in the manuscript we may be able to shed light on how the scribes themselves understood and re-interpreted citational material for their own purposes.

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[7] Leech-Wilkinson notes that 'apart from its relation to St Agnes, *IV30* relates clearly to no single motet, although it certainly belongs to the Vitriacan tradition in style and technique', 'Related motets', p. 17.

[8] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Félix Lecoy (Paris: Editions Champion, 1965); Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Frances Horgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

CONTINUITY WITH THIRTEENTH-CENTURY TRADITIONS

The first vernacular texted motet of the Ivrea codex is *Tant a souttille pointure/Bien pert qu'en moy/Cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur*, and its text seems to be quite standard courtly fare. The triplum states that the lover has been wounded by a subtle sting; the image of being pierced by Love's dart was very popular in medieval literature (such imagery is found in the *Roman de la Rose*, for example[9]). The wound causes him to tremble when he remembers the lady's features, which he proceeds then to list. He mentions her golden hair with ringlets, well-formed brow, laughing grey-blue eyes and straight nose, among other familiar attributes of female beauty. He also praises her courtly behaviour, but alas, Love's wound is so hard to endure that he finds himself entreating the allegorical character Pity to come to his aid, else he is in danger of death. The motetus text echoes the imagery of being pierced by Love's dart. In both texts the words associated with piercing (in the case of the triplum 'pointure' and in that of the motetus 'point') initiate the rhyme scheme, and therefore have a key role to play in the poetic structure, as well as meaning. The poet plays on this imagery by using the homonymy of 'dart' and 'd'art' (dart and skill), and punning on the different meanings of 'point' (as part of the formulation of the negative 'ne...point'; as part of the phrase 'mal à point', meaning 'incompetent'; as the third person singular of the verb 'pointer' – 'to pierce'; and as part of the chess metaphor implying a technical move, 'to pin'). The motetus continues by complaining that love both soothes and burns him. Fair Welcome is mixed with proud Disdain, and using the chess metaphor, the poet describes how he has been conquered.

At first glance, the musical structure of the motet appears also to be quite orthodox. While the motet is not completely pan-isorhythmic, there is a high degree of rhythmic repetition throughout, as in shown in Example 1. It has one color divided into six taleae, each of fifteen breves (five longa). Like many fourteenth-century motets, it features hockets at the end of each talea, save, of course, for the last. Before each hocket section the triplum has a rhythm of

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[9] The narrator of the *Roman de la Rose*, as part of his description of his dream sequence, depicts a long scene in which the God of Love pursues him and pierces him with five arrows. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ll.1681-1880, and Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Horgan, pp. 26-9. The imagery of Love's dart has a long history that can be traced back to Classical elegiac poetry and was also a popular image in troubadour and trouvère lyrics. The writers of the Montpellier motets, influenced strongly by the trouvères, also employed the theme of love's dart, see, for instance Mo113 *Navrés sui au cuer/Navrés sui pres du cuer/Veritatem*, Mo260 *Au cuer ai un mal/Ja ne m'en repentirai d'amer/Jolietement*, Mo288 *Dieus, ou porrai je trouver/Che sont amouretes/Omnes*, and Mo 309 *Par une matinee/O Clemencie/D'un joli dart*. For a Classical example of Cupid with his darts of love, see *The Vigil of Venus*, in James J. Wilhelm, ed., *Medieval Song: An Anthology of Hymns and Lyrics* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1971), pp. 21-24.

♩♩♩ ♩♩♩

while the motetus remains silent. In Example 1 the taleae and hockets are marked in red, showing those sections of the motet that are rhythmically identical with the first talea. The sections highlighted by yellow boxes represent repetitions of rhythmic motifs that occur in the first talea and then at the same point in some, but not all of the other taleae. The blue ovals give us a 'bottom up' view of rhythmic repetition. These are rhythmic sections which occur in the last talea and then again at the same point in almost all of the other taleae save for the first. Finally, the green ovals represent sections of rhythmic repetition that occur at the same point in several of the taleae but not in the first or the last. When viewed as a whole, the pattern of rhythmic and metric repetition appears quite systematic.

The text of the triplum is organised into six strophes of seven lines, with the form $a_8a_8b_6a_8a_8a_8b_6$ (see Figure 1 below for full texts and translations). Each strophe corresponds to one talea. However, the first strophe lasts for an additional two breves, so that it ends just as the second talea begins. The next four strophes are only fifteen breves long, thus maintaining this staggered arrangement. The final strophe, for this reason, is squeezed into the last thirteen breves, with the effect that the declamation speeds up. The four strophes of the motetus, by contrast, last respectively twenty, twenty-two, twenty and twenty-eight breves. Hence, despite the motetus having an additional line of text in its final strophe, the text declamation seems to slow a little. Ursula Günther noted the organised structure of the text in relation to the music and how the composer 'tried to make the music conform to the verbal accentuation'.[10] The rhymes are often stressed, with similarly structured lines often being set to the same rhythms. The ends of the lines in the motetus text are always marked by long notes. Günther remarked that the declamation of text lines of equal length is usually the same in the motetus, despite falling at different points in the taleae.

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[10] Günther, ed., *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly and Modena*, p.xx.

FIGURE 1: Texts and translations of *Tant a souttille pointure/Bien pert qu'en moy/Cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur*

Triplum

Tant a souttille pointure
la tres gentille pointure (peinture)
ma dame jolie
que sa maniere meüre
trembler me fet en ardure
quant je remir sa faiture
tant gente et polie,

sa cheveleure dorée,
crespé, menu cercelée
qui taint par mastrie,
son front de forme quarrée,
de bruns sourcix porfilée,
plus playsanment coulorée
que rose espanie,

si vair oeil plains d'atrayture
todis riant par nature,
garni d'escremie,
son nes traytis à droyture,
sa bouche ot poy d'overture
fors quant rit lors prent mesure
qui par semblant crie;

besier à voys repetée,
prins et souef acolée
par soupirs lacie
prenant à soutil pensée
que la valor est doublée;
du seurplus a qui amoustrie
vée cortoysie.

S'en vif en mortel ficture,
Car en mon cuer la figure
tant est enfichie
que si durement y dure,
et est durant m'est si dure
que tant plus de dur endure
com plus merci crie.

Las, einsi se contralie
mon cuer quant à se s'alie
qui de moy n'a cure,
quar dangier de mort m'afie
si Pité, qui amoulie
touz durs cuers quant les maestrie,
ne me prent en cure.

Motetus

Bien pert qu'en moy n'a d'art point,
mal à point et tart m'esveille
d'amors qui m'a d'un dart point,
tant m'oint, or m'art et travayle
son bel acueil qui toueille
du fier desdaing puis l'ajoint
à mon cuer qui tant soumeille
que droit en l'anguilher point
a, per descovrir, empoint
mon roy la fieirce vermeille,
car à mon desir enjoint
sa beauté qui n'a pareille,
qu'a fol espoir se conceille
et à fortraire s'acoint
et par couverte merveille
du tout à li s'abandoint
qui du mater s'apareille

Triplum translation

The so noble image of my beautiful lady has such a subtle sting, for her perfect demeanour makes me tremble and burn whenever recalling her appearance so refined and beyond reproach. Her golden hair, curly and in little ringlets, which are so artfully gathered on her well-formed brow, bordered by glossy eyebrows, their colour more beautiful than that of the rose in bloom, such grey-blue eyes full of attractiveness, always laughing by their very nature, full of mischief, her nose well-formed and straight. Her mouth is dainty enough, except when, laughing, it takes on a shape that seems to cry out "kiss me" again and again. I am seized and tenderly embraced by sighs that bind me, driven to gentle thoughts by her whose worth is doubled to excess who has shown such courtly behaviour. So I live on in mortal danger, for in my heart this image is so fixed that it endures strongly there, and in this endurance is so hard for me, for I experience such continuing pain that I beg for mercy. Alas! Thus is my heart set against me when it attaches itself to her who has no care for me, since Refusal has condemned me to death, if Pity, who softens all hard hearts when he masters them, does not take me into his care.

Motetus translation

It is clear that I, incompetent, have no skill and, too late, I am awakened by Love, who has pierced me with a dart. He caresses me so much, and yet he burns and pains me. And his Fair Welcome, which mixes and then unites with Proud Disdain, works on my heart such that it sleeps so deeply that the red queen has vanquished my king right in the pin, in order to expose me, because her beauty, which has no equal, has joined with my desire such that Hope counsels me to madness and brings me close to corruption and with veiled wonder I abandon myself completely to she who prepares to conquer.[11]

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[11] I am grateful to Barton Palmer for help with the translations of the texts (any errors are fully mine). The triplum text appears somewhat corrupted and has been difficult to translate. Prof. Palmer has suggested that the second 'pointure' (sting) of the triplum should perhaps have been 'peinture' (image), which renders the first line easier to understand.

EXAMPLE 1: The rhythmic structure of *Tant a souttille pointure/Bien pert qu'en moi/Cuius sol et luna*

All in all, this motet has a highly regular rhythmic structure. As noted earlier, Günther dated it to the early part of the fourteenth-century because of its single color and lack of prolation in the second half. However, a later date has been suggested by Alice Clark, based on its tenor citation; I shall discuss below the implications of the choice of tenor and consider whether Clark's suggested date of 1349 seems feasible.[12] The motet's repetitive rhythmic structure could be explained by understanding it in relation to the poetic choices made by the composer. I would argue that the composer wanted to use a specific section of text from the chant, whose lengthy nature necessitated a long musical citation and negated the need for additional colors. This kind of compositional choice could explain the lack of more complex *ars nova* features, such as prolation and color repetition, and could thus allow for the motet being composed at a later date than its features would suggest.

Tant/Bien/Cuius may have a rather orthodox fourteenth-century musical structure, but it contains some interesting features in the construction of its triplum that seem to connect it with the writing traditions of some thirteenth-century motets. Courtly love imagery was not at all alien to fourteenth-century motets, yet I believe that the language of this motet has more in common with those of the thirteenth century than it does with some of its contemporaries, for instance, the motets of Machaut.

A large number of motets from the Montpellier Codex follow a given textual pattern. It may be that their composers modelled their motets one upon another, or used traditional tropes found in the love poetry of the trouvères. The pattern I describe here occurs most often in the triplum texts of these motets, and *Tant/Bien/Cuius* provides a good example.

First, the lover describes and laments his pains. He might state straightforwardly that the pains of love hurt him or are killing him. Sometimes the pain is on account of the lady's departure, but often on account of her indifference or refusal. God, or on fewer occasions the God of Love, is frequently addressed in these laments where the lady cannot be appealed to directly. In some texts the lover does not specifically state that he is in pain but implies it through describing something of his situation. In a few examples the lover states that he has been captured by love but is nonetheless happy, though this is less common. This style of lament often invokes the pastoral tradition. Second, after the lover has announced his lament, described his pain or detailed his imprisonment by love, he then

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[12] Alice V. Clark, '*Concordare cum Materia*: The Tenor in the Fourteenth-Century Motet', unpubd. PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1996, p. 150.

proceeds to a lengthy description of his beloved, who almost invariably conforms to the medieval archetype of female beauty. Third, the poet turns to some form of prayer, entreaty or submission. Often he appeals to God, if he has not already done so in the first part of the text. While these three stages taken individually are nothing remarkable in medieval literature (indeed the first and third stages are tropes that are not uncommon in fourteenth-century literature, while the second, the lengthy physical description of the lady is perhaps less popular), it is the combination and order of the three together that is significant.

The following examples serve to these patterns in greater detail. The initial lament stage is instantiated in the quadruplum of Mo28, *Li doz maus m'ocit que j'ai/Trop ai lonc tens en folie/Ma loiautés m'a nuisi/In speculum*, whose incipit cites the refrain 'Li doz maus m'ocit que j'ai' (the sweet pains that I have are killing me) [13]; the triplum of Mo124 begins 'Desconfortés ai esté longument, n'encor n'i voi de reconfort noient, car cele, que tant desir, de mes gries mauz alegier n'a talent' (I have long been discomfited and still see nothing of comfort, for the one whom I desire so much does not want to relieve my grievous pain). [14] In the motetus of Mo119 the lover implies his pain when demanding whether his lady has forgotten him ('m'avés entrobliee?'). [15]

God is addressed in the triplum of Mo87 where the lover asks God why he should feel like singing when he has such a sorrow in his heart ('Dieus, de chanter maintenant por quoi m'est talent pris, qu'au cuer ai un duel...?' – God, why have I been seized by the desire to sing, when I have such sorrow in my heart); and in the triplum of Mo288 the poet asks God where he can find mercy since his heart is imprisoned and he dare not reveal his thoughts to his lady ('Dieus, ou porrai je trouver merci, quant n'os dire mon penser a celi, qui par sa bonté a mon cuer ravi et emprisonné?' – God, where can I find mercy when I do

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[13] vdB 1739.

[14] Susan Stakel's translations of Montpellier motets are employed unless otherwise stated. See Hans Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, vol. iv (Madison: A-R Editions, 1978). Other examples include the triplum of Mo103, in which the poet asks how he can live with this pain 'Vivrai j'ainsi que de mes dolours la bele n'avra merci?' (Shall I live this way – with the fair one never having mercy on my pain?). In the triplum of Mo137 (which also appears as the quadruplum of Mo2 and Mo3) the lover states that he would never want to part from his love and then carries on to say that 'Por li sui en grant dolour' (For her I am in great pain). The triplum of Mo37 provides an example of the poets pain being on account of her departure: 'Mout me fu gries li departir de m'amiete' (The departure of my little sweetheart...was so painful for me).

[15] The tripla of Mo102 and Mo332 provide examples of the rarer instances when the poet is happy.

not dare to reveal my thoughts to her whose goodness has ravished and imprisoned my heart?).

The inclusion of pastoral imagery at the beginning of many of these texts is significant, since it links them to the lower register tradition, in which knights encounter shepherd girls or overhear the exchanges of characters such as Robin and Marion. In the triplum of Mo38 the poet-lover addresses his lament to a nightingale ('Doz rossignoles jolis, or m'entendés'), while in that of Mo79 it is the time of year when the lark is seen gambolling that witnesses his trembling for love ('Quant voi l'aloete, qui saut et volete en l'air contremont, adonc me halete...').[16] In the triplum of Mo95 the lover laments because it is Easter time. Usually this is the best time for lovers, but for him, his joy has become tears and he feels quite unable to compose because he cannot have his lady's love:

> Encontre le tans
> de Pascour,
> que toz amans
> mainent joie
> et baudor,
> plus n'i demeur,
> que ne soie
> renvoisiés et plains de joie
> et d'amour;
> sans sejor
> voeil fere un noviau chant.
> Ne por quant
> ma joie est tornee en plor,
> se ne puis avoir l'amor
> de cele, qui mon cuer a

At Easter time all lovers live in joy and happiness, but I am no longer with them because I am not lighthearted and full of love and joy; I want to compose a new song without delay. But my joy has turned to tears, for I cannot have the love of her who possesses my heart…

The second part of the textual structure – the lover's description of his lady's beauty – is exemplified in the triplum of Mo38. After the poet has introduced his lament to the nightingale and explains that the object of the lament is the lady who possesses his heart, he then lists her physical attributes:[17]

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[16] This incipit is an allusion to Bernart de Ventadorn's *Can vei la lauzeta mover*, a very popular troubadour song in the high style. It is worth bearing in mind that the divisions of 'courtly' and 'popular' registers are somewhat artificial since both are mediated by the language of the aristocratic writers.

[17] This technique of listing female bodily attributes is known as the *blason du corps féminin*. This became particularly in vogue as a poetic trope in the fifteenth century, but was a technique already know to the troubadours in the twelth and thirteenth centuries. For an account of the later development of the technique see Stanford University's 'Renaissaince Body Project', <http://www.stanford.edu/dept/fren-ital/cgi-bin/rbp/?q=image/term/49>, accessed 14th September 2011.

Chief a blondet, com ors e[s]t reluisant,
tres bien, pleisant,
front bien compassé,
plain et bien seant,
euz vairs et rians,
simples, bien assis,
amorous a devis,
fait por cuer d'amant embler.
Nez a longuet,
droit, tres bien feit,
ce m'est vis;
sorcis a traitis,
menton a voutis,
boche vermellete et douz ris,
denz drus et petis,
blans et compassement mis.
Comme rose par desus lis
est sa face et son cler vis;
cors a tres bien fait et par devis,
cuers amorous, gais, jolis et gentis.

She has blond hair which gleams like gold – so fair, so pleasing – a clear, broad, well-shaped brow, laughing gray-blue eyes – candid, nicely spaced, perfectly sensuous, made to steal the heart of a lover. Her nose in my opinion is noble and straight; finely drawn eyebrows, a rounded chin, scarlet lips, and a sweet laugh, tiny, straight, white, even teeth. Her face and clear complexion are like rose set against lily-white; she has a perfectly shaped body and a heart which is loving, gay, joyful and genteel.

Like the pastoral language of the motets mentioned above, the use here of the diminutives 'blondet', 'longuet', 'vermellete' evokes a 'lower', more popular register typical of these motets and the refrain songs of Douce 308, from c1300. The above description is sufficiently common in medieval poetry that the impression emerges that a standardised ideal of beauty is addressed rather than an individual lady. A great deal of thirteenth-century motet texts contain passing references to the appearance of the lady over whom the poet laments. She is often the charming, little blond, or her skin is described as whiter than the lily and mouth as redder than the rose, or her face is bright. Since the descriptions operate like refrains – interchangeable snippets that migrate between texts – it is unsurprising to find them in refrains, too. The motetus of Mo314 is framed by the following refrain at either end:[18]

Vo vair oel m'ont espris,
bele, de vostre amour.

Your sparkling eyes, fair one, have inflamed me with love of you.

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[18] The motetus of Mo96 is framed also by a refrain, *enté* style, that refers to grey-blue eyes.

These enumerative descriptions of a poet's beloved are, therefore, common and rather generic. So why make a case for them to be seen as structurally significant? The point is that there seems to be a particular subgenre of motet texts which make more lengthy descriptions and which display the tripartite textual structure that I outlined above. Such texts (usually tripla) normally devote several lines to the lady's appearance, rather than a passing sub-clause or adjective; the description tends to fall in middle part of the text, and differs very little in essence from the example of Mo38 above. She has blond hair in the tripla of Mo95, Mo42, Mo79, Mo102, Mo37, Mo36 and the quadruplum of Mo28, to name but a few of those which give extended details of her appearance. Several refer to her well-shaped brow (Mo288 motetus, Mo95 triplum, Mo79 triplum), her eyes are almost always grey-blue – sometimes they are laughing, or else her red mouth is described as laughing. Her nose is straight and well-formed, as are her little, white teeth. Other attributes often noted are her white throat, her little, pointed breasts, her fresh colour, her arched eyebrows and even her chin is described as dimpled or rounded.

Sometimes the poet adds to these physical descriptions a little about his lady's character – her wit, wisdom, charm, courteous behaviour, goodness – but above all it is her appearance that is lauded. Perhaps this is hardly surprising; since the poet often claims that he dare not declare his love, or to approach the object of his affections, we might expect him to be better able to describe her looks than her character. Let us not forget also that medieval writers often expressed the notion that character is bound up in looks. One need only look to the descriptions in the *Roman de Rose* to see how appearance is linked in medieval literature with character. When the lover/narrator of the *Rose* first happens upon the garden he sees and describes the sculptures on the outside of the wall that represent a number of allegorical figures. First is Hatred:

> Correcie et tancerresse
> Estoit par semblant cele ymage
> Et plaine de grant cuivertage.
> Si n'iere pas bien atornee,
> Ainz sembloit fame forsenee
> Rechingnie avoit et froncie
> Le vis et le neis secorcie;
> Hideuse estoit et ruilliee
> Et si estoit entortilliee
> Hydeusement d'une toaille.
> (ll.146-155)[19]

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[19] All citations from the *Roman de la Rose* are taken from Armand Strubel's edition. Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Armand Strubel (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1992).

> Her image was angry and quarrelsome, and most vile in appearance, not well attired but looked indeed like a woman wild with fury. Her ill-natured and frowning face had a snub nose, and she was filthy and hideous, hideously wrapped up in a towel.[20]

Next the lover encounters Felony, Villainy, Covetousness, Avarice, Envy, Sorrow, Old Age, Pope-Holiness, and Poverty. All of these ill-natured characters are portrayed as physically displeasing. When the lover enters the garden he encounters yet more allegorical representations, this time in the flesh, rather than as sculptures. Joy is described as having a beautiful singing voice and as having blond, shining hair, a white forehead, arched eyebrows and a shapely nose. Diversion appears as 'handsome, straight, and tall'.[21] Indeed, Guillaume de Lorris gives over a great deal of his narrative to descriptions of his allegorical characters, nearly always associating good looks and bearing with good character, and ugly appearance with bad nature.[22]

The third stage of the structure of the motet texts under consideration is the point where the poet turns to some form of prayer, entreaty or submission. He appeals to God in the triplum of Mo38, also declaring that he has been conquered:

> Dieus, sa tres grant biauté,
> sa grant bonté
> si m'a conquis.
> *A vous, douce amie bele, me rent pris.*

> God, her very great beauty and her great goodness have conquered me. To you, sweet fair beloved, I surrender myself prisoner.

In the triplum of Mo79, the lover entreats God for help with a specific problem – the slanderers[23] are intriguing against his romantic life:

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[20] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Horgan, p. 5.

[21] ibid., p. 14.

[22] I do not mean to suggest that medieval writers did not acknowledge that appearances could be far more complex than this. The character Faux Semblant (False Seeming) points to the problem that a fair appearance can be deceptive. For example, the beautiful lady often described in poetry turns out in many instances to be cold hearted. Nonetheless, the lengthy descriptions of the *Rose* would seem to point to a pre-occupation with linking appearance and character. The idea of associating physical appearance with attributes of character has a long history which I do not have room to explore hear. For an interesting survey tracing such associations back to Aristotle and Homer, and charting their development in Western culture, see Anthony Synnott, 'Truth and Goodness, Mirrors and Masks – Part I: A Sociology of Beauty and the Face', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 40/4 (1989), 607-36.

[23] The '*mesdisants*' (slanderers) are a common obstacle to true love in trouvère and troubadour poetry. They often serve as a rhetorical device to emphasise by contrast the fine qualities of the courtly lover. *Mesdisants* are also found in Montpellier motets, see, for instance, two motets by Pierre de la Croix, Mo264, *Aucuns vont souvent/Amor, qui cor vulnerat/Kyrie eleison*, and Mo317, *Aucun, qui ne sevent server/Iure tuis laudibus/Virgo Maria*.

> Mes mesdisant grevé m'i ont:
> Dieus leur pait leur dete
> si leur criet les ieus du front!
> Adonques en pais seront
> amoretes.

But slanderers have brought me to grief: God would only be giving them their due if he would put their eyes out! And then will love find peace!

Again, in the triplum of Mo42 the lover has a problem with malicious tongues. On this occasion he asks the God of Love for his aid:

> Mes je proi au Diu d'amors,
> qui amans afaite,
> qu'il nos tiegne en bone amor,
> vraie et parfeite;
> ceus maudie,
> qui par envie
> nos gaitent,
> *car ja ne m'en partirai*
> *fors par les gaiteurs felons.*

But I pray to the God of Love, who cares for lovers, that he keep our love good, true and perfect; may he curse those who out of jealousy spy on us, for I never will leave her unless because of the deeds of those wretched spies.

In other cases the lover begs the lady directly, sometimes in combination with a cry to God, sometimes to her alone.[24]

The three part textual structure I have described underlying many thirteenth-century tripla, is also found in some motetus texts. However, these tend to be somewhat simplified: the descriptions of the poet's lady are shorter and often the poet is more straightforwardly happy. He may still beg for her mercy, or declare that he is in some way captured at the end of the text, but the context is somewhat more light-hearted. For example the motetus of Mo86:

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[24] **Mo103 triplum:**

Aimi, aimi, aimi, Dieus, aimi!
A jointes mains merci li pri,
qu'ele ne me mete en oubli.
Mous tres doucement me respondi:
"Bien me devroit on haïr de leissier morir ainsi
on tres doz, loial ami."

Alas, alas, alas, O God, alas! With praying hands I beseech her mercy so that she not forget me. She answered me ever so sweetly: "One should indeed despise me for letting my very sweet, loyal beloved die in this way."

Mo28 quadruplum:

por ce requier guerison
la deboinere, qui m'a mis
en sa prison.

this is why I ask a cure from the noble lady who put me in her prison.

This reference to prison or surrender is also a common theme in the last part of these texts. It occurs in the triplum of Mo37. In that of Mo102 the poet describes himself as conquered.

> Hé Dieus, quant je remir son cors le gai,
> hé Dieus, encore l'amerai,
> c'onques si plaisant
> n'acointai en mon vivant.
> Mes quant je vois remirant
> ses yeus, sa bouche riant,
> Dieus, onc si bele n'esgardai.
> *Hé Dieus, li tres douz Dieus,*
> *encore l'amerai,*
> *qu'autre de li tant ne mi plaist.*

O God, when I remember her gay self, O God, I will continue to love her, for I never met another one so agreeable in all of my life. But when I recall her eyes, her laughing mouth, God, I have never looked upon another one so fair. O God, God so sweet, I will continue to love her, for none other than she pleases me so much.

In the organisation of some texts the poet plays with the form I have described. For example in the triplum of Mo176 the poet mentions his pains, then begs for mercy, then describes the lady, and finally returns to talking of his pains, so the structure is almost reversed. In *Chief bien seantz*, the motetus of Mo258 by Adam de la Halle, almost the entire text is given over to a description of the lady before Adam finally states that these qualities have captured his heart – thus he does not begin by describing his pains. In the triplum of Mo90 the description of the poet's wounds and the lady's physical and mental qualities are conflated to form one sentence, before the poet finishes with the usual declaration of surrender to the lady:

> *Dame de valor,*
> regart plain d'amour,
> promesse de loiauté,
> cuer plesant, p1ein de douçor,
> cors simple d'atour
> et de grant biauté,
> fresche de coulor,
> oevre d'amistié
> sans folour,
> a mon cuer navré.
> Et sans dolour
> qu'en puet il? Si crie,
> quant ce sent:
> *"Bele, douce amie,*
> *loiaument*
> *cuer et cors et vie*
> *tot voz rent."*

A lady of great worth with a glance which bespeaks love, a promise of loyalty, a pleasing heart full of sweetness, simply clad, of great beauty, with fresh coloring, the work of love, lacking all folly—has wounded my heart. And without pain, what can it do? And so, when I feel it, I cry out: "Fair, sweet beloved, loyally do I surrender my heart and soul and life entirely to you."

To summarise, what emerges from an analysis of this group of Montpellier motets is that there appears to be a clear textual tradition being drawn upon by the motet writers of that

era: First the lover describes his situation, which is usually in some way painful to him (only occasionally is he unreservedly happy). Second, he enacts a lengthy description of his lady, focussing particularly on her fine physical attributes. Finally he makes some kind of entreaty to God or the lady to ease his situation, or else he simply declares himself to be conquered. Furthermore, these texts are more often than not the triplum parts.[25] In the texts of the *ars nova* motet *Tant/Bien/Cuius* we see a similar pattern emerge in the poetry of the triplum to that found in many of the Montpellier motets:

As we can see in Figure 2, the triplum text of *Tant/Bien/Cuius* fulfils matches the pattern laid down by the Montpellier texts. Firstly the poet bemoans that the 'so noble image of his beautiful lady has such a subtle sting'.

> Tant a souttille pointure
> la tres gentille pointure (peinture)
> ma dame jolie

He further laments that her perfect demeanour makes him tremble and burn, whenever recalling her appearance so refined and beyond reproach. This remembrance of her features then prompts him to list them. He returns to emphasising his distress by asserting that he is in danger of death. In the final lines he entreats Pity, who softens all hard hearts, to take care of him:

> si Pité, qui amoulie
> touz durs cuers quant les maestrie,
> ne me prent en cure

There are also some specific moments that recall ideas from individual motet texts as well as the general pattern, though I am not suggesting these are necessarily direct citations. For example, 'sa bouche...par semblant crie, besier à voys repetée' (her mouth...which cries out to be kissed again and again) is reminiscent of the motetus of Mo288 where the poet describes the mouth of his lady as 'sa saffre bouche riant, qui tous jours dit par samblant: "Baisies, baisies moi, amis, tou dis!"' (her sensuous, laughing mouth which always seems to say: "Kiss, kiss me, sweetheart, constantly!"). The golden hair that the poet praises is a common theme, but I have found only one Montpellier motet which refers to the hair

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[25] Many fourteenth-century ballades also employ an entreaty to the lady, God, or an allegorical figure – often at the beginning of the second or third stanzas. My point here is not to suggest that the entreaty is a rhetorical device that is exclusive to the motets I have discussed in this section, but rather to highlight its role within a particular kind of tripartite textual structure that employs a long physical description as its central idea.

FIGURE 2: The tripartite structure of the triplum *Tant a souttille pointure*

Tant a souttille pointure
la tres gentille pointure
ma dame jolie
que sa maniere meüre
trembler me fet en ardure

1. The poet describes the pain of love - here using the word 'sting' (pointure).

quant je remir sa faiture
tant gente et polie,

sa cheveleure dorée,
crespé, menu cercelée
qui taint par mastrie,
son front de forme quarrée,
de bruns sourcix porfilée,
plus playsanment coulorée
que rose espanie,

si vair oeil plains d'atrayture
todis riant par nature,
garni d'escremie,
son nes traytis à droyture,
sa bouche ot poy d'overture
fors quant rit lors prent mesure
qui par semblant crie;

besier à voys repetée,

2. The pain is caused by the recollection of her fine appearance, which he adumbrates in a manner very similar to the Montpellier motets discussed above.

prins et souef acolée
par soupirs lacie
prenant à soutil pensée
que la valor est doublée;
du seurplus a qui amoustrie
vée cortoysie.

S'en vif en mortel ficture,
Car en mon cuer la figure
tant est enfichie
que si durement y dure,
et est durant m'est si dure
que tant plus de dur endure
com plus merci crie.

Las, einsi se contralie
mon cuer quant à se s'alie
qui de moy n'a cure,
quar dangier de mort m'afie
si Pité, qui amoulie
touz durs cuers quant les maestrie,
ne me prent en cure

3. The poet is 'seized' by sighs – reminiscent of the 'capturing' motif of some of the Montpellier texts. He reiterates how much he must endure, and then states that he begs for mercy and then entreats Pity to take him into his care

specifically as 'menu recercelé' (in little ringlets): the triplum of Mo36. This is very similar to the description in *Tant/Bien/Cuius* of the lady's golden hair as 'menu cercelée' (in little curls). There is also a curious reference to fencing in the latter motet when the lady's look is described as 'garni d'escremie'. The exact translation is 'full of fencing'. I have located only one other motet which uses this unusual reference to fencing, again from the thirteenth-century. In the motetus of Mo93 the poet describes the lady as having a 'look learned from fencing' (regart apris d'escremie). Often ladies are described – and by implication praised – as having downcast eyes. A lady with a 'look learned from fencing', or 'full of fencing' would go against this decorous type – perhaps she is mischievous, proud, or combative. It was not uncommon for ladies to be portrayed as feisty or wily, but these were usually lower class shepherdesses, for example, batting away the knight's advances. This characteristic is not necessarily portrayed as negative, but does not fit with courtly, demure behaviour we would expect from a high-born lady. However, the use of fencing, a past-time of the nobility, certainly connects the lady with the elite of society. She is therefore perhaps to be understood as an unconventional lady, who might transcend the prescriptions of her poetic register, but one to be lauded for her strength of character. The allusion to fencing serves also to echo the poet's metaphor in the motetus, her red queen checkmating his king. The reference to chess in turn has implications of being well-bred, reminding us of the high standing of his lady. I shall return to these combative allusions and discuss their potential historical and literary implications a little later.

In sum, the writer of *Tant/Bien/Cuius*, seems to have been drawing on a generic pattern for his triplum text that was popular in the earlier *ars antiqua* motets. To an extent this allowed him to subtly blur the border between 'high' and 'low' textual traditions; while this motet does not employ specifically pastoral imagery, it evokes a style of language that is frequently used in 'lower'-style texts. The writer also laced his poetry with some more specific ideas: some of these are perhaps more unusual turns of phrase that he cherry-picked from other motets with which he was familiar. While the writer of *Tant/Bien/Cuius* seems to have drawn on an older, thirteenth-century tradition for his texts, there is no indication that he sought to do so in the music. Perhaps this is hardly surprising since the musical fashion could be described as having changed more radically than the textual one – the tenets of courtly love still held sway over the poetic art, and many texts from fourteenth-century, motets and chansons alike, were influenced by romances such the *Roman de la Rose*, by

troubadour lyrics and by treatises on courtly love and behaviour such as that by Andreas Capellanus.[26]

Choosing to model his triplum so directly on some thirteenth-century motet texts was a little unusual among the *ars nova* motets, but it was by no means unheard of for a fourteenth-century composer to have drawn on thirteenth-century tradition. As was discussed in the previous chapter, Machaut borrowed from the *Grands Chants* of the trouvères and cited a pastourelle from *Douce 308* as the tenor of his M16. The style of the triplum of *Tant/Bien/Cuius* suggests that thirteenth-century motets were still circulating in the mid to late-fourteenth century. This is borne out by the inclusion of some older-style motets in the Ivrea codex, copied alongside *ars nova* motets from both the early period of *ars nova* (around 1316 onwards) and those from the later period (the middle of the century, when Machaut was writing).

The textual tradition of the *Roman de la Rose* had a strong influence on the writer of *Tant/Bien/Cuius*. As we have seen in the previous chapter, this thirteenth-century tale was often quoted in the mid-fourteenth century and was a particular favourite of Machaut. As well as the character of Amors (Love), Bel Acueil (Fair Welcome) makes an appearance in the motetus of *Tant/Bien/Cuius*, and it is Pité (Pity) to whom the lover appeals at the end of the triplum, since Dangier (Refusal) has 'condemned him to death'. Fair Welcome greets the lover of the *Rose* and welcomes him in among the roses just after he has been struck by love's darts. However, when the lover reveals his desire to Fair Welcome, he becomes alarmed and it is at this point that Resistance shows himself, chastises Fair Welcome for admitting the lover, and frightens the lover away with threats. It is Pity who pleads with Refusal on behalf of the lover and helps to soften him. In *Tant/Bien/Cuius*, the lover's description of Love as both soothing and burning him is also reminiscent of the moment in the *Roman de la Rose* when the lover feels Love's dart and is similarly soothed and burned:

Roman de la Rose ll.1947-50	Motetus of *Tant/Bien/Cuius*
Il ot angoisse en la *pointure*	d'amors qui m'a d'un *dart point*,
Mès moult m'assoaga l'ointure:	<u>tant m'oint, or m'art et travayle</u>
<u>D'une part m'oint, d'autre me cuit,</u>	
Ainsinc m'aide, ainsinc me nuit.	

It seems that the writer of *Tant/Bien/Cuius* borrowed from the tradition of the *Rose* when he employed the characters and imagery described above. The lengthy description of the

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[26] See Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, trans. John Jay Parry (New York : Norton, 1969).

lady, which links the triplum of this motet with several from the Montpellier codex, may also be part of a tradition that harks back to the *Rose*. Several of the descriptions outlined above are reminiscent of the descriptions of the *Roman*. For example, when Idleness greets the lover at the gate of the garden, there is a very lengthy description of her appearance that covers all the aspects mentioned by the above texts.[27] Her eyes are described as 'grey-blue like those of a falcon'.[28] Falcons were used for hunting, and it is interesting that both Mo93 and *Tant/Bien/Cuius* also associate the imagery of noble pastimes with the lady's look through their mention of fencing. The tripartite structure of the triplum text indicates that it was being modelled on those earlier texts, but it is likely that there is in turn a broader connection to the tradition of borrowing ideas from the *Rose*.

THREE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY MOTETS IN *IVREA*

The two thirteenth-century motets copied into the Ivrea manuscript are *Les l'ormel/Mayn se leva/Je n'y* and *Clap/Sus Robin/Tenor*. There is also the so-called 'street cry'[29] motet, *Je comence/Et je feray/Soules viex*, the upper texts of which do not in fact sound together, rendering its classification as a motet open to debate. However it is of interest since its contents link it to the thirteenth-century repertory. Not only does it mention the character 'Robin' – a familiar face from the Montpellier motets – but it uses a refrain that also appears as the tenor of Mo319, *On parole de batre/A Paris soir et matin/Frese nouvele* (albeit with the order of the two phrases reversed). *Je comence/Et je feray/Soules viex* has:

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[27] Chevous ot blonz com .i. bacins, / La char plus tendre c'un pocins, / Front reluisant, sorcis votis, / Son entr'oil ne fu pas petis, / Ains iert assez grans par mesure; / Le nés ot bien fait à droiture, / Les yex ot plus vairs c'uns faucons, / Por faire envie à ces bricons. / Douce alene ot et savorée, / La face blanche et colorée, / La bouche petite et grocete, / S'ot où menton une fossete: / Le col fu de bonne moison, / Gros assez et lons par raison, / Si n'i ot bube ne malen, / N'avoit jusqu'en Jherusalen / Fame qui plus biau col portast, / Polis iert et soef au tast. / La gorgete ot autresi blanche / Cum est la noif desus la branche / Quant il a freschement negié. / Le cors ot bien fait et dougié, / L'en ne séust en nule terre / Nul plus bel cors de fame querre. (ll. 527-550)

'Her hair shone fair as a burnished bowl, her flesh was more tender than a young chick, her forehead radiant, and her brows arched , her eyes not set too close together but widely and properly spaced, her nose straight and well formed, and her eyes as bright as a falcon's. To excite the desire of the featherbrained, she had sweetly scented breath, a pink and white face, a little, full-lipped mouth, and a dimpled chin. Her neck was well proportioned, her flesh softer than fleece and free from spots or sores: no woman from here to Jerusalem had a finer neck: it was smooth and soft to touch. Her throat was white as snow freshly fallen on the branch, her body well formed and slender. There was no need to search in any land for a more beautiful female form'. *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Horgan, p. 10.

[28] ibid.

[29] Kügle, 'The Manuscript Ivrea', p. 93.

Meures franches, meures, meures franches, freses noveles!

(Noble mulberries, noble mulberries, mulberries, new strawberries!)

Whereas the tenor of Mo319 has:

Frese nouvele, muere france, muere, muere france!

(New strawberries, noble mulberries, noble mulberries, mulberries!)

Given that this is a market seller's cry, it is most likely that both motets were citing an older source or drawing on an oral tradition. Since Mo319 uses the refrain as its tenor – the most obvious locus of citations in a motet – it is almost certainly not the origin of the refrain. *Je comence/Et je feray/Soules viex* presents a number of different market sellers' cries and is therefore most likely to be a kind of cento drawn from a semi-fictionalised street scenario. Therefore, this piece is also unlikely to be the origin of the refrain.

EXAMPLE 2: *On parole de batre/A Paris soir et matin/Frese nouvele*, bars 1-9

The music used in both motets is very similar. The rhythms, however, differ, no doubt to accommodate the rhythmic design of each piece into which the refrain is inserted. I suspect that the refrain in the tenor of Mo319 (highlighted in yellow in Example 2)

underwent a greater amount of rhythmic adaptation than it did in *Je comence/Et je feray/Soules viex* (highlighted in yellow in Example 3), since in Mo319 the opening rhythm of the tenor matches that of the motetus. It could be that the motetus was designed to fit rhythmically with the pre-existing refrain in the tenor, but I suspect that this is not the case since both the motetus and the tenor rhythms seemed to have been designed to provide rhythmic interest at the points when the triplum is silent. The two lower voice parts start off more slowly than the triplum in Mo319 and pick up the pace when the triplum breaks off, by using the rhythm with which the triplum ends its first phrase to start/continue their phrase (see Example 2 where the relevant bar is marked by the first red box). This happens again in the second repetition of the tenor (again see Example 2, where this bar is indicated by the second red box). This does not happen in the third repetition, which gives the piece its only moment of genuine pause. This is probably because the final statement of the tenor is about to begin and this brief hiatus gives this short piece more of a sense of climax, since in the final repetition all parts declaim together without any breaks.

EXAMPLE 3: Bars 80-94 of *Je comence/Et je feray/Soules viex*

In *Je comence/Et je feray/Soules viex* the rhythmic declamation is more steady, and I judge more naturalistic, by which I mean that it imitates the rhythm of an actual street-seller's cry. The melody (although pitched higher) is essentially the same as that of the tenor of Mo319, with only a couple of minor differences. See in Example 4, indicated by red arrows, where I compare the first half of Mo319's version of the refrain, with the second half of *Je comence/Et je feray/Soules viex*'s version of the refrain, and vice versa. Although pitched higher overall, the first part of the refrain from *Je comence/Et je feray/Soules viex* (shown following the second part in the Example, in order to align the melodies) is effectively sung

a fifth lower in comparison to the melody in the tenor of Mo319. I suspect that while *Je commence* exhibits what is more likely to be the original rhythm of the refrain, the tenor of Mo319 is the unaltered version of the melody. The refrain in *Je comence/Et je feray/Soules viex* has likely been manipulated through reversal and transposition in order to both play on the listener's expectations and emphasise the entry of the triplum voice, which would otherwise sound lower than the motetus if it were identical to the pattern of the Mo319 tenor. The order and pitch of the melody in Mo319 are, in my estimation, more melodically coherent than in *Je comence/Et je feray/Soules viex*. As such, one might consider Mo319's version to represent a closer rendition of an 'original' melody than that of the *Ivrea* motet. Given the 'street cry' nature of the refrain, it could very well be something that has originated in the market place rather than from the pen of a composer. Hence, neither version of the refrain discussed here should perhaps be thought of as an original instantiation.

EXAMPLE 4: Comparison of the refrain *Frese nouvele, muere france, muere, muere france* in *Je comence/Et je feray/Soules viex* and Mo319

In Example 4 it is clear to see that these two refrains have almost identical music, barring the pitch variation discussed above. Despite its inclusions in the late-fourteenth-century Ivrea manuscript *Je comence/Et je feray/Soules viex* is part of a tradition that extends back to the world of the Montpellier codex.

The two other *ars antiqua* motets in Ivrea, *Les l'ormel/Mayn se leva/Je n'y* and *Clap/Sus Robin/Tenor* similarly testify to motets from different eras circulating together. The former also appears in the thirteenth-century codex, TuB, while the latter is found only in Ivrea, but nonetheless shares material with the former. Both motets are bawdy, are set at a mill and feature the characters Robin and Gayrin.

It seems as if one motet may have been written in response to the other. In *Les l'ormel/Mayn se leva/Je n'y*, Gayrin is suggesting a tryst with a woman while another, unnamed, knave is sleeping. In *Clap/Sus Robin/Tenor* the woman expresses her dislike of Gayrin and favours Robin. It is as if the two were intended to be read as a pair, with a fickle woman changing her mind between one piece and the next (indeed, in the motetus of *Clap/Sus Robin/Tenor*, she says: 'j'ay le cuer trop volage' – I have too fickle a heart! – which may well suggest that this motet was the later of the two). The saucy metaphor of grinding also occurs in both pieces. This metaphor appears in the motetus of Mo252, too:

> "Hé monnier, pourrai je moudre?"
> "Nenil voir, pucele, ancore;
> ore engraine, or engraine!"
> "Hé monnier, site consant Dieus,
> meu me bien m'aveine!"

> "Hey, miller, can I grind?" "No, in truth, damsel, not yet: it's growing, it's growing." "Hey, miller, if God wills it, grind my oats well for me."

The examples given by these thirteenth-century motets demonstrate that the *Ivrea* codex is rich with links to the *ars antiqua* motet tradition, which sit comfortably alongside examples of *ars nova*. It does not seem much of a stretch of the imagination, then, to picture the composer of *Tant/Bien/Cuius* happily penning an isorhythmic motet whose triplum is textually reminiscent of a number of thirteenth-century motets found in the Montpellier Codex. This is not to say that he was familiar with the particular thirteenth-century motets that were copied into Ivrea alongside *Tant/Bien/Cuius*; after all, the manuscript's compilation was independent from and much later than the creation of its contents. The point is that the spheres of circulation and influence contained both old and new motets.

CITATION OF MUSIC

So far I have analysed the motet *Tant/Bien/Cuius* in relation to motets from the thirteenth century, by discussing its textual similarities with some Montpellier motets and by looking at the thirteenth-century motets that are found with it in the *Ivrea* codex. Before I turn my attention to some of the fourteenth-century connections that this motet has, I shall look at one more motet that may link to the earlier repertories – in this case via a musical citation. *L'ardure/Tres dous/Ego rogavi*, found in the *Chantilly* codex and on the index of the Trémoille fragment, shares a tantalising similarity in its motetus incipit with the opening of Machaut's ballade B37 (see Example 5).

FIGURE 3: Texts and translations of *Les l'ormel/Mayn se leva/Je n'y* and *Clap/Sus Robin/Tenor*

Triplum

Leis l'ormelle en la turelle
chevachai l'autrier;
Robin truis et Marotelle,
Joffroit et Gauthier.
Chascuns out sa pasturelle;
Jofrois out Fressen la belle,
la filhe Bertier,
et Gautiers out Peronelle
qui deshier
out vestue sa gonelle
cant elle sout la novelle
dou huy feste commenchier.
Ki les veist rehaitier,
cant Robins lor chalemelle
por treschier,
tot sen powist mervelhier.
Chascuns baise en la masselle
s'amie à l'entrelaissier.
Si dis sens mokier:
"Se lor vie est tos jours teile,
veis me la bergier".

Motetus

Mayn se leva sire **Gayrin**,
li clos s'a desclos son jardin.
Vers le **molin** delés le boys
si vit la rosée
d'un petit pié depassée.
Dist que fame est la passée;
si ensuit los enclos.
Au **molin** va le galos,
si l'a trovée;
à bré mot l'a si acordée
que par sembler est seulée.
Chant par son los:
"Qui moldra m'avoyne?
Li molins est clos!"
Lors li dist Gayris: "Aubrée,
seions d'un acort,
qu'ancor n'est la gent levee".

Translation

I rode by the elm tree to the tower the other day. There I met Robin and young Marion with Geoffrey and Walter. Each of these two was with his shepherdess, Geoffrey with fair Fressant, Bertier's daughter, and Walter with Peyronelle, who had put her best dress on the day before on hearing the news that the festivities were starting today. Anyone who had seen their joy when Robin played his pipe so charmingly for them, would have been completely amazed. Each young lad embraced his girl and kissed her on the cheek. And people say in all seriousness: 'If their life is always like that, count me in, shepherd'.

Translation

Sir Gayrin the cripple got up early and opened his garden gate. A way towards the mill, by the wood, he saw in the dew a tiny footprint. He said to himself that a woman had passed by there and he followed her footprints. He made for the mill at the gallop and found her there : with his words he won her round so speedily you'd have thought she was drunk. With his approval she sang: 'Who will grind my oats? The mill is closed!' Thereupon Gayrin said to her : 'Aubrey, let us get together, whilst the world is still in bed and the knave sleeps on'.

Triplum

Clap, clap, par un matin
s'en aloit **Robin**,
clap, clap, ver un **molin**
qui moloit.
Souvent ileques reperoit,
quar trop forment se delitoit
ou batel qui clapetoit,
Clap, clap, une seule fame y avoit
qui s'escridoit:
"Heu ha vilain, hau ha hu!"
D'enuiment ainsi se moquoit
et juroit que couble feroit,
foy que Dieu doit.
Lors vient Robins qui bien savoit
ou le joillet tenoit.
Clap, clap, tant l'a molu
qui s'en doloit
et elle disoit:
"Heu ha ha vilain, hé ha heu!"
Robin dort, **le molin esclos**,
mes trop y avoit feru de cops
grans et gros ayns qui feust esclos.

Motetus

"Sus **Robin**, alons au **molin**!
Clap, clap, en despit de ce vilain,
qui tout jours me fait gaitier,
huy me feray hurtebilliez
et pour li plus aïrier
veuil ge chanter
hé ha vilain hé ha heu.
Clap, clap, Robin dort, le molin esclos.
Ja, par Dieu, **Guerin** le clos
ne me torroit mon pourpos
quar j'ay le cuer trop volage.
Le vilain revient de son laborage,
il a si grant faim qu'a peu qu'il n'enrage,
le vilain gueu
lé dé heu heu."
Aynsi disoit et si chantoit:
"Molin de sa, molin de la,
se l'un ne m'ost, l'autre m'oora,
clap, clap, clap, clap, ja ni faudra."

Translation

Slap, slap, one morning Robin set off, slap, slap, to a mill that was grinding. He often went there because he took great enjoyment in the boat slapping on the water. Slap, slap, a lone woman was there who was crying out: 'Ho, ha, wretch, ho, ha, hoo!' Thus angrily she mocked and swore that she would have him, by God! Then along came Robin, who knew well where her jewel was. Slap, slap, he ground her so much, that he moaned about it, and she said: 'Ho, ha, ha, wretch, he, ha, hoo!' Robin is sleeping, the mill is closed, but he'd given many big, hard blows before it closed.

Translation

Get up Robin, let's go to the mill, slap, slap, in spite of that wretch who always spies on me, today I will get screwed and to further enrage him, I want to sing about it: 'He, ha, wretch, he, ha, hoo'. Slap, slap, Robin sleeps, the mill is closed. 'Never, by God, will Guerin the cripple sway my intent, for I have a heart that's too fickle! The wretch returns from his ploughing ; he is so hungry that he's nearly fuming, the villainous wretch, good God, ho, ho'. Thus she spoke and also sang : 'A mill here, a mill there, if one doesn't take me, the other will, slap, slap, slap, slap, I'll never fail to get my way!'

EXAMPLE 5: The opening bars of Machaut's monophonic ballade 37, *Dame, se vous m'estes*, and the opening bars of *Chantilly* motet *L'ardure/Tres dous/Ego rogavi*

The first eight notes of the ballade and the motetus are identical in pitch and almost identical in rhythm, save for the last two, which are twice as long in the motetus as in the ballade.

Ballade 37 is a musical setting by Machaut of his own ballade without music from his *Loange des Dames*, Lo15, *Dame se vous m'estes*, which poem he apparently wrote before c.1350 but did not put to music until the 1360s. Yolanda Plumley has shown that this ballade forms part of a citational web with several of Machaut's other lyrics without music from the *Loanges des Dames*.[30] She notes that in Lo15 the lover declares that the remembrance of his lady causes him to sing ('Font que je chant de joie plaine our vous, dame'). The fact that singing is mentioned in the text, but that the poem was not set to music until some time later is one reason why Plumley speculates that 'it seems possible that the lyric has an association with a pre-existing musical setting'.[31] Further, she observes that although the positioning of B37 in his manuscripts suggests that it was a later composition, 'it is entirely

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[30] Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, Chapter 9, forthcoming.

[31] Plumley, ibid. Plumley notes that the form of Lo15, which has 'octosyllabic lines with irregular stress patterns', is 'more typical of Machaut's song texts'.

at odds in stylistic terms with the other polyphonic Refrain-songs he wrote at that time'.[32] Plumley proposes that Machaut may have modelled the music of B37 on an earlier refrain or existing song. This seems plausible; as we saw, Machaut made use of citations from earlier repertories, such as the balletes from *Douce 308*.

There are no textual similarities between B37 and *L'ardure/Tres dous/Ego rogavi*. Therefore it seems unlikely that the motet was using Machaut's ballade as a source. Both Machaut and the writer of this later motet may in fact have borrowed from an earlier melody. Perhaps the lack of textual correspondence between the motet and B37 implies that in at least one of these two pieces, music was being borrowed without text, in order to evoke another reference for the listener. Both writers may even be referring textually to this postulated earlier source, but borrowing different parts of that source for their own poetry. This remains perforce highly speculative, for although we can compare the Machaut ballade to the rest of his output and observe differences in style that may signal a citation is present, we do not have the same possibility with an anonymous motet, such as *L'ardure/Tres dous/Ego rogavi*. Furthermore, the prospect of detecting a citation is perhaps weakened when one considers that the music of bar 2 of the motetus incipit could be described as an *ars nova* cliché, and the whole incipit could merely be an embellished four note ascending scale.[33] However, citation should not be ruled out here, since the incipit of the motetus is, alongside the tenor, one of the traditional loci of citation.

Plumley has noticed that B37 has strong musical similarities with a polyphonic song found on fragments of a French rotulus now in Poland.[34] This song is the second of four, of a genre dubbed *fastras distich* by musicologist Charles Brewer, which are thought, on stylistic grounds, to have been written around 1380; hence later than Machaut's ballade. This *fastras distich* exhibits a textual link with one of the *fastras* of Watriquet de Couvin who was active in the 1330s. While it seems unlikely from this disparity in dates that Watriquet composed these polyphonic songs, Plumley suggests that the cantus part of the second piece, which contains the textual material shared with Watriquet's *fastras* no.11, has a 'melodic profile' that points to it having 'originally been an autonomous song'.[35] Its similarities with B37

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[32] Plumley, *The Art*, Chapter 9.

[33] I discussed this particular *ars nova* cliché in Chapter 2 in relation to Machaut's motet 11. See Example 3 in that chapter.

[34] Plumley, ibid., Chapter 4.

[35] ibid.

suggest this cantus melody may therefore have its origins earlier that 1380. Could then B37, the *fastras distich* and *L'ardure/Tres dous/Ego rogavi* have been drawing on a popular fourteenth-century melody? Plumley considers the possibility that Watriquet in turn may have also been citing the text of an earlier song in his *fastras* no.11, a song which was then cited with its music as the cantus in the later *fastras distich*. Perhaps *L'ardure/Tres dous/Ego rogavi*, Machaut's Ballade 37, Watriquet's fastras and the song from the Polish source all borrowed from this posited song from the early fourteenth century. This is certainly a possibility, but the link between *L'ardure/Tres dous/Ego rogavi* and the other three pieces is suggested only by the short musical extract given in Example 5, therefore I cannot offer a firm conclusion.

The motet that provides the framework for this chapter, *Tant/Bien/Cuius*, does not offer apparent evidence of musical citation in its upper voices, but another Ivrea motet may do so. *Amer amours/Durement/Dolour meus* begins with an introitus in the triplum of 6 longa. The use of an introitus in a vernacular, amatory motet is highly unusual, as an introitus was more commonly a feature of the sacred, Latin motet. Furthermore, the melodic profile and syllabic setting suggest to me that this introitus may have its origins in a dance-song (see Example 6). I have not yet found any textual or musical correspondence to this introitus, though there is a song listed in the index of *Douce 308* whose incipit is *Amere Amours, par la grand poissance*. Sadly, the text of that song is missing from the contents of the manuscript. The composer of this courtly love motet may have chosen to parody or to allude to sacred motets by using a love song as an introitus, or at least, if he is not quoting a genuine love song then he is at least presenting his introitus as if it might be a monophonic chanson.

Kügle discussed *Amer amours/Durement/Dolour meus* in relation to *Almifonis/Rosa*. These two motets share a 'decasyllabic verse in the triplum, octo- or heptasyllabic verse in the motetus...In each of the tripla...strophes are marked off by a single hemistich (four syllables)'. [36] *Almifonis/Rosa* and *Amer/Durement/Dolour* are both suspected by Leech-Wilkinson to be by Vitry and to have been written in the early 1320s. The Latin motet, which has the Virgin Mary as its subject, also has an introitus of six longa, like *Amer amours/Durement/Dolour meus*. This may suggest that the composer – Vitry as he may indeed be – was consciously drawing a comparison or making a distinction between earthly, courtly love and devotion to the Virgin Mary. This kind of connection, as I discussed in the introductory chapter, was not uncommon in medieval literature.

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[36] Kügle, 'The Manuscript Ivrea', pp. 223-224.

A number of other Latin motets feature an introitus. These motets are part of a group, all of which appear to have been written in the early 1320s. *Tribum quoniam* has an introitus of twenty-four semibreves, too. This *Fauvel* motet relates the sudden downfall of those who have risen swiftly and undeservedly to power. *Tuba/In arboris*, which also has an introitus, is found in Ivrea. It contains a strong statement of Christian beliefs and admonishes the listener to trust in Faith rather than reason. *Impudenter circumivi/Virtutibus laudabilis*, another Ivrea motet with an introitus, exhorts the listener to love the Virgin Mary, but warns against transient earthly love, and links this to Eve rather than the Virgin.[37]

Machaut also employed an introitus in five of his six Latin motets,[38] but in none of his vernacular or bilingual ones. These motets, in particular the last three, were very likely written some time after the group of motets with an introitus that appear in Ivrea/Fauvel. However, his specific use of this device serves to emphasise that it was a feature of Latin devotional or occasional motets.

It seems that an introitus was usually linked with motets with particularly serious intended meanings. These motets are normally sacred and warn of the transience and unreliability or earthly power and love. *Amer/Durement/Dolour* is therefore a striking member of this group. It does offer a warning against earthly love, but both of its texts describe a situation in which the poet has been betrayed by Love and use military vocabulary that depicts the lover being betrayed to an enemy or being lead unarmed into the enemy camp. The triplum declares that sweet looks cannot be trusted since they often disguise a hard heart. Although we cannot be certain in what order the motets with introit were composed, it seems unlikely that *Amer/Durement/Dolour* was the first. It is likely that in this motet the writer, (possibly Vitry) is imitating this structural device in order to highlight his point about the trials of unrequited or inconstant love.

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[37] *Apta caro/Flos virginum/Alma redemptoris* and *Alpha vibrans/Cetus venit/Amicum querit* are two further sacred motets that feature an introitus.

[38] *O livoris feritas/Fons totius superbie/Fera pessima* (M9), *Diligenter inquiramus/Martyrum gemma latria/A Christo honoratus* (M19), *Veni creator spiritus/Christe, qui lux est/Tribulatio proxima* (M21), *Plange, regni republica/Tu qui gregem tuum ducis/Apprehende arma* (M22), and *Inviolata genitrix/Felix virgo/Ad te suspiramus* (M23).

EXAMPLE 6: The introitus section of *Amer amours/Durement/Dolour meus*

What the above examples of potential musical citation show at the very least is that composers were tapping into popular compositional styles. It is by no means certain that *L'ardure/Tres dous/Ego rogavi* contains a link to Machaut's B37 or any of the other pieces mentioned, but it does show the composer having used a motif that spoke the same melodic language as Machaut's ballade. In the case of *Amer/Durement/Dolour* we can see the importance of modelling one motet on the style of another in order to create an intertext between those motets. If the vernacular introitus is also a citation of a chanson, then another layer still may have been added to the intertextual connections.

REFERENCES TO CONTEMPORARY PERSONS

As an anonymous motet, *Tant/Bien/Cuius* has been somewhat neglected in the past. As Leech-Wilkinson noted, it is a motet that is clearly part of the Vitriacan tradition and yet which shows no direct line of modelling or borrowing with these other motets.[39] That this motet is somewhat isolated in this manner might explain why it has received less scholarly attention than some of its contemporary counterparts. As I have shown, this motet models its triplum in the manner of some Montpellier motets and also evokes the *Roman de la Rose.* The wealth of information that can by mined from this motet does not stop with the discussion of its thirteenth-century links. It has much more to offer us: historical connections, liturgical associations and possibly even political links.

The piece has been described by Alice Clark as a dedicatory motet. Both this motet and another vernacular motet in the Ivrea Codex, *Se päour/Diex/Concupisco*, take their tenors from the liturgy of the feast of St Agnes. Clark links the quotation of the St Agnes liturgy to the marriage of Agnès de Navarre to Gaston III Fébus, in 1349. She suggests, therefore, that these two motets were written for the occasion of this marriage. There are in addition two motets in Ivrea that are dedicated to Gaston III Fébus, *Altissonis/Hin principles* and

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[39] Leech-Wilkinson, 'Some Related Motets', p. 17.

Febus/Lanista/Cornibus.[40] Kügle suggests that these two motets were associated with the wedding of Gaston and Agnès, but admits that the dating of them is problematic. Gaston did not appear to have adopted the sobriquet 'Fébus' before 1357. Kügle's reason for favouring the interpretation of the motets as celebrating the marriage is based on both stressing Gaston's pro-Valois stance 'a position certainly no longer convincing after 1356, when Gaston was involved in a plot to remove king Jean II from his throne, while stopping active support for the king as early as 1353'.[41] He suggests that Gaston's additional moniker may well have been in use, albeit less officially, prior to 1357. However, there are no records of this being the case.

Richard Vernier offers a different interpretation of the putative pro-Valois attitude of the *Ivrea* motets dedicated to Gaston. Through the late 1350s and early 1360s, Gaston and England's Prince of Wales had been in an uneasy alliance. In 1355, when the Prince had launched an attack on the areas around the Count of Foix's lands, Gaston's neutrality allowed those lands to remain untouched. However, he realized that he was only safe insofar as it was strategically advantageous for the Prince of Wales. In order to maintain his lordship of Foix and Béarn, without antagonizing the English, Gaston subsequently employed a number of ingenious ploys that allowed him never to pay homage to the English and yet keep them at bay. Vernier thus suggests that the two Latin motets dedicated to Gaston that appear in *Ivrea* were commissioned to commemorate this bold and cunning avoidance of doing homage to the Plantagenets. The references to Gaston's French credentials in the motet *Febus/Lanista/Cornibus* are not so much about him being pro-Valois as they are about him being not English. As Vernier notes, 'the words of *Febus mundo oriens* are crystal clear: 'the flourishing Count / Shows himself to be French / And the false discourse perishes / That called him English'.'[42]

It may be, then that the two motets with St. Agnes tenors, *Tant/Bien/Cuius* and *Se päour/Diex/Concupisco*, cannot be so definitely connected with Agnès of Navarre, although, as we shall see below, the metaphors employed suggest they may be dedicated to a lady of some importance. I shall return to a discussion of these metaphors and of St Agnes a little

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[40] Kügle, 'Codex Ivrea, Bibl. Cap. 115: A French Source "Made in Italy"', *Revista de Musicologia*, 13/2 (1990), p. 550n.

[41] ibid.

[42] Richard Vernier, *Lord of the Pyrenees: Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix (1331-1391)* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), p. 68.

later. First I shall mention some other motets whose texts contains references, both overt and oblique, to important persons.

O Philippe/O bone dux is dedicated to Philip VI of France and John, duke of Normandy, *Portio/Ida/Ante tronum* remembers St. Ida of Boulogne, and *Flos ortus/Selsa/Quam magnus pontifex* St. Louis of Toulouse. *Apollinis/Zodiacum/In omnem terram* is the so-called 'musicians' motet', which lists a number of composers, *Petre clemens/Lugentium* is dedicated to Pope Clement VI, and *O canenda/Rex quem/Rex regum* to Robert of Naples. Those in *Chantilly* with identified references are *Pictagore/O terra/Rosa vernans*, whose focus is Pope Gregory XI, and *Rex Karole/Leticie, pacis/Virgo prius* for Charles V. *L'ardure/Tres dous/Ego rogavi*, is suggested by Clark as having perhaps Lucia, daughter of Bernabò Visconti, as its dedicatee.[43] *Inter densas/Imbribus/Admirabile* is another motet for Gaston Fébus, and *Sub Arturo/Fons/In omnem* refers to members of an English choir.

All but *L'ardure/Tres dous/Ego rogavi* in the above list are Latin, suggesting that, in the main, Latin motets contain a greater number of overt references to individuals. This does not mean that there are not references to be found in vernacular motets, but it does seem that those references are often more oblique – sometimes we are only aware of them through a fortuitous mention in another source. One such example is the *Ivrea* motet *Mon chant/Qui doloreus/Tristis*, which has a number of citational connections with the work of Jehan de la Mote, citing several ballades from that author's *Li Regret Guillaume*.[44] Le Mote's *Regret* was composed on the death of Guillaume I, count of Hainaut, in 1337. This citational connection alone gives good grounds to speculate that the motet may thus also be related to Guillaume's demise. Fortunately, an anonymous fifteenth-century music treatise refers to this motet as *Monachant de morte wilhelmi*, thus confirming what the citations would lead us to suspect.[45] Such cases give courage to those studying the use of citation and allusion that such citational links between pieces can give us clues to figures and events in history.

The use of citation in this motet may have yet more interesting secrets to yield. Yolanda Plumley suggests that this motet may provide a witness to the lost musical settings of Le Mote. Since *Mon chant/Qui doloreus/Tristis* contains textual citations from Le Mote, Plumley suspects that music is likely to have also been borrowed. Indeed she notes that 'the

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[43] Clark, 'Concordare', p. 153.

[44] Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, Chapter 7.

[45] See ibid.

opening phrase of the motetus part, which sets the incipit of Le Mote's ballade by *Mesure*, would be plausible as a chanson melody in the Ars nova style'.[46] Furthermore, she observes that the motetus as a whole has a melodic profile that is 'remarkably coherent'. While Plumley admits that the melodic structure of the motetus is rather longer than the seven-line stanzas of Le Mote's ballade would require and that it does not have a ballade's phrase structure, nonetheless her suggestion that we may be witnessing at least a snippet of Le Mote's music is highly plausible given the large amount of textual citations. *Mon chant/Qui doloreus/Tristis* also contains a full polyphonic citation of the opening music of the ballade *Ne celle amour* and further to this also cites the refrain of that same song. Plumley questions why a borrowing from a love song would be included in a motet whose focus was the death of Guillaume I of Hainaut: 'Could it be because, like the other ballades cited in the motet, this was composed by Jehan de Le Mote?'[47] For my part, I suspect she may be right.

The historical reference to Guillaume I in *Mon chant/Qui doloreus/Tristis* is rather more subtle than the allusions of its Latin counterparts. Vernacular motets often seem to masquerade as straightforward amatory pieces but then prove to have hidden depths. I have mentioned already that *Tant/Bien/Cuius*, for instance, contains some curious metaphors based on chess and fencing. The phrase 'garni d'escremie' in the triplum has a literal meaning of 'full of fencing'. Clark translates this as 'garnished with fighting' but admits that she has 'been unable to understand this reference to jousting or combat'. She has suggested that, since this motet may be linked with Agnès of Navarre and her marriage to Gaston Fébus, this may allude to Gaston's prowess as a huntsman.[48] I have suggested above instead that this description may comment on the lady's proud character. I shall return shortly to the question of whether Gaston and Agnès may be referred to obliquely in *Tant/Bien Cuius*, but first I shall examine in depth the metaphor of chess in this motet, since it may give us further clues as to the kind of lady to whom this motet may be dedicated.

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[46] Plumley, *The Art*, Chapter 7.

[47] ibid.

[48] Clark, 'Concordare', p.152n.

THE CHESS QUEEN IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

The reference to chess is unusual in medieval motets – in fact, I have yet to find another which uses the metaphor so directly. Occasionally the verb 'mater' (to checkmate) is employed, which can be translated more generally as 'to vanquish' or 'to conquer'. Despite this paucity of chess vocabulary in motets, the metaphor has a long-standing and potent meaning in medieval literature and visual art alike.

In *Birth of the Chess Queen*, Marilyn Yalom describes the evolution of the playing piece as it is known today against a backdrop of social and political history.[49] Believed to have originated in India, the board was initially devoid of any female presence. The space adjacent to the king was occupied by a minister or counsellor (vizier – the word that would mutate into the French 'fierce' or 'fierge'). When the game arrived in Europe via the Middle East the vizier began a slow gender change that started in 1000 and was near completion by 1200. Yalom suggests that the social and cultural differences between Europe and the East may have prompted changes in the game (elephants, unknown by Europeans, were recast as jesters, standard-bearers and bishops, depending on region). The vizier, originally a male counsellor, eventually mutated into the queen on the medieval chessboard.[50] For Yalom, the rise of the chess queen mirrors not only the political power shown by some European queens, but can also be linked to two other key cultural factors that were also deeply influential on medieval music: the rising cult of the Virgin Mary, particularly in her role as Queen of Heaven (regina coeli), and that of courtly love.

Perhaps the most important literary association between the Virgin and the chess queen can be found in *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame* by Gautier de Coinci. In the prologue to Book I, God and the Devil are portrayed as chess players, with the soul of a man as the prize for the winner. When it seems that the Devil is on the point of victory, God plays his most powerful piece, his *fierce*, the Blessed Virgin Mary:

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[49] Marilyn Yalom, *Birth of the Chess Queen: A History* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004).

[50] 'In contrast to the Near East, where the vizier was the shah's second-in-command, the European queen was the king's other half, his trusted companion, his deputy when he was absent or incapacitated. The Christian monogamous ideal, which paired one husband and one wife, stood in contrast to the polygamous possibilities allowed Muslim men, and the pairing of king and queen on the chessboard symbolized a partnership more significant and more enduring than that of a king and his chief minister.' Yalom, *Birth of the Chess Queen*, p. xviii. See H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Northampton, Mass.: Benjamin Press, 1986), for a detailed account of the game's development and popularity.

> Ceste fierce n'est pas d'ivoire;
> Ainz est la fierce au roy de gloire
> Qui rescout toute sa meisnée
> Qu'avait déables defrainée…
> Ceste fierce le mate en roie;
> Ceste fierce le mate en angle;
> Ceste fierce li tolt la jangle;
> Ceste fierce li tolt sa proie;
> Ceste fierce tousjours l'asproie;
> Ceste fierce touzjdrs le point;
> Ceste fierce de point en point
> Par fine force le dechace.[51]

This queen is not made of ivory, but is rather the queen to the king of glory, who rescues all her troops which the devil had corrupted…this queen mates him in the pin, this queen mates him in the fork, this queen takes away his slander, this queen deprives him of his quarry, this queen continually torments him, this queen continually scores points, this queen chases him from square to square with a pure power.

A comparison to the Virgin Mary is a high compliment indeed for the chess queen. By implication any lady compared with a chess queen may also be being obliquely compared with the Virgin.

As has been discussed in earlier chapters, the cult of the Virgin and that of courtly love grew in parallel. Yalom shows how this is mirrored by the rise of the chess queen. The nobility in the late medieval era were expected to be skilled in chess, since it was considered a game suitable for those of good breeding and had the advantage of reminding those playing of their elevated status in the social hierarchy.[52] It was also considered a game suitable for women, which meant in turn that there was an opportunity for battles between the sexes. There is a great deal of art, in the form of illuminations, frescos, panels and stained glass windows, which depict men and women playing together. Naturally these depictions quickly became symbols of romance, since chess, with its long, drawn-out matches, allowed couples to spend time alone.

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[51] Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame, Tome Premier*, ed. V. Frederic Koenig (Geneva: Droz, 1970), ll. 286-93. My translation.

[52] At some points the reputation of chess dipped due to its association with brawling, gambling and licentiousness – at times it was banned by the clergy – however its status as an intellectual game, along with its many fans in the secular and sacred realms alike, always rescued it from infamy and prohibition. See Yalom, *Birth of the Chess Queen*, pp. 7-8, 28-30.

The story is no different in literature, where the vocabulary of chess began to mix with that of courtly love.[53] This is hardly surprising since the troubadours who extolled feminine beauty were also expected to be skilled in chess:

> Bernard de Ventadour, complaining of the indifference of the beloved, compared himself to a loser in a chess match. Conon de Bethune recognized that he was perfectly capable of teaching the rules of the game to others, but incapable of protecting himself from a checkmate because the game of love made him lose his head. The two "games" paralleled each other, could not be played without a woman at the center, and were destined to end in checkmate – *māt* in Arabic meaning "dead."[54]

Chess appears in romances Tristan and Iseult play chess; Lancelot sends Guinevere a magic chess board as a gift. Chess also becomes an allegory for life and a tool for preaching: at the end of the thirteenth century Jacobus de Cessolis gave a number of sermons based on chess. He drew moral lessons from a fictionalised account of the game's invention, the status and hierarchy of the pieces, and the way in which they moved.[55] Cessolis collected his sermons in a book and it is a testament to its popularity at the time that there are some two hundred and twenty extant copies of his Latin text. In the early part of the fourteenth century the sermons were translated into French by Jean de Vignay, by an anonymous translator from Lorraine and by Jean Ferron, a Dominican from Paris. Vignay is credited with having translated *La moralité des nobles hommes et des gens de pueple sus le gieu des eschés* for Jean of Normandy, the son of Philippe VI and the future king Jean II of France.[56]

How, then, should we interpret the metaphor of chess in the case of *Tant/Bien/Cuius*? The implication of the use of the chess queen is that the lady to whom the poet refers is of very high birth and power. Agnès of Navarre was the daughter of Jeanne de France, Queen of Navarre, and wife of Philippe d'Évreux. Therefore, as Clark notes, she 'inherited Capetian blood from both her parents'.[57] Agnès may therefore be a suitable candidate for the praise

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[53] For further discussion of the role of chess in literature see Emma Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue: Alain Chartier in his Cultural Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), Chapter 4, Part II. Cayley examines the importance of the game's allegorical and metaphorical status in relation to rules of interaction, ludic exchange and debate culture in the poetic community.

[54] Yalom, *Birth of the Chess Queen*, p.125.

[55] Jacobus de Cessolis, *Le Jeu des Eschaz Moralisé*, trans. Jean Ferron (1347), ed., Alain Collet (Paris: Champion, 1999). For a useful online account see <http://classes.bnf.fr/echecs/histoire/cessoles.htm>, (accessed 02/02/2011).

[56] See <http://www.arlima.net/il/jean_de_vignay.html#ech> (accessed 04/02/2011). Cayley notes that while the Vignay translation was very popular in the Middle Ages, Jean Ferron's is reputed to be the best, although copies of Ferron's translation were often contaminated with Vignay's, *Debate and Dialogue*, p. 165.

[57] Clark 'Concordare', p.143.

that the both the chess and the fencing references seem to imply. However, if was motet was intended for Agnès, did it celebrate her marriage or did it serve some other purpose? Whether or not it was dedicated to her, I suspect that this motet was not written to celebrate a marriage. Chess, as we have seen, is often connected with lovers meeting secretly. Furthermore, the description in the motetus of the lover being checkmated implies both opposition and the game of love. Perhaps this motet is, in fact, a dedication from a secret admirer or rejected lover? We may never know and this motet may continue to throw out more questions than it answers.

The tenor citation, *Cuius pulchritudinem sol et luna mirantur* (by whose beauty the sun and moon are amazed), could have been used as a reference to Gaston Fébus and his wife. 'Sol' could refer to Gaston because of his sobriquet 'Fébus' (Phoebus – the sun god). Luna could also be interpreted in relation to him, since he was renowned for his hunting prowess and Diana, the huntress, was also goddess of the moon. Agnès would then be the beauty that inspires his amazement. Given that Gaston did not adopt the name 'Fébus' until 1357, then it is unlikely that this motet celebrates his marriage. Perhaps the motet was written for Agnès on the occasion of her giving birth to a son in 1362; although there is nothing in the motet to suggest a birth and Agnès was in fact dismissed by her husband not long after giving birth. We could, however, interpret the tenor differently: given the words of the tenor that the composer chose to concord with his material, it seems that he may have been wishing to suggest that the motet's devotional focus had two admirers. The lady might still be Agnès of Navarre. If so, perhaps 'sol' is Agnès's husband, and the 'luna' could be another admirer or lover, possibly someone in a subordinate or lesser position to 'sol' (since the moon must borrow its light from the sun in order to shine)?

Since the two Latin motets in *Ivrea* that are dedicated to Gaston are most likely not for his wedding, it is somewhat more difficult to firmly link the motets with St. Agnes tenors with Agnès of Navarre. Nonetheless, given the presence of motets dedicated to Gaston in the *Ivrea* codex then there may well be motets in the collection associated with other people from within his milieu. Whether or not we can link *Tant/Bien/Cuius* with any particular lady from the fourteenth century, St. Agnes herself surely has a role to play in how we can interpret this motet. This I shall address now.

ST AGNES

The liturgical roots of the tenor of *Tant/Bien/Cuius* are in the 6th Respond at Matins on the feast of St Agnes. The full context of the tenor is:

> R: Ipsi sum desponsata cui angeli serviunt **cujus pulchritudinem sol et luna mirantur** ipsi soli servo fidem ipsi me tota devotione committo. V: Dextram meam et collum meum cinxit lapidibus preciosis; tradidit auribus meis inaestimabiles margaritas.

> R: I am pledged to him whom the angels serve, **by whose beauty the sun and moon are amazed**, him alone I serve in faith, to him I commit all my devotion. V: He has encircled my right hand and my neck in precious stones; he has placed priceless pearls on my ears.

These texts borrowed heavily from St Agnes's Vita, by pseudo-Ambrosius. By the fourteenth century the vita of St Agnes was entangled with embellishments and misappropriations; and at some point her story became conflated with that of an earlier, Greek St Agnes. It is this mixture of traditions and sources which influenced Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* ('The Golden Legend'): written around 1265. His was one of the most popular sources of information on the saints in the fourteenth-century.[58] Agnes, a beautiful schoolgirl of twelve or thirteen, was offered her jewels and riches by the son of a Roman prefect if she would consent to marry him, but she refuses him declaring that she has promised herself to another. Despite the illness which consequently took hold of the youth, and the appeals by his father to change her mind, Agnes refused to 'break the faith of her first husband', Christ.[59] The provost demanded she give up her Christianity for the pagan gods, or be sent to a brothel, but Agnes was steadfast in her faith. He had her stripped and dragged naked to the brothel; but miraculously her hair grew long enough to cover her naked body. At the brothel an angel of the Lord 'environed...her with a bright clearness in such wise that no man might see her nor come to her'. The provost's son and his friends came to the brothel to have their way with Agnes, but he was struck dead. The provost was so distraught that Agnes prayed to God and the son was brought back to life.

The resurrected son then began proclaiming his own Christian faith and the pagan leaders saw that this was causing antagonism in the community. Agnes was sentenced to be burned alive, but the fires parted and would not consume her (here pseudo-Ambrosius has her

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[58] Carolyn Diskant Muir notes that it was the fifth-century *Gesta Sanctae Agnes* by Pseudo-Ambrosius, which combined the Greek and the Latin stories, that provided the elements of the version popularised in the late middle ages. 'St Agnes of Rome as a Bride of Christ: A Northern European Phenomenon, c.1450-1520', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 31/3 (2004-2005), p. 136.

[59] Legenda Aurea, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/goldenlegend/> accessed 02/02/11. In later medieval and early renaissance traditions in northern Europe this has lead to her being depicted as the bride of Christ, a role more commonly associated with St Catherine.

putting out the fire with a prayer). Instead, the executioner plunged a sword into her throat, ending her life.[60]

There is much to draw on here. Clark, in suggesting that this motet is dedicated to Agnès de Navarre, suggests that the choice of tenor from the liturgy of St Agnes is made essentially to serve this function. As Clark points out, it would surely be strange to underpin a courtly love motet with a citation about a saint who champions virginity and rejects marriage. Indeed, the section of liturgy chosen is conveniently silent on Agnes's suffering and martyrdom and, out of context, could be praise for an earthly love. There is precedent for this kind of use of tenor citations, since a number of Lenten tenors that express spiritual desire are easily recast in an amatory setting.[61] However, as we saw in the last chapter, motets provide fertile ground for multiple interpretations. Their polytextuality allows composers not only to juxtapose different ideas, but to allow conflict and contradiction to flourish within the structure of the motet Why should this motet not also admit of multiple readings, like many of its contemporaries? It may be possible to understand this motet as amatory, while still being perfectly in keeping with the Vita of St Agnes.

The lover depicted in the upper texts could be interpreted as the prelate's son, who falls in love with the beautiful Agnes (she is described in her Vita as fair – just like the lady in the triplum text). When she refuses him, he languishes in love so much that he takes to his sick bed (a truly medieval reaction to love, and echoed by the triplum text where the lover declares that he cannot endure and is in danger of death). In the motetus the lover describes himself being conquered, using a chess metaphor, that as we have seen, has a long tradition in courtly love lyrics and romances. The use of 'fierce' – the medieval French word for chess queen – could represent both a beloved and the Virgin Mary. St Agnes is a link between the two sides of this representation – she is the beloved of the prelate, but prefers to be seen as a bride of Christ, like the Virgin Mary herself.

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[60] Saint Agnes is commonly depicted with a lamb. Jacobus de Voragine explored the etymological reasons for this: 'Agnes is said of agna a lamb, for she was humble and debonair as a lamb, or of agnos in Greek, which is to say debonair and piteous, for she was debonair and merciful. Or Agnes of agnoscendo, for she knew the way of truth, and after this S. Austin saith, truth is opposed against vanity, falseness, and doubleness, for these three things were taken from her for the truth that she had.' Legenda Aurea, ibid. A further reason for her association with a lamb comes from another part of her story. After her death she appeared to her friends in a vision with a lamb at her side. The lamb has been interpreted to represent the lamb of God, Christ, and she is often depicted with a lamb in iconology.

[61] Clark, 'Concordare', p. 151.

Like much amatory poetry, the lady has the upper hand in both the triplum and the motetus of *Tant/Bien/Cuius*. The poet-lover feels he cannot endure, suffers and prepares even to be 'checkmated'. When seen against the backdrop of Agnes's story, these ideas become all the more powerful, for not only does the prelate's son suffer the regular pains of love, but he actually dies when he tries to possess her physically. But she really conquers him not because he dies, but because she prays for him; he is resurrected from the dead and becomes a Christian. He has been transformed by love in a powerful way.

Thus we can read *Tant/Bien/Cuius* in two distinct ways. As Clark has suggested we can understand the tenor in a decontextualised way: the tenor text that describes beauty being admired could simply be dedicated to a lady admired by the poet. Perhaps this is Agnès de Navarre. Using the wider context of the liturgical source, we can bring to bear on this motet the story of the Saint and understand it from a devotional angle. Sylvia Huot has shown that a multidimensional interpretation of thirteenth-century motets is crucial and that such a style of interpretation is just as relevant for fourteenth-century motets, as we have seen from the analysis of Machaut's motets.[62]

Se päour/Diex tan/Concupisco, the other vernacular motet based on a St Agnes tenor, and also found in the *Ivrea* codex, has similarly been linked by Clark to Agnès de Navarre, although she admits that there is no reference in the upper texts to any person or event and that, as such, the tenor is the only means of identification. Furthermore, the triplum and motetus texts do not provide us with the kind of modelling and metaphors I have described in *Tant/Bien/Cuius*. There is not as much scope for interpreting the upper voices of *Se päour/Diex tan/Concupisco* in relation to the story of St Agnes either, though the tenor *concupisco* (I yearn) is part of Agnes's prayer to extinguish the flames that are about to engulf her. Therefore, unlike in *Tant/Bien/Cuius*, the tenor does not relate to a point in her story where she is addressing her potential suitor, the prelate's son. As such, it is not so easy to find a way to link this tenor to the upper texts through the medium of St Agnes's Vita. While the triplum mentions death in a very general, courtly style, there is no reference to burning or anything else specific to Agnes's story. *Concupisco* can therefore be best understood when decontextualised from its liturgical surroundings and reinterpreted as a purely amatory text. Furthermore, Leech-Wilkinson believes that Machaut's M18 may have been modelled on this motet. M18 has a suggested date of composition of 1324, as it was

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[62] See Sylvia Huot, 'Patience in Adversity: The Courtly Lover and Job in Machaut's Motets 2 and 3', *Medium Aevum*, 63 (1994), 222-238, and *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

likely composed in honour of Guillaume de Trie, who was made archbishop of Reims that year. If *Se päour/Diex tan/Concupisco* inspired M18, then it was written far too early (i.e. 1324 or earlier) to have any links with Gaston or his bride. I suspect that the common ground between *Se päour/Diex tan/Concupisco* and *Tant/Bien/Cuius*, namely the liturgy of St Agnes, may well be coincidental in this case.

THE IVREA MANUSCRIPT AND ITS LINKS TO THE AVIGNON PAPACY

A composer's choice of borrowed material can reveal much to us. As discussed previously, citations point to the literary traditions with which a writer engaged and also allow him to explore themes more deeply by juxtaposing complementary or even conflicting ideas. As well as affording us a glimpse into a particular composer's preoccupations, citation can hint, albeit more obliquely, at the interests of the audience. In this respect we are somewhat at the mercy of the composer's whim and of the contingency of manuscript survival. However, while the fortuitous survival of individual sources from the fourteenth century may never be a completely accurate guide to what audiences may have most relished at the time, these sources do give us clues to what may have caught the attention of individual patrons or scribes and compilers. In the case of the *Ivrea* manuscript we might be able to unearth some of the concerns of its compilers by examining the way in which they chose to juxtapose motets in the manuscript. This could give us valuable clues to ways in which the compilers, as an audience to a particular work, chose to interpret works that use of citation.

In spite of its status as an apparent 'work in progress',[63] the *Ivrea* manuscript is by no means devoid of the subtle, premeditated design principles that can be found in its more ostentatious cousins. The pieces contained therein appear to have been organised hierarchically. Kügle observed that the nine motets of Gathering I can be divided into three groups of three 'each beginning with three ceremonial motets, followed by three devotional motets in celebration of female saints, and by three more liturgical settings'.[64] In turn each of these sets of three are arranged in rank order (i.e. the Virgin Mary ranks higher than another female saint, the King above nobility). He also observes hierarchical organisation among individual pieces and between fascicles:

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[63] Kügle, 'The Manuscript Ivrea', p. 75. He notes that the manuscript 'ostensibly originated from day-to-day concerns', that is, it was not through-copied but emerged from an ongoing collection process that may have taken place over a number of years.

[64] ibid., p. 88.

> [T]he organizational pattern of Gatherings I-V (a collection of Latin motets, prefaced by a Kyrie setting, followed by French motets and concluding with Mass movements) is replicated on a smaller level in the structure of Gathering VI.[65]

Thus a Kyrie is followed by a Latin motet dedicated to Robert of Naples (*O canenda/Rex*), then comes another Latin motet (*In virtute/Decens*), then there are three courtly love motets and a chace (*Amer amours/Durement au cuer/Tenor, Trop ay dure/Par sauvage/Tenor/Contratenor, Umblemens vos pri* (chace) and *L'amoureuse flour/En l'estat/Tenor*); finally, the pastoral motet, *Clap clap/Sus Robin/Tenor* and the quasi-motet made from market sellers' calls, *Je comence/Et ie seray/Soules viex*. Kügle observes that, '[t]he French motets are once more arranged in descending order according to the social status of the protagonists, with courtly love motets depicting the aristocracy alone followed by a pastoral motet involving a knight and a non-aristocratic woman…and a composition involving solely commoners in the street-cry motet'.[66] There is then another Mass movement framing this set.

The placement of the first of the *Ivrea* manuscript's French motets, *Tant/Bien/Cuius*, may thus seem somewhat disjunctive, for this courtly love motet appears after four polemical Latin motets and before a bi-lingual one in praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*A vous/Ad te/Regnum*). Perhaps the scribe was using the tenor of *Tant/Bien/Cuius* as a criterion for locating this motet. St Agnes was a virgin martyr and one of only seven women besides the Virgin who is celebrated by name in the liturgy, and this might be reason enough to accord this motet a place adjacent to one dedicated to heaven's first lady. Aside from the link to the Virgin Mary, and thus to the following motet *A vous/Ad te/Regnum mundi*, provided by St Agnes' status as a popular virgin martyr, there are other connections to be explored. The tenor of *A vous/Ad te/Regnum mundi*, is apparently from either the 9th Respond at Matins for a Virgin Martyr or the 7th Respond for St Agnes. Even if taken from the former it is likely that the composer would have been aware of the link, since the subjects are similar and St Agnes is named in the liturgy. Perhaps, therefore, the scribe was basing his ordering on the use of material linked to St Agnes. This has some further support since one of the polemical motets in the group before *Tant/Bien/Cuius, Tuba/In arboris/Virgo sum*, also has an Agnes tenor. Admittedly the fourth motet with Agnes links, *Se paour/Diex/Concupisco*, was placed in the next gathering, but as I argued earlier, there is less scope for this motet to be interpreted in relation to St Agnes's story and therefore may

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[65] Kügle, 'The Manuscript Ivrea', p. 92.

[66] ibid., p. 93.

have been viewed by the compilers as not so deeply connected to the group of motets I am discussing here.

Whoever determined the order of the contents of the *Ivrea* codex[67] may have seen an opportunity to highlight political concerns with his choice of position for individual motets. There is a evidence of pro-Avignon sentiment in *Ivrea*. Kügle proposed that the Schism in 1378 may have influenced the manuscript:

> The outbreak of the Schism and the accession of Robert of Geneva (Clement VII) to the see at Avignon also brought increased exchanges between Ivrea and the western side of the Alps, including a few diplomatic missives between Avignon and the chapter at Ivrea; some pieces, especially if they belong to late copying layers, may have reached Ivrea through these channels during the 1380s, possibly including the motet *Petre/Lugentium*, composed for Clement VI by Vitry on Christmas 1342.[68]

In addition to this, motets praising Valois kings, who supported the Avignon papacy, are to be found. Although Gaston Fébus – who is celebrated with two motets – may have turned against the French king in 1353, he had nonetheless been a supporter and moved within those circles; and his wife, Agnès, as we have seen, had Valois blood from both parents.

Could references to St Agnes have had political resonances for *Ivrea*'s compilers? The motet immediately proceeding *Tant/Bien/Cuius*, *Colla iugo/Bona condit/Libera me*, ascribed to Vitry, laments how those following the court are faithless flatterers, out for what they can get; they have no real devotion to those in power and wish really to subvert them. The motetus describes how freedom is worth more than material possessions and the tenor complements this with 'libera me, Domine' (Free me, Lord). The idea of not 'running with the herd', and considering freedom more valuable fits with the story of St Agnes in all its versions. By refusing to give up her Christianity, or her virginity, she is rejecting the more

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[67] Kügle has identified two scribes who may have worked on the manuscript, Jehan Pellicier and Jacometus de Ecclesia; he suggests that Jacometus was an apprentice to Pellicier (Kügle, 'The Manuscript Ivrea', p. 131). While in this section I discuss the possibility that the scribes were drawing their own connections between works based on their political bias, I acknowledge the caveat that the *Ivrea* manuscript was unlikely to have been through-composed. Kügle has presented compelling evidence that the manuscript was put together in different stages and that some of the gatherings were constructed from several pre-made *libelli* (See Kügle, 'The Manuscript Ivrea', Chapter One). Nonetheless, as we have seen above, he has also noticed that the manuscript has some significant hierarchical organization. Therefore, even given that the scribes may first have put together gatherings in smaller *libelli*, they managed still to put these together in a manner that is far from random.

[68] Kügle, ibid., pp. 135-6. He continues: 'The case of *Petre/Lugentium* is significant: As indicated by the marginalia, the pre-ruled staves, and the crowding of the entry, space was reserved specifically for this piece, which was entered only late and after the surrounding items. Its inclusion may well have been intended as an homage to the Savoyard pope, Clement VII (he died on 16 September 1394)'.

worldly life and the kind of conformity demonstrated by the faithless, which the previous motet rejects. St Agnes is offered worldly riches by the Provost and his son in return for her compliance, but St Agnes's stance is more in keeping with the ideas found in the motetus of *Colla iugo/Bona condit/Libera me, Domine*.

This might seem somewhat odd. Surely the links shown in the manuscript to the Valois dynasty demonstrate what motets such as *Colla/Bona/Libera me* were exhorting people to avoid – namely the following of courts.[69] However, I am inclined to speculate that the scribe used these motets to make a point regarding the Avignon papacy. St Agnes could be interpreted as an anti-Rome symbol, since she stood up to the Roman administration. That she did so under the banner of Christianity could have made her an important saint for those who supported the idea of the papacy being outside Rome. Perhaps the placement of three motets with St Agnes associations in close conjunction with motets like *Colla iugo/Bona condit/Libera me, Domine* might reveal the political preoccupations of *Ivrea's* clerical compilers. Since the compilation of *Ivrea* seems to have mostly occurred in the era of the Schism (i.e. after 1378), and the manuscript's scribes, who likely came from Savoy, had links with Avignon through the Savoyard Clement VII, it may be supposed that they creatively juxtaposed pieces of music in the manuscript in a manner that reflected the direction of their support.

Philippe de Vitry, who wrote *Colla iugo/Bona condit/Libera me, Domine* earlier in his career, also had strong links with Avignon, having worked at the papal court in the 1340s alongside his friend Petrarch (who, incidentally, found Avignon less to his taste than his French colleague). While the Schism was still some years away, Vitry's pen was employed to support the presence of the papacy in Avignon. Andrew Wathey discusses the inclusion of the texts of the motet *Petre/Lugentium* in a volume containing the sermons of Clement VI:

> *Petre clemens* here takes the shape more clearly as a propaganda piece, designed to promulgate the message of papal diplomacy. Christmas 1342 saw the presence in Avignon of the ambassadors of the Roman citizens, sent to petition, *inter alia*, for the return of the papacy to Rome. While Clement argued that practical obstacles, in particular the English wars in France, prevented the move, it is clear that a doctrinal response was required: to view the

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[69] Vitry's motet, *Colla/Bona/Libera me*, is believed to have been composed in 1323, and therefore at the end of the Capetian dynasty. However, in this section I am concerned with how the scribes/compilers of the *Ivrea* manuscript are using and interpreting material, rather than the original associations of the pieces, should they differ.

papacy as bound to Rome invited the view that its power dwelt not in the Pope's person but in the Roman See itself, with grave consequences for papal claims to universal authority.[70]

The argument had, therefore, to be put forward for the spiritual authority of the Pope, independent of his location. *Petre/Lugentium* can be read as an attempt to make this argument. Vitry's later motets, and those of his followers, can therefore be interpreted as having a pro-Avignon bias, even before the Schism and before the scribes of Ivrea were making their organisational choices. This makes it all the more plausible that the scribes were interpreting the motets in this manner. Whether *Tant/Bien/Cuius* was written with Avignon in mind is not certain; most likely the composer had the other, more amatory and saintly concerns in mind when he was writing. Yet, the scribes of *Ivrea* may have wanted to bring out the connection (in opposition) between St Agnes and Rome, by being creative with their juxtapositions. Kügle noted that diplomatic missives were exchanged between Avignon and Ivrea and that there is evidence of an Avignonese delegation having been sent to the Savoyard town. As such, it is conceivable that the compilers of the *Ivrea* manuscript, with their connections to Avignon, were not only strongly in favour of Clement VII's papacy, but may have expressed this preference through their manuscript production.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I have discussed citation through the medium of one motet that has rich associations, and linked this work to the motets that appear with it in the *Ivrea* codex. We have seen that *Tant/Bien/Cuius*, while having a thoroughly fourteenth-century musical setting, nonetheless shows strong links with thirteenth-century motets in terms of its triplum text. In relation to this it has been observed that the *Ivrea* manuscript contains a rich seam of thirteenth-century material, thus establishing continuity of the musical and textual heritage between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thirteenth-century motets were still clearly in circulation; the composer of *Tant/Bien/Cuius* built on his audience's familiarity with these and also drew on the popular tradition of the *Roman de la Rose*.

I have suggested too that something might be gleaned about the historical genesis of *Tant/Bien/Cuius*. Latin motets are more usually seen as dedicatory and occasional, yet this motet and some other of its vernacular companions demonstrate that while such allusions may be subtle, they may nevertheless still be present in these works.

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[70] Wathey, 'The Motets of Philippe de Vitry', p.135.

In the previous chapter I looked at the motets of Guillaume de Machaut, which are often praised for their multi-layered meaning and rich use of citation and allusion. Yet as we have seen here, other, anonymous, vernacular motets, contemporary to those of Machaut, demonstrate similar levels of intertextual virtuosity. *Tant/Bien/Cuius* can be interpreted as both an amatory and a devotional motet. In addition to this, some unusual metaphors have shed light on its connection to the literary uses of chess. This motet has further been associated with Agnès of Navarre and her marriage to Gaston Fébus. However, questions of dating of other motets associated with this occasion cast doubt on whether this motet really can be linked to this event. If the motet were written in the middle of the fourteenth century, and its inclusion in the Chantilly codex may well point to its having been written later than the 1320s, then Agnès of Navarre would be a suitable candidate for the lofty praise of the motet's metaphors, but nevertheless in my view the evidence is inconclusive.

Finally, by looking at the physical placement of *Tant/Bien/Cuius* in the *Ivrea* codex, we might be able to draw some conclusions as to how the scribes or compilers of this manuscript interpreted the motets themselves. Given the links between the town of Ivrea and the Avignonese papacy, I have suggested they may have wished to demonstrate their support for Avignon in the schismatic era. In this case St Agnes may well have been reinterpreted as a symbol of anti-Rome discourse.

So far I have examined three distinct motet repertories, all of which employ citation, *auctoritas*, and connection with tradition in varying ways. All are firmly situated within the mainstream tradition of motet writing. The *Ivrea* and *Chantilly* motets perhaps offer the most rounded view of motet composition, since they are unhindered by a narrative structure or a single composer. I shall now turn to a repertory that is somewhat isolated from the mainstream, the Cypriot-French works of Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9. Separated as it is from the influence of mainland Europe, and its contents composed and compiled in the early fifteenth century, do the pieces in this manuscript demonstrate the same penchant for borrowing?

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MOTETS OF MANUSCRIPT TORINO, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE J.II.9: SYMMETRY, TRADITION AND THE BUG-REPELLENT QUEEN.

Of all the motet repertories I have examined thus far, that of Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9 is perhaps the most enigmatic. Despite a number of studies in recent years seeking to show its connections to the mainstream French repertory of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, its anonymity and unique contents (the pieces therein are not attributed and none have known concordances elsewhere) maintain its isolation. As such it is not the most obvious target for a discussion of citation and allusion. In addition to being unica, these motets also appear to have specially composed tenors, depriving us of the usual prime locus of borrowed material. And yet, once we begin to delve into J.II.9's contents and history, it becomes apparent that this repertory is not so very far removed from the mainstream French tradition of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Citation and allusion were no less generative tools for the creation of poetry and music in the Cypriot court, than they were for the writers of the motets I have already discussed.

The idiosyncrasies of J.II.9 seem always to leap to the fore, despite most commentaries on it striving to demonstrate its relationship with other manuscripts and repertories. Although when considered collectively its more unusual aspects seem to indicate a significant break with standard practices of the time, taken in isolation, each of these seems to represent a variation on mainstream practices, rather than a wholesale break with tradition. For an early fifteenth century collection it stands out on account of its solely French derivation; Kügle notes that repertories of that era tend to include Italian or English pieces, too.[1] In terms of its generic variety, Codex J.II.9 is also noteworthy, as it assembles Mass movements with motets and chansons in one volume. The latter are grouped according to type: the masses thus are followed by a *liber motetorum* and then a *chansonnier*. While this diversity of genre is also a feature of the Machaut manuscripts, the Ivrea codex and even BnF, fr.146 (which contains extracts of

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[1] Karl Kügle, 'The Repertory of Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale J.II.9, and the French Tradition of the 14th and Early 15th Centuries', in Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher, eds, *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9: Report of the International Musicological Congress, Paphos, 20-25 March, 1992* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1995), p. 151.

plainchant but not mass movements), these sources 'hardly seem to provide the direct models for Torino J.II.9, at least from a codicological point of view'.[2] However, Kügle also suggests that the repertory may have been assembled retrospectively in Savoy, and over a short space of time, which, as will be discussed in more detail below, would provide a suitable explanation for its highly organised and beautifully presented, yet very diverse contents.

The Mass settings are distinctive to J.II.9: the six monophonic settings are each based on the same mode, and one of the polyphonic Mass settings is thought by some to have been built on a single tenor melody. The unified style of the Mass settings is more typical of later writing, and Richard Hoppin suggests that in this area J.II.9 is progressive, though whether this represents an isolated experiment or suggests that there was originally a connection with other composers or repertories, is hard to determine.

The predominance of isorhythm in the motets is perhaps higher than average, when compared to the late fourteenth-century motets in *Ivrea* and *Chantilly*. Yet, as Hoppin remarked 'while the high percentage of isorhythmic motets may be unusual, it cannot be regarded as introducing anything foreign to Western methods'.[3] The same is true of the isorhythmic forms employed: uncommon but not alien. Kügle mentions the atypical symmetrical talea organisation of one of the motets, upon which I shall elaborate below.

That the vast majority of the motets employ specially composed tenors with little melodic repetition is a further point on which the contents of J.II.9 deviate somewhat from the norm. Hoppin justifiably proposes that this was done to cater to a desire for continuous melodies.[4] The harmonic language of the J.II.9 motets is less restricted than it would be if governed by the reiteration of colors in the tenor, so the composer had greater licence in the creation of his melodies. As I discussed in the introductory chapter, thirteenth-century motets could be created out of pre-existing clausulae, or be built up compositely by the addition of further or different upper voices. They could therefore be the product of several minds, which meant that successive compositional techniques could at least sometimes be employed. By contrast, most *ars nova* motets, as we have seen in the Machaut, *Fauvel*, *Ivrea*, and *Chantilly* repertories,

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[2] Kügle, 'The Repertory', p. 152.

[3] Richard H. Hoppin, 'The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9', *Musica Disciplina*, 11 (1957), p. 107.

[4] ibid.

tended to be the work of a single composer. These motets have a tenor usually taken from a liturgical source, organised into a rhythmic structure or talea, which could then be repeated as many times as the composer desired. The notes chosen from the particular piece of chant can likewise be repeated; these repetitions are the colors. Zayaruznaya has argued in her dissertation for the importance of the upper voices in governing tenor choice in *ars nova* motets, rather than the other way round.[5] This means that the upper two lines of a motet would have their subject and perhaps text matter chosen, and then a suitable tenor segment would be found to complement this, based on its text and possibly its biblical associations, too. However, once a suitable liturgical source had been identified based on its textual meaning, a musical foundation was thereby established which would restrict to some extent the melodic freedom of the upper voices, since they were confined by the requirements of harmonic language (even if their rhythmic arrangement could still have some autonomy).

The J.II.9 motets, on the whole, while having the rhythmic organisation of taleae, do not feature colors (i.e. repeated melodies), because the tenors are not borrowed from an outside source. The composer was thus free to use whichever pitches he wished in the tenor and contratenor voices, meaning that the upper voices could in fact govern the pitch of the lower two, should the composer allow their melodies to dictate the structure. Thus, J.II.9's motets may represent a progression in motet writing, in that here the strictures of the borrowed plainchant tenor are removed, allowing the upper voices to have greater melodic freedom. So although the composer has sacrificed the opportunity to juxtapose a third text via the tenor citation, he has gained some compositional freedom.

Overall, the sense is that we are dealing with a repertory that is in most of its aspects slightly removed from the norm. Yet, despite its oddities, J.II.9 strays not so very far from the French fold. A number of the pieces, particularly the ballades, have been shown to have stylistic features in common with works of Machaut, Vitry and others, in some cases to a sufficient extent as to suggest textual modelling.[6] There are also some similarities between the musical

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[5] Anna Zayaruznaya, 'Form and Idea in the *Ars Nova* Motet', unpubd. PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2010, pp. 108-14, and p. 172.

[6] J.II.9 rondeau 42, *Amour me tient* and Machaut's rondeau *Tant doucement* share similar ideas and vocabulary; J.II.9 ballade 35, *Qui de Fortune*, shares ideas with Machaut's M8, *Qui es promesses/Ha! Fortun/ Et non est qui adjuvat*; ballade 84, *Se l'aimant de sa propre nature*, has a line remarkably similar to the incipit of Machaut's virelai *Plus dure que un dyamant*; J.II.9 ballade 8, *En amer tres loyaument*, shares a metrical scheme with Machaut's ballade *En amer a douce vie*. For further discussion see pp. 258-63 below.

language of Machaut and J.II.9. I shall summarize these similarities below before concentrating in particular on the motets, which are the focus of this study.

I shall begin my analysis by looking at the history of J.II.9, reviewing its historical and hagiographical links, and summarising its connection to Cyprus and the Lusignan court. This will help to situate some further historical references that I shall suggest later. I shall look at the possible place and date of copying for the manuscript, and at the composer, Jean Hanelle, who may have been responsible for both the creation of music and overseeing the manuscript's compilation. This will be followed by a summary of the citations, allusions and connections to the fourteenth-century mainland repertory that have already been recorded by other scholars. I shall then examine ideas of symmetry in the manuscript suggested by Kügle and offer some extensions to this idea. My conjecture is that the high degree of symmetry and repetition that can be found in this manuscript vindicates the suggestion that one composer was responsible for the majority of the work, and probably oversaw the production of the manuscript. The reiteration of ideas and patterns that can be found does not, however, indicate that the manuscript was hurriedly put together, or reflects a poverty of imagination on the composer's part. Rather it might reflect the dedication to certain compositional ideals held by this composer, and support the idea that coherence of the oeuvre within the work was intentional. Symmetry and internal repetition relate intimately to the principles of citation and allusion: mirroring and repetition of ideas within the manuscript can also be witnessed among the texts of the motets, and between those of the motets and the chanson repertory of J.II.9.

The sense of internal coherence of J.II.9 is further bolstered by the way the composer set his work against the backdrop of mainstream French tradition and alluded to external source to create links both within and outside the manuscript. In particular I shall look at how he used the *Roman de la Rose* and tapped into the longstanding tradition that mixes Marian devotional and amatory poetry. My main thrust will be an examination of the motets, though a high degree of shared ideas between these pieces and the ballades, rondeaux and virelais also contained in J.II.9 has led me to include a number of the latter in my examination, and to conclude that this composer was revisiting ideas in different registers and formats, in a way that bears some similarities to the output of Machaut, discussed earlier. Although the motets are on the whole devotional, their links with the manuscript's secular love songs are nonetheless significant. Perhaps what is significant for a discussion of citation and allusion in general is that late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century composers were still employing the

same generative techniques and revisiting the same traditions as previous generations for their inspiration. And yet, as we have seen in the previous three chapters which cover the earlier fourteenth century, each composer and compiler applied and interpreted these techniques and traditions in very different ways, producing diverse outcomes. The collection of unica in J.II.9 thus represents continuity with tradition, demonstrating stylistic links with the larger French repertory but simultaneously reflecting some of the particular preoccupations of an individual composer, and how he chose to reuse existing material.

The isolation of the Cypriot repertory has created a fascinating case study that enables us to explore its connections to, and distance from, the artistic output of the mainland community. As we will see below it seems likely that the composer came from Cambrai to Cyprus. Thus he would have brought with him the fashionable techniques of the Continent but then pursued them in isolation in his own work. The collection of motets sheds light on to how one particular composer chose to continue to reuse and adapt material of other composers and traditional sources in his own work. To some extent we can compare him with Machaut as the author of what might well be a complete works' manuscript.

THE ORIGINS AND DESIGN OF MANUSCRIPT TORINO J.II.9

Question marks continue to hang over the creation of this manuscript and its anonymous contents. That the music contained therein has strong Cypriot links is indisputable due to the historical and hagiographical references present in the texts. The most important reference in the manuscript is the Office and Mass of St. Hilarion at the very beginning. Hilarion was a saint with Cypriot connections, but more pertinently we have direct evidence of when the office was sanctioned for use in services, and upon whose request. A papal bull dated 23rd November 1413 shows that the Cypriot King Janus (1398-1432) had requested approval for its performance from Pope John XXIII.[7] This bull shows conclusively that the opening piece of J.II.9 was a Cypriot creation.

St. Hilarion originated from the Gaza area in 291. After being converted to Christianity in Alexandria he became a disciple of St Anthony, living with him in the desert for a short time. He went on to live a nomadic life, subsisting on a pitiful diet, and was plagued by visions of

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[7] When J.II.9 almost perished in a fire in 1904, the bull was thought lost. However, it was rediscovered some years later, undamaged enough to be almost completely legible. Barbara Wiemes gives a transcription of it showing which words had been damaged by fire in 'Historical Figures from Cyprus Mentioned in the Manuscript Torino J.II.9', in Günther and Finscher, *The Cypriot-French Repertory*, p. 58.

naked women and food, amongst other temptations – the work of demons as he saw it. When he finally built himself a small shelter, his fame for treating the sick attracted many visitors, until a monastery arose around his dwelling. He became renowned for his many wonders, including resurrections and healing. The many visitors, particularly the women, proved disturbing to Hilarion, however, and he moved on. Finally, he travelled to Cyprus and lived out his final years as a hermit, dying in 371; due to this connection he was a saint of great importance to medieval Cyprus.[8] In addition to the dedication of the office and mass in J.II.9, Hilarion is mentioned in both the triplum and motetus of motet 17, *Magni patris/Ovent Cyprus*. The motetus also mentions Cyprus, and tells us that Hilarion performed more miracles there than anywhere else.

The office and mass dedicated to St. Hilarion is followed by an office celebrating St. Anne, who apparently was also the subject of much veneration on Cyprus.[9] Furthermore, in September 1415 Queen Charlotte bore her husband Janus a daughter whom they named Anne. It is therefore possible that the office had a dual purpose – to honour the saint and celebrate a royal birth.[10]

The most important figure for efforts to identify the date and provenance of J.II.9 is King Janus himself. He is mentioned in motets 6, 8 and 17. In motet 6 he appears in the final stanza of the motetus:

> Nunc, advocata pauperum,
> **Janum** tuo pro nomine
> Hoc modulantem carmine
> Tuere regem inclitum.

> Now, helper of the poor [the Virgin Mary], singing this song with accompaniment , for your name's sake, protect the illustrious King Janus.

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[8] New Advert Catholic Encyclopedia, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07347a.htm> accessed 9th April 2011.

[9] Wiemes remarks on the presence of murals of St. Anne in Byzantine churches on Cyprus. 'Historical Figures', p. 64.

[10] This significance has been suggested by Besseler and Hoppin and reiterated by Wiemes and others. Wiemes, ibid.

In line 14 of the motetus of motet 8:

> **Janum** regem speciosa
>
> Janus, august king

And in the triplum of the same motet, he is referred to by his title:

> Hierusale, Armenie,
> **Cipri regem**...
>
> King of Cyprus, Jerusalem, Armenia...

In motet 17, which also references St. Hilarion, Janus is praised in the final stanza of the motetus:

> Eya, pater bone, regem
> His te laudantem cantibus,
> Salva **Janum**...
>
> Oh good father, save King Janus (who is) praising you with these songs...

Wiemes notes the significance of the positioning of Janus' name. In each case the reference to the King of Cyprus appears at the end of the motetus, which she suggests 'can be considered as a kind of final climax of the pieces.'[11] That his name appears as the apogee of these motet texts may also have significance for dating these compositions. Since the later portion of Janus's reign was beset by troubles, they may well have been written around the time of his marriage to Charlotte of Bourbon (1411), or the birth of his children (his son and heir, John, 1414, and daughter, Anne, 1418), thus celebrating happier times. Indeed, Kügle suggests that motet 8, *Gemma florens/Hec est dies*, and motet 15, *Hunc/Precursoris*, may both allude to the birth of John to Janus and Charlotte, since these motets reference John the Baptist. '*Gemma/Hec*, in particular, dwells on allusions to the blessing of *puerperium* extended to St. Elizabeth, the Baptist's mother. The emphasis on Elizabeth (and by implication, her husband Zacharias) can be seen as an allusion to the situation of Charlotte of Bourbon and Janus of Lusignan at the birth of the heir to the throne'.[12] He notes the significance of the connection, since Charlotte and Janus had, like Elizabeth and Zachary, had to wait a few years before the arrival of their first born; Janus all the more so since he had been king since 1399 and had already had one

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[11] Wiemes, 'Historical Figures', p. 64.

[12] Kügle, 'The Repertory', p. 166.

marriage, which was without issue, dissolved. Kügle also remarks on the placement of motet 8 at the head the *de sanctis* cycle of motets and references in the text to happiness in France and Paris as indications that this motet may have had the significant function of celebrating John's birth.

Motet 10 is thought by Hoppin to refer to St. Helena, since it appears to allude to the legend that Helena brought the True Cross to Cyprus from Jerusalem in 327.[13] The allusions occur in the first lines of the motetus and triplum:

Triplum:

Reverentur veneremur
Sancte crucis stipitem

We reverently venerate the holy wood of the cross.

Motetus:

Venerandum crucis lignum

The wood of the cross must be venerated.

There are further indications that these references to the True Cross allude to Helena, since later in the motetus Constantine the Great (her son) is also mentioned.[14]

Other figures are plausibly evoked in J.II.9, though less prominently. The virelai *Bien ha choisi mon euil quant vous amay* starts each of its lines with the letter B, and the rondeau *Bien soit venu le mois tres gracieus* commences with a B for fourteen of its sixteen lines. Leeman L. Perkins suggests that these two may be an 'indirect homage' to Charlotte of Bourbon.[15] The virelai describes a lady, whom the poet intends to serve, in the highest of courtly terms, whereas the rondeau celebrates the beginning of May. A reference to the month of May is not uncommon in lighter register forms such as rondeaux, as the month evokes notions of springtime and rebirth, and also of love. However, there may be some significance in the fact that Charlotte gave birth to Janus's heir, John in May 1414. Sadly, there do not appear to be any more

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[13] Richard Hoppin, ed., *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9*, vol. ii (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1960-63), p. ix.

[14] Helena's history is explored in greater depth by Wiemes, 'Historical Figures', p. 74.

[15] Leeman L Perkins 'At the Intersection of Social History and Musical Style: The Rondeaux and Virelais of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9' in Günther and Finscher, *The Cypriot-French Repertory*, p. 445.

concrete links to particular persons or events be found in these two pieces, beyond these proposed alphabetical and seasonal allusions.

Finally, there is a fleeting reference in rondeau 11 to Nicosia, location of the royal palace and seat of the governing bishopric:

> Puisque sans vous querons nostre plaisir
> En l'apsence de vostre compagnie,
> Si desirons que tost veuillés venir
> Prendre desduit et mener douce vie
> Aveuque nous, laissant tost, **Nicossie**,
> Car i nous faut sans vous no chans taisir,

Since without you we seek our pleasure in the absence of your company, indeed we wish you to come quickly to take your delight and lead a sweet life with us, quickly leaving Nicosia, because, without you, we must silence our songs.

In sum, the contents of J.II.9 are thus strongly and multifariously linked to the court of Cyprus during the reign of King Janus, though the manuscript itself may have been created somewhat later, as I shall discuss below.

The evidence provided by the music that references King Janus may by extension indicate that a good deal more of the music in the codex was composed during his reign. Given the potential allusion to the birth of Janus's daughter, Anne, through the presence of an office for St. Anne, and the approximate date given to the office of St. Hilarion through the papal bull, we can be reasonably confident that most of the music was written after the arrival of his second wife, Charlotte of Bourbon in 1411.

King Janus had a troubled reign. There were frequent squabbles with the Genoese and the Venetians, with no party seeming willing to hold to any treaty beyond what was convenient at that particular moment.[16] Janus was financially crippled and politically weakened by all the treaties with and reparations to the Italians, but these were not the only misfortunes of his reign. The island was subjected to some particularly severe instances of the plague. In 1409, 1419, 1420 and 1422 the disease spread throughout the island (on the last occasion taking the lives of the King's mother, Héloïse and wife, Charlotte). In addition to this the crops were destroyed by locusts between around 1408 and 1412. The arrival of Charlotte of Bourbon coincided with a brief respite in Cyprus' troubles and she was thought by the people to be

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[16] Tensions had been worsened by Janus's decision to allow the Venetians to lead his horse at his coronation, a privilege that was supposed to have been bestowed on the Genoese.

lucky. I shall discuss the effect of Charlotte's arrival in greater detail below. Certainly Janus seemed to be most happy with her, and Machairas writes that after her death 'he knew no other woman'.[17]

Perhaps the greatest misfortune of Janus' reign was the Mameluk invasion, during which Janus was captured and was thereafter forced to pay tribute to the Sultan of Egypt. There had not been open war between Cyprus and the neighbouring Muslim nations for some time, although Hill suggests that 'this was probably due, however, less to a desire to observe the peace for its own sake than to the exhaustion of both sides'.[18] Hostilities between the kingdoms were rekindled since Janus did little to prevent raiding by pirates, even on occasion by his own ships, and Cypriots were profiting greatly from slaves they had captured and loot they had acquired. In 1414 a treaty was brokered to end the raiding and many Muslims were released. However, in 1422 the pirates began raiding again and the Sultan received news from an escaped slave that these raids were encouraged by Cypriot officials, who were even buying the booty. A letter of protest to Janus was met with contempt and so, in 1424 the Sultan attacked Lemesos. Janus retaliated and the situation escalated until the Sultan sent out an invading force in 1426. Janus' fortifications were weak and his army badly organised; they lacked provisions and the soldiers disobeyed orders.[19] His army was overcome and he was captured at Khirokitia and taken to Aliki.[20] After the king had been taken prisoner the Mameluk army marched on Nicosia. Janus' brother and Archbishop of Nicosia, Hugh, knew he could not defend the capital and sent the royal family and the treasure to Kerynia. The city was looted and burnt, including the palace: '...they took their men to the King's most marvellous palace, and pillaged all they could and set fire to it...and they carried off all the plunder.'[21]

Janus was taken to Cairo where he was paraded through the streets. A sad trophy, 'he was made to ride bareback on a lame ass, his feet shackled, barefoot, bareheaded; his banner was

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[17] Leontios Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitled 'Chronicle',* ed. and trans. R. M. Dawkins, vol. i (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), p. 679.

[18] George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. ii (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), p. 468.

[19] See ibid., p. 479.

[20] See Makhairas, *Recital*, vol.i, pp. 659-65.

[21] ibid., p. 673.

reversed and dragged along the ground. He was forced to kiss the ground several times.'[22] He was returned to Paphos on 12th May 1427, but he was no longer the same man. On top of the humiliation of defeat and captivity (it was said that 'after his capture he never laughed again'), he had to make substantial payments to the Sultan and acknowledge his suzerainty. [23] Janus' health was also failing and he relied upon his brother, Hugh, to take care of the kingdom for much of the time. He finally died of a stroke on 10th June 1432, after a year of paralysis.

There have been various suggestions about the date of compilation of J.II.9. It had been previously speculated that the manuscript was compiled during Charlotte of Bourbon's lifetime by some of the people she brought with her. Hoppin commented that there was 'a sudden flowering of musical activity during the reign of King Janus',[24] yet, our only evidence of such a flowering is J.II.9 itself, and given the turmoil that marked the 1420s, we can only speculate as to what further evidence of musical activity may have been lost forever in the upheaval. There are documentary accounts that King Pierre I, Janus' uncle, had been fond of music and travelled Europe with a retinue of musicians, which I discuss this at greater length when I address connections between J.II.9 and the work of Machaut (pp. 258-63 below). Suffice to say, we cannot make generalisations about the musical activity on Cyprus, but the evidence we do have does link the extant corpus to Janus and Charlotte.

Andrée Simard conjectures that when the Mameluks sacked Nicosia and burnt down the palace, much of the musical heritage of the court may have been destroyed. [25] In such a circumstance there would have been great value in recovering work that otherwise would have been lost and as such the composer of the works, or someone intimately acquainted with them could have been called upon to recreate his compositions from memory. While Simard's suggestion is highly speculative, the troubles of Janus' reign do throw up significant questions about when the repertory was compiled, even if we can be comparatively certain about when some of the pieces are likely to have been composed. If J.II.9 had been compiled during Charlotte's life, then it would indeed have been a lucky thing for it to have escaped the

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[22] Hill, ibid., vol. ii, p. 486.

[23] Makhairas, ibid., p. 679.

[24] Richard Hoppin, 'Cyprus: Medieval Polyphony', in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols, (London: Macmillan, 2001).

[25] Andrée Simard, 'The Manuscript Torino J.II.9: A Late Medieval Perspective on Musical Life and Culture at the Court of the Lusignan Kings at Nicosia', unpubd. Masters thesis, University of Akron, 2005, p. 73.

pillaging and burning of the palace (although it could have been part of the treasure taken to Kerynia) or any subsequent financial penalties that were imposed on Janus by his enemies. In the period following Charlotte's death and also the Mameluk invasion, the court would likely have been too impoverished to support such lavish activities as manuscript production. Simard notes that there would have been pressure to find a husband for Anne. Alliances were not just founded on political and strategic expediency, but upon cultural merit too, so the Cypriot court's ability to demonstrate its artistic credentials was almost as important as any military advantage that could be gained. Thus the manuscript could have been produced in a flurry of activity in the early 1430s, with a specific function as part of Anne's dowry. Indeed the significant placement in the codex of the office for her namesake, St. Anne, would seem to suggest that at the very least it is more appropriate to link it with her than any of the other prominent royal persons of Cyprus at that time.

That J.II.9 was compiled in a relatively short space of time is generally agreed, based on the internal coherence and consistency of the artefact. Evidence points to there being only a few scribes who worked on the manuscript, with the music and text scribes working closely together, possibly under the supervision of the composer. The speculation about the apparently small and intensely collaborative group who worked on the codex has lead Widaman, Wathey and Leech-Wilkinson to conclude that it may indeed have been produced on Cyprus, since an island community would provide the kind of cloistered environment that might engender such production.[26]

However, this very coherence of the manuscript's production and format, its sumptuous quality, and its putative swift compilation have led Kügle to suggest an alternative. He reasons that it may have been put together in Savoy after 1433, when Anne of Lusignan arrived, as a retrospective collection of the music of the court of Cyprus.[27] I agree that Kügle's proposed copying date for the manuscript seems plausible. Although the idea that it was compiled as part of Anne of Lusignan's dowry is tempting, historical evidence shows that Cyprus was impoverished at the time; indeed there was extensive haggling carried out in relation to the dowry. The Savoyard ambassadors who arrived on the island to finalise the marriage contract

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[26] Jean Widaman, Andrew Wathey, and Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'The Structure and Copying of Torino J.II.9' in Günther and Finscher, *The Cypriot-French Repertory*, p. 105.

[27] Kügle, 'The Repertory', pp. 174-5.

and ascertain the suitability of the proposed bride, produced a detailed report of their business there, and, as Isabella Data relates, what 'emerges from this report is the indolence and guile of the Cypriot court'.[28] Apparently the Cypriots were delaying the proceedings in order to negotiate a lower advance on the dowry.

Anne's new father-in-law, Duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy, was described as being 'among the most avid bibliophiles of his age as well as an extremely pious man, who was particularly fond of his *de luxe* codices of devotional content'.[29] As we have seen, the manuscript opens with the offices of St Hilarion and St Anne, followed by the mass settings and then the motets, of which nearly all are sacred. The aim Kügle believes was 'to showcase the spiritual aspects of Lusignan patronage',[30] something surely intended to impress Amadeus, whose religious devotion was well known. Indeed, Amadeus later retired to a monastery and was ultimately elected as the schismatic Pope Felix V in 1439.

In addition to its possible function as something to excite the interest and admiration of Amadeus, the codex could also have served as a *miroir des princes* for the young Anne in her new role. She and Louis soon had to take on management of the affairs of the duchy as Amadeus committed himself to the contemplative life less than a year after their marriage. The austerity of the masses and sacred motets, which may be deemed to have instructional value, is followed by ballades, virelais and rondeaux in the courtly vein. The first fifteen ballades, however, as Kügle notes, still 'strike a more serious tone, extolling various virtues of the chivalrous code or warning against the dangers of courtly life, such as *Faus parler* or *mesdisans*'.[31]

It is possible, then, that J.II.9 may both have provided the Savoyard court with an impressive new repertory and served as an educational tool for Anne of Lusignan. Why its contents remained unica despite its presence at a prominent court on the continent has been addressed by Kügle who argues that 'the repertory of the volume would have been largely outdated around 1435', which might explain why there are no concordances: it would have been of little

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[28] Isabella Data, and Karl Kügle, *Il codice J.II.9 / The Codex J.II.9. Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria* (Lucca: LIM, 1999), p. 69.

[29] Kügle, 'The Repetory', p. 176.

[30] ibid., p. 154.

[31] ibid., p. 167.

interest outside Savoy.[32] Perhaps it provided a little piece of home for Anne's large entourage who came with her from the island. Her sizeable entourage would likely have lived like a miniature outpost of the Cypriot court, since the Cypriots were unpopular with their Savoyard counterparts, and the music of their homeland would have provided a powerful centre of identity. If the treatment of the music was largely inward facing, its interest to outsiders (and opportunities to hear it) may have been limited.

The discussion of the production and purposes of J.II.9 leads us to some further interesting considerations that impact on the discussion of citation and allusion in the motets. The manuscript's highly coherent and consistent organisation is evident in both the textual and musical construction of its contents. As I mentioned above, this has led many scholars to conclude that the manuscript bears witness to the work of one composer and furthermore, that this composer also oversaw the compilation process, a conclusion with which I am in agreement.

Leech-Wilkinson in particular postulates that the pieces are the work of a single individual, and that they are likely to have been written in a relatively short space of time, since they do not demonstrate a great deal of stylistic evolution.[33] He points out that this level of consistency is rare in medieval music: 'neither Machaut nor Landini nor Dufay has an output as unchanging as this. In their case that is partly because their surviving music is written over a lifetime, but also, presumably, because pieces may be written for different functions'.[34] By comparing various of the virelais, rondeaux and ballades, Leech-Wilkinson gives examples of the re-use of melodic material, rhythmic formulations, cadences and accompaniment. He proposes that this may indicate a composer working under time constraints: 'We seem then to be looking at a composer producing music to order, and for a patron happy to buy by the metre as it were.'[35]

I am not convinced that the lack of evolution in the style of J.II.9's pieces necessarily proves that they were written in a short space of time, although I would agree that we are probably looking at the work of one composer. As we have seen, some of the music can be dated with

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[32] Kügle, 'The Repertory', p. 176.

[33] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'The Cyprus Songs' in Günther and Finscher, *The Cypriot-French Repertory*, pp. 395-431.

[34] Leech-Wilkinson, ibid., p. 406.

[35] ibid., p. 407.

a degree of certainty to between 1414 and 1419, and yet circumstances seem to point to the compilation occurring around 1433. It is hard to imagine, even with the troubles that beset the island, that the composer of J.II.9's contents was doing nothing in the way of compositional activity in the interim. That there is similarity and consistency in the musical style may rather have to do with the relative isolation of Cyprus, which did not receive a great number of the kind of diplomatic visits that would have necessitated ceremonial motets and similar compositions; a composer well versed in the musical language of the continent would thus have been free to pursue and reiterate his own stylistic preferences, but would not have had the opportunities to respond to the work of others, often the essential spur to innovation and development. [36]

I suggest further that the composer's consistency of style can be related to consistency in the manuscript's ordering of contents. For not only is the manuscript beautifully and carefully constructed, with very little scribal error and arranged according to genre, it also shows, as Kügle has discussed, some interesting symmetry of organisation that points to a carefully pre-planned design; it seems possible that this was the initiative of a single person. In particular, the seven Gloria/Credo pairs 'were carefully arranged in a pattern of axial symmetry based on the number of text carrying voices'.[37] Kügle likens this to the hierarchical organisation that can be seen in *Ivrea*. Furthermore, he observes axial symmetry in the organisation of the motets. The motets are arranged in a *de tempore* cycle (those for specific liturgical occasions) followed by a *de sanctis* cycle (those dedicated to particular saints) followed by a further *de tempore* cycle. Kügle's interpretation may seem rather tenuous; indeed there is a further group of motets after these three, undermining the perceived symmetry; moreover, the first group contains two motets whose focus is the Blessed Virgin Mary rather than temporal moments in the liturgy. Despite these apparently deviations from an overall pattern, Kügle's supposition is persuasive, and I concur that symmetrical design forms a deliberate element in the manuscript's structure. Indeed the fourth group of motets, which contain the vernacular devotions to the Virgin, could be perceived as the axis between the devotional material in Latin and the secular material in French.

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[36] Kügle, 'The Repertory', p. 160.

[37] ibid., p. 155.

There are further reasons to see symmetry of organisation as an important aspect of J.II.9, for the motets themselves contain a great deal of symmetry in their compositional structure. Example 1 below demonstrates some of the numerous and varied ways in which the composer chose to employ symmetry (the annotations are explained in the subsequent discussion).

In motet 19, *Nous devons tresfort/Certes mout fu*, we can see a great deal of axial symmetry in the rhythmic construction. These moments are highlighted in the score by the orange boxes. Looking at any one of these sections of rhythm, we can see that there is reflective symmetry around the mid-point. For example, in the triplum in bars 8-9, the point of symmetry falls on the note g, such that the rhythm after this note is a mirror image of that which comes before it. Rhythmic mirroring also occurs between the triplum and the motetus. For example in bars 22-25, the motetus and the triplum both display an eight-note rhythm that has axial symmetry, but create even more reflective interest because the motetus copies the rhythm of the triplum exactly, but follows it one note behind. Such moments of mirroring between the two upper voices are marked with blue boxes. Yet another kind of rhythmic reflection is marked out in the score by red boxes; as we can see in these instances, the motetus effectively turns the rhythm of the triplum inside-out. See bar 45, for example, where, to use modern notational terminology, the triplum has crotchet, quaver, quaver, crotchet as its rhythm, and the motetus has quaver, crotchet, crotchet, quaver. In bar 49, there is a similar occurrence, but with the aforementioned rhythmic pattern reversed in both voices.

19. Nous devons tresfort/Certes mout fu

gier_____ raim - pli_____ de_ main - te_____

mais - tri - e, En_____ qui_ tout_____ bien_

_ flour. Ben_____ la fist dieu de_ per - fai - te_ dou - cour,

_ a - bi- ter_____ Vost, pour tou - tes a - dres - sier,

Quant li don - na_____ si sou-ve-rain-ne gra - ce,

Sans_____ faus - ser,_____ Les

Pour_ con-for - ter et os - ter de do - - lour Les

fleurs_____ qui,_____ par_ ma - la - di -

fleurs per - du - es per leur grant des - gra - - -

- - - - e

-ce. Veuil - lent de cuer tou - tes, dont,

A - voi - ent per - du la vi - - - e

— ho - nou - rer La rose, en qui maint tout ho -

Per l'en - vi - e De ce - lui qui sans ces - ser Ne fait

neur et pris Et qui les peut dou - ce - ment con - -

au - tre qu'en pec - cher, En - - com

In addition to the symmetrical rhythms which are so abundant in this motet, there is also a good deal of melodic symmetry. I have highlighted with green boxes a number of moments where reflective symmetry around an axis can be witnessed in the melody. In bars 4-6 and 19-20 of the triplum, this takes the form of a short scale that rises, then falls, while in 64-66 of the triplum and 76-78 of the motetus, there is a pattern of intervals radiating from around the central note. There are also moments of canonic repetition (marked in yellow), for example in bars 34-36, where there is a descending motif in the triplum. The similar range and tessitura of the two upper voices allow for various forms of melodic mirroring and repetition. In bar 79 the triplum has a short three-note ascending phrase which is copied exactly by the motetus a bar later. Bars 88-91 are a veritable master class in symmetry. In addition to the axial rhythmic symmetry in both voices, and the rhythmic repetition of the motetus one note behind the triplum, there is a close melodic interplay, too. The first two notes of the triplum, g and b-flat, are sounded in reverse by the motetus. In bar 89, when the triplum ascends a three-note scale, the motetus answers a note later with a descent of three notes. A variation of this interplay between the two voices can also be witnessed in bars 94-96 (these kinds of melodic interplay are marked in dark blue).

The tenor and the contratenor do not abstain from joining the game of symmetry, and I have highlighted some moments of axial symmetry, both rhythmic and melodic. In addition to this, the contratenor displays its own form of repetition. It frequently has descending scales of four notes, or on occasion three or five (indicated by purple boxes).

Motet 19 is by no means alone in its employment of such a variety of rhythmic and melodic imitation and interplay. The other motets in J.II.9 also demonstrate the various uses of symmetry that I have described. Kügle notes that two motets, *Incessanter/Virtutis* and *Personet/Consonet*, even employ symmetrical talea structures: 'one or several diminution sections are followed by repeats of the preceding versions of the *talea*, a device otherwise unknown in the late medieval motet tradition'.[38] It seems, then, that this was a favoured stylistic tool of our composer. One might even speculate that he amplified his use of reflective techniques, both in the individual pieces and in the manuscript's compilation, because if it was intended as a *miroir des princes* for Anne, the structures of the compositions created a punning allusion to the manuscript's function. However, even if the compilatory features of the manuscript were conceived with such a function in mind, it would not necessarily explain the choice of symmetry in many of the compositions. As was discussed above, a number of the motets make reference to King Janus, suggesting that they may have been composed around the point of his reign when he married Charlotte, or when their children were born. This was naturally a long time before the marriage of his daughter Anne, so some of the pieces demonstrating symmetrical and imitatory features could not have been composed specifically with the function of a *miroir des princes* for her in mind. Rather, what can be stated with greater assuredness is that our composer enjoyed creating music using these structural themes, or at minimum that such devices were popular in the music of the Cypriot court.

This discussion of the symmetrical structure may seem somewhat removed from my main focus in this study, citation and allusion. Yet I argue that the ideas are intimately connected. In a broad sense, the act of citing or alluding to another work is a form of mirroring, and we shall see how the composer of J.II.9 mirrored the central poetic traditions of the fourteenth century, by using Marian devotional lyrics and by alluding to the *Roman de la Rose*. Yet, the citational mirroring is also more specific. In addition to the other uses of mirroring and symmetry that have been described, there is much call and response between the texts. Similar

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[38] Kügle, 'The Repertory', p. 173.

vocabulary and themes are used. For instance there are two motets which borrow from Psalm 42, echoing its imagery of a hart panting for water (an allegory for desiring to be in the presence of God). These I shall discuss further below.

Annominatio is a device that seems to have held a particular interest for J.II.9's poet-composer. As Daniel O'Sullivan has shown, it was an important rhetorical device in Marian lyrics and also demonstrates the poetic virtuosity of the writer.[39] Homonyms were used to pun on or amplify the meaning of words. In Ballade 10, for instance, we witness a form of *annominatio*, where the composer used the techniques of *rime fratrisée* or *enchaînée*, in which the last word of a line is repeated at the beginning of the next line, and *rime entrelacée*, where only part of the last word of a line is repeated in the next. The repetitions are underlined in B10, below. At times these repetitions are a transformation from the noun (e.g. 'atrait', line 1), to an identically spelled verbal conjugation ('atrait', line 2), at others one word is separated to become two (e.g. 'detrait' becomes 'de trait').

Ballade 10, first stanza

Le doulz parler, par gracieux <u>atrait</u>,
<u>Atrait</u> ver lui maint houme sans <u>retraire</u>.
<u>Retraire</u> on peut que moult souvent <u>detrait</u>
<u>De trait</u> le sent cil qui s'en voit <u>detraire</u>.
<u>De traire</u> fort ne cesse a qui du <u>traire</u>
<u>Traire</u> ne scet son corps, qui sans nul <u>pris</u>
<u>Pris</u> ester peut, et mis en grant despris.

Sweet talk, by gracious attraction, draws many men to himself and gives them no way out. He who can escape is most often a slanderer; he who sees himself slandered feels up in arms. He never stops trying to drag himself away from [sweet talk] the one who ensnares him; he doesn't know how to drag his body away, which, worthless, can be taken and cast into great contempt.

Ballade 52 is a more typical example of *annominatio*, with the rhyme scheme being the locus of the repetitions based on 'pris(e)'. In this example the reiterations serve to heighten the sense of the poet's captivity at the hands of Love, and thus emphasise the suffering that leads to his 'bitter tears'.

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[39] Daniel O'Sullivan, *Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century French Lyric* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), pp. 18-19, 23-4, 26-7, 93, 100-1, 103-5, 112-13.

Ballade 52

Je sens tout mon ceur <u>espris</u>
D'amours qui par dure <u>emprize</u>
Long temps a qu'il me tient <u>pris</u>;
Dont ai moult bien l'art et <u>prize</u>
De souffrir fure <u>reprise</u>,
Puis que celle que j'aour
Me laist fenir d'amer plour.

Si ne scai qu'aye <u>mespris</u>
Vers celle qui me <u>desprise</u>,
Car tout mon tens par tout <u>pris</u>
Ai quidé qu'elle me <u>prise</u>;
Mais a la fin avoir <u>prise</u>
L'a navré, sans qui tout jour
Me laist fenir d'amer plour.

Et sui bien moult fort <u>souspris</u>
Pour que ma volenté <u>esprise</u>
Ai d'estre son humble <u>pris</u>,
Dont elle est tresfort <u>reprise</u>
Qu'elle, pourquoy j'ai <u>emprise</u>
Leaulté, que par furour
Me laist fenir d'amer plour.

I feel my whole heart encaptured by love, who for a long time by harsh sway has held me prisoner; as such I have very much the ability and worth to suffer great blame, since she that I adore leaves me to die of bitter tears.

Indeed I do not know if I have wronged her who despises me, because all that time and at all costs, I had thought that she valued me; but, in the end winning her has wounded her, alone every day she leaves me to die of bitter tears.

And I am very greatly surprised, such that I have ensnared my will to be her humble captive, for which she is very much to blame, for which reason I act with loyalty, and she in madness leaves me to die of bitter tears.

Rondeau 37 makes light-hearted use of *annominatio*, punning on the similar sound of 'maintieng' - meaning 'manner', 'maintendray' – 'I will maintain', 'main teing' – 'holds [the] hand', and 'main' – 'morning'.

Rondeau 37

En tout tres amoureus <u>maintieng</u>
Nuit et jour je me <u>maintendray</u>.
Coume celui qui la <u>main tieng</u>
En tout tres amoureus <u>maintieng</u>
Pour quoy di et si le <u>maintieng</u>,
Puisqu'a ce soir et <u>main tendray</u>:
En tout tres amoureus <u>maintieng</u>
Nuit et jour je me <u>maintendray</u>.

Day and night I will maintain myself in all very amorous conduct. Just as the one who holds my hand in all very amorous conduct, for which reason I say and indeed I affirm it, since in the evening and morning I will hold to it: Day and night I will maintain myself in all very amorous conduct.

In addition to the kinds of continuity and symmetry generated by the poet-composer's love of *annominatio*, reflection was created within the manuscript by his reiteration of certain ideas and themes. This is apparent from glancing through a list of the incipits. Like Machaut, J.II.9's composer appears to have enjoyed revisiting themes and delighting his reader with new versions and interpretations of them. In Rondeau 6 and Ballade 15 below, for instance, he explored the idea of love without loyalty. In both cases, and in a manner appropriate to a volume whose aim is likely to be didactic as much as diverting, he emphasised that one who does not love loyally cannot gain much from his false behaviour. The middle section of both texts (with dashed underlining) highlights, by contrast, the pleasures of true love. In the ballade, our writer used the greater scope of the form to continue his thoughts about true love, whereas in the rondeau, with its circular form, he returned to his refrain's original musing that the disloyal lover had better to part from such a love, since he can but poorly partake of love's benefits.

FIGURE 1: Comparison of Rondeau 6 and Ballade 15

Rondeau 6	**Ballade 15**

Qui cuide amer sans loiauté avoir
Peut povrement aus biens d'amours partir;

Mieus ly seroit de celle amor partir
Qui n'est amour, ains est droit **dessevoir**.

Et non aler aprés son **mal voloir**;
Pour quoi j'ai dit par avant sans mentir:

Qui cuide amer sans loiauté avoir
Peut povrement aus biens d'amours partir;

Que tout amant tres loial main et soir
En prent assés a son tres bon plaisir,

A son bon gré et celon son desir,
Le quel toustans refferir peut, par voir:

Qui cuide amer sans **loiauté** avoir
Peut povrement aus **biens** d'amours partir;

Mieus ly seroit de celle amor partir
Qui n'est amour, ains est **droit dessevoir**.

Qui cuide amer sans loiauté avoir
Ne s'en tremet que d'unne grant folie,
Car fainte amours n'en est qu'un **dessevoir**,
Ou tout **mal** est et toute felonnie.
Il n'est amant qui meinne celle vie
Ains plein d'engien et tout vuit de bonté,
Fondé sur mal et sur desloiauté.

Car vraie amour est un tres bon **voloir**
Qui a l'amant vient d'unne bonne envie
Pour toustans faire, a son loial pooir,
Chose qui soit aus bons plaisant et lie;
Ce que ne fait celui qui se ralie
Aveuc faus tour de cuer et volenté
Fondé sur mal et sur desloiauté.

Pour quoi, qui veut de tres grans **biens** avoir
Qu'Amours aus siens, par sa grant courtoisie,
Donne souvent, certes, sans **dessevoir**,
Use envers tous **loiauté**, et ly die:
Tout mon vivant serés ma **droite** amie,
Et ne serai jamais en verité
Fondé sur mal et sur desloiauté.

Translation of Rondeau 6
He who considers loving without having loyalty can but poorly partake of love's benefits. It would be better for him to part from that love, which is not love, but truly is deceit. And [it would be better for him] not to pursue his bad desire; because I have said just before, without lying: He who considers loving without having loyalty can but poorly partake of love's benefits; since all very loyal lovers take enough of it day and night for his very good pleasure, to his liking and according to his desire, which always can restore, truly. He who considers loving without having loyalty can but poorly partake of love's benefits. It would be better for him to part from that love, which is not love, but truly is deceit.

Translation of Ballade 15
He who considers loving without having loyalty only creates from it a great madness, because feigned love is nothing but a deceit, in which resides all badness and all treachery. He is not a lover who leads such a life, so full of artifice and completely void of goodness, founded on evil and disloyalty.

For true love is a very good desire, which comes to the lover from a good urge to always do, by his loyal ability, things which would be to the pleasant and joyful good. He does not do these things who diverts himself with false intention of heart and will, founded on evil and disloyalty.

For that reason, whoever wants to have the very great benefits that Love, by his great courtesy, often gives to his own, certainly, he should, without deceit, behave with loyalty towards all and say to them: all my life I serve my true love and will in truth never be founded on evil and disloyalty.

Before continuing with the discussion of citation and allusion in J.II.9, it is worth pausing to consider who this writer, who was so driven by symmetrical intricacies, may have been. Historical records provide us with circumstantial evidence that may suggest a name for this composer. When Charlotte of Bourbon arrived on Cyprus, she brought with her in her retinue two people who could potentially be singled out as composers, and who have excited speculation among scholars studying J.II.9: John Canel and Gillet Veliout. It has been suggested that the latter could be identified with the Gilet Velut whose compositions can be found in a number of European manuscripts.[40] John Canel is suspected by several commentators to be the Jean Hanelle who had been a *petit vicaire* at Cambrai cathedral along with Velut. Velut is thought to have died in one of the several plague outbreaks on Cyprus, or to have left the service of Charlotte to compose on the mainland. In either case, we do not have any definite dates relating to his life after his purported arrival with Charlotte. Hanelle, in contrast, is recorded as present in Savoy, under the title of Master of the Royal Chapel of the King of Cyprus, in 1436, and could feasibly have arrived there in the retinue of Charlotte's daughter, Anne.[41]

Kügle finds the identification of Hanelle and Velut as potential originators of J.II.9 highly plausible and notes that their presence at Cambrai would place them strongly in the French tradition. A Vatican record shows Hanelle being proposed as *scribendaria* for Nicosia cathedral in 1428, while Savoy records from 1434 located him in Savoy but described him as the master of the chapel of the King of Cyprus.[42] Furthermore, Kügle has observed some peculiarities of J.II.9's music that provide a further point of contact with Cambrai. He points out that the fourth Gloria/Credo pair in J.II.9, which is texted only in the upper voice in the main, is texted in all three voices for the final 'Amen', an unusual feature also found in a Credo linked with Cambrai cathedral. The fifth Gloria/Credo pair makes noteworthy use of a Christological trope: 'the only other surviving Credo with Christological undertones in the French tradition of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century is the setting *Patrem ab eterno/Patrem omnipotentem/Talis est*, transmitted on fols. 9ᵛ-10ʳ of the fourteenth-century Cambrai fragments'.[43] This link between the Cypriot-French repertory and Continental traditions, besides hinting at a possible composer, brings us neatly to the discussion of citation and allusion.

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[40] *GB-Ob Can.misc.213, I-Bc Q15* and *I-TRmp87*.

[41] Kügle, 'The Repertory', p. 170.

[42] ibid.

[43] ibid., p. 156.

CITATION AND ALLUSION IN MANUSCRIPT TORINO, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE J.II.9

The repertory contained in Manuscript Torino J.II.9 is rich in connections to the mainstream French literature and poetry of the fourteenth century. Hoppin sums this up as follows:

> As in Machaut, Deschamps, Oton de Grandson and *Les Cents Ballades*, we find references to Jason and Medea, to Pygmalion and to Oedipus; the key words *loyalty* and *service* appear again and again; Fortune is fickle; but the *dame d'onnour* possesses the usual *douce biauté: beau vis, gente figure, noble atour, viaire gent, atrait gracieus et gent corps amoureus*. Such phrases as *Doulz Parler* and *Faus Semblant* attest to the continued influence of the *Roman de la Rose*, as do the references to the Rose itself.[44]

A number of links between the work of Machaut and the Cypriot repertory have already been noted by scholars. Probably the most striking link is that between rondeau 42, *Amour me tient en sa douce prison* and Machaut's rondeau *Tant doucement me sens emprisonnés*, which was detected by Hoppin.[45] Rondeau 42 employs the same rhyme scheme and for the most part the same rhyme words as the Machaut rondeau. It appears that this was a clear case of modelling, especially since the first two rhyme words are inverted, giving a sense of deliberate reworking of Machaut's text. Machaut's rondeau enjoyed a wider circulation than some of his other works, making it all the more likely that it provided a model for rondeau 42.[46]

J.II.9 Rondeau 42	**Machaut Rondeau 9**
Amour me tient en sa **douce prison**	Tant doucement me sens **emprisonnés**
Tres liement et soef **enprisonné**.	Qu'onques amans n'ot si **douce prison**
Coume son tres obeissant prison,	Jamais ne quier estre desprisonnes,
Amour me tient en sa **douce prison**	Tant doucement me sens **emprisonnés**
D'une veuil point partir, que mout prise on	Car tous biens m'est en ceste **prison néz**
Com ce je fusse en celle **prison né**.	Que dame puet donner sans mesprison.
Amour me tient en sa **douce prison**	Tant doucement me sens **emprisonnés**
Tres liement et soef **enprisonné**.	Qu'onques amans n'ot si **douce prison**.

Rondeau 42 translation
Love holds me in his sweet prison very joyfully and gently imprisoned. As his very obedient prisoner love holds me in his sweet prison from which I do not want to leave, since I have been so ensnared it is as if I were born in that prison. Love holds me in his sweet prison very joyfully and gently imprisoned.

Machaut rondeau 9 translation
So sweetly I feel myself imprisoned that never has a lover had such a sweet prison. Never do I seek to be released, so sweetly I feel myself imprisoned, because all the good things that a lady can give without

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[44] Hoppin, 'The Cypriot-French Repertory', pp. 94-5.

[45] Richard Hoppin, *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9*, vol. iv (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1960-3).

[46] See Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (London: Garland, 1995), pp. 379-80.

debasement have been born to me in that prison. So sweetly I feel myself imprisoned that never has a lover had such a sweet prison.

Rondeau 42 also makes use of *annominatio* in a manner that recalls ballade 52, *Je sens tout mon cœur espris*, discussed above, since it plays on the syllable 'pris'. Perhaps Machaut's rondeau was also an inspiration for this J.II.9 ballade.

If Jean Hanelle was the composer, then his presence in mainland France might well have put him in contact with the work of Machaut. However, there is also good reason to suppose that Machaut's oeuvre may have reached the Cypriot court during the reign of Pierre I. In his *La Prise d'Alexandre*, the narrative poem written close to the end of his life, Machaut described the extended fund-raising tour throughout Europe of Pierre I of Cyprus, and his subsequent campaign against Alexandria. Pierre visited Reims and Paris, and attended amongst other illustrious events the coronation of Charles V, in May 1364. It seems very likely that it was around this time that he met Machaut. R. Barton Palmer speculates that Machaut may have accompanied Pierre on his journey through Eastern Europe, since Machaut gives a very detailed description of that part of the King's tour.[47] It is also probable that the lover represented in Machaut's *Dit de la Marguerite* was intended to recall Pierre of Cyprus.[48]

Palmer proposes a further point of contact between the King and Machaut. Before travelling to Reims and Paris, Pierre visited the papal court at Avignon, a renowned centre of artistic endeavour, and may have engaged his own troupe of musicians from Northern France around this time. Certainly there is reference to Pierre having a group of musicians in his employ, since Charles V rewarded them with eighty golden francs when Pierre was in Paris. Palmer suggests that Machaut may have been commissioned to write some music for Pierre.[49] However their paths may have crossed, it is clear from the *Prise* that the association between Machaut and Pierre was significant. The *Prise* was written after the King's assassination, and given the inclusion of details of the battle at Alexandria it is likely that it was commissioned by knights who had accompanied Pierre on his crusade. Nonetheless, Machaut's glowing account of Pierre seems to go beyond the generic plaudits of a composition by a composer merely fulfilling a client's requirements, and intimates a possible personal connection. It is possible, then, that Pierre or his musicians brought back

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[47] Guillaume de Machaut, *La Prise d'Alixandre*, ed. and trans. R. Barton Palmer (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 8.

[48] See ibid., p. 9.

[49] ibid.

some examples of Machaut's writing to the court on Cyprus or wrote music themselves that was inspired by their contact with the work of Machaut or his contemporaries.

Kügle suggests that the ballade *Qui de Fortune atende asses avoir* (B35) alludes to Machaut's M8:[50]

J.II.9 Ballade 35	**Machaut M8 (triplum)**

| **Qui de Fortune** atende as<u>ses</u> avoir | **Qui** es prom<u>esses</u> |
| Et de ses dons aulcunement **se fie** | **de Fortune se fie** |

Ballade 35 translation
Whoever waits to have enough from Fortune, or has faith in any of her gifts...

Machaut M8 translation
Whoever has faith in the promises of Fortune...

The words in bold show a strong correspondence here, while 'asses' additionally generates a sibilant and visual resonance with 'promesses' and 'richesses' (also used later in M8's triplum). It is worth noting that the very similar line 'Qui de Fortune se fie' occurs in Ballade 1 in J.II.9. This could, therefore, represent an example of the composer having drawn inspiration from an outside source, and revisited it within his own corpus. Ballade 1 contrasts those who are foolish enough to trust in Fortune with those men of understanding who know that there is no stability to be found in her. Ballade 35 similarly warns that only bitter torment can come from putting faith in Fortune. Both lyrics have an admonitory tone that evokes the sombre attitude of Machaut's piece, which warns the listener that Fortune is little more than filth with a rich covering. Another Cypriot ballade, *Quiconques veult user joieuse vie*, (B27) also warns against fickle Fortune using similar language to B1, B35 and the Machaut M8 triplum:

> Quiconques veult user joieuse vie
>
> En nulle rien **de Fortune ne se fie**

> Whosoever wishes to lead a joyous life in no way should put his faith in Fortune.

Concern about the capricious nature of Fortune is a common trope in medieval literature,[51] but the similarity of the formulations in each ballade suggest that the Cypriot composer may have been familiar with Machaut's M8, and revisited ideas within his own corpus.

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[50] Kügle, 'The Repertory', p. 169.

[51] For the classical origins of the metaphor of Fortune's wheel, which is used to symbolise her inconstancy, see David M. Robinson, 'The Wheel of Fortune', *Classical Philology*, 41/4 (1946), 207-216. See also

Kügle also draws comparison between Machaut's virelai *Plus dure que un dyamant* and ballade 84, which contains the line 'Qui bien servit plus dur qu'un diamant'. The line is unusual enough to warrant the comparison. I have, so far, found nothing similar in any other texts, and the line forms the incipit of the Machaut virelai, making its reuse all the more prominent.

Agostino Ziino remarks on a possible link between Ballade 8, *En amer tres loyaument* and Machaut's *En amer a douce vie*:[52]

J.II.9 Ballade 8	**Machaut B41**
En amer tres loyaument,	**En amer** a **douce vie**
Purement	Et jolie,
Et sans penser vilonnie,	Qui bien la scet maintenir,
Mis ay mon ceur doulcement,	Car tant plaist la maladie,
Droitement,	Quant Norrie
Et metrai se ne devie.	Est en amoureus desir
Car **en amer douce veie**,	Que l'amant fait esbaudir
Gente et lie,	Et querir
Pour cheulz ha qui vraiement	Comment elle monteplie.
Fuir veulent trescherie,	C'est dous maus a soustenir,
Et folie,	Qu'esjoir
En vivant honnestement.	*Fait cuer d'ami et d'amie;*

J.II.9 Ballade 8
I have sweetly and rightly given my heart to loving very loyally and purely, with no base thought, and I will give it steadfastly. Because in loving there is a sweet, courteous and joyful life for those who truly wish to flee from deceit and foolishness, in living honestly.

Machaut B41
He who knows how to maintain it has a sweet and pleasant life in loving. For this illness is so pleasing when it is nourished by amorous desire, that it causes the lover to rejoice and to find out how it [the illness] progesses. It is a sweet ill to bear, because it gives joy to the heart of the lover and lady.

While there are no textual similarities beyond the first two words, the unusual metrical scheme is present in both, and I agree that the Cypriot B8 is likely to have been modelled on the Machaut ballade.

An intriguing cliché that occurs several times in J.II.9, and that may point to a connection with Machaut, is the 'sans penser...' ('without thinking of...') formulation. This phrase snippet, which has a particularly high occurrence rate in both Machaut's lyrics and in those of J.II.9, could be referred to as the 'think no evil' phrase since it is always followed by a word that indicates a negative train of thought. As shown in Chapter Two, Machaut paid

Zayaruznaya, 'Form and Idea' for a discussion of Fortune's capricious nature and the use of this trope in motets, pp. 184-95.

[52] Agostino Ziino, 'On the Poetic and Musical Form of Six Ballades of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9' in Günther and Ludwig Finscher, *The Cypriot-French Repertory*, p. 381.

notable attention to ideas of thought and remembrance. In particular he emphasised the remembrance of one's lover when they are far away; this memorial act tends even to supersede the importance of the lover's presence. The 'sans penser...' formulation is a logical extension of the mental discipline of the true lover: he should not only be nourished by the mere thought of his lady, but must also do so without thinking any base or villainous thoughts. This style of phrase formulation appears in J.II.9's ballades 8, 33, 54 (in the refrain), 57, 69, 87, 90 and virelai 5. It is followed by either 'vilonnie' (four times), 'otrage' (twice, not including the refrain repetition), or 'laidure' (twice). This phrase in these variations, and several more besides, was not uncommon in French lyric poetry; it was employed by Froissart,[53] in an anonymous rondeau,[54] by Grimace[55] and in the Montpellier motets.[56] It appears, however, to have been a particularly popular turn of phrase with Machaut, which he deployed with a number of different endings: 'outrage',[57] deshonnour',[58] 'tricherie',[59] 'villenie',[60] 'mauvais signe',[61] 'laidure'. 'Sans penser laidure' was particularly commonly used, since it occurs as the incipit of one of his virelais (*J'aim sans penser laidure*), as part of the refrain of the virelais *Dame je vueil endurer* and *Dame, a qui*, and in the text of the ballade *Je di qu'il n'a en amours vraie et pure*.

It may, then, be significant that 'sans penser' is also prevalent in J.II.9. I have already mentioned that Ballade 8 may have been modelled on Machaut's *En amer*; it further contains the phrase 'sans penser vilonnie' in the third line. Ballades 33 and 54 use 'sans penser otrage/oultrage'. Ballade 87, *Ge veul loyaument amer*, through its similar incipit, is reminiscent of the Machaut-inspired Ballade 8, and contains 'sans penser laidure' in its

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[53] The rondeau-ballade entés *Vous me mettez en grant merancolie (sans penser folie)*.

[54] *Mon bel amy corteus e gratieux (sans penser point al jours)*.

[55] The ballade *Des que, buisson, me fu boutez d'enfance (sans penser vilanie* –refrain*)*.

[56] The motetus of *Pluseur dient/Cis a petit/Portare (sans penser aillours)*, the motetus of *Au tans nouvel/Chele m'a tollu/J'ai fait tout nouveletement (sans penser folour)*, the triplum of *Mout ai longuement/Li dous maus d'amer/Portare (sans penser folour)* and *Aucun ont trouvé chant/Lonc tans me sui/Annuntiates (sans penser trahison)* by Pierre de la Croix.

[57] The rondeau *Cuer, corps, pooir, desir, vie et usage*.

[58] The ballades *Seur tous amans me doy pleindre et loer*, *Plus qu'onques mais vous desir a veoir,* and *Gent corps, faitis, cointe, apert et joli*.

[59] The ballade *Amis, mon cuer et toute ma pensee*.

[60] The ballade *Gentil dame, douce, plaisant et sage*.

[61] The ballade *Dame, pour vous ma joie se define*.

second line. As I have suggested, the 'sans penser' cliché in all its incarnations was a somewhat popular turn of phrase in contemporary literature, though particularly common in the works of Machaut and in the French-Cypriot repertory. This could simply be the product of the stylistic influence of Machaut on the writer of J.II.9 (whether directly or through contact with the wider French repertory) who internalised his clichés and phraseology and reused them without being explicitly aware of their provenance. However, since the phrase was deployed in significant positions, such as in a refrain, near the beginning of a text, or in a piece apparently modelled on Machaut, I would propose that the phrase was used with intent. Indeed, by employing this phrase, the composer of J.II.9 may have been signalling his appreciation of Machaut's modes of thought and expression.

Machaut was of course not the only influence upon J.II.9's composer. Motet 12 (JM12) appears to be modelled on Vitry's *Impudenter cicuivi/Virtutibus laudabilis*. These two motet texts have an identical rhyme scheme and construction, with matching or highly similar words in several places.[62]

JM12 (triplum)	**Vitry: Impudenter cicuivi/Virtutibus laudabilis (triplum)**
Incessanter expectavi	Impudenter circuivi
Solem qui solus radiat	Solum quod mare terminat
Inconcusse peramavi	Indiscrete concupivi
Quidquid amat – sapiat.	Quodquod amor coinquinat,
Hic amor verus sit **amor**	**Hic amor** forsan nec **amor**
Quo **pro mercede** patior	Tunc **pro mercede** crucior
Ortus Christi meus **amor**	Aut amor nec in me **amor**
Quo potenter affitior	Tunc ingratus efficior.

JM12 translation

Endlessly I waited for the sun who shines upon the earth. Resolutely I loved greatly whatever he loves – may he know it. May this love be true love, by this reward I suffer, Christ's rising is my love, which I strongly confess.

Impudenter/Virtutibis translation

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.[63]

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[62] This link was first noticed by Hoppin, 'The Cypriot-French Repertory', pp. 98-9. Wathey uses this concordance to speculate about links between the Court of Cyprus and mainland Europe, 'European Politics and Musical Culture at the Court of Cyprus', in Günther and Finscher, *The Cypriot-French Repertory*, 33-54.

[63] Translation by Alexander Blachly from La Trobe University library medieval music database, <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/MMDB/composer/H0028011.htm> accessed 14th September 2011.

There are also a number of Marian tropes and acrostics to be found in the motets: the triplum of JM4 contains an acrostic based on the *Ave Maria*, while in the motetus the first word of each line recreates the *Ave Maria.* Hoppin notes a similarity between the construction of JM4's motetus and pieces in a fifteenth-century missal from Toul, and also between this motet and one preserved in the *prose O, Benedicta viscera – Ave Mater gratiae*, which, significantly names Gilet Velut, mentioned earlier, as a composer. Motet 1 of J.II.9 (JM1) is based on the liturgical Easter sequence, and motet 18 uses the *Sanctus* in a way that Hoppin believes is reminiscent of a motet setting in *Apt.* JM33 and JM34 are acrostics of *Deo gratias.*[64] JM7 mentions *Engadi* in its motetus, an allusion to the Song of Songs, and potentially also to Cyprus. As Hoppin explains, the particular biblical verse that contains that name Engaddi was mistranslated, mistakenly rendering the location of the biblical place in Cyprus. This confusion is compounded by the existence of an actual place called Engaddi on Cyprus.[65] The mistranslation was still persistent around the time of the writing of the codex, and therefore its use in motet 7 may be an intended reference to Cyprus.

The ballades contain a number of references to the *Roman de la Rose* which I shall discuss later, in tandem with M19. Ballade 5, *J'ai maintes fois oÿ conter*, has the refrain *Tant gratte chievre que mal gist*, which I have already discussed briefly in the Introductory Chapter as being a very popular formulation. It is recorded by Hassell as proverb C140, and Hoppin observes that it appeared in the thirteenth-century *Roman de Renart* and that in the late fifteenth century it is the incipit of a ballade by François Villon.[66] The earliest example I have found that is set to music appears in the Montpellier Codex, as the incipit to the motetus of Mo182 *Tant grate chievre/Tanquam*:

> **Tant grate chievre, que maugist**,
> Et tel chose a l'en en despit,
> Qui puis est mout regretee tendrement.
> etc.

(A goat will scratch so much that he is uncomfortable, and one scorns something which later is tenderly missed.)[67]

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[64] Hoppin, 'The Cypriot-French Repertory', pp. 99-100.

[65] Hoppin, *The Cypriot-French Repertory*, vol. ii, p. VIII.

[66] Hoppin, *The Cypriot-French Repertory*, vol. iii, p. XIX.

[67]Trans. Susan Stakel in Hans Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, vol. iv (Madison: A-R Editions, 1978), pp. 66-7.

Ballade 5 may not be limiting its use of borrowed material to proverb C140. Indeed its incipit, *J'ai maintes fois oÿ conter*, is reminiscent of the incipit of a virelai by Vaillant which is found in the *Chantilly* manuscript, *Par maintes foy ay oy recorder.*

CITATION AND ALLUSION IN THE MOTETS

CERTES MOUT FU/NOUS DEVONS TRESFORT AMER (JM19)

Of the forty-one motets found in J.II.9, only eight are in the vernacular. Of these eight, only two are entirely secular (numbers 39 and 40) and their triplum texts have been mostly erased, possibly in order to be replaced with Marian contrafacta. That of JM40 was still legible, but most of that of JM39 is lost. All of the vernacular texted motets are placed at the end of the motet section, except for JM19. Its position amongst the Latin texts seems a deliberate invitation to examine its ideas more closely, whilst at the same time asserting its devotional credentials. The Marian imagery is somewhat oblique – there is no direct reference to 'virge' or 'mere dieu' – but there is a strong suggestion of salvation, and it is clear that this is no love song in the courtly sense. The allegorical use of the rose and of the flowers was highly typical in Marian devotional lyrics; Daniel O'Sullivan describes the flower as 'the most traditional of Marian metaphors'.[68]

There is a sense, then, in which this motet is a typical devotional piece, notably in the imagery of salvation – the rose saves the other flowers from sickness in the motetus, and removes them from rejection and contempt in the triplum. In both cases the rose stands apart as an object of reverence, filled with goodness and perfect sweetness, in stark contrast to the other flowers who are lost ('perdues') or who through sickness have lost their life ('qui, par maladie, avoient perdu la vie). In the motetus the rose is able to 'rectify' the other flowers. 'Adresier' means to rectify or put straight, and also carries the connotation of literally standing something up again (e.g. flowers fallen on account of a storm, drought or disease). It also has moral overtones of getting back on the straight and narrow. It seems clear that the flowers are sinners to be saved. In the triplum the rose must have all by itself a stronger odour than all the other flowers in order to overcome the scent in the orchard. Again, this seems to be a powerful metaphor for the goodness and purity of the Virgin Mary, able to overcome the wicked deeds of many sinners.

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[68] Daniel E. O'Sullivan, *Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century French Lyric* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p. 37.

FIGURE 2: Texts and translations of *Certes mout fu/Nous devons tres fort amer*

JM19 Triplum

Certes mout fu de grant necessite
Qu'en la rose entrast si tres douce odour,
Pour rompre l'air qui tout avoit mate
Le biau vergier raimpli de mainte flour.
Ben la fist dieu de perfaite doucour,
Quant li donna si souverainne grace,
Pour conforter et oster de dolour
Les fleurs perdues per leur grant desgrace.
Veuillent de cuer toutes, dont, honourer
La rose, en qui maint tout honeur et pris
Et qui les peut doucement conforter
Et les oster de dangier et despris.
Car vraiement qui le voloir espris
Ha de la amer et prisier sans faintise,
Peut bien dire qu'il ha conben apris
Sa sauvete perfaitement aquise.

JM19 Motetus

Nous devons tres fort amer
Et prisier
La biaute dont est garnie
La rose bien colourie,
Par maistrise,
En qui tout bien abiter
Vost, pour toutes adresier,
Sans fausser,
Les fleurs qui, par maladie,
Avoient perdu la vie
Per l'envie
De celui qui sans cesser
Ne fait autre qu'enpeccher,
Encombrer
Et metre sans departie
En tout mal, par felonnie
Et folie,
Les fleurs qu'il voit prosperer.

Triplum Translation
Most certainly it was of great necessity that the rose was imbued with such a very sweet odour in order to overcome the air that had completely overpowered the beautiful orchard filled with many flowers. God created her with such perfect sweetness, when he gave her such sovereign grace to comfort and to remove pain from the flowers lost through their great disgrace. Therefore, they all want with their hearts to honour the rose, in whom resides all honour and worth and who can sweetly comfort them and remove them from danger and despair. For truly he who has a soul motivated to love and cherish without deception, can truly say how he has attained perfectly knowledge of his salvation.

Motetus Translation
We should love most strongly and value the beauty with which the well-coloured rose is artfully provided, in whom all goodness resides. Truly, set right all the flowers who, through sickness, have lost their life, on account of the jealousy of him who, unceasingly, through treachery and madness, does nothing but obstruct, and hinder and imprison for ever in evil the flowers which he sees thrive. [69]

The exhortation of the motetus incipit, *nous devons tresfort amer* ('we must love most strongly'), is a common rhetorical device of Marian devotional lyrics. While courtly love lyrics can also contain such encouragement to praise Love or a particular lady, the normative force of the verb 'devoir' is more often witnessed in religious praise, as the author seeks to admonish others to appropriate devotional behaviour and a godly life. For example, the incipit of the trouvère chanson 'on doit la mere Dieu honorer sans demorer'

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[69] My translations. I am grateful to Yolanda Plumley for suggesting improvements. Any errors are mine.

translates as 'one should honour the mother of God without delaying'.[70] In the devotional chanson *Or laissons ester*, the poet tells us that 'meillor fet chanter de la virge monde' ('it is better to sing of the pure virgin') and in *J'ai un cuer trop lent*, Thiebaut d'Amiens laments that 'je n'ai riens ou grant fiancé aïe' ('I have done nothing where I should have had great faith').[71]

The use of the rose, the flowers, the orchard, beauty and sweet scent means that this motet also has courtly resonances and were perhaps intended to evoke the *Roman de la Rose* or later lyrics that draw on the web of allusion that succeeded it. Furthermore, these verdant allusions may also be intended to bring to mind such intertexts as the story of the Garden of Eden in Genesis, and the wealth of troubadour poetry that situates amorous encounters in a pastoral setting.[72] References to the *Rose* and its intertexts seem to have been a particularly favoured reference for J.II.9's composer, since some further thirty-two of the ballades, virelais, rondeaux and vernacular motets in the manuscript contain similar imagery. Indeed, the triplum text seems to have a specific allusion to the point where the lover of the *Rose* first encounters the bloom that steals his heart:

> L'odor de lui entor s'espent:
> La souautume qui en ist
> Toute la place replenist (ll. 1665-7).

> The area around it was filled with its perfume, and the sweet scent that rose from it pervaded the whole place.[73]

Thus the allegory in the motet text of the rose's odour being a kind of moral force could well also be alluding to the overpowering sweetness of the bloom in the *Roman de la Rose*. This kind of hybridization of courtly and devotional material places this motet firmly in the mainstream French tradition of its era. Discussing thirteenth-century lyrics, O'Sullivan explains: 'old French Marian songs are, above all, hybrid texts in which forms and vocabularies common to more than one literary tradition are utilized'.[74] He insists, though, that devotional lyrics are not merely 'parasitic' on the secular. Rather, the exchange of

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[70] Marcia Jenneth Epstein, *'Prions en Chantant' The Devotional Songs of the Trouvères* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 126-7.

[71] Epstein, *'Prions en Chantant',* pp. 154-5, 162-3.

[72] See, for example, Gace Brulé's *A la douçor de la bele seson* (RS 1893), and the anonymous chansons *Au nouviau tens* (RS 1645), and *Or seux liés del dous termine* (RS 1386).

[73] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Frances Horgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 26.

[74] O'Sullivan, *Marian Devotion*, p. 4.

material is a two-way street with both courtly and religious texts evolving as a result of the interaction. By the early fifteenth century, the hybridized imagery was so ingrained as to need no additional reference to the Virgin or the Mother of God – the hybrid had become an accepted literary norm.

What is more unusual about M19 is its lack of direct reference to the Virgin Mary; it prefers to allude to her through metaphor. This, coupled with the motet's position in the codex, could be construed as a prompt to look closer. While the imagery, as has already been discussed, seems to be nothing out of the ordinary, the particular use of it in this context seems to be a little more unusual.

A subtle allusion to Cyprus's troubles may be concealed here: On several occasions during the reign of Janus, Cyprus found itself assailed by a plague of locusts. Machairas notes in his chronicle that 'from the tenth of June 1409 after Christ Cyprus suffered from a terrible plague and from (many) locusts: and these continued for three or four years, and destroyed all the green crops in the land and the trees; and in the year 1410 after Christ they did much damage in all the island…'[75] Isolated from mainland Europe and reliant upon trade by sea, Cyprus was continually in a precarious position and the islanders could ill afford for their precious crops to fail. The arrival of Charlotte of Bourbon seems to have coincided with a period in which the locust attacks began to subside. It coincided also, according to Machairas, with a period of general good fortune on the island and led to the belief that Charlotte herself was the source of this good luck:

> And on the twenty-fifth of August 1411 Brother Lesaure, Prior of Toulouse and Commander of the Hospital in Cyprus, and Sir Steven Pignol brought the maiden Charlotte de Bourbon from France, and she was married to King Janus on the twenty-fifth of August. And from the time of her coming the damage done by the locusts (began to) abate. And from that time much good befell Cyprus owing to the luck of the queen, a lady who brought good luck, as we have just said.[76]

For the next couple of years the locusts were less destructive. In 1411 they had destroyed the vines, the sugar crop, the orange and mulberry trees, as well as the olive and carob trees: all gardens, fields and orchards were laid bare. Even a priest, who went into the fields to curse the locusts, was allegedly killed by a swarm of them. After Charlotte's arrival

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[75] Makhairas, *Recital*, vol. i, p. 623.

[76] ibid.

things seemed to improve before 'God took them away from the island'[77] altogether, after further prayers and processions.

Is it possible that Charlotte's prowess as a bug-repellent was being celebrated in M19? The imagery of the flowers being saved by the rose (which has been shown already to represent a good and honourable female figure, just as in the *Roman de la Rose*) may suggest this was the case. With the difficulty that the destruction had caused for life on the island and the story of the priest being killed, the Cypriots may well have believed themselves to be forsaken by God. Charlotte's arrival, with the implied promise of heirs, after the King's first marriage had been annulled without issue, and the abating of the locust invasions, must have seemed like a blessing; therefore it would have been appropriate to celebrate this with a specially written motet. It was written in the vernacular with courtly tones and reference to the *Roman de la Rose*, possibly to please a young queen with a taste for music and literature. But it may also have been written as an allegory for religious salvation, to thank God and to ask for continued protection from the locusts.

It is this idea of the destruction of the flowers that leads me to suggest that this motet may contain an allusion to Cyprus. It is an unusual image in late-medieval lyrics. In *A l'arbre sec puis estre compare*, Johannes Suzoy compares himself to a tree without root:

> A l'arbre sec puis estre compare,
> Que n'a racine d'umour ne de sobstance;
> Ainsy me voyt de tel mal empire
> Que me decline par dolor, sans doubtance.
> Car tout aynsy com l'arbre pert le port
> De flour, de fruit et de toute vigour,
> Ay je perdu soulas, joye et deport
> Pour vous amer, douce dame d'onour.

I can be compared to the dry tree, which has root for neither water nor soil; thus I find myself in such a bad state that I am in decline from sadness, without doubt. Because, just as the tree loses the haven of the flower, the fruit and all strength, so have I lost consolation, joy and composure on account of loving you, sweet lady of honour.

In this case it is a metaphor for the pains of love. Guillaume de Machaut uses the image of an orchard in which everything has withered, save one rose, as a metaphor for bad fortune, in his ballade 31:

> De toutes flours n'avoit et de tous fruis
> En mon vergier fors une seule rose:
> Gastes estoit li seurplus et destruis
> Par Fortune qui durement s'oppose
> Contre ceste doulce flour
> Pour amatir sa colour et s'odour.

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[77] Makhairas, *Recital*, vol. i, p. 625.

Mais se cueillir la voy ou trebuchier.
Autre apres li ja mais avoir ne quier.

Mais vraiement ymaginer ne puis
Que la vertus, ou ma rose est enclose.
Viengne par toy et par tes faus conduis.
Ains est drois dons natureus; si suppose
Que tu n'avras ja vigour
D'amanrir son pris et sa valour.
Lay la moy donc, qu'ailleurs n'en mon vergier
Autre apres li ja mais avoir ne quier.

He! Fortune, qui es gouffres et puis
Pour engloutir tout homme qui croire ose.
Ta fausse loy, ou riens de biens ne truis
Ne de seur, trop est decevans chose;
Ton ris, ta joie, t'onnour
Ne sont que plour, tristesse et deshonnour.
Se ty faus tour font ma rose sechier.
Autre apres li ja mais avoir ne quier.

Of all flowers and all fruits there were none In my orchard except a single rose: The rest was laid waste and destroyed By Fortune who harshly makes war Against this sweet flower To crush its colour and perfume. But if I see it picked or fallen. After it I never seek to have another.

But truly I cannot imagine That the virtue which surrounds my rose Should come from you and by your false deeds. Rather it is a true gift of nature; and I believe That you will never have the strength To abase its value and worth. Leave it to me then, for elsewhere than in my orchard After it I never seek to have another.

Ah! Fortune, who are a gulf and pit To swallow up any man who dares believe Your false law, in which I find nothing good And nothing sure, is too deceptive a thing; Your smile, your joy, your honour Are only tears, sadness and dishonour. If your false turns make my rose wither. After it I never seek to have another.[78]

Neither Machaut nor Suzoy's poem uses the ideas of salvation or devotion. Nonetheless, both poems demonstrate the power of the metaphor, especially that of Machaut, which contains the image of one rose alone that can withstand the ravages of Fortune. The rose of JM19's motetus is reminiscent of that of Machaut's B31, since it is the only flower which does not sicken.

There is one devotional lyric with which we might draw comparison. This is Thibaut de Champagne's *Mauvez arbres ne puet florir*. The song plays on the extended metaphor of the bad fruit tree (i.e. the sinner) that does not bloom and bear fruit:

Mauvez arbres ne puet florir,
Ainz seche toz et va crolant;
Et hom qui n'aime, sanz mentir,

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[78] Translation Jennifer Garnham, LaTrobe Medieval Music Database
<http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/MMDB/composer/H0031031.HTM> accessed 30th April 2011.

> Ne porte fruit, ainz va morant.
> Fleur ne fruit de cointe semblant
> Porte cil en qui naist amors.
> En ce fruit a tant de valor
> Que nus ne.l porroit esligier,
> Que de toz maus puet allegier.
> Fruit de nature l'apele on;
> Or vos ai devisé son non.[79]

Bad trees cannot bloom, but dry up completely and become rickety. And the man who does not love, without a lie, does not bear fruit, but dies. The one in whom love is born, carries a flower or fruit of elegant appearance. In this fruit resides all worth that no one could compare, since it can alleviate all bad. The fruit of nature, one calls it, now you have worked out its name.

The sinner laments: 'God, if I could pick the ripe fruit of loving you...Through your sweet commandment give me the best lady to love; she is the precious flower through whom you came down here, and by whom the Devil is foiled'.[80]

> Dieus, se je pooie cueillir
> Dou fruit meür de vos amer,
> ...
> Par vostre douz commandement
> Me donez amer la meillor;
> Ce est la precïeuse flor
> Par qui vos venistes ça jus,
> Dont li Deablez est confus.[81]

Mary is the precious flower that saves the sinners from the bad orchard. O'Sullivan points out the ambiguous connotations of the orchard. The imagery is used often in devotional lyrics, but it is also 'the highly eroticized *locus amoenas* of secular song'.[82] The orchard resonates with the idea of Eden: the paradise from which we were banished and to which we desire to return; but it also represents more earthly desires, which stand between humanity and paradise. In JM19 the scent of the rose is able to overcome the others odours of the orchard. Hence the orchard is the locus of sin from which only the rose can save us. If we associate the rose with Charlotte of Bourbon, then the orchard that needs to be saved can also be interpreted as the troubled island of Cyprus, beset as it was by locusts, bouts of plague and frequent skirmishes with other kingdoms.

Yet, despite this interesting connection between JM19 and Thibaut's *Mauvez arbres*, there is nothing in the structure or the use of vocabulary that would suggest a deliberate

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[79] O'Sullivan, *Marian Devotion*, p. 141.

[80] O'Sullivan, ibid., p. 142.

[81] ibid.

[82] ibid., p. 41.

relationship. Given also the gap of over a century and a half between the two pieces, intentional allusion seems unlikely. It is more probable that familiar imagery was being drawn upon here, rather than Thibaut's poem being directly referenced.

Overall, the imagery of JM19 is unusual enough to reasonably invite speculation about an allusion to Charlotte of Bourbon and the locust troubles Cyprus suffered. There are other ballades, rondeaux and virelais in J.II.9 which share some of the wording of JM19. For example, Ballade 29 contains echoes of the triplum of JM19 in its first three lines:

> Amour en un **beau vergier**
> Me mena esbanoyer,
> Ou je trouvai **mainte flour**

The rest of the ballade continues in the usual courtly style, but it is clear that this imagery was of particular importance for the poet-composer of J.II.9. Ballade 45 contains further resonances with JM19 and B29, again in the opening three lines:

> En un **vergier** ou avoit **mainte flour**,
> Sur un rosier vi une fresce **rose**.
> Tres doulce estoit sa fasson et s'**oudour**

> In an orchard where there were many flowers, on a rose bush I saw a fresh rose. Its form and scent were very sweet.

These ballades use the ideas in a more standard way than JM19 and do not invite the same kind of interpretation, though they do show us the popularity of this motif in J.II.9.

Ballade 12 relates a little more strongly to M19. I have highlighted shared vocabulary in bold type and put a dashed underline beneath similar ideas (the refrain is italicized):

> En un **biau vergier** mon euil ha choisi
> Unne gente **fleur**, fresche et **colourie**.
> …un vent…
> La tres douce fleur destruist et secha,
> *De quoi tout* **maté** *mon cuer en laissa.*
>
> …
>
> **Raimpli** de doleur et de **maladie**
> …

> In a beautiful orchard my eye had chosen a noble flour, fresh and well-coloured

> …a gust of wind destroyed and dried-out the very sweet flower, because of which my heart fled, quite overcome…

> Full of sadness and sickness…

This ballade uses the idea of the flower which that lover has chosen being damaged and dried by a strong wind. It is perhaps more in the vein of Machaut's *De toutes flours* than

M19, since it is not Marian; the weather-ravaged flower seems rather to signify a fickle lover.

Another ballade that should be pointed out in relation to JM19 is B97. This is a Marian lyric very much in the courtly style. Mary is likened to the rose, and the ballade continues from there as a hymn of service.

> Sur toute **fleur** la **rose** est **colourie**
> Et voirement pleinne de toute **odeur**.
> Parollement est la vierge Marie
> De grace pleinne et de trestoute onneur,

> The rose is embellished above all flowers and truly is full of all perfume. Similarly the Virgin Mary is full of grace and of the greatest honour.

Horticultural imagery and its dual implication of the Virgin Mary and courtly love, thus seem to have been of recurring interest to J.II9's composer. Indeed, the repetition of these ideas lends weight to arguments by scholars that one person was likely responsible for the manuscript's composition and organization. Perhaps the composer's obsession with symmetry had led him to view ornamental gardens as a source of inspiration. As in many other areas of medieval life, the garden became a space that could be interpreted allegorically. As Tom Turner remarks:

> Augustine inspired medieval garden makers to abjure earthliness and look upward for divine inspiration. A perfect square with a round pool and a pentagonal fountain became a microcosm, illuminating the mathematical order and divine grace of the macrocosm (the universe).[83]

There is not the space here to explore this idea further, but we might say with some certainty that the notion of the garden would have been of particular import to Cypriot life. Isolated from the mainland and at the mercy of the elements and the locusts, the imagery of the Virgin as someone who could 'set right all the flowers who, through sickness, have lost their life' (JM19, motetus), must have been an important one; indeed the cult of the Virgin was noted as being particularly important on the island.[84] That Queen Charlotte's arrival coincided with a hiatus in Cyprus's troubles may well have seemed as if prayers had been answered. The horticultural and floral imagery of JM19 may have had a triple meaning for its writer: praise for the Virgin Mary, a celebration of Queen Charlotte's arrival, and the employment of imagery from Guillaume de Lorris' *Roman de la Rose*, that may have been pleasing to the young queen.

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[83] Tom Turner, *Garden History, Philosophy and Design, 2000 BC–2000 AD* (New York: Spon Press, 2005), p. 115.

[84] Hoppin, 'The Cypriot-French Repertory', p. 85.

TOUSTANS QUE MON ESPRIT MIRE/QUI PORROIT AMER (JM35)

JM35, which is Marian in content like the majority of its companions, has been noted by Hoppin to bear some resemblances to Machaut's *Lay de notre Dame*.[85]

JM35 Triplum	Machaut, Lay de Notre Dame
Car certes elle est ben celle	C'estes vous, tres belle
Qui toute **vierge et pucelle**	Qui estes l'entele
Est et qui Dieu fort ama	Flourie et nouvelle,
Qui droitement est la celle	Mere, où Dieu, **vierge et pucelle**
Ou **Dieu** non comme en **ancelle**	Par deduit,
Ains comme en **mere** habita.	Einsi le cuit,
...	S'engendra, quant Gabriel
	Vous dist la nouvelle
	Qui "ave" s'apelle
	Ce nous renouvelle,
	Pour vous, **Mere**, à **Dieu ancelle**,
	Car destruit
	Estiemmes tuit
	Dou pechié le pere Abel.

JM35 Triplum translation

For certainly she is the one who is completely virgin and maiden, and whom God strongly loved, who rightly is the one in whom God resided not as in a handmaiden, but rather as in a mother.

Machaut, Lay de Notre Dame translation

It is you, most beautiful one, who is the little graft budding and new, mother, virgin and maiden, where God, with delight , thus became flesh, when Gabriel, told you, whom he called 'ave', the news that renews us, for you, mother, handmaiden to God, because it destroys all that we have become through the sin of the father of Abel.

Since the form of the lyrics differs, Hoppin questions whether this is a direct reference to Machaut, but he does state that 'it provides one more bit of evidence proving how very close the authors of these poems were to the mainstream of French poetic traditions'.[86] Insofar as there are resemblances to Machaut's lai, it is more likely that this is because both writers were drawing on traditional Marian vocabulary than J.II.9's intending any direct allusion. 'Ancelle' ('handmaiden'), which derives from the Latin 'ancilla', has strong links to the Virgin, on account of Mary's own reported words in Luke 1:38

dixit autem Maria ecce <u>ancilla</u> Domini fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum

And Mary said, Behold the <u>handmaid</u> of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word.

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[85] Hoppin, 'The Cypriot-French Repertory', p. 96.

[86] ibid.

The words 'vierge et pucelle' ('virgin and maiden') are far too ubiquitous in Marian devotional lyrics to suggest any particular connection between JM35 and Machaut's lai. Furthermore, '-elle' is not an unusual syllable to generate a rhyme scheme, since many frequently employed words end thus: e.g., 'celle', 'nouvelle', bel(l)e' and 'apelle'. [87]

The motetus of JM35, *Qui porroit amer*, is Marian by implication rather than by overt vocabulary. It contains some phrases that could be equally at home in the courtly milieu: 'nete et pure' and 'soueve et gent' are two such examples. It also echoes two ballades and a virelai in the same codex:

JM35 Motetus
Qui porroit amer
...
De quoy **noriture**
Prenons per **pasture**
Tres bien **norissant**?
Certes, creature,
Tant soit **nete et pure**
etc.

Ballade 44
Tant sens doulce **noureture**,
Quant d'amoureuse **pasture**
etc.

Ballade 87
Ge veul loyaument amer
...
Qui me norist sans cesser
D'unne **norissant pasture**
etc

Virelai 17
Je prens d'amour **noriture**
Nete et pure
Et doucement **norissant**;
etc.

The vocabulary used in these texts suggests two important things about our Cypriot writer and his environment. Firstly, that the similarity of the vocabulary further strengthens the suggestion that we are dealing with just one poet-composer. Secondly, the fragility of the island's agriculture and economy. In this case, JM35 and the related chansons employ words such as 'noriture' ('food'), 'norissant' ('nourishing'), and 'pasture' ('pasture'). These words are used metaphorically to describe the benefits of love, both earthly and divine, but in the motet, the placement of text helps us to glean further meaning. As the triplum part sets the following words:

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[87] *Se je di qu'en elle tire/Tres fort m'abrasa*, JM41, also employs the '-elle' rhyme scheme and the words 'vierge pucelle' and 'ancelle'.

> Car certes, elle est ben celle
> Qui toute vierge et pucelle
> Est, et qui dieu fort ama,
> Qui droitement est la celle
> Ou dieu, non comme en ancelle,
> Ains comme en mere habita

For certainly, she is the good one who is completely a virgin and a maiden, and whom God strongly loves, who rightly is the one in whom God resides, not as a handmaiden, but as a mother.

At the same moment the motetus has the following underlay:

> Elle est l'arbre vert
> Flori, qui ne pert
> Onques sa colour,
> Du quel le fruit sert
> Toute, rien decert
> Desirant s'odour,
> Qui soueve et gente

She is the flowering green tree, which never loses its colour, of which the fruit serves all, leaving none desiring its scent, which is sweet and noble.

This juxtaposition of the triplum and motetus words by means of the polyphonic structure of the motet enhances the representation of the Virgin as a source of spiritual nourishment, but may also point to literal concerns about famine on Cyprus. JM35 can be seen as both praising the Virgin Mary in her role as mother of the saviour and intercessor for souls, and as an advocate in heaven for more earthly concerns.

COUME LE SERF A LA CLERE FONTAINNE/LUNNE PLAINNE D'UMILITE (JM36)
The imagery of the fountain is clearly intended to recall psalm 42 (Like as the hart desireth the water-brooks, so longeth my soul after thee, O God etc.[88]). It also recalls the opening line of the triplum of JM38, demonstrating once more the coherence of this repertory.[89]

Motet 36 is fully isorhythmic and divided into two sections. The composer put the line 'ou ma grant soif puisse de moi chasser' at the beginning of the second talea, thus continuing the theme and allusions of the incipit given at the beginning of the first talea. Similarly, the second line of text of the first talea 'desire aler quant il se voit espris', in the second talea

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[88] The Book of Common Prayer.

[89] There is no musical concordance between these two motets – the descending scale motif that occurs near the start of both motets in the triplum is also present at the beginning of M19, M35 and M41 among the vernacular motets. Of the Latin motets, eighteen possess a descending scale of at least four notes close to their beginning in either or both of the upper voices (JM1, JM4, JM7, JM8, JM9, JM11, JM16, JM17, JM20, JM21, JM22, JM26, JM27, JM28, JM30, JM31, JM32, JM34). Rhythmic formulations vary.

becomes 'et parvenir en tres joieuse vie'. Desiring to leave is balanced against arriving. The final line of each talea demonstrates a similar correspondence. At the end of the first, the writer is being lead joyously to the sea (joieusement me ameinne); at the end of the second he is desiring to return there (en qui desir tout mon tans reparer). It is clear that this motet was constructed with the same care and desire for symmetry with which the entire codex is distinguished. These sorts of details point to the unified effort that lead to the creation of J.II.9.

The sea in this triplum is presented as either heaven or God, towards which the writer wishes to go; and Mary is the light that leads him there. This appears to be an allusion to the hymn *Ave Maris Stella*. Hoppin discussed the link between motet 16, Adam de Saint-Victor and this hymn.[90] This would seem to be another link to that hymn. While there is no specific reference to the Virgin Mary or God in the text of the triplum, the tone is devotional rather than courtly and uses little of the traditional vocabulary associated with *fin'amors*, hence the 'clere estoile diainne' is clearly the Virgin Mary and this is an allusion to *Ave Maris Stella*.

The use of 'estoile', 'mer' and 'fontainne' are not uncommon in Marian devotional lyrics, along with the rose imagery discussed earlier. The serventois of the *Miracles de Notre Dame* bear witness to this. The first stanza of *Grans deduiz est de bien oir parler* from that collection, for instance, provides a good example. Along with those images, it also utilises the moon to represent the Virgin, which we will see occurs in the motetus of JM36.

> Grans deduiz est de bien oir parler
> De la vierge Marie glorieuse;
> Car on la peut par figure nommer
> **Lune** luisant, **estoille** precieuse,
> Aube de jour, temple, porte eureuse,
> Puis savoureux, **fontaine** saine et pure,
> Arche, **vergier**, printemps plain de verdure,
> **Rose** souef et **fleur de lis** fleurie;
> Mais sur touz nons fu et est proffitans
> Mére de Dieu, de grace raempli,
> Pour vivre en paix, amies et amans.[91]

It is a great delight to hear pleasant talk of the glorious Virgin Mary; because one can call her by her roles the radiant moon, precious star, the break of day, temple, joyful door, arch, orchard, spring full of greenery, sweet rose, and blooming flower of the lily, but above all names was and is charitable mother of God, full of grace, to live in peace, lovers and ladies.

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[90] Hoppin, 'The Cypriot-French Repertory', pp. 102-3

[91] Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame, Tome Premier*, ed. V. Frederic Koenig, (Geneva: Droz, 1970), p. 254.

Hoppin suggests that there could also be 'distant echoes of Machaut...from his *Lay de la Fonteinne*' in M36. Having examined the music and text, I have found nothing to suggest anything but the most general thematic connection between Machaut's *Lay* and *Coume le serf*. At best it shows that there is a common interest in certain themes between Machaut and the writer of this motet, although Marian devotional lyrics are so prevalent that this really does not suggest any meaningful link with Machaut.

JM36 Triplum
Coume le serf a la clere **fontainne**
Desire aler quant il se voit espris
De tres grant soif, desirent mes espris
D'aler bien tost vers la mer tres seraine.
Pourquoy te pri, clere estoile diainne,
Que sans me avoir pour mes maus en despris,
Ta grant luyeur me veuille estre prochainne,
Par quoi trover puisse voie sertainne
Qui droitement a la mer ou tout pris
Est vraiement, joieusement me ameinne,
Ou ma grant soif puisse de moi chaser
Et parvenir en tres joieuse vie
En celle mer, ou jamais ne devye
Qui de fin cuer s'amour sait pourchasser.
Estoille que bien peut on comparer
Au fin cler jour qui trestous nous eslye,
Ta grant clarte ne veulles separer
De moi, ton serf, qui fort desire aler
Vers la mer qui tres douce est et mout lye,
En qui desir tout mon tans reparer.

Like the hart desires to go To the clear fountain when he finds himself enflamed By a very great thirst, my spirit desires Surely to go always towards the very serene sea. Why, I pray you, clear star, That without holding me in contempt for my bad deeds, You want me to be near to your great light By which I can find my certain way That leads me joyously directly to the sea Where all worth truly is, Where I can quench my great thirst And reach in that sea a very joyous life Where I never deviate from whom I know to pursue with a true heart. Star, that one can well compare To the fine clear day which always delights us, I do not want to separate your great Light from me, your serf, who strongly desires to go Towards the sea that is very sweet and very joyous, To which I desire all my life to return.

The motetus of M36, *Lunne plainne d'umilité* portrays the sun and the moon as allegories for Christ and Mary. Hoppin remarks that this is 'clearly in the tradition of medieval sacred poetry from at least the time of Adam de St. Victor, for whom Christ was the sun and the Virgin the moon'.[92] This is apparent also from the serventois quoted above and from other serventois that employ this motif, too.

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[92] Hoppin, 'The Cypriot-French Repertory', p. 97.

JM36 Motetus
Lunne plainne d'umilité,
Qui du **solail** as la clarté,
De qui la nuit fort s'illumine,
Mes tenebres, par ta pité,
Destruisies, qui fort m'ont maté,
Par ta clarté tres douce et fine,
Et me veullies par dous acort,
Sans avoir de mes maus recort,
Ave le solail acorder,
Mon droit refuge et mon droit port,
Puisque le grant mal que je port
Ne puis, sans morir, plus porter.
Car sans luy je ne puis ja vivre,
Et ave luy estre deliver
De tous maus je puis vraiement.
A ta douce merci me livre,
Par qui de mort je puis revivre;
Ce say je tres certainnement.
Si me veullies, **lunne** plaisant,
Tres clere et fort raisplaindissant,
A mon grant besoing secourir,
Moi tousdis doucement metant
En la grace du tres puissant
Solail, que de cuer veul servir.

Moon full of humility, Who has light from the sun, By which the night is strongly illuminated, You destroy, by your pity, My shadows, which had strongly conquered me, With your very sweet and fine light, And you want me, with sweet will, Without having record of my bad deeds, To reconcile myself with the sun, My very refuge and right port, Since the great evil that I bear Can no longer be taken away without my dying. Because without her I can no longer live And with her I can truly be delivered Of all my badness. By your sweet mercy I fill myself With whom I can revive myself from death; This I know with certainty. Pleasant moon,very clear And strongly resplendant, if you want me To help my great need, Put me always sweetly In the grace of the very strong Sun, whom I want to serve from the heart.

Both the motetus and the triplum employ their imagery as a message of hope. The sinner can, through Mary's intercession, be forgiven and brought into the light of Christ even though he was previously burdened with sin.

PAR GRANT SOIF, CLERE FONTAINNE/DAME DE TOUT PRIS (JM38)
The triplum of JM38 returns to the theme of the fountain, recalling JM36 and its allusions. Its incipit, *Par grant soif, clere fontainne*, (with great thirst, at the clear fountain) strongly invokes the other motet, suggesting that the composer was choosing to revisit and rework this idea. Further shared vocabulary suggest that this was indeed the case (serainne, vraiement, clere, joieusement).

While the triplum of M36 is allegorical, that of M38 refers directly to Mary. She is also referred to as 'luisant lumiere' which echoes the moon and star imagery of M36. The

motetus of M38 is, by contrast to its triplum, ambiguous. It contains a number of courtly phrases such as 'Dame de tout pris', 'Douce et sans envie' and 'Dame que j'aour'. The phrase 'Tres odorant flour' also occurs in B93 and variations upon this can be found in many other ballades in J.II.9, demonstrating the ease with which courtly and Marian vocabulary were interchangeable. Despite these phrases, references to 'plaisant amie de dieu' and 'ton fis' confirm that this motet is Marian.

MON MAL EN BIEN/TOUSTANS JE LA SERVIRAY (M39)

This motet is almost certainly secular. The triplum has been partially erased, in all likelihood so that this motet could be given Marian contrafacta. Kügle noticed an interesting parallel between this motet and one in the Ivrea Codex, which employs the same structure of opposites and rhyme scheme:

JM39 Triplum	**Mon chant/Qui doloreus Triplum**
Mon mal en bien, en plaisir ma dolour,	Mon chant en plaint, ma chanson en clamour
Mes pleurs en ris, en joie ma tristour,	Mon ris en plour, mes beaus dis en tristour
Mon nient en mout, et ma doute en baudour,	Mon gieu en ire, m'oyseuse en labour
	Ma ioye en deul, mes songes en ardour
	etc.

JM39 translation
My bad in good, in pleasure my sadness, my tears in laughter, in joy my anguish, my nothingness in plenty, and my fear in courage.

Mon chant/Qui doloreus translation
My song in lament, my singing in shouting, my laughter in tears, my beautiful words in sadness, my pleasure in anger, my leisure in work, my joy in mourning, my dreams in desire...

To this observation, Kügle adds B27, which also uses opposites at the beginning of the second verse:

> Quiconques veult user joieuse vie
> ...
> Son miel est fiel, son glai, merancolie,
> Son ris est pleur, sa santé, maladie.

> Whoever wants to spend a joyful life...his honey is poison, his glee is melancholy, his laughter is tears, his health, sickness.

He also notes the similarity between the incipit of this ballade and that of *Quiconques veult d'amors ioir*, a rondeau also from the *Ivrea* codex.[93] To this web of intertextuality, I would add R20, which once again makes use of opposites:

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[93] Kügle, 'The Repertory', p. 170.

> Contre dolour, alegresse et plaisir,
> Contre dur plour, ris et joieuse vie,
>
> Contre mal jour, bon jour et chiere lye
> M'a fait Amour avoir com je desir.

> Against sadness, joy and pleasure, against difficult tears, laughter and joyful life...Against bad times, good times and sweet pleasure, Love gives me what I desire.

I discussed the *Ivrea* motet in the previous chapter and mentioned that it has been associated with the death of Guillaume I of Hainaut. I wonder, therefore if the Cypriot composer did not choose to model his text so directly upon it for a reason. Perhaps the motet was originally composed at the death of Queen Charlotte in 1422, or on the occasion of that of King Janus in 1432. On being commissioned to create a *miroir des princes* for Anne, perhaps the composer/compiler had decided to erase the sombre texts and replace them with devotional or didactic ones.

CONCLUSIONS

In many ways, the preceding analysis has highlighted the exciting investigative possibilities of the repertory of Manuscript Torino J.II.9. It has in the past been somewhat maligned for its consistency of style, but I would argue that this perceived fault may in fact be an artistic strength. The symmetry of the music, which might by some be interpreted as bland repetition is in my view the key to understanding the composer's modus operandi. Since he may not have had the developmental impetus of interaction with other writers on a regular basis, J.II.9 may represent a unique insight into the workings of an individual composer's mind. The preoccupation we find with symmetry should not be construed as a mere short-cut to producing a quantity of material, since its application is in a more complex and sophisticated manner than a hurried approach might entail, and I am not convinced that the composer was working under the kinds of time pressure that would have necessitated undue haste. The symmetrical design instantiates itself at every level of the manuscript and its contents, such as to suggest a high degree of artistry: the layout of the pieces, as well as details such a talea design and rhythmic and melodic formulations demonstrate the care and cleverness of their construction. Further, such organisation and coherence vindicates the suggestion that we are dealing with one composer, who also oversaw the compilation of his work. It is tempting to modify the famous phrase from Machaut's manuscript A: 'Vesci, l'ordenance que J. Hanelle wet qu'il ont en son livre' ('Here is the order that J. Hanelle wants his book to have).

The love of symmetry that this composer displays fed naturally into his manipulation of borrowed material. Geographically isolated as he may have been, he clearly felt himself

well placed to play the citation game. Indeed, his oeuvre bears many of the hallmarks that can be seen in Machaut's complete works' manuscripts. He modelled some of his texts on earlier examples, he borrowed from important traditions, such as Marian devotional lyrics and the *Roman de la Rose*, and revisited themes within his own work, thus imposing his authorial and authoritative presence on the compilation.

The *Roman de la Rose* and Marian devotion could provide another point of symmetry within the Cypriot repertory. These two traditions were points of recurrent interest for the composer, and they reflect and complement one another within his work. Both concern devotion to a lady for whom the image of the Rose is a metaphor. As we have seen, in the vernacular devotional motet lyrics the two traditions are fused. Furthermore, this point of fusion also serves as the axis point and as a transition within the manuscript between the sacred Latin repertory of the masses and other motets, and the following repertory of ballades, rondeaux and virelais in the courtly vein. It is thus no surprise that these motets literally form the axis of the repertory, coming as they do in fascicle three of five, with the sacred material arranged before, and the secular after.

It is a shame that we cannot be entirely certain of the identity of J.II.9's composer and likely compiler. As Kügle has suggested, it may well be that familiarity with his work within the Savoy-based Cypriot community, and apparent lack of dissemination, led to the corpus remaining unattributed. Furthermore, since J.II.9's composer, as far as we are able to discern, only wrote short lyric poetry that could be set to music, he did not have the opportunity to impose his authorial presence through narrative in the comparatively robust manner of Machaut.

While J.II.9 may always to some extent remain shrouded in mystery, we should not let this divert our attention from its importance. It should in no way be considered an 'outsider' in relation to the other major vernacular repertories of late medieval French music; although it may not have had a significant influence on subsequent composers, it certainly responded amply to its predecessors.

CONCLUSION

At the end of the conference held for the AHRC funded Citation and Allusion project, after two days of papers focussing on various aspects of literary and musical borrowings in late medieval culture, we came together as a group to discuss the themes that had emerged.[1] Exactly why citation was so important to medieval authors and composers was one of the broader questions which naturally interested us all. Over the course of this thesis, I have tried to answer that question from the standpoint of the fourteenth-century French motet. I have looked at aspects of tradition, innovation, memory, authorial presence, compositional techniques, and manuscript compilation. At our project conference, one answer was offered that has intrigued and inspired possibly more than any other, and it was a seemingly simple one. Nicolette Zeeman answered "because it's fun". It was a short answer, but by no means facile and in fact resonated deeply with the ludic nature of citational activity. Christopher Page wrote that 'the paradox of the 13th-century motet is that it is both playful and learned at the same time'.[2] For the medieval reader this was indeed a paradox since the notions of 'otium' (leisure or play) and 'negotium' (meaning literally the absence of leisure, and by extension learning or occupation) were presented as opposites in medieval literature.[3] And yet, as we have seen, the motet at its most playful is also at its most learned. It seems that this very paradox between play and learning became the fulcrum upon which composers could explore contradictory principles and establish challenging dialogic exchange.

Indeed, as I briefly explored in the Introduction, game playing formed the basis of much medieval literary exchange.[4] From *jeux-partis* to debate poetry, the playful interaction of communities of poets defined the landscape of literature in the middle ages. As Jane Taylor suggests, this social element of poetry allowed writers to have a certain 'nomadic

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[1] 29-30 January 2009, University of Exeter.

[2] Christopher Page, 'The Performance of Ars Antiqua Motets', *Early Music*, 16/2 (1988), p. 147.

[3] My thanks to Emma Cayley for drawing this to my attention.

[4] See Emma Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue: Alain Chartier in his Cultural Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), in particular Chapter One where she explores the development of literary exchange that gave rise to late medieval debate poetry.

subjectivity' that superseded individual personality.[5] In thirteenth-century motets we saw a tendency for composers to build upon or rework existing pieces, a tendency that developed out of the motet's roots in borrowed material, but which also reflected the ludic nature of the exchange between poets and composers. While fourteenth-century motets tended to be the work of one composer, these compositions continued to respond to others through modelling and reuse of material, while also internalising debate by presenting multiple viewpoints through the polytextual juxtaposition of variant registers and opinions.

Citation and allusion are often about game playing and serious points can be made with playful juxtaposition. Sylvia Huot has analysed in great depth the ability of the motet to create both serious and parodic messages out of the juxtaposition of sacred and profane registers.[6] In my first chapter, I showed that a serious message can be conveyed through creative use of the French and Latin languages, along with the playful application of citation. The Fauvel manuscript is fun! After spending weeks on end holed up in the basement of the Exeter library with the enormous facsimile, my enjoyment and wonder were undiminished. The riotous explosion of pictures, music and text is thrilling, even in an age when we are bombarded with colour and sound from screens. What must have *Fauvel* been like to experience in the fourteenth century? I suspect its readers derived as much pleasure from the satire as we can from modern satire, while absorbing the importance of the message. The interconnections between the musical interpolations, and between those interpolations and the pictures and narrative, can both challenge the readers and amuse them. And, as I have shown, the satire becomes all the stronger for these interconnections, as the use of citation and language mirrors and parodies the horse Fauvel in his wicked rise to power.

Citation and allusion go to the heart of what it was to be a medieval author. Guillaume de Machaut made virtuosic play of citation and allusion, using it to manipulate aspects of his self-presentation to his reader. He was able to situate himself within tradition, drawing on authorities such as the trouvères, Boethius and the *Ovide Moralisée*, yet appropriated this material in such a way as to recast it anew in his own image. Machaut used the opportunity presented by creating complete works' manuscripts to make something new out of the

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[5] Jane Taylor, *The Poetry of François Villon. Text and Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.3.

[6] Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

game of citation and allusion. In addition to the game between himself and his reader, of deciphering the possible source of any given citation, Machaut used reiterations of both external material and his own words to create a game of disguises, in which he could masquerade as another version of himself, be appropriating another author, or in which he could ventriloquise that author with his own words. Medieval use of citation was already unbounded by the strictures of modern quotation, and yet Machaut blurred the boundaries even further, melding his own authorial identity with that of those he borrowed from, while at the same time taking possession of their works in such a way as to efface them in favour of multiple representations of himself, all in dialogue with each other. The polyphonic and polytextual nature of the motet provided him with a perfect forum in which to do this.

Games featured in Chapter Three in a somewhat different manner. In the motet *Tant a souttille pointure/Bien pert qu'en moy/Cuius pulchritudinem sol et luna* we encountered literal references to games – fencing and chess. The chess metaphor proves to be particularly powerful, evoking a tradition of literature that encompasses reference to the Blessed Virgin Mary as the most powerful 'fierce' or chess queen, and the game of love itself. Chess often provided the backdrop for slow-burning, secret love affairs, giving lovers the chance to spend many hours together in solitude and close proximity. This motet, as we have seen, also invokes a tradition of *ars antiqua* motet texts whose structure centres around a length description of the lady and which also connects with the *Roman de la Rose* and its use of lengthy descriptions of its characters.

The *Roman de la Rose*, a popular source of citational material for both the writer of *Tant/Bien/Cuius* and for Guillaume de Machaut, was also a source of inspiration for the writer of the J.II.9 compositions. It seems that the *Rose* may have been applicable on many levels. The connection of the Virgin Mary with horticultural imagery is one such example. She is often described as a rose in bloom or a ripe fruit tree. Cyprus's agricultural and economic problems would have made such horticultural imagery and its connection with the Virgin even more popular. The French-Cypriot repertory, with its sombre allusions to the fragility of island life and its purported role as a *miroir des princes* for Anne de Lusignan, might not seem so ludic as the objects of study in the other three chapters. However, the use of symmetrical design in the manuscript and its individual compositions, and the reuse of textual material at different points in the codex, suggest an author who wished to play an intellectual game with his reader. I stress 'an author',

because I am certain that such a symmetry of design and ideas indicates the work of a single mind.

Looking back over the four principle chapters of this study, they seem very different creatures, with varying approaches. As such, I have not sought to find an overarching theme or story with which to tie together my research. Rather, what emerged most prominently were the different styles, voices and intentions of those who have composed and compiled. These factors strongly influenced how citation and allusion were used, in terms of the techniques and sources employed, and in the reactions and expectations that composers sought to draw from their audience. Voices could be made didactic, challenging, persuasive, joyful, and ambiguous through the connections made in citing and alluding, particularly exciting for the attuned and informed reader.

Humans are 'playful' in the broadest sense, and language games (in both the general and the Wittgensteinian sense)[7] are inherent to our interaction with the world. If there were no experimentation, no leaping beyond the laws of form or logic, no artful construction, nothing worth saying would ever emerge. The urge to play, to invent and twist meaning, may be fundamental to even the most staid form of communication. The ludic associations of allusion, briefly discussed in introductory chapter, should not be seen as a sly and slight addition to the serious business of poetry and music, but at the core of how themes and ideas are reinvigorated, and integral to the enjoyment which medieval motets provided for their audiences. To allude is in some measure to tease – at once to remind the recipient of the context within which they are engaging with the text, while at the same time inviting them to step beyond.

What I hope this study offers is an increased understanding of the use of citation and allusion in motets in their context. The collected motet manuscripts of the thirteenth century, such the Bamberg, La Clayette and Montpellier collections, while providing us with a wealth of material, are mainly collections of similar compositions. The fourteenth-century repertories that I have examined here show the creativity that can be explored by composers and compilers by situating their works in different contexts.

Despite the advent of the *forms fixes* in lyric poetry in the fourteenth century, citation was no less powerful a tool for blurring genre boundaries. As we have seen in the work of Machaut, the reuse of material between motets and other of his works allowed him to

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[7] See Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).

creatively revisit themes in new contexts, lightening or deepening the level at which he could examine them, at times taking ideas that seemed more light-hearted to their logical conclusion and finding something more dark and powerful.

In much the same way, there is ample scope to take the research in this study to greater lengths, applying its tools and connections to other texts and musical forms. My thesis has largely had fixed parameters, namely the study of vernacular fourteenth-century motets, and there are clearly other valuable topics of study, even within the same manuscripts which I have discussed here. In the case of *Fauvel*, there is room to take my contextually sensitive examination of citation further, looking at all of the motets and how they interact with the illuminations and narrative context. The use of symmetry in J.II.9 remains to be explored further, looking more closely at composition and texts in the ballades, virelais and rondeaux. In the case of the *Ivrea* and *Chantilly* motets I focused my study around one motet in particular, allowing my examination of any other motets to radiate out from this. I believe that there is further work to be done on these. With Machaut, I was limited by space to only examining some of his motets. Given that he wrote predominantly vernacular motets, there is significant opportunity for further investigation. A good deal of scholarly work continues to be done to apply intertextual theories to Machaut, to understand his use of self-citation and to examine the structures and references of his motets. I believe, moreover, that there is room to continue to draw on all these diverse strands, especially in allowing different research approaches to reflect on each other.

This thesis has drawn together a number critical tools to explore the many facets of citation and allusion, and makes a positive contribution to current research, not only in the modest suggestions of new potential instances of citing and alluding I have uncovered, but also in its emphasis on a holistic, accommodating and detailed approach to the medieval motet repertory. It has demonstrated that medieval practices in the borrowing and re-contextualising of existing material remain a fascinating and worthwhile subject of study.

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