

[I]ntroitus:

UNTEXTED BEGINNINGS AND SCRIBAL CONFUSION IN THE MACHAUT AND IVREA MANUSCRIPTS

► Medieval scribes used decorated letters to mark the beginnings of songs, highlighting the incipits of texted voices and the vocal designations of others (“Tenor”). But some motets from fourteenth-century France begin with sung, untexted fanfares. This study examines several instances in the Machaut and Ivrea manuscripts where shortages of space, missing opening letters, and unorthodox layout decisions point to scribal confusion in the face of such beginnings. This evidence raises the possibility that untexted introductory sections may have traveled independently of their host compositions, and suggests new answers to the problems these “introitus” sections raise for modern editors and performers.

Every word starts with a letter.¹ This obvious fact is central to the practice of using opening letters as points of visual organization and articulation. In print culture, drop-caps exploit it, and they are the descendants of the decorated and historiated initials which are so characteristic of medieval manuscripts. Songs in manuscripts also start with decorated letters. For plainchant and monophonic song, as well as the texted upper voices of polyphony, the first sung word provides an initial for decoration. In the absence of text, voice designations often do the honor. Thus in New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 91, the top voice of Caron’s *Accueillie m’a la belle* is provided with an *A*, while the two lower voices are given a *T* for tenor and *C* for contratenor (see Fig. 1).

However, there is a special case which presents some challenges. Imagine that a fourteenth-century scribe is laying out Bobby Day’s “Little Bitty Pretty One.” In Thurston Harris’s 1957 recording, this song begins with four bars of drums and clapping. Then a voice comes in, sassily humming a catchy tune. After eight bars another voice hums along in harmony, and eight bars later the whole ensemble joins in.

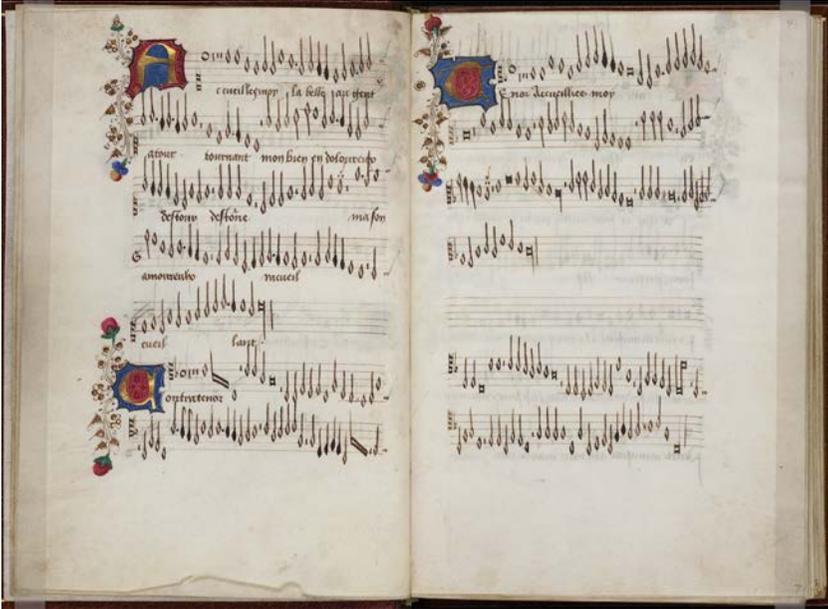


Fig. 1. Caron, *Accueillie m'a la belle* in Beinecke 91 (The Mellon Chansonnier), ff. 3v–4r.

Around 00:39 this hummed introduction moves into the background, becoming an accompaniment to Harris as he begins to sing the words. What guide-letters should our time-travelling scribe leave for the illuminator? In the bottom voices, which carry no text in the three-voice arrangement he is copying, *T* (for *Tenor*) and *C* (for *Contratenor*) will do the job. But what about the top voice? Humming is a species of *vox* that Priscian would have defined as inarticulate but literate, since it has no meaning but can be written (“hmmmmmm”).² But no self-respecting scribe would highlight the first letter of an irrational utterance. He might perhaps write *L*, for *little bitty pretty one*, reserving *-ittle* for when the words come in, and leaving singers to wonder how to sing on an *L*. Or could he write *I*, for *Introitus*? This Latin term for *introduction* is used often in musicological literature to describe opening sections of compositions that stand apart due to reduced texture, lack of text, or rhythmic or formal differentiation.

In fact, the term *introitus* is much less frequently attested than its ubiquitous presence in the literature might imply. Because it is unusual, it at times led scribes to make revealing and interesting mistakes, and to take creative initiative. In the first part of this study, I focus on a case of *introitus*-related confusion surrounding the opening of Machaut's

Christe/Veni (Motet 21). The scribal challenges this motet seems to have presented resulted in one of the most chaotic openings in Paris, BnF, fr. 1584. The source situation that could have led to this mess, once unraveled, has interesting implications for the performance and hermeneutics of this late work. The second half of this essay turns to another important source of late medieval polyphony, Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, 115. The transmission of its opening motet, *O PhilippelO bone dux*, hints at problems arising perhaps from generic and scribal challenges similar to those posed by *Christe/Veni*. Thus juxtaposed, the two works raise historiographic, codicological, and ontological questions which extend well beyond their immediate contexts.

Acrostic Drop Caps in *Christe/Veni* (M21)

Machaut's *Christe qui es lux/Veni creator spiritus* (Motet 21) opens with a 48-breve introduction. At first the triplum sings alone, then at breve 25 it is joined by the motetus.³ Twelve breves later the two lower voices enter in, and there is a strong cadence leading into a sustained consonance in mm. 47–48. After this, the singers have the opportunity to take a breath, and only then does the motet proper begin, with the texts “Christe qui es lux” and “Veni creator spiritus” in its upper voices. (A recording of the motet’s opening by Ensemble Musica Nova can be accessed online.)⁴

This opening section is almost a minute of music, and is separated from the motet proper in two ways: musically by the strong cadence, and graphically by double vertical strokes in most of the sources. Is it, then, even properly a part of the same piece? Or does it need its own decorated letter? The approaches to layout and labeling differ between the upper and lower voices of *Christe/Veni*, since their relations to text differ. The upper voices are fully texted after the opening section. The lower voices were sung without text throughout, but after the opening the tenor melody is taken from plainchant; in its original context it carried the text “Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet.” The lower voices will be considered first.

Figure 2 reproduces the tenor and contratenor as they appear in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ferrell 1—probably the earliest source for the motet. The rubrication there is representative of that in four of the motet’s five sources. Although they contribute only three notes to the introitus, the tenor and contratenor are carefully divided into two sections with vertical strokes: “Introitus tenoris. || Tenor tribulatio . . .” and “Introitus contratenoris. || Contratenor.” The only decorated letters provided for both are the *Is* of *introitus*.



Fig. 2. Machaut, *Christel Veni*, lower voices in Ferrell 1, f. 281r. Image courtesy of DIAMM, www.diamm.ac.uk.



Fig. 3. *Christel Veni*, lower voices in BnF fr. 1584, f. 435r, with performance order marked in blue for the tenor and red for the motetus.

All this fuss to label three notes as not belonging to what we might call the “tenor proper” might seem remarkable given the relatively forgettable role the lower voices play in the introitus. Indeed, the scribe of BnF fr. 1584 seems to have forgotten them. In this source, the lower voices were provided with decorated *T* and *C* for Tenor and Contratenor, not *I* for Introitus (see Fig. 3).⁵ A messy process of correction evidently ensued. Two staff fragments were added to the bottom margin, and the notation of the lower voices begins there with introitus sections (so labeled; Fig. 3, no. 1). The remaining space on these added staves is filled in with as much of the motet proper as it can hold. At this point the singer is directed higher up the page, to where the parts continue (Fig. 3, no. 2). The insertion is made using two *signa*—a cross and a caret (dot-

ted lines in Fig. 3; the caret and some notes have been trimmed away). The tenor label also acts as a guide: a messy “Tribulatio” underlaid to the beginning of this voice in the margin is followed by “proxima” three staves up. Thus knowing the words of the tenor’s source chant would help a reader navigate the page. (The notes to the left of the two red added staves, Fig. 3 no. 3, are the final measures of the contratenor, which overran the space allotted above.)

It makes sense to distinguish the tenor’s introitus from the rest because its first three notes do not belong to the chant fragment “Tribulatio proxima est.” Thus, to label them “tenor” would be inaccurate insofar as “tenor” is synonymous with the borrowed chant melody (*color*) which accounts for the tenor pitches in this motet.⁶ On the other hand, the upper voices of *Christe/Veni* are not based on chant. Do they, therefore, need introitus labels?

As mentioned above, neither the triplum nor the motetus sings the full first word of their text until after the introitus. If they can be imagined as singing this opening section on the first syllables of their texts, those syllables would not only lose their meaning over the minute-long melisma, but also become interrupted by the cadence and section break. Thus there is some rationale for labeling them *introitus* as well. On the other hand, this would result in a composition with four decorated *Is*—not a helpful mnemonic for this particular motet. Each of the five manuscripts that transmit this motet takes a slightly different approach to labeling the upper voices.

The scribe of Ferrell 1 attempts to have his cake and eat it too. He uses two two-line-high capitals in a way that makes use of each letter twice, as an acrostic of a sort (see Fig. 4). The triplum uses *X* (from the Christogram) for “Xpri-” (sic) on the first line, and then again for “Xpriste” on the second. In the motetus, too, the two-line high *V* of “Veni” is used for “Ve-” on the first line, which contains the introitus, and “Veni” on the second, which begins the motet proper. Only one decorated letter per voice need be supplied, and yet both the introitus and the motet proper can begin with a decorated letter.

Only in Ferrell 1 is this elegant texting solution used for both upper voices. Each of the motet’s other sources handles the issue in a different manner, as summarized in Figure 5. Paris, BnF, fr. 1585, which was copied from Ferrell 1, splits the triplum’s *X* into two, while preserving the motetus’s two-line *V*. (Probably the scribe did this because motetus voices are usually accorded two-line capitals in that source, whereas tripla are not.) The scribe of BnF fr. 9221, who copied with care from the often problematic BnF fr. 1585 (Bent, “Machaut Manuscripts” 61–72,

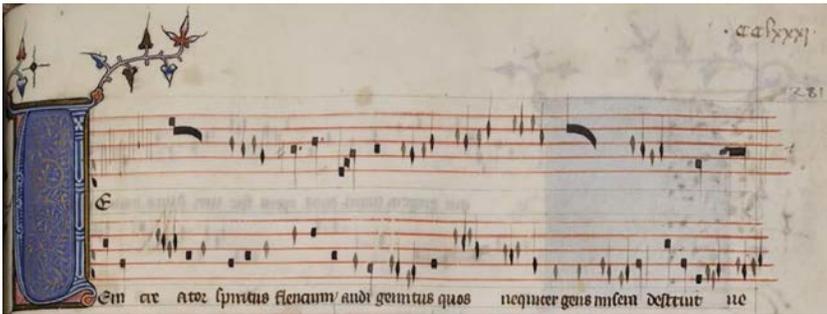
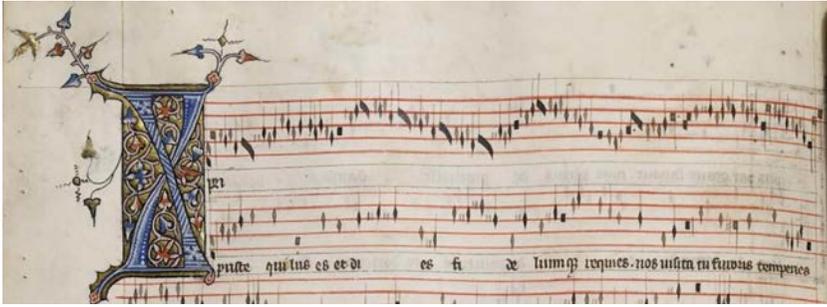


Fig. 4. Machaut, *Christe/Veni* in Ferrell 1; beginning of the triplum (top image, f. 280v) and the motetus (bottom image, f. 281r). Image courtesy of DIAMM, www.diamm.ac.uk.

78), might have feared a mistake in this spot, and eradicated the effect by splitting the motetus's double letter into two separate ones.

The creative layout of Ferrell 1 only works for a one-column manuscript, where the long introitus can fit on one line. In BnF fr. 1584, the copyist instead allotted three half-lines to each of the upper-voice introitus sections (see Fig. 6). He also left space for two sets of decorated initials in each voice—one for the introitus and another for the motet proper (one-line high in each case except for the motetus, which gets two lines for its main initial, as is customary).

While the initials that begin the motet proper (*Xpiste* and *Veni*) are drawn and decorated in the black ink with gray wash found throughout the manuscript, the *Is* for “Introitus” in triplum and motetus are different: both are drawn in light brown, and the shading is a bluish gray for the left *I*, and light brown for the right. These capital letters fill up the space granted them less securely, and are accented with foliage different enough from surrounding decorations to suggest that they were added by another hand. Further complicating the story is the fact that these

MS	Folios (with links)	Columns per page	Trilpum incipits	Motetus incipits
Ferrell 1 (c. 1370)	280v–281	1	X _{pri} piste	V ^e eni
MS 1585 (after Ferrell 1)	278v–279	1	X _{pri} X _{priste}	V ^e eni
MS 9221 (c. 1390)	145v–146	1	X _{pri} X _{priste}	V _e Veni
MS 1584 (after 1370)	434v–435	2	I _{ntroitus} X _{riste}	I _{ntroitus} V _{eni}
MS 22546 (after 1377)	122v–123	2	[unlabeled introitus in bottom verso margin] X _{riste}	[unlabeled introitus in bottom recto margin] [v]E _{ni}

Fig. 5. Upper-voice Texting and Labels for *Christe/Veni*.

letters are not strictly necessary from the point of view of sense. The text following them reads not “Ntroitus” as it should if it were awaiting the *I*, but “Introitus,” with the result that both upper voices are actually labeled “Introitus” (as noted by Leech-Wilkinson, *Compositional Techniques* 1: 243).

A close inspection reveals that all four iterations of the term *Introitus* on this opening were added by the same hand: the introitus labels which follow the light-brown capitals in the upper voices are copied in a reddish-brown ink that matches the hue of the introitus labels of the tenor and contratenor in the bottom recto margin (see Fig. 7). This ink does not appear otherwise on this or surrounding openings, though Earp notes that the same hand added the *Lay de plour* to some empty lines on folio 410v (“Scribal Practice” 180)—again, at a late stage. This hand that writes in reddish-brown is different from the one which wrote “Tribulatio” in the recto bottom margin and “proxima” in the tenor. The latter is shakier, and uses a very light ink that is also used for the coordination signs between parts. It may also be a candidate for the decorated *Is* on the verso.



Fig. 6. *Christe Veni*, beginnings of upper voices on BnF fr. 1584, f. 434v.

The music inks are less varied. In the upper voices, there seems to be no change between the introitus and later sections; the introduction seems to have been notated at the same time as the rest of the motet. The lower-voice notes on the recto bottom margin seem also to have been notated at the same time as the rest of the folio; that they appear slightly messier could be a result of the difficulties of writing in a margin. The extra staves for the lower-voice introitus sections are drawn in red ink and with a ruler, matching the ruling for the rest of the motet. On the other hand, the leftmost extra staff on the bottom recto margin, which contains the *residuum* of the contratenor, is drawn in light brown and possibly without a ruler. Compare also the two extensions of the lower-voice lines in the right margin on this folio. These were clearly added only when it became clear that the contratenor part would not fit in the allotted space.

Together these scribal details allow for a reconstruction of the order in which elements were laid out on this folio, amplifying faint echoes of a discussion about untexted beginnings. The first stage involved the ruling of staves and the placement of decorated initials. For this, the “C”

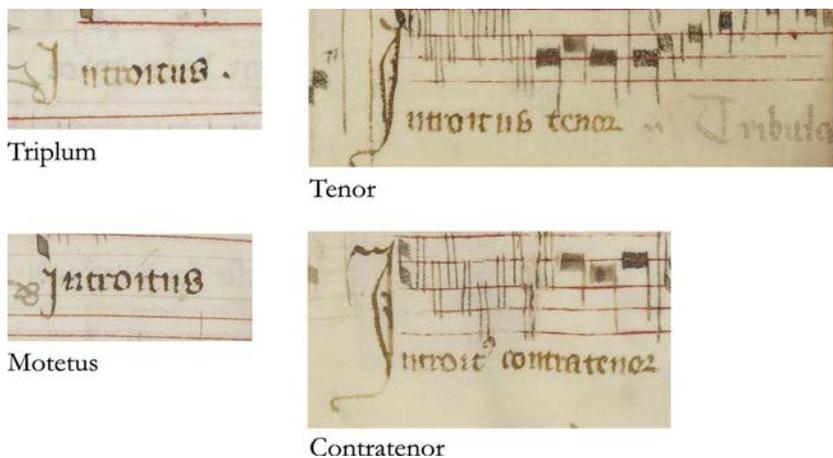


Fig. 7. The four occurrences of “Introitus” in BnF fr. 1584, ff. 434v–435r.

and “T” of “Contratenor” and “Tenor” were added automatically or out of carelessness. As for the upper voices, perhaps the scribe of BnF fr. 1584 copied them from an exemplar laid out like Ferrell 1 (Ferrell 1 being the only surviving copy of the work to predate that in BnF fr. 1584). If so, the unusual upper-voice solutions there must have given him pause. It would have been clear that the decorated letters “X” for “Xpiste” and “V” for “Veni” belonged in the motet proper, but what was perhaps less sure was whether the labeling of the introitus sections would remain the same if the clever device in Ferrell 1 were no longer possible.⁷

In this context it becomes important that the opening of this motet is unprecedented in its scale and texture, and that the label “Introitus” would not have been well known to music scribes of the time. While musicologists use the term freely, and have tended to assume that it is common in their sources,⁸ it is actually brought into play for only six motets, two of them from the Machaut corpus, one from a fourteenth-century English Fragment (Durham, Cathedral Library, C.I.20, f. 337v; see Lefferts, “The Motet in England” 253–54), and three from the early fifteenth-century Bologna Q15 (Bent, *Bologna Q15* 1: 151). In all these cases, the section labeled “introitus” is harmonically self-contained and separated from the rest of the motet by vertical lines or fermatas in all voices. Figure 8 lists these works; of the voices that participate in the introductory section, only the starred ones are labeled “introitus.”⁹

In short, there were probably no precedents for the text scribe of BnF fr. 1584 to rely on in deciding how to lay out the opening section of

Work	Source	Voices participating in opening section (*starred when labeled “Introitus”)
<i>Christe/ Veni creator</i> Machaut (M21)	Ferrell 1, BnF 1585, BnF 9221, BnF 22546	Triplum, Motetus, *Tenor, *Contratenor
	BnF 1584	*Triplum, *Motetus, *Tenor, *Contratenor
<i>Felix/ Inviolata</i> Machaut (M23)	Ferrell 1, BnF 1585, BnF 1584, BnF 22546	Triplum, Motetus, *Tenor, *Contratenor
[...]/O vos omnes	Durham C.I.20	Motetus, *Tenor (no other voices survive)
<i>Ave virgo lux Maria</i> Franchois	Q15 (#236)	*Cantus I/II (canonic), **“trompeta”
<i>Apostolo glorioso</i> Du Fay	Q15 (#237)	*Cantus I, *Cantus II, Contratenor I, Contratenor II, Tenor, Solus tenor
<i>Recordare virgo mater</i> Lymburgia	Q15 (#270)	*Cantus I, *Cantus II

Fig. 8. Works with “Introitus” labels in one or more voice.

Christe/Veni in a two-column format.¹⁰ If surviving sources are representative, then in 1370s France, the term “introitus” existed only in earlier Machaut manuscripts, and only in lower voices. It would not have been obvious to anyone that “introitus” is the thing to write in a triplum or motetus. Apparently the text scribe deferred the decision, consulting an authority only after the first layer of decorated initials was already in place. We could surmise that he asked that authority for advice on two points: first, how to resolve the mistaken C and T already provided in the lower voices; and second, what to label the upper voices in their introductory section. To what authority did he turn? Of course we can never know, but this source, whose famous index carries the heading “Vesci l’ordenance que G. de Machau wet qu’il ait en son livre” (“Here is the order that G. de Machaut wants there to be in his book”) is demonstrably close to Machaut, and may have been compiled at Reims under his supervision (Avril 126, 131–32). It seems likely that he would have been consulted at this ambiguous moment, and that his directions would

The image shows a musical score for three parts: Tenor, Contratenor, and a vocal line (likely Soprano or Alto). The score is divided into two sections: 'Introitus' (measures 1-24) and 'Motetus' (measures 25-50). The text underlay for the Introitus is '[Chri -]'. The text underlay for the Motetus is '[Ve -]'. The text underlay for the motetus is 'Tribulatio proxima est et non est'. The score is in 2/4 time and features a melismatic section.

Fig. 9. Text underlay for initial triplum and motetus text in Schrade’s edition of *Christe/Veni* (3.13–14, digitally modified for excerpting).

have been followed, here as in the index.¹¹ Musical notation was added last of all, once these layout problems had been solved.¹²

In both standard editions of *Christe/Veni* (Ludwig 3: 73, Schrade 3: 13), the opening section is labeled “Introitus”; the syllables “[Chri-]” and “[Ve-]” are supplied again later, in brackets (see Schrade’s version in Fig. 9). This represents a conflation of sources, since the term “Introitus” comes from BnF fr. 1584, but the initial syllables “[Chri-]” and “[Ve-]” stem from the one-column tradition of Ferrell 1.¹³

It may seem to make very little difference whether a 50-second melismatic section is sung on one vowel or another. Yet, *Chri* and *Ve* give two different vowels to the singers—an issue that can affect blend. Furthermore, the presence or absence of text in this opening section can affect the interpretations of the work. In her discussion of the motet’s meaning, Anne Walters Robertson treats this section as texted, and thereby invokes a theological intertext for the introitus:

The opening cry of *Chri-* (*Christe*) spins itself out in what almost seem to be melodic motivesThe entry of the motetus in m. 25 brings into play a new syllable of text: *Ve-* (*Veni*). The interaction of these implied words, *Christe* and *Veni*, in the triplum and motetus for the next twenty-two measures makes its own meaning, apart from the political sentiment that is introduced in the texts when the isorhythmic section of the motet begins. During the entire span of the introitus, we hear only the (implied) words “Christ, come,” an apt supplication for a religious, as well as a political, work. Indeed, these two words bring to mind the poignant final entreaty of the Book of Revelation (22:20), “even so, come, Lord Jesus” (*Amen veni Domine Iesu*), thus foreshadowing the apocalyptic sentiment to come later on in the motet.” (192–93)

This reading of the motet's opening certainly fits in well with the work's broader mood, but is it justified by the manuscript evidence?

Clearly the transmission of this motet preserves two different texting solutions for its opening, and only one of them would result in this interweaving of "Chri[ste]" and "Ve[ni]." But it is significant that the expert presumably consulted about the labeling of this opening section in BnF fr. 1584—where a two-column format made the clever calligraphic solution of Ferrell 1 impossible—did not provide these syllables of text for the upper voices. If we view this intervention as a clarification rather than a revision, then such a semantically charged opening to the motet may never have been intended. If the interplay of *Chri-* and *Ve-* had been a part of the intended aesthetic or intellectual experience of the piece, the consultation that led to the "Introitus" labels would surely have had a different result. The arrangement exemplified in Ferrell 1 might be better viewed as a bit of scribal cleverness—a layout pun—than as semantic play. When the pun no longer worked because of the two-column format, the text was thrown out and an untexted introitus emerged. The opening section is pure sound, spinning its sequences as a fanfare to the main event.

For Robertson, Machaut's introitus sections represent the height of his artistry, in part because of their freedom from formal constraints.¹⁴ The introitus of *Christel/Veni* stands at the head of this privileged category:

Its sheer length is breathtaking and unprecedented in motets from the *Roman de Fauvel* and *Ivrea* manuscripts that use an introitus . . . In another departure from previous or contemporaneous introitus writing, the tenor and contratenor join in To judge from other extant works, Machaut may well have composed the first introitus in which all four voices take part (192).

All of these factors would add to the spiritual potency of the moment. But I have suggested that the textual component of this spiritual potency, at least, is a mirage. The second part of this study presents evidence that pertains to the other claims made here: that the length of Machaut's introitus is unprecedented, and that it was the first such section to use all the voices of a motet. Both these statements need to be re-examined in light of the introitus of *O Philippel/O bone dux*, the first surviving motet in the Ivrea codex.

The beginnings of *O Philippe/O bone dux*

To those familiar with the *ars nova* motet repertory, it may come as something of a surprise that *O Philippe/O bone dux* begins with an introitus. Both of the motet's editors left this section out (Harrison 1; Johnson 2: 1), and the only reference to this omission is a brief note hidden in Harrison's critical commentary: "The Introitus is very rubbed in the manuscript and is not included in this transcription" (193). More ink has been devoted to another lacuna: the manuscript transmits a *solus tenor* which is a conflation of two lower voices—a tenor and a contratenor—that have not survived. It may be that the loss of an introitus paled in comparison to this bigger loss.

Like the beginning of *Christe/Veni*, the opening material is a separate section, divided from the main part of the motet by vertical dividers in the shape of the letter O in the upper voices, and in the tenor by a double line (see Figs. 10–12). More space is allotted to the triplum than to the motetus, suggesting a form similar to that in *Christe/Veni*. But the notation in the triplum does not follow the suggestions of the layout (Fig. 10). In the middle of its second line of music, the triplum seems to waver: the scribal hand gets progressively bigger, the ligatures become sloppy, and some erasures are evident. Finally, two vertical lines are drawn, in seeming frustration, ending the section early and cadencing on an E instead of the necessary C (or on F, if the splotch before the vertical lines is the remains of a final longa). Several centimeters of blank red staff follow. The opposite is true of the motetus: here there is a suffusion of notes crowded into a smaller space, so that the longs making the cadence are actually on top of the second O (Fig. 11). In the tenor, there is no difficulty with space, and the first ten notes clearly belong to the first section—these too have been omitted without comment from the editions (Fig. 12).

The introitus sections are somewhat rubbed, to be sure, but most of their notes can be made out with relative certainty, apart from some questions as to the presence or absence of stems. And yet, despite the availability of the notes, a number of difficulties are encountered in combining the three voices of the introitus—difficulties which probably had more to do with their omission from the editions than did the damaged state of these pages. No matter what kind of allowances are to be made for scribal error or textual corruption, the three voices of the introitus simply do not fit together. Nor do I think they were ever meant to. Rather, I suggest that several alternate introitus sections to the same piece have become conflated in this source. The problems encountered

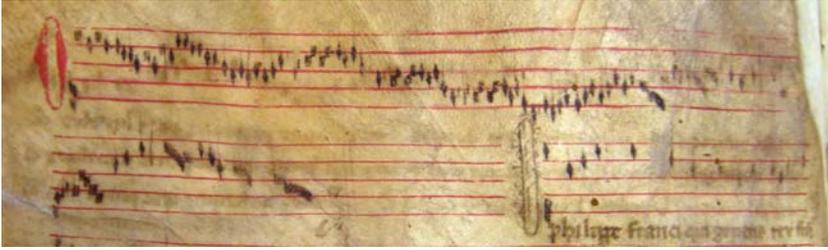


Fig. 10. *O Philippel/O bone dux*, beginning of triplum, Ivrea, f. 1v.

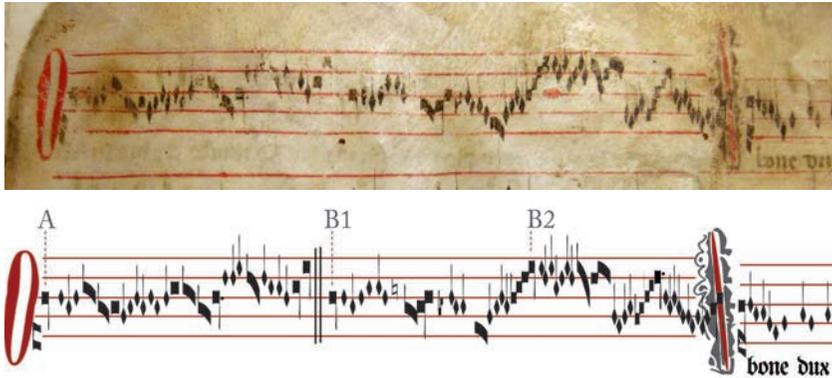


Fig. 11. *O Philippel/O bone dux*, beginning of motetus in Ivrea, f. 2r (top image) and in diplomatic facsimile (bottom image; section divisions labeled A, B1, and B2 are discussed below).



Fig. 12. *O Philippel/O bone dux*, beginning of solus tenor, Ivrea, f. 2r.

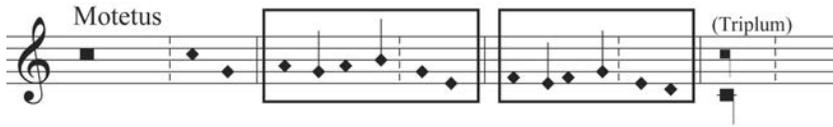


Fig. 13. Vitry, *Tubal In arboris*, mm 1–8, sequential movement boxed.

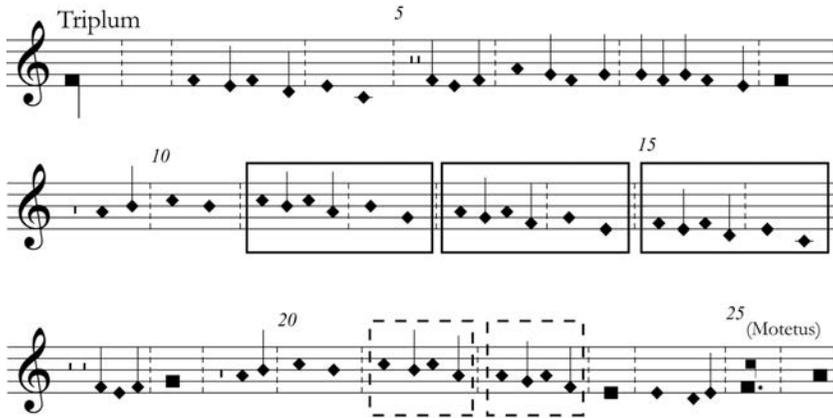


Fig. 14. Machaut, *Christel Veni*, triplum, mm. 1–26.

in trying to make sense of this opening section are themselves instructive, and hint at some interesting transmission possibilities for the introitus section of this motet.

Before the scribe gave up on the introitus notated in the triplum, he had copied some 53 breves—the longest surviving introitus section from a fourteenth-century French motet. Other than its length, this section's most notable trait is a heavy use of sequential melodic movement. This links it to other introitus sections—for example, of Vitry's *Tubal In arboris*, where a six-note pattern with the rhythm $\bullet\bullet\bullet\bullet\bullet\bullet$ is repeated a step down (see Fig. 13). The resemblance is even more marked with *Christel Veni*. The triplum there has two instances of sequence: a longer one, also in the pattern $\bullet\bullet\bullet\bullet\bullet\bullet$, which occurs three times, and a shorter one in the pattern $\bullet\bullet\bullet$ that is stated twice (boxed in bold and dotted boxes respectively in Fig. 14). In the introitus of *O Philippe O bone dux*, there is a four-breve pattern sung three times, followed by a one-breve pattern sung four times (see Fig. 15, where sequences are boxed).¹⁵

The placement of these sequences suggests that the triplum sang alone for a while before being joined by a motetus. In *Christel Veni* the

Fig. 15. *O Philippe/O bone dux*, introductory material notated in the triplum voice; sequences are boxed.

sequences are prevalent for the first 24 breves of the introitus, but they end when the motetus joins in. In the triplum introductory material for *O Philippe/O bone dux* there is also an end to sequential movement after measure 34, when the melody becomes comparatively shapeless. Very likely another voice would have joined the triplum a fifth or an octave below, or a fifth above, the F at measure 35. But we look for that voice in vain in the introductory section of the motetus voice in Ivrea.

Where the triplum introitus of *O Philippe/O bone dux* is apparently missing notes, the motetus seems to transmit too many. To my knowledge it has never been pointed out that the material notated at the head of the motetus of *O Philippe/O bone dux* comprises two voices notated successively—not an unheard-of layout for the fourteenth century (Fuller 188–90). Sixty-three breves are squeezed into the available

space, divided into two sections by a double stroke clearly visible in the manuscript after 24 breves (see the diplomatic facsimile in Fig. 11). The first 24 breves easily combine with the 24-breve tenor, complementing its long opening C with an initial focus on G, and matching its internal cadence points and final C. The second voice notated in the motetus, the one beginning after the vertical strokes, is longer—39 breves compared to the 24 of the previous voice. Thus the two would not seem to fit. However, these 39 breves subdivide further into two sections. Section B2 (as marked in Fig. 11) is 24 breves long and makes grammatically sound counterpoint with the tenor and, for the most part, with section A. The bit that is left over (B1) is motivically related to the start of A, and probably should not be disregarded. Supplying missing rests before the start of section A results in an introitus section with 15 breves of monophony followed by 24 breves of three-voice polyphony (see Fig. 16).¹⁶

It seems that the redaction of *O Philippel/O bone dux* in Ivrea—the only surviving source for this motet—transmits multiple introductory sections. How could such a circumstance have come about? Some hints may be gleaned from the work's texts. It is addressed jointly to Philip VI (1293–1350) and his son John (1319–1364), who would become Jean le Bon. The triplum places the father in a tradition of biblical and classical conquerors and then lists the vices of some of his subjects: the Remois are ambitious, the inhabitants of Bourges lusty, those of Auvergne brutal, and so forth. In such a place, it is better to rule by virtue and prudence than by force.¹⁷ The motetus speaks to the “bone dux . . . Johannes,” clearly addressing itself not yet to John II but to a duke. It ends with a reference to a pledge or vow made by John, and this has led Kügle to reasonably suggest “that the piece was written in connection with John's investiture as duke in late summer, 1333” (84). But he warns also that “the possibility that the motet was composed after 1333 to accompany another political ceremony cannot be ruled out at this point” (84).

Indeed, even if we limit ourselves to investitures, John's career before his 1350 coronation provides plenty of opportunities for ceremony. Thirteen-thirty-three saw the fourteen-year-old John appointed Count of Anjou, Count of Maine, and Duke of Normandy; in 1344, at age 25, he was named Count of Poitiers; in the following year he was invested as Duke of Aquitaine. Thus on at least three separate occasions over the course of twelve years, a motet exhorting John, a duke, to rule wisely and to “zealously strive to fulfill [his] vow” (“testamentum cura persolvere”) would have been singularly appropriate. It seems probable that the different openings that survive are reflective of these many perfor-

mance opportunities. The composition of new introitus sections would have allowed for the piece to be updated, lengthened, or simply altered to make these special official performances stand out.

In addition to the versatility of its message, *O Philippel/O bone dux* might have accumulated a series of long introitus sections because both of its voices begin with the letter *O*. As both a word and a neutral vowel on which to vocalize, *O* invites stretching without threatening sense: the last bit of melisma supplies the beginning of the word, and everything that leads up to it simply sounds untexted. Thus a motet in which both voices began with this open vowel (the only motet from the fourteenth century for which this is true) might have attracted precisely this kind of compositional attention.

It may be that *O Philippel/O bone dux* did not have an introitus at all to begin with, and the opening sections that survive are the products of different hands on different occasions. Or it is possible that the work's composer—it is sometimes attributed to Philippe de Vitry on stylistic grounds—wrote the various openings himself.¹⁸ These different opening sections apparently traveled with the motet, but perhaps on separate sheets which were less than explicit about the status and function of these extra bits, leaving ambiguous their relation to the piece proper. Such scraps would be difficult for a scribe to evaluate, especially as time went by. Rather than deciding between various introductions, the Ivrea scribe—copying in the mid-1380s—seems to have included them all.

* * *

Two long introitus sections from the middle third of the fourteenth century do not necessarily have much in common just because both occasioned some difficulties for scribes. But juxtaposing *Christel/Veni* and *O Philippel/O bone dux* has the advantage of linking aspects of the “central” Machaut manuscripts to a broader manuscript culture—a goal shared by the articles collected in the present issue. It also creates an opportunity for some observations about the material and aesthetic conditions under which both works were copied and performed.

For *Christel/Veni*, a source situation similar to the one I have posited for *O Philippel/O bone dux* might help explain some of the anomalies in layout. If an introitus section traveled on separate exemplar pages, its ultimate location in the margins of two sources, and the mistakes in initial letters which necessitated this accommodation, would be more easily explained.¹⁹ (Even the creative re-use of capitals in Ferrell 1 could

have originated as a solution to an initial mistake.) We might also ask whether the introitus of *Christe/Veni* was written at the same time as the rest of the motet. The work's initial impetus is usually identified as the English siege of Reims in December 1359/January 1360 (Earp, *Guide* 39; Robertson 206), but its cry for peace and anti-English sentiment would lose none of their charge in the decade between the motet's initial composition and its redaction in Ferrell 1. Robertson posits that *Christe/Veni* was sung in a *Salve* service at Reims cathedral beginning in 1359 (220). Possibly the introitus was written for this sort of later occasion.

If the introitus was indeed added later, that might also explain the unusual length of Machaut's twenty-first motet relative to the rest. His next-longest, *Felix/Inviolata* (Motet 23), is only 202 breves, compared to 227 for *Christe/Veni*. The latter's size makes it hard to fit on one opening, as the use of margins and added staves in the motet's various redactions indicates. All of this would make more sense if the motet grew over its lifetime, as *O Philippe/O bone dux* evidently did.

Broader music-historical narratives, too, can benefit from a comparison of these two works. The introitus sections of Machaut's late motets are often framed as responses to Vitry: Daniel Leech-Wilkinson wrote that the ambitious opening for *Christe/Veni* "was almost certainly based" on the introitus of Vitry's *Impudenter/Virtutibus* (Leech-Wilkinson, "Related Motets" 3–4); and Michael Allsen has argued that the opening of *Tu quilPlange* (Motet 22) is modeled on two other Vitry works—*TubalIn arboris* and *Tribum/Quoniam* (Allsen 246–51). The introductory sections of these works are smaller, leading to a story of influence and organic growth: Richard Crocker makes a distinction between shorter, texted openings found in Vitry, and Machaut's "longer and more elaborate . . . introductions (called *introitus*)" (122). Similarly, John Caldwell identifies "the *Introitus*, or prelude before the entry of the tenor (and contratenor)," as a feature "found in Philippe de Vitry but amplified by Machaut" (173).

The newly deciphered opening sections of *O Philippe/O bone dux* add one of two twists to the story. If they are Vitry's work, then Machaut's debt to the older composer is even greater than previously thought, since Vitry himself apparently amplified and defined the form. On the other hand, if *O Philippe/O bone dux* or its introituses are not by Vitry, then the motet served as a common model for both Vitry and Machaut. In either case the simple story of Machaut taking something implicit in Vitry and making it bigger and uniquely his own will need to be revised.

In another sense, the juxtaposition of *Christe/Veni* and *O Philippe/O bone dux* in their messy material contexts serves to turn attention away from Vitry and Machaut and towards the anonymous scribes whose agency mediates their work. The use of the decorated capital O in Ivrea is novel and in some ways reminiscent of the scribal innovations surrounding *Christe/Veni* in Ferrell 1: in the latter, one letter does double duty as both the beginning of the introitus and the beginning of the motet proper; in Ivrea one O serves as an initial capital while the next is stretched out to be a letter and a divider at the same time. In both cases, decorated letters function on the boundary between the formal and the semantic. These moments of scribal experimentation are occasioned by questions arising from new developments in the motet genre: once it grows to a certain length, or if it is added to a pre-existing motet, is an introitus a separate piece which therefore requires its own decorated initial? Or if it is part of the same composition, why does it stop on a cadence in a way that implies closure? And why does it inhabit such a different sound world? The creative approaches to layout evinced here are the faint traces of a dynamic exploration of the boundaries of genre and the nature of boundaries.

Untexted polyphony was not new in Machaut's time—there are standalone hockets in thirteenth-century sources, and the independent *clausulae* of Notre Dame polyphony might be said to be only notionally texted. What makes these *ars nova* motets unusual is that they combine texted and untexted regions in each of their voices—and that they start with the untexted.²⁰ The problems posed by such hybridity would not be satisfactorily resolved in later repertories—rather, the texted and untexted would go their separate ways, with given compositions or given voices generally belonging to one category or the other. Still today, singers of these early repertories will ask of such untexted passages, “what do I sing this on?” And phantom vowels will get penciled into the music. When we sing, these characters will act by their own rules. *Christe/Veni* and *O Philippe/O bone dux* serve as eloquent reminders of the myriad ways in which text is used in music writing, and of the difficulties encountered when manuscript conventions with deep roots in textual culture are used to transmit songs which, despite their abundance of words, do not begin with letters.

Notes

1. I am grateful to the Biblioteca Capitolare in Ivrea and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris for allowing me to consult manuscripts for this project, and to Benjamin Albritton, Margaret Bent, Jennifer Bain, Lawrence Earp, Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Karl Kügle, Deborah McGrady, John McKay, and Jesse Rodin for valuable feedback along the way.

2. Leach has discussed medieval taxonomies of *vox* as they relate to musical and other sounds (28–40).

3. In this discussion and in the examples, breves and measures are equivalent.

4. [Insert link here] The excerpt is taken from Ensemble Musica Nova, *Guillaume de Machaut: Les Motets*, 2 compact discs (2002), disc 1, track 18. I am grateful to Lucien Kandel and Musica Nova for allowing the journal to excerpt this recording.

5. That these letters are written over the staff lines implies that they were not planned, but unlike the *Is* added to the upper voices (discussed below) they are the work of the primary scribe decorating letters.

6. Of course, *tenor* is also a voice-type and song tenors could be so labeled when freely composed. But motet tenors were usually tagged with their chant text, as in the case of “Tenor Tribulatio proxima.” It is pertinent in this regard that the only music theorist to discuss the term *introitus* as it refers to motets (rather than to liturgical introitus) does so during a discussion of *color*:

Hic namque processus qui color est in medio cantus habet reperiri, qui nihil aliud est quam quaedam melodia in cantu pluries repetita et differt iste processus ab eo qui introitus nuncupatur. Hic enim processus fit cum aliqua pars alicuius cantus finem alterius partis eiusdem cantus assumit. In fine ergo partium cantus hic habet reperiri processus qui improprie dicitur color licet communiter valeat appellari. (Ugolino 266)

For in fact the former succession [of pitches] (which is the “color”) has to be found in the middle of the song, [since it is] nothing other else than a certain melody repeated several times in a voice, and that succession [of repeated notes] differs from that one which is called “introitus.” Indeed, this succession happens when some part of any melody follows the end of another part of the same melody. At the boundary of the parts of the song, therefore, this succession has to be found, which is improperly called “color,” although it generally prevails [in] being so named. (my translation)

The second sentence has been a source of misunderstanding for analysts who have read it as a definition of *introitus*—i.e., “[Introitus] happens when some part of any melody follows the end of another part of the same melody.” This doesn’t fit the term as we know it, and led Gallo to posit that *introitus*, in this

case, means something else: “a systematic use of close clustered sound repetitions, at times imitating, between triplum and duplum, brief melodic and/or rhythmic formulas with pauses in between” (349). In my translation this sentence serves not as a definition of introitus, but of *color*, so that this “hic . . . processus” is equivalent to “hic . . . processus” and “iste processus” of the previous sentence. Indeed, “some part of any melody follows the end of another part of the same melody” is a reasonable if slightly circumlocutory way to define *color in opposition to* “introitus,” whose notes are followed by a part of another melody.

7. That the scribes of Paris, BnF, fr. 1585 and 9221 did not pause here is not surprising—BnF fr. 1585 was copied directly from Ferrell 1, in a hurry, in order to be used as an exemplar. Bent has argued that its music section is the product of “scribes [who] were unable to take revealing initiatives” (“Machaut Manuscripts” 59), and the scribe of BnF fr. 9221 presumably copied his layout from BnF fr. 1585. See also Earp, *Guide* 86.

8. E.g., “these introductions were *usually* designated in the manuscripts as ‘Introitus’” (von Ficker, 133; my emphasis).

9. To those wishing to use medieval musical terms in ways that correspond as closely as possible to their original meanings, the small extent of this list may suggest that “introitus” should only be applied to those opening sections that are untexted and formally separable from the rest of the work (e.g., Anderson 211, n. 15). On the other hand, the term’s use in non-written communication may well have been broader than its uses in manuscript—only the circumstances that would have caused a scribe to write it in a voice-part are rather specific.

10. On the text scribe as the arbiter of layout, see Earp, “Scribal Practice” 179–90.

11. It is even possible that the composer literally had a hand in the solution. The words “tribulatio . . . proxima” have few close matches in the manuscript, but the same hand tantalizingly added the tag “Super omnes speciosa” (“Beautiful above all”) to the tenor of *O series/Quant vraie* (M17) on f. 431r. It may also have a possible match on f. 488v, where the word *servir* is subpuncted and replaced with *amer* in the B section of *Se d’amer* (V20). Earp has identified the latter as one of a number of corrections in BnF fr. 1584 which may be the work of the music scribe (“Scribal practice” 190, n. 355). While it is impossible to evaluate such a hypothesis given the different tasks involved in notating music and text, it is worth noting that not all of the spots Earp groups under this rubric look like the same hand and not all of them match the music scribe’s ink color. One of them, the addition of *qui* on f. 432r, is quite convincingly the work of the music scribe because its thin letters match the weight of the minim stems above. Other marks (e.g., on ff. 434r, 451v, and 459v) seem all to have been made by the same hand and with a nib which picks up ink imperfectly at its center. These are more elegant and cursive than the added “Tribulatio proxima” and “Super omnes speciosa.” On the other hand, the addition on f. 465v which Earp attributes to music scribe is clearly the work of the text scribe. The fact

that all these corrections appear on pages with music may lend weight to Earp's argument, but it is worth noting that "Tribulatio proxima" and "Super omnes speciosa" are neither sung text nor music—they are paratextual labels unique to the motet genre and not always included in the copying of motets. Thus a music scribe would not necessarily have considered them missing.

12. The remainders of the lower-voice labels ("–Enor" and "–Ontratenor") were perhaps added immediately before the notation; the low placement of "–enor" suggests that "Proxima" may already have been in place, while the overlap of "–Ontratenor" with a longa stem implies the former was there first.

13. Schrade does not note the irregularity and likely copied Ludwig on this point; the latter discusses the twice-used capitals of Ferrell 1 in his commentary (3: 78); so does Leech-Wilkinson (*Compositional Techniques* 1: 242–44, 2: 67–70).

14. These sections "stand apart from the lengthier, mathematically governed parts, which may seem, in a sense, more musically inevitable than inspired" (5).

15. This and the following examples use a version of the notation in which these motets were originally written, with scribal ligatures expanded. However, they are editions and not diplomatic transcriptions. Fig. 13 has been edited from Ivrea, f. 16r; Fig. 14 from Ferrel 1, f. 280v; and Figures 15 and 16 from Ivrea, ff. 1v–2r. Measures 40–41 of Fig. 15 are almost illegible in the source. In measure 33, middle voice, of Fig. 16 Ivrea has a minim as the last note, to be altered before the following long. This is irregular but occurs throughout the source and I have rendered it as an imperfect semibreve in the edition.

16. There are dissonances between the upper voices in strong metrical positions at the starts of breves 20–21 and 27 in Fig. 16. Emendation is possible—for example, the middle-voice pitches could be re-written as G-F-G-E at breves 20–21, and G-F(sharp) in breve 27, with further changes then perhaps necessitated in the interest of smooth lines. However, both voices as transmitted work well against the tenor, and it seems plausible that they were conceived—as, indeed, they are notated—successively. In performance such dissonances pass quickly and even add to the strength of the arrival at breve 28.

17. Though there is little doubt that the triplum voice refers to Philip VI, some confusion (A. G. Rigg in Harrison, supplement 2) has arisen from the opening lines' designation of him as the seventh king of the Franks: "O Philippe, Franci qui generis/ rex Francorum septimus diceris." It is possible that the poet was counting from St. Louis and skipping Jean I ("le Posthume," who ruled for five days in 1316). Alternately the text may be referring to some other scheme of "great kings" of whom Philip wanted to be considered seventh.

18. The attribution is proposed by Leech-Wilkinson, partly in response, in fact, to "Vitriacan characteristics" in "its partly illegible *Introitus*" ("Related Motets," 9). Much more indicative of Vitry's style is the text, which is replete with mythological and historical names in a manner strongly reminiscent of, for example, *Petrel/Lugentium* and *O canenda/Rex*.

19. This is consistent with Leech-Wilkinson's observation that "the implication of this [layout] evidence is that MS A [BnF fr. 1584] was compiled with the knowledge that an *Introitus* would be provided, but without having it to hand during the first phase of copying" (*Compositional Techniques* 242). However, his hypothesis that "these sections of MSS A [BnF fr. 1584] & G [BnF fr. 22546] were compiled at the same time as Machaut was composing M21" (243) is no longer tenable given the re-dating of the Ferrell MS.

20. For an argument that the hockets of many *ars nova* motets are untexted, see Zayaruznaya 2013.

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