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## Performance Practice. The Notre-Dame Calendar and the Earliest Latin Liturgical Motets

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**PERFORMANCE PRACTICE, THE NOTRE-DAME CALENDAR,  
AND THE EARLIEST LATIN LITURGICAL MOTETS**

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**AUTHOR'S NOTE:**

This paper was presented in April 1985 at the international symposium "Das musikgeschichtliche Ereignis 'Notre-Dame'" at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany. While the convenors of the symposium intended to publish all the papers in a single volume, that did not happen, and most of the others were published separately by their authors.

The paper is presented here as it was submitted in June 1986 for publication. Footnotes (not present in April 1985) and some suggestions from other scholars at the conference were incorporated. One short portion with which I no longer agree, however, is Section III on the performance of Marian motets with non-Marian tenors (pp. 27-29), beginning with "Commemoration of the Virgin at the end of processions."

I now believe that these Marian motets were intended to be sung as part of their parent organa appropriate to non-Marian feasts. The reasons are explained in my article "Why Marian Motets on Non-Marian Tenors? An Answer," in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. Terence Bailey and Alma Colk Santosuosso (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 112-128 (Chapter 9).

Various other parts or ideas in this 1985 work have appeared in subsequent articles or book chapters as follows:

Rebecca A. Baltzer, "How Long Was Notre-Dame Organum Performed?" in *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley. (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), pp. 118-143.

-----, "Aspects of Trope in the Earliest Motets for the Assumption of the Virgin," *Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest H. Sanders*, ed. Peter M. Lefferts and Brian Seirup (New York: Columbia University, 1991), pp. 5-42 (= *Current Musicology*, Nos. 45-47).

-----, "The Geography of the Liturgy at Notre-Dame of Paris," *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas F. Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 45-64.

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Liturgical ceremonial is full of distinctions, both broad and fine. To the uninitiated it is an intricate network of actions, observances, and commemorations, and there is unquestionably an aura of mystery and awesomeness about it. But to those who designed it and lived within its offices day by day, there is a splendid and rational order at work. It is a tangible, physical reminder of all they should revere in this life and the next, intended to enhance their understanding of the unseen by the constant manifestation of the seen.

In seeking to understand the place of polyphony--be it organum, motet, or conductus--in the services of Notre-Dame of Paris, we must first understand the liturgical ranking system of feasts at the cathedral. The nomenclature by which distinctions in rank were made varied slightly from one locale or use to another, but in 13th-century Paris the liturgical books made use of the following seven ranks:

Annum festum (or festum annuale)

Duplum

Semiduplum

IX lectiones

Quasi IX lectiones

III lectiones

Memoria

Only four feasts had the highest rank of annum festum--Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the Assumption of the Virgin, August 15, since Notre-Dame was dedicated not just to the Virgin but specifically to her Assumption. Feasts of duplex rank in the Temporale included the Circumcision, Epiphany, and Ascension; among the saints' feasts of this rank in the early 13th

century were those of Stephen, John the Evangelist, the Conversion of Paul, Julian, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Mary Magdalene, Marcel of Paris and his Translation, Denis and his companions, Martin, Nicholas, All Saints, and the Purification, Annunciation, and Nativity of the Virgin. And feasts of semiduplex rank included Palm Sunday, Andrew, Vincent, Germain of Paris, Augustine, Giles, Michael, Katherine, All Souls, and the Finding and Exaltation of the Holy Cross, among others. (See Appendix I.)

At the bottom of the scale, a saint who was merely memorialized did not receive his own Office and Mass but was instead commemorated (primarily in prayers) during the principal Office and Mass of the day. A rank of three lessons was the lowest one possible for an Office and Mass on a given day. Sometimes a saint's feast of three lessons had the additional indication that if it fell on Sunday, it was increased to nine lessons in deference to the Lord's day.

Although three rather than the standard complement of nine lessons in the Matins service normally indicated a low rank, by ancient custom several major feasts of the Lord--Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost (as well as all the days in between)--had only three lessons at Matins, despite their obviously high rank. These occasions in the Temporale had a carryover effect on a number of saints' feasts in the late spring which were designated quasi novem lectiones in Paris calendars, meaning that they had only three lessons at Matins but were treated as if they had nine.

Many of the ceremonial distinctions among the upper ranks of feasts are not immediately apparent in liturgical books. Ones for which we do have some evidence include such factors as the choice of Ordinary chants in the Mass, the number and placement of candles during the services, at what services processions to saints' altars occurred, and the number of singers of the responsorial chants. Another liturgical feature that normally distinguished feasts of semiduplex, duplex, and annual rank from feasts of nine lessons and below was the presence of a great responsory between chapter and hymn at First Vespers on the eve of these high-ranking days. Even this practice was not absolute, however, for if an important feast was preceded by an important day, the second day had no First Vespers. Observed instead was Second Vespers of

the first day (with a commemoration of the next day's feast), and Second Vespers did not have a great responsory. This was the case, for instance, with the important saints' feasts which follow Christmas--St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, and Holy Innocents, none of which had a Vesper responsory, though they were all of duplex rank.

Such matters are important to understand because the Vesper responsory was one of the chants which could occur in polyphonic setting in the Notre-Dame repertory. The other such items included the Benedicamus Domino at First Vespers; the third, sixth, and ninth responsories of Matins; the verses of responsories and antiphons used in certain processions; and the Gradual and Alleluia of the Mass. And all of these types of chants, if available in polyphony, were also potential sources and potential locales for Latin liturgical motets.

Among the seven ranks of feasts employed at Notre-Dame, which ones were eligible for polyphony? The two lowest ranks did not qualify; the three highest ranks most certainly did. The question is with feasts of nine lessons and quasi nine lessons. Bearing in mind the fact that polyphony was not used at all during Lent and that processional polyphony was not used during Advent, I have otherwise assumed that if the liturgical books call for a particular chant that is extant in polyphonic setting in the Notre-Dame repertory, that setting was available and could have been used in the assigned liturgical position.

What indications are there, then, that polyphony was possible for feasts of nine lessons? The M 46 Alleluia Per manus autem, one of the Alleluias in the Parisian Common of Apostles and Evangelists, was prescribed only twice for the feasts of particular apostles, and throughout the 13th century at Notre-Dame, both had a rank of only nine lessons: St. Thomas on December 21 and St. Barnabas on June 11. If this organum (found in W1, F, and W2) were to be used at Notre-Dame, it would have to be on these two occasions only.<sup>1</sup> There is a similar case among pieces for Several Martyrs. The M 43 Alleluia Iusti epulentur (found only in F) appeared on a single feast of several martyrs, that of Hippolytus and his companions, August 13, which had a

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<sup>1</sup> On each of the nineteen feasts of apostles and evangelists in the Paris calendar, the Alleluia for the day is specified in the liturgical books; the rubrics do not allow for a choice from the Common.

rank of nine lessons. On no other occasion of nine lessons or above was it prescribed at Notre-Dame, so the M 43 organum had to be used for this one feast or not at all. Such evidence has led me to believe that feasts of nine lessons and quasi nine lessons belong in the list of occasions suitable for polyphonic performance at Notre-Dame, and this is why I have included them in the calendar of Appendix I.

A similar case can be made for the inclusion of the ninth responsory of Matins as a polyphonic possibility. The O 28 responsory Sint lumbi with verse Vigilate (found in W1, F, and W2) occurred in the Common of Abbots and Confessors not Bishops, and as such it was prescribed for at least half a dozen feasts--but only as the responsory for the procession after Terce (when the feast fell on Sunday) or as the ninth responsory of Matins.<sup>2</sup> Since we have other evidence that only the verse was sung in polyphony during the procession after Terce (as in the case of O 8, O 9, and O 12, for example, which are verses only), the inclusion of the polyphonic respond as well as the verse indicates that O 28 was meant to be used as the ninth responsory on appropriate days.<sup>3</sup> Other responsories in the Magnus liber organi were also prescribed as the ninth responsory and the Sunday processional responsory (O 27 for Confessor Bishops is a good example), but they were listed as the Vesper responsory as well and thus cannot be used to prove that the ninth responsory was polyphonic.

But unlike Husmann,<sup>4</sup> I see no reason why a responsory could not have been performed in polyphonic setting more than once on a given feast if the liturgy prescribed its monophonic performance more than once. For instance, on the feast commemorating the reception of a relic of the True Cross at Notre-Dame, celebrated annually with duplex rank on the first Sunday in

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<sup>2</sup> Nearly all the feasts of abbots and confessors had a rank of nine lessons and thus no Vesper responsory; most also used the Common list of responsories for Matins, and there Sint lumbi was prescribed as the ninth responsory, never the third or sixth. Examples include the feasts of St. Cloud (Sept. 7) and St. Jerome (Sept. 30), both of which also used O 28 as the Sunday processional responsory.

<sup>3</sup> In a paper presented at the 47th annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in Boston in November 1981, Craig Wright offered additional evidence that the ninth responsory of Matins should not be excluded from the list of items set in polyphony at Notre-Dame.

<sup>4</sup> Heinrich Husmann, "The Origin and Destination of the Magnus liber organi," The Musical Quarterly, XLIX (1963), 316.

August, the O 21 responsory Per tuam with verse Miserere was the Vesper responsory, the sixth responsory of Matins, and the responsory for the procession after Terce. There is no reason the whole organum could not have been sung on both of the first two occasions and the polyphonic verse sung again at the procession. And as we shall see, multiple performance possibilities for an organum may well help to utilize multiple liturgical motet settings of a given tenor.

## I

Among our best sources of information about performance practice for both monophonic and polyphonic music at Notre-Dame in the 12th and 13th century are the rubrics in liturgical books that follow the cathedral use. With regard to organum, the rubrics in books for the Offices --and very rarely in books for the Mass--make specific reference to polyphony in processions on certain occasions during the church year. With caution, we may perhaps infer something about the performance of motets through a careful consideration of the remarks about organum.

By far the most detailed rubrics appear in the two famous Parisian processional, now in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup> MSS 1799 and 4334, which are almost identical in content and layout. The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Royale described these two processional as 15th-century books. In his 1932 Acta article "Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame," Jacques Handschin said they were from the 14th century.<sup>5</sup> In actual fact they are both 13th-century manuscripts, an observation first made by Victor Leroquais in his 1929 book, Le Bréviaire de Philippe le Bon,<sup>6</sup> but apparently unnoticed by concerned musicologists until recently. I had come to this conclusion myself before I found Leroquais' remarks. These processional were copied in Paris in the second half of the 13th century, perhaps as early as circa 1270. But more important

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<sup>5</sup> Acta musicologica, IV (1932), 13-14. The Bibliothèque Royale catalogue descriptions are in J. Van den Gheyn, Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Vol. I (Brussels, 1901), 402-03.

<sup>6</sup> MS 1799 was the focus of Leroquais' attention, and of it he remarked, "Le volume date de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et non du XV<sup>e</sup> comme l'affirme le catalogue..." See Le Bréviaire de Philippe le Bon: Bréviaire parisien du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris, Brussels, and New York, 1929), 232.

than the actual date of the manuscripts is the fact that their contents represent an even older period of the early 13th century, a liturgical state of the 1220s. This makes their detailed rubrics especially valuable, placing their testimony about performance practice roughly at the end of the working life of Perotin.<sup>7</sup>

Three kinds of processions are covered in these two manuscripts: those that stayed entirely within the cathedral, those that also visited the adjacent baptistery of Saint-Jean-le-Rond and the oratory of Saint-Denis-du-Pas, and those that on special occasions went to other churches and monasteries throughout Paris. Polyphony could appear in all three types, and it is the feasts calling for polyphony that engage our special attention. Although Handschin printed most of the rubrics referring to processional polyphony in the Brussels manuscripts,<sup>8</sup> it will nonetheless be useful to illustrate several of each type and to summarize what they collectively tell us about performance practice.

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<sup>7</sup> This conclusion is drawn from the following evidence: An early 13th-century Paris missal, Paris, B.N. lat. 1112, contains an unusual feature found in no other 13th-century Paris missal—a list of processional responsories both for the Sundays of the Temporale and for saints' feasts when they fall on Sunday (fols. 254v-255v). In comparing this list of saints' days with the processional Sanctorale in the two Brussels manuscripts, we find only two significant differences: St. Maturinus (Mathurin) is present in the processionals but not in the missal, and St. William of Bourges has been added by a later hand in the processionals but is totally absent in the missal.

The missal dates from after 1207, for it was in that year that Bishop Odo of Sully instituted the feast of St. Bernard of Clairvaux at the Cathedral of Paris (see Benjamin Guérard, Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris [4 vols., Paris, 1850], Vol. I, p. 430), and Bernard is included in lat. 1112. However, this is the latest and apparently the only 13th-century feast present in this missal, which art historians have suggested was copied around 1220 (see Robert Branner, Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis [Berkeley, 1977], p. 47, and Branner, "Manuscript Painting in Paris around 1200," in The Year 1200: A Symposium [New York, 1975], p. 175), and which in its contents represents a liturgical state of about the year 1210.

If we may judge from other early 13th-century Parisian books, St. Maturinus achieved his rank of nine lessons (and hence his eligibility for a processional responsory) by the 1220s, if not sooner. This state is reflected in the processional books, but not in the missal. With regard to St. William of Bourges, although he was canonized in the year 1218 and in his early career had even been a canon in the chapter at Notre-Dame, he was not added to the Paris liturgy until more than a decade after his canonization. He first appears in liturgical books at the rank of nine lessons in the 1230s, but it is not until about 1240 or shortly thereafter that he achieves his full stature of semiduplex rank. Thus the fact that Maturinus is present in the original hand in the Brussels books while William of Bourges is an afterthought added by another hand leads to the conclusion that the processionals represent a state of the 1220s.

<sup>8</sup> In "Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame," Acta musicologica, IV (1932), 14-17 and 49, in the footnotes.

First, we should recall that as the construction of Notre-Dame progressed, by the early 14th century the choir of the cathedral was completely enclosed, and what went on inside the area of the choir was largely invisible to the laity who might come to the cathedral for services. A reconstruction by the architect Viollet-le-Duc purports to show the choir in the 14th century,<sup>9</sup> and it is clear that the front of the area was closed off by a large roodscreen or jubé, surmounted by a crucifix. (Doubtless there was a similar but less permanent arrangement in the 13th century.) The sanctuary area included two altars, a smaller one dedicated to the Trinity directly behind the main altar dedicated to the Virgin. Mounted on a high platform between the two altars was the elaborate reliquary of St. Marcel, a fifth-century bishop of Paris who was one of the most important confessor bishops in the cathedral calendar. Keeping this scheme in mind, we may note that it was in front of the crucifix atop the jubé that processional organum was most often performed.

The most frequent kind of procession was the one that took place every Sunday after Terce and before the Mass of the day. The canons, clerics, and choirboys of Notre-Dame processed out of the choir and through the cathedral, out the door and into the baptistery of Saint-Jean-le-Rond, next to the north tower of the cathedral. After prayers and chants there, the procession continued on to the other little church of Saint-Denis-du-Pas, directly east of the apse of Notre-Dame. (Both of these churches existed until the 18th century, when they were torn down; the baptistery in particular appears in many old engravings of the cathedral.) After more prayers and chants in Saint-Denis-du-Pas, the procession returned to Notre-Dame. On the return was sung the great responsory or large antiphon proper to the day,<sup>10</sup> and its verse was sung only when the procession came to a stop and made a station in front of the crucifix atop the jubé.

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<sup>9</sup> The sketch is in the B.N. Cabinet des Épreuves; see Planche V (as well as the diagram of the choir on p. 124) in Huitième centenaire de Notre-Dame de Paris (Congrès des 30 Mai-3 Juin 1964) (Paris, 1967).

<sup>10</sup> Normally this chant was a great responsory taken from Matins, but on some occasions it was an antiphon with verse, as in the case of the antiphon Responsum accepit Symeon and its verse Hodie beata virgo Maria (O 6) for the Purification procession. (See n. 18 below.)

After the verse was performed (sometimes with organum), the procession returned to the choir with a commemoration of the Virgin, and Mass then commenced.

In the Brussels processions, four feasts of the Temporale mention organum in the Terce procession: Easter, the octave of Easter, the fifth Sunday after Easter (that is, the Sunday before Ascension), and Pentecost.<sup>11</sup> The Easter rubrics tell us that the Verse of the Responsory Et valde (O 7) was organized or sung by six. On the octave of Easter, the Verse Crucifixum in carne of the Antiphon Sedit angelus (O 9) ought to be organized or sung; on the fifth Sunday after Easter, the same Verse was either organized or sung by four clerics. And lastly, on Pentecost, the rubrics say flatly that the Verse Invenit eos (O 12) of the Responsory Advenit ignis should be organized by six.<sup>12</sup>

If the feast of a saint having a rank of nine lessons or better fell on Sunday, as long as it was not during Advent, Lent, or Eastertide, a processional responsory or antiphon proper to that saint was used on the return of the procession after Terce. On four very important saints' days, there was a Terce procession honoring the saint whether it was Sunday or not. These four occasions were the Assumption of the Virgin, the Purification of the Virgin, the Nativity of the

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<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, the use of organum in the Christmas procession after Terce was not mentioned in the rubrics of liturgical books until late in the 13th century. The earliest extant liturgical book to include such a rubric at Christmas is an ordinal, B.N. lat. 16317, from early in the last quarter of the 13th century. The first mention in a breviary is in B.N. lat. 15181, from around 1300.

<sup>12</sup> The Easter rubrics (not mentioned by Handschin): In die sancto pasche post primam benedicatur aqua in revestiario. Cantata vero tertia, incipit cantor in medio chori Rx. Et valde. Et tunc exit processio ante crucifixum. Ibi organizatur vel cantatur a sex V. Et respicientes. Sequitur v. Surrexit dominus de sepulchro. Oratio Concede quesumus. Tunc incipit cantor Ant. Alma [redemptoris] et redit processio per choream. Sequitur v. Post partum virgo. Oratio Famulorum. (From B.R. MS 4334, fol. 58. In the transcription I use v. for versicle and V. for Verse.)

The octave of Easter: In reditu processionis incipitur A[nt]. Sedit angelus. Et debet organizari vel cantari V. Crucifixum ante crucem... (--B.R. 4334, fol. 62v; compare Handschin, p. 15, in the first note.)

The fifth Sunday after Easter (not mentioned by Handschin): ...ad processionem totum fiet sicut in prima dominica excepto quod in reditu processionis organizabitur vel cantabitur a quatuor clericis V. Crucifixum ante crucem. Quo finito reincipitur Nolite et intratur in chorum. Sequitur A. Lux perpetua cetera ut supra. (--B.R. MS 1799, fol. 67.)

Pentecost: ....Et venit ante crucem. Sequitur V. Invenit eos et debet organizari a sex. [Sequitur repetitio:] Et tribuit eis. Seq[uitur] A. Alma red[emptoris]. Sequitur v. Post partum. Or[at]io Famulorum. (--B.R. MS 4334, fol. 95; compare Handschin, p. 15, n. 3.)

Virgin, and the feast of St. Denis, who was considered to be the first bishop of Paris as well as the patron saint of all France. Of the three feasts of the Virgin, the rubrics for the Nativity procession (Sept. 8) are very brief and simply instruct that the O 19 Responsoy Solem is sung and its Verse is organized before the cross.<sup>13</sup>

On the August 15 feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, if it fell on Sunday, after the service of Prime, holy water was blessed privately between the two altars in the sanctuary area. Then regardless of what day of the week it was, after Terce a procession was made with the participants wearing copes, first before the cross, singing the Responsoy Styrps Yesse (O 16). And there the Verse was organized or sung by six. Then came the versicle Diffusa est gratia and the prayer Concede, and the Antiphon Alma redemptoris was sung on the return through the ambulatory to the choir. The commemoration concluded with the versicle Post partum and the prayer Famulorum, and then the Mass began.<sup>14</sup>

The most detailed description of a procession with polyphony in the Brussels processions is that for the Purification of the Virgin (February 2), commonly known as Candlemas because of the blessing of candles on that day. Much of this description was picked up by later breviaries, which even acknowledge that their account is "as it is contained in the book of processions" (sicut in libro processionum continetur). We are told by the processions that if the Purification fell on Sunday, between the two altars holy water was blessed privately. After Terce was sung, the clerics gathered in the church of Saint-Jean-le-Rond, the baptistery. There either the bishop or another priest blessed the candles in this manner. The candles were put upon the altar, and the bishop or other priest blessed them by means of three prayers. When these were finished, the cantor began the Antiphon Lumen ad revelationem gentium (noted in

<sup>13</sup> In nativitate beate Marie fit post terciam processio ante crucem et cantatur Rx. Solem et organi[za]tur V. Cernere. In reditu per choream A. Alma. v. Post partum. [Oratio] Famulorum. (--B.R. MS 4334, fol. 119v.)

<sup>14</sup> Si festum assumptionis beate Marie die dominica evenerit, post primam fiet aqua benedicta privatim inter duo altaria. Quacumque autem die evenerit, post terciam fiet processio in capis, primo ante crucem, cantando Rx. Styrps iesse. Et debet ibi V. organizari vel cantari a sex. v. Diffusa est gratia. Oratio Concede. In reditu per choream A. Alma. v. Post partum. [Oratio] Famulorum. (--B.R. MS 4334, fol. 117; not mentioned by Handschin.)

full), followed by the "psalm" Nunc dimittis. Next the cantor began the Antiphon Ave gratia plena. And then the candles were lit and given to the clerics. After the antiphon was finished, the boys said the versicle Responsum accepit Symeon; this was followed by the prayer Quesumus omnipotens Deus. Afterwards the cantor began the Antiphon Adorna, and there followed the versicle of the boys, Accipiens, and the prayer Deus qui es lumen verum. Then the cantor began the Antiphon Responsum accepit Symeon. After this the procession returned to Notre-Dame and made a station before the cross, where the Verse Hodie beata virgo Maria (O 6) was organized or sung. There followed the versicle of the boys Symeon in manibus, the prayer Intercessio, and the Antiphon Alma redemptoris (a later note adds) as the procession went through the the ambulatory to the choir. The service concluded with the versicle Post partum and the prayer Deus qui salutis.<sup>15</sup> Though the number of singers is not mentioned in the Brussels manuscripts, a late 13th-century Paris missal, Arsenal 203, specifies that the polyphonic Verse Hodie was organized by four clerics.<sup>16</sup>

Besides polyphony in the Terce procession on Easter, there is mention of polyphony in the procession after Second Vespers of Easter and on the following Saturday. These processions after Second Vespers went first to the font (in Saint-Jean-le-Rond), then to "the sepulchre" (in Saint-Denis-du-Pas), as the rubrics put it, and lastly to the cross on the jubé, where on both occasions the O 9 Verse Crucifixum in carne was either organized or sung.<sup>17</sup>

The four remaining processions that mention polyphony are ones in which the clergy of the cathedral ventured farther afield. In what must have been a kind of ambulatory advertisement for the splendor of the cathedral services, they processed all over the city of Paris and even beyond its medieval walls. During the first five weeks of Lent, for instance, each Monday,

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<sup>15</sup> But for an adjustment of verb tenses, this is virtually a literal translation of the Latin on fols. 106v-110 of B.R. MS 1799; the central passage reads: Deinde incipit cantor antifonam Responsum accepit Symeon... Tunc reditur processionaliter ad ecclesiam beate Marie et fit statio ante crucem et organizatur vel cantatur V. Hodie beata virgo Maria...

<sup>16</sup> In Section C, fol. 13v, of Paris, Arsenal MS 203, the rubrics mention the third antiphon in this ceremony, Responsum accepit Symeon, and add: ...cuius versum organizant quatuor clerici ante crucem.

<sup>17</sup> Rubrics from B.R. MS 1799 are quoted by Handschin in Acta IV, p. 14, n. 2.

Wednesday, and Friday saw a procession to a different church or monastery. During the first week of Lent, three churches on the Île de la Cité were visited; during the second and third weeks, six Left-Bank churches; and during the fourth and fifth weeks, seven Right-Bank churches, the seventh being one of a pair on Montmartre. And on Palm Sunday, there was a special procession to Sainte-Geneviève which then re-enacted Christ's entry into Jerusalem.<sup>18</sup>

Though the Lenten processions never included polyphony, the second of the Rogation Days--the weekdays just before Ascension--did allow for this. On the first Rogation Day, the procession went to six churches on the Right Bank, with the stational Mass being celebrated at the most distant church, the abbey of Saint-Pierre-de-Montmartre. On the second day, the procedure was repeated on the Left Bank, with the Mass again held at the most distant church, Notre-Dame-des-Champs. The rubrics tell us that the procession left the cathedral and made a station, crossed the bridge singing, made a station before Saint-Benoît on the Rue Saint-Jacques, another station before Saint-Étienne-des-Grés, and then arrived at the monastery of Notre-Dame-des-Champs. There a litany was performed and Mass was celebrated. Then they left the church, singing on the way to the church of Saint-Marcel. There the O 9 Verse Crucifixum in carne was once more either sung or organized. Then the procession returned to the cathedral, with stations along the way at SS. Cosmas and Damian, and "ante termas" (the Roman baths now part of the Musée Cluny). They crossed the Petit Pont singing, and then made memorials of Ste. Geneviève, St. Christopher, St. Stephen, and the Virgin--all tituli of churches on the Cité that they would pass or approach.<sup>19</sup>

The last three processions to be mentioned offer some of the most interesting information. On a dozen saints' days during the church year, the cathedral clergy processed to the titular saint's church or monastery where they took part in the services of Terce, Mass, and Sext with the clergy

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<sup>18</sup> See Pierre Maranget, "Les stations de Carême à Paris," Miscellanea Giulio Belvederi (Vatican City, 1954), pp. 47-54.

<sup>19</sup> See Handschin, p. 15, n. 2. This is another instance of the processional use of a large antiphon (Sedit angelus) with verse (Crucifixum in carne) instead of a great responsory.

or monks of the stational church before returning to Notre-Dame. Three of these churches were on the Cité--SS. Eligius, Bartholomew, and Christopher; four were on the Left Bank--Ste. Geneviève and SS. Victor, Benedict, and Stephen; and five were on the Right Bank--SS. Gervais and Protase, Paul, Martin, Lawrence, and Medericus.

The three such processions which mention organum are those for SS. Eligius (Éloi), Bartholomew (Barthélemy), and Medericus (Merry). Why these three saints? Eligius and Bartholomew were both ranked at nine lessons at Notre-Dame, but Medericus was only memorialized, because the feast of the Beheading of John the Baptist took precedence on that day, August 29th. I can offer an explanation for at least the first two of these. The monastic church of Saint-Éloi was the oldest church on the Cité, having been founded in the seventh century by St. Éloi himself. And Saint-Barthélemy, directly across from the royal palace, had originally been the palace chapel of the Merovingian kings; in the 12th century it became the official parish of the palace. The Abbé Lebeuf suggested that processions from the cathedral to Saint-Barthélemy may have begun as early as the ninth century.<sup>20</sup> In any case, these two churches were clearly the most important ones on the Cité apart from Notre-Dame itself. When viewed from this perspective, it is more understandable that the cathedral clergy honored them with the performance of organum. Saint-Merry on the Right Bank is more problematic. Named after the saint who died there in the eighth century, Saint-Merry was a collegial church that was given parish status in the 12th century and was later known as one of the "four daughters" of Notre-Dame.

On December 1, the procession to Saint-Éloi went silently and entered the chapter room. The participants there put on copes and sang Terce. Then they sang a responsory and entered the choir, where the boys performed a versicle to St. Éloi. After a prayer the procession then moved through the cloister singing the Respond Sint lumbi (whose polyphonic setting is O 28). Before the entrance to the choir, the procession halted and four clerics from Notre-Dame organized the

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<sup>20</sup> Lebeuf, Histoire de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris, ed. Cocheris (Paris, 1883), I, 173-175.

Verse Vigilate (of O 28). After the polyphony the procession entered the choir while singing the end of the Respond. Mass then began, sung by the abbot or prior of Saint-Éloi, except for the Gradual and the Alleluia Posui (M 51), which was "sung or organized by us." After Mass the procession returned to the chapter room where Sext was sung, and the visitors then processed back to Notre-Dame in silence.<sup>21</sup>

On August 24 when the procession went to Saint-Barthélemy, after Terce they went to the crypt, where the Respond Qui sunt isti was sung; its Verse Candidiores (O 26) was organized before entering the choir. The monks of Saint-Barthélemy sang the Mass except for the Alleluia Vox sancti Bartholomei, which was "organized by two of us or sung by four canons."<sup>22</sup> This is clear testimony that a two-voice setting of this chant must have existed in the early 13th century, even though we now have only the incomplete three-voice setting in the Basel fragments written about by Wulf Arlt and Max Haas.<sup>23</sup>

At Saint-Merry on August 29, there is no mention of organum in the Mass, but we are told that before the procession entered the choir, the Verse of the O 28 Responsory Sint lumbi was either organized by two or sung by four.<sup>24</sup>

From this discussion we may draw several observations. First, for obvious reasons regarding the difficulty of performance, organum was never sung while a procession was moving, but only when a station had been made. Second, the number of singers varied according to the rank of the feast, at least where the soloistic chants of Gradual, Alleluia, and Great Responsory were concerned. It is the three feasts of annual rank--Easter, Pentecost, and the Assumption--whose rubrics mention six singers for responsory verses, and the Pentecost

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<sup>21</sup> The Latin is quoted in Handschin, pp. 15-16, n. 4.

<sup>22</sup> See Handschin, pp. 16-17, and n. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Wulf Arlt and Max Haas, "Pariser modale Mehrstimmigkeit in einem Fragment der Basler Universitätsbibliothek," Forum Musicologicum (Basler Studien zur Musikgeschichte), Vol. I (Bern, 1975), 223-272.

<sup>24</sup> The Latin is quoted in Handschin, p. 49, n. 1.

rubricstates flatly that they organize the Verse of O 12, which survives only in two-voice polyphony.<sup>25</sup>

Four singers appear to be involved on feasts of duplex and semiduplex rank. The Purification of the Virgin had duplex rank, and the missal Arsenal 203 states that the Verse Hodie was organized by four clerics. (See n. 16 above.) On the fifth Sunday after Easter, the Verse Crucifixum was organized or sung by four, and the cathedral cartulary tells us that when the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury was added at semiduplex rank, four clerics organized the Alleluia Letabitur iustus (M 49).<sup>26</sup> Although St. Éloi had only nine lessons at Notre-Dame, when the clergy of the cathedral went to his titular church on his name day (certainly of highest rank there), four clerics organized the Verse of O 28. Otherwise, it would seem that three singers was the norm for responsorial chants sung while visiting other churches; rubrics for the feasts of Ste. Geneviève, the Translation of Martin, and St. Victor mention the Gradual or Alleluia being sung by three canons from Notre-Dame. However, the rubrics for Bartholomew and Medericus specify Verses either organized by two or sung by four. In any case, how one organizes a two-voice piece with more than two singers is a question that must be addressed with regard to rhythmic coordination of the parts. My assumption is that the duplum would have been sung by a soloist, while the other singers--as many as five on the most important feasts--together carried the tenor part.<sup>27</sup>

These questions aside, it is very likely that the elaborate processional ritual described in the two Brussels manuscripts is largely a product of the second half of the 12th century, for, as

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<sup>25</sup> In connection with the rubrics' prescription of six singers for organum on the feasts of highest rank, it is interesting to note that in the hierarchy of personnel at Notre-Dame, it was the machicoti, the six mostsenior among the unbeneficed clerks of Matins, who were the soloists for polyphony. See the discussion of the cathedral hierarchy in Craig Wright, "Antoine Brumel and Patronage at Paris," in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ed. by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), 37-60, especially 42-43. The processional rubrics do make a careful distinction between canonici and clerici; it was the clerici who "organized."

<sup>26</sup> Guérard, Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris, IV, 105.

<sup>27</sup> However, during the symposium both the discussion by Thomas Binkley and a performance by the four members of the Ensemble Gilles Binchois (divided two and two) offered convincing evidence that the duplum can be sung effectively by more than one soloist.

several scholars have observed, some of the churches visited in procession are barely older than that, or were raised to parish status from mere chapels only at that time.<sup>28</sup> (Saint-Pierre-de-Montmartre, for example, one of the first Gothic buildings in Paris, dates only from 1147.) All of these developments--the building of new churches, the formation of new parishes, and the creation of elaborate processional rituals, along with the rise of a significant repertory of composed polyphony itself--are a part of that liturgical flowering that grew hand in hand with the new Gothic cathedral.

## II

What ideas about the performance of liturgical motets can be drawn from the above discussion? I begin with several assumptions. First, I believe that the number of singers appropriate to the rank of the feast would have been used for liturgical motets as well as for organum. If the four feasts of annuum rank required six singers, in two-voice motets as well as organum, probably one singer did the motetus part and the rest vocalized the tenor. With six singers for a four-voice organum and/or motet, I would assume three soloists sang the upper three parts and three singers vocalized the tenor. For a three-voice organum or motet, it follows that two singers would have done the two upper voices and four singers would have done the tenor, though it might also have been possible to dispose them two to each part.

Similarly, on feasts of duplex or semiduplex rank that required four singers, a four-voice work (as in the Perotinian works for St. Stephen or the M 18 Mors pieces for Easter Wednesday) would have been sung by a soloist on each part. With a soloist for each voice above the tenor, in a three-voice piece, two people would have sung the tenor, and in a two-voice work, three singers would have done the tenor, though here again the use of two singers on each part was another possibility. The processional rubrics also indicate that sometimes verses in processions were

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<sup>28</sup> See Pierre Maranget, "Les stations de Carême à Paris," p. 53, and Adrien Friedmann, Paris, ses rues, ses paroisses du moyen âge à la révolution (Paris, 1959), 114-119.

organized by only two singers, and thus at least for some motet performances a soloist on each part would be appropriate. Lastly, I would agree with Edward Roesner that liturgical polyphony at Notre-Dame in the 13th century was entirely vocal, with no instrumental participation.<sup>29</sup>

Appendix II contains a list of Latin motets in the early central sources of F, W2, and MüA that I judge to have been appropriate for use in the liturgy. In compiling this list, I have arbitrarily assumed that the total Latin motet repertory preserved in these three manuscripts was available to the clerics of Notre-Dame for their selective use, an assumption that of course cannot be proved, even though F, W2, and MüA are the first among the central sources of the motet. Whatever factors determined the choice of works copied, each manuscript clearly contains more than one small repertory or collection, as a glance at Appendix IV demonstrates. I am not postulating that these small collections were all chosen from some single master source of motets, but rather that together they comprised a repertory which, before too many years of the 13th century had elapsed, was all to be found in Paris. That some of the Latin motets in this early repertory might not be suitable for liturgical use at Notre-Dame should not be surprising, for the same is true of a number of organa preserved by the editor/scribe of the Florence MS.

The motets in Appendix II are arranged in liturgical order according to the position of the parent chants as these are assigned in surviving 13th-century liturgical books of cathedral use.<sup>30</sup> This is in several ways a conservative list of motets, for I have taken the position that motet texts which are purely hortatory and make no specific reference to the idea of the feast in question or to the parent chant--even if they trope the tenor word in an ad verbum fashion--would probably not have been used in the liturgy. And I believe that texts which are entirely polemical would

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<sup>29</sup> Roesner, "The Performance of Parisian Organum," Early Music, VII (1979), 174. As he points out, Notre-Dame is not known to have had an organ before the 14th century.

<sup>30</sup> Motets follow the numbering originally assigned by Friedrich Ludwig in his Repertorium (Halle, 1910) and continued in Friedrich Gennrich's Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten (Darmstadt, 1958). Transcriptions of the motets in F, W2, and MüA are available in Hans Tischler, The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270) (3 vols., New Haven, 1982); Gordon A. Anderson, The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt 1099 (1206) (2 vols., Brooklyn, 1972 and 1976; English translations included); and Luther A. Dittmer, A Central Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony [MüA] (Brooklyn, 1959).

surely not have been performed liturgically. I have also removed from this list Marian motets on non-Marian tenors; they will be considered as a separate issue. What remains, then, are motets that comment upon the liturgical occasion in general or that specifically trope the text of the parent chant or the lesson(s) in a way that is liturgically appropriate.<sup>31</sup>

It is worthwhile to observe that the texts of Alleluia chants often refer more specifically to the feast of which they are a part than do the texts of Graduals and responsories, and this distinction tends to carry over into motets based upon these chants as well. A case in point is the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin. The M 32 Gradual Benedicta and the O 16 responsory Styrps Yesse were both used at Notre-Dame not only for the Assumption but for the Nativity of the Virgin as well, plus their octaves, and neither chant makes specific reference to the idea of the Assumption of the Virgin. The O 16 chant, in fact, was originally composed for the Nativity of the Virgin and was later made to serve also for the Assumption, as its text indicates:

(Rx.) *Styrps Yesse virgam produxit virgaque florem,  
et super hunc florem requievit spiritus almus.*

(V.) *Virgo dei genitrix virga est, flos filius eius.*<sup>32</sup>

The motets on O 16 tend to be rather general in their commentary upon the Virgin even when they trope the words of the responsory text, which makes them usable for the Nativity BVM as well as the Assumption. Motet 649 (a2 in W2, fol. 145v), which praises the Virgin in a series of epithets, does refer to her as having opened the halls of heaven, which could be intended as a reference to the Assumption. The two texts of Motet 647/648--a rare double motet in F (fol. 409v)--paraphrase the whole chant but make no explicit reference to the Assumption (or to the Nativity BVM). Motet 665, Flos ascendit de radice, also tropes the chant, and may originally have been composed for the Nativity, where O 16 is the sixth Matins responsory. Motet 669,

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<sup>31</sup> For a different approach to what constitutes the earliest repertory of liturgical motets, see the symposium paper by Wulf Arlt.

<sup>32</sup> (Rx.) The stem of Jesse produced a twig and the twig a flower, and above this flower rested the nourishing Spirit. (V.) The Virgin Mother of God is the twig; the flower, her son. (Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.)

Ave rosa novella, the last of the Vesper motets for the Assumption, is musically defective in its sole transmission, and at least three emended versions have been proposed by recent editors.<sup>33</sup>

The brief Motet 670 on the tenor Flos filius eius from O 16 is another petition to the Virgin which tropes several words of the chant. Its somewhat votive character seems appropriate for the processional commemoration of the Virgin between Terce and Mass on the Assumption:

Virga, virgo regia, Mater regis filia,  
 Fax previa, vite federa, spes pervivia,  
 Veni rei venia; fac nobis sit pius  
 Tua per suffragia civis flos filius.<sup>34</sup>

The same sort of votive petition to the Virgin, though it is less of a trope, comprises the text of Motet 660.<sup>35</sup>

The Gradual Benedicta is also general in its Marian application, referring more to the idea of Incarnation and Mary as Mother of God:

(Rx.) Benedicta et venerabilis es, virgo Maria: que  
 sine tactu pudoris inventa es mater salvatoris.  
 (V.) Virgo dei genitrix, quem totus non capit orbis,  
 in tua se clausit viscera factus homo.<sup>36</sup>

One might suppose that the composers of motet texts on such a chant would take advantage of

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<sup>33</sup> See Anderson, The Latin Compositions, II, 179, and Tischler, The Earliest Motets, I, No. 119, the latter with two versions.

<sup>34</sup> Stem, royal Virgin, Mother and Daughter of God, torch lighting the way, covenant of life, hope everlasting, come, pardon of sinners; grant through thy intercession that the Flower, thy holy Son, be present with us. (Translation by Anderson, The Latin Compositions, I, 360.)

<sup>35</sup> O vere lucis aurora, W2, fol. 175v; English translation by Anderson, The Latin Compositions, I, 251. For the Nativity of the Virgin, both of these motets would have been among the options for the sixth responsory of Matins, since the processional responsory for that day was O 19 Solem.

<sup>36</sup> (Rx.) Blessed and venerable art thou, O Virgin Mary, who without the touch of shame art become Mother of the Savior. (V.) Virgin Mother of God, he whom the whole world cannot hold, in thy womb was enclosed and became man.

Besides the use of this Gradual for the Assumption and the Nativity, it was also prescribed for several days within the octave, including the Sunday and the octave itself, all of which qualified for polyphony.

the opportunity to make their trope more specific to the feast, but such is not the case. The scriptural readings in the Mass on the Assumption are also rather oblique in relation to the occasion; the *Lectio* is Ecclesiasticus 24:11b-13; 15-20, and the Gospel is Luke 10:38-42. Nevertheless, one can see that the similes in the last few verses of the *Lectio* (beginning with Quasi cedrus exaltata in Libano) provide some precedent for the flood of Marian epithets in motets for the Assumption. For the Nativity of the Virgin, the *Lectio* is a close continuation of that for the Assumption, Ecclesiasticus 24:23-31. Its beginning provides further inspiration for Marian epithets, while the continuation leads naturally to a consideration of the Virgin as an intermediary and source of aid for humble petitioners. (The Gospel for this day is the *Liber generationis*, Matthew 1:1-16.) Thus the five motets on M 32 tend to be general in their praise of and petitions to the Virgin.

By contrast, the M 34 Alleluia Hodie Maria virgo, one of half a dozen Alleluia options in the Mass, but also used in place of a responsory at Second Vespers on the Assumption and in the Mass on Sunday within the octave, is wonderfully specific in orientation:

Alleluia. V. Hodie Maria virgo celos ascendit;  
gaudete, quia cum Christo regnat in eternum.  
(Today the Virgin Mary ascends the heavens;  
rejoice, for with Christ she reigns in eternity.)

And the Regnat motet 437, Flos de spina rumpitur, leaves no doubt about its occasion:

Flos de spina rumpitur, spina caret flos et aret,  
sed non moritur. Vite florem per amorem flos complec-  
titur, cuius ex solatio sic reficitur in vigore proprio,  
quod non patitur. Virgo de Iudea sursum tollitur,  
testea fit aurea corporea sanctitur, laurea redimitur  
mater beata glorificata. Per cuncta mundi climata  
civium consortium celestium laude resolvitur; oritur

fidelibus dies iubilei; dabitur amplexibus Marie quies  
 dei. Non ero de cetero iactatus a procella: ecce, maris  
 stella aurem pii filii precibus impregnat, que stellato  
 solio cum filio regnat.<sup>37</sup>

The two other liturgical motets on Regnat, Nos. 441 and 442, also trope the tenor chant and make specific reference to the feast.

On the other hand, there are instances of a chant being used on two different feasts in which the motets do make a distinction between the days. A good example involves the M 12 Alleluia Adorabo ad templum, which was prescribed for both the Purification of the Virgin (February 2) and the Dedication of the Church.<sup>38</sup> Motet 112, De virgula, veris inicio / Et confitebor, is clearly a Marian motet, and though it does not make specific reference to the Purification, it is liturgically appropriate only on this feast. But Motet 110, Locus hic terribilis / Et confitebor, is just as clearly meant for the Dedication; its text ends with the two words of the tenor and begins with a reference to another important text for the Dedication, Terribilis est locus iste (O 31). Though Notre-Dame Cathedral was not formally dedicated during the Middle Ages, the main altar was dedicated (to the Virgin) on May 19, 1182--the Wednesday after Pentecost in that year--and thus May 19 was the only day appropriate for the Dedication liturgy.

A more unusual example of a motet appropriate for the Dedication feast is the a2 Christe via, veritas et vita, found in both F (404) and W2 (155v). At first glance, this motet is built on

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<sup>37</sup> A bud bursts forth from a thorn. The flower lacks a thorn and withers but does not die. Through love, the flower embraces the flower of life, from whose nurture it thus revives into its proper vigor because it has suffered no taint. A virgin from Judea is raised up high and an earthly body, becoming golden, is sanctified; the blessed mother is encircled with laurel wreath and is glorified. Throughout all the regions of the world the praise of the living heavenly consort resounds. A day of joy has come to the faithful, and the peace of God is granted to the followers embracing Mary. I shall not be cast down from amongst the band of the faithful by the tempest, for lo, the Star of the Sea fills with prayers the ear of the holy Son--she who with the Son rules in the starry throne. (Translation by Anderson, The Latin Compositions, I, 113.)

<sup>38</sup> The text reads: Adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum: et confitebor nomini tuo. (I will worship towards thy holy temple, and I will confess thy name.)

the tenor adiutorium from the M 51 Alleluia Posui adiutorium; in the F copy, the tenor is labeled Tori and the last word of the motetus is adiuto. But in W2, the tenor has no label and the last word and notes of the motetus are omitted, almost as if to disguise the apparent origins of the work. The clausula source for this motet exists in three copies; in the F Magnus liber and W1 No. 96, its tenor is Torium, but in the W2 Magnus liber, the tenor is Rabo from the M 12 Alleluia Adorabo ad templum. This must have been known to the scribe of the motet in W2, who sought to obscure the connection to M 51. But the motet text itself does relate to the Dedication:

Christe via, veritas et vita,  
 Muro cuius civitas munita  
 Domat hostis dominum;  
 Cuius morte mors sopita  
 Sumpsit exterminium;  
 Hoste destituto,  
 Solido fidei scuto  
 Me iuves, me munias,  
 Subvenias adiuto.<sup>39</sup>

With its references to the Holy City and to reliance upon God and Christ for protection against the enemy (death) and all harm, this text alludes to both the Lesson and the Gospel for the Dedication; the Lesson is Apocalypse 21:2-5a (Liber usualis, p. 1251) and the Gospel is Luke 6:43-48. Particularly apt is the Lesson, Vidi sanctam civitatem, Jerusalem novam, with its later line et mors ultra non erit. The connection seems much closer than to the chants (M 50 and M 51) and the readings used for Confessor Bishops, which are the Lesson Ecce sacerdos magnus (Liber usualis, p. 1183) from Ecclesiasticus 44 and 45, and the Gospel Sint lumbi (Liber usualis, p. 1202), Luke 12:35-40.

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<sup>39</sup> O Christ, the Way, the Truth, and the Life, whose city, fortified by a wall, conquered the lord of the enemy; by whose death sleeping Death received banishment; the enemy having been abandoned, by the strong shield of faith help me, preserve me, relieve (me) with aid.

Although I mentioned earlier that purely hortatory motets are not included in the list of liturgical motets in Appendix II, I should point out one notable exception intended for Pentecost: Motet 337, O natio, que vitiis / Hodie perlustravit, whose tenor comes from the M 25 Alleluia Spiritus sanctus procedens. This widely copied motet (which also survives as a French contrafact) has a hortatory text that tropes both the tenor ad verbum and the idea of Pentecost too. It urges the nation to repent of its vices and to embrace Christ as savior, who died for the sins of all and sent the Spirit--and it ends with a specific reference to the tenor and to Pentecost:

...Qui radios glorie pios hodie pie perlustravit.<sup>40</sup>

One motet on this list, the prominent Mens fidem seminat / In odorem (Motet 495, a2), based on a three-voice clausula that may well have been composed by Perotin, is unusual in that its text is an abstract meditation on faith, hope, and love, as set forth in I Corinthians 13. Its parent chant is M 45 for St. Andrew:

Alleluia. Dilexit Andream dominus in odorem suavitatis.

(The Lord loved Andrew in the odor of sweetness.)

The meditative motet text could well have taken as its starting point the Epistle for the day, Romans 10:10-18 (Liber usualis, p. 1305), which deals with the necessity of faith; this idea may have prompted the poet to recall the Pauline encomium to faith, hope, and love. There is perhaps a connection between motet and Alleluia through the idea of love expressed in both texts, but the motet words are finally tied to the parent chant at the conclusion:

Vias devias per hanc fugias, arbor fias,  
ut bonum parias fructum in odorem.<sup>41</sup>

Mens fidem seminat is the only liturgical motet in the list that is proper to a single feast of semiduplex rank; the other individual saints' feasts--for the Virgin, Stephen, John the Evangelist,

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<sup>40</sup> In Anderson's translation, "He who this day by his rays of glory has cleansed the devout." (The Latin Compositions, I, 48.)

<sup>41</sup> Through love you will flee devious paths and become a tree that bears good fruit in the odor (of sweetness). Translation by Anderson, The Latin Compositions, I, 130.

Innocents, and John the Baptist--are all of duplex or annual rank. Nine motets are included as options in the Common of Saints--for Martyrs, Several Martyrs, Confessor Bishops, Confessors, and Virgins. Missing is any liturgical motet for Apostles, most notably SS. Peter and Paul, June 29, whose liturgy allowed for M 30, M 31, O 14 and O 15 in polyphony. In the catalogue of Common motets in Appendix II, I have listed individual feasts of duplex or semiduplex rank that call for the parent chant of a given motet and have also indicated the dates of feasts of nine lessons which use that chant. These bring in most of the feasts of duplex and semiduplex rank not previously represented, but there remain eight important feasts in the Sanctorale with organum but no liturgical motets:

Finding of the Holy Cross, SD (May 3)

Peter and Paul, D (June 29)

Mary Magdalene, D (July 22)

Reception of the Holy Cross, D (1st Sun. in Aug.)

Exaltation of the Holy Cross, SD (Sept. 14)

Michael, SD (Sept. 29)

Martin, D (Nov. 11)

Katherine, SD (Nov. 25)

The motets for the Common of female saints overlap with a feast of the Virgin, for the parent chant, the M 54 Alleluia Veni electa mea, was also prescribed for the Vigil Mass of the Assumption (if it fell on Sunday) and for two days within the octave. Among the other female saints in the Notre-Dame liturgy, only Geneviève and Cecilia, both virgins and both ranked at only nine lessons, could use this Alleluia. Later in the 13th century, feasts added for SS. Anne and the Egyptian Mary both call for M 54, but neither one would be able to use Motet 529, Quia concupivit vultus, whose text indicates that it is for a virgin. It could thus be sung only on the Vigil of the Assumption, during the Assumption octave, for Geneviève, and for Cecilia. On the other hand, Motet 528f (818), Canticum leticie / Mea, which appears to be a late Latin contrafact

of a French original, would be better for a penitent saint who was pardoned, like the Egyptian Mary.

Only two of the seven different Benedicamus Domino chants set polyphonically in the Notre-Dame repertory are motet sources: BD I, whose melody is derived from the O 16 Flos filius eius melisma, and BD VI, whose source is the Clementiam melisma of the responsory Qui cum audissent for St. Nicholas. Though I know of no specific source of information on the feasts for which these Benedicamus melodies would have been used at Notre-Dame, Barbara Barclay in her 1977 dissertation on polyphonic Benedicamus Dominos cites evidence from various other locales to show that BD I was widely used to conclude First Vespers on solemn feasts, while BD VI was often used at Second Vespers on solemn feasts.<sup>42</sup> In the Notre-Dame repertory, BD I exists in both two- and three-voice settings; BD VI is found only a3. As Barclay observes, neither would have been appropriate for all major feasts, however, for BD III and BD V, which end with alleluias, were clearly meant for Paschal Time, and BD II (derived from the Quem queritis melody) may also have been used for some major feasts.

From BD I and BD VI, six motets in the early sources seem appropriate for liturgical use (see the end of Appendix II). The first two, Motets 656 (Laus domino resonet) and 697 (Fidelis gratuletur), have texts which clearly celebrate the joy of the Incarnation, thus making these pieces proper to Christmas. In each case, however, the tenor incipit identifies the parent chant as O 16 rather than BD I. The conductus motet Laus domino, which has no source clausula, has the incipit Eius from the Verse of O 16 in W2, fol. 126v, but since both the second and the final words of the motet are domino, the latter seems a better choice. The two-voice Fidelis gratuletur

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<sup>42</sup> Barbara M. Barclay, "The Medieval Repertory of Polyphonic Untroped Benedicamus Domino Settings," (Ph.D. diss., U.C.L.A., 1977), pp. 367 and 426. Barclay identifies the sources of most of the BD melodies used in Notre-Dame polyphony on pp. 354-357. Anne Walters Robertson in her unpublished paper "The Melismatic Benedicamus Domino" indicates that the usage for the Flos filius and Clementiam BD melodies reported by Barclay accords with the practice at Saint-Denis. At Notre-Dame, I know of no precise information that the Benedicamus Domino was sung in polyphony at Second Vespers, though on Easter, the following Saturday, and the Assumption other chants are known to have received polyphonic treatment at Second Vespers. In Appendix II, therefore, I have not attempted to specify at which Vespers the BD VI motet might have been used.

has the tenor designation Sancto (from the Gloria portion of O 16) in F, fol. 408v, while in W2, fol. 162, where the musical notation was never finished, it is more appropriately identified as Do(mino).

Three other works based on the BD I melody could have served for most other occasions when BD I might be used. Motet 753 (Domino fidelium) is general in its praise of the Lord and would be appropriate on non-Marian feasts. For feasts of the Virgin, Motet 655, Virgo singularis (F, 414), is one possible choice. Though its tenor is labeled E[ius], the last word of the Verse of O 16, and its text uses the first word (Virgo) twice, I have nonetheless listed it as a Benedicamus piece, since the source clausula is Domino No. 11 in F (88v). (There is no barrier to its further use in O 16 with the tenor Eius.)

Also for the Benedicamus on Marian occasions, the text of Ave gloriosa (Motet 760a) is particularly apt. In W2, fol. 140, this work appears as a two-voice conductus without tenor; its numerous appearances as a motet are all in later or peripheral sources. Though Ludwig believed that the W2 conductus version was the first, subsequent scholars have argued that the polyphonic archetype was probably a conductus motet with the Domino tenor included; MS Harley 978 in the British Library presents it both ways.<sup>43</sup> Either as a motet included in the organum or as a conductus substituted for it, Ave gloriosa is a Benedicamus piece that is perfect for the major feasts of the Virgin.

The last Benedicamus motet is one whose jubilant text in praise of the Lord would have been suitable for almost any occasion: Alpha bovi et leoni (Motet 762) is a2 in F, fol. 407, though its source is the three-voice BD VI. It would not be difficult to restore the triplum to form a conductus motet to be sung as part of its three-voice parent composition.

This last work brings up a question that performers should consider: must a motet have

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<sup>43</sup> Ludwig, Repertorium, I, 1, p. 180. This composition has been much discussed; see the bibliography and the observations in Anderson, The Latin Compositions, I, 68-77. A stemma for the various versions of Ave gloriosa is offered in James H. Cook, "Manuscript Transmission of Thirteenth-Century Motets," (Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1978), I, 65-81.

the same number of voice-parts as its source organum to have been used in the liturgy? Would a three-voice motet have been used in a two-voice organum, or vice versa? I for one do not see why not, as long as the rank of the feast called for a sufficient number of singers. A three-voice motet in a two-voice organum might have been handled by taking one of the singers from the tenor to do the triplum part, or, as the manuscripts themselves sometimes show, the triplum might have been dropped. And the fact that no M 18 organum survives would not necessarily have prevented the multi-voice Mors motet (based on the four-voice clausula) from being used at the proper place in the chant.

It should also be evident that I do not believe a motet must be a texting of the source clausula already present in the organum to have been used liturgically. We are all aware that organa are very sectionalized works that lend themselves readily to pasticcio treatment; indeed, this is one of the intriguing factors in their transmission. To substitute a motet for a different discant passage--or even for an organal passage--would not have posed insurmountable difficulties to singers experienced in this repertory.

Viewed from this perspective, the list of liturgical motets in Appendix II shows a remarkable economy. On a number of occasions--Holy Innocents, Epiphany, the Purification, for example--the choice is not which motet might be selected, but whether or not this added sign of liturgical elaboration would be included in the day's performance. On other feasts there is a choice of motets on the same segment of tenor; then the decision would hinge on the text itself and/or matters of musical style. For the feast of John the Evangelist, the choice is between a motet in the "classic" style, with a fifth-mode tenor and a first-mode motetus (Motet 70), and a fussy second-mode piece (Motet 73, without a source clausula) that is probably the contrafact of a French original. But the two Domine motets for St. Stephen (Motets 60 and 61) are based on the same first-mode clausula; there the choice would depend on the character of the text, and the earlier Motet 60 is the more meditative and instructive about the day. On the feast of St. Stephen

one could also have opted for the Perotinian organum quadruplum, in which case Motets 57 and 58 would provide a trope to the entire polyphonic portion of the Gradual respond and its verse.

The greatest number of duplicative motets which might have been used in the liturgy at Notre-Dame have tenors from chants for the Assumption and Nativity of the Virgin, but we should bear in mind the multiple uses of the chants themselves. For instance, there is no duplication among the three excellent Regnat motets (437, 441, and 442), since M 34 was not only an optional choice for the Mass Alleluia on the Assumption and its octave (sicut in die) but was also specified in place of a responsory at Second Vespers and as the Alleluia for Sunday within the octave. Similarly, between August 15 and 22 alone the M 32 Gradual Benedicta, with its five Virgo motets, would have been heard five times, including Assumption day itself, the first and fourth days within the octave, Sunday within the octave, and the octave. Nor should the many Flos filius motets from O 16 have gone begging, for this chant was used twice a day (at First Vespers and in the Terce procession) on the Assumption, its octave, and Sunday within the octave, and once again at Matins on the Nativity, its octave, and Sunday within the octave.

In the Office for Christmas, there is no duplication among the O 2 Tanquam motets and the corresponding Gloria. Though each has a two-voice source, Motet 635 and 643 are both three-voice conductus motets; they could be used in either the three- or the two-voice organum setting of O 2. Motet 636 is a2, and its text is rather like a conductus text; it views the paradox of the Incarnation from a Marian perspective. This seems especially appropriate for use in the procession after Terce, for the performance of the O 2 responsory Descendit de celis was immediately followed by a commemoration of the Virgin as the procession re-entered the choir and assembled for Mass.

### III

Commemoration of the Virgin at the end of processions may offer an explanation for another feature of the early motet repertory: the fact that at least 14 motets in F and W2 (listed in

Appendix III) set texts in honor of the Virgin over non-Marian tenors, a practice that proved even more popular later in the 13th century. This type of motet, which stretches the original concept of the genre as a polyphonic liturgical trope, seems to have appeared first on Easter (Motet 229, Radix venie, a3 in F) and Ascension (Motet 309, Salve, mater, a2 in F and W2) and then spread to include five other feasts of duplex rank between Christmas and the end of June.<sup>44</sup>

I would offer the hypothesis that these early Marian motets with non-Marian tenors might have been performed not as part of an organum but as a separate polyphonic item in a commemoration of the Virgin on the day to which the tenor was assigned. Nearly every procession at Notre-Dame, whatever the occasion, finished with a commemoration of the Virgin that included an antiphon (such as Alma redemptoris or Tota pulchra es), a versicle with response, and a prayer. The antiphon was sung in reditu (on the return), and when the procession had re-entered the choir and the participants regained their places, the commemoration ended with the versicle and prayer.

Rubrics in the Brussels processions indicate that, depending on such factors as the rank of the feast and the presence of an altar to a particular saint, processions might follow the services of First Vespers, Second Vespers, and Lauds. And of course there was the procession after Terce that took place on several high-ranking feasts and most Sundays. I would choose the processions after Vespers and Terce as the most likely to end with Marian motets, largely because we already have evidence that these processions did on some occasions use polyphony. (First Vespers on most major feasts included a polyphonic responsory and the Benedicamus Domino; Second Vespers of Easter, among others, included the Verses O 8 and O 9 in polyphony; and the use of organum in processions after Terce was discussed above.)

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<sup>44</sup> It is noteworthy that with the exception of Radix venie (Motet 229) and Serena virginum (Motet 69), all the works on this list appear as two-voice motets in the second motet fascicle in W2--four in the second alphabet and eight in the third. Four have no clausula source, four are reworkings of earlier Latin motets already listed in Appendix II, and a number are contrafacts of French originals. For additional discussion of Radix venie in particular and the significance of these factors as later developments in the early motet repertory, see Wulf Arlt's paper.

Our immediate assumption might be that the motet could substitute for the Marian antiphon sung in reditu, but we must recall that polyphony was not performed while a procession was moving. If a Marian motet replaced the antiphon, it could only be when the procession had come to a halt, and part of the purpose of the antiphon seems to have been to accompany the procession from the saint's altar or last station (such as the one before the cross on the jubé) back into the choir. But the motet could have followed the antiphon, either in station before the main altar (which was dedicated to the Virgin) or simply at the lectern dividing the two sides of the choir. The commemoration would then have concluded in normal fashion with a versicle and prayer. There is a somewhat analogous situation in First Vespers on high-ranking feasts, when instead of chapter, hymn, and versicle, the order of service was chapter, great responsory, hymn, and versicle. The responsory, often polyphonic, served as an additional mark of elaboration on an important day, and it is a similar function that I propose for this special group of Marian motets. The occasional borrowing of well-fixed chants for use in a different liturgical position on a given feast was not unknown at Notre-Dame: most prominent was the use of the Easter and Assumption Alleluias in the place of a great responsory at Second Vespers on those days. The use of a Marian motet on a chant itself heard elsewhere during the day might have been liturgically remarkable only because the motet did not utilize the complete chant.<sup>45</sup>

#### IV

In the list of feasts in Appendix II, it is evident that Christmas, Easter, the Assumption, and the Nativity of the Virgin are the feasts that could carry the largest number of liturgical motets--as many as eight motets on Christmas and Easter, six on the Assumption (nine if the three for the Vigil Mass are added), and five on the Nativity BVM, including a Benedicamus

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<sup>45</sup> This suggested use of Marian motets at the end of processions, however, by no means exhausts the possibilities for the liturgical performance of motets apart from their parent chants during the course of a given feast day. A famous example is the use of Serena virginum at Beauvais on the feast of the Circumcision, an occasion whose liturgy was troped with numerous monophonic and polyphonic glosses. See Wulf Arlt, Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais (2 vols., Köln, 1970).

Domino motet in each case. All the other occasions have no more than two or three motets (with a BD motet included as a possibility). It should not surprise us to see Christmas, Easter, and the Assumption so well represented, since they were three of the four highest-ranking feasts at Notre-Dame. For whatever reason, Pentecost did not receive as much attention from the composers of liturgical motets, though it is well represented with organum. That the Nativity of the Virgin should have almost as many liturgical motets as the Assumption follows from the fact that several of the parent chants are common to both occasions.

A total of 83 early motets have been singled out as liturgical; they include six pairs of motets that contrafact each other (60=61, 254/6=257, 307=307b, 411=412, 487=488, 647/8=649). Twenty-nine out of 83, or nearly 35%, are for more than two voices. Of the 24 motets in three parts, two (on M 18 and O 16) are double motets, and the music of the former may well be by Perotin. Of the five four-voice works, four are Perotinian and the fifth (Motet 228) has been suggested to be his as well.<sup>46</sup> Roughly 78% of these 83 motets have a pre-existing polyphonic source; 53 are based on two-voice sources, six are based on three-voice sources, and six are based on four-voice sources. Two motets (Nos. 145 and 660) are based on St. Victor clausulae; the other sources are all found in W1, F, and W2. Of the 18 motets that have no clausula source, it is interesting to note that the majority have tenors in either second mode (six works) or first mode (four works plus possibly No. 376). This is as we should expect, since second-mode works, some of which show the influence of early French motets with their abundance of small-note ornaments, were the last to develop in the clausula repertory.

Among these early liturgical motets, the fifth rhythmic mode is by far the most popular choice for tenors; it accounts for 36 works, or more than 43%. The upper voices are nearly all in trochaic rhythms, with varying amounts of the alternative (trochaic) third mode and fifth mode included. Motet 505 is unusual in that its upper voice is virtually in fifth mode also, requiring

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<sup>46</sup> See Ernest H. Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century," *JAMS*, XVII (1964), 283-285, and my dissertation, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-Voice Notre Dame Clausula" (Boston University, 1974), I, 453-455.

fifth-mode declamation of the text. Two motets with fifth-mode tenors have upper voices in third mode--Nos. 337 and 442--with a fair amount of second-mode substitution. Only five motets in this group, or 14% of its total, do not have a clausula source. The motets with fifth-mode tenors represent a kind of classic style in discant, a style that is closely associated with known works by Perotin. Indeed, Motet 483 is based upon his music, and various scholars have suggested that the music of Motets 216, 254-257, 322, 442, and 495 could be his as well.<sup>47</sup>

The other place where Perotin's influence is apparent is in the group of organal motets, for four out of the five works here (Nos. 2, 3, 57, 58) add text to Perotin's monumental four-voice organa for Christmas and St. Stephen's day. The fifth work, the three-voice Veni, doctor previe (Motet 359), appears in British Library MS Egerton 2615 (LoA) as well as in F and has no extant polyphonic source. All five works are marked by aural as well as verbal troping of the tenor text, an early stylistic trait that soon was dropped.

Only seven of the motets have tenors in ternary-long or duplex-long simplices, two types that in general precede the fifth-mode tenors stylistically. A particularly good example with duplex longs is Motet 441. The only piece in this group without a clausula source--Motet 656--is also the only one with a motetus in third mode. Only four motets have both the tenor and upper voice in third mode--Motets 112, 116, 524, and 635, of which the last is an especially nice work. A typical and sophisticated feature of third-mode works is the overlap in phrasing between tenor and upper parts; in Motet 635, the tenor even begins with a measure rest to ensure this result from the start. Musically these pieces are slightly younger than works with duplex-long and fifth-mode tenors, where third-mode upper parts make their first appearance in discant.

The fifteen motets (counting No. 376) with first-mode tenors and upper parts total 18% of the repertory. They give evidence of their more recent date in that five of them have no clausula

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<sup>47</sup> Ludwig, Repertorium, I,1, p. 37; Heinrich Husmann, Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre Dame Organa (Leipzig, 1940), p. XXII; and Ernest Sanders, "The Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," Festschrift für Walter Wiora (Kassel, 1967), pp. 245-247. The motets in question use tenors from M 14, M 18, M 24, M 34, and M 45, respectively.

source, and several show signs of being contrafacts of French originals. In contrast to these fussy and highly fractured pieces (Motet 119, for example), Motets 131 and 140 represent the clean and classic style characteristic of the earliest first-mode compositions.

Lastly, the sixteen second-mode motets include six works with no clausula source, and at least two (Motets 478 and 346) exhibit tenor patterns not found in the clausula repertory. The upper parts are all in second mode like the tenor except for Motet 233, which has a sixth-mode motetus. In many cases the upper voices do not phrase with the tenor. Some of the "cleanest" counterpoint is found in Motets 110, 307, 307b, and 308; some of the fussiest appears in Motets 73, 417, 422, and 528f (818) and is probably due to the priority of a French version.

Manuscript distribution of the 83 liturgical motets is given in Appendix IV. In MüA, all the Latin motets are liturgical, but the emphasis in the manuscript is overwhelmingly on French works rather than Latin pieces. In both motet fascicles of the Florence manuscript, the first for conductus motets and the second for two-voice motets, some 72-73% of the works are liturgical. The percentages are slightly bettered (74-75%) in the first and second alphabets of W2's second motet fascicle, with a drop to 57-58% in the first motet fascicle and the short Anhang of the second motet fascicle. Only 41% of the motets in the third alphabet in W2's second motet fascicle are liturgical. Complex B of MüA follows with a drop of another 5%, and Complex A is a distant last, with only 7% of the motets clearly liturgical.

The most important feasts at Notre-Dame allowed for the performance of as many as six different organa (some heard more than once) and as many as eight motets over the course of the liturgical day. This tally still leaves room for several conductus as well, whose liturgical use I have not addressed. But by now it should be clear that variations in the amount of polyphonic embellishment in the cathedral services were a means of indicating liturgical rank to the faithful that spoke just as eloquently as the variations in candle power, so immediately evident to the beholders. These variations in the musical solemnity at Notre-Dame joined a myriad of other

ceremonial and decorative distinctions designed to illuminate the eyes, the ears, and the minds of those who gathered within.

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## APPENDIX I

PRINCIPAL FEASTS IN THE PARIS CALENDARIN THE EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The following list of feasts with sufficient rank for polyphony that were present in the early 13th century has been culled from surviving liturgical books. Most of these feasts have a rank of nine lessons or better, but some have three lessons if a ferial day and nine if on Sunday, and those in Paschal Time have only three lessons, though they may rank as high as annuum. Nor should we assume that everything of sufficient rank for polyphony actually had polyphony provided; it was never used during Lent, for instance. Feasts marked with an asterisk (\*) have no organum available; all the others call for at least one piece that was set polyphonically.

In the calendar listing, the movable feasts of the Temporale assume the date of Easter to be March 27 (the earliest possible date, and that on which it usually appears in calendars), and the other feasts are positioned with reference to that date. I have added the Dedication feast and its octave in May, though neither occurs in cathedral calendars. The rank of a feast is the one given in the earliest sources; quite a number of feasts changed in rank during the course of the 13th century. This list does not include memorials or any feasts of three lessons outside of Paschal Time, since they did not qualify for polyphony. I have drawn the line for inclusion in this list just prior to the addition of the feast of St. Bernard (August 25), which was instituted by the bishop of Paris in August of 1207 and began to appear in liturgical books a few years later. Feasts of the Temporale are given in capital letters.

JAN.	1.	CIRCUMCISION	D
	2.	Octave of Stephen	3 lc/ 9 if Sun.
	3.	Geneviève, virgin	9 lc
	4.	Octave of Holy Innocents	3 lc / 9 if Sun.
	6.	EPIPHANY	D w/ vigil
	13.	OCTAVE OF EPIPHANY	9 lc
	15.	Maur, abbot	9 lc
	20.	Fabian and Sebastian, martyrs	9 lc
	21.	*Agnes, virgin and martyr	9 lc
	22.	Vincent, martyr	SD
	25.	*Conversion of St. Paul	D
	27.	Julian, bishop and confessor	D
	30.	Bathildis, queen	3 lc / 9 if Sun.
FEB.	2.	Purification of the Virgin	D
	3.	Blaise, bishop and martyr	9 lc
	5.	Agatha, virgin and martyr	9 lc
	22.	*St. Peter's Chair	9 lc
	24.	*Matthias, apostle	9 lc

MAR.	12.	*Gregory, pope and confessor	9 lc
	20.	*PALM SUNDAY	SD
	21.	*Benedict, abbot	9 lc
	25.	Annunciation to the Virgin	D
	27.	EASTER (plus six days of 8ve)	Annum festum (SD?)
APR.	3.	OCTAVE OF EASTER	D
	22.	Finding of Denis and his companions	Quasi 9 lc
	25.	Mark, evangelist	Quasi 9 lc
MAY	1.	*Philip and James, apostles	Quasi 9 lc
	1.	FIFTH SUNDAY AFTER EASTER	Quasi 9 lc or SD
	2.	*FIRST ROGATION DAY (Mon.)	Quasi 9 lc or SD
	3.	SECOND ROGATION DAY (Tues.)	Quasi 9 lc or SD
	3.	Finding of the Holy Cross	SD
	4.	*THIRD ROGATION DAY (Wed.)	Quasi 9 lc or SD
	5.	ASCENSION	D
	6.	John (apostle) before the Latin Gate	Quasi 9 lc
	8.	SUNDAY AFTER ASCENSION	(SD?)
	15.	PENTECOST (plus six days of 8ve)	Annum festum (SD?)
	(19.	Dedication of the Church [or high altar]	D)
	22.	OCTAVE OF PENTECOST (TRINITY)	D
	(26.	Octave of the Dedication	SD or 9 lc)
	28.	Germain of Paris, bishop and confessor	SD
JUN.	10.	Landry of Paris, bishop and confessor	9 lc
	11.	Barnabas, apostle	9 lc
	19.	Gervais and Protais, martyrs	9 lc
	21.	Leutfred (Leufroy), abbot and confessor	9 lc
	24.	Nativity of John the Baptist	D w/ vigil
	25.	Translation of Éloi, bishop and confessor	9 lc
	26.	John and Paul, martyrs	3 lc / 9 if Sun.
	29.	Peter and Paul, apostles	D w/ vigil
	30.	*Commemoration of St. Paul	9 lc
JUL.	(3)	*Sunday within the 8ve of Peter and Paul	(9 lc)
	4.	Translation of Martin, bishop and confessor	9 lc
	6.	*Octave of Peter and Paul	9 lc
	11.	Translation of Benedict, abbot (to Fleury)	9 lc
	13.	Turiau, bishop and confessor	9 lc
	18.	Arnulph (Arnoul), bishop and martyr	9 lc
	21.	Victor, martyr	9 lc
	22.	Mary Magdalene	D
	25.	James, apostle	9 lc w/ vigil

	26.	Transl. of Marcel of Paris, bishop & conf.	D
	27.	Transfiguration of Our Lord	3 lc / 9 if Sun.
	31.	Germain of Auxerre, bishop and confessor	9 lc
AUG.	1.	St. Peter's Chains	9 lc
	3.	Finding of Stephen and his companions	SD
	(4)	Reception of the Holy Cross (1st Sun.)	D
	8.	Justin of Paris, martyr	9 lc
	10.	*Lawrence, martyr	9 lc w/ vigil
	13.	Hippolytus and his companions, martyrs	9 lc
	15.	Assumption of the Virgin (plus six days of 8ve)	Annuum festum w/ vigil (SD?)
	(21)	Sun. within octave of Assumption	(D)
	22.	Octave of Assumption	D
	24.	Bartholomew, apostle	9 lc w/ vigil
	27.	George and Aurelius, martyrs	9 lc
	28.	Augustine, bishop and confessor	SD
	29.	Beheading of John the Baptist	9 lc
SEP.	1.	Giles, abbot	SD
	7.	Cloud, confessor	9 lc
	8.	Nativity of the Virgin (plus five days of 8ve)	D (9 lc?)
	14.	Exaltation of the Holy Cross	SD
	15.	Octave of the Nativity of the Virgin	9 lc
	21.	*Matthew, apostle and evangelist	9 lc w/ vigil
	22.	Maurice and his companions, martyrs	9 lc
	27.	Cosmas and Damian, martyrs	9 lc
	29.	Michael, archangel	SD
	30.	Jerome, priest and confessor	9 lc
OCT.	1.	Rémi of Reims, bishop and confessor	9 lc
	4.	Aurea (Aure), virgin	9 lc
	9.	Denis and his companions, martyrs	D w/ vigil
	16.	Octave of Denis and his companions	9 lc
	18.	*Luke, evangelist	9 lc
	24.	Magloire, bishop and confessor	9 lc
	28.	*Simon and Jude, apostles	9 lc w/ vigil
	30.	Lucan, martyr	9 lc
	31.	*Quentin, martyr	3 lc / 9 if Sun.
NOV.	1.	All Saints	D w/ vigil
	2.	*All Souls	SD
	3.	Marcel of Paris, bishop and confessor	D
	8.	Octave of Marcel	9 lc
	11.	Martin of Tours, bishop and confessor	D
	13.	Gendulf, bishop and confessor	9 lc

	18.	Octave of Martin	9 lc
	22.	Cecilia, virgin and martyr	9 lc
	23.	*Clement (I), pope and martyr	9 lc
	24.	Severin, monk	9 lc
	25.	Katherine, virgin and martyr	SD
	26.	*Geneviève, virgin <u>de miraculo</u> [des ardens]	9 lc
	30.	Andrew, apostle	SD w/ vigil
DEC.	1.	Éloi, bishop and confessor	9 lc
	4.	Reception of the Relics	D
	6.	Nicholas, bishop and confessor	D
	11.	Gentian, Fuscian, and Victorius, martyrs	9 lc
	13.	Lucy, virgin and martyr	9 lc
	21.	Thomas, apostle	9 lc
	25.	CHRISTMAS	Annuum festum w/ vigil
	26.	Stephen, protomartyr	D
	27.	John, apostle and evangelist	D
	28.	Holy Innocents	D
	29.	Thomas of Canterbury, archbp. and martyr	9 lc
	31.	Silvester, pope and confessor	9 lc

## APPENDIX II

THE EARLIEST LATIN LITURGICAL MOTETS

[Note: Manuscript locations are given only for the Latin motets listed, and only in F, W2, and MüA. French contrafacts and later redactions are not included. All motets have a two-voice clausula source in F, W1, and/or W2 unless otherwise noted.]

CHRISTMAS

Annum festum w/ vigil

December 25

- O 1 Vesper Responsory Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes  
 Motet 632: Gaude, Syon filia / Et Iherusalem  
 a2 in F, 410 (2,35)
- BD I Benedicamus Domino at I Vespers  
 Motet 656: Laus domino resonet / Eius [= Domino]  
 a3 in W2, 126v (1,5) [No source clausula]  
 Motet 697: Fidelis gratuletur / Domino [= O 16 Sancto]  
 a2 in F, 408v (2,29), & W2, 162 (2,33)
- O 2 3rd Matins Rx. Descendit de celis V. Tanquam  
 Motet 635: Ad veniam perveniam / Tanquam  
 a3 in F, 381 (1,1), & W2, 129 (1,8)  
 a2 in W2, 145 (2,1)  
 Motet 643: Formam hominis / Gloria [= Tanquam]  
 a3 in F, 381 (1,2) [T = Gloria]  
 a2 in W2, 161v (2,32) [T = Tanquam]
- O 2 Procession after Terce: Descendit de celis V. Tanquam  
 Motet 636: Tanquam suscipit vellus / Tanquam  
 a2 in W2, 154v (2,17)  
 [a3 mixed double in W2, 205v (3,12; Fr. motetus)]
- M 1 Gradual Viderunt omnes V. Notum fecit  
 Motet 2: Vide prophetie / Viderunt [Perotin]  
 a1 in W2, 167 (2, Org.1a) [a4 source]  
 Motet 3: Homo cum mandato / Omnes [Perotin]  
 a1 in W2, 168, (2, Org.1b) [a4 source]  
 Motet 43: Factum est salutare / Dominus  
 a2 in F, 408v (2,28), & MüA, 2v (A-7)

**Stephen, protomartyr** Duplum December 26

- M 3 Gradual Sederunt V. Adiuva me  
 Motet 57: De Stephani roseo sanguine / Sederunt [Perotin]  
 a1 in W2, 168v (2, Org.2a) [a4 source]  
 [a4 in Ma, 5; beginning missing]  
 Motet 58: Adesse, festina / Adiuva...misericordiam [Perotin]  
 a1 in W2, 170 (2, Org.2b) [a4 source]  
 [a4 in Ma, 5v]  
 Motet 60: Prothomartir plenus fonte / Domine [= Motet 61]  
 a2 in F, 410 (2,36)  
 Motet 61: Sederunt inique principes / Domine [= Motet 60]  
 a2 in W2, 185v (2,69)

**John, apostle and evangelist** Duplum December 27

- M 5 Gradual Exiit sermo V. Sed sic eum  
 Motet 70: Manere vivere / Manere  
 a2 in W2, 165v (2,39) [= Motet 69, Serena virginum]  
 Motet 73: Ihesu Christi sedulus Iohanne / Manere  
 a2 in W2, 182v (2,61) [No source clausula]

**Holy Innocents** Duplum December 28

- M 7 Gradual Anima nostra V. Laqueus contritus  
 Motet 96: Liberator, libera / [Liberati]  
 a2 in F, 414 (2,44) [No source clausula]  
 M 8 (All.) Laus tua deus V. Herodes iratus  
 Motet 98: In Bethleem Herodes iratus / In Bethleem  
 a3 in F, 382 (1,4)  
 a2 in W2, 163 (2,35)

**EPIPHANY** Duplum w/ vigil January 6

- M 10 All. Vidimus stellam  
 Motet 49: Viam vident veritatis / Eius  
 a2 in W2, 190v (2,80) [No source clausula]

**Purification of the Virgin** Duplum February 2

- M 11 Gradual Suscepimus deus V. Sicut audivimus  
 Motet 108: Novus nove legis nuncius / Suscepimus  
 a3 in F, 382v (1,5)

M 12 All. Adorabo ad templum

Motet 112: De virgula, veris inicio / Et confitebor  
a2 in W2, 157 (2,24)

**EASTER**

Annum festum

(March 27)

M 13 Gradual Hec dies V. Confitemini

Motet 116: Dat superis inferis gaudia / Hec dies  
a2 in W2, 179v (2,55)

Motet 119: Hec dies leticie / Hec dies  
a2 in W2, 181v (2,59) [No source clausula]

Motet 131: Deo confitemini / Domino  
a3 in F, 383 (1,6), & W2, 126 (1,4)  
a2 in W2, 146 (2,4a)

[a2 (conductus) without T in W1 & Ma]

Motet 140: Laudes referat / Quoniam  
a3 in F, 383v (1,7)  
a2 in W2, 146v (2,4b)

[a2 (conductus) without T in W1 & Ma]

Motet 141: In serena facie / In seculum  
a2 in W2, 162v (2,34), & W2, 182 (2,60)

Motet 145: Peto linis oculum / In seculum  
a2 in W2, 184v (2,66) [Source clausula in StV]

M 14 All. Pascha nostrum

Motet 215: Gaudeat devotio / Nostrum  
a3 in F, 383v (1,8), & W2, 131v (1,11)  
a2 in W2, 148 (2,7)  
[a2 (conductus) without T in W1]

Motet 216: Nostrum est impletum / Nostrum [Perotin?]  
a3 in F, 384 (1,9) [a3 source clausula]

Motet 228: Latex silice / Immolatus est  
a4 in F, 230v, among a3 conductus; 2 strophes  
[a3 (conductus) without T in W1; 3 strophes]

Motet 231: Homo quam sit pura / Immolatus est  
a3 in F, 385v (1,11) [strophic in other MSS]

Motet 233: In modulo sonet leticia / Immolatus est  
a2 in F, 407v (2,26)

Motet 234: Immolata paschali victima / Immolatus est  
a2 in F, 411 (2,39)

M 15 All. Epulemur in azimis (2nd V. of M 14) [sung at II Vespers]

Motet 244: Exilium parat / In azimis sincerita...  
a2 in F, 410v (2,37)

**EASTER WEDNESDAY** (SD?) (March 30)M 18 All. Cristus resurgensMotets 254-255: Mors morsu / Mors que / Mors [= Motet 257]

a3 double motet in F, 400v (2,5-6) [a4 source clausula]

Motet 257: Mors vite vivificatio / Mors [= Motet 254]

a2 in W2, 164 (2,37) [a4 source clausula]

**ASCENSION** Duplum (May 5)M 23 All. Ascendens CristusMotet 307: Scandit solium / Captivitatem [= Motet 307b]

a3 in F, 386 (1,12)

a2 in W2, 177v (2,48), &amp; MüA, 1 (B-2)

Motet 307b: Celi semita / Captivitatem [= Motet 307]

a2 in MüA, 1 (B-3); strophic

Motet 308: Hostem superat / [Captivitatem]

a2 in F, 401v (2,7)]

M 24 All. Non vos relinquamMotet 322: Non orphanum te deseram / Et gaudebit

a2 in F, 405 (2,20), &amp; W2, 174v (2,43)

**PENTECOST** Annum festum (May 15)M 25 All. Spiritus sanctus procedensMotet 337: O natio qui vitiis / Hodie perlustravit

a3 in F, 388v (1,14), &amp; W2, 130v (1,10)

a2 in W2, 152 (2,13)

M 26 All. ParaclitusMotet 345: Doce nos hodie / Docebit

a3 in W2, 132v (1,12) [incomplete; no T]

a2 in F, 399v (2,2)

Motet 344: Doce nos (Doceas) hac die / Docebit

a2 in F, 400 (2,3), &amp; W2, 158 (2,26), &amp; MüA, 5v (B-11)

Motet 346: Doce nos optime / Docebit

a3 in F, 389 (1,15), &amp; MüA, 6 (B-12) [No source clausula]

a2 in W2, 158v (2,27)

**TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY, & SATURDAY AFTER PENTECOST** (May 17, 18, 21)M 27 All. Veni sancte spiritusMotet 359: Veni, doctor previe / Veni...amoris

a3 in F, 390v (1,16) [&amp; LoA, twice] [No source]

Motet 360: Veni, salva nos / Amoris  
a2 in F, 411 (2,38)

**Dedication of the Church (or high altar)** Duplum May 19

- M 12 All. Adorabo ad templum  
Motet 516 [108b]: Christe via, veritas et vita / [Adorabo]  
a2 in F, 404 (2,16) (T=Tori)  
a2 in W2, 155v (2,19) (T=unlabeled)  
Motet 110: Locus hic terribilis / Et confitebor  
a2 in F, 406v (2,24)

**Nativity of John the Baptist** Duplum w/ vigil June 24

- M 29 All. Inter natos mulierum  
Motet 369: Mulieris marcens / Mulierum  
a2 in F, 406v (2,23), & W2, 174 (2,42)  
Motet 371: Prodit lucis radius / Mulierum  
a3 in F, 392v (1,17) [No source clausula]  
Motet 376: Mulierum natus est / Mulierum [music lacking]  
a2 in W2, 173 (2,40) [No source clausula]  
Motet 379: Clamans in deserto / Iohanne  
a2 in F, 409v (2,32)

**Assumption of the Virgin** Annuum festum w/ vigil August 15

- M 37 Gradual for Vigil Mass: Propter veritatem V. Audi filia  
Motet 448: O Maria, maris stella / Veritatem  
a3 in F, 397v (1,25), & W2, 125 (1,3) [No source clausula]  
Motet 478: Audi, filia egregia / Filia  
a2 in F, 408v (2,30) [No source clausula]  
M 54 Alleluia for Vigil Mass (if Sunday): All. Veni electa mea  
M 54 Alleluia for 2nd and 5th days of 8ve: All. Veni electa mea  
Motet 529: Quia concupivit vultus / Quia concupivit rex  
a2 in F, 405 (2,19), & W2, 152v (2,14)  
O 16 Vesper Responsory Styrps Yesse V. Virgo dei  
Motet 647/648: Styrps Yesse / Virga cultus / Flos filius eius  
a3 double motet in F, 409v (2,33-34) [a3 source clausula]  
Motet 649: Candida virginitas / Flos filius eius [= Motet 648]  
a2 in W2, 145v (2,3) [a3 source clausula]  
Motet 665: Flos ascendit de radice / Flos filius eius  
a2 in W2, 161 (2,31)  
Motet 669: Ave, rosa novella / Flos filius eius  
a2 in W2, 178v (2,51) [No source clausula]

- BD I Benedicamus Domino at First Vespers  
 Motet 655: Virgo singularis / [Domino]  
 a2 in F, 414 (2,45) (T=E[ius] from 0 16)  
 Motet 760a: Ave gloriosa mater / (Domino)  
 a2 conductus (no T) in W2, 140 (1, Cond. 3)  
 [a3 motet in other sources]
- O 16 Procession after Terce: Styrps Yesse V. Virgo dei  
 Motet 660: O vere lucis aurora / Flos filius eius  
 a2 in W2, 175v (2,45) [Source clausula in StV]  
 Motet 670: Virga, virgo regia / Flos filius eius  
 a2 in W2, 189v (2,76) [No source clausula]
- M 32 Gradual Benedicta V. Virgo dei  
 Motet 411: O Maria, mater pia, mater / Virgo [=Motet 412]  
 a3 in F, 393 (1,18)  
 a2 in W2, 183v (2,64)  
 Motet 412: Virgo plena gratie / Virgo [=Motet 411]  
 a3 in W2, 129v (1,9)  
 a2 in W2, 154v (2,18)  
 Motet 417: Benedicta regia / Virgo  
 a2 in W2, 145 (2,2), & W2, 178v (2,52) [No source clausula]  
 Motet 420: Mellea vite vinea / Virgo  
 a2 in W2, 190 (2,78)  
 Motet 422: O pia capud hostis / Virgo  
 a2 in W2, 191v (2,82) [No source clausula]
- M 34 All. Hodie Maria virgo [One of six options for the Mass]  
 In place of Rx. at II Vespers [=the primary use]  
 Sunday within the octave of Assumption, + on the octave itself  
 Motet 437: Flos de spina rumpitur / Regnat  
 a3 in F, 393v (1,19)  
 a2 in W2, 147 (2,6), & W2, 180 (2,56)  
 Motet 441: Hodie Maria concurrant / Regnat  
 a3 in F, 394v (1,21)  
 Motet 442: Rex pacificus unicus / Regnat  
 a2 in F, 402v (2,10), & W2, 153 (2,15)

**Nativity of the Virgin**

Duplum

September 8

- O 18 Vesper Responsory Ad nutum V. Ut vitium  
 Motet 698: Mundo gratum veneremur / Ad nutum  
 a2 in F, 403v (2,13), & W2, 173v (2,41)
- BD I Benedicamus Domino at First Vespers  
 Motet 655: Virgo singularis / [Domino]  
 a2 in F, 414 (2,45) (T=E[ius] from 0 16)  
 Motet 760a: Ave gloriosa mater / (Domino) [no source clausula]  
 a2 conductus (no T) in W2, 140 (1, Cond. 3)  
 [a3 motet in other sources]

- O 18 3rd Matins Rx. Ad nutum V. Ut vitium  
 Motet 698: Mundo gratum veneremur / Ad nutum  
 a2 in F, 403v (2,13), & W2, 173v (2,41)
- O 16 6th Matins Rx. Styrps Yesse V. Virgo dei  
 Motet 647/648: Styrps Yesse / Virga cultus / Flos filius eius  
 a3 double motet in F, 409v (2,33-34) [a3 source clausula]  
 Motet 649: Candida virginitas / Flos filius eius [= Motet 648]  
 a2 in W2, 145v (2,3) [a3 source clausula]  
 Motet 660: O vere lucis aurora / Flos filius eius  
 a2 in W2, 175v (2,45) [Source clausula in StV]  
 Motet 665: Flos ascendit de radice / Flos filius eius  
 a2 in W2, 161 (2,31)  
 Motet 669: Ave, rosa novella / Flos filius eius  
 a2 in W2, 178v (2,51) [No source clausula]  
 Motet 670: Virga, virgo regia / Flos filius eius  
 a2 in W2, 189v (2, 76) [No source clausula]
- M 32 Gradual Benedicta V. Virgo dei  
 Motet 411: O Maria, mater pia, mater / Virgo [=Motet 412]  
 a3 in F, 393 (1,18)  
 a2 in W2, 183v (2,64)  
 Motet 412: Virgo plena gratie / Virgo [=Motet 411]  
 a3 in W2, 129v (1,9)  
 a2 in W2, 154v (2,18)  
 Motet 417: Benedicta regia / Virgo  
 a2 in W2, 145 (2,2), & W2, 178v (2,52) [No source clausula]  
 Motet 420: Mellea vite vinea / Virgo  
 a2 in W2, 190 (2,78)  
 Motet 422: O pia capud hostis / Virgo  
 a2 in W2, 191v (2,82) [No source clausula]
- M 38 All. Nativitas  
 Motet 483: Ex semine Abrahe / Ex semine [Perotin]  
 a2 in F, 403v (2,14), & W2, 146v (2,5) [a3 source clausula]

**Andrew, apostle**

Semiduplum w/ vigil

November 30

M 45 All. Dilexit Andream

- Motet 495: Mens fidem seminat / In odorem  
 a2 in F, 399 (2,1), & W2, 150 (2,11) [a3 source clausula]

**Common of Several Martyrs:**

- |                                       |            |            |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------------|
| Reception of the Relics at Notre-Dame | Duplum     | December 4 |
| Finding of Stephen and his companions | Semiduplum | August 3   |
- M 40 Gradual Timete V. Inquirentes autem  
 Motet 487: Deum querite / Inquirentes autem [=Motet 488]  
 a2 in F, 404 (2,17), & W2, 157 (2,23)  
 Motet 488: Iuste vivere / Inquirentes autem [=Motet 487]

a2 in W2, 163v (2,36)

**Common of Several Martyrs:**

	Denis and his companions	Duplum	October 9
	All Saints	Duplum	November 1
	Six other feasts ranked at 9 lessons:		
	Dec. 11	Gentian, Fuscian, and Victorius	
	Jan. 20	Fabian and Sebastian	
	June 19	Gervais and Protais	
	Aug. 27	George and Aurelius	
	Sept. 22	Maurice and his companions	
	Oct. 16	Octave of Denis and his companions	
M 41	Gradual <u>Gloriosus</u> V. <u>Dextera tua</u>		
	Motet 490: <u>Tua glorificata, deus / Domine</u>		
	a2 in F, 404v (2,18)		

**Common of Martyrs**

	Vincent	Semiduplum	January 22
	Four other feasts ranked at 9 lessons:		
	Dec. 29	Thomas of Canterbury, archbishop and martyr	
	Feb. 3	Blaise, bishop and martyr	
	Aug. 8	Justin of Paris, martyr	
	Oct. 30	Lucan, martyr	
M 49	All. <u>Letabitur iustus</u>		
	Motet 505: <u>Letetur iustus / Et sperabit</u>		
	a2 in F, 404 (2,15), & W2, 150 (2,10)		

**Common of Confessor Bishops:**

	Nicholas	Duplum	December 6
	Julian of LeMans	Duplum	January 27
	Germain of Paris	Semiduplum	May 28
	Translation of Marcel of Paris	Duplum	July 26
	Augustine	Semiduplum	August 28
	Marcel of Paris	Duplum	November 3
	Eight other feasts ranked at 9 lessons:		
	Dec. 1	Éloi, bishop and confessor	
	June 10	Landry of Paris, bishop and confessor	
	June 25	Translation of Éloi, bishop and confessor	
	July 31	Germain of Auxerre, bishop and confessor	
	Oct. 1	Rémi of Reims, bishop and confessor	
	Oct. 24	Magloire, bishop and confessor	
	Nov. 8	Octave of Marcel of Paris, bp. and confessor	
	Nov. 18	Octave of Martin of Tours, bp. and confessor	
M 51	All. <u>Posui adiutorium</u>		
	Motet 518: <u>Et exalta vi magna / Et exaltavi</u>		
	a2 in F, 405v (2,21)		

**Common of Confessors and Confessor Bishops:**

Giles (Egidius), abbot	Semiduplum	September 1
------------------------	------------	-------------

Five other feasts ranked at 9 lessons:

June 21	Leutfred (Leufroy), abbot and confessor
July 4	Translation of Martin, bishop and confessor
July 11	Translation of Benedict, abbot (to Fleury)
Nov. 13?	Gendulf, bishop and confessor
Nov. 24?	Severin, monk

M 53 All. Iustus germinabit

Motet 524: Ecclesie vox hodie / Et florebit

a3 in F, 396 (1,23)

a2 in W2, 160 (2,29)

Motet 525: Ex flore gratie / Et florebit

a2 in W2, 160 (2,30) [No source clausula]

**Common of Female Saints:**

Vigil Mass for Assumption (if Sunday)

August 14

Second and fifth days of Assumption octave

Aug. 16, 19

Geneviève, virgin

9 lessons

January 3

Cecilia, virgin and martyr

9 lessons

November 22

M 54 All. Veni electa mea

Motet 529: Quia concupivit vultus / Quia concupivit rex

a2 in F, 405 (2,19), & W2, 152v (2,14)

Motet 528f (818): Canticum leticie / Mea

a2 in W2, 190v (2,79)

**Motets for the Benedicamus Domino**

Benedicamus Domino I (Flos filius eius from O 16 Styrps Yesse):

At First Vespers of Christmas (already listed above):

Motet 656: Laus domino resonet / Eius [= Domino]

a3 in W2, 126v (1,5) [No source clausula]

Motet 697: Fidelis gratuletur / Domino [= O 16 Sancto]

a2 in F, 408v (2,29), & W2, 162 (2,33)

At First Vespers on major non-Marian feasts:

Motet 753: Domino fidelium / Domino

a2 in W2, 179 (2,54) [No source clausula]

At First Vespers on Marian feasts:

Motet 655: Virgo singularis / [Domino]

a2 in F, 414 (2,45) (T=E[ius] from O 16)

Motet 760a: Ave gloriosa mater / (Domino)

a2 conductus (no T) in W2, 140 (1, Cond. 3)

[a3 motet in other sources]

Benedicamus Domino VI (Clementiam from Rx. Qui cum audissent for St. Nicholas)

Appropriate for general use on major feasts at Vespers:

Motet 762: Alpha bovi et leoni / Domino

a2 in F, 407 (2,25) [a3 clausula source]

## APPENDIX III

MARIAN MOTETS ON NON-MARIAN TENORS

[The remarks at the beginning of Appendix II also apply to this list.]

**John, apostle and evangelist** Duplum December 27

- M 5 Gradual Exiit sermo V. Sed sic eum  
 Motet 69: Serena virginum / Manere [=Motet 70]  
 a4 in F, 235, among a3 conductus  
 [a3 in LoA, 74v (without text) & 92  
 a3 conductus (no T) in W1, 13  
 a2 conductus (no T) in Ma, 119v]

**Holy Innocents** Duplum December 28

- M 7 Gradual Anima nostra V. Laqueus contritus  
 Motet 97: Exaltavit sydere / Liberati [=Motet 96]  
 a2 in W2, 181 (2,58) [No source clausula]

**EPIPHANY** Duplum w/ vigil January 6

- M 9 Gradual Omnes V. Surge et illuminare  
 Motet 101: Et illumina eximia mater / Et illuminare  
 a2 in W2, 180v (2,57) [strophic in Ch]  
 Motet 103: Remedium nostre miserie / Et illuminare  
 a2 in W2, 185 (2,68)

**EASTER** Annum festum (March 27)

- M 13 Gradual Hec dies V. Confitemini  
 Motet 133: Virgo gignit genitorem / Domino quoniam  
 a2 in W2, 189v (2,77) [a2 source clausula]
- M 14 All. Pascha nostrum  
 Motet 229: Radix venie / Immolatus est [=Motet 230]  
 a3 in F, 385 (1,10) [a3 source clausula]  
 Motet 230: Ave Maria, fons leticie / Immolatus est [=Motet 229]  
 a2 in W2, 156 (2,21) [a3 source clausula]  
 Motet 232: Stupeat natura / Immolatus est [=Motet 231]  
 a2 in W2, 177v (2,49) [strophic in other copies]

**ASCENSION**

Duplum

(May 5)

M 23 All. Ascendens KristusMotet 309: Salve, mater, fons ortorum / Captivitatem  
a2 in F, 401v (2,8) & W2, 176v (2,47, music lacking)M 24 All. Non vos relinquamMotet 321: Virgo virginum regina / Et gaudebit  
a2 in W2, 187v (2,74a)**Nativity of John the Baptist**

Duplum w/ vigil

June 24

M 29 All. Inter natos mulierumMotet 372: Prima cedit femina / Mulierum [=Motet 371]  
a2 in W2, 184 (2,65) [No source clausula]Motet 386: Virgo, mater salutis / Johanne  
a2 in W2, 189 (2,75) [No source clausula]Motet 391: Ave, plena gratie / Johanne  
a2 in W2, 178 (2,50) [No source clausula]**Peter and Paul, apostles**

Duplum w/ vigil

June 29 (= **Common**)M 30 Gradual Constitues V. Pro patribusMotet 398: Regis veri regia / Pro patribus  
a2 in W2, 176 (2,46)

## APPENDIX IV

MANUSCRIPT LOCATION OF EARLY LITURGICAL MOTETS

[Marian motets in Appendix III are not included.]

**F, first motet fascicle:** 19 out of 26 motets:

1,1; 1,2; 1,4; 1,5; 1,6; 1,7; 1,8; 1,9; 1,11; 1,12; 1,14; 1,15; 1,16; 1,17; 1,18; 1,19; 1,21; 1,23;  
1,25.

**F, second motet fascicle:** 31 out of 43 motets:

2,1; 2,2; 2,3; 2,5-6 (a3 double motet); 2,7; 2,10; 2,13; 2,14; 2,15; 2,16; 2,17; 2,18; 2,19; 2,20;  
2,21; 2,23; 2,24; 2,25; 2,26; 2,28; 2,29; 2,30; 2,32; 2,33-34 (a3 double motet); 2,35; 2,36; 2,37;  
2,38; 2,39; 2,44; 2,45.

**W2, first motet fascicle:** 8 out of 12 Latin motets:

1,3; 1,4; 1,5; 1,8; 1,9; 1,10; 1,11; 1,12.

Followed by 1 out of 9 conductus: 1,3.

**W2, second motet fascicle:**

**First alphabet (2,1 - 2,19):** 15 out of 20 motets:

2,1; 2,2; 2,3; 2,4a; 2,4b; 2,5; 2,6; 2,7; 2,10; 2,11; 2,13; 2,14; 2,15; 2,17; 2,18; 2,19.

**Second alphabet (2,20 - 2,49):** 25 out of 34 works:

2,23; 2,24; 2,26; 2,27; 2,29; 2,30; 2,31; 2,32; 2,33; 2,34; 2,35; 2,36; 2,37; 2,38 (a3 double motet);  
2,39; Org 1a & 1b; Org 2a & 2b; 2,40 (text only); 2,41; 2,42; 2,43; 2,45; 2,48.

**Third alphabet (2,50 - 2,77):** 12 out of 29 motets:

2,51; 2,52; 2,54; 2,55; 2,56; 2,59; 2,60; 2,61; 2,64; 2,66; 2,69; 2,76.

**Anhang (2,78 - 2,84):** 4 out of 7 motets:

2,78; 2,79; 2,80; 2,82.

**MüA, Complex A (2 Latin, 26 French motets):** 2 out of 28 motets:

#7, #20.

**MüA, Complex B (4 Latin, 7 French motets):** 4 out of 11 motets:

#2, #3, #11, #12 (a3).

In percentage terms:

F, first motet fascicle:	73% are liturgical works
F, second motet fascicle:	72% are liturgical works
W2, first motet fascicle:	67% are liturgical works*
W2, second motet fascicle:	
First alphabet:	75% are liturgical works
Second alphabet:	74% are liturgical works
Third alphabet:	41% are liturgical works
Anhang:	57% are liturgical works
MüA, Complex A:	7% are liturgical works
MüA, Complex B:	36% are liturgical works

\*not counting the conductus