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Machaut and Prague: a rare new sighting?

Guillaume de Machaut (*c*.1300–1377) is often taken as the defining representative of French musical, poetic and narrative production of the 14th century. His biography and output, though, present as many questions as they do answers.[1] For example, his musical works are often used to define a quintessentially French style, though his attachment to the royal courts of Bohemia and Navarre, as well as his occasional autobiographical comments, suggest that he spent considerable periods of time in other countries or travelling around Europe.[2] In this respect, his long service with the Bohemian King John of Luxembourg is particularly perplexing, as he must have written a considerable proportion of the materials in his first collected works manuscript while still in that king's active service.[3] While some narrative works are dedicated to or feature King John as a character, they do so in either a vague or a specifically French context. No direct evidence of Central European materials is found in the lyrics or music, and no evidence survives of Machaut's works' circulation there during his lifetime.[4] In searching for resonances of his time in that part of the world beyond direct references to his then patron, what remains are his grasp of the geography of the area (including complaints against the harsh Lithuanian winter), the odd statement in the mould of 'I know, as I was there' in his late chronicle, *La Prise d'Alixandre* (*The capture of Alexandria*), and the detection of Germanic origins in a single use of the word 'vrauelette' (diminutive of 'lady').[5]

This article proposes that further light may be shed on Machaut's connections with the political spheres of Central Europe through the suggested identification of the heraldic arms alluded to in the text of his ballade 30, *Pas de tor*. Though discussions of heraldry have been integrated into a number of Machaut-related studies in the last few years, they have mostly been used to support reconstructions of manuscript circulation and ownership.[6] This contribution applies heraldic interpretation on a smaller scale, associating it with the origins, dating and function of a single song. In so doing, it offers a case study in Machaut's involvement with his political surroundings, with broader implications for the functions and contexts of the author's musical and literary output.

Questions around Machaut's political engagement, broadly defined, can be separated into two strands. First is his tendency for secrecy and riddles, 'hiding' (while clearly expecting to be discovered) both his own identity and that of his dedicatees and patrons. The two most obvious exceptions—namely, the judgement poems which praise named patrons directly—were written when name-dropping was required in terms of career prospects: *Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaigne* (*The judgement of the King of Bohemia*) while Machaut was attempting to establish himself as a literary figure away from active, itinerant secretarial duties with John of Luxembourg, and *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* (*The judgement of the King of Navarre*) while looking for a new patron following the double disaster of John's death in 1346 and that of his daughter, Bonne/Guta in 1349.[7] Furthermore, the narrator figure is only fully identified with the author himself in the relatively dire circumstances of the latter, and remains hidden behind an anagram in the former. Even identifiably political pieces such as *Le Confort d'ami* (*Comfort for a friend*) or expressly historical works such as the *Prise* use anagrams rather than state either author or subject name.[8] As the *Prise*'s subject— King Peter I of Cyprus—was dead by the time of its completion, the anagram concealing his

and Machaut's names does not solve the issue of its dedication or patronage.[9] This cryptic stance can also be traced in the creation of his manuscripts, where rather than explicit statements, subtleties of ordering, inclusion and illumination have to be relied upon when attempting to identify personalization. The clear affiliative elements we do possess—in the form of scribbled mottos, *ex libris* statements, or coats of arms—have all been added to the various manuscripts after Machaut's death.[10] When looking at the songs, such hiding techniques often become the main characteristic of the lyrics, transforming them into riddle-songs. This is most obvious in the numerical rondeaux *Cinc, un, treze* ('Five, one, thirteen', R6) and *Dix et sept, cinc* ('Seventeen, five', R17), where the internal repetition structure causes the numbers to be heard three times, but is also apparent in other works such as the pair *Certes, mon oueil—Dame, qui vuet* ('Certainly, my eyes'; 'Lady, who want(s)', R15–16).[11] In all these cases, solving the puzzle reveals a forename, insufficient to allow modern identification based on each song alone, but clearly adequate for the medieval dedicatees and their immediate contexts. This is an important point that merits stressing: in the vast majority of these cases, the riddle would not have been a problem for the dedicatees and their milieu. For example, it would have been obvious to Charles II King of Navarre that the *Confort* related to his situation in 1357, or to anyone in the French royal family not only that John of Berry was the protagonist of *La Fonteinne Amoureuse* (*The fountain of love*), but that it describes the events of 1360–61.[12] Similarly, it was only the numerical game in the above-mentioned rondeaux that would have exercised their original listeners. Once the forename had been gleaned, it would have been obvious who and what the song is about. This suggests that the refusal to make specific statements was not a serious attempt at secrecy, but rather a technique of social demarcation, enhancing the cultural credentials of those in the know over listeners without direct access to the fictionalized protagonists. Such procedures are common and well studied, and have parallels in contemporaneous practices of quotation and allusion, and—a little later—notational technique.[13] While all can enjoy the performed material, meaning is controlled and hierarchically stratified, ensuring that some members of

the audience form a more personal, involved relationship with the heard or read work than others, who may even be made to misunderstand it.[14]

The second strand relating to the political dimension of Machaut's output is its mode of engagement. He seems keen to avoid grand causes or calls to action, preferring instead the personal or reactive.[15] Even works offering ample scope for discussion of wider political contexts, such as the *Confort* or *Fonteinne* mentioned above, concentrate on personal feelings and behavioural standards. The same can be said of his unambiguous and total support of John of Luxembourg as an ideal prince; or of his personal stance when discussing taxes, horse trading (both in the complaints) or war (in the later, political motets).[16] Even his celebratory works can be seen as either commemorative or relating to personal involvement. The *Prise* is perhaps the prime example of the former, composed after the event it memorializes, while two dedicatory motets have been related not to external commission, but to Machaut's personal circumstances.[17] Perhaps the only entrepreneurial political call to action with which we have evidence of Machaut's more or less active participation revolves around drumming up support and raising funds for Peter of Cyprus's crusade in the mid-1360s. This has been surmised through the MARGVERITE / PIERRE acrostic of *Mon cuer, m'amour ma dame souvereinne* ('My heart, the love of my sovereign lady', Cp6), and its relation to *Le Dit de la Marguerite* (*The tale of the daisy*).[18] It seems both works were designed to aid and support Peter in achieving his campaigning objectives, presenting him as a well-backed cultural authority. Furthermore, while it is obvious that the *Prise* was completed only after Peter's death, Machaut's early support of the expedition suggests it is not unlikely that he had already started collecting materials for a chronicle at this stage.[19]

The work I concentrate on here bridges a number of these issues. As the text of Machaut's musical ballade 30 demonstrates, it is a different game that is being played here (see Table 1).[20] Furthermore, the very first line of text suggests a move away from French hegemony.

It has long been recognized that the first strophe of this song can be understood in heraldic terms, but a solution to the puzzle has not been forthcoming.[21]

Pas de tor en thies païs,	Bull (en) passant in German lands,
Qui portez douceur et biauté,	You bear beauty and grace,
Blanc et vermeil com rose ou lis,	Red and white like rose or lily
En un escu de loyauté,	In an escutcheon of loyalty;
La clarté de vostre bonté	The radiance of your virtue
Resplent plus que la tresmonteinne	Shines brighter than the pole star
Seur toute creature humeinne.	Over all human beings.
Gent corps, cointe, apert et faitis,	A noble figure, dainty, attractive and pleasing,
Maintieng plein de toute honnesté,	A manner that is completely frank,
Se je vous aim, serf, loe et pris,	If I love, serve, praise and esteem you,
N'est merveilles, qu'en verité	It's no surprise, for truly
Vous avez si tout seurmonté	You are so superior to all others
Que vous estes fleur souvereinne	That you are the sovereign flower
Seur toute creature humeinne.	Over all human beings.
Si seroie a tous jours garis,	And I would be forever healed,
Ne jamais n'aroie grieté,	Never again to suffer grief,
Se vos nobles cuers et gentis,	If your heart, noble and highborn,
Courtois, frans et pleins de pité	Courtly, generous and full of sympathy
Savoit que, d'umble volenté,	Should know that, with humble intent,
Li miens de vous servir se peinne	My own heart struggles to serve you
Seur toute creature humeinne.	Over all human beings.

In attempting to reconstruct and affiliate a coat of arms, it is just as important to distil a functional context for its composition as it is to find a match. When reconstructing the blazon, the ballade text offers a number of interpretative possibilities (see illus.1). While the figure of the marching bull (line 1) and the colours red and white (line 3) are undisputable, their arrangement is not specified. The most clearly technical term—'escu' (line 4)—also complicates matters as it is not clear whether it is merely a hint at the heraldic game being played, that is, that the red and white bull is actually a coat of arms signifying loyalty (suggesting a red bull on a white background or vice versa: illus.1a), or whether it is part of the description, indicating that the background of the coat of arms should have the colour of loyalty, that is, blue (with the bull itself somehow divided into red and white: illus.1b). Furthermore, it is possible to read the 'païs' (line 1) on which the bull stands as a heraldic reference as well, suggesting a lower horizontal division of the shield, giving the animal something to stand on, perhaps some green grass (illus.1c). We already have eight options. In searching for matches we must be guided by both the geographic reference

and the song's likely date. The manuscript containing its earliest appearance presents new works hailing from the mid-1350s to the mid-1360s. A set of musical ballades (B32, 34–6) copied close by (and for the first time) in this source can be more specifically dated to 1362–4 due to their incorporation into the narrative of *Le Livre dou Voir dit* (*The tale of the true poem*).[22]

Searches through armorials for a matching familial coat of arms yielded meagre results: a Pierre Thoru used 'd'azur au Taureau d'argent marchant' in Poitou in 1502. 'D'argent, au bœuf de gueules' was used by the Italian Campo-Ferro family, as well as the French Duris family in the 17th century, with its Duris du Fresne faction reverting to 'd'azur au Taureau passant d'argent' as the *ex libris* of Leon Duris du Fresne (1844–88) attests.[23] However, interpreting the term 'païs' not as part of the arms but instead in association with their owners, thereby diverting the search towards a place rather than a person, yields more promising results. Read this way, the best candidate I was able to locate is the red marching bull of Lusatia or Lausitz, often used to signify Lower Lusatia only, and sharing its origins
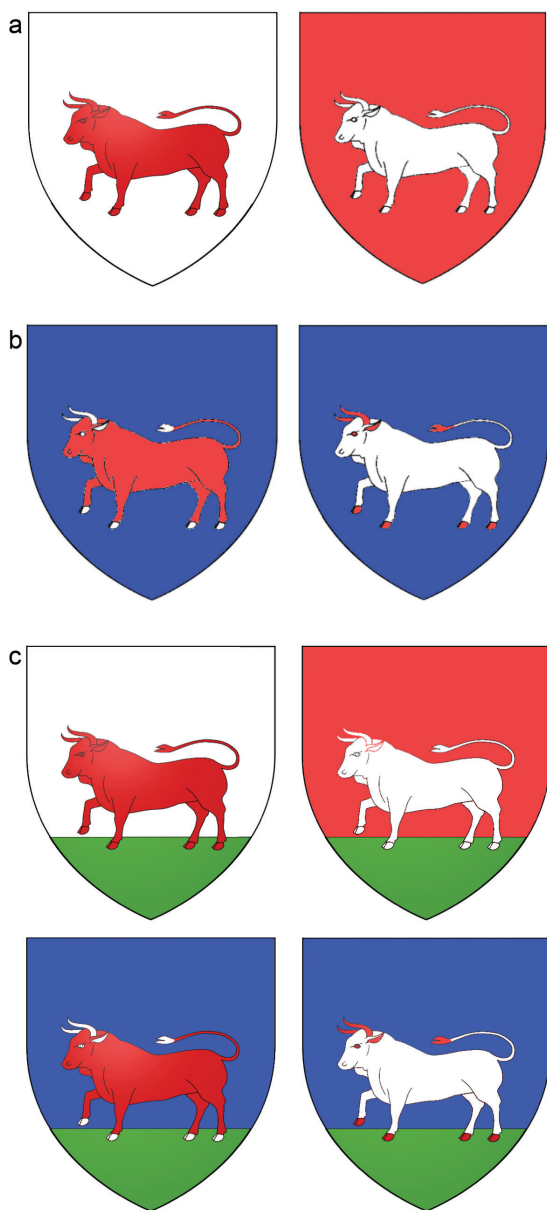
1 Eight interpretative possibilities for the heraldry encoded in B30

with the arms of the city of Luckau.[24] It is always placed on a white background, with grassy meadows introduced as a later feature (see illus.2–5 below).

The Lusatian lands bordered the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Silesian duchies, Brandenburg and Saxe-Wittenberg, and were associated with the Margravate of Brandenburg up to 1319. As such, they featured in the power struggles between the Luxembourg and Wittelsbach dynasties, as well as between the Bohemian and Polish kingdoms.[25] While in the retinue of the Bohemian King John of Luxembourg, these lands—as well as the main characters who decided their fate in the decades following John's death—must have come to Machaut's attention (for the genealogy of the relevant dynasties during this period, see Appendix 1 and 2). Following the demise of the Brandenburg House of Ascania in 1319, John gained control of the western parts of Upper Lusatia, while the eastern part fell to the Silesian Duke Henry I of Jawor. Henry had to cede most of his lands in Lusatia following John's 1327–9 campaigns in Silesia, in which Machaut testifies his presence.[26] During this and subsequent campaigns in 1331, another key figure in the story must have come to Machaut's professional attention. As a Habsburg ally and major player in the Wittelsbach–Polish–Hungarian alliance against Bohemia, Bolko II 'the Small', co-Duke of Świdnica, was a constant thorn in John's side.[27] As one of two Silesian dukes to successfully avoid paying homage or being conquered by John, and later as the last independent Silesian duke of the Piast dynasty, Bolko stood in the way of the integration of Silesia into the Bohemian crown lands.[28] To make matters worse, on top of becoming sole duke of Świdnica following the death of his brother in 1345, he inherited his uncles' domains a year later, adding to his titles also the duchies of Jawor and Lwówek. This, though, opened up a potential political bridge to John's son, the new King of Bohemia and soon to be Holy Roman Emperor, Charles IV, as those duchies had officially been taken under the 'protection' of the Bohemian crown since the treaty of Trencin in 1335.[29] Following an inconclusive war in 1345–8, the two finally settled their differences in 1350. Charles betrothed his eleven-month-old son and heir Wenceslas to Anna of Świdnica, Bolko's eleven-year-old niece and heiress. However, Wenceslas died before his first birthday, annulling the agreement. Wenceslas's mother outlived him by only a couple of years, at which point Charles became free to marry the by-then thirteen-year-old Anna himself.[30] As a result, Charles became Bolko's direct heir, and so encouraged his rich father-in-law

in buying up lands from his impoverished neighbours. Thus, in the late 1350s and early 1360s Bolko became co-Duke of Brzeg, Duke of Siewierz, co-Duke of Głogów and co-Duke of Ścinawa. He also acquired other assets such as the towns of Frydlant and Kąty Wrocławskie and the gold mine of Złoty Stok.[31] Most relevant to our current context, though, was Bolko's and Charles's joint acquisition of the Duchy of Lower Lusatia in April 1364 (an option open to them since 1353), whereupon its eventual incorporation into the Bohemian Crown lands was secured.[32] The importance of this acquisition can be seen by the placing of the Lusatian coat of arms on Bolko's seal (illus.2) and effigy (illus.4), on the seals of Wenceslas IV, Charles and Anna's son (illus.3), and on one of Prague's most monumental civic structures (illus.5).[33]

Hence, a long-standing political problem of his erstwhile patron had been resolved by people known to Machaut. Still, the pattern of political engagement described above suggests it is unlikely this in itself would have sufficed to have caused him to compose a song celebrating the occasion. To support a link between B30, *Pas de tor* and Lower Lusatia, an immediate context in which the composition of such a song makes functional sense has to be identified. Here, the one area of proactive political engagement already highlighted—that is, Machaut's involvement with Peter of Cyprus and his crusading efforts—offers precisely such an instance.

The *Voir dit* offers multiple avenues through which news of the planned crusade could have reached Machaut early on.[34] We are told that Toute-Belle's brother (she being the beloved in the story) was with King John II of France in Avignon in late 1362, matching Peter's arrival in Europe and preparations for entering the papal city.[35] The same brother was in Reims in March 1363 at the time Pope Urban V officially proclaimed the crusade. We are informed that Machaut left Paris in June the same year, suggesting that his stay there coincided with John's return to his capital. Furthermore, John spent most of September and October of 1363 in Reims where he was received by Machaut, by this time a resident canon at the cathedral.[36] While we know that Peter left for England in October, his movements immediately beforehand are not clear. Either way, the topic may well have come up on one or all of these occasions. At this point, John himself was still head of the proposed crusade, and Machaut may have been interested in mending his relationship with the king by supporting his new endeavour as a counterbalance to his earlier Navarrese sympathies.[37]

A more direct point of contact between Machaut and Peter, declared the head of the crusading project following John's death, was during the coronation of Charles V in Reims in May 1364 which both men attended. The notion of a meeting is strengthened by the changing character of the description of Peter in the *Prise* from this point on.[38] The complaint *Mon cuer, m'amour ma dame souvereinne* (Cp6), mentioned above, was likely composed shortly after this event, perhaps even handed over to Peter in time for the resumption of his travels. At this point, Peter must have been planning his visit to the Holy Roman Empire, as he embarked upon it shortly after the tournament in honour of the new French king was over. A song such as B30, *Pas de tor,* praising the recent achievements of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV and his powerful father-in-law Bolko II might have come in useful for Peter. As a descendant of a French dynasty ruling over a kingdom with strong Venetian connections, the Romance West offered

2 Seal of Bolko II (*c*.1365–8)

3 Seal of Wenceslas IV (25 July 1363), the first to depict the Lusatian coat of arms

him more personal and cultural access points than the Germanic East. Even if we assume no direct contact between Machaut and Peter, their respective roles as high-ranking official in the coronation's host institution and royal guest associated with the celebrations would have placed them in close enough proximity to pursue joint interests, perhaps via intermediaries. After all, Machaut was highly regarded by the new French king, who already possessed a Machaut manuscript and had visited the author's home in Reims in 1361.[39] Both from the poetry and through his mother, Charles would have been well aware not only of Machaut's artistic prowess, but also of his links to the Luxembourg dynasty. From Machaut's side, Cp6 attests to him being amenable to supporting Peter; various passages in his oeuvre demonstrate vivid memories from his time spent in the service of the Luxembourgs; and not much time had passed since B33, *Nes que on porroit* ('No more than a man

4 Effigy of Bolko II, St Mary's abbey church, Krzeszów / Grüssau (image by Edward Knapczyk). Note the position of the Lusatian arms in relation to those of his other acquired territories. The current, erroneous colourings (and 19th-century 'improved' polychrome on the right) of the coat of arms are the result of 18th-century reconstruction work.

5 East façade of the Old Town Tower on Charles Bridge, Prague (image by Ben Godfrey), presenting the earliest coloured version of the Lusatian arms (at the far right, *c*.1368–73)

could') was composed and worked into the *Voir dit*, a song he described as being in 'la guise d'un res d'alemangne'. It is hard to translate this phrase without fully understanding its meaning. Options can range from 'in the German way' to 'using the form of the *King of the Germans*'.[40] Whatever he meant by this comment, it seems that Machaut considered himself able to compose in a way which would be appreciated or at least recognized in the Germanic context. While dynastic news such as the imperial marriage between Charles and Anna in 1353, the birth of their son Wenceslas in 1361, and his coronation as King of Bohemia in 1363 would have quickly resonated throughout Europe, the latest news from that region (such as the acquisition of the Duchy of Lusatia) may well have come from Duke Wenceslas I of Brabant and Luxembourg who attended the French coronation. As the youngest son of John of Luxembourg, half-brother to the Emperor Charles, patron of Froissart and a poet in his own right, Wenceslas would not only have been aware of political developments in Central Europe, but would have had reason to notice the famous poet among the canons of the cathedral.[41]

Perhaps aided by musical-poetic cultural capital supplied by Machaut, Peter was very well received in the imperial court in Prague. In late September, he accompanied Charles to Kraków for a congress initiated by King Casimir III of Poland and Bolko, aimed at stabilizing and perpetuating peace in Central and Eastern Europe and attended by a further two kings and other powerful aristocrats. Peter impressed everyone with his chivalric ability and persuasive oration, even if no practical assistance for his crusade materialized.[42]

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To sum up, an interpretation of the beginning of в30 as describing the coat of arms of Lower Lusatia and dating it to May 1364 fits in with a web of existing information about Machaut and his activities: the dating is in line with that of its first surviving manuscript copy; the subject matter would be topical and have particular resonance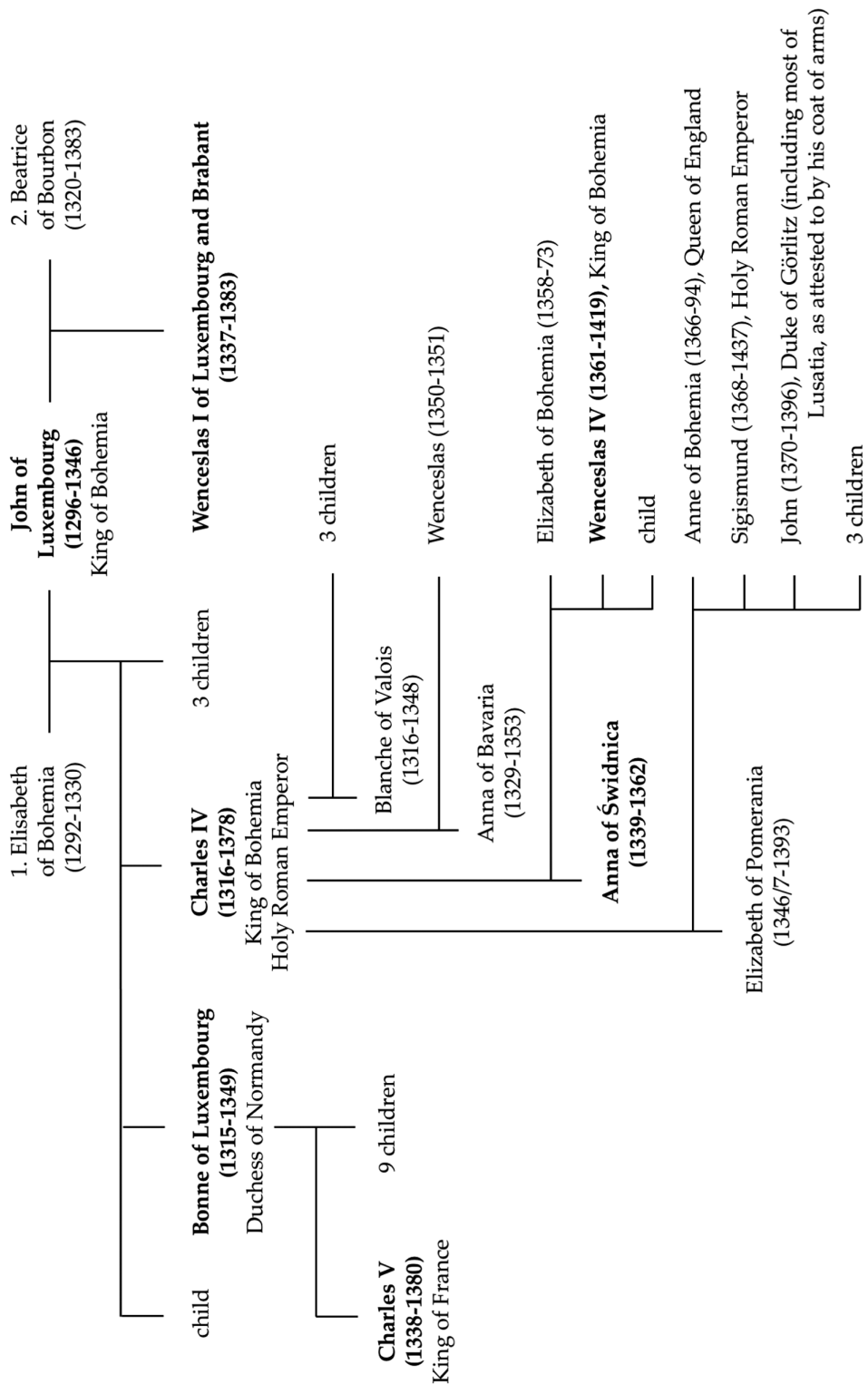 for Machaut; and most importantly, the link with Peter of Cyprus presents a functional reason for its composition within Machaut's immediate political context and known sphere of activity. The acquisition of Lusatia by Bolko and Charles in April 1364, the possible meeting of Peter and Machaut in May, and Peter's subsequent trip to Prague and beyond in June to October dovetail beautifully. Whether commissioned directly, suggested by an intermediary, or on Machaut's own initiative, a ballade and perhaps also a complaint could have been delivered relatively quickly, while the longer narrative of the *Marguerite*—usually dated to after 1366—would have required more time than Peter was planning to dedicate to the French leg of his trip.

In trying to identify the dedicatee of the remainder of this courtly ballade text, Anna of Świdnica should perhaps be ruled out. While embodying the lasting link between Charles and Bolko, and the legal conduit through which Lusatia was transferred to Wenceslas upon his great-uncle's death, by 1364 she had passed away and Charles had married his fourth wife, making the present tense used unbecoming.[43] When looking for other candidates, it is worth noting that the gender of neither speaker nor dedicatee is explicitly stated in the text. If the dedicatee is taken to be male, the wording may nonetheless rule out both Bolko and Charles as potential subjects. Still, it would not be wholly inappropriate to use the terminology found in *Pas de tor* when referring to the newly crowned and recently orphaned King of Bohemia—the three-year-old Wenceslas IV— whose coronation seal displayed the Lusatian arms so prominently (see illus.3).[44] Congratulating his father and great uncle through reference to such an important recent occasion was sure to make a good impression.

While I would be the first to accept that this interpretation requires a number of leaps of faith, I hope it will nonetheless add *Pas de tor* to the list of Machaut songs operating as functional, practical artefacts within an existing and specific political landscape. If accepted, its importance would be in identifying a rare proactive stance within Machaut's political engagements and in widening the geo-political landscape in which his works reverberated.

Appendix: Genealogies

Bolko I the Strict
Duke of Jawor-Lwówek-Świdnica-Ziębice
(1252/6–1301)

3 children

Bernard of Świdnica
(c. 1291–1326)

**Henry I of Jawor-Lwówek
(c. 1292/6–1346)**

2 children

Bolko II of Ziębice
(1300–1341)

child

Nicholas the Small
(c. 1327–1358)

child

Bolko III
(c. 1348–1410)

4 children

**Bolko II the Small
(c. 1312–1368)**
Co-duke of Świdnica (1326)
Duke of Świdnica (1345)
Duke of Jawor (1346)
Duke of Lwówek (1346)
Duke over half of
Brzeg and Oława (1358)
Duke of Siewierz (1359)
Duke over half of
Głogów and Ścinawa (1361)
Duke of Lusatia (1364)

2 children

Henry II
(c. 1316–1345)
of Świdnica

child

**Anna of Świdnica
(1339–1362)**
Queen consort of Germany
Queen consort of Bohemia and
Holy Roman Empress (1353)

Elizabeth of Bohemia
(1358–1373)

**Wenceslas IV of Bohemia
(1361–1419)**

child

1 The House of Jawor-Lwówek-Świdnica-Ziębice (persons mentioned in the article in **bold**)

2. Beatrice of Bourbon (1320-1383)

1. Elisabeth of Bohemia (1292-1330)

John of Luxembourg (1296-1346) King of Bohemia

Wenceslas I of Luxembourg and Brabant (1337-1383)

3 children

Charles IV (1316-1378) King of Bohemia Holy Roman Emperor

Blanche of Valois (1316-1348)

3 children

Wenceslas (1350-1351)

Anna of Bavaria (1329-1353)

Anna of Świdnica (1339-1362)

Elizabeth of Bohemia (1358-73)

Wenceslas IV (1361-1419), King of Bohemia

child

Anne of Bohemia (1366-94), Queen of England

Sigismund (1368-1437), Holy Roman Emperor

John (1370-1396), Duke of Görlitz (including most of Lusatia, as attested to by his coat of arms)

3 children

Elizabeth of Pomerania (1346/7-1393)

Bonne of Luxembourg (1315-1349) Duchess of Normandy

9 children

Charles V (1338-1380) King of France

child

2 The House of Luxembourg (persons mentioned in the article in **bold**)

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1 For a recent reconstruction, noting the difficulties in assessing various sources of information, see E. E. Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: secretary, poet, musician* (Ithaca, 2011), ch.1.

2 See R. Bowers, 'Guillaume de Machaut and his canonry of Reims, 1338–1377', *Early Music History*, xxiii (2004), pp.1–48, though note that the earliest affiliations with Navarre suggested they are not universally accepted. For references taken to be autobiographical within Machaut's work, see L. Earp, *Guillame de Machaut: a guide to research* (New York and London, 1995), pp.12–14, with ch.1 as a whole offering a much wider range of biographical information.

3 The main corpus of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 1586 (MS C) is thought to have been copied by 1349, while Machaut is believed to have remained in John's service until the latter's death in 1346. See U. Smilansky, 'The process of Ms.C: material-collection and implementation in Machaut's first collected-works manuscript' (forthcoming). John's court was highly itinerant and did not spend extended periods in Prague. Nonetheless, considering John's various campaigns and the time it took to travel between his Bohemian and Luxembourgian possessions, it is safe to assume that Machaut spent considerable periods in non-francophone surroundings. See V. Černy, 'Guillaume de Machaut au service du roi de Bohême', *Actes et colloques*, xxiii (*Guillaume de Machaut: Poète et compositeur. Colloque-table ronde organisé par l'Université de Reims (19–22 avril 1978)*) (1982) and M. Margue, *Un itinéraire européen: Jean l'Aveugle, comte de Luxembourg et roi de Bohême 1296–1346* (Brussels and Luxembourg, 1996). A contextualization of Machaut's work against contemporary Czech poetic production can be found in M. Nejedlý, 'Deux poètes français du quatorzième siècle en Bohême. Rencontres et confrontations', in *Prague Papers on History of International Relations*, i (1997), pp.30–53.

4 The Machaut songs that do feature in manuscripts from this area seem to be part of a later and widely circulating 'international repertory'. See R. Strohm, 'The Ars Nova fragments of Gent', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, xxxiv (1984), pp.109–31, at pp.118–19. For the 'German' qualities of ballade 33, see below.

5 See Earp, *Guide*, pp.11–14. An edition of the *Prise* can be found in R. B. Palmer (ed. and trans.), *Guillaume de Machaut: La Prise d'Alexandrie (The taking of Alexandria)* (New York, 2002).

6 See, for example, the discussion of the prologue illuminations of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 1584 in D. Leo, 'The beginning is the end: Machaut's Prologue', in *Citation, intertextuality and memory in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, i: *Text, music and image from Machaut to Ariosto*, ed. Y. Plumley, G. Di Bacco and S. Jossa (Exeter, 2011), pp.96–112, or the coat of arms in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 22545–6 discussed in Y. Plumley and U. Smilansky, 'Notes on the early ownership of the Machaut manuscripts F–G' (forthcoming).

7 The *Navarre* was likely begun for Bonne and reworked after her death. See R. B. Palmer, D. Leo and U. Smilansky, *The debate poems: Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaigne, Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre, Le Lay de Plour* (Michigan, 2016).

8 See R. B. Palmer, *Guillaume de Machaut: Le Confort d'ami (Comfort for a friend)* (New York and London, 1992); For anagrams in Machaut's output more generally, see L. de Looze, '"Mon nom trouveras": a new look at the anagrams of Guillaume de Machaut— the enigmas, responses and solutions', *Romanic Review*, lxxix (1988), pp.537–57.

9 As the main protagonist of the chronicle it is not surprising Peter is also mentioned by name within the work (see lines 1380–400). The position within the anagram, though, is usually reserved to dedicatees and patrons.

10 For one more extreme example, see L. Earp, *The Ferrell–Vogüé Machaut Manuscript: introductory study* (Oxford, 2014), pp.28–46, where the identification of this manuscript's first owner relies on a series of letters, not on the medieval scribbled motto it contains or the remnants of the medieval coat of arms imprinted on its cover.

11 For the solutions of these riddles, see Earp, *Guide*, pp.300, 314 and 306 respectively. The riddle described in R16 has to be applied to R15 in order to come up with the hidden name.

12 On the *Confort* see above, on the *Fontaine* see R. B. Palmer, *The Fountain of Love = La fonteinne amoureuse; and, two other love vision poems / Guillaume de Machaut* (New York and London, 1993).

13 See, among others, Y. Plumley, *The art of grafted song: citation and allusion in the age of Machaut* (Oxford, 2013); U. Smilansky, 'L'essor du compositeur-célébrité: stratégies et techniques de l'auto-définition musicale au 14e siècle', *Revue Analyse Musicale*, lxxviii (2015), pp.13–21.

14 See, for example, Peire d'Alvernha's *Chantarai d'aquest trobadors* in R. Harvey, 'Courtly culture in medieval Occitania', in *The troubadours: an introduction*, ed. S. Gaunt and S. Kay (Cambridge, 1999), pp.8–27, at pp.21–2, or Jacob de Senleches's *Je me merveil—J'ay pluseurs fois*. This work has been analysed from many angles, with

the most relevant within the current discussion being Y. Plumley, 'Citation and allusion in the late *Ars Nova*: the case of *Esperance* and the *En attendant* songs', *Early Music History*, xviii (1999), pp.287–363, at pp.321–5.

15 Though note his description as a reformist in E. E. Leach, 'Seeing Sens: Guillaume de Machaut and de Melun' (2010, available at http://users.ox.ac.uk/~musf0058/MachautMelun.html). His evolving concept relating to 'good love' and to gender politics are similarly explored within personal, internalized contexts rather than as part of admonition of external social structures. See D. Kelly, *Machaut and the medieval apprenticeship tradition: truth, fiction and poetic craft* (Cambridge, 2014), ch.1, and Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut*, pp.243–54 respectively.

16 The best summary-overview of relations with John of Luxembourg and of the themes of the complaints remains Earp, *Guide*, pp.11–4 and 265–71. The most clearly political motets are the late м21–м23. See A. Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: context and meaning in his musical works* (Cambridge, 2002), ch.7. A possible exception could be м9, taken to refer to king Edward III of England. See J. Boogaart, 'Encompassing past and present: quotations and their function in Machaut's motets', *Early Music History*, xx (2001), pp.1–86 at pp.5–11.

17 These are м18 and м19, discussed in Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*, pp.70–4 and contextualized further in Leach, 'Seeing Sens'.

18 See J. I. Wimsatt, *The marguerite poetry of Guillaume de Machaut* (Chapel Hill, 1970), pp.44–50.

19 The commissioning process of this work remains unclear. With Peter (perhaps unnecessarily) ruled out, Charles V of France, Emperor Charles IV and the 'Peronne' of the *Voir dit* have all been proposed. See summary in Earp, *Guide*, pp.233–4.

20 The text and translation are based on Y. Plumley, T. Rose-Steel and R. B. Palmer, *Guillaume de Machaut: the lyrics* (Michigan, forthcoming), and I would like to thank them for giving me access to their work. I have taken the freedom

to change their reading of the first strophe (and repeating refrain), using its inherent ambiguity to arrive at a more explicitly heraldic reading. I would like to thank Jacques Boogaart for his advice, but take full responsibility for any error introduced in the process. A number of musical editions are available, including F. Ludwig, *Guillaume de Machaut: Musikalische Werke*, i (Leipzig, 1926), pp.33–4; L. Schrade, *The works of Guillaume de Machaut* (PMFC 3), pp.116–17; and with some emendations, S. Fuller, 'Exploring tonal structure in French polyphonic song of the fourteenth century' in *Tonal structures in early music* ed. C. Collins Judd (Abingdon, 2000), pp.61–86, at pp.66–7. A recent recording is available by the Orlando Consort, 'Guillaume de Machaut: A Burning Heart' (Hyperion, 2016, CDA68103).

21 See G. Raynaud's review of V. F. Chichmaref, *Guillaume de Machaut's Poésies lyriques* in *Romania*, xxxviii (1909), pp.461–2.

22 For the Ferrell–Vogüé Manuscript, see Earp, *The Ferrell–Vogüé*; For the *Voir dit*, see D. Leech-Wilkinson and R. B. Palmer, *Guillaume de Machaut: Le Livre dou Voir Dit (The book of the true poem)* (New York and London, 1998), pp.xxxiii–xxxv and 752–3.

23 For Thoru, see A. Mounier, *De L'Université de la Ville de Poictiers, du temps de son érection, du recteur et officiers et privilèges de ladite université* (Puitou, 1643), p.65. For Campo-Ferro, see C. D. de Magny, *Nouveau traité historique et archéologique de la vraie et parfaite science des armoiries* (Paris, 1846), p.254. For Duris, see C. d'Est-Ange, *Dictionnaire des familles françaises anciennes ou notables à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Evreux, 1903), pp.252–3. There are many surviving medieval armorials, often designed to demarcate a community: from an imagined collective of poets, through direct institutional sponsors, to geographically defined aristocracies. The enormous literature on heraldry is becoming more navigable through online and 'big data' projects. See, for example, the 432 pages of bibliographic entries in M. Popoff, *Bibliographie Héraldique Internationale* (2008) at http://sfhs.free.fr/documents/biblio_internationale.pdf, or the collection of publications,

projects, analyses, blogs, links and databases available at http://heraldica.hypotheses.org/.

24 On the splitting of Lusatia in the 14th century and subsequent political manoeuvrings, see M. Wejwoda, 'Spielball mächtiger Nachbarn? "Die Lausitzen" im 14. Jahrhundert', in *Die Nieder- und Oberlausitz: Konturen einer Integrationslandschaft*, i (Mittelalter), ed. H.-D. Heimann, K. Neitmann and U. Tresp (Berlin, 2013), pp.191–203. On the coat of arms, see W. Lippert, 'Das Landeswappen der Niederlausitz', *Niederlausitzer Mitteilungen*, xxv (1937), pp.1–50.

25 See Wejwoda, 'Spielball mächtiger Nachbarn?'.

26 See Wejwoda, 'Spielball mächtiger Nachbarn?', pp.195–6. For Machaut's words, see *Confort*, lines 3021–9.

27 On Silesian politics during this period, see O. Pustejovsky, *Schlesiens Übergang an die Böhmische Krone: Machtpolitik Böhmens im Zeichen von Herrschaft und Frieden* (Sigmaringen, 1994 (orig. Cologne, 1975)), pp.6–17, 31–52 and 57–81, or the shorter summary in A. Niedzielenko and V. Vlnas, *Silesia, a pearl in the Bohemian crown: three periods of flourishing artistic relations* (Prague, 2006), pp.13–16. For a wider discussion of this region, see P. Wiszewski, *The long formation of the region Silesia (c.1000–1526)* (Wrocław, 2013). The most detailed work on Bolko himself remains E. Gospos, 'Die Politik Bolkos II. von Schweidnitz-Jauer' (PhD diss., University of Halle-Wittenberg, 1910) from which much of the following information is taken, complementing it, when possible, with information from more recent and accessible publications. See also K. Pieradzka, 'Bolko II Świdnicki na Łużycach', *Sobótka*, ii (1947), pp.93–109.

28 See R. Heck, 'Die Verbindungen Schlesiens mit Polen im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert', in *Die Rolle Schlesiens und Pommerns in der Geschichte der deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen im Mittelalter*, ed. R. Riemenschneider (Braunschweig, 1980), pp.71–88, at pp.78–80. A map depicting the Bohemian takeover of Silesia up to 1342 (leaving only Bolko's lands in green) can be found

at http://edus.ibrbs.pl/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Mapa_20.jpg.

29 By this point, Charles all but took over the running of the Bohemian crown and Bolko was the only Silesian duke refusing to accept Bohemian suzerainty. See N. Davies and R. Moorhouse, *Microcosm: a portrait of a Central European city* (London, 2002), pp.74–5 and 109–11; J. K. Hoensche, *Geschichte Böhmens: von der slavischen Landnahme bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1997), pp.114–19.

30 See J. Gottschalk, 'Anna von Schweidnitz, die einzige Schlesierin mit der Kaiserinnenkrone (1353–1362)', *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau*, xvii (1972), pp.25–42, at pp.25–30.

31 See C. Grünhagen, 'Bolko II', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, iii (1876), pp.106–08, URL: www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd104237392.html#adbcontent.

32 For the complicated financial position of Lusatia since 1350 (and the archival documents relevant to it), including ruling, pawning and redeeming rights, see A. F. Riedel, *Codex diplomaticus brandenburgensis* (Berlin, 1838), pp.244–5. Bolko is first mentioned in a 1353 agreement. For the final monetary transfers and redemption of the land agreed in March 1363 but only completed in 1364, see L. Bobková, 'Zwei Länder der Böhmischen Krone in der Zeit der Luxemburger', in *Die Nieder- und Oberlausitz: Konturen einer Integrationslandschaft*, i (Mittelalter), ed. H.-D. Heimann, K. Neitmann and U. Tresp (Berlin, 2013), pp.204–19, at pp.210–13; U. Hohensee, 'Zur Erwerbung der Lausitz und Brandenburgs durch Kaiser Karl IV', in *Kaiser, Reich und Region: Studien und Texte aus der Arbeit an den Constitutiones des 14. Jahrhunderts und zur Geschichte der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. M. Lawo, M. Lindner, E. Müller-Mertens and O. B. Rader (Berlin, 1997), pp.213–43.

33 For Bolko's seal (illus.2), see A. Bauch, 'Die Siegel Herzog Bolkos II. von Schweidnitz, Pfandherrn von Lausitz, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des ältesten Wappens der Lausitz rat der Niederlausitz', *Schlesiens Vorzeit im Bild und Schrift*, iv (1888), pp.39–44; for his effigy in the Piast mausoleum in St Mary's

abbey church in Krzeszów / Grüssau (illus.4), see W. Paperniak, 'Mauzoleum Piastów i pozostałe ważne zabytki', in *Opis zabytków Krzeszowa-rozdział*, (Krzeszów, 2010), section 5.3.1.2–3; for Wenceslas's seal (illus.3), see O. Posse, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, ii (Dresden, 1910), pl.7; for later royal Bohemian seals featuring these arms, see D. Kütner, *Soupis pečetí ve Státním okresním archivu v Přerově* (Přerov, 2003), pp.11–15; For the Old Town Tower on Charles Bridge (illus.5) and the complexities of dating it, see J. Gajdošová, 'Vaulting small spaces: the innovative design of Prague's bridge tower vault', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, clxix/1 (2016), pp.39–58. The coat of arms are discussed at pp.46–7 and are depicted in figs.1, 2, 7 and 8.

34 For dates and actions within the *Voir dit*, see Leech-Wilkinson and Palmer, *Le Livre dou Voir Dit*, pp.xxxiii–xxxix.

35 For Peter's European tour, see K. Meyer Setton, *The papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571*, i (Philadelphia, 1976), pp.241–57; P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), pp.161–6. For further documents, see L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (Paris, 1852–61), ii, pp.228–345 (including a detailed overview of his whereabouts 1362–8 in a footnote stretching over pp.239–41) and iii, pp.741–58.

36 On the question of absenteeism and residency in relation to Machaut's canonry in Reims, see Bowers, 'Guillaume de Machaut', pp.16–20.

37 For Machaut's lukewarm relationship with John II, perhaps relating to marital tensions between him and Bonne of Luxembourg, see Earp, *Guide*, pp.26–8.

38 See Wimsatt, *The marguerite poetry*, p.44; W. Callin, *A poet at the fountain: essays on the narrative verse of Guillaume de Machaut* (Lexington, 1974), pp.212–13. It is worth noting that together with the royal party, Peter arrived in Reims some ten days before the coronation took place.

39 The inventory reference, tentatively associated with MS C can be found in D. Gaborit-Chopin, *L'inventaire du*

trésor du dauphin futur Charles V, 1363: Les débuts d'un grand collectionneur, in *Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français. Archives de l'Art français*, Nouvelle période 32 (Nogent-le-Roi, 1996), item 577. I would like to thank Lawrence Earp for this reference. For reference to this visit, see Earp, *Guide*, p.44.

40 For Machaut's references to Central Europe, see n.3 above. For B33 and its description in the *Voir dit*, see Leech-Wilkinson and Palmer, *Le Livre dou Voir Dit*, pp.120–5. For a concentrated attempt to isolate characteristics which may identify this work as 'German' in style, see J. Bain, 'Balades 32 and 33 and the "res dalamangne"', in *Machaut's music: new interpretations*, ed. E. E. Leach (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.205–19, though by necessity such an enquiry is even more speculative than the one undertaken in this article.

41 On the cultural activities of Wenceslas (and the Luxembourg dynasty more widely), see N. Wilkins, 'A pattern of patronage: Machaut, Froissart and the House of Luxembourg and Bohemia in the fourteenth century', *French Studies*, xxxvii/3 (1983), pp.257–84.

42 On the trip to Cracow and the importance of its description by Machaut, see M. Dobrowska, 'Peter of Cyprus and Casimir the Great in Cracow', *Byzantiaka*, xiv (1994), pp.257–67. Other attendees included King Louis I of Hungary; King Valdemar IV of Denmark; Rudolf IV Duke of Austria; Bogislaw V Duke of Pomerania-Wolgast-Stolp; Casimir IV Duke of Pomerania-Stettin; Otto V and Louis VI co-Dukes of Bavaria and consecutive Electors of Brandenburg; Siemowit III Duke of Masovia, and Vladislaus II Duke of Opole.

43 Anna died in 1362, and Bolko assisted in choosing Elisabeth of Pomerania and securing the arrangements for Charles's subsequent wedding. See G. Wilbertz, 'Elisabeth von Pommern—eine Kaiserin im späten Mittelalter', *Bohemia*, xxviii/1 (1987), pp.45–68, at p.47.

44 For an overview of Wenceslas's life, see K. Hruza, 'König Wenzel (1361–1419), der Ehre beraubt? Eine kommentierte Skizze seines Lebens', *MIR Texte*, vi (2017), pp.1–19.

Uri Smilansky

Machaut and Prague: a rare new sighting?

This article interprets the long-recognized, but hitherto unidentified, heraldic description contained in Machaut's ballade 30 (*Pas de tor*) against the background of his known authorial practices, spheres of activity and patterns of engagements. It suggests the description is of the arms of Lower Lusatia, which Machaut, as a result of his time in the service of the Bohemian King John of Luxembourg, knew both the geography of and the people involved in settling the status of these disputed lands. It suggests that the song was likely composed in May 1364 and handed to King Peter I of Cyprus as cultural ammunition for the latter's trip to Prague in search of support for his crusading initiative. The article thus solves a longstanding riddle of Machaut scholarship while presenting the song within a practical, political landscape that far exceeds the composer's physical residency in Reims.

Keywords: Guillaume de Machaut; Holy Roman Emperor; Charles IV; Bolko II 'the Small' of Świdnica; King Peter I of Cyprus; crusade; Kingdom of Bohemia; Lusatia; ballade 30 *Pas de tor*; heraldry