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Guillaume de Machaut: Musician and Poet

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GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT:
MUSICIAN AND POET

BY

SHARON S. PEARCY

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THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THIS THESIS BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE GRADUATE DEGREE CITED ABOVE
Abstract

The life of Guillaume de Machaut (c. 1300-1377) is examined in light of his loyalty to his king, patriotism toward his country, and his religious ties to the Catholic church. Each of these, as well as his affair in middle age with a young, nineteen year old girl named Peronnelle, shaped the life and work of Machaut. The rich legacy of Machaut’s prolific output of poetry and music is documented from his personal involvement in its preservation. The fixed poetic forms, the formes fixes, found in his virelais, ballades, and rondeaux became a springboard of evolution under Machaut’s creative talents. Machaut’s contribution to the Ars Nova movement served to generate change in music composition that would continue to expand throughout the centuries. His largest single musical work, the mass La Messe de Nostre Dame is the earliest complete setting of the Ordinary in existence by one composer. The most unique feature in Machaut’s life is his autobiographical Livre du Voir Dit which is the first recorded autobiography of a musician. The declining Middle Ages is echoed in Machaut’s music and poetry, and these preserved works provide a glimpse into the Fourteenth Century.
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Chapter 1

King, Country, and Church

Immortality is a highly desired prize for mere mortal man. Men may work and struggle to earn deliverance from the consequence of their natural birth while others shun the very thought, choosing to exist blindly in the world. What force drives man to seek a portion of his heavenly reward upon this sullied earth? These dilemmas must have intrigued the heart and mind of the fourteenth-century French composer and poet, Guillaume de Machaut. Machaut was torn by his desires for heaven and for earth. This internal locomotion led him to create his own legacy of immortality here on earth.

Records are unclear about the place and date of Machaut's birth; however, the date is generally considered to be 1300. The place may well be Reims, France. Other historians cite Machaut's birth as the province of Champagne in northern France. Reims is also believed to be the place in which his death occurred in 1377. Records of his many positions and excursions lead historians to conclude that the majority of his later life was spent in Reims. It is also possible that he received his education there.¹ Common references to Machaut as "maître" suggest that Machaut most probably received a degree comparable to a modern master of arts degree at a university. His own designation as "clerc" would indicate that he continued in the study of theology; however, Machaut did not become a priest.² What is known is that Machaut was first and foremost a true Frenchman. His allegiance was to his God and church, and to his king and country. The gift of his talents in music and poetry and his personal resolve to
preserve his works give us a glimpse into the heart and mind of a man who faced typical human frailties in love and life.

Machaut's employment is traced to 1323. However, the earliest record surviving of his existence is a Bull (an edict) of Pope John XXII which was sealed and sent from Avignon on 30 July 1330. This Bull specified that Machaut was to become a canon at Verdun Cathedral when a vacancy became available. At this time Machaut was listed as a clerk and "almoner" for John, King of Bohemia. The Bull was a direct response by the Pope to a request from John. The edict would entitle pay for little or no work on the part of Machaut until the actual position became available and filled by him. Subsequent canonries at Arras and Reims cathedrals were avowed in documents dated 17 April 1332 and 4 January 1333. These documents varied from the first to include Machaut's qualifications as notary and secretary.

Abuses of the benefice system such as Machaut's promised positions, contributed to the rising dissatisfaction among the French populace who questioned the alliances of the nobility and the hierarchy of the church. By 1333 this system had thus guaranteed Machaut three cathedral canonries. The 1332 Vatican document also revealed that Machaut already held a chaplaincy at Houdain. Through this Papal favor, King John had secured for his secretary (Machaut) the possibility of a sizeable increase in his (Machaut's) income. Should Machaut's circumstances change, he could look forward to retirement to the community of his nominal canonry; but, he would not be obligated to reside within the community to draw his salary.

By 1335 there were no vacancies in any of the positions for Machaut. In a move intended to curb the abuse of the benefice system, Pope Benedict XII sealed a Bull on 17 April 1335; however, the Bull included a justification of Machaut's holdings. The edict dictated that
in order to keep the promised Reims canonry, Machaut would be required to relinquish immediately Arras and Verdun, and would also be required to forfeit the Houdain chaplaincy once the Reims position became vacant. However, Machaut was permitted to maintain his income from the one position he had acquired without papal intervention: the church at Saint-Quentin.⁵

Machaut’s lifespan paralleled a split within the church resulting with the election of a French pope who was located in Avignon, France. The period of residence of the Popes at Avignon is known as the Babylonian Captivity (1305-78). This election was the result of a dispute between Pope Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair, King of France. The political power and authority of the Pope was questioned by the King. In 1305 the French elected Clement V as Pope. Also, twenty-five of the twenty-eight cardinals elected were French. In 1307 Clement V moved to Avignon, thus marking the beginning of the Babylonian Captivity.

It must also be noted that Avignon at this time was not a part of France, yet it was bound to France both economically and politically. France was divided into northern and southern segments. The division also exacerbated the political tensions by the refusal of the southern populace to acknowledge the sovereignty of the French king. In addition, the removal of the Pope from Rome was a near cataclysmic event. Great disagreements continued with the church and more popes were elected simultaneously by the varied factions, each excommunicating the other.⁶ These divisions culminated the year after Machaut’s death in a complete break within the church known as the Great Schism (1378-1417). During the Schism two Popes ruled: one at Avignon, and the other at Rome. A third Pope was installed in Switzerland.⁷
The Schism, as well as the preceding split in papal factions, was the direct result of the rise within the French populace (as well as members from within the church), questioning the true motives of the church hierarchy. However, this dissatisfaction did not concern the doctrine of the church, but rather its organization. Educated people began studying the lifestyles of the church hierarchy and this growing concern became a major factor in the rising dissension. The dissatisfaction and mounting tension must surely have contributed in no small way to Machaut's life and work. The importance of the church in the preservation and promulgation of music is extensively documented. Thus, internal and external stresses within the sacred realm would affect the works and the financial backing of composers such as Machaut.

Further societal pressures from the effects of the Hundred Years' War would also come to play upon Machaut's creativity. France was in the midst of the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453). This war with England was being waged on French soil where the church was losing its power. One of the most humbling, yet inspiring episodes of the war occurred on 26 August 1346. Machaut was undoubtedly permanently entrenched in Reims by this time. On this day King John of Bohemia insisted that despite his blindness, he would lead into battle. The battle at Crécy not only brought about the death of Machaut's benefactor, King John, but also recorded the deaths of all the loyal knights as they valiantly surrounded the King.8

Complexity continued to mount in the woes of France and the surrounding territories. Approximately one year following the Crécy battle an invisible killer began to strike with a vengeance. That killer, the "Black Death" — bubonic plague, ran rampant over Europe (1348-1453). Boccaccio best described the devastation in his Decameron: "There was not a day that
thousands of them did not fall sick, who, through not being helped or succoured in any way, nearly all died. And there were quite a number who died in the streets, day and night; and others who died in their houses first made their neighbors aware that they were dead by the stench of their decaying corpses. It was also stated in Avignon, home to the Papal residence, that "there died in one day one thousand three hundred and twelve persons, according to a count made for the Pope."

For all the evils of the day, Machaut reaches into the depths of his own soul to write the words venting his sadness. Charles Bernstein states in the Preface of his text, *The Politics of Poetic Form*:

The relation of poetry to public policy is usually assumed to be tenuous or secondary. Poems are imagined primarily to express personal emotions; if political, they are seen as articulating positions already expounded elsewhere. In contrast, poetry can be conceived as an active arena for exploring basic questions about political thought and action.

Thus, Machaut writes his allegorical poem *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* in 1349 and gives expression to his grief over the injustices and lack of truth in his society. Deception and greed seem to rule the day. Statistics show a loss of five hundred thousand men and women to the war, Jewish persecution becomes quite cruel, Christians are being driven insane in an attempt to gain paradise through self-flagellation, and only God knows the number of souls lost to the plague. Machaut also suffered the loss of his friends and loved ones and must have felt great loneliness. It is within this social and spiritual quagmire that Machaut not only wrote his words, but also composed an extensive repertoire. His words fought against an unjust society.
Machaut's rhetoric served him as not only a source of income, but certainly must have
served as an ointment to a wounded soul. Lighter moments were expressed by Machaut in his
Prologue (c.1371). He expresses the need to create and the necessity of maintaining a happier
demeanor. The following is excerpted from lines 261 through 282.

Rethorique versefier
Fait l'ama:nt, et metrefier,
Et si fait faire jolis vers
Nouviaus et de metres divers:
L'un est de rime serpentine,
L'autre equivoque ou leonine,
L'autre croisie ou retrograde,
Lay, chanson, rondel, ou balade;
Aucune fois rime sonant
Et, quant il li plaist, consonant:
Et li aourne son langage
Par maniere plaisant et sage.
Car Scens y est qui tout gouverne
En chambre, en sale, et en taverne.
Dous Penser et conne Esperence
Li font avoir douce Plaisence
Et li amenistrent matiere;
Dont il fait a plus lie chiere
Et de plus joli sentiment
Que cils qui vit dolentement;
Car joie et doleur, ce me samble,
Puelent petitement ensemble.13

Rhetoric makes the lover
Versify and metrify,
And thus causes him to compose
New verses of various meters:
One with serpentine rhyme,
The other equivocal or leonine,
The other crossed or retrograde,
Lay, song, rondel, or ballad;
Sometimes a pure rhyme
And, when it pleases, assonance;
And it ornaments his language
In a pleasant and wise way.
For Meaning is present there to rule over all
In the bedchamber, dining hall, and tavern.
Sweet Thought and good Hope
Make him possess sweet Pleasure
And provide him with material;
And thus he writes with a happier demeanor
And a more pleasant feeling
Than the man who lives in sorrow;
For joy and misery, it seems to me,
Can accomplish little together.14

In light of the fact that the Roman Catholic church dictated and preserved the arts of
the first several hundred years of the medieval period, it is not surprising that a conflict began
to develop between the artistic mores and refinements of what Machaut's society hungered
after yet could not obtain without dissension. The rising unrest within the church and the
distrust of the hierarchy propelled music to take on a more secular bent. Sacred melodies
became fodder for venting political, religious, and social ideals.

6
Chapter 2

Ars nova

Nearly a century before Machaut there occurred a movement toward the development of polyphonic techniques. The wide-ranging effects of polyphony were to provide freedom in the expressive qualities of musical composition, such as creating tension and its resolution through cadences, motivic movement, and rhythmic devices between the voices. Machaut was not alone in his desire to experiment. He adopted the Ars nova techniques earlier than many of his colleagues. (The Bishop of Meaux, Philippe de Vitry (1291-1361), attained earthly immortality by compiling the famous treatise Ars nova (c. 1322) to which this writer refers. Traditionally this treatise had been attributed to Vitry, but more recent scholarship has shown the treatise to be rather a transmitted compilation of Vitry's teaching.\textsuperscript{15} Five, and possibly seven motets in this treatise, one of which has lost its music, can be attributed to Vitry with certainty.)

Ars nova formulated new notational and rhythmic concepts. It became the seed leading into the Renaissance. The two greatest innovations were the minim and imperfect mensuration. This was the first time duple (imperfect) division had been notated, and the godly-symbolic ideal of perfect (triple) division was challenged. The Ars nova initiated not only a more modern notational system, but also the departure from sacred realms of art.
*Ars nova*, or new art, has become a term used to denote fourteenth-century polyphonic styles leading into the Renaissance period versus the *Ars antiqua*, or old art, of the thirteenth-century. (The *Ars antiqua* was based on the teaching of the School of Notre Dame. This school of thought on compositional techniques was perpetuated in works by Léonin (c.1163-1201) and Pérotin (c.1200).) The *chanson* and the isorhythmic motet became the main musical forms of the *Ars nova* period.

Concepts presented in the *Ars nova* treatise were considered profane by the church. Never would imperfect time be permitted. The very thought of rendering the perfect to a state of imperfection was anathema. This new art being proposed by musicians and theorists created problems for the church that would have to be dealt with emphatically. Rhythmic devices such as smaller note values notated by the minim and semibreves were considered bothersome and detrimental to the purposes of the worship services.

The increasing use of hockets (*hoquet*) and counterpoint (*discantus*) and a greater expansion of polyphony through added voices such as the *triplum*, which was more often than not based on secular song, were considered sacrilege thrust upon the worshippers. The foundation of the modal chant and its simplicity was considered to be historically more conducive to active worship. The *Ars nova* techniques also employed a much greater use of the consonances of thirds and sixths which ran counter to the church’s preferred advocacy of the use of the perfect consonances of the fourth, fifth, and the octave. As evidenced, change and innovation are never accomplished without dissent.  

Pope John XXII issued a Bull, *Docta sanctorum* of 1323, [Translation, see Appendix 1] which identified many of the aforementioned practices and forbade their use
within the sacred context. The following exception for inclusion of these techniques was specified for their use "occasionally—and especially upon feast days or in the solemn celebrations of the Mass and in the aforesaid divine offices—the use of some consonances, for example the octave, fifth, and fourth, which heighten the beauty of the melody..."\(^{17}\)

The Bull further admonished that the new practices would ruin true devotion. The devotional aspect was believed to have been denigrated by the more sensuous and wanton nature of man through the barrage of new sounds. In order to further magnify the solemn nature of the church's reliance on the older practices, the Bull quoted as evidence Boethius' teachings which concurred that "a person who is intrinsically sensuous will delight in hearing these indecent melodies, and one who listens to them frequently will be weakened thereby and lose his virility of soul."\(^{18}\) The gravity of the Bull provides an in-depth view into the medieval mindset, even though it did not deter from the continuing use of the new techniques by composers such as Machaut.

The mounting dissension within the church, the courts, and the populace was the background for Machaut's creative gifts. Machaut was able to combine both the old and new forms in his poetry and music. He retained metrical melodies in his *lais*.\(^{19}\) The more strict metrical allegiance of his *lais* and *virelais* was also carried through his *Hoquetus David*. His expansion of isorhythmic techniques through numerous works is attested in his motets and four movements of his *Messe de Nostre Dame*: the *Kyrie*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei* and the *Ite Missa Est* from the Ordinary.\(^{20}\)
Chapter 3

\textit{Formes fixes}

Machaut is further recognized for his fixed poetic forms, the \textit{formes fixes}, which were found in his \textit{virelais, ballades,} and \textit{rondeaux}. The \textit{virelais} were often written in the manner of the older \textit{trouvère} types of northern France. The evolution of these fixed forms during the fourteenth century saw them lengthened in stanzas and refrains.

From a literary standpoint, there was an ever-increasing use of secular text. These forms were the foundation of the French style and were descended from dance songs. These forms were found not only in the courts, but were enjoyed by all segments of the population. They served as entertainment. Machaut became the leading figure of this tradition with his courtly love poetry, whether it be written for his patrons, or his own love, Peronnelle. His contemporaries patterned their work after his example.

In a very real sense ... late medieval lyrics are more a manifestation of manners, broadly taken, than of literary inspiration ... and perhaps they should be thought of as versified conversation rather than poetry. They aim at truth and pleasantness, though more often at the latter. Generally speaking, they are essentially affable works, their platitudes keyed to reinforcing social and ethical norms, their language suitably decorous. Their goal more often than not is enjoyment at the level of recreation, refreshment—the kind of unchallenging satisfactions associated today with the popular arts.

Machaut's influence on his contemporary Chaucer, has been begrudgingly noted by a Chaucer scholar. Chaucer's \textit{Complaint unto Pity} is cited as having been inspired by Machaut's
ballade, *Helas! je sui de si male heure nez*. This ballade follows the normal pattern of three to four stanzas, each ending in a refrain. (Line numbering has been added for reading convenience.)

*Helas! je sui de si male heure nez*

Helas! je sui de si male heure nez  
Qu'Amours me Het et ma dame m'oublie,  
Tous biens me fuit, tous mauls m'est destinez,  
Nuls ne saroit comparer ma hachie;  
Car Pitez s'est pour ma mort endormie,  
Grace et Eurl m'ont guerpy  
Et Fortune m'est contraire.  
Assez de meschiés a ci,  
Eins que joie en puise attraire.

Sans nul espoir d'estre reconfortez  
Sui et sans cuer, car toudis mercy prie,  
Li las! pour moy, et mes confors est telz  
Que durtez maint ou douceur est norrie;  
Cruautez vaint Franchise et Courtoisie,  
Loyauté est en oubly,  
Mes services ne puet plaire.  
Assez de meschiés a ci,  
Eins que joie en puise attraire.

Et avec ce si mal sui fortunez  
Que, pour faire moy plus languir en vie,  
Mors ne me vuet pour mes maleûrtez.  
Mais maugré lui morray, je n'en doubt mie,  
Car la durte de ma grief maladie  
A bien la mort desservi,  
Et pis s'on li pooit faire.  
Assez de meschiés a ci,  
Eins que joie en puise attraire.\(^{24}\)

Alas! I was born in such an unhappy hour that Love hates me and my lady forgets me; all good flees from me, all evils are my lot. None can match my sufferings, for Pity has gone to sleep to bring my death, Grace and Happiness have abandoned me and Fortune is against me. There will be much harm here before Joy can win the day.
I am without hope of being comforted and without my heart; for I ever cry for mercy, alas for me! and my comfort is such that hardness prevails where sweetness was nurtured, Cruelty conquers Openness and Courtesy, Loyalty is forgotten, my service is not pleasing. There will be much harm here before Joy can win the day.

And with all this I am so unlucky that to make me languish longer in life, to increase my unhappiness Death rejects me. But in spite of him I will die; I don't doubt it a bit, for the hardness of my heavy suffering has well earned death, and worse if that is possible. There will be much harm here before Joy can win the day.  

It should also be noted that Machaut did not set all of his poetry to music. The greater portion of his work is studied from a literary standpoint. His Livre du Voir Dit gives further evidence that the lyric poetry was in existence independently before being set to music. Two letters from Peronelle beg Machaut to set to music texts which he had sent her. He subsequently responds that nothing is to be added or taken away. The works were complete within themselves. The ballades set to music have been notated as ballades notées to distinguish them from the poetic ballades without music. Machaut's Remède de Fortune contained numerous specimens of the many varied forms. He did not limit his creativity—as evidenced in his numerous preserved works. Machaut was able to master innovation within the confines of the fixed formulae.

Machaut's La Louange des Dames provides further evidence of his creativity and proof to modern historians of his near-singular effort in the preservation and the dissemination of the ballade. The popularity of the ballade and its diffusion during the latter fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries owes in part to Machaut's prolific output. The work, La Louange des Dames, contains among its varied poetic forms two hundred and six ballades. Each ballade
consists of three stanzas without an envoi. The typical refrain consists of one line; however, a few rare occurrences of one-and-a-half or two-line refrains appear.
Chapter 4

Ballades notées

The ballades Machaut set to music (ballades notées) commonly follow the AAB or I I II musical form. The following two-voice ballade, *Dame, ne regardez pas* from *Louange* shows the normal refrain of one texted line, in this particular ballade, "Par vostre dous plaisant regart." The rhyme and syllabification can be notated with the musical setting as I(a7,b5); I(a7,b5) in measures 1-33 in Example 1.29

Ex. 1: Rhyme and Syllabification, Section I

Machaut, *Dame ne regardez pas*

**mm 1 - 33**
Repeated sections typically end in open cadences and conclude in closed cadences before the second musical section begins. The modal movement and voice leading appears simplistic at first glance in a modern transcription; however, closer examination reveals the mores of the time within the modal system. The expanding use of *musica ficta* has been transcribed in modern notation.\(^{30}\)

The number of lines may vary from either section of music; however, the typical setting consists of the first two lines (I) repeating to create the first four lines, or two pairs of lines, in the same musical section, most often with different endings. These texted lines within the same musical section invariably have identical metrical and rhyme schemes. The variation of the number of lines, as well as variations in the rhyme and meter, does not change the basic form.

In Example 2 (following page) the second section of *Dame, ne regardes pas* in measures 34-65 may be notated as \(I(b7,c8,C8)\). The second and third stanzas maintain this musical and metrical pattern.

Machaut designed fluid melodic lines showing great flexibility of the principal upper voice or *cantus*. Elaborate melismas, particularly on final syllables, are developed. His expansion of the use of the consonances of thirds and sixths is evidence of his acceptance and use of the newer harmonic techniques of the *Ars nova*. His music still employed the common numerous parallel fifths, fourths, and octaves and the characteristic dissonances while tempting the ears of those about him with the sweetness of the newer sonorities. The ballades vary from one voice, the cantus, to two-voice creations with the addition of the tenor as accompaniment. Machaut used the triplum and/or contratenor in developing his three and four-voice ballades. The fourth voice was more frequently in consonance with the tenor. The ballade, *De triste*
cuer - Quant vrais amans - Certes, je di was written in a three-voice setting as the title indicates.  

Ex. 2: Rhyme and Syllabification, Section II

Machaut, Dame, ne regardes pas

mm 34 - 65

Leo Schrade's transcription of this ballade exemplifies within its bounds of forty measures Machaut's frequent use of syncopation. The mensuration is in perfect time and minor prolation (equivalent of the indicated 3/4 time). As indicated in Example 3, the first four measures show the Cantus III in a heavily syncopated melisma on the word Certes.
Ex. 3: Syncopated Melisma

Machaut, *De triste cuer—Quant vrais amans—Certes, je di*

mm 1 - 6

In measures 9-10 of Example 4 the syncopated line of Cantus I and Cantus III counterpoint each other with both voices ending measure 11 in parallel sixths moving to a minor third at measure 12.

Ex. 4: Parallel Sixths

Machaut, *De triste cuer—Quant vrais amans—Certes, je di*

mm 7 - 13

Measure 15 in Example 5 shows Cantus II moving in syncopation with Cantus III in parallel major and minor thirds.
Ex. 5: Parallel Major and Minor Thirds

Machaut, De triste cuer—Quant vrais amans—Certes, je di

mm 14 – 21

The twelve-line ballade *Amours me fait désirer*, also included in *Louange*, has a more unique musical feature: It repeats the second section. Both of the repeating musical sections contain three texted lines each. The musical, metrical, and syllabification pattern is indicated as I(a7,a3,b7); I(a7,a3,b7); II(b7,b3,a7); and II(b7,b3,A7). The three-voice ballade (Cantus, Tenor, and Triplum) is also in perfect time and minor prolation and is transcribed by Schrade in 3/4 time. Measures 1-5 in Example 6 provide further examples of the use of syncopation and the frequent use of dissonances.

Ex. 6: Syncopation and Dissonance

Machaut, *Amours me fait désirer*

mm 1 – 5
An example of perfect time and major prolation (transcribed as 9/8) is found in the ballade *Ploures, dames*. This three voice ballade (Cantus, Tenor, Contratenor) is 46 measures long. The three verses consist of eight lines each; the metric and syllabic pattern of the first four lines is I(a10,b10); I(a10,b10); and the second musical section is notated as II(c7,c10,d10,D10). Measures 15 and 16 provide an example of a Phrygian cadence on E with the Cantus moving from D to E, and the Contratenor moving from F to E. The Tenor completes the minor third of the open cadence on a C sharp.34

Ex. 7: Phrygian Cadence

**Machaut, Ploures, dames**

**mm 15 – 19**

The Cantus melody of the first ending in Example 8 is reiterated in the second ending in Example 9 and is evident throughout the second musical section. The development and/or repetition of the melodic material from the first ending is a common practice in the construction of the ballade form used by Machaut.

The repeated first section and the second section follow the prescribed pattern of closed cadences; in this instance, the final is on D (Examples 8 and 9 on following page).35
Ex. 8: Cantus Melody; Cadence ending Section I

Machaut, *Ploures, dames*

mm 22 – 24

Ex. 9: Melodic Repetition; Cadence ending Section II

Machaut, *Ploures, dames*

mm 41 – 46
Chapter 5

Medieval Contradictions in Poetry and Music

Many of the medieval techniques, forms, and habits of thought persisted through this period as evidenced by Machaut's works. Change comes slowly over time and can be seen in the combination of thirteenth-century musical and poetical forms such as the rondeau. Machaut's contemporaries debated the mystical and theoretical relationship of music and mathematics. The same scholarly debate was still being contemplated two centuries later by Tinctoris in his treatise Liber de arte contrapuncti.

Verbal texture of fourteenth-century poetry integrated the personification of emotions, impulses, and processes. The poetry attempted to capture the essences of things, such as beauty. Machaut's ballades were nearly all based on the theme of courtly love. Even though a great evolution in secularization was occurring, the humanism being expounded was often centered in the eternal realm. The resolution of this seeming medieval contradiction is best summarized in the words of Vincent of Beauvais:

Verily how great is even the humblest beauty of this world, and how pleasing to the eye of reason diligently considering not only the modes and numbers and orders of things, so decorously appointed throughout the universe, but also the revolving ages which are ceaselessly uncoiled through abatements and successions, and are marked by the death of what is born. I confess, sinner as I am, with mind befouled in flesh, that I am moved with spiritual sweetness towards the creator and ruler of this world, and honour Him with greater
veneration, when I behold at once the magnitude, and beauty and permanence of His Creation.\(^3\)

The natural music of the poetic language and these descriptive essences can again be compared between Chaucer and Machaut. Following is the first stanza of Chaucer's *Womanly Noblesse*:

So hath myn herte caught in remembraunce
Your beaute hoole and stidfast governaunce,
Your vertues al and youre hie noblesse,
That you to serve is set al my plesaunce,
So wel me liketh your womanly contenaunce,
Your fresshe fetures and your comlynesse,
That whiles I live, myn herte to his maystresse
You hath ful chose in trewe perseveraunce
Never to chaunge, for no maner distresse.\(^3\)

The refrain and first stanza of Machaut's *virelai, Dame, le doulz souvenir* also illustrates a lover's sweet memory of his lady. It should be noted that this virelai has no musical setting.

*Dame, le doulz souvenir*

Refrain:

Dame, le doulz souvenir
Qu'ay nuit et jour
De vo parfaite douyour
Que tant desir
Me fait en joie languir
Et en dolour.

Lady, the sweet remembrance
that I have night and day
of your perfect sweetness,
which I desire so much,
makes me languish in joy
and in sorrow.

Stanza 1:

Car quant je puis bien penser
Par doucement ramembrer
Et à loisir
Qu'il n'a en vous point d'amor
Fors tout doulz a savourer,
Et qu', au plaisir

For since I can well ponder
By sweetly remembering
At my ease
That there is nothing bitter about you,
But all is sweet to savour,
And that, as all are pleased
De tous, des dames tenir
Vous oy la flour
Et des bonnes la millour,
Pas ne m'air;
Car en moy joie gringnour
Ne puet venir.

Refrain:

Dame, le douiz souvenir, etc. 39
Lady, the sweet remembrance, etc. 40

The dominant line length in this virelai is seven syllables interspersed with lines of four syllables. The virelais of Machaut employed mixed meter; but, unlike many of his followers, he never mixed more than two different lengths. The overall rhyme and syllabification scheme presents the following pattern: A7B4B7A4A7B4 c7c7a4 c7c7a4 a7b4b7a4b7a4 A7B4B7A4A7B4, etc. This is an example of the twenty-four line type of virelais.

Other virelai vary from eighteen to twenty-seven-line types. Those set to music (referred to as chanson balladée by Machaut) may be notated quite simply as an ABA [I,II,I] form with the refrain as A. However, the musical form is often dictated by the metric scheme, or vice versa, if the desired melody existed before the poetry. Following the above mentioned scheme, the musical form may also be notated as a fundamental pattern of [I II II I I] with the refrain [I] always concluding the composition.

Machaut was less conservative in the techniques used in the virelais than those he employed in his lais. This conservative approach to the song form combined with religious symbolism is exemplified in Machaut’s Lay de la fonteinne. Machaut fashioned the lai in strophes evenly alternating between monophonic and canonic strophes. The Holy Trinity was
symbolized in the three-part canonic-writing and the Unity of God the Father was stressed in the monophonic strophes. The *lai* is a redemptive prayer to the Virgin Mary.\(^{41}\)

The *virelai* has only one portion set in text. The other portion is performed instrumentally. The majority of secular music was set in such fashion, with the exception of the ballades and motets. Machaut's virelai accompaniments were set apart by his characteristically dominant texted melodic line. Two important techniques were the continuous flow of text without rests at the end of lines, as well as the use of duple (minor) prolation in the polyphonic virelais. The monophonic virelais were predominantly in imperfect time and major prolation (transcribed as 6/8 in the following example).\(^{42}\) The refrain from Machaut’s virelai, *Dame a vous sans retollir* from *Remède de Fortune* is excerpted in Example 10 below.\(^{43}\)

Ex. 10: Imperfect time and major prolation

**Machaut, Refrain: Dame a vous sans retollir**

The following illustration by Lawrence Earp shows the refrain [I] and first stanza [II] analyzed in metrical units, rhyme, and syllabification. *Enjambement* indicates the procedure of allowing a clause to overflow into the next line rather than stressing the rhyme through rests or long notes.\(^{44}\)
Machaut, *Dame a vous sans retoller*

Key to symbols: 1, 2: metrical units  
\longrightarrow: musical enjambment

1. Dame, a vous sans retoller
   \[ \begin{align*}
   &1 \quad \downarrow 2 \quad \downarrow 1 \quad \downarrow 2 \quad 1 \quad \downarrow 2 \\
   \end{align*} \]
   A7 Lady, without reservation

2. Dois a cuer, pensa de desair
   \[ \begin{align*}
   &1 \quad \downarrow 1 \quad \downarrow 2 \quad \downarrow 1 \quad \downarrow 2 \\
   \end{align*} \]
   A7 I give my heart, my thoughts, my desires.

3. Corps, et amour
   \[ \begin{align*}
   &1 \quad \downarrow 1 \quad \downarrow 2 \quad \downarrow 1 \\
   \end{align*} \]
   B4 myself and my love

4. Comme a toute la nuit
   \[ \begin{align*}
   &1 \quad \downarrow 2 \quad \downarrow 1 \quad \downarrow 2 \\
   \end{align*} \]
   B7 to you, as the very best woman

5. Qu'on puisse choire
   \[ \begin{align*}
   &1 \quad \downarrow 1 \quad \downarrow 2 \quad \downarrow 1 \\
   \end{align*} \]
   A4 one might find,

6. Ne qui vive ne morit
   \[ \begin{align*}
   &1 \quad \downarrow 2 \quad \downarrow 1 \quad \downarrow 2 \\
   \end{align*} \]
   A7 the best of all who lived or died

The majority of the virelais were monophonic. In his two-part and the one three-part polyphonic virelais, an instrumental tenor part was used to accompany the solo voice. The virelais of Machaut were extensive and averaged sixty or more lines. Deschamps accurately
portrayed the virelai form as "une chose longue et malaisée a faire et trouver" / "a long and difficult thing to make and create." 46

Machaut's creativity continued through his composition of numerous rondeaux in two, three, four, and five parts. The form in music and rhyme scheme is AB aA ab AB (one stanza) or [I II I I II I II] in a typical eight-line scheme. Machaut completed over sixty rondeaux in Louange. Within this group Machaut varied the syllabic line content. Forty-three use a decasyllabic line. The remaining rondeaux vary from seven- to eight-syllable lines. Seven of the Louange rondeaux are eleven-line type. Two have the following rhyme and musical form:

A BA a A a ba A BA, musically structured [I II I I II I II] with either seven- or ten-syllable lines. The remaining five are based on the patterns: A BB a A a bb A BB, or [I II I I II I II] with eight- or ten-syllable lines. The following example is an eight-line, decasyllabic rondeaux:

Blanche com lis, plus que rose vermeille,  
Resplendissant com rubis d'Oriant,  
En remirant vo viauté nonpareille,  
Blanche com lis, plus que rose vermeille,  
Sui si ravis que mes cuers toudis veille  
Afin que serve a loy de fin amant,  
Blanche com lys, plus que rose vermeille,  
Resplendissant com rubis d'Oriant. 47
Chapter 6

Machaut’s Mass

The largest single musical work, and the only work with a strictly liturgical function in Machaut’s output is Machaut's Mass, *La Messe de Nostre Dame* (The Mass of Our Lady). This is the earliest complete setting of the Ordinary in existence by one composer. Through manuscript evidence it is believed the Mass was written between c.1350 and c.1372. Stylistically the evidence would place the Mass in the earlier 1360s. It is historically speculated that the Mass was performed at the coronation of Charles V in 1364; however, at the opposite end of the spectrum are those who propose the Mass was a mere compilation of movements composed at various periods. Notwithstanding either proposal, there are no further completed settings of the Mass until the Renaissance.\(^{48}\)

Armand Machabey believed that the Mass was possibly connected in some fashion to Machaut's will. Machabey noted that in his study of eighteenth-century manuscript copies of church records made by Canon Weyen, Machaut and his brother Jean, (also a canon of Reims from 1355 until his death in 1374), were commemorated by an inscription in the cathedral. Further evidence copied by Canon Weyen in the eighteenth-century collection of facts regarding previous Reims cathedral dignitaries is a vast number of epitaphs which are often
listed below the title of the mass celebrated in their memory. Following is the transcribed inscription in the cathedral:

Guillaume de Machaut and his brother Jean
Are joined in this harmonious place as cup to mouth.
Their memorial is, according to their wish,
That the prayer for the dead, on every Saturday,
For their souls and for those of their friends,
May be said by a priest about to celebrate faithfully,
At the altar by the Roella, a mass which is to be sung.
On account of their prayer, with pious devotion
To their memory, we have set aside money—
Three hundred florins certified as French—
Which we have handed over from their executors
For payment for the said mass and in order to nourish,
By that means, those present and diligently attending.
These brothers may the Lord save, who takes all sin away. 49

Machaut's inscription is under the title *Messe de Beata*, indicating that the mass is of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A second eighteenth-century copy introduces the epitaph with the following explanatory paragraph:

Guillaume and Jean de Machaux, both brothers and canons of the church of Our Lady of Reims; it is they who founded the Mass of the Virgin which is sung on Saturdays in the above named church, as is explained in their epitaph which may be seen on the brass near the altar of the roella in the nave.50

The final portion of evidence used by Machabey is a document in which the cathedral Chapter agrees to the wishes of a canon, Jean de Verrier, to the institution of two masses. The second mass was to include "that prayer for the dead (after the death of our brother [i.e. Jean de Verrier]) namely *Inclina domine aurem tuam*, as is customarily said on Saturdays in the Mass of the Blessed Mary at the Roella in the said church for the late Guillaume de Machaut, previously canon of Reims . . ."51
Machaut used isorhythmic techniques in the *Kyrie, Sanctus, Agnus Dei,* and the *Ite Missa Est.* The *Kyrie* is in the symbolic ternary form representative of the Holy Trinity. The tenor was culled from Mass IV, *Cunctipotens Genitor Deus.* The *color,* or the melodic content, was based on the chant. The rhythmic modes employed in units formed the *talea.* Ideally, the statements of the *color* and *talea* were mathematically calculated to comprise the isorhythmic repetitions into a cohesive unit. Machaut achieved this ideal in the *Kyrie.* The *Kyrie* was based on a 28-note mode 1 chant. This Tenor (chant/color) would then be mathematically calculated most typically into a *talea* of two statements of a 14-note rhythmic pattern, or four statements of seven notes each, or theoretically fourteen statements of two notes. However, the *talea* used by Machaut is a more unusual four-note pattern with seven statements. A reduction of the *Kyrie* I (I designating the first movement of the tripartite setting) Tenor is shown below in Example 11.

Ex. 11: Mode 1 Chant Pitches

Machaut, *Kyrie* I: Tenor pitches

The *Kyrie* I Tenor rhythm is transcribed below in Example 12.

Ex. 12: Tenor Rhythm

Machaut, *Kyrie* I: Tenor rhythm
Machaut adopted a refinement of using three *talea* of nine notes plus a final note. However, this final would fall outside the isorhythmic scheme. The following illustration of the Kyrie Contratenor isorhythm compared to the Tenor is indicative of the shortened repetition.\(^{55}\)

**Machaut, Kyrie I: Isorhythm**

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The chants used in the *Sanctus* and the *Agnus Dei* were from Mass XVII. The isorhythms were employed in these settings along with the *Ite Missa Est*. These portions were in the Lydian or Hypolydian modes ending on F. This formed a cohesiveness of tonality with the *Kyrie, Gloria*, and *Credo* in the Dorian mode.

Ex. 13: Symbolic Declamation, "Et incarnatus est"

**Machaut, Messe de Nostre Dame, Credo**

mm 65 – 70
The remaining forms of the *Gloria* and *Credo* were set in conductus, or note-against-note style. The *Credo* chant is paraphrased in the motetus. Machaut also employed a symbolic broadening of the melody at "*Et incarnatus est,*" following a more rapidly moving arrangement of the triplum, motetus, tenor, and contratenor as seen in Example 13 (preceding page). This creates a textual emphasis significant in declamatory style.

Another example of symbolism is the dissonance on the word "*Crucifixus*" as seen in the following excerpt in Example 14.

Ex. 14: Symbolic Dissonance

**Machaut, Messe de Nostre Dame, Credo**

mm 81 - 85

Machaut's Mass gives evidence of a motive in a descending pentachord as seen in Example 15. Whether this was an intentional cohesive venture employed by Machaut is not known. The pattern is evident in all settings of the Ordinary. Examples 16 and 17 provide glimpses of the motive culled from the *Christe* and *Agnus dei.*
Ex. 15: Motive

*Motive of Messe de Nostre Dame*

Ex. 16: Motive

*Messe de Nostre Dame, Christe*

mm 1 - 5

Ex. 17: Motive

*Messe de Nostre Dame, Agnus dei*

mm 1 - 5

32
Chapter 7

Machaut's Legacy

The truly most unique feature in the life of Guillaume de Machaut is not necessarily the prolific output of music and language. It is not his willingness to become an adventurous proponent of new styles and methods which were cast in shades of darkness by an oppressive clergy. Nor is it the relationship of Machaut, as a much older man, with a teenage girl named Peronnelle d'Armantières, with whom he corresponded and had an affair. (Machaut was over fifty when he was introduced to the nineteen-year-old Peronnelle.)

The most important feature of Machaut's life was his autobiographical *Livre du Voir Dit* and his immense effort in preserving his own works. The *Voir dit* is the first recorded instance of a musician's autobiography. It contains the story of his love, Peronnelle. It was a great sadness that love arrived so late in his life. Much of his later years were spent in copying and preserving his works in manuscripts that have survived through the ages. Machaut never lacked for patrons among the courts or clergy. The many requests for works and/or copies of his collections are well documented.

Machaut writes of some of these preservation efforts in his correspondence with Peronnelle. In a letter sent from Reims on 3 November 1363 Machaut questions Peronnelle as

33
to why she has not replied to him regarding the book he sent her. He requests her comments on the book as well as ballades he composed for her specifically. He writes:

My sweet heart, my dear sister, and my sweetest love, I pray that you take good care of my book and that you show it to as few persons as you can. And if there is any thing which displeases you, or that may not seem at all good to you, then make a little sign, and I shall take it away and amend it to my best power . . . My sweetest heart, I am sending you the .II. ballades which you once saw—and which were made for you—in writing. And so I humbly beg that you learn them: for I have made their music in .III. parts and have heard them several times and like them very much.57

A subsequent letter from Machaut to Peronnelle gives another glimpse into the mind and heart of the poet and composer. The letter was sent from Reims in 1363 and attests to the deep love and respect of the aging man for the young Peronnelle. His keen use of the tools of his trade, the language and a tender heart, are seen in the use of analogy and metaphor. He reiterates to Peronnelle methods of performance of his composition. Machaut clarifies for Peronnelle the extent of his collected book which was fashioned for his patron. He promises to share the bounty, "more than twenty portions,"58 of the collection with her when it is completed. [Translation, see Appendix 2]

new edition which is not yet completed is by Sylvette Leguy, Guillaume de Machaut 1300-1377; Oeuvres complètes (Paris: Le Droit Chemin de Musique, 1977-).

The many known manuscripts of Machaut's works have been notated in omnibus collections and are notated in a seeming alphabetical order (MSS A,B,C,D,E,F/G,K,J,M, and Vg). In researching Machaut's works it is necessary to study several of the manuscripts in light of the different existing variants. The tediousness of copying by hand leaves room for error. Each of these manuscripts contain varying portions of Machaut's narrative/lyric poetry, as well as varying musical collections. The vast majority of the manuscripts are located in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale. The most complete collections are A and F-G. The following lists the sigla, assigned by Ernest Hoepffner, to the following MSS:59

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<tbody>
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<td>A</td>
<td>Paris, BN 1584</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>Paris, BN 9221</td>
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<tr>
<td>F-G</td>
<td>Paris, BN 22545-22546</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Paris, Arsenal 5203</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Berne, Burgerbibliothek 218</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Paris, BN 843</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Vg</td>
<td>New York, Wildenstein family</td>
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Lawrence Earp notes that MS F-G is the only manuscript whose original ownership is proven. This manuscript belonged to Machaut's patron, Jean (John), Duke of Berry. The Duke's holograph ex libris is found at the end of the volume. There is also an elaborate statement of ownership by John's secretary, Jean Flamel, on the flyleaf. John's patronage is dated to 1360, and the manuscript date is c.1390.60
Machaut most certainly obtained one of his greatest desires. The fact remains that his words and music have survived over six centuries and still speak to us today. Leo Schrade summarizes the life and works of Machaut with the statement:

It is not from his autobiography, not from his *Livre du Voir Dit*, . . . , his Fiction and Truth, but from his music and poetry that we rake the evidence of his tragic being. Yet is it his own or that of his time? For the tone of melancholy pervades all that he composed, and it sounds as though it echoed the cultural climate of the declining Middle Ages, rather than the singular grief of a personal tragedy.\(^{61}\)

Guillaume de Machaut may well have proven to be the victor of his quest.
Appendix 1

Docta sanctorum, 1323

Certain disciples of the new school, much concerned with measured rhythms, write in new notes, preferring to devise methods of their own rather than to continue singing in the old way. The music therefore of the divine offices is now performed with semibreves and minims, and with these notes of small value every composition is pestered. Moreover, they truncate the melodies with hoquets, they lubricate them with counterpoints (discantibus), and sometimes they even stuff them with upper parts (triplis et motetis) made out of secular songs. So that often they must be losing sight of the fundamental sources of our melodies in the Antiphoner and Gradual, and may thus forget what that is upon which their superstructure is raised. They may become entirely ignorant concerning the ecclesiastical Tones, which they already no longer distinguish, and the limits of which they even confound, since, in the multitude of their notes, the modest risings and temperate descents of the plainsong, by which the scales themselves are to be known one from another, must be entirely obscured. Their voices are incessantly running to and fro, intoxicating the ear, not soothing it, while the men themselves endeavour to convey by their gestures the sentiment of the music which they utter. As a consequence of all this, devotion, the true end of worship, is little thought of, and wantonness, which ought to be eschewed, increases. Thus, it was not without good reason that Boethius said: "A person who is intrinsically sensuous will delight in hearing these indecent melodies, and one who listens to them frequently will be weakened thereby and lose his virility of soul."

This state of things, hitherto the common one, we and our brethren have regarded as standing in need of correction; and we now hasten therefore to banish those methods, nay rather to cast them entirely away, and to put them to flight more effectually than heretofore, far from the house of God. Wherefore, having taken counsel with our brethren, we straitly command that no one henceforward shall think himself at liberty to attempt those methods, or methods like them, in the aforesaid Offices, and especially in the canonical Hours, or in the solemn celebrations of the Mass.
And if any be disobedient, let him, on the authority of this Canon, be punished by a suspension from office of eight days; either by the Ordinary of the diocese in which the forbidden things are done or by his deputies in places not exempt from episcopal authority, or, in places which are exempt, by such of their offices as are usually considered responsible for the correction of irregularities and excesses, and such like matters.

Yet, for all this, it is not our intention to forbid, occasionally—and especially upon feast days or in the solemn celebrations of the Mass and in the aforesaid divine offices—the use of some consonances, for example the octave, fifth, and fourth, which heighten the beauty of the melody; such intervals therefore may be sung above the simple ecclesiastical Chant, yet so that the integrity of the Chant itself may remain intact, and that nothing in the authoritative music be changed. Used in such sort the consonances would much more than by any other method both soothe the hearer and arouse his devotion, and also would not destroy religious feeling in the minds of the singers. 62
Appendix 2

Letter to Peronnelle

My sovereign lady, a knight must have no calling or science other than: arms lady, and conscience. Therefore I swear to you and promise that I shall serve you loyally and diligently to the best of my power with all I do and can do, and all to your honor, as Lancelot and Tristram never served their ladies, and have your likeness as my earthly deity and as the most precious and glorious relic that ever I did see in any place. And henceforth it shall be my heart, my castle, my treasure, and my comfort against all ills in truth. If it please God, I shall see you before Pentecost; for you and your sweet likeness have brought me to such a point that, the Lord be thanked, you have healed me completely. And I should have left before now, but there is a great company of soldiers a few leagues from us; therefore riding is most perilous. I send you my book, Morpheus, which they call La Fontaine amoureuse, in which I have made a song to your order, and by God it is long since I have made so good a thing to my satisfaction; and the tenors are as sweet as unsalted pap. I beg therefore that you deign to hear it, and know the thing just as it is, without adding or taking away; and it is to be sung in a goodly long measure [i.e., a broad tempo]; and if anyone play it on the organs, bagpipe, or other instrument, that is its right nature. I am also sending you a ballade, which I made before receiving your sweet likeness: for I was a little hurt because of some words which had been said to me; but as soon as I saw your sweet likeness I was healed & free of melancholy. My most sovereign lady, I would have brought you my book to amuse you, wherein are all the things which I have ever made, but it is in more than twenty portions, for I had it made for one of my lords; and so I am having the notes put to it, and that is why it has to be in portions. And when the notes will have been put to it, I shall bring it or send it to you, if it please God. My most sovereign lady, I pray God that he may give you your heart's desire and such honor as I wish you may have; and God give you solace and joy, such as I might wish for myself.
Endnotes


4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., 2.


10 Ibid.


14 Ibid.


17 Levarie, Guillaume de Machaut, 34-36.

18 Ibid.

19 Stevens, Words and Music, 454-455.


21 James I. Wimsatt, Chaucer and His French Contemporaries: Natural Music in the Fourteenth Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 44.

22 Ibid., 273.

23 Ibid., x-xi.

24 Ibid., 88-89.

25 Ibid.


30 Ibid.
31 Ibid., 114-115.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid., 92-93.
34 Ibid., 120-121.
35 Ibid.
39 Ibid., 27.
40 Ibid.
44 Ibid., 129.
49 Ibid., 10-11.
50 Ibid., 11.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid., 18.
54 Ibid., 25.
55 Ibid., 22.
56 Levarie, Guillaume de Machaut, 16-17.
58 Weiss and Taruskin, Music in the Western World, 76-77.
58 Ibid, 27.
60 Lawrence Earp, “Machaut’s Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Works,” Journal of the American Musicological Society 42, no. 3 (Fall 1989): 489.
62 Levarie, Guillaume de Machaut, 34-36.
63 Weiss and Taruskin, Music in the Western World, 76-77.
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