

Multimodality and Memory in the *Mise-en-page* of Guillaume de Machaut's Mass

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Abstract

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Guillaume de Machaut's mass survives in only five manuscripts, which all form part of the surprisingly homogeneous 'complete works' set of Machaut manuscripts. In this contribution, I argue that the details of *mise-en-page* in these manuscripts are reflective both of scribal memorial processes and multimodality in action: in this work where one of the major modes (image) is absent, the musical notation itself takes on an additional aesthetic role, that of visual beauty. In these manuscripts, the mass takes its place within the music section, surrounded there by lays, motets, virelais, and rondeaux, these surrounded (or preceded) by courtly 'dits' and lyrics not set to music. Four of these five manuscripts are illuminated, and all provide musical notation: all, therefore, are overtly multimodal.

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Despite the lavish illumination in the manuscripts, the mass is never adorned with a miniature, nor is it mentioned in Machaut's 'Prologue' to his works. The aesthetic beauty of the *mise-en-page* of the mass, therefore, is derived from the musical notation, while the text-music setting shows a distinct divide between the two contrasting compositional techniques of the mass.

Multimodality is a burgeoning field in medieval studies. Indeed, the framework of multimodality provides a means for putting into context what medievalists have long been aware of: that the disparate elements of an artefact come together to make meaning. The framework of multimodality, with its roots in linguistics but its branches spread over a growing number of disciplines, thus offers analysis techniques that both fit in with the development of the field, at the same time as opening it to a broader range of participants. At a time when scholarship is striving to be both inclusive and understandable outside the academe, a framework which can cut across such meaningless boundaries as 'high' and 'low' is particularly fruitful.¹

Memory, as is well known, is a lively area of debate in medieval scholarship.² Here, I will present my contention that a careful study of the layout of the manuscripts can reveal some of the workings—conscious and unconscious—of the trained scribal mind: the working processes of those involved in the composition, transmission, and reception of the work. This, I argue, can be viewed as multimodality in action.

My methodology in this chapter is an adaptation of multimodality for medieval studies. It is not concerned with accuracy in the modern sense of the word, or with attempting faithful re-creation of authorial intentions (even if such a thing were possible). Rather, it aims to meet the sources on their own terms, to understand them for what they are and not what present-day readers would prefer them to be.³ That is not to say that medieval scribes were never concerned with accuracy or authorship; indeed, one of

the sources I use in this chapter appears to go to considerable lengths to present itself as somehow definitive, even when earlier versions of some works are considered preferable.⁴ However, my methodology engages with Lydia Goehr's situation of the work-concept as something that emerged at a much later time, and which continues to exert great influence over modern interpretations of works that pre-date the work-concept.⁵ It therefore acknowledges that our own standpoint is unavoidable: the meaning we create from medieval sources is unique to each of us, and we are ourselves rooted in our own time. This is social semiotics, and it stands at the heart of multimodality.⁶ Acknowledging and making use of our standpoint does not invalidate our readings, rather, it shows that these works live on and are pertinent at a time far removed from their creation.

We live in a time that is multimodal: we are all multimodally literate. When reading, for example, an advert, we take in meanings from elements as diverse as font, color, layout, and image. In addition, we are (usually unconsciously) aware of the social context of the advert itself. Is it online or on the back of a bus? What time of day/year is it? What is the political situation in the country (or countries) in which it is read? What is the social situation of the reader(s)? All of these influence an interpretation of the advert's meaning. A multimodal analysis of the advert and its potential meanings would seek to identify the semiotic resources—modes—in use in the advert, and analyze how they apply in the advert's potential reading situations.

Similar analysis techniques can be applied to medieval texts.⁷ Through the identification and analysis of the semiotic resources at play, it is possible to deepen our understanding both of the sources we are working with and of the attitudes and, sometimes, prejudices we bring to them. In this chapter, I concentrate on the mode of page layout in the five manuscripts which transmit Guillaume de Machaut's mass.

Page layout is one of the modes that is lost in most editions of medieval texts.⁸ At the same time, it was one of the first to be reinstated when scholars in the late twentieth century returned to the sources themselves.⁹ Mary Carruthers has shown how the layout of the medieval page was designed to enhance the memorial techniques of both reader and maker.¹⁰ The page is therefore a place where composition techniques, scribal processes, and reader knowledge meet. In the following analysis, I show how departures from the norm in page layout—inconsistencies, errors—reveal the processes behind the making of the manuscript, as well as the expectations placed on manuscript readers. These, as I will show, vary considerably from manuscript to manuscript, with the five sources ranging from an exemplar designed for use by trained professionals to a manuscript that perhaps comes close to an 'edition' of the Machaut corpus. The analysis reveals the extent of memory in the written transmission and reception of the mass.

Machaut's mass, his only purely religious work and the first surviving setting of the mass ordinary by a known composer, is transmitted complete in only five sources.¹¹ These are all from the group of six manuscripts which appear to exclusively contain Machaut's complete works. The earliest manuscript of this group, F:Pn 1586, does not contain the mass, leading scholars to a tentative dating of its composition as c. 1360, after Machaut had settled in Reims.¹²

Of the five manuscripts which present the mass in its entirety, four are lavish presentation manuscripts (F:Pn 1584, 9221, 22546, and GB:Cccc Ferrell-Vogüé), and the fifth (F:Pn 1585) is for the most part a less-lavish copy of one of the others. In each of the manuscripts, the mass is presented without miniatures, and with decoration which is more modest than elsewhere in the manuscripts. As a result of this removal of one of the principal modes of a manuscript (image), the visual effect of the manuscript page is that the visual aspect of the music notation is highlighted, as can be seen in Fig. 7.1.

Fig. 7.1

F:Pn 1584, f.438v: the opening of the mass



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Indeed, the music is to the fore not just visually but also in terms of Machaut's corpus: the mass is Machaut's only sung work for which he did not also compose the text. In addition, since the text is that of the mass ordinary, we can be sure that not only Machaut himself, but indeed all those who copied, read, or heard the mass, would already have the words deeply entrenched in their memory. As I will demonstrate, this (over-)familiarity with the text influences the *mise en page*, and thus the reception, of the work.

The movements of Machaut's mass can be divided into two types: melismatic and syllabic. The melismatic movements are those with less text sung over long lines of music: the Kyrie eleison; the Sanctus; the Agnus Dei; and *Ite missa est / Deo gratias*. Both the page layout and aural performance of these movements clearly distinguish them from the syllabic, word-laden Gloria and Credo, in which the music moves primarily at the rate of one syllable per note.

In the melismatic movements, a number of layout inconsistencies can be observed in the text setting. For instance, in Fig. 7.1, a floating syllable can clearly be seen at the end of the tenor line. However, it

requires no great leap of imagination to make the reasonable assumption that the final syllable should be sung on the final note, as is more clearly seen in the motetus and contratenor parts on the same page. A somewhat more difficult example appears in the Sanctus in the same manuscript (Fig. 7.2). Here, the contratenor part appears to run out of music before it runs out of words. However, this too can be understood if the page is imagined without the music. Looking at it this way, it can be seen that the words are more-or-less evenly spaced, with the exception of 'dominus' (perhaps to allow room for the accidental). Likewise, looking at the music but ignoring the words, the last two lines seem to be arranged according to ligature length, and thus visual appeal. What we see here on the page is a change in the music scribe's workings. Whereas at first the scribe was following the word spacing of the text scribe (whose job was completed first), in the last two lines of the contratenor shown in the figure the music is written independently of the text. The reason for this change seems to lie in the music scribe's memory: over-familiarity with the words (and perhaps also the music) results in less attention being paid to the placement of the notes as the page progresses.

Fig. 7.2

F:Pn 1584, f.448r (detail): the tenor and contratenor from the Sanctus



A more extreme example of this separation of words and music can be seen in F:Pn 1585. This manuscript is for the most part a copy of GB:Cccc Ferrell-Vogüé, and a study of the two together offers further insight into the workings of the scribal mind. Whereas for the majority of the time the layout of the page is identical between the two manuscripts, in Fig. 7.3 the text is written one staff lower in F:Pn 1585 than in

GB:Cccc Ferrell-Vogüé, while the music follows the presentation staff by staff. The result is, of course, that in F:Pn 1585 the text and the music do not correspond. It is hard to see how this could be anything other than an error, and the blame has been placed on the music scribe, who ‘copied the model without realising that there was a slight irregularity’, and then inserted extra incipits ‘[i]n an attempt to correct the labeling of the voices’.¹³ I posit, however, that the error was on the part of the text scribe. If F:Pn 1585 was copied from GB:Cccc Ferrell-Vogüé in order to serve as an exemplar for a future presentation manuscript, as Earp has also suggested,¹⁴ then the purpose of F:Pn 1585 would have been as much to preserve the layout as the contents of GB:Cccc Ferrell-Vogüé. In this case, therefore, the music scribe faced a choice: either compound the error of text scribe by copying the music with its words, or minimize it and preserve the layout of GB:Cccc Ferrell-Vogüé by misaligning the text and music on this folio. That the music scribe opted for the second option supports the case for F:Pn 1585 being created to serve as an exemplar for colleagues whose memories were already familiar with the work.

Fig. 7.3 Why are these two images different sizes? They should both be the same size.

(a, b) GB:Cccc Ferrell-Vogüé f.284v and F:Pn 1585 f.282v: scribal workings on display in the Kyrie

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A different scenario occurs in the Agnus Dei between these same two manuscripts. In this instance, the text scribe of F:Pn 1585 has copied the words exactly as they are found in the presentation manuscript,

but the music scribe has placed the music for f.293r over the words on f.292v and vice versa.¹⁵ Due to the structure of the Agnus Dei text, and the uniform layout of the pages which transmit one section per verso, the words are the same on both sides of the opening. Since this is not corrected, the music scribe of F:Pn 1585 seems to be cueing the memory of his readers: there is an implicit expectation that they will notice the mistake and know what to do. And in the absence of GB:Cccc Ferrell-Vogüé, how else could they notice the mistake if not by recourse to an internalized familiarity with the dominant mode, music?

In F:Pn 9221 the tripartite structure of the Agnus **Dei** is altered so that the first two parts are a direct repeat of both words and music, with the text to the third part sung to the music of what is the second part in the other manuscripts. This is perhaps an indication of later performance practice, since this manuscript dates from a quarter of a century later than GB:Cccc Ferrell-Vogüé, F:Pn 1584, and **F:Pn** 1585, which were all made during Machaut's lifetime. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson has observed a similar phenomenon with the accidentals in this posthumous manuscript, which perhaps reflects later tastes.¹⁶ Variations such as these offer insights into what can be considered integral parts of the work: in the case of the Agnus **Dei**, the music itself appears to be treated with more care than where the syllables of the text are placed or the order in which the sections are heard or read; once again, evidence that the text was somehow supplementary to the music as far as the melismatic movements were concerned.

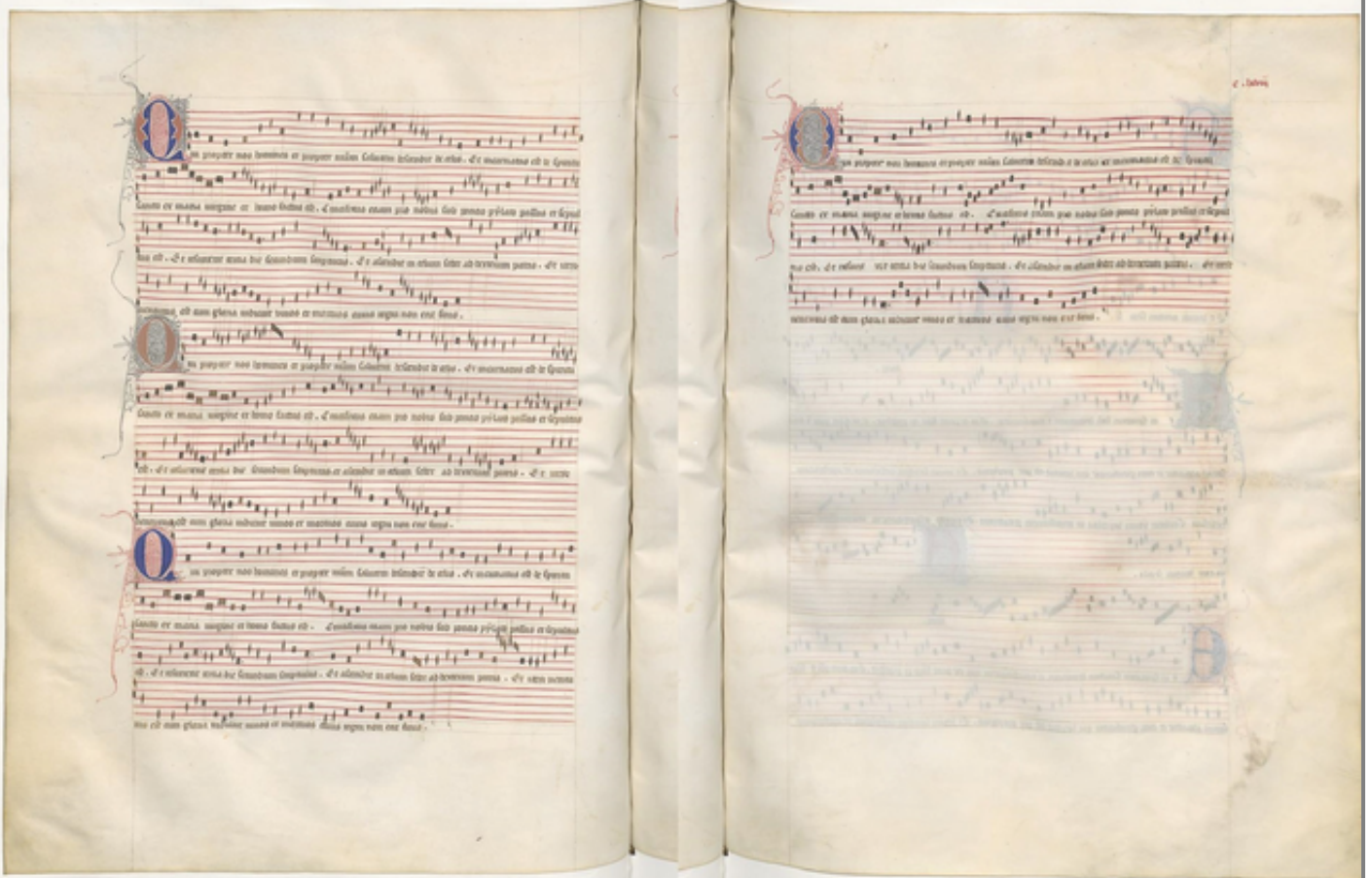
The separation of the modes of text and music, then, goes beyond a situation where scribes work independently while being aware of each other's tasks; in such instances the entrenchment of the text in the music scribes' memories can be traced in the page layout, through the way in which the music is inscribed on the page. In F:Pn 1584 the decorated initials sometimes adorn the first word of the movement, sometimes the part name. While the folios are supremely carefully planned, to the extent that space is left for part names on f.448r (Fig. 7.2), the relative lack of attention to the text underlay of the melismatic movements of the mass strongly implies both that this was something that a medieval reader would know how to do as if by instinct, and that the primary purpose of the manuscript transmission of these movements was to present Machaut's music.

If the art of Machaut the composer is on display in the *mise en page* of the melismatic movements, then Machaut the wordsmith returns in the syllabic Gloria and Credo. The page layout makes the word-music relationship clearer than in the melismatic movements, although some decisions are still required. These judgments can be made from intuition, relationships between parts, and listening. The text-music setting of the two syllabic movements, however, is such that they contain clear 'anchor points' which can be both heard in the music, and seen on the page. These can be considered 'hooks' on which both the large structure of the work, and its minutiae, can be hung, providing a memorial matrix for the readers and listeners, scribes, and composer.¹⁷ If there is doubt about the text-music placement, this can often be overcome by referring to these passages.

In both the Gloria and the Credo, there are passages of longs which occur simultaneously in all voices. These occur over the words 'et in terra pax' and 'Jhesu Christe' in the Gloria, and over 'ex Maria virgine' in the Credo. No musical training is required either to hear these passages or to see them on the page; the arresting halt of the music at these points in an aural performance is reflected in the sudden series of thick black longs on the manuscript page (clearly visible in Fig. 7.4 from the Credo in F:Pn 9221).

Fig. 7.4

F:Pn 9221, ff.167v–168r: extract from the Credo



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Of course, the principal purpose of these passages is for effect, and it is no surprise that they should fall on words wishing for peace (Machaut lived through much of the hundred years' war), and naming the Christian messiah and his mother (the patron of the cathedral in Reims, and the dedicatee of the mass according to GB:Cccc Ferrel-Vogüé).¹⁸ Nevertheless, the prominence of these passages is such that they provide navigation points between parts on the page, and for the remainder of the text-music setting, should doubt arise.

This is particularly useful given another feature of the Credo: a short, untexted rhythmic passage which occurs in the tenor and countertenor parts. In a movement which is so heavily texted, this passage is striking to the listener. It is also striking to the manuscript reader, although its presentation once again allows us a glimpse into the workings of the scribal mind. In Fig. 7.4 (F:Pn 9221), it can clearly be seen after the word 'patris' on the penultimate staves of both folios. Not every manuscript is so clear, however, but reference to the memorial matrix provided by these 'anchor points' renders it less problematic.

In this respect, F:Pn 1585 is a good example. Its lack of accuracy, at least by the modern-day understanding of the term, has led to its marginalization as a source. And indeed, the sources which contain fewer errors are obviously those on which work such as modern editions must be based. In terms of understanding scribal working processes, however, the exemplar manuscript is of supreme importance.

Figure 7.5 presents the same extract from the Credo that we have already seen in Fig. 7.4, but in F:Pn 1585. At first glance, the opening displays that which has been termed the music scribe's 'considerable indifference about the alignment of text and music'.¹⁹ Despite this, using the anchor points that we have seen, together with intuition and memory, it is possible to reconstruct the word-music alignment of this extract. To put it somewhat bluntly: if I can manage it, then a trained medieval scribe with an educated

memory and years of experience would have been able to do it with much less difficulty. In addition, the lengthy erasure and correction that span the last two stanzas offer f. 287v show that the scribes working on this manuscript were far from indifferent to their task. On its own terms, then, this manuscript fulfills its purpose as an exemplar, and in doing so offers us valuable clues as to the process of transmission.

Fig. 7.5

F:Pn 1585, ff.287v–288r: extract from the Credo



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I wish to take one more example of the same passage, this time from manuscript F:Pn 1584 (Fig. 7.6), to show how even in a manuscript such as this where the text-music relations are generally clear (this manuscript may well have been made within Machaut's purview, and it displays considerable concern for the transmission of the works), the anchor points can nevertheless help resolve difficulties. On the fourth staff of the tenor part (counting from the left, the third column of the opening), the word-text alignment is unclear during and immediately after the longs, due to some erasures. Indeed, one erasure too many, for, by looking at the placement of the longs over the corresponding text in the other parts, and knowing that all parts move together at this point, the reader can re-establish the erased note that corresponds to the last syllable of 'virgine'. On this same opening, the untexted rhythmic sequence in the tenor and contratenor after the word 'patris' can also be seen. Its untexted nature allows it to sit in the margin of the contratenor part: a necessary means of saving space on a crowded staff, perhaps, but also a vivid visual reminder of the sonic flourish which these notes represent.

Fig. 7.6

F:Pn 1584, ff.444v–445r: extract from the Credo



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As my final discussion point, I shall move from small details to a larger issue of page layout: page turns. Of the five surviving versions of the mass, four present their page turns at the same points.²⁰ Where these points are divisions between movements this is unsurprising; the fact that the turns occur at the same points in the longer movements, particularly given that one of the manuscripts, F:Pn 9221, is in a much larger format than the others and thus sacrifices much space (including an entire empty page in the middle of the Credo), requires some pause for thought.

Manuscripts F:Pn 1584 and 22546 both employ two columns per page, generally with one voice per column, resulting in an orderly progression of voices across an opening (as in Fig. 7.6). The other manuscripts allow the lines to flow uninterrupted across each page of the opening, with the voices presented one on top of the other (Figs. 7.4 and 7.5). Keeping the page turns consistent, therefore, cannot be attributed to uniformity of page layout. Rather, the divisions we see in the longer movements are likely to be representative of the scribes' — and perhaps the composer's — conceptions of the divisions of the work, that which I have termed its memorial matrix.²¹

Where breaks occur within a movement, it is clear that they follow syntactical divisions in the text. In the melismatic Agnus **Dei**, the words 'Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi mesere nobis' are set twice to two

long musical sections on separate pages in F:Pn 1584 and GB:Cccc Ferrell-Vogüé, and the final ‘Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi dona nobis pacem’ makes up the third. Thus, the page turns come at natural division points in both the musical and syntactical structure which in the syllabic movements proceed hand-in-hand.

In the Credo, however, the breaks in the text—but especially the music—are less obvious, and it is worth investigating further the reasons behind the consistency of the page turns across four of the manuscripts that transmit it. It should be borne in mind that three of these manuscripts were produced during the composer’s lifetime, and while it is easy to suggest a common exemplar somewhere in the tradition, the different formats and sizes of the manuscripts do not lend themselves to keeping to such details as page turns. Rather, it is likely that the memorial matrix of the work is at play.

One of the basic concepts of memory training was that of *divisio*. With this technique, material to be memorized, however much there may be, could be broken down in to smaller parts which could then be retrieved from the memory in any order.²² *Divisio* could be applied to both sacred and secular material, both prose and verse, and, as Busse Berger demonstrates, it is not surprising that the same procedure should hold true for music.

Therefore, it is my contention that the divisions of the Credo which we find through the placement of the page turns in four of the manuscripts are not merely for scribal convenience; rather, they reflect the memorial technique of *divisio*, and very possibly the composer’s perceptions of the divisions of his work. The very fact that the six core Machaut manuscripts, those apparently containing his complete works, were not only compiled but bear great resemblances to each other in terms of ordering and structure, strongly implies that Machaut not only conceived of his corpus in its entirety, but also how it fitted together to make the whole.²³ If we add this to the fact that in the *Voir dit* there is a direct instance of a musical piece being composed in the narrator’s head and dictated to a secretary, just as are the letters, then it becomes clear that Machaut was able to conceive of his orally composed and transmitted works in written form long before they were actually inscribed on parchment.²⁴

In order to support this view of a common memorial matrix, I now wish to turn to the instances in the transmission of the mass where it is altered, and demonstrate the problems that occur as a result. In the Credo, GB:Cccc Ferrell-Vogüé, F:Pn 1585, and F:Pn 9221, all have a page turn after the words ‘Cuius regnum non erat finis’, whereas F:Pn 1584, which is otherwise consistent with these, turns immediately before this same phrase. As Fig. 7.7 shows, the text scribe then missed out these words on the following folio in the tenor and contratenor parts, and the missing text was later inserted at the bottom of the folio along with its music, with guide markings for the reader. That this is the only instance of such an error in the mass in this manuscript, and that it should occur at this very point, is significant indeed.

Fig. 7.7

F:Pn 1584, f.446r: extract from the Credo



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I have mentioned that there is one manuscript that transmits the mass without following the page turns of the others: F:Pn 22546. Its format of two 13-staff columns per page allows for some movements, such as the Agnus Dei, to fit on a single opening; in such instances, its difference is simply one of economy of space. (Note the difference in attitude here between the compilers of this manuscript and those of F:Pn 9221, who were willing to even leave an entire page blank mid-Credo in order to preserve the page turns.) In the Credo, F:Pn 22546 reduces the page turns from three to two, and this has a negative effect on the text setting.

In the Credo, then, the first page turn in F:Pn 22546 occurs before 'Crucifixus', which, in the tenor and contratenor parts, is also one of the instances of the untexted rhythmic figure discussed earlier. It can be seen from Fig. 7.8 that space was left by the text scribe for the extra notes at the end of f.129r; however, the music scribe only entered the notes in that space in the contratenor part. The result is that the untexted rhythmic figure, which occurs simultaneously in both parts, in fact lies somewhat awkwardly on either side of a page turn, indeed over two gatherings, and with text underneath it in the tenor part. When

compared with the next instance of this figure, after 'patris' and also visible on Fig. 7.8, it is clear that the scribes of this manuscript understood the sonic and untexted nature of this figure: the scribes were able to hear in their minds what they were notating. Indeed, in this manuscript Earp notes three instances in the mass where the music scribe found it necessary to alter the text, which the text scribe then re-entered, presumably so as not to spoil the visual appearance of the page.²⁵ Text-music relations are thus important in this manuscript, and the fact that this inconsistency remained uncorrected suggests that confusion had arisen as a result of the altered page turns. In this case, for whatever reasons, space economy took preference over the preservation of the underlying structure of the work, at the cost of the text-music relations.

Fig. 7.8

(a, b) F:Pn 22546, f.129r (detail) and f.130r (detail): the progression of the tenor and contratenor parts over the first page turn in the Credo



I have argued and documented here how the page layout of Machaut's mass in the surviving complete sources can be understood as reflecting the memorial practices, perhaps unconscious, of the scribes, and presumably also those of the composer. My analysis, albeit via a different route, supports Leech-Wilkinson's conclusions that Machaut conceived of the melismatic movements of the mass horizontally (part by part), and the syllabic movements vertically (section by section, divided according to the text).²⁶ I have demonstrated that, since it is certain that the composer, the scribes, and the readers would all have the words of the mass deeply embedded in their memories, the music is at the forefront of the manuscript presentations. Careful consideration of the text-music relations in the manuscripts thus reveals much about the process of manuscript transmission. It can be seen that one manuscript in particular, F:Pn 1585, reveals a distinct separation of words and music in the minds of the scribes. For all of the manuscripts, the relatively free texting of the melismatic movements of the mass implies such familiarity with the text on the parts of all those involved in the transmission of the mass that the precise placement of the words in relation to the music is often left to subliminal responses, to memory, or both. I have shown how, by trusting intuition and memory, readers of the manuscripts even today can reconstruct passages which may seem unclear from their presentation. Therefore, many instances of what are today perceived as difficulties would have posed fewer problems for the manuscripts' first readers, whose memories would have been trained to a level at which we can only wonder today, and for whom both memory and aural transmission would have also formed a significant part of the process from composer to scribe to reader. In other words, what can be observed in the *mise en page* of Machaut's mass, particularly in the melismatic movements, is not so much a detailed set of instructions for creating an aural performance from scratch, but rather an *aide mémoire*, a guide to informed reconstruction or rehearsing. After all, as Leech-Wilkinson has also noted, it is highly unlikely that any of the five manuscripts in which the mass survives complete would have been used in an aural performance by a large group of people.²⁷

The issues discussed here extend beyond Machaut scholarship, for the story of the mass relates to the wider issues of memory in the Middle Ages. This chapter contributes to the ongoing consideration of scribal practices and the visuality of medieval music by drawing together the links between *mise en page* and memory, with particular reference to multimodality. Access today to medieval music is mediated at its point of departure by the scribes who compiled the extant sources; examining their procedures is thus of upmost importance for understanding the period as a whole. I have shown that the scribes of the mass considered text and music as disparate parts of the whole—and they can thus be classed as different modes. In addition, the scribes at work on the five sources considered here had different agendas: those of F:Pn 22546 were concerned with economy of space whilst those of F:Pn 9221 were more lavish; the scribes of F:Pn 1584 sought to provide a definitive collection of Machaut's works whereas those of F:Pn 1585 were more concerned with preserving the page layout of GB:Cccc Ferrell-Vogüé than with the accurate transmission of the works it contained.

Reading the mass in manuscript today is possible, at least in theory, by anyone with an internet connection, for all of the five sources have been digitized and are available to view for free.²⁸ The majority of viewers, even scholarly viewers, of the mass would not be able to simply click on the manuscripts and sing from them; nor would they be able to sing the mass from memory. We therefore interpret the semiotic modes in the manuscripts according to our own time and needs. In a digital reading situation, the visual elements come to the fore over the tactile. In a situation where a reader is unable to sing from the manuscript or does not know the mass well enough to sing it even privately, the visual will also take precedence over the aural. After all, we live in a culture where reading practices are predominantly silent. Professional musicians who learn and perform direct from manuscript notation are in the minority. Even listening to a recording of the mass with the (digital) manuscripts, as I have done in the preparation of this chapter, is, I suspect, not a popular pastime. Therefore, when reading Machaut's mass from manuscript, we make use of our multimodal literacy—as did our medieval forebears. For us, however, the visual modes are of greater importance. In addition, we cannot free ourselves of the work-concept: to us, the mass is a work, one of many produced by the poet-composer Guillaume de Machaut. After centuries of autograph manuscripts, printing, and now self-publishing, the idea of the Great Composer and His Works (the Beethoven paradigm) is still alive and well. This is our social background,

and while a multimodal reading of a medieval text does not provide objectivity or neutrality, it does help us to recognize and categorize the differences between our standpoint and those brought to the text when it was first notated.

Guillaume de Machaut's mass was sung on Saturdays in the cathedral in Reims for some centuries after his death.²⁹ The manuscripts which transmit his complete works stand as a visual memorial alongside the aural one to the fourteenth century's greatest poet-composer. The compilers of these manuscripts would have been aware of the monumental value of their task, perhaps particularly for the mass. For Machaut wrote no other work so explicitly religious in nature. This is perhaps the reason that the mass is notably absent from the list of works which Machaut provided in his Prologue to F:Pn 1584. Whatever the depths of his personal faith, Machaut was an educated churchman in the fourteenth century, and the following words from the gospel would have been clear in his memory: 'Render unto Caesar what belongs to Caesar, and unto God what belongs to God' (Luke 20:25).

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¹ At the time of writing, the most recent call from within the field to confront our inner prejudices is Sierra Lomuto, 'White Nationalism and the Ethics of Medieval Studies', *In the Middle blog*, 5 December 2016: <http://www.inthemedievalmiddle.com/2016/12/white-nationalism-and-ethics-of.html>

² Any investigation into memory in medieval times has to acknowledge as its starting point the work of Mary Carruthers: M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge, 1990). In addition, when discussing memory in a musical context, Anna Maria Busse Berger's work is essential: A. M. Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley, CA, 2005). The works of Leo Treitler, Susan Rankin, and Malcolm B. Parkes are also pertinent in this milieu.

³ Compare this approach to that of B. Cerquiglini in *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris, 1989), and P. Zumthor in 'Intertextualité et mouvance', *Littérature* 41 (1981), pp. 8–16. My approach is influenced by D. Leech-Wilkinson's *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge, 2002).

⁴ F:Pn 1584 states in a rubric that it presents its works in the order 'G. de Machaut vueil qu'il ait en ce livre' (Machaut wants his book to have), and has often been considered an authoritative source. Yet readings from the earlier F:Pn 1586 (which does not contain the mass) are sometimes considered preferable: see E. E. Leach, 'Machaut's First Single-Author Compilation', in H. Deeming and E. E. Leach, eds, *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 247–270.

⁵ L. Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford, 1992). For a detailed discussion of how the work concept pertains to medieval music scholarship, see Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 'Prologue: The First Great Dead White Male Composer' (pp. 9–44). The work concept is of course relevant to disciplines other than music. Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrico-Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, 1987) is particularly relevant for medieval literature; for book history Roger Chartier's *L'Ordre des livres, Lecteurs, auteurs, bibliothèques en Europe entre XIVE et XVIIIe siècle* (Aix en Provence, 1992) and his reconsideration of it in 'The Order of Books Revisited', *Modern Intellectual History* 4:3 (2007), 509–519 are the key texts. For a philosophical take on the work-concept the work of Roland Barthes is particularly relevant. The collection of his works translated and selected by Stephen Heath as *Image Music Text* (London, 1977) contains for example the essays 'From Work to Text' (pp. 155–164) and 'The Death of the Author' (pp. 142–147), both of which have contributed to my thinking here.

⁶ Gunther Kress, *Multimodality: A Social Semiotic Approach to Contemporary Communication* (London New York, 2010), provides an overview of multimodality and social semiotics. See also Theo Van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics* (London New York, 2005).

⁷ I have previously outlined how multimodal techniques can be applied to medieval studies in K. Maxwell, 'When Here is Now and Now is Then: Bridging the Gap in Time with "Sumer is icumen in"' in *Building Bridges for Multimodal Research: International Perspectives on Theories and Practices of Multimodal Analysis*, ed. J. Wildfeuer (Bern, 2015), pp. 259–268. For an example of a multimodal analysis of a Machaut lay, see K. Maxwell, 'An Analysis of "Mode" in Guillaume de Machaut's Lay mortel ("Un mortel lay", Lay 12)', in B. Markussen, ed., *Lydspor. Når musikk møter tekst og bilder* (Kristiansand, 2015), pp. 273–293.

⁸ Busse Berger notes that Friedrich Ludwig, one of the earliest and most scrupulous transcribers and editors of medieval music sources, in his handwritten transcriptions always conserved the page layout of the manuscript. *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, p. 13. The publications based on his transcriptions, of course, were laid out quite differently.

⁹ S. Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical-Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, 1987), is one of the first to consider iconography and text alongside music.

¹⁰ See *The Book of Memory* and M. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998).

¹¹ There is an additional fragment containing part of the *Ite missa est* (I:Pu 1475), and a lost manuscript which likely transmitted the mass in isolation. See L. Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York, 1995), p. 344.

¹² The fragmentary complete works manuscript GB:AB 5010, also early, does not contain the mass. While scholars agree on the date of the mass as c. 1360 and after Machaut's residence in Reims, the date at which this residence began has been debated. An early date is argued by A. W. Robinson, 'The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut in the Cathedral of Reims' in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony* ed. T. Kelly (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 100–39, and *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge, 2002). R. Bowers, on the other hand, argues for a date significantly later, though still prior to 1360, in 'Guillaume de Machaut and his Canonry at Reims 1338–1377', *Early Music History* 23 (2004), pp. 1–48.

¹³ L. M. Earp, 'Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut', (PhD diss., Princeton U., 1983), p. 213.

¹⁴ L. Earp, 'The Transmission of Machaut in the Midi and in the Crown of Aragon, 1389–1458', paper presented at the symposium 'Machaut in the Book', Charlottesville, University of Virginia, 11–12 April 2013.

¹⁵ This passage is discussed by M. Bent, 'The Machaut Manuscripts Vg, B and E', *Musica Disciplina* 37 (1983), pp. 53–82, at p. 57.

¹⁶ D. Leech-Wilkinson, *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 97.

¹⁷ These can be compared to the 'hooks' used in medieval fishing metaphors of memory: Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 247.

¹⁸ Earp provides a bibliography of the discussion of the mass: *Guillaume de Machaut*, pp. 344–5. To this should be added the studies by Bowers and Robinson referenced above.

¹⁹ Bent, 'The Machaut Manuscripts', p. 57.

²⁰ Noted by Leech-Wilkinson in *Machaut's Mass*, pp. 40–1.

²¹ Geoffrey of Vinsauf, among others, notes the importance of planning in medieval composition. See Carruthers, p. 251, and R. Eriksen, *The Building in the Text: Alberti to Shakespeare and Milton* (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2001), p. 6.

²² For more details, particularly for medieval examples of this process in action, see Carruthers, pp. 104–13 and Busse Berger pp. 51–67 and 221–232. In the twentieth century, the psychologist George Miller put forward the same phenomenon and called it ‘chunking’: ‘The Magical Number Seven, Plus or Minus Two: Some Limits on our Capacity for Processing Information’, *Psychological Review* 63 (1956), pp. 81–97, discussed in Carruthers, pp. 104–5.

²³ This argument applies whether or not Machaut had a part, indirect or otherwise, in the compiling of these manuscripts. The evidence is not entirely conclusive, but it seems extremely unlikely that he would be unaware of their existence. Indeed, in the *Voir dit* there are instructions to the reader to look elsewhere in the manuscript (in which they are reading the tale) to find the music for works which were sung, clearly implying that the work was conceived to be transmitted as part of a larger volume of works. There is a wealth of further reading on this topic; an excellent starting point is L. Earp, ‘Machaut’s Role in the Production of Manuscripts of his Works’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989), pp. 461–503.

²⁴ For a discussion of this passage, and of the use of memory in the *Voir dit*, see K. Maxwell, “‘Quant j’eus tout recordé par ordre’” Memory and Performance on Display in the Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut’s *Voir dit* and *Remede de Fortune*’ in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture* ed. Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen, and Mary Franklyn-Brown, (Farnham, 2013), pp. 181–93.

²⁵ Earp, ‘Scribal Practice’, p. 194, especially n. 361.

²⁶ Leech-Wilkinson, *Machaut’s Mass*, chapters 2 and 3.

²⁷ Leech-Wilkinson, *Machaut’s Mass*, p. 109.

²⁸ The manuscripts owned by the Bibliothèque nationale de France can be accessed via their online portal gallica: gallica.bnf.fr. The Ferrell-Vogüé manuscript housed in the Parker Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge can be viewed via the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (diamm.ac.uk), which requires free user registration.

²⁹ Whether this was commissioned by Machaut himself (Robinson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims* and ‘The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut’), or by others in his memory (Bowers, ‘Guillaume de Machaut’), has no bearing on my stance here, though I do note, with a smile, that whoever commissioned it presumably had their money’s worth if it was still being sung weekly in the eighteenth century.