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Doctrinal Transmission in Guillaume de Machaut: Aristotelian Memory and Poetico-Musical Mnemonics

Author
Gobeille, Christopher Jackson

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Doctrinal Transmission in Guillaume de Machaut: Aristotelian Memory and Poetico-Musical Mnemonics

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in French and Francophone Studies

by

Christopher Jackson Gobeille

2022

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Doctrinal Transmission in Guillaume de Machaut:

Aristotelian Memory and

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by

Christopher Jackson Gobeille

Doctor of Philosophy in French and Francophone Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Zrinka Stahuljak, Chair

This dissertation explores the multifaceted role of memory in the formulation and transmission of love doctrine in Guillaume de Machaut's corpus of poetry and music. Machaut's poetic treatment of love was innovative in that unlike earlier conventions of love in medieval French poetry, it stressed the value of chastity, and a distinct love doctrine can be devised from his corpus that seeks to teach audiences to find amorous joy from within without dependence on or expectation of reciprocation. This doctrine, heretofore discussed at length by scholars such as Douglas Kelly and Elizabeth Eva Leach, is developed through a series of idealized virtues: *Souvenir* (Memory), *Dous Penser* (Sweet Thought), *Esperance* (Hope), and *Souffisance* (Sufficiency). While much existing scholarship has privileged *Esperance*, this study focuses on

the crucial and largely overlooked role *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*, which are correlated respectively to the Aristotelian notions of *memoria et reminiscentia* (memory and reminiscence). To demonstrate the nature and function of these virtues in Machaut's corpus, four narrative poems are analyzed: the general prologue to BnF MS fr. 1584 (known simply as the *Prologue*), *Remede de Fortune*, *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, and *Le Livre dou Voir Dit.* These readings establish the necessary context within which to interpret the function of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* in Machaut's more referentially abstract lyric poetry, much of which he set to music.

Of equal importance is the study's consideration of how the inherently mnemonic qualities of poetic structure and musical form work together to render text, melody, and the didactic messages they transmit more memorable. Analysis of lyric poetry focuses mostly on the *lais*, and consideration of music includes the songs inserted into *Remede de Fortune*, and the *virelais*, with a privileged focus on monophonic selections, since they bear certain mnemonic and didactic qualities less prevalent in polyphony. As this dissertation responds to recent calls for greater engagement among literary scholars with Machaut's music, it employs certain musicological methods such as analysis of text declamation, musical notation, melodic contour, and rhythmic organization. However, since the study is principally aimed toward a literary readership, such analyses are supplemented with a glossary of musical terms and are conducted in manner intended to be accessible to non-musicologists.

The dissertation of Christopher Jackson Gobeille is approved.

Jean-Claude Carron

Laure Murat

Tamara Judith-Marie Levitz

John C. Dagenais

Jennifer Bain

Zrinka Stahuljak, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my wife and daughter who have ardently supported me during this long journey; and to Dr. Enrique Heredia, my dear teacher and friend who gave me the gift of the French language.

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The following terms are left untranslated in most cases because their modern English equivalents do not accurately or sufficiently convey their meaning in the context of this study.

Dous Penser

Literally: "Sweet Thought." A state of deep reflection born of reminiscence upon individually stored memories of the beloved. This state of reflection brings joy, consolation, and *Esperance*.

encerclement

A term referring to the effect of refrain placement in medieval French *rondeaux* and *virelais*. Since in both forms the refrain appears at in initial, intermediary, and final positions, it gives the

impression of surrounding or "encircling" non-refrain material. It also creates a cyclical feeling of "circling back" to the refrain. It is both a textual and a musical phenomenon.

entendement

Literally: "understanding." In the context of Machaut, *entendement* to refer to deep and true understanding of doctrine. Various aspects of poetico-musical form work to instill *entendement* into the minds and hearts of audiences.

Esperance

Literally: "Hope." Preceded by and achieved through *Dous Penser* and *Souvenir*, *Esperance* is the penultimate phase of Machaut's love doctrine. It denotes a state of joyful hope that the beloved will reciprocate (grant *merci*), or at the very least, recognize the lover's devotion and admiration. If sustained, it leads to *Souffisance*.

felicitas

Literally: "felicity." In Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy*, *felicitas* denotes a state of internal and self-sustained joy unbeholden to external circumstances or material goods. In light of Boethius' profound influence on Machaut, *felicitas* can be directly correlated to *Souffisance*.

memoria

Literally: "memory." In Aristotelian thought, *memoria* refers both to the faculty of memory (the ability to store memories), and to individual memories themselves. In this way, it corresponds both to *memoire* and *souvenir* in Machaut's language.

memoire

Literally: “memory.” In Machaut, *memoire* refers to the area of the heart or mind where memories (*souvenirs*) are stored. It refers to the faculty of memory and thus corresponds to that component of Aristotle’s notion of *memoria*.

merci

Literally: “mercy.” In Machaut, *merci* is difficult to translate into modern French or English, but generally, when the lover implores the *merci* of the beloved, they are begging to reciprocation, or at least acknowledgment of their love. Among desirous lovers, it may denote carnal, sexual reciprocation. For more erudite and well-indoctrinated lovers, however, it is sometimes depicted to be synonymous with *Souffisance*.

reminiscentia

Literally: “reminiscence.” In. Aristotelian thought, *reminisentia* refers the conscious and deliberate reflection upon a given stored memory. Its aim is to relive the *affect* associated with the physical experience that created the memory. In the context of this study, it corresponds directly to *Dous Penser*.

Souffisance

Literally: “sufficiency.” *Souffisance* is the ultimate fruit of Machaut’s love doctrine. Corresponding to Boethius’ notion of *felicitas*, it is a state of internal and self-sustained amorous joy born of hope (*Esperance*) that the beloved might reciprocate.

Souvenir

Literally: a "memory." *Souvenir* is the first phase of Machaut's love doctrine. It refers to memories produced in the presence of the beloved, whether mentally inscribed images of her face or body, the gaze of her eyes, or the sound of her voice. Contemplation of *Souvenir* leads to *Dous Penser*.

GLOSSARY OF MUSICAL TERMS

This glossary was made with reference to the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and to Elizabeth Eva Leach's glossary in *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician*. Leach's study is listed in the secondary sources section of the biblopgraphy. In the body of this dissertation, glossed words are underlined at their first appearance in each chapter. Terms defined elsewhere in this glossary are underlined in the following entries.

brevis

A rhythmic note value in mensural notation written as a square shape. In the thirteenth century, it had a relatively short rhythmic duration. However, in Machaut's era, the presence of two lesser rhythmic note values, the *semivrevis* and the *minima*, made it such that the *brevis* became a note of relatively long rhythmic duration, often being transcribed in modern notation to as the equivalent of an entire measure.

cadence

An articulation within a musical phrase that progresses through a sequence of harmonic tension and resolution, with tension generally peaking toward the center of the phrase, and the resolution occurring at the end. A closed cadence (*clos*) has a strong sense of tonal finality and occurs at the second ending of repeated sections and at the end of a song. An open cadence (*ouvert*) leaves some level of unresolved tonal tension relative to a closed cadence, and typically occurs at the first ending of a repeated section.

cantus

The texted line of a polyphonic song.

declamatory dissonance

A phenomenon whereby the text of a song is declaimed in such a way that poetic rhythm and musical rhythm are out of alignment (i.e., strong poetic syllables fall in a weak musical position, or vice versa). For example, according to Graeme Boone theorized convention of text declamation, declamatory dissonance would occur if in a poetic line with an odd number of syllables, the odd-numbered poetic syllables were displaced from the *initium* of the music.

downbeat

In modern music, the first and most rhythmically prominent beat of a measure of music. It is roughly synonymous with the *initium* in medieval music.

final

In medieval music, the last pitch of a melodic line.

initium

A marker of time in medieval mensural music that outlines the cyclical passing of rhythmic units. For example, in *modus* mensuration, the initium falls on the first note of each *longa* unit. In this way, it is somewhat analogous to the downbeat of modern music. However, it is not fully understood if the *initium* denotes rhythmic strength and prominence in the same way as the downbeat.

Interval

The tonal difference and distance between two pitches in music. Distance is designated by counting the number of pitches from the two pitches of the interval (e.g., two notes = a second, three notes = a third, four notes = a fourth, etc.).

longa

A rhythmic note value in mensural music written as a square shape with a descending vertical stroke on the right side. In the fourteenth century, its relative rhythmic duration was very long due to the emergence of the *semibrevis* and the *minima*. It is the principal rhythmic unit of *modus* mensuration. In Machaut's music it is most often seen in the *lais* and *motets*.

measure

In modern music a unit of metrical organization marked by a downbeat and separated from other measure by barlines (vertical lines that pass through the staves). The term is a synonym of the word "bar."

melisma

A melody or a portion of a melody wherein several pitches declaim a single poetic syllable. Alternatively stated: when a single poetic syllable is sung across several pitches. Music with many melismas is referred to as melismatic.

mensuration, mensural music

The proportional relationship between different rhythmic note values. In fourteenth century music, there were four principal mensurations: *modus perfectus*, *modus imperfectus*, *tempus perfectum*, and *tempus imperfectum*. In *modus* mensuration, the principal rhythmic unit is the

longa, and it is subdivided into *brevae*. In *tempus* mensuration, the principal rhythmic unit is the *brevis,* and it is subdivided into *semivbrevae*. *Perfectus* denotes triple subdivision, and *imperfectus*, duple subdivision. Music that uses this system of rhythmic organization is known as mensural music.

minima

A rhythmic note value in medieval mensural music written as a diamond figure with an ascending vertical stroke. In was an innovation of the *ars nova* movement and in Machaut's music, represents the smallest rhythmic duration possible.

modus

A mensuration denotating the proportional relationship between the *longa* and the *brevis*. The *longa* is the principal unit of rhythmic organization. It is most commonly seen in Machaut's *lais* and *motets*.

monophonic music, monophony

Music wherein a single melody declaims a text. In contrast, polyphonic music involves multiple simultaneous melodies, and in some instances, multiple simultaneous texts.

music overlay

A scribal practice wherein text is entered into a manuscript before musical notation. This was the most common practice in Machaut's era and in his complete-works manuscripts. Music overlay yields a clearer text-music relationship then the opposite practice of text underlay.

musical enjambment

When a melody continues across multiple poetic lines, often having the effect of lengthening a poetic line in ways that alter textual delivery and induce declamatory dissonance.

prolatio

A mensuration denoting the proportional relationship between the *semibrevis* and the *minima*. The *semibrevis* is the principal unit of rhythmic organization. *Prolatio* was an innovation of the *ars nova* movement, and it is the lowest level of rhythmic organization in Machaut's music. Triple subdivision of the *semibrevis* is known are *prolatio maior*, and duple *subdivision*, as *prolatio minor*.

pulse

In modern music, a sequence of equally spaced beats marked by the cyclical passing of downbeats. Pulse provides the rhythmic and metrical structure of a given piece.

rhythmic modes

A set of rhythmic patterns of long and short durations used by the Notre Dame school of composers centered in Paris circa 1170-1250. The rhythmic modes are similar too, if not derived from the various metrical feet of Latin quantitative poetry.

semibrevis

A rhythmic note value in mensural music written as a diamond figure. In Machaut's music, it has the second shortest rhythmic duration, only being greater than that of the *minima*. It is the principal rhythmic unit of *prolatio* mensuration.

subdivision

The division of a given rhythmic unit into multiple units of lesser but cumulatively equal value. Subdivisions are generally either duple or triple in proportion to the next greatest rhythmic unit (e.g., a *longa* may be subdivided into either two or three *brevae*, respectively).

syllabic music

Music that predominantly contains a one-to-one pith-syllable ratio. Most of Machaut's monophonic music is syllabic.

tempus

A mensuration denoting the proportional relationship between the *brevis* and the *semibrevis*. The *brevis* is the principal unit of rhythmic organization.

text declamation

The manner in which a composer or scribe sets text to music.

text underlay

A scribal practice wherein musical notation is first added into a manuscript and the text is subsequently inscribed below. In the fifteenth century, it became more common than music overlay. Text underlay is less accurate than music overlay in its depiction of the text-music relationship.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the help and support of many people in my professional and personal life, and of the many institutions that helped fund my research and education over the last eight years. I would like to take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to everyone involved.

First and foremost, I want to thank Professor Zrinka Stahuljak, my dissertation chair, who has thoughtfully and generously nurtured this project from its genesis. I entered graduate school with a strong interest in Machaut, and she told me from the beginning that there had been calls in the field of Machaut studies for literary specialists who could also engage meaningfully with music. She believed that I, as someone with training in French language and literature who is also a life-long classically trained musician, had the interests and potential skills to respond to that call. Together, through this project, we have pursued that goal. In light of the interdisciplinary nature of my research, Professor Stahuljak's open-mindedness and dedication to finding the ideal scholars to join my committee have been invaluable. She also facilitated very early on in my studies, opportunities for me to begin developing the many skills necessary for medievalists—namely, Latin, Old French, paleography and manuscript skills. During my first year of as a graduate student, she helped me secure the Mellon Graduate Fellowship for Post-Classical Latin Studies, and she provided a recommendation on my behalf to enroll in Professor Richard Rouse's exclusive medieval paleography seminar. Her seminar on Old French language helped me develop the necessary skills to read medieval French literature in its original language. Finally, she has helped me secure generous amounts of funding over the years through various fellowships from the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, the UCLA

Graduate Division, as well as the Mellon Fellowship mentioned above. Professor Stahuljak, I am infinitely grateful for your guidance and support. Thank you.

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In the early stages of my project, there was some difficulty in finding a musicologist for the committee who specialized in medieval studies. Professor Levitz kindly offered to stand in as an interim musicological advisor, and she was instrumental in helping me learn to conduct my musical analyses from a perspective more in line with current musicological methodologies. Professor Levitz, thank you.

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a specialist in medieval poetry from the UCLA Department of Spanish and Portuguese, has gone above and beyond in the depth and thoughtfulness of his feedback on my dissertation. I also worked as his research assistant during the 2018-2019 academic year, and I learned to read Old Occitan in his 2019 graduate seminar. Professor Dagenais, my experiences working with you have helped me become a much more versatile and well-rounded medievalist, and your insights have truly helped me produce a better dissertation. Professors Carron and Murat, I am grateful for your guidance over these many years, and I have always greatly admired your deep knowledge on many subjects. I thank you all.

I would also like to recognize various UCLA faculty members who were not part of my dissertation committee. From the Department of French and Francophone Studies, I am grateful to Professor Dominic Thomas for his exceptional generosity as departmental chair during most of my years as a graduate student. Professor Sara Melzer's wisdom about writing and her insights on time management and mental energy conservation have had a deep and lasting effect on my scholarship. Professor Lia Brozgal's excellent pedagogy and academic rigor have been an inspiration to me since my undergraduate years. I thank Dr. Kimberly Jansma and Dr. Laurence Denié-Higney for their guidance during my many years of teaching in the French department. From the Department of Classics, I would like to thank Professor Robert Gurval for his role in awarding me the Mellon Graduate Fellowship for Post-Classical Latin Studies, and Dr. Justin Haynes (now Assistant Professor of Classics at Georgetown University—congratulations!) for his engaging courses on Post-Classical Latin literature and medieval paleography. Finally, and not least, I would like to thank Professor Richard Rouse of the Department of History and his wife Mary for accepting me into their paleography seminar.

I extend a note of gratitude to all the institutions that have helped fund my education and research over the last eight years: the Department of French and Francophone Studies, the Department of Classics, the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, the LAMAR Consortium, the UCLA Graduate Division, and Yale University. Without the generous support of these institutions, none of this would have been possible.

I must thank my wife, Alba, and my daughter, Lilia, for so loyally supporting, encouraging—and dare I say—tolerating me during this very long and arduous process. Alba, your intellectual curiosity and genuine interest in my work have been great assets to me; throughout this journey, you have been a reader, a listener, an editor, and most of all, a loyal and loving companion. I know that due to the exigencies of my studies, you have often had to bear more of the household load than was fair. Thank you for being so generous, supportive, and understanding. We always jest that you deserve an honorary doctorate at the end of all this, and in all honesty, we are only halfway joking.

Lilia, you were only six years old when I entered graduate school. I know that due to the demands of my work, for much of your childhood, I was often holed up during the evenings reading, writing, translating, etc. I am sure that at times, my absorption in my work was difficult for you, but truly, it was your birth that inspired me to take this path, and everything I have done along the way, I have done for you. Now that you are entering high school and are yourself a superb and dedicated student, I see that my own experiences have influenced you in a positive way. That brings joy to my heart, and I am proud of you.

To my parents, there is more to thank you for than I could ever describe in words, but I must at least say here that the strong work ethic that you have instilled in me has given me the discipline and resilience to achieve my goals.

To Dr. Heredia, my French language studies with you during my high school years marked my first steps down this path. I admire and respect you more than you know, and I am blessed to have learned from you. I will now humbly join your company as a Ph.D. graduate of the UCLA French department.

Finally, I would like to thank my dear friends and musical colleagues, Matthew Lourtie, David Nuñez, and Dr. Benjamin Turk. Matt, I am sure you know that when you lent me that *Remede de Fortune* recording so many years ago, it changed my life. To all three of you, thank you for being such great friends, and for the many nights of conversation and music-making that always provided a much-needed diversion from the stresses and demands of academic life.

To all the others not mentioned here, thank you.

VITA

EDUCATION

2018	C.Phil. French and Francophone Studies, UCLA
2012	B.A. French and Francophone Studies, UCLA, *summa cum laude*

HONORS AND AWARDS

2021	UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies Graduate Student Summer Fellowship
2018-2019	Research Assistantship, UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies
2018	Dr. Roman Colbert Scholarship
2018	Medieval Musical Notation Bootcamp, Yale University. Fully funded admission
2017-2018	Graduate Research Mentorship, UCLA Graduate Division
2017	Graduate Summer Research Mentorship, UCLA Graduate Division
2016	LAMAR Consortium Summer Research Fellowship
2016	UCLA Department of French and Francophone Studies Conference Travel Grant
2015	LAMAR Consortium Summer Research Fellowship
2014-2015	Mellon Graduate Fellowship for Post-Classical Latin Studies

CONFERENCES AND TALKS

May 2022	Presider. *Women Making Noise*. A panel of papers presented by the International Machaut Society at the 57th International Congress on Medieval Studies. Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI (virtual)
May 2019	Panelist. "Monophonic Song as Love Method in Machaut's *Remede de Fortune*." *Late Medieval Multimedia*. A panel of papers

presented by the International Machaut Society at the 55th International Congress on Medieval Studies. Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI

October 2017 Co-organizer. "Que sais-je ? Rethinking Learning and Knowledge." The 22nd Annual French and Francophone Studies Graduate Student Conference, UCLA

April 2016 Panelist. "The Poetics of Melody: *Remede de Fortune*." *Medieval Music: The Word and the Note*. A panel of papers presented at The Medieval Association of the Pacific's 50th Anniversary Conference: "A Global Middle Ages." University of California, Davis

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

2019-present The International Machaut Society, board member

2019-present The Music Teachers Association of California, member

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2019-2022 Teaching Fellow. Department of French and Francophone Studies, UCLA

2016-2017 Teaching Associate. Department of French and Francophone Studies, UCLA

2015-2016 Teaching Assistant. Department of French and Francophone Studies, UCLA

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation interrogates the role of memory in the corpus of Guillaume de Machaut, as both a foundational component of love doctrine, and as a vehicle of doctrinal transmission grounded in the inherently mnemonic qualities of poetic and musical form.

Guillaume de Machaut, born near Reims ca.1300, is often considered the greatest poet and composer of fourteenth-century Europe. He was educated at the University of Paris where he attained the degree of *magister artium*, and he also held the title of canon at Reims Cathedral. He enjoyed the patronage of and served as secretary and clerk for many of the most prominent nobles of his time, including John of Luxembourg (King of Bohemia) and Charles of Navarre. He left behind a vast literary and musical corpus which has been inscribed into posterity in several complete-works codices whose construction he is believed to have personally supervised. His works exerted a pointed influence on his artistic contemporaries and heirs such as Eustache Deschamps, Jean Froissart, Geoffrey Chaucer, Guillaume Dufay, and Johannes Ockeghem. Machaut died circa ca.1377 and his body was interred at Reims Cathedral.

Machaut's Corpus

Machaut's corpus is truly "multimedia" in nature, consisting of narrative poetry (also known as *dits*), lyric poetry, prose letters (all inserted within and dependent upon the context of two narrative poems), and various musical forms including *chansons* (lyric poetry set to music), motets, a double hocket (*Hoquetus David*), and a setting of the Mass Ordinary. This diversity of "genres" requires further explanation because it works together to formulate Machaut's "multimedia" corpus into a unified whole. Since they expound Machaut's love doctrine in the most detail, it is logical to start with the narrative poetry. Very much indebted to the thirteenth-century *Roman de la Rose* (*The Romance of the Rose*) of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun,

the *dits*, of which Machaut wrote at least fourteen, are lengthy poems consisting of several thousand lines of rhyming couplets that relate a distinct narrative depicting the experiences of the protagonist—usually "Guillaume," a lover-poet, and sometimes a clerk-witness—who is a type of metafictional alter ego of the authorial figure Guillaume de Machaut—and his interactions with various idealized and/or personified virtues and vices.[1] All forty-eight of Machaut's prose letters are inserted into two narrative *dits*: forty-six in the *Livre dou Voir Dit*, and two in versified historical chronicle, *La Prise d'Alexandre*,

Lyric poetry, which represents a convenient "grab-bag" of poetic forms that Machaut used in his "multimedia" repertoire, consists of several distinct forms characterized by patterned rhyme scheme, line length dictated by syllable count, and refrain placement. The three most numerous lyric forms in Machaut's corpus are the *ballade*, *rondeaux*, and *virelai*, also known as the *formes fixes* due to their set structure dictated by refrain placement. The *formes fixes*, also referred to as "lyrics," originated as popular dance forms in the thirteenth-century, but during the course of Machaut's career, thanks to their easy adaptability to certain innovative musical developments, grew to represent the most elevated of poetic and musical forms. Machaut wrote 235 *ballades*, seventy-six *rondeaux*, and thirty-nine *virelais*. Other forms of lyric poetry include the *lay*, *complainte*, and *chant royal*. These differ most notably from the *formes fixes* due to their lack of a refrain. The *lay* consists of twelve stanzas, each with a unique poetic structure, save the first and twelfth, of which the structure is identical. The *complainte*, used to express lamentation and suffering, has highly variable syllabification and rhyme scheme from one selection to the next, but the longer examples of several hundred lines usually have uniform structure across all

[1] For a study of narrative voice and poetic identity in Machaut, see Kevin Brownlee, *Poetic Identity in Guillaume de Machaut* (Madison, WI: The University Press of Wisconsin, 1984).

stanzas. The *chant royal*, derived from the thirteenth-century *grand chant courtois*, consists of five stanzas and an *envoy*. According to BnF MS fr. 1584 (MS A) which is generally believed to be the most authoritative of the complete-works codex produced during Machaut's lifetime, the number of each of these forms set to music is: thirty-nine *ballades*, nineteen *rondeaux*, thirty-three *virelais*, seventeen *lais*, one *complainte*, one *chant royal*, and twenty-three motets.[2] Most of the *ballades* and *rondeaux* are polyphonic (involving several simultaneous melodies), while the majority of the *lais* and *virelais* are monophonic (involving a single melody).

This study will focus principally on the narrative *dits*, the *lais*, and the *virelais*. Musical considerations will privilege monophonic selections, as I believe they have certain inherent characteristics that render them more memorable and more verbally accessible than the polyphonic songs. Machaut's other musical works—the motets, the mass, and the double hocket—fall outside the scope of this study. The mass is a purely sacred work and has no explicit affiliation to love doctrine. While the motets surely play an important role in the expression and perhaps the transmission of love doctrine, I am principally concerned with the relationship between the narrative and lyric poetry. Moreover, the motets' highly complex structure—polytextual and polyphonic (multiple texts and melodies sounding simultaneously)—precludes them from aligning comfortably with certain arguments I make about the verbal clarity and mnemonics of textual delivery in the *chansons*. The *Hoquetus David* is un-texted, and thus has no discernable poetic connection to love doctrine, and its consideration is better left to musicologists.

[2] For the list of the contents of MS A, see Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 89.

Machaut's Manuscript Tradition

Machaut's manuscript tradition is extensive, and his works continued to be transmitted in various sources long after his death. The most important manuscripts are a collection of six codices known as the "complete-works manuscripts" which Table 0.1 shows with their approximate date of compilation:[3]

Table 0.1. Key complete-works manuscripts containing Machaut's corpus.

Library	Shelf Mark	Siglum	Approximate Date
Bibliothèque nationale de France	MS fr. 1584	MS C	1350-1356
Private collection of James E. and Elizabeth J. Ferrell	Ferrell-Vogüé MS	MS Vg	1370
Bibliothèque nationale de France	MS fr. 1585	MS B	1370-1372
Bibliothèque nationale de France	MS fr. 1584	MS A	1370
Bibliothèque nationale de France	MS fr. 22545-22546	MS F-G	1370
Bibliothèque nationale de France	MS fr. 9221	MS E	1390

All of these manuscripts with the exception of MS E were produced during Machaut's lifetime and likely under his personal supervision.[4] They show an evolution of Machaut's corpus through progressive expansion and mostly consistent ordering, with the culmination of that evolution being MS A, which contains an index with pagination and a rubric stating: "Vesci lordenance que .G. de Machau [sic] wet quil ait en son livre premiers" [Here is the order

[3] Approximate dates of compilation are taken from Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 77-93.

[4] There are several important studies that consider Machaut's involvement in the prediction of his manuscripts. See Sarah Jane William, "An Author's Role in Fourteenth-Century Book Production" Guillaume de Machaut's 'livre où je mets toutes mes choses,'" *Romania* 90 (1969), 433-54; Lawrence Earp, "Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut." Ph.D. diss. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Microfilms, Order no. 8318466, 1983); "Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Works" *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 42:3 (1989): 461-503; William Kibler and James I. Wimsatt, "Machaut's Text and the Question of His Personal Supervision," *Studies in Literary Imagination*, 20 (1987), 41-53.

Guillaume de Machaut wants in his first book].[5] The ordering of MS A categorizes works by form: narrative *dits* (the *complaintes* and un-notated lyric poems are also in this section), *lais*, *motets*, *mass*, *double hocket*, *ballades*, *rondeaux*, *virelais*. The rubric, index, and ordering of the manuscript give Machaut a notable amount of personal agency over his corpus, and thus much can be deduced about the way he wanted his works to be experienced, transmitted, and remembered. For these reasons, MS A is generally considered to be the most authoritative of the complete-works manuscripts. These manuscripts will be referenced to varying degrees throughout this dissertation, with the most reliance on MS A.

Memory and Love Doctrine in the Narrative *Dits*

It is in the *dits* where Machaut most thoroughly and explicitly expounds his ideas about love. From the *dits*, scholars have extrapolated a distinct and innovative love doctrine, which contrary to earlier conventions reflected in works such as the *Roman de la Rose* and the poetry of the *trouvères*, teaches a method of loving and is at once chaste and self-sustaining. In this way, the deep influence of Boethius' *consolatio philosophiae* (*The Consolation of Philosophy*) on Machaut's poetics is readily manifest, with Machaut having taken Boethius' ideas about the attainment of internal felicity in the face of lost wealth and political power and transferred them to the realm of love.

Of Machaut's fourteen *dits*, four will be central to the arguments of this study: *Remede de Fortune* (*The Remedy of Fortune*), *La Fontaine Amoureuse* (*The Fountain of Love*), *Le Livre dou Voir Dit* (*The Book of the True Poem*), and the general prologue to MS A, commonly known as the *Prologue*. A fifth narrative, *Le Confort d'Ami* (*Comfort for a Friend*), will be cited at times, although in a much less substantial way. The earliest of these *dits*, *Remede de Fortune*, written

[5] For the index of MS A, see Bnf. MS fr. 1584, fols. Av-Bv.

sometime before 1342 and consisting of some four thousand lines of narrative and seven interpolated *chansons*, depicts the story of a poet-lover named Guillaume who composes a *lay* in order to express his hidden love for his lady patron.[6] The lady finds manuscript and confronts Guillaume, first asking him to perform the *lay*, and then inquiring about the identity of the author. Paralyzed with fear of rejection and the potential jeopardizing of the lady's honor, Guillaume flees to a walled garden where he composes and sings a lengthy *complainte* in which he blames his woes on *Amours* (Love) and *Fortune*. Lady *Esperance*, a personification of hope, overhears his *complainte* and comes to his side to console him and to instruct him in a new method of loving that will open the path to a state of internalized and self-sustained joy unbeholden to externalities. After giving a long didactic lecture, *Esperance* performs two songs: a *chant royal*, and a *double ballade*. She then departs and Guillaume writes and performs a *ballade* expressing the joy and plenitude he experiences as a result of *Esperance*'s teachings. He then sets out to return to the lady to profess his love. Upon sight of her estate, however, he again falls into a state of fear which prompts *Esperance* to return and revert him back onto the right path. Thereafter, he returns to the lady and professes his love through song—this time a *virelai*. The lady accepts his love, and agrees to reciprocate, but only in a platonic and clandestine manner. She eventually grows aloof, leaving Guillaume uncertain about the nature of their relationship, and in a position where it is up to him to fall back into despair, or to heed *Esperance*'s advice moving forward. As the narrative comes to a close, Guillaume sings a *rondeau* in which he states that his heart remains with the lady even though they must depart from one another.

[6] See Earp, Guillaume de Machaut, 213.

Remede de Fortune is unique in Machaut's corpus because it is the only *dit* in the complete-works manuscripts to have songs complete with musical notation inserted directly into its narrative. With the exception of the *motet*, *Remede de Fortune* contains an example of every musical form commonly used by Machaut: *lay*, *complainte*, *chant royal*, two types of *ballade*, *virelai* and *rondeaux*.[7] This coupled with the fact that many scholars have characterized *Remede de Fortune* as the clearest and most direct expression of Machaut's ideas about love,[8] the *dit* can be considered a type of treatise on both love and poetico-musical composition. As scholars have noted, *Remede de Fortune*'s *lay* and *chant royal* present perhaps the most concise expressions of Machaut's love doctrine. The opening stanza of the *lay* outlines the components of the doctrine: *Souvenir* (Memory), *Dous Penser* (Sweet Thought) and *Esperance* (Hope). Lovers who can adhere to these virtues won't need to seek external aid or consolation (i.e., reciprocation from the beloved). Indeed, the *lay* and the *chant royal* both illustrate that such lovers will attain a state of internally perpetuated felicity called *Souffisance*. Of these components of love doctrine, scholars have devoted the most attention to *Esperance*. In response, one of the central aspects of my arguments is that the foundational roles of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*—both being components of memory that I correlate directly to Aristotle's notions of *memoria* and *reminiscentia*—deserve much greater attention if we are to better understand how all components of the doctrine work in concert to lead lovers toward *Souffisance*.

[7] While Machaut wrote fifteen *complaintes* in total (ten free-standing, one inserted into *Remede de Fortune*, one inserted into *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, and three inserted into the *Voir Dit)*, that of *Remede de Fortune* is the only set of music. Likewise, of Machaut's eight *chants royaux*, only that of *Remede de Fortune* has a musical setting. The other seven are free-standing. *Remede de Fortune* also does not contain a Mass Ordinary or a double hocket, but since Machaut only composed on of each of those forms, we cannot say they are forms he "commonly" used.

[8] See for example, Douglas Kelly, *Machaut and the Medieval Apprenticeship Tradition: Truth, Fiction and Poetic Craft* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014); and Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2011).

I argue that Machaut's conception of memory and its role in love doctrine is directly influenced by Aristotle. In *De memoria et reminiscentia* (*On Memory and Reminiscence*), a treatise with which Machaut would have been familiar thanks to his studies at the University of Paris and the flooding of French intellectual culture with Aristotelian thought in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Aristotle theorizes that the action of *remembering* is the result of two separate but interrelated processes: *memoria*, and *reminiscentia*. In English, *memoria* refers both to the faculty of memory (the ability to mentally store information that can later be recalled), and to individual, stored memories. In Machaut's language, it translates to two separate words: *memoire* and *souvenir*, with the former being the faculty of storage, and the latter denoting the stored memories themselves. Aristotle posits that when memories are made, that is, when sensory experience implants a *souvenir* into the *memoire*, a mental and emotional trace of that experience is inscribed into the mind where it permanently resides. This trace—the mental and emotional imprint of sensory experience—is called the *affect*.[9] *Reminiscentia* involves the deliberate retrieval of that *affect* through contemplation of *souvenir*. One *remembers*, according to Aristotle, only when the *affect* of a given memory is successfully retrieved through reminiscence. What *remembering* produces then, is the mental and emotional reliving of the initial experience that created the memory.

My readings demonstrate that the processes of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* as depicted in Machaut's poetry correspond directly and respectively to *memoria* and *reminiscentia*. Based on my interpretation of *Remede de Fortune*, I propose that Machaut's love doctrine unfolds in a linear, chain reaction beginning with *Souvenir*:

[9] To clarify, *affect* (not *effect*). According to Merriam-Webster *affect* denotes: "a set of observable manifestations of an experienced emotion**:** the facial expressions, gestures, postures, vocal intonations, etc., that typically accompany an emotion." See https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/affect.

Souvenir → *Dous Penser* → *Esperance* → *Souffisance*

Memorial images of the beloved previously inscribed into the mind (*Souvenir*) are contemplated, thus leading to joyful and consolatory thoughts (*Dous Penser*) induced by the retrieval of the initial *affect* associated with the physical presence of the beloved. This state of consolatory contemplation leads to hope of satisfaction and reciprocation (*Esperance*), and it is this state of internalized, and self-perpetuated hope that is *Souffisance*. In this way, the role of memory in Machaut's doctrine— of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*—is a foundational one. I use this argument derived from Aristotle and *Remede de Fortune* as a lens through which to interpret the doctrinal function of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* in two other *dits*: *La Fontaine Amoureuse* and *Le Livre dou Voir Dit* (hereafter referred to as the *Voir Dit*).

La Fontaine Amoureuse, written circa 1360-61,[10] and consisting of just under three thousand lines of narrative and three interpolated lyrics (a *complainte*, a *consolation*, and a *rondeau*, none with musical settings[11]) tells the story of a young nobleman who is also a talented poet and his fears of impending separation from his lady as he prepares to set out to fulfill his knightly duties. To express his grief, he performs a *complainte*. He is overheard by Guillaume, a visiting clerk and poet, who, impressed by the nobleman's talent, eagerly takes dictation of the *complainte*. The next day, Guillaume approaches and befriends the nobleman and commends him on his poetic prowess. The two depart for a forest retreat and eventually fall asleep beside a fountain adorned with a depiction of Venus and other scenes from the ancient world. As they sleep, Venus approaches Guillaume in a dream and tells him that his sleeping friend does not

[10] See Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 221.

[11] Consolation is not an actual lyric form, which is why I have not described it above along with the other forms. The *consolation* of *La Fontaine Amoureuse* mimics the exact structure of the *complainte*. *Complainte*s vary greatly in form and thus the term *complainte* itself it more thematic than structural in nature. It is the same with the *consolation* in *La Fontaine Amoureuse*.

understand love and he needs consolation and instruction. She then sends a dream vision of the lady to the sleeping nobleman. The lady, or her apparition in the dream world rather, recites the *consolation*, which, mimicking the exact poetic structure of the protagonist's *complainte*, teaches him how to find joy in love even amid separation. Memory, in the forms of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*, are the crux of her doctrine. She exhorts him to *remember* and to *contemplate* the images he holds in his heart of her beauty and grace. If he does so, she explains, they will never be apart. The lady also reinforces her doctrine by saying that she too will console herself with contemplation of the images of her beloved, which will fortify her with hope against the pain of separation. Sometime after awakening, the lover-nobleman becomes worried once again, but Guillaume reminds him to find hope through memory and contemplation of the lady. The *dit* ends as the lover sings a *rondeau* in which he says his heart will remain with his lady even if he must depart, and that he prays to return to her joyfully. In this way, *La Fontaine Amoureuse* reiterates the doctrine first presented in *Remede de Fortune*, and through the *consolation*'s insistence on *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* as the remedy for separation, further stresses the foundational role of memory. The *dit*'s three lyric insertions provide an integral doctrine, with the *complainte* representing the voice of a misguided lover in need of instruction, the *consolation* providing the necessary didactic "lesson," and the *rondeau* attesting to the protagonist's reception and understanding of the doctrine expressed in the *consolation*.

In many ways, the *Voir Dit* is different from *Remede de Fortune* and *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, not least because its depiction of the love experience is much more complicated. Written between 1363-5,[12] it is Machaut's longest and most complex work, uniquely employing four media of artistic expression: narrative, lyric, prose, and music. It contains over 9000 lines of

[12] See Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 228.

poetry (including narrative and lyric), forty-six prose letters, and sixty-three lyric poems, seven of which are known to also have musical settings.[13] The narrative of the *Voir Dit* is too vast and nuanced to fully recount here, but in essence, it tells the story of an artistic collaboration between an aging poet, Guillaume de Machaut—named explicitly as such, in contrast to the "metafictional" Guillaume featured in *Remede de Fortune* and *La Fontaine Amoureuse*—and a young noblewoman called Toute Belle. The lady, also an accomplished poet, greatly admires Guillaume and sends him a letter and a *rondeau* professing her love to him and requesting poetic mentorship. What ensues is a complicated love affair expressed through a series of romantic and artistic exchanges via letter and lyric. Guillaume compiles their correspondences into a book—the *Voir Dit* itself.

The *Voir Dit* can be seen to challenge the efficacy and practicality of the love doctrine so neatly packaged and presented in *Remede de Fortune* and *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, particularly because it is the most "realistic" (or perhaps realist?) in its depiction of the love affair it relates.[14] The relationship is rather manic, and Guillaume is plagued by oscillations between paranoid jealousy and ecstatic joy. The affair is also haunted by gossipers and slanderers who certainly do not help Guillaume cope with his insecurities. Toute Belle is repeatedly hurt by Guillaume's jealousy and accusations, but she nonetheless consistently reaffirms her love and devotion, never truly understanding why she is not trusted. The low point of the affair happens when a "friend" comes to Guillaume and swears to him that Toute Belle has many other lovers to whom she

[13] None of the manuscripts produced during Machaut's lifetime have musical settings inserted into the *Voir Dit*. Rather, the lyrics appear twice; first inserted within the narrative as text only, and a second time with music in the musical section of the manuscripts. The first codex to have musical settings inserted into the narrative is BnF MS fr. 9221 (MS E), which was constructed after several years after Machaut's death. For dating information on MS E, see Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 93.

[14] Deborah McGrady has explored the "realism" of the *Voir Dit* in depth. See, Deborah McGrady, *Controlling Readers: Guillaume de Machaut and his Late Medieval Audience* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

reads Guillaume's letters and lyrics—not with the intent of praising his artistic prowess, but rather, as a form of mockery. In response, Guillaume sends Toute Belle a *ballade* in which he says she "wears green," a symbol of fickleness and falsehood. The lady then sends a messenger to plead her case and to reaffirm her love. Her efforts are successful, the lovers make amends, and the narrative ends on a joyful note. The success of the relationship is confirmed in its prologue, presented by Guillaume *ex post facto*, in which he announces that he intends to begin a new work in praise of his lady (the *Voir Dit* itself). He says that while he was at one point deprived of joy, Toute Belle comforted and became his consolation.

Although the *Voir Dit* ends on a happy note, its narrative challenges Machaut's love doctrine, since in times of despair, Guillaume often speaks of having lost all hope (*Esperance*), and he often blames his suffering on memory (*Souvenir*). The inability to find hope through memory can be interpreted to represent a failure, or at least a breakdown of the doctrine elaborated in *Remede de Fortune* and *La Fontaine Amoureuse*. However, my reading argues that *Souvenir* is the crux of Guillaume's mental and emotional state; when he properly employs memory, he finds hope and is able to trust Toute Belle and remain in a state of joy. When he fails to draw upon *Souvenir* as a source of consolation, that is when he despairs; when he blames memory for his woes, his memory, as I argue, is being clouded by desirous lack and irrational distrust. The *dit*'s prologue and ending effectively bookend the narrative with affirmation of the success of love doctrine and *Souvenir*.

Le Confort d'Ami, which I cite only in a limited capacity in this study, is similar to the *Voir Dit* in that the narrator is identified explicitly as Guillaume de Machaut. Machaut wrote it as a form of consolation for his friend and patron Charles of Navarre, who was imprisoned due to being accused of plotting to usurp the French throne. As narrator, Guillaume repeatedly exhorts

Charles to draw from his memory to find hope that God will favorably resolve his situation. Machaut also uses many exempla from the Bible and the ancient world to make his points.

Finally, while the *Prologue* is the first work a reader will encounter in Machaut's later manuscripts, written c. 1372 it was the last of the *dits* to be written.[15] The *Prologue*, which consists of four *ballades* followed by 184 lines of narrative poetry, acts as both an introduction to Machaut's corpus, and a retrospective reflection upon it wherein the poet-composer contemplates the discourse he has produced. In the first *ballade*, *Nature* gifts Guillaume de Machaut with her three children: *Sens*, *Rhetorique*, and *Musique*. In the third *ballade*, the god of Love, *Amours* gifts Machaut with his three children: *Dous Penser*, *Plaisance* (Pleasure), and *Esperance*. The two gods command Machaut to use their gifts as material and inspiration to build his corpus, which will have the purpose of praising and honoring ladies through poetry and music. In the second and fourth *ballades*, Machaut humbly accepts his gifts and the divine duties with which he has been charged.

The gifts of *Nature* provide Machaut with an integral system of doctrinal transmission. While *Sens* (meaning) has been interpreted in various ways by different scholars, my interpretation is that is represents the underlying intention of language in Machaut's works; it is the philosophical and doctrinal essence of the corpus that its various media—narrative, lyric, prose, and music—work to teach and transmit. In the context of fourteenth-century poetry, *Rhetorique* refers to the technical aspects of poetry: form, rhyme, syllabification, etc. In my view, it is *Rhetorique* that articulates and delivers the underlying *Sens* of a given text in a way that it can be more readily retained and understood. *Musique* is the final stage of doctrinal transmission, and it works in tandem with *Rhetorique* to deliver *Sens* in the most elevated,

[15] See Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 203-5.

consolatory, and memorable way possible. The children of *Amours* represent the goal of the system provided by *Nature*. The end result of receiving, retaining, and understanding the *Sens* articulated and delivered by *Rhetorique* and *Musique* is a state of *Dous Penser* and the *Plaisance* and *Esperance* it evokes. Finally, in the narrative that follows the four *ballades*, Machaut reflects upon the duties with which he has been charged, and he also discusses the nature and function of *Rhetorique* and *Musique*.

Lyric and Song: Doctrinal Distillation, Poetico-Musical Form, Mnemonics

The lyric poetry and *chansons* considered in this study include those inserted into the narratives of the *Prologue, Remede de Fortune*, *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, and the *Voir Dit*, the first nine *lais* presented in MS A, and four free-standing *virelais*. The lyrics inserted into the *dits* are easy to interpret relative to free-standing ones because the narrative within which they are embedded identifies the agent of the voice they express and contextualizes that agent's experiences and emotions within a concrete sequence of events. Embedded lyric also tends to distill the broader thematic and doctrinal ideas expressed at length in narrative and can deliver them as a self-contained unit. For example, as I shall demonstrate, the lyrics of *Remede de Fortune* and *La Fontaine Amoureuse* present an integral doctrine that can act as a "study guide" for audiences who wish to learn Machaut's love doctrine.

In contrast, free-standing lyric is referentially abstract and much more challenging to interpret because the identity of the *je* is unspecified and universal. For this reason, Machaut's lyric poetry can potentially be interpreted as vague, repetitive, or "generic." Thus, the context provided by the narrative *dits* is absolutely essential for informed interpretation of free-standing lyric. Just as the narratives of *Remede de Fortune*, *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, and the *Voir Dit* contextualize interpolated lyric, they also give readers and listeners a thematic and doctrinal

reference point for the interpretation of the abstract and universalized voice projected by free-standing lyric. Individual lyrics tend to depict a given moment within the love experience—perhaps the despair of unfulfilled desire, the plenitude of *Esperance*, or the joy derived from *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*. Concepts such as *Souvenir*, *Dous Penser*, *Esperance* are in themselves somewhat abstract and highly open to interpretation, and thus, when they appear in a lyric poem with no external context, their function and significance may not be immediately clear. However, a reading against the backdrop of the narrative *dits* changes everything; an audience familiar with *Remede de Fortune* will have more than enough context and understanding to interpret the meaning of *Esperance*, and the same goes for a reader of the *La Fontaine Amoureuse* in regard to *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*. In this way, it is only through interpretation of lyric in relation to the *dits* that we can derive more concrete meaning and significance to the abstract and universalized voice they project.

The *lais*, due to their substantial length and their ability to elaborate, reiterate, reformulate ideas, are somewhat of an exception. While in most instances, the referent of their *je* is unspecified, certain *lais* can develop integral and self-contained doctrinal ideas. A prime example of this is Lay 8, "On parle de richeces," which paints a thorough and self-sufficient portrait of *Souffisance*. Moreover, I argue that thanks to consistent and explicit ordering across key manuscripts, the *lais* can inform and contextualize one another, with love experience and doctrinal essence following logically from one *lay* to the next. In a way, then, one might say that the *lais* can weave a "narrative" of their own, both within and amongst themselves. Yet, this is not a narrative of concrete persons and events like those in the *dits*; rather, it is universally relatable narrative of love experience and of doctrinal progression, still lyrical and abstract in its voice, but which bears a discernable continuity in its trajectory. In my estimation, these special

qualities of the *lais* as a genre and as a component of Machaut's greater corpus help explain why in the complete-works manuscripts, and most importantly in MS A, they directly follow the narrative *dits*. Moreover, several of the *lais* are explicitly given rubricated titles—a privilege otherwise enjoyed only by the *dits*. Thus, it seems the *lais* provide a lyrical, and universally relatable supplement to the *dits* that reiterates love doctrine at length and with greater context than is provided by other lyrical forms. In essence, audiences can learn the workings of doctrine by observing the experiences of the personas depicted in the narrative *dits*, and afterward, by reading or hearing the *lais* performed, they can become the "protagonist" of their own love narrative by relating their personal experiences and emotions to the love trajectory of the abstract and universalized *je*. This will only further equip audiences to interpret the even more isolated and referentially abstract *formes fixes* lyrics of the *ballade*, *rondeau*, and *virelai*. The setting of the *lais* to music adds yet another and by no means insignificant layer to their meaning and role in Machaut's corpus. However, since there is neither time nor space in this study for extensive musical consideration of the *lais*, my analyses are purely literary, with the exception of my comments on the *lay* from *Remede de Fortune* in chapter three, and minor discussion of musical notation and rhythmic organization in chapter four.

As for the *virelais*—the other lyric form considered at length in this study—my analyses demonstrate what I view to be the second and equally important function of memory in Machaut's system of doctrinal transmission: "memorability" of text induced by the inherently mnemonic aspects of poetic, musical, and poetico-musical form (the latter referring to the symbiotic interplay between poetic and musical form in lyric set to music, which yields the most artistically elevated and memorable form of doctrinal transmission). For several reasons, the *virelai* form renders text remarkably memorable. Certain attributes present in all lyric poetry,

namely poetic rhythm (line length/syllable count, caesura) and rhyme scheme, have mnemonic properties. In fact, by Machaut's time, the use of versification as a mnemonic tool already had a long-established tradition in the scholastic world. According to Anna Maria Busse Berger, "The twelfth and thirteenth centuries in particular saw an enormous growth in the use of verse for didactic purposes."[16] Moreover, "half of the music theory treatises written between the ninth and sixteenth centuries were versified" because "they felt that things could be memorized better when versified."[17] Also, it was common practice in the Middle Ages for students to fully memorize versified treatises by heart. So, having completed degrees at the University of Paris, Machaut would have been intimately familiar with the mnemonic qualities of versification and of poetry in general. This is not to say that he explicitly versified poems for mnemonic purposes, but rather that he would have been aware that by virtue of simply being versified, his lyrics, with their carefully articulated rhyme schemes and line lengths, would have rendered text memorable.

Refrain placement/repetition is also a key aspect of the mnemonics of lyrical poetry. Each of the three *formes fixes* treat the refrain differently. In the *ballades*, the refrain is placed at the end of each of the three stanzas. This gives a feeling of linearity and finality by repeatedly building toward the refrain in each stanza. In the *rondeau*, also a three-stanza form with a very short text relative to the *ballades* and *virelais*, the refrain appears in three different positions: the beginning of stanza 1, the middle of stanza 2, and the end of stanza 3. The refrain of the *virelais*, appearing four times, is conventionally much longer than that of the other two *formes fixes* and is substantial enough to constitute its own stanza. This is most easily understood visually. *A* denotes the refrain, and *b* denotes a non-refrain stanza: *A* / *b* / *A* / *b* / *A* / *b* / *A*. In this way, the

[16] Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 93.

[17] Busse Berger, *Medieval Music*, 99.

virelais do not feel linear like the *ballade*, but rather, circular; all roads begin on and lead to the refrain, and the non-refrain stanzas are encircled by it. This phenomenon, which Daniel Poirion has called *encerclement*,[18] renders the text of the *virelais* refrain exceptionally didactic and memorable. *Encerclement* is also a musical phenomenon in the *virelais*. The musical refrain is even more repetitive than the textual refrain, as it also declaims the tail end of each non-refrain stanza, and thus acts as a musical foreshadowing of the return to the textual refrain. This yields a structure of *A* / *bba* / *A* / *bba* / *A* / *bba* / *A*, with *A* representing textual and musical refrain in unison, and *a*, the musical refrain declaiming the tail end of the non-refrain stanza.[19] In this way, the poetico-musical form of the *virelais* stresses the centrality and domination of its highly repetitive refrain. This makes the refrain highly memorable so that its text may be retained and contemplated thereafter as a didactic and musical *souvenir*.

Yet another mnemonic aspect of poetico-musical form is musical rhythm. As mentioned above, most medieval treatises were versified for didactic and mnemonic purposes. However, most of them would have been written in Latin. Latin poetry is quantitative in nature—its form and rhythm are dictated by patterns of long and short, strong and weak syllables. While rhyme scheme was used in many Latin treatises of a Middle Ages, it is not a traditional aspect of Latin poetry. In contrast, French poetry is qualitative in nature—its form and rhythm are dictated by rhyme scheme, and line length determined by syllable count. Quantitative rhythm is not an option for French poetry because in the French language, all syllables are of equal length. However, musical rhythm is quantitative in nature, and just like Latin poetry, involves patterns of long and short, strong and weak tones. So, by setting a French poem to music, one can impose

[18] See Daniel Poirion, *Le poète et le prince: L'évolution du lyricisme Courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France 1965), 317-32.

[19] This phenomenon is explained in greater detail in chapters three and five.

quantitative rhythm onto qualitative verse. Certainly, this, alongside other musical qualities such at pitch, melodic contour, and cadence, renders text more memorable.

Yet another key aspect of "memorability" in Machaut's songs is text declamation, which refers to the way music and text are aligned, both in writing and in performance. The work of two important musicologists, Graeme Boone and Lawrence Earp, has shown that in Machaut's corpus, there was a conventional formula of text declamation.[20] That means that regardless of how a scribe actually aligned music and text in a given manuscript, one could know by convention the "correct" alignment. This implies a certain amount of prescription in the way the text-music relationship in Machaut songs was to be performed, preserved, transmitted, and *remembered*. Naturally then, text declamation in Machaut's musical works tells us much about the way he wanted textual message to be heard, understood, and retained.

Finally, I have chosen to focus my musical analyses on monophonic *chanson*. This is because I believe that monophonic song has certain characteristics that allow it to transmit text in a semantically clearer and more readily memorable way. First, monophonic settings consist of only two components: a single text, and a single melody. In contrast, polyphonic song involves multiple simultaneous, and sometimes, multiple simultaneous texts. Furthermore, monophonic songs have generally syllabic text declamation, meaning that there is, for the most part, a one-to-one syllable to note relationship. In contrast, polyphonic song is highly melismatic—individual textual syllables are often stretched across several musical tones. The result is that monophonic settings simply deliver text with much greater verbal clarity, and the relationship developed and

[20] See Graeme Boone, *Patterns in Play: A Model for Text Setting in the Early French Songs of Guillaume Dufay* (Lincoln, NE and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Declamatory Dissonance in Machaut," in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from The Learned*, eds. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2005), 102-22; Lawrence Earp, "Declamation as Expression in Machaut's Music, in *A Companion to Guillaume de Machaut* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2011), 209-38.

transmitted between melody and textual message is markedly more concrete and accessible. For these reasons, I have chosen to focus my discussions of poetico-musical form on monophonic *chanson*.

Methods and Interdisciplinarity

While this is principally a literary, text-centered study, the methodologies employed are interdisciplinary and seek to put literary studies of Machaut into greater dialogue with the musical aspects of his corpus. This endeavor is a response to recent calls for the development of new methodologies that will allow literary scholars to engage meaningfully with Machaut's music. Dating back to the eighteenth century, the field of Machaut studies was traditionally divided into two separate camps: literary and musicological. However, by the end of the twentieth century, the publishing of modern editions of all of Machaut's works, both musical and literary, as well as the establishment of the International Machaut Society, a non-profit organization "devoted to the study, criticism, performance, research, and exchange of ideas related to all aspects of the works of the poet and composer Guillaume de Machaut and their manuscript and performance traditions,"[21] had created a situation where the two disjointed arenas of Machaut scholarship were fertile with opportunity for interdisciplinary dialogue. Thus far, musicologists have so far been more productive and successful in interdisciplinary approaches. Sarah Kay explains:

> . . . although I write as a literary scholar, I must say that the musicologists are better at this game [interdisciplinarity] than the French specialists. Concentrating on Machaut's secular songs, our colleagues in medieval music pay close attention to his texts and avoid those intimidatingly technical analyses that can make their discipline so abstruse, keeping their contributions (on the whole) accessible to

[21] http://www.machautsociety.org/static_pages/about.html

colleagues in literature.[22]

Kay continues on to criticize the reluctance of literary scholars to engage with music, and proposes the development of new methodologies:

> . . . literary scholars are *en masse* fairly uniformly resistant to talking about anything but text. Confrontation with music specialists' attention to verbal texture is humbling. If as scholars of poetry, we are willing to talk about line length, rhyme, and verbal repetition, it is hard to see why we should be so reluctant to talk about pitch, interval, and melodic repetition. I would hope that we could learn to do so by drawing on the strengths of our own training: not replicating, that is, the discourse of musicology, but using it to help us find our own, related, and maybe theorized ways of describing the musicality of sung verse.[23]

The song analyses in this study aim to align with, if not help establish that new methodology Kay describes above. I first begin with analysis of both textual content and form. I then move to consideration of how musical setting interacts with and complements poetic form in an effort to interrogate the ways in which setting poetry to music can enhance and gloss textual doctrine and help deliver it in an effective and "memorable" way. By no means do I claim to be a musicologist, but I do employ some current musicological methods such as consideration of text declamation, relationships between musical and poetic rhythm, and systems of rhythmic organization and notation, and melodic contour and repetition. I aim to conduct these analyses in a manner that makes them accessible to literary readers and other non-musicologists. In this way, while this dissertation is in dialogue with Machaut music and current musicological methods, it is principally aimed toward literary readership. I do hope nonetheless that musicologists might also find its contributions valuable.

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[22] Sarah Kay, "Is Interdisciplinarity the New Theory? Recent Studies on Guillaume de Machaut and His Songs." *Exemplaria*, 25:4 (2013), 303-12, at 305.

[23] Kay, "Is Interdisciplinarity the New Theory?," 310.

Chapter Synopses

Chapter one focuses on the foundational role of memory in Machaut's love doctrine as developed in three key narrative *dits*: *Remede de Fortune*, *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, and *Le Livre dou Voir Dit*. I begin by using *Remede de Fortune* as a means to demonstrate the nature of Machaut's doctrine with its components of *Souvenir*, *Dous Penser*, *Esperance*, and *Souffisance*. While I am by no means the first scholar to derive a distinct doctrine from *Remede de Fortune*, my particular intervention is to underline and stress the key role of memory which I believe has heretofore not received the scholarly attention it deserves. After demonstrating the doctrine as presented in *Remede de Fortune*, I focus in on *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*, and link them respectively to Aristotle's notions of *memoria* and *reminiscentia* through a reading of key passages from his treatise *De memoria et reminiscentia*. In order to better situate Aristotle's theories on memory into the medieval context, I supplement my reading with consideration of Thomas Aquinas' commentary on Aristotle's treatise. After laying that theoretical foundation for Machaut's use of memory, I move to a consideration of *La Fontaine Amoureuse*. I argue that *La Fontaine Amoureuse*'s three lyrical insertions—*complainte*, *consolation*, and *rondeau*—reflect an integral love doctrine that is grounded in *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*. Finally, I consider *Le Livre dou Voir Dit*, which in many ways, complicates and challenges the efficacy of Machaut's love doctrine. My readings ultimately establish that the success of the love affair the narrative depicts hinges on *Souvenir*.

Chapter two focuses on the role of lyric poetry and song as vehicles of doctrine in Machaut's corpus. I begin with an analysis of the *Prologue* and show that the gifts of *Nature* and *Amours* provide Machaut with an integral system of doctrinal transmission; the poet-composer is charged with the divine duty of teaching how to love joyfully in a way that maintains the honor

of ladies. His didactic tools are poetry and music. I argue that a key aspect of doctrinal transmission in Machaut are the inherently mnemonic qualities of lyric poetry and music. Using Anna Maria Busse Berger's important study *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, I show that by the fourteenth century, there was a long-established tradition of using poetic and musical forms for mnemonic and didactic purposes. Due to his education at the University of Paris, Machaut would have been aware of the mnemonic and didactic power of poetry and song, and I contend that they play an important role in the transmission of his doctrine. I also discuss the convention of text declamation elucidated by Graeme Boone and Laurence Earp and propose that it implies a certain level of intention and prescription in the way Machaut wished for his works to be performed, preserved, and *remembered*. I end the chapter with a poetico-musical analysis of the *virelai* "Quant je sui mis," which ties together the theoretical foundations about doctrine and memory established in chapters one and two.

Chapter three focuses exclusively on *Remede de Fortune*. Through analysis of narrative and the *dit*'s musical insertions, I argue that the four monophonic songs provide an integral love doctrine; the *lay* provides the key components of the doctrine (*Souvenir*, *Dous Penser*, *Esperance*, *Souffisance*); the *complainte* extends a grave warning about failing to adhere to doctrine; the *chant royal* reiterates and elaborates the doctrine; and finally, the *virelai* represents a successful example of doctrinal application. If the melodies and text of these works are retained and remembered by listeners, they will have all the tools they need to exercise Machaut's love doctrine.

Chapter four considers the first ten *lais* as ordered in the index of MS A. My argument is that Machaut's prescriptive ordering yields a "narrative" continuity among the ten lyrics that shows a distinct evolution of the *je*'s love experience from a hopeless and ignorant lover to an

indoctrinated and joyful one. The first six *lais* project the voice of a lover who is in a perpetual state of despair and constantly on the precipice of "death." The seventh *lay* according to the index is "Qui n'aroit autre deport"—the *lay* from *Remede de Fortune*. While that selection is only present in the manuscript as an insertion into *Remede de Fortune* and is thus not adjacent to the other nine *lais* considered in the chapter, the ordering of the index directs audiences to read it within the sequence. In this way, I argue that "Qui n'aroit autre deport" acts as an "intervention" that begins the indoctrination process of the ignorant and woeful *je* of *lais* 1-6. The next two *lais* illustrate the *je*'s process of taking in and coming to understand the doctrine of "Qui n'aroit autre deport," which eventually leads to the tenth and final lyric of the sequence: *Le Paradis d'Amours*—the first *lay* in the manuscript to be given an explicit, rubricated title. Thus, the "narrative" continuity yielded by Machaut's explicit ordering paints the indoctrination process as a journey from "Death" to the "Paradise of Love." In this way, manuscript ordering acts as a latent form of "memory" because it dictates the way the sequence may be transmitted and read. By way of that ordering, readers can observe the function and benefits of doctrine, as well as relate to the experiences of the universalized *je*. Although many of the *lais* of the sequence are set to music, musical analysis is limited to the consideration of rhythmic notation in support of an argument about non-chronological ordering in terms of date of composition. In other words, musical notation may imply that Machaut's ordering prioritized "narrative" continuity over compositional chronology.

Chapter five is an exploration of poetico-musical form in three of Machaut's early *virelais* (Virelais 5, 7, and 8) as a vehicle of doctrinal transmission. I argue that in the *virelais*, poetico-musical *encirclement* and monophonic texture render the message of the textual refrain highly memorable by embedding it into the *memoire* alongside an associated melody. The text

and melody of the refrain may then be retained and contemplated as a didactic, poetico-musical *souvenir*.

Through these five chapters, I intend to contribute to our understanding of both the nature and transmission of Machaut's love doctrine by stressing the heretofore overlook foundational role of memory. The role of memory I illustrate is both foundational and multifaceted; the philosophical and literary essence of Machaut's doctrine, developed at length in the narrative *dits*, is grounded in memory by way of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*, which are influenced by and correlated to Aristotles's notions of *memoria* and *reminiscentia.* In turn, lyric poetry and *chanson* distill and deliver the doctrinal essence of the *dits* by means of the inherently mnemonic qualities of poetico-musical structure. In this way, Machaut's multimedia corpus develops a distinct, self-generated doctrine with its own, self-perpetuating system of transmission.

Since Machaut's doctrine is most explicitly formulated in his narrative poetry, chapter one begins with an exploration of the foundational role of memory in the *dits* by illustrating the Aristotelian nature of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*.

CHAPTER ONE

Aristotelian Memory and Doctrinal Foundation in Machaut's Narrative Poetry

Previous scholarship in the field of Guillaume de Machaut studies has provided a deep understanding of Machaut's ideas about love. Scholars have explored at length the nature of Machaut's love doctrine, which is developed through a series of personified virtues: *Souvenir* (Memory), *Dous Penser* (Sweet Thought), *Esperance* (Hope), and *Souffisance* (Sufficiency). The ultimate goal of the doctrine is *Souffisance*, a state of internally generated and self-sustained felicity unbeholden to external goods. While much scholarly attention has been devoted to the role of *Esperance*, it seems that the crucial role of memory, which I argue comprises both *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*, merits much greater attention than it has received up to this point. Indeed, without fully understanding the value and function of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*, lovers are precluded from finding the *Esperance* that ultimately leads to *Souffisance*.

In what follows, I will begin by describing Machaut's love doctrine in detail using select narrative, lyric, and *chanson* passages from *Remede de Fortune* and discussing recent scholarship that addresses the nature of that doctrine. From there, I will show that Machaut's conception and rhetorical use of memory is deeply indebted to Aristotelian thought, which had become part of the socio-cultural fabric of fourteenth-century France. In particular, I will correlate Machaut's use of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* respectively to Aristotle's notions of *memoria et reminiscentia* (memory and recollection) as described in his treatise *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*. To supplement my reading of Aristotle and to better contextualize his ideas within medieval perceptions, I will also use Thomas Aquinas' commentary on *De memoria et reminiscentia*. Finally, I will provide extensive close readings two of Machaut's key narrative *dits*, *La Fontaine Amoureuse* and *Le Livre dou Voir Dit*, as to illustrate the nature and role

memory in Machaut's love doctrine, and to provide some of the scholarly insight I feel has heretofore been lacking. I have chosen *Remede de Fortune*, *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, and *Le Livre dou Voir Dit* as my principal support from Machaut's corpus because they clearly illustrate the crucial underpinning that *Souvenir*, *Dous Penser*, and memory in general provides for Machaut's doctrine. My readings of these narratives and the lyrics embedded within them will provide a lens through which to investigate the rhetorical and didactic function of memory in the lyric poems and chansons analyzed in the later chapters of this dissertation.

Idealized Love: *Souvenir*, *Dous Penser*, *Esperance*, *Souffisance*

As the "the most direct and didactic statement of Machaut's courtly love doctrine,"[24] and "Machaut's authoritative *dit* on good love,"[25] *Remede de Fortune* offers an ideal point of departure for describing Machaut's love doctrine. According to Douglas Kelly, the *dit* develops and teaches a novel type of love that set the precedent for Machaut's subsequent works. He explains that while earlier conventions of love, such as those prevalent in the *troubadour* and *trouvère* traditions, as well as the *Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun focus on the pain of unrequited love and the need for carnal satisfaction, love in *Remede de Fortune*, which he has coined "good love,"[26] is at once chaste, painless, and self-sustaining.[27] As

[24] Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut,* 139.

[25] Kelly, *Machaut and the Medieval Apprenticeship Tradition*, 23.

[26] I will hereafter use Kelly's term of "good love" interchangeably with "love doctrine' to refer to idealized love in Machaut's corpus.

[27] Citing Bernart de Ventadorn, Kelly contrasts Machaut's good love with the painful, self-afflicting love prevalent in earlier traditions. He argues that good love as developed in *Remede de Fortune* set the precedent for Machaut's love conventions in subsequent works. See Kelly, *Machaut and the Medieval Apprenticeship Tradition*, 21-50. These ideas are an extension and revision of ideas from Kelly's earlier study. See Douglas Kelly, *Medieval Imagination: Rhetoric and the Poetry of Courtly Love* (Madison, WI and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).

Machaut's poetics are deeply indebted to the tradition of the *Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, his doctrine is expressed through a series of personified virtues and vices, beginning with *Souvenir,* then moving through *Dous Penser* and *Esperance* toward the ultimate goal of *Souffisance*. The doctrine is most explicitly developed in *Remede de Fortune*, which tells the story of a court poet enamored by his lady-patron. He composes a *lay* to express his hidden love for her. She then finds the manuscript and asks him to perform it. When she asks him who wrote the work, he becomes paralyzed by fear of rejection and flees without explanation to a walled garden where he writes a lengthy and dolorous *complainte* blaming Love and Fortune for his woes. The *complainte* is overheard by *Esperance* who then approaches to console him and instruct him in the ways of good love. She sings him a *chant* royal and *double ballade* before departing. Subsequently, the lover returns to his lady and openly professes his love through song. She initially agrees to accept and reciprocate his love, so long as it is kept secret and non-physical. However, she eventually grows distant and indifferent, and the lover is left equipped with the doctrine transmitted to him by *Esperance*, and responsible for his own amorous destiny.

Remede de Fortune's *lay* and *chant royal* outline the doctrine very explicitly: The opening of the *lay* reads:

	Qui n'aroit autre deport	He has no other pleasure
	En amer	In love
	Fors Doulz Penser	Than Sweet Thought
	Et Souvenir	And Memory
435	Aveuc l'Espoir de joïr,	With Hope of satisfaction,
	S'aroit il tort	Would be wrong
	Se le port	If he sought
	D'autre confort	The aid of any other comfort;
	Voloit rouver;	Because to satisfy
440	Quar pour .i. cuer saouler	And sustain a heart,
	Et soustenir	He who loves deeply
	Plus querir	Must not seek further reward.

Ne doit merir
Qui aime fort.

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 431-44)

As seen here, a lover needs nothing more than memory, sweet thought, and hope in order to keep the heart content. With adherence to this doctrine, no other reward or comfort (reciprocation from the beloved) is required. These ideas are reiterated and further developed *Esperance*'s *chant royal*:

	Car vraye Amour en cuer d'amant figure	For true Love in a lover's heart creates
1995	Tres dous Espoir et gracïeus Penser:	Very Sweet Hope and amiable Thought:
	Espoir atrait Joie et Bonne Adventure;	Hope attracts Joy and Good Luck;
	Doulz Penser fait Plaisance en cuer entrer.	Sweet Thought causes Pleasure to enter the heart;
	Si ne doit plus demander	
	Cilz qui a bonne Esperance,	So he who has good Hope,
2000	Doulz Penser, Joye, et Plaisance;	Sweet Thought, Joy and Pleasure
	Car qui n'a plus requiert, je di	Must not ask for more;
	Qu'Amours l'a guerpi.	For I tell you, if he demands more, Love has abandoned him.
	Don't cilz qui vit de si douce pasture	Therefore, he who lives on such sweet
	Vie d'onnour puet bien et doit mener,	Nourishment can easily and must live a
2005	Car de tous biens a a comble mesure,	life of honor,
	Plus qu'autres cuers n'en saroit desirer;	For he has all the blessings in abundance,
	Ne d'autre merci rouver	More than any other heart would dare desire;
	N'a desir, cuer, ne beance,	
	Pour ce qu'il a Souffisance;	Nor does he have heart, desire, or longing
2010	Ne je sçay nommer cy	To implore any other reward,
	Nulle autre merci.	Because he has *Souffisance*;
		Nor can I name here
	(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 1996-2011)	Any other reward to ask for.[28]

The *chant royal*'s reference to "vraye Amour" reflects that idealized love which Kelly has coined "good love." All of the key components are present, *Dous Penser, Esperance,* and *Souffisance*, save *Souvenir*, which as I will explain below, is always in play as the counterpart to *Dous*

[28] I have modified the translation. My emphasis.

Penser. Thus, according to *Remede de Fortune*, a lover who is satiated by the virtues of *Souvenir*, *Dous Penser* and *Esperance* to the point where they do not require or seek reciprocation has attained *Souffisance*; this is the true and honorable way to love.

In previous scholarship, *Esperance* has generally been interpreted central pillar of the doctrine. Douglas Kelly explains:

> Machaut redefines love in the *Remede* by drawing on Boethius's conception of virtue as a natural human good that precludes the suffering caused by Fortune. Esperance is the spokeswoman for this love. This kind of *esperence* [*sic*] does not, or at least should not, alternate with desire. Importantly, then, Machaut's conception of good hope is not modeled on the commonplace but uncertain hope of courtly tradition, but rather on the theological virtue that is certain. Consequently, the body and carnal 'delectation' are no longer the object of love because, in Boethius' scheme, the bodily pleasures that lovers desire are false goods. For Machaut, virtue makes the virtuous person lovable and secure in the certain hope of being loved in return. Such good love is chaste; it is also self-sufficient."[29]

In naming *Esperance* as the "spokeswoman for this love," Kelly is referring to an extended allegory that unfolds throughout *Remede de Fortune*'s wherein Lady *Esperance*—hope personified—appears to the dejected and heartbroken protagonist and schools him in the ways of good love.[30] This episode is rife with Boethian influence and directly parallels the allegory of *De consolation philosophiae* where Lady Philosophy instructs and consoles the imprisoned Boethius about the nature of true happiness (*felicitas*), explaining that it is found from within and is born from natural, internal virtues. In contrast, worldly goods belong only to *Fortuna*, who gives and takes as she pleases, subjecting the (un)fortunate to a steadily unpredictable cycle of joy and

[29] Kelly, *Machaut and the Medieval Apprenticeship Tradition*, 23-4.

[30] See Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Jugement de roy de Behaigne* and *Remède de Fortune* (Athens and London: 1988), eds. and trans. James I. Wimsatt and William W. Kibler, music ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer. *Remede de Fortune* lines 1481-892. All citations and translations from *Remede de Fortune* in this dissertation will come from this edition. I will note when I have modified a translation.

despair.[31] In the context of Machaut, *Souffisance* corresponds to Boethius' *felicitas*: internalized joy born from inherent virtue and the eschewing of worldly goods. In Boethius' case, "worldly goods" were not likened to love, but rather to wealth and political power; for Machaut and his audience, they correspond to both carnal, physical reciprocation from the beloved—the "delectation" and bodily pleasure mentioned by Kelly.

Esperance is often discussed in juxtaposition to its binary opposition, *Desir*—a nefarious force that is also a euphemism for the pursuit of carnal and bodily satisfaction. According to Sylvia Huot:

> Desire, with its emphasis on the isolation and deprivation of the poetic subject, leads to the breakdown of social bonds, to miscommunication, shame, and despair. Hope, on the other hand, with its emphasis on plenitude and fulfillment, allows for social interaction and cohesion, serenity, and the stylized public performance of courtly values.[32]

The isolation and deprivation caused by *Desir* subjects lovers to Fortune's wheel. Jacqueline Cequiglini-Toulet suggests that *Fortune* and *Desir,* both of which oppose *Esperance*, are two sides of the same coin: "Le visage que prend Fortune est celui de Désir. . . L'un et l'autre dessine dans leur instabilité, la figure d'une roue. . . Fortune et Désir entrent dans le même paradigme de forces néfastes. . . Comme Désir, Fortune a un ennemi : Esperance," [Fortune takes the face of Desire. . . they both devise in their instability the figure of a wheel. . . Fortune and Desire enter into the same paradigm of nefarious forces. . . Like Desire, Fortune has an enemy: Hope].[33] So it

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[31] See Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. S.J. Tester (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1973), 130-384.

[32] Sylvia Huot, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Consolation of Poetry." *Modern Philology* 100 (2002), 169-95, at 172.

[33] Jacueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, *"Un engin si soutil:" Guillaume de Machaut et l'écriture au XIV siècle* (Geneva: 1985), 64, 68. My translation.

is both *Desir* and *Fortune* that *Esperance* works to thwart in order to open the door to *Souffisance*.

While it has been rightfully recognized that *Esperance* is a key component in the pursuit of *Souffisance*, more needs to be done to expound and demonstrate the underpinnings provided by *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser.* While scholars such as Elizabeth Eva Leach and Sylvia Huot have addressed memory, their observations seem cursory relative to what has been said about *Esperance*. Nonetheless, they do provide a starting point from which to more deeply interrogate the role of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* in the transmission of Machaut's love doctrine. Huot says, for example:

> The poetry proposed by Machaut preserves the past while looking to the future; it could almost be said, in its implications, to erase the very distinction between past and future, memory and hope. It provides a medium in which the absent beloved can still be conjured up and addressed, even beyond the grave; it acknowledges the pain, loss and bereavement while yet providing some relief by displacing that sense of loss into a fictionalized construct. . . by stressing the possibility of glimpsing the absolute through fixation on the image of the beloved, Machaut suggests that love need never be tragic. Its true import lies not in bodily contact but in private contemplation. . .[34]

Leach similarly notes that:

> . . . consolation in Machaut's works is achieved through the elevation of the personified figure of Hope as a sublimation of Desire, which works through an ongoing memorialization of the lady and her good qualities. . . Hope, fed by the memorial image (*Souvenir*) and Sweet Thoughts, can nourish the lover in the sweet pasture of Love, bringing a self-sufficiency that makes refined loving socially workable.[35]

These observations allow us to identify Machaut's love doctrine as a linear process that unfolds in a mental chain reaction catalyzed by *Souvenir:*

Souvenir → *Dous Penser* → *Esperance* → *Souffisance*

[34] Sylvia Huot, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Consolation of Poetry," 195.

[35] Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 138.

Mental recollection of the beloved (*Souvenir*) induces contemplation and consolatory thoughts (*Dous Penser*) which engender hope of reciprocation (*Esperance*), ultimately facilitating a sustained state of joy exempt from externalities and exempt from the threats of *Desir* and *Fortune* (*Souffisance*). Indeed, it is not continued contact with or reciprocation from the beloved that brings joy, nor should that be necessary; it is contemplation of and reminiscence upon a *Souvenir* of the beloved which facilitates the *Esperance* that ultimately leads to *Souffisance*. In this way, the three components of *Souvenir*, *Dous Penser*, and *Esperance* work together in concert to formulate Machaut's love doctrine. If any of three components are absent, *Souffisance* cannot be attained.

Echoes of this doctrine are ubiquitous throughout Machaut's corpus. In the *Prologue*, *Amours* gifts Guillaume de Machaut with his three children, *Dous Penser*, *Plaisance*, and *Esperance*, who allow him to love honorably and joyfully so that he can create poetry and music in honor of ladies. In *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, the lady appears to the lover in a dream vision and implores that he to draw upon his memory in order to contemplate mental images of his beloved so he can find consolation and nullify the pain of physical separation.[36] *Le Confort d'Ami* transcends the question of love and touches upon the realms of spiritual faith and political power as the poet exhorts his friend and patron, the imprisoned Charles of Navarre, to have hope that divine intervention will lead to the favorable resolution of his political feuds and imprisonment.[37] Components are also prevalent in the lyrics and *chansons* such as in the *virelai*, "Comment qu'à

[36] See Machaut, *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, lines 2207-526.

[37] See Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Confort d'Ami* (*Comfort for a Friend*), ed. and trans. R. Barton Palmer (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992).

moy lonteinne," the text of which describes the consolatory power of *Penser* and *Souvenir* to combat the pain of physical separation and the burning pangs of desire.[38]

While these ideas may initially seem to reflect the conventions of a single medieval poet, the conception of memory in which they are grounded stems from a long tradition established in the ancient world, and well-known and prevalent throughout the medieval period. In order to demonstrate that tradition, I will look to Aristotle's treatise *De Memoria et Reminiscentia* which was well-known and highly influential in fourteenth-century France, and which I argue was the basis of the perception of memory reflected in Machaut's notions of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*.

Memory in the Middle Ages: Perceptions

Mary Carruthers, a universally recognized expert in the medieval culture and perception of memory, has shown that memory in the Middle Ages was a central aspect of socio-cultural and intellectual society. She even argues that it was considered the foundation of all human knowledge, understanding, and craft. In her introduction to her famous study *The Book of Memory*: *A Study of Memory in the Middle Ages*, she stresses that medieval and modern conceptions of memory differ markedly:

> When we think of our highest creative power, we think invariably of the imagination. "Great imagination, profound intuition," we say: this is our highest accolade for intellectual achievement, even in the sciences. The memory, in contrast, is devoid of intellect: just memorization, not real thought or true learning. . .
>
> We make such judgments (even those of us who are hard scientists) because we have been formed in a post-Romantic, post-Freudian world, in which imagination has been identified with a mental unconsciousness of great, even dangerous, creative power. . . Ancient and medieval people reserved *their* awe for memory. Their greatest geniuses they describe as people of superior memories,

[38] See Guillaume de Machaut, *Poésies lyriques*, 2 vols., ed. Vladimir Chichmaref (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1973), 586-7.

> they boast unashamedly of their prowess in that faculty, and they regard it as a mark of superior moral character as well as intellect.[39]

Carruthers then illustrates the medieval admiration of memory by citing an account extracted from a *vita* written by Thomas Aquinas' *socius* (friar-companion), Bernardo Gui:

> Of the subtlety and brilliance of his intellect and the soundness of his judgment, sufficient proof is his vast literary output, his many original discoveries, his deep understanding of the Scriptures. Whatever he had once read and grasped, he never forgot; it was as if knowledge were ever increasing in his soul as page were added to page in the writing of a book. Consider, for example, that admirable compilation of Patristic texts on the four Gospels which he made for Pope Urban, and which, for the most part, he seems to have put together from the texts he had read and committed to memory . . . Still stronger is the testimony of Reginald, his *socius* and of his pupils and those who wrote to his dictation, who all declare that he used to dictate in his cell to three secretaries, and even occasionally to four, on different subjects at the same time . . . Nor did he seem to be searching for things as yet unknown to him; he seemed to simply let his memory pour out its treasures.[40]

It seems Aquinas' contemporaries and companions "reserved their greatest awe" not for his books, but for his memory, because they understood that it was his memory which allowed him to compose those books. Each page of scripture that he memorized and deposited into mind grew the profound knowledge which formulated his own philosophies and texts, and his memory was the medium through which he transmitted his creations from his mind to the scribe's hand.

Bernardo's interpretation of Aquinas' acute mental faculties attests to the notion that in medieval perception, it was "memory that made knowledge into useful experience, and memory that combined these pieces of information-become-experience into what we call 'ideas. . .'"[41] This supports the notion that for medieval people, *memory* was the foundation of all learning and

[39] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1.

[40] Bernardo Gui, *The Life of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, cited by Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 3.

[41] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 2.

knowledge, and it was *memory* that allowed humans to make sense of their own life experiences, and to learn and gain wisdom from them.

Memory also marked superior moral character. During his canonization trial, much effort was dedicated to the praise of Aquinas' unbelievable memory, but that such praise was not exceptional to Aquinas among the canonized. Indeed, "prodigious memory is almost a trope of saints' lives," as attested to by St. Anthony, who memorized the entire Bible by simply hearing it read aloud, or by St. Francis of Assisi who was renowned for the exactness of his memory.[42] The implications of this trope are central, as it shows that ". . . the choice to train one's memory or not, for the ancients and medievals, was not a choice dictated by convenience: it was a matter of ethics. A person without memory . . . would be a person without moral character, and in a basic sense, without humanity."[43] Thus, to be saintly, to be ethical, to have morality, was to train and make use of the memory.

In Machaut's poetry, memory is a key component of a doctrine which impedes desirous lovers from engaging in immoral activity, or from having lascivious thoughts, and which keeps them empowered to enjoy love in a moral and painless way. So, the exercise of Machaut's good love is both the "intelligent" and the "moral" thing to do. Yet, in order for lovers to conduct intelligent and moral behavior, very specific, and not altogether involuntary memorial processes must be employed. To illustrate these processes, I will now consider Aristotle's *De memoria et reminiscentia,* which was perhaps the most influential treatise on perceptions of memory in medieval society, and Machaut, having been educated at the University of Paris, would have been familiar with it.

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[42] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 14.

[43] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 14.

The Memorial Process(es): Memoria et Reminiscentia; Souvenir et Dous Penser

Aristotle's discourses on both ethics and memory exerted a substantial influence on late medieval French society. Newly available translations of Aristotle's works, including the first full translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, were widely known and available by the mid-thirteenth century, and by the mid-fourteenth, Aristotelian thought enjoyed a central role in the curriculum of the medieval university. The newfound focus on Aristotle's works facilitated a nascent discourse about the nature of happiness, and "opened up a new framework for philosophical speculation about the nature of and path toward the sovereign good. . ." While Aristotle's conception of happiness, previously known through translations of works by Cicero and Boethius, had traditionally been considered only in the context of practical and political happiness, and the availability of the *Ethics* in its integrity expanded their relevance to late medieval society by describing "a life of perfect contemplative happiness that is theoretically attainable in the mundane world." The notion of mundane happiness clashed with the long-established theological interpretation of felicity as a purely spiritual goal attainable only in the afterlife. This provoked a "re-examination of central concepts in medieval ethics: action, love, pleasure, felicity, the good," thus rendering "happiness a valid starting point for ethical inquiry, and earthly 'imperfect' felicity a suitable moral goal." In short, "Aristotle's *Ethics* offered an ethical goal imaginable within the space of the narrative of human life."[44]

There is no doubt that Machaut would have had access to copies of Aristotle's works and that he would have been familiar with them. During the thirteenth century, the University of Paris situated itself as the recipient of ancient Greek and Roman traditions, and at that time, the

[44] Jessica Rosenfeld, *Ethics and Enjoyment in Late Medieval Poetry: Love after Aristotle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1-2.

writings of Aristotle, Cicero, Ovid, Saint Augustine, and Boethius made their way to France via the court of Avignon and were translated into French.[45] Machaut, who held the title of *magister artium*, was educated at the University of Paris whose library held important commentaries on works by Aristotle, Seneca, and Cicero. [46] Considering that Machaut was born c.1300 and his most productive period of literary output began in the 1340s, his education surely predated the production of works such as *Remede de Fortune* which bear clear Aristotelian influence.

Concerning Machaut's love doctrine, it seems that Aristotle's *Ethics*, *De memoria et reminiscentia*, and Boethius' *De consolatio philosophiae* are of particular influence (and of course, Aristotle was of great influence on Boethius).[47] Surely, the doctrine's core concept—that joy in love can be attained from within—is highly reflective of both Aristotle and Boethius' philosophies about human felicity. For, what is *Souffisance*, if not earthly felicity attained through moral comportment?

While the *Ethics* may have been the most influential of Aristotle's texts during Machaut's lifetime, his treatise on memory, *De memoria et reminiscentia,* which separates memory into the two separate but related processes of *memoria* and *reminiscentia*, enjoyed an unbroken influence on the western perception of memory into the late Middle Ages. In fact, "all accounts of the working of memory written after Aristotle separate its activities into two processes: that of

[45] Anne Hélène-Miller, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Form of Pre-Humanism in Fourteenth-Century France." In McGrady and Bain, *A Companion* 33-48, at 34.

[46] On Machaut's life and education, see Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 3-8; Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut,* 7-33; For an in-depth look at Machaut's canonry at Reims, see Roger Bowers, "Guillaume de Machaut and his Canonry at Reims, 1338-1377." *Early Music History* 23 (2004), 1-48. For a full-length study that uses the context of fourteenth-century Reims to interpret Machaut's use of ecclesiastical chant, see Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[47] Sylvia Huot discusses Machaut's oeuvre as a response to the Boethian model in "Guillaume de Machaut and the Consolation of Poetry."

storage [*memoria*] . . . and that of recollection [*reminiscentia*]."[48] As I will show, the processes of *memoria and reminiscentia*, which correspond respectively to Machaut's virtues of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*, provide the foundation for Machaut's love doctrine.

According to Aristotle, *memoria* refers to both the faculty of storage, as well as the stored memories themselves (both *memoire* and *souvenir*, in Machaut's language). Memories are created and stored through sensory experience that evokes physical, emotional, and intellectual affects.[49] These affects remain permanently impressed into the memory.[50] *Reminiscentia* involves the intentional and meditative *retrieval* of those affects through contemplation of *memoria* (*souvenir*). Aristotle is careful to clarify that *reminiscentia* is *not* the retrieval of a memory itself (*souvenir*); memories remain permanently in the *memoria* and thus do not need to be retrieved, nor can they be re-created. Rather, the goal of *reminiscentia* is to retrieve the *affect* associated with the memory and the sensory experience that created it.

Aristotle asks how it might be possible that "the affect is present, and the thing is absent, [and] what is not present is remembered."[51] Essentially, he ponders how we can retain knowledge and sensation of an event that has come to pass, but which is no longer present. He responds:

> For it is clear that one must understand some such [memories and their affects] to have been made by the senses within the soul and within the part of the body

[48] Carruthers, *The Book of* Memory, 6.

[49] To be clear, "affect" used nominally—not "effect."

[50] See Aristotle, "On Memory and Recollection," in Thomas Aquinas, *Commentaries* "*On Sense and What is Sensed" and "On Memory and Recollection*," trans and eds. Kevin White and Edward M. Macierowski (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 183-204. Since I am working with both Aristotle's text and Aquinas' commentary, I am bound to this edition, which unfortunately includes a rather literal translation that is not always immediately clear in its meaning. Wherever necessary, I will clarify with brackets within the citation. For a more elegant and sense-centered translation, see Aristotle, *On Memory*, ed. and trans. Richard Sorabji (London: The Trinity Press, 1972).

[51] Aristotle, "On Memory." In Aquinas, *Commentaries*, 196.

> having it as a sort of picture, the having of which we say is [a] memory [*souvenir*]; for the motion [the sensory experience] that has been made impresses, as it were, a figure of a sensible thing [the affect], like those who impress seals with their signet rings.[52]

Aquinas gives further insight:

> Accordingly, he first says it is *clear* that one *must understand some such affection* to be *made* by the sense-power *within the soul and within* an animated organ of the body; we say that *memory belongs to* the soul of this body as *a habit*, and that affection is, so to speak, a sort of picturing, since the sensible object imprints its likeness upon the sense, and since this sort of likeness persists in the imagination even when the sensible object goes away. This is why he adds that the *motion* that is engendered by the sensible object upon the sense-power *impresses* upon the imagination *as it were* a sensible *figure* that remains when the sensible object goes away in the same way as that whereby those who seal this *with their signet rings* impress within the wax a figure that remains even when the seal or the ring has been removed.[53]

These two passages reveal the nature and function of *memoria* as both *memoire* and *souvenir*. First, regarding *memoire*, we see that it is likened to wax, a surface upon which things may be impressed or inscribed "like those who impress seals with their signet rings." This memorial surface onto which the seal of *souvenir* is impressed resides both within the body and the soul/mind.[54] The "sensible object" (simply something experienced by the senses) imprints its likeness and associated affect, which persist in the mind and memory even when the sensory experience has ended. This imprinted likeness is a metaphysical trace of that sensory experience and its accompanying affect, directly analogous to the impression left in wax by a seal. This imprint itself is *a memory*—a *souvenir*.

[52] Aristotle, "On Memory." In Aquinas, *Commentaries*, 196.

[53] Aristotle, "On Memory." In Aquinas, *Commentaries*, 198. The emphasis is the editor's.

[54] In Aristotle's language, "soul" and "mind" were interchangeable meanings for the same word.

Aristotle further expounds the memorial system by making a distinction between memory (*memoria*), recollection (*reminiscentia*), and *remembering* (*recordatio*). *Remembering* is the fruit of *recollection*; it is the metaphysical retrieval of those *souvenirs* and their affects sealed into the *memoria*. He says: "Further it is clear that there is remembering for one that is not now [no longer] recollecting but sensing or being affected from the beginning [reliving the affect induced by the initial sensory experience]. But when one recovers what he had before—knowledge or sense or the habit of that which we call [a] memory—this is recollecting. . . remembering is concomitant."[55] *Remembering* is achieved after successfully *recollecting*, and it involves the metaphysical reliving of that affect ("knowledge or sense") imprinted into the *memoria* at the moment of sensory experience. Thus, while a memory (*souvenir*) always resides within the *memoria*, the remembering and reliving of its affect requires the intentional process of *reminiscentia*. Therefore, it is *recollection* that will induce *remembering*. Aquinas says:

> Then when he says *Further it is clear that there is remembering*, he shows further that recollection is neither recovery of a memory nor an original acquisition. He states that it is *clear* from what has been said before that one who is *not now* [no longer] *recollecting may remember*, i.e., he does not [yet] remember what he is now recollecting, *but* that which he has sensed or in some fashion or other experienced *from the beginning*.[56] Thus, recollection is not the recovery of a memory, but is related to something that someone has apprehended before [the affect]. Then, when he says *But one recovers,* he shows what recollection is.
>
> First, he says that recollection is the recovery of the first acquisition [recovery of the affect] . . . Accordingly, he says that recollection is not recovery of a memory, but it is when someone recovers what has been known or sensed *before* . . . when in some way we recover a prior apprehension . . . through recollection, *remembering* is *concomitant*, because recollection is a sort of movement toward remembering. . . [57]

[55] Aristotle, "On Memory." In Aquinas, *Commentaries*, 205.

[56] In other words, one who is still recollecting has not yet remembered, but after having recollected, one remembers.

[57] Aristotle, "On Memory." In Aquinas, *Commentaries*, 208.

Aquinas clarifies that *recollection* cannot involve the recovery of a memory (*souvenir*), nor can it involve the creation of a new memory, because the *souvenir* already resides within the *memoire,* having been previously imprinted therein by sensory experience. Therefore, *recollection* involves the recovery of the original *affect* associated with a memory; it is the metaphysical retrieval of what one sensed, learned, or felt "at the beginning"—the moment when the memory was created. As soon as one recollects that affect, one is remembering.

Now, to bring this back to Machaut, the metaphor of memory as a wax surface primed to retain inscriptions as mental images "is so ancient and persistent in Western cultures that it must be seen as a governing model or 'cognitive archetype.'"[58] Surely, this "cognitive archetype" did not escape Machaut, as similar references to memory are pervasive in his narrative poetry. For example, in enumerating the qualities of an ideal apprentice, Machaut writes in *Remede de Fortune*'s prologue:

	Soing, penser, desir de savoir	He should be diligent, assiduous, and
	Ait, si pourra scïence avoir.	Eager for knowledge, for thus can he
	Et l'entrepregne en joene aage,	Attain wisdom. And he should seek it at
	Ains qu'en malice son courage	An early age, before his heart turns to
25	Mue par trop de cognoissance;	Wickedness from too much experience;
	Car le droit estat d'innocence	For the true state of innocence is like the
	Rassemble proprement la table	White and polished tablet that is ready
	Blanche, polie, qui est able	To Receive the exact image of whatever
	A recevoir, sans nul contraire,	One wishes to portray or paint upon it.
30	Ce c'on y veult paindre ou pourtraire;	And it is also like wax that can be
	Et est aussi comme la cire	Written upon, and which retains the
	Qui seuffre dedens li escrire,	Form and imprint exactly as one has
	Ou qui retient forme ou emprainte,	Imprinted it.
	Si com on l'a en li emprainte.	
35	Ainssi est il certainement	Truly it is the same with human
	De vray humain entendement	Understanding, which is ready to
	Qui est ables a recevoir	Receive whatever one wishes and can

[58] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 18. Carruthers cites and credits Max Black for the term "cognitive archetype." See Max Black, *Models and Metaphors: Studies in language and Philosophy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1962), 219-43.

	Tout ce c'on veult et concevoir	apprehend whatever one sets it to: arms,
	Puet tout ce a quoy on le mettre:	Love, other art or letter.
40	Armes, amours, autre art, ou lettre.	

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 21-40)

Here, Machaut speaks of *scïence* (knowledge) and of *entendement* (true understanding), but he does not explicitly mention memory. His reference to memory is implicit. However, let us not forget that in the medieval context, it was "memory that made knowledge into useful experience."[59] Thus, by using the wax tablet metaphor, Machaut establishes memory as the prerequisite to *entendement* of the doctrine *Remede de Fortune* transmits; true understanding of doctrine is preceded and enabled by memory; knowledge must first be created and deposited into the memory before it can be understood and employed—before it can be *recollected* and *remembered*. Thus, Machaut's poetics work to embed the *souvenir* of the *scïence*—the knowledge of love doctrine—into the *memoire*, and it is the recollection of the *souvenir* of that knowledge that will lead to true understanding.

Other important examples are to be found in *La Fontaine Amoureuse* and *Le Confort d'Ami*. In *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, the lover-protagonist exclaims:

	Douce dame dont je porte l'empreinte	Sweet Lady whose image I bear
	Dedens mon cuer figuree et empreinte	Depicted and impressed within my heart,
1005	Que fine amour y a mis et empreinte	Which refined love put and painted there
	A .i. pincel	With the brush of memory, and has
	De souvenir, mais tour entour enseinte	Surrounded her on every side with that
	De loyaute l'a qui garde l'enceinte	Loyalty which protects the enclosure
	Que n'autre n'i soit figuree ne peinte	So that no other could be depicted or
1010	Dont trop m'est bel	Painted there, or this one is so beautiful
	Par souvenir vois tost son appel.	for Me, through memory I answer her call at Once.

(*La Fontaine Amoureuse*, lines 1003-11)

In *Le Confort d'ami*, Guillaume consoles and instructs Charles by saying:

Je t'ai dit que dous pensee	I've told you that Sweet Thought is

[59] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 2.

	Est de souvenir engendree,	Brought to life by Memory,
2155	Dont toutes les fois qu'il avient	And this means that whenever it happens
	Que de ta dame te souvient	That you remember your lady,
	. . .	. . .
2160	Tu dois en ton cuer concevoir	You should conceive in your heart,
	Ymaginer, penser, pourtraire	Imagine, develop, and form the image
	La biauté de son dous viaire	Of her sweet face's beauty.
	. . .	. . .
2185	Lors dois avoir l'impression	At this point, you should have the imprint
	De ceste ymagination	From making the image
	Et de ce douce figure	Of this pleasant figure
	Que dous penser en toy figure	Sweet Thought conjures up for you,
	S'en dois en ton cuer une ymage	And thus you should build an image
2190	Faire, a qui tu feras homage.	In your heart, paying homage to it.[60]

(*Le Confort D'Ami*, lines 2153-6, 2160-2, 2185- 90)

Not only do these passages clearly demonstrate the influence of Aristotle's notions of *memoria et reminiscentia* on Machaut, but they also explicitly illustrate that very conception of memory as a foundational component of Machaut's love doctrine. The image of the lady is impressed into the heart (*memoire*) as *Souvenir*. *Dous Penser* involves the imagining and developing of the image within the heart by contemplating its *Souvenir*. Thus, *Dous Penser* is *reminiscentia*, and its ultimate result is *remembrance* of the lady—the reliving of the affect associated with the physical experience of beholding her beauty. To pay homage to the lady's image as *Souvenir*, and to relive the joy it brings through *Dous Penser* is to *remember* her.

***La Fontaine Amoureuse*: Lyric Insertion as Love Doctrine**

As one of Machaut's key didactic love poems, *La Fontaine Amoureuse* focuses on the "unstable balance between good hope and desire," and it underscores "the necessity of good hope whenever desire enfeebles virtue. . ."[61] Indeed, the components of Machaut's love doctrine

[60] I have modified the translation.

[61] Kelly, *Machaut and the Medieval Apprenticeship Tradition*, 52.

as discussed here would have been well-established by the time *La Fontaine Amoureuse* was written and when it appeared in the manuscript tradition. Lawrence Earp places the date of composition, based on historical references and the anagram at 1360-61.[62] The poem first appears in the later manuscripts believed to have been compiled in the early 1370s, near the end of Machaut's life: Vg, B, and A. This is some twenty years after the first appearance of *Remede de Fortune* in C. which Earp dates to 1350-56. He places the *Remede de Fortune*'s date of composition even earlier: before 1342.[63]

The *dit*, consisting of just under three thousand lines of narrative poetry and three lyric insertions—a *complainte*, a *consolation*, and a *rondeau*—recounts the story of a nobleman-lover struggling to cope with impending separation from his lady. A talented poet,[64] the nobleman performs a dolorous yet well-crafted *complainte* in his bed chamber which decries the pain he will face in being forcibly distanced from his beloved. His lamentation is overheard by Guillaume,[65] a visiting clerk and master poet (and also the principal narrative voice of the poem) who eagerly takes dictation of the *complainte*.

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[62] See Earp, *Guillaume de* Machaut, 221.

[63] Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 77-89. 212.

[64] Sylvia Huot rejects the notion that the nobleman lover is the true author of the *complainte*: "The technical virtuosity of the *complainte* prevents the reader from accepting it as the verbatim transcription of a hapless lover's insomniacal ramblings. . .The fact that exclamations over the poetic complexity of the poem are included within the *complainte* itself compromises the identification of that voice with the lover's voice." See Sylvia Huot, "Reading the Lies of Poets: The Literal and the Allegorical in Machaut's *Fonteinne amoureuse*," *Philological Quarterly*, 85 (2006), 25-46, at 33. Notwithstanding Huot's reading, I do not think within the purely fictional, narrative register of the *dit*, that it wouldn't be inconceivable that a fourteenth-century nobleman might be a talented and accomplished poet. In the later *Voir Dit*, the young noblewoman Toute Belle is presented as an accomplished poet and the author of roughly one half of the work's sixty-three lyrics. Also, the exclamation about the lyric's excellence may just be read as Guillaume de Machaut interjecting and boasting about his own skill.

[65] Guillaume is somewhat of a poetic "alter ego" of Guillaume de Machaut—a technique which is used throughout Machaut's corpus of narrative poetry. Guillaume takes on different roles in different works: most often the lover protagonist, but also a clerk, and in *Le Confort d'Ami*, the friend and confidant of Charles of Navarre. Some important scholarship on the subject includes Kevin Brownlee, *Poetic Identity in Guillaume de Machaut* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), and Laurence de Looze, *Pseudo-autobiography in the Fourteenth*

The following day, Guillaume befriends the ailing lover, and they depart together for a forest retreat during which they fall into a dream vision aside a majestic fountain adorned with scenes of ancient myths. During his slumber, the nobleman is visited by an apparition of the lady sent to him by decree of Venus. The lady performs a *consolation*, which, mimicking the exact structure of his *complainte*, acts as its remedy by transmitting the doctrine necessary for him to cope with this heartache. Focusing on the primacy of memory and hope, the doctrine the *consolation* expresses is none other than that established in *Remede de Fortune*. The *Rondeau*, recited by the protagonist just before the closing of the *dit*, attests to the lover's *entendement* of doctrine. The narrative closes with Guillaume praising the *rondeau* and mentioning how the lover has departed with all the necessary tools to combat desire and the pain of separation. In this way*, La Fontaine Amoureuse*'s lyric insertions provide an integral doctrinal vehicle, with the *complainte* illustrating misguided, desire-driven love, the *consolation*, good love, and the *rondeau*, a testament to reception and application.

Complaining about "Bad Love"

In opening his *complainte*, the lover immediately displays his ignorance to the power of *Souvenir*:

235	Douce dame, vueilliez oïr la vois	Sweet Lady, please hear the sounds
	De ma clamour, qu'en souspirant m'en vois	Of my lamenting, as sighing I depart,
	Tristes, dolens, doleureus, et destrois,	Sad, grieving, pained, and distraught,
	ne dou retour	And of my return, I cannot tell the year or
	Ne say dire, ne les ans ne les mois.	Month. Alas! In this way I lose the
240	Las! Einsi pers la gracious convois	Gracious convoy of your sweet eyes
	De vos dous yex, qui ont par meintes fois	Which many times with their sweetness
	de leur douçour	Very sweetly assuaged my pain,
	Tres doucement adouci ma doulour,	Joyously made a joy of my weeping,
	Joieusement fait joie de mon plour,	Returning me sense, poise, strength, for of
245	Et m'ont rendu scens, maniere, et vigour,	These three things I was stripped,

Century: Juan Ruiz, Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart, and Geoffrey Chaucer (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1997), 66-101.

	car de ces trois	Seeing the comely and beautiful shape of
	Estoie nus, quant vëoie l'atour	Your Body, perfectly formed, which
	Cointe et joli de vos corps fait a tour,	Surpasses all others everywhere
	Qui passe tous en grace et en valour	In grace and worthiness.
250	En tous endrois.	
	Cils dous resgars estoit tous mes confors.	This sweet look was all my comfort;
	Il me tenoit l'ame dedens le corps,	It kept the soul inside my body, for
	Car lonc temps a, fusse, s'il ne fust, mors,	Without it I would have been dead long
	qu'il soustenoit	Since because it sustained me and my
255	Moy et mon cuer contre tous desconfors.	Heart in every distress. Alas! It was my
	Helas! C'estoit mes amoureus depors	Delight in love and the true harbor of my
	Et de ma vie et santé li drois pors.	Life and well being. It was worth so much
	trop me valoit,	To me, for when refusal entered my lady,
	Car quant refuse en ma dame venoit	This sweet look at once repudiated it,
260	Cils dous regars tantost le desdisoit	Sweetly retaining me as hers, such that
	Et doucement pour sien me retenoit,	Afterward my spirit was reassured, so it
	si que des lors	Seemed, nor did I longer fear a thing.
	Mes esperis asseürez estoit,	Thus my heart always found there
	Car ce m'estoit vis, ne riens plus ne	All its comfort.[66]
	doutoit.	
265	Einsi en li mes cuers toudis prenoit	
	Tous ses ressors.	

(*La Fontaine Amoueuse*, lines 235-66)

In the opening line, he calls upon the lady to hear his cries, thus immediately underlining that his joy depends on her direct acknowledgment. At this point where he does not yet understand the power of memory and recollection—he feels dependent on the lady's presence to receive her gaze. Separated from her, he can find no joy in love. The second stanza elaborates on the importance of the lady's gaze, elevating it to the only defense against "death;" he says that it "keeps his soul inside of his body." The hyperbolic nature of the lover's speech points to the gravity of the situation such as he perceives it, and it demonstrates his ignorance to the power of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*. He has not yet learned to recollect and relive the affect associated

[66] I have modified the translation.

with her presence and the reception of her *dous regars*. He does not yet understand that he can still enjoy the joy born from her gaze even when he is not in her presence.

As his lamentation continues, he cries: ". . vëoir, / Ymaginer, penser, ne concevoir / Ne puis comment je puisse joie avoir, / Car je la ser et aim sans decevoir, / Et sans laidure. / Las! Or me part a moult petit espoir. . ." (*La Fontaine Amoureuse*, lines 290-5), [I cannot see, imagine, think, or conceive how I might find joy, though I serve her and love her without deception, without villainy. Alas! Now I depart with so little hope]. Ironically, the seeds of his own amorous salvation are imbedded within his own words. Indeed, *ymaginer*, *penser*, and *vëoir* can be interpreted to represent the language of *reminiscentia*, but he will need further instruction in order to understand he can *think* of the lady, *imagine* her presence, *see* her beauty so long as he contemplates *Souvenir* of her through *Dous Penser*. For now, however, he searches for hope and consolation through yet another dubitable source: pity.

If only, so he thinks, his lady knew the extent of his love for her and the pain it causes him, then she would pity him and grant her *merci*. But how might she learn of his woes? In his search for a solution, the protagonist recalls by the story of Alcyone and Ceys, wherein Ceys departs on a journey by sea and eventually dies in a storm. Juno, feeling pity for Alcyone, petitions the god of sleep to send his son, Morpheus, to assume the form of Ceys, and to then visit Alcyone in a dream vision to inform her of her husband's death. Morpheus, having assumed Ceys' form, goes to Alcyone and implores her to behold his image and to *remember* him.[67] Yet again, it seems that the solution to the lover's predicament is right under his nose; through Ceys, Morpheus apprises Alcyone of the power of memory in the fight against grief and separation. However, the complaining lover overlooks that and instead, intends to call upon Morpheus to

[67] For Machaut's version of the story *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, lines 539-698.

visit his beloved in her sleep, to make her aware of his suffering so that she might pity him. If this happens, he does not believe that his lady would be so "dure ou si forte / Que pité ne l'uis / De son franc cuer . . . / N'uevre la porte. . . (*La Fontaine Amoureuse*, lines 72-6), [stern and unbending that pity wouldn't open the gate to her generous heart]. While hope of consolation through pity would prove misguided and unfruitful, toward the end of the lyric, it seems that the protagonist does start to gravitate toward the path of good love. Indeed, he speaks of hope and sweet thought (*La Fontaine Amoureuse*, lines 907-27), and of joy to be found in remembering the sweet image of his beloved which "fine amour" has "painted" into his heart (*La Fontaine Amoureuse*, lines 152-8). While this is a step in the right direction, his cries for pity still leave him in an untenable position.

The Consolation of *Souvenir*

When Guillaume and the lover arrive at the fountain, they note its beauty and splendor, as it has been elaborately decorated with scenes of the ancient world including episodes from Virgilian and Homeric epics and a depiction of Venus holding the torch that inflamed Helen's heart. They quickly fall asleep and an apparition of Venus appears to Guillaume in a dream vision and tells him that the hopeless lover sleeping nearby has no knowledge of or faith in Love. The god identifies the source of the lover's shortcomings, saying: "Mais je croy que c'est par enfance, / Par folie ou par ignorance (lines 2160-1), [But I believe it's due to youth, foolishness, or ignorance].[68] The accusations of immaturity and youthful ignorance indicate the lover's state of pre-indoctrination; he lacks knowledge and understanding of good love. However, all is not lost, since "the true state of innocence is like the white and polished tablet that is ready to receive

[68] My translation.

the exact image of whatever one wishes to portray and paint upon it" (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 25-30). He is primed to receive be instructed and to attain *entendement* of doctrine, and Venus will send an apparition of his beloved to inscribe it into his *memoire*.

A dream vision of the lady devised and deployed by Venus approaches the sleeping protagonist. The lady says she has come to console her lover, and she openly commits her heart to him. She mentions his impending trip and quickly proposes a solution to his fears: "amis tres dous, tu t'en iras, / Dont moult te desconforteras; Mais mon fin cuer en porteras, et mon *ymage*, / en quoy tu te conforteras / Et tu te deliteras / quant de desir pressez seras. . ." (*La Fontaine Amoureuse*, lines 2238-45), [Now sweet lover, you are going away, and this makes you quite despondent; But my pure heart and my *image*, which will console you, in which you will delight, whenever desire assails you. . .].[69] The consolatory power of the lady's image becomes the crux of Venus' doctrine, and is reiterated as the lyric progresses.

In the fourth stanza, the lady's image reaffirms Venus' doctrine even more explicitly by saying that she too will be pained by her lover's departure, and then proposing a remedy for her own woes:

2255	Amis, moult de meschies aray	Lover, much misfortune will be mine
	Quant si long de moy te saray,	When I learn that you are far away,
	Mais ton ymage porteray	But I will carry your image
	Et ta figure	And your likeness
	En mon cuer,[70] que je garderay	In my heart, which I will keep
2260	Pour le mien que je te lairay,	As my own, leaving you mine,
	Et par ce garnie seray,	And in this way, I will be graced with
	D'envoiseüre	Pleasure,
	Ne la doleur ne la morsure	And I will not fear
	D'amours, ne chose que j'endure	The pain, the pangs of love,
2265	Pour toy, tres douce creature,	Anything that I endure because of you,

[69] My emphasis.

[70] Palmer has a transcription error here. He has transcribed "*ton* cuer." However, MS A, which Palmer's source for the edition, clearly reads "*mon* cuer." See BnF MS fr. 1584, fol. 170r.

Ne doubteray,	Very sweet creature,
Car d'Esperance la seüre	For I will fortify myself
Par ton ymage nette et pure	With Hope the steadfast
Contre desire et sa pointure	Through your image pure and elegant
	So as to oppose Desire and its wounds.[71]

(*La Fontaine Amoureuse*, lines 2255-69)

Here, the lady's words reflect neatly packaged application of Machaut's love doctrine as discussed earlier in this chapter. The lover's image, already inscribed into the lady's heart as *Souvenir*, will bring her pleasure. This pleasure is implicitly derived from the contemplation of that image (*Dous Penser*), which in turn, induces the *Esperance* necessary to fend off Desire.

Interestingly, this fourth stanza of the lady's *consolation* seems to speak directly to the fourth stanza of the lover's *complainte* where he says "vëoir, / Ymaginer, penser, ne concevoir / Ne puis comment je puisse joie avoir, / Car je la ser et aim sans decevoir, / Et sans laidure. / Las ! Or me part a moult petit espoir. . ." (*La Fontaine Amoureuse*, lines 290-5). Indeed, he claims that he cannot *see*, *imagine*, *think*, or *conceive* of how he can find joy, and consequently, he has little *hope*. However, the lady explains to him that if one does *think* and *imagine*, they *will conceive* of and *see* the image of the beloved, thereby finding joy and consolation.

Thereafter, the lady expounds in greater detail the power and efficacy of doctrine Venus has sent her to transmit:

	Amis, se je te sui lonteinne,	Lover, if I am far from you,
	Par pensee te suis procheinne,	Through thought I'm close at hand,
	Et tu moy, car je sui certeinne	As you are to me, for I am certain that
2290	Que ta *pensee*	Your *thoughts*
	Est tous les jours de la semainne	Every day of the week,
	En moy de fois une centeinne	Set on me a hundred times,
	Einsi com *Souvenirs* la meinne	Just as *Memory*
	Mise et fermee.	Encourages them to do.
2295	Et quant je sui bien avisee	And since I am well informed and
	Et je pense a ton renommee	Meditate on your renown,
	A droit de tous trop plus loee	Which is justly praised

[71] I have modified the translation. My emphasis.

	Qu'onneur mondeinne,	By all men more highly than worldly
	Ceste pensee tant m'agree	Honor, these thoughts please me so much
2300	Que je sui hautement paree	That I am adorned with honor
	Quant m'amour est toute enfermee	When my love is completely enclosed
	En ton demainne.	Within your domain.
	Si que, dous amis, ne te doubte,	And so, sweet lover, don't fear,
	Car tu ne dois pas estre en doubte	For you should not doubt
2305	Que je ne soie tienne toute	That I am wholly yours
	Et sans partie,	Without division,
	N'en moy n'a de traïson goute,	Nor is there any betrayal in me,
	Pour ce qu'elle est trop male gloute,	For such a thing is very hard to endure.
	Mieus ameroie avoir la goute	I would prefer having the gout
2310	Toute ma vie.	All my life.
	Et se tu dis: 'Je ne vif mie,	And if you say: "I'm not alive at all
	Quant ne voy ma dame et m'amie,'	When I don't see my lady and beloved,"
	Ou se *Desirs* par sa maistrie	Or if Desire with his power
	Te pique et boute,	Annoys and disturbs you, then
2315	*Resgarde l'image jolie*	C*ontemplate the beautiful image*
	Que tu as en ta compaingnie,	That you have for a companion,
	Et jamais l'amour qui nous lie	And the love binding us will never be
	Ne sera route.	destroyed.[72]

(*La Fontaine Amoureuse*, lines 2676-318)

These passages from the *consolation* of *La Fontaine Amoureuse* explicitly illustrate the crucial function of memory in the form of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* in Machaut's love doctrine. Venus' manipulation of the lady's image is a powerful rhetorical move, as the lady's apparition—the source of the lover's consolation—is at once a symbol of *Souvenir*, and the voice of an authoritative and greatly admired figure whose advice and wisdom the protagonist would be foolish to doubt or reject.

The third and final lyric insertion, the lover's *rondeau*, attests to his *entendement* of Venus' doctrine and his acceptance of the lady's instruction:

2825	Eu païs ou ma dame maint	In the country where my lady remains
	Pri Dieu qu'a joie mi remaint,	I pray God returns me joyfully.
	Se j'ay heü peinne et mal maint	If I've had pain and great misfortune

[72] I have modified the translation. My emphasis.

	Eu païs ou ma dame maint,	In the country where my lady remains,
	Espoir ay qu'en aucun temps m'aint,	I have *hope* that in time she will love me,
2830	S'en dit mes cuers qui siens remaint.	So says my heart which remains as hers.
	Eu païs ou ma dame maint	In the country where my lady remains
	Pris Dieu qu'a joie mi remaint.	I pray God returns me joyfully.

(*La Fontaine Amoureuse*, lines 2825-32)

This lyric represents the transformation of the young nobleman from a hopeless and ignorant lover to an informed and noble one, properly equipped to bear the hardship of his impending separation. In contrast to his *complainte*, he now attests to his hope even though there is no guarantee of safe return his lady. His hope attests to his *entendement* of the Venus' doctrine and his ability to employ *Souvenir et Dous Penser* to cope with the pain of separation.

The joy derived from his application of doctrine is further reflected in the fact that he *sings* the *rondeau*, as is clarified by the lyric's narrative framing: "Quant montez fu, il m'est avis / Qu'il tourna par deça son vis, / Et d'une vois bele et jolie, / Pleinne de tres grant melodie, / Et d'un amoureus sentiment, / Prist a chanter joliement" (*La Fontaine Amoureuse*, lines 2819-24), [After embarking, it seemed to me that he turned his face this way and with a voice beautiful and clear which was filled with much melody and the emotions of love, he began to sing pleasingly]. To clarify, no musical setting exists for this *rondeau*. However, a comparison of the words used to describe the performance of the previous lyric insertions—"dire" and "parla" for the *complainte* and *consolation*, respectively—seems to indicate that the *chanter* describing the performance of the *rondeau* can be read literally in the musical sense, not necessarily in a general manner referring to all poetic recitation, whether sung or spoken.[73] Indeed, in a key instance of the semantic conflation of music and poetry in the fourteenth century, Eustache Deschamps discusses in *L'Art de Dictier* the notion of "artificial music" versus "natural music."

[73] See Machaut, *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, lines 232, 2204.

The former he describes as an "art" that requires training in accordance with music theory—essentially, music performance as we know it today. The latter he describes as poetic recitation inspired by a natural spiritual inclination. The two types of music, he explains, have a great consonance, and complement each other's beauty and the pleasure they induce.[74] Considering Deschamp's ideas, the lover's *rondeau* in *La Fontaine* is an ideal reflection of such symbiosis.

As demonstrated through my readings of the three lyric insertions from *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, the *dit* presents a definitive love doctrine in which the role and function of memory in the form of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* reflects Aristotle's notions of *memoria et reminiscentia.* Through Venus' intervention, the lover learns that his lady needn't be present in order for him to find joy; he needs to draw upon the *Souvenir* of her *dous regars* etched into his *memoire*. *Dous Penser*—the contemplation of those *Souvenirs*—leads him to have *Esperance* of being with his beloved once more.

Next, I will move to the *Voir Dit,* which in contrast to *Remede de Fortune* and *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, paints a much more complicated picture of love, and challenges the efficacy and practicality of Machaut's doctrine.

Le Livre dou Voir Dit

The *Le Livre dou Voir Dit*, Machaut's largest work, was written between 1363 and 1365,[75] and first appears in MS A which was compiled in the early 1370s.[76] The *dit* recounts a

[74] See Eustache Deschamps, *L'Art de Dictier*, ed. and trans. Deborah Sinnreich-Levi (East Lansing, MI: Boydell and Brewer, 1994), 61-9.

[75] Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 88.

[76] Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 228.

love affair and poetic collaboration between the aging poet Guillaume de Machaut[77] and a young noblewoman whom he calls Toute Belle.[78] The lady, also an accomplished poet, admires Guillaume's genius and sends him a letter and a *rondeau* professing her love to him, and requesting poetic mentorship. What ensues is a complicated love affair, and a series of romantic and artistic exchanges via letter and lyric embedded within nearly ten thousand lines of narrative poetry. Guillaume compiles their correspondences into a book—the *Voir Dit* itself. In total, there are 9094 lines of poetry (including narrative and lyric), forty-six prose letters, and sixty-three lyrics, seven of which have known musical settings. Two further lyrics are mentioned in the narrative to have musical settings, but there are no known settings for them.[79] In this way, the *Voir Dit* as text uniquely employs four registers of artistic expression: narrative, lyric, epistolary, and musical.[80] Further, in several of its manuscript settings, it displays even more layers of artistic expression through the use of various script styles and decorations such colored rubrics and illuminations.

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[77] The protagonist-narrator is explicitly named "Guillaume de Machaut," as opposed to simply "Guillaume," the fictional alter ego of the authorial figure common to the earlier *dits*.

[78] Much scholarly energy has been dedicated to identifying Toute Belle as a real historical figure through analysis of anagrams and historical references in the letters. Despite several theories, no concrete identity has been determined. For an overview of scholarship on this topic, see R. Barton Palmer and Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Introduction," In Machaut Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Livre dou Voir Dit (The Book of the True Poem*), ed. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, trans. R. Barton Palmer (London and New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1998), ix-ci, at xxxviii-xl. Hereafter, all citations and translation from *Voir Dit* will be borrowed from this edition.

[79] For an index of the lyrics ordered by incipit, author, and chronological occurrence, see Palmer and Leech-Wilkinson, "Index of Lyrics." In Machaut, *Voir Dit*, 754-57. For a table with a complete listing of lyrical and prose insertions, see Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut,* 224-7.

[80] It is not until MS E, which was compiled circa 1390 after Machaut's death, that the *Voir Dit* is presented with interpolated musical settings. In MS A, the lyrics with music are included as double entries: first interpolated within the *Voir Dit*'s narrative as lyric poems without musical notation, and a second time in the musical section of the manuscript, categorized by form. Jennifer Bain has shown that MS E is a music-centered manuscript and has argued that its unusually large dimensions may have been meant to facilitate performance of polyphonic *chanson*. See Jennifer Bain, "Why Size Matters: Music Layout and Order in the Machaut Manuscripts," *Digital Philology: A Journal of Medieval Cultures* 5:1 (2016), 74-103. The music-centered nature of the manuscript would explain the interpolation of song within the *Voir Dit* in that particular codex.

Perhaps the work's most deeply studied aspect is its negotiation between truth and fiction, literary invention and autobiography. Indeed, the *dit* itself is named *The Book of the True Poem*, and Guillaume asserts throughout that he does not lie and that he tells the whole truth. In Letter 35, for example, he tells the lady: "Et aussi vostres livres avera non le livre dou voir dit. Si ni weil ni doy point mentir," (*Voir Dit*, Letter 35), [Moreover, your book will be named *The Book of the True Poem*, for I do not wish to nor should I at all lie therein.]. Also, the letters contain ample references to real historical figures, events, and places, to the point where the 19th-century scholar Paulin Paris confidently dated the years when the story took place to 1362-65.[81] The narrative also offers some commentary on current events including The Hundred Years' War and outbreaks of the plague (*Voir Dit*, lines 5517-32). Regarding this question of truth versus fiction, some past scholars have taken dogmatic positions, with some arguing that the work is purely fictional, and others that it is truly autobiographical.[82] Recent scholarship, however, tends to view the *Voir Dit* as a work that reflects both truth and fiction. Palmer and Leech-Wilkinson note that the *dit*'s loose narrative structure, which diverges from that of all of Machaut's previous narrative poems, may reflect a "plausible recounting of a relationship whose inconclusiveness made it lack dramatic shape."[83] They conclude that for the love affair to have been purely fictional, we would have to believe either that:

> Machaut was careless about the overall shape of a work whose details, conversely, are often quite intricately designed; or that he was willing to abandon the principals of sound narrative structure and allowed the story to fall apart

[81] See Palmer, "Introduction." In Machaut, *Voir Dit*, xxii.

[82] For a review of scholarship on the *Voir Dit* spanning from the late 18th to the late 19th century, see Palmer, "Introduction." In Machaut, *Voir Dit*, xix-xxx.

[83] Palmer, "Introduction." In Machaut, *Voir Dit*, xxvi.

> before it was half-way completed in the interests of persuading the reader of its authenticity. Neither alternative is compelling, to say the least.[84]

Of course, this not to imply that *dit* is purely a work of autobiographical non-fiction; that would be impossible given the presence of allegorical episodes and dream visions embedded within the narrative such as when Guillaume is detained on the road by *Esperance* and her entourage, and when the lovers are visited by Venus.[85]

The *Voir Dit*'s realism is deeply embedded within the socio-cultural context of the love affair it depicts. Deborah McGrady has used it as a case study to explore how Machaut imagined his contemporary lay audience, and she argues that Machaut's "self-conscious articulation of authorship emerged in response to a perceived aggressive audience that threatened to appropriate and rewrite his work at every turn."[86] Her study reveals the ways in which the *dit* unveils a mutual influence between truth and fiction, and convincingly proposes that the historical author carefully framed and organized aspects of his (quasi)fictional work in order to address realistic challenges, and to influence real life readers. His effort to do so is ubiquitous throughout the letters and narrative wherein both he and Toute Belle seek solitude and privacy regarding all aspects of their correspondence: reading, writing, and document exchange. On several occasions, Guillaume asks Toute Belle to diligently omit inappropriate materials (See Letter 33, for example). At one point, the joy and trust of the relationship is all but destroyed by gossipers and

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[84] Palmer, "Introduction." In Machaut, *Voir Dit*., xxvii. Laurence de Looze gives a contrary interpretation, seriously doubting the truth of the love affair on the grounds that it would be exceedingly unlikely for a young noblewoman to seek a relationship with an elderly man who was not a nobleman. He also points out that for the affair to be true, half of the lyrics and letters would have to have been written by someone other than Machaut. He states that the *Voir Dit* is "true (*voir*) to the extent that it tells (*dit*) about its own confection, but a lie (*voisdie*) to the extent that it tells about real lives." See de Looze, *Pseudo-Autobiography*, 89-101.

[85] See Machaut, *Voir Dit*, lines 4300-461, 4090-194

[86] Deborah McGrady, *Controlling Readers: Guillaume de Machaut and his Late Medieval Audience* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 9.

slanderers.[87] So, even if we were to presume that the love affair itself is purely fictional, the lovers' challenges and concerns still reflect genuine fourteenth-century socio-cultural realities.

It would be difficult to consider the *Voir Dit*'s treatment of love doctrine without bearing in mind that the work is at once a reflection of both fiction and "truth." It could be said that the *Voir Dit* recounts a love story which is quite realistic (of course, allegories and dream visions aside) regarding the experiences, emotions, interactions, and socio-cultural constraints of the lovers, but which ultimately succeeds through adherence to doctrine which is, if nothing else, a literary construct. On the one hand, Machaut's love doctrine is clearly expressed and reiterated throughout the work, and the central roles of *Souvenir* and *Esperance* are prominently featured. On the other hand, the efficacy of the doctrine is thrown into question by the trajectory of the love story and the realistic challenges it faces. Beyond the midpoint of the narrative, Guillaume is often in a state of despair and paranoia, and he constantly questions Toute Belle's fidelity—something to which she reacts with pointed annoyance. By the time the *dit* is close to finished, the relationship appears to be ruined, with Guillaume a broken and untrusting man who has pushed his lover away. It is not until Toute Belle's messenger explains to him that he is trapped in Fortune's wheel that Guillaume realizes his error.[88] In response, he sends her a letter begging forgiveness and taking back his accusations. She responds with a letter of her own, stating that he has healed her heart, and all has been forgiven (*Voir Dit*, lines 8654-890).[89] Thereafter, the story

[87] For McGrady's discussion of the need for privacy among Guillaume and Toute Belle, see *Controlling Readers*, 49-52; regarding gossip, see 55-61.

[88] For further discussion of depictions of Fortune in the *Voir Dit*, see Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), 280-2; Kelly, *Machaut and the Medieval Apprenticeship Tradition*, 145-40, and Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 231-4.

[89] See Machaut, *Voir Dit*, Letters 45 and 46.

quickly comes to an end with the narrator explaining that the lovers' hearts have been brought into complete and permanent accordance.

Despite its favorable conclusion, the *Voir Dit* is not an account of good love so neatly packaged as we see in *Remede de Fortune* and *La Fontaine Amoureuse*. Indeed, throughout much of the story, Guillaume shifts back and forth between joy and despair, hope and desire, and the sudden resolution of the affair can be interpreted as less than convincing. Does good love fail Guillaume and Toute Belle? Or do they fail good love? Or is there actually success? In what follows, I will analyze the role of *Souvenir*, *Dous Penser* and Machaut's love doctrine in the *Voir Dit* from three different perspectives: when the doctrine appears to succeed; when it appears to fail; and finally, when it ultimately triumphs. Since the *Voir Dit* is massively long, exceptionally complex, and full of subtleties, I will work with key passages which I hope will collectively provide a fair representation of the work as a whole.

Good Love and *Souvenir* from the Outset

It does not take long for an explicit description of Machaut's love doctrine to surface in the *Voir Dit*'s narrative. The first lyric that Guillaume sends to Toute Belle is a *rondeau* that lays out a predicament to which *Souvenir* is the solution:

	Tresbele riens ne mabelist	Woman so very beautiful, nothing
375	Ne donne pais naligement	Cheers me, affords me peace or relief
	Sans vous a qui sui ligement	From pain, save you, to whom I remain
	Quant vo biaute qui embelist	loyal. When your beauty that grows
	Toudis ne voy et vos corps gent	Lovelier each day, I do not see, nor your
	Tres bele riens ne mabelist	Noble form, woman so very beautiful,
380	Ne donne pais naligement	Nothing cheers me, gives me peace nor
	Et vos douceur qui adoucist	Relief from pain. And your sweetness,
	Mes mauls et garist doucement	Which soothes my ills and sweetly heals
	Mest trop lointeinne vraiment	Them, truly is too far distant, woman so
	Tresbele riens ne mabelist	Beautiful, nothing cheers me, gives me
385	Ne donne pais naligement	Peace or relief from pain, save you,
	Sans vous a qui sui ligement.	

(*Voir Dit*, lines 374-86)

To whom I remain loyal.[90]

The problem outlined in this *rondeau* is reminiscent of the lover's *complainte* in *La Fontaine Amoureuse*; Guillaume feels dependent upon the physical presence of the lady to find joy. When he cannot *see* her, he endures a suffering to which there is no remedy. Physical distance is once more the principal source of pain, as the lady's sweetness, which soothes and heals all his ills, is "trop lointeinne," and he is thus inconsolable. However, the narrative quickly proposes *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* as a solution. After sending off the *rondeau*, Guillaume proclaims:

Si me commencay a polir
A cointoier a resgarder
Pour moy dore en avant garder
De villonnie et de meffait
Car par dieu cils qui ce ne fait
Nest pas dignes davoir amie
Soubliay mes maus en partie
Car dous pensers adoucissoit
Mes doulours et les garissoit
Sans avoir delle la veue
Quonques ne lavoie vue
Mais souvenirs la figuroit
En mon cuer et masseuroit
Que sa bonne grace acquerroie
Et que par li garis seroie
Si ne pensoie qua cointise
A leesse et a mignotise
Si queinsi sui fais amoureus
Par ces dous pensers savoureus
Que souvenirs maministroit. . .

So I began fixing and preparing myself,
Seeing about how to refrain henceforth
From low-born behavior and misdeed;
For by God, the man who does not do so
Is not worthy of having a lover. I thus
Forgot my troubles in part because Sweet
Thought soothed my pains and healed
Them even thought I had no idea what the
Lady looked like, having never laid eyes
Upon her. Nevertheless, Memory
Fashioned her into my heart and assured
Me that I would gain her good graces
And be cured by her. So I thought only of
Agreeable matters, of happiness, and of
Flirtation; in this way also I was put in an
Amorous mood by the sweet and
Favorable thoughts that Memory would
Afford me.[91]

(*Voir Dit*, lines 394-413)

[90] I have modified the translation.

[91] I have modified the translation.

This passage demonstrates the power of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* to provide a remedy to the threat of ignoble behavior encouraged by desire.[92] More importantly, however, *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* are given as the solution to the predicament described in the preceding *rondeau*—the pain that lovers experience due to physical separation. Indeed, he forgets his troubles because Memory, which has imprinted the lady into his heart brings him *Dous Penser* that assures him that he will gain her favor—an implicit yet unmistakable reference to *Esperance*.

Granted, the work of *Souvenir* in this passage is peculiar because Guillaume has never seen the lady before. How can memory figure her into his heart if he has no memories of her appearance or the sound of her voice? This anomaly can be resolved if we go back to the moment when Guillaume opens and reads Toute Belle's *rondeau* and interpret it through the lens of Aristotle's *memoria et reminiscentia*. When the messenger arrives to deliver Toute Belle's letter and *rondeau*, he offers a lengthy and panegyric description of the lady, complete with the typical praises: she is the most beautiful, noblest, gentlest, kindest, most well-endowed woman on Earth, and is an excellent singer to top it off (*Voir Dit*, lines 103-43). When Guillaume reads the lyric, he is greatly pleased with its poetic quality, noting that it could not be improved upon. He then kneels to the ground and kisses the document many times because of the great joy that it brings him (*Voir Dit*, lines 183-98). Deborah McGrady reads this scene as Guillaume falling in love with a potential reader, rather than with the idea of a beautiful lady.[93] In my view, that is very much true, but there is more to Guillaume's infatuation. Yes, he is delighted to have a new and enthusiastic reader, but this is a reader who is also a beautiful young noblewoman who has

[92] By concerning himself with the avoidance of "low-born behavior" and "misdeed," Guillaume illustrates the chaste nature of the Machaut's doctrine. "Villonnie" (and other forms such as "villain") tend to point to lustful, lascivious, and sexually oriented behavior in Machaut's poetry. Kelly discusses the implications of these words. See *Machaut and the Medieval Apprenticeship Tradition*, 4, 40. See also https://anglo-norman.net/entry/viloinie.

[93] See McGrady, *Controlling Readers*, 48.

professed her love to him, and she also happens to be a gifted singer and poet. In every way—physically, socially, and artistically, he could not conceivably hope for a more ideal lover.

The cumulation of all these things—the lady's described beauty and nobility, her artistic talent, and her professed admiration of Guillaume—bring him to a moment of emotional and intellectual ecstasy. At this moment, a physical and emotional *affect* is impressed as *Souvenir* into his *memoire*. Let us recall Aquinas' gloss of Aristotle's description of the genesis of memories: ". . . the *motion* that is engendered by the sensible object upon the sense-power *impresses* upon the imagination *as it were* a sensible *figure* that remains when the sensible object goes away."[94] In this context, Guillaume's amorous joy is the *motion* that has been engendered by the *sensible object*, with that sensible object being the messenger's description of the lady's beauty, perceived by the ear, but conceived visually within the mind's eye. Toute Belle's poetry, prose, and the physical documents themselves also constitute sensible objects that can be perceived by the eyes, hands, and ears. Thus, the experience of hearing the lady described, and of reading, holding, and kissing her written documents, is deposited as a sensible figure—as a *souvenir*—into Guillaume's *memoire*, and that *souvenir* will reside permanently within him, even in the absence of the lady and of the documents upon which her words are inscribed. This is precisely how memory can devise a figure of Toute Belle into Guillaume's heart, thus giving him *souvenirs* of her, despite him never having physically seen her. Finally, his *Dous Penser* is an exercise of *reminiscentia*; it is his thoughts about and his *contemplation* of his *souvenirs* that bring him *Esperance*.

[94] Aquinas, *Commentaries*, 198. The emphasis is the editor's.

Toute Belle's Portrait as *Souvenir*

Early in the story, because they are unable to meet in person, Toute Belle promises to send Guillaume a portrait of herself so that he can see her with his own eyes. As an image of the lady painted onto a canvas, the portrait is in itself a *souvenir* that induces more memories by inscribing itself into the wax tablet of Guillaume's mind. Just as with Toute Belle's first *rondeau* and letter, Guillaume's reminiscence upon the pleasure of viewing and holding the portrait provides a consolatory and satiating replacement for his beloved's physical presence. When he first sees the image he kneels before it, prays to it, kisses it, and exclaims: "Et vraiment ce fu dous mains / Car sa douce plaisente empreinte / Fu en mon cuer si fort emprainte / Que iamais ne sen partira / Tant com li corps en terre ira. . ." (*Voir Dit*, lines 1568-72) , [And this truly was the least I might do, because her sweet, pleasant image was so strongly impressed into my heart that it will never depart as this body treads on Earth].[95] In response to the gift, Guillaume writes to Toute Belle:

> . . . vostre douce plaisant et tresbel ymage que vous mavez envoie. . . en lame de moy cest ma vie, cest mes solas, cest mes depors, car ie ne pourroie avoir douleurs ne adversitez que tantost comme ie la voy, ou quil *m'en souvient*, que ie ne soie garis et confortez. Et sans doubte iamais en iour de ma vie chose ne pour parole que on me die, ie penseray ne croiray que ne weilliez estre ma souvereinne dame. . . Et dores en avant ce sera mes cuers, mes chastiaus, mes tresors, et contre tous maus mes confors sans nulle faussete. . . vous et vostre douce ymage mavez mis en tel point que dieu merci vous mavez tout gari.
>
> (*Voir Dit*, Letter 10)
>
> [. . . your sweet, pleasant, and very beautiful image. . . by my soul, it's my life, it's my comfort, for as soon as I see it or *remember it*, I can have neither pain nor adversity, because I am healed and comforted. And without doubt there will never be a day in my life when on account of anything someone might say, or any reason at all, I could believe that you do not intend to be my sovereign lady. . . And from now on, this image will be my heart, my fortress, my treasure, and my comfort, with no falseness, against every ill. . . you and your sweet image have put me in such a place, thank God, that you have completely cured me.][96]

[95] I have modified the translation.

[96] I have modified the translation. My emphasis.

The reference to memory in this letter reveals the exceptional power of *Souvenir* to effectively stand in for the physical, sensible experience of seeing the lady. It is not simply that Guillaume is consoled and healed when he views the portrait with his eyes, but also when he *remembers* it and views it in his mind's eye. The mental contemplation of the portrait is just as effective as physically viewing it. It is not just the painting itself that is Guillaume's fortress, his treasure, and his comfort against all ills, but also its memorial and affective trace, permanently etched into his *memoire*. Indeed, *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser—memoria et reminiscentia*—will suffice to facilitate *Esperance*, a hope implied by Guillaume's testament that upon his remembrance of the portrait, nothing can lead him to doubt his lover's devotion.

Failure of Memory? Or Failure to Remember?

After meeting Toute Belle in person, Guillaume becomes increasingly insecure, worrying excessively during periods when written contact is scant, and about the increasing brevity of the letters he receives. During this time, he constantly oscillates between joy and hope, and paranoid misery. I will look at two key instances that cloud his memory, shake his hope, and lead him to stray from the path of good love. In the first instance, Toute Belle tells him she must travel to avoid the plague, and she instructs him not to write to her until she writes first so that she can specify her location (*Voir Dit*, Letter 28). After not hearing from her for two months, Guillaume begins to despair and doubt her loyalty:

5235	A dont anemis qui ne dort	At this point the enemy who does not
	Cest desirs qui ma fait maint tort	Sleep—and that's Desire, who's done me
	Tenoit en sa main un tison	Many a wrong—brandished in his hand a
	Et si sen vint en traison	Torch and treacherously approached,
	Et dedens mon cuer se bouta	Shoving it into the depths of my heart,
5240	Si que pres le manoir tout a	Thus burning up by force almost all its
	A force ars mal gre mien par mame	Dwelling place despite me, by my soul,
	Et mis tout a feu et a flame	Setting everything ablaze and afire.

	Et souvenirs qui conforte	And Memory, who has comforted me
	Ma .c. fois et ioie apporte	And brought me joy a thousand times,
5245	Qui tous biens faire me soloit	Who was accustomed to accord me every
	Toute ma ioie me tolloit	Benefit, deprived me of all joy,
	Car il mamenistroit pensees	For he made me think thoughts that were
	Diverses et desordenees	Strange and disturbed, that were
	Qui estoient entortillies	Misshapen by anger and melancholy.
5250	De courrous et merenolies	Nothing else did he bring
	Nautre chose ne maportoit	Save that he constantly discomforted me.
	Fors quades me desconfortoit	And because I greatly feared that she
	Et pour ce trop fort me doubtoie	Whom I love wherever I am with such a
	Que celle quaim ou que ie soie	Faithful heart and so obviously might be
5255	De si vray cuer tout en appert	Wearing green instead of blue. In that
	En lieu de bleu ne vestis vert	State of mind, I became very sleepy just
	Si quen ce penser ou iestoie	From worry and in such anxiety fell
	Droitement danui sommilloie	Asleep, which did me little good, for
	Et en cest anui mendormi	While sleeping I dreamed a dream, and in
5260	Qui ne fut pas trop bon pour mi	This dream I saw, as I worshipped her
	Quen dormant un songe songay	Sweet image, the lady turn her head and
	Et veu dedens mon songe ay	Face aside, not deigning to look at me,
	Quen aourant ma douce ymage	Which filled my heart with great sorrow.
	Son chief tournoit et son visage	She was now all dressed in green, which
5265	Ne regarder ne me deignoit	Signifies fickleness.
	Dont mes cuers trop fort se plaignoit	
	Et toute estoit de vert vestie	
	Qui nouvellete signifie.	

(*Voir Dit*, lines 5235-68)

In this instance, there is no clear reason for Guillaume to doubt the lady's loyalty. In the preceding letter (*Voir Dit*, Letter 28) in which she requests that he refrain from writing, her language is as loving as usual. She tells him there is nothing she desires more greatly than seeing him, and that her love for him could not be greater. Moreover, it even seems that Guillaume himself understands that it is best to refrain from writing until he hears from her: "Aussi gaires ne mabeli / Ce quelle sestoit departie / Pour cause de lepidimie / Dou lieu ou fu sa demouree / Eins ala en autre contree. Et au lieu ie ne cognoissoie / Creature se dieu me voie / A qui rien deusse prier / Nen qui rien deusse fier" (*Voir Dit*, lines 5210-16), [Moreover, I was hardly pleased she had left because of the epidemic the place where she'd been staying, setting out for somewhere else, and there I knew no

one, so God guide me, I would ask for anything or dare to take into my confidence]. Guillaume clearly understands that it is not safe to communicate until Toute Belle is settled into her new location, for reasons of privacy and trustworthiness of messengers, and also due to the logistical uncertainties of travel. So, what reason would he have to fear and dream that his beloved now wears green in place of blue? To put it simply, it is *he* who has faltered and failed to properly follow the doctrine of good love because he has failed to hold to *Souvenir* and has thus lost his hope and trust in Toute Belle.

In this way, his blaming of *Souvenir* as the source of his pain is misplaced; his paranoia about Toute Belle's alleged fickleness and his dream of the lady in green are not rooted in any sensible, tangible experience and therefore cannot constitute true memories. Rather, they are fantasies conjured up by his excessive paranoia and jealousy. Had he continued to reminisce upon his true and pleasant *souvenirs*—the mental inscription of her portrait, the joyous affect associated with holding and reading her letters and poems, her repeated expression of her love for and devotion to him—he would have remained in a state of *Dous Penser* and *Esperance*.

Guillaume's unfounded fears appear to be confirmed when a "friend" swears to him that Toute Belle has been deceiving him. He says: "Amis par dieu cest chose voire / Quil a plus dun asne a la foire / Car vo dame a pluseurs acointes / jeunes, jolis, apers, et cointes / Qui la vont visiter souvent / Et encore vous ay ie couvent / Que par tout vos lettres flaiole / Et moustre nes la carole / Dont ce nest cune moquerie. . ." (*Voir Dit*, lines 7433-41), [Friend, by God, it's true, there's more than one ass at the fair, for your lady has several suitors, men young, handsome, attractive, and agreeable, and they often go visit her. Moreover, I pledge you that she noises your letters about everywhere and shows them, even to groups, which is nothing but mockery]. The "friend" goes on to say that the affection that Toute Belle gives is superficial and no more special than what she

gives to her other suitors. He then advises Guillaume to stop torturing himself and abandon the affair. Taking the gossiper's words at face value, Guillaume says: "Estoient mon sens et mon memoire / Plus asses quon ne pourroit croire. . . (*Voir Dit*, lines 7478-50), [My sense and my memory were completely vanquished, more than anyone might believe.][97] Guillaume then takes Toute Belle's portrait off the wall and "imprisons" it in a locked chest (*Voir Dit*, lines 7633-66). This is an unmistakable metaphor for his loss of *Souvenir*; just as he can no longer gaze at the image of the portrait, he has lost his ability to reminisce upon the memory of her image inscribed into his mind.

His heartache leads him to write the *ballade* "Se pour ce muir qu'Amours ay bien servie," [If I die because I served Love well], of which the refrain reads: "Quen lieu de bleu dame vous vestez vert" (*Voir Dit*, lines 7663-83), [That in place of blue, lady, you wear green]. In the lyric, he laments that his pain is undeserved since he has loved his lady faithfully, that his hope is dead beyond repair, and that it is *Souvenir* which shows him that she wears green. Finally, he curses *Fortune* and *Loyaute* [Loyalty] for the suffering they have caused him (*Voir Dit,* lines 7663-83). He then sends the *ballade* off to Toute Belle who responds in two consecutive letters, saying in the first that she believes *Guillaume* is fickle and untruthful, and that she hopes the ballade about the lady wearing green is not truly directed at her. In the second letter, she says that she is sending a friend on her behalf to deliver a verbal response to his accusations. She begs him to trust the message he will receive (*Voir Dit*, Letters 43 and 44).

This is truly the low point of the affair, with both lovers hurt, angry, and mistrusting of one another, and it is the direct result of Guillaume's failure to hold fast to *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*,

[97] I have modified the translation.

as well as his preoccupation with externalities that fall outside of his own mental and emotional domain. However, the tide will turn when he receives the lady's message.

Reconciliation and the Triumph of Memory

When Toute Belle's messenger arrives, he scorns Guillaume for having hypercritically accused his lady of disloyalty, and then says that he intends to demonstrate that Guillaume is trapped in Fortune's wheel. He says that Guillaume has two faces: one that laughs, and one that cries; his heart changes too often because he is amid a wheel that never halts. He tells him that he is completely blinded because he so readily believes the words of slanderers, instead of trusting in the loyalty of the lady. Most importantly, he says: "vous perdez vos bon memoire. . . en vostre cuer sont affluees / merencolieuses pensees" (*Voir Dit*, lines 8821, 8824-5), [you lose your proper memory. . . your heart is flooded with sorrowful thoughts],[98] pointing to a causal relationship between the failure of memory and emotional suffering. Finally, the messenger explains that the *ballade* accusing Toute Belle of fickleness has greatly offended her, and he attests wholeheartedly to her faithfulness and trueness of her love. He tells Guillaume that she forgives him and that she will give him her heart.[99] Thereafter, Guillaume thanks the messenger, and sends the lady a letter forgiving her and reaffirming his love (*Voir Dit*, Letter 45). Toute Belle then responds with the *Voit Dit*'s final letter, saying: "Et puis que tout est pardonne dune part et dautre, pour dieu mon tresdous cuer gardons nous lun lautre dore en avant pais, honneur, et *parfaite amour*, si vivrons en ioie et plaisence, et si averons parfaite *souffissance* (*Voir Dit*, Letter 46), [And since everything is pardoned on one side and the other, for God's sake, my very sweet heart, let us protect, both of us,

[98] My translation.

[99] For the entire exchange between Guillaume and the messenger, see Machaut, *Voir Dit*, lines 8653-890.

our peace, honor, and *perfect love* from now on, and thus we will live in joy and pleasure and have perfect *Souffisance*].[100] Certainly, attainment of a *perfect love* and a *perfect Souffisance* implies a resounding victory for good love.

After Guillaume reads Toute Belle's final letter and lyric, he closes the narrative with a proclamation of permanent and unshakable concordance between himself and the lady. The passage, followed only by twenty-four lines containing anagram instructions and the *explicit*, rounds off the *Voir Dit* as a successful love story. The poetic language subtly recalls the theme of the *dit* by playing on words formed from the Latin root *cor*, meaning "heart" (*racorder*, *recorder*, a*ccorder*, *concorder*, etc.), and using it to create rhyme and assonance in each line. The result is that the Latin word for "heart" is both seen and heard in every line:

Einsi fumes nous *racorde*
Com ie vous ay ce *recorde*
Par tresaimable *concorde*
Grant ioie ay quant ie men *recorde*
Et grant bien est dou *recorder*
Quant on voit gens bien *acorder*
Et plus grant bien de mettre *acort*
Entre gens ou il a *descort*
Et pour ce encore *recorderay*
Briefment ce qua *recorder* ay
Comment toute bele *encorda*
Mon cuer quant a moy *sacorda*
Ot le trehy a sa *cordelle*
Par le noble et gentil *corps* delle[101]
En une chanson *recordant*
Dune vois belle et *accordant*
Et si doucement *acordee*
Questre ne pourroit *descordee*
Eins est tousdis en *accordance*.[102]

[100] I have modified the translation. My emphasis.

[101] The French *corps* derives from the Latin *corpus*. However, it keeps the assonance consistent, and the visual and aural association is still arguably present.

[102] My emphasis.

(*Voir Dit*, lines 9051-69)

This seems an erudite and symbolic way to conclude a successful love story, as any learned reader in the fourteenth century, including Toute Belle herself, would likely have recognized the Latin root. Further, given its range of semantic meanings and its etymology, the repetition of various forms of the verb *recorder* in juxtaposition to the other words derived from *cor* unveils an intimate link between the heart and memory. Indeed, "memory as a function of the heart was encoded in the common Latin verb *recordari* (to recollect)," and according to Varo, the second-century BC grammarian, "the etymology of *recordari* is [a combination of] *revocare*, 'to call back,' and *cor*, 'heart.'" [103] And so, *recordari*/*recorder* can be said to mean "to recollect to/from the heart," or perhaps, "to bring back to/from the heart."

The range of possible meanings of *recorder* reflects the memorial processes of *memoria et reminiscentia*: to commit to memory, to learn by heart (*memoria*); to recall, to remember, to reflect on, to meditate upon (*reminiscentia*). The verb may also take the meaning of "to recite," "to recount," "to relate," etc.—actions which are dependent upon *memoria et reminiscentia*.[104] In the passage above, which I have retranslated (albeit somewhat loosely) to better reflect the implied relationship between memory and heart, as well as aural and etymological omnipresence of *cor*, Machaut exploits each of these possible meanings:

	Einsi fumes nous racorde	And thus, we were reunited [in heart],
	Com ie vous ay ce recorde	Just as I have recounted for you [from my
	Par tresaimable concorde	Heart], through a very loving union [of
	Grant ioie ay quant ie men recorde	Heart]. Great joy I have when I recall it
9055	Et grant bien est dou recorder	[from my heart], and there is great good
	Quant on voit gens bien acorder	From remembering when one sees people
	Et plus grant bien de mettre accord	In good harmony [of heart], and it is even
	Entre gens ou il a descort	Greater to bring agreement [of heart]
	Et pour ce encore recorderay	Between those who had discord [of heart].

[103] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 59.

[104] https://anglo-norman.net/entry/recorder_1

9060	Briefment ce qua recorder ay	And on account of this, I will recall [from
	Comment toute bele encorda	my heart] briefly what I must remember,
	Mon cuer quant a moy sacorda	How Toute Belle bound my heart when
	Ot le trehy a sa cordelle	She accorded herself to me and drew it to
	Par le noble et gentil corps delle	her own through her own noble and
9065	En une chanson recordant	Virtuous self while reciting [from her
	Dune vois belle et accordant	heart] a song in a beautiful and
	Et si doucement acordee	Harmonious voice. And so sweetly
	Questre ne pourroit descordee	Harmonized it was that never could it be
	Eins est tousdis en accordance.	Discorded, and so, it is always
		Accordance.

(*Voir Dit*, lines 9051-69)

The combination of visual, aural, semantic, and etymological implications here illustrates a union—a *concordance*—between memory and the heart. Memory both resides in the heart, and it consoles the heart and grants it fortitude. Guillaume has succeeded in "recalling what he must *remember*:" that Toute Belle has granted him her heart, and that their hearts have been brought to a harmonious union. *Esperance* and *Souffisance* bring out that "great good" born from *remembering* that he and his lady have been brought into harmony. So long as he holds fast to his memories, so long as he reminisces upon his *souvenirs*, he will find *Dous Penser* therein, and *Esperance* will ensure that his love can "never be discorded." This is good love. This is *Soufissance*.

The *Voir Dit*'s prologue, written in the inscribed voice of the authorial figure— perhaps both the voice of the historical Guillaume de Machaut who compiled MS A, and of the metafictional Guillaume de Machaut who compiled the *Voir Dit* within its own narrative— confirms *ex post facto* the resilience of Guillaume's *Souffisance* and the triumph of his and Toute Belle's good love:

	A la loange et a lonnour	In praise and honor of Love most
	De tresfine amour que ie honnour	Refined, whom I honor, love, obey,
	Aime, oubey, et ser, et doubte	Serve, and fear, who has my complete
	Quen lui ay mis mentente toute	Devotion; and for my gracious lady,
5	Et pour ma gracieuse dame	

	A qui iay donne corps et ame	To whom I have given over body and
	Et que iaim de vray cuer dami	Soul, and whom I love with a true
	Sans comparison plus que mi	Lover's heart, beyond all comparison,
	Et desperance la vaillant	More than myself; and for valiant
10	Qui onque ne me fu faillant	Hope, who has never failed me,
	Weil commencer chose nouvelle	I intend to begin a new work that I will
	Que ie feray pour toute belle	Compose for Toute Belle.
	Et certes ie le doy bien faire	And this I surely should do
	Quelle est de si tresnoble affaire	Competently because she is of such
15	Tant scet tant vaut, quen tout le monde	Very noble character, knows so much
	Na de villenie si monde	And is so worthy that in all the world
	Ne de bonte si bien paree	No woman is so devoid of vice, no
	Ne de bonte si aournee	Other so graced with virtue, none so
	Car la nature qui la fourma	Adorned with beauty, for Nature, who
20	Mis en li si douce forme a	Created her, gave her such a lovely
	Quonques mais oeuvre si soutive	Form that never did Nature manage
	Ne fist si plaisant ne si vive	A work so subtle, so pleasant or full of
	Assez y puet estudier	Life. She can study her intently, think
	Penser, muser, et colier	About, reflect on, and examine her, yet
25	Car iamais ne fera pareille	Never fashion her equal. In brief,
	Brief, tous li mondes se merveille	Everyone marvels at this woman's
	De sa bonte de sa biaute	Virtue, at her beauty, and at her very
	Et de sa tres grant loyaute	Great loyalty. I intend to cease praising
	Si me weil de li loer taire	Her now, for stopping the heavenly
30	Car ce nest pas si fort a faire	Bodies in their orbits or chaining up the
	Doster le tour de firmament	Twelve signs of the zodiac Would be
	Com de li loer proprement	Easier to achieve than praising her
	Ne dempeeschier les .xij. signes	properly. So, unworthy of the task, I'll
	Si men tais que pas nen sui dignes.	Hold my peace. I mean now to take up
35	Or weil commencier ma matiere	My theme for the sake of my very
	Pour ma tresdouce dame chiere	Sweet, dear lady—and may God
	Qui dieux gart en corps et en ame	Preserve her body and soul from vice
	De villenie et de diffame	And slander! And I will relate all that
	Et diray toute maventure	Happened to me, which was neither
40	Qui ne fu villeine ne sure	Base nor bitter, but rather genteel and
	Eins fu courtoise et aggregable	Agreeable, sweet, pleasant, and
	Douce, plaisant, et delitable	Delightful; for I was unappreciated
	Car estoie descogneus	And deprived of joy, but was sweetly
	Et de ioie despourveus	Comforted by her and the following
45	Mais doucement sui confortez	was my consolation.[105]
	Par elle et fu mes confors tels.	

(*Voir Dit*, lines 1-46)

[105] I have modified the translation.

Guillaume writes in honor of "tresfine amour," which he confirms to be good love when he proclaims that "esperance la vailliant" has never failed him. During those episodes where he found himself desirous, miserable, and destitute, it was not that good love had failed him, but that he had, at times, failed good love; he had "lost his good memory" and therefore, he thrust himself into Fortune's wheel; *Dous Penser*, *Esperance*, and *Souffisance* were thus beyond his grasp. However, his realization of *Esperance*'s unwavering nature attests to his *entendement* of "tresfine amour," and his description of Toute Belle's ample virtue and her great loyalty, confirms his enduring faith in the lady's goodness.

In this way, the *Voir Dit*, as vast and varied as it may be in its depiction of the love experience, bookends itself with a double confirmation of the success of good love, with the prologue both foreshadowing and confirming after the fact the authenticity and resilience of the "tresaimable concordance" the lovers achieve at the closing of the narrative. As I have shown, Guillaume's oscillation between Hope and despair, Desire and Fortune, directly correlates to his ability (or lack thereof) to recall and reminisce upon his joyful *souvenirs* of Toute Belle, whether they involve her physical beauty, her poetic talent, or her continual expression of her love for and loyalty to him. The lovers' intermittent quarrels and the shortcomings of their relationship are the direct result of Guillaume's failure to adhere to doctrine, and more specifically, to properly employ *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*. In this way, the *Voir Dit*'s episodes of amorous suffering do not reflect a failure of doctrine, but rather, the periodic failure of its lover-protagonist to adhere to doctrine. As for the question of fiction versus reality, I do believe that the *Voir Dit* unfolds simultaneously in both realms. While, as Deborah McGrady has so convincingly shown, Guillaume's struggles to adhere to good love and Toute Belle's resultant frustrations do portray the challenges of a realistic fourteenth-century love affair, the doctrine of good love, a product of

the much more explicitly fictional and literary worlds of *Remede de Fortune* and *La Fontaine Amoureuse,*[106] still reigns supreme, and is proposed as a solution to those realistic challenges.

Conclusion

I have chosen in this chapter to focus principally on *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, the *Voir Dit*, and to a limited extent, *Remede de Fortune* because I believe that these three narrative poems illustrate the crucial function of memory in Machaut's doctrine the most explicitly, and they can therefore provide a key to unlocking the expression and transmission of doctrine in the much shorter and more referentially abstract lyrics and *chansons* that will be analyzed in subsequent chapters. *La Fontaine Amoureuse*'s lyric insertions provide a neatly packaged lesson in good love, with the *complainte* showing the pain lovers suffer when they do not properly employ *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*, the *consolation* transmitting the doctrine of good love and proposing it as the solution to the troubles outlined in the *complainte*, and finally, the *rondeau* attesting to the lover-protagonist's *Souffisance* and *entendement*. While the *Voir Dit* presents a much more precarious portrait of good love, the doctrine ultimately prevails and is implied as a solution to the realistic challenges fourteenth-century lovers such as Guillaume and Toute Belle may have faced. Both *dits* depict *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* as key to the path to *Souffisance*.

I have endeavored in this chapter to expand our understanding of Machaut's love doctrine. I have established that *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*, both of which reflect processes of memory, play a foundational role Machaut's doctrine of idealized love. One of my principal goals has been to contextualize Machaut's perceptions of memory into the broader context of medieval cultural perceptions, themselves rooted in the philosophies of the ancient world. I have

[106] This is not to ignore or reject the presence of realism or "pseudo-autobiography" in those and other of Machaut's earlier works.

chosen Aristotle's *De memoria et reminiscentia* as my principal support because as Mary Carruthers has noted, the treatise was so monumentally influential that its discourse is practically omnipresent in all ancient and medieval depictions of memory that succeeded it. As I have shown, Machaut's corpus is no exception. The widespread copying, translating, and studying of Aristotelian texts in thirteenth and fourteenth-century France, as well as Machaut's educational experiences at the University of Paris, virtually guarantee that he was familiar with works such as the *Ethics* and *De memoria et reminiscentia.* Such familiarity is manifest in his corpus if one considers its focus on worldly virtue and felicity (i.e., joy and happiness attained through chastity), and the processes he proposes as a means of attaining that virtue and felicity in love (*Souvenir*, *Dous Penser*, *Esperance*). Indeed, Machaut's applications of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* correspond directly and respectively to Aristotle's notions of *memoria et reminiscentia*, and it is these processes that ultimately facilitate the *Esperance* that leads to *Souffisance*.

In the chapter two, I will discuss medieval traditions of didacticism and mnemonics in poetry and music and explore how they transfer to Machaut's lyrics and *chansons*, turning them into effectively "memorable" vehicles of doctrinal transmission.

CHAPTER TWO

Sens, Rhetorique, Musique: Poetry, Music, and Doctrinal Transmission

This chapter will explore the role of lyric poetry and song as vehicles of Machaut's love doctrine. I will begin by considering the general prologue to MS A (the *Prologue*) which describes Machaut's self-proclaimed duty to indoctrinate lovers through the content and form of poetry and music. I will then the discuss the foundational role of mnemonics and memory in medieval scholasticism and show how it transfers to lyrical and musical form in Machaut's corpus, thus rendering his lyrics and *chansons* powerfully memorable didactic tools. I will also discuss how certain notational innovations of the *ars nova* musical movement resulted in increasingly prescriptive musical compositions and gave composers much greater control over transmission and reception of both musical and textual content. I will conclude with an analysis of the notated Virelai 13 "Quant je sui mis," which will demonstrate how Machaut's *chansons* encapsulate all of the items described above—doctrine, mnemonics, "prescriptive" transmission—and thus function as concise and memorable vehicles of doctrinal transmission.

The *Prologue*: *Nature*, *Amours*, and Machaut's Divine Duty

The greatest insight we have into Machaut's ideas about doctrinal transmission comes from the general prologue to MS A (known as the *Prologue*) which is considered the most authoritative of the complete-works manuscripts, and is believed to have been compiled under Machaut's direct supervision.[107] The *Prologue* situates Machaut as an authoritative and divinely ordained poet-composer,[108] and it "provides eloquent testimony" to his desire to "not only write

[107] For more on this, see Lawrence Earp, "Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of his Words," *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 42 (1989), 461-503.

[108] See BnF, MS fr. 1584 (MS A), fols. D-G.

love poems and compose music, but also to be known (and presumably remembered) as both a poet and a musician."[109] It includes 298 lines of poetry, beginning with four *ballades* (none of which have musical settings) followed by 183 lines of octosyllabic narrative. The four ballades depict two exchanges, the first between *Nature* and Guillaume de Machaut, and the second, between Machaut and *Amours*. Each of the deities gift the poet with their three children: from *Nature*, he receives *Sens*, *Rhetorique*, and *Musique*; from *Amours*, *Dous Penser*, *Plaisance*, and *Esperance*. *Nature* obliges him to produce poetry and music, while Amours directs him to do so in honor and praise of ladies. In his lyric responses, Machaut accepts the divine gifts and devotes himself to carrying out the duties with which he has been charged. Machaut himself, however, is not instructed to be a lover. Rather, his duty is to provide a service to lovers by teaching them through his poetry and music how to love in an honorable and joyful manner. R. Barton Palmer explains:

> The inferiority of the writer to the lover is also evident in the emotional transformation which Guillaume experiences after meeting with the god [*Nature*]. Like all those who are afforded consolation through encountering Love, Guillaume's sadness and dark moods have been replaced by happiness and gaiety (lines 105-110). But this is not because love in any sense becomes his to enjoy. Rather, it is the writer's function to soften the hearts of those who suffer love sorrow, to make them understand what in the experience of love affords consolation.[110]

So, Machaut's poetry and music is much more than a form of courtly entertainment; it grants consolation through didacticism—it teaches lovers to find self-sustained joy in the absence of reciprocation, or in the event of physical separation.

In her ballade, *Nature* explains the role of her three children:

10	Par Senz aras ton engin enfourmé	By Meaning will be formed your
	De tout ce que tu vourras confourmer;	Invention of all you wish to fashion;

[109] Palmer, "Introduction." In Machaut, *The Fountain of Love*, xi-xcvi, at xxv.

[110] Palmer, "Introduction." In Machaut, *The Fountain of Love*, xxxi.

	Rhetorique n'ara riens enfermé	Rhetoric will make it possible for you
	Que ne te envoi en metre et en rimer;	To put it all in meter and rhyme;
	Et Musique te donnera chans,	And Music will give you songs,
15	Tant que vourras, divers et deduisans.	As many as you like, diverse and pleasant:
	Ainsi ti fait seront frique,	In this way, your works will have merit,
	N'a ce faire ne pues estre faillans,	Nor can you fail to achieve this,
	Car tu as Senz, Rhetorique, et Musique.	Because you have Meaning, Rhetoric, and Music.[111]

(*Prologue*, lines 10-18)

What *Nature* provides is a system of doctrinal transmission—*Rhetorique* and *Musique* are the media through which Machaut will teach and transmit the *Sens* of the doctrine developed in his narrative poems. The meaning of *Sens* is not so readily obvious as that of *Rhetorique* and *Musique*, and scholars have had varying interpretations. Kelly says that:

> Amour's three gifts require [the poet to have] a natural, inborn *sens* that interprets them. . . . Without it, the poet risks Bernart de Ventadorn's fate [one of writing poetry born of anguish as was commonplace in earlier love poetry] because he will have understood so little of love's *matière* [*Dous Penser*, *Plaisence*, and *Esperance*]. In other words, *sens* tells us what Amour's three gifts mean in his poetry.[112]

According to Palmer, "*Sens* is not just content (the themes or matters of human experience that can be represented), but the power to confer significance; meaning is the force that provides intellectual structure for content which might otherwise seem disconnected, discordant. . . The poet's 'engin,' or 'imagination' will literally be shaped by Meaning."[113] Since *Sens* is the first of the three gifts of *Nature*, and I interpret those gifts to work as tools of doctrinal transmission, I interpret it to refer to the true, underlying meaning of text—that is, the doctrinal, didactic, and consolatory intention of textual messages. *Rhetorique* and *Musique* (poetry and song) represent

[111] I have modified the translation.

[112] Kelly, *Machaut and the Medieval Apprenticeship Tradition*, 22-3.

[113] Palmer, "Introduction." In Machaut, *The Fountain of Love*, xxvi.

the media through which lovers will come to know and understand the meaning, value, and significance—the *Sens*—of that intention.

Rhetorique as depicted in the *Prologue* has been understood in a narrow, technical sense, referring specifically to the process of transforming language into poetry through versification. While this is quite clear from *Nature*'s words, the term should also be implicitly understood in the more general sense: *Rhetorique* will fashion language in such a way that its underlying meaning can be grasped; it will deliver textual *Sens* in a careful and deliberate way so that it may be better understood, and most importantly, so that it is memorable and can be later reminisced upon as *Souvenir*. The technical aspects of versification such as rhyme, rhythm, assonance, and refrain placement have inherently mnemonic properties and can also work to reveal, highlight, and stress key words, concepts, and subtle relationships between them. Versification thus molds the perception of a listener and a reader, and that is rhetoric in the traditional sense.

Nature's comments about *Musique* are not as revealing as those about *Sens* and *Rhetorique*; she simply says that music will provide diverse and pleasant melodies. This does not tell us much about how music functions within the system of doctrinal transmission. If we look to the narrative section of the *Prologue* where Machaut reflects upon his exchange with the two deities and the duties they have assigned him, we do not find much more information about how *Musique* might function as a vehicle of transmission. He begins by proclaiming music's miraculous power to bring joy:

199	Et Musique est une science	And Music is an art
	Qui vuet qu'on rie et chante et danse.	Which wants one to laugh
	Cure n'a de merencolie,	And sing and dance.
	Ne d'homme qui merencolie	She has no concern for melancholy,
	A chose qui ne puet valoir,	Nor for a man who has sadness over
208	Eins met tels gens en nonchaloir.	Something that has no value,
	Partout ou elle est joie y porte;	She thus disregards such people.
	Les desconfortez reconforte,	She brings joy everywhere she is present;

Et nès seulement de l'oïr,
Fait elle les gens resjoïr.

(*Prologue*, lines 199-208)

She comforts the discomforted,
And just hearing it
Makes people rejoice.[114]

Thereafter, he mentions how there is no better way to praise God than through music, alluding to the miracles that David and Orpheus manifested, David having tamed God's ire, and Orpheus having released Eurydice from hell. While the allusions to David and Orpheus point to the strong rhetorical power of music, this does not provide insight into how it might achieve a rhetorical effect on listeners. There is no discussion of the technical aspects of music performance or composition, save two lines which praise the exactness and regularity of its form: "Tous ses fais plus a point mesure / Que ne fait nulle autre mesure" (*Prologue*, lines 213-14), [All her doings find more regularity than any other form of measurement]. This is a hint, but a vague one at best. The *Prologue* thus leaves music's doctrinal and transmissive role open for exploration. Palmer does, however, provide a point of departure: "Music will turn everything into song, providing the ultimate transformation of what Meaning and Rhetoric have helped him [Machaut] bring into intellectual and linguistic harmony."[115] Elizabeth Leach has pointed out that "very often songs serve as keys to the longer works, epitomizing or summarizing their central themes," and that "In effect, the music section [of the complete-works manuscripts] is a florilegium, a distillation of doctrine used didactically as an aide-memoire."[116] In my view, as the final phase of doctrinal transmission, music further decorates the *Rhetorique* of a given text and transmits it in a memorable manner. Reminiscence upon such musical *souvenirs* may induce *entendement* of doctrine. Music is therefore the final phase of a doctrinal system that begins with the narrative

[114] I have modified the translation.

[115] Palmer, "Introduction." In Machaut, *The Fountain of Love*, xxvi.

[116] Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 78.

dits, the *Sens* of which is distilled through the *Rhetorique* of meticulously versified lyric poems, which are ultimately delivered through song—a medium which is at once artistically elevated, memorable, and which further refines the persuasive effects of *Rhetorique*.

The Mnemonics and Didacticism of Poetry

By the fourteenth century, the mnemonic and didactic qualities of versification were well-known. Anna Maria Busse Berger notes that "in the high Middle Ages, putting material into verse was the most common method of memorizing and was practically used for every subject. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries in particular saw an enormous growth in the use of verse for didactic purposes in fields such as grammar, medicine, law, theology, arithmetic, botany, zoology, pharmacy, literary history, music theory, and sermons."[117] Moreover, she states that "half of the music theory treatises written between the ninth and sixteenth centuries were versified," and that "theorists did not write their treatises in verse for artistic reasons. Rather, they felt that things could be memorized better when versified."[118] In his treatise on mensural music dating to 1279, Anonymous of St. Emmeram, said, for example: "I propose to put [it] together in verse, because a poem put together in verse more easily stimulates the minds of those who are hearing it to remember."[119] Moreover, while rhyme scheme, seen in all of Machaut's poetry, was not traditionally an assumed component of Latin quantitative poetry, versified treatises of the Middle Ages were often also given rhyme, which could further strengthen their mnemonic power.

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[117] Busse Berger, *Medieval Music*, 180.

[118] Busse Berger, *Medieval Music*, 98.

[119] Cited by Busse Berger, *Medieval Music*, 98-9.

One music theorist who used versified, rhyming treatises is the Guido of Arezzo (tenth century), who is arguably the most influential and widely read music theorist of the Middle Ages, with some seventy manuscripts spanning from the eleventh to sixteenth centuries containing his works.[120] His treatise *Regule Rithmice*, which covers the gamut, intervals and rhythmic modes with their finals, notation through colored lines with clefs, and methods for ear training—all foundational topics for any medieval musician—uses both trochaic hexameter and rhyme scheme. Here is an excerpt:

> Musi*corum* et *cantorum* magna est distanci*a.*
> *I*sti *dicunt*, *i*ll*i sciunt*, que componit music*a.*
> Nam qui *facit*, quod non *sapit*, diffinitur besti*a*. [121]

In addition to the quantitative aspects of the verse, Arezzo used both internal and terminal rhyme (italicized), therefore providing three mnemonic layers to aid in memorization. Music students throughout the Middle Ages would likely have begun their music theory studies by memorizing the entire *Regule Rithmice* before moving on to learning and memorizing other treatises.[122] As *Magister Artium*, there is little doubt that Machaut himself would have learned and memorized versified treatises, and possibly the *Regule Rithmice* itself during his studies at the University of Paris.

I do not mean to argue here that Machaut made a conscious effort in the composition of his poetry to imitate versified treatises. Nonetheless, due to his formal education, he would have been well aware of the mnemonic qualities of poetry (and of music, which, as I shall show

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[120] For a discussion of Guido d'Arezzo's influence and manuscript tradition, see Dolores Pesce, "Introduction." In *Guido d'Arezzo's Regule Rithmice, Prolugus in Anthiphonus, and Epistola ad Michahelem*, ed. and trans. Dolores Pesce (Ottowa: The Institute of Medieval Music, 1999), 1-38, at 29-38. For a detailed discussion of all extant manuscripts, see 221-24 of the same edition.

[121] Cited by Busse Berger, *Medieval Music*, 99-100.

[122] Busse Berger, *Medieval Music*, 100.

below, has links to quantitative poetics). I believe poetic structure plays a key role in the didacticism and transmission of textual *Sens*. If we consider such a role of versification across Machaut's corpus, we can then interpret *Rhetorique* as also implying the more traditional meaning of the term. Yes, in the *Prologue*, *Rhetorique* refers foremost to meter (syllabification) and rhyme, but those tools effectively shape and nuance reception of textual message and by extension, help to reveal *Sens* and facilitate *entendement*. Indeed, versification exerts a particular effect on a listener or a reader, and in the case of Machaut, that effect is crafted with the utmost skill and virtuosity. In this way, we might think of Machaut's poetry as having at the very least, an implicit, even subconscious effect on its audience that is both mnemonic, and rhetorical in that it effects the way linguistic message is interpreted. Surely, aspects of poetic structure such as meter, syllabification, and rhyme could help readers and listeners retain text in the memory so they can subsequently meditate on its meaning.

A consideration of Lay 8 and Virelai 5—free-standing poems not interpolated into narrative *dits* like those discussed in chapter one—will help us consider how poetic structure may have mnemonic qualities that help transmit doctrine.[123] I begin with the opening strophe of Lay 8, "On parle de richeces:"[124]

On parle de richeces // et de grant signorie,	One speaks of having wealth and great lordship,
D'avoir sens, los, puissance, // biauté, noble lignie,	Intellect, renown, power, beauty, noble lineage,
De grant prouesse aquerre, // d'onneur, de grant courtoisie.	Of acquiring great bravery, honor, and great chivalry.
Mais qui n'a souffissance, // je dis que il mendie.	But he who lacks *Souffisance*, I call him a beggar.

[123] These are free-standing poems in the manuscript. In other words, they are not interpolated into narrative poems like those discussed from *Remede de Fortune*, *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, and the *Voir Dit*.

[124] Unless otherwise noted, all citations in this dissertation of Machaut's *lais* and *virelais* are taken from the Chichmaref edition, *Poésies Lyriques*. All translations of poems cited from this edition are my own. In this citation, the slashes mark the caesura of each line.

5	Car se quanque Nature // aus eureus ottrie	For, whatever *Nature* grants the fortunate,
	Et quanqu'il a en monde, // et plus Que je ne die,	And however much of it he has in this world, even more than I could say,
	Servoit à .j. seul homme, // comme amis et amie,	Whatever *Nature* has granted a given person, whether man or woman,
	S'il ne li souffisoient, // riches ne Seroit mie;	If it didn't suffice, they wouldn't be rich at all.

(Lay 8, lines 1-8)

The mnemonic and rhetorical aspects of this strophe lie in its uniform, Alexandrine rhythm. The steady flow of dodecasyllabic lines yields a uniform rhythmic flow further nuanced by the caesura occurring at the midpoint of each line. The cycle of intonational ascent toward the caesura (//), followed by a descent to the end of the line creates a sense of "call and response," expectation and fulfillment, providing a fleeting moment for textual contemplation at the caesura and at the end of the line. The "response" falls on the rhyming syllable, which in this case, is uniform throughout: *a, a, a, a, / a, a, a, a*. In this way, the Alexandrines create a sort of mnemonic structure; uniformity of rhyme, rhythm, and intonation will render the language memorable and easily recalled.

Structural consistency and uniformity also create an insistence on words in key positions of each line, as well as within the stanza as a whole, and this can reveal hidden associations between words that work to unveil textual *Sens* and underpin the "mnemonic structure" of the stanza. For example, the words terminating at the caesura are: richeces, puissance, aquerre, souffisance, / Nature, homme, monde, souffisoient. Words terminating on the rhyme are: signorie, lignie, courtoisie, mendie, / ottrie, die, amie, mie. Finally, the caesura-line end combination yields: richeces-signourie, puissance-lignie, aquerre-courtoisie, souffisance-mendie, / Nature-ottrie, monde-die, homme-amie, souffisoient-mie. These words distill the *Sens* and

didactic essence of the stanza by stressing the dual opposition of the worldly and the spiritual, of *richeces* and *Souffisance*. Regardless of wealth, power, and nobility, all roads lead either to *Souffisance* or lack—it is up to the individual to choose.

As per convention, in the lyric *lays* of Machaut's time, the poetic structure of the twelfth and final strophe is identical to that of the first. In my view, this "bookending" of the otherwise lengthy and complex form (the middle ten strophes are structurally unique) can work to further summarize doctrine and textual *Sens*, and to augment "memorability." The final strophe of Lay 8 reads:

	Dont quant de li aimée // loyaument et cherie Sui, creinte, desirée, // honnourée, obeïe, Sans villeinne pensée, // et humblement servie, Estre ne doy blasmée, // se m'amour li ottrie.	Therefore, when I am loyally loved and Cherished by him, when I am feared, Desired, honored, obeyed, And humbly served without lustful Thought, I mustn't be blamed if I grant Him my love.
175	Pour ce de vray courage, // de volente jolie, De pensée amoureuse // en plaisence norrie, Li doing mamour entiere. // Or soit miens sans partie Et vueil estre sienna // tous les jours de ma vie.	With true courage, with pretty desire, Through loving thought nourished in pleasure, I grant to him my love entirely. Now, let him be mine forever, As I wish to be his all the days of my Life.

(Lay 8, lines 171-8)

These "bookending" strophes reflect the way in which the message of this *lay* is divided down the middle into two parts, with the first half being didactic and spoken in the third person, and the second, more lyrical and intimate. The first half is an exposition of Machaut's love doctrine.[125] This idea is further reinforced by the next several stanzas which link *Souffisance* to

[125] Huot also notes this. See, *From Song to Book*, 269. She also notes that the second half describes the lady's devotion to adhering to the love comportment explained in the first half.

good love by contrasting it with *Desir*, and equating it to *merci*:[126] "Einsi est des amans qui vivent en desir / Il en y a aucuns qu'on ne puet assevir. . . Et des autres y a qui ne veulent joïr / Fors d'un tres dous regart ou de leur dame vir. . . Dont qui l'un de ces biens prent au goust de merir, / Je di qu'il a merci, quant plus ne vuet querir. . . / Si vueil merci souffisance apeler / Et ensement souffisance merci" (Lay 8, lines 17-8, 25-6, 41-2), [Such it is among lovers who live in desire. There are those who cannot be satisfied. . . And others who don't want joy but from a sweet look or from seeing their lady. . . Therefore, I say the one who takes these goods [*dous regart* / leur dame vir] for the taste of satisfaction, I say that he has *merci*, when he desires nothing more. . . Thus, I wish to name *merci Souffisance*, and *Souffisance*, *merci*]. So, the love comportment expounded in the first half of the lay teaches that a lover will only be truly joyful if he can find *Souffisance* in "seeing the lady" or receiving her "sweet look." This can be done without the lady's physical presence through *memoria et reminiscentia—Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*. Thus, *Souffisance* only lies within the lover, and not the beloved. Just as neither a king nor a commoner can have true happiness through worldly goods, a lover is not guaranteed *Souffisance* through the lady's behaviors because they are outside of his control.

In the second half of the poem, the lady grants authority to the doctrine by assuring her admirer that he can and must find those things from within; she says that if he honors, obeys, and fears her "sans villeinne pensée," she will through "pensée amoureuse," grant him her love. The specification of servitude "sans villeinne pensée" rules out the possibility of carnal reciprocation, and "amoureuse pensée" points to an internalized, non-physical *merci*. Perhaps it is the lover himself who must have "true courage" to seek nothing more than the contemplation of *Souvenir* of his lady's image and sweet look (*pensée amoureuse*, *Dous Penser*).

[126] *Merci* in the context of Machaut is difficult to translate into modern French or English, but generally, when the male lover implores the lady's *merci*, he is begging for her to reciprocate his love, or at least to acknowledge it.

Now, I would like to briefly recapitulate how poetic structure of this *lay* renders it more "memorable." We have seen how the first and final strophes distill the essence of its didactic *Sens*. The identical structure of the "bookending" strophes elevates the effectiveness of the distillation. Since the structure of each of the middle ten strophes is unique, that of the first and the twelfth is heard twice as often, and it is the first and last thing the audience reads/sees/hears. This would naturally make those parts of the poem more memorable and more likely to be retained as *souvenir*. Moreover, since the structure is identical (syllabification, intonation, caesura, rhyme scheme, etc.), the contemplation of the first stanza would naturally cue reminiscence upon the twelfth, and vice versa, thus reminding the lover of that *Souffisance* and *merci* are one and the same. And so, these "bookending" strophes transmit the poem's textual *Sens* in a way that is both concise and highly memorable.

The *virelais* also have structural features that help to clarify textual messages and deliver them in a memorable way. One of the salient features of *virelai* form is a lengthy and highly repetitive refrain, which contrary to the one-line and two-line refrains of the *ballades* and *rondeaux*, usually spans four lines or more, effectively yielding a self-standing stanza. It is also more repetitive than the refrain of the other two *formes fixes* because it begins and ends the poem and occurs between each non-refrain stanza.[127] This structure is much more easily visualized than described. See Table 2.1:

Table 2.1. Structure of the lyric *virelai*.

	Refrain	**Stanza 1**	**Refrain**	**Stanza 2**	**Refrain**	**Stanza 3**	**Refrain**
Lyric virelai	A	b	A	b	A	b	A

[127] The *ballade* refrain appears as the last line of each stanza, and in the much shorter *rondeau*, the two-line refrain begins and ends the lyric, but otherwise only appears once, and not in its integrity (only the second of the two lines).

Daniel Poirion has said this structure induces *encirclement*—a cyclical repetition of the refrain that causes it to "encircle" the non-refrain stanzas.[128]

Now, to see how this structure helps to deliver doctrine in a concise way and memorable way, consider Virelai 5:

	Comment qu'à moy lonteinne	However far from me
	Soiez, dame d'onnour,	You may be, lady of honor,
	Si m'estes vous procheinne	Thus you are close to me
	Par penser nuit et jour.	By thought night and day.
5	Car Souvenir me mainne,	For *Souvenir* remains with me,
	Si qu'adès sans sejour	Such that always without repose,
	Vo biauté souvereinne,	Your sovereign beauty,
	Vo gracious atour,	Your gracious charm,
	Vos maniere certainne	Your certain manner,
10	Et vo fresche coulour	And your fair countenance
	Qui n'est pale ne veinne,	That is neither pale nor vain,
	Voy tousdis sans sejour.	I see always without repose.
	Comment qu'à moy lonteinne. . . etc.	However far from me. . . etc.
	Dame, de grace pleinne,	Lady filled with grace,
15	Mais vo haute valour,	But your great valor,
	Vo bonté souvereinne	Your sovereign goodness,
	Et vo fine douçour	And your perfect sweetness
	En vostre dous demeinne,	Have placed me in your sweet domain
	M'ont si mis que m'amour,	Such that my love,
20	Sans pensée vilainne,	Without lustful thought
	Meint en vous que j'aour,	Remains in you whom I adore.
	Comment qu'à moy lonteinne. . . etc.	However far from me. . . etc.
	Mais Desirs qui se peinne	But Desire who endeavors
25	D'acroistre mon labour	To increase my struggles
	Tenra mon cuer en peinne	Will hold my heart in pain
	Et de mort en paour,	And in fear of death,
	Se Diex l'eure n'ameinne	If God does not deliver the hour
	Qu'à vous qui estes flour	When to you, who are the flower
30	De de toute flour mondeinnne,	Of all earthly flowers,
	Face tost mon retour.	I may soon make my return.

[128] Daniel Poirion, *Le poète et le prince*, 317-32.

Comment qu'à moy lonteinne. . . etc. [129] However far from me. . . etc.

(Virelai 5)

The text of the refrain is a simple and direct expression of Machaut's love doctrine. Thought (*penser*), as both a component of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*, keeps the lover close to his lady notwithstanding physical distance, and the reference to her honor is an implicit confirmation of the noble and chaste nature of love nourished and sustained through *penser*. The first non-refrain stanza confirms this, as the lover describes how *Souvenir* allows him to ever "see" his lady; when he holds her close in thought, he envisions on the wax tablet of his *memoire* the image of her beauty, and he can thereby relive the joy experienced in her physical presence. Once again, just as in *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, good love nullifies the pain of separation, and suffices to satisfy the heart even in the absence of physical closeness. The second stanza underscores the way in which the noble and chaste love—"sans pensée villeinne"— works to maintain and protect the lady's honor.

In the third stanza, there is a turn of events as the ubiquitous threat of *Desir*, which seeking to increase the lover's suffering, rears its ugly head. The entire stanza consists of a single conditional phrase, with that condition being a return to his lady, lest he endure certain anguish and "death." Luckily, this "retour" needn't be a literal, physical return; it only needs to be a mental return; *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser—memoria et reminiscentia*—will permit the reliving of the joy associated with the lady's presence. This is fulfilled by the final return of the refrain wherein *penser* is provided as the antidote to both separation and the sting of *Desir*. When distance and separation allow *Desir* to overwhelm the lover, he needs only to hold fast to *Souvenir* in order to return to his beloved.

[129] All citations and numbering of Machaut's *virelais* come from the Chichmaref edition, *Poésies Lyriques*.

The uniform rhyme scheme and syllabification contribute to "memorability." More importantly, the highly repetitive, "encircling" refrain is extremely memorable because it occurs four times. Moreover, the rhetorical effect of the refrain is glossed and nuanced by the stanzaic material that surrounds it. This is a strong testament to the power and function of *Rhetorique* as expounded in the *Prologue*. In this way, the *virelai* itself, both structurally and semantically, symbolizes the overall love experience for those schooled in the ways of good love: there will be times of joy, and times of painful desire, but if diligently employed, *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* will clear the path to *Souffisance*. Perhaps then, when a lover who knows this *virelai* is stung by desire, this refrain will come to mind and evoke a consolatory state of *Esperance*.

These two poems, Lay 8, "On parle de richeces," and Virelai 5, "Comment qu'à moy lonteinne," demonstrate some of the ways that Machaut's lyric poems can distill the essence of the doctrine developed in the narrative *dits* and deliver it in a memorable way. This may help to induce deeper understanding of the textual *Sens* by facilitating memory and future reminiscence. In the case of all lyric poetry, rhyme scheme and syllabification have inherent mnemonic qualities that may render versified language more memorable and easier to recall than prose. Also, structural aspects such as rhythm and rhyme can reveal subtle connections between key words. While the effects and perception of these relationships may be merely subconscious, they may help nonetheless to reveal the true and underlying meaning of text.

Regarding *lais*, the identical poetic structure shared by the opening and closing strophes creates a "bookending" effect that establishes an inevitably strong association between the two, and the mental recalling of one may lead to recollection of the other. Also, the considerable length of a *lay* allows for both exposition of doctrine, and depictions of application and the rewards of adherence. The "bookending" strophes can integrate the seemingly disjointed

messages expressed from one stanza to the next and resolve apparent disjunction caused by abrupt changes in voice and poetic register. As for *virelais*, they are especially effective for delivering doctrine and modeling its implementation because of their lengthy, repetitive, and "encircling" refrain which works to facilitate memorization of text. The recalling and contemplation of refrain material may help to direct lovers back to the path of good love when they encounter the various challenges of the love experience depicted in non-refrain stanzas.

Melody and melodic structure can add yet another layer of association and meaning. For the remainder of this chapter, I will consider the role that music plays in doctrinal delivery, and in helping the poet-composer fulfill the duties ascribed to him by *Nature* and *Amours*.

Music, Memory, and Thirteenth-Century Influence

In *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, Anna Maria Busse Berger demonstrates that processes of liturgical music pedagogy, performance, and transmission relied heavily on mnemonics, and remained consistent to the sixteenth century.[130] Although the vast majority of Machaut's musical corpus is secular, as canon at Reims Cathedral,[131] he would have been intimately familiar with the way music was taught, performed, and transmitted in the church. His association of music with liturgical and spiritual life is made explicit in the *Prologue*:

	Ou on fait l'office divin	And where the divine office is held,
	Qui est fait de pain et de vin,	The one made of bread and wine,
	Puet on penser chose plus digne	Can one think of anything more worthy
220	Ne faire plus gracious signe	Or make a more gracious sign
	Comme d'essucier Dieu et sa gloire?	Than exalting God and his glory,
	Loer, server, amer, et croie,	Praising, serving, loving, and showing
	Et sa douce mere en chantant,	Faith through song in Him and His Sweet
	Qui de grace et de bien a tant	Mother too, who possesses so much
225	Que le ciel et toute la terre	Grace and goodness that the sky and

[130] Busse Berger, *Medieval Music*, 50.

[131] For more on Machaut's relationship to Reims, see Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 14-21; Robertson, *Machaut and Reims*, and Bowers, "Guillaume de Machaut and his Canonry at Reims, 1338-1377."

	Et quanque li mondes enserre, Grant, petit, moien, et menu, Et sont gardé et soutenu?	Entire earth and whatever the world Encompasses, the great, the little, the in- Between, and insignificant are thereby Guarded and sustained?
	J'ay oÿ dire que li angles	I have heard it said that the angels,
230	Li saint, les saintes, les anchangles	The saints, the men and women alike, the
	De vois delie, sainne, et clere,	Archangels with voices fine, clear, and
	Loent en chantant Dieu le pere,	Perfect praise God the father in song
	Pour ce qu'en gloire les a mis	Because He has raised them to glory
	Comme justes et parfais amis,	As just people and perfect friends,
235	Et pour ce aussi que de sa grasse	And also through his mercy they
	Les vois ades face a face.	Contemplate him continually face to
	Or ne puelent li saint chanter	Face. Now the saints couldn't sing
	Qu'il n'ait musique en leur chanter:	Without music for their song:
	Donc est musique en paradis.	Hence, music is in heaven.

(*Prologue*, lines 217-39)

In this passage where he names music as the greatest way to praise and honor God, Machaut reveals a strong association between liturgical music and his Christian faith. This has been seen to trickle down into his secular music, as scholars such as Elizabeth Eva Leach and Anne Walters Robertson have unveiled a latent religiosity within Machaut's musical works.[132] Roberts work on the motets, for example, shows how dialogue between secular and sacred text/voices juxtaposes the pursuit of idealized love and the spiritual journey of the Christian soul seeking to unify with Christ.[133] Machaut's faith also shines through elsewhere in the narrative *dits.* Sylvia Huot has shown that in works such as *Remede de Fortune* and *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, hope "lies not in bodily contact, but in private contemplation; not in communication with a particular individual, but in communion with sovereign perfection."[134] The conflation of hope and faith is

[132] See Robertson, *Machaut and Reims*, Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 279-301.

[133] This is the subject of Robertson's third chapter. See Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*, 79-101. Also see Leach's commentary on Robertson's thesis. Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 285-8. Also, some works, such as the *La Messe de Nostre Dame* (The Mass Ordinary), and the *Le Lay de Nostre Dame* have an explicitly religious character.

[134] Huot, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Consolation of Poetry," 195.

even more explicit in *Le Confort d'Ami* where, after relating the story of Susannah from the Book of Daniel, Guillaume tells Charles: N'autre remede n'i savoit / Fors qu'en Dieu s'esperence avoit. / Et vraiment se t'esperence / Est ferme en li, n'aies doubtance / Qu'en tous cas te confortera / Et que tousdis te gardera" (*Le Confort d'Ami*, lines 421-6), [She knew no other remedy, but that she had her hope in God. And truly, if your hope is strong in him, fear not, for he will always bring you to consolation, and always keep you safe].[135] So, it is clear that church and faith had a strong influence on the textual and philosophical content of Machaut's works.

In light of this, we might also wonder if certain didactic and mnemonic practices long associated with liturgical music had bearing on the way Machaut's musical settings transmit doctrine. Of the most direct relevance to Machaut would have been a school of liturgical music prevalent in Paris from the twelfth to early fourteenth centuries known as Notre Dame Polyphony. Notre Dame Polyphony, consisting of the three related styles of *organum*, *discant*, and *conductus*, used a system of musical notation and rhythmic organization known as *modal rhythm*, or the rhythmic modes. Modal rhythm, characterized by six "modes" constructed from various formulae of *longae* and *brevae*, was akin to if not modeled from the rhythm of Latin poetry, with its patterns of "longs" and "shorts" being generally analogous to the various metrical feet of Latin verse. In the same way that the various metrical feet of Latin poetry were used to help students memorize treatises, the rhythmic modes were used to help musicians memorize the music they were to perform. Busse Berger explains:

> Just as a medieval teacher would accelerate the learning process of his students by putting new and difficult material into verse, the theorists and composers would simply help the singers memorize new pieces by applying modal patterns. . . There is one central parameter of modal rhythm that is also found in quantitative poetry: repetitive patterns of

[135] I have modified the translation.

> *longae* and *brevae*. . . And as we have seen above [regarding the mnemonic properties of versification], it is precisely this parameter that was used for mnemonic purposes.[136]

Modal rhythm was studied by music students in Paris during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries through treatises attributed to Johannes de Garlandia (c.1270-1320) and Johannes de Grocheio (c. 1255-1320).[137] It is likely that Garlandia's treatise, alongside Boethius' *De institutione musica*, was available to students in Paris like Machaut as part of an overview of the *musica speculativa* and the general principles of contemporary musical theory.[138]

It is also clear that modal rhythm was still used in practice in both sacred and secular music in the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth centuries. According to Mark Everist:

> To speak of a generation of 1290 (Philippe de Vitry) or of 1300 (Guillaume de Machaut) must also be to recognize that the music of the generation of 1240 (Adam de la Halle, the trouvere and composer of polyphonic music) was very much alive (even if the composers were dead), copied and cultivated well into the fourteenth century. This practice continues a thirteenth-century tradition that prized older music at the same time that it reworked it; so the genre of *organum* (dating originally from around 1170 and consisting largely of two-part settings of plainsongs) was still being cultivated up to 1300, as were the monophonic and polyphonic Latin songs called *conductus* (also from the twelfth century) . . . [139]

Elsewhere, Everist notes that "the rhythmic organization of Adam de la Halle's rondeaux is clearly modal: around two-thirds of his repertory are in mode I and a third in mode II,"[140] and

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[136] Busse Berger, *Medieval Music,* 180, 183. Also see Busse Berger's earlier study on the topic, "Mnemotechnics of Notre Dame Polyphony," *The Journal of Musicology*, 14, no.3 (1996), 263-98.

[137] *De mensurabili musica*, the treatise attributed to Garlandia and exists in various forms in three extant manuscripts: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 5325, Paris, BnF MS lat.16663, Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, MS lat. 528. Grocheio's treatise, *Ars musica*, exists in two extant manuscripts, both of which are anthologies: Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 2663, fols. 56-59, and London, British Library, Harley 281, fols .30-52.

[138] See Raymond Erikson. A review of "Concerning Measured Music (De Mensurabili Musica) by Johannes de Garlandia, translated by Stanley H. Birnbaum," *Journal of Music Theory*, 26, no. 1 (1982), 169-78, at 170.

[139] Mark Everist, "Machaut's Musical Heritage," McGrady and Bain, *A Companion* (2012), 143-58, at 144.

[140] Mark Everist, '"Souspirant en terre estrainge': The Polyphonic Rondeau from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut," *Early Music History*, 26 (2007), 1-42, at 25.

that while Machaut's rondeaux are not modal, "there is a clear sense that the composer was aware of—and in some cases playing with—modal concepts. . . this is hardly surprising given his interest in modal organization in his motets."[141] Adam de la Halle was "a major *auctor* for subsequent poets and composers, notably Nicole de Margival. . . and Guillaume de Machaut."[142] Certain of Machaut's *ballades* seem to directly borrow lines from Adam's *rondeaux*—a testament to familiarity and direct influence. For example, Adam's *rondeau* "Tant que je vivray / N'amerai / Autrui que vous" is a likely source for two of Machaut's ballades: "Tres douce dame que j'aour," and "N'en fait n'a dit," both of whose refrains read: "tant com je vivray."[143]

So, undoubtedly, in the fourteenth century, modal rhythm was still relevant to the sacred and secular musical culture of northern France. It is likely that Machaut studied modal rhythm and notation as a young student in Paris, and later in life, saw it used in practice in both sacred and secular music. In light of this, we can imagine that he had a general awareness and understanding of the mnemonic qualities of musical rhythm—and he likely realized that setting his poetry to music would render it more "memorable." Indeed, the mnemonic power of music is explicitly mentioned in *Remede de Fortune*. Before *Esperance* departs from Guillaume, she says:

	A Dieu te commant; je m'en voys.	I'm leaving; I commend you to God.
2850	Mais ainçoys de ma clere voys	But first, I'll sing you a baladelle
	Te diray une baladelle,	In my limpid voice,
	De chant et de ditté nouvelle,	With new words and music,
	Laquelle tu *emporteras*	Which you'll *carry off with you*,
	Et en alant la chanteras,	Singing it as you go along,
2855	Afin que tes cuers s'i deduise	To cheer up your heart
	S'il a pensee qui li nuise.	If it's troubled by any concern.[144]

[141] Everist, "*Souspirant en terre estraigne*," 25.

[142] Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 283.

[143] Butterfield points this out. See *Poetry and Music*, 283, and 336, *n.*12.

[144] I have modified the translation. My emphasis.

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 2849-56)

This is a clear testament to both the didactic and mnemonic power of song; Guillaume will store the musical *souvenir* of Hope's *ballade* into his *memoire* so that he may recall and contemplate it at will. His response to *Esperance*'s song is even more telling—he describes how it has fixed her teachings into his heart and memory with the greatest of success:

	Et par maniere de *memoire*	And by means of memory,
2940	Tout le fait de li et l'ystoire,	Everything about her and her story,
	Si com je l'ay devant escript,	Just as I've written it out above,
	Estoit en mon cuer en escript	Was inscribed in my heart
	Par vray certain *entendement*	By true and certain understanding
	Mieus .c. foys et plus proprement	A hundred times more accurately
2945	Que clers ne le pourroit escripre	And exactly than any clerk could
	De main en parchemin ne en cire.[145]	Write it out by hand on parchment Or wax tablet.[146]

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 2939-46)

In this way, his reminiscence upon Hope's *Rhetorique* and *Musique* will help him unlock and grasp the *Sens* of her doctrine. He will thus have *entendement*—true doctrinal understanding.

There is yet another instance, this time in the *Voir Dit*, which attests to the mnemonic and didactic qualities of song. Before Guillaume sends two *ballades* to Toute Belle, he sings them to his messenger so they can be memorized, sung, and relayed to Toute Belle, allowing her to memorize them in turn: "Mais si tost ne se parti mie / Que ma douce dame iolie / Ces .ii. balades nenvoiasse / Par quoy de par moy li deist / Pour dieu quelle les apreist. . ." (*Voir Dit,* lines 601-6), [But the man did not leave so quickly that I didn't send along these two ballades to my sweet, beautiful lady and sang the tunes to him so that, playing my role, he could sing them to her, for the sake of God, and she could learn them thus]. These passages illustrate the power of song to

[145] My emphasis.

[146] I have modified the translation.

inscribe *Souvenir*, and to induce recollection, contemplation, and therefore *entendement* of poetic material.

Compositional and Transmissive "Prescription"

I have shown how the general historical and scholastic context of Machaut's career implies that he was aware of the mnemonic, didactic, and transmissive power of music, and that he explicitly attests to that awareness in both *Remede de Fortune* and the *Voir Dit*. Yet, what structural qualities render his songs memorable? Which aspects of his style and approach help fulfill the didactic and transmissive role mandated by *Nature* and *Amours*? I believe the answer lies in two related areas: highly flexible musical notation, and conventionalized text declamation. These two things gave Machaut more control over how his music was delivered, perceived, and remembered than would have been possible with earlier notational systems. By the fourteenth century, the increasingly prescriptive nature of musical notation resulted in musical compositions becoming "finished products" of which a composer could develop a sense of ownership.[147] Indeed, the *Voir Dit* implies that Machaut did indeed feel a sense of ownership over his music and that he was prescriptive in the way he wanted it to be performed and experienced. In Letter 10, for example, in reference to the *ballade* "Nes qu'on pourroit," he tells Toute Belle: "Si vous suppli que vous le daigniez oir et savoir la chose einsi comme elle est faite sans mettre ne oster, et se wet dire de bien long mesure. . ." [And so I beg you to be willing to hear and learn the piece exactly as it has been written without adding to or taking away any part, and it is intended to be recited with a quite long measure…].[148] So, just as Machaut made a concerted effort to order and

[147] Busse Berger, *Medieval Music*, 211-12.

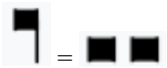
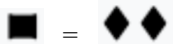
[148] Machaut, *Voir Dit*, Letter 10.

compile his corpus so that it could be accurately inscribed into posterity, it seems he also intended for his musical compositions to be learned and performed exactly as they are written, which would allow them to exert a specific rhetorical and didactic effect on their audience, as we see above in *Remede de Fortune.*

A central component of Machaut's musical "prescription" is his system of notation, which benefited from *ars nova* innovations that produced a vast expansion of the variety of musical rhythms available to composers.[149] The most important innovation involved the introduction of binary relationships between a given rhythmic value and the next smaller value (e.g., between the *longa* and the *brevis*, and the *brevis* and *semibrevis*). In earlier systems, subdivisions were ternary only. Moreover, the introduction of a new note figure called the *minima,* representing the smallest possible rhythmic value, expanded the possibilities for composers by allowing the subdivision of the *semibrevis*—the figure previously representing the smallest possible rhythmic value. In this way, the proportionate relationships created by the subdivisions of the *longa*, *brevis*, and *semibrevis* yielded three mensurations, or levels or rhythmic organization: *modus*, *tempus*, and *prolatio*. These could be further nuanced by either triple or duple subdivision, qualifying them as either *perfectus* or *imperfectus*, respectively. Prior to the *ars nova* innovations, composers had only two possible mensurations (*modus perfectus*, and *tempus perfectus*), whereas the addition of binary relationships and the *minima* yielded four additional options, making a total six possibilities, as seen in Table 2.2.

[149] The theoretical aspects of the *ars nova* are laid out in three main treatises, two by Johannes de Muris and one by Phillipe de Vitry. For modern critical editions, see Johannes de Muris, *Notitia Artis Musicae et Compendium Musicae Practicae*, ed. Ulrich Michels (The American Institute of Musicology, 1972). For Philippe de Vitry's treatise, see Philippi de Vitriaco, *Ars Nova*, eds. Gilbert Reaney, André Gilles and Jean Maillard (The American Institute of Musicology, 1964). Neither edition gives a place of publication. For discussion of the origins of the *ars nova*, see Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "The Emergence of *ars nova*," *Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995), 285-317.

Table 2.2. The mensurations of the *ars nova*.

	***modus* (*longa-brevis*)**	***tempus* (*brevis-semibrevis*)**	***prolatio* (*semibrevis-minima*)**
perfectus/um **(ternary)**			
imperfectus/um **(binary)**			

These six mensurations could also be mixed within a given piece. For example, *modus perfectus* and *tempus imperfectum* might occur together. This system, generally known as mensural notation, allowed composers like Machaut to be much more flexible and diverse in their application of musical rhythm than was possible with earlier systems such as modal notation, which was much more formulaic and repetitive. In this way, mensural notation would have resulted in a stronger, more intimate, and nuanced text-music relationship that would have facilitated the ability, and perhaps a demand to perform, preserve, and transmit pieces in greater alignment with the composer's intentions. Busse Berger explains:

> Isorhythmic motets [of which Machaut wrote twenty-four] are compositions in the modern sense of the word in that the composer fixes most of the details of pitch and rhythm in writing. Ideally, a performer could not suddenly replace, say, two breves with three semibreves, or add a flourish at the beginning or the end without jeopardizing the intended structure of the composition. . . a composer or author who writes something down wants it to be preserved intact. He will be able to distinguish the correct from the incorrect version of the piece. Many of the compositional goals of the piece will not be achieved if the text is corrupted. He will thus develop a sense of ownership.[150]

[150] Busse Berger, *Medieval Music*, 211.

The idea that Machaut considered his compositions to be "finished products" of which he felt a sense of ownership, and which demanded careful and accurate transmission is supported by the *Voir Dit* passages cited above attesting to exact memorization and performative replication of song. Of no less significance was his active role in ordering and compiling his own corpus. This considered, alongside Machaut's self-proclaimed and divinely ordained duty to transmit love doctrine through poetry and song, corrupted musical transmission would not only spoil compositional goals, but also didactic, doctrinal goals dependent upon the text-music relationship. It would alienate listeners and performers from grasping textual *Sens*, which would impede Machaut's from carrying out his divine duties. As a result, in order for music to effectively transmit doctrine, it would be imperative that songs be learned, performed, and remembered in the way that the composer intended.

"Prescriptive" Text Declamation

In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the use of a scribal technique known as music overlay facilitated clearer inscription of the text-music relationship than seen in previous eras. As a result, in the complete-works manuscripts, text-music alignment is generally clear across all musical forms whether monophonic, polyphonic, syllabic, or melismatic. Music overlay thus yielded great benefits in terms of accuracy of performance and transmission, since composers could theoretically formulate and transmit the text-music relationship with a greater level of clarity and prescription.

In recent years, such benefits have been concretely theorized. In his 1999 monograph *Patterns in Play: A Model for Text Setting in the Early French Songs of Guillaume Dufay*, Graeme Boone identifies a conventional text setting model—a stylistic norm—used throughout a

collection of Dufay's early works found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici misc. 213.[151] Lawrence Earp, using Boone's model as a point of departure in two companion essays, "Declamatory Dissonance in Machaut," and "Declamation as Expression in Machaut's Music," has shown that Boone's model is generally applicable to Machaut's corpus.[152] Boone and Earp's findings have shown that even if a clear text declamation is not visible in a given manuscript, or even a group of manuscripts, it is possible to devise the correct and intended declamation based on stylistic convention. The implications of the model are profound; it allows us to safely deduce the specific way in which Machaut intended music to deliver text across his corpus—a corpus in which music functions as part of a transmissive system of a textual doctrine. In fact, the absence of clear declamation in a given source may even reinforce the existence of a stylistic norm, since performers would have known how to properly declaim the text even if the manuscript were unclear.

Boone's model is grounded to the concept of *initium*. If one were to relate *initium* to modern music, it would be roughly analogous to the concepts of pulse or downbeat. Boone explains: "By 'pulse' is meant a regularly occurring temporal point or mark that serves as an orientation for rhythmic activity in music. . . If pulse is defined as a kind of mark, it entails a kind of duration as well, for it is duration that separates one pulse from another and that allows pulses to occur at regular intervals."[153] To relate this to modern music, think of a waltz, which

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[151] Graeme Boone, *Patterns in Play: A Model for Text Setting in the Early French Songs of Guillaume Dufay* (Lincoln, NE and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

[152] See Lawrence Earp, "Declamatory Dissonance in Machaut," in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from The Learned*, eds. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2005), 102-22, "Declamation as Expression in Machaut's Music." In McGrady and Bain, *A Companion*, 209-38.

[153] Boone, *Patterns in Play*, 21, 22. For more discussion of *initium*, see Graeme Boone, "Marking Mensural Time," *Music Theory Spectrum* 22, no.1 (2000), 2-9, and Earp, "Declamatory Dissonance," 103.

derives its swinging, pendulum-like feel from the cyclical passing of a pulse falling on the downbeat occurring on the first of every third beat: **1** 2 3 / **1** 2 3 / **1** 2 3, etc. The pulse of the waltz is where a dancer would orient their rhythm, or where a listener would naturally tap their foot. Just as the pulse organizes the rhythmic structure of a waltz, *initium* organizes the rhythmic structure of mensural music with the cyclical passing of *longae*, *brevae*, *minimae*, etc. The alignment of the *initium* with text, and the resulting relationship between musical and poetic rhythm can reveal much about the text-music relationship and the way music helps express textual messages.

Here is Boone's model:

1. Given any poetic line containing an even number of syllables, the even syllables, beginning with syllable 4, fall on the *initium* of the music.
2. Given any poetic line containing an odd number of syllables, the odd syllables, beginning with syllable 1, fall on the *initium* of the music.[154]

The overarching argument of Earp's two companion articles is that alongside rhyme, syllable count, musical rhythm, melodic profile, etc., patterns of text declamation can and should be added to the "analytical arsenal" when considering Machaut's music. He concludes that Boone's model "provides us with a general point of departure, a horizon of expectation against which one can measure normal practice and exceptional practice."[155] His application of the model explores examples of exact adherence to the model, as well as well as instances of deviation, a phenomenon which he refers to as "declamatory dissonance" (when poetic and musical rhythm work contrary to one another because syllables which would normally fall on the *initium* of the music are displaced from it). He shows that in both contexts, text declamation is a key aspect of

[154] Boone, *Patterns in Play*, 15.

[155] Earp, "Declamatory Dissonance," 122.

textual expression. For example, in "Declamation as Expression," he shows how the musical setting of Virelai 4, "Douce Dame Jolie" plays both a semantic and a musical role; throughout the progression of the refrain, an interplay between musical and poetic rhythm facilitated by fully normative text declamation shifts the listener's focus from the lady to her effect on the listener/the lady's admirer.[156]

When declamation deviates from the norm, we should seek an explanation, as it could point to instances of text painting, or manipulation of textual/musical expectation, among other things.[157] One of Earp's examples of declamatory dissonance is the seven-stanza Lay 2, "J'aim la flour." In the first stanza, wherein the *je* speaks of beholding and honoring his lady, text declamation is fully normative. Declamatory dissonance is introduced in the second stanza with the introduction of the word *amours* and a description of the pain and suffering it causes. Stanzas 3-5 depict the lover suffering in silence and are declaimed normatively. Declamatory dissonance reappears in stanza six when the protagonist contemplates death. Declamation is normative once again in the seventh and final stanza as the lover resigns to humbly serving and thanking his lady, despite his pain.[158] This is an excellent example of how "elements of poetry and music articulate the psychological progress that occurs as a lay unfolds."[159] These are just two examples of how text declamation can help to better reveal textual *Sens* and effectively transmit doctrine.

[156] For Earp's analysis of "Douce dame jolie," see "Declamation as Expression," 212-216.

[157] Earp, "Declamatory Dissonance," 122.

[158] Earp, "Declamatory Dissonance," 110.

[159] Earp, "Declamatory Dissonance," 113.

The existence of a stylistic norm in and of itself implies a certain level of prescription, and the notion of "prescriptive" text declamation aligns perfectly with Busse Berger's observation that by the fourteenth century, musical works had become "finished pieces" over which composers felt a "sense of ownership." At the very least, if not a sense of ownership, composers like Machaut were able to have a much greater sense of control over the performance and transmission of their works. Moreover, Earp's work with Boone's model further fortifies the idea that Machaut may have wished for his works to be performed, experienced, transmitted, and remembered in a specifically articulated manner, not only for artistic and aesthetic reasons, but for doctrinal ones, as well. Just as a normative model of text declamation is an important analytical tool for scholars of Machaut's music and poetry, it would have also been a useful asset in Machaut's effort to carry out the duties assigned to him by *Nature* and *Amours*. The "horizon of expectation" established by stylistic convention would have allowed listeners and performers to recognize and expect certain patterns,[160] and perhaps led them to ponder and contemplate instances of deviation. All of this would perhaps strengthen "memorability" and induce deeper contemplation of textual *Sens*.

To tie together the foundations I have laid in this chapter and the previous one, the remainder of this chapter will consider both musical and textual features that convey meaning and transmit doctrine in Virelai 13, "Quant je suis mis."

[160] Lawrence Earp notes that the proposed model of text declamation is simple enough for listeners to apprehend. See "Declamatory Dissonance," 102. He even suggests that the basic declamation pattern outlined by Boone may be what Eustache Deschamps was referring to when he spoke of "natural music" in *L'Art de dictier*. See, "Declamatory Dissonance," *n*.3. If the convention of declamation in question was indeed a stylistic norm in Machaut's time, it is likely that listeners, even those who were not trained musicians, were able to recognize it in the same way modern music listeners might recognize where to clap during a rock song, or might be able to intuitively predict the trajectory of a cadence without any formal musical training.

"Quant je sui mis:" A Case in Point

"Quant je sui mis" is a peculiar lyric. Structurally, it is an eighteen-line, three-stanza ballade. Yet, in all complete-works manuscripts, it is placed among the notated *virelais*. In his index of lyrics, Chichmaref includes it among the "table des ballades," but following the ordering of the manuscripts, in the edition itself, he puts it with the *virelai*s, albeit with a footnote reading: "Balade [*sic*]."[161] Why would Machaut consistently place among the *virelais* a *chanson* which, poetically, is incontrovertibly a *ballade*? I believe the nature of the poem's musical setting provides a possible answer. Musically, the song is monophonic, shows fully normative and largely syllabic text declamation, as well as very simple and repetitive musical rhythm, making it musically much more akin to Machaut's *virelais* than to his *ballades*. All *ballades* but one included in the musical sections of the complete-works manuscripts are polyphonic,[162] and one of their salient features is highly melismatic text declamation and great rhythmic variety, both within and between voices. In contrast:

> The genre that exhibits the simplest syllabic text declamation is the virelai. . . many characteristics of Machaut's virelais evoke the dance song: monophony, syllabic projection of poetry in a strongly rhythmic profile, heterometric verse that contributes to the forward drive of the musical setting, and an easily grasped, singable tune.[163]

So, perhaps Machaut included "Quant je sui mis" among the *virelais* because its setting declaims text in the same way as a *virelai*—it delivers doctrine as if it were a *virelai*. These salient musical features give *virelais* great didactic potential; simple, repetitive, and syllabic text declamation, as

[161] Chichmaref, in Machaut*, Poésies Lyriques*, 596.

[162] This single, monophonic example is Ballade 37. "Dame, se vous m'estes lointeinne." For information on structure, editions, and manuscript tradition, see Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 306-7.

[163] Earp, "Declamatory Dissonance," 105-6. Of the thirty-three notated *virelais* in MS A, only eight are polyphonic, and they generally have more syllabic text declamation and greater rhythmic simplicity than the *ballades*.

well as monophonic texture naturally make verbal meaning very accessible to listeners. Repetitive and simple musical rhythm render text and melody memorable and easy to recall.

Moreover, notwithstanding its *ballade*-like poetic structure, I view the textual *Sens* of "Quant je suis mis" to be like the other *virelais*. Since the function of the *virelais* will be the topic of chapter five, suffice it for now to say that they often depict scenes of doctrinal application where through adherence to good love, lovers are able to transform the pain of separation and the sting of desire into joy and hope. This is exactly what we see in "Quant je sui mis:"

	Quant je sui mis au retour	When I am made to return
	De veoir ma dame,	From seeing my lady,
	Il n'est peinne ne dolour	There is neither pain nor suffering
	Que j'aie par m'ame.	In my soul.
5	Diex ! C'est drois que je l'aim sans blame,	Lord! It is true that I love her blamelessly,
	De loial amour.	With a loyal love.
	Sa biauté, sa grant douçour	Her beauty, her great sweetness,
	D'amoureuse flame,	Through *Souvenir*, night and day,
	Par souvenir, nuit et jour,	Burns and enflames me
10	M'esprent et enflame.	With a loving flame.
	Diex ! C'est drois que je l'aim sans blame,	Lord! It is true that I love her blamelessly,
	De loial amour.	With a loyal love.
	Et quant sa haute valour	And when her great valor
	Mon fin cuer entame,	Enters my noble heart,
	Servir la weil sans folour	I want to serve her without lustful
15	Penser ne diffame.	Thought or shame.
	Diex ! C'est drois que je l'aim sans blame,	Lord! It is true that I love her blamelessly,
	De loial amour.	With a loyal love.[164]
	(Virelai 13)	

The expression *mis au retour* gives the impression that the lover is departing from his lady against his will; it is as if he is being helplessly removed from "seeing" her by some external

[164] My translation.

force. However, he somehow feels no suffering or pain because her beauty and sweetness sustain him through *Souvenir*. He need not remain in her presence to be able to see her. The images of her beauty and sweetness have been etched into his *memoire*, and he can contemplate them through *Dous Penser*, and thus experience once more the joyous *affect* of her physical presence. Indeed, these memories burn and enflame his heart, yet, this does not lead him to despair. Instead, the unfolding of each stanza in its movement toward the refrain shows that despite separation, despite a burning heart, through *Souvenir*, all roads lead to joy. He is so certain of the goodness of his love that he repeatedly proclaims it to God.

To consider the way music aids in textual delivery of "Quant je sui mis," I would like to first discuss its setting as seen in MS G.

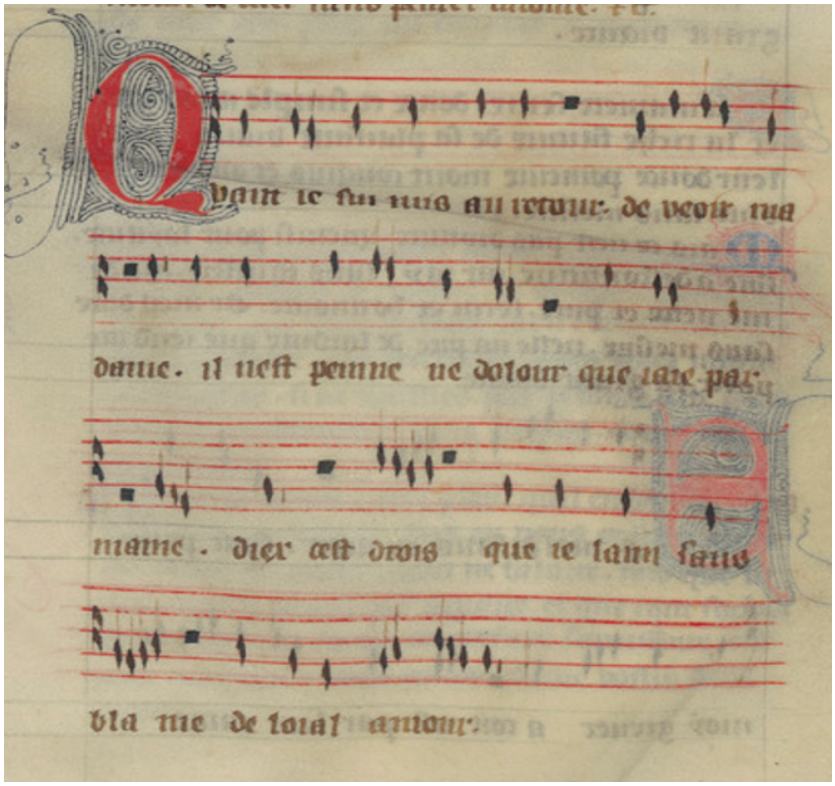


Figure 2.1. Virelai 13, "Quant je sui mis.: BnF MS fr. 22546 (MS G), fol. 157r.

This song involves several *ars nova* innovations. The rhythmic organization is *tempus imperfectum*, *prolatio minor*—both involving the innovative duple division of longer rhythmic

values. We also see in each line the presence of the newly established *minima***,** which allows for the new mensuration of *prolatio*. Where there are melismas, they are quite short. Thanks to music overlay, the text-music alignment is crystal clear and even the untrained eye could safely guess where the notes and syllables are meant to align. In this way, even a cursory glance at this setting reveals a notable level of innovation, clarity, and prescription.

I will speak of this more at length in chapters three and five, but monophonic texture is ideal for delivering text in a clear and memorable manner. Contrary to polyphonic song where a listener must juggle multiple simultaneous melodies, and sometimes multiple concurrently declaimed texts, monophony allows for exclusive focus on a single text and melody. Machaut's monophonic music is also generally much less melismatic than polyphony, which is an advantage because lengthy melismas tend to obscure verbal meaning. "Quant je sui mis" is monophonic in all manuscript sources,[165] its text declamation is largely syllabic, and its musical rhythm is simplistic. Even the longest melisma of one and a half measures (measures 26-7 in Musical Example 2.1) is not substantial enough to obscure verbal meaning, especially since it falls on the final word of the refrain and is heard several times. All of these qualities work to deliver textual *Sens* in a clear, deliberate and perhaps a prescriptive way. Memorability—the embedding of musical and textual *souvenir*, in which memory of the song and memory of the lover are a vehicle for one another—is facilitated and encouraged by repetition, with the melody and textual refrain heard three full times throughout the progression of the chanson. All this makes "Quant je sui mis" an ideal vehicle for delivering doctrine in a clear and memorable way; through its *Rhetorique* and *Musique*, its *Sens* will be easily grasped and deposited into the *memoire* as *Souvenir* ready and

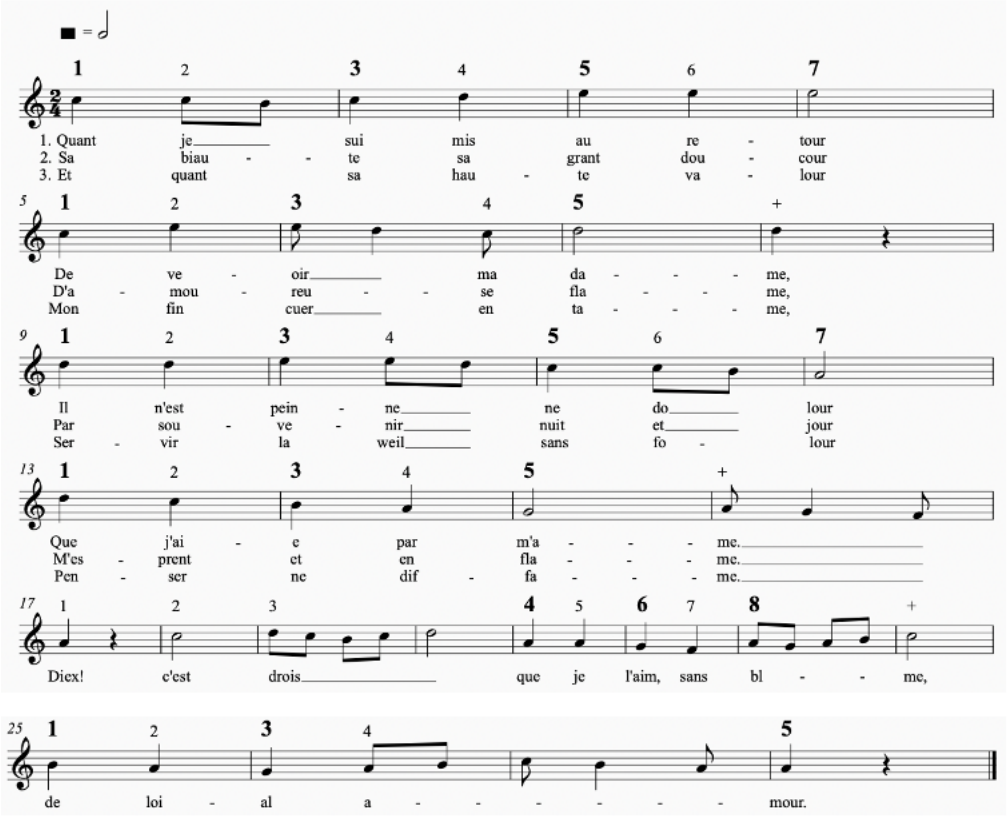
[165] See Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 361-2.

available for contemplation. This is a testament to the role of *Musique* in Machaut's divinely mandated system of doctrinal transmission.

Text declamation contributes much to textual expression in "Quant je sui mis." Based on the poem's versification and musical setting, its declamation is fully normative; lines 1-4 and 6 all show an odd-numbered syllable count, while line five is octosyllabic, thus yielding the following schema: 7 / 5 / 7 / 5 / 8 / 5. In lines 1-4 and 6, the odd-numbered syllables fall on the *initium* (the first note of each measure), and in line five, beginning with syllable four, it is the even-numbered syllables that align with the *initium*. There is no deviation whatsoever from convention. To demonstrate this more clearly, I have outlined the syllable count in Musical Example 2.1, and used a larger, bolded font for the syllable numbers falling on the *initium*: [166]

[166] All transcriptions and settings are my own. My manuscript source for "Quant je sui mis" is BnF MS fr.22546 (MS G), fol. 157r.

Musical Example 2.1: Virelai 13, "Quant je sui mis."



Such normative and simplistic text declamation seems quite appropriate for a *chanson* of such poetic and rhythmic simplicity, and it is a perfect example of conventional, declamatory expectations based on Boone's model.

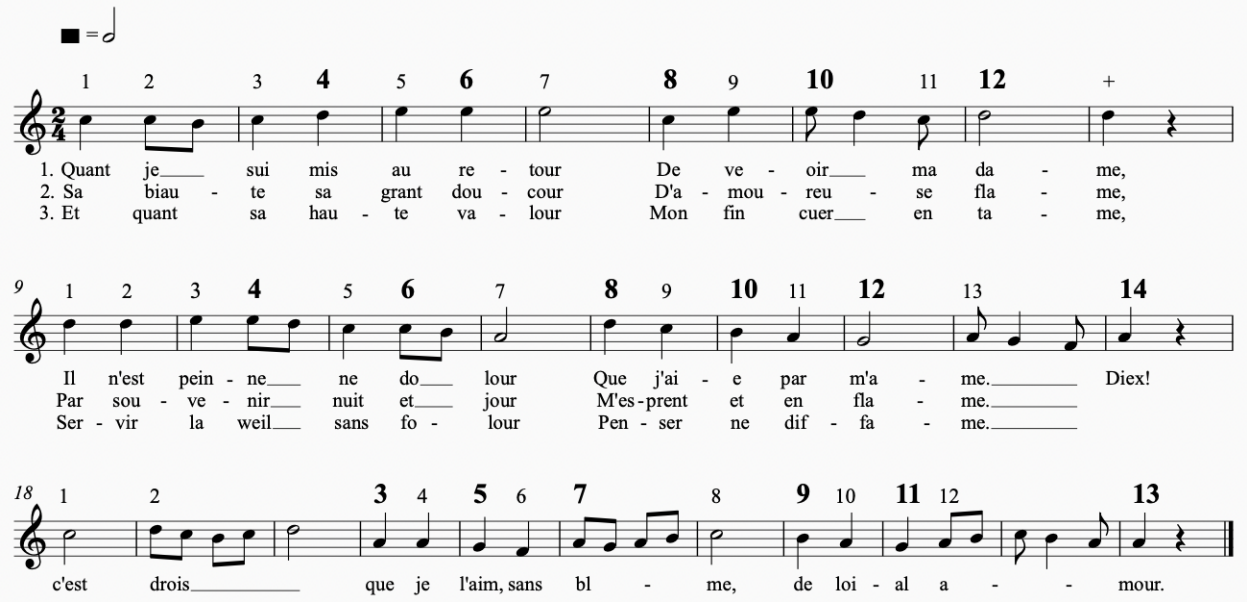
Yet, notwithstanding its simple, almost minimalistic form, the setting's musical enjambment yields a more complicated and expressive textual delivery than initially meets the eye. The musically forced combining of shorter lines often causes a disruption of expected text declamation—declamatory dissonance—that can be explored as a source of nuanced textual expression.[167] "Quant je sui mis" contains ample musical enjambment with the first two musical phrases which declaim two poetic lines each,[168] thus complicating declamation by forcing a

[167] Earp explores several instances of this in the *lais*. See "Declamatory Dissonance," 109-13.

[168] The second musical phrase actually continues over to the first syllable and note of the refrain.

cyclical alternation between declamatory dissonance and convention. This can be seen in Musical Example 2.2 in which I have combined poetic lines to reflect the longer musical phrases that declaim them. The longer lines that align with the musical phrases yield a new syllable count of 12+ / 12+ / 14, and the bolded syllable numbers are those which would be expected by convention to fall on the *initium*:

Musical example. 2.2. Machaut: Virelai 13, "Quant je sui mis." Actual declamation dictated by musical enjambment.



The alternation between declamatory dissonance and convention can be readily seen in the first line which becomes dodecasyllabic when set to the musical phrase. While convention would dictate that beginning with syllable 4, the even syllables would fall on the *initium*, syllables 4 and 6 are displaced from it, falling on the second beat of the measure. This creates a subtle instance of text painting by "putting" the word *mis*, which is a strong poetic syllable in a weak musical position. This reflects the lover's forcible separation from his lady and emphasizes it in an unexpected way. Measure 4 also shows declamatory dissonance with syllable 7 falling on the *initium* and enduring the entire measure. At this point—the midpoint of the musical phrase and the end of the first, original poetic line—the line has reached a point of musical and textual

tension, and the placing of the seventh syllable on the *initium* for the duration of the measure sets up the resolution of that tension by facilitating the normalization of declamation in measures 5-8.

The declamation of line 2 is identical to that of the first line, with one important exception: its *e muet* is allotted a syncopated melisma that accelerates declamation and drives the line forward into the refrain and its imposing interjection of *Diex !* This defies the expectation set up by the previous line by delaying phrase's musical resolution until measure 17, while at the same time bringing textual tension to its apex with the exclamation of *Diex !* Measure 17 thus provides one final moment of dissonance (between the musical resolution and the peak of textual tension) before full textual and musical resolution driven by normalization of declamation and the lover's testament to the goodness of his love.

This cyclical alternation between dissonant and conventional declamation in "Quant je sui mis" can almost be viewed as a type of text painting. Indeed, consideration of the poem's text might well evoke a certain cognitive dissonance. After all, how could being forcibly separated from the person you love be a painless experience? Should we expect burning, amorous desire to encourage chaste and noble comportment? Perhaps not, but that is exactly what the lover achieves; through contemplation of *Souvenir*, he transforms his desirous lack into *Souffisance*—a "loyal" and "blameless" love which he carries out without shame or lustfulness. His love is so pure that he proclaims its verity directly to God—three times, no less. The song thus depicts a learned application of Machaut's love doctrine. Its text expresses the voice of an erudite and indoctrinated lover who has successfully transformed his pain into joy. The lyric's *Sens* and its musical setting reflect and complement one another. Just as musical enjambment causes declamatory dissonance to give way to convention, *Souvenir* causes the burning sting of desire to resolve to a noble and self-sustaining love.

Conclusion

To conclude, "Quant je sui mis" is a shining example of how *Sens*, *Rhetorique*, and *Musique* can come together into one unified whole, a *chanson* that functions as a vehicle of transmission and an "aide-memoire" for the doctrine of good love developed at length in the narrative *dits*. Simple and repetitive poetico-musical structure allow the song to express its doctrinal message in clear, concise, and memorable way. Its implementation of certain *ars nova* notational innovations, as well as the scribal application of music overlay facilitate not only greater musical and performative clarity, but also a high level of prescription that allows for manipulation and nuancing of textual expression, and the exertion of a pointed doctrinal and rhetorical influence on the audience. The song thus illustrates good love in action, and is an ideal model of how Machaut's *chansons* allow him to fulfill the duties assigned to him by *Nature* and *Amours*.

In chapter three, I will explore how interpolated *chanson*, specifically monophonic song, functions as the principal vehicle of love doctrine in *Remede de Fortune.*

CHAPTER THREE

Monophonic Song as Love Doctrine in *Remede de Fortune*

The pivotal, if not foundational role of *Remede de Fortune* in Guillaume de Machaut's eclectic corpus has been well-documented by scholars. Douglas Kelly has described it as the culmination of Machaut's "evolving conception of good love."[169] According to Elizabeth Eva Leach, the *dit* represents "the most direct and didactic statement of Machaut's courtly love doctrine,"[170] and Ardis Butterfield has called it "a catalogue of lyric citations, or even a bibliography of lyric."[171] Indeed, with its seven musical interpolations as seen in Table 3.1—four monophonic (*lay*, *complainte*, *chant royal*, *virelai*), and three polyphonic (two forms of *ballade* and a *rondeau*), embedded within some four thousand lines of narrative poetry, *Remede de Fortune* is truly a microcosm of Machaut's vast multimedia corpus (the *motet* is the only musical genre commonly used by Machaut that is not featured in *Remede de Fortune*). However, notwithstanding the abundance of scholarship published on *Remede de Fortune* in recent years,[172] its four monophonic songs merit greater attention. The text of these four songs, in line count, accounts for ninety-three percent of the combined textual material of the seven musical

[169] Kelly, *Machaut and the Medieval Apprenticeship* Tradition, 23.

[170] Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut,*139.

[171] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France*, 217.

[172] Important examples include the studies cited above: Leach's *Guillaume de Machaut*, and Butterfield's *Poetry and Music*. Leach's study approaches Machaut from a multidisciplinary angle, considering the poet-composer-secretary's life and corpus as a unified whole. Her work on *Remede de Fortune* focuses principally on the seven musical insertions and their expression of Machaut's poetics of *Esperance* and *Fortune*. See Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 132-96, and 197-262. Butterfield considers the implications of *Remede de Fortune*'s multimedia structure within the broader context of the lyrico-narrative relationship across the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, asserting that the *dit* represents a turning point in the nature of the lyrico-narrative dynamic. See, Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 217-23. Also of note is Jordan Stokes' 2014 article, which puts *Remede de Fortune* into dialogue with Machaut's general *Prologue* and explores the poem as an implicit source of rhetorical and musical instruction. See Jordan Stokes, "In Search of Machaut's Poietics: Music and Rhetoric in *Le Remede de Fortune,*" *The Journal of Musicology*, 31, no.4 (2014), 395-430.

settings, and nearly a quarter of the textual material of the poem in its entirety. Moreover, two of these *chansons*—the *complainte* and *chant royal*, are the only poems of their respective form which Machaut set to music. Lastly, and most importantly, certain qualities of monophonic song help deliver text in a verbally accessible, and highly memorable way.

Table 3.1. The musical insertions of *Remede de Fortune*.

Form	Incipit	Line Numbers	Length	Musical Texture
Lay	*Qui n'aroit autre deport*	431-680	250 lines	Monophonic
Complainte	*Tieus rit au main qui au soir pleure*	905-1480	576 lines	Monophonic
Chant royal	*Joye, plaisance, et douce norreture*	1985-2032	87 lines	Monophonic
Double Ballade	*En amer a douce vie*	2857-2892	26 lines	Polyphonic
Ballade	*Dame de qui toute ma joie vient*	3013-3036	24 lines	Polyphonic
Virelai	*Dame, a vous sans retollir*	3451-3496	45 lines	Monophonic
Rondeau	*Dame, en vous mon cuer remaint*	4109-4116	8 lines	Polyphonic

If we juxtapose *Remede de Fortune* with the *Le livre dou voir Dit*—Machaut's only other narrative poem featuring *chanson*, we find a notable difference: of the *Voir Dit*'s eight songs, seven are polyphonic (four *ballades* and a *double ballade*, and three *rondeaux*) and one is monophonic (a *lay*). In contrast, as mentioned above, *Remede de Fortune* features four monophonic insertions, and three polyphonic. Considering *Remede de Fortune*'s apparent privileging of monophony, could it be that the *dit*'s monophonic songs provide some benefit that poetry alone and polyphonic song do not? Indeed, I argue that both the textual content of the four songs provides a complete and self-sustained method of learning and exercising Machaut's love doctrine, and that the monophonic texture of the four songs aid in delivering that doctrine in a way that is verbally comprehensible and easily memorable. In this way, the four monophonic songs of *Remede de Fortune* represent the *dit*'s principal vehicle of love doctrine These *chansons*

which illustrate the double function of memory outlined in previous chapters— the doctrinal role of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*, and the mnemonics of poetico-musical form—yield a study guide of didactic, musical *souvenirs* to be recalled by lovers in times of need so that they may love honorably, painlessly, and in a state of sustained joy.

Manuscript Tradition and Exceptionalism

Remede de Fortune's treatment in Machaut's manuscript tradition attests to the centrality of music in the *dit*'s transmission of love doctrine. In all of the key complete-works manuscripts produced during Machaut's lifetime, the *dit*'s seven *chansons* are inserted within the narrative of the poem itself—a phenomenon unique to *Remede de Fortune* in Machaut's corpus.[173] The *Voir Dit* is the only other narrative poem in any manuscript that contains interpolated song. Yet, this only happens in MS E, which was copied long after after Machaut's death, and thus, the decision to interpolate musical settings into the *Voir Dit* of that codex could not have been Machaut's own.[174]

The centrality of music in *Remede de Fortune* is further substantiated by its treatment in MS A, which, as mentioned in previous chapters, is a manuscript whose compilation has long been considered to have been personally directed by Machaut. In the index of that manuscript, *Remede de Fortune* is listed twice: first with the other narrative poems, and a second time as the very final entry under a rubric that reads: "Ces choses qui sensuivent trouverez en Remede de fortune" [These things that follow you will find in Remede de Fortune].[175] This second entry, as

[173] For a list of all extant manuscripts in which *Remede de Fortune* appears, complete with folio numbers, see Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 212.

[174] Jennifer Bain has explained this by proposing that MS that E was constructed and organized in a manner that privileges music, and possibly music performance. See Jennifer Bain, "Why Size Matters."

[175] BnF, MS fr. 1584*,* fol. Bv.

seen in Figure 3.1, includes only the musical insertions listed with their form, incipit, and foliation. Deborah McGrady sees the double entry of *Remede de Fortune* as a site of negotiation between authorial intent and the various needs of readers, and she explains that it would cater to at least two types of readers: those interested in the hybrid *dit* in its integral context, and those interested solely in music. In this way, readers generally interested in Machaut's music, or specifically in *Remede de Fortune*'s *chansons*, would have easy access to the musical settings without having to navigate the poem's expansive narrative.[176]

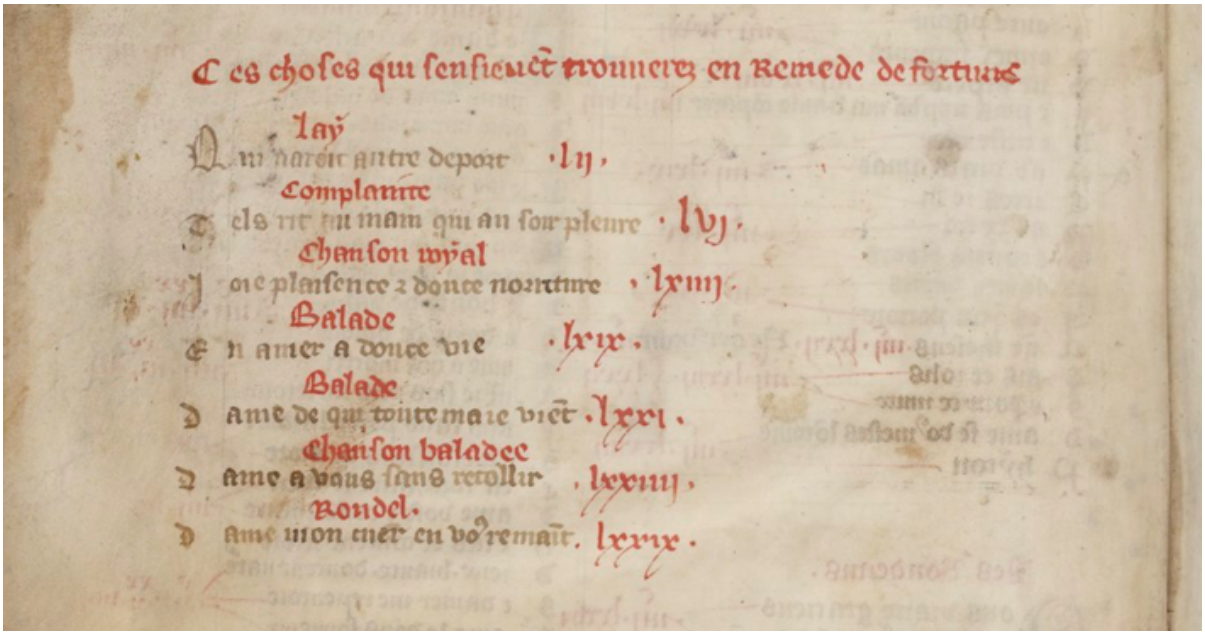


Figure 3.1. *Remede de Fortune* as only a list of musical settings in the index of MS A. BnF, MS fr. 1584, fol. Bv.

I propose that the separation of the musical settings from the narrative implies that they can stand alone not just as individual songs, but as an integral work comprised of those songs. In other words, by simply learning, performing, or hearing these selections, audiences can acquire the essence of Machaut's love doctrine and be equipped with the tools and *entendement* they need to find *Souffisance*. Considering that the index includes both the monophonic and polyphonic

[176] McGrady, *Controlling Readers,* 100-1.

settings, I do not mean to diminish or diminish the role of polyphony in arguing that it is specifically the monophonic settings that transmit Machaut's love doctrine; in my view, the polyphonic settings have the important function of demonstrating the joy and plenitude derived from accepting and adhering to the doctrine transmitted by the monophonic selections.

Love Doctrine and Memory in *Remede de Fortune*

As I have discussed in chapter one, scholars generally interpret *Remede de Fortune* as the most explicit expression of Machaut's love doctrine, with Douglas Kelly asserting that it is the *dit* that set the precedent for Machaut's treatment of love in the works which followed. This love, of course, is that internalized and self-sustaining love that begins with *Souvenir*, then leads through *Dous Penser* and *Esperance* toward *Souffisance*. The monophonic songs of *Remede de Fortune* express that doctrine most explicitly; the *lay* clearly enumerates the key componenta of doctrine: *Souvenir*, *Dous Penser*, *Esperance*, and *Souffisance*. The *complainte*—a musical and poetic metaphor of Fortune's wheel— warns of the ominous consequences succumbing to *Fortune* and *Desir*. The *chant royal* alters and heals the misguided heart and perfects its love by reiterating and glossing the message of the *lay*. Finally, the *virelai* depicts a scene of doctrinal application. Thus, these monophonic songs present lovers with an effective and self-contained method of learning Machaut's doctrine—a study guide, even.

The *chansons*, through inherently mnemonic aspects of poetico-musical form, provide a way of *memorizing* doctrine so that it may be retained for later contemplation and drawn upon as a form of consolation. There are passages in *Remede de Fortune*'s narrative that explicitly support the mnemonic qualities of music, and its ability to induce *entendement*. A reminder of the following passages, already cited in chapter one, is merited here. After schooling Guillaume in the ways of good love, *Esperance* says:

	A Dieu te commant; je m'en voys.	I'm leaving; I commend you to God.
2850	Mais ainçoys de ma clere voys	But first, I'll sing you a balladelle
	Te diray une balladelle,	In my limpid voice,
	De chant et de ditté nouvelle,	With new words and music,
	Laquelle tu *emporteras*	Which you'll *carry off with you*,
	Et en alant la chanteras,	Singing it to cheer up your heart
2855	Afin que tes cuers s'i deduise	As you go along,
	S'il a pensee qui li nuise.[177]	If it's troubled by any concern.

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 2849-56)

This is a clear testament to both the mnemonic and didactic powers of song; the lover will "carry off" the words and music and store them into his *memoire* as *Souvenir* which he can later recall and contemplate in times of need. This contemplation, of course, will induce *Dous Penser*. Guillaume's response to the *chanson* attests to the ability of music to induce *entendement*:

	Et par maniere de *memoire*	And by means of *memory*,
2940	Tout le fait de li et l'ystoire,	Everything about her and her story,
	Si com je l'ay devant escript,	Just as I've written it out above,
	Estoit en mon cuer en escript	Was inscribed in my heart
	Par vray certain *entendement*	By true and certain understanding
	Mieus .c. foys et plus proprement	A hundred times more accurately
2945	Que clers ne le pourroit escripre	And exactly than any clerk could write it out
	De main en parchemin ne en cire.	By hand on parchment or wax tablet.[178]

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 2949-46)

This passage at once qualifies song as superior to text alone in its ability to inscribe *Souvenir* and to induce its recollection, and to its greater ability to induce contemplation and true understanding of the memorized material (*entendement*). In this way, this central didactic episode in *Remede de Fortune* underscores the power of musical setting as an effective didactic and mnemonic tool.

[177] My emphasis.

[178] I have modified the translation. My emphasis.

While the narrative passages discussed above make no distinction between the respective qualities of monophonic and polyphonic song, certain aspects of monophonic song render it markedly more memorable. Monophony, both textually and musically, is more aurally accessible and well-suited to memorization and contemplation than polyphonic song, due to its inherent aural clarity, "singability,"[179] predominantly syllabic text declamation, and not least, the absence of the aural competition created by the simultaneous and competing voices (and sometimes texts) characteristic of polyphony. This has been noted by several scholars, including Ardis Butterfield who states that in Machaut's polyphonic songs, "melismas [a single syllable stretched over several notes of the melody] break up the verbal line, stretching the syllables into sounds that lose their connection with verbal meaning."[180] In reference to Machaut's *lais*, Benjamin Albritton explains that "As a primarily monophonic genre, convention dictates a one-to-one relationship between melody and text and the function of the musical setting to declaim the text could not be clearer."[181] As this one-to-one text-melody relationship is conventional to most of Machaut's monophonic corpus, we see it at work in all four monophonic *chansons* of *Remede de Fortune*.

***Lay*: Doctrinal Essence**

The text of the first monophonic insertion, the *lay*, "Qui n'aroit autre deport," concisely explicates *Remede de Fortune's* doctrine of good love. The musical setting then delivers the doctrine in a more cohesive and memorable manner than the text could achieve on its own. The

[179] Of course, it is impossible for a single person to sing polyphony.

[180] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music,* 273.

[181] Benjamin Albritton, "Moving across Media." In McGrady and Bain, *A Companion*, 122.

lay was an older form in Machaut's era, consisting of twelve stanzas each featuring its own unique poetic structure and melody. The only exception is the first and final stanzas, which share the same musical and poetic structure. It is fitting that a *lay* opens the musical insertions of *Remede de Fortune* because its structure allows for the presentation, development, and recapitulation of doctrine. The opening stanza of "Qui n'aroit autre deport" clearly enumerates the key components of love doctrine by stressing the concepts of *Souvenir*, *Dous Penser*, and *Esperance*. The twelfth stanza illustrates the protagonist's state of musical and spiritual transcendence achieved through reception of the *lay*'s doctrine.

The opening poetic voice is didactic and spoken in the third person. While within the framed of the narrative, it is uttered in Guillaume's voice, it is as if he is addressing himself as a lover, as well as other lovers he wishes to instruct. Notwithstanding its complicated rhyme scheme and syllabification, the stanza is remarkably simple in its language, which is notable considering that Machaut's *lais* often use complicated syntax due to the form's demand for abundant structural variation.[182] The syntax here, however, requires no untangling or rearranging, and the sequence of short poetic lines creates a sense of enumeration, giving the impression that the text is meant to be carefully recorded. It is as if the speaker is dictating to a scribe a list of things which should be diligently inscribed and remembered:

	Qui n'aroit autre deport	He who has no other pleasure
	En amer	In love
	Fors Doulz Penser	Than Sweet Thought
	Et Souvenir	And Memory
435	Aveuc l'Espoir de joïr,	With Hope of satisfaction,
	S'aroit il tort	Would be wrong
	Se le port	If he sought
	D'autre confort	The aid
	Voloit rouver;	Of any other comfort;
440	Quar pour .i. cuer saouler	Because to Satisfy
	Et soustenir	And sustain a heart,

[182] See for example, *Le Lay de bonne Esperance.* In Machaut, *Poésies lyriques*, 425-33.

	Plus querir	He who loves deeply
	Ne doit merir	Must not seek
	Qui aime fort.	Further reward.
445	Encor y a maint ressort:	Yet, there remain many consolations:
	Remembrer,	To remember,
	Ymaginer,	To imagine,
	En dous plaisir	To see, to hear,
	Sa dame veoir, oÿr,	In sweet pleasure, his lady,
450	Son gentil port,	Her noble mien,
	Le recort,	The recollection
	Dou bien qui sort	Of the goodness that issues
	De son parler	From her speech
	Et de son douls regarder,	And from her sweet look,
455	Dont l'entrouvrir	Whose glance
	Puet garir	Can preserve
	Et garantir	And protect
	Amant de mort.	A lover from death.

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 431-58)

Although the structure of the twelfth stanza is identical to that of the first, it shows a change in poetic voice. While the poem begins with a didactic voice instructing in the third person, it ends in the first person, with the *je* reflecting the voice of the newly indoctrinated Guillaume. This final stanza complements its opening counterpart in that its intimate first-person voice illustrates the fulfilment and consolation can be found in the *Souvenir, Dous Penser,* and *Esperance*. Guillaume attests to his reception and acceptance of doctrine; when desire seeks to torment him, he needs only to think of—*to remember* his beloved so that he can attain *Souffisance* through *Dous penser* and *Esperance*. Thus, the first and final stanzas demonstrate the transmission and reception of good love:

	Et pour ce, sans nul descort,	And therefore without objection
	Endurer	I wish
655	Vueul et celer	To endure and hide
	L'ardant desir	The burning desire
	Qui vueut ma joye amenrir	That seeks to lessen my joy by
	Par soutil sort;	Subtle craft;
	Si le port	I bear it

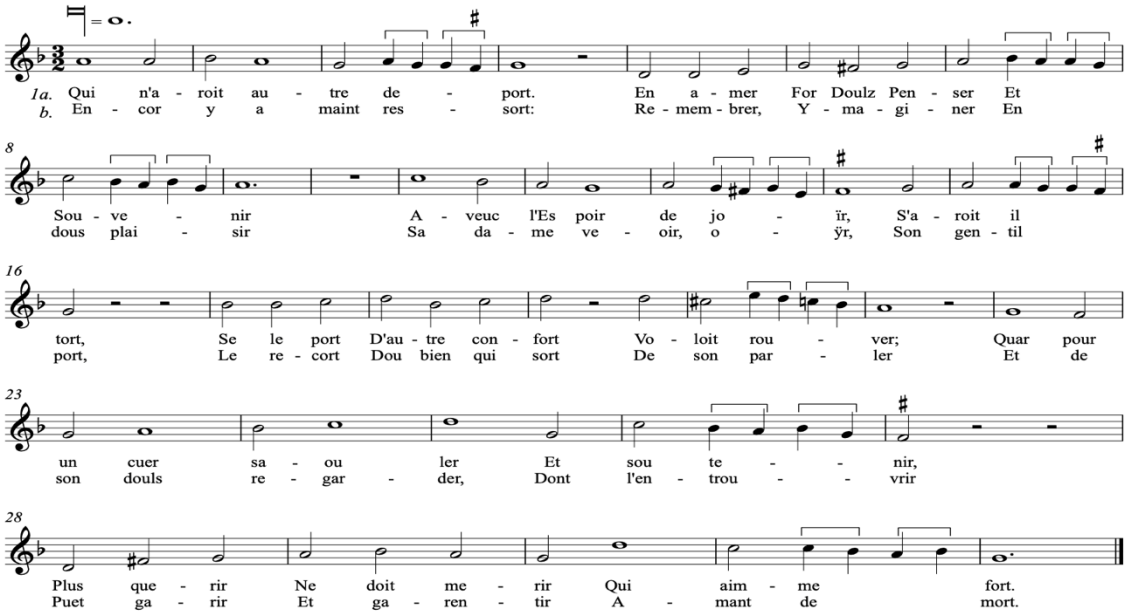
660	Sans desconfort	Without discomfort
	Et vueul porter,	And I want to bear it.
	Quar s'il fait mon cuer trembler,	For though it makes my heart quake,
	Taindre et palir,	Grow wan and pale,
	Et fremir,	And tremble,
665	A bien sousfrir	I am fully prepared
	Du tout m'acort.	To endure it.
	Il me fait par son ennort	It inspires me
	Honnourer,	To honor,
	Servir, celer,	Serve, protect
670	Et obeïr	And obey
	Ma dame, et li tant cherir	My lady, and so cherish her
	Qu'en son effort	That I rejoice
	Me deport.	In its afflictions.
	Quant il me mort	When it torments
675	Et veult grever,	And seeks to wound me,
	Mais qu'a li vueulle penser	I need only *to think of her*
	Qu'aim et desir	Whom I love and desire
	Sans partir	Forever
	Ne repentir	Without regret;
680	La me confort.	From that my comfort comes.[183]

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 653-80)

While the text alone provides clear and concise expression of love doctrine, the musical setting elevates doctrinal transmission by facilitating a more cohesive and memorable delivery. Consider the musical setting of the opening stanza in Example 3.1:

[183] My emphasis.

Musical Example 3.1. *Lay*, "Qui n'aroit autre deport." Stanza 1.



The original notation of the stanza uses *modus perfectus* mensuration, signifying that the *longae*, transcribed as dotted whole notes may be subdivided into three equal *brevae*, transcribed as half notes. *Modus* was a somewhat archaic form of rhythmic organization in Machaut's time, commonly featured in his *lais* and *motets*—older forms with traditions long established by the fourteenth century.[184] The use of *modus* recalls the aesthetic of the works of distinguished *trouveres* of the thirteenth century, such as Adam de la Halle, creating an air of gravitas steeped in the authority of tradition—very well-suited to the didactic and authoritative tone of the opening stanza.[185] *Perfectus* specifically points toward the triple division of longer rhythmic values. As Jacques Boogaart has noted, across Machaut's corpus the notions of *perfection* and

[184] The *complainte* and *chant royal* of *Remede de Fortune* are also older poetic forms whose musical settings use *modus* mensuration. In contrast, the *virelai*, although monophonic, uses *tempus*, which was less archaic in Machaut's time.

[185] Margaret Switten discusses the implications of Machaut's use of *ars antiqua* and *ars nova* rhythmic notations in *Remede de Fortune*. See Margaret Switten "Guillaume de Machaut: *Le Remede de Fortune* au Carrefour d'un art nouveau," *Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises*, 41 (1989), 101-16.

imperfection are important both musically and poetically, and it is not uncommon for there to be interplay between perfect/imperfect rhythmic organization and poetic representations of perfection and imperfection.[186] Indeed, medieval musical treatises state that the tripartite nature of rhythmic perfection (as in *modus perfectus*) is rooted in the perfection of the Holy Trinity, and in the idea that that which has formal perfection has a distinct beginning, middle, and end.[187] We might imagine that the *lay*'s doctrine, transmitted and expressed through musical "perfection," teaches one to love *perfectly.*

The musical setting also alters textual delivery in numerous ways through musical phrasing and cadences that change the way the textual structure is heard. Consider the rhyme scheme and syllable count without the musical setting:

a b b c / c a a a b / b c c c a
7 3 4 4 / 7 4 3 4 4 / 7 4 3 4 4 [188]

If the text is enunciated with respect to these sequences of very short lines of three or four syllables, it renders a series of short verbal units and broken up linguistic clauses. This may be an effective delivery for a careful dictation to a scribe, but not conducive to a deep understanding and contemplation. Moreover, while the complicated rhyme scheme may help the memorization of the smaller semantic units, it may impede focus on the overarching textual message. The musical phrases, however, separated by rests as seen in measures 4, 10, 16, 19, 21, and 27 in

[186] See Jacques Boogaart, "Introduction." In *Machaut: The Complete Music and Poetry* (Kalamazoo, MI: 2018), 9, 13-15. To demonstrate interplay between poetic and musical notions of perfection and imperfection, Boogaart cites several of Machaut's motets.

[187] See for example, Philippe de Vitry, *Ars Nova*, 26.

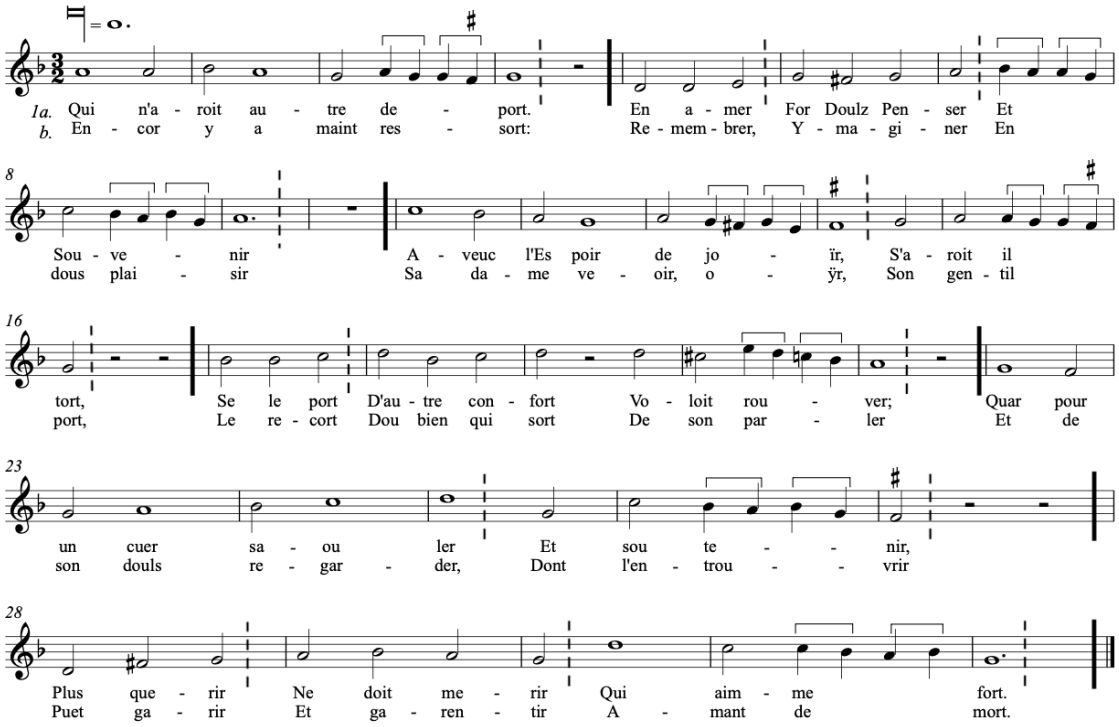
[188] In musical settings, these short poetic lines may be easy to overlook because they are typically separated by a subtle scribal dot within a longer musical staff. See for example, BnF, MS fr.1586 (MS C), fol. 26r, BnF MS fr. 1584 (MS A), fol. 52r, and BnF MS fr. 9221 (MS E), fol. 23r. However, the short poetic lines can be seen very clearly in BnF MS fr. 843 (MS M), a complete-works manuscript lacking musical notation for *Remede de Fortune* that Lawrence Earp takes to be a late fourteenth-century or early fifteenth-century copy of a complete works manuscript dating to the 1360s. See BnF fr. 843, fol. 52v, and Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 95.

Musical Example 3.1, offer a solution in the form of a condensed and simplified syllable count and rhyme scheme:

a b b c / c a a a b / b c c c a → a / b / a / c / b / a
7 3 4 4 / 7 4 3 4 4 / 7 4 3 4 4 → 7 / 11 / 11/ 11 / 11 / 11

The musical phrases lengthen the poetic lines, forcing the singer to recite the text in coherent clauses, creating syntactical and semantic cohesion, and facilitating deeper *entendement*. Musical Example 3.2 demonstrates this musical reconfiguration of the poetic lines by using bolded, vertical lines to separate the musical phrases, and the dashed vertical lines to show the original poetic line breaks. This delivery shifts the listener's focus to more integral semantic ideas, expanding the horizon of immediate textual comprehension, and the text is rendered more memorable by the simplified rhyme scheme.

Musical Example 3.2. First stanza of *lay*, "Qui n'aroit autre deport." Stanza 1. Poetic lines versus musical phrases.



The rests following the musical phrases produce longer pauses between the musically lengthened textual phrases than would likely be present if the poem were enunciated without music. These rests facilitate fleeting moments of suspense and contemplation at the resolution of the longer poetico-musical phrases. The first rest after "deport" leaves the listener in a momentary state of suspense, eagerly waiting to learn what this exclusive "deport" (pleasure) is. The following phrase satisfies the curiosity by qualifying that "deport" as "doulz penser" and "souvenir." The second syllable of *souvenir* is allotted a four-note melisma, and its final syllable is given the longest possible rhythmic value at the end of both the linguistic and musical phrase. The singing of the word "souvenir" on a *perfect longa* may denote the perfect love that *Souvenir* engenders. While the lengthening of phrase endings with a melisma is conventional, the word is heard for a much longer time than it would be if it were simply spoken. The phrase is then followed by a

whole rest in measure 10 (a *longa* rest), the longest rest of the stanza, appearing only once. The musical lengthening of the word may even reflect its semantic meaning; a memory—a *souvenir*-—lingers, and perhaps this lengthening of the verbal delivery of "souvenir" and the rest that follows, provide a brief opportunity for the listener to recall their own amorous and consolatory *souvenirs.*

The second half of the stanza introduces vocabulary that further glosses the function of memory. The succession of the words *remembrer*, *ymaginer*, *veoir* recall Aristotle's conception of memory as elaborated *De memoria et reminiscentia*: to remember the lady, to imagine the lady, *is* to see her as *Souvenir* in the mind's eye, just as she has been inscribed onto the slate of the *memoire*. Also, the text exhorts the lover to *hear* (*oÿr*)…the memory of the goodness that issues from her speech, which stresses the importance of aural memory; just as to imagine the lady's face *is* to see her, to imagine her voice *is* to hear her. This internalized contemplation of *Souvenir* of the lady's appearance and voice will allow the lover to relive the initial *affect* associated with her physical presence—that is, It will induce *Dous Penser*. This underscores the importance of aural memory—a testament to the mnemonic, didactic, and consolatory qualities of song.

The final stanza is identical to the first in poetic and musical structure with one exception: the pitches have been raised by the interval of a perfect fifth. While the raising of the final stanza by the interval of a fifth is conventional, here, the text speaks of Guillaume's understanding and acceptance of the doctrine transmitted earlier on. The raising of the melody by a perfect interval perhaps reflects the transcendent state the lover has attained through *entendement* doctrine.

Finally, the opening/closing melody of the *lay* is the first and last thing the listener hears. This combined with steady and predominantly syllabic text declamation, and the more integral and simplistic syllable count and rhyme schemes induced by musical setting, renders these first and final stanzas quite memorable. Should a listener retain the text and melody of these stanzas alone, they will have effectively inscribed the essence of Machaut's love doctrine into the *memoire*, to be recalled indefinitely as a didactic and consolatory *souvenir*.

***Complainte*: A Musical Metaphor of Fortune's Wheel**

As the narrative progresses, the lady finds Guillaume's *lay* and asks him to perform it. Afterward, she asks the identity of the author, but fearing rejection and wishing to protect the lady's honor, he cannot respond. Unwilling to lie, he flees to a walled garden where he writes a *complainte* blaming *Amours* and *Fortune* for his sorrows. The *complainte* features a similar use of poetic voice as the *lay*; the first half is didactic and spoken in the third person and provides colorful descriptions of *Fortune* and her wheel. Halfway through, the voice switches to the more intimate *je* of the lover as he describes how *Fortune* has turned her malice against him. Although he composed and performed the *lay*, it is clear that he still has much to learn about good love, and his principal instructor, *Esperance*, has not yet arrived.

The opening of the *complainte* paints a vivid picture of *Fortune* and her wheel:

905	Tieus rit au main qui au soir pleure	He laughs in the morning who weeps in the
	Et tieus cuide qu'Amours labeure	Evening, and he believes Love works
	Pour son bien, qu'elle li court seure	For his benefit while she is attacking him
	Et mal l'atourne;	And doing him wrong;
	Et tieus cuide que Joie aqueure	And he thinks Joy is hastening
910	Pour li aidier, qu'elle demeure.	To help him, while she lags behind.
	Car Fortune tout ce deveure,	Fortune does all this harm
	Quant elle tourne,	As she turns her wheel,
	Qui n'atent mie qu'il adjourne	And she doesn't wait for daybreak
	Pour tourner; qu'elle ne sejourne,	To turn it; she doesn't stop,
915	Ains tourne, retourne et bestourne,	But turns it, turns it some more,

	Tant qu'au desseure	And turns it upside down, until she brings
	Met celui qui gist mas en l'ourne;	To the top him who was lying flat in the
	Le seurmonté au bas retorne,	Gutter; him who was exalted she brings
	Et le plus joieus mat et morne	Down low, and makes the happiest man
920	Fait en po d'eure.	Sad and gloomy in no time at all.
	Car elle n'est ferme n'estable,	For she's not fixed or stable
	Juste, loyale, ne veritable:	Just, loyal or true;
	Quant on la cuide charitable,	When you think she's charitable,
	Elle est avere,	She's stingy,
925	Dure, diverse, espouantable,	Hard, fickle, frightening,
	Traïstre, poignant, decevable;	Traitorous, biting, deceptive;
	Et quant on la cuide amiable,	And when you think she's amiable,
	Lors est amere.	Then she's bitter.
	Car ja soit ce qu'amie appere,	For even though she appears a friend,
930	Douce com miel, vraie comme mere,	Sweet as honey, true as a mother,
	La pointure d'une vipere	The viper's bite
	Qu'est incurable	Which is incurable
	En riens a li ne se compere,	Is nothing compared to her,
	Car elle traïroit son pere	Because she'd betray her own father
935	Et mettroit d'onnour en misere	And cast him down from a place of honor
	Deraisonnable.	Into unspeakable misery.

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 905-36)

This stanza expresses Machaut's manifestly Boethian conception of *Fortune*; she is high promise on a precarious foundation. She is the embodiment of dual opposition: "she's hateful love, unhappy happiness, she's avaricious generosity..." (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 1129-21). She is steady unpredictability, and she ever turns her wheel raising the poor and unfortunate into joy, and lowering the rich and powerful into misery, only to reverse it all in an instant. No one is exempt from her tides, and her goods belong to no one but herself; she gives and takes as she pleases. Thus, the *complainte* is a warning to hopeless and desirous lovers that they are subjecting themselves to *Fortune* and her wheel. This is the consequence of not heeding the doctrine of the *lay*.

This vivid imagery of *Fortune* and her wheel is reflected in the structure of the musical setting, which consists of a single monophonic melody split into two halves, and repeated with

each of the poem's thirty-six stanzas (sung a total of seventy-two times). Considering that a full performance can last some forty-five minutes,[189] one might imagine this to be a dull, pedantic, and exhausting song to sing or to hear. Perhaps so—but that may be the very point; the excessive melodic repetition represents a trajectory of a victim trapped within *Fortune*'s wheel. As listeners hear the same tune sung seventy-two times, they may feel trapped in an endless cycle, just as the ailing Guillaume is trapped in the wheel as he composes his *complainte*. As each stanza is completed, the wheel completes a turn and the cycle recommences. The illuminations on folio 30 of MS C, as seen in Figure 3.2, support this interpretation. As readers or singers turn from folio 30r to folio 30v, they will see a nearly full-page illumination of the Guillaume composing his *complainte*, and below, of *Fortune* turning her wheel with her unfortunate victims trapped within. The sense of confinement is further strengthened by the stone walls that surround the lover on all sides as he composes the *complainte*.

[189] The only full-length studio recording of the *complainte* is performed by Marc Mauillon. See Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Remede de Fortune.* Dir. Pierre Hamon (Paris: Eloquentia, 2009).

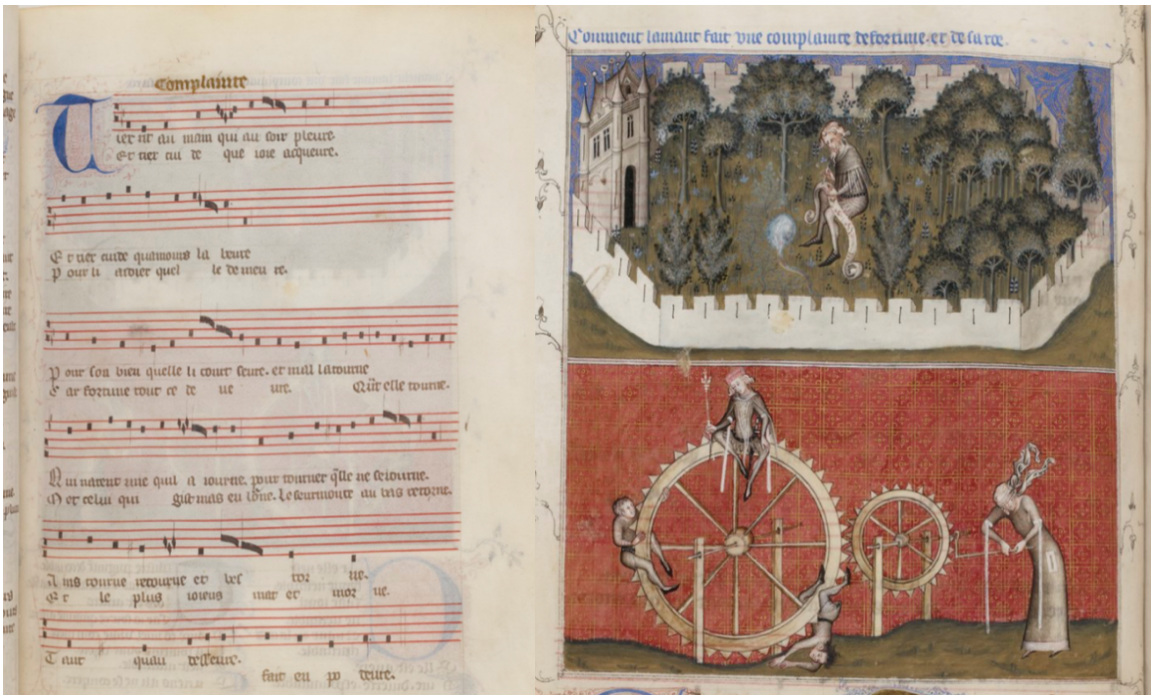


Figure 3.2. Folio 30 of BnF MS fr. 1586 (MS C). The *recta* side shows the musical setting of the *complainte*, and the *versa* side, Guillaume composing in the walled garden above a depiction of *Fortune* turning her wheel.

A visual analysis of the setting reveals that the movement and shape of its melody reflect the turning of *Fortune*'s wheel and the steady unpredictability of her tides. Imagine the musical staff as a representation of the wheel, and the melody as the trajectory of the lover trapped within its cycle. The range of the melody is the largest of the seven *chansons* of *Remede de Fortune*, with its final on G, and the lowest note, a semitone below on F-sharp. The highest note is a B-flat, an interval of a minor tenth above the final, and a diminished eleventh above the lowest note of F-sharp. This expanded range represents the wheel itself, with its low register reflecting sorrow, and its high register, joy.

The first two lines in Figure 3.4 show a gradual upward movement that peaks near the top of the staff/wheel. From there, there is a gradual descent toward the bottom, depicting one full turn of the wheel, with the lover being raised from the bottom up to the top, and then lowered to the bottom once again:

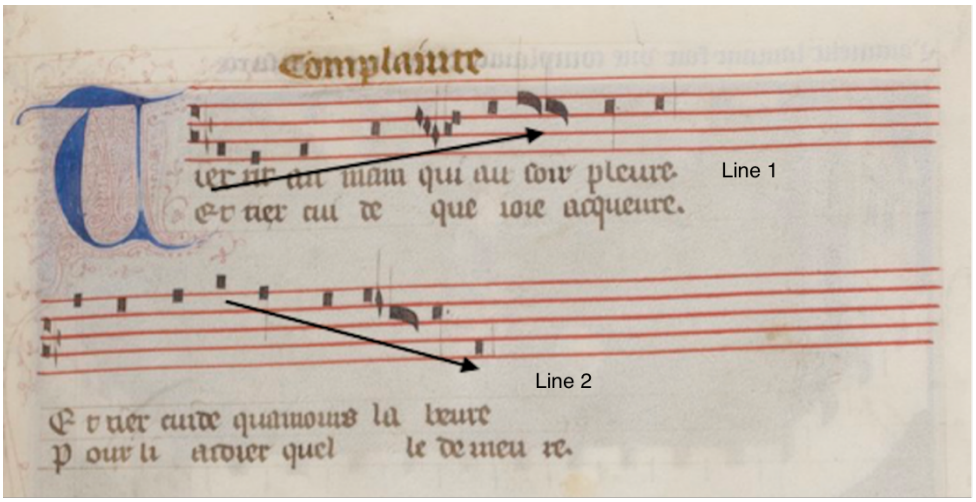


Figure 3.3. Lines 1-2. Gradual ascent to the top, followed by a gradual ascent to the bottom.

The third line, seen in Figure 3.4, lingers near the bottom of the wheel, with the exception of a brief and rapid ascent upward, before descending once more:

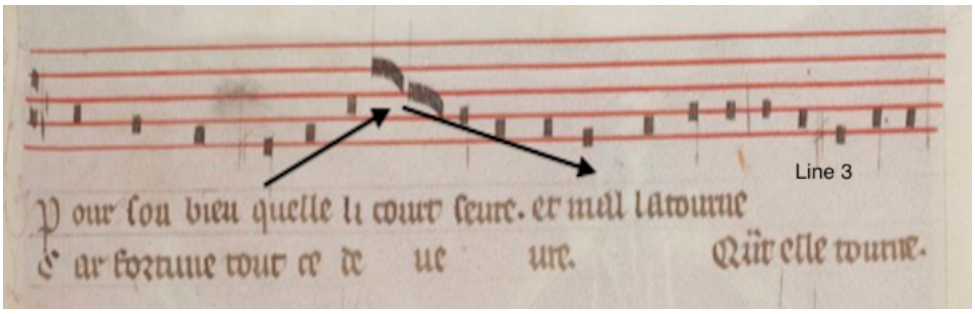


Figure 3.4. Line 3. Lingering near the bottom with abrupt ascent and descent.

In contrast to the lengthy ascent and descent of the first two lines, this rapid ascent and descent of line three, seen in figure 3.4, reflects Fortune's mutability—she may give, but she will take back when she pleases. The contour of the fourth line in Figure 3.5 is the inverse of the third, beginning at the top of the wheel, and showing a descent to the bottom, and an ascent back to the top:

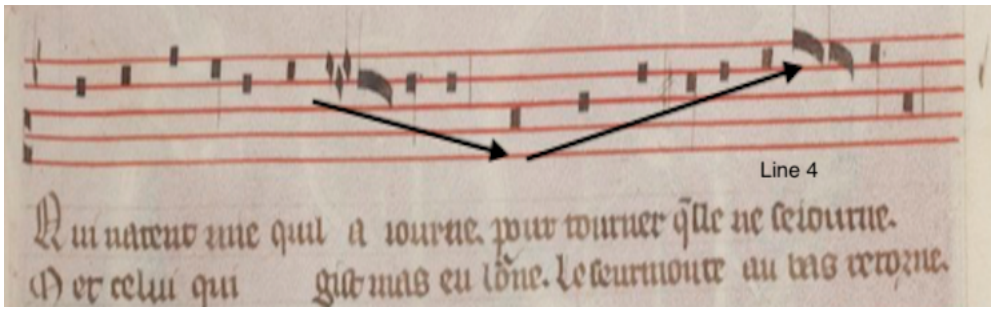


Figure 3.5. Line 4. Abrupt shift to the top, followed by a gradual ascent and descent.

Most notable about this line, however, is its relationship to the previous one. While, the third line remains at the bottom of the staff (or wheel), the fourth line begins with a sudden shift towards the top. There is nothing predictable about *Fortune*'s behavior here; she has instantly sent the lover from despair and into joy. This is followed by another gradual descent and ascent, giving a convincing visual depiction of *Fortune*'s general behavior; her favor may shift gradually or abruptly. Regardless, her cycle will continue so long as victims are trapped in her wheel—her goods are fleeting, and they belong only to her. In this way, the fourth line demonstrates Fortune's predictable unpredictability—she is the embodiment of contradiction. Finally, the fifth line, seen in Figure 3.6, shows a gradual descent to the bottom, where the lover remains until the next turn/stanza begins:

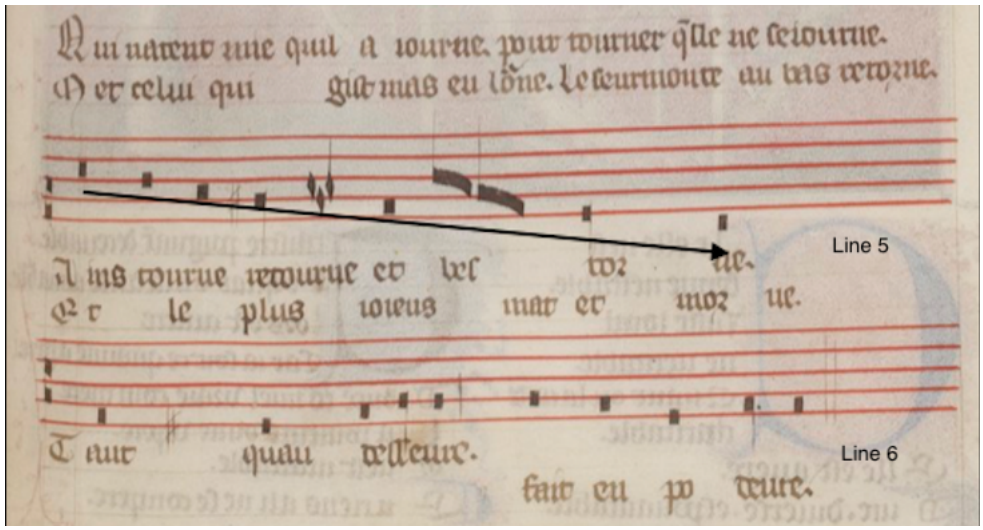


Figure 3.6. Lines 5-6. Gradual descent to and lingering at the bottom.

As each stanza of the *complainte* ends, and as the song ends in its entirety, the lover-protagonist remains at the bottom of *Fortune*'s wheel, where he languishes in misery and heartache, a victim of his failure to practice good love. He may temporarily escape his misery, but it will always return until he escapes from the wheel by clinging to *Esperance.*

As I have shown, the *complainte* presents a visual, musical, and poetic illustration of *Fortune*'s wheel and the journey of those misguided lovers trapped within its cycle. The excessive repetition of the melody, heard twice over all thirty-six stanzas (a total of seventy-two times), attests to the memorability of the *chanson.*[190] Surely, a melody heard seventy-two times over will not be easily forgotten, and we might imagine that as a lover loses hope and becomes overtaken by desire, this tune, previously inscribed into the *memoire*, may resurface in the mind as an ominous *souvenir*—a nagging "ear worm" warning against the danger of *Desir* and the malice of *Fortune.*

Chant royal: A Heart Altered and Love Perfected

As he completes his *complainte*, the lover describes how *Amours*, *Desir*, and *Fortune* have attacked him, and he blames them for his heartache. He does not yet realize that he is merely a victim of his own imperfect love. He laments:

1465	C'est de Desir qui mon cuer flame	This is the work of Desire, who enflames my heart
	Et point de si diverse flamme,	And consumes it with such a pernicious flame
	Qu'en monde n'a homme ne fame	That in this world there's not any man or woman
	Qui medicine	Who knows the remedy for it,
	Y sceüst, se ce n'est ma dame,	Except my lady,
1470	Qui l'art, qui l'esprent, qui l'enflame	Who burns it, singes it, inflames and sears it
	Et bruit d'amoureuse flame,	With Love's flame,
	N'elle ne fine.	Unendingly.
	Fortune est sa dure voysine,	Fortune is its cruel neighbor,
	Et Amours l'assaut et le mine,	And Love assails and tortures it,
1475	Dont morir cuit en brief termine	Wherefore I think I'll die in short order,

[190] Anna Maria Busse Burger has discussed the mnemonic and pedagogical importance of repetition across several medieval disciplines, including music and grammar. See Busse Berger, *Medieval Music*.

	Sans autre blame.	Blameless.
	Mais s'ainssi ma vie define,	But if my life ends thus,
	A ma dame qu'aime d'amour fine,	I wish to render up my soul with clasped hands and
	Les mains jointes, la chiere encline,	head bowed to my lady whom I love with a pure
1480	Veuil rendre l'ame.	heart.

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 1465-80)

Overhearing Guillaume's lamentations, *Esperance* comes to his aid, and she explains that through his performance of the *lay*, he has revealed his love in the noblest and sincerest way possible, and she points out that his situation has actually improved.[191] *Esperance* implores Guillaume to believe in her, for she will never abandon a lover in need. Before departing, she sings a monophonic *chant royal*, "Joye, plaisance, et douce nourreture," which heals the protagonist's heart by altering and perfecting its imperfect love.

Consisting of five stanzas and an envoy, the *chanson* reiterates and glosses the doctrine of the *lay*. In addition, it juxtaposes desire-driven love with good love, outlining the anguish caused by the former, and the joyful plenitude induced by the latter. The first stanza concedes that while many find joy and honor in love, others claim to find only sorrow. *Esperance* argues that True Love (good love) is only pleasing and joyful. The second stanza clearly states the nature of good love, recapitulating once again the essence of Machaut's doctrine:

	Car vraye Amour en cuer d'amant figure	For True Love in a lover's heart creates
1995	Tres dous Espoir et gracïeus Penser:	Very Sweet Hope and amiable Thought:
	Espoir atrait Joie et Bonne Adventure;	Hope attracts Joy and Good Luck;
	Doulz Penser fait Plaisance en cuer entrer.	Sweet Thought causes Pleasure to enter the heart;
	Si ne doit plus demander	So he who has good Hope,
	Cilz qui a bonne Esperance,	Sweet Thought, Joy and Pleasure
2000	Doulz Penser, Joye, et Plaisance;	Must not ask for more; for I tell you,
	Car qui n'a plus requiert, je di	If he demands more,
	Qu'Amours l'a guerpi.	Love has abandoned him.[192]

[191] See *Remede de Fortune*, lines 1671-1820.

[192] I have modified the translation.

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 1994-2002)

The third stanza describes the virtue of *Souffisance*, which precludes the need for amorous reciprocation because the nourishment provided by *Esperance* and *Dous Penser* suffice to facilitate and sustain a state of joy. The fourth stanza explains that those who blame *Amours* for their pain have been deceived and blinded by *Desir*, and they justly deserve their pain. The fifth stanza argues that True Love satiates with Joy, and that she banishes desirous lovers from her court. Finally, the envoy underlines *Esperance*'s unfaltering faith in the goodness of *Amours*: "Amours, je sçay sans doubtance / Qu'a .c. doubles as meri / Ceuls qui t'ont servi (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 2030-2), [Love, I know beyond doubt that you have rewarded those who've served you a hundred times over].

Regarding the text-music relationship of the *chant royal*, I argue that aspects of the setting's rhythmic notation mimic the rhetorical aim of the text: the alteration and perfection of a heart wounded by imperfect love. The *chant royal*, like the *lay*, uses *modus perfectus* mensuration and thus features the *imperfection* and *alteration* of *modus* units.[193] Most strikingly, as seen in Figure 3.7, the final cadence features a rhythmic/notational sequence of *imperfection* → *alteration* → *perfection*:

[193] In *modus perfectus* mensuration, a *perfection* involves a *longa* lasting the combined value of exactly three *breves* (the next smallest rhythmic unit). An *imperfection* occurs when a *longa* loses one of its three *breve* units (but retains its graphic form), thus resulting in a formula wherein the *longa* lasts the duration of two *breves*, and is either followed or preceded the third *breve*, creating a rhythm of long-short, or short-long. An *alteration* occurs where there are two consecutive *breves*, but the duration of the second is doubled. To be clear, *imperfection* and *alteration* can yield the same exact rhythm (in the short-long context only), but they are visually distinct. The distinction, however, is lost in modern transcription. The use of *imperfection* versus *alteration* depends on musical context.

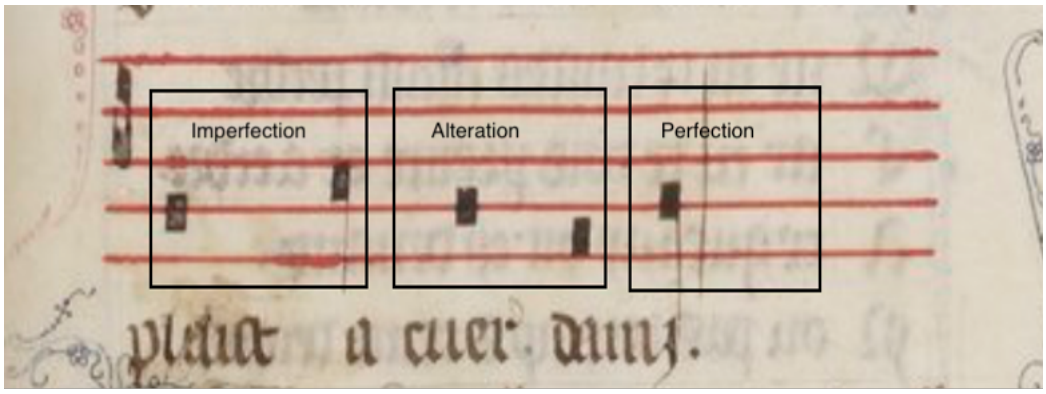


Figure 3.7. *Chant royal* final cadence, from left to right: imperfection, alteration, perfection. BnF MS fr. 1584 (MS C), fol. 39r.

Playing on the Sarah Fuller's concept of *directed progression*,[194] we might think of this rhythmic/notational sequence (*imperfection* → *alteration* → *perfection*) as a "directed rhythm."[195] Just as a *directed progression* advances through imperfect sonorities (thirds and sixths) and ultimately resolves to perfect sonorities (fifths and octaves), the "directed rhythm" seen in the *chant royal's* final cadence progresses from an imperfect rhythmic value to a perfect one. However, the "directed rhythm" has the intermediary phase of *alteration* not present in a *directed progression*. It is in this stage of *alteration* where the musical notation of the *chant royal* echoes *Esperance*'s intervention; rhythmic *imperfection* reflects Guillaume's flawed and desire-driven love, and it is only after *Esperance alters* his perception through song that his altered heart can foster a *perfect* love. In this way, the *chant royal* musically and textually completes transmission of the doctrine of good love.

After singing the *chant royal*, *Esperance* reveals her identity and sings a *double ballade* describing the happy life of those who find true love.[196] Thereafter, Guillaume is joyful, and his

[194] For a study of the *directed progression*, see Sarah Fuller, "Tendencies and Resolutions: The Directed Progression in Ars Nova Music." *The Journal of Music* Theory, 36:3 (1992), 229-58.

[195] I am indebted to Lawrence Earp for suggesting this term after hearing my presentation in The International Machaut Society's "Late Medieval Multimedia" panel at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, MI, May 2019.

[196] See *Remede de Fortune,* lines 2857-92.

heart is healed. In celebration, he performs a *ballade*, stating that his love is nourished and sustained by *Esperance*.[197] Guillaume's *ballade* attests to the efficacy of *Esperance*'s *chant royal* in altering his imperfect heart so that it may love perfectly.

Virelai: Doctrinal Application

After *Esperance* departs, Guillaume returns to his lady and openly professes his love through song. He finds her merrymaking with her subjects, and she asks him to dance and sing. He obliges and performs the monophonic *virelai*, "Dame, a vous sans retollir." While Judith Peraino has argued that the song represents a regression back to desire-driven love,[198] I argue that the *virelai*'s structure and poetico-musical dynamic depict the thwarting of *Desir* and a safe return to the doctrine of good love as previously illustrated by the *lay* and *chant royal*. Moreover, the *chanson* is highly memorable, thanks to its repetitive structure and monophonic texture.

The *virelai*'s textual refrain demonstrates the protagonist's transformation since his flight from his lady and the uttering of his *complainte*. Earlier on, he feared his own love and accused it of malice. Now, however, with *entendement* of good love inscribed into his *memoire*, he can enjoy and express a pure and honorable love without reservation:

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[197] See *Remede de Fortune,* lines 3013-76.

[198] See Judith Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2011), 235-90.

	Dame, a vous sans retollir	*(A)*	My lady, to you without reservation
	Doins cuer, pensee, desir,		I give my heart, thought, desire,
	Corps, et amour,		Body, and love,
	Comme a toute la millour		As to the best
3455	Qu'on puist choysir,		Whom one can choose
	Ne qui vivre ne morir		Or who can live or die
	Puist a ce jour.[199]		In this time.
	Si ne me doit a folour	*(b1)*	I must not be held a fool
	Tourner se je vous aour,		If I adore you,
3460	Car sans mentir,		For it's no lie
	Bonté passez en valour,	*(b1)*	That you are more precious than goodness
	Toute flour en douce oudour		and your sweet fragrance surpasses every
	Qu'on puet sentir.		flower that one might smell.
	Vostre beauté fait tarir.	*(a1)*	Your beauty makes
3465	Toute autre et anïentir,		Every other wither and fade away,
	Et vo douçour		And your sweetness
	Passe tout; rose en coulour		Surpasses all; I see your complexion
	Vous doy tenir,		The color of roses,
	Et vos regars puet garir		And your glance can
3470	Toute doulour.		heal every sorrow.
	Dame, a vous sans retollir. . .	*(A)*	My lady, to you without reservation. . .
	Pour ce, dame, je m'atour	*(b2)*	Therefore, my lady, I gird myself
	De trestoute ma vigour		With all my strength
	A vous servir,		To serve you,
	Et met sans nul vilain tour,	*(b2)*	And I devote without lustfulness,
3475	Mon cuer, ma vie et m'onnour		My life, my heart, and my honor
	En vo plaisir.		To pleasing you.
	Et se Pitiés consentir	*(a2*)	And if Pity grant
	Vueut que me daigniez oïr		That you deign to hear
	En ma clamour,		My appeal,
3480	Je ne quier de on labour		I wish no other recompense
	Autre merir,		For my troubles,
	Qu'il ne me pourroit venir		For no greater joy
	Joye greigneur.		Could come to me.
	Dame, a vous sans retollir. . .	*(A)*	My lady, to you without reservation. . .
	Dame, ou sont tuit mi retour,	*(b3)*	My lady, my every resource,
3485	Souvent m'estuet en destour		I must often lament and mourn
	Plaindre et gemir,		When far from you;
	Et, present vous, descoulour,	*(b3)*	And near you, I grow pale
	Quant vous ne savez l'ardour		Since you don't know the passion

[199] The letters between the two columns of text correspond with Musical Example 3.3.

	Qu'ai a sousfrir		I have to suffer
3490	Pour vous qu'aim tant et desir,	*(a3)*	For you whom I love and desire so much
	Que plus ne le puis couvrir.		That I can no longer hide it.
	En se tenrour		And if you show no tenderness,
	N'en avez, en grant tristour		I must end my days
	M'estuet fenir.		In great sadness.
3495	Nonpourquant jusqu'au mourir		Nonetheless, I remain yours
	Vostre demour.		Until death. [200]
	Dame, a vous sans retollir. . .	*(A)*	My lady, to you without reservation. . .

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 3451-96

Indeed, the first stanza implies a need for the physical presence of the beloved. It praises her fragrance and complexion, and states that her: "glance can heal every sorrow." However, if we recall how the *lay*'s enumeration of the many consolations to be found in good love: "to remember, to imagine, to see, to hear…his lady…[and] the recollection of the goodness that issues from her speech and from her sweet look," we are reminded that the lady's presence is not necessary—the mere *Souvenir* of her fragrance, complexion and glance, previously deposited into the memoire, will suffice to induce *Dous Penser*, thus leading to *Esperance* and finally, to *Souffisance*.

Similarly, in the second stanza, Guillaume speaks of his intention to devote his heart, life, and honor to pleasing his lady, and he says that he wishes no other recompense than to have her hear his appeal.[201] One should not misinterpret this as an appeal for reciprocation, as a careful consideration of the text shows that he only wishes for her to hear—to be aware of his love for her, and by stating that he requires "no other recompense," he rules out the need for reciprocation.

[200] I have modified the translation.

[201] See *Remede de Fortune*, lines 3471-83.

When in the final stanza, Guillaume states that if his lady shows him no tenderness, he must end his days in great sadness,[202] perhaps in that moment he has momentarily approached the frontier of desire. Nonetheless, the structure of the *virelai*, specifically the return to the refrain, provides a foil that predicament; *even if* she shows him no tenderness, he will still devote his full love to her. Regardless of the lady's behavior, he still returns to the ways of good love.

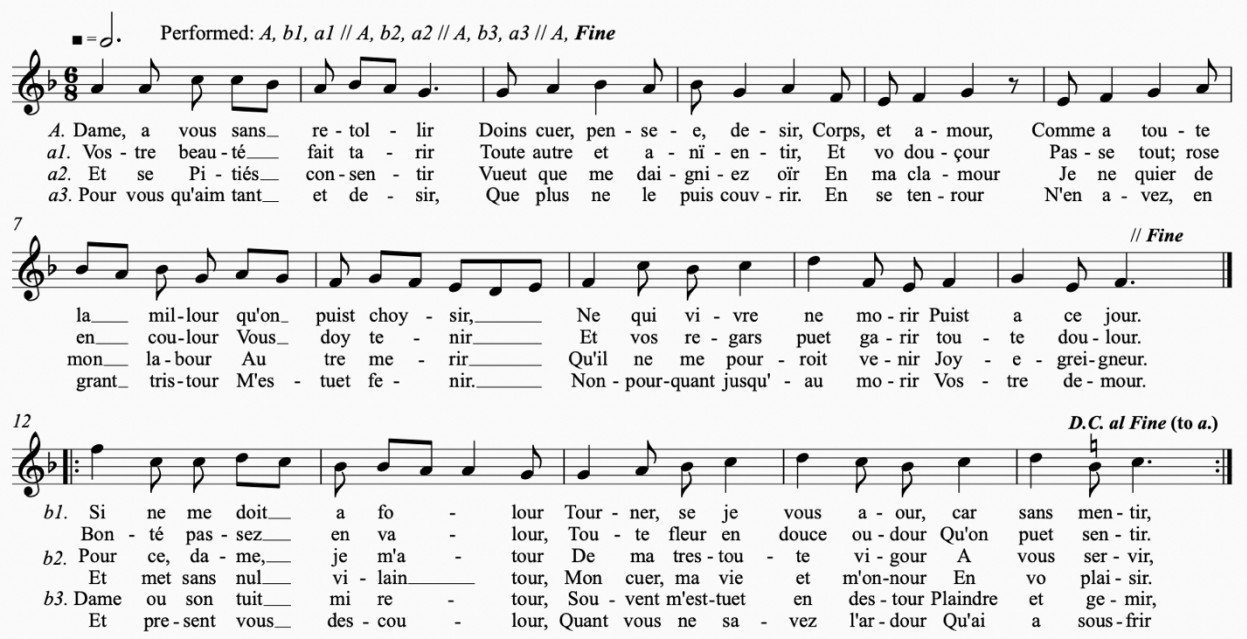
The song's structure, as demonstrated in Table 3.2 and Musical Example 3.3, makes the *chanson* all the more memorable, and it also helps to resolve the lover's apparent desire for reciprocation. While the textual refrain always coincides with the musical refrain, the musical refrain occurs an additional three times (at the closing of each stanza—represented by *a*):

Table 3.2. Lyric and musical *virelai* compared.

	Refrain	**Stanza 1**	**Refrain**	**Stanza 2**	**Refrain**	**Stanza 3**	**Refrain**
Lyric virelai	A	b	A	b	A	b	A
Musical virelai	A	bba	A	bba	A	bba	A

[202] See *Remede de Fortune*, lines 3484-96.

Musical Example 3.3. *Virelai*: "Dame, a vous sans retollir."



This structure produces seven occurrences of the musical refrain (the musical refrain occurs at both *A* and *a*; the difference between the two is that *A* declaims the textual refrain), rendering it the most prominent aspect of the *chanson*—not only is it heard more times than the non-refrain melody (*b*), but it is also the first and last thing heard. Also, its pairing with the closing of each stanza foreshadows the return of the textual refrain and its message. In the final stanza, for example, as Guillaume sings "Et se tenrour / N'en avez, en grant tristour / M'estuet fenir. / Nonpourquant dusqu'a mourir / Vostre demour" (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 3492-6), [And if you show no tenderness, I must end my days in great sadness. Nonetheless I remain yours till death], his words are musically adorned with nuances of the textual refrain. This prepares the lover and his audience for a safe return to the ways of good love.

Finally, the *virelai*'s form, with its alternation between textual refrain and stanza, good love and fleeting desire, may represent the lover's journey as they look to *Esperance* in the midst of the latent threat of *Desir* and *Fortune*. The perpetual return to the refrain shows that despite periodic challenges, a lover can always return to the ways of good love. In this way, while

aspects of the *chanson* can be interpreted to depict an amorous digression, a consideration of the song within the overarching context of *Remede de Fortune*, and an analysis of its poetico-musical dynamic reveal it to depict a successful application of the doctrine transmitted in the *lay* and *chant royal*.

The Polyphonic Songs

Remede de Fortune's polyphonic songs include a *double ballade*, a *ballade*, and a *rondeau*, with the first sung by *Esperance*, and the following two by Guillaume. Although they are not the principal focus of this chapter, some discussion of these *chansons* will help solidify my argument about monophonic song. In general, I interpret the polyphonic settings of *Remede de Fortune* to express the plenitude and "harmony" induced by the doctrine developed in the *lay* and *chant royal*, and to illustrate an emotional state antithetical to that demonstrated by the *complainte*. While these songs are didactic in their own right, they are more of a supplement or a gloss to the method transmitted by the monophonic songs than they are an integral component of it. I also argue that each of the three polyphonic songs becomes increasingly less didactic than the last, which corresponds with increasingly melismatic text declamation, and thus a progressive diminishment of semantic clarity. In other words, as each song becomes less and less didactic, the declamation becomes more and more melismatic, giving the impression that comprehension of text and retention of its message becomes less and less important. To illustrate the role of these songs in *Remede de Fortune*, I will consider three principal aspects: musical structure (texture, rhythm, and text declamation), place of insertion/relation to narrative context, and textual message.

Monophonic song from of the fourteenth century consists of a single melody (or voice) set to a text with largely syllabic text declamation. This means a single unaccompanied voice

sings the text and melody, and there is generally a one-to-one pitch to syllable ratio. In contrast, polyphonic song involves two to four voices simultaneously singing their own distinct melodies. In general, for lyric poetry, and for all three polyphonic songs of *Remede de Fortune*, the text is set only to one of the various melodies—known as the ***cantus*** voice.[203] The text declamation of polyphonic song is generally highly melismatic, meaning that a single syllable of text is allotted several musical pitches. Moreover, Machaut's polyphonic settings of the *formes fixes*, particularly of *ballades* and *rondeaux*, typically feature much more complicated rhythmic organization than those of the older monophonic song forms, and even those of earlier polyphonic *formes fixes* by thirteenth-century *trouveres* such as Adam de la Halle.[204] These differences in musical texture and structure naturally render the text of polyphonic song less semantically comprehensible and less memorable than that of monophonic song. Aside from meslismas and complicated rhythms obscuring verbal meaning, multiple simultaneous melodies will naturally compete for the listener's attention, pulling the ear in various directions and diluting its focus on the *cantus* voice and the text it declaims.

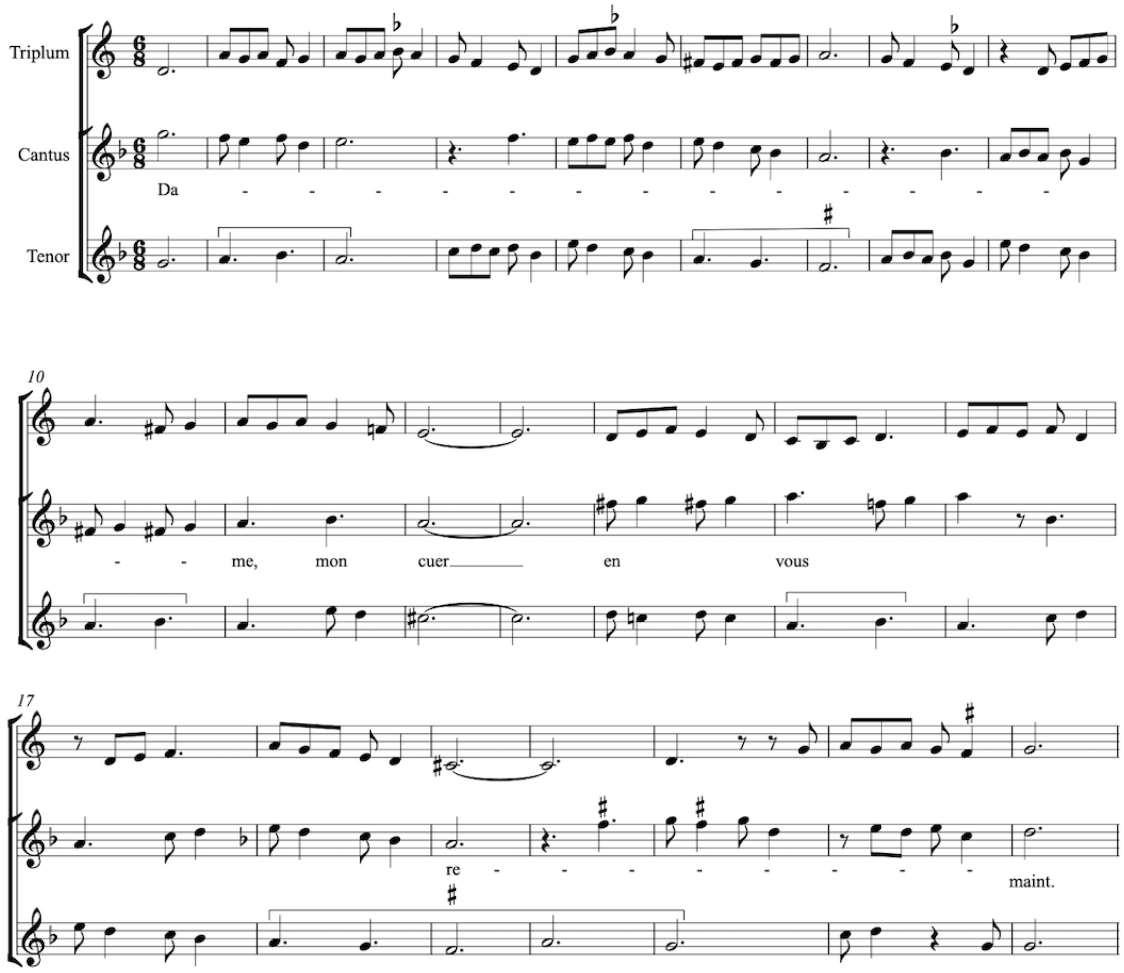
Across Machaut's corpus, the *rondeaux* generally have the most brief and simplistic text, yet the most melismatic and complex musical settings. Thus, the juxtaposition of *Remede de Fortune*'s *rondeau* with the *lay* discussed above will help to drive my points home about the respective didactic and mnemonic qualities of monophony and polyphony. Consider Musical Example 3.4, which shows the setting of the first line of *Remede de Fortune*'s *rondeau*, "Dame, mon cuer en vous remaint." The *chanson* features a three-voice setting in all manuscript

[203] Scholars are not in agreement about whether the other voices were to sung to the text, to un-texted pitches, or if they were perhaps played by musical instruments. For more about this, see Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 13-88.

[204] For more on this, see Earp, "Lyrics for Reading."

sources.[205] For now, I will only discuss the musical aspects of the *chanson*, and I will circle back to narrative context and textual message later.

Musical Example 3.4. *Rondeau*, "Dame, mon cuer en vous remaint." First line.



At a mere glance, one can see how much more musically complex this setting is than that of the *lay* (see Musical Example 3.1). Indeed, instead of a single melodic line on which to focus, the listener must now absorb three simultaneous melodies. Not only does each melody have its own distinct pitches and melodic contour, but also its own rhythmic organization. This a large amount of aural information for a listener to juggle at once, notwithstanding the highly melismatic

[205] See Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 305.

declamation. Concerning text declamation, Musical Example 3.4 includes the setting of the first poetic line, consisting of the eight- syllable phrase "dame, mon cuer en vous remaint" [lady, my heart stays with you]. Despite featuring only seven words and eight syllables, the line is allotted an astounding fifty-seven musical pitches, with the first syllable alone stretched over twenty-seven pitches, and the penultimate, over eleven. Thus, for the first line alone, there is a pitch to syllable ratio of roughly 15:2. In the 2009 Eloquentia studio recording, this first line takes a staggeringly long thirty-five seconds to perform.[206] The second line of the *rondeau*, although not included in Musical Example 3.4, contains eight syllables and is set to fifty-three pitches. Thus, in the first run through the *rondeau*, a total of sixteen syllables are set to 111 pitches, yielding a pitch to syllable ratio of roughly 7:1 for the *chanson* as a whole. At this point, one must start to wonder if polyphonic songs like this are less about delivery and reception of textual message, and more about the creation of a particular sound world and musical experience.[207] Granted, a *rondeau* is the most extreme example that can be contrasted with a largely syllabic monophonic chanson, but as I will show below, similar things are at work in *Remede de Fortune*'s *double ballade* and *ballade.*

Esperance sings her *double ballade* after her *chant royal*, and directly before departing from Guillaume. At this point in the narrative, Guillaume has performed his *lay*, fled from his lady, written and performed his *complainte*, listened to *Esperance*'s *chant royal*, and received her didactic narrative lecture about the nature of *Amours*, *Esperance*, and *Fortune*. Thus, he has learned all he needs to know in to attain and exercise good love. The text of the *double ballade*,

[206] Machaut, *Le Remede de Fortune*, dir. Pierre Hamon. *Rondeau*, sound recording (Paris: Eloquentia, 2009).

[207] For more on this, see Jennifer Bain, ". . .et mon commencement mon fin: Genre and Machaut's Musical Language in His Secular Songs." In McGrady and Bain, *A* Companion, 79-102.

"En amer a douce vie," is the most didactic of the three polyphonic songs, as it glosses the nature of the good love expounded in the *lay* and *chant royal*, and illustrates the gift of *Souffisance* it provides:

	En amer a douce vie	One in love has a sweet
	Et jolie	And happy life,
	Qui bien la scet maintenir,	If they know how to live it well,
2860	Car tant plaist la maladie	For the malady is so pleasing,
	Quant norrie	When it is nourished
	Est en amoureus desir,	In amorous desire,
	Que l'amant fait esbaudir	Because it emboldens the lover
	Et querir	To seek out
2865	Comment elle mouteplie	How it might increase.
	C'est doulz mauls a soustenir,	It is a sweet illness to bear,
	Qu'esjoïr	because it makes rejoice
	Fait cuer d'ami et d'amie;	The heart of lover and lady alike.
	Qu'Amours par sa signourie	Because love by its lordship
2870	Humelie	Abases
	L'amoureus cuer a souffrir,	The loving heart to suffer,
	Et par sa noble maistrie	And by its noble mastery,
	Le mestrie,	Rules it
	Si qu'il ne puet riens sentir,	So that in everything it
2875	Que tout au goust de joïr	Feels it finds the joyful taste of
	Par plaisir	Pleasure,
	Ne pregne, je n'en doubt mie.	I have no doubt.
	Ainssi saouls de merir,	Thus she makes satiated with fulfillment,
	Sans merir,	Without reward,
2880	Fait cuer d'ami et d'amie.	A lover and a lady's heart.
	Si doit bien estre cherie	So Love must be cherished
	Et servie,	And served
	Quant elle puet assevir	Hence she can help
	Chascun qui li rueve ou prïe	Everyone who requests and invokes
2885	De s'aïe,	Her aid
	Sans son tresor amenrir.	Without diminishing her treasure.
	De la mort puet garantir	She can protect
	Et garir	And save from death
	Cuer qui de santé mendie;	A heart that begs for health;
2890	De souffisance enrichir	she fills with S*ouffisance*
	Et franchir	And makes free
	Fait cuer d'ami et d'amie.	A lover and a lady's heart.[208]

[208] I have modified the translation.

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 2860-92)

This first stanza does something remarkable: it takes the malady of love sickness and its fuel of desire and transforms them into a positive. The doctrine of the *lay* and *chant royal* have made true love—good love—possible, and it is a pleasing experience whose joy is so nourished by desire that the lover only wishes for that desire to increase. This is a complete reversal of Guillaume's emotional state, and a powerful and definitive redefining of love itself.

The second stanza initially seems to digress by stating that love causes the heart to suffer, but then it follows the previous stanza by explaining that by its mastery, Love causes the lover to only feel joyful pleasure. This is a microcosm of the protagonist's experience; his love first causes him great suffering, but as we shall see in his upcoming *ballade*, once he learns how to exercise good love, he feels nothing but joy and plenitude. The phrase "Ainssi souls de merir, / Sans merir, / Fait cuer d'ami et d'amie [Thus she makes satiated with fulfilment, without reward, a lover and a lady's heart] may initially seem illogical and self-contradictory. How does one fulfill without reward? I take this to be a reflection of the chaste nature of good love—a love which satiates the heart with joy without requiring *reward* from the beloved—that is, without reliance upon her emotional or physical reciprocation. So again, what was originally a negative source of pain—lack of reciprocation from the beloved—has been transformed by good love into a positive source of fulfillment. The third stanza qualifies such fulfillment as *Souffisanace*: "De souffisance enrichir, / Et franchir / Cuer d'ami et d'amie" [It (love) fills with *Souffisance* and makes free a lover and a lady's heart].[209]

This lyric is quite didactic, and it follows logically from the *lay* and *chant royal*, but instead of focusing on how to achieve good love, it describes its ability to transform the pain of

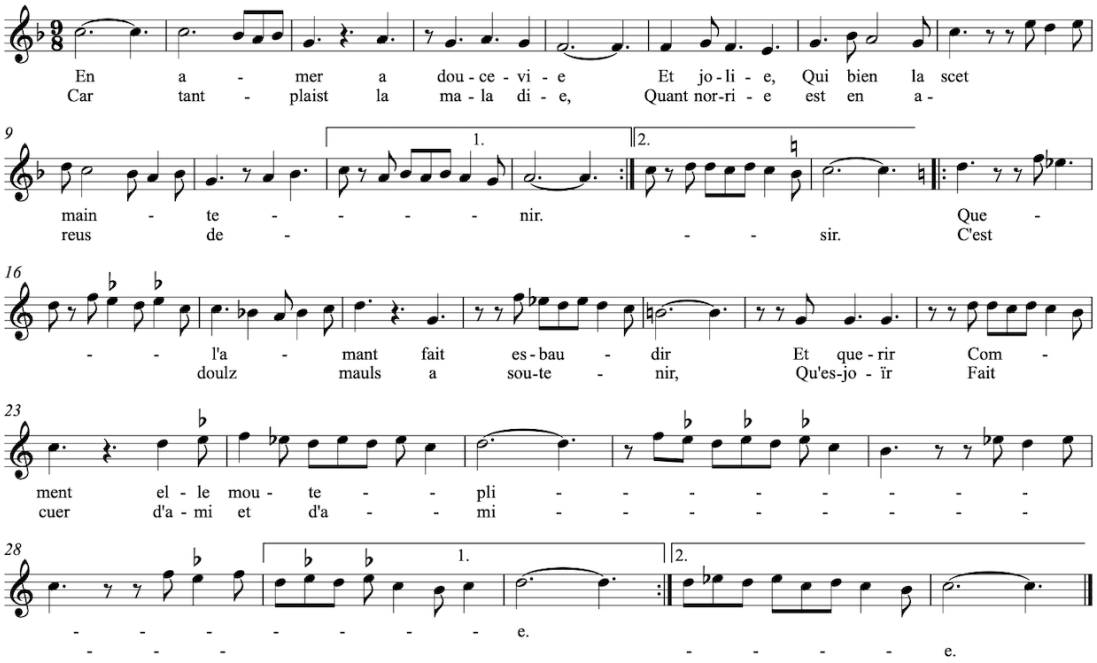
[209] I have modified the translation.

desire into the fulfillment and plenitude of *Souffisance*. Also, attainment of *Souffisance* requires as a prerequisite the disarmament of *Fortune*, and the *double ballade*'s text therefore illustrates that *Fortune* has been remedied. Kelly describes this phenomenon: "Virtuous love is not subject to fortune because it does not desire what the lover does not possess naturally and that another can refuse to grant. In effect, good love as an object of hope is realized not in the body through *delectation*, but in the mind as *Souffisance*."[210] In this way, after having reminded him of how to attain good love through her *chant royal*, *Esperance* uses her *double ballade* to reiterate to Guillaume what is to be gained from it.

The *double ballade*, "En amer a douce vie," presents all the same listening challenges of polyphonic texture and discussed above in my analysis of the *rondeau*. That is, the ear's attention is divided and competed for by multiple distinct and simultaneous melodies. Except, with the *double ballade*, there is even more material to absorb—a fourth voice, as opposed to the *rondeau*'s three. Bearing that in mind, consider the text declamation of the *cantus* voice, shown in Musical Example 3.5.

[210] Kelly, *Machaut and the Medieval Apprenticeship Tradition*, 26.

Musical Example 3.5. *Double ballade*, "En amer a douce vie." Opening stanza, *cantus* voice.



In comparison to the *rondeau*, the *double ballade*'s text declamation is more syllabic. With the exception of the penultimate syllable of each half, most melismas are quite short and consist of only a handful of notes. Building from my arguments about text declamation in monophonic song, there may be a link between "En amer a douce vie's" more syllabic text declamation and its highly didactic message. One might imagine that the generally low pitch to syllable ratio, roughly 5:2, would facilitate greater textual comprehension—especially relative to the highly melismatic *rondeau*.

Nonetheless, there are other aspects of the song that would render its text markedly less comprehensible than that of the *lay*, *complainte*, and *chant royal*. The first, as I have already mentioned, is its polyphonic texture. The second is rhythmic organization. All three of *Remede de Fortune*'s polyphonic *chansons* use *prolatio* mensuration in their *cantus* voices, resulting in much greater rhythmic variety than seen in the *modus* mensuration of the *lay* and *chant royal*. Lawrence Earp has shown that the *ars nova* notational innovations of the fourteenth century were

central to the evolution of the *formes fixes* from dance songs with metrical and fairly uniform rhythm (even polyphonic dance songs such as those of Adam de la Halle), to highly melismatic, rhythmically complicated polyphonic *chansons* (such as those of Machaut) which were not suitable for dance.[211] We can see these rhythmic innovations at work if we contrast the musical rhythm of "Qui n'aroit autre deport" (Musical Example 3.1) with that of the *double ballade*. As a reflection of older styles of rhythmic organization, the *lay* the *chant royal* mostly consist of sequences of pitches of even rhythmic duration. In contrast, the *double ballade* has much more varied and complicated rhythmic organization, and shows frequent alternation between longer and shorter pitches; sequences of pitches of even duration seem to be the exception rather than the rule. In the same way that complicated rhythm might inhibit a dancer from following a song's pulse, it may also inhibit a listener from following its text, thus compromising the semantic clarity of its message.

All this considered, while "En amer a douce vie" is a notably didactic lyric, its message about good love seems to be a supplement—unlike the monophonic songs that preceded it, it does not teach *how* to achieve good love; it is more so an expression of what can be gained from heeding the doctrine transmitted by the monophonic songs than it is an actual component of that doctrine. This may correspond with its polyphonic and rhythmically complicated musical setting, which render its text less comprehensible, and perhaps less memorable than that of its monophonic counterparts.

Before Guillaume leaves the garden, he sings the *ballade*, "Dame, de qui toute ma joie vient." At this point, he has been fully indoctrinated, and *Esperance* has divulged all of her

[211] See Lawrence Earp, "Lyrics for Reading."

necessary wisdom. Thus, the *ballade*'s text is the ultimate expression of the protagonist's *entendement* of the doctrine developed in and transmitted by the *lay* and *chant royal*.

	Dame, de qui toute ma joie vient,	Lady, from whom all my joy comes,
	Je ne vous puis trop amer, ne cherir,	I cannot love or cherish you too much,
3015	N'assés loer, si com il apartient	Or praise you enough, or serve, fear,
	Servir, doubter, honnourer, n'obeïr;	Honor, and obey you as is fitting;
	Car le gracïeus Espoir,	For the pleasing hope,
	Douce dame, que j'ay de vous veoir,	Sweet lady that I have of seeing you
	Me fait .c. foys plus de bien et de joye	Brings me a hundred times more
3020	Qu'en cent mil ans desservir ne porroie.	Joy and good than I could deserve
		In a hundred thousand years.
	Cilz doulz Espoirs en vie me soutient	This sweet Hope keeps me alive
	Et me norrist en amoureus desir,	And nourishes me in amorous desire,
	Et dedens moy met tout ce qui couvient	And places within me everything
	Pour conforter mon cuer et resjoïr;	That is needed to comfort and
3025	N'il ne s'en part main ne soir,	Bring joy to my heart;
	Ainçoys me fait doucement recevoir	Nor does it abandon me morning or evening,
	Plus des douls biens qu'Amours as siens envoie	But rather induces me to sweetly receive More of the sweet goods that
	Qu'en .c. mil ans deservir ne porroie.	Love sends her own
		Than I could deserve
		In a hundred thousand years.
	Et quant Espoir qui en mon cuer se tient	And since Hope who is fixed in my heart
3030	Fait dedens moy si grant joie venir	causes such joy to grow within me
	Lointains de vous, ma dame, s'il avient	when I'm far from you, my lady, if I were to
	Que vo beauté voie que moult desir,	See Your beauty that I desire so much,
	Ma joye, si com j'espoir,	No one could imagine,
	Ymaginer, penser, ne concevoir	Comprehend, or conceive my joy,
3035	Ne porroit nuls, car trop plus ans aroie	I believe, for I would have more
	Qu'en .c. mil ans deservir ne porroie.	Than I could deserve in a hundred thousand years.[212]
	(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 3013-35)	

With its focus on the lady as a source of joy, and its insistence on *Esperance* as the only form of nourishment necessary to sustain a lover's life, the *ballade* is indeed Guillaume's ultimate expression of his *entendement* of the doctrine of good love. Its text "proves that he is ready to be

[212] I have modified the translation.

reintegrated into courtly society" after his self-imposed isolation .[213] Here, the protagonist reaches his most elevated emotional state within the arc of the *dit*'s narrative. He is away from his lady, receives from her no tangible physical or emotional reciprocation, and yet he basks in a state of pure joy and *Souffisance*, induced and sustained by his faith in *Esperance*. *Fortune* and her wheel are nowhere in sight, and the fear and insecurity that led him to flee to the garden and compose the *complainte* have dissipated. It is fitting that Guillaume's climactic state of joy and *Souffisance* should be paired with and expressed by a *ballade*, as it was considered the most elevated poetic and musical form during Machaut's era.[214]

"Dame, de qui toute ma joie vient" is also polyphonic in all manuscript sources that contain musical notation. In all sources dating from Machaut's lifetime except the earliest, MS C, which has a two-voice setting, the *chanson* features four-voice polyphony.[215] I do not think it necessary to provide a setting here, as the same musical features I describe in the *double ballade* and *rondeau* apply. The song uses *prolatio* mensuration, and thus, its rhythmic organization is markedly more complicated than that of the monophonic songs. The declamation of the *cantus* voice is also highly melismatic, although the alignment of text and music seems to be the reverse of what is seen in the *double ballade*. That is, while the *double ballade*'s phrases begin with relatively syllabic declamation and terminate with rather long melismas, the *ballade*'s phrases begin with extended melismas and terminate with syllabic material.[216] Perhaps this contrast could be further analyzed through the lens of textual didacticism, but the end result remains the

[213] Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 159.

[214] Earp notes this. See "Lyrics for Reading," 115.

[215] See Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 303-4.

[216] Leach gives a close poetico-musical reading of the *ballade.* See Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 158-9.

same regardless: the texts of the polyphonic songs are musically declaimed in a manner that obscures their verbal message in a way not seen in the monophonic settings.

Before ending this section on the polyphonic songs, I would like to briefly circle back to the *rondeau* to consider its narrative context and textual message. The *rondeau,* "Dame mon cuer en vous remaint," is the final musical insertion of *Remede de Fortune*. After Guillaume professes his love to the lady in his *virelai*, she accepts his love and the two exchange rings in the presence of *Esperance*.[217] Thereafter, he sings his *rondeau*, the text of which, following stylistic convention, is very brief: "Dame, mon cuer en vous remaint,/ Comment que de vous me departe, / Par fine amour qui en moy maint, / Dame, mon cuer en vous remaint. / Or pri Dieu que li vostres m'aint /Sans qu'en nulle autre amour parte. / Dame, en vous mon cuer remaint / Comment que de vous me departe" (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 4109-17), [Lady, my heart stays with you, although I myself must leave you. With true love I bear within, my lady, my heart stays with you. Now I pray God that your heart will love me, without being shared with any other. My lady, my heart stays with you, although I myself must leave you]. In this lyric, Guillaume attests to his readiness to bear the burden of love even in the absence of his beloved. He attributes this to the "fine amour"— the good love that resides within him. By alluding to prayer and appealing to God that the lady love him and no other, Guillaume implies an expansion of *Esperance*'s doctrine into the realm of spiritual faith. For, what is *Esperance*'s doctrine of good love, if not a faith-based doctrine that enables lovers to patiently await amorous reciprocation in the same way that the devout may await salvation? Both amorous *Souffisance* and spiritual salvation depend on similar mechanisms: unfaltering faith in the unseen, and adherence to a strict code of morality. In this way, Guillaume's *rondeau* looks forward to *Le*

[217] See Machaut, *Remede de Fortune*, lines 3873-4116.

Confort d'Ami, in which Machaut's doctrine of hope is very explicitly linked to spiritual faith, as the poet consoles his friend and patron Charles of Navarre *hope* that God will come to his aid.

Guillaume is wise to have been such a good student. Following the performance of his *rondeau*, the lady becomes emotionally distant toward him, and he is left uncertain about the status of their relationship. Thus, the narrative ends with the protagonist's heart in a state of potential vulnerability, perhaps subject once more to the wheel of *Fortune*. However, as expressed in his *rondeau*, he is armed with good love and his heart is prepared to endure regardless of external circumstance.

Conclusion

Despite its some four thousand lines of narrative and its three polyphonic songs, the doctrinal essence of *Remede de Fortune* is distilled and transmitted by its four monophonic musical insertions. These songs present an integral and memorable study guide—a method—whereby lovers may learn, retain, and exercise good love as first explicated in the *lay*, and later glossed and completed by the *chant royal*. The *complainte* extends a grave warning regarding threats of *Desir* and *Fortune.* The *virelai* displays a scene of doctrinal application, demonstrating that despite the ever-latent threat of *Desir* and *Fortune*, lovers with *entendement* of *Esperance* can always attain *Souffisance*.

This doctrine is transmitted through the primacy of memory, which as I have shown, is explicitly illustrated in the *dit*'s narrative. The poem's narrative underscores the superior ability of song to induce *Souvenir* and *entendement,* a quality further strengthened by the aural clarity, both musical and textual, of monophonic song. While didactic in their own right, rather than functioning as a concrete component of *Remede de Fortune*'s method of teaching good love, the three polyphonic songs act as a supplement and a gloss. Textually, the *double ballade* further

expounds the nature of good love, but it does not teach *how* to attain it. The *ballade* demonstrates Guillaume's most elevated emotional state and demonstrates that he has found *Souffisance*. Finally, the *rondeau* shows that he is prepared to endure his love, and that his newly attained *Souffisance* is dependent only on faith and is thus exempt from the dangers of external circumstance. Musically, the polyphonic *chansons* render their text less verbally comprehensible, and less memorable. The polyphonic texture creates aural competition which divides the listener's attention and weakens focus on textual meaning. In relation to the syllabic and rhythmically uniform text declamation of monophonic song, the highly melismatic declamation of polyphonic song render the verbal message of its text markedly less comprehensible and memorable.

In chapter four, I will analyze how Machaut's explicit ordering of the *lais* in MS A transmits love doctrine by depicting a distinct and unified trajectory of the *je*'s love experience.

CHAPTER FOUR

Ordering and Love Trajectory in the *Lais* of MS A

In this chapter, I will temporarily deviate from the musical analyses and return to the consideration of pure textual doctrine—this time, not in the narrative *dits*, but in the *lais*. More specifically, I will analyze how Machaut's explicit ordering of the first ten *lais,* as listed in the index of MS A, establishes a "narrative" continuity that reflects the evolution of the *je*'s love experience as he becomes indoctrinated in the ways of good love. When I say "narrative," I do not mean a narrative like we see in the *dits*; the *lais* do not relate a concrete sequence of events lived by explicitly named persons. Rather, the experiences of the disembodied *je*, while still lyrical and abstract in nature, weave a universally relatable love narrative, and it is through the universal relatability of the *je*'s journey, dictated and formed by explicit ordering, that readers and listeners learn and understand love doctrine.

As for the "narrative" that the first ten *lais* weave, I characterize it as a "journey from death to the *Paradise of Love*." Indeed, Lais 1-6 are characterized by a love experience so painful and burdened with desirous lack, that the *je* perpetually finds himself on the verge or "death," ultimately concluding at the end of Lay 6 that it will be his only refuge from his amorous suffering. It is at this point where "Qui n'aroit autre deport,"—the *lay* from *Remede de Fortune*—intervenes and instructs the lover in the ways of good love. I use the term "intervention" because in the index of MS A, "Qui n'aroit autre deport" is inserted between Lais 6 and 7, but in the actual manuscript, it only appears as an interpolation within *Remede de Fortune*. In this way, the index of the manuscript explicitly instructs audiences to read, sing, or listen to that lyric within the sequence of other *lais*. From there, Lay 7 depicts the *je*'s struggle to fully understand and implement the doctrine put forth by "Qui n'aroit autre deport." In response,

Lay 8 acts as another intervention that further expounds and confirms doctrine, but with a focus on *Souffisance*. Finally, Lay 9 is the first of the *lais* to be given an explicitly rubricated title: *Le Paradis d'Amours* [*The Paradise of Love*]. In this "paradise of love," thanks to the interventions of "Qui n'aroit autre deport" and Lay 8, the *je* reaches *Souffisance*.

Before further developing the argument described above, I will first contextualize Machaut's *lais* with in his greater corpus and existing scholarship. The *lais* have received little scholarly attention relative to Machaut's other works—both textually and musically, but especially textually. Much of the existing scholarship focuses on the musically notated *lais*, and generally addresses individual selections.[218] So, there is more work to be done in terms of considering the broader role of the *lais* as vehicles of love doctrine in Machaut's corpus.[219] As the "prestige poetic form—both difficult to write *and* difficult to learn for a reader or singer,"[220] the *lais* demand a high level of poetic and musical virtuosity. This, coupled with the privileged

[218] Virginia Newes, for example, has explored symmetry and dissymmetry in the *Lay de Bonne Esperance*, the text-music in Machaut's canonic *lais*, as well as the *Lay de Plour*'s relationship to the debate poems. See respectively, Virginia Newes "Symmetry and Dissymmetry in the Music of the *Lay de Bonne Esperance* (L18/13)." In *Machaut's Music: New Interpretations*, ed. Elizabeth Eva Leach (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2003), 123-38; "Turning Fortune's Wheel: Musical and Textual Design in Machaut's Canonic Lais, *Musica Disciplina*, 45 (1991), 95-121; "'Qui bien aimme a tart oublie': Guillaume de Machaut's *Lay de Plour* in Context." In *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*, eds. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2005), 123-38). Benjamin Albritton has further linked the *lais* to the debate tradition by showing musical notation and rhythmic organization in "Par trois raisons" (Lay 6) and "Amours doucement" (Lay 7) evoke a "dialectic of debate." See Albritton, "Machaut's Lais." In McGrady and Bain, *A Companion*, 119-39. Some attention has also been devoted to "Qui n'aroit autre deport," the *lay* inserted into *Remede de Fortune*. See William Calin and Lawrence Earp, "The Lai in 'Remede de Fortune,'" *Ars Lyrica*, 11 (2000), 39-75, and Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 141-51.

[219] There are some examples, however, of a more global approach. Daniel Poirion discusses the formal aspects of the *lais*, as well as their "thematic unity." See Poirion, *Le poète et le prince:* 400-5, 409-14, 409-15. Sylia Huot has shown how the ordering of the *lais* and their accompanying miniatures in MS C help give thematic unity to the codex by presenting its series of *lais* as a unified poetic construct. See Huot, *From Song to Book*, 260-72. Also see Kate Maxwell, "The Order of the Lais in the 'Odd' Machaut Manuscript BnF, fr. 9221(E)," in *Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe: Packaging, Presentation, and Consumption*, eds. Emma Cayley and Susan Powell (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 32-47.

[220] Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 178.

treatment they receive in the complete-works manuscripts makes the lack of scholarly attention devoted to them somewhat surprising. Indeed, the complex structure of the form—twelve stanzas, each with a unique poetic and musical structure, save the first and last which share the same form—provide the ideal opportunity for the poet-composer to demonstrate his compositional *subtilité* (his ingenuity, creativity, subtlety of craft).[221] Yet, for all their technical and compositional virtuosity, the mere textual content of Machaut's *lais*, notwithstanding their form, is key to the transmission of Machaut's love doctrine.

The treatment of the *lais* in key manuscripts produced during Machaut's lifetime suggests that he may have wished to highlight them as a key vehicle of doctrinal transmission. In four out of five complete-works manuscripts, they are placed directly after the narrative *dits*.[222] They are also exceptional in that aside from the *dits*, they are the only works explicitly given titles,[223] a quality which according to Daniel Poirion both gives them thematic unity and underscores their individuality: "L'unité thématique du lai se résume dans son titre. . . son individualité est assez marqué pour que les auteurs ou les copistes aient pu lui donner un nom" [the thematic unity of the lay comes down to its title. . . its individuality is prominent enough that authors and copyists were able to give it a name].[224] This affiliation with and close proximity to the narrative poetry in

[221] It is not uncommon for the final stanza's musical setting to be transposed a fourth or fifth above that of the first. This is a conventional musical difference that is not relevant to the un-notated *lais*.

[222] These manuscripts include Vg, B, A, and F-G. The one exception is MS C, the earliest of the group, and in which the *lais* are preceded by the *virelais* and the *ballades*.

[223] Titling, however, does not apply to all *lais*, as only eleven of twenty-two in MS A are titled. Moreover, in the same manuscript, the titles are not listed in the index—they only appear as rubricated *explicits*. See for example, MS A, fol. 483v where the last thing written is "Explicit le paradis damours." This perhaps poses the question of whether it was Machaut himself, or a scribe(s) who attributed the names.

[224] Daniel Poirion, *Le poète et le prince*, 409.

terms of ordering points to an important role in Machaut's overall system of doctrinal transmission.

Lyric poetry, like the *lais*, gives intimate voice to various contexts of the love experience, thereby lending credence to the doctrine of the *dits* by exemplifying it through the arbitrary yet universal poetic *je* with which all readers, performers, audiences, and lovers may identify. While the ability to depict a specific moment within the love experience is inherent to all of Machaut's lyric poetry, I argue that the first ten *lais* in the index of MS A, when considered as a unified "poetic construct,"[225] transmit doctrine by illustrating the long-term trajectory of the love experience: pre-indoctrination, indoctrination, and doctrinal affirmation. This trajectory is expressed through a series of sequences formulated by Machaut's consistent and apparently explicit ordering of the *lays* in the complete-works manuscripts. As the *lais* unfold in succession, the lyric *je*, while arbitrary in its reference (unlike in the *dits* in which the *je* always refers to a concrete persona within the narrative), depicts a love journey coherent and logical enough in its progression that we can read them as if the *je* either refers to a single lover, or speaks directly to that lover.[226] Readers, performers, and listeners might thus identify with the trajectory of the *je*'s love experience, and therefore enjoy both an artistic and didactic experience.

Since MS A is the most authoritative codex compiled during Machaut's lifetime, I will ground my argument using the ordering seen in the index of that manuscript. Since there is not space here to discuss all of the *lais*, I will limit my analysis *lais* 1-9 and "Qui n'aroit autre deport," as seen in table 4.1 The ordering of the *lais* in MS A begins to take shape with the first seven entries in the earliest complete-works codex, MS C, and the ordering of those seven

[225] Sylvia Huot is the first to qualify them as such. See Huot, *From Song to Book*, 272.

[226] As I will show below, the determining factor between these two possibilities will be the gender of the referent of the *je*, which Machaut seemingly manipulates for rhetorical and didactic purposes.

remains consistent in all intermediary manuscripts. My approach is in some regard an extension of work that Sylvia Huot has done with MS C. Speaking specifically of that manuscript, she explains:

> Each [lay] stands out on its own as a performance piece and was no doubt regarded by contemporary audiences as an independent unit. The order of the opening lays, however, is the same in six of the seven major collections, suggesting that Machaut considered this arrangement an effective one. The selection, ordering, and illumination of the lays in the codex create a context for them quite different from that of musical performance. Because of the simultaneous presence of all lays in the book, we are encouraged to look upon each individual piece as part of an ordered whole. Within this space, independently composed poems can function together to create a model of poetic inspiration, composition, and performance. . .[227]

When applied to MS A, Huot's approach of considering each *lay* as a part of an ordered whole is remarkably helpful in decoding the role of the *lays* in the transmission of love doctrine across Machaut's corpus. MS A includes Machaut's "complete" corpus, and by the time it was compiled, a conventional ordering for the *lais* only nascent in MS C had been long established. Also, unlike MS C in which the continuity of the *lais* is disrupted by eight *ballades*,[228] the collection in MS A is uninterrupted with all twenty-two selections appearing in succession, unimpeded by any other poetic or musical forms. Moreover, the ordering in the index of MS A is likely not the order in which the *lais* were produced, but rather, is possibly the order in which Machaut wanted them to be performed/read/heard and transmitted. It is worth recalling here that index itself is prefaced by the statement: "Vesci lordenance que G. de Machau [sic] wet quil ait en son livre premiers" [Here is the order that G. de Machaut wants there to be in his first

[227] Huot, *From Song to Book*, 263-4. The seventh collection referred to is MS E. I did not list MS E in my note above because it is doubtful that the codex was compiled during Machaut's lifetime and thus the author likely was not involved in its copying—an assertion which is strengthened by the book's drastic deviation from the ordering established in earlier complete-works anthologies. For information about the date and provenance of MS E, see Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut,* 93.

[228] The manuscript includes nine *lais*, followed by eight ballades, and then another six *lais*, five *virelais*, and nine *rondeaux*. See fols.165r-206r.

book.][229] Consideration of musical notation provides support for a non-chronological ordering. According to Virginia Newes,

> Judging from their varying degrees of rhythmic and notational complexity, Machaut's nineteen lai settings appear to span a period from the beginning of his composing activity to late in his career.[230] *Modus* notation, primarily in longs and breves, is generally a reliable indicatory of an early date of composition in Machaut's works, while *tempus* notation in breves and semibreves, duple meter, and syncopation are associated with his later compositions.[231]

If we are to use musical notation and rhythmic organization as a parameter, it would be difficult to interpret the ordering of the *lais* in MS A as chronological. While most examples predominantly use the later mensuration of ***tempus***, numbers 1, 2, 5, 12, 16, 20, as seen in Table 4.1, and "Qui n'aroit autre deport" use mostly ***modus***.[232] While it is entirely possibly for a particular work to have been set to music long after the composition of its text (and to thus have an early text with a late musical setting), the interspersion of several *lais* using older musical notation throughout the collection seems to render a chronological ordering less likely.

[229] BnF MS fr. 1584, fol. Av.

[230] Newes mentions nineteen notated *lais*. Two of the notated *lais*, *Un lay de consolation* ("Pour ce que plus proprement," and "En demantant") do not appear until MS E, and according to Earp, are *opera dubia*. See Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 94. In my interpretation, Earp's stance is strengthened by the fact that the textual content of the two works does not follow logically from the *lais* that precede it, and they seem to be generally out of place when juxtaposed with the textual and doctrinal nature Machaut's corpus as a whole.

[231] Newes, "Turning Fortune's Wheel," 101-2. Newes cites as a source, Ursula Günther, "Chronologie und Stil der Kompositionen Guillaume de Machauts," *Acta Musicologica*, 35 (1963), 96-114.

[232] Lay 2, "J'aim la flour," has one *tempus* stanza. This, and the complete lack of ***prolatio*** point to it likely being composed during the earlier period.

Table 4.1 Ordering of the *lais* in the Index of MS A.	**Principal rhythmic organization**
1. Loyaute que point ne delay	*modus*
2. J'aim la flour	*modus*
3. Pour ce qu'on puist mieus retraire	*tempus*
4. Aus amans pour exemplaire	No setting
5. Nuls ne doit avoir merveille	*modus*
6. Par trois raisons	*tempus*
(Qui n'aroit autre deport)[233]	*modus*
7. Amours doucement me tente	*tempus*
8. On parle de richesses	No setting
9. Amours se plus se demandoie *(Le paradis d'Amours)*	No setting
10. Amis t'amours me contreint (*Le lay des dames)*	*tempus*
11. Se quanque Diex en Monde a fait	No setting
12. Un mortel lay weil commencier (*Le lay mortel)*	*modus*
(Qui bien aimme a tart oublie /*Le lay de plour*)[234]	*tempus*
13. Maintes fois oÿ recorder	No setting
14. Ne say comment commencier *(Le lay de l'ymage)*	*tempus*
15 Contre ce dous mois de may *(Le lay de Nostre Dame)*	*modus*
16. Je ne cesse de prier *(Le lay de la fonteinne)*	*tempus*
17. S'onques doulereusement *(Le lay de confort)*	*tempus*
18. Longeument me sui tenus *(Le lay de bonne Esperance)*	*tempus*
19. Malgre fortune (*Le lay de plour)*	*modus*
20. Je ne me say conforter	No setting
21. Pour vivre joliement *(Le lay de la rose)*	*tempus*

So, the index of MS A, its prefacing statement, and the alternation between older and newer

[233] This is the placement in the index, but in the actual codex, the *lay* is only inserted into *Remede de Fortune.*

[234] The placement in the index does not coincide with the *lay*'s actual appearance in the codex, where it is the twenty-second and final entry of the collection. According to Earp, it was a late addition to the manuscripts. See Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 365.

mensurations, and particularly the interspersion of *modus* throughout, strongly suggest that the ordering of the *lais* presented in the index of MS A is the order in which Machaut wanted the works to be performed, read, heard, and transmitted, and most importantly, *remembered*.

This particular ordering serves specific rhetorical and didactic purposes; it creates a series of sequences that depict the trajectory of the love experience in the context of Machaut's love doctrine. This idea is further strengthened by the insertion of "Qui n'aroit autre deport" and the *Lay de plour* ("Qui bien aimme a tart oublie") into the index in a position that does not reflect their actual placement in the codex—the index lists the *Lay de Plour*, without pagination, between *lais* twelve and thirteen, but it actually appears as the twenty-second and final entry of the collection,[235] while "Qui n'aroit autre deport" is indexed, also without pagination, between *lais* six and seven, but only appears as a musical interpolation in *Remede de Fortune*. It is, however, given pagination elsewhere in the final set of index entries including the musical works from *Remede de Fortune*.[236]

From here, I will provide a reading of Lais 1-9 and "Qui n'aroit autre deport" in order to demonstrate how Machaut's explicit ordering in the index of MS A yields a "narrative" continuity that depicts a "journey from death to the paradise of love."

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[235] Additionally, it is the only *lay* with title rubric that reads: "Ci commence le lay de plour." See MS A, fol. 410v. Earp says the title rubric is a later addition. See Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 365. The manuscript tradition of this particular *lay* is complicated. In MSs Vg, B, and E, it is separated from the *lay* section and placed directly after *Le jugement du roy de Navarre*. In MS M, it appears twice: once directly after *Je Jugement du Roy de Narvarre*, and a second time in the *lay* section. It is absent from MS F-G, and in MS C, it is in the second group of *lais* following the eight *ballades*.

[236] BnF MS fr. 1584, fol. Bv.

Lais 1-6: A "Deadly" Love

Love in the first six *lais* is painful and "deadly;" it is a desire-centered love dependent upon reciprocation and characterized by the lover's repeated pleas for *Amours* to move the lady to grant *merci*. The *je*'s experience is so woeful and hopeless that "death" by love emerges as a ubiquitous theme promptly established in the opening of Lay 1:

	Loyauté que point ne delay,	Loyalty in which I do not delay.
	Vuet sans delay	Wants me
	Que face un lay;	to compose a lay;
	Et pour ce l'ay	And in response I have
5	Commencié seur ce qu'il me lie	Begun writing about how I am bound in
	En amours, dont si me navray	In love, and I will thus wound myself,
	Que mon vivre ay,	For, I have forever placed my life,
	Tant com vivray,	As long as I shall live,
	Mis, sans oster, en sa baillie.	In love's possession,
	Mais vos cuers point ne ne s'amollie,	But your heart does not at all soften
10	Dame jolie,	Pretty lady,
	Eins contralie	You thus torment my heart
	A chiere lie	With a smiling face,
	Le mien, dont jamais je n'avray	Hence, I will never have a
	Joïeuse vie;	Joyous life;
15	Car mors m'envie,	For death beckons me,
	Dont je devie	Therefore, I depart
	S'an vo gentil corps cuer n'avray.	If my heart will not reside in your noble self. [237]

(Lay 1, lines 1-17)

The lover then complains that the lady has set herself against him, and that despite his faithful servitude, she drags his heart toward death (Lay 1, lines 19-36). Even remembrance of her goodness causes deadly suffering: "Dame, et quant dou bien me souvient, / Qui de vous vient / . . . mes cuers, que tous maus tient, / ne se soutient, / N'il apartient / Que biens li peüst avenir / . . . car il devient / Com mors (Lay 1, lines 37-8, 43-5, 50-1), [Lady, and when I remember the goodness that comes from you. . . my heart which suffers all ills, is not sustained, nor is it fitting

[237] All citations are from the *lais* in this chapter are taken from the Chichmaref edition, *Poésies Lyriques*. The *lais* are found at pages 279-480. All translations of from the *lais* are my own. The one exception is "Qui n'aroit autre deport" from *Remede de Fortune*, for which I use the Wimsatt and Kibler edition and translation.

that anything good happen to it. . . for it becomes like death]. This insistence on death as a symptom of love carries through to the poem's final line:

415	Einsi de l'amoureuse espine	My heart thus stings
	Mon cuer espine,	With the thorn of love,
	Par la doctrine	Through the doctrine of Love
	Qui me doctrine	That instructs me
	D'Amours qui par son grant engin	Who by her great craft
420	Met en moy de mort la racine	Places within me the root of death,
	Et l'enracine	And implants it,
	Sans medicine,	Without cure,
	Celeement, en larrecin.	Secretly, stealthily.
	Et vos cuers, pour qui je m'affin	And your heart, for which I die,
425	Com dur afin,	Like a cruel ally,
	Desir a fin,	Desires infinitely,
	De mettre à fin	To put an end
	Le mien las, qui d'amer ne fine.	To my own, which loves ceaselessly.
	Mais, quant pour vous vois à declin,	Yet, when because of you I go toward death,
430	Vers vous m'enclin,	I prostrate myself,
	Le chief enclin,	My head bowed,
	Car ma vie et mon lay define.	For I end my life and my lay.

(Lay 1, lines 415-32)

The lover's inability to find joy and amorous sustenance through his memories of the lady is a testament to his "pre-indoctrinated" state: perhaps he has *Souvenir* to draw upon, but he does not yet have *Dous Penser*, and he thus can attain neither *Esperance* nor *Souffisance*. As long as he remains in such a state, his heart will perpetually be on the precipice of "death." He will only find salvation through good love, and that will have to wait.

The poetic and musical structure of Lay 1 may also reflect its expression of misguided love. Indeed, the poem is structurally unusual because its versification and musical setting are identical in all twelve stanzas, with only the rhyme scheme changing from one stanza to the next. In MS C, the first stanza is accompanied by empty musical staves, and the remaining eleven have only text.[238] In all other complete-works manuscripts, (MSS Vg, A, B, and F-G, and E) only the

[238] Bnf MS fr. 1584, fols. 165-68v.

first stanza is set to music. We might wonder if his poem's seemingly incomplete structure implies a lack of compositional inspiration born of the lover's ignorance to good love. In Machaut's narrative poems, joyful and hopeful love are often linked to successful composition. In *Remede de Fortune*, for example, Guillaume prefaces his *lay* ("Qui n'aroit autre deport") by explaining:

	Et pour ce que n'estoie mie	And since I was not
	Tousdis en un point, m'estudie	Always in one mood, I learned
	Mis en faire chansons et lays,	To compose chansons and lais,
	Baladez, rondeaus, virelays,	ballades, rondeaux, and virelais,
405	Et chans selonc mon sentement	And songs according to my loving
	Amoureus et non autrement	Sentiment, and about nothing else
	Car qui de sentement ne fait	Because he who does not compose with
	Son oeuvre et son chant contrefait.	Sentiment falsifies his work and song.
	. . .	. . .
	Et mes cuers moult s'i deduisoit	And my heart took great pleasure
420	Quant ma dame a ce me duisoit	When my lady led me
	Qu'a sa löenge et a s'onnour	In her praise and honor,
	Me faisoit chanter pour s'amour	To sing a song for love of her.
	Car chanters est nes de leesce	For singing is born of a cheerful heart,
	De cuer, et plours vient de tristece.	And tears come from sadness.
425	Et sur ce que Douce Pensee	And because Sweet Thought
	S'est dedens mon cuer enfermee,	Is enclosed within my heart,
	Souvenirs et Bonne Esperance	Along with Memory and Good Hope
	Et Loyauté, ou ma fiance	And Loyalty, in whom
	Ai si toute qu'ailleurs ne l'ay,	I have placed all my trust,
430	Fis je ce dit qu'on claimme lay.	I composed a piece that is called lay.[239]

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 401-8, 419-30)

Not only is Guillaume's *lay* inspired by his amorous sentiment, but also by the joy and plenitude of good love: he has *Souvenir*, *Dous Penser*, and *Esperance*, and these are what inspire the composition—a *lay* which has a fully developed and varied poetico-musical structure.

[239] I have modified the translation.

In the narrative section of the *Prologue*, Guillaume outlines joy and hope as preconditions for joyful music-making and composition. He says that even if the subject matter of his poems and songs is sad, their style and treatment must be joyful because ". . . car ja bien ne fera / Ne gaiement ne chantera / Li cuers qui est pleins de tristece / Pour ce qu'il het et fuit leesce. / Mais quant li cuers est pleins de joie, / Il se delite et se resjoie, / En faisant son chant et son dit / en douce Plaisence. . . (*Prologue,* lines 157-66) [. . . for the heart filled with sadness will never do well or sing joyfully, since it hates and flees happiness. But when the heart is full of joy, it delights and rejoices, composing its song and its poem in Sweet Pleasure].[240] And so, perhaps, lacking the essential inspirational components of *Souvenir* and *Esperance*, the lover-poet of Lay 1 has not met the necessary conditions to produce genuine and effective poetry and music—his defective love has yielded a defective *lay*. In this way, Lay 1 effectively places lover and audience at square one in the journey from death to "The Paradise of Love" that unfolds in Lais 1-9.

Lay 2, which having only seven stanzas, also seems compositionally "incomplete," and perhaps, "uninspired," opens on the theme of death by love: "J'aim la flour / De valour / Sans folour / Et l'aour / Nuit et jour / Par savour; / Car d'atour / De coulour, / De douçour / Et d'odour/ A l'onnour, Ne millour / N'est de li; pour ce en languor / Vueil bien morir pour s'amour" (Lay 2, lines 1-14), [I love the flower of valor, without error, I adore her with honor and she has no equal; because of this, languishing, I wish to die from loving her]. As the lay unfolds, the speaker blames Love for his pain, and he claims: "Car la mort vient à moy le cours, / Ne nul recours / N'ay, ne secours / En mes langours / De mes tristours / Ne puis trouver envers amours (Lay 2, lines 41-6), [For death rushes toward me, and I have no recourse, nor can I find

[240] Palmer's translation.

relief from love in my languishing and sadness]. There is some talk of hope that the lady might become aware of his servitude, but this is ultimately framed as an impossibility because he does not dare divulge his love (Lay 2, lines 117-37). The poem ultimately ends with him bemoaning having loved loyally, but to no avail (Lay 2, lines 151-64).

Lay 3 opens even more ominously, with death seeming so imminent and certain that the poem's composition may prove to be the *je*'s final act: "Pour ce qu'on puist miex retraire / Qu'Amours pour amer m'a mort, / Je vueil faire avant ma mort / Un lay dou mal qui me mort, / Si qu'à moy Mors s'en amort / Sans mais garrison attraire" (Lay 3, lines 1-6), [So as to better recount how *Amours* has vanquished me for loving, I want to write before my death a lay about the illness that is killing me to the point that Death assails me, and I cannot find relief]. The situation does not improve as the poem continues, and in the final stanza, the lover says that all his pain comes from the sight of his lady's face, and this again leads toward death: ". . . en vo dous viaire / Dont toute ma dolour sort / Ne truis secors ne confort / Grace, pité ne acort, / Douçour n'amours fors descort / Et semblant de moy deffaire (Lay 3, lines 229-34), [. . . in your sweet face from which all my suffering comes, I find neither aid, comfort, grace, pity, harmony, sweetness, nor love, only a discord which seems to undo me]. The notion of the lady's image as a source of pain is directly at odds with the doctrine of good love in which the lady's image, specifically when contemplated as *Souvenir*, is a source of self-sustaining joy. Clearly, the lover-poet of Lay 3 is not yet sufficiently indoctrinated to transform his desire into joy. Indeed, his suffering, rooted in his ignorance of good love, ultimately leads him to proclaim the arrival of his own death: "S'en muir, douce, debonnaire, / En dueil et en desconfort, / N'onques de vous n'os confort" (Lay 3, lines 235-8), [Thus I die, sweet, gentle one, in pain and discomfort, for lack of reassurance. I never had comfort from you].

Lay 4 reads as a desperate appeal to the lady and *Amours*. The *je* begins by stating that he wishes to write a *lay* about his lady, and how she causes him so much pain (Lay 4, lines 1-5). He writes to gain her love, and if he fails, so he says, he will be as good as dead: "Que je ne m'en puis retraire, / Eins m'en lay detraire / Pour s'amour attraire / Qui veut me deffaire, / S'autrement ne li puis plaire, / Dont jugiés me tieng à mort" (Lay 4, lines 6-12), [Because I cannot save myself, I thus withdraw into this lay, in order to gain the love of she who wishes to undo me. If I cannot please her otherwise, then consider me condemned to death]. He then addresses *Amours* directly, commanding him to come swiftly to his aid: "Ha! Diex d'amours, vien tost le cours / Et m'aïde de tes secours: / Car, se temprement n'i acours, / Je ne puis estre respite / de la mort, / car tuit mi recours / sont en toy, et mi jours sont cours" (Lay 4, lines 33-8), [Hey! god of love, come quickly and aid me; for, if you do not come soon, I cannot be saved from death, since all my recourse is in you, and my days are limited].

As the lover becomes more and more desperate, he is eventually thrust into *Fortune*'s wheel: "Diex! Puis qu'einsi sui atourné / Que garison ne retour n'é / De mort, je sui mal tourné / Quant vers moy n'a son cuer tourné / La bele qui ainsi m'atourne / Qui tout mon bien ha destourné, / Dont le memoire ay bestourné, / Einsi m'a Fortune tourné. De tour en tour retourné, Si que tout bien contre moy tourne" (Lay 4, lines 97-107), [God! Since I am treated such that I have neither shelter nor refuge from death, I am led astray, because she has not turned her heart toward me, the beauty who thus sets herself against me, who has overturned my entire well-being, whose memory I have cast down. Fortune has turned me about like this, around and around again, such that all good opposes itself to me]. Entrapment in *Fortune*'s wheel represents the quintessential low point for a desirous and hopeless lover because the vicious cycle cannot be remedied without a complete change of perspective, without *entendement* of good love. *Fortune*

herself represents the desire of external goods, and desire that cannot be truly satisfied, only extinguished from within by the attainment of *Souffisance*. Having rejected his memory—the would-be catalyst of the *Dous Penser* and *Esperance* that would provide salvation from *Fortune*'s wheel—the lover has no recourse, and he bemoaningly concludes his *lay* by exclaiming: "Sachiés que vous estes celle / Pour qui je muir sans delay" (Lay 4, lines 143-4), [Know that you are the one for whom I die without delay].

In Lay 5, although the poet states that *Amours* only wishes to increase his constant and irremediable pain (Lay 5, lines 1-10), he wishes to submit, nonetheless: "s'aim par son veuil / ce qui ma mort appareille, / C'est des fleurs la nompareille / Qu'on claimme blanche, vermeille, / Belle, bonne, et sans orgueil (Lay 5, lines 12-16), [I thus love by her will, she who prepares my death. She is the flower with no equal, whom one calls fair, rosy, beautiful, good, and modest]. He then further describes the lady's beauty and goodness (Lay 5, lines 17-40) which proves again to be a source of suffering. Unfortunately, the "goodness" of his love will do him no favors: "Comment qu'à mon bien enclin, / Ne truisse son cuer qui mine / Le mien à desroy. / Dont ma joie yert en declin / S'elle à garir ne s'encline le mal que je reçoy, / Car son plaisant meintieng coy / Par desire mon cuer affine, / Toute ensement com la mine, / S'affine en feu; dont je croy / Morir dedens brief termine, / N'autre garison n'i voy" (Lay 5, lines 41-52), [However inclined I am to good, I do not attract her heart which besieges me to the point of dismay. Thus, my joy will diminish if she does not incline herself toward healing the malady that I suffer. For her pleasant and modest self vanquishes my heart with desire, just as a stump meets its end in flame. Therefore, I believe I will soon die, and I do not see another remedy].

This state of mind—that only reciprocation from the beloved can remedy the pain of desire—is the central dilemma of the "bad" and uninstructed lover in Machaut's works. The

lady's beauty and goodness will only be a source of suffering and "death" if her admirer conceives of them as external goods to be acquired and retained for himself. As her virtues belong only to her, seeking to attain them for oneself is futile and dangerous. Instead, they must be enjoyed from within through *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*. Only in this way can such a lover find *Souffisance*. Yet, once more, the lover of this *lay* finds neither hope nor joy; instead he awaits his death at the hands of his unrequited love: "Vueil pour li la mort atendre, / Quant elle ne deigne entendre / a ce qui me fait doloir" (Lay 5, lines 188-90) [On account of her, I wish to await my death, because she does not deign to acknowledge that which pains me].

In Lay 6, the lover-poet complains that *Amours* is set against him and will move the lady to favor him: "Amours ne veut entendre / A ce que ma dame soit tendre / Vers moy, eins est s'entention / que mon dolent cuer face fendre; / Joie ne deigne en moy descendre, / Et lay, c'est lamentation" (Lay 6, lines 7-12), [*Amours* does not intend that my lady be tender toward me, thus her intention is that my suffering heart split in two; Joy does not deign to descend on me, and this lay, it is my lamentation]. He also bemoans his unrequited love: "Et quant merci proie, / La simple, la quoye, / N'ottroie / Que soie / Ses serf ne ses armoreus, / Nès que je la voie. / Et pour l'amour soie / Morroie, / S'estoie / Sans vir corps gracious (Lay 6, lines 23-32), [And when I beg for her *merci*, the simple one, the coy one, does not permit me to be her servant, her lover, or to see her. And I would be dead from love if I lost sight of her gracious body]. Of course, he has only lost physical sight of her body—were he to contemplate it as *Souvenir*, he could save himself from death, but he does not yet have such skills. So, once again, dependence on *merci* and the lady's physical presence put him "deadly" state: "Si vif en trop mortel chace / Qu'Amours me dechace, / Pour ce que je chace / L'amour de ma dame chiere, Qui ma mort quiert et pourchace, / Quant elle m'enchace / Et quant avoir grace / Ne puis de sa chiere simple

(Lay 6, lines 33-40), [I thus live in a most deadly pursuit because love persecutes me, because I chase the love of my dear lady, who desires and seeks my death when she rejects me, and when I cannot receive the grace of her innocent face].

Then, we finally see some movement in the right direction, as he recants his harsh words toward the lady, praises her virtue, and reaffirms and defends his love for her: " Si doi moult estre repris / Quant j'ay dit qu'elle ha mespris, / Car tant ha scens / Los et pris. . . / Dont se de li sui espris / Et je l'aim, serf, los et pris, / Je ne fais pas mespresure" (Lay 6, lines 73-5, 80-2), [So, I ought to be greatly rebuked for having said that she'd erred, for she has great wisdom, honor, and worth. . . Therefore, if I am inflamed by her and I love, serve, and praise her, I make no mistake]. His repentance and recognition of the lady's virtue seem to nudge him toward the path of good love, and he sets himself to contemplating her image:

	Car quant en mon cuer devis	For when I devise in my heart
	Comment elle est belle de vis,	The beauty of her face,
85	Et comment, à mon devis,	And how in my imaginings,
	Ses gens corps est assevis,	Her gentle body is endowed
	De toute oeuvre de Nature,	With all the workings of Nature,
	Gens, joins et amanevis,	Fair, vigorous, lively,
90	Par penser sui si ravis	I am so ravished by thought
	Que je ne sçay se sui vis.	That I know not if I am alive.
	Si met je tout mon avis	I thus set all my thoughts on
	A penser à sa figure.	contemplating her image.

(Lay 6, lines 83-92)

Nonetheless, the image he paints in his mind only perpetuates his grief:

	Einsi pensant à s'amour	Contemplating her love in this way,
	Maintes fois demour,	I seize up again and again,
95	Et en ce demour	And in this moment
	Mes cuers fait clamour,	My heart clamors,
	Pleins d'umble cremour,	Overtaken by a meek fear,
	De sa grant tristour	By great sadness,
	Et de sa languor,	And by languor,
100	Par soupirs pleins de dolour,	By painful sighs
	A la grant valour	For the great valor

	Ma dame d'onnour.	Of my lady of honor.
	Mais pou de tenrour	Yet I take little tenderness from it;
	En ha; las! s'en plour,	Alas! I weep,
105	Et en mon grief plour	And I cry in grief,
	Si forment m'esplour,	Tear thus form in my eyes,
	Quant en mon avis retour,	When she returns to my mind,
	Que tous me devour.	Because all of this consumes me.

(Lay 6, lines 93-108)

This is a step forward in that he has successfully evoked *Souvenir*, but he does not yet know how to properly reminisce upon that memory—he lacks *Dous Penser*. Unable to extract joy from *Souvenir*, he surrenders to a silent and hopeless love: "Comment qu'il [*Amours*] ne li souveigne / De moy ne ne deigne / Qu'il me veigne / Riens dont preigne / Espoir qui m'ardour atteigne, / Nès que je ne me pleigne / Ne compleigne, / Si m'enseigne, / Quant elle est si estreigne" (Lay 6, lines 145-54), [Since Love does not remember me, nor does he deign that anything come to me from which I might find hope of extinguishing my ardor, I no longer lament or complain. I advise myself to do this when she [the lady] is so far from me]. Although he has accepted his painful condition, he completely abandons hope of consolation, and he only awaits death: "Et si n'est qui me confort, / Ne plus ne requier confort / N'aligement, / Eins endure liement, / Le mal que je porte, / Com cilz qui vueil sans deport / Tres humblement / Languir amouresement / Jusqu'à la mort (Lay 6, lines 165-73), [And as there is no one to console me, I no longer seek comfort or relief. I therefore willingly endure the malady I carry, like one who wants joylessly, quite humbly, to languish in love until death]. This death that he awaits, however, is not a symptom of his love, but rather, the cure—he believes it to be his only refuge. The final stanza reads: "Eins vueil tousdis à s'onnour tendre / Et tout mon temps en li despendre, / Comment qu'aie de guerredon / Pour s'amour qui en moy engendre, / Voloir d'endurer et d'atendre / La mort en lieu de guerredon" (Lay 6, lines 213-18), [I thus want to forever tend to her honor, and

devote all my life to her, whether I receive recompense for her love, which evokes in me desire to persist and await death in place of recompense].

So, what we see in these first six *lais* is a love experience characterized by desirous lack and suffering, rooted in the lover's perceived need for reciprocation, and his skewed perception of love wherein *Amours* should actively manipulate his fate by choosing whether or not to move the lady toward *merci*. This love experience is so emotionally distressing that it induces a perpetual and ubiquitous fear of "death," and by the end of Lay 6, the lover is certain that death will come before his desires are fulfilled.

It is fitting that MS A opens the *Lay* section with selections depicting this dolorous and desire-centered love, as it mirrors the protagonist's situation early on in key narrative poems that develop and transmit Machaut's love doctrine, and which appear before the *lays* in the manuscripts. Perhaps the best examples of this are the lover's *complainte* in *Remede de Fortune* and *Fontaine Amoureuse*. In *Remede de Fortune*, the Guillaume blames his pain on *Amours*, saying that he will die if Love does not make the lady favor him: "Dont je mourrai, se Dieus me gart, / S'elle par toy ne me depart / De ses douceurs aucune part / Pour me desfendre (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 1333-36), [I'll die of this, so help me God, if she does not grant me through you some share of her sweetness to protect me]. In a similar vein, the lover of *La Fontaine Amoureuse* demands that *Amours* (with the help of Morpheus) soften the lady's heart to save him from death:

735	Se le dieus [*Amours*] veut	If the god [of love] wishes
	Et Morpheüs, qui fera tout certein	And Morpheus too, who will make her heart
	Son cuer dou mien et li dira de plain	Utterly certain about mine, will tell her plainly
	Comment toudis pour s'amour me complain	How every day for the sake of her love I moan
	Et qu'il m'estuet	And that I must
	Morir pour li, estre autement ne puet,	
740	De la dolueur qui m'esteint et	

aquet, Se par pité Amours si ne la muet Qu'a mon cuer vein Face secours, car de mischief resuet, Et de tres griés pensers plus qu'il suet. (*La Fontaine Amoureuse,* lines 735-44)	Die because of her, it cannot be otherwise, For the pain will bind and hold me Unless through pity Love so alters her That she will rescue My feeble heart, for it is suffering misery And thoughts much more grievous than It is accustomed to.

In this way, the love experience of Lays 1-6 mirrors that of the protagonists of *Remede de Fortune* and *La Fontaine Amoureuse*: the journey begins with lamentation and fear of death on account of dependence on reciprocation, and expectation that *Amours* must grant the lady's favor. And, just as in *Remede de Fortune* and *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, the suffering that the *je* of lays 1-6 experiences eventually gives way to joy and hope facilitated reception of the good love doctrine, granted through "Qui n'aroit autre deport." Thus, a reader, performer, or listener of the first ten lays as listed in the index of MS A will receive a lesson in love doctrine that mirrors that of *Remede de Fortune* and *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, which further underscores the *lais* affiliation to and proximity to the *dits*.

Next, I will move to "Qui n'aroit autre deport," which reads as a doctrinal and didactic intervention in response to the hopeless and "deadly" love depicted in the previous six *lais*.

"Qui n'aroit autre deport:" An Intervention

Embedded within the narrative of *Remede de Fortune*, "Qui n'aroit autre deport" is one of the most important poems in Machaut's corpus regarding the development and transmission of love doctrine. Within the narrative frame of *Remede de Fortune*, it appears early on (at line 431/4300) and is presented as a way for the protagonist, a young court poet, to express his hidden love for his lady patron. Based on the index of MS A, we can presume that the *lay* was not meant to be read or performed exclusively within the context of *Remede de Fortune* because

it is listed among the *lays*, as well as in the index's final entry referencing *Remede de Fortune's* seven musical insertions.[241] Thus, the manuscript and its index lead readers, performers, and audiences to encounter the poem in several contexts. There is no other single work that is alluded to multiple times in the manuscript's index—a strong testament to the centrality of "Qui n'aroit autre deport" in Machaut's corpus.[242] Of principal interest here is the poem's role in the way Machaut's *lais* present and transmit love doctrine.

The poem opens with a concise statement of Machaut's doctrine, saying that a lover would err should he seek anything more than Memory, Sweet Thought, and Hope: "Qui n'aroit autre deport / En amer / Fors Doulz Penser / Et Souvenir / Avec l'Espoir de joïr, / S'aroit il tort / Se le port / D'autre confort / Vouloit rouver; / Quar pour .i. cuer saouler / Et soutenir, / Plus querir / Ne doit merir / Qui aimme fort" (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 431-44), [He who has no other pleasure in love than Sweet Thought and Memory with Hope of satisfaction, would be wrong if he sought the aid of any other comfort; because to satisfy and sustain a heart, he who loves deeply must seek no further reward]. Highlighting the crucial role of memory, the stanza goes on to explain that there are many consolations for the desirous lover, namely finding pleasure in remembering and imagining the lady's face, her voice, and her general goodness. Memory and the Sweet Thought it engenders will protect a lover from death: "Encore y a maint resort: / Remembrer, / Ymaginer, / En dous plaisir / Sa dame veoir, oÿr, / Son gentil port, / Le recort, / Dou bien qui sort / De son parler, / Et de son douls regarder, / Dont l'entrouvrir, / Puet garir, / Et garantir / Amant de mort" (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 431-58), [Yet there remain many

[241] See MS A, fol. Av.

[242] There are several lyrics that are embedded in *Voir Dit* with text only, and appear a second time as *chansons* in the musical section. While "Qui n'aroit autre deport" is only copied into the manuscript once (in *Remede de Fortune*), it is the only work that the index names by incipit multiple times. For a list of lyrics in the *Voir Dit* by incipit and then by form, see the Leech-Wilkinson and Palmer edition, 754-7.

consolations: to remember, or to imagine, to see, to hear, in sweet pleasure, his lady, her noble mien, the recollection, of the goodness that issues from her speech and from her sweet look, whose glance can preserve and protect a lover from death]. In this way, this opening stanza's message provides an antidote to the salient quandary of Lays 1-6, and its didactic, third-person voice contrasts markedly with the desperate and woeful *je* of the previous six entries. "Qui n'aroit autre deport" thus represents a major turning point in the trajectory of the *lais*—an intervention—as the lover finally begins to learn how to avoid "death" from love, and to work toward *Souffisance*.

Stanza 2 addresses the ultimate reward of the doctrine, *Souffisance*—a state of internalized joy unbeholden to externalities:

	Et qui voudroit plus souhaidier	And he who desires more—
460	Je n'os cuidier	I dare not believe
	Si fol cuidier	Such a foolish notion
	Que cilz aime de cuer entire	That he who loves whole-heartedly
	Qui de tels biens n'a soufissanche;	Does not find S*ouffisance* from such virtues.
	Quar qui plus qiuert, il veult trichier,	For, he who seeks more wants to deceive,
465	S'Amours tant chier	Because *Amours* holds him so dear
	L'a que fichier	That with her arrow
	Deigne par l'oel de son archier	She deigns through her archer's eye
	En son cuer d'eaus la cognoissanche.	To implant knowledge of them into his heart.
	Car on ne les puet esprisier,	For one cannot value
470	Ne trop prisier,	Or esteem them too much,
	Quant de legier	Since they can easily
	Pueent de tous maulz alegier,	Soothe all ills,
	Et faire par leur grant poissanche	And with their great power
	Un cuer navré sain et legier,	Make a wounded heart healthy and carefree,
475	Sans nul dangier,	With no danger,
	Et elosngier	And they can exile
	De mal, et de joie aprouchier,	Sadness and bring joy,
	Seulement par leur remembranche.	Merely through remembrance of them.[243]

(*Remede de Fortune*, line 459-73)

[243] I have modified the translation.

The stanza plays an important didactic role by implicitly qualifying *Souffisance* as the ultimate fruit of good love; those who seek more than Memory, Sweet Thought, and Hope do not have *Souffisance*.[244] The heart of a lover who has found *Souffisance* is healthy, joyful, and carefree. It is protected from the danger of "death," and this is achieved merely through remembrance. First, the knowledge of *Souvenir*, *Dous Penser*, and *Esperance* are implanted into the heart by the "eye of Love's archer"— the lover's physical gaze upon the beloved, likened to a shot to the heart from Cupid's bow.[245] Sight of the lady etches memorial images of her beauty into the heart and mind. These mental images are *Souvenir*, and reminiscence upon them is the *Dous Penser* that induces *Esperance*. So, the adherence to these virtues that leads remembrance of the lady herself and ultimately to *Souffisance*. Moreover, since *Amours* has deployed his archer to inscribe into the lover's heart the knowledge necessary to attain *Souffisance*, the lady is redeemed and absolved of the cruelty and indifference for which she is blamed in Lais 1-6.

The third stanza focuses on *Dous Penser* through contemplation of *Souvenir*: "Et pour ce engendree s'est Douche Pensee en mon cuer enfermee, qu'adez me souvient de la desiree, dont ma joie est nee et l'esperance doublee qui de li me vient" (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 479-86), [And thereby Sweet Thought is engendered and enclosed within my heart, because I always remember the desired one from whom my joy is born and the hope that issues from her is doubled.][246] This again reiterates that Memory is the catalyst of Sweet Thought, and it is from that Sweet Thought, the reminiscence upon *Souvenir* of the lady, that fills the heart with hope.

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[244] Later on in *Remede de Fortune*, Lady *Esperance* explicitly qualifies it as such in her *chant royal*. See *Remede de Fortune*, lines 1985-2032.

[245] The same metaphor is used elsewhere by Machaut, such as in the *virelai*, "Leuil qui est le droit archier" from the *Voir Dit*, which states: "Leuil qui est le droit archier / Damours pour traire et lancier / Mignotement. See *Voir Dit*, lines 969-7 [The eye which is true archer of Love for drawing on and delicately shooting. . .] I have modified Palmer's translation.

[246] I have modified the translation.

The lover's mental and emotional state represented here differs profoundly from that seen in previous *lais*. Now, instead of imploring *Amours* to move the lady to grant *merci*, the lover is equipped to find joy from within.

In stanzas four and five, he reiterates that seeing and hearing the lady, now in the form of *Souvenir*, brings him joy and consolation: "Mais quant je voy / Le tres bel arroy / Simple et quoy/ Sans desroy de son corps / Et que je l'oy / Parler sans effroy, Par ma foy / Si m'esjoy / Que toute joye ay (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 495-504), [But when I see her lovely body smartly dressed in beautiful, simple, modest attire, and when I hear her speak calmly, by my faith, I so rejoice that I have every happiness]. If he is pained by desire, he does not complain, because the lady's "dous riant oeil" [sweet laughing eye] and her "Fair Welcome" [Bel Accueil] sooth his pain and nourish his heart such that "einssi vivre me sousfist, / Ne plus ne vueul" (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 515-30), [to live like this satiates me, I want nothing more].[247] Here, the verb "sousfist"—the verbal form of *Souffisance*—shows that *Souffisance* is gained through contemplating the memorial image of the lady's "dous riant oeil."

Stanzas seven and eight show that good love must be internalized and hidden. Secrecy will protect the lover's heart because rejection would mean death: "Car se sa doucheurs m'estoit fiere, / Amours murtriere / Seroit de moy, ce je sai bien" (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 556-8), [For if her sweetness were denied me, *Amours* would be my murderer, this I know well]. Internalized love nourished by *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* will suffice: "Fouls seroie / Se rouvoie / Riens plus, fors qu'en li emploie / Corps, honneur, / Cuer, et amour, / Qu'autre joye / Ne devroie / Voloir, se assés remiroie / Sa douçour / Et sa valour" (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 576-78), [I'd be a fool

[247] I have modified the translation.

were I to ask for anything more than to devote to her my body, honor, heart, and love; I should not desire any other joy when I can sufficiently contemplate her sweetness and her worth].

In stanza nine, the lover seems to regress, complaining that *Amours* could have chosen to reveal his love to the lady, but has instead made him hide it, causing him much pain for which he has found no cure (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 595-609). However, thanks to his newly acquired virtues, he is prepared to bear the pain without complaint: "Mais s'en mon depri / Met Amours estri, / Je n'en bray ne cri, N'autrement ne m'en deffri, Ne pense a defrire" (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 610-14), [But if love opposes my prayer, I do not wail or cry out, nor do I become angry or think of doing so].[248]

In stanza ten, he pledges to live all his life loving enjoying the "douce maladie" [sweet malady] implanted into his heart (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 615-26]. This will bring Hope and reward: "Celeement / Et sagement, / Pacïenment, Et nettement / Ert et tres amoureusement / Dedens moncuer norrie; / Car bonnement / Et doucement, Prochainement / S'Espoirs ne ment, / M'ert ma paine tres hautement / A .c. doubles merie" (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 627-38), [Secretly and wisely, patiently and purely, and very lovingly was it nourished within my heart; for well and sweetly, and very soon, if Hope does not lie, my suffering will be rewarded most generously a hundred times over].[249]

Stanza eleven further confirms the efficacy of the doctrine by showing that contemplation of the lady's *dous regart* [sweet glance] can nullify the pain of Desire:

	Comment que Desirs m'assaille	For although Desire assails me
640	Et me fache mainte bataille	And wages many battles against me,
	Et poigne de l'amoreus dart,	And shoots me with his amorous dart,
	Qui souvent d'estoc et de tail	Which frequently slices my heart

[248] I have modified the translation.

[249] I have modified the translation.

	Celeement mon cuer detaille,	Secretly with its shaft and point,
	Certes bien en vain se travaille,	Indeed, he endeavors in vain,
645	Quar tout garist son Dous Regart	For her Sweet Glance heals all.
	Qui paist d'amoureuse vitaille	That nourishes my heart with
	Mon cuer, et dedens li entaille	Amorous sustenance, imprints within it
	Sa biauté fine par tel art	Her perfect beauty with such skill
	Qu'autre n'est de quoy il me chaille	That there is nothing else for which I care
650	Et des biens amoureus me baille,	And it grants me so many amorous gifts
	Tant qu'il n'est joye qui me faille	That there is no joy that does not come
	Que n'aie de li, que Dieus gart.	To me from her—may God keep her![250]

(*Remede de Fortune*, lines 639-52)

Whereas in the previous *lais*, desire born from the lady's beauty was a source of such intense suffering that the lover felt perpetually on the verge of death, now, contemplation of her *Dous Regart* [Sweet Glance] and great beauty are the remedy for that very pain. The lover's newly attained knowledge allows him to transform his pain into joy. Physical sight of the lady "entaille sa biauté fine" [imprints her perfect beauty] and the image of her sweet glance into the lover's heart and *memoire*. Contemplation of the memorial image of her *Dous Regart* and the joyous affect with which is associated "tout garist" [heals all] and "paist d'amoureuse vitaille mon cuer" [nourishes his heart with amorous sustenance].

In the twelfth and final stanza, the lover attests to his intention to secretly endure his desire, without objection or discomfort. It inspires him to honor and serve his lady and he says: "quant il me mort / Et veult grever, / Mais qu'a li vueille penser / Qu'aim et desir / Sans partir, Ne repentir; / La me confort" (*Remede de Fortune*, lines 674-80), [And when it seeks to wound and kill me, I have only to think of her whom I love and desire, forever, without regret; from there my comfort comes].[251] In this way, "Qui n'aroit autre deport" ends with the lover fully

[250] I have modified the translation.

[251] I have modified the translation.

prepared to endure and overcome his struggle with the perpetually "deadly" amorous desire depicted in Lais 1-6. "Death" can indeed be avoided through *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*, but will be able to hold to them?

Lais 7-9: Toward the Paradise of Love

Lay 7 follows logically from "Qui n'aroit autre deport," as the lover attests to his newfound conception of *Amours* and attempts to love according to the doctrine he has received. The poem shows a push and pull between Hope and Desire, and ultimately demonstrates how the doctrine of "Qui n'aroit autre deport" can effectively transform the suffering of desire into joyful hope. In the opening stanza, lover proclaims that the lady is "l'ente de tous biens" [the graft of all good] and that he must devote himself to serving her without repentance (Lay 7, lines 1-9). He agrees to patiently wait in hope that the lady's goods will come to him, and in exchange, he offers his full devotion to her (Lay 7, lines 9-16). He extends his *lay* to *Amours* as a token of gratitude: "Si que tout premierement / Vueil devotement / Loer humblement / Et mercier hautement / Amours en mon lay, / Quant elle m'a franchement, / Sans department, / Donné ligement / Pour ma dame loyaument / Servir de cuer vray," (Lay 7, lines 17-26), [First and foremost, I want to devotedly, humbly, and nobly praise and thank *Amours* in my lay, because she has generously, without hesitation, given me the devotion to loyally serve my lady with a true heart]. His gratitude toward *Amours*, his willingness to wait for the lady's goodness to come to him—an implicit reference to *Esperance*—and his ability to love "de cuer vray" [with a true heart] reflect his acceptance of the doctrine of "Qui n'aroit autre deport," and satisfy that *lay*'s qualification of a true and proper lover. To love joyfully, hopefully, and with a true heart is to exercise good love.

He then says that the lady makes him "mout liement / Et tres doucement / Amoureusement / Languir, sans avoir torment, Tristesse, n'esmay. . . Sa manière coie / Si me tient et loie / Que riens ne m'anoie / Qu'Amours me face n'envoie" (Lay 7, lines 32-6, 54-6), [lovingly languish happily and very sweetly with neither torment, sadness, nor dismay. . . Her coy manner so sustains and binds me that nothing distresses me that *Amours* does or sends my way]. While the notion of "happily languishing" may seem oxymoronic, it is a trope of good love in Machaut that illustrates a cognizant lover's ability to transform his desire into internalized joy.

While the *lay* begins very promisingly, the ability to maintain *Souffisance* is an ongoing endeavor and the lover may digress if he lets down his guard: "Mais trop me plein de Nature, / Quant ma cure / En si plaisant creature / Est sans partir ne mouvoir. . . Et ce me fait bleceüre / Grief et dure, / Et me tolt tout envoiseüre. . ." (Lay 7, lines 73-6, 81-3), [But I complain much of *Nature* when my care for such a pleasant creature goes without reciprocation or progress. . . And this gives me a grave and cruel injury and robs me of all joy]. Yet rather than being hopeless and helpless, the lover is now prepared to overcome such struggles: "Mais je ferai mon pouoir / Que ma dame nette et pure / Soit seüre / Que loyaument, sans laidure. / L'aim et sers sans decevoir / Autre confors n'i sçay fors bien amer. . ." (Lay 7, lines 83-9), [But I will do everything in my power so that my noble and pure lady might be assured that I love and serve her loyally, without lustfulness and without deception. I know no other consolation than to *love well*].

In order to love well, to exercise good love, he says: "il faut que je me peinne / de ma dame server et honnourer / Et de valour seürs à ce me meinne" (Lay 7, lines 90-2), [I must endeavor to serve and honor my lady, and this leads me to certain valor]. His efforts, he says, are sustained by Hope: "Car à .v. .c. doubles rendue / M'est, sans plus, par douce esperance / Dont fine amour est soustenue et / Et repeüe, / Quant de la belle ay veüe qui me point d'amoureuse

lance" (Lay 7, lines 99-104), [For it is increased by twice five-hundred times, no more, by sweet *Esperance*, thorough whom perfect love is sustained and nourished, when I have sight of the beauty who stings me with a loving lance]. *Esperance* derived from "having sight" of the lady is reference to *Souvenir*; when he contemplates the image of the lady's beauty as inscribed into his heart and memory, he finds hope, and his effort to serve and honor her, to love her "well," is greatly increased.

As the *lay* comes to an end, however, it seems that the lover's fear and insecurity gain the upper hand. He vows never to turn away from loving (Lay 7, lines 193-200), but Desire once again causes him to suffer: "Et se pour li me tourmente, / Et demente, / Quant elle m'est presente, / Ce fait, sans mentir, Desirs qui me represente / Plus de trente / Pensers, voire de sextant, / D'un seul souvenir" (Lay 7, 201-8), [And because of her, I torment myself and I worry when she is near, and I do not lie, Desire does this, who presents to me more than thirty, truly more than sixty thoughts from a single memory]. This seems a misapplication of *Souvenir* wherein the focus is on separation and lack, and not on the plenitude of reliving of that joyous affect associated with the lady's presence.

Not all has been lost, however, because although his memories may pain him, they still inspire him to love loyally: "Car sa grant biauté la plente / D'amours plente / En moy et me met en sente / De li obeir, / Et Loyauté n'est pas lente, / Einsois l'ente / Seur foy que je li creante / Jusques au morir" (Lay 7, lines 209-16), [For her great beauty has planted the seed of love within me and puts me on the path to obey her, and Loyalty does not delay; thus she grafts it in faith that I will trust her until I die]. Despite the lover's complaints about worry and self-torment on account of the lady, he is in a better position than that seen in the first six *lais*. There is no longer talk of *dying* from love, but rather, loyally enduring it until death. Moreover, as seen in the

earlier stanzas, his resolve to bear his love nobly and loyally is sustained by *Esperance* and *Souvenir*. While his emotional fluctuations underscore his struggle to consistently hold to good love, he does have the proper skills to do so. Perhaps further reinforcement of the truth and efficacy doctrine is needed. That is exactly what follows in Lay 8—directly from the voice of the lady herself.

Lay 8, is possibly the most explicitly didactic *lay* of the sequence, perhaps even more so than "Qui n'aroit autre deport." It opens with an authoritative, third person voice that details the nature and power of *Souffisance*, and seems to respond to the lover's struggles and emotional fluctuations in Lay 7:

	On parle de richeces et de grant signorie, D'avoir sens, los, puissance, biauté, Noble lignie, De grant prouesse aquerre, d'onneur, de grant courtoisie. Mais qui n'a souffisance, je dis que il mendie.	One speaks of having wealth and great lordship, Intellect, renown, power, beauty, noble lineage, Of acquiring great bravery, honor, and great chivalry. But he who lacks S*ouffisance*, I call him a beggar.
5	Car se quanque Nature aus eureus ottrie Et quanqu'il a en monde, et plus que je ne die, Servoit à .j. seul homme, comme amis et amie, S'il ne li souffisoient, riches ne seroit mie;	For, whatever Nature grants the fortunate, And however much of it he has in this world, even more than I could say, Whatever Nature has granted a given person, whether man or woman, If it didn't suffice, he wouldn't be rich at all.
	Qu'il n'est mie assevis pour estre en mendiance.	Because one is not at all satisfied while in a state of beggary.
10	Mais quant uns petits homs prent en gré sa chevance, Si qu'elle li souffist, on dit en audience Qu'il est aussi riche comme est li roi de France. Si puis par ce prouver qu'avoirs ne grant science,	Yet, when even a commoner willingly accepts his lot, Such that he is satisfied, everyone proclaims That he is a rich as the king of France. I can thus prove that having neither great knowledge, Prowess, honor, beauty, lineage, nor valiance,

	Prouesse, honneur, biauté, lignage ne ne vaillance,	*Nature*, nor anything else in the world has the power
15	Nature n'autre rien dou monde n'ont puissance	To make a heart rich if it does not have
	De faire riche un cuer, s'il n'a souffisance.	*Souffisance*.

(Lay 8, lines 1-16)

This highly didactic glossing of *Souffisance* stresses that true happiness must be found from within and, and that it must be derived from the goods that one naturally has at their disposal. The comparison of kings to beggars, and commoners to kings, frames *Souffisance* as a great equalizer in the world; everyone must strive for it, rich, or poor, man or woman, and to ask for more is to be thrust into a state of beggary.

While the opening stanza situates *Souffisance* within the context of wealth and social hierarchy, the stanza 2 quickly pivots to its role in the world of love:

	Einsi est des amans qui vivent en desir,	It is like so with lovers who live in desire.
	Il en y a aucuns qu'on ne puet assevir,	There are those who cannot be satisfied,
	N'il ne prennent en gré gracieus recueillir,	Nor do they take with satisfaction gracious bounty,
20	Dous ris ne biau parler que il puissant oïr,	They cannot hear a sweet laugh or beautiful speech,
	Eins mendient des biens qu'Amours a à partir,	They thus beg for the goods that *Amours* might distribute,
	Et s'en ont à plenté pour leurs cuers soustenir;	And they indeed have much to sustain their hearts,
	Mais pas ne leur souffist: si ne font que languir.	But it is not enough for them: and therefore, they only languish.
	Quant à joie grignour ne puuent avenir.	So, they cannot achieve true joy.

(Lay 8, lines 17-24)

This type of lover—the one whose desire only makes him expect and beg for more than *Amours* has already granted—mirrors exactly the desirous and lamenting *je* of Lais1-6, and it is

especially relevant to the lover Lay 7, because he is well aware of *Amours*' true gifts of *Souvenir*, *Dous Penser* and *Esperance*, yet he still begs for more. In this way, Lay 8 functions, like "Qui n'aroit autre deport," as a doctrinal intervention that works to keep lovers on the path of good love.

The following stanza reinforces the internalized and self-generated nature of *Souffisance*, and describes the comportment of those who follow the proper love doctrine:

25	Et des autres y a qui ne veulent joïr	And there are others who only want joy
	Fors d'un tres dous regard ou de leur dame vir,	From a very sweet glance or from seeing their lady,
	Ou de ce qu'il feroit doucement conjoïr,	Or from that which might sweetly bring them joy,
	Ou d'amer loyaument, s'on le deigne souffrir;	Or from loving loyally, even if they are deigned to suffer.
	Et si bien leur souffist qi'il ne leur puet venir	And they find this so satisfying that it could not happen that
30	Cuer de plus desirer: tant y ont grant plaisir.	Their heart desire more; they find great joy in this.
	Dont qui l'un de ces bien prent au goust de merir,	Therefore, he who takes such goods for the taste of reward,
	Je di qu'il a merci, quant plus ne veut querir.	I say he has *merci*, because he could desire nothing more.

(Lay 8, lines 25-32)

A lover who holds to good love finds joy and satisfaction in simply seeing the lady or receiving her gaze and he requires nothing more. When considered in the context of the doctrine put forth by "Qui n'aroit autre deport," seeing the lady or receiving her sweet glance can take place merely through *Souvenir*. If a lover can contemplate *Souvenir* sufficiently to induce joy, then he has attained *merci*, which "n'est fors avoir ce qu'amans plus desir, / Et s'il ha son desir sans contredire, / Il a merci dont en pais se repose" (Lay 8, lines 33-6), [is nothing other than having what a lover most desires, and if he obtains his desire without objection, he has *merci* and therefore remains in peace]. From this, the speaker concludes: "Si vueil merci souffissance

apeler / Et ensement souffissance merci, / Car c'est tout un ; ne je ne puis trouver / Que qui a l'un qu'il n'ait l'autre aussi, / Quant en amours" (Lay 8, lines 41-5), [Therefore, I wish to call *merci*, *Souffisance*, and likewise, *Souffisance*, *merci*. For they are one in the same; and I cannot imagine that he who has one, does not also have the other while in love]. The equating of *merci* to *Souffisance* cleverly implies that he who asks for more than that which *Amours* has already granted (that is, Memory, Sweet Thought, and Hope), will never have *merci*. This rhetoric works to solidify and strengthen the doctrine of "Qui n'aroit autre deport" which seems to be somewhat ineffectual for the lover of Lay 7.

Near the midpoint of the poem, for the first time in the *lais* of MS A, we see the voice of the lady, [252] as she reveals herself to be that wise and authoritative figure who has just so eloquently expounded the virtue of *Souffisance*: "Si ne tient pas à Amours / N'à moy que mes dous amis / N'ait souffissance et secours / Et qu'il ne soit assevis, / Car de tout le bon confort / Que penser puis le confort, / Et conforterai tousdis, / Sauve m'onneur, par le sort / D'Amours qui à ce m'a mis" (Lay 8, lines 89-97), [He holds not to *Amours* nor to me, since my sweet friend has neither *Souffisance* nor aid, nor is he satisfied. So, I can console him, and I always will, with all the comfort thought can provide, my honor guarded by *Amours*, who has set me to this]. This can be read as an implicit criticism of the lover of lay 7; he is unable to hold to the good *Amours* has already provided, and thus cannot achieve *Souffisance*. The lady works to resolve that predicament by reiterating the consolatory power of *Penser*, and by saying that, through it, she will do the will of *Amours* and comfort him. This satisfies the lover's desire for *Amours* to induce the lady's *merci* seen in the previous *lais*, but cleverly does so in a way that the lover can

[252] The speaker subtly reveals her gender through her reference to her "dous amis," which both visually and aurally denotes a male lover.

find that *merci* from within; he needn't be near the lady or receive any tangible or physical reciprocation. He needs only to *think* of her, and to rest assured that she is also thinking of him.

She explains that through *Penser*, he will be nourished and satisfied: "Ce l'embelit, / Ce l'adoucit, / Ce l'agencit, Ce l'apertit, / Ce le norrit, / Ce l'enrichit, / Ce l'assevit, / Qu'il li suffit" (Lay 8, lines 151-85), [This elevates him, this soothes him, this calms him, this nourishes him, this enriches, this completes him, such that he is satisfied]. Finally, she concludes with a proclamation that should he love honorably and loyally, she will, through *Penser*, grant him her love:

	Dont quant de li aimée loyaument et cherie Sui, creinte, desirée, honnourée, obeïe, Sans villeinne pensée, et humblement servie, Estre ne doy blasmée, se m'amour li ottrie.	Therefore, when I am loyally loved and cherished by him, When I am feared, desired, honored, obeyed, And humbly served without lustful thought, I mustn't be blamed if I grant him my love.
175	Pour ce de vray courage, de volente jolie, De pensée amoureuse en plaisence norrie, Li doing mamour entiere. Or soit miens sans partie Et vueil estre sienne tous les jours de ma vie.	Thus, with true courage, with pretty desire, Through loving thought nourished in pleasure, I grant to him my love entirely. Now, let him be mine forever, As I wish to be his all the days of my life.

(Lay 8, lines 171-8)

By granting her love through "pensée amoureuse en plaisence norrie," [loving thought nourished in pleasure] she exemplifies herself as an ideal lover who has attained *Souffisance* through *Dous Penser*, and at the same time grants the *merci* for which the lover of the earlier *lais* desperately begs. The internalized nature of her love guards her honor through chastity, and also protects her admirer from the pain of separation or the possibility of tangible, physical rejection. In this way,

the lady of *Lay* 8 grants the ultimate *merci* by demonstrating how a lover can gain his lady's favor merely through the internal virtue of *Dous Penser*, and remain in internally perpetuated state *Souffisance* with no need for carnal reciprocation, or even the lady's physical presence.

Lay 9, the final entry in this sequence of *lais* I will analyze here, is the first to be given an explicit title: *Le Paradis d'Amours*. This "Paradise of Love" is the destination toward which the lover and audience of Lais 1-8 are led, with their journey redirected and ultimately shaped by the interventions of "Qui n'aroit autre deport," and Lay 8. The opening of *Le Paradis d'Amours* again reiterates the crucial role of *Souvenir* in the pursuit of *Souffisance*:

	Amours, se plus demandoie,	*Amours*, if I asked for more,
	Ne voloie,	And wanted
	Ou s'autre bien desiroie	Or desired reward beyond
	Que la joie qui me vient	The joy that comes to me
5	De toy, very toy mesprendoie	Through you, I would do you wrong,
	Et feroie	And I would do
	Ce que faire ne devroie	That which I should not,
	Et ce qu'à moy n'apartient.	And which is inappropriate.
	Car il couvient que je croie	For, it is proper that I believe
10	Et ottroie	And accept
	Qu'en ton dous paradis soie,	That I am in your sweet paradise
	Quant de m'amour me souvient.	When my I remember my love.
	Dont s'à mon vueil le voie,	For if I see to this willingly,
	Plus aroie	I could have nothing more
	Que souhaidier ne porroie	Than to hope
15	De quanque à joie convient.	To find joy.
	Et vraiment je ne voy	And truly, I see
	Qu'autre paradis	That there is no other paradise
	Soit en l'amoureuse loy	In the law of love
20	Fors d'estre tousdis	Save always being
	Loyaus, joieus, jolis,	Loyal, joyous, and merry,
	Et que sans desroy	And that lady and lover
	S'aimment amie et amis,	Love one another without wickedness
	Et en vraie foye.	And in true faith.
25	Qu'amans qui vit en ce ploy	Because a lover who lives in such a state
	Est plus qu'assevis;	Is beyond satisfied;
	Car tant de joie a en soy	For he has so much joy from within

	Qu'en joie est ravis,	That he is delighted by it,
	N'il ne li puet estre avis	And he couldn't possibly believe
30	Qu'Amours face anoy.	That *Amours* might trouble him.
	Tant est liés ses esperis:	His spirit has great joy:
	En ce point le croy.	I believe this.

(Lay 9, lines 1-32)

Beyond this point, the *je* is revealed one more to be voice the lady:[253]

	Et pour ce vueil loyaument,	And because of this, I want to loyally,
	De cuer et joieusement,	Joyously,
35	Amours servir	Serve *Amours* with my heart,
	Tout mon temps et moy tenir	All my life, to conduct myself
	Joliement,	Joyfully,
	Et le bel, le bon, le gent,	And to always cherish
	Qu'aim et desir,	With true sentiment,
40	En toy, de vray sentement	The handsome, the good, the noble one
	Tousdis cherir,	Whom I love and desire in your image,
	Qui sans vilein pensement	Who without lustful thought,
	M'aimme et sert si nettement,	Loves and serves me purely,
	Sans repentir,	Without repentance,
45	Qu'il ne vuet autre merir	Such that he desires no other reward,
	Fors seulement	Save only
	Qu'aie honneur: là ses cuers tent	That I retain my honor: his heart strives for
	Et si desir,	That, and thereby, in it
	Là sont mis entierement	Are placed entirely
50	Tuit si plaisir.	All desires and pleasures.

(Lay 9, lines 3-50)

Just as in Lay 8, the lady proclaims that she will fulfill the will of *Amours* and reward her admirer for the goodness of his love. However, the difference here is that now, good love and the *Souffisance* it brings are elevated to the status of earthly salvation: to love joyfully and hopefully through *Souvenir is* to enter into "The Paradise of Love." In this paradise, both lover and lady cherish one another honorably, truly, and through mere remembrance. This is a profound change of affairs as compared to Lais 1-6; *Amours*, who before seemed only to lead the lover toward a

[253] The gender of the speaker is again revealed through masculine adjectives describing her lover: *bel*, *bon*, *gent*.

painful death, and to leave the lady indifferent and inaccessible, now guides both lover and lady to earthly salvation. Having granted her *merci,* the lady ends her *lay* in a state of *Souffisance*: "Et trop plus que ne soloie / Me resjoie. / Pour mon ami qu'en diroie? / Il m'aimme, obeist et creint; / Il est miens et je sui soie: / C'est ma joie, / C'est dou miex qu'Amours envoie, / C'est ce qui me soustient" (Lay 9, lines 191-8), [And I now rejoice much more than before. As for my lover, what might I say about him? He loves, obeys, and fears me; he is mine, and I am his. That is my joy, that is the very best thing that *Amours* has to offer, that is what sustains me].

Conclusion

Lais 1-9 as indexed MS A depict love experience with a distinct trajectory wherein the lover moves from a "deadly" and desirous love to an indoctrinated state in which both he and his lady find *Souffisance* through adherence to the virtues of *Souvenir*, *Dous Penser*, and *Esperance*. Within that trajectory, the arbitrary, yet universal *je* of the poem functions in a way that it can be conceived to project the voice of a single lover (and or/his lady). Thus, as readers, performers and audiences interact with the manuscript and experience this sequence of *lais* as Machaut has explicitly ordered them, they will also follow the lover/lady's trajectory and therefore enjoy both an entertaining and didactic experience that may teach them to find joy and plenitude in love.

In the first six *lais*, the love experience is painted as cruel and dolorous, and is so riddled with desirous lack that the lover perpetually finds himself on the precipice of "death." By the end of Lay 6, he has lost all hope and proclaims that he will only await his own death, joylessly, as he languishes in love (Lay 6, lines, 213-18). It is at this point that "Qui n'aroit autre deport," the *lay* of *Remede de Fortune* with its incipit inserted into the index of the manuscript, literally and figuratively makes an intervention and expounds the foundations of good love that will equip the lover with the necessary virtues to attain *Souffisance*. In the wake of that doctrine, the lover of

Lay 7 shows promise as he devotes his *lay* to *Amours* (Lay 7, lines17-26), proclaims that love can cause him no pain (L7, lines 32-6, 54-6), and that he is sustained by *Esperance* (L7, lines 99-104). However, toward the end of the poem, he digresses and is once again overcome with painful desire (L7, lines 201-8). He ultimately resolves to endure his painful love until death takes him. In this way the lover of Lay 7 finds himself a liminal space where he has cognizance the doctrine, but he has not yet learned to consistently follow it, or perhaps to truly understand its value. The opening of Lay 8, with its didactic glossing of the virtue of *Souffisance*, reads as yet another intervention—this time in response to lover's digressions in Lay 7. Lay 8 is also the first to project the voice of the lady, who quite authoritatively reaffirms the value of the doctrine of "Qui n'aroit autre deport," and then proclaims that she will grant *merci* to her lover should he adhere to that doctrine. Finally, Lay 9, the first in the manuscript to be given a proper title (*Le Paradis d'Amours*), represents the elevation of good love and its ultimate fruit of *Souffisance* to the level of earthly paradise wherein salvation from that "deadly" love depicted in the earlier *lais* may be found. In this Paradise of Love, both lover lady find salvation through a noble and chaste love rooted in *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*. Both achieve *Souffisance*—the lover through being rewarded with the lady's *merci*, and the lady, through granting it.

In chapter five, I will conclude this study with a consideration of how poetic-musical form in three of Machaut's early monophonic *virelais* works to distill and transmit doctrine in a memorable way.

CHAPTER FIVE

Encerclement, Poetico-Musical Form, and Memorability in Virelais 5, 7, and 8

A relatively small amount of scholarly attention has been devoted to Machaut's *virelais* in comparison to their lyric counterparts the *ballades* and *rondeaux*.[254] Like those forms, the *virelais* have a set structure dictated by refrain placement; hence, the designation of all three as *formes fixes*. While the *ballades* have a feeling of linearity due to refrain placement at the end of each stanza, the *rondeaux* and *virelais*, both having evolved from the thirteenth-century *rondeau*,[255] are characterized by *encirclement*: a cyclical appearance of the refrain within various positions of the poem that causes it to "encircle" the rest of the text.[256] Indeed, in both the *rondeaux* and the *virelais* the refrain begins and ends the poem, and it also appears in intermediary positions. The result is that all roads lead to and from the refrain, thus creating this

[254] Much of the important work containing discussion of the *virelais* dates to the mid-twentieth century, but some of it is still important. Of particular interest are several contributions by Gilbert Reaney discussing the origins, form, and structure of the *formes fixes*. See Gilbert Reaney, "A Chronology of the Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais Set to Music by Guillaume de Machaut," *Musica Disciplina* 6 (1952), 33-8; "Concerning the Origins of the Rondeau, Ballade, and Virelai Forms," *Musica Disciplina* 6 (1952), 155-66; "Fourteenth Century Harmony and the Ballades, Rondeaux, and Virelais of Guillaume de Machaut," *Musica Disciplina* 7 (1953), 129-46; The Ballades, Rondeaux, and Virelais of Guillaume de Machaut: Melody, Rhythm, and Form," *Acta musicologica* 27 (1955), 40-58; "Guillaume de Machaut: Lyric Poet," *Music & Letters* 39, no.1 (1958), 38-51; "The Poetic Form of Machaut's Musical Works: I. The Ballades, Rondeaux, and Virelais," *Musica Disciplina* 13 (1959), 25-41; "The Development of the Rondeau, Virelai, and Ballade Forms from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut," in *Festgabe Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am* 7 (Regensberg, Germany: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1962), 421-7. Also of note is Daniel Poirion's discussion of structure, evolution, and *encerclement*. See Poirion, *Le Poète et le Prince*, 326-32, 343-7. There does not seem to be a large amount of recent scholarship specifically treating the *virelais*, but the following articles by Lawrence Earp will be foundational to this chapter: "Genre in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson: The Virelai and The Dance Song," *Musica Disciplina 45* (1991), 123-41; Lawrence Earp, "Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing in Late Medieval France: The Development of the Dance Lyric from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut." In *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry*, eds. Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable, and James I. Wimsatt (Austin, TX: 1991), 101-32.

[255] See Reaney, "Concerning the Origins," 161.

[256] The term *encerclement* was coined by Daniel Poirion. For his discussion of *encerclement* in the *rondeaux* and *virelais*, see *Le Poète et le Prince*, 317-32.

sense of circularity. Barbara Altmann has described the phenomenon as a "circular movement," a "doubling back" that results "primarily from the use [placement] of the refrain."[257]

Encerclement in the *virelais* is also a musical phenomenon. As I will further explain below, the *virelais*' musical refrain, which unlike that of the *ballade* and *rondeau*, which constitutes an entire musical section,[258] is even more repetitive than the textual refrain. This is because the musical refrain always coincides with the textual refrain, but it also declaims the tail end of each non-refrain stanza. The added repetition of the musical refrain makes it all the more memorable. Other qualities of the *virelais* also render their text memorable and easily understood. For example, contrary to the *ballades* and *rondeaux*, most of the *virelais* are monophonic and display predominantly syllabic text declamation.[259] In contrast, all the *ballades* save one,[260] and all the *rondeaux* are polyphonic, and by convention, highly melismatic. Consequently, the *virelais* are relatively musically simplistic, even minimalistic in comparison to the *ballades* and *rondeaux.* These structural features of the *virelais*— refrain placement/repetition, poetic and musical *encerclement*, and musical simplicity characterized by monophony and syllabic text declamation—render them semantically and melodically accessible, and give them a high level of memorability, as well as great didactic potential. In what follows, I will examine how poetico-musical form in three of Machaut's early *virelais*

[257] Barbara K. Altmann, "Guillaume de Machaut's Lyric Poetry." In McGrady and Bain (2012), 311-41, at 318.

[258] Just as the *virelais*' textual refrain is substantial enough to function as a free-standing stanza, its musical refrain comprises an integral musical section. In the *ballades* and *rondeaux*, the textual refrain is only part of each stanza, and the musical refrain is only part of each musical section.

[259] Of the thirty-two notated *virelais*, only eight are polyphonic. Seven of these have a two-voice, and one, Virelai 25, "Tres bonne et belle," has three voices. For information on structure, editions, and manuscript tradition of this three-voice *virelai*, see Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 381-2.

[260] This single, monophonic example is Ballade 37. "Dame, se vous m'estes lointeinne." For information on structure, editions, and manuscript tradition, see Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut*, 306-7.

works to deliver textual doctrine in a clear and memorable way that may help it be understood, retained, and recalled for later contemplation.

Dance Form and Memorability

The repetitive and musically simplistic form of the *virelais* is rooted in their origin as a dance form. Medieval dance forms were characterized by "monophony, syllabic projection of poetry in a strongly rhythmic profile, heterometric verse that contributes to the forward drive of the musical setting, and an easily grasped, singable tune."[261] In fact, all three of the *formes fixes* which would during Machaut's career supplant the *trouvere grand chant courtois* as the most elevated of poetic and musical forms (with the *ballade* being the most elevated), had modest origins in the thirteenth century as popular dance forms.[262] In the fourteenth century, however, the previously "lower-level popular genre associated with dance [*ballades* and *rondeaux*] is elevated, and what was previously a high level genre is abased [*grand chant courtois*]."[263] This striking change in priority within French music and poetry was a natural development because the thirteenth-century *ballade* and *rondeaux*, unlike the *grand chant courtois*, always involved measured and metrified musical rhythm, and were therefore easily assimilated to the innovative rhythms of the *ars nova*.[264] Machaut was a key influence in this shift, as his works were "influential in whetting the appetite of courtiers for a new musical style of chanson that they themselves could not compose" due to the high level of musical training and compositional skill

[261] Earp, "Declamatory Dissonance," 105-6.

[262] The *grand chant courtois* was a monophonic form with unmeasured musical rhythm. It typically consists of five stanzas and no refrain. For a discussion of the contrast between "courtly" and "popular" music in the thirteenth century, see Butterfield, *Petry and Music*, 125-32.

[263] Earp, "Lyrics for Reading," 101

[264] Earp, "Genre in the Fourteenth Century," 125.

they required.[265] Another significant change that took place during Machaut's career was that polyphony, which was never an aspect of the *grand chant courtois*, quickly became the norm for fourteenth-century *ballade* and *rondeau*.[266]

While these developments seem to have naturally caused the *ballade* and *rondeau* to diverge from their traditional role as popular dance forms, such was not the case with the *virelais*, especially during the earlier part of Machaut's career during which he made a clear effort to maintain their traditional role as a popular dance form. Aside from their salient musical qualities, perhaps the most explicit proof that Machaut wished to maintain the *virelais* as a dance form is his insistence on referring to it as a "chanson baladee" in *Remede de Fortune*, *Voir Dit*, and the index of MS A—a term which according to Earp, means "danced song."[267] Thus, in Machaut's corpus, the *virelai* seems to be "the only remaining song form that was sung for dancing," and "Machaut's oddly emphatic assertion of his label *chanson baladée* may indicate that he was fighting to preserve something lost. . ."[268]

Many of the qualities that define the *virelai* as a dance form also render its text and melody remarkably clear and memorable. Gilbert Reaney describes, for example, two distinct types of melody in Machaut (or more clearly, two manners in which melody declaims text): melismatic and syllabic:

> The first [melismatic] occurs principally in the Ballades and Rondeaux, and the second [syllabic] mainly in the Virelais. . . One difference between these two types of melody is

[265] Earp, "Lyrics for Reading," 116.

[266] Earp, "Lyrics for Reading," 101.

[267] Earp, Lyrics for Reading," 115. In *Remde de Fortune*, Guillaume prefaces his *virelai* by saying: "Lors sans delay / En commenchay ce virelay / Que on claimme chançon balladee; / Ainssi doit elle estre clamee," *Remede de Fortune*, lines 3347-50, [Then without delay, I began this virelai, which is called chanson baladee; this is what it should be named]. Other uses of the term appear in the *Voir Dit.* See *Voir Dit*, lines 942, 3905. Perhaps most importantly, the index of MS A lists them as "Chansons baladees." See BnF Ms fr.1584, fol. B.

[268] Earp, "Lyrics for Reading," 115-6.

> length, which is usually in inverse proportion to the length of the text. A Rondeau with a short text like no.21 may have melismatic periods of breath-taking length, while many of the Virelais, whose single strophes are as long as most of the Rondeaux, have a very short melody. Moreover, and this is more important, while the syllabic phrases are often formed of rhythmically symmetrical phrases, e.g. Virelai 4, the melismatic pieces are usually asymmetrical, notwithstanding their rhythmic unity. The syllabic pieces are much less broken up by pauses and figuration than the bigger melismatic works, and hence give the impression of being more truly melodic.[269]

These observations exemplify how the *ballade* and *rondeau* during Machaut's career had diverged away from their traditional dance form role and evolved into something more elevated and complex, while the *virelai* had stayed more aligned with tradition by remaining predominantly syllabic in its text declamation, as were all three forms in the thirteenth century. The retention of syllabic melody has further implications, as Reaney explains:

> It has been pointed out that Machaut makes use of conventional melodic-rhythmic (or simply rhythmic) motives in his melismatic works, whereas in the syllabic works melodic interest is greater. Structurally we find that the use of a definite rhythm is usually connected with a definite melodic motif in the syllabic works, whereas in the melismatic songs the melody is often almost incidental and by no means so clearly defined. This melodic variety is very clearly intentional. Every motif must be recognizable. . . [270]

These two types of melody (melismatic and syllabic) have important bearing on the relative aural and semantic comprehensibility of the text they declaim. In comparing the experience of listening to a syllabic *rondeau* by the thirteenth-century *trouvere* Adam de la Halle and a melismatic *rondeau* of Machaut, Ardis Butterfield explains:

> We are largely registering the difference between a syllabic and melismatic relation between words and music. The verbal and musical elements coincide in Adam's song to form an uncomplicated though multiple set of sounds. In Machaut, however, the melismas break up the verbal line, stretching the syllables into sounds which lose their connection with verbal meaning.[271]

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[269] Reaney, "The Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais," 40. In his references to specific songs, Reaney uses Ludwig's ordering. See Guillaume de Machaut, *Musikalische Werke*, 4 vols. Reprint, ed. Friedrich Ludwig (Leipzig: 1954). The *ballades*, *rondeaux*, and *virelais* are found in volume 1.

[270] Reaney, "The Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais," 53.

[271] Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 273.

Although Butterfield is comparing works from two different composers and eras, the effect on aural and semantic reception and comprehensibility of text is analogous if one were to compare one of Machaut's melismatic *rondeaux* to one of his syllabic *virelais*. Benjamin Albritton has noted in reference to the *lais*, which are also predominantly monophonic and syllabic, that a one-to-one note to text relationship (a syllabic one, that is) implies that the dominant function of the musical setting is to declaim text.[272] The function of the musical setting to declaim text may also apply to other syllabic songs, especially the *virelais* which are "the genre that exhibits the simplest syllabic text declamation."[273] Lawrence Earp also states elsewhere that "of all Machaut's earlier music, the virelai is the genre that has the best tunes, wholly unlike the melodies that set ballade and rondeau verse." He defines "tune" as a "melodic unit that has a clear phrase structure, and a simple, *memorable* melody."[274]

So, these characteristics of the *virelais* rooted in the dance form tradition—syllabic text declamation, rhythmic symmetry, definitive recognizable melodic motifs, and monophony—render their text memorable by declaiming text in a clear and "catchy" way so that the melodies and words together can be understood, retained, and recognized by listeners. In this way, solid textual and melodic comprehension are stressed, and immediate recognition, if not literal memorization, is encouraged. The ultimate result is a uniform and highly repetitive poetico-musical structure that further enhances textual and melodic "memorability" through *encirclement*.

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[272] Albritton, "Moving across Media." In McGrady and Bain, *A Companion*, 122.

[273] Earp, "Declamatory Dissonance," 105.

[274] Earp, "Genre in the Fourteenth-Century French Chanson," 131-2. My emphasis.

It is important to consider poetic and musical structure side by side because although they are slightly different, in the musical *virelai*, the two work together through repetition and *encerclement* to create a highly repetitive and "memorable" textual and musical experience (please refer back to Table 3.2 to compare structure of the lyric and musical *virelai*). The textual refrain (*A*) occurs four times and both begins and ends the poem. The even more repetitive musical refrain (*a*) which is a specific melodic motif or "tune" that comprises and entire musical section, occurs seven times: four times declaiming the textual refrain, and three times declaiming the tail-end of each non-refrain stanza (this structure will be further clarified in the musical examples below). While the non-refrain melody (*b*) is also repetitive, appearing six times, it takes a position of secondary focus due to the "encircling" musical refrain which often completes the poetic line begun in the preceding non-refrain stanza—a phenomenon known as musical enjambment. It would be hard to imagine how such a form, coupled with syllabic text declamation and clearly defined and recognizable rhythmic and melodic motifs, would not get "stuck in the head" and become an easily recognizable "earworm." In this way, these *chansons* would have been easily known and recognized by courtiers and would have provided them with moments of entertainment, didacticism, and consolation, whether heard live, or recalled and contemplated in the mind as *Souvenir*.

Bearing all these qualities of the *virelais* in mind, I will now analyze three of Machaut's early *virelais*, and interrogate how poetico-musical form works to transmit doctrine in a clear and memorable way.

Virelai 5: "Comment qu'a moy lonteinne"

Before moving to a reading of "Comment qu'à moy lonteinne," I want to clarify how a *virelai* is set to music. Although the musical texture and structure of the *virelais* are quite

simplistic as described above, the way text and music are aligned in the form is somewhat complicated and merits a thorough explanation. Table 5.2 shows the text and translation of "Comment qu'à moy lonteinne" aligned with the corresponding structure of the musical setting: *A* denotes textual and musical refrain in unison; *b* represents the melody that declaims the first part of each non-refrain stanza (sung twice at each appearance), and *a***,** the musical refrain that declaims the tail end of each non-refrain stanza. To be clear, there are only two melodies: *A*/*a*, and *b*—the difference between *A* and *a* is textual and *not* musical. Musical Example 5.1, placed below Table 5.2, is an expanded musical setting that parses the text-music relationship one musical line at a time. I say "expanded" because Musical Example 5.2 and the subsequent settings for Virelais 7 and 8 (Musical Examples 5.3 and 5.4) show the conventional way of setting a *virelai* in modern notation where repeat signs and other instructions allow the avoidance of writing out the same music several times.[275] So, the expanded setting in Musical Example 5.1 should be used as a reference, if necessary, to determine the text-music relationship in the subsequent settings of this chapter. [276]

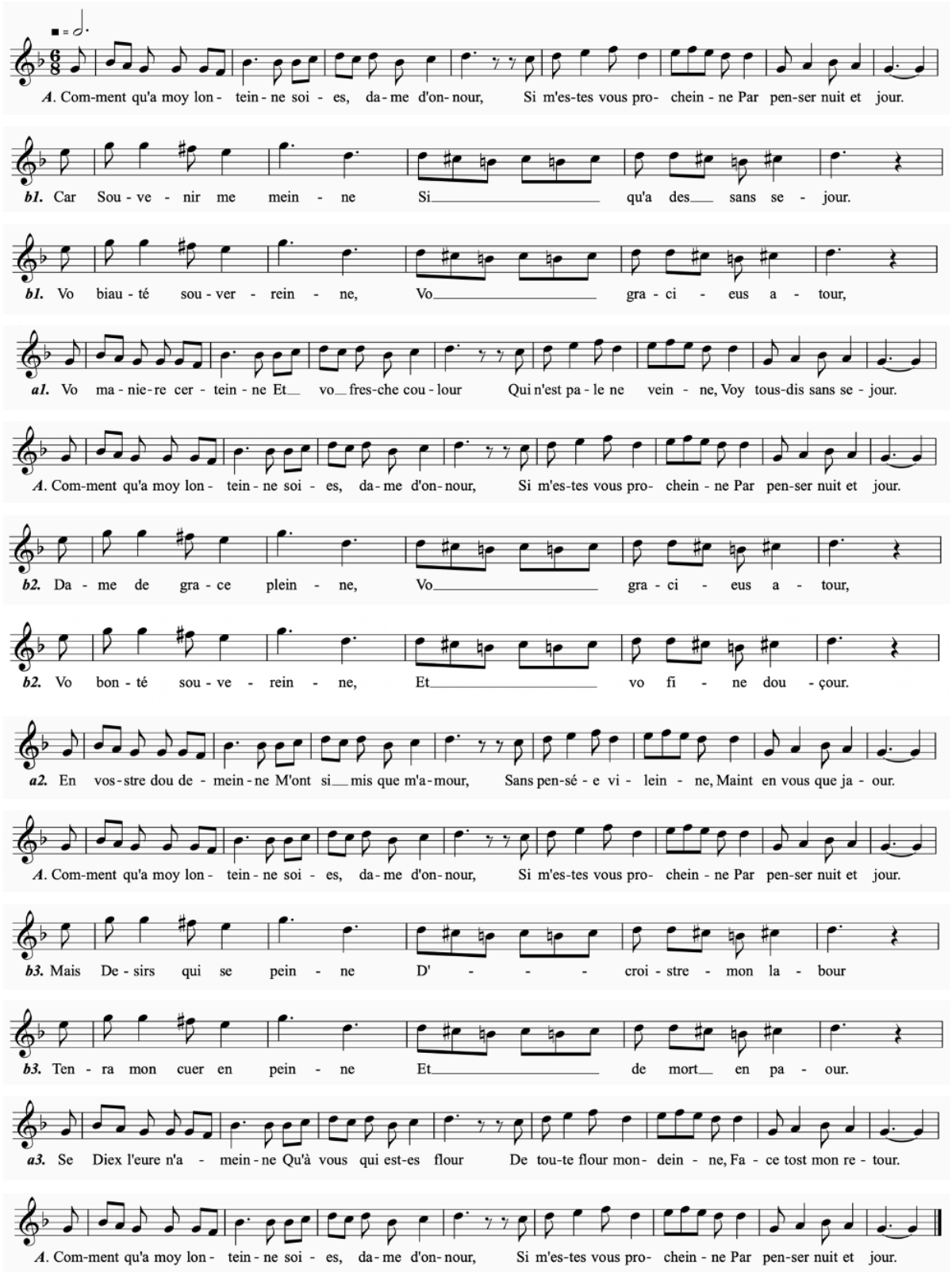
[275] The main difference between Musical Examples 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4 and modern performance editions, however, is that I have set all the text for purposes of analysis. In performance editions, only the refrain and first stanza are set, and the remaining stanzas are provided as text only.

[276] Manuscripts consulted for Musical Examples 5.1 and 5.2 include C, G, Vg, A, and E. However, since there are significant inconsistencies between manuscripts, I have based the setting on the Ludwig edition. See Machaut, *Musikalische Werke*, vol.1, 72. The text is matches the Chichmaref edition cited above.

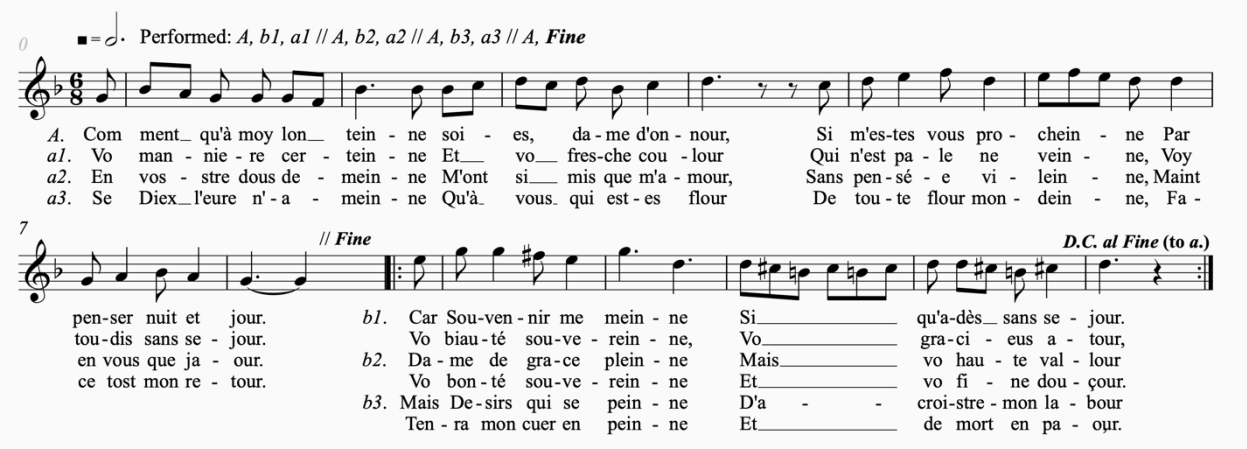
Table 5.1. Virelai 5, "Comment qu'a moy lonteinne." Text and translation aligned with musical structure.

Form	Text		Translation
A		Comment qu'à moy lonteinne Soiez, dame d'onnour, Si m'estes vous procheinne Par penser nuit et jour.	However far from me You may be, lady of honor, Thus you are close to me By thought night and day.
b1 *b1* *a1*	5 10	Car Souvenir me mainne, Si qu'adès sans sejour Vo biauté souvereinne, Vo gracious atour, Vos maniere certainne Et vo fresche coulour Qui n'est pale ne veinne, Voy tousdis sans sejour.	For Memory remains with me, Such that always without repose, Your sovereign beauty, Your gracious charm, Your sure manner, And your fair countenance That is neither pale nor vain, I see always without repose.
A		Comment qu'à moy lonteinne. . .	However far from me. . .
b2 *b2* *a2*	 15 20	Dame, de grace pleinne, Mais vo haute valour, Vo bonté souvereinne Et vo fine douçour En vostre dous demeinne, M'ont si mis que m'amour, Sans pensée vilainne, Meint en vous que j'aour,	Lady filled with grace, But your great valor, Your sovereign goodness, And your perfect sweetness Have placed me in your sweet domain Such that my love, Without lustful thought Remains in you whom I adore.
A		Comment qu'à moy lonteinne. . .	However far from me. . .
b3 *b3* *a3*	 25 30	Mais Desirs qui se peinne. D'acroistre mon labour Tenra mon cuer en peinne Et de mort en paour, Se Diex l'eure n'ameinne. Qu'à vous qui estes flour De de toute flour mondeinne, Face tost mon retour.	But Desire who endeavors To increase my struggles Will hold my heart in pain And in fear of death, If God does not deliver the hour When to you, who is the flower Of all earthly flowers, I may soon make my return.
A		Comment qu'à moy lonteinne. . .	However far from me. . .

Musical Example 5.1. Virelai 5, “Comment qu’à moy lonteinne.” Expanded setting.



Musical Example 5.2. Machaut: Virelai 5, "Comment qu'à moy lonteinne." Conventional setting.



Now that the text-music relationship has been clarified, I will consider "Comment qu'à moy lonteinne" more closely. Textually, the poem is an instance where the love experience aligns squarely with the doctrine of good love. The lyric's refrain promptly establishes the importance of *Penser*; by thinking of his lady, the lover eliminates the pain and longing born from physical separation. The first stanza works *Souvenir* into the equation and explains how memory allows the lover to perpetually "see" his lady. This, of course, means that he gazes upon her in his mind's eye, as *Souvenir* previously etched into his *memoire*. The *Penser* mentioned in the refrain is the contemplation of that image—*reminiscentia*—which allows him to relive the joyous affect experienced in her physical presence at the time the *Souvenir* was inscribed. The first circling back to the refrain further reinforces relationship between *Souvenir* and *Penser*. The second stanza outlines the honorable and chaste nature of his love; he loves "sans villainne penser" [without lustful thought] and thus, her grace, valor, and sovereign goodness, which have inspired his, love will be maintained. In the third stanza, there is a turn of events, as Desire assails the lover, pains his heart, and puts him in fear of "death." However, his mentioning of a return to his beloved foreshadows the recurrence of the textual refrain, which provides the remedy for his painful desire: the *Penser* which facilitates the "return." In this way, the lyric's

encerlement reflects the lover's experience as he manages the ebb and flow of love, and works toward *Souffisance* through *Souvenir* and *Penser*. All roads circle back to *Penser*, and he is thus never truly separated from his lady.

It is also worth mentioning this *virelai*'s striking poetic uniformity and symmetry; all lines are hexasyllabic and there are only two rhyme endings: -einne/ainne, and -our.[277] This makes the text highly predictable in its rhythm and rhyme. It is "catchy" and easily memorized. The musical setting maintains the uniformity and symmetry of the poetic structure but delivers it in a simplified and even more memorable way. The setting consists of three distinct musical phrases: two for the refrain (*A/a*), and one for the first half of each non-refrain stanza (*b*). [278] Each of these musical phrases collapses two, hexasyllabic poetic lines into a single dodecasyllabic line.[279] Also, since the declamation collapses the hexasyllables into elongated poetic lines, the *b* rhyme, -our, becomes an internal rhyme, while the *a* rhyme, -einne/ainne, becomes the only ending rhyme. The result is that the symmetry of the poetic structure is maintained, but it, is in a sense, simplified:

6, 6, 6, 6 // 6, 6, 6, 6, / 6, 6, 6, 6, // 6, 6, 6, 6 → 12, 12, // 12, 12 / 12, 12 // 12, 12

A, B, A, B // a, b, a, b / a, b, a, b // A, B, A, B → A, A // a, a / a, a // A, A[280]

This simplification, or even "compression" of poetic structure induced by musical declamation has important implications regarding memorability, as it may have the implicit effect of

[277] Two rhyme endings is the most common rhyme scheme in the *virelais*.

[278] To clarify, just as a sentence can consists of multiple clauses, a melody can consist of multiple phrases. So, even though there are only two melodies, there are three phrases.

[279] If you count the *e muet* at the midpoint of each musical phrase, you will have lines of thirteen syllables. In *a*, the *e muet* is a weak musically rhythmic position and quickly pushes forward into the next hexasyllable. This gives the elongated line more of a dodecasyllabic feel. In *b*, however, the *e muet* is a relatively strong position in relation to the musical rhythm and consequently, it feels more like a true syllable.

[280] Here, capitalization, including "B," denotes textual refrain and is unrelated to the musical setting.

"chunking." Chunking is a term used in neuropsychology that denotes the gathering of large amounts of information into smaller groups or "chunks" that "respect the limits of working memory."[281] Speaking of chunking, Mary Carruthers explains:

> While the storage capacity of the memory is virtually limitless, the amount of information that can be focused upon and comprehended at one time is definitely limited. . . So one of the fundamental principles for increasing mnemonic (recollective) efficiency is to organize single bits of information into informationally richer units by a process of substitution that compresses large amounts of material into single markers.[282]

So, the "compression" of multiple poetic lines into a single, elongated line declaimed by a distinct and recognizable melody can be seen as a type of "chunking," since it organizes smaller bits of information into "single makers"—the melody itself and the text it declaims. For several reasons, these musically delivered, single markers are "informationally richer" than merely spoken hexasyllables. First, they literally contain more information—more words, and more verbal significations. Also, the elongation of the poetic line creates more semantic and syntactical cohesion by more fluidly linking clauses and underscoring and clarifying their relationship to one another. Also, the melodies themselves are a type of information that can be learned and recognized, and their rhythm, pitch, and shape will be stored into the *memoire* as aural *Souvenir* intimately and inevitably linked to the linguistic message of the text they carry. Finally, the *encerclement* created by the high level of repetition greatly reinforces the mnemonic power of these poetico-musical "chunks," and by extension, of the *chanson* as a whole.

The refrain(s), *A*/*a*, is especially memorable because it is heard the most frequently and functions both as a starting point and a destination. In "Comment qu'à moy lointeinne," the relationship between poetic and musical refrain is particularly important concerning the lyric's

[281] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 105. Carruthers cites Yadin Dudai, *Memory from A to Z: Keywords, Concepts and Beyond* (Oxford: 2002). She does not give a page number.

[282] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 105.

didactic and consolatory message. The first exposition of the refrain (*A*), representing the starting point and destination of the song's *encerclement*, and pairing both musical and textual refrain, expresses the didactic and doctrinal essence of the *chanson*. In the textual refrain, the lover states that no matter how physically distanced his lady is from him, she is still close to him through *Penser*. This is Machaut's love doctrine in action. As the textual refrain is sung to the melody of the musical refrain, a mental association is established between the two—that particular melody reflects the power of *Penser* to keep the beloved close in heart in and mind. After this first statement, *b* immediately underlines a causal relationship between *Souvenir* and *Penser*; he is able to keep his lady close through thought because he is sustained by his memories of her beauty and grace. As the setting circles back to the musical refrain (*a1*), the lover completes his statement about *Souvenir*, adding to his list of memories the lady's certain manner and fair countenance, which thanks to *Souvenir*, he sees forever without repose. The "incomplete" thought of *b*'s text pushes the singer and listener toward *a*, with its statement of "seeing" the lady through *Souvenir*.[283] The "seeing" of the lady in this way is *Dous Penser*—the contemplation of the *Souvenir* created by physically seeing the lady and affect with which it is associated.

Next, *A* repeats to begin another cycle, leading to *b2* which continues to enumerate the lady's virtues, this time, her grace, valor, goodness, and sweetness. Again, this thought pushes toward and is completed in *a2* where he mentions that the lady's virtues have placed him in her "sweet domain" such that his love remains in her without lustful thought. The pureness of his love ("sans pensée vilainne") attests to his success in adhering to good love; despite separation, he continues to love without a lust, or need for reciprocation. This again circles back to *A* where

[283] This pushing forward toward *a* also happens musically through cadence; *b* ends on an *ouvert* cadence, with its last note a fifth above the final of G. *A*/*a* terminate on the final with a *clos* cadence on the final. Thus, the refrain completes both the linguistic and musical thought.

Penser is reiterated as the key to his success. In the third and final cycle, the love experience is complicated by the text of *b3* where the lover states that Desire seeks to increase his struggles. As with *b1* and *b2*, the thought remains unresolved and finds its resolution in *a3*—this time as a conditional statement; Desire will only hold his heart in pain if God does not let him return to his lady. Luckily, the condition is satisfied by the final occurrence *A* where he "returns" to the lady through *Penser*.

In this way, "Comment qu'à moy lonteinne" is a *mis-en-abîme* of *Souvenir*. The text of the *chanson* is a striking example of the good love doctrine in practice, with a particular focus on the role of the interdependent virtues of *Souvenir* and *Penser*. The close proximity of *a* (musical refrain) to *A* (textual refrain and musical refrain together) is significant; *a1*, *a2*, and *a3* speak respectively of seeing the lady, being placed in her domain, and finally, returning to her. All of these actions are the direct result of *Penser*, which is merely the contemplation of *Souvenir*. In this way, an association between the melody of the musical refrain and the doctrinal essence of the textual refrain is created in the mind and memory of listeners. So, in times of desire and heartache like that depicted by the text of *b3*, a lover familiar with this *chanson* might recall its refrain(s) and find consolation through the assurance that *Penser* will cure his ills. The song's *encerclement* and the perpetual return to *A* both induces and reflects *Souvenir*—that is, the remembering of the lady through *Penser*, which may be induced by the recollection and contemplation of *A* and its text and melody inscribed into the *memoire* by a previous hearing.

Virelai 7: "Puis que ma dolour agrée"

"Puis que ma dolour agrée" is yet another demonstration of doctrinal application via *Dous Penser*:

	Puis que ma dolour agrée	*(A)*	Since my pain is pleasing
	A la de bonne heure née,		To the well-born one
	Qui par droit est apelée		Who is rightfully called
	Des dames la flour		The flower of all ladies,
5	Certes, noble destinée		Truly, a noble destiny
	M'avint l'eure et la journée,		Came to me on the hour and day
	Qu'en mon cuer fu engendrée		When such sweet pain was
	Si douce dolour.		Engendered in my heart.
	Si ne plein pas mon labour,	*(b1)*	So, I do not lament my suffering,
10	Car ce me samble douçour		For it seems to me a sweetness
	Fine et esmerée,		Fine and pure,
	Quant son gracious atour		When I secretly contemplate
	Et sa biauté que j'aour		In Sweet Thought
	Par douce penser		Her gracious manner
15	Et sa face coulourée,	*(a1)*	And her beauty which I adore.
	De toute biauté parée,		And her rosy face
	De douçour enluminée		Adorned with great beauty,
	Remir en destour,		Illuminated with sweetness,
	Sa bonté pure, affinée		Her pure, refined beauty,
20	Sa manière asseürée		Her sure manner,
	Et ce qu'elle est coronnée		And that she is crowned
	De toute valour.		With all valor.
	Puis que ma dolour agrée	*(A)*	Since my pain is pleasing
	A la de bonne heure née. . .		To the well-born one. . .
	Si sens meint plaisant atour,	*(b2)*	I thus see many pleasant images
25	Quant sa biatué que j'aour		When her beauty which I adore
	Ainsi remirée		Is so contemplated
	Est en mon cuer par savour		In my heart with delight,
	Dont en moy parfait amour		Wherefore perfect love
	Est enracinée.		Is implanted within me.
30	S'en yert servie, loée,	*(a2)*	She will thus be served, praised,
	Creinte, celée, honnourée		Feared, concealed, honored,
	Et parfaitement amée		And perfectly loved by me without
	De moy sans folour,		Lustfulness, in hoping that my
	En esperant qu'arousée		Loving ardor might be
35	Soit de la douce rousée		Watered with the sweet dew
	De merci la désiree		Of desired *merci.*
	M'amoureuse ardour.		
			Since my pain is pleasing
	Puis que ma dolour agrée.	*(A)*	To the well-born one. . .
	A la de bonne heure née. . .		
			But Desire, who night and day
	Mais Desirs, qui nuit et jour	*(b3)*	Has assaulted me with his vigor

40	M'assaut, l'a par sa vigour Si fort embrasée Que tainte en est ma colour, Et ma joie est en menour, Quant tant a durée.[284]		And so strongly inflamed by amorous ardor That I have gone pale And my joy is in decline, Because it has endured so much,
45	Mais tant est bien doctrinée Douce, humble, simple, senée, Plaisant, loyal et secrée Ma dame d'onnour Qu'en li veoir iert doublée	*(a3)*	But my lady of honor is so Well-instructed, sweet, humble, Simple, wise, pleasant, loyal, and Discrete that in seeing her My joy will be doubled and my ardor ended,
50	Ma joie et m'ardeur finée Et .c. fois guerredonnée Toute ma tristour.		And all my sadness will be Rewarded a hundred times over.
	Puis que ma dolour agrée A la de bonne heure née. . .	*(A)*	Since my pain is pleasing To the well-born one. . .

(Virelai 7)

The poem's refrain refers to the moment when the lover first develops amorous desire for his lady: "the hour and day when such sweet pain was engendered into my heart." The first stanza qualifies this love-inducing experience as visual in nature since the lover refers to contemplating the lady's great beauty and her face. His secret, internalized contemplation—his *Dous Penser*—is the reliving through *Souvenir* of the moment when he first laid eyes on the lady, and that "sweet pain" was engendered into his heart. He is in essence, *seeing* the lady and her beauty *again*, this time in his mind's eye. Indeed, while I have chosen to translate the verb *remirer* as "to contemplate," it can also mean "to see again," and that is precisely what is happening here.[285] The return to that moment where the initial, amorous affect was inscribed into his *memoire* is mirrored by the circling back to the textual refrain. The second stanza very concretely situates the lover's actions as adherence to good love: because of his *Dous Penser*, a "perfect love" is

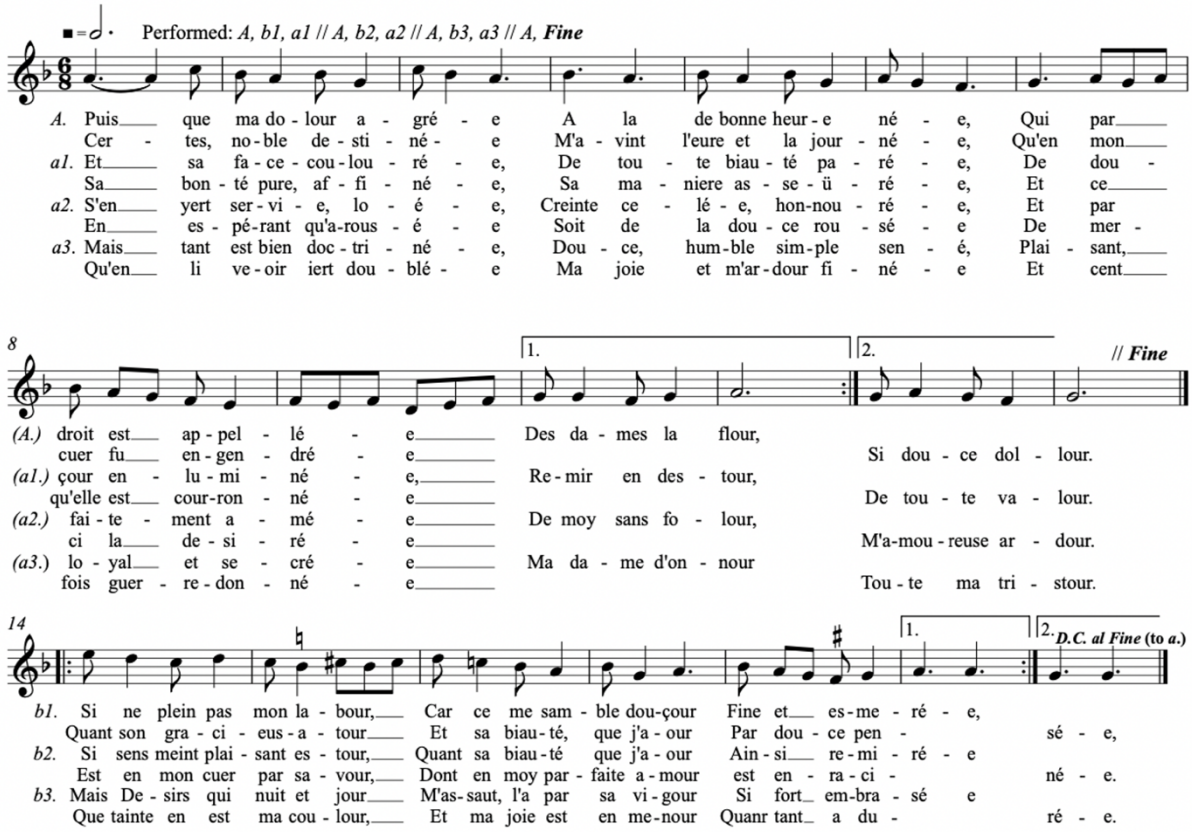
[284] John Dagenais has proposed to me that this is an instance of "intersrophic enjambment" and "l'a. . . embrasée" refers to the "amoureuse ardour" of the preceding stanza.

[285] See https://anglo-norman.net/entry/remirer

implanted into his heart, through which he loves, serves and honors the lady without lustfulness, while *hoping* ("en espérant") that she grant him *merci*. The third stanza features the ever-present threat of desire, but just as the lover begins to lose his joy, he recalls the lady's goodness, and his joy is doubled once more. This leads to the final statement of the textual refrain, again representing the lover's reliving of the moment he first saw the lady and his love was born. As with "Comment qu'à moy lonteinne," we can see here how the poem's structural *encerclement* reflects the cyclical ebb and flow of a lover trying to hold to good love.

Due to the poem's significant length of over fifty lines, Virelai 7's musical setting is lengthier and more involved than that of Virelai 5. The refrain melody repeats upon each occurrence in order to accommodate the large amount of text; the textual refrain is eight lines long, and *a* declaims the final eight lines of each non-refrain stanza. That is why you will see two lines of text for each statement of *A* and *a* in Musical Example 5.3. This type of *virelai* setting in which the refrain melody is repeats twice in succession at each occurrence is called a *duplex virelai*. Additionally, each musical section (*A/a* and *b*) has a first and second ending with the first ending having an *ouvert* cadence, and the second a *clos* cadence. Musically, the *ouvert* ending creates a feeling of unresolved melodic tension that pushes the ear forward by causing it to yearn for the resolution eventually provided by the *clos* ending.

Musical Example 5.3. Virelai 7 (*duplex virelai*), "Puisque ma dolour agrée."



This tension-resolution dynamic also carries over linguistically and can be easily seen by considering punctuation of the text.[286] If you look at the text under ending 1 of the refrain (measure 11), you will see that it always ends with a comma, since just like the musical idea, the textual thought is not completed until the hard stop at ending 2. These hard stops in *A/a* also outline poetic structure because they occur either at the end of the textual refrain, or at the end of a non-refrain stanza. In *b*, the same thing happens with the text of ending 1 representing the end of a clause within an unfinished phrase. The difference, however, is that ending 2 does not have hard stops (with the exception of *b3* where I have maintained Chichmaref's punctuation, but where a comma would be equally, if not more logical since *a3* begins with the conjunction *mais*).

[286] While punctuation is not present in the manuscripts and is a matter of editorial discretion, in my estimation, Chichmaref's punctuation logically follows the sense of the text.

Since the musical phrase comes to a resolution with a *clos* cadence, but the text does not, this creates a moment of dissonance between music and text where the ear is granted musical resolution, but is left in a state of semantic tension that pushes the it back into the musical refrain (*a*), and ultimately toward the ultimate destination of *A* and the textual refrain. This further highlights the centrality of both the refrain in the song's cyclical, circular process; it is always the starting point and the destination.

In terms of memorability, Virelai 7 admittedly features a very large amount of text to be retained. One aspect of the setting that may help with textual retention is the prevalence of iambic musical rhythms (♪ ♩). The recurrence of this rhythm, reminiscent of rhythmic mode 2, can be seen as an instance of quantitative rhythm imposed on qualitative poetry, which would render text more memorable, just as did the various meters of quantitative Latin poetry used versified treatises throughout the Middle Ages. Also, the significant amount of text set to just two melodies could be considered a type of "chunking" because it establishes an association between two distinct units (the melodies of *A/a* and *b*) and a large amount of information. As with all *virelais*, the *encirclement*—both textual and musical—will help to cue the memory as to what comes next, and this process is helped along by the pairing of the musical and textual tension-resolution dynamics that are fostered through cadence and syntax/clausal formulation. Further, the *duplex* form of the *chanson* creates even more repetition of the musical refrain than in a typical *virelai*; whereas in a simple *virelai* such as "Comment qu'à moy lonteinne," the refrain melody (*a*) is heard seven times. In a *duplex virelai*, due to the repetition at each occurrence, it is heard fourteen times. This creates an even deeper association between melody and textual message, which is highly important in this particular song because all of the text set to *A/a* represents a direct expression of doctrinal application: *A*) first sight of the lady and

embedding of *Souvenir* into the *memoire*; *a1*) contemplation of *Souvenir*—an implicit reference to the *Dous Penser* explicitly mentioned in *b1*; *a2*) he loves and honors her perfectly and without lust, in *hope* that she might grant *merci*; *a3*) joy is increased and *merci* is attained through *seeing* the lady (i.e. contemplating her image through *Dous Penser*); and finally, the ultimate return to *A* and the beginning of another cycle.

In this way, Virelai 7 stands as a strong example of a *chanson* whose text reflects an instance of doctrinal application. Its poetico-musical form both underscores the crucial role of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser* in Machaut's love doctrine and works to induce memory and retention of musical and textual message—the song and its text are imbedded into the *memoire* as a didactic and consolatory *souvenir*.

Virelai 8: "Dou mal qui m'a longuement"

"Dou mal qui m'a longuement" is yet another exposition of the doctrine of good love in action. However, in comparison to "Comment qu'a moy lonteinne" and "Puis que ma dolour agrée," the love experience it depicts is not so clear cut. Indeed, the lover's situation illustrates one of the glaring quandaries of Machaut's doctrine: that a chaste love devoid of reciprocation can be joyful and fulfilling:

	Dou mal qui m'a longuement	*(A)*	For the illness that has long
	Fait languir plaisanment,		Made me languish in pleasure,
	Merci bonnement,		I thank you truly,
	Ma dame, jolie,		My pretty lady,
5	Pour qui je veuil liement	*(b1)*	For whom I wish to happily
	Souffrir la maladie		Suffer the malady
	Qui en amoureus tourment		Which in loving torment
	Nuit et jour mouteplie,		Grows night and day,
	Pour ce que sans finement	*(a1)*	Because I love her
10	L'aim et tres finement		Infinitely and very nobly
	La serf humblement,		And humbly serve her
	Sans penser folie.		Without lustful thought.

	Dou mal qui m'a longuement	*(A)*	For the illness that has long
	Fait languir plaisanment. . .		Made me languish in pleasure. . .
	Car je sui si ligement.	*(b2)*	For I am so loyally
	Mis en sa signourie		Placed under her lordship
	Que ja mais aligement		That never will I seek
	Ne quier avoir n'aïe,		To have relief or aid,
	Se de li n'est proprement	*(a2)*	If it is not properly from her
	Qui debonnairement		Who tenderly
	M'ocist doucement		And sweetly kills me
	Quant merci li prie.		When I implore her *merci*.
	Dou mal qui m'a longuement	*(A)*	For the illness that has long
	M'a fait languir plaisanment. . .		Made me languish in pleasure. . .
	Et se ma dame plaisant.	*(b3)*	And if my pleasant lady
	Qui d'onnour est garnie		Who is adorned with honor
	Savoit qu'amoureusement		Knew that lovingly she
	Me muir à chiere lie,		Kills me with a smiling face,
	Pour li servir loyaument,	*(a3)*	To serve her loyally,
	Ma peinne vraiement,		I would consider
	Bien et hautement,		My pain truly, nobly
	Tenroie à merie.		And well rewarded.
	Dou mal qui m'a longuement	*(A)*	For the illness that has long
	Fait languir plaisanment. . .		Languish in pleasure. . .

(Virelai 8)

It is the oxymoronic language throughout the text that both demonstrates the application of doctrine and the quandary that it represents. The quandary of this doctrinal application is seen immediately in the refrain where the lover thanks the lady for the illness that makes him "languish in pleasure." The refrain reflects good love in so much as it depicts a love experience that would normally be painful, but has been transformed into something pleasurable. Moreover, he thanks the lady, does not blame her, and does not implore her acknowledgment or *merci*. The first stanza confirms that this is a noble and chaste love; a love "sans penser folie, which is further reinforced in the second stanza where he states that he will never seek aid or relief—

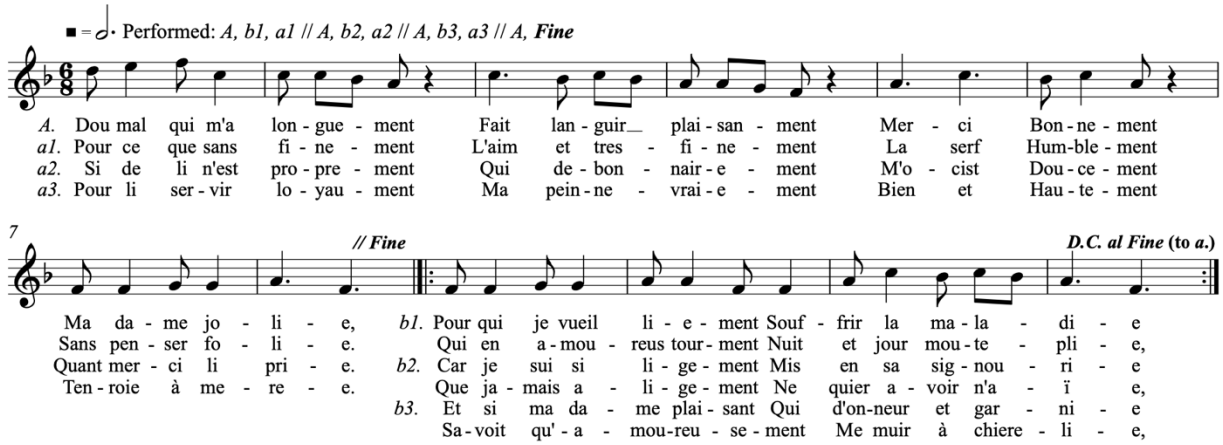
merci—if it does not come "properly" from the lady herself. I interpret this as implicit *Esperance*; he will not actively pursue the lady's favor, but if she extends it on her own accord, then he can accept it. Moreover, his statement that she "sweetly kills" him if he requests *merci* attests to his cognizance of good love; he knows better than to ask for more than he ought to.

In the third stanza, his tone somewhat changes: if only she knew that she "lovingly kills him with her smiling face," if only she were aware of the heartache he endures on her account, then he would consider his languishing rewarded. Hinging his satisfaction of the lady's acknowledgment puts him in a precarious position because it takes the situation out of his control, and that will preclude him from finding *Souffisance*. Luckily, he overcomes his minor digression with the return to the refrain where he once again thanks his lady for the "illness" that makes him so "languish in pleasure." In this way, "Dou mal qui m'a longuement" is not as neat or complete of an application of good love as in seen the previous two *virelais* considered in this chapter, but it is clear that the lover is having at least some success at transforming his pain into joy. He is on the right track and does not seem to be in a state of desirous suffering.

Notwithstanding the lyric's self-contradictory text, its musical setting epitomizes the *virelais*' propensity for musical simplicity and syllabic text declamation, and thereby delivers the textual message in an exceedingly clear, comprehensible, and even minimalistic manner:[287]

[287] My source manuscript for this setting is MS G, fol.156r. The text matches the Chichmaref edition cited above.

Musical Example 5.4. Virelai 8, "Dou mal qui m'a longuement."



One of the most noticeable aspects about this *virelai* is that the text declamation is nearly completely syllabic. There are only four melismas in the entire setting (measures 2, 3, 4, 11) and they consist of only two pitches each. The effect is certainly not significant enough to obscure the verbal meaning of the text, especially compared to the massive melismas seen in polyphonic settings, or even the melismas in the *b* sections of virelais 5 and 7. Consequently, the text is delivered with the utmost verbal and semantic clarity. The tune is simple, lively, and upbeat, and catchy thanks to the syncopations created by its frequent iambic rhythms (♪ ♩). Just as in Virelai 7, this application of qualitative rhythm to the poem's qualitative verse renders its text more memorable. All of these "memorable" qualities of the setting will help listeners retain the song's text as a musical *souvenir* upon which they may then reminisce in order to unpack its text and achieve *entendement* of its seemingly self-contradictory message—that so long as one loves honorably, "sans pensée folie," and does not seek more from the lady than is proper, the pain of desire may be transformed into internalized joy.

Conclusion

My analyses of Virelais 5, 7, and 8 have demonstrated how poetico-musical form in Machaut's monophonic *virelais* render them, both textually and musically, highly didactic, and

easily memorable. In particular, the textual and musical *encerclement* induced by the form's ample and cyclical refrain repetition works to embed both linguistic message and melody into the *memoire*, and thereby creates an association between the two. When these musical and textual *souvenirs* are recalled and contemplated, poetico-musical *encerclement* will help to push the memory and the "mind's ear" forward one line, one stanza, and one musical phrase at a time, always beginning with and moving toward the textual refrain (*A*), which is musically and linguistically foreshadowed by the musical refrain (*a*) and the text it declaims. The three *virelais* analyzed above exemplify that Machaut's monophonic *virelais* are a powerful tool of doctrinal transmission that can depict specific instances—challenges and successes—that lovers may experience. My analyses also demonstrate how poetico-musical form of the monophonic *virelais* works to embed their doctrinal essence into the *memoire* of listeners for later contemplation that may lead to *entendement* and *Souffisance*.

CONCLUSION

In this study, I have demonstrated that memory is a foundational component of both the formulation and the transmission of love doctrine in the corpus of Guillaume de Machaut. Regarding the formulation of doctrine, memory involves the two separate but interrelated virtues of *Souvenir* and *Dous Penser*, which correspond to the Aristotelian notions of *memoria* and *reminiscentia*. Thanks to his education at the University of Paris and the centrality of Aristotelian thought in fourteenth-century French scholastics, Machaut would have been familiar with Aristotle's treatise, *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, and its influence on his love doctrine is manifest. Indeed, just as Aristotle explains that *memoria* comprises both the faculty of memorial storage (*memoire*), as well as individually stored memories (*souvenir*), Machaut's virtue of *Souvenir* involves the etching of memorial images of the beloved into the fabric of the *memoire* so that they can be recalled as a consolatory source of *Esperance*. The recollection and contemplation of *Souvenir—Dous Penser—*is what ultimately facilitates the state of *Esperance* that leads to the doctrine's ultimate fruit of *Souffisance*. In this way, *Dous Penser* corresponds directly to Aristotle's concept of *reminiscentia* wherein contemplation of the *souvenir* allows the reliving of the emotional *affect* associated with the sensory experience that produced the memory. In the context of Machaut's doctrine, the affect is that joyous state associated with the lady's physical presence, and it can be relived through the contemplation of *Souvenir* of her beauty and goodness previously inscribed into the *memoire*. In this way, as I have shown at length through my analyses of the narrative *dits* and the *lays*, Aristotelian memory is a foundational aspect of Machaut's love doctrine.

While Machaut's love doctrine itself is developed most thoroughly in his *dits*, his much shorter lyrics and *chansons* act as vehicles of doctrinal transmission that distill doctrine and deliver it in a concise and memorable manner. Thus, it is in the inherently mnemonic qualities of poetico-musical form that we see the foundational role of memory in the transmission of Machaut's doctrine. As I have shown, by Machaut's lifetime, the mnemonics of both poetic and musical form were a long-established aspect of scholastic didacticism. Although I do not contend that Machaut meant for his lyrics and songs to be explicitly memorized as were the versified treatises of the Middle Ages, due to his own educational experiences, he would have been intimately familiar with and aware above the "memorability" of poetry and song. Thus, the inherently mnemonic qualities of poetico-musical form—rhyme scheme, syllabification, caesura, refrain placement/repetition, melodic contour, musical rhythm, and conventionalized text declamation—would have helped him carry out his divine duty as illustrated in the *Prologue*.

I have chosen to focus my musical analyses on monophonic song because I believe that due to its predominately syllabic text declamation, its rhythmic and melodic symmetry, and the absence of the simultaneous texts and melodies seen in polyphony, it is capable of delivering text in a way that privileges verbal comprehension, memorability, and therefore retention and *entendement* of doctrine. This phenomenon is seen most explicitly in *Remede de Fortune*, in which I have illustrated that the four monophonic musical insertions distill the love doctrine developed in the narrative, and deliver it as a self-contained "study guide" of poetico-musical *souvenirs*. The function of monophonic song demonstrated in my analysis of *Remede de Fortune* also extends to free-standing *chansons*, such as the *virelais* analyzed in chapter five. The poetic-musical form of the *virelais* is particularly conducive to "memorability" and doctrinal transmission due to *encirclement* and the high level of refrain textual and musical refrain

repetition it entails. While I have only chosen three *virelais* for analysis in this study, those selections are reflective of the mnemonic, doctrinal, and transmissive qualities I view to be inherent to all of Machaut's monophonic *virelais*. This, coupled with the fact that most of the *lais* are monophonic leaves much room for further exploration of Machaut's monophonic songs didactic, memory-inducing vehicles of love doctrine.

In this study, I have aimed to respond to recent calls in the field of Guillaume de Machaut studies for the development of methodologies whereby literary specialists can engage meaningfully with Machaut's music. While I am a scholar of medieval literature and not a musicologist, my approach to musical analysis in this dissertation has attempted to draw from current musicological methodologies and to use them in ways that facilitate new ways of interrogating the text-music relationship, and which render musical considerations accessible to readers who are not necessarily trained in music or musicology. I hope that I have succeeded in that endeavor, and that others will find these methodologies useful to the continuing effort of further unifying the traditionally disjointed field(s) of Machaut studies.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

This table shows the placement in key manuscripts of the narrative *dits* cited in this study, including the interpolated *chansons* of *Remede de Fortune*. The *dits* are listed in the order in which they appear in the index of MS A, and the *chansons* of *Remede de Fortune*, in the order in which they are inserted into the *dit*.

Title/Incipit	**Form**	**MS C**	**MS Vg**	**MS B**	**MS A**	**MS F**	**MS G**	**MS E**
Prologue	*dit*	n/a	n/a	n/a	Dr-Gv	1r-3r	n/a	1r
Remede de Fortune	*dit*	23r-58v	90r-212r	107r-138r	49v-80r	46r-63v	n/a	22r-36v
Le Confort d'Ami	*dit*	n/a	170r-196v	25r-33v; 186r-203v	127r-153v	98v-119v	n/a	93r-104r
La Fontaine Amoureuse	*dit*	n/a	197r-216r	204r-217v	154r-173v	119v-143v	n/a	83r-91r
Le Livre dou Voir Dit	*dit*	n/a	n/a	n/a	221r-306r	137v-198v	n/a	171r-210r
Qui n'aroit autre deport	*lay*	26r-28r	92v-95r	109v-112r	52r-54r	42r-43v	n/a	23r-24r
Tieus rit au main	*com-plainte*	30r-35r	96v-100v	113v-117v	55v-59v	45r-48r	n/a	35r-26v
Joie, plaisence, et douce norriture	*chant royal*	39r-39v	103v-104r	120v-121r	63v-64r	50r-50v	n/a	28v
En amer a douce vie	*duplex ballade*	46r-46v	109v-110v	126v-127v	68v-69v	54v-55v	n/a	31r-31v
Dame de qui toute ma joie vient	*ballade*	47v-48r	11v-112r	128v-129r	70v-71r	56v	n/a	32r
Dame, a vous sans retollir	*virelai*	51r-51v	114v-115r	131v-132r	74r-74v	59r	n/a	33v
Dame, mon cuer en vous remaint	*ron-deau*	57r	119v	136v	78v	62v	n/a	35v

Appendix 2

This table shows the placement in key manuscripts of the free-standing lyric poems and *chansons* cited in this study. Selections are listed alphabetically by incipit.

Incipit	**Form**	**MS C**	**MS Vg**	**MS B**	**MS A**	**MS F**	**MS G**	**MS E**
Amours doucement me tente	*lay*	179r-181v	232r-234v	230r-232v	379r-381v	n/a	82r-83r	112-113v
Amours se plus se demandoie	*lay*	196r-197v	235v-236v	235v-236v	382v-383v	n/a	84r-85r	108v-109r
Aus amans pour exemplaire	*lay*	173r-174r	226v-227r	224v-225r	374r-374v	n/a	78v-79r	108v
Comment qu'à moy lonteinne	*virelai*	150r-150v	323v-324r	321v-322r	483r	n/a	155v	159r
Dou mal qui m'a longuement	*virelai*	151v-152r	324v-325r	322v-323r	484r	n/a	156r	163v
J'aim la flour	*lay*	168v-170r	222r-223v	220r-221v	370r-371r	n/a	76r-77r	110r-111r
Loyaute que point ne delay	*lay*	165r-168v	219r-221v	218r-219v	367r-369v	n/a	74r-76r	107r-108v
Nuls ne doit avoir merveille	*lay*	174r-176v	227r-229v	225r-227v	374v-376v	n/a	79r-80v	111r-112v
On parle de richeces	*lay*	194v-196r	234v-235r	232v-233v	381v-382v	n/a	83v-84v	127r-127v
Par trois raisons	*lay*	176v-179r	229v-232r	227v-230	377r-379r	n/a	80v-82r	124r-125r
Pour ce qu'on puist mieus retraire	*lay*	170r-173r	223v-226r	221v-224r	371r-373v	n/a	77r-78v	113v-115v
Puis que ma dolour agrée	*duplex virelai*	151r-151v	324r	322v	483v-484r	n/a	155v-156r	159v
Quant je suis mis au retour	*virelai/ ballade*	153v	326v	324v	485v	n/a	157r-157v	n/a

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